

SPIRITUAL ISLAMIC MUSIC TRADITION IN THE BALKANS AT THE TIME OF THE OTTOMAN STATE

Aida ISLAM*
STEFANIJA LESHKOVA ZELENKOVSKA**

Abstract

This paper refers to the Islamic musical tradition at the time of the Ottoman Empire on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. Religion was an integral part of the Ottoman state and political power, the forms of divine service, and thus the spiritual music, had an official status. Spiritual music had a ceremonial character and took place in two branches: mosques and tekkes (Sufi convents). Spiritual life in the mosques was at a very high level, and musical education had an important place in the divine service. The tekke had a great role in terms of the cultural segment of social life. If the court was an official music institution, the tekke was a civic association for the diffusion of musical knowledge, and transfer of music experience. At the time of Ottoman rule the Islamic spiritual music tradition in the divine services greatly contributed to the development of the entire musical culture.

Keywords: Spiritual music, Islamic tradition, Ottoman State, Republic of Macedonia, Mosques, Tekkes.

* PhD Professor, Faculty of Pedagogy, Cs Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje, R. Macedonia, aidaberkin@yahoo.com

** PhD Professor, Faculty of Music, University Goce Delchev, Shtip, R. Macedonia, stefanija.zelenkovski@ugd.edu.mk

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OSMANLI DEVLETİ DÖNEMİNDE MAKEDONYA'DA TASAVVUF MÜZİĞİ GELENEĞİ

Özet

Bu metin Makedonya Cumhuriyeti bölgesinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hakimiyeti dönemindeki dini musikisi geleneği hususundadır. Dinin, devlet ve siyaset gücünün bir parçası olduğu geçişinden hareket ederek, dini ibadet biçimleri ve bununla birlikte dini müziğinin de resmi statüsü varmış. Genellikle dini merasimlerde mevcut olan müzik iki dalda gelişmiştir: Cami Musikisi ve Tekke Musikisi. Camilerde dini hayatın yüksek seviyede olması nedeniyle, müzik eğitiminin ibadet için büyük önemi varmış. Bu anlamda, İlahi eğitim enstitülerinde, geleceğin ilahiyatçılarının müzik sınavını geçmeleri şartmış. Müezzinler için ise, ezan ve diğer formların okunmasında bilinmesi gereken makam ve diğer müzik unsurlarının öğretildiği altı aylık bir eğitim zorunluluğu mevcuttmuş. Tekkelerin toplumsal yaşamın kültürel ve sanatsal açısından çok önemli rolü varmış. Bu bağlamda, tekkelerin güzel sanatlara, özellikle şiir ve müziğin gelişmesine katkısı çok büyükmüş. Saraylar resmi müzik enstitülerini oluşturmuş ise, tekkeler hususunda müzik bilgisinin ve tecrübesinin nesilden nesile yayılmasını sağlayan sivil toplum örgütleri olduğu söylenebilir. Bu bölgelerde Osmanlı döneminde, ibadetlerde, çalınan tasavvuf müziğinin, sadece dini müzikisinin değil, bu ortamın müziksel kültürünün tamamının gelişmesinde de katkısının büyük olduğu apaçaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: **Dini müzik, İslam geleneği, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Makedonya Cumhuriyeti, camiler, tekkeler.**

INTRODUCTION

The place of music in Islam is a debatable topic that has an origin from the period of the emergence of this religion. The negative attitude of Islam toward music, especially the secular, that prevailed in the Islamic doctrine, especially among the orthodox believers, was never generally accepted. Unlike such puritan notion, in Islamic doctrine prevailed the attitude that music and dance are allowed—if they do not encourage passion and immorality.

However, despite all confrontations, in the historical course of the Islamic social structure, music had occupied a significant place; and so a separate genre was created, which was called “spiritual music”.

In practice, Islam and music, especially the vocal, are in harmony, and everyday practice of the Islamic religion and culture inevitably involves music. Music is present from the birth of a person, when the spiritual form of *ezan* is sung into the ears of a newborn child, and is practiced throughout the life (everyday prayers, spiritual holidays, etc.).

Considering the fact that religion was an integral part of the state and political power, the forms of spiritual divine service, and thus the spiritual music, had the official status. Although a certain system functioned within the two types of spiritual institutions—the mosques and tekkes—the status of official divine service was more valid for the mosques.

Within the spiritual musical culture that was represented during the period between 15th and 20th centuries, in this paper, we will mention the most eminent spiritual figures who were the carriers of this musical genre, the institutions where they studied, and the places where the spiritual liturgia were held (madrassas, mosques, and tekkes), as well as some of the characteristics in the performances of spiritual forms during that period.

From a methodological point of view, the realization of this complex subject was carried out in several stages: analysis of the preserved archival documents and other artifacts, field research of the spiritual objects, and interviews with spiritual figures of the older generation.

1. Spiritual Music In The Religious And Educational Institutions

After the departure of the Ottomans and until the 50s in the past century, spiritual life in these regions was at a very high level. This situation was surely due to the fact that musical education had an important place during the period of Ottoman rule, namely, at the theological educational institutions, the future spiritual figures first had to pass the music exam. The Muezzins were obliged to attend classes for a period of 6 months, where they studied the makams and other musical elements necessary for the performance of the *ezan* and other forms.

