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An Analysis of İlhamî Baba's Poem on the Journey Toward Attaining God's Love: Views on Sharî'ah and Tarîqah

İlhamî Baba'nın Allah Aşkına Ulaşma Yolculuğunu Anlatan Şiirinin İncelenmesi: Şerî'at ve Tarîkat Hakkında Görüşleri

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Öz

Osmanlı'da sufiler, edebiyat ve genel olarak toplum üzerinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Boşnak şeyh şairler tarafından benimsenen tasavvuf edebiyatı ve doktrini, hak ettiği ölçüde incelenmemiştir. Bu çalışma, Boşnak Nakşibendi şeyh ve şair Seyyid Abdülvehhâb Bürhânüddîn İlhamî Ba-ba'nın (1773, Žepče – 1821, Travnik) Osmanlı Türkçesiyle kaleme almış olduğu ve başlığı Arapça olarak “E’ş-şerî’atü ve’t-tarîkatu li’l-ihvâni ke’l-cenâheyni li’t-tâyirânî” olan mesnevi tarzındaki şiirini incelemektedir. On yedi beyitten oluşan şiir, dervişin Hakikat’e ulaşma yolculuğunda Şerî’at ve tarikat rollerini açıklamaktadır. Şerî’at’ın bedene, tarikat’ın kalp ve rûha ilişkin olduğu; imanin ise yakîn ve şühûd ile tamamlandığı vurgulanmaktadır. Kalp ve rûh, Allah’tan başka her şeyden arındığında Allah’ın Birliği, O’na yakınlık, O’na aşık en yüksek seviyesi, özgürlük, sevinç ve mutluluk elde edilir. Araştırmada klasik tasavvuf kaynakları ve diğer Boşnak Nakşibendi şeyhlere atfı yapılmıştır, 18 yüzyıl Osmanlı Bosnası’nda vahdet-i vücûd öğretisinin devam ettiği gösterilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tasavvufî Şiir, Osmanlı Bosna’sındaki Tasavvufî Mîrâs, Şeyh Abdülvehhâb İlhamî Baba, Allah’ın Birliği

Abstract

In the Ottoman Empire, Sufis played a significant role in literature as well as in society in general. We have noticed that Sufi literature and doctrine professed by Bosnian Sheikh poets was not investigated to the extent it deserves to be. This study examines the poem titled in Arabic, “al-Sharî’ah wa al-Tarîqah li’l-Ikhvân ka’l-Janâhayn li’l-Tâyirân” (Sharî’a and Tarîqah are to Brothers What Two Wings are to the Birds), and written in Ottoman Turkish language by Bosnian Naqshbandî Sheikh and poet, sayyid ‘Abd al-Wahhâb Burhân al-Dîn İlhamî Baba who lived in the late 18th and early 19th century (1773, Žepče – 1821, Travnik). The mathnawî style poem, consisting of seventeen distiches, outlines the roles of Sharî’ah and Tarîqah in the dervish’s journey towards Haqîqa. It emphasizes that Sharî’ah relates to the body, Tarîqah to the heart and spirit, and that true faith (îmân) is completed through certainty (yaqîn) and witnessing (shuhûd). When the heart and the spirit are purified from all but God, one attains His Oneness, closeness to Him, ultimate love, freedom, joy, and happiness. The study references classical Sufi texts, and other Bosnian Naqshbandî Sheikhs, showing that the wahdat al-wujûd continued to be present and practiced in 18th century Ottoman Bosnia.

Keywords: Sufi Poetry, Ottoman Literature, Sufi heritage of Ottoman Bosnia, Sheikh ‘Abd al-Wahhâb İlhamî Baba, God’s Oneness

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It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited. Mustafa Kukuruzović

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1. Introduction

This paper presents a poem by Sheikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Burhān al-Dīn¹ Ilhāmī Baba, a Bosnian Naqshbandī Sufi master and poet who lived at the end of the 18th, and beginning of the 19th century (1773, Žepče – 1821, Travnik). We can tell from his literary legacy that he was an expert in the field of *Sufism/Tasawwuf*, as well as that he was engaged in teaching people how to live religiously and attain happiness in this world and the afterlife. There are many academic works on the life and literary legacy of Ilhāmī Baba, but very few of them approach the analysis of the Sufi doctrine interwoven in his poetry in its full light. Most of the time, the original text is not presented or analysed, nor the meaning of important words is given while offering a superficial explanation that is based on translations made by other researchers. In this regard, Ilhāmī Baba's literary legacy in Ottoman Turkish language still requires thorough scholarly investigation. Such researches would contribute not only to the field of language and literature, but also to other disciplines, as Ilhāmī Baba was undoubtedly an extraordinary historical figure. More specifically, studies on his poetry could provide valuable insights for further interdisciplinary research on Sufism and social life in Ottoman Bosnia.

Regarding this, we can note that Sufism in the Ottoman Empire, being one of the most widespread and most important approaches to Islam in that state, it is without the doubting subject to careful evaluation, detailed study, and analysis, due to the wide and deep-reaching influence it has had (Ocak, 2004, p. 701). Sufism developed a worldview that influenced almost all elements of Muslim society in the Ottoman Empire from the highest to the lowest level (Ocak, 2004, p. 701). It is of great significance to highlight that the Ottoman *Tasawwufi* Islam that was professed in the institutions known as *tekke* was, as well as the *madrasawī* Islam, very well institutionalized, and the process of its institutionalization was already rooted in the pre-Ottoman period (Ocak, 2004, p. 702). The alternative status of this system of beliefs was not only in opposition to *madrasawī* Islam but also to the official Islam. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak also emphasizes that Sufism is a particularly important subject for historical research since it opens the door for historians to research and examine the social life for a very interesting view of history. It is also stated that "there is no doubt that serious developments in Ottoman social history cannot be made without the help of research in this area (i.e. Sufism)", (Ocak, 2004, p. 702).

In the previous academic researches that considered Sufi poetry of the 18th and 19th century in Ottoman Bosnia, mainly on Sheikh 'Abd al-Rahmān Sirrī Baba (1775, Fojnica – 1847, Oglavak) and Sheikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī Baba, there is no precisely elaborated explanation of what doctrine was professed in those times, neither clear nor detailed picture of their beliefs, ideology, or doctrine they professed was presented referring to their Sufi texts. It is sometimes only briefly mentioned in a couple of passages or pages. Regarding their literary legacy, precisely speaking their poetry which is the main source of their Sufi teachings, as well as the primary resource for uncovering their doctrine, there are only a few works that only provide us with the translation of their poems. These works are done by Dr. Šaćir Sikirić who translated the poems of 'Abd al-Rahman Sirrī Baba, and Muhamed Hadžijamaković and Muhamed Dželilović who translated a noticeable part of the Divan of Ilhāmī Baba. In that work, Hadžijamaković also mentions that it is hard to understand the Sufi poetry of Ilhāmī Baba and that one needs to have prior knowledge in the field of Sufism to be credible in explaining it. Besides this, later studies on Ilhāmī Baba done by other researchers are most of the time accomplished by presenting his poetry written in the Bosnian language, or quoting only translations made by Muhammed Dželilović, without any further investigation. Ilhāmī Baba's poetry written in the Ottoman Turkish language is left neglected and unexplored, and that resulted in the fact that his virtues and

¹ Or Abdü'l-Vehhāb Bürhānū'd-dīn.

worthiness are not entirely recognized in their full light. Therefore, the true value of such a significant historical figure is unknown.

There is a gap in the academic studies regarding Ilhāmī Baba's literary legacy as well as Sufi teachings that he professed along with his friends – other Sufi masters of his time. The lack of information regarding the ideology adopted by Sufi masters prevents us from gaining a full understanding of their poetry, the Sufi literature written in Ottoman Turkish by Bosnians, the Sufi life in that period, and social life in general. Studies that would elaborate on that topic can reveal what kind of religious life was present in 18th century Ottoman Bosnia among Sufi circles, what the beliefs of those Sufis were, what doctrine they professed, and preferably, to what extent it was influential in society. Such studies can be a good contribution or even a foundation for further research regarding language, literature, intellectual history, as well as Sufi life and occurrences of the Bosnian population of Sufi orientation in the late Ottoman times in Bosnia. We are convinced that it is necessary to start with the intensive revealing and interpretation of their work – obviously being the most important dimension or legacy of their lives – to elucidate the doctrine of Bosnian Sufis in those times, especially because it has not been researched to the extent it deserves to be. With this work, we attempted to provide a concise overview of some of Ilhāmī Baba's views on religion and of the Sufi doctrine he professed. We analysed one of the poems from his *Dīvān* in which he explains that both, *Sharī'ah* and *Ṭarīqah* are required for reaching nearness to God and attaining felicity and happiness.

2. Methodology

The first part of this paper presents the life and work of Ilhāmī Baba. After that, the main information about the poem, as well as the information about the manuscript used in the analysis is given, and the original text of the poem with its transcription is presented. While explaining some of the Sufi terms, we referred to the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. In the analysis and explanation of the poem, we consulted classical Sufi teachings and doctrine, intending to understand its messages. Other words, aim of this study is to reveal the meaning of the poem and make its content understandable while escaping the interpretations with the ostensible “aim” of avoiding any real and concrete findings. We have cited the *Qur'ān* and *Hadīth*, as well as other parts of Ilhāmī Baba's *Dīvān*, which we find to be the inevitable and logically the most suitable and primary sources in analysing the poem written by Islamic scholar and Sufi teacher such as Ilhāmī Baba. In addition to this, we have quoted from Sufi classics Ibn 'Arabī, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī, as well as from Sufi masters Aḥmad Sam'ānī and Sheikh Gālib Es'ad Dede. A comparison of Ilhāmī Baba's verses with the classical Sufi doctrine sheds light on his ideas and leads us to understand them in a very easy and beautiful way. We have mostly referred to prominent Bosnian Naqshbandī Sheikhs, spiritual masters, and scholars such as Sufi Salih Ibrīšević al-Fārūqī (1941-2021), Sufi Halid (*Khālid*) Salihagić al-Khulūsī (1916–1993) and Sufi Ahmed Husnī Numanagić (1853-1931). Also, we have many times referred to William C. Chittick as well, a Distinguished Professor at Stony Brook University, who is well known for his extraordinary efforts and work in the field of Sufism. To ensure clarity, it is necessary to explain this method in detail and to provide examples of the same or similar methods employed within the academic community. It is significant to note here that Bosnian Sheikhs, 'Abd al-Rahmān Sirrī Baba, Husnī Numanagić, and Halid Salihagić Khulūsī are mentioned in the *silsilah* (chain, lineage of the spiritual descendants/successors) found in the *khilāfat-nāma*² of the Sufi Salih Ibrīšević Fārūqī, with Khulūsī being his own Sheikh (Aždajić, 2018, p.

² A document written and issued by Sufi Sheikh, with which he authorizes his disciple for the position of Sheikh and allows him to teach and lead others on the Sufi Path to God.

