MULTIPLE PATHS TO THE HOLY: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN BOSNIAN HAJJ LITERATURE

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Contents

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''The soul is like a glass lamp, and knowledge
Is light (-giving fire), and the wisdom of God is the oil. If it is lit, you are alive,
And if it is darkened, you are dead.'' Ibn Sina[1]

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[1] Cited according to G. C. Anawati in: Franz Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007), 40. 5

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Abstract

We have witnessed a rising interest in different aspects of ḥajj and related phenomena over the last decades. This long durée study presents a complex analysis of literature about ḥajj written by Bosnian Muslims from the 16th to 20th centuries, encompassing different types of material in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Bosnian.This study focuses not only on the ritual itself (ḥajj), the sacred places where it is performed (Mecca and Medina), but also on the journey to these places. The major premise behind such an endeavour is that space is not a static entity; it succumbs to social and cultural predispositions, but also personal inclinations.

The thesis consists of an introduction, four main chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter is titled ''Arguments of Sanctity'' and deals with the beginnings of ḥajj writings in Bosnian culture. The process of Islamization and different mechanisms of adoption of Ottoman culture, as well as the adoption of languages which enhanced the Ottomanization process affected the emergence of particular soteriological arguments about the sanctity of Mecca and Medina.

The second chapter, titled ''Paths to the Sacred'' follows a different direction. The realities it presents mostly belong to the 18th century. This chapter presents the circumstances for the rise of literacy and the increased use of Ottoman Turkish. With regard to social context, a rising interest in descriptions of the world is noticeable, and in terms of ḥajj writings, this means that the journey becomes textually more important than the aim.

The third chapter, ''The Sacred and the Political'', sheds light on a radically new period in Bosnian ḥajj literature. What is observable is a development from an ideologically cautious narrative to an overtly political one, where Mecca and Medina are no longer simply domains of imperial control, objects of textual argumentation, or places of utmost piety, but also sites where political hopes are evoked and projected upon.

The fourth chapter carries the title ''Between the Holy and Homeland'' and deals with the development of ḥajj literature after the Second World War up to the

early 1980s. The post-WWII period brings different types of ḥajj imageries which fit different modernist frameworks, from state-controlled depictions of Mecca and Medina, ḥajj as a postponed opportunity for religious revival, to the emergence of marginalized voices trying to bridge the perceived gap between the holy sites and homeland.

The choice of a religious and literary production of a small ethnic group can shed light on different mechanisms of religious adoption and adaptation, as well as resistances and allegiances in the later period. Ḥajj imagery, in that context, presents highly rich textual material for the study of religious change and continuity over a long time span.

A Note on Transcription and Translation

This thesis uses and analyses material in Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Bosnian. Therefore, two systems of transcription are used. For transcription of excerpts in Arabic, the system of ALA-LC (American Library Association and Library of Congress) Romanization of Arabic is used. For excerpts in Ottoman Turkish, the transliteration system of İslâm Ansiklopedisi was followed. In some cases, the same words are transliterated differently in separate parts of the thesis. Thus, for example, the name al-Būsnawī is transliterated in this shape when the texts discussed are in Arabic, but as (el-)Bosnevi when the texts are in Ottoman Turkish.

All translations are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

1. Introduction

Ḥajj rites can be observed as a microcosmic kernel of core Islamic tenets. The sacred ritual signifies the proclamation of God's unity, prayer, sacrifice and abstinence. Being a *farḍ* (religious obligation) for every Muslim man and woman, ḥajj is the most significant symbol of space and mobility in Islam. At the same time, ḥajj as a ritual is embedded in a complex web of sacred historical narratives. By reenacting these sacred rites, pilgrims take part in collectively and individually remembering the sacred foundations of Islam and its core values.

Unlike other rituals and religious commandments in Islam (such as fasting or prayer), ḥajj requires active engagement with travel. It is also possibly the most affectively textured, since the relation of sacred history to intentional religious action throughout the ḥajj determines an emotional itinerary.[1] Ḥajj involves remembrances of the sacred narratives which deal with sacrifice, effort, temptation, gnosis and realization, and evoke a range of corresponding emotions. The obligatory nature of ḥajj for Muslims is frequently emphasized, and often contrasted with pilgrimage practices in other religions. By studying ḥajj, its practice, and its impact on the cultural and spiritual imagination, we can learn more about the role Islam played in identity forming and relations of belonging in the premodern and modern periods in diverse Muslim societies.

This study analyses the creation of ḥajj imaginary through the example of Bosnian ḥajj literature from the 16th to 20th centuries to determine the interplay between historical frameworks, the production of meaning, and knowledge about space and ritual. It does so by focusing on three elements: social context, genre, and imagery. While the analysis of social context is necessary for establishing and determining underlying historical currents and influences, the analysis of genre sheds light on codes that produce, shape, and transmit this knowledge.

[1] Anna M. Gade, ''Islam'', in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, ed. John Corrigan, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 38.

The study of ḥajj imagery is important because it reveals cultural practices underlying the process of attaching spiritual and emotional meaning to Mecca and Medina through particular frameworks of interpretation shaped by social and political contexts, while at the same time drawing attention to the intrinsic meanings of the institution of pilgrimage.[2] In other words, the study of ḥajj reveals an extensive web of meanings and values that metonymycally correspond to imaginings of faith. As such, observations of ḥajj imagery over a long period reveal transformations in the religious experience itself through a discursive textual tradition.[3] The way ḥajj is depicted, represented or symbolised and, furthermore, how discourses on ḥajj are created, is related to historical continuities and ruptures. This correlation implies a two-way process in which historical circumstances and forces influence the way ḥajj and holy sites are observed. At the same time, ḥajj discourse contributes to the development of intellectual and political thought by providing suitable and powerful imagery.

The introduction is divided into several sections. The first section deals with relevant debates on the nature of ḥajj ritual and later focuses on the role of ḥajj writings in these debates. The second section presents the three key analytical categories: social context, genre and imagery. The third section introduces the reader to the Bosnian ḥajj writings which are discussed throughout the dissertation. The final section gives an overview of the thesis structure.

[2] Marjo Buitelaar, ''The Ḥajj and the Anthropological Study of Pilgrimage,'' in *Hajj: Global Interactions through Pilgrimage*, ed. Marjo Buitelaar and Mols Luitgard (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2015), 20.

[3] Oral tradition about ḥajj remains outside the scope of this study.

1.1 Ritual and Representation

How people relate to a significant ritual such as ḥajj in many ways reflects the intricate attitude of believers towards Islam as a textual and living reality. In that respect, I follow William A. Graham's assumption that ḥajj is a discourse which articulates how Islam relates to Muslims, and symbolically expresses their ideals and values.[4] In addition, it can be argued that the ḥajj pilgrimage was part of every Muslim's life, whether pilgrim or not, through a complex network of textual and contextual influences. The ḥajj imagery, therefore, is even embedded in local contexts far from Mecca and Medina, because it offers ''collective representations'', which allow for the self-identification of members of disparate communities which are geographically and temporally distant.[5]

Topics of meaning and materiality have dominated sociological and anthropological debates about the pilgrimage in the last century. The main questions have revolved around the intrinsic spiritual quality of place (Mircea Eliade, Emile Durkheim), in contrast to place of pilgrimage as a site of contest and conflict (John Eade and Michael Sallnow). These debates have affected the beginnings and the development of different approaches to ḥajj over the last century.[6]

This study has been particularly influenced by a vigorous debate about the nature of ḥajj and the interpretation of ritual which is systematically elaborated on by Marion Katz in her seminal article ''The Ḥajj and the Study of Islamic Ritual'', published in 2004.[7] The three approaches listed by Katz are the following: William

[4] William A. Graham, ''Islam in the Mirror of Ritual,'' in *Islam's Understanding of Itself*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian and Speros Vryonis, Jr (Malibu: Eighth Giorgio Levi Della Vida Biennal Conference Undena Publications, 1983), 59.

[5] The role of religion in providing collective representations was discussed by Engseng Ho, ''The Two Arms of Cambay: Diasporic Texts of Ecumenical Islam in the Indian Ocean,'' *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no 2/3 (2007): 347-361. In this article, Ho examines movement of diasporic groups and different types of texts produced by itinerant individuals. These diverse canonical texts help communities to self-identify and, therefore, connect to other communities.

[6] For a more detailed discussion of these debates, see: Buitelaar, ''The ḥajj,'' 9-25.

[7] Marion Katz, ''The Ḥajj and the Study of Islamic Ritual,'' *Studia Islamica*, no. 98/99 (2004): 95-129.

A. Graham's observation of ḥajj as ritualism without sacramentalism, Juan E. Campo's starkly different conclusion that ḥajj does contain condensed symbolism and sacramentalism; and, finally, the third approach of Hava Lazarus-Yafeh who sees ḥajj in a constant dialectic between the forces of Islamization and falling back into idolatry.[8] The main point of divergence between these approaches is how they observe sacramentalism in the context of ḥajj pilgrimage. Sacramentalism would mean the use of rites and objects as means of salvation, which poses a difficulty for researchers of the Islamic pilgrimage. In emphasizing the anti-sacramental nature of ḥajj, what is usually stressed is the lack of intercession in orthodox Islam. In highlighting its sacramental nature, as Juan E. Campo does, the use of ḥajj as a tool of political sovereignty is brought into focus. Does ḥajj, because of its aniconic and amythical character, avoid symbolism? Is there a place for a soteriological vision? On the other hand, can ḥajj be reduced only to a political tool?

Marion Katz critically observes all three approaches and suggests that where they all fail in different respects is the issue of representation and mediation. Namely, Katz notes that in the premodern period, different parts of the ritual were taken at face value (barring Sufi texts, where symbolism played a significant role).[9] This means that in the premodern period, ḥajj was not seen as an embodiment or symbol of something else, except in the Sufi texts, which operated on the binary opposition of outer (*ẓāhir*) and inner (*bāṭin*). In the modern period, however, ḥajj is observed as consisting of rites which do not have independent value, but are related to reified social and political concepts.

My approach tries to show different nuances which include representational understanding and also show the sheer *significance* of the ritual in a particular context. Through analysis of ḥajj literature, I intend to show how visions of ḥajj changed in its entirety as a journey and a set of rites: from symbolic in Sufi texts, to Text-based, and, later on, to political and reformist visions of ḥajj which showed different representational functions of pilgrimage. While understanding William

[8] Katz, ''The Ḥajj,'' 99.

[9] Katz, ''The Ḥajj,'' 125.

Graham and Juan Campo's arguments for and against sacramentalism as an analytical category, I am also aware of Marion Katz's cautious suggestion that ḥajj did not always merely represent a higher reality or a social tool for promotion.

1.2 Ḥajj Literature

This study will focus on textual representation of ḥajj in Bosnian literature about the ritual composed from the 16th to the 20th centuries. Ḥajj literature belongs to the wider corpus of Islamic literature, with the prefix Islamic denoting both the authorship and the formal and content-related characteristics of the texts. Ḥajj literature, in short, is an analytical category which denotes the encompassing of all the texts which contribute to creating ḥajj discourse.[10] This discourse refers to a body of knowledge about the ritual and holy places (Mecca and Medina), while not leaving out observations of ḥajj journey itself. The study also investigates the process of ḥajj discursive formations. It is built on theoretical approaches offered by both literary and cultural studies, while at the same time borrowing concepts from anthropological and sociological discussions on local cosmopolitanism, transregional connectivities and modernity. While not an anthropological study, it uses recent approaches of uncovering ''hidden structures of kinship between apparently unrelated groups of texts''.[11]

Studying it as both a mode of narrative and experience,[12] ḥajj literature, therefore, includes different types of texts: from legal-prescriptive (*manāsik*,

[10] A similar use of the term ''literature'' as ''a wide range of forms of production'' appears in Ronit Ricci's study of texts from South and Southeast Asia influenced and shaped by Arabic models. See more in: Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 3.

[11] Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: 'The Undiscovered Country'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 5; in this sense, some of recent studies on texts, mobilities and social transformations in Muslim societies are: Brinkley Messick, *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011) and Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[12] In this context, my study starts from the same theoretical positions delineated by Palmira Brummett in her introduction to travel writing in the premodern period. Similarly to Zayde Antrim (on whose work there is more below), Palmira Brummett acknowledges the need to include a vast number of texts belonging to a range of intersecting genres in order to study travel ''as a mode of narrative and experience''. See more in: Palmira Brummett, ''Introduction: Genre, Witness, and

modern day guidebooks), to normative (ḥadīth, such as in *faḍā'il* literature) and narrative-descriptive (travelogues and itineraries). The genres, however, changed over time. Their formal characteristics and significance in relation to both the historical context and shaping of ḥajj imagery is described in respective chapters. While a small part of this literature also mentions Jerusalem/Bayt al-Maqdis, this location did not assume the same stature as Mecca and Medina.

Some effort has been made to incorporate ḥajj literature into the general framework of Islamic devotional literature,[13] or observing it in its own right.[14] However, ḥajj travelogues – as the most prominent genre of ḥajj literature – most often occur in edited anthologies without detailed introduction.[15] Most recently, ḥajj travelogues from the 19th and 20th centuries were used to analyse the rapidly changing world of empires, Islamic modernity and transnationalism.[16] These are only a few examples where some aspects of ḥajj literature were brought to light and analysed. What is lacking is a presentation of its different facets as one unit, which includes equal attention to both form and content. Such an analysis would also emphasize social context and its entanglements with ritual and the inner reflections of the ritual as well. What this thesis tries to do is to show ''awareness of the discursive and constitutive force of representation as such''.[17] This implies a particular double move: on the one hand, the ḥajj ritual itself can be observed as a

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Time in the 'Book' of Travels'', in *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700,* ed. Palmira Brummett (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009), 1.

[13] See, for example, John Renard, *Seven Doors to Islam: Spirituality and the Religious Life of Muslims* (Berkeley and Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1996), 48-51.

[14] Barbara Metcalf, ''The Pilgrimage Remembered: South Asian Accounts of the Hajj,'' in *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination*, ed. Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 85-108.

[15] One such example is Michael Wolfe, *One Thousand Roads to Mecca: Ten Centuries of Travelers Writing about the Muslim Pilgrimage* (pref. Reza Aslan) (New York: Grove Press, 1997).

[16] See Ulrike Freitag, ''Heinrich Freiherr von Maltzan's ''My Pilgrimage to Mecca'': A Critical Investigation,'' in *The Hajj and Europe in the Age of Empire*, ed. Umar Ryad (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2017), 142-153; John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj: 1865-1956*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

[17] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), xi.

force of representation, as discussed above; on the other, the writings themselves mediate on two levels: between ritual and writing, and the individual author and his community.

This thesis focuses on the narrative and descriptive sources instead of on the visual. The latter have attracted a certain amount of attention recently.[18] Also, the focus of the study is not solely on travelogues, although they occupy a significant place. For the reasons which will be elaborated on more in the section on genre, what is equally important for the study of the aforementioned issues is research on the vast prescriptive literature on pilgrimage (*manāsik* and guidebooks) as well as spiritual treatises.

1.2.1 The Historical Framework of Ḥajj Literature

The point of departure of the Bosnian ḥajj literature trajectory starts at the end of the 16th century, which is when the *ʿawāʾil* treatise of ʿAlī Dede al-Būsnawī was written. It also marks the end of the century-and-a-half long process of Islamizing Bosnia. The ending point of the study is the post-WWII period (up to the 1980s). I have decided against the inclusion of ḥajj writings from the most recent war (1992-1995) and postwar period, since the war itself caused a significant rupture and trauma, which would necessitate different research categories incogruent with the ones used for the earlier periods. In a certain sense, the study of wartime and postwar Bosnian ḥajj writings deserves a study of its own. It would tell a story of displacement, disembodiment and trauma, postwar reshapings of public manifestations of religiosity under different, often foreign influences, emergence of radically different media (such as internet). However, what it would not include is the post-Ottoman dimension, for the simple reason that the nation-state, in its multiple varied forms, has weakened the connections which were prominent in ḥajj writings up to the 1980s.

The geographical focus on the literature of Bosnian Muslims is complemented by a historical breadth of several centuries. The temporal expanse in

[18] See, for example: Venetia Porter, *The Art of Hajj* (Northampton, Mass: Interlink Books, 2012).

investigation denotes the possibility to observe patterns of change and continuity in ḥajj imagery and depictions of holy places. When the historical context is taken into account, this temporal framework shines light on the strength of connection between socio-cultural context and production of spatial thought. With the change of circumstances, ḥajj imagery changes as well. However, in certain contexts, the texts are not only influenced by historical circumstances; they also produce a particular spatial outlook. In that sense, one of the aims of this dissertation is also to ''trace connections between the literary processes behind the constitution of authority in texts and the social and political processes involved in articulating the authority of texts''.[19]

The analysis looks at four different time periods. This division was determined on the basis of different ḥajj discourses reflected in genre and imagery. The first chapter deals with ḥajj writings created from the end of the 16th up to the mid-17th centuries. Although the second chapter also analyses the material from the 17th century, its major focus is the discursive developments belonging to the 18th century. The third chapter takes as its starting point the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878, and the emergence of new writing about ḥajj in the post-Ottoman period up to the WWII. The final chapter investigates the creation of different ḥajj discourses in the second half of the 20th century up to the late 1980s.

What is possible to delineate are processes and transformations, ruptures and continuities, pointing not only to the history of ḥajj, but also other interrelated phenomena. The ruptures are marked by different social changes (such as wars, technological and institutional transformations and changes in literacy), while continuities imply various types of connections which link ḥajj writings to Ottoman intellectual trends, Ottoman history, or, simply, different modes of Islamic devotional writing. It is very important to point out that one should not assume a direct continuous link between different ḥajj writings or a firm genealogy. This is discouraged because of many factors, some of which include diversity of genre, language and script, and moreover the absence of intertextuality between

[19] Brinkley Messick, *The Calligraphic State,* 1.

the works. While this is not be a linear from the premodern into the modern period, it presents a string of sometimes closely related, but sometimes disjointed textual processes.

1.2.2 Geographic Specificity and Historical Breadth of the Study

The choice of a particularly small ethnic group which existed on the fringes of two empires and presented a religious minority in the later state constructions can shed light on different mechanisms of religious adoption and adaptation, as well as resistances and allegiances in the later period. Moreover, the investigation of Bosnian ḥajj literature points to the specific issue of belonging where religious, spiritual and cultural centrality of ritual and holy places combine to reveal other types of allegiances constructing particular visions of self. These allegiances include strong intellectual and ʿulamāʾ networks connecting Bosnian authors to mainstream Ottoman ʿulamāʾ circles, or, in later periods, to religious networks in Istanbul, Cairo, Damascus, and Hijaz, which were still mutually connected but separated by nation state borders and strictures. The question of belonging which becomes apparent through the ḥajj journey reflects participation in a ''complex, long-lasting transregional ecumene of personal interactions, movements and imaginings''.[20]

This geographical distance further allows observation of changes in centrality of different places, because although ḥajj literature was written with the intention to promote, describe or express the focality of the ritual and the holy cities, the journey *to* Hijaz would often overtake the primacy. In this context, the concept of ''local cosmopolitanism'' is brought into analysis over the time span, denoting complex processes of scholarly exchanges, while at the same time pointing to their solidity, which becomes more prominent as the time develops.[21] As the previous section suggests, historical connectivities point to diachronic engagements with modes of religious and literary writing. Geographical connectivities emphasize

[20] David Henig, ''Crossing the Bosphorus: Connected Histories of "Other" Muslims in the Post-Imperial Borderlands of Southeast Europe,'' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 58(4), (2016): 913.

[21] It is also related to ''mobile cosmopolitanism'' which helped in bringing systems of value to local contexts. About the term, see more in: Engseng Ho, ''Names Beyond Nations: The Making of Local Cosmopolitans,'' *Études rurales*, No. 163/164, Terre Territoire Appartenances (Jul. - Dec., 2002), 215-231.

synchronic connections of Bosnian ʿulamā' as primary authors of ḥajj literature with other scholarly circles in the Ottoman Empire or, later, in the post-Ottoman world.

The second reason for the geographic focus on Bosnia is related to the fact that despite their historical importance, studies concerning the literary and religious heritage of Bosnian Muslims (as well as other smaller communities) have received less critical coverage. There are numerous reasons for such omission, but the key problem lies in a peculiar dynamic which presupposes that production of knowledge necessarily starts with a (political or religious) center and reaches the provinces or peripheries as a weakened echo. This epistemological approach has been criticised in relation to the scholarship of different Muslim regions. Two points were particularly emphasized as deleterious: the idea that Islam in these regions presents a ''watered-down'' version of the true, essential religion and that Muslim actors on peripheries of Islamic world were mere recipients of knowledge ''sent'' from the center.[22]

Destabilizing the notion that ideas unquestioningly moved from the center into provinces would ultimately help in discovering ways in which Islam was adopted and maintained throughout centuries in different societies. In this regard, my work is inspired by the recent study of Kristian Petersen on ''Han kitab'' – Sino-Muslim long-durée literary production which challenges ''the geographic emplotment of authenticity where the center is privileged as authoritative''.[23] What Petersen tries to do is to show that instead of preferring a centralist narrative, we should pay attention to creation of multiple discourses, which would then account for local specificities and dynamism of cultural exchange.[24]

[22] See more in: Carool Kersten, ''Cosmopolitan Muslim Intellectuals and the Mediation of Cultural Islam in Indonesia,'' *Comparative Islamic Studies* vol 7, no. 1-2, (2011): 107-108

[23] Kristian Petersen, *Interpreting Islam in China: Pilgrimage, Scripture, and Language in the Han Kitab* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 4.

[24] Petersen, *Interpreting Islam,* 4.

The case of Bosnian ḥajj literature complicates the matter further, because there are several centres which could be interpreted as authoritative nodes: Istanbul, Cairo, Mecca and Medina. Regardless of the gravitational pull of these nodes, the creation of different Islamic discourses in ḥajj literature was profoundly shaped by local and global contexts. Ḥajj revealed complex webs of changes and continuities which are at the heart of Islamic tradition.

A geographical focus on Bosnian ḥajj literature can also provide a greater insight into diachronic changes regarding ritual, primarily in the context of the Ottoman Empire, and, secondly, in the context of the nation-state. Focusing on a limited number of sources, instead of covering a wide range of texts which are geographically varied, provides a vertical insight and a possibility to look closer at developments and attitudes towards ḥajj and ways they changed through time.

This study does not imply that producing ḥajj writings was somehow unique to Bosnian Muslims, especially for the early period under study. Such an explanation would be not only inaccurate, but also strongly nationalistic and exclusivist in tone and nature. What is actually in focus is the observation of change of ḥajj imagery from classical models of the Islamic intellectual tradition, through more noticeable expressions of local embededness, to the further narrowing of local self-identification in the 20th century, where issues of regional and local identity dominate over spatial representations.[25] Therefore, this is also a study of cultural transformations which affected the way in which the holy places of Mecca and Medina are observed, as well as how ḥajj was understood in different periods. As such, it deals with contrasting visions as well: premodern and modern visions of

[25] In that sense, the very term ''Bosnian'' in the title can refer to several things. Primarily, it denotes the regional affiliation of all the authors under study, which is sometimes exhibited in a single *nisba* – element of the name. Choosing the authors with a Bosnian nisba (el-Bosnevi/al-Būsnawī) is not done with the intention to present a sense of national or ethnic distinctiveness; it is done to recognize those authors who hailed from the region and to see how Islamic texts were incorporated among the converted population, as well as how intellectual networks absorbed new converts. Bosnian, further on, begins to refer to a rising sense of locality, especially evidenced through interest in language from the 17th century onwards. Bosnian, consequentially, refers to a large part of writings about ḥajj in that language. Finally, it denotes a particular political and national consciousness which developed in the course of the twentieth century.

Mecca and Medina changed significantly, and the connectivities forged and maintained tended to be different.

1.2.3 Aims and Objectives

What this study aims to do is the following: it deessentializes the notion of ''Bosnian Islam'' as a self-contained entity and instead shows that Islam in Bosnia – as religion and culture – cannot be observed without awareness of the deep intellectual, spiritual and emotional connectivities which bind the Bosnian region primarily to the Ottoman centre, and consequently, to other centres in Muslim societies. Furthermore, it tries to show how local forms of cosmopolitanism emerged from the frontier regions of empires and nation-states, thus inverting the imperial center – province paradigm.

Secondly, it aims to show that ḥajj was an inseparable part of religious imagination, and that textual imagery itself did not necessarily comply with normative conceptualisations.[26] In other words, ḥajj imagery and depictions of ḥajj carried different meanings in different times, and often were a product of rather complex social and cultural processes which went beyond an adherence to canonical tradition.

Thus, the methodological structure of the thesis follows three key elements: the sociohistorical context, genre and presentations of ḥajj imagery. In juxtaposing examinations of the sociohistorical context and formations of spatial thought, which were at least partly informed by religious precepts and core Islamic texts, this thesis tries to carve out what is constant and what is changing in observation of ḥajj and holy places, and the extent to which elements of religion and the sociohistorical context influence each other.[27]

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[26] This can be also explained by dynamics between ''local'' and ''global'' Islam, which is the subject of an edited volume about pilgrimage in Central Asia: Alexandre Papas et al., eds., *Central Asian Pilgrims: Hajj Routes and Pious Visits between Central Asia and the Hijaz* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2012).

[27] In this regard, I am motivated by the same set of questions about tension between material circumstances, institutional formations, and religious impulses which have puzzled Islamicists such as Ira M. Lapidus in: Ira M. Lapidus, ''Islam and the Historical Experience of Muslim Peoples,'' in

1.3 Social Contexts

It has been already established that ḥajj writings do not exist in a temporal vacuum, devoid of extra-textual influences or lacking the power to affect sociocultural realities. Either through slow and steady changes inside and outside texts, or with drastic occurrences happening in the world where ḥajj writings were produced, the interaction between the text and context is a starting point for any investigation of imagery created in the process. To paraphrase Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning's conclusion on theories and their embeddedness in contexts, we could say that each spatial representation or imagery ''involuntarily reveals the historical and local traces of the contexts in which it has emerged''.[28] Images, in this context, present textual depictions of Mecca, Medina, but also other places on the way to ḥajj and back.

The analysis also includes personal observations and experiences of the ritual, whilst paying attention to the emotional/affective descriptions. In the process, these images are not to be considered as static expressions and depictions of unchanging space, but as changing, transforming and transformative reflections of wider sociohistorical realities. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that this study does not embrace the concept of ''development'' which would presume that there was a certain point of pristine beginning which later progressively developed into new, more readily accessible, or even more complex genres, or ḥajj imagery. It is also important to emphasize that, although the influence of social context is thoroughly analysed, this approach is not materialist and determinist. Rather the social context is considered as a framework for understanding the emergence of certain spatial imagery and related concepts.

There are two trends which are developed in this section. The first of them relates to the representation and mediation of texts as social factors; the second

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Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems, ed. by Malcolm H. Kerr (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1980), 89-101.

[28] Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning, ''Travelling Concepts as a Model for the Study of Culture,'' in *Travelling Concepts for the Study of Culture*, ed. by Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 5.

one is connected to the concept of change, which itself is traceable through the same writings.

The focus of the study is text, but its ''social logic'' is also a necessary point of investigation: how a text is a product of its environment, as well as its agent. The ''social logic of the text'' is a concept which analyses the embeddedness of a text in a social environment.[29] This term, invented by Gabrielle Spiegel, conveniently shows how texts absorb both social and literary realities, and in that sense, can give mediated access to the past. Both sides of the equation remain contested. Textual meanings need to be read and analysed; historical background needs to be written and constructed based on the themes and images found in texts.[30] The text and its sociohistorical context provoke different, but compatible approaches: investigations of the affectiveness and expressivity of a text through its analysis; investigations of context which search for ideological underpinnings.[31] However, 'text' is not a neutral term or a concept: some texts are more suited to a varied type of analysis. Travelogues, for example, are not the sole genre belonging to the vast body of ḥajj literature, but their ideological potential has been recognized early on.[32]Other genres have recently been recognized for their strong ideological potential as well.[33] In order to balance the two – ideology and expressivity – this study deals with both the description of cultural formations and close readings of the text itself. With the reading of the texts, however, we must not be fixated on one potential

[29]For more on the term and concept of ''social logic of the text'', see: Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, xviii and 3-28.

[30]*(...)* ''since the historical text is not given but must be constructed, the historian of texts is a writer in his or her function of constituting the historical narrative, but a reader of the already materially extant text. The task facing the one is broadly constructive; the other, broadly deconstructive.'' Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 22.

[31]Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 23.

[32]Some examples of studies that recognize the tacit workings of ideology in travel literature are: Sara Mills, *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (Hove: Psychology Press, 1991), Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[33]The most obvious case is the genre of *faḍā`il*. Reference literature on this genre is quite extensive and is treated in the bibliographical section, as well as in the first chapter.

interpretation (such as ideological or affective); each text should be approached integrally.

A significant part of the study of sociohistorical context and how it informs the imagining, conceptualization and articulation of the ritual and the description of the holy places is dedicated to tracking down the complex web of varying authorities, particularly the prevailing political ones. The basic starting point in this regard is that ''both ritual and the spatial order represent authority, and they are among its chief instruments''.[34] The trajectory of the ḥajj experience among Bosnian Muslims shows precisely how different political structures (from the Empire to a socialist state) have influenced imagining, performing and articulating the ritual.

On the other hand, I argue against absolute predominance of the political dimension over the ritual and its expressions. While the social dimension of the ḥajj is coloured by its political aspect, which has been prone to change, the spatial centrality of Mecca and Medina (bolstered by religious narratives and sacred history) eventually extinguishes, or, at least decreases, the overwhelming tendency to establish the political aspect as the dominant one. In other words, while the political dimension is an unavoidable fact in any research of ḥajj and its economic, cultural or social history, focusing exclusively on the power dynamics might discard the constant gravitational pull of the holy sites and their place in religious imagination.

In concrete terms, it means that while ḥajj has been a framework or a tool for imperial self-promotion, the rise of local consciousness, or the politics of panislamism and the non-alignment movement, the authority of ritual – understood in different ways – has been unchallenged. The consistency of the centrality of ritual in ḥajj literature can be related to an ''exegetic construction of sameness'',[35] which took predominance even over creation of alterity.

[34] Juan Eduardo Campo, ''Authority, Ritual, and Spatial in Islam: The Pilgrimage to Mecca,'' *Journal of Ritual Studies* 5, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 65.

[35] Houari Touati, *Islam and Travel,* 3.

The study of sociohistorical context is closely related to the question of change and the effect it has on creating imagery. In that regard, Jacques Le Goff's statement that ''times of marked social change are ideal for observing the relationship between material and imaginary realities''[36] can be applied to changes in imagining ḥajj and Mecca and Medina. Change of imagery can tell us more about transforming visions of space and, since space impacts relations of belonging, it speaks about issues of identity and authority.

While social and cultural influences thoroughly affected the ḥajj journey, two interrelated phenomena have shaped ḥajj imagery in particular: language and literacy. Changes in language and literacy correspond to three major shifts in the history of Bosnian Muslim community: Islamization, which led to an emergence of scholars from the Bosnian province and their writing in Arabic; a rise of consciousness about local identity in the 17th and 18th centuries, which led to a proliferation of writing in Ottoman Turkish; and the change of empires, which, combined with print technology and increased mobility, led to the rise of writing in local languages. The following section addresses language and literacy in more depth.

[36] Jacques Le Goff in: Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text*, 5.

1.3.1 Literacy and Language

While much has been written about the rise of print in the Ottoman Empire,[37] the widespread availability of manuscript culture has not been stressed enough.[38] In contrast to what is usually assumed to be the case with European manuscript tradition – that ''the literacy of manuscript culture, after all, did little to make exteriorized memory available to anyone outside a tiny intellectual elite''[39] – access to at least basic education was more common in the Ottoman Empire, which made levels of literacy higher, even in Ottoman provinces such as Bosnia.[40] Closely related to the issue of literacy is also the question of script and language. Literacy has to be defined according to historical context. Therefore, the dominance of a particular language in a period under consideration and relevant issues related to the script are analysed. Thus, in the Ottoman period, literacy is observed in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish; in the modern period, the focus shifts to literacy in Bosnian in the Latin and Cyrillic scripts. The modern period also brings on considerations of the role print had in disseminating ḥajj material, which is a phenomenon discussed in the context of ḥajj transformations and modernity.[41]

Why do literacy and choice of language matter? If we assume that behind every choice of language or script, there is a conscious decision regarding genre and discourse, it seems the authors had their intended audience in mind. Therefore,

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[37] Some of the examples include: Orlin Sabev, ''The First Ottoman Turkish Printing Enterprise: Success or Failure?,'' in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee,* ed. Dana Sajdi (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 63-89; Orlin Sabev, ''Formation of Ottoman Print Culture (1726-1746): Some General Remarks,'' in *Regional Program 2003-2004, 2004-2005*, (Bucharest: New Europe College, 2007), 293-333.

[38] One of the exceptions is the article by Dana Sajdi, ''Print and Its Discontents: A Case for Pre-Print Journalism and Other Sundry Print Matters,'' *The Translator* 15, No. 1 (2009): 105-38.

[39] Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*, (Hannover and London: University Press of New England, 1993), xxii.

[40] On literacy in Bosnia see: Ismet Kasumović, *Školstvo i obrazovanje u Bosanskom ejaletu za vrijeme osmanske uprave,* (Mostar: Islamski kulturni centar, 1999); Vojislav Bogičević, *Pismenost u Bosni i Hercegovini*, (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1975).

[41] Most recently, such work has been addressed by Nile Green. See: Nile Green, ''The Hajj as its Own Undoing: Infrastructure and Integration on the Muslim Journey to Mecca,'' *Past & Present* 226, Issue 1, (1 February 2015): 193–226.

writing about ḥajj from any perspective means adjusting a particular set of images of the ritual and sacred places, usually in relation to the current intellectual trends. Moreover, sudden gradual changes in literacy and language reflect increased sensibilities towards sociohistorical transformations and express different observations of history and place. Thus, one of the reasons for the particular structure of this thesis is the language criteria, with works in Arabic being the subject of the first chapter, Ottoman Turkish the main language of travelogues from the second chapter, while Bosnian will dominate in the third[42] and fourth chapters.

Finally, changes in language and literacy are closely related to the role scholarly networks and communities had in shaping and dispersing different images of ḥajj and holy places. The choice of language determined the authorship and audience. In other words, if the author chose Arabic as the language of his ḥajj treatise, he was likely writing to his scholarly peers in the imperial centre or other Ottoman provinces. The intellectual flow of ideas circulated not only geographically, but also diachronically, which means that ideas and forms that originated in a particular context (such as the case with the classical Arabic genres) were transmitted into a new one, with content often adjusted in the process. In that case, we are able to speak about travel genres, which is the subject of the next section.

1.4 Genre

The travelogue is too often understood as a necessary byproduct of travel. However, as studies by Houari Touati and Nir Shafir have shown, the travelogue was just one (and often not very important) result of mobility.[43] Other types of writing emerged as a result, such as ḥadīth or fiqh compilations, reflecting the knowledge gathered on the journey or pilgrimage stay in the vicinity of the holy – *mujāwara*. While every ḥadīth or fiqh collection or treatise in this context does not deal with space, there is a significant amount of similar material which is focused on Mecca or

[42] In the case of the third chapter, a transition between Arabic and Ottoman Turkish on the one side, and Bosnian on the other, is shown as well.

[43] Houari Touati, *Islam and Travel,* 221-255; Nir Shafir, ''The Road from Damascus: Circulation and Redefinition of Islam in the Ottoman Empire 1620-1720'' (Phd Diss., University of California, 2016), 236-237.

Medina, and according to the notes provided by the authors on the colophones, was composed or compiled during the author's time in these cities.

Although the potential of ḥajj writings has not been fully acknowledged or even recognized, writings about Christian holy sites have attracted a significant amount of scholarly attention. The ideological potential of such narratives has already been observed in relation to the Holy Land narratives in the Christian pilgrimage tradition. Thus, the guidebooks and itineraries are seen not only as objective referents pointing out to events or places, but are also parts of wider discourses which offer information on different parts of human knowledge.[44] This multifacetedness of writings about pilgrimage exists in the ḥajj literature as well, and points to the fact that the ritual (including journey as well) presented a versatile experience not confined solely to performance of rites.

The creation, exchange and adaptation of textual depictions of ḥajj and holy places was one part of the process of transmitting knowledge and culture.[45] Moreover, ideas and perceptions of the holy places and the ḥajj journey came in the shape of a particular genre corresponding to a respective period. The choice of genre carried ideological weight, related to the social and intellectual currents. This can be seen in the example of the proliferation of Arabic classical genres in the 16th- and 17th-century Ottoman literature. The adoption of Islam in the Bosnian context entailed the use different means, and one of them was education. A significant component of education was the dominance of Arabic as the key language of fiqh, kalam, ḥadīth and Sufi literature. In that context, the adoption of Islam in Bosnia has strikingly similar parallels to the introduction of Islam in other parts of the Muslim world, since Islamization carried a ''significant Arabic cultural

[44] Glenn Bowman, ''Pilgrim Narratives of Jerusalem,'' in: *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage,* ed. Alan Morinis (Connecticut/London: Greenwood Press, 1992), 153.

[45] ''Cultural transfer as a historical concept operates with origins/causes, results/ consequences, contexts, explanations, evolutionary developments and more or less rational and autonomous agency.'' Anna Veronika Wendland, ''Cultural Transfer,'' in: *Travelling Concepts as a Model for the Study of Culture*, ed. Birgit Neumann and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 62. Wendland also mentions pilgrimage as a proof that cultural transfer is a historical, and not a modern phenomenon. (48)

component''.[46] In that regard, the proliferation of ḥadīth literature bore a special significance. Works of ḥadīth combined the Arabic language with the centrality of the Prophet in religious imagination to enhance the process of Islamization. It is no wonder, then, that the first ḥajj treatises written by Ottoman Bosnian authors were at least partly ḥadīth works. The authority of ḥadīth implied additional relevance to both the compiler and audience, and, as is seen in the first chapter, bore a different message according to the context.

1.4.1 Use-value

Although the thesis deals with the formal characteristics of particular genres which appear throughout the long course of the ḥajj literature trajectory, the main premise from which the investigation starts is that ''generic differences are grounded in the 'use-value' of a discourse rather than in its content, formal features, or its rules of production''.[47] In other words, what is important to highlight is how imaginings and articulations of ḥajj and the holy places appear in the context of their receptive audiences. These imaginings changed over time. Change, however, did not necessarily imply extinction of older genres. Genres had the capability of transforming and persisting in other literary subgenres.[48] Furthermore, the very notion of genre is unstable, since ''genre must be defined recursively: genres are made out of other genres.''[49] This is particularly the case with ḥajj writings: a single work can contain multiple genres (a travelogue can contain a ritual section or a *manāsik*, together with an itinerary, descriptions and a prayer section). The problem is further complicated by complex forms, such as *mecmua (majmūʿa),* which can contain different works in one book form. This and similar examples show that while genre formalities matter, the discourse of place transgresses

[46] Vincent Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 102-103.

[47] Thomas O. Beebee, *The Ideology of Genre: A Comparative Study of Generic Instability*, (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994) 7.

[48] "The older generic categories do not, for all that, die out, but persist in the half-life of the subliterary genres of mass culture". Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981) 107.

[49] Thomas O. Beebee, *The Ideology of Genre*, 264.

generic boundaries. ''The discourse of place'' is a conceptual framework used by Zayde Antrim to bring together a range of texts dedicated to the representation of territory ''in and of itself''. These texts in their entirety transgress limitations of genres.[50] At the same time, however, it is crucial to recognize formal generic boundaries as well, since that would put these works in corresponding aesthetic frameworks, thus contributing to a further delineation of the sociocultural context.

The ''use-value'' of the ḥajj texts has an additional quiddity. Their value as artefacts can also be observed through their aspect of self-formation and self-objectivization in three ways: they show power and social status, ensure the continuity of the self in time and offer evidence of embeddedness in a network of social relations.[51] While it is harder to talk about the widespread display of power and social status through ḥajj writings in the premodern period (primarily because the material we are working with does not appear to be patronized by the elites)[52], it is certainly possible to analyse forms of self-formation in ḥajj writings as a means of preserving religious and cultural knowledge, and for establishing different kinds of belonging. It is particularly in this latter issue that the positioning of individuals and collectives in a network of social relations can be observed in the fullest. Through the writing of a ḥajj text (whether a ritual treatise or a travelogue), the authors have positioned themselves in a vast array of networks: intellectual and textual, since they participated in the exchange of the same or similar symbolic spatial repertoires with authors in other Muslim societies; imagined, since, at least from the 19th century onwards, ḥajj figured prominently in discussions about the

[50] See: Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 1-2, 7.

[51] Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi in: David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999) 5.

[52] On the other hand, the social value of ḥajj writings is still understudied. Ḥajj guidebooks might have presented a way for enhancing a social status of the ḥajji-writer in the same way ḥajj paintings on the walls of returning pilgrims in Egypt had.

Islamic world and/or *ummah* as a binding tool or channel; emotional, because the same sacred places evoked a strong emotional response; political and social, for they provided a feeling of solidarity.

There are other types of networks to be added, such as spiritual (including networks marked by Sufi sensibilities) and educational. All of these networks can be understood as types of positioning, which are discernible in the ḥajj writings. Even more importantly, ḥajj writing itself carries a function of significant cultural capital, in the sense that the travelogues and ritual books could be exchanged, cited, and copied across the regions and periods.

While the topic itself has not been studied, it is sufficient to say that we shall try to find linkages between classical Islamic forms (such as, *manāsik*) and their 20th-century counterparts. This should, in a certain sense, challenge the assumption that old genres simply disappeared under the onset of print culture and change of language and literacy. It points out certain kinds of continuities regarding content (if not form), such as the authorial intention of devotional writing and a strong concern for the spatial aspect of depiction. On the other hand, certain ways of depicting ḥajj (and the holy places) did not persist into the modern period because the elaborate tradition which had upheld the production of a certain type of spatial knowledge disappeared.

Apart from the modes for approaching the holy places, which can be defined as prescriptive, descriptive and narrative,[53] the expectations of the readership primarily towards the ritual, and also with regard to other issues that do not necessarily include observations of the purely religious, determined the genre. In other words, since genres provide channels for the transmission of different types

[53] Prescriptive would be understood as the type of writing which deals with the normative side of the ritual and in the case of ḥajj literature, it would include *manāsik* (in the modern period guidebooks). Descriptive would be characterized as depictions of ḥajj and Mecca and Medina in different ways and by using different styles of approach (*ḥadīth*, commentary of Ibn Arabi's works, Sufi lore), while the narrative would present a wide range of approaches to holy places and the ritual through presentations of history, journey or simply the experience of ḥajj. Individual works, of course, may combine all these approaches.

of knowledge, it is possible to observe their ideological ''impurity'' in the various nuancing of historical reality.

Having previous considerations in mind, one can argue that genre offered suitable channels for expressing the multitudes of ideas revolving around the image of ḥajj or Mecca and Medina. Moreover, since the ḥajj ritual presupposes travel, the genre of travelogue in particular incorporated a number of different topics. In the case of premodern ḥajj travelogues and itineraries, this is particularly evident in the amount of information given about the material conditions of the journey (including environmental information). An underlying sociohistorical explanation for this would be that the ḥajj journey was a precarious endeavour which necessitated gathering varied information useful to future pilgrims. In the case of modern ḥajj literature, the multiplicity of other topics is related to the flexibility in genre that the travelogue (primarily) has to incorporate other discourses, such as, most importantly, the political. As stated above, such polythematicity is most visible in the genre of travelogue, although other genres (such as *faḍā'il* and *'awā'il*) can exhibit similar traits.

The question of change, as with the case of language and literacy, is pertinent when it comes to genre. The changes from one genre to another over the course of four centuries meant a significant transformation of spatial outlook as well. Ḥajj literature was predominantly written in prose form. However, a couple of works which are analysed in the study belong to poetry. Genres, therefore, remain mostly in prose forms, but the prose becomes vernacularized. The vernacularization meant a change in expression and imagery becomes less elaborate and convoluted. It also became more accessible to the average believer, as the material dealt with different set of images which could appeal to a wider, but not necessarily broadly educated audience. With the change from manuscript to print culture, however, the genres shift to cater for a larger audience, with focus on the imagery that corresponded to the needs of the recipients.

1.5 Spatial Thought and Imagery

This section is dedicated to the study of spatial thought and imagery that results from a complex interplay between social context, textual and intellectual currents, but that is also a mediator of social reality in its own right, since imagery also *shapes* space.[54]

What is imagery? In the context of our study, imagery relates not only to depictions and representations of the ritual and Mecca and Medina, but also the journey itself. The analysis focuses on the process of constructing image, its major features, textual corelation with other images, and, most prominently, how it functions in a network of relations. It can be said that the mediating role of ḥajj imagery connects readers or its recipients in the following ways:

1) horizontally: by connecting members of the same community, or different communities,

2) vertically: with God, prophets and God's friends (evliya),

3) temporally with the past, present, and the future.[55]

By mediating and being mediated, the imagery helps in creation of a self which is embodied and relational.[56] In the chapters which follow the embededness of images in a network of relations is shown in multiple ways: intellectual, textual, historical, emotional, spiritual and geographical links are revealed through the

[54]This double functionality of texts in apparent in descriptive classical Arabic texts. See: Sebastian Günther, ''Introduction,'' in *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam*, ed. Sebastian Günther (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), xxiii.

[55]Juan E. Campo, ''Visualizing the Hajj: Representations of a Changing Sacred Landscape Past and Present'', in *The Hajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo and Shawkat M. Toorawa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 269.

[56]Campo, ''Visualizing,'' 270.

apparent focus on ḥajj and holy places. While Juan E. Campo sets the framework for new research on visual and textual ḥajj imagery in his short article, he does not discuss the impact which the hegemonic forces have and how imagery plays a double role of concealing and revealing that.[57] This is what our study unveils: how different types of authorities influenced the way ḥajj and the holy places are perceived, and, in that process to see how knowledge is produced.[58]

Since we have already seen how ḥajj literature can contain multiple themes organized in a variety of genres, it is important to point out the main elements which are analysed in this section. The analysis will primarily consider how space figures in the texts under study. In that context, it is useful to consider some of the relatively recent developments in spatial thought. In her book *For Space*, Doreen Massey argues for reimagining the space for modern times and reconsidering the way a sense of place is developed. While Massey's work is directed towards examining modern day issues, such as the way space is conceptualized in the era of globalization, this thesis uses her tripartite model on new visions of space. By applying this model, I want to point out that space cannot be observed as a simple, unchanging background to likewise atemporal visions of the ritual. In that context, there are three principles to have in mind:

1. The recognition of space as the product of interrelations;

2. Space as a sphere of ''contemporaneous plurality'' and of ''coexisting heterogeneity''*;*

3. The acknowledgement of space as always being constructed.[59]

The first point is closely related to investigations on the sociohistorical context and how it relates to the preconditions of spatial imaginings. It analyses how notions and concepts of space are a direct or indirect product of different types of

[57] Campo, ''Visualizing,'' 287.

[58] Houari Touati, *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2010) viii.

[59] Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005), 9.

exchanges, and how the notions of space also influence self-reflectivity and construct a network of relations of belonging. For example, the onset of modernity (or modernities) in the beginning of the 20th century placed Mecca and Medina at the center of purported renewal, reformation and, sometimes, outright revolution. On the other hand, intellectual and religious exchange which was part and parcel of experience during ḥajj shaped the development of reformist and traditionalist ideas in Bosnia. Thus, a range of relations between the imagination of the spatial and the political can be established.[60]

Regarding the second point of space as a sphere of contemporaneous plurality and coexisting heterogeneity, it can be said that space as a sphere for different trajectories is evidenced throughout ḥajj literature in temporal regard as well: ḥajj narratives are often directed towards depicting the religious story behind the rituals more than exclusively focusing on the direct experience. Temporal and spatial trajectories, as well as the presence of multiple decisive factors which affect the narrative, are characteristic of ḥajj literature.

The third point, that space is constantly recreated and reimagined, is the quintessential characteristic of ḥajj literature. Through the longue-durée approach of the study, it will be seen how images of holy places are shaped by multiple factors, and how there is a consistency in certain motifs which get reenacted in every period under discussion.

In that light, we follow the assumption that space and time should be considered together, since space and time are enmeshed with each other.[61]Therefore, this study is as much a study of the history of narrative and non-narrative material on Mecca, Medina and ḥajj (tracing the common motifs and how they changed over time), as it is a study about different visions of space itself, since considerations of the historical and temporal imply imaginations of space.[62]While

[60]Massey, *For Space*, 10.

[61]Massey, *For Space*, 18.

[62]Massey, *For Space*, 18.

depictions of space are the focus of the study, their embededness in collective memory (cultivated through different historical narratives) must not be forgotten. The tension between different spatial approaches and collective memory will, therefore, be touched on in certain parts of the thesis.[63] What is evident here is the appearance of multiple temporalities in religious and historical narratives, and also in the temporal expression of the author's experience of the pilgrimage. In other words, the authors in different time periods engaged with a variety of arguments for bolstering their argument about the sanctity of Mecca and Medina, for persuading the intended audience or for exercising their own individual piety. Temporalities which exist side-by-side in these narratives show the holy places as atemporal, embedded in the spiritual cosmogony, or existing in historical reality.

Additionally, the part of the thesis which deals with ḥajj literature in the modern period needs to look at the new conceptions of time and temporality which appear in the 20th century, as well as how they relate to observations of the ritual and holy places. How the past is used, whether in the shape of religious stories or Ottoman (and post-Ottoman) historical narratives, and how it shapes images of space, is a focal point of each chapter. While the past has been evoked from the early ḥajj writings onwards, and sometimes presented as the sole material constituting a work, in the late 19th/early 20th centuries, and consequently in the later period, the past became not only a way to point to the importance of ritual and sacred places, but also to address issues related to perceived political crises and deep sociological changes and transformations. Evoking historical narratives of the Islamic past becomes an important tool for asserting an ideological statement.[64]

[63] I will not deal with differentiation between memory and history in this place. Memory, in the context of ḥajj literature, means, apart from other things, evoking historical and religious narratives. In that sense, these historical narratives become memory connectors serving multiple purposes. These memory connectors are embedded in place, which again leads us to the question of whether it is the place which carries the textual primacy or whether it is the historical/religious narrative that determines the (sanctity of) place. In this regard, this discussion is especially prominent in the first chapter, which deals with non-travelogue ḥajj material in the form of *faḍā`il, `awā`il* and Sufi treatises, all of which are analysed in the section on genre.

[64] Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 2.

1.6 Overview of Primary Sources

Uncovering a large amount of previously untapped material presented a daunting challenge for classification and categorization. Although the different languages and media in which ḥajj literature appeared indicates differences in approach, the single binding thread is the centrality of ḥajj to these works. On the other hand, differences of approach to the main topic of pilgrimage pointed to ḥajj being liable to changeability in perception and expression.

This overview of primary sources includes a long list of manuscripts and published material which are divided accordingly in two categories. In this list I do not include the supplemental manuscript and published material which sheds light on some topics which dicussed, if it does not relate directly to ḥajj and/or holy places.[65] Also, this list will not provide information about authors because it will be given in the chapters which follow.

The material is organized according to the time period and language, with Arabic manuscripts belonging to the 16th and 17th, Ottoman Turkish to the 17th and 18th, while published material in Ottoman Turkish (rarely in Arabic), and in Bosnian belongs to the 19th and 20th centuries. It should be noted here that most of the manuscripts under consideration are not edited. While I am not doing a close reading of the material which was not catalogued, I still draw certain conclusions from my research which included the investigation of uncatalogued material.

Chronologically the first manuscript we encounter is `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī's work *Tamkīn al-Maqām fī masjid al-ḥarām,* written towards the end of the 16th century. There are two existing variants of the manuscript: copies of the first one are in Turkey (Suleymaniye Ktp, Esad-ef. no. 3814/1), (Çorum Hasan Paşa İl Halk Kütüphanesi 19 Hk 3128), (Manisa İl Halk Kütüphanesi (no. 45 Hk 5817/7), while a

[65] I wish to thank Osman Lavić, a librarian in the Gazi Husrev-bey's Library in Sarajevo, for allowing me to use his bibliography of ḥajj writings. My own list was based on that bibliography, but also includes other material which I found during my research in Bosnia, Turkey and the UK.

copy of another version is in Cairo (Dār al-kutub al-qawmiyya, h-8304).[66] For the purposes of this thesis, the first copy is the one under study.[67]

The second ḥajj treatise under discussion is `Abdullah al-Būsnawī's *Kitab al-yad al-ajwad fi istilām al-ḥajar al-aswad,* written in the first half of the 17th century. The copy used for this study is from Suleymaniye Library (Carullah 2129). At the moment, I am not aware of the existence of other copies of the same work.

The third work under discussion in the first chapter is Ḥasan Imām-zade al-Būsnawī's *Dalīl as-sā'irīn ilā ziyāra ḥabīb Rabb al-'ālamīn*, which is one of the rare Ottoman *faḍā'il* works on Medina from the 17th century (1661). It exists in two copies, one at the Bosniak Institute in Sarajevo (Ms 719), which is the autograph version, and the other is in Istanbul (Suleymaniye Library, Laleli 1363).

While the first chapter discusses ḥajj writings of authors who also composed other works and were established in Ottoman scholarly circles, the second chapter features authors who were not widely known. Their ḥajj writings were, in many cases, their only written work. However, the consequent reputation of their work in the regional context often surpasses the availability of information on the works and authors from the first chapter. The works in question are:

Yūsuf Livnjak's travelogue (without title), of which the autograph has not been preserved, but it still exists in a copy in the chronicle of Muhamed Enveri Kadić (GHB, R-7303, p. 175-213).[68]Another travel account which is dealt with is Muṣṭafā Mukhliṣī's *Dalīl al-manāhil wa murshid al-marāḥil*, which exists in several copies in

[66]These two versions are described in Ismet Kasumović, "Dvije verzije hronike o Mekam-i Ibrahimu," *Anali GHB* XIII-XIV (Sarajevo 1987): 153-178.

[67]The other copies were not available to me, and while it will be important to consult them for an edited edition of the manuscript, I wanted to delineate the core ideas which exist in all versions of the work.

[68]This travelogue was consequently published in Mehmed Mujezinović's translation in journal *Život*, XXIII, book XLV no. 4 – april 1974, p. 439-477, and later as a book: Jusuf Livnjak, *Odazivam ti se, Bože: Putopis sa hadža 1615. godine* (Sarajevo: Starješinstvo Islamske zajednice u SR Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji, 1981).

Bosnia (R-3409 i R-7329/13) and Turkey (Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024). This travel account was edited and published by Menderes Coşkun.[69]

Apart from these major travel accounts others were consulted as well. These manuscripts exist only in unicum, and are located in the Gazi Husrev-bey's Library in Sarajevo. They are: the travel account of Ḥasan Borovina from Foča - *Manāzil min Foča ʻan Makka Mukarrama* (R-10309/2); an anonymous travel account from Travnik (no. R-4342); the travelogue of Mustafa Novljanin (R-10310). Apart from these works, this chapter mentions the case of supporting material in the form of *manāsik* literature. Some of these *manāsik* were written by Bosnian authors: *Manāsik al-ḥajj* by ʿAbdulwahhāb b. Muḥammad al-Būsnawī; Ibrahim al-Būsnawī *Edā-yi menāsik al-huccāc* (the autograph is in Bratislava,[70] but this study uses the copy available in SOAS Library in London).

In the third and the fourth chapter the material under discussion consists of published ḥajj writings, mostly coming from journals, but also separate publications. Unlike ḥajj writings from the period before 19th century, travel literature from the modern period has been written for wider reading consumption. It was written in Bosnian, and apart from being widely available, there is a more visible connection between readership and texts, which developed throughout the 20th century. Journals, which were connected to the Islamic Community (such as *Glasnik, Takvim* or *Preporod*), to Muslim cultural societies (*Gajret, Behar, Biser*), or private endeavours (such as the journal *Hikjmet*) played a crucial role in that process.

The following list will include ḥajj travelogues, essays and treatises published in the course of the 20th century. It will not include translations or short reviews of ḥajj travelogues (which can be found in the section dealing with primary sources).

[69] Menderes Coşkun, *Bosnalı Muhlis'in Manzum Seyahatnamesi: Delîlü'l-Menâhil ve Mürşidü'l-Merâhil* (Isparta: Fakülte Kitabevi, 2007).

[70] Jozef Blaškovič*, Arabske, turecke a perzske rukopisy Univerzitej knižnice v Bratislave* (Bratislava: 1961), no 413, 297-298; Muhamed Ždralović, *Prepisivači djela u arabičkim rukopisima vol II* (Sarajevo: 1988), 224.

The third chapter covers writings from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The list gives the names of the authors and titles of their works in chronological order.

The first published ḥajj travelogue was written under the pseudonym Edhem Riza, by Edhem Mulabdić and Riza-beg Kapetanović in 1896. The travelogue carries the title *A journey to Mecca* (*Put na Meću*) and it was published in a journal *Nada*.

During the next few decades, texts about ḥajj appeared infrequently in the form of religious treatises offering instructions, such as Džemaludin Čaušević's treatise in Turkish, published in 1906 in the yearbook of the cultural society *Gajret*. After a several decades long hiatus, the fourth decade of the 20th century brings a number of travelogues and ḥajj guidebooks and the following list gives the most representative examples:

Ibrahim Hakki Čokić's travelogue is titled *My ḥajj journey* (*Moje putovanje na hadž*). It was published in the journal *Hikjmet* in Tuzla from 1932 to 1936. The same author was also engaged in polemics about ḥajj with Ismet Varatanović, as evident from his article ''A review of ḥajji Ismet Varatanović's travelogue to Mecca'' (*G. H. I. Varatanovića prikazivanje puta u Meku*), also published in *Hikjmet*.

Ismet Varatanović published his ḥajj travelogue (*Impressions from a journey to Mecca – Sa puta u Meku*) in the journal *Jugoslovenska pošta* in 1933.

The criticism of Varatanović's travelogue appears in another travel account from the same period. Muhamed Krpo published a travelogue *A journey to ḥajj* (*Put na hadž*) in 1938, after appearing in various Muslim journals with ḥajj related contributions.