1.1. Mosques and their significance in the spiritual culture

By conquering the new territories, the Ottoman Turks built a huge number of religious institutions—mosques and tekkes. The basic idea behind the creation of these religious institutions was to attract most of the population, regardless of their religious or ethnic background.¹

The mosques, i.e., the meshedes (smaller worship places having no minaret), were the first and the most numerous objects of Islamic architecture that were built everywhere with the expansion of the Ottoman power. The founders of these objects were individuals, Muslim notables, rulers, and wealthier citizens who raised them as their own foundations (vakıfs).²

A large number of mosques were built in the territory of Macedonia. Unfortunately, there is no documentation on the precise number of these sacred objects that were built during the centuries.

According to the statements of the famous traveler—writer Evliya Çelebi who visited Skopje in 1659/60, in this period existed in Skopje, 120 Islamic houses of worship, large and small mosques, meshedes, and private houses of worship. However, the common prayer on Fridays (dzuma) was performed only in 45 mosques.³ Mosques were built in urban quarters and at the bazaars, and usually wore the name of the founder of the mosque.

Given the large number on spiritual objects, it can be concluded that spiritual music in the past had extremely important role in everyday life of the population. At the birth of children, the custom of singing in their ears, the spiritual form ezan was used (this custom is kept up to date), and at the first going to school, the children were sent to school accompanied by ilahis.

1.1.1. Educational institutions madrassas

In addition to the religious objects, spiritual music was preached and studied in the educational institutions called *madrassas*. These religious institutions that were located next to the mosques, were built during the same period along with them.

Considering the fact that one of the main subjects in these institutions was catechism (but the rules of the Arab language, writing, mathematics, etc., were also studied here), it can be assumed that the forms of spiritual music were also studied. The main objective of these institutions was adaptation of the students to the tasks they had to fulfill as religious and state officials, because of which was taught a group of subjects regarding the interpretation of

Quran and Islamic tradition. Madrassas were managed by the so-called muderis teachers.⁴

According to the statements of Çelebi, the most important madrassas in Skopje during the 17th century were: Sultan Murad Han, Jahja-Pasha, Ishak-Pasha and Isa-Pasha (1445), Mustafa-Pasha, and Karlizade madrassa. In Bitola, during the same period, there were nine active madrassas, among which the most famous was Dulbend-kadi, as well as Ishak Çelebi madrassa, in which active muderis teachers were Hasan Efendi and Abdul Kerim.⁵ In Stip existed one madrassa, by the name of Muradija located in front of the mosque Gazi-Murad Hudavendigâr.⁶

Çelebi described the high level of participation of religious schools in these regions during the period between 16th and 18th century, and according to him the spiritual persons educated in these educational institutions were employed in the cities throughout the whole empire.⁷

During the 19th century, 12 madrassas were active in Skopje. Four of them were burned and ruined, and in the other eight madrassas, the above-mentioned subjects were studied.⁸ Among them, the most important madrassas were Isa Bey (Isa pasha), Emir Ismail, Medah, and Tutunsuz.⁹

Ibrahimgil Mehmet mentions 16 madrassas in Bitola that were active during the 19th century.¹⁰ It was the period when Bitola became the capital of the Rumelian Eyalet, and thus became the main economic, political, and cultural center.

Spiritual music, as part of the subject of catechism, was taught by eminent hafizes who usually performed divine services in the mosques. Relying on the documented sources that were available to us, we will mention several spiritual persons who worked actively in several cities in Macedonia. Among the most important names in the spiritual life of Skopje are Hasan Fehmi Efendi—the muderis of the madrassa Jahja pasha in Skopje and his student hafiz Sharif Mehmet Efendi—muderis of the madrassa Isa Bey.

Among the muderis who taught divine service in Ishak Çelebi madrassa in Bitola during the 19th century was Yahya Efendi.¹¹

⁴ Aleksandar Sterjovski, "Vospitaniето i obrazovanieto vo Bitola, razvoj i perspektivi", *Zbornik*, juni, Bitola 1990

⁵ Turkish documents about the history of the Macedonians, Skopje 1963, p.30

⁶ Çelebi, *Putopis - Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, Sarajevo 1979, p. 344 - 345.

⁷ Çelebi, *Putopis - Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, Sarajevo 1979, p. 306

⁸ Rumeli'nin sesi. "Üsküp bizimken", *Rumeli Tarihi*, Üsküp 1979, p. 24

⁹ Ekrem Ayverdi Hakkı, "Yugoslavya da Türk Abideleri ve Vakıfları", Vakıflar Umum

Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, S. 3, Ankara 1957, p. 290

¹⁰ Mehmet Z. İbrahimgil, "Manastır'da Osmanlı Dönemi Türk Eğitimi Yapılan ve Atatürk'ün

okuduğu askeri İdadî", *Atatürk ve Manastır Sempozyumu*, Manastır 1998, p. 114-116

¹¹ Sterjovski, "Vospitaniето i obrazovanieto vo Bitola, razvoj i perspektivi", *Zbornik*, juni, Bitola 1990, p. 86

Of the spiritual figures that were active in the other regions of Macedonia during the late 19th century were Yusuf Zijjuddin Efendi (1829–1921) from Tikves who migrated to Istanbul where he taught at the madrasa Suleymaniyeye and was granted the title Reisu'l-Ulema, and Nabi Effendi from Skopje, who was educated in Istanbul, and taught at the madrasa Isa Bey—Skopje.