241). We underline this due to a fact that even though 'Abd al-Rahmān Sirrī Baba received his *khilāfat-nāma* from Sheikh Husein Baba Zukić, Ilhāmī Baba as well authorized Sirrī Baba for position of Sheikh and leading other disciples. Ilhāmī Baba was friend with Sirrī Baba since their young ages, as well as his "companion on the Path to God", which he declares in the *khilāfat-nāma* in question:

"I have allowed and taught our brother by God, and our companion on Path to God, Shaikh 'Abd al-Rahmān Bosnawī, a perfect 'arīf (knower, gnostic)³, servant of Naqshbandīs who are aware of their dependence on God, to raise (or to nurture) them, and to direct them to the witnessing of the lights of God's Attributes and manifestations of His Most High Essence – as our sayyid and perfect 'arīf Shaikh Husein already allowed this to him in loud (vocal) *dhikr*⁴ (*dhikr jarkhī*) – in the same way that my Shaikh Muhammad Ahsahūyī allowed it to me and chose me for hidden (silent) *dhikr* (*dhikr khaḥfiyy*), who received that from his own Shaikh al-hajj Abu'l-Ashrāq Mustafā al-Begzadah, ..., and I am – dependent on Him, the Most High, Pure is He – Shaikh al-hajj 'Abd al-Wahhāb Burhān al-Dīn Ilhāmī, son of sayyid 'Abd al-Wahhāb, son of Ahmad Muftī, may God have mercy on them. I received the authorization for *Sharī'a* law from Shaikh sayyid 'Abdullāh Chankarawī (Çankarevī), and authorization for the doctrine of *Ḥaqīqah* from those mentioned above, and some others, may God strengthen their spiritual armies, and support us with them, so that we and you may benefit from them" (H. Numanagić, 2016, pp. 7-8).⁵

Hazim Numanagić emphasizes that with this authorization, two branches of the Naqshbandī order separated by time through different branches – the loud *dhikr* transmitted by Alī ibn Abī Tālib, and the hidden one, transmitted by Abū Bakr al-Siddīq – are united in the personality of Shaikh Sirrī Baba (H. Numanagić, 2016, p. 8). This is significant to note, for, when Hamid Algar read the *khilāfat-nāma* given to Nezir Hadžimejlić by Husnī Numanagić, and saw these two types of *dhikrs* mentioned in very same document, he exclaimed, "This is what I am looking for, I know this exists in Bosnia, and that this is something specific to Bosnia" (H. Numanagić, 2016, p. 8). Ilhāmī Baba gave *khilāfat-nāma* to Sirrī Baba, relaying on his own Sufi *silsilah*, and this is done in elite manners of highly qualified Sufi master, showing acknowledgement and respect to his contemporary and friend. In light of what has been said, and specifically considering the statement from the *khilāfat-nāma*, "our brother by God, and our companion on Path to God", it is undoubted that these two Sufi Sheikhs shared and followed the same set of beliefs. For us, it is here important to point out that teachings of the Naqshbandī Sheikhs mentioned above (Husnī Numanagić, Halid Khulūsī, and Salih Fārūqī) are inherited from the same source, and approve us to consider them as very useful, it not the best resources for understanding Ilhāmī Baba's doctrine. Fārūqī refers to Ilhāmī Baba in his books on many occasions, and while admiring Bosnian Sheikhs such as 'Abd al-Rahmān Sirrī Baba, Ilhāmī Baba, Husnī Numanagić, Halid Salihagić Khulūsī, and some others, he himself declares that these Sheikhs "have conveyed the religion in a very beautiful way to us that we cannot thank them enough" (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, pp. 238-239). It is very natural and logical that all of these sources are primary and major pathfinders in revealing the message of Ilhāmī Baba's poetry. The same method was employed by Ahmed Zildžić from University of Sarajevo, who referred to Ibn Arabi's school of thought in his analysis of a poem written by Abdullāh Bosnawī – the commentator, follower and profound knower of the Ibn Arabi, his school and his teachings (Zildžić, 2017). This approach was, from a methodological standpoint, inevitable.

³ Sufi who has attained direct, experiential knowledge of the Divine (*ma'rifa*).

⁴ Mentioning, remembrance, or invocation of God; also, one of the names for Qur'ān, meaning "remembrance", or "reminder".

⁵ Excerpt from the *Khilāfat-nāma* given to Sheikh Sirrī Baba, and now in the possession of family Numanagić in Sarajevo; translated from the available text in Bosnian.

We also need to underline the fact that, on the other hand, presenting quotations from the founders of the Mawlawī or Qaderī Sufi orders while explaining the poetry written by Naqshbandī Sheikh is methodologically legit. Chittick made this issue clear:

“Indeed, there are certain aspects of Sufi doctrine which may be formulated by one Sufi in a manner quite different from, or even contradictory to, the formulations of another. It is even possible to find what appears outwardly as contradictions within the writings of a single Sufi. Such apparent contradictions, however, are only on the external and discursive level and represent so many different ways of viewing the same reality. There is never a contradiction of an essential order which would throw an ambiguity upon the nature of the transcendent Truth” (Chittick, 2005, p. 19).

Salih Fārūqī as well strongly emphasized that “although it may seem to some, there are no contradictions in this teaching!” (Ibrišević al-Fāruqī, 2020). We need to specify that Fārūqī himself, being prominent Naqshbandī Sheikh, fairly frequently quotes from different Sufi masters such as Imam Ghazālī, Ibn ‘Arabī, Mawlānā Rumī, ‘Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī, or Suhrawardī, etc., in his books, as well as in his speeches or sermons. Implementing this method with an aim of making Sufi teaching clearer and more comprehensible, Fārūqī genially correlates certain aspects of this doctrine, and provides obvious clarity and perceptibility in understanding, which one must admit. Despite belonging to different Sufi orders, different masters and disciples adopted the ideology which is always the same in its foundations. Fārūqī underlined this when he said, “while belief and ideology remain the same in all of the Sufi orders, their roles in society are what is different among them. For instance, social dimension of Islam is present and highly developed among the followers of Naqshbandī order” (Ibrišević al-Fāruqī, 2017).⁶ This is due to different mentalities among people, and Fārūqī explains it as follows:

“There are twelve Sufi orders, which means there are different ways, different paths of reaching the soul. There is no one way.⁷ For example, you can approach someone through the ear, i.e. through hearing, some through sight, some in this or that way. There is a variety of ways to break through a person” (Sufi Sejjid Salih Faruki, 2015, pp. 95-96).

All of the Sufi orders share the same belief and doctrine in the fundamental means, whereas their affinities and functions in ordinary life in Islamic society are different. To support our claim, we can also give an example of other prominent Bosnian Sheikh and Mutfī Ahmed Husnī Numanagić, who, being Naqshbandī Sheikh, was also giving lectures from Ibn ‘Arabī’s *Fusūs al-Hikam*, as well as from Rūmī’s *Mathnawi* in Naqshbandī *tekke* in Visoko, Bosnia and Herzegovina (A. Numanagić, 2013, p. 106). Chittick is also combining Ibn ‘Arabī and Rūmī in his lectures and public speeches, even though some researchers indicate that they used different terminology, putting out that these two shouldn’t be used in interpreting each of other’s teachings respectively, which is an unnecessary attempt of complicating things. Lastly, we will quote from the prominent Indian scholar and Sufi, WaliyAllah (d. 1176/1762) to affirm the idea we are pointing at:

“All founders of sufi *tariqahs* and expounders of sufi doctrines, or at least the majority of them, agree on the fundamental principles of the sufi *tariqah*, even though they differ with regards to the methods of their practical realization. These fundamental principles are associated with the name of Junayd, the leader of

⁶ This view is often compared to a group of people who are all citizens of one country, and at the same time, they are all soldiers; some of them serve in aviation, some in the navy, and others in the special forces, engineering corps, intelligence services, etc., in the army of the very same country. Regarding the social dimension mentioned above, it implies that Naqshbandi dervishes are present in the society in order to know the state of people around them and provide a social or financial help to those in need.

⁷ In terms of reaching one’s soul or his inner self due to the different mentalities and mindsets among people, and not in terms of the *Right Path*.

the sufi community (*Sayyid l-ta'ifah*); for, most of these principles have been formulated by him” (WaliyAllah, 1941, p. not specified).

Muhammad Abdul Haq Ansari validates the statement above saying, “there would hardly be a Sufi who would not agree with this assessment” (Ansari, 1983, p. 1). In regards to this, Derviş Paşa, a Bosnian poet from 16th century who was member of Mawlawī order, translated the work *Sehānāme* originally written in Persian by Binā'ī to Ottoman Turkish language under the title *Murādnāme*. He also generously supplemented this work himself, which critics have characterized as surpassing the original. In the analysis and study of this work by a Mawlawī dervish, Adnan Kadrić from the University of Sarajevo referred to Ibn 'Arabī's teachings (Kadrić, 2008). Similarly, in his work *The Sufi Doctrine of Rumi*, Chittich frequently draws on Ibn 'Arabī to clarify and interpret Rumī's teaching. In the same vein, while speaking on Rumī's greatness, Fārūqī observes, “...and it is evident that he had studied the teachings of al-Sheikh al-Akbar” (Sufi Sejjid Salih Faruki, 2015). All three examples provide ample justification for the method we employ.

After all, in the main part of the paper, we have offered a detailed, clear, and understandable translation of the sections of the distiches, and we have approached the analysis and contextual explanation of the poem that has not been researched till now. The facsimile of the poem is given at the end of the paper.

3. Life and Work of 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī Baba

A *Sufi Sheikh*, 'ālim and poet from Bosnia, sayyid 'Abd al-Wahhāb Burhān al-Dīn – son of sayyid 'Abd al-Wahhāb, son of Ahmad Muftī (H. Numanagić, 2016, p. 8) – whose *tasawwufī* and poetic name (*makhlās*) was Ilhāmī, was born in Žepče, Bosnia in 1187 (Hijri), i.e., 1773 (Milādī), (Dobrača, 1974, p. 42). At that time, Bosnia was part of the Ottoman Empire. He mentioned the date of his birth in his work *Tuḥfah al-Muṣallin ve Zubdah al-Khāshī'īn* with the words “...vilādetim bin yüz seksen yedi” which means “the date of my birth is 1187” (Hadžijamaković, 1991, p. 19). His full name shows us that he and his father were namesakes, so he used to sign like that as well. Considering that “Sayyid al-Hajj Wahhāb” is written on his grave, and that in the title of the transcript of his *Dīvān*, he is mentioned as “Shaykh al-Hajj as-Sayyid 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī Baba Bosnawī” ((Dobrača, 1974, p. 42; Hadžijamaković, 1991, p. 11-12), we can tell that he was a sayyid⁸, hajji, Sufi authority and spiritual master (Sheikh, baba⁹), as well as that he was from Bosnia (Bosnawī/Bosnevī). He mentions also in his poetry that he lost his parents in a very early period of his life: “I don't have a mother, and I don't remember my father” (Dobrača, 1974, p. 42). His father died when he was a very young child so he didn't even remember him. Later, his mother died too, so he spent his childhood without his parents. He was killed in 1237 (Hijrī) / 1821 (Milādī) by the order of 'Alī Jalāl Pasha in Travnik, Bosnia, where he was buried (Hadžijamaković, 1991, p. 24, 26). He was remembered by the people as an educator and saint person who raised his voice against injustice and died as a martyr. His mausoleum (*turbah/türbe*) is located in Travnik in Potur-mahala, where it can still be visited today ((Hadžijamaković, 1991, p. 24).

Ilhāmī Baba received his formal education in three cities in Bosnia: Žepče, Fojnica, and Tešanj. In the *Madrasa* of Tešanj, he received the *Idjāzat-nāma* from 'Abd-Allāh Chankarawī al-Ansārī (Abdullāh Čankarevi

⁸ The term “Sayyid” is used for the descendants of the last Messenger of God, but it is also used by the Sufis, who are, in the Sufi tradition considered the spiritual descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.). It is not known whether he is *sayyid* by both (by blood line and in spiritual way), or only in spiritual way.

⁹ Dobrača states that the title “Baba” - which means father, and here it means spiritual father, a Sheikh who takes care of his *dervishes* (*murids*) - was used by the Bektāshī Sufis, but was also used by members of other dervish orders. According to Dobrača, it was an honorary title for Ilhāmī.

el-Ensārī) in the fields of *Ḥadīth*, *Tafsīr*, *Fiqh* and *Usūl* (Dobrača, 1974; Hadžijamaković, 1991). He was also a member and a Sheikh of the Sufi order of Naqshbandī/ Naqshbandiyya, authorized by Shaikh Muhammad Ahsehūyī, and was friend with the Sufi masters of his time, such as Sheikh Sayyid ‘Abd al-Rahman Sirrī Baba, and Sheikh Husein Baba Zukić (H. Numanagić, 2016, pp. 5-12). From his poetry, it can be seen that he deeply respected and was grateful to his teachers and Sufi masters. Besides his mother tongue, he used Arabic and Ottoman Turkish languages.

Ilhāmī, as the most prolific author of *alhamijado*¹⁰ literature in Bosnia who wrote both poetry and prose, wrote three works during his lifetime, two in prose and one in poetry:

1. *Tuhfah al-Muṣallin ve Zubdah al-Khāshi ‘in* (*Gift to the Worshippers and a Treat to Those who are Submissive in Worship to God*), a manual in Ottoman Turkish language of a religious-didactic character; the content of this work is about prayer, piety in general, and good manners; bibliographic resources: (1) Abdulvehhāb Ilhāmī Jepčević, *Tuhfah al-Muṣallin ve Zubdah al-Khāshi ‘in* (*Tuhfetul-Musallin ve Zubdetul-Ḥaṣi ‘in*), signature R-4509, Manuscript Fund of Gazi Husrev Bey’s Library, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH); (2) Kasim Dobrača, “Tuhfetul-musallin ve zubdetul-ḥaṣi ‘in od Abdul-vehhaba Žepčevije Ilhamije” in *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, Vol. II-III, Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka, Sarajevo, 1974.