The material analysed in the fourth chapter is the widest in scope and reflects a proliferation of ḥajj writings in the second half of the twentieth century.

The first two travelogues which were published after the WWII were written by the same author. Hasan Ljubunčić published his first travel account *A journey to ḥajj* (*Put na hadž*) in sequels in a journal *Glasnik VIS-a* between 1950 and 1953, and his second travel account *The history of ḥajj in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a ḥajj*

travelogue from 1954 (*Istorija hadža u BiH sa putem na hadž u 1954*). The second travel account was also published in *Glasnik VIS-a* and in 1955 it was published in a book form.

The journal *Glasnik VIS-a* will continue to be a major medium for publishing the ḥajj travel accounts in the following decades as well. Derviš Spahić and Hasan Ljevaković debated the issue of female participation in ḥajj ritual in 1969, and Husein Đozo published a large number of his pilgrimage related essays and treatises during the 1960s and 1970s (the full list is presented in the bibliography section). With the steady liberalization of print, other journals offered an opportunity for a wider number of authors to publish their ḥajj travelogues, but also essays, reviews and poems. A Sufi shaykh Fejzulah Hadžibajrić published his ḥajj account *Memories from a ḥajj journey in 1969* (*Sjećanje sa putovanja na hadž 1969. godine*) in 1969 in *Glasnik VIS-a* and the first female ḥajj travel account which was written by Razija Hegić was also published in *Glasnik VIS-a* in 1970.

This short overview of the primary sources does not cover the full range of texts used in the thesis. What it can show, however, is the gradual change from manuscript to published form, and from Arabic and Ottoman Turkish to Bosnian as the main language of the ḥajj literature. The next section will delineate how this thesis deals with changes and continuities in its structure.

1.7 Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of four key chapters, titled ''Arguments of Sanctity'', ''Paths to the Sacred'', ''The Sacred and the Political'', and ''Between the Holy and Homeland''.

This division and structure has been done according to several criteria. Firstly, there is a time period criteria, which divides the relevant ḥajj writings (though not in every instance) into chapters corresponding to four periods: manuscripts from 16th and 17th centuries are the subject of the first chapter. Material from the 18th century belongs to the second chapter. The third chapter deals with writings from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, while the last chapter analyses writings from the second part of the 20th century up to 1980s. This division, of course, cannot answer for all time gaps that might occur in the

study. For example, the 19th century is especially problematic, for the lack of sources, but this lacuna can be ascribed to a combination of historical factors (such as change of empires) and destruction of manuscript libraries in the 1990s.

The second criteria for the division of chapters is the change in language(s) and literacies, as well as genres. The first period under question coincides with composition of ḥajj works in Arabic, through the form of *faḍā`il, `awā`il* and *sharḥ*. These works, in short, present an approach to sacred places and the ritual through the use of ḥadīth, as well as Sufi and other types of commentaries. The limitations of genre affected the development of personal perspective in these works, while descriptions of the ritual and sacred places are elaborate, with special focus on arguing their soteriological value. The second period – presented in the second chapter – deals with material in Ottoman Turkish, mostly travelogues, and the supplement material in the form of *manāsik* ('guidebook') literature. This chapter also includes an analysis of the more complicated forms of ḥajj writing, such as *mecmua* (or *kitāb al-ḥajj*). It presents the emergence of new ways of presenting self, which coincides with a similar phenomenon in the rest of the Ottoman Empire (and beyond). As a significant contrast to previous chapters, the third chapter deals with a period of script and language transition, where ḥajj literature was written in both Ottoman Turkish and Bosnian, in the Latin and Cyrillic scripts. However, as the first decades of the 20th century passed, Ottoman Turkish was no longer used (although occasional articles were still written in this language, and individual authors continued to write manuscript works in it). The Bosnian language (also called Serbian or Croatian depending on the political context) took primacy, and remained to be the only linguistic vehicle to the present day.

The impact of print is the dominant topic in both the third and fourth chapters, with the difference being that, in the third chapter, print is seen as coming to a tumultuous world of changing empires and experimentation with form and content. In the fourth chapter, print is a vehicle for the regime, but also a sphere where emerging voices of multiple modernities appear. The fourth chapter, therefore, deals with ḥajj works written exclusively in Bosnian (or Serbo-Croatian as it was the official name of the language in the post-WWII period). Division of

chapters according to this criteria will shed light on the important changes in literacy and language, but also – combined with the analysis of underlying sociohistorical causes – it will show the impact of historical changes on emergence of different new forms of writing and, therefore, new conceptions of space.

1.7.1 Arguments of Sanctity

The first chapter titled ''Arguments of Sanctity'' deals with the earliest ḥajj writings in Bosnian culture. While the criteria for inclusion of the authors was their origin, their output was thoroughly embedded in the Ottoman scholarly culture and intellectual currents of the time. This chapter lays out the process of Islamization and different adoptive mechanisms of Ottoman culture as the background for the emergence of different types of writing, which, in turn, share the same argumentative outlook. It also deals with the adoption of languages which enhanced the Ottomanization process and educational patterns which brought Bosnian authors to light. The central part of the chapter deals with three works by ʿAlī Dede al-Būsnawī, ʿAbdullāh al-Būsnawī and Ḥasan Imām-zāde al-Būsnawī. A background on the authors is given, and their role in the intellectual currents of the period is described. The key emphasis is on the analysis of their works, as well as any supplement or corresponding material which was written by them, or influenced their work. Therefore, attention is foremost on the genre in which these authors were writing, with the emphasis on the genealogies of these genres and their intellectual influences. Focus is then directed to the analysis of the works themselves, with common arguments for the establishment of sanctity as a focal point.

1.7.2 Paths to the Sacred

The second chapter, under the title ''Paths to the Sacred'' moves in a different direction. The realities it presents mostly belong to the 18th century. This chapter therefore tries to present the circumstances behind the rise of new literacy and increased use of the Ottoman Turkish language. The authors discussed are Jusuf Livnjak and Muṣṭafā Mukhliṣī, as well as a number of other, lesser known travelogue writers (some of who are anonymous). Apart from a short comparison to Christian

tradition of travel writing, this chapter also deals with the phenomenon of supplement literature (in the shape of manāsik) which was written to cater to a growing number of people going on ḥajj. The imagery which is analysed in this chapter is, unlike in our first chapter, dedicated to descriptions of the smaller and larger places on the way to ḥajj. The chapter tries to show the creation of a network of living and dead authorities which were visited on the way.

1.7.3 The Sacred and the Political

The third chapter, ''The Sacred and the Political'', sheds light on a radically new period in Bosnian ḥajj literature. Political, social and cultural changes from the 19th century spilled over into the 20th, and they affected literacy and the change of literary language from Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian to Bosnian. What changes significantly in this period for Muslim pilgrims across the world is the technological advancement in transport, which enabled a larger number of believers to undertake the pilgrimage. In connection to this, the advent of print enabled new modes of knowledge production. Instead of manuscript circulation, newspapers and journals offered more focused information to larger audiences, and at the same time, allowed for a more diverse group of authors to write about ḥajj from different perspectives (while doors were still closed to some, such as female writers). The authors discussed are Muhamed Krpo, Ibrahim Hakki Čokić, Ismet Varatanović, as well as Džemaludin Čaušević, Mehmed Handžić and others. During this period images of Mecca and Medina become diversified: old modes of presenting the place persist, but they are, as the century progresses, increasingly transformed. This change consists of seeing Mecca and Medina as both atemporal and embedded in the realities of the 20th century. In the first case, portrayals of the sacred places are often sustained by old modes of writing (prayers, ritual guidelines, religious narratives); in the second, a complexity of depictions of both the current realities as seen through the itineraries, and political and ideological aspirations projected upon Mecca and Medina provide a confusion of imagery which sometimes collides within the same individual work, or is polemicized among several different works. In other words, in this period, ḥajj rituals were not simply embodied religious practice; they were means for reaching social renewal as well.

This double vision of holy places marks the imagery of this period, which is the subject of this chapter.

1.7.4 Between the Holy and Homeland

The fourth chapter carries the title ''Between the Holy and Homeland'' and analyses the development of ḥajj literature after the Second World War up to the early 1980s. The first part of the chapter presents the complex political and social circumstances after the war which significantly affected religious life in Bosnia, and therefore ḥajj activities as well. While the first decades after the war were marked by ḥajj travelogues which carried a Titoist agenda, later periods witnessed the emergence of alternative narratives and depictions of the sacred places and ritual. The authors whose work is discussed are Hasan Ljubunčić, Fejzulah Hadžibajrić, Husein Đozo, Derviš Spahić and many others. The genres in which these authors were writing are not different from the previous period; however, the manner in which the political was discussed transforms profoundly under the impact of the state censorship.

What can be observed in the last two chapters is the transformation of the perception of the ritual and the expression of its significance. In other words, the ritual is taken to represent something else, and to have a different symbolic value which distinguishes it from the earlier periods. Increasingly, ḥajj is an opportunity for authors from different backgrounds to express their emotional and spiritual experiences in a confessional way, something unprecedented earlier.

The thesis ends with the conclusion which not only summarizes the results obtained in these four chapters, but also considers the five crucial movements in the diachronic trajectory of Bosnian ḥajj literature.

What lies ahead is a story of one community's relation with sacred space, how it was perceived, experienced and imagined. It is, ultimately, a story not only about venturing beyond geographical confinements, but also about self-reflection and self-positioning in the world. At the same time, through the observation of ḥajj practice over a longer period, changes in the experience of the ritual over time are

brought out. Steady and powerful changes coupled with the resilient continuity of ḥajj, is what lies ahead in the following chapters.

2. Arguments of Sanctity

In the context of the recent reevaluations of the intellectual relationship and exchange between the ''center'' and the ''periphery'',[71] this chapter will focus on the several internal and external dynamic processes which affected the creation of the Ottoman intellectual thought of the 16th and 17th centuries, as evidenced in ḥajj literature of this period. Moreover, it will show how these different processes influenced observations of sacred space and the ritual.

As explained in the introduction, ḥajj literature is an overall term for the different kind of writings which encompass a variety of genres, with a common aim of describing the sacred places (Mecca and Medina) and emphasizing different facets of pilgrimage. The importance of ḥajj literature is considerable in light of the complex political, social and intellectual undercurrents which influenced the Ottoman world during the late 16th and the first half of the 17th centuries. The underlying hypothesis is that, like the large intellectual migrations of the 20th century, the 'ulamā world of the early modern Ottoman Empire was influenced by the geopolitical changes spurred by the expansion of the empire, but also its tumultuous relation with the neighbouring Safavid and Habsburg realms. What should be emphasized here is not the direct causal relation of the intellectual exchanges over the centuries, but the fact that interactions between the variously privileged members even of isolated communities existed in the preindustrial periods, and that they were related to ḥajj journey.

The material circumstances of the ḥajj travel changed in the course of several centuries, but the pilgrimage proved to be a powerful constant which was not only a means to its own end, but also reflected deep political, social and intellectual transformations both in the centre and in the provinces (as well as in the non-Ottoman parts of the world). Therefore, ḥajj literature which was created as a

[71] Khaled el-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Helen Pfeiffer, ''Encounter After the Conquest: Scholarly Gatherings in 16th-century Ottoman Damascus'' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 47 (2015): 219–239.

product of diverse factors, including the interactions with the contemporary ‘ulamā and complex intellectual traditions of the previous centuries – as well as the experience of the pilgrimage itself – presented a textual space of contestation of different intellectual strands.

The focus of this literature on the sacred place unearthes different claims to it: the spiritual one, shared by believers across Muslim societies, and a political one, created by the ruler or dynasty currently in control. The symbolic capital of Mecca and Medina and the pilgrimage associated with these cities presented both an aim and a tool in the geopolitical consolidation of different Muslim empires; and in that respect, the Ottoman Empire was no exception. Consolidating power in these cities was an aim for different empires, which then used the symbolic capital of these places to spread their authority further. Therefore, this chapter will treat the possibility of using ḥajj literature as one textual tool for the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire’s power in the provinces which were relatively recently conquered, and thus it will point out the relevance of Mecca and Medina as a shared symbolic space for different provinces under the Ottoman sovereignty.

However, even more prominent are the dynamics of the textual intellectual exchange between the provinces themselves which involved the flow of the works and ideas originating in the pre-Ottoman era. This intellectual exchange included both the diachronic transmission of genres created in the earlier periods and the use of Arab and Persian classical works of these or different genres in the adaptation to the new Ottoman context. Tracing the textual authorities whose works were used in ḥajj literature opens up new perspectives on the paths of knowledge in the early modern Ottoman period, which is connected to different factors, including the educational system and the rise of Sufi orders which had a prominent role in the consolidation of Ottoman power.

Finally, what needs to be taken into consideration – and which has been neglected so far – is the specific context from which these Bosnian authors come and the manner in which they fit in the broader Ottoman intellectual context. In order to do this, it will be necessary to investigate the ways in which ḥajj literature

was not only produced and received, but also the ways in which it translated and adapted old genres to different reading audiences, which requires temporarily moving beyond the confinements of the 16th and 17th centuries. In this context, the texts will not be treated as a self-sufficient mine of information, but as ''complex bodies'' which should reveal ''how and for what uses they themselves were made.''[72] The specific context of Bosnia, on the other hand, should not mean that phenomenon of ḥajj writings or the manner in which they were written was somehow unique for the authors coming from this region. On the contrary, the authors and their works fully belonged to Ottoman mainstream scholarly tradition. In analysing this, I will use the concept of ''local cosmopolitanism''[73]to denote circulation of scholars and ideas not only on a spatial level, but also through circulation of works across time.

The peculiar character of Bosnian authors, at this point, cannot be stated; the only marker of regional or local consciousness is the nisba Būsnawī (Bosnevi). It, however, does not change the fact that all the authors under discussion had moved from Bosnian province to Anatolia or Hijaz; their trajectories included spending a certain amount of time in different provinces in military or scholarly service.

This chapter will be divided into three major parts. The first section will treat relevant sociohistorical context, which includes the phenomenon of Islamization and Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, as well as the ensuing circulation of people and ideas. The second part of the chapter will deal with questions of literacy and language (Arabic script and Arabic and Ottoman Turkish language), as well as genre *(‘awā’il* and *faḍā’il*). This part will tackle some of the common claims about the reception of the classical Arabic genres in the Ottoman context, although it is necessary to keep in mind that a wider investigation into the genre transmission is still to be done. The third part will consist of elaboration of three distinct approaches to the holy places: imperial narrative, Sufi description and ḥadīth

[72] Astrid Meier, ''Perceptions of a New Era? Historical Writing in Early Ottoman Damascus,'' *Arabica*, T. 51, Fasc. 4 (Oct., 2004), 429.

[73] The use of this concept is inspired by Engseng Ho's work *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean* (University of California Press, 2006).

argument. The chapter will be based on the close reading of three primary sources from the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, with occasional references to other supplement material from the same or later periods.

While there is a possibility of the existence of more material related to the ḥajj practice in different aspects from this period, this chapter is limited to the observation of the mentioned topics in the context of three different treatises belonging to the genres of classical Arabic literature in form, but engaging with political and social circumstances of the age, as well as with the accumulated textual knowledge which was reproduced anew. Therefore, one of the first questions to be answered is the way the knowledge was acquired and reproduced amongst the Bosnian Muslims of the 17th century. Three related phenomenon will be analysed: the role of Sufi (Khalwatī) order in the consolidation of the Ottoman Empire, the reception of Ibn ʿArabī's works in the premodern Empire and the role of the ḥadīth revival in the context of the creation of an Ottoman learned culture with a centre in Medina.

2.1 Paths of Knowledge which Lead to Hijaz

Although the year 1463 is commonly taken as the year of the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia, the Ottoman presence can be traced back at least a few decades earlier, owing to the early dervish settlements which paved the way to the Islamization of Bosnia.[74] This laid the foundations for the systematic reconfiguration of the society, including the establishment of new educational institutions, ways of connecting to the imperial centres and other cities, and, importantly, ways of communication with different types of authorities, which included the adoption of three new languages and a whole new system of genres for written expression.[75]

[74] For a thorough study of the role which Sufi orders had in the Islamization of Bosnia, see Ines Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia: Sufi Dimensions to the Formation of Bosnian Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[75] Recent debates about the conquest stress the changes in culture/religion as one of the elements of the Ottoman conquest. See: Oliver Jens Schmitt, ''Introduction: The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans,'' in: *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans,* ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016) 40.

The case of the Bosnian ḥajj literature, however, is not connected solely to the specificities of the adoption of Islam and Islamicate systems of education and culture in this province. It is also telling of the Ottoman strategies of the incorporation of the population of any newly conquered province and the creation of a common literate culture. Moreover, this means that the analysis has to take into account adoption of the Hanafi school of law, establishment of Sufi orders, as well as entrance of the educated members of that community into a sphere dominated by the religious, cultural and aesthetic values shared by the wider Islamicate world. In that context, a further study might compare and contrast the differences in the cultural output of the conquests of the Balkans and the Arab lands and the interconnections between the two.[76]

Investigation of intellectual transmissions in the Balkans is skewed for various reasons, most simply because of the consequent frequent wars on the Bosnian frontier which destroyed a large number of manuscripts and other material of value for the investigation of the first centuries of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia. On the other hand, however, the intellectual allure of Istanbul and other major Ottoman cities meant unstoppable migrations of the educated into the imperial centre, and centres of other provinces, which is why a large number of authors moved, lived and died in them, leaving behind a rich manuscript heritage which helps us to reconstruct parts of the wider picture of consolidation of Ottoman rule through the use of textual means. This manuscript legacy also helps us understand the ways of the creation of a textual authority, which has recently been investigated on the creation and affirmation of the jurisprudential canon in the early modern Ottoman Empire.[77]

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[76] A recent study draws attention to necessity of studying both conquests and analyses their differences. See: Maurus Reinkowski, ''Conquests Compared. The Ottoman Expansion in the Balkans and the Mashreq in an Islamicate context,'' in: *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans,* ed. Oliver Jens Schmitt, (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 47-64.

[77] Guy Burak, ''Reliable books: Islamic law, canonization, and manuscripts in the Ottoman Empire (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries),'' in *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Comparative Approach, eds.* Anthony Grafton and Glenn Most (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 14-33.

The available material thus shows that by the end of the 16th century – or a century and a half after the Ottoman conquest and at the very peak of the process of Islamization – the Bosnian Muslim ‘ulamā, poets, translators and commentators were actively contributing to the Ottoman intellectual scene of the period.[78] The Ottoman educational system, consisting of mektebs and medreses of different levels, was already well established in Bosnia and provided most of these authors the primary education before they moved on to the imperial centres.[79] The medrese system was closely connected to the waqf, which also meant that the one of the characteristics of the urban development in Bosnia (which owes much to the waqf endowments) was the presence of the ‘ulamā of different ranks, including the low-ranking ‘ulamā, which was a catalyst for the spread of religious knowledge on a local level.

What is of interest here is the spread of knowledge through migration of the Bosnian ‘ulamā from educational centres in Bosnia to the imperial centre, and also ‘ulamā who migrated to Mecca and Medina. The focus on these two centres from the point of view of the migration patterns of the Ottoman ‘ulamā is justified by several factors. The first one is the symbolic capital and overwhelming importance which the holy places hold in Islamic doctrine and practice, which naturally affected the history of travel in Islamic societies. That, added to both cities being centres of learning with affirmed constancy throughout the ages, ensured the combination of the two most frequent motives for the journey of the ‘ulamā: the search for knowledge (*ṭalab al-‘ilm*) and the fulfilment of the religious requirement (*ḥajj*). Both motives also contained other sub-elements, such as trade and piety expressed through visits to tombs of saints.

However, a second, more specific element which justifies the focus on Mecca and Medina is the peculiar historical context which brought these territories under the Ottoman sovereignty, and strengthened it by using spatial symbolic capital. That

[78] For a wide range of authors and their material see Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH na orijentalnim jezicima (biobibliografija)* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973).

[79] On the Ottoman educational system in Bosnia see: Ismet Kasumović, *Školstvo i obrazovanje u Bosanskom ejaletu za vrijeme osmanske uprave* (Mostar: Islamski kulturni centar, 1999).

is, the conquest of the Arab provinces happened half a century after the conquest of Bosnia, and in the midst of the Islamization process of the Balkans, which included the establishment of educational networks involving increased mobility of scholars. This type of migration patterns proves the high mobility of the elites, which, again, brings into question the very existence of a ''provincial culture'' in the Ottoman context.[80]

That the 16th century Bosnian 'ulamā were eager to confirm their intellectual roots in the vast network of the Islamic scholars and religious figures, sometimes going back to the Prophet himself is evidenced in the work *The list of the ´ulamā up to the Seal of the prophets* (*Nizām al-´ulamā `ilā khātam al-`anbiyā*) by Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī (Pruščak),[81] a short biography of his teachers, composed in 1600. Al-Aqḥiṣārī not only listed his teachers, but also placed himself in the lineage and also included some of his students, thus positing himself in the lineage as both the receiver of the knowledge and the teacher in his own right. Al-Aqḥiṣārī's main objective was to present the Hanafi fiqh scholars throughout the centuries, normally including the Ottoman 'ulamā from Istanbul, which affirmed the steady link between the Bosnian province and the imperial capital. However, of special interest here are the names of several scholars al-Aqḥiṣārī points out as having had a tremendous influence on him: Kemalpaşa-zāde, an Ottoman faqih and mufassir, Mulla 'Ahmad al-Anṣāri, who was also a scholar in 'usūl and tafsīr, and Bali Efendi, a Bosnian Bayrami shaykh who was also educated in Istanbul and had taught for some

[80] Alexandre Popović, ''The Muslim Culture in the Balkans,'' (trans. Asma Rashid), *Islamic Studies* 36:2, 3 (1997): 177-178.

[81] Ḥasan Kāfī Pruščak (1544-1615) was a Bosnian alim and a qadi who lived in Istanbul and Prusac in Bosnia. He was known by his Ottoman contemporaries and subsequently mentioned by Evliya Çelebi. Bosnian historiography has given considerable attention to his work. Some of the recent studies on Ḥasan Kāfī Pruščak include: Elvir Duranović and Sumeja Ljevaković-Subašić, eds., *Hasan Kafi Pruščak* (Sarajevo: Institut za islamsku tradiciju Bošnjaka, El-Kalem, 2015); Fikret Karčić and Ibrahim M Zein, *Rawḍāt al-jannāt of Ḥasan Kāfī al-Aqḥiṣārī: a 17th century exposition of Islamic creed* (Kuala Lumpur: International Islamic University Malaysia, 2004); Amir Ljubović and Fehim Nametak, *Hasan Kafija Pruščak* (Sarajevo: Sarajevo Publishing, 1999). His works were edited numerous times, and editions were published in Bosnian, Arabic and Turkish.

time there.[82] The last name al-Aqḥiṣārī mentions in this chain is the name of a shaykh he met during his stay in Mecca, that of the Shaykh al-`Anwar Mir Ghadanfar, who was a teacher of the Indian sultan Akbar and was resident in Mecca when al-Aqḥiṣārī was present.

What this short example tells us is not necessarily an accurate representation of an intellectual transmission from the center to provinces, but, on the other hand, the use of genealogy as a discursive tool for social promotion in Ottoman scholarly circles. It also shows how the 'ulamā from the provinces, with a solid education and connections in the imperial centre, could easily forge connections with the 'ulamā from other parts of the Ottoman Empire, even from the non-Ottoman world itself. One meeting point were the places of Mecca and Medina. The examples of the other Bosnian authors show that the journey to ḥajj and the experience of the spending a certain period of time there (*mujāwara*) was one of the crucial elements for the scholarly development. *Mujāwara* also potentially helped in constructing of a particular Ottoman identity, and it also presented the chance for the scholars to serve the Empire itself.

The monograph on Bosnian Muslim authors who wrote in Arabic, Turkish and Persian which was written by Hazim Šabanović in 1973 gives a number of scholars who resided in Istanbul, Damascus, Cairo, Baghdad, Mecca and Medina, and were actively engaged in the scholarly transmission of knowledge.[83] However, what this monograph lacks is the investigation of how different factors combined in the choice of the place.[84] This means casting light on the backgrounds of the authors and their teachers, mapping the trajectories of their journeys and taking note of the intellectual circles they joined. In order to go beyond the social history of the ḥajj

[82] Bali efendi was also participating in the campaign against the Hamzavis, a heterodox Sufi movement in Bosnia. See more in: Omer Mušić, ''Hadži Muhamed Sejfudin, šejh sejfija – pjesnik iz Sarajeva,'' *Anali GHB*, 7-8 (1982): 5.

[83] Examples include Ahmed Sudi, a commentator on the Diwan of Hafiz and Sa'di's Gulistan and Bostan; Derviş Paşa (Bajezidagić), a poet and statesman; Muhammed b. Mûsâ el-Bosnevî (Allamek), a *mufassir*.

[84] The fact that a certain type of ''brain-drain'' existed in this time which led to Bosniaks migrating towards the large imperial cities is mentioned briefly by Popović, ''The Muslim Culture,'' 185.

travels of the ‘ulamā, it is crucial to establish another type of network and authorities in the works written by them. Thus, in order to show the full potential of the ḥajj literature, it is important to see it in several perspectives of its content, and the genre these works used. The choice of a genre reflected the adoption of the new forms introduced with the conquest of the Arab lands, through the ensuing (and preceding) migrations.

2.2 New Genres for Time and Space

Apart from the shared religious symbols and rhetoric, one of the mechanisms for the integration of the Bosniak ‘ulamā into the elite scholarly culture was the medium of language. The native language – Bosnian – remained in use in its literary form in the shape of the *aljamiado* literature, but was effectively avoided among the most learned.[85] What is evident from the existing material from the Ottoman period is the fact that it was exclusively written in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, thus, perhaps, reflecting the economic and educational background of the authors who were some of the most privileged members of society. Existing material also shows that, although the authors hailed from Bosnia, they spent most of their lives outside, in larger centres of the Ottoman world.

This section will try to highlight the predominant form of ḥajj writings of the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century. In that regard, the focus will be on *faḍā’il* and *‘awā’il* genres, since these two correspond to three treatises which will be dealt with. These genres also come in a combined manner (such as in the case of `Ali Dede’s treatise, as it will be seen later). Both genres interact with the foundational texts of Islam: the Qur’an and the ḥadīth, although to different extents. Still, it would be correct to assume that these two genres reflect upward changes in importance given to ḥadīth as a textual argumentative tool.

[85] There were some exceptions, such as the case of Ḥasan Ka'imi, who composed in Ottoman Turkish and Bosnian. More about this author in: Jasna Šamić, *Dîvân de Ḳâ’imî : vie et œuvre d'un poète bosniaque du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986); Azra Verlašević and Vedad Spahić, *Ašik istine : o Hasanu Kaimiji knjiga: orijentalisti i književni historičari o Hasanu Kaimiji* (Tuzla: Bosnia Ars, 2008).

The *`awā`il* literature categorises and lists events or objects according to their historical appearance (hence the name, because it comes from Arabic word *`awwal* – the first), and thus is not a genre without precedents in other cultures. According to Franz Rosenthal, the literature on origins entered the Arab world through the Bible, but also through the translations of Greek classical works. However, as Rosenthal himself points out, the literature on the origins in the Muslim world was connected ''with the history of Muhammad and the beginnings of Islam''.[86]However, in the context of the first inventors, Rosenthal defines the genre as a minor branch ''with affinities to adab, historical, and theological literature''.[87] The first known full monograph on the *`awā`il* literature was written by Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) and it influenced the subsequent works of the same nature authored by al-ʿAtāʾiqī and al-Suyūṭī.[88]

Since the *'awā'il* genre is preoccupied with the question of ''firsts'' and therefore ''can pertain to every conceivable subject in the context of Arabo-Islamic civilisation, ranging from theological and legal themes to historical, political, and cultural topics''[89]it became a useful tool for the creation of a distinctive identity of a community which was using it. In that regard, while the genre itself can be found in different, non-Islamic contexts, a peculiar blend of ḥadīth with information on new emerging Muslim community proved to be ideologically powerful.

Therefore, while the Ottoman tradition does not contain many of *'awā'il* works, it is significant that it includes an Ottoman Bosnian author who wrote several of his key works in the same genre. `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī wrote *Lecture on the firsts and nightly conversation about the lasts* (*Muḥāḍarat al-`awā`il wa musāmarat al-`awākhir*). It might not have been the only Ottoman *`awā'il* work, but it is certainly unique in its combination of the ''firsts'' and the ''lasts'' (*'awākhir*).

[86]Franz Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, second edition, ''Awā`il,'' Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960.

[87]Rosenthal, ''Awā`il''.

[88]Rosenthal, ''Awā`il''.

[89] Monique Bernards, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, third edition, ''Awāʾil,'' Leiden: E. J. Brill; this entry gives an exhaustive overview of history of `awā`il works.

Al-Suyūṭī's influence is particularly visible in `Ali Dede's work. While *Muḥāḍarat al-`awā`il wa musāmarat al-`awākhir* is perhaps the most famous of `Ali Dede's works, his ḥajj treatise is written in the same combination of the *`awā'il* and the *`awākhir* genre. `Ali Dede used the same form in his ḥajj work *Restauration of the Maqām in the Holy Mosque* (*Tamkīn al-Maqām fī masjid al-ḥarām*), which might point to the fact that this genre was a suitable form for the expression of the new concerns related to the holy places. Namely, we could claim that the work *Tamkīn al-Maqām fī masjid al-ḥarām* purports to uphold the Ottoman claims over the holy land not only through the content, but also through the adoption of a rare genre without any significant wider textual influence.

On the other hand, however, this work might be comfortably situated in the period of the rise of historical consciousness amongst the Ottomans, when Ottoman scholars placed history in the focus of their attention, producing a number of chronicles, biographical dictionaries, hagiographies, local, dynastic, or universal histories, campaign accounts, compilations of letters, and other literary texts with historical content.[90] In that context, `Ali Dede's work is firmly addressing the relevant issues of the day while using the form taken from the classical Arabic tradition.

While '*awā'il* proved to be a suitable genre for situating the Ottoman dynasty within a particular historical line, another genre accommodated depictions of Ottoman space. *Faḍā`il* literature started gaining popularity already by the end of the 7th century/1st century AH as a part of the growing ḥadīth material, while separate *faḍā`il* treatises started to appear in the eighth century.[91]Unlike the *`awā`il* literature, the *faḍā`il* works spread accross different parts of the Islamic world and

[90] H. Erdem Cipa and Emine Fetvaci, eds., *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future* (Bloomington, IN, US: Indiana University Press, 2013). ProQuest ebrary. Web. 3 October 2016, vii.

[91] Asma Afsaruddin, *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia,* ed. Josef W. Meri and Jere L. Bacharach, ''Excellences Literature", New York-London: Routledge, 2006, 244-245; Asma Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2002), 26.

were translated into a number of languages, serving different purposes while mostly supporting a prevailing political or ideological claim. Slightly after first works on the *faḍāʾil* of the Qur'an and Prophet's Companions, and in the context of the intensive production of geographical works, a distinct sub-genre of *faḍāʾil al-buldān* emerges. This genre is actively participating in the ''discourse of place'', which is a term interpreted by Zayde Antrim in her book *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* as a conceptual framework connecting a range of texts which are dedicated to the representation of a territory in itself, and not as a background for something else.[92]

The appearance of a *faḍā'il*, as a rare genre in the context of the Ottoman intellectual production, as well as of *'awā'il*, is significant because it speaks about a peculiar usage of a rare genre for the shaping of the image of a holy place. In this context, it is relevant to compare the existent *faḍā'il* texts from the Ottoman period. In doing so, the first impression is that the *faḍā'il* were, again, written by the authors coming from the Arab provinces. The most studied case is the *faḍā'il* work of Abd al-Ghānī al-Nābulūsī incorporated into his travel account.[93] Also, the fact that a significant number of these works is extant in the manuscript libraries of the Balkans and Turkey speaks about a certain reading audience for this kind of literature.[94] The most popular *faḍā'il* works which were copied or transmitted in various ways in this period belong to al-Suyūṭī, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (the work ascribed to him), ʿAlī al-Qārī, Idrīs-i Bitlīsī, Muḥammad Yamānī, and many others.[95] A significant number of these works is preserved in the printed form as well. Still, the large number of the *faḍā'il* works in different collections does not necessarily mean a

[92] Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 1.

[93] ʿAbd al-Ghānī al-Nabulūsī, *al-Khaḍra al-ʾUnsiyya fī al-Riḥla al-Qudsiyya* (Bayrūt: al-Maṣādir, 1990).

[94] A simple search using the keyword ''faḍā`il'' or ''fezâil'' in the catalogue of Süleymaniye Library provides a result of almost one hundred different faḍā`il works. Although the largest number of them was dedicated to Mecca and Medina, a significant number belongs to works describing virtues of Sham (Damascus). The number of faḍā`il treatises in Gazi Husrev-bey's Library in Sarajevo is significantly smaller, but it still reflects a particular interest in Mecca and Medina as holy sites.

[95] More information about prevalence of faḍā`il treatises in Turkish libraries can be gathered from: M. Yaşar Kandemir, *İslam Ansiklopedisi,* ''Fezâil,'' online edition (accessed 28/10/2017).

proportional number of the Ottoman authors, since the influence of the *faḍā'il* canon in Arabic remained too powerful. It could be stated that the most famous Ottoman *faḍā'il* were created as translations of the *faḍā'il* works from other traditions. The case of Bāki's work *Fezaʾil-i Mekke* is interesting in that regard, because it is a translation of *Notification on information about God's protected city* (*al-ʾIʿlām bi ʾaʿlām baladillāh al-ḥarām*) by Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Makkī al-Nahrawālī.[96] Al-Nahrawālī himself was a 16th century scholar originally from Gujarat, who served as a judge and mufti in Mecca. The 15th and 16th century authors who resided in Mecca exerted influence on the authors who came later, including Ḥasan Imām-zāde himself. In that sense, even the works which can be described as translations of the *faḍā'il* from other traditions deserve thorough critical attention, since they are often longer adaptations.[97]

This chapter will treat the *faḍā'il* of Ḥasan Imām-zāde (lived around 1661): *The guide to those who want to visit God's Beloved* (*Dalīl al-sā'irīn 'ilā ziyāra ḥabīb Rabb al-'ālamīn*).[98]Just like `Ali Dede's 'awā'il, this *faḍā'il* is relying on a number of textual sources originating in the Mamluk period at the latest. Also, similarly to *Tamkīn al-Maqām fī masjid al-ḥarām,* Imām-zāde's *faḍā`il* is practically a subgenre of ḥadīth literature, which means that textual imagery of Mecca and Medina was based on a peculiar combination of Qur'anic verses, ḥadīth and additional information provided by the author.

The genre of the third work under discussion is more complicated to establish. While having some of the features of the *faḍā'il* genre, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī's work *The Book of the right hand in touching the Black Stone* (*Kitāb al-yad al-ajwad fī istilām al-ḥajar al-'aswad*) also contains a commentary on Ibn `Arabī's work *The*

[96] Halil Sercan Koşik, „Baki'nin Arapçadan Tercüme Mensur Bir Eseri: Fezā'il-i Mekke Yahut el-İ'lām bi-A'lāmi Beledillāhi'lHarām Tercümesi," *Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları* (2014): 132.

[97] About the translations in the Ottoman context see the article by Gottfried Hagen, „Translations and Translators in a Multilingual Society: A Case Study of Persian – Ottoman Translations, Late Fifteenth to Early Seventeenth Century," *Eurasian Studies,* II/1 (2003): 95-134.

[98] Information about different copies of the manuscript was included in the introduction, but will be repeated in the section of this chapter which is dedicated to this work.

Meccan Revelations (al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya). In that context, it can be categorized as esoteric *faḍā`il* of the Black Stone.

While, as we have stated, all the works under discussion will use ḥadīth in order to shape the image of Mecca and Medina, they will do so in three different ways. The first section deals with the use of different arguments in bolstering the imperial claim over sacred space.

2.3 Mecca in an Imperial Framework

One of the first Bosnian Muslim authors who dedicated his life to the service of the Ottoman Empire was `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī. According to the available information from the biographical dictionaries and the author himself, he was born in Mostar, and received some of his education in Bosnia, before moving to Istanbul where he also entered the Khalwatī Sufi order under Shaykh Muṣliḥ al-Dīn ibn Nūr al-Dīn, from whom he received a diploma (ijāza). After spending a certain period travelling through the provinces and living in Mecca, and after Sultan Sulayman's death in 1566, he became a shaykh of his tomb in Szigetvar, where he taught theological and Sufi sciences for many years.[99] Around the year 1592, he was sent to Mecca to supervise the repair of the Maqām al-Ibrāhīm, where he also wrote his work *Tamkīn al-Maqām.* `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī wrote a couple of other, more famous works, such as the previously mentioned *Muḥāḍarat al-`awā`il wa musāmarat al-`awākhir*. The other work of interest is his *Seals of Wisdom* (*Khawātim al-ḥikam*), in taṣawwuf, fiqh and `aqā'id.[100] The latter work (in the form of questions and answers) was written under the influence of Ibn 'Arabī, which itself is telling of his profound influence on the formation of a textual canon in the early modern Ottoman period.

While these two works of `Ali Dede were published in Cairo already in the 19th century, the other works still exist in the manuscript form. These other works include *`ajā'ib* treatise (such as *Triumphant models - Qidwat al-intiṣār*), risāla on the

[99] See: Hazim Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH*, 96.; `Ali Dede appears in biographical dictionaries of Muhibbi and Katib Çelebi as well.

[100] Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH,* 100.

eschatological questions (*The last positions and glorious anecdotes - Mawāqif al-ākhira wa al-laṭā'if al-fākhira*), other types of treatises and some translations.[101]

The manuscript *Tamkīn al-Maqām fī masjid al-ḥarām*, written in 1592, blends several classical Arabic genres while primarily treating the subject of the Maqām-i Ibrāhīm or Ibrahim's place. During the exposition of various arguments, `Ali Dede engages different kinds of textual authorities in order to confirm and uphold the authority of the space of Mecca and Medina. An especially prominent place in the narrative is given to Ibn ʿArabī and his work *The Meccan Revelations*. The dominant narrative was in fact the one in support of the Ottoman dynasty and in service of the affirmation of the Ottoman claims over the holy places. The dichotomy between the genre which was adopted from the pre-Ottoman literary cultures and the content which was staunchly Ottoman-affirmative thus reflects the interaction of two types of authorities, textual and political, against the background of the spatial superiority of the holy places.

As evidenced in the *faḍā'il* work of Ḥasan Imām-zāde as well, the adoption of these genres was direct, without an Ottoman intermediary. In other words, the Ottoman 'ulamā of the 16th century presented a willing first-hand recipient of the pre-Ottoman Arabic works reaching core Ottoman lands after 1516/1517. While analysing ḥajj literature works, it is noticeable that the range of quoted textual authorities from the Arab lands is multiple times higher than the number of the Ottoman 'ulamā cited. Additionally, while Ottoman translations of classical Arabic works abound, it is harder to ascertain the movement in the opposite direction. The case of translations will continue to be prominent throughout the later periods, and will peak after the Ottoman withdrawal, but with different political and social implications.

The work *Tamkīn al-Maqām fī masjid al-ḥarām* (the copy from the Süleymaniye Ktp, Esadefendi 3814) consists of five parts, one of which is the *`awā`il*. The structure goes as follows:

[101] Šabanović, *Književnost Muslimana BiH*, 100-101.

1. ''The pillar about the reason of revelation of the noble verse in praise of the place and the reason of its positioning in the decreed place and news and reports given about its virtue in books of tafsir and histories;

2. The second pillar about the virtue of the prayer behind the place and the prayer of jinn and those noble prophets who took it as a qibla and a prayer place, may the peace be upon them;

3. The third pillar about the signs of the noble 'awliyā' on the secrets of the place, such as al-Shaykh al-'Akbar in his *al-Fatḥ al-Makkī* and the author of *`Arā'is al-Qur'ān* in his interpretation and other gnostics;

4. The fourth pillar about the `awā`il of places in Mecca and the rituals and its localities and rites and minarets and the first pious endowments in its sacred vicinity, may God increase it in dignity, nobleness and respect until the Day of Gathering and Meeting in the presence of unveiling and place of eternity;

5. The conclusion about depiction of the holy place, what calligraphic writings it has today and carvings and writings of verses and amulets… and about the (writing of) ''aḥad wa lillahi al-ḥamd ´alā dhalika'' and about its inscription and praise by the author of this treatise which God granted him to finish with His Mercy.''[102]

As seen from the structure of the work, the *`awā`il* is not the only genre employed, and the author uses the much more widespread genre of *faḍā`il* to point out the certain aspects of his subject. The consciousness of the acute political and religious needs was combined with a ''medieval'' view of the world,[103] as formed in

[102] Esadefendi 3814, 5b-6a:

1. *Al-rukn fī sabab al-nuzūl al-aya al-karīma fī faḍl ḥaḍrat al-maqām wa sabab waḍ´ihī fī al-maḥall al-ma`hūd wa fī mā wurida fī faḍlihi min al-`akhbār wa al-`athār fī kutub al-tafāsīr wa al-tawārīkh*;
2. *Al-rukn al-thānī fī mā wurida fī faḍl al-ṣalāt khalf al-maqām wa ṣalāt al-jinn wa man `ittakhadhahū qiblatan wa muṣalla min al-`anbiyā al-kirām ´alayhim al-salām;*
3. *Al-rukn al-thālith fī mā wurida fī `asrār al-maqām min `ishārāt al-`awliyā` al-kirām ka al-Shaykh al-`Akbar fī al-fatḥ al-Makkī wa ṣāḥib ´Arā`is al-Qur`ān fī ta`wīlihī wa ghayruhum min al-´ārifīn;*
4. *Al-rukn al-rābi´ fī `awā`il al-maqāmāt al-Makkiyya wa mashā´irihā wa ma´ālimihā wa sha´āirihā wa manā`irihā wa `awā`il al-khayrāt fī ḥarīmihā zādahā Allah sharafan wa karaman wa mahābatan `ilā yawm al-ḥashr wa al-liqā` fī ḥaḍrat al-kashīf wa maqām al-baqā;*
5. *Khātima fī rasm ḥaḍrat al-maqām `alladhī ´alayhi al-yawm min khuṭūṭ wa nuqūsh wa rusūm al-`ayāt wa al-`awfāq mā … fī rasmihā `aḥad wa lillahi al-ḥamd ´alā dhalika wa fī mā qīla fī tārīkhihī wa madḥihī bi naẓārat rāqim al-risāla `alladhī `atammahū Allah ´alā yadihī bi fayḍ faḍlihī kāna Allah lahū fī mā yarḍāhu.*

[103] See, for example, on the larger scale the discussion of the Western expansionist advances as spurred not only by technological advances but also by 'medieval' view of the world in: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, ''Turning the stones over: Sixteenth-century millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges,'' *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 40, 2 (2003): 129-161.

these classical genres. By adopting the new content (and even allowing for the first-person narrative), the classical genres proved to be resilient in their new contexts.[104] Another point which is noticeable from the structure above is its reliance on the works of tafsīr and histories, as well as writings of Ibn ‘Arabī and Ruzbihan Baqlī.

Although it was a commonplace for early modern authors to dedicate their work to the ruling sultans, by using a standard set of praise and titles, it is nevertheless important to investigate the terms used in the work since they reflect, at least partially, the current preoccupations in the imperial representations. Thus the beginning of the manuscript sets the ruling sultan (Murad III) as the renewer (*mujaddid*) of the century,[105] the claim which is devised beforehand by the careful enumeration of the precise year and period in which he ruled.[106] His titles, therefore, include:

''The Imam, the Exalted Succor, Noble Caliph, the Servant of two Holy Places, The Conqueror of two grand Iraqs, the one to whom God has opened the doors known as ''Demir kapu'' and crushed the roots of Shiism in the lands of Iraq (…) so he is the first who is known as *khāqān al-khawāqīn* of descendants of the fighters, may God be pleased with all of them.''[107]

From this description, it is evident that the awareness of the perceived enemies was acute and that the author was keen on pointing out the special features of the sultan within his own dynasty. The order of the titles is also telling,

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[104] Using old Arabic genres to promote Ottoman imperial claims was a common strategy for `Ali Dede. In that respect, it would be useful to consider briefly another manuscript written by `Ali Dede, *Qidwat al-`akhyār*, which also uses the same ''strategy'' of adoption of a classical form (´ajā`ib in this case) with the content in favour of the imperial claim over a certain place. What this work does is to position imperial military campaigns in context of story of Iskandar/Alexandar, thereby placing the Ottomans at the very end of dynastical lines.

[105] On the tradition supporting the notion of the mujaddid. See: Ella Landau-Tasseron, ''The "Cyclical Reform": A Study of the mujaddid Tradition,'' *Studia Islamica*, No. 70 (1989): 79-117.

[106] Esadefendi 3814, 5a

[107] *al-imām al-ghawth al-mu´aẓẓam, al-ḥalīfa al-mukarram, khādim al-ḥaramayn al-sharifayn, fātiḥ al-´irāqayn, al-´aẓīmayn (`alladhī fataḥa Allah ´alā yadihī bāb al-abwāb al-shahīr bi dumūr kapu wa qal´i bi hatmatihi al-´āliya ´urūq al-rafḍ min mamālik al-´Irāq (…) fa huwa `awwal man sammā bi khāqān al-khawāqīn bayna `ajdād al-mujāhidīn riḍwān Allah ´alayhim `ajma´īn.* Esadefendi 3814, 5a

because it starts from the spiritual and leads to the worldly in the form of the conqueror (*al-fātiḥ*). The title of the servant of the holy places comes in between. The reason for the extensive enumeration of the imperial titles is certainly connected to the frequent campaigns led by Sultan Murat III, but also to the task which was given to `Ali Dede, namely, to work on the restoration of the Maqām-i Ibrāhīm.[108]

To understand the significance of the choice of `Ali Dede for such a position, it is important to have in mind his affiliation to the Khalwatī order. Recently, there had been a shift in scholarly opinion about the role of the so-called orthodox Sufi orders in the consolidation of the Ottoman power in the newly conquered provinces, but also in the very preparation of the conquest. Recognition that the ''heterodox'' orders were not the only Sufi influence during the conversion of the populace – or perhaps that in some regions they were not influential at all – was gaining ground in recent studies, most notably in Ines Aščerić-Todd's book on the role of Sufism in the first centuries of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia.[109]Other studies have turned attention to the way the orders, especially Khalwatī and Naqshbandī, were potentially coopted to the project of the consolidation of Ottoman power.[110] In the later part of the chapter, some of the specificities of the adoption of Sufism as a discourse will be dealt with – the focus here is on the manner in which `Ali Dede, as a Khalwatī shaykh, used the Sufi narrative in upholding the Ottoman claim to the holy places.

One of the ways for the accomplishment of such an aim was for `Ali Dede to compare the Ottoman rulers to their Abbasid precedents through the example of service to the holy places, and as he himself states:

[108] See the role of this sultan in the architectural makeover of Mecca and Medina in: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans 1517-1683* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994), chapter 5, 92-126.

[109] Ines Aščerić-Todd, *Dervishes and Islam in Bosnia: Sufi Dimensions to the Formation of Bosnian Muslim Society* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[110] For the Khalwatī order see: John Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

''There is no doubt that the noble service to Mecca necessitates miracles (*karāmāt*) and conquests for kings and because of that some of the grand Abbasid caliphs and others were striving to serve the Sacred Sanctuary, such as al-Manṣūr al-ʿAbbāsī and al-Mahdī and al-Rashīd and others.''(…)[111]

Shaping the image of the expanding empire with the Abbasid model reveals the wish to incorporate the Empire into the long line of other Muslim dynasties, and, moreover, to place it at the very end of the time. Placing the Ottoman dynasty at the very end of the line of the Muslim rulers also conveys the millennialist overtones which are evident through the repeated concept of a renewer (*mujaddid*), emphasis on vanquishing the enemies and, most prominently, description of dynastic figures who gave a certain amount of support to Mecca and their connection to members of the early Muslim community. Thus Sultan Murat III himself was associated with the second caliph 'Umar al-Fārūq when he repaired the same place (*Maqām-i Ibrāhīm*).[112]

However, occasional references to the other empires or rulers can be found in *Tamkīn al-maqām* where their role in the preservation or protection of Mecca was distinguished. Therefore, `Ali Dede mentions Qā`itbay's madrasa, a result of his architectural contributions to the improvement of the city.[113] The comparison of the Ottoman sultans' performance in protecting the pilgrimage with their Mamluk predecessors was a frequent motif in the contemporary literary output. That can reflect the fact that the Ottoman sultans tried to adhere to the practices connected with Qāʾit Bāy (1468-96) and Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī (1501-16).[114]

It is possible to conclude that `Ali Dede's *'awā'il* is a contribution to the millennialist thought of the 16th century, which witnessed the emergence of

[111] *wa la shakka anna al-khidmata al-sharīfata al-Makiyyata tūjabu al-karāmāt wa al-futūḥāt li al-mulūk wa li dhalika kāna ba`ḍ al-ḥulafā´ al-`ajilla min al-´abbasiyya wa gayrihā yatasāri´ūna bi `anfusihim `ilā khidmat al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf ka al-Manṣūr al-´Abbāsī wa al-Mahdī wa al-Rashīd wa ghayruhum (*Esadefendi 3814, 5b)

[112] Esadefendi 3814, 5a

[113] Esadefendi 3814, 14b

[114] Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, 33.

material circumstances in which millenarianism could occur and ''propagate itself both as a current that embraced a large geographical space, and as a phenomenon that had specific, and even unique, local manifestations''.[115]The millenarianism in the Ottoman context did not imply a negative apocalypse, but a profound restructuring of the world through the figure of a *mujaddid*, a renewer of faith, which went hand-in-hand with the expectations of the Mahdī.[116]Still, it should be kept in mind that the millennialist overtones changed throughout the century, and that they probably present just a subdued echo in `Ali Dede's work. However, because of the ongoing conflict with the Safavids, the rhetoric still leans towards the chiliastic.[117] Protection of holy places and success in combating the Safavids also points to strategies of legitimizing the Ottoman Empire, which, unlike the Safavids and the Mughals, struggled to make a claim based on descent or religious charisma.[118]

The eulogy which was given to the Ottoman family holds a significant textual space in the narrative. In praise, `Ali Dede is making specific claims about not only the sultans, but also their wives and daughters. The genre of *'awā'il* was conveniently used not only to present the origins of things, but also to point out the last things, which inevitably lead to the presentation of the role of the Ottomans as the protectors of holy places:

''The last one who made the streams flow in the Sacred Precincts and made from them ponds and fountains for ablution (…) and made pious endowments is the pious wife of Rustam-pasha, a second Rābiʿa (al-ʿAdawiyya) so she improved those fountains and spent on them enormous amounts of money. In that she was surpassed by her noble father, the grand sultan Sulaymān al-Ghāzī, may he be blessed with Mercy and may God be pleased with him. The citizens of Mecca live in blessing of her goodness, may God bless her with good in two abodes and may He bestow upon her glory among daughters of kings and good wives. Balqis of the time, who is unique among wives of

[115]Subrahmanyam, ''Turning the Stones over,'' 135.

[116]Subrahmanyam, ''Turning the Stones over,'' 136-137.

[117] On the connection between the Ottoman millennialist claims and the Safavid threat, see: Subrahmanyam, ''Turning the Stones over,'' 139-140.

[118] See more in: Stephen F. Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 50.

the kings and notables, also endowed in the name of God. She excelled because of her pious endowments in Mecca the Radiant. Her unique zawiya is at Safa and her kitchen where the meals are prepared for the poor is on the way of al-Muʿalla. One thousand or more people live off her grace and goodness. This is a unique virtue, with which she surpassed kings of the time and there is no doubt that she is by the Grace of God the queen of all wives of kings and she is the mother of Ottoman caliphs, may God prolong their rule until the Day of Judgement.''[119]

What the previous paragraph describes is the laudable feat of Mihrimah, Sultan Suleymān's daughter, and the wife of Rustem Pasha, who was responsible for improving the water systems after they failed following a long period of neglect. What is implied here is that the Ottoman Empire – with all their dynasty members – is the final empire which should rule until the end of time. This sentiment is subsumed in the expression: ''may God prolong (their rule) until the Day of Judgement''. Interwoven in the narrative is the factual part about Ḥurrem Sultan as well, where we find that, apart from the improved waterways, the Sultan's wife also established a soup kitchen for the poor and a zāwiya which had no match (*mā lahā thāniya*). Gender hierarchy is kept intact in this excerpt: Mihrimah and Ḥurrem can excel – but only over other wives of kings and notables.

While Sultan Sulayman's wife and daughter stand at the end of a long line of benefactresses of the holy places, in some cases, however, the Ottomans were those who started the first tradition, according to `Ali Dede. Thus, in the section on the imperial purse (*ṣurre*), `Ali Dede mentions how the tradition was started by Mehmed Han (Mehmed II) who was sending it:

''from Rūm every year before the conquests of the Arab lands which is why it was named 'the Rūmī ṣurre', which intensified later after the mother of the sultan Bayezid Han (sent it), and later it was propagated by every ruler from the noble Ottoman leaders one after another until the present.

[119] *Wa akhir man ´ajrā al-`uyūn fī ḥaram Allah ta`ālā min al-ḥall wa ja`ala minhā birakan wa majārin li al-wuḍū` (…) fa waqafat al-Ḥaqq ta`ālā al-zawja al-ṣāliḥa al-Rābi´a al-thāniya li Rustam Pasha rahmat fa `ajrat min tilka al-´uyūn wa ṣarafat ´alayhā `amwalan khārijatan ´an al-ḥadd wa al-´add `amaddahā fī dhalika al-wālid al-`akram al-sulṭān al-`a´ẓam sulṭān Sulaymān al-Ghāzī ´alayhi al-raḥma wa al-riḍwān fa `ahl Makka ya´ishuna fī faḍl khayrihā khayrāha Allah fī al-darayn khayran wa kafāhā bi dhalika bayna banāt al-mulūk wa `azwāj al-ṣāliḥāt fakhran wa wafaqa Allah `ayḍan Balqīsa al-zamān farīdatan bayna `azwāj al-mulūk wa al-`a´yān tafarradat bi al-khayrāt bi Makka al-Musharrafa minhā wa zāwiyatuhā `inda al-Ṣafā mā lahā thāniya wa takiyyatuhā `allati taṭbaḥu fīhā ṭa`ām li al-fuqarā`fī ṭarīq al-Mu`allā ya´ishu fī barakatihā wa faḍl `iṭ´ām ṭa`āmihā `alf nafs bal `azīd fahadhihi faḍla farīda fāqat bihā mulūk al-zamān wa la shakka annahā taghammadahā bi raḥma malīka `azwāj al-mulūk kullihā wa hiya `umm al-ḥulafā` al-´uthmāniyya `adāmahum Allah `ilā yawm al-qarār Āmīn Allahumma Āmīn.* Esadefendi 3814, 23b-24a

The stable state ends with the Sultan of the millennium, may God strengthen him with the conquests, both visible and hidden, so he propagated and spread magnificent works in two ḥaram-i sharīf (…)''[120]

Other parts of the *`awā'il* confirm the same idea; thus, Sultan Murād III is mentioned in association with the building of the water fountain,[121]and the chronogram which follows affirms his special status: ''He excelled above the King and the Khusro'' (*Fāqa ʿalā qayṣar wa kisro wa bi ʿadlihī qurrat al-bilād*).[122]The title itself, again, implies the numerous campaigns undertaken by Murad III against the Habsburgs and the Safavids.[123] Both of them presented not only a military, but also an ideological enemy. The Habsburgs shared the same claim to universal monarchy, while the Safavids propagated the claim to definition of true Islam and rule over the Muslim community.[124] The narrative in praise of the Ottomans is most visible when they are listed alongside other dynasties in Islamic history. Thus, in his *'awā'il* entry on the *kiswa* (the cloth which covers the Ka'ba), `Ali Dede enumerates the previous dynasties: the Abbasids, the Fatimids, the Egyptian Turks (Mamluks - *al-Turkiyya al-Miṣriyya*), and then ends with the Ottomans.[125]Not only is the Ottoman dynasty placed at the end of the time cycle, but sultan Sulaymān himself is mentioned as someone who comes at its culmination point. The interesting title which is given to him is a martyr by death (*al-shahīd al-mamāt*), which implies that he died expanding the territories and defending the empire.

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[120] *Kāna yursiluhu min al-Rūm kull sana qabl futūḥihim li diyār al-ʿArab wa lidhā summiyat al-ṣurra al-rūmiyya thumma zāda fī al-ṣurra baʿd wālida al-sulṭān Bāyazīd Khān thumma zāda kull malik min al-sāda al-qāda al-ʿuthmāniyya dawlatan baʿd dawlatin ʾilā ān. Intahat al-dawla al-rāsiḥa ʾilā al-sulṭān al-ʾalfi al-murādī ʾayyadahu Allah bi al-futūḥāt ẓāhiran wa bāṭinan fa zāda wa našara al-khayrāt al-jjalīla fi al-ḥaramayn al-šarifayn.* Esadefendi 3814, 24a

[121] Esadefendi 3814, 24a

[122] Esadefendi 3814, 24b

[123] `Ali Dede was certainly not the only Bosnian Muslim author from this period who wrote embedded praises for Sultan Murad III in his work. Derviš-paša Bajezidagić is another author from Bosnia who wrote a diwan titled *Muradnama,* dedicated to the Sultan.

[124] Kaya Sahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 4.