Besides the madrassas, existed the schools for learning and memorizing of the Quran, called *daru'l-kurra*. During the 17th century, there were nine schools of this type in Skopje. They were not separate buildings under the domes, but they were built near the mosques. According to Celebi, in these institutions, only memorizing of the Quran was taught, because the residents otherwise did not pay much attention to memorizing of the Holy book. During that period, these types of schools existed in Stip within the mosques Husam pasha, Kadin—Ane, and bazaar mosque.¹²

1.1.2. Important spiritual persons

At the time of the Ottoman State, in Macedonia lived and worked actively a large number of educated spiritual persons. One of the names that is mentioned in the history of Ottoman music is Niyazi from Skopje, who lived in the 16th century (according to some sources in the 15th century) and left behind a legacy of spiritual compositions that were sung during the following centuries. In addition to the spiritual works, he had created secular works too. His works were very popular and widespread throughout the Ottoman state.¹³

Within the spiritual circles in Skopje, the name of hafiz Ibrahim can also be found, who had reputation as one of the leading spiritual persons in Macedonia. His father Ibrahim Salih was a student at Hadji Hafiz Yahya Efendi, who was in the spiritual divine service at the time of Sultan Abdulhamid who ruled during the period 1876–1909.

During that period, another important spiritual figure was active in Skopje. It was hafiz Ataulah Kurtish (1872–1946) who was educated at the madrasa Fatih in Istanbul. Upon returning to Skopje, in 1923, he formed the madrasa Medah and from there were hatched a few generations of spiritual figures. One of the most important was Fetah Efendi who, among other talents, was a poet. According to some claims, Fetah Efendi has left behind as a legacy a huge number of verses of spiritual poetry, for which he is ranked at the level of many eminent Turkish poets of that time, such as the Mehmet Akif Ersoy.

During the period of the Ottoman rule, the town of Ohrid was considered as one of the most important areas in the spiritual sphere. During that period, several educated spiritual figures were sent to other parts of Macedonia, especially to the western part, to strengthen the spiritual circles in

these regions. Among the significant spiritual persons who lived and acted in that region during the late 19th and early 20th century were hafiz Osman, hafiz Murat, and hafiz Emrah. They were educated at high theological institutions in Istanbul and had left behind as legacy many specimens of manuscripts from the Quran.

1.2. The repertoire of the spiritual service

The repertoire that was practiced in the spiritual service during the Ottoman period consists of two types of musical forms: one form that inherited from the Arabic Islamic tradition and the other one created by the Turkish authors.

The innovation and integration of completely new musical forms in the divine service indicate the individuality of the Turkish Islamic sphere, as well as the importance of this religion in the society. Spiritual forms that were created by a few prominent Turkish composers are sala, temjid, munajat, salat-i Ummye, mihrab, tekbir, miradie, mevlid, telbie, as well as some examples of the forms ilahis, durak, and shugul. Most of these forms were characteristic only for the Turkish religious order, and some of them were spread to other Islamic countries (one of them is the tekbir form). The most important forms that were performed in the mosque music include: *ezan, sala, kamet, tesbih, temjid, munajat, mihrab, tekbir, shugul, ilahi, gasida, miradiye and mavlid*. Forms such as ezan, sala, and temjid were performed at the minaret of the mosque, while the other forms were performed in the mosque during the prayer. Some of these forms were studied in the madrassas, and at the same time they were practiced during the spiritual gatherings at homes.

2. Mystical Spiritual Music in The Tekkes

Viewed from the musical aspect, mystical spiritual services played the role of civil associations for diffusion of musical knowledge, use of musical instruments, and transferring of musical experience from one generation to another. These spiritual institutions are called “a kind of conservatoriums” that lived in parallel with the official court educational institutions.¹⁴ Because of these institutions, music became an inseparable part of Turkish national culture.

2.1. The Importance of The Tekkes in The Development of Music Life

During the period of Ottoman rule in Macedonia, 77 tekkes were built, and 17 of them were located in Skopje.¹⁵

¹⁴ Hakki Özkan Ismail, *Türk Müsiki Nazariyatı ve Usulleri-Kudim Vevveleler*, İstanbul: Ötüken Nesriyat 1987, p. 82

¹⁵ Celebi, *Putopis - Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, Sarajevo 1979, p. 283

¹² Celebi, *Putopis - Odlomci o jugoslovenskim zemljama*, Sarajevo 1979, p. 285

¹³ Sadeddin Ergun Nüzhet, “Üsküp’lü Niyazi”, *Türk Müsiki Antolojisi*, C.1, İstanbul 1942, p.16

The tekkes had an important role in relation to cultural-artistic segment of the social life in Macedonia during the period of the Ottoman Empire. Their participation was especially large in the development of fine arts, above all, poetry and music. In this way, younger fans, in addition to the spiritual-ethical elevation, depending on the education of the spiritual guides, had the opportunity of learning these arts.