2. *Alhamijdao ‘Ilmihāl*, a religious textbook in Bosnian; bibliographic resources: (1) ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī Baba, *‘Ilmihāl*, signature R-2929, Manuscript Fund of Gazi Husrev Bey’s Library, Sarajevo, BiH; (2) ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī Baba, *‘Ilmihāl*, signature Rs-94, Nacionalna i Univerzitetska biblioteka u Sarajevu, BiH; (3) ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī Baba, *‘Ilmihāl*, signature R-8676, Manuscript Fund of Gazi Husrev Bey’s Library, Sarajevo, BiH; (4) Kemura, Ibrahim “Ilmihal Abdulvehhab Ilhamije na bosanskom jeziku”, *Glasnik VIS-a*, year XXXVIII, no. 1-2, Sarajevo, 1975; (5) Duranović, Elvir, *Abdulvehhab Ilhamija Žepčak – Ilmihal: Specifičnosti Ilhamijinog alhamijado Ilmihala*, Medžlis Islamske zajednice Žepče, Žepče 2018; (6) Duranović, Elvir, “Alhamijado ilmihal Abdulvehhaba Ilhamije Žepčaka”, in *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, vol. 24, no. 38, Sarajevo, 2017, pp. 263-300.

3. *Dīvān*, a collection of the poetry in Bosnian, Ottoman Turkish and Arabic (originally titled as *Dīvān-i Sheikh al-Hajj al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī Baba al-Bosnawī* – Collection of the poetry of Sheikh Hajji Sayyid ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Ilhāmī Baba Bosnawī). Bibliographic resources: (1) Abdulvehhāb Ilhāmī Jepčević, *Dīvān-i Ilhāmī*, signature R-3025, Manuscript Fund of Gazi Husrev Bey’s Library, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; (2) Abdulvehhāb Ilhāmī Jepčević, *Dīvān-i Ilhāmī*, rewriter unknown, date of transcription: 1259 (Hijrī) / 1843 (Milādī), signature R-3056, Manuscript Fund of Gazi Husrev Bey’s Library, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina; (3) Hadžijamaković, Muhamed, *Ilhamija: život i djelo*, Mešihat Islamske zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine, El-Kalem, 1991; this is partly translated *Dīvān* with introduction about Ilhāmī Baba, his life and work; this book contains substantial number of poems untranslated, primarily those with Sufi thematic significance.

The first two works are instructive and didactic. Part of the poetry from the *Dīvān*, written in the Bosnian language appears to be in the same thematic orientation as previous two works, since its goal is to reach the wider masses and give them advice, but there are also deep messages and numerous verses with the subtle Sufi content written in Bosnian. Poetry in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish is of Sufi provenance, and to understand it in its full light, it is necessary to have terminological and thematic prior knowledge, and favourably, experience in that field.

¹⁰ Derived from *al-Agamiyyah* (العجمية), in Bosnian literary terminology: literature that is written in a language other than Arabic by using the Arabic alphabet. In this case, literature written in the Bosnian language using Arabic letters.

Most of the time it is said that throughout his life, Ilhāmī encouraged people to engage in studying, learning, and seeking knowledge. He put an effort and tried to offer salvation from misfortune by admonishing and giving guidance through prose and poetry. This resulted in the fact that with his three works, two in prose and one in poetry, he found a place among important authors of *alhamijado* literature and literary creators in oriental languages in Bosnia. Besides that, it is of great significance to underline that in Sufi circles in Bosnia, even today, it is believed that Ilhāmī Baba was a Sufi master highly ranked in the hierarchy of saint persons, an expert in the field of Sufism, which indeed can be noticed while researching, explaining, or even reading his poetry.

4. Poem about Sharī'a and Ṭarīqa and its Explanation

The source used in the preparation of this paper is a manuscript of the Ilhāmī Baba's *Dīvān* found in the Manuscript Fund of Gazi Husrev Bey's Library (in the following text: GHB) in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, signatored as R-3056; Gazi Husrev-bey Library (n.d.) provides free access to the manuscript. The poem analysed in this work is placed on two sides of one foil (fol. 25a - fol. 25b), and its title is written in red ink in Arabic: *al-Sharī'ah wa al-Ṭarīqah li'l-Ikhvān ka'l-Janāḥayn li'l-Ṭāyirān* (E'ş-şerī'atü ve't-ṭarīkatu li'l-iḥvāni ke'l-cenāḥeyni li't-ṭāyirāni), (İSNAD Citation System, n.d.) which means "Sharī'a and Ṭarīqa are to brothers, what two wings are to the birds", (fol. 25a). The text of the poem itself is in Ottoman Turkish and is written in black ink in two columns. The distiches (*beyit*) are arranged one below the other in two columns in such a way that the first verse (*misra'*) of one distich is in the right column, and the second one is in the left column. The frame is also red-colored. The style of writing used in this manuscript is *nasta'lik* (*nasta'liq*) *kırmısı* (or *şikeste-nasta'lik*, *bozma-nasta'lik*)¹¹, and the inscribed date of finishing the transcription of the manuscript is 22nd Muharram 1259 (Hijrī), which is equivalent to the 22nd February 1843 Milādī/Gregorian (Abdulvehhāb Ilhāmī Jepčević, 1843). The name of the transcriber is not recorded.

This is a shorter Sufi poem consisting of seventeen distiches. Each distich rhymes separately, which is the rule of rhyming the poetic form of *mathnawī* (aa, bb, cc, etc.). Namely, this poem is, we can freely say, a part of Sheikh Ilhamī's *mathnawī* about *Sharī'ah*, *Ṭarīqah*, *Marīfah*, and *Ḥaqīqah*, and about the Sufi Path in general. The whole *mathnawī* is made up of eight passages (parts), and consists of one hundred and seventy-five distiches (three hundred and fifty verses). This passage is the third in a row.

Below, the original text of the poem with the Latin transcription is cited, and after that, translation into English with its explanation is presented. To approach the analysis of this poem, which is the part of Ilhāmī Baba's short *mathnawī*, it was first necessary, and especially important to present the context in which it is placed – to state the thematic determinant of the ending of the previous part of the *mathnawī*, as the meaning would not be left incomplete.

4.1. Title of the Poem

Original text of the title in Arabic:

«الشريعة و الطريقة للاخوان كالجناحين للطائران»

¹¹ Literary meaning *broken nasta'liq*, a handwriting type of *nasta'liq* script, in which all of the strict calligraphic rules are not obeyed. This script should not be confused with the one that has the same name *shikasta*.

Transliteration of the title: Al-Sharī‘ah wa al-Ṭarīqah li’l-Ikhvān ka’l-Janāḥayn li’l-Ṭāyirān; Transcription (Turksih version): E’ş-şerī‘atü ve’ṭ-ṭarīkatu li’l-iḥvāni ke’l-cenāḥeyni li’ṭ-ṭāyirāni (Abdulvehhāb İlhamî Jepčević, 1843/GHB, R-3056, fol. 25a), meaning: *Sharī‘a* and *Ṭarīqa* are to brothers what two wings are to the birds.

In Islamic literary tradition, multilingualism excluding intertextuality is sometimes accurate. In poetic works written in *mathnawi* form, the titles of certain sections can sometimes be written in Arabic, even though the text of the whole poem is namely in Persian or Ottoman Turkish, as it is case in this poem. This is mostly seen in the *mathnawis* related to the topic of Sufism or religion in general written in Ottoman Turkish, while on the other hand, *mathnawis* about love stories in Ottoman Turkish involve titles in Persian (Çiçekler, 2004, pp. 324-325). Sometimes, even if the whole literary composition is written in Persian, not only titles, but some of the verses can also be written in language other than Persian. This holds true in Rūmī’s *Mathnawī*, which also contains verses written fully in Arabic, such as in *Book V*: 293-297.

4.2. Text of the Poem

Poem is presented with its original text in Ottoman Turkish and its transcription.

	Original text in Ottoman	Transcription of the text
	GHB R-3056, fol. 25-a	GHB R-3056, fol. 25-a
1	امّا ذكره تابع اولان تعرضى دائم جنان	Ammâ zikre tâbi‘ olan Ta‘arruzî dâ‘im Cinân
2	بويله اولسون هر درويشان بيعت ايله سلوك بولان	Böyle olsun her dervîşân Bey‘at ile sülûk bulan
3	طرفينه رعايتى قرآن حديث هدايتى	Ṭarafına ri‘âyeti Ḳur‘ân ḥadîṣ hidâyeti
4	اعضا دوتر شريعتله كوڭلين بكلىر طريقتله	A‘zâ düter şerī‘atle Gönlin bekler ṭarīqatle
5	حرکات و سکناتده بو عاشقلىر قلور اولسه	Harekât ü sekenâtde Bu ‘âşıklar ḳalur olsa
6	محرك حقيقتدن غافل اولور ابد اندن	Muḥarrik-i Ḥaḳîḳatdan Ġâfil olur ebed andan
7	طريقتدن مراد كوڭل اخلاق كتابيله دليل	Ṭarīqatdan murâd gönül Aḥlâḳ kitâbıyla delîl
8	بل شريعت جسمك يولى بل طريقت روحك يولى	Bil şerī‘at cismüñ yolu Bil ṭarīqat rûḥuñ yolu
9	شريعتله ايمانى غييدر عاشق ايسه بو عبيدر	Şerī‘atle îmânî gaybdur ‘Âşîḳ ise bu ‘aybdur
10	بلکه ايمان يقين لازم اندن شهود اولور الزم	Bil ki îmân yakîn lâzım Andan şühûd olur elzem

11	زیرا حضور غیبده اولمز عشق محبت هچده بولمز	Zîrâ huzûr ğaybda olmaz 'Aşk muhabbet hiç de bulmaz
12	عیبی ایمان و همی ممکن زیرا اغیار قالمق ممکن	'Aybî îmân vehmî mümkün Zîrâ aġyâr qalmağ mümkün
	GHB R-3056, fol. 25-b	GHB R-3056, fol. 25-b
13	مادام اغیار قلبده کزر هر ماسوائی دائم سزر	Mâdem aġyâr kalbde gezer Her mâsivâ'ı dâ'im sezer
14	حقیقتدن اولان توحید برّه ایرمک اولور تفرید	Hâkîkatdan olan tevhîd Birr'eirmek olur tefrîd
15	ماسوادن اولوب تجرید کوکل روحک ایوب تمجید	Mâsivâdan olub tecrîd Göñül rûhuñ idüp temcîd
16	بو دم خلوص هم حضوردر بودر قربه وصل عبوردر	Bu dem hulus hem huzûrdur Budur kurbâ vasl 'abûrdur
17	بو دم عشق هم سروردر بو دم جذب و هم مروردر	Bu dem 'âşk hem sürûrdür Bu dem cezb vehm mürûrdür

4.3. Translation and Explanation of the Poem

Referring to the title of the poem, Ilhāmī Baba indicates that both *Sharī'ah* and *Ṭarīqah* are required for a believer to succeed on his Path to God. “*Sharī'ah* (Islamic law), is based on imitating the Prophet's outward activity, and the *Ṭarīqah* is the Path to God that Sufis were striving to follow” (Chittick, 2019, p. xvii). The Path is part of a person's transformation of transcending himself/herself and reaching God (Chittick, 2005, p. 9). If a person is a member of one of the Sufi orders, then lack of any of these two causes disharmony and the inability to live one's life and religion properly to its full potential. For Sufis, accepting *Sharī'ah* while ignoring *Ṭarīqah* is insufficient; on the other hand, pursuing *Ṭarīqah* while disobeying *Sharī'ah's* laws is futile, and this is valid only for the disciples – candidates for traveling the Path to God, and not for all believers since not all of them are capable of this. For other Muslims, following only *Sharī'ah law* is sufficient and necessary for their salvation. However, while explaining aspects of God's Oneness Fārūqī implies, “we are aware that not all of the Muslims can reach this *maqam* (level), but it is required to know the levels in religion” (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 19). Even though not everyone is capable, it does not mean those ones should be completely negligent regarding this topic.

At the end of the previous part of the *mathnawī*, Ilhāmī Baba stated that persons who practice *Sharī'ah*, and are only on that level of religiosity, can achieve salvation and enter Paradise, but he warns dervishes, not to stay on the lowest level of the religiosity, rather to uplift their religious and spiritual life, while there is still a chance for that in this worldly life. Contrary to the living religion only by obeying outward law and regulations (*Sharī'ah*), Ilhāmī Baba tells that along with the *Sharī'ah*, which is a must, a traveller on the Path to God should increase his will, awareness, and effort.¹² These advices, which can appear as rigorous, are intended only for the dervishes who want to travel the path to God, and shouldn't be applicable to other Muslims. Fārūqī says, “If you started or wish

¹² This cannot be applicable to all of the people, since not all of them are capable of traveling on this Path. The message can be presented to the both Muslims and non-Muslims, and it will be accepted by those who are predestined of traveling the way (non-Muslims must first become a Muslim).

to start traversing the path of God's people, then on their path, you must learn these things and try to understand them at all costs" (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 59). While commenting Sheikh Halid Khulūsī's views on path and ascent of Sufi teaching, Fārūqī said:

"A disciple who does not think of becoming a knower (*ʿārif*), or a perfect man (*al-insān al-kāmil*), should not be expected to succeed. It can be said that such a dervish will gain something, he will be rewarded, but will not succeed in the true sense. Dervish must establish a defined goal, for this is the path of self-perfection in knowledge, wisdom, deeds, state of being (*hāl*), and beyond" (Ibrišević Faruki, 2015, p. 98).