[125] Esadefendi 3814, 24b

The enumeration of the dynasties and ruling empires before the Ottomans speaks of the wish of the empire to incorporate itself into a genealogy leading back to the Prophet himself. This search for the affirmation in the shape of the genealogy also shows the struggle to find a ''convincing genealogy'' which was necessary for the Ottoman self-legitimization.[126]

Despite the portrayals of the early modern literature as repetitive and lacking innovation and sense of reality, the pressing issues of the day are evident in this narrative. That is why, for example, after the description of inability of Selim II to continue his conquests, `Ali Dede points out the feats of Murad III, who was:

''the conqueror of Iraq and the destroyer of the roots of rafḍ and hypocrisy, unique in time and manifestation of ´irfān. May God raise the banners of his conquests to the East and to the West''.[127]

What cannot escape attention is that Sultan Sulaymān was named a ''ghāzī'' and a ''renewer of the faith'. The author is even more explicit in recounting the victorious deeds of Sultan Murad III when in a later place in the text he states:

''He is the first ruler in the world to whom God gathered two Iraqs and affirmed him with the holy power in killing the repugnant sect of Shi'a so he continued in fighting them and eradicating their corruption and completely eliminating their roots from the land of Iraq and Khorasan, so he is still, with the grace of God and His help, supported and victorious up to our own days.'' [128]

The way the Ottoman propaganda is interwoven in the text is, again, affirmative of the combination of the form and content: firstly the Sultan is praised for being the first (or the last) of those who contributed to the holy place, and

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[126] Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski, ''Introduction,'' in: *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power,* ed. by Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 6.

[127] *fātiḥ bilād al-´Irāq wa qāmi´ ´urūq al-rafḍ wa al-nifāq farīd al-zamān wa maẓhar al-´irfān`a´lā Allah `a´lām futuḥātihī sharqan wa gharban:* Esadefendi 3814, 29a

[128] *wa huwa `awwal malik fī al-´ālam jama´ Allah lahū bayna al-´Irāqayn wa `ayyadahū bi al-quwwa al-qudsiyya fī qitāl al-ṭā`ifa al-shī´iyya al-shanī´iyya fa `istamarra ´alā jihādihim wa `izālat fasādihim wa `ilḥāihim wa `ista`ṣala ´urūqahum `istīṣālan min bilād al-`irāqiyya wa al-khurasāniyya fa lā zāla bi faḍL Allah wa ´awnihī mu`ayyadan manṣūran `ilā yawminā hadhā*. Esadefendi 3814, 29b

afterwards his significance is enlarged for his role as a ghāzī, a spiritual manifestation or the peak of the age and the renewer of faith.

The Ottoman dynasty is described as standing at the very end of time, although its very end might not come soon, which is why `Ali Dede says:

''May God make their rule eternal until the end of time and may he prolong their rule concluding with the Mahdī's biʿat in the end of times. Some of the gnostics have brought them glad tidings about the continuation of their rule and how it will reach the Mahdī's (time). It is explained by Ibn al-ʿArabī in his work al-Jafr al-Jāmiʿ. God knows best.''[129]

What is evident here is that Ibn `Arabī's work is used as an argument to bolster Ottoman rule. However, what is cited is the work *al-Jafr al-Jāmiʿ* and not the *al-Shajara al-nuʻmāniyya fī al-dawla al-ʻuthmāniyya* which was also popular.[130]

The insistence of the narrative on the universal conquest and eternity of the rule is related to a resurgence of the legend of Alexander, ''the quintessential World Conqueror for the Islamic world in the epoch.''[131]The rebirth of the legend is evident in another of `Ali Dede's works, *Risāla al-´intiṣār li al-qidwa al-`akhyār*[132] in which this legend is used as the cover story for the discourse of the defence against the ''barbarians''.[133]In this work, which needs to be juxtaposed to *Tamkīn al-maqām* because of its geographical focus (since it describes military conquests of up to *Demir Kapu*/*Mā warā' al-nahr*), `Ali Dede mentions Sultan Murād III explicitly as a

[129] *khallada Allah mulkahum `ilā `intihā` al-dawrān wa ṣayyara mulkahum khātiman `ilā al-bī´at al-mahdiyya fī `ākhir al-zamān bashsharahum ba´ḍ al-´ārifīn bi `imtidād dawlatihim wa `ittiṣālihā `ilā al-bī´at al-mahdiyya ṣarraḥa bi dhalika ´Ibn al-`Arabī fī al-Jafr al-Jāmi` wa Allah `A´lam*. Esadefendi 3814, 24a

[130] For the study of Ibn ʿArabī's influence in two discourses, imperial and administrative, see: Ahmed Zildžić, ''Friend and foe: The early Ottoman reception of Ibn 'Arabi'' (PhD diss., Near Eastern Studies UC Berkeley, 2012), and for the case of *al-Shajara al-nuʻmāniyya fī al-dawla al-ʻuthmāniyya* see especially his third chapter (p. 83-118).

[131] Subrahmanyam, ''Turning the Stones over,'' 144.

[132] The treatise is mentioned earlier in the chapter.

[133] Subrahmanyam,''Turning the Stones over,'' 145.

renewer of the Hanafi madhab.[134]The treatise is an affirmation of the Sultan's elevated role, and can be observed as a textual tool for silencing the opposition which came from different sides. In a sense, just as *Tamkīn al-Maqām* did, *Risālat al-ʹintiṣār li al-qidwa al-`akhyār* also served as the bolstering tool for Ottoman sovereignty. By tying the concept of submission (*ṭāʹa*) to the Sultan with submission to the Prophet, the author was placing the Ottoman dynasty in a direct line in the Prophetic lineage. In full awareness of the Safavid threat, but also its claim to the Prophet's family, in *Risālat al-ʹintiṣār*, `Ali Dede used the term ''imām'' to denote the Sultan, aware of its ambiguity and ideological potential.[135]

In both *Tamkīn al-maqām* and *Risālat al-ʹintiṣār* the question of space was one of the priority issues in relation to sovereignty, because the expansion (or preservation) of the provinces of the Empire had to be justified either on the grounds of the supremacy of the holy places (Mecca and Medina) or on the grounds of the just war on God's path.[136] The enemies (again identified as the *rawāfiḍ* - Shiite Muslims or the Safavids) were defined in more detail in this work. The enemies were accused of introducing novelties (*bidʹa*) and abandoning the sunna and prayer in the community, which, according to `Ali Dede, justifies killing.[137] Just as the control and regulation of the holy places offered a proof of legitimacy for the ruling empire, likewise the eradication of antinomian, heretical or simply oppositional movements and groups brought additional legitimacy for the Ottomans. Naturally, such a presentation of the Ottomans as the preservers of faith against unruly enemies in the shape of Safavids or other oppositional groups, necessitated different mechanisms of consolidation, of which the textual one in the service of Sunnitization was duly done by `Ali Dede and his contemporaries. Geographical claim was also placed alongside historical line preceding dynasties and ruling empires, with an aim of presenting the Ottomans as the dynasty which stands

[134] *`aḥyā` al-madhhab al-ḥanafī wa `aṭfā` sharār sharr wa al-rafḍa*. Ragip Pasa 1045, l. 166b

[135] Ragip Pasa 1045 167a

[136] The role of Turks as protectors of the holy places is consistently emphasized in *Risāla al-ʹintiṣār li al-qidwa al-`akhyār* although the work itself is not dedicated to Ḥajj. Ragip Pasa 1045, 168a

[137] Ragip Pasa 1045 167a

at the end of that line.[138]A special focus on the Ottomans is given through their role as servants to the two holy places (*khuddām al-ḥaramayn al-muḥtaramayn*) according to a ḥadīth, which will continue to exist as long as they uphold the Sharia.[139]

This insistence on the intermediary role of the Ottomans as protectors of the holy places can be interpreted in accordance to what Juan Campo alluded to as ''the ways in which they both conceal and reflect the workings of hegemonic forces.''[140] In this way, ḥajj ritual is interpreted as a representational and relational tool for expression of power. This power is enhanced not only by image of protection of rituals and places, but also additional ceremonies (such as the *ṣurre* procession). While itself serving as a treatise dedicated to spatial authority, the pervasiveness of imperial narrative serves to prove the embededdness of the ritual into relations other than purely spiritual.

Additionally, `Ali Dede's use of sources is, apart from other characteristics such as the direct adoption of Arabic sources and a desire to emulate them, also revealing of another way of learning which prevailed among the 'ulamā. Namely, although the interaction of the scholars in Mecca and Medina directly influenced the communities to which these scholars returned, it was nevertheless the approach to texts which reflected the fact that the increase in a ''book-based research tradition'' could be connected to ever-growing availability of texts in libraries.[141] What is evident from works such as `Ali Dede's is that this tradition was steeped in the classical Arabic heritage, even though other sources were occasionally used as well. There is even reason to suppose that `Ali Dede's lost work titled *Secrets of the ḥajj (`Asrār al-Ḥajj*), which is being referenced to in the work

[138]Ragip Pasa 1045 168a

[139]Ragip Pasa 1045 168a

[140]Juan E. Campo, ''Visualizing the Ḥajj: Representations of a Changing Sacred Landscape Past and Present,'' in *The Ḥajj: Pilgrimage in Islam*, ed. by Eric Tagliacozzo and Shawkat M. Toorawa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 287.

[141]Shahab Ahmed, ''Mapping the World of a Scholar in Sixth/twelfth Century Bukhāra: Regional Tradition in Medieval Islamic Scholarship as Reflected in a Bibliography,'' *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* Vol. 120, No. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 2000): 26.

Tamkīn al-maqām,[142] is actually a commentary or an emulation of the ḥajj treatise under the same title which was written by the famous Sufi al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmīdhī.

It should be noted that there is one obstacle in considering ḥajj literature created during this period as completely immersed in Arabic classical literature. Namely, the tradition of the reception of Ibn ʿArabī proved to be immensely different from the status Ibn ʿArabī held in the Arab provinces before the conquest. The fact that `Ali Dede quotes Ibn ʿArabī and his student and commentator Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī directly, shows a distinctively Ottoman approach to this strand of Sufi thought. In this approach, the authors are not delving into the subtleties of the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd*.[143] Quotations from Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt al-Makiyya*, together with the work on `awā'il by al-Suyūṭī, present the major textual influence on *Tamkīn al-Maqām*.

That Ibn ʿArabī was not only a textual authority, but also a reference point for the pilgrims is noticeable from one of the surviving Bosnian travelogues from the 1615. Yūsuf Livnjak, a member of the low-ranking 'ulamā in Bosnia, recounts how he visited the tomb of Ibn ʿArabī on his way to ḥajj. However, although he mistakenly ascribes the place to the Qarafa cemetery in Cairo, the fact that there was a need to include the reference to Ibn Arabī's grave (together with the other spiritual and intellectual authorities) speaks for the insistence of the pilgrimage itinerary to produce a network of pious visitations. Thus, not only a connection between the living 'ulamā was created, but also a tradition of the reconnections to the deceased was encouraged. Yūsuf Livnjak's ḥajj account points to the fact that Ibn ʿArabī was not only popular as the author of the *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam* or *al-Futuḥāt al-Makiyya*, but that the cult of his person was bolstered in an effort of consolidation of Ottoman power. This is why the next section will treat the influence of Ibn ʿArabī in more detail on the example of the ḥajj literature work by `Abdullah Būsnawī.

[142] Esadefendi 3814 18b

[143] The study which deals with the reception of Ibn Arabi's work in the later period is: Alexander Knysh, *Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (Albany: Suny Press, 1998).

2.4 Sufi Descriptions of Holy Places

As a Khalwatī shaykh, `Ali Dede's position was fully a member of the Ottoman hierarchy. That is illustrated by his role of the main shaykh on Sultan Sulaymān's grave, which possibly explains numerous references to this sultan in his work. However, the Khalwatī influence was not exclusive in the realm of the ḥajj scholarly networks of the late 16th/early 17th centuries. Other Sufi orders, which held different positions in the power hierarchy of the Ottoman state, made their own networks, or contributed to the one evolving in different cities of the Empire. One such was a Bayramī-Malāmī order to which `Abdullah al-Būsnawī belonged.

`Abdullah al-Būsnawī was born in 1584 in Bosnia, and after receiving some education there, he continued to pursue his career path in Istanbul. He spent some time in Bursa, received his ijāzāt and went on a ḥajj in 1636, passing through Egypt. He also lived in Damascus, close to Ibn ʿArabī's grave. He died in 1644, and was buried close to Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī.[144]The number of his extant works is large, and range from 46 to 60. His grand opus is his commentary on *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, but he also wrote shorter treatises on a range of topics, such as his commentaries on the Qur'anic verses and polemical writings.[145] When it comes to his writings on Ibn ʿArabī, some critics agree that they are polemical and apologetic in nature,[146]which would correspond to the fact that Ibn ʿArabī's status in the Ottoman intellectual history begins to change with the incorporation of the Arab provinces[147] and the arrival of the new scholars and new interpretations to the imperial capital.

[144]Džemal Čehajić, ''Šejh Abdulah Bošnjak ''Abdi'' bin Muhamed al-Bosnevi (um. 1054/1644),'' *Zbornik radova Islamskog teološkog fakulteta u Sarajevu*, 1,(1982): 75.

[145]Čehajić, ''Šejh Abdulah Bošnjak,'' 76.

[146]Čehajić, ''Šejh Abdulah Bošnjak,'' 77.

[147]Zildžić, ''Friend and Foe,'' see especially the second part of the thesis.

The text of `Abdullah al-Būsnawī's treatise *The book of the right hand in touching the Black Stone* (*Kitāb al-yad al-ajwad fī istilām al-ḥajar al-`aswad*) is complex and was not intended for a wider audience. In this way, if we look at the text in its possible role of the legitimising tool for the Ottoman state, it becomes evident that as a part of ''the Ottoman production of legitimacy'' it fitted specific philosophic and aesthetic criteria.[148] This description of Ottoman use of different tools in ensuring its legitimacy could explain the choice of Ibn 'Arabī, a highly controversial figure, as a major Sufi thinker although his works were not available to the larger populace and even though the reception of his works was different in the pre-conquest Arab provinces. Moreover, the figure of Ibn 'Arabī becomes extremely important in the context of the Bayrāmī-Malamī order to which `Abdullah al-Būsnawī belonged. [149]However, there is no direct teacher-student link going back to Ibn ʿArabī, but the link might be construed on a textual basis (which Malāmīs sought in the references to the malāmiyya in *al-Futūḥāt al-Makiyya*).[150]By the end of the 16th century, the order had acquired an intellectual aura and spread to Arabia with `Abdullah al-Būsnawī, as Gölpınarlı argues.[151]

However, while this could be a potential framework to observe this particular work, it will not do it justice if the analysis remains confined to investigating the hegemonic forces behind the imagery. While this text, as well as `Ali Dede's, has multiple layers, it is important to pay attention to the most prominent one. In the

[148] Hakan Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (ed.), *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 5.

[149] On the malāmī movement in the Ottoman Empire, see: Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler* (Istanbul: Gri Yayın, 1992).

150 Victoria Rowe Holbrook, *Ibn 'Arabi and Ottoman Dervish Traditions: The Melami Supra-Order (Part One)*, http://www.ibnarabisociety.org/articles/melami1.html (accessed on 10/10/16)

[151] http://www.ibnarabisociety.org/articles/melami1.html (Golpinarli 171)

case of this treatise, it is the dynamics of esoteric-exoteric which will be in the focus.

The short treatise *Kitāb al-yad al-ajwad fī istilām al-ḥajar al-`aswad* starts with a Sufi introduction to the tenets of the pilgrimage. At this point, we are reminded of conclusion of Marion Katz's essay in which she states that: ''Insofar as the ḥajj ritual is interpreted as a set of signs referring to impalpable phenomena beyond themselves, the interpretation tends to be identifiably sūfi.''[152]This means that Sufi authors, such as `Abdullah al-Būsnawī, think of the pilgrimage in referential terms, implying that any of the outward forms of the rituals point to a higher meaning of higher reality. This dualism of form and content will be consistent throughout the work.

As the author states in the beginning, the treatise is dedicated to some of the pious brothers (*ʿallaqtuhu li baʿḍ al-ʻikhwān al-ālihiyyin khaṣṣatan*) and to all the believers in general (*wa li jamīʿ al-mu`minīn `āmmatan*).[153] Apart from the use of the Qur'anic verses, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī uses parallelisms such as comparing the Ka`ba and the 'Arsh, and the pilgrims who circumambulate the Kaʿba to the angels (*malā'ika*).[154] The beginning of the risala is similar to a *faḍā'il*, in terms of the frequent comparisons (of the holy place to other places) which aim to secure a unique place for the Bayt al-ḥarām and the Black Stone, specifically. One of the concepts permeating this work is the pledge of allegiance (*mubāyaʿa*).[155] The Black Stone is presented as ''God's oath'' (*yamīn Allah*) on earth for the pledge of divine allegiance (*mubāyaʿa*), and there is a special characteristic (*ikhtiṣāṣ*) of that earth because of the deputyship (*khilāfa*) and agreement (*bayʿa*). Therefore, if a believer touches the Black Stone, he has pledged allegiance to the Truth (*al-Ḥaqq*).[156]The stone itself, as Būsnawī writes, is the same as all the other stones, but it was chosen because of its intermediary role in the

[152]Katz, ''The Ḥajj'', 125.

[153]Carullah 2129 1b

[154]Carullah 2129, 1b

[155]See especially Carullah 2129 2a; 6a

[156]Carullah 2129 2a

process of allegiance.[157] The Black Stone is anthropomorphized and presented as the shaykh of the place; it grants the right of approach.[158] The final virtue of the Black Stone is its ability of testifying on the Day of Judgement, implying a role of intercession given to this object.

What follows is a string of traditions that affirm the touching and kissing of the Black Stone, as well as the prostration (*sajda*) in front of it.[159] In the development of his argument, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī is relying on the agreement of the ''predecessors'' (*salaf*), thus making the beginning of his narrative more text-focused than oriented towards the argument based on explanation of the inner revelations:

> ''know that the *salaf* agreed that kissing the Black Stone is a peculiarity of the customs of circumambulation, and they disagreed about kissing the Yamani corner''[160]

This motif, as Hava Lazarus-Yafeh notices, becomes prominent in ḥadīth literature and is further developed in subsequent Sufi literature.[161] The narrative is permeated by the description of the stone as ''earthly'' (*`arḍī*) and the image of a human face as the most noble outward form (*hiya `ashraf mā fī ẓāhir al-insān*). The qualities of earth are juxtaposed with that of the human; his lowliness becomes worse than that of the earth because he was ordered to worship God, and instead worships the created (*al-makhlūq*).[162] The earth is a manifestation of a God's name,

[157] Carullah 2129 6b

[158] Carullah 2129 6b-7a

[159] Kissing the Black Stone and the traditions surrounding it has been a point of debate among researchers of the ritual, who saw in it the argument for or against treating ḥajj in the context of interpretative framework of sacramentalism. See previously mentioned article of Marion Katz for more complete bibliography.

[160] *fa `a´lam `anna al-salaf `ajma´ū ´alā `anna taqbīl al-ḥajar al-`aswad khkhāṣṣa min sunan al-ṭawāf wa `ikhtalafū fī taqbīl al-rukn al-yamānī*. Carullah 2129 2a

[161] Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, ''The religious dialectics of the hadjdj,'' in: *Some religious aspects of Islam: A Collection of Articles* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 29.

[162] Carullah 2129 2b

just as the Perfect Human (*al-insān al-kāmil*) is a manifestation of many of the God's names.[163]

When it comes to other sources quoted in this work, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī mentions Sahl al-Tustarī, and his ''school'' (*madhab*). However, in most other parts, there is a heavy reliance on Ibn ʿArabī's work *Al-futūḥāt al-Makiyya*, and even outright quotations without ascribing the authorship (''and there is no higher virtue in human being than mineral'' - *wa lā `a´lā min al-ṣifa al-jamādiyya fī al-`insān*), after which Būsnawī quotes ''and this is the school of Sahl ibn `Abd Allah al-Tustarī'' (*wa hadha huwa madhhab Sahl ibn `Abd Allah al-Tustarī*).[164] It is unclear whether Būsnawī mistakenly ascribed the quote to Tustari or he wanted to emphasize Ibn ʿArabī's connection to him. In any case, the focus on the ''mineral characteristics'' as the elevated state for a human being seems to suggest the state of inactivity as the state of subdued or annihilated senses, and to point out the primacy of the Black Stone (through its colour - *sayāda).* In this inversion of the standard cosmological scheme, the mineral state becomes the preferred state for its innate worship of God. The narrative is, consequently, oriented towards the non-human, non-animal and non-vegetative, and exalts the mineral state which is a characteristic of the Black Stone. `Abdullah al-Būsnawī uses the example of the stone thrown into the air. At some point, because of its inner nature, the stone starts falling downwards because of the fear of God (*khashyat Allah*). Interwoving the Qur'anic verse ''Only those fear Allah, from among His servants, who have knowledge'' (Fāṭir, 28)[165], `Abdullah al-Būsnawī is also putting the Black Stone in the position of a possessor of knowledge. The stones are, also, the verifyers (*muḥaqqiqūn*).

The work reads as an instruction for a pilgrim on how to approach the Black Stone and can be read in two ways: as directed to the most average pilgrim who wants to benefit from the blessings of the stone, and thus be cleansed of the sins, and to the initiated, who aim for higher goals. The parallelism permeates the rest of

[163] Carullah 2129 2b

[164] Carullah 2129 2b

165 Translation: Sahih International, http://corpus.quran.com/translation.jsp?chapter=35&verse=28

the narrative as well, and is expressed in divisions of different sections to: practical language (*lisān al-taṭbīq*) and language of interpretation (*lisān al-ta`wīl*).[166] The narrative explains the regular pilgrimage requirements connected to Kaʿba (such as tawaf) and supports it with the ḥadīth, but interprets the rituals from their inner perspective, giving importance to the movements and directions, which can be compared to the previous focus on the dichotomy of ''the black and white''. However, the part designated with the subtitle *bi lisān al-taṭbīq* does not imply just the practical application of the rites; it is even more telling of the ways to reach the spiritual aim of the seeker. The section starting with *bi lisān al-ta`wīl* refers to the theoretical foundations of this Sufi work. The narrative is, thus, just like in *al-Futūḥāt*, never simply a ritual manual. For example, the mentioning of the definition of ḥajj as the repetition of the intention in a certain time is juxtaposed to the Heart which aims for the Divine Names in a special state (*ḥāl*).[167]

Apart from providing baraka, the Black Stone also fits the soteriological plan, since it will carry the responsibility of testimony during the Judgement Day.[168] In that role, the Stone would have the human abilities of sight and speech, which means that it would shift from the mineral into the human state.

This intricate text has to be read as an instruction to a seeker (*sālik*). The one who does not give up the ordinary (*man lam yatamarrar ´an al-ma`lūfāt*)[169] and does not strive to reach God by the way of his annihilation in the Attributes *(wa lam yasluk fi Allah tarīq fanā`ihī bi al-ṣifāt*), shall not reach the level of the veneration of the Essence (*lā yablugh darajata al-´ubūdiyya al-dhātiyya*) nor the level of Essential Illumination (*wa lā martabat al-tajallī al-dhātī*) which requires his annihilation in Essence (*`alladhī yūjabu fanā`uhu bi al-dhāt*) .[170]Thus, touching of the Black Stone

[166]Carullah 2129 5b-6a

[167]Carullah 2129 6a

[168]Carullah 2129 7a

[169]The references to the manuscript in this paragraph are from: Carullah 2129, 4b

[170]For the terms and their explanations see: ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Qashānī, *A Glossary of Sufi Technical Terms*, trans. Nabil Safwat (London: The Octagon Press LTD, 1991).

completes the tawaf and the path to God, but not in God (*fa ´inda dhalika al-`istilām yutimm al-ṭawāf wa al-sulūk `ilā Allah lā fī Allah).* After the accomplishment of the poverty of the servant (*al-faqr al-`abdānī*), and the manifestation of the Divine All-Merciful Secret in him (*ẓahara fīhi al-sirr al-Ilāhī al-Raḥmānī*) Who was the cause that the existence of the universe appeared (*li `ajlihī ẓahara al-wujūd al-kawnī*), only then he is allowed to enter the Kaʿba of Lordship (*yu`dhan lahū fī al-dukhūl fī Ka´bata al-rubūbiyya*) from the gates of Union (*min bāb al-wuṣlat*) to which come (people) from every distant pass (*ya'tūna `ilayhā min kull fajj ´amīq*). The hearts of the gnostics circle around it (*wa taṭūfu bihā qulūb al-`ārifīn*), and the Secrets of those who attained Perfection (*wa `asrār al-kāmilīn*) and the souls of those who reached Union (*wa `arwāḥal-wāṣilīn*).

One of the prominent comparisons `Abdullah al-Būsnawī makes is between the object of Kaʿba (and the Black Stone) and human body (particularly heart – *qalb*). Just as the first house (*bayt*) was set for people in Mecca, likewise the heart of the believer is the first thing which manifested (itself) to the Truth and appeared in it. It is the ruler of the body and its king (*fa huwa ra`īs al-jism wa malikuhu*).[171]If the heart goes astray, it is followed by the body. It is in need of cleansing, just as God ordered in the Qur'an (al-Baqara, 125). The heart is the ruler of the body (*al-jism*). At an another place in the manuscript, the Black Stone is said to be an image (*al-ṣūra*) of the poor slave who needs the doors of his Lord and puts his hand under its wing (*al-´abd al-faqīr `alladhī yulāzim bāb sayyidih wa yaḍaʿ ra`sah taḥta ghibtihā*).[172]

Other specific terms connected to the Malāmiyya-Bayramiyya include *ikhlaṣ* (sincerity – thus the importance of being washed in the waters of sincerity)[173] and *murāqaba* (introspection). As the Malāmī texts are secretive in the way they approach the subject of the religious authority in the form of a shaykh, it is not

[171]Carullah 2129 6b

[172]Carullah 2129 4a

173 See Annemarie Schimmel in Victoria Rowe Holbrook: http://www.ibnarabisociety.org/articles/melami1.html (accessed 11/10/2016)

surprising to encounter Kaʿba as an anthropomorphised shaykh, a center or a heart (*qalb*) of the ''greatest vicegerent'' (*khalifat al-'a'zam*). Its four bases are oneness (*tawḥīd*), abstraction (*tajrīd*), separation (*tafrīd*) and presence (*shuhūd*).[174] The anthropomorphism of Kaʿba and the Stone are also connected to the concept of purity (*ṭahāra*) which is on a ritual level a requirement for a pilgrim, but on a spiritual level a requirement for approaching God.[175] The Kaʿba, and by implication the Black Stone as well, is at the centre of the narrative. Even mentioning of the Prophet is, again, related to the special role of the Stone.[176]

While this narrative is deeply imbedded in the Sufi symbolical language and presents a dense read, it is nonetheless firmly rooted in the Qur'anic and ḥadīth arguments. As is the case with Ibn ʿArabī's work itself, the Qur'anic verses present the starting point from which the authors weave their argument.[177] In `Abdullah al-Būsnawī's case, the exposition of his argument, after the initial remarks, starts with the relevant verses and then proceeds on to the ḥadīth. The insistence on the formality which included the Qur'anic verses being placed in first place made sure the textual hierarchy was being acknowledged and respected.[178] After listing the Qur'anic and ḥadīth evidence, as well as the traditions relating to the Prophet's companions and family, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī uses excerpts from Ibn ʿArabī's *al-Futūḥāt* to confirm his argument, therefore establishing a firm hierarchy of textual authorities.

What `Abdullah al-Būsnawī's treatise on the Black Stone showed is how apart from presenting the holy places as background to imperial claims, Ottoman authors

[174] Carullah 2129 1b

[175] The notion of purity in context of the sacredness of holy place in Mecca is discussed by Brannon Wheeler, *Mecca and Eden: Ritual, Relics, and Territory in Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 47-70.

[176] Carullah 2129 2a

[177] See the work by Michel Chodkiewicz, *An Ocean without Shore: Ibn 'Arabi, the Book and the Law*, trans. David Streight (Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society, 1993).

[178] We notice a parallel phenomenon in ijāzāt: Qur'anic studies precede ḥadīth, fiqh and sharia. See more on the example of Ibn ʿArabī's ijāza in: Zildžić, ''Friend and Foe,'' 9.

tended to deliver other interpretations of the significance of these places. The interpretations were not necessarily contrasted, but the textual focus and emphasis changed. Ḥajj literature reflected different intellectual and spiritual concerns of the 16th and 17th centuries, and one of the changes which became more visible is an intense focus on the ḥadīth as a textual way of adjusting the image of holy places and the pilgrimage.

2.5 Ḥadīth Revival and the Exalted Place of Medina

While previous works dealt with objects such as Maqām-i Ibrāhīm and the Black Stone through the lenses of the pro-Ottoman narrative and Sufi interpretation, the following faḍā'il by Ḥasan Imām-zāde will include the Prophet's narrations as the central textual object.

Some half century after the conquest of the Arab provinces, the Ottomans established a school for ḥadīth (*dar al-ḥadīth*) in Mecca, converting it from a madrasa dedicated to the Hanbali school,[179] while the Ottoman one in Medina was built in 1594-5.[180] The centrality of the ḥadīth in the descriptions of Medina and the ritual connected to it (*'umra* or *ziyāra*) is indicative of a certain kind of textual revival which placed the Prophetic narrations into a more prominent position than earlier. Ḥajj works of `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī and `Abdullah al-Būsnawī used ḥadīth as a supporting argument or as a textual tool for moulding the image of the holy place. Ḥasan Imām-zāde's text, on the other hand, makes the ḥadīth in praise of Medina a central tenet of the work and although the place remains relevant, the text and the chain of transmitters of the text becomes the focus of the narrative.

Ḥasan Imām-zāde Būsnawī is the author of the faḍā'il treatise on the virtues of the city Medina and the blessing afforded to the ones who manage to visit it and complete the rites in accordance with the prescribed rules laid down in tradition. There is not much information about Ḥasan Imām-zāde in the extant literature. His name is not found in contemporary biographical works. What is known is that the autograph copy was sent to his brother and ended up in the possession of Ibrahim

[179] Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, 100.

[180] Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans*, 121.

Opijač, a member of the Bosnian ‘ulamā and a student of a more famous Shaykh Yūyo. Ḥasan Imām-zāde also left another work *Muqāyasat al-madhāhib (fī al-fiqh)* which is currently being preserved in Kayseri.[181] Another copy of the faḍā’il which is in the focus of this chapter is preserved in Suleymaniye Library, and this chapter will investigate both of the variants in order to draw on a set of conclusions.

The faḍā’il treatise *Dalīl al-sā’irīn ’ilā ziyāra ḥabīb Rabb al-‘ālamīn* consists of eight chapters (*bāb*) and a conclusion (*khātima*). The autograph (which is located in the Bosniak Institute in Sarajevo) contains the note which confirms that this work was written by Ḥasan Imām-zāde. This copy of the work contains the list of the contents in the beginning, but it is incomplete and had to be adjusted according to the Suleymaniye copy, which gives us the final version of the structure of the work:

1. The first chapter on the virtue of Medina the Radiant (*Al-bāb al-ʾawwal fī faḍīlat al-Madīna al-Munawwara*),

2. The second chapter of the virtue of a pious visit (*Al-bāb al-thānī fī faḍīlat al-ziyāra*)

3. The third chapter on the announcement of the benefit of the orientation towards the visit of the Master of the first and the last (*Al-bāb al-thālith fī bayān kayfiyya al-tawajjuh ʾilā ziyāra sayyid al-ʾawwalīn wa al-ʾākhirīn*)

4. The fourth chapter on the announcement of the limits of the Prophet's mosque and the limits of the Pure Rawda (*Al-bāb al-rābiʿ fī bayān ḥadd al-masjid al-nabawī wa ḥadd al-rawḍa al-muṭahhara*)

5. The fifth chapter on the announcement of the virtuous columns (*Al-bāb al-khāmis fī bayān al-ʾasāṭīn al-fāḍila*)

6. The sixth chapter on the virtue of al-Baqīʿ and the announcement of the visit to those who inhabit it (*Al-bāb al-sādis fī faḍīla al-Baqīʿ wa bayān ziyāra ʾahl al-Baqīʿ*)

7. The seventh chapter on the announcement of the visit to the al-Qubā mosque (*Al-bāb al-sābiʿ fī bayān ziyāra Masjid al-Qubā*)

8. The eighth chapter on the announcement of the virtue of al-ʿUḥud (*Al-bāb al-thāmin fī bayān faḍīla al-ʾUḥud*).

[181] Aydın Taş, "Türkiye kütüphanelerindeki belli bir fikhī mezhebe nispeti tespit edilmeyen yazma eserler," *Fırat Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 13:1, (2008): 117.

The choice of genre is not the only surprising element in Ḥasan Imām-zāde's work. As could be seen from the treatises of `Ali Dede and `Abdullah al-Būsnawī, the central place was held by Mecca, or by the sacred places situated inside Mecca. In this work, however, the centrality is on Medina, and the focus therefore becomes the Prophet himself, including the ḥadīth as his legacy. The focus on Medina is also indicative of the textual change where the ḥadīth becomes the primary argument, and the ennumeration of the ḥadīth and Sufi scholars a method for producing an exact and verified account. In other words, the concept of verification becomes different for the previous authors and for Ḥasan Imām-zāde. While `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī and `Abdullah al-Būsnawī did use the ḥadīth, the amount of the textual support taken from predecessors in the work of Imām-zāde overwhelms the reader and points to the changed strategies of reading.

In the context of the ''sacralization'' of Medina and establishment of its special status, the *faḍā'il* literature played an important role.[182]The image of the Prophet is central to this treatise. The main argument of the work revolves around intercession or Prophet's body which is buried in Medina. Several key topics are repeated: *mujāwara* (staying in the vicinity of holy places), love (God's and Prophet's), sickness and cure, and death. The idea beneath exposition of these themes is that if certain conditions are met, a reward of *shafāʿat* (intercession) is due. In the faḍā'il causal system, the relation towards the holy space is in close connection with the final destiny of the human being, by which its soteriological value is confirmed.

In the practical sense, the author includes subchapters on the proper behaviour in Medina both during and following the fulfillment of the ritual. In that

[182]Munt, *The Holy City of Medina*, 149.

respect, this work differs from previous two treatises in also addressing the common pilgrim who might be concerned with the orthopraxic side of rites.

The major argumentative tool is the comparison of Medina with other cities with claim to holiness (Jerusalem and Mecca). Imām-zāde is trying to prove the predominance of Medina over the spaces which already hold a prominent position in the cosmological order. Already at the beginning of the work, its greater virtue even over the Throne (*ʿarsh*) and the heavens is being set.[183]

The naming of the place reflects its multiple virtues. Apart from the name Medina, some other names followed by shorter or longer explanations are: Powerful (*al-Jābira*), Beloved (*al-Ḥabība*), Abode of the Chosen (*Dār al-ʾakhyār*), Abode of Faith (*Dār al-ʾīmān*), Abode of Peace (*Dār al-salāma*), Abode of Sunna (*Dār al-sunna*), Abode of Victory (*Dār al-fatḥ*), Healing Place (*Shāfiya*), The Dome of Islam (*Qubbat al-ʾIslām*), The One Covered with Angels (*al-Maḥfūfa*). The author also notes that there are ninety-five names of this city – and a large number of names points to its grandeur.[184]

While virtue of Medina and its superiority over other places (except for Mecca) is unquestioned, it stems from the image of the Prophet which has been carefully constructed. The key ḥadīth argument that is repeated throughout the work in many places is the Prophet's saying that there is not a place in this world he would rather have his grave in than Medina (*mā ʿala al-ʾarḍ buqʿa ʾaḥabbu ʾilayya min ʾan yakūn qabrī bihā minhā, yaʿnī al-Madīna*).[185] The author's explanation of the Prophet's preference of Medina stems from the supposition that this love is sanctioned by God's – that it, actually, flows from God's Love.[186] That argument develops from the fact that the Prophet chose Medina, and that many significant victories were achieved in that city which then strengthened the young Muslim

[183] *kamā qālahu Ibn ʿAsākir fī tuḥfatih bal naqala al-Taj al-Subkī ʿan Ibn ʿAqīl al-Ḥanbalī ʾinnahā ʾafḍal min al-ʿArš wa ṣarraḥa al-Fākihiyy bi tafḍīlihā ʿala al-samāwāt* MS 0719 3b.

[184] MS 0719 7a; the numbers have a prominent role in the fada'il.

[185] MS 0719 2b-3a

[186] MS 0719 4a

community. Some of the other arguments Imām-zāde brings are related to the traditions on the repeated coming of Jibrīl and the arrival of a large number of angels. It is important to note that one of the arguments in support of the holiness of Medina and the space around it is the potential supernaturality – as is shown in the tradition about the martyrs from Uhud who did not change their shape in their graves.[187]

The focus not only on the grave of Prophet Muhammad, but also on remains (*`ajsād*) of other prophets points to a strong interest in body and senses. Medina is also the place which has been called ''Ṭayyiba'' because of the pleasant smell (*ṭīb rā`iḥa man makasa bihā*), the place which prevents the entrance of a disease (*wa lā yadkhulhā ṭāʿūn wa lā Dajjāl*), and where leprosy is cured with its dust (*ghubār al-Madīna shifā` min al-judhām*).[188] In the process of establishing the sanctity of Medina through its appeal to common human fears of disease and death, the author brings out different types of Prophetic traditions without adhering to the rules of establishment of a proper isnād in the ḥadīth.

The bodily is connected to the colour symbolism as well. While not in the focus of description in other parts of the work, Imām-zāde is keen on explaining the virtues of the colour green for Prophet's descendants (*ʿalawiyyūn,* which must not be confused with the modern day Alawis).[189] The comparisons of the black and the green, and even more specifically, the clothes which carry these colours, point to the importance of colour symbolism which, as in the case of body, requires a spiritual purity or the purity of genealogy beneath. The colour they are wearing is just an indication of what is in their faces already (*nūr al-nubuwwa fī karīm wujūhihim*).[190]

Since a significant part of the treatise is addressing a pilgrim, the traditions about visiting the Prophet's tomb are emphasized. The traditions rely on

[187] MS 0719 72b-73a

[188] Laleli1363 6b

[189] Laleli1363 42b

[190] Laleli1363 43a

the assumption that the Prophet hears when He is greeted in grave, that He will reply and recognize the one who greets Him. The approach to the Prophet's grave could heal the blind (*ḍarīr al-baṣar*) if the grave is approached with a proper bodily preparation, such as ablution and prayer. Bodily movements are observed during approach to Medina: if a person is riding an animal, he should make it speed up (*ḥarrakahā*), or if he comes on foot, he should come faster (*asraʿa fī al-mashy*).[191] When the person comes close to Medina, he should get off his mount and go on foot. Entrance into the Prophet's mosque and its vicinity should be done with utmost care: with proper ablution, most beautiful clothes and usage of perfume.

Entrance to Prophet's mosque and its vicinity is gendered. Unlike men, women are not required to hurry and their belatedness is preferred, because their state in night is hidden (*`astar wa `akhfā*).[192] Bodily and the spiritual are closely connected: the right way of approaching Prophet's grave is in close connection to cleaning one's heart from the inappropriate thoughts. They pilgrims are also advised to regulate their thoughts and make an effort to imagine the Prophet's noble form and to try to feel that he knows of their presence (*mutamaththilan ṣūratahu al-karīma fi khayālihi musta`shiran bi anna ṣallallahu ʿalayhi wa sallam alīm bi huḍūrihi wa qiyāmihi wa salāmihi).*[193]

However, Medina is not simply the place of vigour and lack of disease – it was a place which offered blessing even after the bodily demise. The ḥadīth which frequently appears throughout the narrative indicates the virtue of death in Medina: ''whoever can die in Medina, may he die there'' (*man istaṭāʿa an yamūta bi al-Madīna fa-l-yamut bihā*).[194] The implication of this ḥadīth is that a special Prophet's intercession will be given to those who die in Medina, and their value is

[191]MS 0719 15b

[192]MS 0719 18a

[193]Laleli1363 23b

[194]Laleli1363 9b

greater than of those who die fighting for religious cause or the ones who die in exile (*ghurba*).[195]

While `Ali Dede and `Abdullah al-Būsnawī relied heavily on Ibn ʿArabī's concepts, Ḥasan Imām-zade uses a range of different ḥadīth works which uphold the virtue of Medina. The author used different types of ḥadīth, but did not focus on presenting the exact link (*sanad*) of the ḥadīth transmission. However, Ḥasan Imām-zāde included a vast number of books in his treatise, and introduced them either by mentioning the author, or the work, or both.[196] The shift of focus in this work from the imperial narrative and Sufi esoteric interpretations to textual literalism, bolstered by meticulous attentiveness to different authorities, has made textual imagery of Mecca and Medina dependent on intellectual circulations of the period. Imām-zāde's work on Medina is not unique in that respect; what distinguishes it from the previous two is that it does not rely on esoteric interpretation, but focuses solely on the outer interpretation of the tradition in question.[197]

2.6 Conclusion

The three works which were discussed in this chapter present three different strands in the development of the intellectual thought in the Ottoman Empire more broadly, and three tendencies in ḥajj literature of Ottoman Bosnians more specifically. Three Bosnian authors, `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī and Ḥasan Imām-zāde al-Būsnawī belonged to different, albeit interrelated social groups and contributed to the vibrant intellectual scene of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The predominant authority in their texts, apart from the natural centeredness of the ḥajj and the holy places, is the Ottoman imperial narrative and the power of

[195] Laleli1363 10b

[196] A comprehensive list of works used in Imām-zāde's treatise can be seen in: Dženita Karić, ''Djelo 'Dalīl al-sāʾirīn' Imām-zāde Ḥasana al-Būsnawīja i faḍāʾilska literatura: tekstualni autoritet i sveti prostor ('Dalil al-sa'irin' of Imām-zāde Ḥasan al-Būsnawī and Fada'il Literature: Textual Authority and Holy Space),'' *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 65, (2015): 51-87.

[197] At the same time, other authors did continue with esoteric interpreting of the ḥadīth related to holy places. See, for example, the work of Ahmad Qushashī, *al-Durrat al-thamina fi ma li za'iri ila al-Madina al-Munawwara* (exists in a manuscript copy only); and also with the literalist approach to the ḥadīth, such as in the case of: Marʿī Ibn Yūsuf ibn Abī Bakr al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1033 h.),
Muḥrik sawākin al-ghurām 'ilā Ḥajj Bayt Allah al-ḥarām (ed. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allah Bā Jūda), (al-Qāhira: Dār al-Qāhira, 1426/2006).

Text (the excerpts from the Qur'an, ḥadīth or Ibn Arabī's *al-Futūḥāt* or a range of ḥadīth studies). The authority of the narrative and the Text is in the close connection to the peculiar choice of genres these authors used. Added to that, the choice of genre itself reflects the changing intellectual movements and the influence of the knowledge coming from the newly conquered Arab provinces. In this way, ḥajj literature produced by Ottoman Bosnian 'ulamā, officials and Sufi scholars reflects the intellectual currents of the age and produces new knowledge itself.

Three different visions of the ḥajj were presented in this chapter. `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī's treatise showed the entanglement of imperial project and ritual. The ḥajj, in the context of this work, had a double representational role. Firstly, being clad in a Sufi framework of interpretation, the rituals of the ḥajj possessed two aspects: outer and inner. Secondly, the control over the ḥajj and Mecca and Medina offered tools of power for the ruling empire. This way, two types of authorities were stressed: spatial and imperial. In that process, Mecca was presented as seemingly atemporal and unchanging, possessing a firmly fixed place of priority, while ḥajj rites were less emphasized from service to holy places.

The second work by `Abdullah al-Būsnawī further developed the Sufi interpretative framework, and offered a cosmological scheme. The overarching theological importance of holy place was stressed, but the exoteric ritual was made a mere outward face for complex cosmological structures beneath. The elaborate display of several esoteric schemes (including colour symbolism and theory of *sulūk*) in the end point to intercession as a major concept in interpreting the ritual. The intercession as a motif and concept is crucial in this work, because it unveils the manner in which ḥajj was perceived in Sufi texts: as a step on the spiritual path.

While Ḥasan Imām-zāde also started from intercession, he developed it in a new way. The holy place of Medina in his treatise is placed in a spatial hierarchy, where it assumes a prominent (or even superior) position, according to the arguments in its favour. The arguments used to promote the virtues of Medina were soteriological, which meant that intercession for its inhabitants will lead to

their salvation; but also directed to the wellbeing of the body of a common pilgrim. Unlike the previous case of `Abdullah Būsnawī's treatise, this *faḍā`il* develops the idea of ḥajj not only as a concept, but also as a religious duty, which is especially evident through the thorough use of ḥadīth and instructions given to the reader.

With this last treatise, a slow turn to a different observation of holy places begins to emerge. The ḥajj is no longer simply a representational tool for Sufi or imperial visions of the ritual and holy places. The following chapter will analyse the emergence of new considerations of ḥajj, Mecca and Medina in the framework of growing interest in journeys and new ways of writing.

3. Paths to the Sacred

The previous chapter showed how the first ḥajj writings present images of sacred places framed and informed by textual arguments of the imperial narrative, the Sufi quest for esoteric interpretation and the ḥadīth. The symbolic status of sacred places in this context was presented as static and somewhat resistant to change, although the textual arguments used were interwoven with historical consciousness. The image of sacred places was bound by constrictions of genre, but genres were developed according to the changing political and intellectual circumstances. Since one of the main theoretical premises of research on Bosnian ḥajj literature is that historical change can be observed through development of spatial thought,[198] it was firstly important to note the changes in the period which textually affirm the centrality of Mecca and Medina for Ottoman imperial claims and for different intellectual and spiritual strands in the 16th- and 17th-century Ottoman context.

This chapter looks at the development of ḥajj imagery in another perspective. Namely, it deals with an increase in travelogues and itineraries in the period of the 17th-19th centuries. These travelogues and itineraries continued to uphold the centrality of Mecca and Medina, and introduced new ideas, which reflected change in authority, and spoke of the greater consequences of social, economic and cultural transformations.

Several aspects of change in ḥajj imagery from this period should be pointed out. Firstly, the chapter deals with emerging literacies which affected not only privileged elite members of society, but also the low-ranking ʿulamā and merchant classes. The comparisons with rising non-Muslim literacies show that this phenomenon was not limited to Muslim parts of the society. Closely connected to increased literacy were the relations of the authors to the sacred places, and also to the voyage itself. This part of the chapter investigates the meanings of pilgrimage and sacred places as interest in them developed in a peculiar way, and also points to potential similarities with the non-Muslim pilgrimage to Jerusalem in

[198] See Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Space and Place in Medieval Contexts,'' *Parergon* 27, no. 2 (2010): 1.

approximately the same period. The final part of the chapter deals with an increasing sense of locality which had not previously been evident, and that adds to the development of self in this literature. The relevance of this development is that it can contribute to understanding of individuality in this period, and the role place has in it.

Throughout his seminal article on expression of individuality in Ottoman society, Rhoads Murphey emphasizes the relevance of two factors (language and locality) which help us in determining the development of individuality in the Ottoman period. However, while Murphey's article emphasizes the ultimate relevance of locality for a common member of Ottoman society, and the predominance of ''localized environments'' and frames of reference ''for the sense of self and belonging'', he downplays the role that ''grand concepts and unifying causes'' had in this respect.[199] While the importance of locality is inevitably crucial in the analysis of the Ottoman self, other types of belonging should not be excluded from the picture. The importance of religious networks played a similar, albeit different role in defining the multiple belongings which Bosnian ḥajj authors possessed.

The journey to ḥajj, unlike travels to other places or remaining in one's local space, brought advancement in social status. What seems to change in the 17th and 18th centuries is the increasing desire of non-elite and occasionally non-ʿulamā members to share their religious experience in a written form which does not resemble the old Text-oriented ḥajj treatises of the past. Also, unlike these treatises, the new travelogues frequently place the journey in central focus, while leaving the holy places as a culmination point. The journey becomes a way to explore the world and to turn the focus not on the place-as-text (as was the case with `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī or Ḥasan Imām-zāde), but to places as mundane realities which are experienced by human senses. The visual and the auditory impressions increasingly appear, which reveals a different perception of the world, or at least a growing importance of ''secular'' places.

[199] Rhoads Murphey, ''Forms of Differentiation and Expression of Individuality in Ottoman Society,'' *Turcica* 34 (2002): 135-170.

Therefore, although some of the aforementioned issues are not restricted solely to ḥajj literature, it is important to point out that the ḥajj journey implicated greater diversity of spatial considerations. As in the previous period, the Text (in meaning of scripture, ḥadīth, and other relevant textual material) mattered, but in the new period, the authors try to write about their own personal experience of a ḥajj journey with all the exigencies of arduous travel. New interest in the process of travel, and not only in its ultimate goal, inevitably changed the way places on the way to ḥajj were observed. This was not an isolated phenomenon, and it was related to the rise in literacy throughout the period.

3.1 The Will to Write: Rising Literacies in Ottoman Bosnia and Beyond

The first known ḥajj travelogue from Ottoman Bosnia was written in 1616 by Yūsuf Livnjak, a muezzin in a local mosque, which means that he belonged to low-ranking ʿulamā usually educated in local centres (of Sarajevo, Mostar, Travnik or some other Bosnian city) and served the local population. The appearance of this travelogue is almost a temporal aberration, as the majority of existent Bosnian ḥajj travelogues were written in the 18th century. However, we cannot state categorically that other ḥajj travelogues were not written in the same period. Frequent wars, natural disasters and the destruction of Sarajevo by Prince Eugen of Savoy in 1697, which entailed the destruction of mosques and public spaces, might suggest that extant material is limited in scope and does not reflect the full extent of written material related to ḥajj. However, while taking this consideration into account, one possible way of discovering whether there was a shift in the epistemological paradigm is to look briefly at the overall surge of similar material in the Ottoman Empire, as well as to consider the possible changes in the perception of holy places by the non-Muslim Ottomans. Similarly, a limited understanding of related phenomenon in the non-Ottoman Muslim world might help shed light on the changes that emerged in this period. The conclusions to be drawn are tentative, with an awareness that the discovery of similar material from earlier periods might shift the timeline. Also, as is the case with thematic units in this thesis, it is necessary to occasionally refer to material which chronologically falls earlier or later.

Therefore, the appearance of Yūsuf Livnjak's travelogue predates the wider trend of travelogue writing among Bosnian Muslims. The eighteenth century witnesses a proliferation in travelogues, and also accompanying guidebook material, such as the manāsik literature, as well as simple travel itineraries. The interrelation of the accompanying material and travelogues points to an increasing interest in the pilgrimage and the growing possibility of non-elite classes to participate in this endeavour. The proliferation of pilgrimage material is furthermore connected to the change in the conception of book authorship and ownership, or more precisely, in liberalizing access to authorship, which has been noted by researchers such as Dana Sajdi.[200] While the attention of Ottoman researchers has started to turn to different writings of both elite members of the society in the Arab provinces (such as ʿAbd al-Ghānī al-Nābulūsi) and the ''new literatis'' (such as the barber of Damascus, the subject of Sajdi's study), and while there are studies and articles on the rise of literacy and an interest in pilgrimage among Empire's religious minorities, a comparative approach to both literacy and pilgrimage has yet to be written.

The eighteenth century in Ottoman Bosnia witnessed a significant increase of autobiographical material among the Muslim and non-Muslim populations. Of course, it should be kept in mind that the demarcation ''eighteenth century'' has to be understood to include processes which had started earlier, and that the specific circumstances of each religious group influenced the language, genre, circulation and reception of the autobiographical material. At the same time, these processes reflected wider changes in the Empire and beyond, and were a significant echo of global interactions that had become more prominent because of mobility, the circulation of commodities and ideas in different networks.[201] Simultaneously, however, changes and developments in literacies in this period had influence on further transformations in the end of the 19th/beginning of the 20th century. In

[200] Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013).

[201] Ali Yaycioglu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 7.; however, it should be noted that in this context, one cannot speak about ''diaspora communities'' of Bosnian Muslims at this point.

that sense, although this chapter cannot go into detailed considerations of dynamics between the imperial centre and provinces, some general conclusions, especially those related to the rise of the local nobility and, consequently, the rise of local consciousness, are presented throughout the analysis.

One such dynamic is manifested in multiple ''enlightenments''[202] which took place in the 18th century regarding the non-Muslim population. In his recent study, Ali Yaycioglu speaks about a particular ''transimperial republic of letters'' fostered by Ottoman Greeks and Armenians, and spurred by connections to Europe.[203] The Greek Enlightenment, in that context, connected different European cities to Ottoman-Hellenic centres and brought debates on different topics to Ottoman Empire. Such exchanges enhanced ways in which Ottoman Empire was perceived in Europe, but also brought new modes of learning into the Empire itself.[204]

While the case of the Bosnian Catholic and Orthodox scholarly elites (or similar elites from the greater Balkans) cannot be observed in the exact same context, a change in literary production is observable in that case too. Thus, for example, the eighteenth century was a period when the Bosnian Fransciscans increasingly started writing chronicles, which was later explained by influences coming from outside the Ottoman Empire.[205] Although the form and the language (for example, writing in Latin) in some cases justifies such a qualification, it is noteworthy to consider the simultaneous appearance of different types of chronicle-writing among the Muslim population as well, including the famous

[202] There are multiple issues with the term ''enlightenment'' in the context of Ottoman intellectual exchange and production. The first – and most obvious one – is that a direct link to European enlightenment is sought, even when such a link does not exist; secondly, it assesses the Ottoman intellectual production in a subordinate relation to that of Europe as a referent.

[203] Ali Yaycioglu, *Partners of the Empire,* 35.

[204] Ali Yaycioglu, *Partners of the Empire,* 34.

[205] Rafo Bogišić, ''Književnost bosansko-hercegovačkih franjevaca u hrvatskoj književnoj matici,'' in: *Sedam stoljeća bosanskih franjevaca 1291-1991 (zbornik)*, ed. by Marko Karamatić (Sarajevo: Franjevačka teologija, 1994); Ivan Lovrenović, http://ivanlovrenovic.com/2012/02/književnost-bosanskih-franjevaca/ (accessed 13/01/2017)

mecmua form.[206] Starting in the 17th century, chronicle writing among Bosnian Franciscans reached its peak in the 18th century and was also continued later. A recent linguistic analysis of these chronicles shows a strong impact of Turkish language on choice of vocabulary,[207] which proves that literary dependencies cannot be explained by one source of influence.

When, on the other hand, the Orthodox Christian (Serb) literary production is studied, there is also an increase in autobiographical material in this century.[208] Apart from the autobiographical material, various sources point to an interest in the history and the world beyond the confinement of the local.[209] The complex linguistic situation and different linguistic processes which had begun in the 18th century do not seem to be connected to a sense of ethnic exclusivity, but are more related to the pervading sense of religious identity.[210] Although direct literary influences do not stem from the same source, if these cases are compared to other occurrences of similar autobiographical material in the Ottoman Empire and beyond, it is evident that a particular sensitivity with regard to the questions of self, the world, time and space was developing.[211] Changing and developing

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[206] Although not in the realms of the Ottoman Empire, the case of Tatar culture of ''kitāb writing'' has been recently studied in: Shirin Akiner, ''Cultural Hybridity in the Religious Literature of the Tatars of North-Eastern Europe,'' *The Slavonic and East European Review* 95, no. 3 (July 2017): 401-428.

[207] Florence Graham, ''Turkish Loanwords in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Bosnian and Bulgarian Franciscan Texts,'' University of Oxford, 2015.

[208] Jovan Skerlić, *Srpska književnost u XVIII veku* (Beograd: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, 1909)

[209] See, for example, the rise of chronicle writing among the non-Muslim historians from the eastern Europe: Johann Strauss, ''The rise of non-Muslim historiography in the eighteenth century,'' *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova serie, Anno 18 (79), no. 1, THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1999): 217-232.

[210] As argued by Paschalis M. Kitromilides, ''Orthodox Culture and Collective Identity in the Ottoman Balkans During the Eighteenth Century,'' *Oriente Moderno*, Nuova serie, Anno 18 (79), no. 1, THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1999): 131-145.

[211] A very brief comparison of the chronicle writings of a Franciscan priest and a Muslim scribe are sufficient in showing the heightened desire to write about oneself for future generations. Bono Benić states that he writes his chronicle so that the ones who come after ''them'' have a clearer picture than ''they'' had about the ones before them. Likewise, Mula Mustafa Bašeskija stresses the importance of memory, by saying that ''what is written remains, what is memorized gets erased''.

attitudes towards self and its representation have been studied with regard to the proliferation of public architectural objects, such as the expression of the new self through sponsorship of the public fountains.[212] Sensitivity was evident across religious and geographical lines, and, in some regions, literacy paths followed similar directions.[213] In that regard, descriptions of pilgrimage start to appear more prominently accross religious lines. Also, different forms of cultural revival among Christian communities in the Ottoman Empire implied stronger interest in enhancing religious life, which also meant a rise in popular sermons about pilgrimages to Jerusalem.[214] It all leads to the conclusion that this religious proximity facilitated the reciprocal borrowing of social practices and the sharing of customs and values among Muslims and non-Muslims.[215]

The reasons for an increased sense of self as expressed in different types of writing practices, as well as the heightened sense of locality (a particular form of ''local consciousness''), can be sought in different political, economic, and social factors, such as the political instability of the Bosnian province, ''the age of ayans'', economic ups and downs and the increased visibility of minority groups.[216] The rise of the ayan in particular might have contributed to the rise of local consciousness, especially in the 18th century Bosnia.[217]

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[212]Shirine Hamadeh, ''Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul,'' *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 123-148.

[213]Thus, for example, Albanian Muslims increasingly start writing in Albanian with Arabic script (aljamiado) during the 18th and 19th centuries, on a range of topics similar to the ones found in Bosnian aljamiado (didactic, social, religious). See more in: Robert Elsie, ''Albanian Literature in the Moslem Tradition: Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century Albanian Writing in Arabic Script,'' *Oriens* 33 (1992): 287-306.

[214]See, for example, the case of Coptic pilgrimage in the 18th century in: Febe Armanios, *Coptic Christianity in Ottoman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 91-115.

[215]Lucette Valensi, "Inter-Communal Relations and Changes in Religious Affiliation in the Middle East (Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries)," *Comparative Studies in Society and Histor*y 39 (1997): 256.

[216]Bruce McGowan, ''The age of the ayans, 1699-1812,'' in: *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, 2 vols, ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi et al., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2:637-758.