Their libraries possessed valuable literary works, mostly poetic creations. Also, a significant interest existed toward ornamentation, as well as toward painting, which is obvious from the numerous wall images, creations on wood, plaster or stone, mainly with the motifs of the floral world.

Depending on the dervish order, the traditional ritual – *zikr*, which is an ecstatic communal dance and singing, took place accompanied by musical instruments or just vocal singing. Some of the members of dervish orders, in particular leaders of the rituals – *zikr bashi*, were educated musicians who in addition to a wide repertoire, composed spiritual works, usually *ilahis*.

Paul Rycaut's engraving (1670) testifies about the use of musical instruments in spiritual circles, where dervishes who play on instruments *ney* and *bendir* are shown. The wind instrument *ney* was typical for the *mevlevi* dervish order that existed in these territories until the first half of the last century.

The tekkes had influence on the political structure also. Since the founding of the Ottoman state, the ruling structure built close relations with *suphism*. They often visited the tekkes, participated in spiritual ceremonies, and often were counseling with the dervish leaders.

Openness of the tekkes toward people manifested through meetings that were held once or twice a week, almost in all dervish orders (with the exception of *Bektashi*). These were favorite institutions where people often went for counseling.¹⁶

A special attention attracts information that even members of other ethnic and religious communities were regular visitors to the tekkes, to listen to music. Mutual visits were regularly practiced among the dervish orders, to enable intensive exchange of opinions, ritual ceremonies, and musical traditions. The very content of tekkes enabled these types of meetings, next to the main room-*semahane*, where the common prayers are made; there is also located a room for reception of the guests.¹⁷

In the course of the survey, we found names of several spiritual figures who stood out with their activity during the period immediately after the Ottomans stepped on this ground. One of the most eminent preachers in the whole area was *Jeshil Efendi* who was also called *Jeshil Baba*. Muhyiddin

Hodja, known as *Medah Baba* (he lived during the 14th century) was a teacher to *Jigit-Bay pasha* (1350–1427), the conqueror of *Skopje* and the first *kraishnik* (frontiersman) from *Skopje* who died in *Skopje*.

During the research we found data on the activity of the following tekkes in the territory of Macedonia during the period of the Ottoman rule: *Rifai*, *Halveti*, *Mevlevi*, *Bektashi*, *Kadiri*, *Nakshibendi*, *Melami*, *Sadi*, *Sinani*, *Djelveti*, and *Shabani*.¹⁸

Ritual ceremonies at most of the tekkes contained two elements, or forms: *zikr* or invocation of God's name (here are quoted God's beautiful names) and singing *ilahis* and other spiritual forms in honor of the prophet *Muhammad* (a.s.).¹⁹

2.2. The dervish order *Rifai*

In Macedonia were formed many tekkes of this dervish order during the 19th century. One of the most active was the tekke in *Skopje*, built in 1818 which can be learned from the *wakafname* mentioned in the text by *Boshkov-Ishak*.²⁰ The founder of the tekke was *Mehmed Efendi* who was also called "Haznadar Baba". He got his nickname because after completing education at the *madrasa*, he entered the service of finance where he served as a main cashier. He received the sheikh diploma (*hilafetname*) from the Egyptian sheikh *Sayyid Hadji Hatifi*, a member of the *Rifai* order who was on a visit to *Skopje*.

During the rituals that took place every Saturday evening-after the night prayer, according to the statements of *Sheikh Erol Baba*, in addition to the percussion instruments *bendir*, *kudum*, and *cymbals*, other musical instruments also have been used in the past, e.g., *ney*, *oud*, *saz*, and *kanun*. This was especially pronounced at the mutual visits of various dervish orders, which was a usual practice. In this way, in this tekke were used instruments that are otherwise not characteristic of the dervish order. The use of the wide range of instruments was particularly pronounced during the visits of *Mevlevi*.

The tekke owns a library that contains valuable works, such as the collection of hand-written books of 140 specimens, 6 *silsilinama* (for lodges of the *Rifai* sheikhs), and one diploma; 220 printed books, among which is *Şehadetname-i Veysi*, work of the renowned poet from *Skopje*—*Veysi Effendi*.