Sheikh Ilhāmī Baba continues in the same tone in the following part of the *mathnawī*, the part we are examining in this paper:

1. "Ammâ zikre tâbi' olan
Ta'arrużı dâ'im Cinân
2. Böyle olsun her dervîşân
Bey'at ile sülûk bulan
3. Tarafına ri'âyeti
Kur'ân hadîş hidâyeti" (Abdulvehhâb Ilhāmī Jepčevī, 1843, fol. 25a)

[1. But that one who is committed to the remembrance and invocation of God (*zîkr*), he constantly 'attacks' Paradise.

2. Let all dervishes who find the Path to God (*sülûk*) with pledging allegiance to the Sheikh (*bey'at*) be like this.

3. (Regarding each dervish), his appreciation and reverence (*ri'âyeti*), is in his favour, on his side, for him (*tarafına*)¹³, and the *Qur'ân* and the *Hadîth* are instructions and guidance to him (*hidâyeti*).]

In the *Qur'ân*, it is ordered to all believers to indulge in the remembrance and invocation of God abundantly: "O you who have believed, remember Allah with much remembrance" (*Qur'ân* 33:41, Saheeh International). On the other hand, *Qur'ân* says for the hypocrites that "they do not remember God but a little" (*Qur'ân*, 4:142, Saheeh International). Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) said: "When you pass by the meadows of Jannah (Paradise) indulge freely in them!" The Sahābah asked: "O Messenger of God! What are the meadows of Paradise?" He replied: "The circles/gatherings of *dhikr/zikr* (gatherings where God is remembered, and invoked)", (Sunan al-Tirmidhi, Hadith 3510). In the first distich, it is stated that those who are devoted to the remembrance of God and invocation of His names (*dhikr*), which means, those who are attached to this action, and do it constantly and continuously, and are under the influence of it, (with these actions) they always attack (*ta'arruż*) and try to conquer gardens of the Paradise (*Jinân/Cinân*). It is apparent that Ilhāmī Baba is referring to the previously cited *Hadith*. The word "attack" is used on purpose, since it is required to practice the *dhikr* abundantly to see its results. Fārūqī says, "It would be preferable for the *dhikr* practiced in a group to last more than three hours, because people who experience revelations (*ahlu'l-kashf*) say that the devil finally leaves the practitioners of *dhikr* at that point" (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 88). This supports the idea that extended spiritual practices, such as *dhikr* (remembrance of God), can help purify the practitioner and remove negative influences, including those attributed to the devil or harmful spiritual forces (Atay & Demirbaş, 2018). The mention of *ahlu'l-kashf* refers to those who are spiritually enlightened and have direct, experiences or revelations. In regard to this,

¹³ Meaning "*lehine*"; in Arabic "*lahū*".

the *Hadith* "Be abundant in practicing the *dhikr* (remembrance of God) until they say: insane/crazy!" (Musnad Ahmad, 11674; Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 93; Al-Qurṭubī, 2009, Vol. 14, p. 495) is also present among Sufi circles.

Referring in the second distich to the *bey'at*, which is giving an oath, pledging allegiance to the Sheikh, Ilhāmī Baba notes that it is a must to have guidance on the Path, and that can be fulfilled only with the instructions and the help of the master. "Allegiance (*bey'at/bay'at*) is used in Sufism to express the promise of a candidate for a disciple that he will fully abide by the Sheikh and his orders" (Türer, 1992, p. 124-125). Stepping on the Path is conditioned with giving an oath to the master. Regarding the importance of having a Sufi master as a guide while traveling the Path, Chittick has stated the following:

"...the Path of spiritual realization can only be undertaken and traversed under the guidance of a spiritual master; someone who has already traversed the stages of the Path to God and who has, moreover, been chosen by Heaven to lead others on the Way. When the Prophet of Islam was alive he initiated many of his Companions into the spiritual life by transferring to them the "Muhammadan grace" (*al-barakat al-Muhammadiyah*) and giving them theoretical and practical instructions not meant for all believers. Certain of these Companions were in their own turn given the function of initiating others. The Sufi orders which came into being in later centuries stem from these Companions and later generations of disciples who received the particular instructions originally imparted by the Prophet. Without the chain (*silsilah*) of grace and practice reaching back to the Prophet no Sufi order can exist" (Chittick, 2005, p. 16-17).

Success on the Path to God can only be achieved under supervision. It is realized by following the directions and instructions given by a saint person, Sufi Sheikh, i.e., a spiritual master who already travelled and completed his Path to God, person who was accepted to His nearness, and admitted to His Holiness. To more clearly present the necessity of having a Sheikh - spiritual leader on the Sufi Path, we can also quote the Sufi classic, great master and scholar Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī:

"Whoever enters the Way without a guide will take a hundred years to travel a two-day journey...
Whoever undertakes a profession without a master becomes the laughingstock of city and town" (Rumi, trans. Chittick, 1983, p. 123).

From this saying as well, it is obvious that the Sheikh has to be someone who is expert and knowing person who significantly speeds up and facilitates the traveling on the Sufi Path, which, if travelled alone, is very slow and difficult to traverse. Traveling with a Sheikh who performs the function of a guide and helper, the Path is traversed much more easily and in fast way, so it is important that the traveller completely surrenders himself and his life to the one who will give him/her an enormous amount of help.

Since that is the case, Ilhāmī Baba is calling for showing respect to such a person with a firm reason, and he stated this as well at the beginning of his *Dīvān*, in the fourth and fifth distiches of one of the *ghazels*. In those verses, Ilhāmī Baba accentuates and especially emphasizes the great significance, value, and importance of the Sheikh, the guide on the Sufi Path, and encourages the dervish to obedience and showing respect to him:

"Emr-i Hakk'dur Hazeridür ol senün
Yanına düş rağbet eyle rehberün
Anı bulsañ Hakk'ı buldın ey velî
Destini bûs eyle sen ol şâhinuñ", (Abdulvehhâb Ilhāmī Jepčevî, 1843, fol. 9b).

[The command of the True and the Real God (*Emr-i Haqq'dur*) is that he (the Sheikh that you found)¹⁴ is your master;

Go to him, fall before him, and show your respect to that guide of yours (*rehber*).

If you find him - you have found the True and the Real One (God),

O God-pleasing saint person (*ey velî*), you kiss the hand of that King of yours.]

Sheikh has to be highly qualified saint person who attained Union with God since finding him is equal to finding Real God. Author used Persian word *şâh* (king) for Sheikh, and *şâh* has the full authority over his people. When Dejan Aždajić, researcher on Theology and Sufism asked Fārūqī about master's absolute authority over the life of a disciple, he replied, "The Shaikh is the absolute authority. God is abstract, while I am real."¹⁵ It is so much easier for you to communicate with God through a Shaikh. Allah never sent a book without a Prophet, a living human being. You need a living person; someone you can touch" (Aždajić, 2016, p. 11, as cited in Aždajić, 2021). Aždajić points out that "Dervishes often ask their Shaikh for permission to marry, what job to accept, travel plans and all other aspects of ordinary life. The attitude clearly is that everything should be under full submission to the guidance of the Shaikh" (Aždajić, 2021, p. 11). This tells us about the level of significance that Sheikh has for a disciple, having an absolute authority over him.

Thus, along with other points that Ilhāmī Baba made in the previously cited verses, he suggested that *Sharī'ah*, *Ṭarīqah*, *Qur'ān*, *Ḥadīth*, invocation and remembrance of God (*dhikr*), as well as the having pledged alliance to the authority while traveling the Path (*bey'at*), and showing respect to that authority, are absolutely necessary and cannot be avoided in the way of achieving the completion of the transformation, i.e. freeing oneself from everything other than God – including oneself – and approaching God. After that, in the following passages he explains what *Sharī'ah* and *Ṭarīqah* are, and what their roles in one's life are:

4. "A'zâ düter şerî'atle

Göñlin bekler ṭarîkatle

5. Ḥarekât ü sekenâtda

Bu 'âşıklar qalur olsa

6. Muḥarrîk-i Ḥaqqîkatdan

Ġâfil olur ebed andan

7. Ṭarîkatdan murâd göñül

Aḥlâk kitâbıyla delîl

8. Bîl şerî'at cismüñ yolu

Bîl ṭarîkat rûhuñ yolu" (Abdulvehhâb Ilhāmī Jephčević, 1843, fol. 25a)

[4. With *Sharī'ah* (*şerî'atle*) the parts of the body (*a'zâ*) crave (or wish), and wait (*bekler*) for the heart and the *Ṭarīqah* (*ṭarîkatle göñlin*).

¹⁴ Better to say "the one that is granted to you by God".

¹⁵ God is abstract, and Sheikh is real for a disciple who has started his travelling to God, and who has not already fully attained real knowledge about Real God, neither he actualized proximity to Him. When one attains Union with God, then he can be Sheikh himself with authorization of his own master, and in manners prescribed by *Ṭarīqah* rules.

5./6. If these lovers (*bu 'âşık-lar*) remain (*kalur olsa*) only in the state of motion and resting (*harekât ü sekenâtda*), then, they are (left) eternally (*ebed*) negligent (*gâfil*) towards the Initiator/Actuator of Reality (*Muḥarrrik-i Ḥaḳīkat*).¹⁶

7. What is aimed with the Ṭarīqah (*ṭarīkatdan murâd*) is the heart (*gönül*). Proof of this (*delil*) are the book(s) on *akhlâq* (*aḥlâḳ kitâbıyla*).

8. Know that *Sharī'ah* is the Path of the body (*cismüñ yolu*), and know that Ṭarīqah is the Path of the soul (*rûhuñ yolu*).]

Sharī'a is related only to the body, i.e., physical activities while performing religious duties, or simply, outward rules and regulations of the religion. Following only *Sharī'a* is determined as mere moving and resting (*harekât ü sekenât*), while, on the other hand, we see that Ṭarīqah is dealing with the heart and the soul, which means, with the inner dimension of the religion. Regarding this, in one of his public speeches, Chittick has made an excellent overview, and a brief explanation of the roles of *Sharī'a* and Ṭarīqah or *Tasawwuf* in general, in one's life:

"If you are going to approach God – and we are talking as academics, with distance – what the Islamic texts tell you, is that if you want to approach God, you'll have to cleanse your heart, you have to purify your inner-self, you have to have pure intentions. And the purpose of practice (*Sharī'ah*), the purpose of learning about the religion, the teachings about God, and angels, and all this, is so that you will know why it is important to purify yourself. The goal of this learning is not the learning itself, rather, 'what the learning can do for you'. The goal is the transformation of the self. And, if you put it in the one word, well, there are many possible, one is *Tazkiyatu'n-nafs* (purification of the soul), and in classical texts, they often say "*Tasawwuf, huwa Tazkiyatu'n-nafs*" (*Tasawwuf*, it is a purification of the soul)", (Chittick, 2018, 56:28–1:05:40).

When Ilhāmī Baba said "It is the heart, what is aimed, or intended (to be treated) with the Ṭarīqah; proof of this are the book(s) on *akhlâq*",¹⁷ this is what he is pointing at:

"...you can't purify the soul, which includes your knowledge, without having a clear knowledge of what God is, and what the Universe is, and what a soul is, what a human being is. This is where *Tasawwuf* has the richest resources. No one explains these things in more detail, than, for example, Ibn 'Arabī. No one explains them in a sweeter, lovelier way than Mawlānā. If you combine Mawlānā and Ibn 'Arabī – I always do in my teaching – you have both, beautiful, clear theory of everything, and you have the love and passion that should drive you to both, understand that theory, and make it your own, see the world of that way, because that is the way the Qur'ān presents the world... Sufism, which is *Tazkiyatu'n-nafs* – we explain why this is what religion is all about. The other parts are necessary, foundations, you can't have a building without foundations, but they are not enough! The final goal is this transformation, purification of the self, to achieve nearness to God. And this perspective is very easily understood by a Christian, a Jew, a Hindu, a Buddhist, a Confucian, a Taoist... Yes, they all agree, it's about the self, about purifying oneself" (Chittick, 2018, 56:28–1:05:40).