[217]For a detailed study of Bosnian ayans, see: Avdo Sućeska, *Ajani: Prilog izučavanju lokalne vlasti u našim zemljama za vrijeme Turaka* (Sarajevo: Naučno društvo SR Bosne i Hercegovine, 1965);

While we cannot assume that there was a direct meeting point between non-Muslim authors and Muslim elite literary culture (as presented, for example, in the works of `Ali Dede or Ḥasan Imām-zāde),[218] there are similar phenomenon occuring among different religious groups in the way social and cultural processes affected experiencing (sacred) space. Apart from understanding the intellectual processes of the period, comparing two different religious perspectives that underly writings about holy places helps one understand the shifting paradigms about space.[219] Were holy places, and especially shared ones, experienced in the same manner? And what were the bolstering arguments in the text? I will try to comment briefly on the emergence of some similar types of writing among Orthodox Christian travellers from Ottoman Bosnia.

3.1.1. Christian Pilgrimage Literature in the Ottoman Empire

Orthodox Christian pilgrimage literature from the 17th and 18th centuries is often divided into two categories: *proskynetarion* works which are focused on describing holy places and serving as guidebooks for pilgrims (comparable to *faḍā'il* from the previous chapter)[220] and travelogues, which depict a pilgrim's progression and come close to the modern understanding of a travel account. Proskynetarion works circulated in the 16th and the 17th centuries, offering standardized information about the Holy Land by presenting it as a static, unchanging entity. Their origin can be traced back to the seventh century. In the context of the Ottoman empire, proskynetarion works were translated from Greek into Slavic languages, and in

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especially the second part of the book which deals with the 18th century rise of the ayan.; also: Yuzo Nagata, *Materials on the Bosnian Notables* (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1979).

[218]Such cases, however, existed and are visible mostly through Turkish grammar books written by Catholic priests. See: Ekrem Čaušević, ''Prve gramatike turskoga jezika u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' in: *Posebni otisak iz Zbornika radova o fra Anđelu Zvizdoviću*, ed. by Marko Karamatić (Sarajevo-Fojnica: Franjevačka teologija Sarajevo, 2000), 487-499.

[219]A similar call for comparative perspective is the subject of a recent edited volume: Judy A. Hayden and Nabil I. Matar, eds., *Through the Eyes of the Beholder: The Holy Land, 1517-1713* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); R. L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

[220]Very close to this genre is the ''khozhdenie'' form of writing, with its focus on describing the sacred.

general it can be said that Greek influence was dominant for literature sources about Jerusalem. Thus, Slavic Orthodox writings about the Holy Land from the Balkans came as a result of multiple connections: primarily with the long tradition of writing about the Holy Land through Russian translations or reworkings of Greek models, and secondly, through associations with the Muslim pilgrimage itself.

In 1662, Gavrilo Tadić, a Bosnian Orthodox Christian, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and ordered a proskynitarion from the Holy Land.[221] The proskynetarion carried the title *Pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre and Holy Sites in the Holy City of Jerusalem* (*Poklonjenje Časnom grobu i svetim mestima u svetom gradu Jerusalimu*). This work developed from a Greek extract from 1662.[222] Though not offering a description of the journey, it testifies to the fact that the description of holy places, with elaborate illustrations, answered both the devotional needs and the practical necessities of future pilgrims. Gavrilo Tadić's proskynetarion offers some personal impressions during his visit to Jerusalem and rites connected to certain ceremonies.

More elaborate travelogues, while extant before, began to rise more prominently in the course of 18th century. In the case of Orthodox Christian pilgrims, they began to emerge not only within the confines of the Ottoman Empire, but also among the Orthodox minority in the Habsburg Empire.[223] A range of different travelogues arises in this period; their common characteristic is that, although holy places hold the primary textual space, the author's attention is

[221]On Gavrilo Tadić as a member of the Orthodox Christian elite from the 17th century Sarajevo, see: Vladislav Skarić, *Srpski pravoslavni narod i crkva u Sarajevu u 17. i 18. vijeku* (Sarajevo: Državna štamparija, 1928), 58-59.

[222]Zoran Rakić, ''Slikani ukras srpskih rukopisnih knjiga od XII do XVII veka,'' in: *Svet srpske rukopisne knjige (XII-XVII vek) (The world of Serbian Manuscripts: 12th-17th Centuries)*, ed. Zoran Rakić et al., (SANU: Beograd, 2016), 200.

[223]See a short overview of these writings in: Miroslav Timotijević, ''Pojedinac kao vernik i podanik,'' in: *Rađanje moderne privatnosti: Privatni život Srba u Habzburškoj monarhiji od kraja 17. do početka 19. veka* (Belgrade: Clio, 2006), 54-58; pilgrimage literature was also read, such as the example of the book by Hristofor Džefarović ''Opisanije Jerusalima'' (The description of Jerusalem) in the private collection of Andrija Nikolić, in: Miroslav Timotijević, ''Skrovitost duše'', in: *Rađanje moderne privatnosti*, 324-325.; on further popularity of pilgrimage literature in the 19th century (especially of Džefarović's work) see: Nenad Makuljević, ''Poklonička putovanja i privatni identitet,'' in: *Privatni život kod Srba u devetnaestom veku: Od kraja osamnaestog veka do početka Prvog svetskog rata*, ed. by Ana Stolić and Nenad Makuljević (Belgrade: Clio, 2006), 815.

preoccupied with the experiential side of the journey.[224] These travelogues were also connected to the rise of the diary form.[225]

With the increase of Orthodox Christians in the Balkans in the 17th century travelling to Jerusalem, illustrated travel literature became more common. Visual depictions of Jerusalem, with a particular focus on narrative paintings were prevalent.[226] While such paintings did not have the status of icon, they were used for devotional and educational purposes, which comes close to the status of *dalā'il al-khayrāt* (illustrated prayer books) in Islamic cultures. These paintings and proskynetarion works presented an atemporal vision of Jerusalem framed by Biblical stories. Here, a strong parallel with depictions of Mecca and Medina in *faḍā'il* works can be drawn. Objects in both types of texts are depicted as static and having a soteriological role of unique importance to a pilgrim. The journey to these places is not in focus, and neither are the circumstances of travel.

In tune with the changes happening across religious lines, pilgrimage literature (and, increasingly, proskynetarion works), were written in a Slavic language or translated into one, in order to appeal to a wider populace.[227]Moreover, Orthodox Christian depictions of the Holy Land were influenced by Muslim ḥajj tradition, but also exerted a unique set of developments of its own.[228] A deeper analysis of changes in the portrayal of holy places would

[224]Some of the prominent authors include: Arsenije III Čarnojević, Joan Damjanović, Jerotej Račanin, and others.

[225]Miroslav Timotijević, ''Skrovitost duše,'' 350.

[226]*Opisanije Jerusalima*, 23.; for such depictions of Jerusalem found in Sarajevo, see: Đoko Mazalić, ''Dvije stare slike i njihov majstor,'' *Naše starine* I, (1953): 60-88.

[227]*Opisanije Jerusalima*, 36-37.; however, there are examples of proskynetarion in Turkish. See: L. Pavlović, ''Prilog izučavanju Hadži-Ruvimove biblioteke i njegove umetničke delatnosti, in: Nenad Makuljević, Vizuelna kultura i privatni identitet pravoslavnih hrišćana u 18. veku, in: *Privatni život u srpskim zemljama u osvit modernog doba*, ed. by Aleksandar Fotić (Belgrade: Clio, 2005), 90.

[228]For example, Hristofor Džefarović's illustrated depiction of Jerusalem was published in 1748 in Vienna. It means that printing press brought new changes in the pilgrimage literature of Orthodox Christians from the Balkans that was starkly different from the trajectory of Ottoman Muslim ḥajj authors.

point out the transformations in sensibilities affecting all Ottoman subjects of a particular period.

3.1.2 Emerging Muslim Literacies

In the context of different types of Bosnian Muslim literacy in the 18th century, it is important to note the case of a *mecmua* of Mula Mustafa Bašeskija (1731-1809), which points to the previously stated issues of an increased awareness of self, space and time.[229] Although Mula Mustafa Bašeskija did not go on a pilgrimage, his account is a paradigmatic example of the development of self in the 18th century, which, among other things, included interest in the local (language, customs, folk traditions), mundane (deaths, prices, events of local significance), as well as simple interpretations of world histories and lists of rulers. However, the information on ḥajj can be gathered from his chronicle as well, where it is possible to see that although this pilgrimage was primarily a privilege of the rich, sometimes poor members of Bosnian Muslim society were able to undertake it.

Mula Mustafa Bašeskija's chronicle does not appear to be the only example of such autobiographical material, and this type of writing continued in the 19th century with Bašeskija's son Firaki (1775-1827),[230]and then on into the 20th century with the collosal chronicle/history of Enver Kadić (1855-1931).[231]

The rise of autobiographical literature and significant interest in the local is related to the appearance of bilingual dictionaries. Rudimentary forms of these dictionaries also exist as parts of larger autobiographical works (Mula Mustafa Bašeskija's *mecmua* contains such a small dictionary), and in one case they form a part of a ''ḥajj book''. The appearance of these dictionaries speaks of a rising

[229]On different themes in Mula Mustafa Bašeskija's chronicle, see: Kerima Filan, *Sarajevo u Bašeskijino doba* (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2013).

[230]See more in: Rašid Hajdarović, ''Medžmua Mulla Mustafe Firakije,'' *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 22-23, (1972-1973): 301-314.

[231]On Enver (Enverija) Kadić, see more in: Alma Omanović-Veladžić, ''Hronika Muhameda Enverija Kadića kao izvor za izučavanje kulturne historije Bosne i Hercegovine,'' PhD diss., University of Sarajevo, 2014.

awareness about the local, and an intense desire to compare local traditions to the ones belonging to a wider Ottoman world.[232]

What the previous considerations show is that a large number of different treatises were circulating in this period and that it was not a phenomenon affecting only Muslims. By analysing Muslim and non-Muslim pilgrimage literature, a shift in approach towards holy places can be gleaned and in the case of Muslim literature, it is particularly bound to the question of literacy. While prescriptive literature, as well as literature which depicts holy places as static and textually bound, persisted and circulated, there was a steady emergence of first person narratives on ḥajj (or pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the case of Christian travelogues) which are now increasingly focused on the journey itself.

Interest in the world outside the Text also led to an increased focus on the bodily and sensory experiences of the journey. Travel literature of the 18th century focuses not only on Mecca and Medina, but also on places along the ḥajj journey, which were sometimes significant only because they provided fresh water or grass for horses. The interest in the physical points also to the awareness that pilgrimage descriptions might influence the expectations of future pilgrims regarding material circumstances of such an endeavour, in contrast to highly intellectual endeavours of the earlier authors. The next section discusses new observations of place in relation to the rise of the new self in the travelogue literature.

[232]Mula Mustafa claimed that Bosnian is richer than Arabic and Turkish, giving as an example the number of words for a verb ''to go''. The examples he gives mostly come from slang and are not widely used. Mula Mustafa Bašeskija, *Ljetopis (1746-1804),* trans. Mehmed Mujezinović (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1968), 15.

3.2 Genre, Self and the World

Whether belonging to a Text-based genre or travelogue, the works on pilgrimage were recognized as a part of pilgrimage tradition in their respective cultural contexts.[233] Thus, ḥajj literature itself used a number of recognized forms which were circulating not only in the Ottoman Empire, but also beyond. The reception of these works cannot be discerned easily, though the existence of multiple copies in different cities could be a clear indication of the popularity of a genre or a particular work. Research of the catalogues of the manuscript libraries and archives in Sarajevo and Istanbul shows that a significant number of ḥajj-related works survived into modern times.[234] The ḥajj-related works were both written by Bosnians and copied or bought by them elsewhere.

Observing space turned to another form as well. The appearance of copies of illustrated works such as *dalā'il al-khayrāt* in the 18th century (and Bosnia was no exception) showed holy places in richly illustrated prayer books which were bought on the ḥajj journey or acquired through patronage in Bosnia. The proliferation of this material points to matters of prestige and material gifts brought from the pilgrimage, but also to a rising need to present holy places in a new manner to a rising potential pilgrim audience.[235] If private book libraries and collections are observed, a significant portion of the material contained in them belongs to ḥajj works (mostly copied), which reveal exactly what type of ḥajj literature was circulated and sought after in the period.[236] A great source of information about the circulation of ḥajj material

[233] Alexia Petsalis-Diomidis, ''Narratives of Transformation: Pilgrimage Patterns and Authorial Self-Presentation in Three Pilgrimage Texts,'' *Journeys. The International Journal of Travel and Travel Writing* 3, no.1, (2002) : 84-85.

[234] There are at least five surviving Bosnian travelogues, and a number of prescriptive works (manāsik treatises). The list of different works on ḥajj divided according to the time period can be found in the introduction and in the bibliography section of the thesis.

[235] On *dala'il al-khayrat* see: Witkam, J.J, ''The battle of the images. Mecca vs. Medina in the iconography of the manuscripts of al-Jazuli's Dala'il al-Khayrat,'' in: *Theoretical approaches to the transmission and edition of Oriental manuscripts*, ed. by Judith Pfeiffer and Manfred Kropp, (Beirut: Ergon Verlag Würzburg, 2007), 67-84.

[236] One illustrative example is the library of Muṣṭafā Muḥibbī, a qadi from early 19th century Bosnia, in which he (or his descendants) preserved Abdurrahman Gubârî's ḥajj travelogue in verse, one *dalā'il al-khayrāt*, as well as a ḥajj guidebook. (See: Tatjana Paić-Vukić, *Svijet Mustafe Muhibbija, sarajevskoga kadije* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2007), 203, 221, 231.

are inheritance inventories, which show how *manāsik al-ḥajj* treatises gained huge popularity in 18th-century Ottoman Bosnia.[237]Since *manāsik* treatises were standardized works that gave necessary information about the correct performance of the ritual according to different legal schools, it can be assumed that they were the most in demand, surpassing *dalā`il al-khayrat* prayer books.

Apart from the existence of a number of *manāsik* treatises which were written by non-Bosnian authors, there is a case of an author who was asked by Bosnian ḥajjis to write a *manāsik* for them. The author, Abd al-Wahhab al-Būsnawī, wrote his work in 1761.[238] The *manāsik* was written in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, which, perhaps, speaks of the translating activities which brought the ḥajj material closer to non-ʿ*ulamā* members of society. In another Bosnian *manāsik*, the author clearly indicates that he gathered the material from Arabic sources, but decided to compile it in Ottoman Turkish, perceiving both the increased need for the material of this and similar kinds, and the lack of sufficient textual knowledge about rites among the pilgrims.[239] Often, the *manāsik* were joined by the *faḍā'il* of the holy places.[240] Treatises on rewards of visiting not only Mecca and Medina, but also ziyārat places such as al-Khalīl (Hebron) or Bayt al-Maqdis were circulating.[241]

Works of prescriptive nature were not the only ones circulating in the Ottoman Bosnia with regard to ḥajj. A famous ḥajj travelogue in verse by Yūsuf Nābī *Tuḥfat al-ḥaramayn* was also available.[242] Likewise, Sufi stories on ḥajj journeys

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[237]For a detailed overview of circulation of books in the 18th century Sarajevo, see: Asim Zubčević, ''Book Ownership in Ottoman Sarajevo, 1707-1828,'' PhD Diss., University of Leiden, 2015.

[238]ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Būsnawī, *Manāsik al-ḥajj*, GHB, R-1866; another manāsik author whose work appears in Sarajevo manuscript libraries is Sinanuddīn Yūsuf ibn Yaʿqūb ar-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī.

[239]Ibrāhīm al-Būsnawī, Edā-yi manāsik al-ḥujjāc = Edā-i menāsik el-ḥuccāc, SOAS Library, M5657.

[240]Muḥammad Yamanī, *Manāsik al-ḥajj `aw faḍā`il Makka wa Madina wa Bayt al-Muqaddas*, GHB, 1456.

[241]Isḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shāfiʿī, GHB 3661; Anonymous, *Qasīda fī madḥ Quds Sharīf li majhūl,* GHB, R-5223; sometimes the works that praise all four of the holy places (Mecca, Medina, al-Quds and al-Khalil) are also found: Muḥammad Lamnī, *Tuḥfa al-ʿāshiqīn*, GHB, R- 10309.

[242]GHB 1326.

were in circulation.[243]A significant part of fiqh works dealt with ḥajj as well, in specialized chapters of the manuals (*bāb al-ḥajj*). Although the title ''kitāb al-ḥajj'' subsumed different texts, in some cases it also contained a chapter on the virtues of ḥajj (*faḍā`il al-ḥajj*).

In this context, ḥajj literature of the 17th and 18th centuries arises in the Bosnian context in the form of travelogues, itineraries and prescriptive literature.

The travelogue by Yūsuf Livnjak from 1615, which was mentioned in the previous chapter, was followed by others at the end of the century. The 18th century witnesses a number of itineraries and a travelogue in verse (in contrast to Livnjak's travelogue in prose) written by Mustafa Mukhliṣî. Both travelogues (Livnjak's and Mukhliṣî's) used Ottoman Turkish, which is also the language of a number of *manāsik,* and indicates the prevailing written language of this period. The fact that, on the one hand, the works were translated from Arabic into Ottoman, and, on the other hand, that there is seemingly a lack of works in the Bosnian language, might speak of the status of Ottoman Turkish as the language of common literacy. Also, in contrast to ḥajj treatises dealt with in the previous chapter, the use of Ottoman Turkish suggests that a larger number of people went on ḥajj and, more significantly here, wrote about it in a new manner.

The language of ḥajj writings from the 18th century was a sign of changing attitudes towards literacy. However, the inner workings of the ḥajj travelogues point to the division between Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, depending on the emphasis which the authors wanted to make. Unlike Arabic, whose diffusion did not require any ''organized political power, colonial enterprise, military conquest, or large migration'',[244] the use of Ottoman Turkish was clearly connected to its role as the administrative language of the empire (as well as one of the key languages of literature). The switch from Arabic to Ottoman Turkish in the course of the 18th century testifies to an increase in literacy, which

[243]See the work which speaks about events from Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī's journey to ḥajj in: Anonymous, *Ḥikāya al-shaykh al-ʿārif Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī*, GHB, 3723.

[244]Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 15.

spread not only among the ʿulamā, but also among the merchant and trade class (as will be seen in travelogues written in the 18th century). In this way, it is possible to observe Ottoman Turkish as an intermediary language between Arabic as the language of ʿulamā (but also common for religiosity) and Bosnian as the vernacular which was used in written form only for certain limited purposes.[245]

The switch to Ottoman Turkish allowed for the expression of local linguistic identities as well (while retaining its position as a serious literary language for elites), which is shown in the production of small dictionaries and glossaries of local languages.[246]The overarching role of Ottoman Turkish, however, should be placed in its relation to Arabic, which, as Ronit Ricci has shown in the example of linguistic and cultural tranmission in South and Southeast Asia, thoroughly influenced literary practices and ushered in ''not just a new cosmopolitan age but a new vernacular age as well.''*[247]* Ottoman Turkish was not circumscribed to elite circles, and the widespread usage of this language in the context of ḥajj literature might speak of vernacularization in the provinces. While Bosnian was a local language, its status as the language of the learned elite takes root only in the 20th century. However, there are indications that translations of religious primers also existed in the Bosnian language, but in Arabic script, probably intended for the wider use.[248] Also, the production of different didactic religious material intended for broader audiences begins to appear in Bosnian language in the 18th century.[249] The different status of Turkish in relation to both literary production and social status[250] certainly affected the production of ḥajj material, as these texts combined three types of prestige (or tools for attaining social prestige)

[245]Bosnian language was used in a particular form of literature, called ''aljamiado'' by the 20th century scholarship. Didactic stories and romantic poems were written in Arabic script and present a valuable source for study of linguistic transformation.

[246]One of the most famous examples is a Bosnian-Turkish dictionary from 1631 titled ''Potur shâhidiya'' or ''Makbûl-i 'ârif'' by Muhamed Hevâî Uskûfî Bosnevi. The work was written upon the model of a Persian-Turkish dictionary from the 16th century. A later example of a small dictionary embedded in a larger structure is the 18th century ḥajj mecmua which is analysed in this chapter.

[247] Ricci, *Islam Translated,* 17.

[248]Zubčević, ''Book Ownership,'' 83.

[249]Zubčević, ''Book Ownership,'' 84.

[250]Zubčević, ''Book Ownership,'' 100-101.

which are the combination of a religous journey, the act of writing a book, and the additional factor of writing in Ottoman Turkish.

While we cannot know with certainty whether some of the itineraries and travelogues were written during the pilgrimage,[251] it is easy to suppose that the *manāsik, faḍā'il* and other types of prescriptive literature were written after the ritual[252] or copied from an existing work. The authority of a prescriptive text, as was the case with the above mentioned works, remains influential; however, it also paves the way for descriptions of the world which were not confined to strict generic rules.

How do questions of genre, self and the world interact in Ottoman Bosnian travelogues from this period? There are four starting points. Firstly, the historical moment in which these travelogues occur is very relevant. However, it is worth stressing that the first known Bosnian ḥajj travelogue appears in the 17th century, which corresponds with an overall trend in the 17th and 18th century throughout the Eastern Mediterranean which led to the transition to ''territorially-based plural communities'' in centuries before the intensification of contact with European powers.[253] The travellers for religious purposes have, as in earlier periods, been aware of the community of faith that ties them to fellow travellers. But at the same time, they have come into direct contact with the real differences of language, sect, race, and customs that unavoidably make up the wider community. The increased sense of locality, however, in religious terms meant strengthening borders between communities, a movement ushered in by the age of confessionalism. Traces of strongly asserting Sunni identity start as early as in `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī's *faḍā`il*. Confessionalism develops into a preoccupation with ziyārat places, as can be seen from the itineraries.

[251]It can be presumed that itineraries had to be written during journey, considering that they usually mention the number of hours between different stations. The authors also wrote more elaborate notes about the journey after their return. See, for example, a short travelogue of ḥajji Mustafa Novalī from 1766, especially: GHB, R 10310, 2a.

[252]It is possible to conclude that according to the notes at the beginning of these works, although it is also possible that such an introduction was a matter of style.

[253]Dale F. Eickelman and James Piscatori, *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), xv.

The rest of this chapter focuses on the two ḥajj travelogues by Yūsuf Livnjak and Mustafa Mukhliṣî, and delineates major topics. While ḥajj treatises from the first chapter focused on Mecca and Medina, the travelogues of Yūsuf Livnjak and Mustafa Mukhliṣî engage a whole new range of different places on a wide scale of sanctity. Thus, attention is paid to descriptions of places and experiences of space (both through textual means and through experience). The chapter concludes with a short analysis of a ḥajj *mecmua,* which additionally proves links between changes in literacy and new visions of pilgrimage.

3.3 Visiting the Friends of God

Yūsuf Livnjak was a muezzin in a local mosque in the small city of Livno. During his life, he wrote a travelogue and a poem which was in the manuscript where the travelogue was found. The travelogue of Yūsuf Livnjak exists in one copy in the colossal chronicle of Enver Kadić (1855-1931).[254] Scattered details known about the author allow one to reconstruct that he went on ḥajj in 1615, and spent the rest of his life in his small town.

The travelogue starts with a standard praise, which indicates the main direction his travelogue takes. Namely, this introductory part lists his intentions and expectations of the journey:

''Thanks be to God who made me closer to the Prophet's Mosque and with his generosity allowed me to reach Ahmad's qibla, and brought me to visit the graves of God's friends who are perfect and perfected. They are friends of God and the Prophet's deputies. Salawāt are said for Him – the one for who God said 'lawlāka' and his descendants who are the fruits of kings and his followers who are distinguished by the usage of *miswāk*.''[255]

The introduction suggests several identitarian points which were recognized by the reading audience of the 17th century. The motivation for the journey was a search for blessing, thus the author mentions the Prophet and God's friends. The

[254] Enver Kadić, 175.

[255] *Alḥamd lillah alladhī 'aqrabanī ʾilā al-masjid al-Muḥammadī wa awsalnī bi luṭfihī ʾilā qibla al-ʾAḥmadī wa ʾawsalni fī ziyārat qubūr ʾawliyā' Allah al-kāmilīn al-mukammalīn hum ʾahl Allah wa khalīfa Rasūl Allah wa al-ṣalāt wa al-taslīm qila fī ḥaqqihī lawlāka wa ʾawladuhū 'alladhīna hum natījat al-ʾamlāk wa ʾattibā'ihī ʾalladhīna hum yafraḥūn bi 'istiʿmāl al-siwāk.* R7303 175

word ''lawlāka'' is a reference to a famous ḥadīth ''If it were not for you, Muḥammad, I would not have created the universe.'' The third significant point is that Livnjak associates himself with a larger community of believers ''distinguished by the usage of *miswāk''.* The reference to usage of miswāk points to following of Prophet's example, thus making the motivation for pilgrimage strongly connected to the character of the Prophet.

The travelogue soon switches to Ottoman Turkish which is used throughout the narrative. The author gives details about the date and place of the start of the journey. He uses Arabic, Turkish and Bosnian names of the month (such is in the example where he uses a Bosnian word for June - *Lipany ayında*). While earlier authors did not give information on their locality, Livnjak is quite specific and names his village (''Županja Potok''). The author lists his companions, which is also done even in much shorter itineraries from the 18th century. Further on, the beginning of the travelogue marks a shift in priorities: the author notes that he will describe places of rest (*konduğumuz yerleri*), places which will be seen on the way (*gördüğumuz meḳâmları*), visits to God's friends ('*evliyâ-i kirâm mezâr-i sherîf ziyâret*), while placing the ruling sultan, for whose success and prosperity the author prays, on the very last place of praise. For Livnjak, every day is valuable; his concern for detailed keeping of time coincides with his preoccupation with places beyond Mecca and Medina. Mecca and Medina retain spatial importance, but they are observed in the context of transitory time – unlike their ex-temporal depictions in the works of `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī or Ḥasan Imām-zāde.

When describing the strategies of a 17th century diarist, Cemal Kafadar stresses that the real protagonist of the work was ''the labyrinthine network of companionship spun by a group of individuals neither of whom the diarist cares to singly depict or analyze.'' [256]Livnjak mentions his companions, often by name, and includes them in his narrations but does not delve into more elaborate depictions (crucial events, such as death, makes them included in the narrative[257]). In the

[256]Cemal Kafadar, ''Self and Others,'' 148.

[257]R 7303 179

course of the 18th century, events in which companions participate gain more prominence in narratives. Some itineraries, for example, will present strange activities done by ḥajjis on the way, such as weighing themselves on a tree to ascertain the heaviest and the lightest person in the group.[258] Most commonly, the mention of cotravellers happens during a turbulent time on the sea, as well as at liminal points of the journey (meetings at holy places, saying farewell).[259] What these frequent, but austere remarks related to the ḥajj companions point to is the attention to friendship, and to the pilgrim's self-fashioning as a person of personal connections.[260]

However, while ḥajj companions start figuring visibly in Livnjak's work, textual primacy is given to visits to ʿulamā and Sufi shuyukh, and, even more prominently, to tombs. As the narrative develops, it becomes clear that Livnjak's travelogue is at the same time a specific ziyārat guide, similar to the genre which existed in the Islamic world from the 9th century.[261] Textual knowledge still continues to shape the way places are observed. For example, while passing through Gallipoli, Livnjak notices how two of the evliya, Ahmed and Muhammed Bîcan, were buried in this place. When describing this, Livnjak lists their works *Muhammediye* and *`Anwār al-ʿāshiqīn*. Apart from their role as authors of influential works, Livnjak points out that they were also the performers of wonders (*nice nice kerâmetleri ve ḫilâfi âdet ḥalleri*), which became known to the ''people of Unity'' (*`ahl al-tawḥīd*).[262]

[258]Another short travelogue from the 18th century describes how a group of ḥajjis stopped outside a small town in Bosnia and weighed themselves against a tree. Boro Efendi, *Manāzil min Foça ʿan Makka Mukarrama*, manuscript, Gazi Husrev-bey's Library, R10309,2 3a-3b

[259]Livnjak mentions his friends who bid farewell to the ḥajjis in small Bosnian villages they pass through.

[260]Although not visible in this travelogue, the authors of this period mention their families as well, especially in relation to the bequest of the travelogue. For example, the above-mentioned Mustafa Novali wrote a note where he leaves the travelogue in possession of his family, stating that it must not be sold. R-10310 4a

[261]See more in: Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 5-7.

[262]R7303 179

In his narrative, Livnjak mentions people renowned both locally and more widely in the Ottoman Empire. The ziyārat make up the largest part of the travelogue. There are several strategies the author uses to give weight to the significance of a particular site.

Similarly to the case of Imām-zāde's *faḍā'il*, the primary reason for visiting these sites is their role in the process of intercession. Among the prominent authorities Livnjak mentions is Sayyida Nafīsa, a descendant of the Prophet's family, whose intercession for enslaved non-Muslims is recognised.[263] Miraculous deeds happen by the intercession of other evliya as well, like Ahmed el-Bedevî.[264] To increase this veli's significance, Livnjak mentions a number of central cities to which his fame had spread: Cairo, Quds, Sham, Kaʿba (Mecca), Medina and others.[265] Intercession is closely related to another motive: blessing. What Livnjak and his fellow ḥajj pilgrims seem to have sought is immobile blessing, related to a place more than to a saint's body. In that respect, *baraka* (bereket) can be juxtaposed to the Christian concept of *praesentia* where blessing was mobile together with the physical remains of the saint. The Muslim view of sanctity of the grave prevented *baraka* from being dispersed across different spaces.[266] This created places whose blessing was not just of local importance. The places of ziyārat were also liable to temporal organization, which dictated days on which it is more rewarding to visit graves.[267] Different religious and historical narratives are interwoven in the notes about significance of a particular veli. This is particularly the case in Livnjak's treatment of Ottoman, and more generally, Islamic history, especially regarding early Muslim conquests.[268]

[263]R7303 185

[264]R7303 185

[265]R7303 184

[266]Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity,* 54-55.

[267]Apart from marking dates, Livnjak is also concerned with explaining different ceremonies related to saints. For example, he mentions that sailors (kestibân) would not start a journey without visiting the grave of a certain Veli-dede. (R7303 180)

[268]R7303 182

Secondly, there is a certain kind of overlap between visits paid to the evliya and to prophets. The local evliya graves are mentioned together with the graves of prophets.[269]In both categories, mythical persons appear, as well as narratives about their supernatural capabilities, and the most obvious example is a remark on Dhū al-Qarnayn,[270] a legendary figure which was prominent in the earlier period as well (such as in one of `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī's travelogue-treatises). Narratives about supernatural events are relayed even in the context of the Prophet's Companions. Namely, after seeing the graves of Sayyid Waqqās and Tamīm al-Dārī,[271] Livnjak mentions how he was transported to the mount Qāf by a jinn.[272]

An important category of evliya whose graves were visited by Livnjak and other Ottoman pilgrims were the ʿulamā. In the case of Ibn al-Hummām, an Egyptian Hanafi jurist, Livnjak gives a short biography, which is followed by the remark that Ibn al-Hummām changed his allegiance from the Shāfiʿī order to Ḥanafī after studying the Qur'an and ḥadīth. The remark about the ''conversion'' could imply the prevailing Ottoman attitude towards hanafisation.

Livnjak's desire to map the existence of a network of no longer living authorities leads him to suggest the connection between some of scholars and mystics even when they were not buried in Qarāfa. Thus, for example, he elaborates on the connection between Farīd al-Dīn ʿAttār and Cairo.[273] But even more striking is Livnjak's remark that Ibn ʿArabī was buried in Qarāfa (*Ḳarâfa'da medfûndur*),[274] when he was in fact buried in Damascus. This mistake on Livnjak's

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[269]R7303 180; Prophet Daniyal's grave is mentioned twice, in relation to Rodos and Alexandria (R7303 181). It seems that the author was not sure which one was true.

[270]R7303 182

[271]R7303 181-182

[272]R7303 182

[273]R7303 184

[274]R7303 186

part is considerable, because Ibn ʿArabī's grave was rebuilt a century before Livnjak wrote his travelogue. Ibn ʿArabī is further mentioned in the context of *tevhid* remembrances and other gatherings, as well as for having followers in Yemen, Mecca, Medina and other parts of the Muslim world.[275]

The most popular figure of all female evliya, Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya, appears in Livnjak's travelogue during his stay in a place called Rābigh. As the Bosnian editor of the translation noted, the grave of Rābiʿa is not there.[276] Nevertheless, it is important to remember how the symbol of Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya appears also in `Ali Dede's al-Būsnawī's `awā'il as a metaphor for the women from Sultan Suleyman's household, which might be explained by the symbolic weight carried by the name of this female mystic.

Mentioning of non-Muslims is rare in this period of ḥajj literature, but it still appears, such as in the description of ships Livnjak saw which he terms as the ''unbelievers' vessels'' (*kuffār gemiler*).[277]The absence of reference to non-Muslims is especially obvious in Livnjak's description of the conquest of Rhodes by Sultan Sulaymân, which is described without reference to the actual enemies he fought against.[278]

Apart from descriptions of places of the evliya, Livnjak notes traces of imperial influence, since his itinerary also serves as a list of sultanic architectural accomplishment in the Balkans, where Livnjak notices objects such as a bridge in Kosovo built by Sultan Murad[279] and a mosque in Plovdiv built by the same sultan.[280] The arrival to Edirne is significant for Livnjak, because he manages not

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[275]R7303 186

[276]Jusuf Livnjak, *Putopis sa hadža 1615*, trans. Mehmed Mujezinović (Sarajevo: Starješinstvo Islamske zajednice u SR Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji, 1981), 47.

[277]R7303 179

[278]R7303 180

[279]R7303 176

[280]R7303 177

only to see Sultan Selim's mosque, but also to climb up the stairs of one minaret.[281] The narrative is also interwoven with other references to architectural monuments built by local Ottoman dignitaries.[282] While interest in the other cities persists, a gravitational pull of the local can be recognized in occasional remarks which compare buildings seen on the way with those with which the author was acquainted in Bosnia.[283] However, the centrality of Istanbul is undoubted – or at least conventionally posited as such, as in the short remark given by the author: ''One cannot describe with the tongue or with the pen the beauties of the city of Istanbul.'' [284]

As for Livnjak's sources, he mentions that he had read ''some histories'' (*bazî târîhlerde okuduk*).[285] When he visits different mosques in Rumeli, Livnjak counts the number of copies of the Qur'an and inquires about their price.[286] The frequent references to copies of the Qur'an could perhaps point to the scarcity of copies and their consequent increased value, as well as to the importance of the book, which was of the same level as a sacral object.

Livnjak is not overly cautious when narrating religious traditions related to the places he sees on his way to ḥajj. Popular stories play a relevant part in his travelogue. Places trigger recountings of religious narratives, especially those connected to early Islamic history. In this sense, Livnjak's narrative serves multiple functions: it is a guidebook for future pilgrims, a compilation of short narratives about Islamic or Ottoman history, a description of events and environments, and also, a self-presenting narrative in which the author shows his passive and active participation in the experience of places. However, this does not mean that the ḥajj

[281] R7303 178

[282] R7303 177

[283] In one place in the narrative, Livnjak compares a castle he sees in Rhodos to one in Travnik. R7303 180

[284] *Şehri Islambol'un evsâfın ve guzelliğini söylem ne diliyle takrîra ve ne kalem ile tahrîra kâbildir*.

[285] R7303 182

[286] R7303 178-179

travelogue, as presented by Yūsuf Livnjak, was meant to be just a technical guidebook. The tension between the genres is evident throughout the narrative, and at times Livnjak – as narrator – stops himself from delving into historical descriptions, since his primary intention is to describe places of ziyārat and places of rest.

Although Livnjak's goal is to present places of ziyārat primarily because of their soteriological value, he occasionally tries to confirm claims he heard about the shape or height of a certain tomb by physically experiencing it through touch or sight.[287] The religious historical narrative is permeated by remarks about his experience on his way to Mecca and Medina. The dead and the living are not separated; the memory of the former is sustained by the latter, while the dead have the possibility to offer blessings for those who pay their respects to them. For Livnjak, the stories and narratives about the early Muslim community are intertwined with the extraordinary experiences some ḥajjis had when encountering the places where some of the first battles in Islam occured. At one point in the narrative, Livnjak says that his group of ḥajjis (and their camels) noticed something eery, similar to the moment of the crossing of the Red Sea, which made them halt the journey and spend the night there.[288]

While seeking intercession and blessing was a primary motive for visiting tombs, Livnjak also seeks places where prayer is accepted. However, even in sacred precincts, there is a fixed spatial hierarchy: the Kaʿba is the center of Mecca, and the Black Stone is the central point of the Kaʿba. Mentioning different corners of the Kaʿba points to the importance of orientation, with their role both related to early/Abrahamic Islamic history and to intercession. The focus on these places fluctuates between the historical and salvational. The sources for additional stories Livnjak offers are said to be found in interpretations (*tafsīr*), but, like the histories

[287] Similar interest in measurements can be see from other travelogues, such as the anonymous from Travnik who described Hagia Sophia and Sultan Suleyman's mosque. GHB, R-4342, 1b

[288] R7303 207

he mentions, he does not cite the exact titles nor does he offer the names of their authors.

Livnjak does not portray rites in any elaborate detail, but he mentions that he performed them. However, he composes a poem for the Kaʿba (which he concedes that it might not be of high artistic quality). The poem starts with praise to the Lord and the Prophet, after which the author mentions his four companions who were chosen for dhikr.[289] The poem further on describes the importance of five pillars with a special focus on ḥajj. Ignoring ḥajj, as Livnjak says, is dangerous and risks one to die like a Christian or a Jew.[290]

The ziyārat places of Mecca are distinguished by their symbolic hierarchy: the first mentioned is the house of the Prophet, then the houses of ʿAlī, Khadīja, and the birthplace of Fāṭima. The author mentions the members of the early Islamic community in the order of their acceptance of Islam. However, Livnjak does not delve into details when it comes to the historical narratives he inserts in the travelogue; soon, he switches back to the description of ziyārets.[291] The historical framework in the narrative serves as a prelude to the key point – which is that prayer can be accepted at a particular place. Thus, for Livnjak, the place needs to be textually reconfirmed in its holiness.

The consciousness of regionality – mentioned earlier – appears even when considering the graves in Muʿalla.[292] Livnjak specifically divides those who are buried and known under the name ''Rûmî''. His listing of seven Rumi scholars might be a sign that Livnjak only wanted to point out their geographical origins, without knowing anything about their possible merit.

[289] R7303 194

[290] R7303 195

[291] R7303 201

[292] R7303 202-203

A visit to Medina, which was also renowned for its graves and the graveyard Baqīʿa, is depicted in less details.[293] Apart from the Prophet, ʿĀisha, his wife and a ḥadīth transmitter, is described for her role not only as the Mother of the Believers (*`Umm al-mu`minīn*), but also as a woman-mufti. Livnjak lists other names of relevant persons who were buried in Medina and in its vicinity, and also includes ways of attaining the acceptance of prayer by different means, such as burning a candle on the grave of a certain Shaykh Mālik, which, as the author said, was proven to be effective.

Other Ottoman cities figure prominently in the narrative, especially Damascus and Cairo. While in Cairo, the author mentions visiting the non-sacral places, such as the castle of the Copts.[294] In Cairo, Livnjak visits a certain Altı Parmak Efendi, although he does not give any further information, apart from saying that he saw him a couple of times. Altı Parmak Efendi was born in Skopje, and there is reason to believe that the reason Yūsuf Livnjak visited him was because they come from neighboring geographical regions.[295] Both of the cities, as it was earlier explained, figure prominently because of the number of graves and tombs of evliya, prophets and ʿulamā.

In contrast to the journey to Mecca and Medina, the return journey is not described in detail. The attention, again, returns to the observation of the physical and social characteristics of places. Towards the end, Livnjak remarks on the citizens of Thessaloniki, where he mentions a large number of coffee houses, both Jewish and Greek.[296]Livnjak ends the pilgrimage narrative with a poem from his friend Zamîrî efendi. The fact that he mentions the poem as a gift (*yâdigâr*) to his

[293]R7303 204-205

[294]R7303 188

[295]R7303 189

[296]R7303 210

friend,[297] indicates the importance of male friendships in autobiographic literature.

3.4 Journey Travails

Another travelogue, this time from the 18th century, presents another perspective on the development of self in connection to experiencing the sacred places. Mustafa Mukhliṣî, a kadi who served in numerous places in the Balkans, went on the ḥajj in 1748, when he was serving in Agriboz. Apart from the travelogue, he also wrote a poem in praise of Hekimoğlu Ali-paşa after his victory over the Austrians in 1737, in Turkish, Arabic and Persian. He also left several other shorter poems, mostly of romantic and satirical nature. The date of his death is unknown.[298]

The travelogue *Dalīl al-menâhil wa mürshid al-merâḥil* was relatively well known in Bosnia, as seen from several remaining copies of his work in Bosnian archives. A copy of his work is also found in Istanbul. In comparison to Livnjak's travelogue, which was mostly in prose, Mukhliṣî's travelogue was in poetry, possibly intended for a more educated readership than was the case with other ḥajj writers from this period.[299]

Mustafa Mukhliṣî's travel itinerary was different from Yūsuf Livnjak's. Similarly to Livnjak, Mukhliṣî sees religious visits as one of the key motives for pilgrimage as well. However, in Mukhliṣî's account, the focus is on the circumstances of the journey which included observing people on the ḥajj route.

Mukhliṣî's narrative begins in prose in Arabic, when he describes the reasons why he is writing his travelogue.[300] The first reason he cites is to inspire people who are able to fulfill the ḥajj rituals (*li taḥrīḍ al-nās alladhin lahum istaṭāʿat ʿalā ʾadāʾ al-*

[297] R7303 211

[298] Omer Mušić, ''Hadži Mustafa Bošnjak-Muhlisi,'' *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, XVIII-XIX/1968-69, (1973), 89.

[299] Another author who wrote about Mukhliṣî is: Muḥammad al-ʾArnāʿūṭ, ''Ṣūra Makka al-Mukarrama fī riḥlāt al-ḥajj li al-bashāniqa: numūdhaj al-shāʿir Muṣṭafā al-Busnī,'' in: *Dirāsāt fī al-ṣilāt al-ʿarabiyya al-balqaniyya khilāl al-tārīkh al-wasīṭ wa al-ḥadīth* (Bayrūt: Jadawel, 2012), 173-183.

[300] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 1a

ḥajj); then to obtain the state of everlasting forgiveness (*iḥrāz dawla al-maghfira al-ṣamdāniyya*) and felicity for visiting the Prophet (*nayl saʿāda ziyārat al-nubuwwa*); an explanation of the blessed places (*bi bayān al-ʾamākin al-mutabarraka*) and the wonders which lead to reflection of the Divine Power (*al-ʿajāʾib al-muʾaddiya ʾilā tadabbur al-qudra al-ilāhiyya*); and to warn those who were about to go on this glorious journey to be aware the resting places require caution because of the trickery of unruly beduins and immoral robbers (*wa li intibāh alladhīna kānū ʿalā al-raḥīl ʾilā hadhā al-sabīl al-jalīl li yakūnū ʿalā al-ḥaraka ʿalā mā iqtaḍāhu al-manāzil wa al-marāḥil wa al-manāhil min al-ḥadhar ʿan khidāʿāt al-aʿrāb al-ṭāghiya wa al-sarrāq al-fājira*); and to know what to drink and eat because ignoring these matters is throwing souls into forbidden dangers (*tadāruk al-maʾkūlāt wa mashrubāt lianna al-jahl ʿinda hadhihi al-ḥālāt ʾilqā al-nufūs ʾilā al-mahālik al-mamnūʿa*). The last reason Mukhliṣî gives is followed by the quotation of an ayat from the Qur'an (2:195): ''and make not your own hands contribute to your destruction.''[301]

While Livnjak's travelogue presents approximately the same hierarchy of reasons for writing, Mukhliṣî shapes it in another way, which offers a stark contrast to observations of ḥajj in the religious treatises of `Ali Dede or `Abdullah al-Būsnawī. Ḥajj is increasingly observed primarily as a strong religious duty, a ''critical practice'' necessary for obtainment of forgiveness. The obligatory nature of the ritual is emphasized, followed by information about the practicalities of the journey and potential dangers related to it.[302]

There are several developments which deserve comment regarding the production of new knowledge. One of them is the transformation of the figure of the Other. In Livnjak's travelogue, the Other persisted in the abstract form of

301 Sura Al-Baqara, trans. by Yusuf Ali, http://www.alim.org/library/quran/surah/english/2/YAT (accessed 16/10/17).

[302] Almost an identical path is discerned in Sino-Muslim ḥajj writings from the same longue durée span of several centuries. As Kristian Petersen shows, the development of thought about ḥajj changes from an idea about ḥajj as a symbol of true faith, to ḥajj as a critical practice and, later on, ḥajj as an essential observance and duty. See more in: Kristian Petersen, ''The Multiple Meanings of Pilgrimage in Sino-Islamic Thought,'' in: *Islamic Thought in China: Sino-Muslim Intellectual Evolution from the 17th to the 21st Century*, ed. by Jonathan Lipman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*). In Mukhliṣî's travelogue, the Other is presented as an individual or a group which is actively preventing the ḥajjis from reaching their goal and lurks on them on the roads to Mecca. The Other is a beduin and a highway robber. This shift might possibly reflect a change in the circumstances of the ḥajj journey, which throughout the 18th century became more dangerous than it was at the beginning of the 17th century. On the other hand, the increase in the number of pilgrims, despite dangers on the roads, could have possibly influenced this shift in how ḥajj was portrayed.

What both of the authors have in common is the desire to present the journey as a set of several goals which need to be fulfilled, thus making this type of literature quite distinct from the manāsik genre, which is focused solely on presenting rituals. A successful ḥajji is not simply the one who goes to Mecca. Other places matter as well: primarily Medina, but also places of ziyārat, and any wonder-provoking place as Mukhliṣî seems to imply. Livnjak focuses on places which give blessing; for Mukhliṣî, the focus is on places that inspire reflection on Divine Power. Both Livnjak and Mukhliṣî think about future pilgrims through their descriptions of different places they are going through; however, Mukhliṣî, because of changed circumstances, warns about dangers that lurk on the way, too. In a similar way, other authors from the 18th century also dealt with the problem of material necessities (water, grass for horses, fruits) and dangers (beduin raids). On the one hand, focus on material circumstances might mean that ḥajj became a more dangerous endeavour, but on the other, it is highly possible that the reading audience simply became wider, and that the need for information increased in 18th-century Ottoman Bosnia. In that sense, ḥajj literature, just like other types of literature in the same period, points to intellectual trends in pre-print culture of producing and disseminating information to be circulated among the literate classes of the society.

Ḥajj as a religious motive provided a wide scale of literary responses, which were not limited to warnings of dangers on the road and networks of blessings. In

Mukhlişî's case, the verses occasionally have a mystical/philosophical bent which separates him from Livnjak:[303]

God is the Creator of bodies and accidences

His actions with aims are not distorted.

Hudâdur mûcit-i acsâm-u-a'râd

Muallel hiç değil fi'lî bil aġrâd.

The point of this introductory verse is to show that God's wisdom underlies the pilgrimage command. It is further confirmed by the following verses:[304]

All of His good deeds are based on wisdom,

All of His goodness to slave is based on wisdom.

Hem ef'âli mübnî hikmet uzere

Her ihsâni ḳula bir hikmet uzere

Although textual hierarchy dictates the treatment of subjects and themes in a fairly fixed order, Mukhlişî's poem is interspersed with digressions which might point to the fact that the manuscript was meant to be circulated among his educated friends who would appreciate simpler mystical allusions:[305]

Wild beasts and birds, all descendants of Adem,

With a word of His, all came into being.

Vuhûş ve ṭayr hem ferzend-i Adem

Vücûda geldi bir lafẓıyla âlem.

Similarly to Livnjak, Mukhlişî states that he wants to write his pilgrimage account in order to help future pilgrims and others, for the common good (*nef'-i*

[303] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 1b

[304] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 1b

[305] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 1b

'āmī).[306] Mukhlişî continues and further explains how his poem will be an inseparable guide (*delîl*) for the ḥajjis during the journey. Apart from using the word *delîl*, Mukhlişî uses the word *mürşid*,[307] which corresponds to the title of the travelogue.

After that introduction, Mukhlişî immediately starts with the description of Rum (Rumeli provinces of the Empire). It is expressed in the verse:[308]

We went station by station from Rumeli

If you ask about it in any language, they will know.

Edüp ṭayy-i meraḥil-i Rûmeli'den,

Bilür vaşfini sorsan her dilinden.

What was found in Livnjak's narrative in occasional references to Rum, is now present in Mukhlişî's travelogue in verse to a fuller extent. Descriptions of Rum – and more importantly, its comparison and contrast to other parts of the Empire – are dominant throughout the first part of the travelogue. The localisation impulse, however, goes further and seems to make a further spatial division in the narrative. Mukhlişî, apart from mentioning Rum, mentions Bosnia as a separate entity, thus creating a tri-partite geographical imagination of the Ottoman Empire which consists of Arab lands, Rum and Bosnia. It is especially evident in the following verses:[309]

The water and air of the lands of Bosnia

Is closely similar to those of Rum,

But in the land and villages of Rum,

Both the leaders and the paupers are wealthier than those in Bosnia.

[306] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 1b

[307] This word, whose primary meaning is ''guide'', is used in the context of Sufi guidance too.

[308] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 2a

[309] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 2a

Diyâr-i Bosna'nun âb u havası

Karâbetle olur Rum âşınası

Veli Rum'un bilâd ile ḳurâsı

Ganîdur Bosna'dan mîr u gedâsi

Likewise, it is possible that the word ''Rum'' in Mukhliṣî's spatial imaginary depicts Istanbul, although Istanbul is explicitly mentioned later. Knowing that Mukhliṣî did not actually start his journey from Bosnia, as he was a judge in Agriboz, it is possible that the author actually meant the area he saw on the way from this city to Istanbul. Mentioning Bosnia in this context is still significant, because it points to the importance of geographical origin in the 18th century, which was not present in the earlier ḥajj writings of `Ali Dede or `Abdullah al-Būsnawī, which were more cosmopolitan in nature.

While other places begin to assume importance, Istanbul still retains a place of proverbial centrality, as it is seen from the following verse:[310]

We came to Istanbul which has no equal

The ruler of the world, a grandiose place.

Gelup Istanbul'a kim yok naẓiri

şehinşâh-i cihân şâhî dilyeri

Istanbul is the sultanic seat, and therefore when passing through it, the author mentions the ruling sultan, Mahmud I, who is portrayed as a destroyer of Engurus:[311]

Mahmud the Emperor is the Sultan of the World

Whose sword destroyed Engurus.

Şeh-i Mahmûd sultân-i cihân-gîr

[310] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 2a

[311] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 2a

Ki tîġi Engurus'i etti tedmîr

There is a possibility that the phrases used for the description of Istanbul and some other cities were taken from the popular genre of *şehrengiz* (poems dedicated to cities),[312]which was circulating from the 16th until 18th centuries. However, the spatial focus of the ḥajj poem is applied to different places and its imagery is more limited to the most recognizable, and less to the observations of the activities of people in the city (guilds, etc).

While not with the same intensity, places where blessings could be found were still important to Mukhlişî. His arrival in Gallipoli, as in Livnjak's travelogue, stresses the importance of the graves of Ahmed and Muhammed Bîcan,[313] which confirms that even a century later, visiting graves still took place, although it had become less prominent, possibly as a result of the Kadizadeli movement, which affected religious and social life in the 18th century Bosnia as well.

Unlike Livnjak, Mukhlişî introduces short reflections on people who live in the places he is passing through. Therefore, the people of İstanköy were described as ''the ones who were given beautiful shape by the Giver'' (*ehâlisine hüsn-i halki vermiş Hazreti Vehhâb*).[314] Observations of different aspects of the world, which started in the 17th century, have now become commonplace, together with increased awareness of one's own locality.

However, being embedded in one's own time did not mean that Mukhlişî ignores long established spatial comparisons, such as ''the city of Irem'', or ''Alexander's dam'', which he uses abundantly. Also, historical considerations appear in Mukhlişî's travelogue, with a special focus on the Ottoman history of places, mostly related to conquests. Being well educated, Mukhlişî's remarks spread

[312]While this study suffers from multiple problems, see more about this genre in: Deniz Çalış-Kural, *Şehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman Istanbul* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).

[313]BağdatlıVehbi 1024 2b

[314]BağdatlıVehbi 1024 2b

to ''Aflatûn'' and ''Aristo''. The descriptions of places tend to get even shorter and more cryptic at some point:[315]

> We came to Bulak and Cairo, we rested and observed
>
> it is beautiful, but the word ''levla'' does not need to be said about it.
>
> *Bulâg ve Misr'a geldik seyr ü ârâm ü temâşâsi*
>
> *güzel ama değil lâzim demek elfâẓ-ı levlāsi*

It seems that Mukhliṣî was trying to refer to the famous holy ḥadīth ''lawlâka'', and, in a peculiar intertextual twist, tried to show his lack of enthusiasm when seeing Cairo. This specific ''honesty'' stands in a stark contrast to the portrayals of places based purely on textual sources, as evident in the previous period. This ''honesty'' also turns into a full scale prejudice, probably fueled by the experiences with unruly beduin tribes ḥajjis had on the way:[316]

> There is no word to be said to Egypt and Cairo in whole
>
> if it were not for the dust and faces of beduins on the markets
>
> *Bilâd-i Misr ve şehr-i Misr'a söz yok cümleden*
>
> *eğer olmazsa esvâḳında rîk ve rûy-i A'râbî*

The stereotyping of people (such as beduins or Circassians), again, points to the distinction between the earlier and later travelogues.[317] The stark contrast between Livnjak and Mukhliṣî's travelogues in respect to the stereotyping of beduins and Arabs on the way to Mecca could be due to the fact that there was increased insecurity for ḥajj caravans after the Habsburg-Ottoman war of 1683-99, which led to a loss of control over the pilgrimage route.[318]When the narrator is not facing obstacles on the way, the beduins are presented in a positive light.[319]

[315]BağdatlıVehbi 1024 3b

[316]BağdatlıVehbi 1024 3b

[317]See, for example, description of Circassians in: BağdatlıVehbi 1024 3b

[318]Suraiya Faroqhi, *Pilgrims and Sultans: The Hajj under the Ottomans 1517-1683* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1994) 53.

Writing from a province about another Ottoman province, Mukhlişî compares the imperial centre to the provincial capital – Damascus, and he concludes his favour of the latter. However, the description of the people inhabiting Damascus is not flattering and it seems that Mukhlişî expresses the common anxiety caused by frequent attacks on the ḥajjis by the beduins into the narrative.[320] What is also embedded is the custom portrayal of the inhabitants according to poetic imagery which depicted fair girls and handsome youth.[321]

The awareness of ethnic (or linguistic) differences is evident throughout the narrative, but it excludes any political connotation. Thus, while describing Antakya, Mukhlişî notices that there are no Arabs in this city (and adds that the people are good there).[322] The sense of distinct regions in the Ottoman Empire was felt and emphasized, and with it we can also track down changes which start to occur with regard to an increased sense of locality. The author also notices the other ethnic and linguistic groups, such as Kurds, presumably distinct from the rest of the (Turkish) population.

Although premodern Bosnian ḥajj literature rarely discusses women (unless in religious stories or regulation of pilgrimage practice), the image of women as weaker beings does appear in the context of the Kurdish attacks on the ḥajjis:[323]

> In the passage men became like women
>
> *Memergâhında olur merd çün zen*

---

[319]When describing the place Hura, the author mentions the beduins who resemble Alexander's army, and when describing the place Hudayra, he mentions their behaviour as peaceful (*edeb uzere ku'ûd ve hem selâmî*).

[320]Thus, for example, the author describes how a number of ḥajjis were killed and ascribes that to actions of the people of Sham. Bağdatlı Vehbi 25a-25b

[321]Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024 23b-24a

[322]Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024 27b

[323]Description of Kurd Kulağı, Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024 27b

Women also appear in certain contrasting images, such as, for example, the description of Adana,[324] where the author juxtaposes the image of pretty women with ruby lips to the scenery of unruly Kurds and Turkmen. If the author is trying to present his journey in an ''objective'' manner, are his portrayals of women based on first-hand experience? Or is the poetic form in which he is writing provoking him to include stock images of women in his poetry? That Mukhlişî is not always generous with his compliments is attested by a description of women and men from Eskişehir, who were described as plain in appearance.[325]

His observations of people continue in the line of descriptions related to resting places to Mecca. Observations usually revolve around the existence of suitable conditions in the area (water, food), animals (those which are helpful - *sâlih*) and the behaviour of people (evil, mean or helpful). In certain parts, Mukhlişî notices unusual constructions, such as the following one in Re's Nevâtir:[326]

In this resting place there are seven columns

Calligraphy for the one who takes wisdom.

Bu menzilde yedi var üstüvâne

yazılı ẖat ḥikmet-i âlimâne

Historical narratives are intertwined with messages of wisdom. Thus, when describing Tih Banî 'Isrâ'îl, a place where the Jews wandered in the desert for forty years, Mukhlişî explains:[327]

Because if people are disloyal to their Master

Their punishment becomes (being) without luck

Cu bir ḳavm ola mevlâsına 'âsi

[324] Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024 29a

[325] Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024 33b

[326] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 4a

[327] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 4a-4b

olur elbet o ḳavmın şum cezâsı

The interest in the journey was, thus, more than the immediate preoccupation with necessary information or pious motivations. Moreover, as ḥajj journey for Livnjak presented a wholesome experience which was mostly connected to the networks of blessings from the living and the dead, for Mukhlişî a wholesome experience of the ḥajj journey also means observing the neutral workings of nature encompassed under the term ''acâyib'', which is frequently used by the author.

Mukhlişî's travelogue can be mined for information on the imperial ḥajj preparation and accomplishment of that project. However, for the purposes of investigating the development of self, it is more interesting to notice how roles ascribed to different ethnic groups in the narrative (beduins/Arabs for feeding the ḥajjis; Circassians for protection) were known to the author and are more prominent than in Livnjak's travelogue.

If Mukhlişî's considerations of environment are analysed in detail, it can be noticed that places of abundance bring out not only descriptions of water,[328] animals and plants, but also point to increased sensitivity about perception through senses, such as smell or touch.