The library was significantly enriched by the fourth sheikh *Saduddin Sirri*. *Sheikh Saduddin*, who lived during the late 19th and early 20th century, was a highly educated and respected personality not only in Macedonia, but

¹⁸ *Metin Izezi, Balkanlar'da tasavvuf*, Istanbul, Gelenek yayınlari 2004

¹⁹ *Hasan Dzilo, "Hajati – Baba teke vo Kichevo", Hital, Januari – Fevruari, Skopje 2004*

²⁰ *B. Boshkov-Ishak, F., "Rifaiskoto teke vo Skopje", Glasnik INI, br. 2, Skopje 1958, p. 183-184*

also in the wider region. He was a collaborator at the Belgrade Academy of Sciences, and an interpreter and Arabic advisor to Gliša Elezović.²¹

In addition to performing activities within the framework of diplomacy, he was also a poet and performer on oud. According to the claims of the Rifai sheikh Erol Baba, Saduddin created musical works; however, in the context of the tradition at that time, he signed the compositions as anonymous (*Sırrı-Türk* = anonymous). His *ilahis* were sung during the ritual ceremonies in tekke.

Sheet music examples with his manuscript, which were discovered in the premises of tekke prove the fact that Sheikh Saduddin was literate in music. The conclusion that it was his manuscript was made based on the fact that one page of the sheet music (which contains six pages) in old Turkish letter had the name – *Saduddin, 1924*. With this letter are registered the titles of songs, makams and usuls, the texts of the songs out of the note records, as well as some comments of the sheikh. Texts of some of the songs registered within the sheet music are written with contemporary Turkish alphabets.

It is interesting to mention that the sheet music contains songs from the secular repertoire. There are a few vocal and instrumental compositions – works of several authors from the 19th century that testify about his connection with the secular music too. The compositions include: “*Bak Şur dilber kadını*” by Kemani Eyubi Mustafa, one instrumental and one vocal composition by Keman Tatyos Efendi (1858–1913), “*Hala Kanayan kalba*” by Hamdi Jorgandji Effendi, “*Ac güksüni*” by Nafiz Bey, “*Yüzüdüür Cihani süzider*” by Dede Efendi (1778–1846), and one composition by Djavide Hayri Hanım (–1930).

The sheet music does not contain all the symbols characteristic for the marking on the tonal level of the micro-intervals, which is normal considering that these symbols were innovated during the 40s of the previous century, and the recording was realized in 1924. In each of the compositions of the discovered sheet music, the makams and usuls are specified. In some of the texts is applied language dialect of Skopje (e.g., instead of göğsünü - chest, güksüni is used, and so on).

During the period of the Ottomans, the Rifai tekke was one of the most prestigious and most important tekkes in the whole area. It was a gathering place for many important personalities among whom was the poet Yahya Kemal Beyatli (Beyatli, Turkish devoted to his teacher), who, according to the statements of Erol Baba, was a student of Sheikh Saduddin.

This tekke represented a gathering place, especially for the Turkish city guilds not only from the Islamic religion, but also of the members from

other ethnic and religious communities. One of the regular visitors to the tekke was the famous nobleman Emin Bey (1883–1962) from Skopje.

As a result of the high reputation of Sheikh Saduddin, during the zikiris on the occasion of the spiritual holidays (Ramadan, Bayram), high statesmen and representatives of other religious institutions were the guests to the Rifai tekke.

Numerous foreigners—Germans, French, Englishmen—visited the tekke, the proof of which could be found from the Serbian paper “Vardar,” dated 1. 03. 1934. According to an article titled “*Rufai-Tekke and its wise sheikh*”, the sheikh’s preaching was oriented to all the persons that were present, regardless of their ethnic or religious affiliation.²² He addressed all the people with the words that they are all equal, that God is one, and that the criterion for the deeds is one, regardless of faith, time, and geographical distance.

During the 19th century, in Bitola were active three Rifai tekkes.²³ The founder of the Rifai tekke in Bitola was Sheikh Bedruddin. During the same period were established the Rifai tekkes in the v. Jurukhane–Valandovo, in the vicinity of Veles, as well as in Stip.

2.3. The Dervish Order Halveti

This dervish order was the most widespread in the Ottoman state, especially in the areas of Anatolia and Rumelia. Hence, Halveti became one of the most widespread in Macedonia, and its followers were mostly guilds.

According to the statements of the Ulema of Skopje from 1938 to 1939, in Macedonia existed around 25 Halveti tekkes. In Skopje existed two tekkes of this order, formed during the late 18th century. One of them was situated on the right bank of Vardar, in the center of the city (founded during the late 18th century by Sheikh Salih Baba), while the second, known as Zincirli tekke, was located on the other side of river Vardar.²⁴ This tekke, which was formed by Sheikh Adem Baba, was active until the demolishing of the facility in 1971. Progressive ideas of dervish orders are also confirmed from the data which states that during the Second World War, the Zincirli tekke concealed a publishing house.

The most widespread branch of dervish order Halveti in Macedonia is Hayati whose founder was Pir Mehmet Hayati during the late 17th century.

According to some perceptions, most of the spiritual musical compositions were created exactly by the Halvetis.²⁵ Though certain musical instruments such as def, kudum, and cymbals were used during the period

²² Vardar, “Rufai – Tekija i njen mudri sheih”, March 1th, Beograd 1934

²³ F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity And Islam Under The Sultans*, New York 1973, p. 356

²⁴ Bogovic - Kumbardzic, *Osmanski spomenici vo Skopje*, Skopje: IZRM, SNIK 1998, p. 133

²⁵ Nüzhet Sadeddin Ergun, “Üsküp lü Niyazi”, *Türk Müsiki Antolojisi*, C.1. Istanbul 1942, p. 15

when the Ottomans were present in these territories, musical instruments are not integrated in spiritual ceremonies of Halveti in Macedonia today.