Salih Fārūqī beautifully explained the necessity of Ṭarīqah and Sufi teachings by giving an example of a person living in country ruled by the *Sharī'ah* law. He says that if such person is completely innocent, and is not guilty by any means according to the rules of *Sharī'ah*, it does not necessarily mean that he is not going to end up

¹⁶ The fifth and sixth distiches are both *merhûn beyit*, which means that the meaning was not completed in the former distich, but was transferred to, and finished in the latter one.

¹⁷ *Akhlâq*, which literary means *ethics* or *moral*, is one of the nouns rarely used to describe Sufism; the common terms used more often are: *Tasawwuf*, *Tazkiyah al-nafs*, *Tasfiyah al-qalb*, etc.

in the Hell-fire. That is because *Sharī'ah* law is judging only his outwardness, while such person at the same time could be someone who is hypocrite, arrogant, stingy, or envious. There is no punishment by *Sharī'ah* for such sins, while in the *Qur'ān* and *Hadīth* it is clearly said that Hell-fire is punishment for such a sinful person as hypocrite, stingy, etc. (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 63). For instance, *Qur'ān* says, "Surely the hypocrites will be in the lowest depths of the Fire – and you will never find for them any helper" (*Qur'ān*, 4:145-46, Saheeh International);¹⁸ "those who are stingy, promote stinginess among people, and withhold Allah's bounties; We have prepared for the disbelievers a humiliating punishment" (*Qur'ān*, 4:37; Saheeh International), and also "[They will be told,] 'This [punishment] is for being prideful on earth unjustly and for acting arrogantly. Enter the gates of Hell, to stay there forever. What an evil home for the arrogant!'" (*Qur'ān*, 40:75-6; Saheeh International). In one of the *Hadīths* Prophet said, "Envy consumes good deeds just as fire consumes wood" (Sunan Ibn Majah, Hadith 4210), and he also said, "No one will enter Paradise who has even a mustard-seed's weight of arrogance in his heart" (Sunan Ibn Majah, Hadith 59). For this reason, it is very important to underline and stress the fact the *Fiqh*, i.e. the *Sharī'ah* law is only one of the dimensions of Islam, and not the whole Islam itself. Fārūqī says that in the witnessed world (*'ālam al-shahādah*, the world we are living in), there are medical doctors such as dermatologist, as well as doctors of internal medicine or even psychiatrists. He notices and reads this as a God's sign that in Muslim community, there should be living Sufi Sheikhs who could see and learn what is inside of a person, and then, as a spiritual healer cure the person from his spiritual diseases, which are the sins such as mentioned above (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 64).

Ilhāmī Baba indicates that if one is limited only to the outward law and regulations, then one will not be able to reach a state where he/she can be truly aware of the God who is the Initiator of Reality, the One who is All-Present and constantly Active in the very Reality. Fārūqī highlights that first step of a disciple on a Sufi path is accepting the fact that there is no one in the action, or operation but God. Believing this, disciple should firmly (bravely) gaze on the Path, and implement this belief and understanding in his daily life. Such person needs to give an effort in annihilating himself and this world, and all of that for the sake of the Truth (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 46). In this context, Chittick explained the Oneness of action as follows:

"There is nothing like God, so He is absolutely transcendent; but inasmuch as a being 'hears' or 'sees,' it is from God that these attributes have come, or to be more exact, it is God who in reality is hearing and seeing. God is distinct from all created existence, but creation is not other than God in its essential nature" (Chittick, 2005, p. 28).

By following only outward rules, God cannot be truly perceived, nor reached, and such a person cannot recognize God's will and His actions around himself. Therefore, there is no way for such individual to become a true lover of God. To reach God, it is required to climb up the higher level of religion, to take care of one's heart, and that is what *Ṭarīqah* is all about: Allowing and helping the person to achieve closeness to God by being cleansed from all of the sins and bad states, even cleansing him from himself. It is necessary to start practicing religion with the parts of the body, and then, when this is accomplished, the heart starts to wait to be activated and treated. One cannot have his heart treated without previously employing his body in practicing the religion. Outward rules and regulations of the religion make up the Path of the body, which is the base of the religion that cannot be avoided. Transformation of the heart, will occur with time due to an effort put by a disciple, and it will

¹⁸ Remaining part of the verse: "except those who repent, mend their ways, hold fast to Allah, and are sincere in their devotion to Allah; they will be with the believers. And Allah will grant the believers a great reward".

manifest in terms of curing heart from its illnesses, and cleansing it. This transformation was explained by Sufi Ahmed Husnī Numanagić in his interpretation of Imām Ghazālī's *Kimyā-yi Sa'ādat*:

"To love God entails to love the Messenger of God, the prophets, the scholars, the revealed books, the Divine Islamic Law (*Sharī'ah*), and to fulfil God's commands and revere Him. This is what is called the love of God (*mahabbatullāh*), until one reaches a higher state. That is to say, by persisting in such noble conduct, a spark of Divine love will descend upon the heart, and that spark will spread through it like butter melting. From this will arise a sweetness of longing for God, which will continue to expand and strengthen until the heart attains such ardent love (*'ashq/'ishq*) that it burns with passion for God. In the heart, there will remain no love for anything else but God Himself. Whoever attains this sweetness experiences Paradise even in this world – for Paradise is, in its essence, to love God" (Numanagić, 2018, p. 100).

This is elaborated by Ilhāmī Baba in the last part of this poem, but before that, in the following verses, he breaks down the situation, and describes what is happening to a dervish, if only *Sharī'ah* is being taken in consideration, and what is required on the other hand, in order not to stay only on a basic, simple, and incomplete level of belief and religiosity:

9. "Şerî'atle îmânı ğaybdur

‘Âşık ise bu ‘aybdur

10. Bil ki îmân yakîn lâzım

Andan şühûd olur elzem

11. Zîrâ huzûr ğaybda olmaz

‘Aşk muhabbet hiç de bulmaz

12. ‘Aybî îmân vehmi mümkün

Zîrâ aġyâr kalmak mümkün

13. Mâdem aġyâr kalbde gezer

Her mâsivâ'ı dâ'im sezer" (Abdulvehhâb Ilhāmī Jepčevî, 1843, fol. 25a-b)

[9. With (only) *Sharī'ah*, his belief (*îmân*) is absent (or non-appearing, *ġayb*), and if he is (if he considers himself) a lover (*'âşık*), then this is disgraceful and shameful (*'ayb*).

10. Know that (the completion of one's) belief (*iman*) requires certainty-conviction (*yaġîn*), and (for acquiring this), witnessing (*şühûd*) is more necessary (*elzem*) from conviction.

11. It is because (of the fact that) serenity, peace, or presence (*huzûr*) cannot be found in the absence, or non-appearance (*ġayb*); and especially the highest degree of love (*'aşk*), and love (*muhabbet*) can by no means be found (in this way).

12. In a belief that is shameful (*'aybî îmân*), the appearance of doubt, fiction, or conceit (*vehm*) is possible, because (in such a state), it is possible to remain estranged to God (*aġyâr*).

13. Since the 'other' (*aġyâr*) walks in the heart, (then the one who is in this state) always perceives everything (i.e., sees, notices only) as a thing that belongs to everything other than God (*mâsivâ'*).]

Ilhāmī Baba states that belief which is based only on performing religious duties in a "mechanical" way, is incomplete, and is not present. In such a state, with a superficial understanding of the religion, dervish believes that himself/herself exists on his/her own, without God's Divine sustenance in existence, which, according to the Sufi doctrine, is untrue and contrary to the Reality; and Reality itself is truthful, stable and firmly fixed, as explained by Chittick:

“If we substitute the Divine Name *al-Haqq*, which means at once ‘the Truth’ and ‘the Real,’ for ‘God’ in the *Shahādah*, the source of these two complementary points of view becomes apparent: ‘There is no real but the Real.’ On the one hand, God is the only reality in the absolute sense of the word, for to postulate that something else has autonomous reality *vis-a-vis* the Absolute Reality would involve polytheism or, in Islamic terms ‘association’ (*shirk*). Since God is the only real being, He is absolutely other than all created existence, which, if considered only in itself, is unreal. In the face of His absolute reality, all creatures are nothing. On the other hand, any reality that a creature does possess must ultimately belong to God. The Sufis would be the last to dispute the assertion that from a certain point of view (*i’tibār*) the world does indeed possess a certain limited reality, which, however, is not autonomous, but derives from that reality which in its absolute sense belongs to God alone” (Chittick, 2005, p. 27-28).

The untrue imagination, when one is proposing a non-existing occurrence of autonomous self-existence, is called *wahm/vehm* (delusion, fiction). According to Ilhāmī Baba, calling oneself a lover of God while being in such a state is shameful and disgraceful. It is necessary to view things as they are in order to eliminate fictions, other words, to tear the veils preventing one of doing that. It is clear that belief is directly related to knowledge. Believing God truly, cannot occur without knowing God. In other words, to attain the completion of one’s belief, conviction, or certainty (*yaqīn/yaḳīn*), and witnessing (*shuhūd/ṣūhūd*) of God are necessary and indispensable. After being convinced in God, and after witnessing God, one can truly believe in Him, and thus complete the conditions to become a lover of God.

Regarding the term *yaḳīn / yaqīn*, it is derived from the root *yaqn*, which means “to be fixed, to settle down, to attain tranquillity; complete trust, assurance; certainty; certitude; conviction; positivism; sureness; undoubted” (Demir, 2013, p. 271). As a term, it means “knowledge, the truth of which is not in doubt, in accordance with the facts, fixed and certain belief, conviction, the certainty that is reached after doubt and hesitation” (Demir, 2013, p. 271). Also, *yaḳīn* can be described as “the relaxation of the mind by proving the proposition” (Tehānevī, 1547–1548, as cited in Demir, 2013). The term *ṣūhūd / shuhūd* means “to see, to witness, to observe; to be aware of the truth of an object”, and as a Sufi term, it is used in the meaning of “seeing, watching and contemplating the manifestations of Allah” (Uludağ, 2006, p. 152-153). Great Sufi saints and Sheikhs were convinced in God, and observed and witnessed Him in everything, as well as all beings with Him. Moreover, they did not consider the years they spent without being in the state of *ṣūhūd / shuhūd* to have been lived (Uludağ, 2006, p. 152-153). Regarding the significance and the merit of certainty, Aḥmad Sam‘ānī, a Sufi master from the 12th century, stated the following:

“The foundation of the work lies in certainty. A man who becomes a man becomes so through certainty. Certainty must reach the tongue for him to be a speaker, the eye for him to be a seer, the ear for him to be a hearer, the hand for him to be taker, the foot for him to be a traveler.

Muṣṭafā said, ‘Jesus walked on water. Had his certainty increased, he would have walked on air.’ The master Abū ‘Alī Daqqāq said, ‘He alluded to himself, meaning, *When I walked on air on the night of the mi‘rāj, that was because of perfect certainty.*’

One of their sayings is this: ‘Have mercy on the rich for the paucity of their gratitude, have mercy on the poor for the paucity of their patience, and have mercy on everyone for the paucity of their certainty.’ Forgive the rich for their lack of gratitude, forgive the poor for their lack of patience, and forgive everyone for their lack of certainty” (Sam‘ānī, 2019, p. 80).

Different saints experienced different levels of certainty. Reaching any level of these states, is in certain amount freeing oneself from the *vehm*, and if none of these states is realized, then, in such case, with the fictions

and delusions, when the veils are not tiered, God is not truly reached. The prominent Sufi master 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī said: "O, Allah! Keep us alive with Your Essence (Yourself), and dissuade us from everything other than You" (Abdülkâdir Geylânî, 2013, p. 223). Being an experienced Sufi master, Ilhāmī Baba was convinced of God's Oneness, recognized Him in the manifestations in his surroundings, witnessed God's presence and clearly spoke about it in his *Dīvān*. In one of the last poems of his poetry collection, in a *munājāt* where he *talks* to God in a very intimate way, he explains the *tawhīd*, God's Oneness, and in one of the verses, he proclaims the following: "Melik-i emlāk hem Maḥmūd'uñ emre Ġālib yine Sen'sün" (GHB R-3056, fol. 32b) which means: "(O God!) You are the (one who is) King of the kings; You are as well the King of the (Ottoman Sultan) Maḥmūd (II), and You are the One who is Predominant in His affairs, i.e. the One who has the full power and control over His affairs (*emre Ġālib*)". Utterance at the end of the verse "...yine Sen'sün" appertains to each of the statements found in the verse, and this is clear because of the word "*yine*" (meaning *again, as well*). Thus, this should be understood as "Melik-i emlāk (Sen'sün), hem Maḥmūd'uñ (Melik'i de Sen'sün), emre Ġālib yine Sen'sün". In this verse, he is referring to *Hadīth* "The most awful (meanest) name in Allah's sight is (that of) man calling himself king of kings (*malik al-amlāk*)", (Bukhari, Hadīth no. 6206), while attributing absolute authority to the God, knowing that it is God who is acting through his creatures, including Ottoman sultans. He also refers to the Qur'anic verse from the chapter Yusuf: "And Allāh is predominant over His affair, but most of the people do not know" (Qur'ān, 12:21, Saheeh International).¹⁹ Sheikh Ilhāmī Baba is here proclaiming his acceptance and surrendering to the will of God, no matter what is going to happen to him, since he knows that it is God who is present in every action, the One who possesses the authority over every aspect.