Similarily to Livnjak, Mukhlişî changes his narrative when he reaches Mecca, signifying a textual break when entering the new, hierarchically superior space. The poem which Mukhlişî places in his narrative is praise of Mecca and emphasizes its special status of seniority and respect. Furthermore, hierarchy exists in the city itself, and the Kaʿba is elevated as the most important part of Mecca. The reasons for this reverence are stated in the poem and they reflect his wish for intercession and forgiveness.[329]

Intercession reaches a different level when Mukhlişî arrives in Medina. The Prophet is the ultimate intercessor and Medina is a place of soteriological value

[328] At one point, Muhlisi states that if there is water, it brings things to life and if there is no water, death occurs. (description of ʿUyūn al-Qasab - BağdatlıVehbi 1024 6b)

[329] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 11b-12b

because of that virtue. The poem which is composed for the Prophet parallels the one in praise of the Kaʿba, and the focus of the journey turns to the hope of intercession instead of observations on the material circumstances of the journey.[330]

Nevertheless, as soon as the journey has advanced, Mukhliṣî returns to his old way of describing the places on the way home. The impulse of localization is visible in occasional remarks in which Mukhliṣî compares the rough terrain he and his fellow pilgrims are passing through with Bosnian mountains:

> Mountainous passages of Bosnia are difficult
>
> But they are not this cumbersome.
>
> *Memergâh-i cibâl-i Bûsna sa'bî*
>
> *değil bu rütbede 'unvân-i ta'bî*.[331]

In addition to references to Bosnian geographical characteristics and the sense of their distinctiveness evident in the author's attitude towards Turks, Kurds, Turkmen or Arabs, the author finally refers to pre-Islamic Bosnian history in his remark on Ahmed-paşa, who was a member of the Bosnian royal family during the Ottoman conquest.[332]

The other places of the itinerary are described in the triad of material circumstances (food, water, grass), Islamic history and short remarks on peoples and their customs intermixed with recent events. Interestingly, the author notices the local variants of Arabic phrases and embeds them in the narrative (for example, the phrase ''*mā fīsh*'' in the description of Tabūk).[333]

Travelogues such as Mukhliṣî's offer some insight into the discontent felt by the ḥajjis coming from the faraway provinces of the Balkans. Safety and cleanliness

[330] BağdatlıVehbi 1024 13b-14b

[331] Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024 17a

[332] Description of Geberan-i darbend, Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024 34b

[333] Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024 18b

were common complaints, together with lack of clean water and grass for the horses. However, when Mukhlişî encounters an architectural symbol in the form of a mosque, khan or madrasa, he describes it without bringing into question the political, economic or social control of the ḥajj. Occasionally, references to sultanic achievements in architecture are evoked as a means to point to the imperial power which crushed the schemes of the unruly (see description of Qara-Bunar[334]).

The fact that the author did not use the same tactics for describing Mecca, Medina and Istanbul, might indicate his wish to suspend judgement about the holy places and seat of imperial power. While ḥajj literature from the 16th and a large part of the 17th century focused solely on the idealized spiritual image of Mecca and Medina, the pilgrimage authors of the 18th century (with Livnjak from the 17th century) focus on the journey more than on the holy places. However, what is significant in both is the creation of ''memory image''[335] through which the desired action of the Prophet is evoked.

The spread of writing has put ḥajj into the intricate network of different phenomena. Writing about ḥajj encompassed the non-ritual and went beyond the confines of a purely religious journey. Moreover, the interest in the local was not expressed only in the narrative text of the ḥajj account, but was also reflected in the paratextual material surrounding it. One of the possible interpretations of this would be that the ḥajj journey initiated different kinds of mobilities, such as the interest in differences between customs and languages. On the other hand, the existence of different snippets of knowledge related to both the local and the foreign could point to the widening local readership and possible social promotion in a sphere which appreciated the cultural capital of book ownership, compilation or authorship.

In the next section, I briefly comment on the curious case of an 18th-century mecmua on ḥajj, which combines different genres and texts related to pilgrimage,

[334]Bağdatlı Vehbi 1024 30b

[335]Peter Parshall, ‘‘The Art of Memory and the Passion,’’ *The Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (Sep., 1999), 456-472.

and also brings forth changes in language which indicate how wide spread of both pilgrimage and writing in this period were.

3.5 Ḥajj Pilgrimage and the Sense of Locality

While Yūsuf Livnjak and Mukhliṣî's travelogue circulated in pre-print Ottoman Bosnia, in a more or less limited way, and probably among the learned circles, the full extent of the encounter between the pilgrimage and autobiographical writing is visible from anonymous travel accounts or travelogues which exist only in one copy. The appearance of such works indicates a greater interest in the connection between writing and ritual, even on a lower rung of the literacy ladder: merchants, traders, and authors whose profession cannot be ascertained, wrote shorter itineraries, which are for the most part the only written work they left behind.[336]

In that context, it is important to see the range of ḥajj texts we encounter, both authored by Ottoman Bosnians, or commissioned by them. The following section briefly treats the case of a collection – *mecmua* – from the 18th century, which is found in one copy in Gazi Husrev-bey's Library in Sarajevo under the title *Kitāb al-ḥajj* (R 5604/1). Apart from its significance as a work which is authored by an unknown Ottoman Bosnian author, its value comes from its combination of genres and languages which collide to create a collection of interrelated texts speaking about different aspects of the pilgrimage. The *mecmua* in question was written by Derviş Muṣṭafa, of whom we have no information. The name is derived from the verses in the text, and it is also evident that the author comes from or is attached to Mostar. However, since the handwriting occasionally changes throughout the narrative, it cannot be excluded that more than one author/compiler was involved; a couple of dates appear through the *mecmua* as well, belonging to both 17th (1614) and 18th (1752) century, making it harder to ascertain whether dates were added later, or whether the *mecmua* belonged to different owners who added these dates according to their own time. What is

[336]This phenomenon continues into the 20th century as well: Ḥajj travelogues very often prove to be the only written work many of the authors leave behind. As will be shown in the third and fourth chapter, technology and greater social changes brought greater visibility to authors from marginalized levels of society.

certain, however, is that several layers of the collection show that it passed through hands of Sufi-inclined owners, belonging to the gülshanī or naqshbandī tariqa.

The collection consists of several parts. The first part covers the practical legal rules on ḥajj rituals, the ways they should be performed and what should be avoided, as well as different nuances regarding the performance of pilgrimage. This part is written in Arabic. However, the second part of the mecmua offers an Ottoman Turkish version of the treatise, but it does not present a literal translation of the Arabic text.[337]

The third part of the *mecmua* is dedicated to the proper adab rules for approaching holy places, and includes prayers in Arabic. Each distinct place required a prayer recited there. The prayers spread over several pages, and sometimes the author indicated that they have to be read out loud (*cehrîle*).[338] The approach to the Prophet's place of burial is significant, and traditionally related to the belief that a visit paid to the Prophet's grave is the same as a visit to him when he was alive, which is expressed in the form of greetings directed to the Prophet (the form which was visible in *faḍā`il* literature as well). The manuscript is interspersed with short verses (*qit'a and munâcât*),[339] as well as different ḥadīth which are of didactic nature or point to the benefits of repetition of certain verses or surahs. The occasional listings of things to be avoided (such as transgressions related to gluttony and eating in general, and expanding into a list of general sins) appear randomly throughout the manuscript. The prayers presented in the *mecmua* are often related

[337]The increase of production of manāsik literature in this and later periods is visible through works composed by Bosnian authors or commissioned by Ottoman Bosnian pilgrims. Such examples include: *Manāsik al-ḥajj* (by author Sinanuddīn Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb ar-Rūmī al-Ḥanafī) which was copied several times by Bosnian scribes such as Muḥammad al-Travnīkī, 'Alī Rušdī b. Muḥammad al-Būsnawī in Sarajevo 1230/1814, Ḥajji Ḥasan b. Jakub from Zagora, in 1002/1593, 'Abdullāh Naẓarī b. Aḥmad Burek, in Sarajevo 1209/1794, his son Aḥmad al-Muḫtārī b. 'Abdullāh an-Naẓarī Burek in 1243/1828 and Ibrahim b. Muhamed Hadžiosmanović 1265/1848. From the original works, Ottoman Bosnian authors wrote *Manāsik al-ḥajj* (ʿAbdulwahhāb b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad al-Būsnawī who died in Egypt in 1205/1791) and Edā-yi manāsik al-ḥuccāc (by Ibrahim al-Būsnawī in 1206/1792). Another copied manāsik work from the 18th century is *Bayān fī manāsik al-ḥajj* (copied in Tešanj in 1198/1783). I thank Mr Osman Lavić from Gazi Husrev-bey's Library for this list of authors.

[338]R 5604/1 46a

[339]Some of these verses were taken from Yūsuf Nābī's ''Tuḥfat al-ḥaramayn''.

to the place (often starting with ''The Prophet read this dua in...''). That the *mecmua* was clearly intended for perusal by future pilgrims is also indicated by the lists of ziyāret places (*ziyāret gâhları*) which could be found in the Baqīʿa in Medina, and certain other indications suggest that the author/compiler was Sufi oriented and had a considerable knowledge of Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Sometimes, the author mentions his source (*Ṭarīqa Muḥammadiyya*).[340] The fourth and the fifth parts of the collection are dedicated to verses about the ḥajj journey from the Balkans, and to a ''suryânî-bosnaca'' dictionary, while the rest of the *mecmua* contains prayers, ḥadīth and a prose itinerary of the journey (which possibly served as a draft for the verse travelogue).

The verses about ḥajj experience are also mixed with the personal, and the author (or the compiler), in a string of verses randomly dispersed throughout the mecmua, tries to combine remarks on family life with his impressions of ḥajj. The crucial parts of the ḥajj narrative relevant for this chapter are the verses which speak about ḥajj but at the same time refer to the ''watan'' in emotional terms (*ḥubb al-watan ʿālam al-badan*). What is also particularly interesting is the constant mention of the term ''maktūb'' (letter) which could imply that there was an eager audience and a ready readership which expected news from the journey.[341] On the other hand, the description of intensity of the emotions towards the ''watan'' reveals a localizing move in ḥajj literature.

It is not easy to classify this mecmua because it offers a string of sometimes unrelated material, and the verses related to ḥajj do not point to a clear ḥajj itinerary, but to what seems to be a string of places related to the Balkans, with a special focus on Bosnia. Otherwise, the verses follow the same pattern as in previous itineraries, with its preoccupation with the material circumstances helping

[340] R 5604/1 1a

[341] It would be interesting to consider the rise in prominence of letters in this and later periods, especially having in mind the often propagandistic nature of their contents, as Ronit Ricci has pointed out for letters coming from Mecca and circulated in Southeast Asia. See: Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated*, 255.

or obstructing the ḥajj journey, and containing occasional references to the Qur'an or poetry.

The interest in languages, whether one's vernacular, or languages which Ottoman Bosnians came in contact with or were required to use in different contexts (administrative, religious, social or cultural) starts to become relatively prominent already in the 17th century, but in the 18th century there is a peculiar proliferation of material related to different languages, as seen in this mecmua's ''Suryânî-Bosnaca'' dictionary.

While this mecmua most probably remained in private circulation in a limited circle of owners/authors, it is indicative of a wider trend of writing about the ḥajj journey. In this framework, ḥajj becomes a motif more than a singular aim: the journey is far more elaborately described than the destination.

3.6 Conclusion

The increased interest in different facets of the pilgrimage and journey was in the focus of this chapter. The authors start writing about the world from the moment they begin their journey and leave a significant portion of textual space for the description of the places along the way. Another significant point is related to the question of the historical moment, and that is a question of authorship. The authors of the ḥajj narratives of this period are not the highest ranking ʿulamā or Sufi shaykhs; they belong to the low-ranking ʿulamā, or they are traders and merchants. In this context, it can be useful to compare the shift in authorship of ḥajj authors with the general ''phenomenon of authorship by people positioned outside the accustomed class of the literati.''[342] In the groundbreaking article by Cemal Kafadar, different types of first-person narratives were mentioned (personal letters, captivity narratives, diaries, dream logbooks, and Evliya Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme*), however, ḥajj narratives were not mentioned as a significant source

[342] Dana Sajdi, ''Print and Its Discontents: A Case for Pre-Print Journalism and Other Sundry Print Matters,'' *The Translator*, Volume 15, no 1 (2009): 114.

for the study of the development of the self in the premodern period.[343] Ḥajj travelogues reflect the same characteristics (individualization, division of the self and the society, interest in dating events), but in this case, the development of self is related to swift changes of space through which the author/narrator is moving and a clear spatial aim towards which the whole journey is directed.[344]

Secondly, the preoccupation with a new itinerary which included different places of ziyārat meant that the movement from the province to multiple centers, and to other provinces, was more overtly expressed, and the narrative was no longer oriented exclusively dedicated to sacred places. The focus on places of the ziyārat was a shared characteristic of Ottoman ḥajj narratives from this period; however, the specificity of Bosnian ḥajj travel writing from the 17th and 18th century is apparent in the inclusion of a number of major cities, and a network of centers, including the imperial capital. The land route – or the sea route – were usually combined and in that way the ḥajji would see both cities – one on the way to ḥajj, and the other on the return journey.[345] Ḥajj for the pilgrims was a wholesome project, made once in a lifetime and probably presented the longest journey which pilgrims would undertake in their lives. It included a number of cities which had different roles which were not mutually exclusive – they were both the sites of travellers' interests and places where they could get blessing (bereket) because of the graves of the friends of God (evliya) buried there.

This brings us to the third point. Namely, the travelogues by Yūsuf Livnjak and Mustafa Mukhliṣî also show the networks of living and dead authorities through networks of places. The cities that took over the primacy in establishing the intellectual networks for Livnjak were the cities next to or in relative proximity to

[343]Cemal Kafadar, ‘‘Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature,’’ *Studia Islamica*, no. 69 (1989): 121-150.

[344]Here, of course, we must not be mislead to think that interest in dating events and individualization are peculiar characteristics of premodern Ottoman travelogue writing. Classical Arabic tradition of ḥajj travelogues shows much earlier engagement with relations of the self and world. See more in: Ian Netton, ''Basic Structures and Signs of Alienation in the Riḥla of Ibn Jubayr,'' in *Golden Roads: Migration, Pilgrimage and Travel in Mediaeval and Modern Islam,* ed. Ian R. Netton (Surrey: Curzon Press, 2005), 46-61.

[345]See the itineraries of Yūsuf Livnjak and Muṣṭafā Mukhliṣî.

Istanbul or Cairo: Gelibolu or al-Iskenderiya, where the graves of the people important to Livnjak lived or died.[346] This network of places, however, becomes even more important when it comes to the different kinds of ziyaratgah, or what could be termed as a ''network of blessings''. In this context, both Livnjak and Mukhliṣî point out the holiness of the land, the number of mosques and people who come, and important tombs. Blessings could be obtained not only through visitations to the dead, but also to the living. The visits of the living holy people and ʿulamā are extremely important for Livnjak, who made it one of his pilgrimage goals.[347]

The proliferation of this material tells us that the conception of space has changed; or, rather, space has become differentiated. While we can speak of ''ways in which a sense of place or space transcended the local, reaching toward the wider region and beyond its horizons''[348] in 16th and 17th-century Bosnian ḥajj literature, space in Ottoman ḥajj literature of the 18th century has transformed into a set of different categories: Bosnia – Rūm – Mecca and Medina, places of proximity and distance, the spatial triad of places of wonder, sites of pious visitation and sacred land.

While the spaces have changed, the authorship also underwent a significant transformation. The ḥajj production of the 18th century was a part of a general increase in literacy, which was a consequence of broader social and cultural mobilities. These former developments changed the perception of the self in relation to the spaces of the ḥajj journey. As Barbara Metcalf remarked, the ḥajji persona became more important than the pilgrimage itself.[349] What differentiated the new types of ḥajj accounts was, in other words, the increased interest in the

[346] Therefore, Livnjak states that Gelibolu is important because in it there are graves of Ahmed and Muhamed Bican, famous scholars and mystics.

[347] *hayâtta olan evliyâ-i kirâm ve sulehâ izâmette mubârek ellerin opup – to kiss the hands of the evliya and ṣulaḥā*. Yūsuf Livnjak (in E. Kadić: 175)

[348] Ricci, *Islam Translated,* 265.

[349] Barbara Metcalf, ''The Pilgrimage Remembered,'' 87.

''lived reality'' instead of the textually based reality which was the focus of the previous period.

The shift between the local and the communal reoccurs periodically in the development of ḥajj literature. Therefore, the next shift which occurs brings another vision of the world into the scene of this type of literature. The 18th century paved the way for widespread writing; the following centuries bring greater exploration of different media of writing and a new reconceptialization of the notions of holy places.

4. The Sacred and the Political

As the 19th century ushered in tremendous political and social changes on a global scale, and extensive transformation of empires, the ḥajj journey did not remain unaffected. Recent studies have shown the complex dynamics among empires, pilgrimage and advancing technologies, along with rapidly changing political developments.[350] The reshuffling of the imperial borders affected the lives of millions of Muslims. In the same century, as the recent study of Cemil Aydin shows, the idea of Muslims as the racial Other crystalized, and would further develop in the 20th century.

The previous chapter showed the rise of self in writings about ḥajj and the ever-increasing interest in journeying to holy sites. However, while such a change reflects deeper transformations in the Empire (such as the rise of local nobility, changes in literacy, greater mobilities), this chapter analyses the profound rapture that occurred when this imperial framework was broken, and how it was reflected in imagining holy places.

Even though misrepresented in the nationalist historiographies of the 20th century and unstudied regarding connectivity and influence, the realities of Bosnian Muslims of the first half of this century are entangled with the experiences of Serbs and Croats,[351] but also other Muslim communities, from the Balkan Muslims, to the global Muslim community. The questions that modernity posed for Bosnian

[350]Some of these studies include: Eric Tagliacozzo, ''Hajj in the Time of Cholera: Pilgrim Ships and Contagion from Southeast Asia to the Red Sea,'' in: *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*, ed. by James L. Gelvin and Nile Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 103-120. ; Nile Green, ''The Hajj as its Own Undoing: Infrastructure and Integration on the Muslim Journey to Makkah,'' *Past & Present* 226, Issue 1, (1 February 2015): 193–226.; Eileen Kane, *Russian Hajj: Empire and the Pilgrimage to Makkah* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); John Slight, *The British Empire and the Hajj, 1865-1956* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press Cambridge, 2015).

[351]The recent study by Edin Hajdarpašić proposes a useful conceptual tool of *(br)other* for analysis of the nation building and identity formation in the Balkans. *(Br)other* is *a figure that is neither enemy nor ally, neither "ours" nor "theirs," neither "brother" nor "Other"* (Edin Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840–1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015), 16.

Muslims were the same ones posed for South Asian,[352] Arab or Turkish Muslims, though the answers given differed according to the wider political context and historical contingencies pressed upon different members of a particular society.[353] The answers were, moreover, sought in different ways: through transnational post-imperial networks, but also through active engagement with immediate national or regional context. Journals, pamphlets and other publications presented a ready medium for the development of connectedness.

Ḥajj in this period receives particular attention: while previously described in multiple ways that stressed its theological and spiritual value, in this period the social potential of the pilgrimage for gathering a large number of believers at one place was emphasized. The perception of ḥajj remained affected by pressing concerns and changes on the regional and global political and intellectual scenes.

This chapter primarily discusses the political and cultural context that influenced literacy and language in this period, and, consequently, ways in which holy sites and the ḥajj ritual were observed. The main part of the chapter presents an analysis of several travel accounts, most notably Muhamed Krpo (1897-1965) and Ibrahim Hakki Čokić's (1871-1948) with additional analyses of the travel accounts by Ismet Varatanović (died after 1948) and guidebook material by other relevant authors.

[352]Strong similarities to South Asian Muslim output in the realm of ḥajj narratives can be ascribed to several factors, some of which are minority status in a non-Muslim majority state and peculiar post-Ottoman sensitivities and allegiances, which were expressed differently in these communities, but existed simultaneously nonetheless. See, for example, Homayra Ziad, ''The Return of Gog: Politics and Pan-Islamism in the Hajj Travelogue of 'Abd al-Majid Daryabadi,'' in: *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print,* ed. by James L. Gelvin and Nile Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

[353]Here we can recall the four factors listed by Fazlur Rahman in regards to the modern development of different parts of Muslim world: sovereignty, organization of the *'ulamā,* the state of Islamic education and culture before the colonial enchroachment, and the character of colonial policy. See more in: Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 43.

4.1 Audiences and Continuities

The period after the formal withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire from Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 caused significant upheaval in Bosnia and Herzegovina's political, social and intellectual spheres. The fracture which happened with this event has become common-place in the literature relating to the immediate post-Ottoman changes in Bosnian society.[354] These changes affected the ḥajj practice and the way it was planned, experienced and consequently narrated and explained to different audiences. In a certain sense, the way the ḥajj was organized, propagated, idealized and carried out presents the manner in which the Bosnian Muslim community itself grappled with the pressing issues of belonging, representation, and a particular struggle for political and religious survival. Some of these issues were no doubt unprecedented since this was the first time Bosnian ḥajj was performed outside the auspices of a Muslim Empire; on the other hand, however, the Ottoman (and other Muslim) allegiances were difficult to sever, even late into the 20th century.

The ḥajj endeavour in Bosnia and Herzegovina was affected by both internal and external factors, the line between which is often difficult to draw. The organization of ḥajj passed into the hands of the newly established Islamic community, an intermediary institution and a proxy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in its relation to the Bosnian Muslims. Judging by the information that can be obtained from Bosnian journals of the period, Austro-Hungarian control over ḥajj was expressed in sanitary control, and it can be presumed that the control included security concerns as well.

The change of empires was not the only factor affecting the transformation of ḥajj imagery. Another important element were rising nationalisms (especially Serbian and Croatian), which took the issue of Bosnian Muslims as one of the defining parts of national self-fashioning. In that context, after the Ottoman withdrawal, Bosnian Muslims presented an internalized Other in the new order of things. Depicted as backward and ignorant, they were still considered indispensable

[354] Amir Karić, *Panislamizam u Bosni* (Sarajevo: Connectum, 2006), 69.

for new nationalist projects.[355]Muslim customs and traditions were placed under close scrutiny. As a part of the process, for some Bosnian Muslim authors, the ḥajj pilgrimage, thus, became a part of self-explaining tendency.

Bosnian ḥajj literature authors from this period strived to present, uphold and explain the continuity of the ḥajj practice, thereby answering the needs not only of the Islamic Community and its believers, but also the new non-Muslim authorities, and neighbouring Serb and Croat reading audiences, who more often than not had a particular set of prejudices. Other audiences included inter-Yugoslav non-Bosnian Muslim reading audiences and an international Muslim audience. At the same time, the authors tried to address the common orientalist stereotypes which had been sometimes internalized.[356] To organize ḥajj, present its history and religious tenets, combat stereotypes, to connect with the local and international networks of the ‘ulamā and believers, and, in the end, to convey the impressions of the experience, the authors used what was available to them: print media. To reach the largest possible audience, the language choice was a matter of importance. However, to say that it was resolved in an immediate manner would be a gross simplification, since the issue of the language and script remained in flux almost up to the Second World War. The same is true for the choice of genre used for the ḥajj writings, which tended to be influenced by the Ottoman *salname* (‘yearbook’) tradition (at the end of the 19th century), but also by the Orientalist travelogue writing – when the audience in mind was not solely Muslim.

Even more importantly, ḥajj in Bosnia and Herzegovina was necessarily connected to the experience of transnationalism in the interwar period. Bosnian ‘ulamā, as well as those outside this rank, were connected with the Muslim intellectual groups in Europe and the Middle East. The very fact that prominent

[355]Hajdarpašić, *Whose Bosnia?,* 16.

[356]The influence of Western Orientalism on local Balkan Orientalisms remains understudied. The common trait of both traditions is essentialization of Muslims and Islamic practices, which consequently provoked an apologetic stance visible in Bosnian Muslim print. When it comes to analysis of interlocking orientalisms from the later (post-WWII) period, one useful reference is:
Armina Omerika, ‘’Competing national Orientalisms: The cases of Belgrade and Sarajevo,’’ in: *Reassessing Orientalism*, ed. by Michael Kemper and Artemy M. Kalinovsky (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 153-169.

members of the Bosnian ‘ulamā acquired their education in Cairo or Istanbul (and in some cases even in Damascus), and that they interacted closely through the use of letters and print, is important, and explains the profound exchange between various Muslim groups in this period.

There is, however, an additional dimension to the international interaction of the ‘ulamā. Namely, the changes on the international Muslim intellectual scene affected the debate about certain issues in Bosnia among the local intellectuals, scholars and common people without any connection to the international community of ‘ulamā. Such issues included the questions of literacy, dress, (Western) education, and were especially pertinent to women. The tremendous changes that happened after the Austro-Hungarian occupation and later, made local problems of the Bosnian Muslim community increasingly liable to changes on the international scene. In other words, the problems which the scholars in Cairo were trying to resolve could affect, either immediately or in the course of a few years, the life of a common Muslim in a remote town in Bosnia through the intermediary role of Bosnian ‘ulamā, especially those who studied abroad or had connections, and through the medium of Ottoman/Turkish and Arab journals. This phenomenon of transferred influence is connected to the flexibility which is shown in increased mobility, but also in effects it had in socio-cultural expressions and identity formations for those who went abroad, as well as for those who stayed behind.[357]

The complex debates conducted in Bosnian print around this period attest to the fact that the mechanisms of identity formations often included borrowing of examples and models from abroad. Such movements, however, did not mean slavish copying of models, but active engagement with different sets of solutions. Technological advances – such as print – were readily accepted by self-proclaimed proponents of different religious and cultural strands. On the other hand, the

[357] Rouse (1991) and Silvey and Lawson (1999) in Katharyne Mitchell, ‘‘Cultural Geographies of Transnationality,’’ in: *Handbook of Cultural Geography*, ed. by Kay Anderson et al, (London/Thousand Oaks/New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2003), 75.

emergence of new genres was corollary to institutional transformations.[358] What was constant, however, is the pervading sense, or ''discourse on novelty,''[359] exhibiting itself as both awareness of the change, and the (self-proclaimed) impetus of the change in different contexts.

Ḥajj literature is one of the tools for both the propagation and the rethinking of the existing paradigms of identity and belonging which were crucial for the postimperial Bosnia. The other dimension of ḥajj literature is the way the places in it are positioned in the realms of the imaginary and the symbolic – the imaginary aspect being the presentation of their enormous potential to make a change, and symbolic the meaning they carry for different kinds of audiences. Unlike previous periods, where ideas about ḥajj were confined to smaller reading circles, new writings were presented to larger reading audiences.

4.2 Ḥajj and the Equalizing Market of Print Culture

The first journals in Bosnia started to appear during the last few decades of the Ottoman rule. Several journals were published, some of them in the bilingual form.[360] Even during the first decades of Austro-Hungarian rule, Ottoman Turkish was not banished from journals, which also occasionally featured articles in Arabic. The use of the Bosnian language in journals predated the Austro-Hungarian occupation itself, which is why short notes on ḥajj under the colonial control appear in some of the early journals of Ottoman Bosnia.[361]

The possibility to travel to the two holy places, which was still overwhelmingly a privilege of the upper class, attracted extensive attention in budding Bosnian journalism. The news of the departure of ḥajjis occupied a significant part of journals every year, and the mixture of the factual and the romanticised comprised

[358] Compare to the case of left-leaning ''radicalist'' movements in the Middle East. Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism 1860-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 16.

[359] Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean*, 16.

[360] Most notably journals *Bosna* and *Sarajevski cvjetnik.*

[361] See, for example, the news on the dispatch of the four ''European doctors'' to Mecca because of a disease that appeared there. Najnovija pošta, *Bosanski vjestnik,* 14.05.1866

the content of these journalistic accounts. Slightly more than a decade after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878), the unknown author of an article juxtaposes the feeling of his admiration towards the departing ḥajjis with the respect shown by the foreign occupying authorities who came to the farewell parade:

''The farewell to ḥajjis in Sarajevo was remarkably solemn and the people followed them to the railway station in such huge numbers, as has not been remembered from the Occupation onwards. Many horsemen and an innumerable string of coaches with Muhammadan citizens and Rais ul 'ulamā Hilmi efendi Omerović and almost all other notables showed off these ḥajjis to Ali-pasha's mosque on the way out of the city, where ḥajjis made duʿa. All the way from the front of the palace of the National Government to Ali-pasha's mosque stood dense rows of Muhammadan citizens, men and women. After the duʿa, the ḥajjis and other notables went to the grand hall of the National Government. There the suzerain of this country, His Highness the Baron Appel waited for the ḥajjis, to say goodbye to them on their way out of the city. With the ruler, His Highness Baron Kutschera, the citizen henchman, the directors of the national government, Sirs Sauerwald and Eichler, and numerous higher clerks from all the government departments gathered for this solemn ceremony.''[362]

Information on the interaction between the authorities and the ḥajjis is present in the Bosnian journals throughout the Austro-Hungarian period and later. Sometimes it is shortened into a brief notice mentioning the departure or arrival of the Bosnian ḥajjis,[363] and sometimes it is expanded into an elaborate report on the farewell customs for the ḥajjis.[364] However, these short notices will gradually be superseded by other diverse material, which constituted a powerful discourse on

[362] ''Oproštaj hadžija u Sarajevu bijaše izvanredno svečan a pratnja njihova do kolodvora tako mnogobrojna, kako barem od okupacije amo još nije bilo u Sarajevu. Mnogi konjanici i čisto nedogledan niz kočija sa muhamedovskim gragjanstvom sa Reisululemom Hilmi ef. Omerovićem i ostalijem skoro svekolikim prvacima na čelu ispratio je hadžije do Ali pašine džamije na izlasku iz grada, gdje su hadžije potoniu dovu činili. Pred palačom zemaljske vlade čak do Ali pašine džamije stojali su gusti redovi muhamedovskog žiteljstva obojeg spola. Poslije dove pogjoše hadžije i ostalo ugledno društvo prvaka u veliku dvoranu zemaljske vlade. Ovdje je poglavar zemlje preuzv. baron Appel cekao hadžije, da se pri polasku izvan grada oprosti s njima. Uz poglavara zemlje bijahu gragjanski doglavnik preuzv. baron Kutschera, direktori zemaljske vlade gg. vit. Sauerwald i Eichler a na ovaj svečani čin sakupiše se i mnogobrojni viši činovnici iz svijeh odjelenja vladinih.'' Mali vjesnik, *Sarajevski list,* 11.06.1890

[363] Mali vjesnik, *Sarajevski list*, 05.06.1889; Mali vjesnik, *Sarajevski list,* 30.05.1890*;* Mali vjesnik, *Sarajevski list,* 30.09.1891

[364] Mali vjesnik, *Sarajevski list,* 17.05.1891

ḥajj and ushered in the idea of a politically charged message lying behind this pilgrimage. As was the case with the late-Ottoman Bosnian press, Mecca appears to be a subject of health and safety concern. It was also depicted as the hub of ḥajjis, and a site of potential cholera outbreak, which was often emphasized in the articles published in non-Muslim journals, as well as in the general press.[365]

4.2.1 Ḥajj as a Sentimentalist Curiosity

However, with the spread of journalistic publishing and the inclusion of a larger number of intellectuals in the same public sphere, Islamic topics started to draw the attention of non-Muslim writers and translators, which was the reason why the stories about ḥajjis and ḥajj start to appear on the pages of the traditionally Serbian journals, such as *Bosanska Vila*.[366] The inclusion of stories about ḥajj is inevitably connected to the exoticization of Islamic culture characteristic of this period. At one point, for example, the journal *Bosanska Vila* included a story about a Bedouin caravan leader by Alexander Benitsky, a Russian sentimentalist author, in translation from Russian by Sava Manojlović. The story reflects the wider interest in ḥajj related issues for a non-Muslim audience as well. The interest of Bosnian non-Muslim intellectuals regarding Islamic rituals also speaks of the possible intention of co-opting the Muslim readership into the process of nationalistic unification, where Bosniaks were considered as an additional element in the construction of a Serb nation. Thus, the information about rituals including ḥajj is not always couched in orientalising discourse, but can often convey a certain interest in the religious customs of ‘‘our Muhammedans’’[367], where the conflicting *(br)othering* movement is discerned.

[365] For example, Uroš Krulj, ‘‘Kolera (po monografiji grof. Libermajstera),’’ *Kalendar SPKD Prosvjeta,* 01.01.1912; also the news about the quarantine imposed for Bosnian ḥajjis as well: Mali vjesnik, *Sarajevski list,* 10.08.1890; news on the death of ḥajjis Mali vjesnik, *Sarajevski list*, 17.08.1890; on the prohibition of the travel to Turkey or Persia for Russian ḥajjis Mali vjesnik, *Sarajevski list,* 24.09.1890

[366] Established by the Serb cultural and educational society *Prosvjeta.*

[367] Uz naše slike, *Bosanska vila,* 16.01.1889

The image of Mecca and Medina continued to be presented in exoticized terms, sometimes depicted as the future centre of the ''Turkish Empire'', far away from Constantinople, which was to be occupied again by a Russian king.[368] The interest in ḥajj and the wider attention paid to Islamic rituals and customs was part and parcel of the self-conscious examination of the relationship between the heritage of the Muslim population and the Serb intellectual elite. It was, in a certain sense, a part of the revision process that included considering Bosnian Muslims apart from the Ottoman context and ''dealienating'' them.[369]

Considering the increased interest in Muslim religious practices, and, more specifically, local Bosnian Muslim customs and events related to the annual pilgrimage, as well as having in mind the obsessive repetition of the ''Oriental'' theme in the works of the non-Muslim (usually Serb) authors, it is possible to discern a particular pressure on the Muslim intellectual community to respond to the challenges posed by the two surrounding communities. This particular need to explain one's religious tradition and the way it is manifested in their cultural context is evident from Bosniak ḥajj literature in the decades to follow. Thus, when writing about ḥajj, whether in a prescriptive or descriptive manner, the Bosniak authors had in mind multiple audiences, of which one of the first chronologically was paradoxically a non-Muslim one. Thus, the challenge posed to Bosnian Muslims was one pertaining to the feeling of belonging: how were Muslims to appease their participation in the mutual public sphere with the baggage of their perceived exoticism and strangeness?

[368]R. T. Petrović Nevesinjski, ''Iz jedne srbulje,'' *Bosanska vila,* 15.05.1909

[369]As an example of a self-conscious critique of the previous attitude of Serb intellectuals toward the Bosnian Muslims and their cultural heritage, see Vladimir Ćorović, ''Muslimani u našoj ranijoj književnosti,'' *Bosanska vila,* 15.02.1912

4.2.2 Language and Belonging

The need to participate widely in the print market was recognized early. The proliferation of ḥajj material draws attention to the multiple audiences for which it was intended. The world of the print market and journalism, in other words, provided fresh tools and strategies for battles of belonging that crossed national and religious borders and enforced allegiances across the continents.

One of the first articles on ḥajj in the Austro-Hungarian period is an article on Mecca and Medina published in *Salname* ('Yearbook') for the year 1892. The *salname* form is a rich source of material for investigating the intellectual history of the period, and points to the limits of the geographical and historical interest of the common educated reading public.[370] It is important to notice the choice of Hijaz as a main geographical topic in this issue, even though Bosnia and Herzegovina was no longer part of the Ottoman Empire, and the Bosnian *salname* itself was published under the auspices of the new National Government. The article was published in Ottoman Turkish under the title ''A few words about the climate of Hijaz'' (*İklîm-i Hicâz hakkında birkaç söz*). Apart from the descriptions of physical geography, the article contains a section on the names of Mecca, four *maqāms*, the borders of the harem, important days for the pilgrims, the Kaʿba's cover (*qiswa*), the procession of *maḥmal*, and certain other instructions for the pilgrim.

Therefore, there is a certain continuity between the *faḍā`il* works circulating in the Ottoman period and the manner in which the new presentation of the holy places was depicted which is visible through focus on ritual places and impersonal way of description. The continuity of the two ways of presentation together with the use of Ottoman Turkish implies a peculiar reading audience for which these types of articles were intended: a well educated Muslim readership, which consequently meant that a wider population was not able to grasp the meaning of the text. On the other hand, the persistence of Ottoman Turkish was perceived as a statement of resistance to use of the native language and Latin and Cyrillic script

[370] On the importance and classification of salname, see Hasan Duman, ''Osmanlı yıllıkları : (salnameler ve nevsaller): bibliyografya ve bazı İstanbul kütüphanelerine göre bir katolog denemesi,'' *İslâm Konferansı Teşkilâtı* (Istanbul: İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültürü Araştırma Merkezi (IRCICA), 1982); Hasan Duman, *Osmanlı Salnameleri ve Nevsalleri Bibliyografyası ve Toplu Kataloğu, Enformasyon ve Dokümantasyon Hizmetleri Vakfı*, Ankara, 2000.

among the wider swathes of 'ulamā. This defiant attitude towards the perceived non-Muslim scripts (Latin and Cyrillic) was combated by the government with the publishing of different literary texts and translations, in order to endear the Latin script to Muslims.[371] As for the Cyrillic script, it was slightly more popular, since it was a script known to a part of the Muslim population in Bosnia.[372] The fondness for the Ottoman Turkish and the Arabic script can be also interpreted as an anti-modernist stance in an effort to preserve the cultural practices which are reminiscent of earlier non-turbulent times.[373]

Although little research on the use of Ottoman Turkish and Arabic in Bosnia during the late 19th and the first half of the 20th century has been conducted, there are several presuppositions that can be drawn from material written in these languages. The first is that the authors were extremely aware of the literacy situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the status of the Latin and Cyrillic scripts, which were gaining ground in the post-Ottoman printed world. The largest part of the literate Muslim populace was better acquainted with the Arabic script, and a large number of them were traditionally trained in Ottoman Turkish ('ulamā were in all probability versed in Arabic as well). Both Ottoman Turkish and Arabic scripts gradually disappeared from print and the public sphere after the Second World War, but not before their role proved to be fruitful on several planes. As stated, Ottoman Turkish was primarily used for the Bosnian readership which preferred this language to Bosnian, which was only gradually starting to appear in print in the second half of 19th century.[374]

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[371] Ibrahim Kemura, *Uloga Gajreta u društvenom životu Muslimana Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1986), 14.; in 1908, a spelling book for Latin script was published, intended for the Muslims versed in Arabic script. Enes Karić, *Contributions to Twentieth Century Islamic Thought in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, volume I (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2011), 143.

[372] See more in: Vojislav Bogičević, *Pismenost u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1975), 242.

[373] Similar to the evoking of the older precapitalist cultural practices across the modernizing world, in: Harootunian, Harry D*., Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), xxvi.

[374] Printing press, thus, ''offered vernacular linguistic communities a platform for greater articulation''. Travis Zadeh, ''Persian Qur'anic Networks and the Writings of 'an Iranian Lady', Nusrat Amin Khanum (d. 1983),'' in: *The Qurʾan and its Readers Worldwide: Contemporary*

With the development of print and the geopolitical changes after the First World War, members of the Bosnian 'ulamā started to be increasingly aware of the need to ''educate'' the marginalized communities of Yugoslavia's southern regions. The need to convey messages to the predominantly Muslim Albanian communities living in Macedonia and Kosovo was in high focus in the 1930s, with the establishment of *El-Hidaje*, the *Ilmijje* Organization of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (later also the *Ilmijje* Organization of the Independent State of Croatia) in 1936. The Organization established a journal under the same name, whose purpose was to uplift Muslims in Yugoslavia spiritually and intellectually.[375]

Already in the second issue of the journal of the organization, Džemaludin Čaušević, a former head of the Islamic Community in Bosnia, wrote an article in Ottoman Turkish under the title *Biraz derdleşelim,* in which he enlisted the major problems plaguing the Muslim communities, among which is the deep disconnect between its members, which he hoped might be bridged by bilingual articles for mutual understanding.[376] The range of ideas on education and progress, which were always conceived as originating from a Bosnian centre and being directed to the non-Bosnian provinces, was in this context enhanced or impeded according to the level of literacy among the wider population. Literacy was understood to be a major implement to the achievement of an imagined state of Muslim wellbeing.[377]

In understanding this second level of the usage of Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, it is important to notice how Čaušević's proclamation about the languages used in *El-Hidaje* comes not solely as a prescription, but also as a confirmation of an already established tradition of publishing in languages other than Bosnian for the purposes of communicating with different audiences. The particular moment in

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Commentaries and Translations, ed. by Suha Taji-Farouki (Oxford: Institute of Ismaili Studies/Oxford University Press, 2015), 286.

[375]See the bibliography of the journal: Osman Lavić, *Bibliografija časopisa El-Hidaje i Islamska Misao* (Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 2001).

[376]Džemaludin Čaušević, ''Biraz derdleşelim,'' *El-Hidaje* 2, (January 1937/Zulkade 1355): 12.

[377]See, for example, Mehmed Handžić's travelogue to the 'South' and the manner in which he observed the state of Albanians and Turks. Mehmed Handžić, ''Zapažanja sa jednog kratkog puta po našem Jugu,'' *El-Hidaje* III, (July-August 1939): 53-55.

which Čaušević's text comes on the scene is rather indicative of the growing self-awareness in an age which impelled the 'ulamā to reconsider their relations with their coreligionists and to promote communication in the face of threats of exclusivist nationalism. Thus, the articles on ḥajj published from the beginning of the 20th century onwards have to be understood as simultaneously appealing to different kinds of audiences. However, while the appeal to the coreligionist communities from the ''South'' (*Jug*) appeared to be a growing issue with the geopolitical changes of the 1920s and 1930s, the interest in the international Muslim audience started from an earlier date, to which the publication of journals exclusively in Ottoman Turkish (*Rehber, Vatan*)[378] can be ascribed. The publications in Ottoman Turkish and in Arabic script meant holding onto the shared past of the Ottoman realm while publishing in Arabic nourished a sense of connectivity to the wider Muslim world.[379]

While the *salname* article on ḥajj presents a combination of the contemporary geographical findings about Mecca and Medina and a modified *faḍā`il*, the articles to follow use additional material, such as photography. Džemaludin Čaušević's article on ḥajj from 1906, published in *Gajret* ('Calendar'), uses this form to convey messages that go beyond the purely informative or inspirational for future pilgrims. Čaušević points to the possibilities of the annual meeting of Muslims (analogous to their weekly meetings for juma prayer) for the improvement of their state. Unlike previous depictions of the ḥajj and *ziyāret* in *faḍā`il* literature and other treatises, the newly emerging ḥajj literature brings awareness to the immediate social realities into the narrative. This awareness is manifested in the urgency with which Čaušević invites Muslims to use the social space of ḥajj to solve their burning problems.[380] The need for knowledge

[378]Leyla Amzi-Erdoğdular, ''Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina,1878-1914,'' PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2013, 224.

[379]However, holding onto the Ottoman past in this respect could not pass without a strong reaction in favour of the ''maternal'' language, which implied dismissal of Turkish and Arabic as ''heavy languages'' standing in the way of progress. See: Hafiz Ajni Bušatlić, *Pitanje muslimanskog napretka u Bosni i Hercegovini (Iskrena i otvorena riječ*) (Sarajevo: Vlastita Naklada, 1928), 8.

[380]Džemaludin Čaušević, ''Hac,'' *Gajret (Kalendar)*, (1906): 63-65.

and learning (*ilm ve maarifet*) becomes the driving force in the narrative, which is a part of the discourse on progress in the writings of the Bosnian 'ulamā and intellectuals of this period.[381]

The 'ulamā were certainly not the only interested party in the presentation of ḥajj as a social space for the improvement of the state of Muslims. In the travelogue *Put na Meću* published in 1896 in the journal *Nada*, the same motive of the periodical construction of religious rites which push believers into congregation (e.g. daily and weekly prayers, annual gathering) is invoked by the author who used the pseudonym Edhem Riza.[382] However, the amelioration of the state of Muslims is just one of the consequences of maintaining unity as a result of the physical dimension required by ḥajj rituals.

The development of this idea is particularly evident in later ḥajj travelogues, which gives rise to the assumption that the ḥajj pilgrimage began to be observed as a potential arena for political and social ameliorations on a larger scale from a much earlier period than is evident in the existing literature. Both Čaušević's and Edhem Riza's narratives use prescriptive language in describing the potential social benefits of ḥajj. Although written in different languages (Edhem Riza's narrative is in Bosnian), the exposition of their ideas is similar: after explaining that ḥajj is a religious duty, the social reasons for the pilgrimage are listed, with strong emphasis on maintaining unity and reciprocating help. However, it needs to be noted that although the language of both articles moved from the description of an immutable ritual to one which has an overwhelming importance not only in individual Muslim lives, but also in the economic and social conditions of the Muslim communities, it still remains detached, prescriptive and in a certain sense disconnected from the realities on the ground.

[381]The *ulama* and the so-called secular intelligentsia have both used the concept of progress in their articles; however, the meaning and its scope varies in their writings, often to the point of clear divergence. Also, the *ulama* and the secular intelligentsia should not be observed as two staunchly opposed, essentialized camps, since the members often wrote for the same journals and shared the same ideas. Still, it is possible to differentiate between the general outputs of these two sources.

[382]Edhem Riza, ''Put na Meću,'' *Nada*, 15.03.1896

As analyses of the role of ḥajj began accommodating the idea of Muslim unification and its potential benefits for the *ummah* on economic and cultural levels, thoughts of a political project that would enhance already conceived goals also began to surface. The dissatisfaction with colonial realities abroad of which the Bosnian intellectuals and ‘ulamā were well aware owing to their multiple connections to the Middle East, and unease with the minority status in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia,[383] would develop into a search to better the position of Bosnian Muslims in the country. Although the Bosnian historian Amir Karić argues that the aim of the search was limited to spiritual unification,[384] some of the ḥajj narratives point to the political aspirations of the panislamist project. In this sense, the transformations of the ḥajj persona (both *‘ālim* and intellectual), and the use of the public space enhanced by media, comes to be deeply connected to politics, in novel ways in which individual trajectories intersect those of the nation-state.[385]What Karić sees as the absence of an overtly political dimension in pan-Islamistic thought of Bosnian Muslims, actually suggests that political thought was mostly theoretical, reflecting inability of these thinkers to exercise any political control.[386]

4.3 Finding a Unifying Centre: Ḥajj as a Pan-Islamist Project – Idea and Realization

As is already discernible from the first narratives on ḥajj in the Austro-Hungarian period, the imaginings of this ritual overlapped with its presentation as a gathering event of social value. Ḥajj later acquired a new significance, with increased emphasis on contemporaneity. This idea began developing in the 1920s into imagining ḥajj as an engaging wholesome project which would not only better the state of Muslims, but also unify them spiritually, intellectually, emotionally and politically. Of these points, the last one stood out in contrast compared to the previous periods, since it became an immediate answer to the post-Caliphate disorder and the lack of clear authority after its dismantling. In the years that

[383]After the collapse of the empires in the interwar period, Bosnia lost its territorial integrity, and its Muslims became a minority after the administrative reorganization of the country in 1929.

[384]Amir Karić, *Panislamizam*, 122.

[385]Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 10.

[386]Faisal Devji, "Apologetic Modernity," *Modern Intellectual History*, 4, 1 (2007): 64.

followed the abolishment of the Caliphate by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 1924, significant debates developed in the Bosnian press regarding the nature of the Caliphate, its necessities in the modern world, and even the lack of need for upholding this institution in a rapidly changing world. The abolishment of the Caliphate created a deep rift between the Bosnian 'ulamā and intellectuals, which would continue throughout the 1930s up to the Second World War. Apart from the question of necessity of a major authoritative political body for a widely diverging Muslim world, which in turn inspired panislamist debates and polemics in the writings of the period, focus was also on the issues of nationalism and how it varied according to the context. In the course of the fierce debates during these two decades, Bosnian writers would come to have their own preferences regarding a model of nationalism, and would try to influence the creation of a genuinely local one. Therefore, two modernistic traits can be discerned: awareness of contemporaneity, and the quest for authority, all the while treating Islam as ''an historical agent and authority in its own right.''[387] The authority was sought in various ways: through connections with scholars in Istanbul, Cairo and Damascus, Serb and Croat literary networks in Bosnia and Yugoslavia, but also increasingly in the idealized vision of ḥajj as a gathering place where problems plaguing Muslims across the world would be solved.

Prior to these debates, interest in matters relating to the benefit of an international community of Muslims presented an important part of journalistic coverage during the first two decades of the 20th century. One of the most important issues was certainly the Hijaz Railway project which was of great interest to Bosnian readers for a certain period.[388] Bosnian authors were able to connect the experience of Bosnian ḥajjis to the importance of this project which would alleviate

[387] Devji, ''Apologetic Modernity,'' 64.

[388] Even once the Hijaz railway project ceased to be relevant for Muslim communities living in nation-states after the Second World War, echoes and reminiscences of it appeared in ḥajj narratives. See, for example, the case of Hasan Ljubunčić who looks for the remnants of the railway from an airplane. Hasan Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' *Glasnik VIS-a*, no. 5-7, IV (XVI), (1953): 159.

the difficulties the pilgrims faced.[389] In a certain sense, this early concern for issues of international importance led to a greater interest in the number of relevant events and initiatives taking place in the Muslim world. During this period, a large number of Bosnian Muslim journals contained a section dedicated to news from the ''Islamic world''. News from the Islamic world, or analyses of it, served as a mirror image to the changes which the authors wanted (or did not want) to see in their own country. This is, for example, seen in the attitude towards female education, where the model for comparison is taken from Turkey or Egypt – occasionally Russia or India – and juxtaposed to the situation among the Bosnian Muslims, often with a sharp critical distance. Slowly but surely, the ideas coming from abroad were adjusted into the local context.[390]

Even in the later period, the interest did not dwindle. In the journal *Hikjmet*, which was considered the news medium for the traditional 'ulamā, an interesting division of the presentation of news could be seen[391]: news from the Islamic world, and news from Turkey. The division underlines this community's strong interest in the changes going on in Turkey, which separated it from the rest of the Muslim world.

Throughout this period, print continued to be the foremost tool in transmitting ideas for Bosnian 'ulamā and secular intelligentsia. Unlike previous decades, however, the ḥajj literature changed from one-piece essays to travelogues which were published in sequels over months or years. The age of print, steam boats and trains also became the age of accelerated exchange of news, which had to reach an eager readership as quickly as possible. In a certain sense, since these tools of modernization were used for the limited circle of 'ulamā, they were ironically adopted in order to spread ideas which were against what they perceived to be modernity.

[389] "Željeznica od Šama do Mekke," (Railway from Damascus to Mecca), *Behar*, 15. Muharema 1318/15. maja 1900, No. 2, Year I, p. 33. Cited in: Hamza Karčić, ''Supporting the Caliph's Project: Bosnian Muslims and the Hejaz Railway,'' *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* (17 Jul 2014): 286.

[390] Jeremy Prestholdt, ''From Zanzibar to Beirut: Sayyida Salme bint Said and the Tensions of Cosmopolitanism,'' in: *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print*, 207.

[391] Adnan Jahić, *Hikjmet - riječ tradicionalne uleme u Bosni i Hercegovini*, (Tuzla: Bošnjačka zajednica kulture Preporod, Općinsko društvo Tuzla, 2004).

While congresses in Cairo (1926), Mecca (1926) and Jerusalem (1931) were duly reported and analysed, and their importance was recognized both for their international stature and for countering the ideological opposition inside and outside the Islamic community at home, there was a significant emphasis on Mecca as the centre of the pan-islamist activity, and ḥajj as an ultimate time period for the organization of such a congress. The idea of ḥajj as a congress appears in different types of texts in this period; for the purpose of this chapter, it is worthwhile to observe how it appeared in the previously mentioned journal *Hikjmet*.

The journal *Hikjmet*, established in 1929 and run by the Čokić brothers,[392] and by some of the 'ulamā such as Mehmed Handžić,[393] published different kinds of debates, including those of local and international 'ulamā and secular intelligentsia. However, they did not tackle daily politics in a significant manner, but rather offered their readers a view of utopian comfort.[394]Their imagination of the congress, pictured in the shiniest colours possible, remained confined to the realm of the idealistic. Thus, *Hikjmet*'s presentation of ḥajj as a congress starts in 1929 with a poem ''Ḥajj and Eid al-Adha'' (*Hadž i Kurban Bajram*):

> ''Arefat is the meeting of Muslims from the whole world,
> Arefat is a grand congress of the whole Islamic world,
> A Muslim goes to the congress upon the command of his Faith.
> Nation is marginal in that grand congress.
> A brother is a Muslim, whoever he is, Arab or non-Arab,
> For that congress, everyone has only white garb.''[395]

[392]Ibrahim Hakki Čokić (1871-1948) was also the author of the travelogue in focus of this chapter. Other Čokić brothers were: Ahmed Lutfi (1878-1933) and Abdurahman Adil (1888-1954).

[393]Mehmed Handžić (1906-1944) was a prolific Bosnian Muslim scholar who made a strong impact on preservation of traditional Islamic sciences in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

[394]Amir Karić, *Panislamizam*, 151.

[395]''Arefat je upoznanstvo muslimana svijeta sveg,
Arefat je silni kongres cijelog svijeta islamskog.
Na taj kongres ide muslim po odredbi Dina svog.
Nacija je stvar sporedna na tom silnom kongresu
Brat je muslim, ko je da je, bio Arap ili ne,
Za taj kongres svako ima samo bijele haljine'' I. Hakki, ''Hadž i Kurban Bajram,'' *Hikjmet*, no 2, I, (15. V 1929): 34.

Although the verses are rather simple and straightforward, they make use of certain concepts which were of tremendous importance for the Bosnian 'ulamā of the period and which, again, connect them to a larger contemporary discussion in other centres of the Muslim world, and beyond. The reference to the irrelevance of nation in the congress is the result of the on-going debates which led not only to the pan-islamist rejection of the national particularisms, but also to refusal to succumb to the pressures of the local intellectuals who were pushing for national determination in the face of the swelling Croat and Serb nationalisms. The rejection of reductive nationalistic emphasis on ethnic origin comes in particular contrast to the earlier focus on patriotism and the emphasis on staying in one's country in the face of the dangers of hijra.[396]

The use of the concept of congress for the betterment of the state of Muslims appears approximately around the same time on the pages of *Hikjmet,* even in relation to micro-level issues and the state of Bosnian Muslims in the neighbouring countries. A *Hikjmet* article from the 1930, which laments the non-existence of congresses similar to a Eucharistic congress held in Zagreb, indicates that inspiration for the idea of a congress as a solution to the community problems did not stem only from the pan-islamist discourse of the period but also from the contemporary tendencies amongst the non-Muslim communities in the region. The author, A. Nametak, delves into the topic of Muslims in Serbia, who were in grave danger of assimilation because they did not have mechanisms similar to the Eucharistic congress for preserving their religion.[397] Thus, it is possible to see how the idea of a congress became a serious issue for the Muslim pundits of the period.

[396] Journals such as *Bošnjak, Musavat* and others had a clear anti-emmigration editorial stance, supported by patriotic articles and translations.

[397] A. Nametak, ''Misli uz Euharistički kongres u Zagrebu,'' *Hikjmet*, No 17, (1939): 151-152.; this was not the only case where a Christian model of organization was observed in positive light. Muhamed Krpo, while in Egypt on his way to ḥajj, praises a Christian youth organization and laments the current state of Muslim youth in Yugoslavia which is wasting its time on sport activities. Krpo, *Put na hadž* (Sarajevo: Bosanska Štampa, 1938), 39-40.

4.3.1 Visions of Unity

The issues of nationalism and pan-islamism and the enthusiasm for the Islamic congresses (whether actually held or idealized), appears mostly in the two key ḥajj travelogues of the period, the ḥajj travelogue of Ibrahim Hakki Čokić (published in a serialized edition in the journal *Hikjmet*) and Muhamed Krpo (travelogue published in *Bosanska Štampa*).[398] Both of the authors used train and steamboat on their way to ḥajj, and engaged in intensive interaction with their fellow pilgrims, as well as the intellectual and diplomatic networks which they wanted to be a part of. Their pilgrimages were also made journalistically ‘‘modern’’: they were announced beforehand, advertised and readers could even send comments to the ḥajji on his way. Thus, for example, we learn that Muhamed Krpo advertised his intention of going on pilgrimage earlier in the newspapers in order to get a potential sponsor or sponsors who would finance him as a guide for ḥajjis. The advertisement stated that Muhamed Krpo is of a poorer background, but that he had knowledge of how ‘‘to go to Hijaz’’, and that he speaks Arabic, Turkish and German.[399] Ibrahim Hakki Čokić was, on the other hand, thanked by one of his readers (since his travelogue was published in sequels over the course of a couple of years) for the information about the diarrhoea (*ishāl*) from Jeddah and the way it disappears after some distance from that city.[400]

Apart from engaging in necessary social activities throughout their respective journeys, and apart from the schedule that a pilgrimage might command, both of the authors sought additional activities that might enrich their ḥajj experience and transform it from a purely religious and mostly individualistic experience, which had a certain limited influence in a community to which a pilgrim was returning to, into a religious and political endeavour with a presupposed impact on interconnected Muslim communities, with the natural emphasis on the one in Yugoslavia. What strikingly distinguishes this period from the previous ones is that the interest in the

[398] Muhamed Krpo was a local imam in Sarajevo and a photographer-amateur.

[399] ‘‘Vodič na hadždž,’’ *Islamski Svijet,* (1933): 6.

[400] ‘‘Odgovori uredništva,’’ *Hikjmet, (*1935).

ziyārat of the graves of saints and famous persons remains present, but with increased touristic interest unlike in earlier centuries. The reason for the decrease in deference paid to the graves of the evliya might be attributed to the immense influence the reformist thinker Rashīd Riḍā had among Bosnian ‘ulamā. The decrease was also part of a wider trend in Muslim modernist thought which sought to distance Islam from what it perceived to be impure elements that had crept into religious practice.