According to the statements of the dervishes from the Halveti tekkes in Ohrid and Struga, rhythmic musical instruments were used until around 30s of the last century when the headman of the tekke was Sheikh Zekerja Efendi. In the inventory of Ohrid tekke are preserved few samples of these instruments. There are also assumptions that other instruments were used during his rule since he practiced the dervish dance—sema, characteristic of Mevlevi, whereas other instruments were usually used to perform them. The assumption is supported by the fact that the remains of the wired instrument—saz were discovered from the tekke ceiling.

During the zikir, forms of ilahi, quasida, and naat were sung. The main performer—zikirbashi and other dervishes had a wide repertoire of over 200 ilahis and quasidas. The texts of these spiritual compositions were in Arabic and Turkish. Some ilahis were written by the members of the Halveti order or they were borrowed from other dervish orders, as well as from well-known poets and philosophers. Musical forms that comprised the repertoire of this dervish order were the compositions that were created during the period between the 13th and 19th centuries.

During the spiritual holidays of Ramadan and Bayram, members of other religions were guests to these tekkes. In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, at the invitation of Sheikh Zekerja, statesmen, military personnel, as well as spiritual representatives of other religions attended the rituals. Followers of this branch are the tekkes in Ohrid, Struga, Kicevo (3 tekkes), and Stip.²⁶ Besides the above-mentioned tekkes, spiritual institutions of this dervish order were formed in other cities of Macedonia: Veles (during the eighteenth century, by Sheikh Mehmet), Kumanovo, Strumica, Gostivar.

2.4. The Dervish Order Bektashi

The spreading of Bektashi in Macedonia at the time of Ottoman rule is related to the Janissaries that were members of this dervish order. The first Bektashi tekkes in these areas were formed during the second half of the 17th century, and their activities were the most intensive during the transition from the 18th to 19th century.

At the time of Ottoman rule, 12 Bektashi tekkes were active in Macedonia. Two of them—Mustafa Baba tekke and Suleiman Baba tekke (built during the 19th century) were located in Skopje.²⁷

One of the most important and most influential tekkes was Harabati Baba tekke in Tetovo. Because of the various data related to the founder of this

tekke, besides Harabati, this tekke is also called Sersem Ali Baba. By the decree for prohibiting the activity of the Bektashi tekkes in the Ottoman State, in 1826 were closed all the tekkes of this dervish order in Macedonia.²⁸

Harabati Baba tekke, which was reactivated in 1870, had an important sociocultural role in the entire region. The tekke attached great importance to the arts—literature, music, and painting. This is confirmed by poetic forms written on panels or on the ledgers, discovered musical instruments (sazes), and the pictures that remained on some of the tekke walls. Unlike the tradition of Rifai, Bektashi has different rituals. The musical forms and instruments are closer to the secular musical sphere.

The spiritual compositions of dervish order Bektashi are not the works of some of the significant musicians, as it is the case with the musical repertoire of many dervish orders (especially Mevlevi), but they are works of members of the folk music milieu (*ashiks*). The reason lies in their ideology which does not agree with all the principles of Islamic religion, and that is why their activity was probably not entirely approved by the authorities, and it was even secret to some extent (in fact, the very word Bektashi means secret, mysterious).²⁹

The zikir starts with the performance of parts of Quran, after which is performed the form salat dedicated to the prophet Muhammad (a.s.) and especially to the imam Ali and his descendants. Then follows the performance of "Mevlid-i Ali" (a type of Mevlid whose author is Ismail Safavi) unaccompanied by instruments. During the ritual are used musical forms *gazel* and *nefes*, and at the same time are performed the *mersijes* for the imam Husein and for the other victims of Kerbela. Among the urban Bektashi tekkes, in the second part of zikir is performed a type of dance (sema), when nefeses with more vivid character called "*Şahlama Havasi*" are performed.³⁰

It is interesting to mention the fact that some types of the form nefes, such as the deste nefes, are sung in two or three voices. Also, there are some sorts of imitations, as well as lying bass tones, which represent a kind of harmony that in the essence is not characteristic of the Turkish music. As for the usul, the most frequent rhythmic pattern is *Aksak rhythm* (9/8 speed). From the *Bektashi* members, Jemini Sultan was one of the students and assistant of Ak Jazili Sultan (- 1519) Hussein Baba specialized in theological sciences (20th century), and so on.³¹ There were Bektashi tekkes in other cities

²⁸ Metin Izeti, 18. ve 19. yüzyılda Balkanlarda tasavvuf akımları (Doctoral thesis, 2003), Marmar University, Institute of Social Sciences, p.245

²⁹ Sadeddin Ergun, "Üsküp'lü Niyazi", *Türk Müzikisi Antolojisi*, cilt 1, İstanbul 1942, p.9

³⁰ Tuğrul Ömer İnancer, "Osmanlı Musikisi Tarihinde Tasavvuf Musikisine Bir Bakış", *Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanat*, cilt 10, Ankara 1999, p.682

³¹ Mehmed Tevfik ed. Elezovich Glišha, *Kraika Istorija Bitoljskog vilajeta*, Shtamparija Drag. Gregoricha Beograd 1933, p. 34-41

of Macedonia also: Bitola (Hussain Baba), Stip (Hamza Baba), Veles (Hadji Baba), Kicevo (Muharem Baba), Debar (Ali Pasha), v. Kanatlarci (Diknem Baba), and many others.³²

2.5. The Dervish Order Melami

The dervish order Melami in these areas was spread with the arrival of the Sayyid Muhammad Nuruel Arabi in Skopje in 1839.