If a person is living a life without knowing that he/she is in every moment dealing with the All-Present God, then he/she considers everything, including himself/herself, as something that can exist and perform any kind of action on his/her own, by himself/herself, which, according to the Sufi tradition is not the case. In this way, one is in danger of being deprived of reaching God's closeness, and of being immersed in his Oneness.

From the verse "Since the 'other' walks in the *heart*, one always perceives everything as a thing that is other than God", it is obvious that to succeed in this difficult task, Ilhāmī Baba points towards the *heart*, and says it is the heart that ought to be treated and is required to be cleansed from everything other than God. Dervish needs to get out of his heart everything but God. Other words, it is required to accept the Truth that there is nothing in the existence and action except God, and that everything that exist, is a creation of His, and every action happening, is done and supported by Himself. The treatment of the heart, i.e., actions to be undertaken to successfully accomplish this task, and complete the Path of reaching God's Oneness, are explained in the following verses, and these verses are the last ones of this part of the *mathnawī*:

14. "Ḥaḳīkatdan olan tevḥīd

Birr'e irmek olur tefrīd

15. Mâsivâdan olub tecrīd

Göñül rûḥuñ idüp temcīd

16. Bu dem ḥulus hem ḥuzûrdur

Budur ḳurba vasl 'abûrdur

17. Bu dem 'âşk hem sürûrdür

¹⁹ Words referred to: وَاللَّهُ غَالِبٌ عَلَى أَمْرِهِ وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ; keywords in poetic verse: "*emre Ġālib yine Sen'sün*".

Bu dem ceẓb vehm mürûrdür” (Abdulvehhâb Ilhâmî Jepčevî, 1843, fol. 25b)

[14. (Reaching the state of the) Oneness of God (*tevḥîd*) which is from the Reality and the Truth (*ḥaḳīḳat*), i.e., which itself is Reality and Truth; tearing and separating from worldly ties and preoccupations, and devotion to the slavery and obedience to God (*tefrîd*), lead person to the righteousness (*birr’e irmek olur*).

15./16. Purifying, depriving, freeing, or separating oneself (*tecrîd olub*) from everything other than God, including oneself (*mâsivâ*), and thus raising (*temcîd idüp*) one's heart and spirit (*göñül rûḥuñ*), results in achieving salvation (*ḥulus*), and peace and presence (*ḥuzûr*); this is the encounter of the nearness, closeness, proximity to God (*ḳurba vasl*), this is the passage, the Path to the closeness of God (*ḳurba ‘abûrdur*).²⁰

17. This moment, (coming into this state), is (attaining) the high degree of love (*‘aşḳ*), as well as reaching happiness-joy (*sürûr*); reaching this state means being attracted to God (*ceẓb*), reaching this state implies passing over, leaving behind, or ending (*mürûr*) of the doubt, fiction, delusion, or untrue imagination (*vehm*).]

The word *birr* has been used in the Qur’ân in the meanings of “all kinds of goodness, benevolence, obedience, righteousness, and sinlessness” (Toksarı, 1992, p. 204-205). To achieve this state, one must free oneself from worldly connections and preoccupations and devote oneself to enslavement and obedience to God, which is known as *tefrîd* / *tafrîd*. The term *tecrîd* / *tajrîd* has a similar meaning. In brief, it refers to cleansing from everything other than the Ultimate Reality (or the Real and True God), including oneself, by taking the worldly concerns out of the heart and turning towards God. In Sufi texts, these two terms are frequently used along with each other (Ceyhan, 2011, p. 248-249). Ibn ‘Arabî, for instance, described *tecrîd* / *tajrîd* as the “removal of the other than God (*mâsivâ*) and the realm of *Kawn* (Universe, all that exist) from the heart and secret” (İbnü’l-Arabî, 1997, p. 534, as cited in Ceyhan, 2011), and *tefrîd* / *tafrîd* as “being alone with God even though he/she is with himself/herself” (İbnü’l-Arabî, 1997, p. 534, as cited in Ceyhan, 2011). In these final verses, Ilhâmî Baba states that freeing oneself from this world, transcending oneself, surpassing the false imaginations of existing on one’s own, and surrendering (better to say returning) oneself to God is required for attaining Union with Him. According to Ilhâmî Baba, this is the path, the way how to get accepted to the nearness of God.

The state of *birr* is mentioned in Qur’ân many times; one of the related verses reads as: “Never will you attain the good [reward/righteousness (*birr*)]²¹ until you spend [in the way of Allah] from that which you love. And whatever you spend - indeed, Allah is Knowing of it” (Qur’ân, 3:92, Saheeh International). Fârûqî’s master, Sufi Halid (*Khālîd*) Salihagić al-Khulûsî, a well-known Bosnian Naqshbandî Sheikh and scholar interpreted this verse in the following way:

What we, as human beings love the most, is our life, therefore we need to sacrifice our lives on the Path to God to attain the state of *birr* (righteousness), and that what we are giving, what we are sacrificing, is the least that we can sacrifice, since it is not ours, but is granted, given to us by God (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 125; Sufi Sejjid Salih Faruki, 2015, p. 103).

In the same context, Rûmî said, “Except dying, no other skill avails with God”, *Mathnawî VI*, 3838, (Rumi, 2004, p. 349), and the Ottoman *mawlawî* Sheikh Gâlib Es’ad Dede underlines and repeats many times in one of his poems in his *Dīvân*: “You do not exist (literary: there is no you, you are not), and that egos/selves, are nothing more but fictions, delusions (*vehm/wahm*), and assumptions of yours (*gümân = zann*)”, (Gâlib, n.d., p. 143). This

²⁰ Fifteenth and sixteenth distiches are both *merhûn beyit*, (the message was not completed in the former distich, but was transferred to, and completed in the latter one).

²¹ Another meaning is "You will never attain righteousness."

view does not literary imply physical suicide, but rather dying or annihilation of self in the terms of refraining from the bodily and worldly desires, surrendering oneself to slavery to God, leaving false assumptions of self-existence and the self-existence of everything other than God, as well as putting an effort in the removal of one's will while accepting and adopting God's will, etc. Fārūqī, declares that this is not an abstract narration and presents very clear explanation of the *fanā* (annihilation of self):

"God commanded and forbade what he wanted. Therefore, His commands and His prohibitions are manifestations of His *will*. This means that if God's slave accepts His commands and prohibitions, by doing so, he has accepted His *will*, and in this way, his own individual *will* has evaporated, and it is gone. For such an action done by God's slave, we can say that it represents the vanishing or disappearing of the slave's *will* in God's *will*. The same rule applies to the case of the Prophet's commands and prohibitions as well as those ones of a Sufi teacher" (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 46).

Fārūqī doesn't stop with the narrative aspect, rather he gives concrete example for this from ordinary life and says that that when one is willing to go to some kind of a festival, theatre or sports match, etc., in the time prescribed for certain prayer, but instead chooses to go to the mosque and make his prayer, then such an action represents abandoning his own *will* for the sake of God's *will*. "If one is consistent with such efforts, then he will gradually abandon his own *will*, other words, his own individual *will* is going to disappear completely, and that person *will* be the place where God's *will* is being manifested" (Ibrišević Faruki, 2016, p. 47).

Bayazid Bestāmī proposed that one of the hardest tasks to be accomplished by a disciple on a Sufi Path is to refrain from his own reasoning and *will*, and indisputably accept the instructions of his master, no matter what he commands him/her (Numanagić, 2018, p. 374). This is often described as *Tawakkul/Tevekkül* or *Taslīmiyyah/Teslīmiyyet*. Regarding this, there is a widely accepted rule adopted by Sufi classics that a disciple traversing the Sufi Path should surrender oneself to the Sheikh in such a way that he/she is supposed to behave as a "dead person in the hands of a *gassâl*²²" (Çağrıçı, 1992, p. 1-2; Atay, 2019, p. 52-82). Ilhāmī Baba's views on the significance of showing respect, abiding, and following the master are therefore strongly justified. When he says "kiss the hand" of the Sheikh, it means accept what he tells you, and obey him in all of the aspects. Fārūqī says that "a master can take on the role of the Angel 'Azrā'īl (p.b.u.h.), who eliminates all negativity in the soul of his disciple, denies him, and destroys everything within him so that only God remains. On the other hand, he also becomes like the Angel Gabriel/Jibrā'īl (p.b.u.h.), breathing spirit into him and becoming the source of his inspirations" (Ibrišević Faruki, 2015, p. 186-87). Regarding this, Chittick points out that there are two main steps needed to achieve Union with God, and they are "steps which are an application of the *Shahādah* to the spiritual travail" (Chittick, 2005, p. 71):

"The first of these is *fanā*, 'annihilation of self,' which derives from the 'no' of the *Shahādah*: 'There is no god but God,' there is no reality but the Reality. Man's self-existence is not real, since he is not God; therefore, the illusion that it is real must be annihilated. The second is *baqā*, 'subsistence in God,' which springs from the 'but': There is no reality *but* the Reality. Since God alone is real, man's real Self is God. Man attains to Reality only by passing away from his illusory self and subsiding in his real Self" (Chittick, 2005, p. 71).

It is interesting that Ilhāmī Baba continues in the following part of his *mathnawī* with the words "This (state) is both, extinction and appearance; this (state) is both, annihilation (*fanā*) and subsistence (*baqā*)"

²² One whose job is to wash and prepare the deceased for the burial at *gasilhane* (a place where the deceased are washed and prepared for burial).

(Abdulvehhāb Ilhāmī Jepčević, 1843, R-3056, fol. 25b).²³ The whole concept of attaining proximity to God and a way of reaching this state was concisely mentioned in a well-known Hadith al-Qudsi:

“...And My servant does not draw near to Me with anything more loved to Me than the religious duties I have obligated upon him. And My servant continues to draw near to me with *nafl* (supererogatory) deeds until I Love him. When I Love him, I am his hearing with which he hears, and his sight with which he sees, and his hand with which he strikes, and his foot with which he walks. Were he to ask [something] of Me, I would surely give it to him; and were he to seek refuge with Me, I would surely grant him refuge” (an-Nawawī, Hadith 38).

If this is accomplished, then the person is set free from the fictions and delusions, better to say untrue imagination of self-existence. It is of enormous significance to stress out that reaching the Unity of God is something that has already been a reality the whole time, but the one was not aware of it. That is why the state of not knowing God and considering oneself separated from Him is described an illusion (*wahm/vehm*). Thus, when a person actualizes the state of being immersed in God’s Oneness, i.e., when dervish awakens to the already present reality, his heart and spirit are purified, cleansed, raised, and lifted up. That person has attained the real life, the real, present, and true belief, righteousness, ultimate level of love, felicity, joy, and happiness while being aware of his submergence in God.

5. Conclusions

According to the Sufi doctrine that is interspersed in the poetry of Ilhāmī Baba, one cannot be a true believer, nor can achieve true happiness and the highest level of love, if one accepts only *Sharī’ah* and not *Ṭarīqah*, but must fulfill both of the aspects of the religion to achieve the intended results, since the flight is not possible with only one wing.

All of these messages interwoven in the verses of the Ilhāmī Baba are intended for a *dervish*, a person who is a traveller on the Path that leads to God. Recipients of these verses are *dervishes*, and this poetry is not intended for everyone who is a part of the Muslim population. For such people, *Sharī’ah* is enough and is necessary for their salvation. But if someone wants to be a *dervish*, or already is one, and wishes to travel to God, then he must obey and accept both of these dimensions of the religion.