Prior to focusing on the ‘‘realization’’ of the pan-islamist project in the ḥajj narratives of Bosnian ‘ulamā, it should be noted how colonial realities affected ḥajjis in a straightforward manner, and Bosnian authors were no exception to that. Their itinerary brought them into direct contact with oppressive authorities, especially during their stay in quarantine in Egypt:

''The attitude of the Egyptian Consulate in Piraeus and the attitude of the police and health administration in Alexandria to the quarantine and afterwards – as I will describe it later – is the result of the Egyptian administration's lack of education and the attitude towards ḥajjis inherited from Englishmen, which they used to turn away the Islamic world from ḥajj and to minimize Islamic meetings around the Ḥaramayn – and they wanted to reduce them even further, below the minimum because they are afraid for their haughty lordship in the Eastern, and especially Islamic regions, which serve for the import of their goods, and which they mercilessly suck and exploit.[401] (...) Those ''tolerant'' colonizers do not have nor do they know of quarantines and similar institutions for the pilgrims of different faiths – not for Asian and African Arabs, who make pilgrimages to Jerusalem, Rome (the heart of Europe) or some monastery – not even for the Shiite Mashhad in Persia. There are no quarantines for them, nor any health examinations even after their return from the pilgrimage. But, there is a quarantine and vaccinations and all kinds of injections for `ahl al-sunna when they are passing from Europe and other regions as well, not to mention when they are returning from Hijaz during the ḥajj season.''[402]

[401] ‘‘Postupak egipatskog konzulata u Pireju i onaj policajno zdravstvenih vlasti u Aleksandriji do karantene i onaj poslije karantene – kako ću to niže iznijeti – jest ostatak u odgoju egipatske uprave i naslijeđeni postupak od Engleza prema hadžijama uopće, kojim su htjeli odvratiti islamski svijet od hadža i svesti islamske sastanke oko Haramejna na minimum – pa i ispod minimuma (najmanjeg) jer se boje svom oholom gospostvu u istočnim, a naročito islamskim krajevima, koji im služe za izvoz njihove robe i koje nemilosrdno sisaju i eksploatišu.’’ Ibrahim Hakki Čokić, ‘‘Moje putovanje na hadž.’’ *Hikjmet*, IV, (1932-33): 148-149.

[402] ‘‘Ti ''tolerantni'' kolonizatori neimaju i ne poznaju ni karantene ni druge slične ustanove za hodočasnike drugih vjera – pa ni za azijske i afričke Arape, koji hodočaste u Jerusalim, Rim (srce Evrope) ili kakav manastir – pa ni za ši-ijski Mešhed u Perziji. Za njih neima ni karantene niti kakove

The feeling of marginalization and colonial oppression – culminating in the ḥajj quarantine practice – is what ultimately leads to a reaction. The time in quarantine is what will prepare the Bosniak authors of this period for imagining the spiritual unification of Muslims, or, at least, for imagining the actions, institutions or states that might enhance reaching such a goal:

''Those and other inhuman English acts opened the eyes of the Easterners and they started resenting them. This resentment is reflected in the fact that all Arabs, almost without any exception, ascribe to Englishmen certain unkind acts of the Egyptian authorities and organs. In my humble opinion, this means that the spiritual unification of the Arab, predominantly Islamic, regions is on its direct path to realization.''[403]

The travelogues of Krpo and Čokić share the same ideological standpoint of the previous authors who claimed that ḥajj is the ultimate meeting point for the collectivity of Muslims, or at least their representative elites. However, in this period, the idealized Islamic congresses started to acquire a reality on the ground, expressed in the newly founded Saudi Kingdom, whose perceived order left a considerable impact on the Bosnian authors. Additionally, while previous authors mentioned ḥajj gatherings of believers, the new authors elaborated on its *political* potential. In that process, various models of political success were sought. The newly established Saudi Kingdom was not the only laudable reality from which Krpo and Čokić drew their attention. On their way to ḥajj, both of them sought intellectual and religious comfort among circles in Egypt, which provided them with instructions on resolving problems in their own Bosnian Muslim community.

Quite symbolically, the front page of Muhamed Krpo's travelogue is a painting depicting Egyptian pyramids and a Sphinx, with a caravan of camels passing in front. Mecca and Medina are not depicted at all, and the choice of Cairo might reflect a

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zdravstvene pregledbe ni na povratku sa njihova hadža, a eto za ehli sunnet ima i karantena, i pelcovanja i razne inekcije i kad su na prolazu i iz Evrope kao i iz drugih krajeva, a kamo li na povratku iz Hidžaza sa hadža i za vrijeme sezone hadža.'' Čokić, ''Moje putovanje na hadž'', 149.

[403] ''Ti i drugi nehumani engleski postupci otvorili su oči istočnjaka i oni su ih zamrzili. Ova se mržnja očituje i u tom što se po svim Arapima skoro bez iznimke pripisuju Englezima i mnogi izvjesni nesimpatični postupci egipatskih vlasti i organa. Ovo po mom nemjerodavnom shvaćanju znači, da je duhovno ujedinjavanje arapskih poglavito islamskih krajeva, na sigurnu putu svoga ostvarenja.'' Čokić, ''Moje putovanje na hadž,'': 149-150.

wish to emphasize the journey, instead of the goal. Krpo's travelogue, written in 1938, shows how the ḥajj endeavour in his period was not the matter of a simple journey. It includes coordination between local levels of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Yugoslav authorities, which consequently included interaction with Bosnian politicians in order for the ḥajj to be conducted safely. Both Čokić and Krpo's travelogue attest the connection the Bosnian pilgrims had with this complicated system of higher and lower ranking officials, as well as a banking system that allowed or prohibited them from taking a certain amount of money outside the country. Having to deal with practicalities, such as financial transactions and border crossings, stands in contrast to the discourse on the idealized goal of the journey, which is the starting point of Krpo's travelogue:

''Meeting one another, discussing the conditions and needs of the Islamic religious communities in all the regions of the world, reaching useful conclusions, establishing friendly trade relations, meeting the world, peoples and their customs, and in that way acquiring knowledge and expanding the horizons, etc. etc. – that is the main goal and purpose of the ḥajj. Therefore, ḥajj is an all-Islamic congress, with which the unification of all Muslims of the world into one singular Islamic community takes place.''[404]

One of the characteristics of ḥajj narratives of this period is their double orientation: the attachment to the idealized past is directly connected to the post-imperial attachments and the appreciation of Islamic history, as well as to the imagining of a future interconnectivity and envisioning a brighter postcolonial future for the *ummah*. Both of the discourses imply an imagined unity which was disrupted by a turbulent present. Later in the travelogue, Krpo reiterates the idea for the necessity of getting to know each other and establishing friendly trade relations, and adds that such a unified brotherly community will rule the world:

[404]''Medjusobno upoznavanje, raspravljanje o prilikama i potrebama islamskih vjerskih zajednica u svim krajevima zemaljske kugle, donosenje korisnih zaključaka, sklapanje prijateljskih i trgovačkih veza, upoznavanje svijeta, naroda i njihovih običaja, te na taj način sticanje znanja i proširivanje vidokruga, itd. itd. – eto to je glavni cilj i svrha hadža. Hadž je, dakle, sveislamski kongres, pomoću kojega se svake godine radi na ujedinjenju svih muslimana svijeta u jedinstvenu Islamsku zajednicu
'' Krpo, *Put na hadž*, 10 and 11.

''[community] when it, God willing, is created like that, shall rule the world, as it used to rule the world, and will be the bearer of true, pure and unalloyed Islamic culture, civilization, true (and not the fake, materialistic) progress and every happiness.''[405]

The essentializing of Islamic culture and civilization comes hand in hand with the discourse on progress that preoccupied the Bosnian 'ulamā for several decades of the 20th century. The narrative of the ''fake'' and ''materialistic'' progress stands in stark contrast to the admiration of technological progress which dominated the ḥajj travelogues. The main point seems to be the source from which knowledge about the world is derived, and therefore, the conception of progress itself. Progress, thus, stems from Islamic origins and creates the ''true Islamic culture'' at the same time. The notion that it is possible to take certain aspects of modernity and reject others pervades the narratives, which thereupon turn into a critique of the behaviour of the members of the Bosnian Muslim community at home:

''If the Muslims would understand their Islamic duties correctly, none of the richer ones would spend several thousand dinars a year for nothing, travelling across various useless resorts, swimming places, parties and other trifling and meaningless places of culturally fake Europe. He would, instead, in respect of God Almighty, His Messenger and his elevated faith, use that money to go where God commands him to go, and do his religious Islamic duty and therefore contribute and help building the magnificent mansion of the Islamic unity; with it he would help and strengthen his faith in God and thus God Almighty would strengthen and help him everywhere and in every sense, as God the Almighty says in the Holy Qur'an: ''In tansurullahe jansurkjum'' (if you support Allah, He will support you…)''[406]

Thus, pilgrimage is compared with touristic and entertainment practices that were perceived to be damaging to the religious life and unity. These practices were

[405] ''(…) koja će, kad se, ako Bog da, stvori takvom, zavladati svijetom, kao što je i prije vladala i koja će tada biti nosilac prave, čiste i nepatvorene, istinske islamske kulture, civilizacije, pravog (ne lažnog, materijalističkog) napretka i svake sreće.'' Krpo, *Put na hadž*, 298-299.

[406] ''Ali kad bi muslimani pravilno shvaćali svoje islamske dužnosti, ne bi ni jedan imućniji musliman tratio badava po nekoliko hiljada dinara godišnje, putujući po raznim beskorisnim izletištima, kupalištima, teferičima, i ostalim beznačajnim i besmislenim mjestima lažno kulturne Evrope, nego bi, poštujući Boga dž.š. Njegova poslanika i svoju uzvišenu vjeru, otišao sa tim novcem onamo gdje Bog zapovjeda, i izvršio svoju vjersku, islamsku dužnost i time doprinio i pomogao izgrađivanju veličanstvene zgrade islamskog jedinstva; time bi pomogao i osnažio Božiju vjeru, pa bi i Bog dž.š. osnažio i pomogao njega svugdje i u svakom pogledu, kako to Bog dž.š. u Kur'ani az.š. veli:…(=ako vi pomognete Božiju vjeru, Bog će vas pomoći…)'' Krpo, *Put na hadž*, 299.

understood as part of imported modern life and as unauthentic to Muslim life. They were considered to be ''materialistic'', whereas the essence of the pilgrimage experience was to be reinvigorating and alleviating to the spirit of Muslims all over the world. The materialistic ''grip'' that had taken the community over was a depiction of the current state of the community which was begrudgingly acknowledged, as in the following excerpt of the prayer by Ibrahim Hakki Čokić during his visit to the Prophet's grave:

> ''Oh Lord! You who honoured us to be His ummah, please keep us in that direction and do not let some conceited and snooty blockheads, with their conceits and truly backward views on life, who have sunk into the raw spirit of materialism mislead us and His true ummah, so that we go in the direction which was not taken by Him, Your slave, servant, prophet, messenger and beloved, nor was tolerated by Him.''[407]

However, what is distinct about these narratives is the fact that Islamic unity is no longer only idealized, but appears to have acquired the contours of an actual reality, which for both Krpo and Čokić – and their numerous contemporaries among the Bosnian 'ulamā – was embodied in the new Saudi Kingdom. Large parts of both travelogues are committed to the description of the new state, and to refuting different orientalist and other contrary ideas. Still, such an idealized version of the Saudi Kingdom necessarily came with a certain double consciousness, which is especially visible in conflicting relationships of belonging. The authors of the interwar period were negotiating their multiple allegiances – to the Ottoman heritage they cherished, to the rising authorities in the newly formed countries of the Middle East, and to the nation-state they lived in. Paradoxically, another type of allegiance – or identification – which appears in the interwar ḥajj narratives, is the connection Bosnian authors felt towards ''European culture'', presenting themselves at the same time as outsiders and insiders.[408]

[407] ''Bože! Koji si nas odlikovao time, da budemo Njegov ummet, čuvaj nas na tom pravcu i ne dopusti, da kojekakve u goli duh materijalizma ogrezle, umišljene i naduvene mješine svojim smicalicama i svojim uistinu nazadnim pogledima na život, zavedu nas i Njegov pravi ummet drugim pravcem kojim On, Tvoj rob, sluga, poslanik, vijesnik i milosnik nije išao, niti ga je tolerirao.'' Čokić, ''Moje putovanje na hadž,'' 336.

[408] For example, when Krpo comes to Cairo and sees the railway station, he admits that it is comely but not in line with ''our European'' expectations. Krpo, *Put na hadž*, 57.

Both Čokić and Krpo supported the changes which ensued from the turmoil in the Hijaz in the 1920s and early 1930s. Čokić's journal Hikjmet fiercely defended the *Ikhwān*,[409] and his view is best illustrated with a poem composed for the group by Muhamed Seid Mašić:

> **''To Arabia**
>
> To Mecca, Medina, ruler of genius and the war band ''Ichvan''
>
> (…)
>
> Oh Ummul Kura, holy city,
>
> Nobody can threaten you
>
> Because Allah will bring revenge
>
> On all those who threaten you.
>
> (…)
>
> Oh Arabia, you are now ruled
>
> By a ruler of genius
>
> Who would not let Europe
>
> Dig its claws into you:
>
> Ibnus Suud Abdul Aziz
>
> A great protector of the glorious faith
>
> London, Moscow, Rome and Paris
>
> Have to pay attention to him.
>
> (…)
>
> Oh Arabia, early dawn!
>
> Homeland to Al Ichvan!
>
> You have been lauded more
>
> Than any other land.''[410]

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[409] The first Saudi army.

[410] ''**Arabiji**
Mekji, Medini, genijalnom vladaru i ratnoj druzini ''Ichvan''
(…)
Ummul Kura, grade sveti
Ne sme niko da Ti preti
Jer će Allah svakom onom
Ko Ti preti da se sveti.
(…)
Arabijo, Tobom sada
Genijalan čovek vlada,
Koji neda da Evropa
Zverske pandže tu zabada:
Ibnus Suud Abdul Aziz

Since the journal *Hikjmet* was already publishing sequels of Čokić's travelogue, it might be suggested that it could have influenced the composition – or publishing at least – of the *pro-ikhwān* poem. In the travelogue itself, the positive changes seen in the Saudi Kingdom and the ''Wahhabi'' rule mostly relate to the eradication of innovations (*bidʿa*)[411] and the improvement of road safety,[412] which is usually contrasted to the previous state of turbulence and chaos. Not only does the rhetoric of the period incite the appearance of the phrase ''Ḥajj as an all-Islamic congress'', but the final phase of the ''congress'' is conflated with the reception at the court of King Abdul-Aziz, which gathers ''all notables and more conscious representatives of all countries''.[413] The heroic image of King Abdul-Aziz is persistent through the narrative, and his photograph is a part of the travelogue, along with one of his sons.[414]His physical appearance is described in flattering terms, as is his treatment of his guests and visitors at the audience ceremony.[415]

In this sense, the authors (Čokić and Krpo) create a peculiar ''saviour narrative'', which also comes with its complementary narrative about the enemies of the state and Muslim unity. To accomplish that, however, Čokić and Krpo had no easy task. The narrative of Islamic unity was pitted against perceived threats coming from both outside and inside, which were in various places defined rather vaguely.

Slavnog dina slavni hafiz
O njem mora da računa
London, Moskva, Rim i Pariz
(…)
Arabijo, zoro rana!
Domovino El Ichvana!
Ti si više neg' ma koja
Druga zemlja opjevana.''
Muhamed Seid Mašić, ''Arabiji,'' *Hikjmet,* VI, no 8, (1935): 238-239.

[411]The eradication of tombs was mostly evoked in this context: Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 105-106, Čokić, ''Moje putovanje na hadž,'' *Hikjmet* 58, period V, (1934): 301.

[412]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 290.

[413]Krpo, *Put na hadž*, 300.

[414]Krpo, *Put na hadž*, 285 and 287.

[415]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 284 and 286.

At times these threats were presented as ‘‘materialism’’ or ‘‘fake progress’’; and at times conceived as an existing threat of the Ahmadi/Baha’i/Qadiani movement (the terms were used interchangeably); or, in the case of internal struggles among the Bosnian ‘ulamā, which, again, reflected both the local community’s problems and the issues every Muslim society was struggling with in different ways. In this light, the ‘ulamā considered any kind of revisionist attempt questioning the salvation narrative of Saudi authorities a deliberate attack on the Muslim unity.

Part of the background to a large portion of Muhamed Krpo’s travelogue is another travelogue, also composed by a Bosnian Muslim, Haji Ismet Varatanović, who published his serialized travelogue in the newspapers *Jugoslovenska pošta* in 1933, and in *Vreme,* a journal published in Belgrade, which carries certain significance in the context of ensuing reactions from the Bosnian ‘ulamā. That is, publishing an unflattering ḥajj travelogue in a Serbian journal could be interpreted as a deliberate exposure of a vulnerable minority to the critical eye of the government. The travelogue itself stands in stark contrast to both Krpo and Čokić’s salvation narrative – it presents an unflattering view of the post-Ottoman kingdom facing deep changes, some of which tended to destroy the known environment of the holy places. In a certain sense, Varatanović’s narrative is a gloomy look at the post-Ottoman chaotic social situation, which he was supposed to describe in romanticized terms, as was the custom. Unlike Čokić and later Krpo, Varatanović expressed a frankness which contradicted the salvation narrative. As an example of his disillusionment with the new order at the holy places, there is a description of the railway station in its dire post-Wahhabi state:

> ‘‘All the doors are closed, the premises are empty and restless spiders have made cobwebs in every corner. Still, the square in front of the station is alive. Dozens of cars, lined up in a straight line, are bathed in a multitude of sun’s rays, and flocks of pigeons are landing on them, having made their nests under the domes and around them, in sculptured or carved ornaments. It is a sad image of former better times and strivings to make this city and its environment more accessible and to enliven it. The sad picture of the Hijaz railway, which is today demolished in many places; partly during the World War, to impede the transport of the troops to various strategic points, and partly because of the rebellious tribes, and greatly because of enmity towards the modernization of the country. (…) There are piles of pieces of iron, planks, rails, all kinds of bars and nails. Millions and

millions lie there and rot. A man rarely looks at it. Nobody looks at this enormous wealth, nor regrets its decay. The lizards are the only ones there, dancing their eerie dance over the piled wealth, while the nation moans under the burden of life and lacks even bread.

There is a road from the square in front of the station, across the main entrance to the centre of the city, in the midst of which there are still rails firmly pressed against the iron sills. The train has not crossed over them for more than a decade. Will the train ever cross it? – it is hard to predict although during the congress of Muslims in Jerusalem two or three years ago a board for the renewal of the Hijaz railway was elected.''[416]

While trying to explain the reasons for the demolition of the Hijaz railway, Varatanović uses the narrative of Ottoman modernization brought to the provinces which was met with failure. The recipient side of the modernization project is depicted as unruly and unstable, and responsible for the ensuing disorder which he sees in Saudi Arabia.[417] The description of the remnants of the Hijaz railway in Krpo's narrative are devoid of Ottoman nostalgia, and present a simple account of the past and current state of the station building in Medina, whose fate is being transferred to the executive board of the pan-islamic congress, which was supposed

[416]''Sva su vrata zatvorena, prostorije su prazne, a neumorni pauci ispleli su u svim kutovima svoje mreže. Trg pred stanicom ipak je živ. Desetine automobila, poredanih u pravoj liniji, kupa se u izobilju sunčanih zraka, a na njih slijeću jata golubova, koji su svoja gnijezda smjestili i uredili pod svodovima i oko njih, u izvajanim ili uklesanim ukrasima. Tužna slika nekadašnjih boljih vremena i nastojanja, da ovaj grad i ova okolica bude pristupačnija i da oživi. Tužna slika Hedžaske željeznice, koja je danas na mnogim mjestima razrušena; dijelom za vrijeme Svjetskog rata, da se onemogući prevoz četa na razne važne strateške tačke, dijelom od nemirnih plemena, a dobrim dijelom iz – neprijateljstva prema modernizaciji zemlje. (…) Svuda leže hrpe komada željeza, dasaka, šinja, raznih poluga i šarafa. Milijoni i milijoni leže i trunu. Preko svega toga rijetko da kad predje pogled čovjeka. Niko to ogromno blago niti gleda, niti žali što trune. Jedino što gušteri, igraju svoje jezivo kolo po nagomilanom blagu, a narod stenje pod bremenom života i oskudijeva i u – hljebu.
Sa trga pred stanicom, nasuprot glavnom ulazu u centar grada, vodi put, sredinom kojeg još uvijek leže tračnice čvrsto pribite na željezne pragove. Više od jednog decenija preko njih nije prešao voz. Da li će ikada preći? – teško je predviditi iako je pred dvije-tri godine na kongresu muslimana u Jerusalemu biran i naročiti odbor za obnovu Hedžaske željeznice.'' Ismet Varatanović, ''Sa puta u Meku,'' *Jugoslovenska pošta*, V, (14 October 1933): 13.

[417]What could be brought into connection here is the very discourse of the Ottoman Orientalism, which was sufficiently researched upon by Raoul Motika and Christoph Herzog, ''Orientalism "alla turca": Late 19th / Early 20th Century Ottoman Voyages into the Muslim 'Outback','' *Die Welt des Islams,* New Series, Vol. 40, Issue 2, Ottoman Travels and Travel Accounts from an Earlier Age of Globalization (Jul., 2000): 139-195.; as well as by Ussama Makdisi, ''Ottoman Orientalism,'' *The American Historical Review* (2002) 107 (3): 768-796. with a counterargument by Türesay Özgür, '' L'Empire ottoman sous le prisme des études postcoloniales. À propos d'un tournant historiographique récent,'' *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, No 60-2, (2013/2): 127-145.

to wrestle it from the English and French.[418] Čokić mentions the ruins of the railway station in a similar manner.[419]

Although Varatanović expresses a positive attitude towards certain changes evident on his ḥajj journey, he devotes a large part of his attention to subversion of regular expectations. For that, he encountered strong opposition on the pages of Krpo's travelogue, as well as on the pages of the journal *Hikjmet*. The critique from Krpo's side turned into an outright revision of what was perceived to be an orientalist dishonouring of the holiness of the place and the ritual, but also, more explicitly, the slighting of the new order in Saudi Arabia which was, for Krpo and Čokić, the backbone of Islamic unity and morality.

Varatanović's position was seen as an additional tool against the unifying picture of the ḥajj, and was fiercely resisted. In this context, Muhamed Krpo allotted several chapters to the refutation of Varatanović's travelogue, under the titles ''The Holy Qur'an as the Hijaz Constitution'' (*Kur'an (a.s.) kao Ustav Hidžaza*) and ''There are no slave markets in Hijaz'' (*U Hidžazu nema tržišta robova*). The former chapter uses a narrative of progress, but in this context progress is defined as the technological advance which follows Qur'anic precedence. In other words, Krpo's vision of modernization implies a state of novelty, in which he recognizes the potential for this country to lead the Muslim world. The progress attained by the Kingdom is ascribed to its ruler Abdul-Aziz, and to the Qur'an, which was apparently regarded as the only source of law.[420] In this chapter, Krpo describes the ascendance of the King to the throne after strife and struggle, and presents the King as an anticolonial ruler.[421] However, what is partially missing from the narrative is the perspective of the Ottoman past, which reflects an unwillingness to discuss the past which had become clouded by recent events, which led to both the

[418]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 303.

[419]Čokić, ''Moje putovanje na hadž,'' *Hikjmet* 50, period V (1933): 42.; Čokić, *Hikjmet* 51, period V (1933/34): 73.

[420]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 107.

[421]Krpo, *Put na hadž*, 109-110.

establishment of the Kingdom and establishment of the Turkish Republic. The Ottoman organization of ḥajj is evoked only in the context of the unruly Arab tribes which could not be subdued even with the help of the military escort of the ''mahmil''.[422]

The second chapter which was written as a response to writings about Saudi Arabia and the holy places in *Jugoslovenska pošta* and *Vreme*, addresses claims about hidden criminal life in the Hijaz and the slave markets in Jeddah, Mecca and Yanbu. Krpo ascribes the claims about slavery to the orientalist travelogue Varatanović read,[423]and to his invention of certain practices he could not have witnessed (because he was ill).[424] Krpo dismisses Varatanović's portrayal of the King Abdul-Aziz and his family as exaggerated and skewed, although he admits that Varatanović had access to the King because he claimed to be a journalist for ''Islamski svijet''. [425] It seems that an argument about the representation of space evolved into an argument about the claim over the right role of leadership in the Muslim world and the law which would govern such rule. This chapter can be interpreted as an apologetic stance for rising Muslim modernism, which tried to align its vision of holy places (and by extension, Islam itself) with rationality.

The reaction to Varatanović's travelogue also appeared several years earlier in *Hikjmet*, and was primarily focused on Varatanović's complaints about the lack of medical provision and irresponsible admission of all pilgrims, to which Ibrahim Čokić replies as follows:

''Being impeccably good Muslims, unspoilt by the atheism of the West, they are not afraid of the Communism and Bolshevism as cultured Westerners are, to control the foreign passenger on every step.'' [426]

[422]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 111.

[423]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 114.

[424]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 115.

[425]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 115.

[426]"Oni kao beiznimno dobri muslimani i ne zarazeni bezvjerstvom zapada ne plase se komunizma i boljševizma, kao što od toga strahuju kulturni zapadnjaci, pa da stranca putnika legitimišu na

However, occasional references to the hardships or inequalities felt and observed in the Saudi Kingdom point to the unavoidable fractures of pan-Islamism,[427] which, nevertheless, did not shatter the belief in its authority for the time being. This is demonstrated by the observation of the inequality in approaching the Kaʿba in Krpo's narrative, as well as by Čokić's criticism of the special status of rich people in Medina[428]:

''Everything in the Hijaz, the state administration, the absolute security of life and property, the lack of all which is disgusting, evil and forbidden by the Shari'a, as well as everything else, is laudable, but (and there is one but everywhere) – there is one novelty which cannot be tolerated at all, let alone be approved, because it does not agree with tradition, and it is not in accordance with the Shari'a as well.

That night, when Abd al-Aziz came, his retinue and the more noble ḥajjis who joined the retinue in Baghdad, rich Egyptians and different nobles, made their ''Saʿy'' between Safa and Marwa in cars. Sitting comfortably in the seats of their limos, they passed between Safa and Marwa seven times and that was their ''Saʿy''.''[429]

Criticisms of this kind are still relatively rare in Krpo and Čokić's narratives, unlike Varatanović's, which was rebuked for its sharp critique of the new Saudi realities. The mainstream narrative preferred the idealized version of the on-going events which fitted the larger program of uplifting the Muslim state. The 1930s Bosnian Muslim media was dominated by discourse on specific progress and ideas of unification. Both of the discourses were shaped by the reaction to the overwhelming challenge posed by Western economic and cultural domination. A

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svakom koraku. ''Chameran (Ibrahim H. Čokić), ''G. H. I. Varatanovića prikazivanje puta u Meku,'' *Hikjmet*, no. 50 (1933): 63.

[427] Homayra Ziad, ''The Return of Gog,'' 241.

[428] Čokić, ''Moje putovanje na hadž,'' *Hikjmet* 48, period IV, (1933): 364-365.

[429] ''Sve u Hidžazu, državna uprava, apsolutna životna i imovna sigurnost, otsutnost svega što je gadno, nevaljalo i šeriatom zabranjeno, kao i sve ostalo, samo je za najveću pohvalu, ali, (- svuda imade po neko ali, -) imade jedna novotarija, koja se nikako ne može ni tolerirati, a kamo li odobriti, jer se ne slaže sa tradicijom, niti je u skladu sa šeriatom, naime: Te noći, kad je Abdul Aziz došao, njegova pratnja, te odličniji hadžije koji su se iz Bagdada priključili kraljevskoj pratnji, bogati Egipćani i razni velikaši, obavili su ''Sa'j'' između Safe i Merve u – automobilima... tj. oni su sjedeći udobno u foteljama luksuznih limuzina prošli autima sedam puta između Safe i Merve i to im je bio njihov ''Sa'j''.'' Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 221-222.

threat was also felt from Russia (for example there are numerous references to the dangers of Communism and Bolshevism). With technologies that collapsed space and time,[430] references to the relatively recent past of the Ottoman period start to be pushed into the background, and preoccupation with spatiality opens the way to seeing the holy land as a constantly developing newness, but of a non-threatening kind (the novelty which, as they perceived it, will not shatter their religious Sunni Muslim identity). The late Ottoman history, in other words, was ignored to make way for the bright present of the new Kingdom with haunting connections emerging in the process. After the abolition of the Caliphate, the void of the post-Ottoman world was increasing and the role of authority needed to be filled. The Bosnian 'ulamā saw the Saudi Kingdom as a visible product on which to model their own political aspirations; however, their allegiances were not one-sided or exclusive during this period. The changing worlds of Mecca and Medina were not the sole inspirational force for the 'ulamā; Bosnian eyes were turning to Cairo, bypassing Istanbul on the way. In that regard, reminiscences of previous imperial context were being erased[431] as cultural and political vision of panislamist allegiances took new paths.[432]

Interest in ḥajj related matters gradually started to acquire sensitivity and awareness of immediate issues. Equipped with the latest material and conceptual tools of the time – print, journalism, various discourses of progress and enlightenment – Bosnian authors were able to join the international community of 'ulamā' and other intellectuals, participating in or trying to participate in the numerous debates on the issues of pan-islamism, the Caliphate, *ummah* and the colonial realities of the Muslim peoples. Thus, the following section addresses the involvement of Bosnian authors in the Muslim interwar intellectual scene regarding

[430]Keith David Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006): 4.

[431]While that remains out of the scope of this thesis, a parallel can be drawn between different evocations of the Ottoman past in twentieth-century Bosnian literature, and also the beginning of the 21st century. The stark difference in treatment of Ottoman history is due to change in political narratives regarding nationalism and religion.

[432]See more in: Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World: A Global Intellectual History* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2017), 132.

ḥajj, as a part of the worldwide Muslim post-imperial reaction to the challenge posed by Western colonial advancement.

4.4 Seeking Authority: Ḥajj Networks and Allegiances

Although the Bosnian 'ulamā had participated in the ''religiotextual community''[433] for centuries under Ottoman rule and afterwards, the technological changes of the 20th century enabled them to reach fellow scholars and religious leaders in a matter of weeks. This enabled the religious scholars to ''taste'' different places and present – or withdraw – their allegiances. It also enabled them to create an importance for themselves in the role of ḥajji scholar and social reformer, and to overtake a central role in the narrative.[434]New technological instruments of print and the steamboat made Bosnian ḥajjis a part of a community of sentiment,[435] a transnational network of Muslim interwar thinkers who had the goal of bringing the divided Muslims under spiritual unity. In other words, the gap left by the abolition of the Caliphate was replaced by a global Muslim network.[436] However, the same instruments which made Bosnian Muslim 'ulamā part of the community of sentiment created space for an attitude of difference to politically incompatible or undesirable entities. In other words, the narratives present the reader with a clear-cut perspective on the desirables and undesirables of the Muslim interwar politics, including an ambiguous attitude towards nationalism(s).

Questions concerning the Arab and Turkish 'ulamā at the turn of the century – political legitimacy, authority, liberty, freedom – gained a certain echo in the thought of Bosnian Muslim intellectuals of the period. However, the rupture

[433]Ronit Ricci uses this term to denote a community for which a certain type of literature was produced and circulated, and from which a certain form of self-understanding was derived. Ronit Ricci, ''Remembering Java's Islamization: A View from Sri Lanka,'' in: *Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print,* 254-55.

[434]See the relation between the ḥajj travel and the creation of a persona that emerges from it in Barbara D. Metcalf, ''The pilgrimage remembered: South Asian accounts of the ḥajj,'' in: *Muslim Travellers: Pilgrimage, Migration, and the Religious Imagination,* 85-110.

[435]Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large,* 8.

[436]See more in: Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World,* 140.

created by the change of empires meant encountering similar questions under different circumstances, and with a time delay of a couple of decades.[437]

Discourse of progress (in its depoliticized dimension) was in the beginning pushed from above by the Austro-Hungarian state, which meant that the output was largely censured or self-censured. In writings of Bosnian scholars, there is a lack of interest in questions of political self-determination. The reason is related to the marginalization of Muslims in Yugoslavia and the state pressure, which compelled them to reduce their connection to the post-Ottoman world. Bosnian ḥajj narratives show ''doubling'' in their desire to contain the modernity, but also to move forward in the realm of technology and education, realizing the danger of being overpowered by modernity and the ''impossible imperative of overcoming it''.[438] In this regard, formative models were needed, which would help design solutions for retaining the perceived tradition without remaining or appearing backward.

This section will deal with the phenomenon of intellectual networking which provided a source of representation for the ‘ulamā, and unearthed their allegiances with religious figures, institutions, nationalistic and religious movements, and finally countries. Ḥajj narratives provide a useful tool to present the two issues, as authors chose a specific itinerary which made their allegiances clearer.

4.4.1 Between Istanbul and Cairo

The connections of the Bosnian ‘ulamā with the main centres of learning in the Islamic world, Istanbul and Cairo, were persistent during the first couple of decades of the 20th century. A large number of students studied in these centres. The Bosnian secular intelligentsia studied in some European cities, such as Vienna. The full extent of the relation between Bosnian ‘ulamā and the Muslim centres of learning is still largely understudied; however, ḥajj narratives show the extent of the connection and the role of Bosnian Muslim ‘ulamā in global interwar intellectual

[437] This does not imply lagging behind as such, but rather the struggle with different issues at the same time.

[438] This is similar to what Harootunian writes about the prevalent consciousness in the narratives that dominated Japanese sensibility in the interwar period. Harry D. Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, x.

networking. In order to understand the diverging paths taken by Bosnian authors in regards to Istanbul and Cairo, it is important to point to the contextual background of these relationships.

As it has been suggested previously, the connections to Istanbul started to wane in the wake of the newly founded Turkish Republic. The novelty of that change struck different feelings than the novelty of the Saudi Kingdom because of different religious developments and state control in Turkey. These issues were received unevenly among the Bosnian intelligentsia and the ʻulamā. As might be expected, the journal *Hikjmet* expressed strong opposition to the changes, which eventually was reflected in the ḥajj narratives of Čokić and Krpo.[439] The change of the ḥajj itinerary might be ascribed to the different transport routes owing to steamboats, which took over the primacy in transporting ḥajjis, and enabled pilgrims to cross non-Muslim territories for the first time in the history of Bosnian ḥajj.[440] Therefore, the first factor to be observed in the post-Ottoman Bosniak ḥajj literature is the inevitable presence of nation-state borders and limitations, as well as the curbing of religious freedoms and practices.

Muhamed Krpo's travelogue is particularly interesting in this regard, since it presents a rather lengthy description of his sojourning in Greece. Krpo's stance in this part of the travelogue is one of a sympathetic observer: he does not side clearly with the Greeks he sees – pitted as they are against the Turks in the narrative – but he presents their grievances about the position they held during the late period of the Ottoman Empire, which was now irredeemably lost. The travelogue particularly mentions the role of Sultan Abdulhamit II, under whose rule these Greeks allegedly held the highest positions.[441] On the other hand, Krpo reflects on the plight of the Greeks who were made to leave Turkey in the population exchange and the

[439]From the available narratives, the only travelogue which primarily presents a different itinerary, and consequently a different view on Turkey, was written by Kulenović, who met a number of high ranking *ulama* on his journey. However, the travelogue is possibly written in 1939/1940 thus falling into the scope of the Second World War, which implies that the circumstances had already changed dramatically. (Kulenović, PR-1875, Gazi Husrev-bey's Library).

[440]Excluding the possible route via Venice during the Ottoman era.

[441]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 28.

sufferings it entailed on both the migrant and the local population. What is important to mention here is the fact that a Bosniak pilgrim is mistaken for a Turk – and that is how Krpo finds out the details of this tension:

''In a secluded place, a young man approached me with his fists clutched and a horrid look in his eyes and yelled: ''Turk musun sen?'' ''Yok, ben Yugoslavia'dan'', I answered. Hearing that, he smiled cheerfully, and patted me on my shoulder and said: ''I apologize; I thought you were a Turk from Kemal's Turkey *(…)*''[442]

Even when Bosniak ḥajjis from this period do not approach the borders of the Turkish state, there is a certain underlying assumption that ''the Turk'' somehow managed to influence the present dire state of these cities. When Krpo encounters the dire state of Cairo streets and the city's poverty, he sees it as a reflection of Ottoman neglect and of a ''typical'' Easterner's attitude embodied in a Turkish saying ''there is time'' - *vaktı var*[443] (he writes it in Turkish). Thus, for Krpo, Cairo is a Turkish city, which was left under Ottoman care, and then got betrayed and neglected by the Turks. The Turk in Krpo's narrative is often portrayed negatively, albeit in a jocular way. When one of his companions gets sick, he starts cursing an unnamed Turk and Krpo defines the Turk in his companion's thought as ''a mischievous man''. Further on in the narrative, however, he keeps calling his Bosniak companion a ''Turk''.

The steamships allowed for people to interact with other Muslims, and non-Muslims as well. On one occasion, Ibrahim Čokić meets two young Turks on a Turkish boat named ''Ankara'' who start propagating the need for reforms and translations. This interaction elicits a few longer comments about the nature of the Qur'an and impossibility of its translation, but also about the language reform and the so-called ''Kemal's alphabet''. On the steamboat, this author also met a couple of Turkish Jewish women, and remarked on the Arabic proficiency of one of the

[442] ''Na jednom usamljenom mjestu, pristupi mi jedan mladić sa strašnim pogledom i stisnutim pjestima i dreknu: ''Tur mi sun sen?'' (Jesi li ti Turčin?) ''Jok, ben Jugoslaviaden'', (ne, ja sam iz Jugoslavije), odgovorim mu. Na to se njegovo smrknuto lice razvedri, veselo mi se nasmija, potapša me prijateljski po ramenu i reče mi: ''Oprostite, mislio sam da ste Turčin iz Kemalove Turske (…)''
Krpo, *Put na hadž*, 27.

[443] Krpo, *Put na hadž*, 38.

ladies.[444] On another occasion, Čokić noticed another young Turkish man who used to take off his hat in respect. In these descriptions, we can discover what made the authors from this period so anxious about their Turkish fellow travellers: it was the looming danger of a secularized and watered-down religion they could not come to peace with and which they considered to be unnatural for Turkish citizens themselves, as indicated by the language and script reform. Unease was manifested through negative perceptions of reforms of dress, script, language and forays into translation and use of the Turkish language in unexpected places.[445] The use of Turkish phrases in this period (as well as the occasional references to Arabic) in the overwhelmingly Bosnian travelogue, appeals to the sentiments of common Ottoman heritage, as a relic of a past world now divided by the borders of nation-states.

What also appears in the interwar ḥajj narratives is the intense wish to establish various types of networks through visits, exchanges of letters, and intense communication through journalistic media, translations, interviews, photography, and various types of articles. The wish to connect and network came hand in hand with the desire for representation, whether of the individual or of a respective community. In the previous section, the importance of representation might be gathered from Varatanović's probable (mis)use of journalistic credentials to gain access to the court. Likewise, the indignation felt by Krpo and Čokić might be ascribed to recognising that representative potential of the journal was in the

[444] Čokić, ''Moje putovanje na hadž,'' *Hikjmet* 40, period IV, (1932): 113. This comment, just as numerous others throughout the narrative, shows the ambiguity felt even by the most conservative ulama circles which had a staunchly antifeminist attitude towards the education and public role of women. When on a journey, however, even the most demure Bosnian 'alim decides to strike a conversation with a non-Muslim woman coming from an ideologically despised territory. The female issue which meant female education and participation in the public sphere was one of the hotly debated questions for the Bosnian ulama and intelligentsia throughout the first half of the 20th century. In this aspect, the relationship towards the Ottoman Empire/Turkish Republic changed accordingly – Turkish women were often taken as a role model, but occasionally they were juxtaposed to the Muslim women from other parts of the Islamic world. In this particular episode, it seems that the traveller's journalistic curiosity overcame the ideological prejudice of the author.

[445] In one of the issues where the ḥajj travelogue was published in instalments, there was a treatise on the word ''Tanrı'' (God) which starts with the description of the Turkish Republic as a ''freemason Kemalistic regime'', which came in place of ''our Islamic brotherly regime''. *Hikjmet*, ''Tefrika,'' no 45, IV, (1933): 281.

wrong hands. The power of media was, however, seized by Krpo in a brief encounter with an engineer who presented himself as a journalist of the *`Umm al-Qurā* journal, and with whom Krpo strikes up a conversation, as he tries to make a connection with the journalistic world in Mecca.[446] The power of journalistic connections was also recognized by Ibrahim Hakki Čokić as well, since he met Muḥibuddīn al-Khaṭīb, the owner of *Al-Fatḥ* journal when he was in Cairo.[447]

Apart from journalistic connections, which entailed establishing relations with periodicals in the Middle East, Krpo and Čokić are more than interested in connecting with members of the Yugoslav diplomatic circle, with the former Ottoman 'ulamā, and with Egyptian scholars and activists such as Rashīd Riḍā.[448] During meetings, their allegiances were stated. When Ibrahim Čokić met Mustafa Sabrī, the last Ottoman shaykh al-Islam, he clearly showed that he supports the latter's dissociation from Turkism.[449] It is interesting to note how Turkish nationalism was frowned upon in the travelogues because of its secularist component, while Egyptian – or Arab nationalism – was very much approved of and considered a potential model for Muslims in Yugoslavia. However, the attitude towards the political situation amongst the Egyptian population was deeply ambiguous, as the following excerpt shows:

''While on the one hand indolence, laziness, apathy and decadence rule, on the other a totally new life is being created, a new epoch of Egypt is beginning, new generations are rising (...) this is a religiously and nationalistically conscious, well organised and disciplined Egyptian youth.''[450]

[446]Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 93.

[447]The survey of Bosnian Muslim journals from this period shows heavy reliance on the articles from ''Al-Fath'' through translations and correspondences.

[448]Čokić did not manage to see Rashīd Riḍā, although he attended his lecture in Jāmiʿat al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn (Čokić, ''Moje putovanje na hadž,'' *Hikjmet* 12, (1935): 368). The intellectual relations between Bosnian *ulama* and Rashid Rida, however, date back to the beginning of the 20th century. In this (interwar) period, however, the *ulama* is trying to establish a firmer connection due to the rising concern regarding the translation of the Qur'an and nationalism.

[449]Čokić, ''Moje putovanje na hadž,'' *Hikjmet* 12, VI, (1935): 367.

[450]''Dok na jednoj strani vlada indolencija, nerad, apatija i učmalost, dotle se na drugoj strani stvara sasvim novi život, nastaje nova epoha Egipta, izgrađuje se novi naraštaj (...) to je vjerski i

The meetings and alliances presented another side of the networking effort, which was the unearthing of another post-Ottoman diasporic geography. Namely, the authors tried to discover the communities where the Bosnians who migrated after the 1878 lived, as well as the whereabouts of the Arabs who had previous connections to Bosnia.[451] In this way, apart from the community of sentiment into which the 'ulamā were trying to fit, they also created a ''quest'' for lost Ottoman times in recovering Bosnian and Bosnian-related connections across the Middle East. The search for Bosnian emigrants continued even after the interwar period, which is testified by another ḥajj travelogue from 1954 by Hasan Ljubunčić, who travelled through Turkey in an effort to reconnect to the Bosnian communities, creating an ethnographic account with a potential political goal.[452]

In the world of increasingly heightened national security and border control, ḥajj was one of few available means for the Bosnian 'ulamā to move towards the main centres of the Islamic world. Even more importantly, ḥajj was used as means to announce the Bosnian Muslims' presence in the global community of Muslims and to compensate for the solidarity which was not readily available in their home country.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has tried to show the enormous potential of ḥajj (as a motive, symbol, or practical experience) in mobilizing the number of Bosnian Muslim religious scholars and activists to rethink the connections, offer their allegiances to the international ''community of sentiment'', target their ideological enemies both ''home'' and abroad and put their trust in the overwhelming domination of modern technologies after the Ottoman demise.

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nacionalno svjesna, dobro organizovana i disciplinovana egipatska omladina.'' Krpo, *Put na hadž,* 39.

[451]Varatanović, ''Sa puta u Meku,'' *Jugoslovenska pošta*, V, (1933): 8.

[452]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' *Glasnik VIS-a (Vrhovnog islamskog starješinstva u SFRJ*), (1950-1953): 262-272, 157-161

What depictions of ḥajj and holy places in this period show is the pervasiveness of a common ''language of identification''[453] that is different from the shared imagery of *faḍā'il* or earlier travelogues. This new language served multiple purposes – some of which are related to ritual-practical, spiritual or emotional realms, but also political and social activist ones. The narrative about holy sites has moved from one stressing their universal qualities (soteriological function, blessing, and sacred history) to a narrative which underlines its significance in a particular point in history. Narratives about ḥajj and holy places alternated between optimistic descriptions and considerations and a ''particular narrative of loss'',[454] coupled with a sense of urgency.

The story of Bosnian ḥajj narratives in the first half of the 20th century is not solely an account of the influence of modernity and the reaction which it provoked among Muslim nations across the world. Technological tools and means of political and social organizing were ''taken'' from the West, but the sentiments expressed during the encounters with the fellow Muslim scholars, as well as the readiness to make contact with the circles in the Muslim world point to a longer tradition of migration and mobilization.

The ḥajj authors who came back from the pilgrimage tried to integrate themselves into the society they were returning to, and made every possible effort to use the pilgrimage in order to reform society. At the very least, they tried to retain the links between themselves, the society and the progressive, but Islamically compliant models encountered on their way to the holy sites. In this light, their writings can be observed as an effort to convey their experiences to the local and regional audiences, with the aim of reforming these societies.

[453] Patrick Manning, "1789-1792 and 1989-1992: Global Interaction of Social Movements," *World History Connected* 3, no. 1 (2005): paragraph 68.

[454] Faisal Devji, ''India in the Muslim Imagination: Cartography and Landscape in 19th Century Urdu Literature,'' *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal*, 2014, online, paragraph 28. This can be compared to observations of other places which figure prominently in identity formations in 19th-century Muslim thought.

What makes these narratives novel is the image of completeness of the experience described, with synchrony of the form and the content, unrecorded in the pre-imperial ḥajj writing tradition, but increasingly common in ḥajj narratives across Muslim societies of the 20th century. The narratives reflected the political and social state of Bosnian Muslims. The authors whose works were analysed were deeply sensitive to history, but also oriented towards the future. Finally, what their narratives tried to convey is a chain of connectivities between the members of a religious minority in a nation-state to the widespread international Muslim intellectual networks, and point to allegiances which tended to transcend the tumultuous present.

5. Between the Holy and Homeland: Ḥajj in the Post-War Period

The history of the Bosnian ḥajj is permeated with ruptures, but also with connectivities, expressed in a shared set of imagery and symbols, and participation in Ottoman and post-Ottoman religious and intellectual circles. Ruptures were political, social and cultural, and they came interlocked, sometimes involving a longer period of several decades or even a century.

With the 20th century, however, ruptures occured more frequently and the consequent changes affected the way in which ḥajj is observed more acutely. One of the largest ruptures in the 20th century for Bosnian Muslims happened during the immediate post WWII aftermath. Changes on a global scale – transportation, media and international politics – were complemented by deep transformations in the region, and more specifically, in the socialist-communist context in which Bosnian Muslims found themselves and lived in a variety of different ways.

The changes which took place in the post-WWII period did not happen overnight; they were the results of gradual and rapid decisions taken by the multitude of political and social actors during WWII and afterwards.[455] The course taken after the war affected different facets of religious life in Bosnia and Yugoslavia in general: e.g. female clothing, tekkes and Sufi life, Islamic education, Sharia courts, and all kinds of Islamic organizations were put under strict control by the authorities. The subsequent bans affected large portions of Muslim society,[456] and some religious practices were at least partially restricted or curbed.[457] The organization of the ḥajj pilgrimage suffered as well, and for the first couple of years

[455]The dynamics of the relationships between the Communist Party and Bosnian Muslims (by this no binary is implied) can be seen from Marko Attila Hoare, *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War: A History* (London: Hurst Publishers, 2013).

[456]The ban on the face veil was issued in 1950, and all tekkes were shut down and religious orders banned in 1952.

[457]See, for example, the process behind the ban on the niqab in 1950 and the various factors involved in: Senija Milišić, ''O pitanju emancipacije muslimanske žene u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' *Prilozi 28*, (1999): 225-241.

after WWII, we do not encounter any elaborate details from Bosnia about the ḥajj pilgrimage.

The rupture was decisive and sharp; however, various types of continuities remained. Previous scholarship flirted with an ''isolationist'' narrative, which tended to portray Bosnian Muslims as cut off from the rest of the Muslim world. At the same time, this narrative implied that this community went through a process of religious ''awakening'' or ''revival'' in the late 1980s. Very recently, these monolithic historiographies have been challenged by new critical voices which bring to light the persisting connections to what has been losely termed 'the Muslim world', while not losing allegiance and affiliation to their local political environment.[458] What should be further developed, however, is the quiddity of these connectivities. That relations to a more global set of networked references remained extant is one thing; how they adjusted to the blow of secularization and what got transformed in the process is another. This chapter presents how ḥajj became a contesting ground for different types of modernities coexisting, or gradually evolving, in the same period. In that process, textual, scholarly and other connections had to be reshaped under the new circumstances.

Therefore, ḥajj activities did continue in this period under new political control and in new types of media. We have already seen how the journalistic media became the most popular tool for disseminating ideas from religious and political authorities in the interwar period, sometimes through the use of textual authorities.

[458]Some more recent examples include: Piro Rexhepi's important rethinkings of historiographic work on the Balkan Muslims and the way their history has to be observed as a part of ''trans-temporal 'Muslim International'''; David Henig's study on Sufi connectivities in the post-Ottoman ecumene; Leyla Amzi-Erdogdular's investigation of post-Ottoman continuities after the Austro-Hungarian occupation; Madigan Andrea Fichter's study on continuities in a student movement in a Sarajevo madrasa. See more in: Piro Rexhepi, ''Unmapping Islam in Eastern Europe: Periodization and Muslim subjectivities in the Balkans,'' in: *Eastern Europe Unmapped: Beyond Borders and Peripheries*, edited by Irene Kacandes and Yulija Komska (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 53-77;
David Henig, ''Crossing the Bosphorus: Connected Histories of "Other" Muslims in the Post-Imperial Borderlands of Southeast,'' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 58 (4), (2016): 908-934.;
Leyla Amzi-Erdogdular, ''Afterlife of Empire: Muslim-Ottoman Relations in Habsburg Bosnia Herzegovina, 1878-1914,'' PhD Diss., Columbia University, 2013; Madigan Andrea Fichter, ''Student Activists and Yugoslavia's Islamic Revival,'' in: *Dropping Out of Socialism: The Creation of Alternative Spheres in the Soviet Bloc*, ed. by Juliane Fürst and Josie McLellan (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), 85-103.

In the post-WWII period, the media was heavily controlled by the state, and it left little room for dissenting views on the state or society. At the moment, it is not possible to find differing views expressed through ḥajj literature, but since the communist changes (and purges) created a large number of dissenters who sought refuge abroad, it is possible that a ḥajj travelogue or a ḥajj-related article might appear offering a distinct view shaped by the diaspora experience. For now, though, we have to deal with the material offered in the official and unofficial literature which was published later, when the communist grip on media lessened or shifted according to changing times.

This chapter therefore deals with several key phenomena related to the development of ḥajj imagery in this period. It primarily discusses the official discourse on ḥajj, Mecca and Medina, and different formations of the Other through the use of journalistic media. Through the official media, however, attention is given to the constructions of the ideological, as well as possible loopholes through which the authors tried to push for a different agenda or viewpoint on ḥajj. Secondly, this chapter shows the continuation of connectivities which persisted throughout this period. Thirdly, the emergence of various resistance to the official narrative is shown, as are depictions of the sacred places and the rise of voices from the margins – which mostly meant the appearance of women's ḥajj travelogues.

In previous periods, ḥajj literature was written for smaller circles of literate people. That is, in the case of premodern Ottoman ḥajj literature the audience was closed ‘ulamā’ circles. In the case of the 18th-century transformations, smaller circles of patrons and friends who knew Ottoman Turkish made up the audience. And, finally, in the case of the post-Ottoman period, intellectual circles of polemicists and supporters made up the audience, though the media in which it was written was supposed to be addressing all the Bosnian Muslim believers.

5.1 Jet-age Ḥajj in the Time of Socialism

Ḥajj literature starts expanding from the 1960s onwards. The increase in transportation infrastructure, including air transport, brought significant changes in awakening the broader interest in ḥajj not only in Bosnia, but also in the greater region and worldwide. The interest in ḥajj was not disturbed even by the unrest in the Middle East (the Six-Day War in 1967 affected a change of routes, but not the interest of Bosnian ḥajjis in ḥajj itself). The amount of supplement material gathered significant proportions, to which the early printed *manāsik* of the late 19th century presents a pale reflection).

This stretch of time also shows the appearance of female ḥajj travelogues, which is a further testimony to the broad democratization of ḥajj literature, most certainly caused by the changes in general literacy in Yugoslavia. All of these changes reveal the fact that the communist-socialist period in Yugoslavia cannot be observed as a period of absolute suppression of religious life, which ended in a supposed ''revival'' of religion during the 1980s. The latter way of perceiving the religious changes of the 1980s and early 1990s has been a constant in different sociological and anthropological literature. This chapter poses a challenge to the belief that the communist-socialist period was a period of unchallenged coercion which state exercised towards its Muslim subjects. What I am hoping to do is to show that even in the restricted circumstances and the material challenges which faced different Bosnian Muslims as individuals and as a collectivity, ḥajj imagery played an important part in multiple negotiations in the rapidly changing times.

A key part of the chapter is dedicated to the deliberate choices made by the authors in order to include and exclude certain aspects of imagery, and the way the imagery is shaped to adjust to undercurrant ideological needs. Although the limitations have caused specific observations of space, they were also a consequence of the wider transformation of the ḥajj journey in the 20th century. In that context, several trends are observed: multiple dealings with multiple modernities, including the relation to authority and past, the emergence of alternative voices (women, Sufi shaykhs), and visions of the future arising from

tensions between nation-state pressures, revivalism and the influence of events on a global scale such as the Iranian revolution in 1979.

In this context, ḥajj activities in the first post-war period have to be looked at taking the multitudes of factors which shaped this experience into account. As with post-Ottoman developments, ḥajj practice was regulated by the state, or at least controlled by it to a large extent. However, in the case of the post-WWII developments, the communist regime took sole control over the ḥajj journey, and that is reflected in the literature as well. While there is a danger of conflating several decades of Bosnian Muslim ḥajj experience – as articulated in ḥajj literature – into one line of narration, it is important to notice the peculiarity of this period when it comes to considering time, progress and ideologies. I hope to show the implicit strategies of overt and subtle adjustments to the changing circumstances in the way in which ḥajj and holy places were perceived, and how that affected other types of connectivities. Therefore, this chapter analyses the changes in ḥajj imagery throughout several decades, starting from the immediate post-WWII aftermath, and ending in the early 1980s.

The institutional, educational and social changes affected the degree the Bosnian Muslim community was open firstly to other Yugoslav Muslims, and, secondly, to other Muslim communities in general. This type of change is primarily echoed in an increased feeling of localization which even borders on isolation, and is in profound contrast to the pre-WWII period which was characterized by an effort to reach out not only to regional audiences, but also to the post-Ottoman world. What happens in the post WWII era is both a planned geographical and historical/temporal severance from the wider regional or international Muslim world and, similarly, from the continuities surrounding the shared Muslim experiences and Islamic past. In this context, the situation was somewhat, albeit not entirely, similar to how Khalid Adeeb describes Central Asian Muslim experience during the Communist era:

''None of this is to say that Islam disappeared from Central Asia, or that more than a handful of people stopped thinking of themselves as Muslims. Rather, the meaning of being Muslim changed quite radically. Central Asian Islam, cut off from its own past and from Muslims outside the Soviet

Union, became a local form of being rather than part of a global phenomenon. (...), Islam became a marker of identity that distinguished locals from outsiders. It also became deeply intertwined with local cultural practices and with the new ethnic and cultural traditions being defined by the Soviet regime itself. Being Muslim came to mean adherence to certain local cultural norms and traditions rather than adherence to strictures that were directly validated by the learned tradition.''[459]

Such a view corresponds to an official view of religion in Yugoslav society. Islam, in that view, would eventually blend into local norms and traditions and would be inseparable from them. Contrary to official plans, Islamic scholarly and textual traditions continued to influence the preservation of religious practices, and to inspire new debates.

5.1.1 Ḥajj Writings in Translation

Numerous researchers have noticed the rise of different types of ḥajj literature in the post-WWII period, which reflected the divide between prescriptive, descriptive and narrative genres. As the number of pilgrims steadily increased, the need for explaning different facets of the pilgrimage became more acute. Travelogues became a medium accessible to a wider reading population. At the same time, essays about the significance of ḥajj featured in the same journals.[460]

In the post-WWII period, ḥajj literature gradually started to proliferate with the increased number of pilgrims. Apart from the travelogues, the second part of the 20th century witnessed a rise in the form of personal essay, where the treatment of a ḥajj topic was stretched to include personal observations on different topics. Apart from the personal essay, the genre of reportage gained popularity, especially with the increase in the number of ḥajjis. The focus was increasingly put on describing the organization of ḥajj, with emphasis on means of transport (boats, but especially airplanes) or on the numbers of ḥajjis from different places in the Muslim world.

[459] Khalid Adeeb, *Islam after Communism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007). ProQuest Ebook Central, 72.

[460] One example is: Mehmed-Ali Ćerimović, ''Hadž,'' *Narodna uzdanica* IX (1940): 20-23.