During the 19th century in Macedonia were established nine tekkes of this dervish order. They were located in Strumica (two tekkes), Skopje, v. Dedeli-Dojran, Veles, Kavadarci, Stip, and Bitola.³³

In this mystical order, the tekkes mainly served as gathering places for discussions.³⁴ According to the views of members of this dervish order, music and dance manifest some spiritual conditions that should remain secret. Therefore, members of this dervish order neither denied music nor did they include it in their rituals.

2.6. The Dervish Order Kadiri

Members of this dervish order began their activity in Macedonia during the 16th century. At the time of the Ottomans, Kadiri represented dervish order that was most widespread in Macedonia after Halveti.³⁵ Of around 18 Kadiri tekkes in Macedonia, in Skopje existed 3 tekkes that were active until their demolition, during the period between the 40s and the 50s of the 20th century. This dervish order also existed in Bitola.³⁶ The ceremony of Kadiri, named "Devran," starts with excerpts from the Quran in which the prophet Muhammad is worshipped. Then, the poems are continued by the singers called *zakhir*, rhythmically accompanied by the supporters. After singing the form called *gazel*, the ceremony continues with *ilahis*, where the prophet Muhammad is worshipped again. The session closes with the form *taksim* (solo instrumental improvisation with free rhythm), and after that follow the performances of the *mersiye*, *gazel*, and *ilahi*, accompanied by the assembly *Hu* (Him). The ceremony ends with the first and the last three chapters (suris) from the Quran. During the ritual were used the percussion instruments *kudum*, *def*, and *cymbals*.

³² Izeti, 18. ve 19. yüzyılda Balkanlarda tasavvuf akımları (Doctoral thesis, 2003), Marmar University, Institute of Social Sciences, p.248-249

³³ Izeti, 18. ve 19. yüzyılda Balkanlarda tasavvuf akımları (Doctoral thesis, 2003), Marmar University, Institute of Social Sciences, p.262-263

³⁴ Čehajić, *Derviški redovi u Jugoslovenskim Zemljama*, Sarajevo 1986, p.209

³⁵ Štip 1959, p. 106

³⁶ Tevfik ed. Elezovich, *Derviškiot red Halveti vo Makedonija*, *Zbornik na Štipskiот naroden muzej*. Gregoritcha. Beograd 1933, p.39

2.7. The Dervish Order Mevlevi

Considering the fact that this dervish order belonged to the higher social classes, it existed mostly in the bigger cities of Macedonia. During the 16th century in Skopje was founded the tekke of the dervish order Mevlevi.³⁷ This tekke, located in the city center, was active until 1954, when the last sheikh Haki Efendi moved to Turkey. The tekke was renovated in 1909 during the visit of Sultan Reshid (who was a member of this order) to Skopje.³⁸

According to some data, until the conquer of the city by the Bulgarians, every Friday were held liturgical ceremonies at the tekke, at which were performed several musical forms accompanied by musical instruments.³⁹ The tekke was demolished in 1955. Thus was terminated the spiritual heritage of this dervish order in this region.

During the 18th-19th century, Mevlevi formed tekkes in the other cities in this region, among which were Bitola, Štip, Veles, and Kriva Palanka. German traveler-writer Johann Karl Weyand in his work "*Johann Karl Weyand's Reisen durch Europa, Asien und Afrika von dem Jahre 1818 bis 1827*" gives a description of the ritual sema of the dervish order Mevlevi in Bitola during the 19th century.⁴⁰ This dervish order, in its liturgical ceremony, incorporates elaborated choreography accompanied by the poetry of the founder of this order Dzelaleddin Rumi-Mevlana. It is the sum of the compositions on the tradition of Ottoman artistic secular music in their pious ceremonies. The ritual dance in which the participants spin in an axis, pronouncing the name of Allah at each spin, is an integration of music, poetry, dance, and it culminates with the so-called *zikir*-movements with increased intensity and speed.

Unlike the other dervish orders, Mevlevi used a wide range of musical instruments, such as *ney*, *rebap*, *kanun*, *oud*, *tambur*, *kudum*, *def*, etc.

The spreading of institutions of this kind to other parts of the Empire (the Balkans and the Middle East), represents the basic way of spreading the Ottoman music, because the spiritual ritual compositions called Mevlevi Ayini, which are performed by means of singing, playing, and dancing (*ayinhan-mitrib-semazen*), constitute the core of the Ottoman music.