To fly, birds need both of their wings. If a believer wants to “fly”, to travel on that Path, i.e., to fulfill his human mission in this worldly life, he/she also needs two wings, *Sharī’ah* and *Ṭarīqah*. Accepting *Sharī’ah* while neglecting *Ṭarīqah* is not enough, but at the same time, going in for the *Ṭarīqah*, while not obeying *Sharī’ah*’s rules is in vain. To get desired results, Ilhāmī Baba stated that the following must be fulfilled. It is a must to be under a supervision of a Sufi master (Sheikh); to follow Qur’ān, Hadīth, and Sunnah, and to show respect and obedience to the authorities. Also, it is required to perform religious duties not just with bodies, but to include hearts and souls in these actions and deeds. Accomplishing religious acts and rites only mechanically is nothing but a mere imitation. Being in such a state is an indicator of incomplete belief. According to Ilhāmī Baba, to complete one’s belief, complete devotion to God along with the constant awareness and witnessing of His presence, while, at the same time being cleansed from the world including “self” and all of the worldly desires, with purified soul and sincere intentions in the heart, is a must. All of these rules set out by the Sheikh are inevitable and necessary to be able to *fly*, and flying in such a way (living both, *Sharī’ah* and *Ṭarīqah*) will lead dervish to reach

²³ Transcription of the original text: “Budur maḥv hem ḡuhūr’dur / budur fenā hem beḡā’dur”.

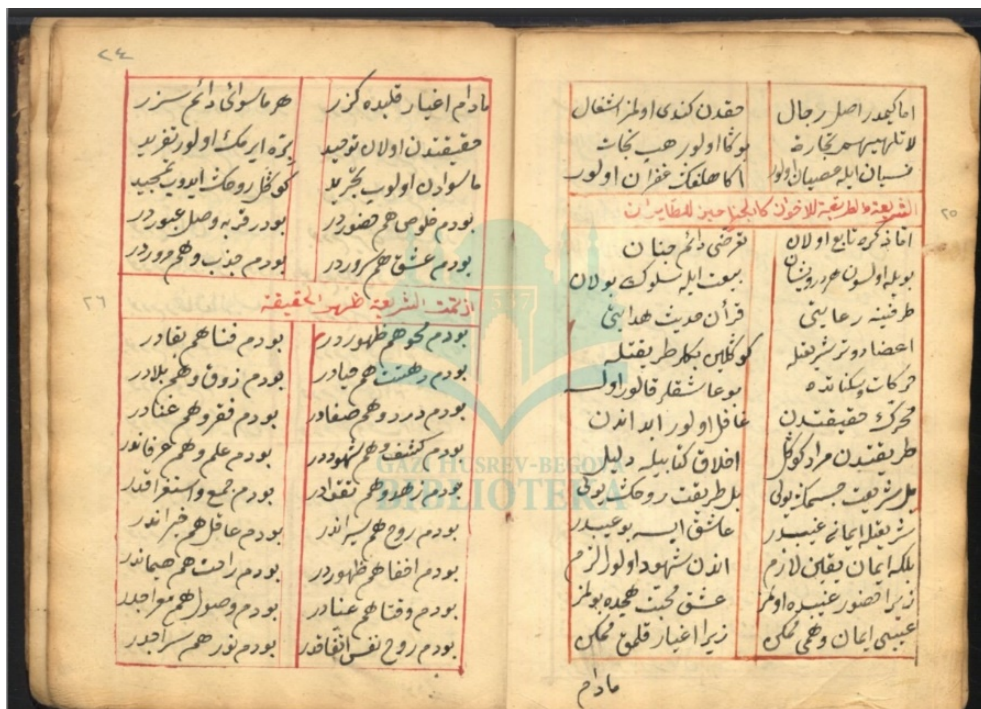
salvation, happiness, felicity, joy, being admitted to the closeness to God, and entering His Oneness, in the true sense.

The available evidence suggests that Ilhāmī Baba, who lived in 18th century Ottoman Bosnia, articulated ideas in his works that are comparable to those found in earlier and later Sufi authors. Numerous Sufi figures across different periods appear to have engaged with similar metaphysical themes and expressed related doctrinal positions. This continuity indicates that the Sufi teachings present in 18th-century Bosnia were broadly aligned with the established Sufi intellectual tradition transmitted over preceding centuries.

Ilhāmī Baba's writings reflect a clear engagement with concepts associated with *wahdat al-wujūd* demonstrating familiarity with sophisticated theological and metaphysical discussions concerning divine unity. His work suggests the presence of highly educated Sufi scholars within the local Bosnian scholarly circle who were capable of addressing subtle doctrinal issues. The analysis also shows that referring to classical Sufi literature remains essential for interpreting Sufi poetry and Sufi texts more generally, as it provides the conceptual framework necessary for understanding their terminology and themes.

Appendix A (Facsimile)

Facsimile of the poem analysed in this paper – GHB R-3056, fol. 25ab; access to the manuscript is free via digital library (GHB, Manuscript Fund Section): <https://ghb.ba/en/>, <http://digital.ghb.ba/> :



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One of the “Beş Şehir” Where Time Stands Still: Bursa**

Zamanın Durduğu “Beş Şehir”den Biri: Bursa

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Öz

İnsanlar, yaşadıkları şehirler, sokaklar, mahalleler ve yapılarıyla fiziksel bir uyum içindeyken aynı zamanda diğer insanlarla da manevi bir bütünlük kurarlar. Zaman geçtikçe bu mekânlar, sakinlerinin ruhunu özümseyerek adeta canlı organizmalar hâline dönüşür. Köklü tarihi ile Bursa, çalkantılı zamanlar geçirmiş böylesi bir şehirdir. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Beş Şehir* adlı eserinde bu deneyimden yola çıkarak mimariyle harmanlanmış bir tarih algısını ortaya koymuştur. Ona göre Bursa, geçmişten bugüne uzanan bir şehir olarak varlığını sürdürmektedir. Bursa'yı ziyaret edenler, burayı sıradan bir turistik gezi olarak değil, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ön sözü olarak değerlendirmeli ve bu atmosfere girebilmelidir. Çesmeler, camiler ve türbeler aracılığıyla kendini gösteren bu tarihe odaklanmadan yapılan her gezi eksik ve ruhsuz olacaktır. Biz de bu çalışmada, Tanpınar'ın *Beş Şehir* adlı eserinden yola çıkarak Bursa'nın hem insana hem de mimari dokuya nasıl nüfuz ettiğini inceleyeceğiz.

Anahtar kelimeler: Türkçe, *Beş Şehir*, Bursa, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Şehir, Zaman.

Abstract

Cities where people live together constitute an architectural whole with their streets, neighbor-hoods, and buildings, and a spiritual whole with their people. Over time, these spaces begin to feel like living entities, absorbing the energy of those who inhabit them. Bursa, with its historical past, is one such city that has experienced tough times. In his work “*Beş Şehir*”, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar revealed a perception of history combined with architecture through this experience. According to him, Bursa continues to exist as a living city from the past to the present. Those who come to Bursa should see it as the foreword of the Ottoman Empire rather than as a touris-tic trip and enter into that spirit. Every trip made without focusing on the history that manifests itself through fountains, mosques, and tombs will be incomplete and soulless. In this study, ba-sed on Tanpınar's “*Beş Şehir*”, we will examine how Bursa permeates both the person and the arc-hitectural texture.

Keywords: Turkish language, “*Beş Şehir*”, Bursa, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, City, Time.

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It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited. Yasemin Ulutürk Sakarya

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1. Introduction

Cities are spatial structures that have existed since human beings began to live collectively. The city, which can be considered as a kind of morphological structure, can contain all kinds of human memory and spirit. This situation, which evokes the feeling of a living being, points to the task of a mirror held up to the city's past. French sociologist Henri Lefebvre, in his work *The Production of Space*, refers to the forces of the city for the mirror in question and refers to monumental spaces: "All the recently distinguished moments of spatiality—perceived, designed, experienced; representations of space, spaces of representation; spaces specific to each emotion, from smell to speech; gestures and symbols—have been united in monumentality for thousands of years. Monumental space offers each member of a society the image of his or her belonging and social face; it is a collective mirror that is more accurate than an individualized mirror" (2014: 232).

This view in Lefebvre is a sign that the city or the city dweller is not free. This is because the human being is in an endeavor to continue his/her life in a collective city, which is formed, negatively or positively, by the people who lived in that city before him/her. Therefore, city's past is a candidate for influencing both the present and the future of the person. In this process, the urbanite, on the other hand, plays a role in shaping the environment he/she lives in by building it, transforming it, and, while changing it, in other words, civilizing the city. At this stage, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, who believes that cities have souls, believes that every city should have a civilization formed by its own past. It should also be noted that civilization here is not only a concept that feeds on the traces of the past. Because Tanpınar, who does not turn his back on the fact that modernization is inevitable in time, has tried to explain his belief that the past and the future should be able to live together at the same time in various media. The situations in which modernity triumphed over civilization remained as great disappointments for him. As a matter of fact, modernity focuses on the individual and tries to keep him at the center. Therefore, faced with isolation from society, the human/urbanite begins to move away from the phenomenon of unity and solidarity that constitutes the essence of civilization over time and perceives himself as a dysfunctional object pushed towards loneliness in the crowds under these conditions where the link between the past and the future is about to be erased (Simmel, 2009: 322). For this reason, Tanpınar, who especially visited historical places in the cities he travelled to and visited and tried to be in touch with the spirituality of the places, expressed that after a while he preferred to leave himself to the flow of time and feel 'as he lived' with the following words: "It is best to let the memories choose the hour in which they will speak to us. It is only in such moments of awakening that the voice of the past becomes a discovery, a lesson, in short, something added to the present. What we have to do is to surrender ourselves to the wind of the new, productive and vibrant present. It will lead us to an industrious and happy world where the beautiful and the good, consciousness and dream will join hands" (Tanpınar, 1969: 259-260).

Tanpınar, who was often alone with the dream of history, performed poetic actions on spaces and could not help but worry about the future of the city. In fact, not only the future of the city, but also the future of the city dweller will face an extremely dangerous loss of memory if the connection with the past is severed. Therefore, keeping the society's memory alive will only be possible by keeping the memories fresh. According to Tanpınar, architecture is one of the most important elements for this. Architecture appeals to many emotions. Its changes and transformations can provide many clues about social life (Dellaloğlu, 2013: 25).

At this stage, Tanpınar also frequently mentioned emphasized the influence of the city's buildings on people. It is essential to remember Bachelard here. Like Bachelard, who reflects on the fact that the house is not

an ordinary interior space and that "the dialectics of inside and outside multiply and differentiate with countless subtle distinctions" (2014: 260), Tanpınar also emphasizes the dialectics that spaces, just like people, never remain the same. Saying that "Our sorrows and sorrows must have something to do with the place or the natural neighborhood of our life" (2011: 78), Tanpınar assigns an important role to the place in terms of the external manifestation of one's inner world. The fact that the place keeps the past and thus civilization alive by giving rise to various mental associations is another role in the same vein. This role, which we can see as Tanpınar's endeavor to keep the past alive, is through transforming it into art (Gürbilek, 1995: 10). Emphasizing that the aforementioned art, as a poetic act, reached a very advanced level during the Ottoman period, Tanpınar argues that Ottoman architects made the stone speak by applying art to it and created a history and mentality out of it. As a result, a vibrant city with a soul emerged (Güneş, 2018: 40). Bursa is one of the exceptional cities for Tanpınar with its artistic architecture, role, and history.

2. Tanpınar and Bursa

For Tanpınar, Bursa is one of the rare cities where time stands still and the past can become one with in the present. For this reason, it is possible to perceive a poetry in every kind of writing Tanpınar wrote about Bursa. Because he himself travelled, saw, and breathed Bursa like a poem. The way he puts his feelings on paper is just like a painter.

In his work *Beş Şehir*, which has the characteristics of a city-grapheme, Tanpınar, who also discusses Bursa alongside other cities, is content to list only the cities he mentions in the table of contents, and he finds the title "*Bursa'da Zaman*" appropriate for Bursa. This usage reveals the difference of Tanpınar's interest in Bursa. In this work, Tanpınar came to terms with the past and wrote: "The past is always present. In order to live as ourselves, we are obliged to come to terms and come to an understanding with it every moment" (Tanpınar, 1969: IV).

During his stay in Bursa, Tanpınar travelled around the city both as a tourist and as a researcher; he sought to grasp and feel the essence of the city by delving into its spiritual depths. While realizing this, he mentioned the existence of many elements that helped him in his descriptions and analyses, and he gave his readers a stylistic and deep historical pleasure by putting into words the reflection of aesthetic pleasure on objects like an architect, and the penetration of art into the soul like a good painter or a musician. In fact, he experienced this pleasure himself. For him, Bursa was, as Grand Vizier Keçeci Fuad Pasha put it, "the preamble of Ottoman history." Therefore, it can be argued that Bursa was far from being an ordinary city for him; it was the epitome of civilization and the beginning of the future.