The type of ideas that shaped ḥajj imagery can also be seen through translations. The second half of the 20th century witnessed a surge in translations of different types of ḥajj treatises. Through a short overview of these translations, it is apparent that Bosnian authors tried to keep up with the wider circulation of ḥajj works. Therefore, ḥajj travelogues by Malcolm X (or Malik al-Shabazz),[461]Muhammad Asad (Leopold Weiss),[462] and essays by Abu 'Ala al-Mawdūdī,[463]al-Ghazālī,[464]Jalāl al-Ishrī were of interest.[465]

The works of previous Bosnian authors – such as Yūsuf Livnjak – become increasingly popular, which is why the translation of Livnjak's travelogue was not only published, but also reviewed in Muslim print on several occasions.[466] Translating ḥajj literature falls into the broader trend of exchange of knowledge in the socialist period, whereby the circulation of Islamic literature presented only one, though significant contribution.[467] The circulation of Islamic literature was, in other words, related to broader socialist movements and exchanges between Yugoslavia and the Middle East, and to an increased demand for religious literature in translation accessible to a larger number of people. This explains the complete disappearance of travelogues and treatises in Turkish or Arabic, apart from prayer

[461]Malik eš-Šabaz, ''Kad ste uz Allaha,'' *Islamska misao* 24, II, (1980): 52-54.

[462]Muhammed Asad, *Put u Meku* (Sarajevo: Starješinstvo Islamske zajednice u SR Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji, 1981).

[463]Ebu-L-Ala E-Mevdudi, ''Prvi i najveći centar mira u svijetu,'' *Preporod*, 20, 13/453,(1989): 3.

[464]Ebu Hamid El-Gazali, ''Fragmenti u višim ciljevima hodočašća,'' *Islamska misao* 126, XI, (1989): 3-4.

[465]Dželal el-Išri, ''Put na Kabu, Sam sa jednim,'' *Islamska misao* 56, V, (1983): 44-47.

[466]Livnjak's travelogue was published in translation (Mehmed Mujezinović) in 1981 by the Islamic Community. See: Jusuf Livnjak, *Odazivam ti se, Bože....: Putopis sa hadža 1615. Godine*, (Sarajevo: Starješinstvo Islamske zajednice u SR Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji, Sarajevo, 1981). reviews of Livnjak's travelogue: Kadribegović Aziz, ''Vrijednosti hadžskog putopisa. Hadži Jusuf Livnjak: "Odazivam ti se, Bože'','' *Glasnik VIS-a* 3, XLIV, (1981): 330-332; also an essay about this travelogue (before the publication of its translation): Mašić Ahmed, ''Od tradicije do identiteta. Putopis sa hadžiluka Livanjskog mujezina,'' *Takvim* (1975): 304-305.

[467]See more about translations from Arabic, Turkish and Persian in the early communist period in: Bisera Nurudinović, *Bibliografija jugoslovenske orijentalistike 1945-1960* (Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1968).

books that normally retained certain parts in these languages. A paradoxical conclusion stems from this development: while in the previous periods ḥajj literature was written for smaller circles which were often geographically dispersed (learned Ottoman 'ulamā', family circles, regional scholarly elites), in the post-WWII phase, the reading public becomes wider, but nationally more homogenous, as the nation-state of Yugoslavia tended to limit and control different connections to the rest of the Muslim world. How this influenced the way ḥajj was observed is the subject of the next section.

5.2 Presenting the State

In 1949, the first organized post-WWII group of pilgrims from Yugoslavia left for Mecca. To understand the nature of the initiative, it is important to know the role the official Islamic Community played in the aftermath of World War II. Completely under the control of the state authorities, the regulation of religious activities, especially those which included mobility (such as ḥajj), depended on the larger political plan of the Communist Party.[468] While public expressions of religiosity were certainly stifled in the public discourse of early communist Yugoslavia, the ḥajj journey in 1949, however, was conceived to be more than just a religious endeavour. The new country had strong motivations to find allies in Arab countries, especially after the Yugoslav – Soviet split in 1948, which is one perspective through which the organization of ḥajj in 1949 can be analysed.[469] On the other hand, claiming that ḥajjis were simply agents of the Yugoslav state would not only take away from their authorial agency, but would also reduce the complexity of the experience. This experience, broadly observed, reflected a shift from the focus on

[468] It is worth remembering the similar case of Central Asian Islamic communities, as evident from the following excerpt: ''SADUM paid a political price, however. It was pressed into service of the government's foreign-policy agenda, especially in the Muslim world. SADUM was supposed to prove official claims about the freedom of religion in the Soviet Union and to confirm that Muslims were active participants in the creation of the new society the Soviet leadership claimed to be building. Official ulama thus traveled the world on goodwill missions and hosted visitors from abroad.'' Khalid Adeeb, *Islam after Communism*, 93.

[469] Part of the dynamics in the post-split period and the different mechanisms which were used to spread influence can be gleaned from the article: Nataša Mišković, ''The Pre-History of the Non-Aligned Movement: India's First Contacts with the Communist Yugoslavia, 1948-50,'' *India Quarterly* 65, 2(2009): 185-200.

the global ''Muslim world'' to the increased preoccupation with the fragmented political realities of Muslim societies after WWII.

Another change which happened in this period, and which inadvertently affected the expression of religious thought, was the mass literacy project which affected Muslims across class and gender lines. Ironically, while having only a few outlets for publishing, more Muslims who did not belong to any scholarly religious hierarchy were able to publish and, consequently, be read by the increasingly widening public. The spread of literacy brought the ''expansion of Islamic public spheres'',[470] though that was not intended by the state, but happened corollary to its social reforms.

The following section analyses two ḥajj travelogues published in the official journal of the Islamic community, which was heavily under control of the communist government. The journal which published both travelogues was *Glasnik VIS-a* (*The journal of the Supreme Islamic Council of Elders*), which was established in the pre-WWII period, but was discontinued in the early postwar years. The journal was re-established in 1950, and it immediately attracted the attention of a wider Muslim audience. It is with this in mind that we approach the ḥajj travelogues, as they reflect both the state's control over its Muslim population, and the restricted outlet of the Islamic Community of that time.

The two travelogues were written by the same person, Hasan Ljubunčić (1923-1958?). They are analysed side by side, in order to show the changes and developments which happened regarding depictions of ḥajj. The fact that both travelogues were published (albeit belatedly in the case of the first one) indicates the implicit approval of the authorities of a ḥajj project and even its use for political purposes. Although ḥajj was controlled by the state – and curbed accordingly – the fact that the same person managed to go twice in a short span of time reveals the state's lukewarm investment in pilgrimage for political purpose on two levels: international one for strengthening of ties between Saudi Arabia and Yugoslavia;

[470] Dale F. Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson (eds.), ''Preface to the Second Edition,'' in: *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere* (second edition), ed. by Dale Eickelman and Jon Anderson (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003), xi.

and positive propaganda regarding the state of Muslims in Yugoslavia. The two travelogues follow different itineraries, and their focus slightly changes.

The itineraries of both trips include a thorough engagement with borders, transportation, systems of official control and means of communication (telegraphs). In 1949, Hasan Ljubunčić left for ḥajj together with a group of fellow pilgrims, following an intricate route which included a number of transportation means (airplane, bus, train, boat). The description of the airplane journey takes a large portion of the narrative and presents an ushering-in of the jet-age pilgrimage.[471] The experience of quarantine is not something new, but it also points to postwar state regulations which ḥajjis, found discomforting, as the interwar pilgrims did too. After landing in Beirut in 1949, Ljubunčić and his group were held at the quarantine out of fear of the plague which appeared in Java that year. Bosnian ḥajjis tried to protest by saying that they were Europeans who were mindful of hygiene, but to no avail, since they had to undergo the same treatment as the others.[472] This particular detail about hygiene is a theme in modern ḥajj narratives that reflects the self-consciousness of the authors as Bosnian Muslims who are distinct by their origins and cultural upbringing. This eventually develops into a feeling of exclusiveness which was not yet racialized, but was based on the assumption of geographical and cultural distinctiveness.[473]

[471]The term is taken from Michael Wolfe's anthology *One Thousand Roads to Makkah: ten centuries of travelers writing about the Muslim pilgrimage.* Ljubunčić's airplane journeys add up to his dissatisfaction with some of the organizational aspects of the pilgrimage and also speaks of a peculiar human condition of helplessness. Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' *Glasnik VIS-a* XIV, (1950): 159.

[472]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 159-160.

[473]Investigation of race in the Balkans has been a neglected topic so far. Catherine Baker's forthcoming study *Race and the Yugoslav Region: Postsocialist, Post-Conflict, Postcolonial?* (Manchester University Press, 2018) aims to bridge the gap in understanding representation of race in the Balkans. Other, more specific questions remain: when does the idea of the exclusivity of Bosnian Muslims emerge and in what ways is it connected to particular constructions of whiteness? While this discourse becomes more apparent with further developments in the 20th century, it has to be interpreted as a result of a self-orientalizing stance which observes itself both as part of the Muslim world and perceives its distinctiveness in ''European identity'' exhibited in preferred cultural traits (representation of hygiene being one of them). The Bosnian Muslim subject is at the same time the observer and the observed, adjusting itself according to a situation and trading allegiances and belongings on the way.

Since the narratives were censored and controlled by authorities, the description of preparation for the journey included significant praise for the authorities and their good will in ensuring that ḥajj would pass without bureaucratic problems. The syntagm ''naše narodne vlasti'' (our people's authorities) is repeated throughout the narrative in relation to the eased circumstances of the journey, implying that the communist authorities managed to improve the political and social situation after WWII. The ḥajj endeavour, however, was affected by changes on a global level as well. Namely, in the second travelogue published in 1954, Ljubunčić describes how the establishment of a route Rijeka – Hongkong affected their own travel, since they were able to board a ship which took them to Port Sudan. Apart from preoccupations with the administrative technicalities (obtaining visas), the obvious problem was money in foreign currencies.

The images Ljubunčić uses to portray leaving Bosnia are very telling in both travelogues. He describes cities using imagery offered by socialist propaganda. During the first ḥajj journey, the author describes passing through Bosnia and on to Dalmatia in an emotional way. Namely, while passing by a power plant which was being built, the sight inspires the author to exclaim that ''Bosnia is no longer a downtrodden orphan girl'' (*Bosna nije više sirotica kleta*) who served as a bargaining tool in its difficult past.[474] The author does not miss the opportunity to point out that ''political capital was once made using religious hatred'', when Muslims were observed as less than human.[475] In the second travelogue from 1954, Zenica, the place which became the center of heavy industry in postwar Yugoslavia, was described as ''the colossus of black metallurgy'' and the place built by the workers' struggle. The author describes his joy and that of his companions upon hearing that they will be able to have a radio receiver through which they will be able to inform themselves about events in their country.[476] Emphasis on the respect shown by the crew on the boat towards Islamic dietary requirements also serves to point to the

[474]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 130.

[475]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 130.

[476]Hasan Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini sa putem na hadž u 1954. godini,'' *Glasnik*, VIS-a, XIX (1955): 44-45.

benevolence of the authorities towards their Muslim population. The narrative also additionally uses descriptions of stories from the People's Liberation Struggle, and emphasizes the role of non-Muslim freedom fighters.[477] Specific attention is also dedicated to the description of World War II refugee camps in the Sinai Desert where a large number of Croats found shelter for a couple of years. Ljubunčić, thus, makes a conscious effort to insert different actors in his ḥajj narrative, presenting his dedication to the Liberation Struggle as well.

A conflicted relationship with the past marks the Muslim literature of this period. In other words, certain portions of history are excised – such as Ottoman heritage,[478] while some other visions of history are presented, albeit in a vague form (''Muslim history''). On the other hand, a new type of history is created through the narrative: there is a persistent need to emphasize the present state of Muslims in Yugoslavia, which was shown as significantly different from their position in previous periods in terms of social and economic advancement. In this way, the author creates a sense of a positive present which was the result of the liberation struggle in the Second World War. By inserting Muslims into the liberation narrative, Ljubunčić tries to find equality for them in the political constellation of the new Yugoslavia:

''They (Muslims) no longer feel as citizens of a second rank. There are no more Muslim beggars, nor unemployed as they used to be before. Every job and every position in the new Yugoslavia is equally accessible to a Muslim as to any other citizen – according to their capabilities. Sometimes the very peripheral status of Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina endangered their survival and gave reason to many Crusader-like pressures on them. The intolerance towards Muslims in old Yugoslavia was expressed through state politics too. The Muslims felt entrapped, doomed to be silently exterminated. As a consequence to such unhealthy politics towards Muslims, the chetniks[479] tried to exterminate them in the last war. Such physical extermination of Muslims was

[477] Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 45.

[478] Throughout the second half of the 20th century, the Ottoman Empire will be seen as as an occupying force which exerted itself negatively on the conflation of the terms Islam and Turk. See:
Husein Đozo, ''Hiljadučetiristogodišnjica Objave Kur'ana,'' *Glasnik*, no. 11-12, XXX, (1967): 497-501.

[479] Chetniks (četnici) were Serb ultranationalist military forces who committed numerous crimes against Bosnian Muslims throughout the 20th century and were defeated by partisans in the WWII.

prepared by the ustashas[480] as well. The defeat of these fascist ideologies and the victory of socialism in our country has ensured the survival of Muslims.''[481]

There is a certain reshaping of past times, marked by excisions and ordering, which appears in post-war narratives, and fits into the Yugoslav modernist project. The author conveys the trauma suffered by Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War and embeds it into the pro-liberation struggle narrative. While there was a certain narrowing of the horizon (or a reduced sense of political unity of the ''Muslim world''[482]), in the context of Bosnian ḥajj authors there was a widening in regional focus. What is being emphasized in this respect is the ''Yugoslav perspective'', and the successes of different parts of Yugoslavia, each with a hightened sense of regional patriotism.

It is understandable in this context that even the syntagm ''our people'' for Ljubunčić receives a non-religious connotation which marks a stark difference to multitudes of texts before and after this period. Likewise, the use of the syntagm ''our country'' emphasizes indisputable belonging to Yugoslavia. The journey to ḥajj, paradoxically, becomes also a tour of the places of war-time battles which serve to remind the reader of the significance of the People's Liberation Struggle. It additionally becomes an opportunity to observe places of dispute and conflict.[483] Thus, what was once a network of ziyārat (in the case of the 18th-century travelogues) or a network of ‘ulamā’ visited on the way (as in the case of interwar

[480]Ustashas (ustaše) were Croat ultranationalist movement who, similarly to chetniks, committed crimes against Bosnian Muslims, but also Jews, Serbs and others. They were also defeated by partisans in the WWII.

[481]''Oni se više ne osjećaju kao nekada građanima drugog reda. Nema više prosjaka muslimana, niti nezaposlenih kao nekada. Svaki posao i svaki položaj u novoj Jugoslaviji jednako je pristupačan muslimanu kao i svakom drugom građaninu – prema njegovoj sposobnosti. Nekada je sam periferijski položaj muslimana u BiH ugrožavao njihov opstanak i davao povoda raznim krstaškim pritiscima na njih. Netrpeljivost prema muslimanima u staroj Jugoslaviji ispoljavala se i kroz državnu politiku. Muslimani su se osjećali kao u mišolovci, osuđeni na tihu likvidaciju. Kao posljedica takve nezdrave politike prema muslimanima bio je pokušaj četnika u prošlom ratu da ih fizički istrijebe. Takvo fizičko istrebljenje muslimana spremale su i ustaše. Poraz tih fašističkih ideologija i pobjeda socijalizma u našoj zemlji osigurala je opstanak muslimana.'' Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 130-131.

[482]Cemil Aydin, *The Idea of the Muslim World,* 179.

[483]The reflections on the Trieste crisis (1953) are in the background of the description of the stop ḥajjis made in the beginning of their journey.

period), has now become a string of visits of remembrance which are manifested in different ways.

Although Ljubunčić's narrative emphasizes the present and colors it with positive terms of progress and modernization, links with the earlier 20th century were not severed. Thus, Ljubunčić mentions how he and his fellow ḥajjis read Shakib Arslan's ḥajj travelogue, and he also emphasized his links to the Bosnian 'ulamā' in the interwar period.[484] However, the narrative obsessively returns to the issues of modernization, which is exemplified in the apparent successes of the new communist state.[485] Apart from that, certain links were retained, as the visit to al-Azhar in 1949 shows,[486]as well as different meetings with prominent persons like Talaat Taha (from World Islamic Union), who was mentioned for his correspondence with a Yugoslav rais-ul-ʿulamā'.[487]

The links existed but they were thoroughly depoliticized, or, in other words, there were no expectations about political help which transnational links could provide for Muslims in Yugoslavia. In the case of Yugoslav ḥajjis, this avoidance of connections becomes even more obvious, because of the multiplicity of pressures from the overwhelmingly non-Muslim state in which the Muslims lived. How starkly the attitude changed from the interwar period to postwar is evident through Bosnian ḥajjis relation to Cairo: it does not figure as prominently as it used to before; its poverty and, moreover, the perceived feeble spirit of its people is contrasted to the ''pride and consciousness of the socialist citizen'' from Yugoslavia.[488] Likewise, passing through Syria on the way back, the author comments on the disorder caused by the intolerance between different religious

[484]Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 48.

[485]For example, Ljubunčić talks about different products exhibited on the ship to Hong Kong in effort to promote new Yugoslav industry. Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 49.

[486]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 132.

[487]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 133.

[488]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 132.

groups in this country.[489] Nonetheless, the Yugoslav ḥajjis (led by Ibrahim Fejić, the rais-ul-ʿulamā' or the head of the Islamic Community) tried to meet religious dignitaries in every state they pass through. The passing of such a prominent delegation, from a country which had a questionable reputation for religious freedoms among their fellow Muslims, was accompanied by frequent journalistic visits, which resulted in numerous interviews given and different authorities visited.[490]

While views on history were fraught with excisions, connections to the past persisted, and were especially visible in the tracking down of the *muhājir* (emigrant) community of Bosniaks in Turkey and the Middle East. Apart from searching for Bosnian Muslims on the way to ḥajj and back, Ljubunčić expressed a keen interest in the perception of his own group among the people they encountered on the way. In that sense, a certain pattern can be discerned, which speaks of both the perception of Bosnian pilgrims in the eyes of their co-religionists abroad, and of their wish to present themselves in a certain way. In the case of 20th-century ḥajj narratives in general, the term ''Yugoslav Muslims'' seemed to be a wide enough denominator for ḥajj authors of different periods to identify with, and often with the feeling of pride. In Ljubunčić's narrative, this term provokes positive reactions, and inspires people to do small favors for the ḥajjis from Yugoslavia.[491]

Ljubunčić felt that his group was not only representing Bosnian Muslims, but also Yugoslavs. The need to justify certain political decisions (such as the Tito-Stalin split in 1948) serves two purposes: it shows the allegiance of the ḥajj group in front of their coreligionists and it sends a message to the readership about the

[489]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 165.

[490]This probably marked the beginning of a post-war interest in Muslim minorities in Yugoslavia, which later extended to official visits by the Muslim World League in 1974, which produced the accompanying travelogue: Muḥammad Ṣafwat al-Saqqā, *al-Muslimūn fī Yuguslāfiya* (Bayrūt: Dār al-fatḥ, 1974); in this travelogue, the author emphasizes the role of ḥajj in meeting Yugoslav Muslims. (13)

[491]Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 54.

importance of Yugoslavia in the wider world.[492] The reception of this term expressed through its usage in ḥajj narratives changed slightly throughout the 20th century until the very notion of ''Yugoslavia'' as a political and geographical entity acquired negative portrayal in the 1990s.

Throughout Ljubunčić's narrative there is attachment to an even narrower denomination – that of a belonging to Bosnia. It was expressed in the eager search for an object reminding one of a familiar locality. Such was the case when Ljubunčić and his fellow pilgrims saw a ship named ''Sarajevo'' which was cruising around the Mediterranean.[493] As a contrast, encounters with other non-Yugoslav Muslims sometimes provoked unease, mostly because of racial perceptions, when Bosnian pilgrims felt threatened because of their ''foreign European looks''.[494]

The obsession with self-image developed into a need for comparison to other Muslim groups encountered during the journey. A common reccuring point was meeting Turkish pilgrims, who received special attention because of the religious restrictions they faced in their country, which gave the author a chance to contrast the state of religion in two countries. Ljubunčić tried to convince Turkish pilgrims that Muslims in Yugoslavia were free to practice their religion and that there was no restriction on head coverings or religious practice. What the author seems to be implying is that severe religious restrictions such as the prohibition of the Turkish ezan or the fez ban necessarily lead to a feeling of overcompensation while on ḥajj, which, according to him, was not the case with Yugoslav Muslims.

The way Ljubunčić portrays religion is to imply that there are two layers: the one which is apolitical and pertains to the domain of the purely devotional/practical, and the utilitarian level, where religion is used as a tool to

[492] An indicative example are the meetings ḥajjis had in Cairo in 1949. Ljubunčić says that they were a media attraction and that newspapers and journals published their photos, since they were ḥajjis coming from a ''giant country which manages to preserve its independence and resists the greatest powers in its struggle for equality'' (našu su zemlju smatrali nekom čudovišnom zemljom koja uspijeva da očuva svoju nezavisnost i da se suprotstavlja najvećim silama u borbi za ravnopravnost), Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 132.

[493] Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 116.

[494] Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 390.

promote highly political goals through disturbing interreligious life.[495] Religion, as understood and conveyed by Ljubunčić, in the new Yugoslavia was no longer a tool which is used to stir national hatred. However, the cracks which occur in his narrative were exposed during numerous conversations which he had with different Muslim groups who kept asking him about the dire state of Muslims in Yugoslavia according to what they had heard elsewhere. The patronizing attitude the Yugoslav delegation had towards other Muslim groups stemmed from their pride in the liberation struggle. It was observed as the accomplished stage of progress, which other nations were only embarking on. While ostensibly part of the official socialist narrative, this defence of idealized state of religion in Yugoslavia can be analysed as a strategy of negotiation, where the author trod a fine line between religious allegiance and overwhelming state control over the narrative.

Although the author's intention was to present Mecca as a place devoid of politics (which would justify this pilgrimage and future ones to authorities), the whole journey was intertwined with visits to different religious and political authorities. In the 1949 pilgrimage, Ljubunčić and his group of ḥajjis were invited to a reception given by Ibn Saud. The description of the reception can be seen as one of the peaks of the journey. The author gives a thorough account of the dinner which was attended by dignitaries such as Haj Amin al-Husseini, whose presence Ljubunčić disliked, because of the Handjar division which he supported.[496] The ḥajjis got another chance to see the king, Ibn Saud, and on this particular occasion their attention was on how other downtrodden Muslim nations were discussed. *Nakba* which happened the previous year was a subject of discussion – and a point where Ljubunčić could again assert the Yugoslav superiority. Namely, after Ibn Saud's appeal and reproach directed towards the ''Palestinian Arabs'', Ljubunčić concluded with the following:

[495]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 344.

[496]Handžar/Hanjar (Handschar) division was part of the Waffen-SS armed forces created with the intention of combating partisan insurgence and consisting of a number of Bosnian Muslims. Its creation and role in WWII remains a point of current debates and controversies.

''On that day, we discussed our grand national liberation struggle, which has no precedent in the history of mankind, and we felt proud for being sons of a nation that heroically fought for their freedom, so that the whole world admires it. We were aware that we were shown special favors during this reception with King Ibn Saud because of the high respect of our country, which was won by the matchless struggle of its peoples for freedom and equality. It happened to us many times that we were admired when they found out that we came from that Yugoslavia which has lightened the way to all the small and colonized nations with its example.''[497]

This constant pressure to present Yugoslavia as an example to other small colonized nations comes as a result of Tito-Stalin split in 1948, which forced the state to send off different delegations in order to improve its image and earn allegiances. The project of Yugoslav socialist modernization is seen as an example which should be ''exported'' to other colonized nations.

Previous focus on Mecca and Medina as centres of spiritual and intellectual activity has transformed into observation of these places as simple religious sites which provide revenue for poor people in the region:

''If the primary purpose of Arefat and pilgrimage to Mecca was (to offer the opportunity) for Muslims from all regions of the world to meet, get to know each other, exchange experiences and use them for their advancement and progress, then one can say that this purpose was missed, because today, mostly, the pilgrimage to these areas serves to ensure – at least to some extent - contributions for the subsistence of the poor people of these desert areas.''[498]

Even though Ljubunčić tried to portray ḥajj in its current state as not fulfilling its ultimate purpose of gathering believers, he was mesmerized by the diversity he

[497] ''Taj dan smo mi dugo razgovarali o našoj velikoj Narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi, kojoj nema primjera u istoriji čovječanstva i osjećali smo se ponosni što smo sinovi naroda, koji je tako junački izvojevao svoju slobodu, da mu se čitav svijet divi. Mi smo bili svjesni da su nama na ovome prijemu kod kralja Ibni Sauda bile ukazane naročite počasti radi velikog ugleda naše zemlje, koji je ona zadobila besprimjernom borbom svojih naroda za slobodu i ravnopravnost. Mnogo puta nama se desilo u ovim krajevima, da su u nas sa udivljenjem gledali, kada su saznali da smo iz one Jugoslavije, koja je primjerom svoje borbe za slobodu osvjetljavala puteve svima malim i porobljenim narodima.'' Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 173.

[498] ''Ako je prvobitna svrha Arefata i hodočašća u Meku bila, da se muslimani svih krajeva svijeta sastaju, upoznaju, da međusobno mijenjaju iskustva i da ih koriste za svoj napredak i progres, onda se može reći da je ta svrha promašena, jer danas, uglavnom, hodočašće u te krajeve služi da se bar donekle osiguraju prihodi za izdržavanje siromašnog svijeta ovih pustinjskih krajeva.'' Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 345.

saw in Mecca, which was expressed by different clothes, with a particular focus on the type of hats, and on female veiling practices, all of which resonated with particular concerns with the current state of events in Yugoslavia. The ban of veiling occurred the following year and the journal in which the travelogue appeared published articles on the lack of religious basis for the full-face veil.[499]

In Ljubunčić's narrative, Hijaz was observed in terms of its modernization in the same manner as other cities on the way to ḥajj: broad streets, hotels, ''modern'' shops, but also means of transport (buses, trucks and cars) were the overwhelming sight of the new form of these sacred places.[500]However, at the time when Ljubunčić arrived in Mecca, the place was still not ''modern'' and the architecture which was visible there had remained from the ''Turkish rule''.[501] While passing from Jeddah to Medina, the author offered a long description of poverty which was rampant in the area.[502]

A particular notion of tradition emerges in Ljubunčić's travelogue. This tradition in his interpretation was presented as a break from ''European life and world''. It was related to different forms of reckoning time, which, according to the author, were at play in Mecca. Different time reckonings reflected the increased piety of the city's inhabitants.[503] Piety was thereby posited as antithetical to the fast and uncompromising flow of modernity. The narrative emphasized Mecca as a place of faith more than anything else:

''Faith dominates everything in Mecca. Everything submits willingly to faith. Everything is marked by piety. Everyone utters prayers. Relations between people are coloured by religious

[499]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 54.

[500]See, for example, the description of Jeddah, Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 128.

[501]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 135.

[502]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 389-392.

[503]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 342.

tolerance. Everyone is obliged to fulfill religious duties. Faith in God is great. It controls everything. Many ḥajjis who suffer from various diseases go on ḥajj, believing they will be cured that way.''[504]

In a certain sense, by presenting Mecca as the place of pure faith, what is being emphasised is, again, the non-interfering, apolitical nature of the pilgrimage, which is – in the style common in this period – almost intentionally comparable to pilgrimages of other religious traditions.[505] Faith is reified and even its practices (such as ''uttering prayers'') have been made separate from other activities.

Tradition as a term is used in narrative to describe the preservation of connection to the Islamic past, and especially to the early Muslim community: architecturally (the author mentions the Prophet's house and the room of His daughter Fāṭima)[506], by way of genealogy (families claiming descent from the Prophet are held in special regard) and in the transmission of knowledge (learning the Qur'an and the *ḥadīth*, as well as the recitation of the Qur'an).[507]

The Ottoman past was mentioned briefly in this regard, and with a hint of nostalgia, because the elaborate set of architectural monuments were destroyed by the new rule in Hijaz.[508] At another point, the destruction of elaborate tombs was

[504]''U Meki vjera dominira nad svim. Vjeri se dobrovoljno sve podređuje. Sve je u pobožnom znaku. Molitva je u svakoga na ustima. Međusobni odnosi među ljudima obojeni su vjerskom trpeljivosti. Od svakoga se traži da vrši vjerske dužnosti. Velika je vjera u Boga. Vjera kontroliše sve. Mnoge hadžije bolesne od raznih bolesti dolaze na hadž, vjerujući da će se na taj način izliječiti.'' Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 136.

[505]A simple example of this would be the insistence on the usage of the word ''sveštenik'' (priest) while referring to a Muslim 'ulamā' member, even in the context of Mecca. See: Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 136.

[506]But he notices how Ibn Saud destroyed all the other tombs which had no relation to the Prophet. Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 343.

[507]Ljubunčić mentions that this kind of preservation of knowledge exists in other parts of the ''pious Islamic world'' but they are not preserved as strongly as here. ''Put na hadž,'' 343.

[508]A dalīl ('guide') for Ljubunčić and his fellow pilgrims talks of the old times as he leads their group (343). The role of a dalil in 20th-century Bosniak ḥajj literature might also be observed as a remaining link to the Ottoman past and a testimony to the intense connections between former Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans (in terms of language, mobility and transmission of practical knowledge on pilgrimage). The role of dalil was prominent in the later ḥajj literature. See: Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi* (Stockholm/Tuzla: MOS-BeMUF/Harfograf, 2002), 50-51.

ascribed to Ibn Saud directly, but still described as a quiet rumour.[509] In other contexts, while describing Medina, Ljubunčić mentioned ''Islamic traditions'' which were preserved in this city, without defining what exactly he meant by that.

Islamic tradition is also closely related to use of the term ''Islamic knowledge''. This discourse becomes intertwined with the decline narrative, which was depicted as the sad state of Muslims as a consequence of their lack of faith (*din*). Decline narrative was frequently followed by the narrative of the ''Golden Age of Islam'', in which Muslims outshone the others by the strength of their faith and not by the strength of their material power or arms.[510]

Although Ljubunčić's narrative is obviously determined by the circumstances in which he writes, such as political pressure from the state, there are points at which the travelogue reflects wider debates of the period. Challenges posed by modernity (and especially those imposed by the state, such as the strict censorship) required a wide response which is reflected in a zealous search for compatibility between Islam and democracy and socialism. Islam, as suggested above, is reified and made a particular, distinct entity, which is comparable to other ones, such as democracy and socialism.[511] In the following passage, where Ljubunčić describes his encounter with an Iraqi intellectual in Medina, the essentialization of Islam and a peculiar hierarchy of particularities (democracy versus Islam) can be observed:

''He would often begin talking about democracy and he called it Islamic. He criticized those who climbed the power ladder and forgot the people. He praised Tito by saying that he gave equality to Muslims which they had not had before. He thought that Islam should be judged in regards to how it affects Muslims – to be better, more cultured and advanced. However, he was immediately

[509] Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 70.

[510] Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 174.

[511] In this way, the claim for the universality of Islam was forfeited, and ''its allegedly impermeable character serving as the mark of defeat for any universal project of an intellectual kind''. Faisal Devji, *Muslim Zion: Pakistan as a Political Idea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 205.

opposed by another of his compatriots who said that Islam as a faith is one and perfect, and Muslims are another, and that Islam should be judged separately from Muslims.''[512]

What is at issue in the previous paragraph is also a peculiar erasure of history, and a vision of the progressive present. If the previous interwar period was marked by an antagonistic attitude towards the Ottoman legacy, in this post-WWII travelogue Ottoman history becomes obliterated and subsumed under the prefix ''Turkish'', thereby reduced into a monolithic vision. Reasons for neglecting the Ottoman past might be traced to the stifling attitude of the state towards competing narratives of the past, which in this case could disrupt the pervading propaganda on ''brotherhood and unity'', as it could appeal to the religious feelings of Muslims.

On the other hand, the obliteration of the past and the fewer references to Ottoman history could be a result of the modernist push towards a sense of a developing present, which moves progressively towards the future, without need to pause or ponder upon previous empires. This is also clear in discussion of countries through which Ljubunčić passed: the focus of the narrative is always on their present state. The advancement or stagnation of the country is observed in relation to an abstract criteria of progress and level of that progress. In that sense, Ljubunčić's narrative could be compared to the ones from the interwar period. However, while in the latter case the emphasis is on progress within the framework of the advancement of Muslim populations, in Ljubunčić's travelogue progress is emphasized for the sake of progress.

The push for different attitudes towards the Ottoman past and its separation from the experiences of Bosnian Muslims is also caused by the nature of the journey which brought pilgrims into close contact with non-Muslims, through which they had to observe local dynamics far from their political centres. In the

[512]''Često puta je započinjao razgovor o demokraciji i zvao ju je islamskom. Kritikovao je one koji su se peli na vlast i zaboravljali na narod. Hvalio je Tita govoreći da je dao ravnopravnost muslimanima koju oni dosada nijesu imali. On je zastupao mišljenje da Islam treba cijeniti po tome kako Islam uspijeva da djeluje na muslimane, da oni budu bolji, kulturniji i napredniji. Međutim odmah mu je oponirao drugi jedan njegov zemljak koji je govorio da je Islam kao vjera jedno i savršeno a ljudi muslimani drugo, te da Islam treba odvojeno posmatrati od muslimana.'' Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,''

72.

description of Cyprus, for example, the political decisions over the fate of this island are ascribed to, among other actors, ''Turks''.[513] The usage of the ethnic name for the Empire is a result of different complexities which include nation-state oriented historical narratives, and the influence of orientalist discourses, which reduced differences and nuances of historical experience into a single denominator.[514]

In that respect, it is especially interesting to observe the attitude of the author towards Turkey, as his description appears to reflect these different complexities pointed to above. The detour to Turkey was part of the plan to visit the Bosniak *muhājir* community which had been arriving into the Ottoman Empire/Turkey from the end of the 19th century onwards. Ḥajj literature from the second half of the 20th century is replete with references to this community, which forms part of the emotional community. The act of visiting its members becomes a point of remembrance and a replacement for the reminiscences of the Ottoman past. The search for Bosnian Muslims in Turkey, thus, becomes akin to the quest for the lost past which could not be expressed in the new circumstances of the regime. The search for Yugoslav Muslims abroad was not confined to Turkey; the travelogues are replete with encounters with people from the region who moved to the Arab provinces after the Ottoman withdrawal. Tracing them is equated to recovering the lost connections to Ottoman societies.

While discussing the Ottoman past was neglected, references to a ''Muslim'' past are abundant. This term allowed for broader descriptions and greater freedom in discussing certain issues because it was safely remote from any narrow designation and the political implications which would come with it. The designation ''Muslim'' in this sense could be purely religious, without any potentially disrupting ethnic or political connotations, which consequently paved the way for a

[513]Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 53.

[514]To see a peculiar dynamics of change from Ottoman to Turk, see: Virginia Aksan, ''Ottoman to Turk: Continuity and Change,'' *International Journal*, Vol. 61, no. 1, Turkey: Myths and Realties (Winter, 2005/2006): 19-38.

seemingly apolitical narrative.[515]In another sense, the lack of preoccupation with wider political contexts – and what they mean for Muslims today – gives the author more opportunity to focus on the architecture and material aspects of cultures he describes. In other words, descriptions of places of ziyārat are depicted devoid of their close historical context, and often what is lacking as well is their relevance to the Muslim communities living in the vicinity.

In contrast to the travelogues from the interwar period, the image of Turkey receives positive treatment in Ljubunčić's narrative. This image of Turkey fits a particular thirst for modernization and an adversary attitude towards the past. The following excerpt shows some of the key elements in imagining the modern present and future:

''Around 9pm we arrived to Adana. We stayed over an hour there, and were watching the people going by, there were lots of them on the platform, both men and women. There were officers and uniformed clerks, but there was no trace of the fez or full body veils, which one sought in Turkey even unwittingly. This old physionomy was lost in Turkey and it [Turkey] became less attractive to foreigners because people do not look exotic any more. It amazes all the cultured world with its progress. Somewhere behind the station one could hear a patriotic song sung by youth in a chorus. Turkey is no longer burdened by any prejudice which could hinder its progress.''[516]

Unlike Krpo and Čokić's objections to the change of dress, in this excerpt it is apparent that the author considered Western dress a symbol of progress and a sign of discarding the unwanted (Ottoman) past. However, what Ljubunčić also implies with the discarding of dress is the loss of exoticism and of appeal to foreigners,

[515]Although the Communist Party actively pursued the plan of secularization of society, the domain of quietist religious was not actively persecuted. An illustrative example is the stir caused by the change of the name of main Islamic institution in Yugoslavia from ''Islamic religious community'' into ''Islamic community'' because the omission in the case of latter signified cultural and ethnic revival. See: Vjekoslav Perica, *Balkan Idols: Religion and Nationalism in Yugoslav States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 77.

[516]''Oko 9 sati navečer prispjeli smo u Adanu. Na njenoj stanici smo se zadržali čitav sat. Promatrali smo svijet, kojega je bilo mnogo na peronu. Bilo je i muškaraca i žena. Bilo je i oficira i uniformisanih službenika, ali nigdje ni traga fesovima i zarovima koje je čovjek i nehotice tražio da vidi u Turskoj. Tu staru fizionomiju izgubila je Turska i prestala da bude privlačiva za strance sa svojim kuriozitetima u nošnji. Ona danas sa svojim napretkom zadivljuje sav kulturni svijet. Negdje iza stanice čula se je patriotska pjesma, koju je pjevala omladina u horu. Ona sigurno nije više opterećena nikakovim predrasudama koje bi mogle ometati napredak Turske.'' Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 265.

while simultaneously – and paradoxically – being amazed by the same world for its progress. The whole narrative on Turkey is imbued with the words ''progress'', ''modernization'', ''democracy'' and ''democratization'', although the caution is sometimes visible when, for example, the democratic steps which Turkey had to introduce are described as slow and gradual. When describing Turkish educational institutions, Ljubunčić says:

> ''Mektebs and medresas, which hindered the progress and advance of the Turkish nation with their unscientific views of the world, were abolished by one of Kemal's decisions, and no regime after Kemal even thinks about bringing these back, because it would once again mean the stagnation of progress.''[517]

Ljubunčić is interested in every aspect of social and technological development, so he lists the names of popular journals (*Cumhuriyet, Vakit*, etc), parks (*Vamunecitlik*), etc. The emphasis on the modern media is especially relevant in the context of the state project that aimed to create modern identities, as well as to foster visions of a common opponent or enemy. In that process, the centralized structure of mass media was seen as a tool of unification.[518] The obsession with the modern in the narrative is also evident in how cities are described. In the case of Alexandria, it is emphasized that this city has wide boulevards which makes it similar to Western European cities, in contrast to ''Oriental'' cities.[519] A peculiar case of modernity is, as it was described above, detected in Turkey, in which case the author even produces a photo of Ankara as a modern city.

Another modernist trait of a new era of ḥajj writings is the ethnographic approach which Ljubunčić uses occasionally throughout his narrative. Ljubunčić treats his subjects in a distant and elevated manner; other people (nations, cultures) are objectified for his analysis. This can be observed in the way dockland workers were treated in parts describing different places (Trieste, Port-Said), but it

[517]''Mektebe i medrese koji su, svojim nenaučnim pogledima na svijet, kočili napredak i razvoj turskog naroda, ukinuo je Kemal jednim potezom, i nijedan režim poslije Kemala i ne pomišlja više da ih ponovo vrati, jer bi to značilo ponovno kočenje progresa.'' Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 268.

[518]Eickelman and Anderson, ''Redefining Muslim Publics,'' 3.

[519]Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,''112.

becomes most obvious in the part of the travelogue that deals with Bosnian Muslims in Turkey. Here his account is written with the intention of describing the state and conditions of this population for educational purposes, and showing the possible remaining links between Yugoslavia and Turkey. Turkey, thus, becomes something akin to a country where a Bosnian Muslim subject can recognize traces of oneself. Seeking Bosniaks in Turkey becomes a search for third space – one equally far from homeland and holy land, where both connections with the past and potentialities for the future are sought:

''One can say that there in Turkey, there used to be a small, old Bosnia, which is diminishing from day to day. Today there are four generations of our expatriates living in Turkey. They are known in Turkey as ''Bosniaks''. Many feel pride in being one of those. However, the majority of them say that they are both Bosniaks and Turks. A smaller number of them says that they are just Bosniaks. And a tiny number of them says that they are only Turks, giving up Bosniakness (...) One should say that our people in Turkey are completely devoted to the Turkish state, and they love it sincerely, without pretending. Many appreciate its hospitality when they moved to it. (...) The Turks do not consider them a minority. They consider them good Muslims, good citizens, good neighbours and Turks. (...) Their love for Bosnia, for their homeland, has turned into love for their new homeland, Turkey.''[520]

How can we interpret this insistence on establishing connections between Bosnian Muslims in Turkey and their allegiance to different geographical/political entities? One of the possible ways to find the answer is to observe it not only as a relationship to the Ottoman past, but also as a way of establishing continuity between past and present. Namely, although praising the present state (of modernization, progress, enlightenment) is a dominant motif, it is evident that past mattered as a driving force, especially as a motivation for some sense of continuity

[520]''Tamo u Turskoj, može se reči (sic), da je ranije postojala jedna mala, stara Bosna, koja sve više iščezava. Danas u Turskoj žive četiri pokoljenja naših iseljenika. Oni su tamo u Turskoj poznati pod popularnim imenom ''Bošnjaci''. Mnogi se i s ponosom osjećaju Bošnjacima. Međutim, najviši dio njih kaže da su Bošnjaci a i Turci. Jedan manji dio kaže da su samo Bošnjaci a isto tako ih neznatan dio kaže da su Turci, odričući se bošnjakluka.(...) Međutim, treba napomenuti da je taj naš svijet u Turskoj posve odan turskoj državi i da je iskreno i bez hinle voli. Mnogi cijene njeno gostoprimstvo, koje im je ukazala kad su doselili u nju.(...) Turci ih ne smatraju nekom bosanskom manjinom. Oni ih smatraju dobrim muslimanima, dobrim građanima, dobrim susjedima i Turcima.(...) Njihova ljubav prema Bosni, prema rodnom kraju prešla je i još dalje prelazi na njihovu novu domovinu Tursku.'' Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 160-161.

to be preserved.[521] This longing for continuity – which actually stemmed from the inclination to find ways of producing meaning – was one of the mechanisms of coping with the fragmentation of the religious authority which, consequently, compartmentalized religion and religious expressions within the framework of the nation-state. This compartmentalization of religion can be seen in the relation towards ḥajj: while in the interwar period ḥajj quite distinctly presented an opportunity for the exchange of political ideas and a search for similarly minded friends who might alleviate the situation at home, ḥajj in the postwar period is presented as a purely religious obligation.[522]

However, while modernity affects developing thoughts about the situation Muslims were in, and provokes self-reflection in that regard, modernization also fascinated ḥajj authors. They did not consider advancement in technology as negative, and in this they followed a vast number of Muslim scholars and members of general public who opted for a ''middle'' solution: acceptance of modernization without adopting non-material aspects of modernity in full. In the case of Ljubunčić's narrative, modernization came with a set of positive values (progress, advancement, turning away from backwardness). His amazement with the Saudi organization of ḥajj and its juxtaposition with the uncontextualized past is a constant of 20th-century Bosnian ḥajj travelogues. It will remain present in different travelogues, even those which disapproved of the Saudi relation to the past.

While the obvious emphasis in the travelogues of this period is on the importance of change (religious, political, intellectual and cultural) as an indication of modernity – or, at least, as a strong sense of transformation occurring at both the local and international level – there are obvious continuities that are currently throughout the travelogues.

One of them is certainly the network of ziyārat on the way to ḥajj and back. Although the 20th-century reformist movements in Muslim societies tried to

[521]Ebrahim Moosa and Fazlur Rahman, *Fazlur Rahman, Revival and Reform in Islam: A Study of Islamic Fundamentalism* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2000), 5.

[522]Ljubunčić, ''Put na hadž,'' 130.

suppress the Sufi orders and their activities (mostly with regard to tomb visitations), certain practices remained constant, such as the admiration of the Prophet's family and the tombs belonging to them. In relation to that, what also persists is the centrality of cities in the narrative: Istanbul, Damascus, Cairo, Medina and Mecca might not conform to Ljubunčić's vision of the modern, but they remain in focus nonetheless. Their significance is further supported by the intricate network of different stories told about them, which the author faithfully conveys to his readers. Finally, the role of the Ottoman past should not be neglected, because even though the author distinguishes it from the contemporary lives of Muslims in Yugoslavia, the last part of his narrative is shaped by stories about the Ottomans which he wants to convey.

It can be argued that the link with the Ottoman past is always present, though it is created by appealing to the Bosnian links in the Empire. The fragmentation of the empire has left persistent links and memories of these links, with a void of authority which was uneasily replaced by the nation-state mechanisms of hierarchy and rhetoric.[523]

Moreover, the fragmentation of authority is not simply connected to the breakup of the empire and its consequences which were felt throughout the 20th century. The feeling of a (limited or greater) listlesness and unease about the current state of Muslim societies is related to the wider disorienting confrontation with modernity which produced visions of history and tradition as static and unmoving. In that context, when Ljubunčić talks about past and present practices, he often wants to imply a unified Muslim history with a pool of resources which exert their influences up to modern times. In that context, Mecca is represented as a place with double temporalities: one which belongs to otherworldly piety and one

[523]The complex network of links was evident, as we saw through connections to the Bosnian muhajir community; Arabs who were connected to Bosnia via ḥajj activities; visits to tombs belonging to people who hailed from Bosnia; religious customs (such as waqf); religious learning; and through linking different customs to their recipients in Bosnia (for example, paying for the title of agha – a person in charge of maintaining orderliness in the mosque, and in general an honorary position fulfilled by eunuchs – from the side of some Bosniaks who were never actually held the position, but just wanted to have the title. See: Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 298-299.)

which belongs to the worldly domain. The latter is intimately connected to the author's sensibilities, because Mecca is a hub which gathers people from all Muslim societies, including Bosniaks who settled in this city because of different historical circumstances which impelled them to do so.[524] Thus, in Ljubunčić's narratives, different temporalities are placed almost hierarchically, until they reach the issue of belonging.

While Ljubunčić's travelogues belong to the first period of the communist regime and reflect the Bosnian Muslim community's response to the profound changes related to religious practices – including ḥajj – which happened in this period, there are several factors that develop in this period inadvertently and affect a chain of resistances or alternative voices[525] to the mainstream one presented in the first section. Although ḥajj literature from the following period cannot be directly considered as presenting stark opposition to state ideology – such a travelogue or treatise would have been impossible to publish – the literature certainly became more varied and started reflecting a whole new range of voices. This was possible due to the growing public sphere and the greater inclusion of different actors, which progressed with time as more journals started to be published. The changes happening in the public sphere were not caused solely by top-down pressure, but were also generated by widespread literacy. It corresponds to what has been described as new forms of communication which allowed individuals from ''peripheries'' to participate in the public sphere.[526] The dynamics behind the increase of ḥajj literature and interest in ḥajj in general included different elements which should be considered.

[524]Ljubunčić, ''Istorija hadža u Bosni i Hercegovini,'' 66-67.

[525]The use of the word ''alternative'' in this context is not without certain dangers. I do not mean to stress its marginality or peripheral status, but a less visible, yet strongly present phenomenon of living, adapting, changing or negotiating with modernity.

[526]Dale Eickelman, ''Communication and Control in the Middle East: Publication and Its Discontents,'' in: *New Media in the Muslim World: The Emerging Public Sphere*, ed. by Dale Eickelman and Jon W. Anderson (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003),

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5.3 Different Voices of Modernity

The previous section showed how one of the modernist traits of ḥajj literature of the post-WWII period was its stifling of the past and a focus on the present as part of the progressive, ever-developing temporal line. It also, however, promoted a return to a pristine ''Islamic tradition'', which was characterized as a set of practices related to or stemming from the early Muslim community. This tradition was considered to be altered along the way. The protagonists of different debates on the state of piety and religiosity differed according to solutions they offered for amelioration of that situation. Finding answers to the impending changes of religious practice became important, and, more urgently, efforts to appease ''modern life'' and its requirements with piety/religiosity.[527] In the context of ḥajj, opinions about ḥajj proliferate, as a consequence of a democratization of expression of religious thought, which came with a combination of different factors (literacy, proliferation of publishing media, greater mobility) leading to a specific kind of reintellectualization[528]. In total, this process can be termed as the ''democratization'' of the politics of religious authority.[529]With the abolishment of traditional structures of learning (medresas, tekkes), different facets of religion, including ḥajj, were now also open to non-'ulamā' members of the society for analysis.

Although the rupture which brought on the changes promoted by the communist regime caused a lack of visibility of Islamic practices within the public sphere, members of older 'ulamā' were still active in their educational efforts.

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[527]One of the most prominent Bosniak intellectuals of the period, Husein Đozo, whose ḥajj essay is subsequently analysed, writes how after the liberation of downtrodden nations, there is little to be done in the way of vanquishing the reactionary enemy. The battle which has to be undertaken is one of revival, which Đozo distinguishes as economic, but also ethical-moral. From: ''Uz ovogodišnju proslavu Mevludi-Šerifa,'' *Glasnik*, XI (XXIII), no 7-9, (1960): 280-282, see in: Husein
Đozo, *Izabrana djela*, Knjiga treća (Publicistički radovi) (Sarajevo: El-Kalem/Fakultet islamskih nauka, 2006): 60-63.

[528]''By reintellectualization, we mean presenting Islamic doctrine and discourse in accessible, vernacular terms, even if this contributes to basic reconfigurations of doctrine and practice.'' Eickelman and Anderson, ''Redefining Muslim Publics,'' 12.

[529]Dale F. Eickelman, ''Islam and the Languages of Modernity,'' *Daedalus,* Vol. 129, No. 1, Multiple Modernities (Winter, 2000): 130.

Already in 1962, Derviš efendija Spahić, one of the members of the conservative 'ulamā', returned from his pilgrimage and wrote a treatise about women and their participation in ḥajj, and concluded the following:

''During my ḥajj journey, I noticed that the presence of women in holy places and their ḥajj practice contrasts Islamic prescriptions. After returning from ḥajj I took an interest and wanted to know under which conditions women are required to go on ḥajj by themselves.''[530]

Spahić tries to prove his point with a discussion of sources. His main arguments are derived from a specific reading of ḥadīth which emphasizes that women should perform pilgrimage rites at night, when they could not be seen by men or interact with them. While explaining the context of the prophetic injunctions, Spahić contrasts them to modern times where certain conditions, according to him, are not met. Derviš Spahić is particularly worried about what he perceives to be the impossibility of proper veiling, the impossibility of guarding one's gaze and mixing with men, while even stating that one woman can corrupt a prayer for three men.[531]

The treatise produced a sharp rejoinder by one of the Bosnian 'ulamā', Hasan Ljevaković, whose retort was published in the same journal, together with Derviš Spahić's protest. This short, but emotionally charged debate, proves that arguments about progress and advancement were not necessarily used in order to uphold a certain viewpoint. Both authors refer to traditional Islamic sources, such as the Qur'an, ḥadīth or opinions of classical fiqh scholars, but interpret them according to their own inclinations: Spahić because he wanted to limit the mobility of women, and Ljevaković who complied to the majority opinion in favor of women going on ḥajj.[532] In Ljevaković's answer, however, evoking religious authorities also means

[530]''Prilikom mog putovanja na hadž zapazio sam da je prisustvo žena na svetim mjestima i njihovo obavljanje hadža u suprotnosti sa islamskim propisima. Po povratku sa hadža sam se zainteresirao i želio saznati pod kakvim su uslovima žene zadužene da sobom obave hadž.'' Derviš Spahić, *Žena i hadž,* in: Dževdet Šošić, *Islamska pedagoška misao i praksa Derviš-ef. Spahića* (Travnik: Elči Ibrahim-pašina medresa, 2015), 221.

[531]Šošić, *Islamska pedagoška misao,* 224-225.

[532]Hasan Ljevaković, ''Odgovor Hasan ef. Ljevakovića,'' *Glasnik vrhovnog islamskog starješinstva*, (1969): 454.

saying that ''none of the 'ulamā' in Yugoslavia (...) tried to prevent Muslim women from going on a ḥajj.''[533]Female mobility is the focus of his response, where going on ḥajj is subsumed under general travel, which sometimes exposes Muslim women to unlawful things.[534] Both authors are preoccupied with the current state of Muslims (presumably in Yugoslavia), which compels them to seek and reach radically different conclusions.

5.3.1 Progress and its Enemies

The multitude of emerging voices was amplified by the steadily rising expression of revivalism – the sense that the Islamic world was awakening. This was closely related to images of Mecca and Medina, since these centres played the role of referent in determining the progress made in revival of religious values.

Mecca and Medina start reappearing in ḥajj writings as powerful geographical referents in relation to historical comparisons throughout the 1960s. When writing an essay on the new *hijri* year in 1963, Husein Đozo (1912-1982), one of the most prominent Bosnian Muslim scholars and intellectuals of the 20th century,[535] states that:

''we are proud that here in this part of the world, geographically very remote, thousands of kilometers away from Mecca and Medina, we are celebrating this year's New Muslim year in sign of the great revival of the Islamic world''.[536]

[533]Ljevaković, ''Odgovor,'' 454.

[534]Ljevaković, ''Odgovor,'' 454.

[535]See more about Husein Đozo in the recent study of Sejad Mekić, *A Muslim Reformist in Communist Yugoslavia: The Life and Thought of Husein Đozo* (London: Routledge, 2017).

[536]''Mi smo upravo ponosni što ovdje u ovom dijelu svijeta na velikoj geografskoj udaljenosti, koja nas hiljadama kilometara dijeli od Mekke i Medine, proslavljamo ovogodišnji praznik Nove muslimanske godine u znaku velikog buđenja islamskog svijeta.'' Husein Đozo, ''Nova muslimanska

The period when Đozo wrote this statement corresponds to a period of hightened activities of different Islamic and non-aligned conferences, especially the World Muslim Congress and the League of Islamic nations, both of which were either established in Mecca or had close connections to ḥajj. Apart from the emphasis on the transnational connections, ḥajj and Mecca and Medina in general present an image of the beginning of change which was to happen in the near or distant future. In that sense, this type of literature diverges from the regime narrative by placing the peak of progress in an uncertain future, instead of the developing present, as was done in the travelogues of Hasan Ljubunčić.

New authors were not content with the state of Muslims in the world, and that seems to be an obsessive topic in ḥajj literature as well. The present – sometimes equated to the ''new'' or modern – was no longer satisfying. The moral revival was what the authors like Husein Đozo are eagerly expecting. In this sense, what was also expected was a religious evolution,[537] from the state of *taqlīd* ('imitation') to the state of *ijtihād* ('independent reasoning').

In his essay published in 1967, on the occasion of Eid al-`adha, Đozo wrote that there had been certain progress in the material aspects of the ḥajj ritual: the ḥajjis were using modern transportation, and their comfort had increased. However, he was not interested in discussing this aspect of ḥajj, but the neglected perspective where ḥajj was a ''general annual meeting of Muslim representatives from all sides of the world, where they analyse the state of all Islamic countries and communities, reach necessary conclusions, and discern responsible measures, as that is the main purpose of ḥajj.''[538] In this sense, Đozo's description does not differ from Krpo or Čokić's from the 1930s. However, Đozo emphasizes that the idea of

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1383. godina,'' *Glasnik,* XXVI, no. 5-6, (1963): 183-185., in: Husein Đozo, *Izabrana djela, Knjiga treća – publicistički radovi* (Sarajevo: IC El-Kalem/Fakultet islamskih nauka, 2006): 114.

[537] On Đozo as a religious evolutionist, see: Enes Karić, ''Husein Đozo i islamski modernizam,'' in: *Islam u vremenu. Izabrana djela 1* (Sarajevo : El-Kalem/Fakultet islamskih nauka, 2006), 31.

[538] ''Nas interesira hadž kao sveopće godišnji sastanak predstavnika muslimana iz svih krajeva svijeta, na kojemu bi se razmotrila situacija svih islamskih zemalja i zajednica i donijeli potrebni zaključci i odredile odgovarajuće mjere, jer je to osnovna misao hadža.'' Husein Đozo, ''Uz ovogodišnji Kurban-bajram,'' *Glasnik*, XXX, no. 1-2, (1967): 1-4, in: Husein Đozo: *Izabrana djela*,

192.

ḥajj is a precursor to the idea of the organization of the United Nations.[539] He describes how ḥajj, just like other rituals and activities in Islam among modern Muslims, was reduced to its simplified form, without awareness of its essence. In that way, Đozo expresses his dualistic view of ḥajj as a ritual consisting of form and meaning, which, however, is unlike the Sufi view of a ritual possessing both outward and inward aspect.[540]

Similarly to Ljubunčić, Đozo expresses resignation towards imagining Mecca and Medina as points of departure for progress in the Muslim world. Đozo separates the idea of ḥajj (*misao hadža*), which he considers to be actual and relevant at all times, and perhaps more relevant in his own time,[541]from its realization at the crossroads of history. Đozo describes this state of liminality while not pointing out a decisive reason behind it, apart from the lack of unity (the lack of a ''healthy joint ideological platform'').[542] Ḥajj in its current form is simply an inspiring ritual without a deeper purpose, which makes the ḥajji turn to his past, instead to the future. The author is trying to reverse the paradigm and to make the pilgrim look for inspiration in the past, but at the same time, look for a (better) future.[543]

Even more thought-provoking is Đozo's essay on the visit to the Prophet's grave in Medina, titled ''At the grave of the last Prophet of God'' (*Na grobu posljednjeg Božijeg Poslanika*), in which the full extent of Đozo's rationalism can be seen. The essay opens with Đozo – the narrator – talking in the second person

[539]Đozo, *Izabrana djela,* 193.

[540]The stark difference between the modernist reduction of the ritual and Sufi dualism can be seen in comparing `Abdullah Būsnawī and Husein Đozo's descriptions of ḥajj. While the former depicted ḥajj as consisting of outward and inward aspects, the realization of which was attainable and understandable for the elite initiated few, Đozo's description – as seen subsequently – posits ḥajj as a mechanical form with transparent meaning of social action, attainable for all. This ritual, just like religion itself, is turned ''into an ethical as much as political phenomenon of a distinctly modern sort'' (Devji, *Muslim Zion,* 202).

[541]Đozo, *Izabrana djela,* 193.

[542]''nemaju zdrave zajedničke ideološke platforme''. Đozo, *Izabrana djela,* 194.