While describing Bursa, Tanpınar emphasized various qualities of the city. The basis of these qualities is his admiration for it, since Bursa is a rare city that reflects its belonging to a specific period in a deep way among the cities he saw.

"Among all the cities I have ever seen, I do not remember any other city that is the property of a certain period as much as Bursa. The 130 years that passed from the conquest until 1453 were not enough for Bursa to become a Turkish city not only from top to bottom and down to its bones, but also to determine its spiritual face in a way that will never change for the future times. Whatever the changes, disasters and neglect it has undergone, whatever the advanced and happy progress it has made, it always retains the air of this first founding age, speaks to us through it, breathes its poetry" (Tanpınar, 1969: 107).

The specific identity that Tanpınar mentions is one that can be realized through living in the city, which intensifies the feeling of the existence of a second time.

"History has imprinted its stamp so deeply and strongly on this city. It is present everywhere with its own rhythm, its own special taste; it appears in front of us at every step. It is a tomb, a mosque, an inn, a tombstone, an old plane tree here, a fountain there, and it catches you with a view and a name that makes you dream of a bygone time, with the light of a bygone time that hangs over it and that digests a longing in all its lines. It enters between your conversation and your work; it gives direction to your dreams" (Tanpınar, 1969: 109).

Tanpınar mentioned many qualities of the city that reveal its identity. We can list them as historical figures, spirituality, architecture, time, love, and criticism of the new in the *Beş Şehir*. It is not possible to consider any of these elements separately from each other. In particular, the role of people and architecture in the spirituality that permeates the city is very important, and the fact that Tanpınar's interest in Bursa dates back to his childhood years leads to a different imagination of Bursa in his work.

"When I was a young primary school student, I used to listen to what my father, who loved Bursa very much, told me and in my imagination I would combine them with the names I came across in my history book. Thus, suddenly the page would come alive before my eyes, deepen, fill with color and light" (Tanpınar, 1969: 110-111).

Tanpınar's interest in history, which emerged during his school years with his father's encouragement, deepened further when he observed the city and came to love it. While this interest in the city brought his view of it and his inhalation of every moment in its streets to a different dimension, it also enabled him to feel the city's specific identity of the city by living it. For this reason, it is possible to evaluate the signs related to the identity of the city under two headings in terms of their effect on the soul:

2.1. Persons and Spirituality

While Tanpınar notes that Bursa is a harbinger of the Ottoman period, he gives special importance to the foundation period. Because it was the historical figures of the foundation period who built and constructed Bursa. There are many settlements and architectural elements in the city named after them, and Tanpınar gives them their due by allocating space to each in turn. According to him, "once you have learned these names, you cannot forget them, they creep into your secluded hours like small and mild dreams, they compel you to make friends with them, to force their mysterious enclosures, to recognize and satisfy the secrets they conceal" (Tanpınar, 1969: 109).

The first of these names is Osman Bey, the founder. Because of his connection to an old Byzantine monastery called Gümüşlü, Osman Bey symbolizes for Tanpınar the bluish whiteness of the word silver. Believing that this word, together with the first jets, brings spring from the highlands of Central Asia, Tanpınar thinks that words formed with the letters s and l, such as green, add a different meaning to Bursa. Then he mentions Konuralp, famous for his bravery, who has taken a place in his imagination as a fairy tale hero, and wonders what he was thinking as he watched the plain of Bursa with his first steps in this newly conquered city.

Nilüfer is a trophy flower like the spring breeze of the conquest victory. Nilüfer Hatun, the great love of Orhan Gazi, carries the traces of the past both in the neighborhood name and in "that beautiful imaret in Iznik is attributed to Nilüfer Hatun with its five-door portico and very comfortable dome" (Tanpınar, 1969: 114). Therefore, "Orhan's love for his wife or Murad the First's filial affection has inextricably linked the name of this woman to the history of Bursa and Iznik" (Tanpınar, 1969: 114). Orhan Gazi is one of the heroes of the foundation, known for his compassionate depth and generosity. The mark he left on the city will never be erased, any more than his wife, Nilüfer Hatun.

"One of the points that historians draw attention to in the line from principality to state is the fact that the first period rulers were exemplary figures of the Ottoman dynasty with their personalities rising to the position of guardianship" (Uçak, 2019: 328). Orhan Gazi, who lit the lamps of the mosques he built and, with his own hands, distributed the food prepared in the almshouses to the needy with his own hands, was the central hero of the founding period as a semi-saint. Tanpınar mentions that he likes to imagine him mostly in this imaret and in his dilapidated mosque in the bazaar and expresses that he is filled with bliss when he thinks of what he has done. According to him, "for a century and a half, Orhan was the model for the whole empire" (Tanpınar, 1969: 115).

The other names mentioned are "Murad I, Yıldırım Bayezid with minor line changes, Mehmed I, so wise and strong-willed that he put the empire back together after the disaster of 1402, Murad II, the first-class statesman and man of war of his time who combined greatness with simplicity, poet and aesthete, respectively" (Tanpınar, 1969: 115).

Tanpınar underlines that in the process of Bursa becoming a Turkish city, spiritual founders and leaders also played a role. Orhan Gazi, whom we have mentioned above, is the source of Bursa's spirit and spirituality. According to him, "Orhan is in reality the companion of the men of Khorasan in arms and in virtue. More precisely, like many things from that period, they are the continuation of Orhan" (Tanpınar, 1969: 115).

The other name is Geyikli Baba. He, like Orhan Gazi, is a Khorasan hero who likens the foundation of the new Turkish state to the birth of a new religion. Tanpınar, who wanders city's the streets with various questions and mental queries about himself, does not hesitate to express that he still cannot comprehend what kind of enlightenment has occurred in people thanks to him. İsmail Hakkı Efendi is a Celvetî sheikh who came to Bursa in the seventeenth century. Tanpınar states that İsmail Hakkı Efendi, about whom he mentions various oddities, is a very hardworking and well-intentioned person.

As can be seen, the meaning that historical figures add to the city appears before the reader as a spiritual manifestation. This manifestation is significant in revealing the city's identity to the outside world.

2.2. Architecture and Spirituality

In addition to historical figures, architecture also played an important role in Bursa's becoming a city of a specific period. The influence of these people and their perspectives on art is decisive in shaping architecture. Therefore, stone, beyond being an ordinary stone, has become an art that whispers to the soul and Bursa, as Evliya Çelebi said, has become 'a city with spirituality'. As a matter of fact, according to Tanpınar, "our ancestors were not building, they were worshipping. They had a spirit and a faith that they insisted on transferring to matter. The stone came to life in their hands, became a piece of soul. Wall, dome, arch, mihrab, tile, all of them prayed in Yeşil, thought in Muradiye, and waited above the plain in Yıldırım, ready for action, with the lunge of an eagle thirsting for the depths of the heavens. A single spirit sings in all of them" (Tanpınar, 1969: 130). Tanpınar explains the main reason for this chanting as love. "They loved this city, which they regarded as the first smile of victory, so much, embraced it so sincerely that its stone and soil are still full of the luminous traces of this elevating and shaping ambition" (Tanpınar, 1969: 108).

For the city, which is painted green from top to bottom, the meaning of this color is very different. "That eternity's priestly face is the meaning of a tranquility, which is very similar to a reward, that has permeated a mortal hour" (Tanpınar, 1969: 110). Therefore, when the Green Mosque or the Green Tomb is mentioned, death changes its face in the imagination and invokes tranquility. In this tomb, where Çelebi Mehmed is buried with his family members, the only thing that makes death, the fated end, beautiful is art. Because, according to Tanpınar, thanks

to art, "people who have been quarreling all their lives, who have not hesitated to shed the blood of sons and brothers, let alone strangers, share the fortune of a saint thanks to the skill and benevolence oozing from the hands of master architects and artisans" (Tanpınar, 1969: 124). Green Mosque is one of the places where the feeling of awe is experienced most intensely. "To say that it is the most perfect work of our architecture would undoubtedly be an exaggeration. However, it is also certain that in this mosque a technique in the process of formation, on its way towards the perfection and splendor of Bayezid and Süleymaniye, has undergone one of its most beautiful and most suggestive hesitations" (Tanpınar, 1969: 125). As soon as one enters this mosque, which is one of the main places where the integration of green with Bursa is experienced, the human soul finds one of its most natural climates. According to Tanpınar, everything in this mosque tells its guests about the city's Turkishization.

Another architectural work that reflects the city's civilization and should be mentioned as a reminder of a particular period is the fountains that have almost taken over the entire city. Evliya Çelebi described Bursa in detail and concluded by writing "Bursa consists of water" and Tanpınar agrees with Çelebi, writing "Bursa is a city of water" (Tanpınar, 1969: 117). Sheikhlislam Karaçelebizade Aziz Efendi is the main reason why Bursa is referred to in this way. As a matter of fact, the fact that Aziz Efendi spent a large part of his fortune on fountains, regardless of whether they were needed or not, led to the fountains being known as 'Mufti fountains'. When Tanpınar learned about this event, he was surprised at first, but then he realized the truth and began to have infinite respect for Aziz Efendi. This is because the water flowing from these fountains serves as a talismanic mirror of every moment of the day. According to Tanpınar, Aziz Efendi "wanted that at every hour of the day, these fountains should hear the cries of his own hopeful and afflicted soul, his soul doomed to be exhausted in a place far from the city where he was born and grew up, a place alien to life and movement. Let this voice tell them of the great turning points of life, the beauty of the seasons, and the transience of life..." (Tanpınar, 1969: 118).

Tanpınar also touches upon the relationship between water's soothing effect on the soul and its distancing effect in space through the concept of time, as seen in Aziz Efendi's fountains. While watching the water flowing from the fountain, he makes a temporal journey towards that period based on the fountain's name. When he is alone with the sound of the water, he gets into the confusion that the period he migrated to is the real time. He gets the feeling that the absolute ongoing time is actually the period when that fountain was built, and that he himself lives in that period in an immaterial way. This feeling carries the sound of water from the ordinary to the extraordinary and strengthens the feeling that there is "another unseen city above the city" (Tanpınar, 1969: 137). According to him, this sound of water makes one travel from dream to dream like an eternally repeating accent and turns the city into an imaginary space beyond time. The past, the future, and the present come alive together in this space, and as one looks at the water and listens to its sound of the water, one accumulates time in this city with a new inspiration every moment. With these feelings, he describes the time he lives next to the water in the fountain with the following sentences: "Now I seem to have learned what it is that makes the second time, which exists for us in Bursa beside the original time, differently and more profoundly than it. This sound and its reflections that embrace the surroundings and repeat the essence of everything it touches in an eternity, this eternal mirror of seasons and thoughts, is a talismanic mirror that gives all three lines of time. The mirror of art is nothing other than this" (Tanpınar, 1969: 138).

According to Tanpınar, Bursa is the manifestation of time in the mirror. Therefore, he considers it normal for those who come to the city, stay here, and wander its streets to think that 'there is a second time in Bursa'. Expressing the fact that the things that seem to be outdated or perceived as unnecessary when viewed from

the outside actually constitute that second time, Tanpınar defines the concept of time in this city as a generative and monolithic time that art, life lived with passion, faith, and history set in the air of this city like an eternal season.

Tanpınar, who performs a kind of teleportation through the sound of water in the city's fountains and shadirvan, expresses his sadness at the city's changing face due to various events, and adds that historical artifacts are deeply affected by this change. In particular, he states that the fire that occurred in 1271 swept away Sarayıçı and the whole of Bursa, and that the loss of the treasures of history caused Keçeci Fuad Pasha to cry, "The preamble of Ottoman history burned down!" Although the modernist approaches that followed struck a blow to both the city's architecture and its perception of time, Tanpınar did not give up on Bursa despite the dramatic incidents, and stated that the time in Bursa continues and will continue to move forward in a differently.

3. Conclusion

Tanpınar travelled to many cities and gave Bursa a special importance among them. He expressed this in his writings and poems in a highly harmonious style, like a musician. At the same time, just as a painter constructs the landscape he sees on his canvas with various colors in a certain measure and imagination, Tanpınar has drawn a city panorama with words. Therefore, while he lived, he kept Bursa alive through his works. In this city, history, which comes alive with people and architecture, creates an indescribable timelessness, while the past and the future come together at the same time to form a new sense of time. This time has enabled Tanpınar to revive his view of Bursa, that is, the Bursa in his imagination. Therefore, we can say that Tanpınar's Bursa is not only a city but also history, civilization, the future, and most importantly, time itself.

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