[543]Đozo, *Izabrana djela,* 195.

directly to the Prophet. The opening of the essay indicates that the narrator wants to speak to Prophet – the man – in a stark passage:

> ''I am standing in front of your grave. I know you were a human being and that you died. I do not bow to you or worship you. That is how you taught me. That is what the Qur'an, which you transmitted to people, says about you.''[544]

This specific attitude towards the Prophet is another modernist trait which points to the effort to demystify the prophetic image. Further on in the essay, Đozo's attack is directed towards what he conceives to be futile and sterile mysticism and messianic expectations which, according to him, have stalled the progress of Muslims.

On the other hand, what Đozo emphasises on numerous occasions is the critique of the materialist approaches to ḥajj in terms of commercial gain.[545] In this context, Đozo consistently insists that the form of the pilgrimage is distinctly separate from its meaning and content, and points out that the latter is more valuable. Đozo, as he says in his Umrah travelogue ''The iftar in Haram-i Sharif'' (*Iftar u Haremi-Šerifu*), yearns for a special vision (*baṣīrah*) in which he will see the procession of prophets and events from prophetic history. The author is trying to discover an inner sense to the rituals, but not in a Sufi way. He is even irritated by the committment of the general populace to the literalist interpretations of the ḥajj, and is moreover looking with pitiful sympathy at certain customs which pilgrims practice while in the vicinity of the Prophet's grave.[546] His rejection of literalism should not be interpreted as a quest for an esoteric understanding of the ritual; Đozo is simply protesting the blind following of rites without realizing their inner

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544 ''Stojim pred Tvojim grobom. Znam da si bio čovjek i da si umro. Ja Ti se ne klanjam niti Te obožavam. Ti si me tako naučio. Tako o Tebi kaže i Kur'an, kojeg si saopćio ljudima.'' Đozo, ''Na grobu posljednjeg Božijeg poslanika,'' Preporod, online edition (24th January, 2015), https://www.preporod.com/index.php/duhovnost/tradicija/item/3291-na-grobu-posljednjeg-bozijeg-poslanika

545 Đozo, ''Hadži Mustafa Sidki-ef. Karabeg – mostarski muftija,'' *Preporod*, VI, no. 12, (115), (1975): 5, in: *Publicistički radovi*, 479.

546 Đozo, ''Na grobu posljednjeg Božijeg poslanika.''

meaning, as subsumed in social action. While discussing the throwing of the rocks on to the pillar symbolizing Satan (*ramy*), the author comments:

''People, not God, need our sacrifice. If a person needs to sacrifice himself, then [he should do so] only for people and society but in the name of God, because in that case every selfishness and ignoble motifs and goals are excluded.''[547]

With a certain patronizing distance the author observes other pilgrims carrying out rituals: these are the masses which expect Mehdi and do not use their spiritual strengths full of potential for social change. The author wants to find an interlocutor who will help him resolve this issue.[548] In the second part of the travelogue, a question is developed: what are the sources of enormous spiritual force which impels people to undertake certain painful rituals and can it be used (for rational, beneficial goals)?[549]

The political changes and tumultuous history of the 1960s brought attention to another sacred place in Islam that had not figured prominently before: Jerusalem/al-Quds. In this context, al-Quds becomes a focal point for political debates revolving around the issues of imperialism, Muslim decline, and revival which are evident through clashes between conservative and progressive thought. Jerusalem/al-Quds is presented as the place of the first *qibla* and the Prophet's Night Journey (*isra* and *mi'rāj*). The authors of this period, and most notably Đozo, are appealing to the sensitivities of Yugoslav Muslims in order to draw their attention to the Palestinian plight.[550]There is a considerable difference between Ljubunčić's lukewarm attitude towards the Palestinian issue and Đozo's proactivist stance. The rising interest in Palestine appears after the events of 1967 and the

[547]''Naše žrtve trebaju ljudima, a ne Bogu. Ako čovjek treba da se žrtvuje, onda samo za ljude i društvo, ali u ime Boga, jer u tom slučaju isključuje se svaka sebičnost i neplemeniti motivi i ciljevi.'' Đozo, ''Iftar u Haremi-šerifu (I dio),'' *Preporod*, VI, no. 123, (1975): 5, in: *Publicistički radovi*, 506.

[548]Đozo,''Iftar u Haremi-šerifu (I dio),'' 507-508.

[549]Husein Đozo, ''Iftar u Haremi-šerifu (II dio),'' *Preporod*, VI, no. 124, (1975): 5, in: *Publicistički radovi*, 509.

[550]Husein Đozo, ''Geneza kriza na Bliskom Istoku,'' *Glasnik*, XXXII, no. 1-2, (1969): 7-10, in: *Publicistički radovi*, 270.

burning of the al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969, which was seen as a key moment in awakening the Islamic spirit, unconfined to nationalistic categorization and nationalism.[551]However, it should be noted that although the author calls for a general Islamic awakening (or general awakening of Muslim peoples), he is mostly preoccupied with what is happening with Arab nations, which is visible from the essay about the Prophet's grave.

Al-Aqsa Mosque is in this context portrayed as both a physical structure and an idea. As a building, it is prone to damage and attack, however, as a symbol, or a receptacle of spirit, it is not easily destroyed. Masjid al-Aqsa (or, rather, its idea), similarly to Mecca and Medina, presents a great latent and potential strength (*predstavlja veliku latentnu i potencijalnu snagu*).[552] Through his use of imagery of different scared places, Đozo wants to emphasize the need for spiritual, moral and intellectual rebirth which would, eventually, lead to political and military changes. Again, as in the case of his essay about the Prophet's grave, Đozo urges against the futility of messianic expectations and appeals to the rational faith of one's own values and strengths.[553]

Such a discourse creates a particular view of ''European progress'', which, however, also receives double treatment. What Đozo constantly attacks is materialism, which he sees as moral degradation. In an effort to resolve the issue of the perceived backwardness of the Muslim world, Đozo uses the old argument of the Muslim world being stuck in stagnant mysticism, while, at the same time, blaming the ''professional 'ulamā'' for this stagnation. In this context, it is important to analyse Đozo's understanding of history as it appears in one of his essays on ḥajj. For Đozo, visiting different ziyārat on the way to ḥajj[554] exposes levels of ignorance, and most importantly, the dire state in which Muslim people

[551]Husein Đozo, ''Povodom paljevine Džamije el-Aksa u Jerusalemu,'' *Glasnik*, XXXII, no. 11-12, (1969): 546-551, in: *Publicistički radovi*, 281-288.

[552]Đozo, ''Povodom paljevine,'' 284.

[553]Đozo, ''Povodom paljevine,'' 285.

[554]He gives an extensive list, such as tombs of Ayyūb al-Ansārī in Istanbul to Muḥy al-Dīn al-ʿArabī in Damascus.

find themselves.[555]History – as present in the tombs of great thinkers and warriors – is not something which Đozo ignores, but rather he tries to draw attention to the necessity of moving forward and not being reduced to the examples offered by these historical events or people.[556] Although he warns against a blind following of the examples set up in history, Đozo lists visiting historical places among some of the purposes of ḥajj.[557]On the other hand, he differentiates this Muslim history from the continuous development of human thought, which accepts its origins in the preislamic period and looks back to them for ever renewed inspiration.[558]

In sum, Đozo's view of ḥajj and the holy places (Mecca, Medina and al-Quds) is based on a dualistic view that there is a form (of performance, of place) which, although relevant, is still secondary to content. Content is presented in the form of an essentialized core of faith, which is connected to constantly developing progress (understood as moral, but not necessarily excluding technological progress). While simultaneously rejecting what he perceives to be stagnant mysticism and Western-influenced materialism, Đozo defines religion (often used interchangeably with ''faith'') as the pivotal characteristic of the soul, which is the divine part of a human being. It contains primordial tension to penetrate, meet totality, and achieve happiness.[559]It is interesting to note that Đozo tries to incorporate quotations from influential European thinkers in his ḥajj narrative, such as Feuerbach, whose analysis of Christianity he supports.[560] The duality of form and content is also transmitted to the level of idea and its application, and ḥajj provides a perfect example of the dichotomy, but also of what he perceives to be a deep misunderstanding of the

[555]Husein Đozo, ''Islam – Hadž,'' *Glasnik*, XXXV, no. 3-4, (1972): 113-121, in: Đozo, *Islam u vremenu*, 390-391.

[556]Đozo, ''Islam – Hadž,'' 392.

[557]Đozo, ''Islam – Hadž,'' 392.

[558]Đozo, ''Islam – Hadž,'' 397-399.

[559]''Ona je data i čini osnovno obilježje duše kao božanskog dijela u čovjeku. Sadrži u sebi iskonsku težnju da se prodre i upozna totalitet i da se ostvari sreća.'' Đozo, ''Iftar u Harem-i Šerifu (II dio),'' 509.

[560]Đozo, ''Iftar u Harem-i Šerifu (II dio),'' 510.

mesage of ritual. Ritual becomes only a starting point for full spiritual and intellectual progress:

''It is not enough to come to Harem, to pray and circumambulate the Ka'ba. Such spiritual refreshments are very necessary, but it is not everything. (...) It is true that these rituals have their mystical side in which the soul finds its peace, joy, delight and refreshment. However, one should not ignore the fact that these rituals have another other side, a deep sense of life. (...) A human being is God's representative on earth. The whole phenomenal world has been placed at his disposal. He will be a sinner lest he accomplishes this mission. It is obvious that it cannot be accomplished solely through prayer. Other means are necessary. Al-Aqsa Mosque could not be defended by prayer only. If prayer does not inspire sacrifice, it is fake and hypocritical. God will not accept a prayer which does not hide a sincere willingness for sacrifice.''[561]

The ḥajj ritual and the imagery Đozo presents have to be observed in the context of Islamic modernism, initiated by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1897), but even more so by Muḥammad Abduh (1849-1905) and Rashīd Riḍa (1865-1935), and the journal al-Manār (published between 1898-1935), behind which lies the adoption of the idea that the Qur'an does not offer details, but general principles and conceptions.[562] Đozo, in that context, adopts Abduh's reduction of the Qur'an to faith. Ḥajj is one of the constant objects of Đozo's modernist endeavour in rethinking the present state of Muslims, and he dismisses the idea that prayer is the only purpose of ḥajj.[563] Instead, he argues a different purpose of Mecca and Medina, which is supposed to be a congress and meeting of people in order to discuss the problems of the Muslim world and find possible solutions.

[561]''Nije dovoljno doći u Harem, moliti se i obilaziti Kabu. Vrlo su potrebna i takva duhovna osvježenja, ali nije to sve. (...) Tačno je da ovi obredi imaju svoju mističnu stranu u kojoj duša nalazi svoj mir, radost, zadovoljstvo i osvježenje. Međutim ne smije se zanemariti činjenica da oni imaju i drugu stranu, duboki životni smisao. (...) Čovjek je Božiji namjesnik na zemlji. Čitav pojavni svijet stavljen mu je na raspolaganje. Biće grješnik ukoliko ne ispuni ovu misiju. Očito, ona se ne može ispuniti samo putem molitve. Potrebna su druga sredstva. Mesdžidi-Aksa nije mogao biti odbranjen samo molitvom. Ako molitva ne podstiče na žrtve lažna je i licemjerna. Bog neće primiti molitvu koja ne krije u sebi iskrenu spremnost na žrtve.'' Đozo, ''Iftar u Harem-i Šerifu (II dio),'' 510-511.

[562]Enes Karić, ''Husein Đozo i islamski modernizam,'' in: Husein Đozo, *Izabrana djela: Islam u vremenu* (Sarajevo: IC El-Kalem/Fakultet islamskih nauka, 2006), 11-12.

[563]''One can pray to God everywhere and in every place.'' (*Bogu se može moliti svagdje i na svakom mjestu*) Husein Đozo, ''Formalizam i izopćavanje islamskih institucija,'' *Glasnik*, XII (XXIV), no. 1-3, (1961): 27-30, in: Husein Đozo, *Izabrana djela: Islam u vremenu* (Sarajevo: IC El-Kalem/Fakultet islamskih nauka Sarajevo, 2006, 190-191.

Đozo's thought has to be interpreted within the framework of the exclusions he makes as well. He considers mystical tendencies embodied in practices of sclerotic Sufi orders and 'ulamā,' immersed in blind following (*taqlīd*) and refusing to accept the reality of new age, as obstacles to development and progress. In the previous passage Đozo's appeal for action is evident and ḥajj becomes a place which should provoke eagerness for sacrifice.[564]

The constant image which is repeated in the ḥajj narratives of this period is one of presenting Bosnian Muslims as the potential saviours of the Muslim world. While Ljubunčić underlined Bosnian Muslims' contribution to the People's Liberation Struggle, other authors are keen on insisting that Islam has been preserved in Yugoslavia, even though Bosnian Muslims suffered different wars and systematic deprivations. Moreover, this discourse is further developed and includes certain interpretations of religious issues by Bosniak 'ulamā' as an indication of their intellectual advancement.[565] The sense of superiority is dominant in passages that compare the small Yugoslav community of Muslims to the rest of the Muslim world, where this community is presented as more advanced in spiritual and intellectual progress.[566]

It is important to note, though, that the progress ascribed to Bosnian Muslims is also embedded, self-admittedly, into the socialist framework. Although Đozo allots a great deal of time to criticizing unabashed modernity, and although he emphasizes the need for a return to ideas and values devoid of contextual impurities, his own view of the socialist realities in which Yugoslav Muslims live is not necessarily portrayed in negative terms. According to this narrative, socialism allowed Muslims to develop themselves and look for institutional help from the state, thereby exercising their rights and continuously progressing. Also, socialism

[564]The period in which Đozo writes is also marked by an increased call for activism and Muslim unity, as evidenced by the controversial ''Islamic Declaration'' written by Alija Izetbegović (1925-2003) originally in 1969-70.

[565]An example is measuring the time for Ramadan which is not dependant on moonsighting. Đozo, ''Iftar u Harem-i Šerifu (III dio),'' *Preporod*, VI, no. 125, (1975): 5, in: *Publicistički radovi*, 514-515.

[566]Đozo, ''Na grobu posljednjeg Božijeg poslanika.''

and the socialist state presented a framework in which Đozo worked and conceived a viable future for the Yugoslav Muslim community. It is interesting to note that one of the authors Đozo cites in relation to the conception of ḥajj as an all-Islamic congress is Gamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣar.[567]

While postwar narratives, and later on travelogues and essays written in the high period of socialist Yugoslavia, had a firmly defined attitude towards what they perceived to be residues of dormant mysticism that was still obstructing the Muslim world, ḥajj narratives written by Sufi oriented individuals continued to exist. They emerged together with other voices from the margins, including the first ḥajj narratives of women.

5.3.2 Return of the Sufi Narrative

In 1969, Shaykh Fejzulah Hadžibajrić from Sarajevo went on a ḥajj and wrote a travel account.[568] This travelogue offers an alternative perspective to views of ḥajj and ḥajj imagery in the socialist period. The second half of the 20th century witnessed a high proliferation of supplement material (guidebooks, treatises on proper fullfilment of the rituals) which reflected the increasing numbers of pilgrims each year and a high demand for such texts. The beginning of Hadžibajrić's travelogue mentions the ḥajj material published by The Islamic Supreme Council of Elders (*Vrhovno islamsko starješinstvo*) which made the author wish to go on ḥajj. The author, however, places his decision to go on ḥajj as the resolution behind esoteric causes and reasons.[569] From the very beginning of the travelogue, God's predestination is emphasized, which stands in contrast to Đozo's fervent emphasis on human action. Likewise, holy places for Hadžibajrić carry an innate value as ''the two Muslim sacred places privileged by God, where one experiences the pulse of

[567] Đozo, ''Formalizam i izopćavanje islamskih institucija,'' 191.

[568] Fejzulah Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi* (Stockholm/Tuzla: MOS-BeMUF/Harfograf, 2002).

[569] Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 13.

bloodstream of truth and content of faith. These impressions are never redundant to renew, even if that means repetition.''[570]

In Hadžibajrić's narrative, particular topoi are repeated: while the common depiction of ḥajj as an all-Islamic congress persists,[571] the fate of Palestine, and especially al-Quds, are considered to be punishments for Muslims. Palestine presents a reference point for discussions of the failure and decline of the Muslim world. However, in Hadžibajrić's account, late Ottoman history is reinterpreted and Sultan Abdul Hamid is given a new revered place for his love of Palestine. Palestine is also a place where ''one has to admire the persistence of the Jews to establish their state in Palestine''.[572]

Fejzulah Hadžibajrić's ḥajj itinerary allowed him to visit a large number of places in Turkey, Iraq and Syria. The journey included visits to different types of places known as ziyārat, which, in contrast to earlier travelogues, brings awareness to sectarian differences of people encountered on the way. In that context the author wants to use the opportunity to elaborate more about the Sufi path. The insistence on delineating different sects in Islam (something which was not mentioned by Ljubunčić or Đozo) can be interpreted as an effort to carve out a place for the neglected Sufi presence. This Sufi presence was visible through a slightly renewed interest in the Ottoman past,[573] inquiries into connectivities about traditional ways of learning (teaching of Mathnawi),[574]references to Persian language and literature,[575] and *zikr* activities which the ḥajjis did on the way, in addition to their meetings within a wider Sufi network.[576]A stark contrast to Đozo's narrative is

[570]''dva Bogom odabrana muslimanska svetišta, gdje se doživljuju utisci prema pulsu krvotoka istine i sadržaja vjere. Ove utiske nije suvišno nikada obnavljati, makar to bilo i ponavljanje.'' Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 15.

[571]Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi*, 15.

[572]Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 57.

[573]Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 18.

[574]Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 18.

[575]At one point, Hadžibajrić cites a Persian verse on Ka'ba, Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 42.

[576]Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 22-23.

evident in a different treatment of history: prophetic stories and narratives about Muslim rulers permeate the travelogue in a way which would be judged by the previous author as sclerotic and anti-progressive.

Hadžibajrić's Sufi narrative had another purpose as well: to delineate borders between Sunni and Shi'i sects and to point to their underlying unity[577] and, even more concretely, carve out space for the Hanafi madhab.[578] The focus on Islamic sects can be interpreted as a way make space for Sufism, which has often come under the accusation of being pro-Shi'i. In this context, the crucial bits of Muslim history are given a Sufi interpretation.[579] For example, Hasan, the Prophet's grandson who, unlike his brother Hussain, decided not to fight Mu'awiya, the Umayad caliph, is depicted as possessing wisdom which inspired him to give up the fight for political and religious reasons. Consequently, he achieved the level of a spiritual pole (*qutb*) thanks to preventing civil war.[580]

For Hadžibajrić visiting Baghdad presents an opportunity to reconnect with members of the Qadarī tariqa of which he was head in Bosnia. This, again, provides an opportunity to present the state of Bosnian Muslims to new fellow-Sufi audience. Setting up and preserving various international links seems to be a predominant motif in all 20th-century Bosnian ḥajj literature; what Hadžibajrić's travelogue adds to it are Sufi networks, which provide additional material for investigating transnational connections, which included the transmission of cultural

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[577]The key difference between them is, as Hadžibajrić states, the question of leadership or imamah. Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 27.

[578]The importance of established madhāhib becomes even more prominent in the later part of the travelogue, where the Wahhabi assault on the tombs is ascribed to their development in isolation from other Islamic legal schools of thought. Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 34.

[579]The most obvious example is Hadžibajrić's description of Kaba in relation to other heavenly spheres. Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 35-36.; as well as his description of the circumambulation experienced as the burning of the moth which circulates around light (36-37). The Ka'ba was also depicted as a magnet. (37)

[580]Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 27-28.

and religious capital.[581] Preoccupation with self-image is evident in this travelogue as well: at a random stop in Saudi Arabia, Shaykh Hadžibajrić explains the difference between ethnic and religious Muslims to a couple of Palestinian teachers.[582]

Just as is the case with previous travelogues, tracing down the post-Ottoman links connecting Bosnia to Hijaz was one of the predominant motifs.[583] These links mostly include references to stories about Bosnian scholars in Hijaz, or families settled in Arab countries in the course of the 20th century. Ḥajj, again, becomes a foray into a lost past.

However, unlike earlier travelogues from the 20th century, Hadžibajrić's narrative gives more insight into the intimate experience of travel:

''(...) the voice came to me as if from the other world. Standing in prayer, watching Kaba, listening to the sounds of the Qur'an, whose words were as if spoken by the heart, cannot be compared by grace to anything known by common humans. Allah sees you everywhere, wherever you pray you are in front of Him, but here next to Ka'ba it is still different, closer and more intimate. Still, in every moment there is awe (mehaabet) and that which is stronger than love (mehabbet). In Medina, next to Revzai-Mutahhera, mehabbet is stronger than mehaabet.''[584]

The comparison of Mecca and Medina reminds one of hierarchical structures of *faḍā`il* described in the first chapter. The author even tries to prove that Medina

[581]Connections visible through ḥajj also bring out recent developments on the religious-activist scene. See, for example, Hadžibajrić's meeting of tablighis in Mecca, or even his encounter with Shaykh Nasiruddin al-Albani (1914-1999), a famous ḥadīth scholar and a prominent figure in 20th-century Salafism. The investigation of transnational links of Bosnian Muslims remains an understudied phenomenon.

[582]Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 32.

[583]At a certain point, tracing connections between Hijaz and Bosnia acquires a dimension of spatial imagery, such as, for example, the part of the travelogue when Hadžibajrić likens the Arefat valley and other ritual places to Sarajevo. Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 35.

[584]''(...) glas mi je dolazio kao sa drugog svijeta. Stajanje u namazu, gledajući očima u Kabu, i slušajući zvuke Kur'ana čije riječi kao da srce govori, neuporedivo je po milini i ni sa čim što znaju obični ljudi. Allah te vidi svugdje, i gdje god klanjaš pred Njim si, ali tu kod Kabe ipak je drugačije, bliže i intimnije. Ipak, u svakom tome momentu prisutno je strahopoštovanje (mehaabet) i ono što je jače od ljubavi (mehabbet). U Medini kod Revzai-Mutahhere mehabbet je jači od mehaabeta.'' Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 37.

is dearer to Bosniaks than Ka'ba.[585] Hadžibajrić describes a different personal experience when in the vicinity of the Prophet's grave:

> ''The reality that you are in front of the Prophet is piercing, and it brings on a feeling of endearment, which is not describable. It is not possible that a human being, who knows himself at least superficially, does not believe in God. The awareness that you are a being upon which virtures are bestowed, uplifts one to the highest nobility the fact that you are a slave of God, and not of a human.''[586]

The emphasis on servitude to God rather than to a human has to be interpreted within the context of the Saudi attitude towards Sufi orders and activities, which were often misinterpreted as tomb-worshipping. Thus, it is possible that Hadžibajrić is preemptively explaining the Sufi approach to the ziyārāt in order to avoid criticism. In the same way, he is against the profanization of love for the Prophet's family (*ahl al-bayt*), which he considers might stem from ignorance.[587] Descriptions of Medina are, again similarly to *faḍā`il*, related to the pervading feeling of love which overcomes any accusation of negative innovation (*bidʿa*).

These alternative voices, which we have tried to present in the second part of the chapter, point to a strong rethinking of tradition, innovation, social and ideological circumstances, including the role of the state in regulating religious practice and, the rethinking of religion in a staunchly secularized context. Earlier in the chapter, we saw how as late as 1969, the 'ulamā' discussed the issue of women on ḥajj. Regardless of the outcome of this debate, women were going on ḥajj in increasing numbers, evidenced through the annual ḥajji lists in *Glasnik*. The first ḥajj travelogue written by a woman appeared in 1970, and it was written by Razija Hegić, and describes her itinerary and impressions of ritual.[588] The travelogue was

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[585] Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 51.

[586] ''Stvarnost da si pred Pejgamberom prožima te i budi čuvstvo miline i to nije moguće ni kazati. Nije moguće da čovjek, koji makar i površno spozna sebe, ne vjeruje Boga. Svijest da si biće obdareno savršenstvima, dovodi do pijedestala najveće časti da si rob, ali Božji, a ne čovjekov.'' Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 46.

[587] Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi,* 48.

[588] Razija Hegić, ''Utisci sa puta na hadž,'' *Glasnik* (1970): 305-308.

heavily edited by the journal, and prefaced by a short remark which emphasized the necessity for ḥajj reportages or travelogues to be original and interesting. Razija Hegić went on ḥajj two years prior to sending her travelogue to the journal and the editors comment heavily on the text of her travelogue. In terms of themes in Hegić's travelogue, they revolve around the common topics of devotion and amazement at the diversity encountered on ḥajj. What is important, however, is the fact that this particular author appears several times in different places in the journal,[589] suggesting that for the first time in history, Bosnian Muslim women decided to describe their religious experiences in the public sphere. The tradition of ḥajj writing continues among Muslim women, but it is confined to family circles,[590] or limited to fiqh discussions about different the facets of the ritual when performed by a woman.[591]

5.4 Conclusion

Ḥajj literature after WWII shows particular continuities with the earlier period, most notably in terms of genre and a vast use of printed media, albeit controlled by the government. The travelogue remains the main ḥajj genre, followed by the essay and other accompanying material in the form of guidebooks or reportages. Although censorship stifled the growth of ḥajj literature, it is evident that changes in transport and means of travel led to a significant increase in travelogues and accompanying literature, which consequentially led to a proliferation of different authorities interpreting ḥajj.[592]

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[589]Razija Hegić also appears as one of the people sending questions to Husein Đozo for a fatwa. At one occasion, she sent a question about permissibility of praying with nail lacquer. See more in: Sejad Mekić, *A Muslim Reformist,* 145.

[590]An interesting example is the travelogue of Hidajeta Mirojević in 1981, who went on ḥajj with her friend Safija Šiljak, by car even through Saudi Arabia. The travelogue depicts feelings of double belonging to Yugoslavia and to the Muslim world. The travelogue has, however, remained confined to the family circle until 2014, when it was published by the family in a very limited number of copies.

[591]Subhija Skenderović, ''Žena i hadž – propisi i praksa,'' *Islamska misao*, (1983): 28-30.

[592]That corresponds with the conclusion that ''challenges to authority revolve around rights to interpret.'' Eickelman and Anderson, ''Redefining Muslim Publics,'' 6.

What changes, however, is the political importance given to ḥajj. The idea of pilgrimage shifts from a mirror-image to new socialist realities in Yugoslavia, to potential social action and a prospective, to its final return to the image of ḥajj as a profound spiritual experience. Unlike Krpo and Čokić, whose vision of Mecca and Medina was shaped by realities of the new Saudi state, post-WWII authors are somewhat disillusioned by the lack of Muslim unity.

In that context, there are two clashing temporalities in the depictions of ḥajj: on the one hand, there is awareness that the present has reached its apex (in its shape of progress and advancement); on the other, there is a tendency to depict the upcoming future, which has to be ushered in by a revived Muslim spirit and activism, which can take root at the sacred places. In relation to this, contemporary history exerts influence on the imagery: Palestine becomes a key political issue reflecting firstly a preoccupation with the fate of the third holy site (al-Quds), and, secondly, because it presented a reference point for the notion of decline and regression of the Muslim world.

The ''Ottoman ghost'' remains constant in ḥajj narratives, reflecting itself in depictions of the still undemolished architecture, as well as in a wide network of connectivities, including educational and scholarly circles, muhājir genealogies, religious and cultural customs (waqf; pious endowments for Mecca and Medina); circulation of books (Mathnawī) and languages (Ottoman Turkish, Persian). While the relation to Ottoman heritage and history was fraught with silences and gaps, the relation to modern-day Turkey – seen as its successor state – is either portrayed with praise or with dismissal. What the travelogues testify to is even broader than retracing the Ottoman past; the authors are trying to connect and reconnect with a wider Muslim scholarly and spiritual network across national borders.[593]

Finally, ḥajj and visits to sacred places provided the authors with a mission of self-representation. From Ljubunčić who clearly understood his ḥajj journey to carry several political tasks, to Hadžibajrić who relayed specific developments in Bosniak

[593]Sometimes across sectarian borders as well. See the meeting of Nāsiruddīn al-Albānī and Hadžibajrić. Hadžibajrić, *Putopisi i nekrolozi*, 62.

nationhood to willing recipients, these accounts show that ḥajj presented a mirror-image to an often problematic triangle of identity-state-religion.

6. Conclusion

In 1991, just before the crippling war that would break up Yugoslavia, an international seminar on ḥajj was held in Zagreb, presumably under the auspices of the Islamic Community. Participants of the seminar, who came from Sarajevo, London and Tehran, spoke about ḥajj as a unifying phenomenon, its potential to vanquish the spiritual and economic oppressors of the Muslim world, and its necessity in times without caliphate. In a peculiarly self-reflexive way, throughout the 20th century, ḥajj became a replacement for a perceived lack of authority in the Muslim world, and thus became an authority which is spiritual and emotional rather than political.

This thesis is, therefore, a story about belonging. It looks at the development of ḥajj writings of Muslims in Bosnia from the early centuries of Ottoman rule to the late 20th century, tracing changes in literacy and language, as well as genre, and tries to see how ḥajj affected observations of place. Images of sacred places, moreover, reveal how a sense of belonging was not straightforward, but implied a complex set of connectivities which reflected not only individual preferences and proclivities, but also a strong social push which shaped spatial imagery. Belonging itself came in different forms. Post-Ottoman and post-caliphate spiritual and emotional lacunae showed one possible mode of belonging; the Ottoman period presented a different set of relations in which ḥajj was embedded. Ḥajj literature reflected these changes and ruptures, but it also showed how, although the centrality of holy places was contested over the span of four centuries, the ḥajj journey consistently reflected the intellectual, emotional or ideological priorities of its authors.

The idea that ḥajj literature reflects wider issues, and that it also shapes them, led to the construction of a methodological triad: social context – genre – spatial imagery. These three elements were not equally represented in the study, since the focus was on the ways ḥajj and sacred places were depicted. However, in stressing the importance of social context, and, consequentially, textual choices in the form

of genre, I tried to argue against different facets of exceptionalisms, whether geographic, historic or literary, and therefore to prove a range of connectivities which bind considerations of the holy.

The first chapter of the thesis ''Arguments of Sanctity'' discusses the emergence of ḥajj literature in Ottoman writers of Bosnian origin. This chapter posits the first works containing ḥajj imagery in early Ottoman Bosnia, and emphasises the processes of Islamization and Ottomanization in education. Incorporation of the Bosnian province into the Ottoman Empire meant an influx of new knowledge and the adoption of the three languages (Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian) for the learned elites. There was a flow towards Istanbul and other imperial centres of learning for newly Islamized populations, which explains why the first works on ḥajj appear in these centres, instead of in Bosnia. The flow of people, books and ideas contributed to the emergence of ''local cosmopolitanism'', in which the authors stemmed from a province (as evidenced by their name al-Būsnawī), but moved to other geographical centres, of which Mecca and Medina were the most important. The careers and lives of authors speak of their cosmopolitanism: `Ali Dede al-Būsnawī lived in different provinces of the empire, including Hijaz; `Abdullah al-Būsnawī lived in Arab provinces but died in Konya; and although we do not know much about Imām-zāde Ḥasan al-Būsnawī, after a period of *mujāwara* in Medina, he sent an autograph of his work to Bosnia and probably lived in one of the Anatolian cities. The authors addressed a learned Ottoman audience in Arabic, and their life paths reflect the common migration patterns of the scholarly elite.

In terms of genre, ḥajj imagery was conveyed by the use of classical Arabic forms of *faḍā'il* and *'awā'il*, as well as the form of *sharḥ*. These genres allowed for constructing different claims of sanctity. *Faḍā'il* offers observations of Mecca and Medina in terms of hierarchical contest in virtue and value, the *`awā'il* places them in a framework of different temporalities, while the *sharḥ* of Ibn 'Arabī's work shows the external and internal aspects of holy places. The works which were under analysis were `Ali Dede's *Tamkīn al-maqām fī masjid al-ḥarām,* the combination of the faḍā'il and 'awā'il on sanctity of Mecca, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī's *al-Yad al-ajwad fī istilām al-ḥajar al-aswad* on esoteric values of pilgrimage and Ḥasan Imām-zāde

al-Būsnawī's *Dalīl al-sā'irīn 'ilā ziyārat ḥabīb Rabb al-'ālamīn,* a *faḍā'il* work on the virtues of Medina.

Since all three of these works rely heavily on different textual authorities (the Qur'an, ḥadīth, Sufi and common lore as transmitted by numerous authoritative figures), they present several key arguments on the sanctity of Mecca and Medina. Those arguments are primarily soteriological – that a ritual accomplished in these places would lead to salvation in the next life. They are also esoterical – proximity to God can be reached through or with the help of intercession of prophets. Objects and arguments that appealed to the common life concerns, such as healing diseases and enhancing one's wellbeing, were also presented as a part of the argument of sanctity.

The way holy places are presented also includes a particular temporal dimension. Mecca and Medina, as well as ḥajj, were presented in an ahistorical manner, which portayed these places as unchangeable and having a fixed place in the cosmological order.

While Mecca and Medina retain this position in the next period, their atemporality is later juxtaposed to an increased interest in the common and the mundane on the journey to ḥajj. This is the subject of the second chapter, under the title ''Paths to the Sacred'' which analyses the sudden surge in works written throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, with a particular focus on travelogues written in that period. As this chapter argues, changes in social context, which led to greater mobility and the rise of self-reflexivity, also led to a rise in the number of writings about different aspects of ḥajj. Moreover, not only ḥajj writing, but also Christian writing about pilgrimage to Jerusalem increases in this period, which elicits drawing on parallels between these two practices, and the literary output produced in this period. As one of the social changes in this period, the change of language has to be emphasized, since the authors are using Ottoman Turkish instead of Arabic, which is also reflected in the increasing number of translations of *manāsik* ('guidebook') literature.

The guidebook texts circulated in high numbers as the travelogue genre was making its entrance onto the scene of ḥajj writings. This chapter focused on two travelogues (by Yūsuf Livnjak and Mustafa Mukhliṣī) and on one *mecmua* (by Derviş Mustafa). Travelogues were written in both prose and poetry, and ranged from short depictions of ḥajj itinerary to elaborate portrayals of different ziyārat places which gain more textual emphasis than Mecca and Medina. In that sense, and related to both the previous chapter (''The Arguments of Sanctity'') and the Christian writings, this chapter also juxtaposes two different traditions of writing about pilgrimage and holy sites. In both Christian and Muslim writings, two different traditions were prominent in two different respective periods. In the pre-16th-century period, the proskynetarion genre was popular among the Christian pilgrims from the Balkans, depicting the holy land in a static atemporal framework, corresponding to the previously discussed *faḍā'il* literature. In the 17th century onwards, however, both Christian and Muslim writings show an engagement with the temporal world of the journey, and an increasing interest in the mundane, transitory and environmental. Also significant to this period is the rising preoccupation with local and regional markers: ethnic stereotypes start to dominate travelogues. In that context, the rise of the local consciousness is particularly visible. The authors are strongly identifying themselves with their origins, one of the reasons being that they, unlike the authors from the previous period, were not local cosmopolitans. Instead, the audience they were writing for was still limited to those literate enough to read Ottoman, though local, as indicated by circulation of manuscripts.

The rise of consciousness of locality is why ḥajj imagery changes significantly in this period. While the pilgrimage goal is clearly stated and supported by textual sources, and while there is a change of linguistic register when describing holy places or experiences of encountering them, the major focus of the texts is on the places seen on the way there and phenomena related to the journey, and not to the goal. Instead, the shift to the ziyārat, and their descriptions and narration of stories related to them, is in the focus of these travelogues. Ziyārat are distinguished for their role in intercession, thus, again, bringing the soteriological argument into

discussion. However, while intercession remains a slightly blurry topic for these travelogue authors, it can be stated that there was at least a certain hierarchy of sanctity. In that hierarchy, the elevated places of Mecca and Medina were not questioned, but textual priority was given to the numerous places of dispersed *barakah* on the way.

The rupture caused by Ottoman withdrawal in 1878, and the Austro-Hungarian occupation created a string of transformations, which, consequentially, ushered in the age of overt politicization of ḥajj imagery. The third chapter under the title ''The Sacred and the Political'' discusses the Ottoman aftermath and the change of ḥajj imagery under the new circumstances. While the dimension of imperial rule and overseeing of ḥajj is predominant in premodern ḥajj writings, mostly as a background to the pilgrimage, in the new, ruptured age there is a direct portrayal of these holy places and their rituals as posessing political value, with the implicit recognition of their symbolical power.

This chapter, therefore, deals with post-Ottoman transformations with regard to changed literacy. Arabic and Ottoman Turkish were still used, especially in the first decades after the occupation; with the decline of bilingual journals they were slowly pushed out by Bosnian. Consequentially, the script also changed, pushing out the Arabic script and giving Latin and Cyrillic a greater presence. Changes in literacy were accompanied by transformations in print publishing, which meant widening reading audiences. Ḥajj, in other words, changed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Social context as evidenced in observations of material circumstances was not the only aspect of change. Ḥajj writings were developing under the pressure of intellectual changes as well. Change of literacy led to a rise in different reading practices and hitherto unchallenged traditions and rites were now exposed in front of both Muslim and non-Muslim audiences. This is why a large part of the chapter dealt with tracing down the development of the idea of ḥajj in its different facets as presented to diverse and widening audiences. In that context, both the factor of different state structures (Austro-Hungarian Empire, and later Kingdom of

Yugoslavia) and continuing intellectual networks with scholarly elites in the Muslim world, shaped views on ḥajj and placed the importance of the pilgrimage further beyond purely ritualistic (with all the meanings which ḥajj had as listed in the previous chapter). In the post-Ottoman period, ḥajj becomes a replacement for a loss in political authority and its role as gathering place and activity of a large number of believers takes precedence over any other meaning it had had before.

This chapter analyses a range of different works, but mostly focuses on two travelogues by Muhamed Krpo and Ibrahim Hakki Čokić, while also engaging the latter's polemics with Ismet Varatanović. In terms of genre, it is evident how the form of the travelogue became dominant, completely supressing classical Arabic genres. Also, the use of photography and the serialized publishing made travelogues available and more appealing to a larger number of people.

Ḥajj becomes politicized in a number of different ways. Firstly, it is made a metonymic representation of Islam (which was reified in the process). Presentation takes precedence over the meaning of the ritual. Secondly, ḥajj (and Mecca and Medina) is essentialized in a way which subsumes all the different facets of the ritual and its lived practice under the rubric of an idealized gathering which would ameliorate the crisis of lack authority in the Muslim world. In other words, ḥajj became a replacement for the lack of a Caliphate.

The fourth chapter under the title ''The Holy and the Homeland'' discusses the further developments of ḥajj imagery in the context of its changed meaning and politization. After the Communist victory in WWII, radical transformations in education and in the role religion played in the public sphere brought on changes in presentation and representation. However, as the 20th century continued, different voices started being heard, driven by politics, but not necessarily pressed by socialist life circumstances.

In that context, this chapter analyses the emergence of the state-controlled narrative about ḥajj, which is embedded in a wider network of international relations. Namely, ḥajj became a tool not only for the authors who projected their own ideological aspirations onto it, but also for larger state structures, which used it

as a means for promoting the Yugoslav image in the Muslim world. The awareness of multiple audiences – local which read the travelogues, and global Muslim (presented by intellectual and political elites) – which the Yugoslav ḥajj delegation interacted with during the pilgrimage, is seen in the first ḥajj writings of the postwar period. Just as it was the case in the previous period, changes in print culture brought on ḥajj writings being more broadly dispersed, even though censorship exerted a powerful influence on the production of religious literature.

As the period of early communism passed, different writings about ḥajj continued to appear. The genre used was not only the travelogue, but also essays, reportages and poetry, as well as a broad range of guidebook forms. The journalistic form allowed not only established authors, but also anyone willing, to publish an itinerary account or a reportage. The authors also interacted with each other, as evidenced by Spahić-Ljevaković polemics about female ḥajj in 1969.

Ḥajj imagery changed in multiple ways in the postwar period. Since presenting Yugoslavia to different audiences as a part of the socialist project was no longer paramount, different imaginings of ḥajj occur. In a modernist vein, ḥajj was presented as an unrealized potential for the progress and advancement of Muslims. This vision was built on a binaristic approach to the ritual: form is to be regarded secondary, and content, which is actually the moving force behind progress, primary. This vision of the ritual is, therefore, strongly anthropocentric, which is what distinguishes it from the Sufi oriented vision of the ritual.

At the same time, alternative ḥajj imagery starts to appear. Sufi interpretations of the ritual offer a different reading of the binary form – content, as well as a renewed interest in prophetic narratives. Also, previously marginalized voices begin to appear, as evidenced by the small rise in women's ḥajj literature. Ḥajj literature is, ever increasingly, a textual medium which reflects political preoccupations. Ḥajj remains to be observed as an authoritative ritual which, symbolically or practically, serves as a replacement for the lack of Caliphate.

After this short overview of the key chapters of the thesis, the rest of the conclusion will point to further directions which can be taken. There are several

movements on larger and smaller scales to be commented on. Starting from the main premise of the thesis, that ḥajj literature – understood in its broad definition as texts relating to the phenomenon of ḥajj and focused on holy places of Mecca, Medina and – albeit rarely – Bayt al-Maqdis – is a medium which both reflects historical and cultural changes, and consequently, creates and recreates new modes of looking at space and time, several conclusions can be drawn, which point to a corresponding number of ''movements'' to be elaborated in this chapter. Two approaches, sociological and spatial, have informed the formulations of these movements, but they do not necessarily overlap. This discussion will, therefore, point to the major developments that can be drawn from the four key chapters, in order to indicate their interconnectivity, but also specificity of each.

There are five underlying movements which can be discerned from the analysis of ḥajj literature. The specific ordering of chapters and the long duration of the project allowed for analysing the movements in their full development, and observing ensuing changes on the way. The investigation of ḥajj literature brings insight to the major accompanying transformations which took place simultaneously and in close contact to ḥajj practice, which is indicated to by the structure of each chapter. Choices and changes in language, literacy and genre were deeply related to wider social and political transformations (e.g. Islamization, decentralization of the Empire, change of empires, 20th century wars and realities, including thorough and multifaceted engagement with modernity). Alterations and modifications in terms of language and genre were not peculiar to ḥajj genres and texts – but these materials faithfully reflected these changes. More than texts on other rituals (e.g. prayer, fast, almsgiving), ḥajj literature engaged with a wider context in a more profound way.

This is precisely where the first movement – of observation of ḥajj literature as a mediator between space and world – comes into question. It corresponds to the main hypothesis of our work that ḥajj literature is a textual mediator, which is embedded in domains of signification that are mediated at the same time (materiality, aesthetics). In other words, ḥajj literature both reflects the particular context and affects it accordingly by shaping spatial imagery, imbuing it with

different nuances of meaning. Inspired by Brinkley Messick's initiative to look for links between ''the literary processes behind the constitution of authority in texts and the social and political processes involved in articulating the authority of texts,''[594] I have tried to point to the main processes behind the emergence and further development of ḥajj literature. This is where the issue of authority comes into play: Ḥajj literature reflects the political and cultural tendencies of the respective age, and becomes a textual agent of particular claims or, simply, common concerns of that period. This consequentially reflects the variability in way ḥajj was perceived throughout the centuries. Secondly, it also shows the shifting form of ḥajj literature as mediator, where the question of genre becomes crucial to the analysis. Since genre presents a particular way to organize knowledge, ḥajj literature can be observed as repositories of spatial knowledge, with their focus on holy places.

The first chapter shows how political and intellectual realities of the late 16th/early 17th centuries shaped perceptions of Mecca and Medina in presenting them as domains of ultimate centrality, but at the same time, as spaces which bolster imperial claims (sometimes, as in the case of `Ali Dede's treatise, chiliastic claims as well). This particular period in ḥajj literature reflects the overarching dominance of Ibn Arabi's thought, as well as the revival of ḥadīth study in Medina. In light of several historical and intellectual narratives, and through the use of classical Arabic genres which shifted accordingly to reflect new authorities and new tendencies, all these factors shape peculiar images of Mecca and Medina.

The increase in travel and writing possibilities in the 17th and 18th centuries onwards ushered in the genre of travelogue, which profoundly changed the way ḥajj and holy places were portrayed. The focus shifts from Mecca and Medina to pilgrimage journey itself, which is the subject of the second chapter. Places of alternative devotion (such as ziyārat) gain prominence, and comparisons to points of origin and other aspects of the ḥajj journey (e.g. environmental, social, ethnic)

[594] Brinkley Messick, *The Calligraphic State*, 1.

begin to emerge. Unlike ḥajj treatises described in the first chapter, travelogues are mediators not only for the ʿulamāʾ, but also for the common public.

The third and the fourth chapter focus on the mediating role of travelogues, albeit in two different ways. The late 19th and early 20th century witnessed profound technological changes which affected the ḥajj journey. Moreover, political ideologies began to assert themselves on the narrative in an unprecedented way, with panislamist rhetoric colouring ḥajj imagery and placing Mecca and Medina as spaces of imminent hope and reform. Depictions of Mecca and Medina are strongly embedded not just into religious but also into social and political expectations which get transposed onto other places as well (e.g. Cairo). The fourth chapter deals with ḥajj literature created in the tumultuous period after WWII, which remains attached to the political dimension of the era and presents a variety of modernist voices which speak about Mecca and Medina as sites of unactualized potentiality. In both cases, however, and increasingly in the latter period, ḥajj literature becomes a mediator for larger masses, accomplished by the switch to Bosnian language and Latin alphabet which occured already in the late 19th century.

As a mediator, ḥajj literature reflects different types of changes in perspective, which is the subject of the second movement, which deals with localizing and universalizing tendencies. In its depiction of Mecca, Medina and the ḥajj ritual, Bosnian authors have fluctuated between all-encompassing perspectives that did not leave space for any geographical specification or imposition of regional/local identities to more narrow visions where ethnic/regional/local identities started figuring more prominently in texts. Thus, a movement from (textually) universal to narrowly local can be discerned as a pattern which, in itself, allows other elements to emerge, or disappear.

The first chapter of the thesis presents three treatises (`Ali Dede al-Būsnawī, `Abdullah al-Būsnawī and Ḥasan Imām-zāde) which were focused solely on the holy places of Mecca and Medina. Coming at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries, at the peak of Islamization in the Bosnian province, these works present a broad universalist vision of holy places and pilgrimage shaped by

intellectual currents of the period. They engage with the Text (understood broadly as ḥadīth, but also as works of Sufi authors such as Ibn ʿArabī, as well as the erudite al-Suyūṭī and others) in such a manner that its audience cannot be limited to the newly Islamized literate members of the region. By following their scholarly paths, and through analysis of the texts employed in shaping the image of holy places in their works, it can be assumed that the intended audience was comprised of similarly educated, Arabic or Ottoman Turkish speaking ʿulamāʾ spread across the Empire. This universalist outlook, combined with heavy reliance on textual sources, creates a peculiar vision of an atemporal holy place, delineated through engagements with the imperial chiliastic narrative, the profound influence of Ibn ʿArabī and the revival of ḥadīth learning. This vision of Mecca and Medina is placed in the context of their soteriological function, with a particular emphasis on *bāṭin* ('inner') experience of the pilgrimage (in the case of ʾAli Dede and ʾAbdullah al-Būsnawī's treatises). The particular sunnitization of the Empire found one of its outlets in the promotion of Prophet Muhammad's figure, as well as Medina as his place of burial, which is reflected in the emphasis on the Prophetic body (see Ḥasan Imām-zāde's *faḍāʾil*).

This universalist outlook, however, began to change in the course of the 17th century. The change of material circumstances which eased possibilities of travel, combined with new literary practices brought a profound change in writing form, but also in the development of self, as expressed in travelogues and itineraries of the new period. The Ottoman ḥajj project, however, included support of a string of ziyārat on the way – which is what brought the attention of the pilgrims to multiple spaces instead of focusing only on Mecca and Medina. A double movement happens in this period: one where places of ziyārat obtain the same significance as Mecca and Medina, and one where places encountered become compared to localities of origin. What is discernible is a peculiar consciousness of difference between self and the Other (in terms of geographical, linguistic or ethnic belonging), and the emergence of regional references which, in full complexity, offer the view that ḥajj was not conceived primarily – or at all – as a journey for a thorough interaction with the Other. Localizing tendencies can be observed in

prescriptive literature as well: in order to cater for non-ʿulamāʾ audiences, there is an increase in *manāsik* in Ottoman Turkish.

This localizing tendency continues in the following periods as well. However, localizing impulses are expressed in a different manner: while Ottoman authors simply compared, post-Ottomans one project a range of emotions on places on the way to ḥajj, with its peak being their portrayal of Mecca and Medina as places containing potential hope, renewal and rebirth. In this respect, local and global concerns are intertwined and projected onto the ḥajj experience, which becomes a social, political and intellectual endeavour as well. Unlike the previous corpus of texts, Bosnian ḥajj authors of the post-Ottoman period place Mecca and Medina as the focal point of their narrative, with other places (such as Cairo) emerging as alternatives to the capital of former Empire.

The tendency to project aspirations of immediate or pending social and religious transformation onto Mecca and Medina significantly changes after WWII. Localizing tendencies become stronger, and self-reflexivity in terms of regional distinctiveness pervades travel accounts, which corresponds to the augmentation of ''one's sense of place''.[595] Mecca and Medina, however, remain focal points in all different considerations; they are mediators for different aspirations and projections. It is important to note that as strongly as authors pushed for the distinctiveness of Bosnian Muslims on ḥajj, the very idea of Muslim world and unity came onto the scene more prominently.[596]

The movement from local to universal further develops into considering the relations between the individual and the collective in spatial imaginary in greater depth. From the mystical and textual thoughts on Mecca and Medina in the first chapter, which show the all-encompassing vision of atemporal holy places and pilgrimage, to the first glimpses of the individual perspective in the second chapter,

[595] Robert T. Tally, *Spatiality* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 14. Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 2013, p. 14

596 A critique of the idea of ''Muslim unity'' can be seen from: Faisal Devji, https://aeon.co/essays/the-idea-of-unifying-islam-is-a-recent-invention-and-a-bad-one

to a full development of the individualistic experience of ḥajj in the third and fourth chapter. Still, the relation between the individual and the collective is never simple; travelogues from the 20th century reflect spatial imaginings shared by a wider Muslim community, surpassing any individualist or local concerns. Another way in which the dynamics of local – universal can be observed is in the shifting balance between center and periphery: holy places do retain declared centrality, but the narratives reflect the emergence of alternative nodes (ziyārat places in the second chapter, Cairo in the third, Yugoslavia in the fourth).

What can be concluded from this brief analysis of movement between global/universal to local is that the gravitational pull of holy places reflects the change in the outlook of ḥajj authors – and, possibly, wider changes in the community as well. Dynamics between global and local might correspond to the distinctiveness of ḥajj literature in different cultural contexts: timeless Mecca in `Abdullah al-Būsnawī's treatise speaks of Ibn ʿArabī's strong influence on postclassical thought, carrying nothing distinctively regional, and intended for learned audiences of the Islamic world. Localizing perspectives, such as, Ljubunčić's insistence on Yugoslav Muslims' self-sufficiency even among other Muslims on ḥajj draws attention to specific issues, which might reveal dependence on the events and currents in the wider world. In other words, local is never just local.

The third movement in this overview of ḥajj literature is the dynamics between prescriptive and descriptive in ḥajj literature. These terms do not denote neatly divided perspectives, and both tendencies can coexist in the same narrative side by side. The tension/tendency of prescriptive – descriptive is present in observations of space, with prescriptive corresponding to Lefebvre's concept of conceived space, in contrast to perceived/lived space of descriptive literature. A prescriptive tendency – formulated as an elaborate or tentative set of rules or principles which are directed to a pilgrim – is present in early ḥajj literature, as an integral part of viewing ḥajj and holy places. Prescriptive was often conflated with the *ẓāhir* ('outward') aspect of ritual (as in `Abdullah al-Būsnawī's treatise). A more confusing prescriptive approach is evident in the *adab* treatise of Ḥasan Imām-zāde, which instructs the reader on the right approach to the Prophet's tomb, with

elaborate moral-affective instructions. Emotions are a vital element of this kind of prescriptive tendency; channeled and directed, they enhance religious experience.

The rise of self in the 17th and 18th centuries (the subject of the second chapter) is connected to the proliferation of the *manāsik* material with religious instructions on minutiae of a ritual. It is also connected to linguistic change in the Ottoman Empire, which is evident in the switch from Arabic to Ottoman Turkish as the language of prescriptive works. While prescriptive literature of this period focuses on legal categories of ritual performance, descriptive literature (e.g. travel accounts and itineraries) avoids that discourse and weaves its narrative around the emotional experience of holy places and ziyārat, and providing details about circumstances of the journey.

In the 20th century, however, prescriptive and descriptive tendencies often collide in a single travelogue. Still, the amount of prescriptive material grew in an unprecedented manner, as a result of the thorough democratization of travel in the modern period. On the other hand, different types of works describing not only ḥajj journey, but also customs related to ḥajj, as well as various types of polemics about the ritual in the Muslim community and outside, start to proliferate.

All of the earlier movements develop in connection to particular temporal dynamics and in relation to history, which is the subject of the fourth movement. What is emphasized by this is duality of time in narratives: one that depicts a timeless vision of holy places, constructed by religious histories and prescriptive instructions, and one that observes the places and ritual in its contemporaneity. Two tendencies exist side by side, but not in equal measure. Two temporalities developed over time, as our concluding analysis will show.

In the first period, Mecca and Medina were mostly portrayed as places where most of the crucial events from prophetic history and the history of early Islam happened. Only occasional remarks would point to the contemporary reality of these cities (usually in the way the authors positioned themselves in their work or justified the purpose of writing the treatise). Different prophetic stories or religious narratives came to the fore in depictions of Mecca and Medina – some of them

focusing on Prophet Ibrāhīm, while others trying to shed light on the example of Prophet Muḥammad. When numerous textual authorities are taken into question, it appears that these works could have been written in another period as well – they appeal to the common lore of religious knowledge, even if limited to a particular kind of learned audience.

In the second period, the gap between the time of religious narratives and lived experience of the ritual narrows, because the itinerary pushes authors to interweave the accounts of their journeys with stories that bolster the universal claim of holy places. What is evident in the first period in traces, now becomes more obvious: the interest in early Islamic history is greatly complemented by attentiveness to more recent history, especially with regards to regional history. The places of Mecca and Medina, however, remain entangled in sacred history, which separates them from other places.

With the onset of the 20th century, however, several parallel temporalities start appearing in the narratives. Apart from a general interest in Islamic history (whether prophetic, sacred, history of the early Muslim community or later periods), there are two colliding temporal narratives emerging: one which portrays the current state of Muslims as stagnant, permanently colonized and in dire need of revival, and the other which indicates a pending prosperous future that will arise from a closer attachment to the core tenets of the faith and avoidance of the blind following of religion. These main temporalities remain constant throughout the century, with different variations including intrusion of the socialist propagandistic narrative (analysed in the fourth chapter), which managed to subvert the dichotomy of the past that led to decline and progress-bearing future. However, in most other narratives, present is seen as a period of unascertained duration leading to a future which carries possibilities for Islamic revival.

In this regard, it is important to notice that it is possible to trace a particular relation towards Ottoman heritage in 20th-century ḥajj narratives. Ottoman traces, with the emphasis on architectural monuments, but also on customs and religious/educational institutions, as well as on the histories of people who left

Bosnia for life in Ottoman Empire after 1878, are interwoven into ḥajj narratives. Mecca and Medina are, therefore, seen as repositories for remnants of Ottoman control (especially visible in descriptions of the remaining parts of the Hijaz railway), but also as nodes of trade and education that used to bond more than just ʿulamāʾ and merchants of the Ottoman Empire.

In many respects, different historical narratives arise because of the spatial centrality of Mecca and Medina and the goal-oriented journey. It is the soteriological significance of these places, as well as the moral-educational narratives arising from its history, that shape a peculiar, almost atemporal vision of Mecca and Medina. At the same time, though, aspirations projected onto Mecca and Medina, and hopes for the spiritual, intellectual and cultural potential of the pilgrimage created two interrelated temporalities which reflect modern anxieties. In that context, ḥajj literature can be observed within the framework of continuity and change: the same religious narratives shape an experience which is always depicted as profound, but, at the same time, varying presentations also serve to show that Mecca and Medina reflect common, differing concerns.

The last movement which is discussed as concluding part of this chapter is related to the fact that, despite change and innovation in ḥajj literature, this thesis tried to point to the continuity of ḥajj thought. More broadly, writing about ḥajj becomes equal to writing about Islam and reflects engagement with religion on an emotional, spiritual, and intellectual level. In the first chapter, ḥajj literature – with its role as a mediator – shows how deeply Islamization entered different layers of the society which, combined with educational endeavours, shows ḥajj as a fabric which brings new actors into the network. Ḥajj writing, in other words, is embedded in different intellectual and textual networks and it points to the wider acceptance of a particular canon of established texts by a relatively recently Islamized population (however, it should be always kept in mind that ḥajj literature of the Ottoman period was of authorial privilege of the educated few).

This continuity of ḥajj thought also implies a continued relation to the Other through contact during travel. This encounter with the Other becomes prominent in

the 17th and 18th centuries, where difference is established on ethnic, linguistic or regional lines. The full-blown acknowledgement of difference rises in the 20th century ḥajj literature, with the intrusion of colonialism, imperialism and world wars into the very fabric of the pilgrimage. Simultaneously, the idea of a unified Muslim world as a panacea to current problems facing Muslims becomes increasingly prominent in the later ḥajj narratives – with Mecca and Medina being imagined as sources of unifying energy, and ḥajj as a ritual which can revive Islamic thinking.

After analyzing these five movements, it can be concluded that ḥajj writings bring different dimensions to the fore: they point to social and religious processes in a society, transregional and transnational connectivities, systems of meanings and processes of value making, and, in the words of Barbara Metcalf, ''important dimensions of Islam as a modern religion, of modes of self-presentation, and of Muslim social and corporate life as recounted in distinctive individual lives.''[597]

[597] Barbara D. Metcalf, ''The pilgrimage remembered'', 85.

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