The Mevlevi represents dervish order where an honorable place is given to music (it is considered to be a language of God) and it is brought to the very peak of musical-aesthetical values.

³⁷ Ekrem Ayverdi Hakkı, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri*, III. İstanbul 1981, p.391

³⁸ Elezovich, *Derviški redovi muslimanski* – Tekje u Skoplju, Stara Srbija, Skopje 1925, p.683

³⁹ Izeti, 18. ve 19. yüzyılda Balkanlarda tasavvuf akımları (Doctoral thesis, 2003), Marmar University, Institute of Social Sciences p.131

⁴⁰ Aleksandar Matkovski, *Makedonija vo delata na stranski patepisci 1778-1826*, Skopje 1991, p. 770-778

2.8. The Dervish Order Nakshibendi

The tekke of this dervish order was formed in Skopje by Lütfullah Uskubi and it was situated at the base of mountain Vodno. This is the first tekke of the dervish order Nakshibendi in these regions.

Within the Isa-beg mosque was situated another Nakshibendi tekke. This tekke, called Hanikah of Isa Bey (the name hanikah is synonymous for this type of objects), along with the madrassa, was founded before 1467.⁴¹ During the 18th century, the Nakshibendi tekke was founded in Kocani. This tekke named after the founder Shaikh Mehmet, was active until 1933, when the last sheikh Hassan moved to the Republic of Turkey. The tekke activity was registered in the *Salname of the Kosovo vilayet* 1314/1896. This dervish order, which was widespread all over the region, formed its institutions in other cities throughout Eastern Macedonia.

The tekke in Stip was founded by Aziz Baba in the 19th century. During that period, Nakshibendi tekke was formed in Veles by Yahya Baba. Of the most significant followers of the dervish order Nakshibendi in Bitola, we found data on Numan Baba, Hadji Ibrahim Efendi, Efgani sheikh Mehmed Efendi – 1888), Mustafa Ragip Efendi, Hadzi Seid Effendi, who lived around the middle of the 19th century.⁴²

The main feature of this dervish order was the fact that their liturgical ceremony was maintained quietly (as much as they could hear themselves) and without any movement of the body, which implies that there was no presence of music or dance. Accordingly, though the members of this dervish order did not integrate music into their rituals, did not deny it either. By banning the activity of the dervish order Bektashi in 1826, as already mentioned, a large number of tekkes transformed or continued working under the name of the dervish order Nakshibendi. One of these tekkes was located in Tetovo. This tekke, founded by Sheikh Mustafa, was active until 1920.

2.9. The Dervish Order Sadi

According to data from the Ulema medzlis in the Archive of Macedonia, the tekke was founded in the late 19th century in Skopje.⁴³ The first sheikh and founder of the tekke was Vefa Baba. In the tomb which is located in the tekke is buried Sheikh Vefa Baba, as well as the following sheikhs Mehmetalı and Rifat.

Although we did not find written information relating to the ceremonial rituals of this dervish order of that time, judging by the present-day

⁴¹ Elezovich, *Dervishki redovi muslimanski* – Tekije u Skoplju, Stara Srbija, Skopje 1925, p. 397-453

⁴² Tefvik ed. Elezovich Glisha, *Kratka Istorija Bitoljskog vilajeta*, Shtamparija Drag. Gregorich, Beograd 1933, p.36-39

⁴³ Ulema meclis. K. fond, Arhiv na R. Makedonija, Skopje p. 85

ritual tradition, from the musical aspect, it resembled the rituals of the dervish order Rifai, since it is their branch. The ceremonial ritual *ziker-i Kıyam*, in addition to the performance of some of the suras from the Quran, kelime-i tevhid (la ilaha illa Allah), as well as some of the divine names (*Hü, Hayy, Allah, Daim or Kıyyum*), includes interpretation of several ilahis and gazels. The whole ceremony was accompanied by percussion musical instruments, such as def, kudum, or cymbals. The rituals took place on Fridays after the noon prayer.

2.10. The Dervish Order Shabani

Even though we did not find more detailed information about the activities and rituals of the dervish order Shabani, according to the written sources, in Skopje existed one tekke of this dervish order. It was the tekke of the sheikh Salih Baba, founded during the late 18th century.⁴⁴ The Halveti tekke “Zindzirli tekke” is considered to be a Shabani, since Shabani is a branch of Halveti.

In the work “*The short history of Bitola vilayet*” by Tefvik Mehmet, otherwise the director of the military high school in Bitola in 1909/1910, we found the information on Selim Effendi called Kara Gjule, who was the headman of the dervish order Shabani in Bitola in the period around 1834/1835.⁴⁵ As the branch of the Halveti order, members of the Shabani during the ritual liturgy performed a capella musical forms ilahi and qasida.

2.11. The Dervish Order Sinani

In the vicinity of Yahya-pasha mosque was built the tekke of the dervish order Sinani, called the tekke of Iplikchi Hasan Efendi or Bukagili tekke. This tekke was built around the second half of the 16th century. On the left side of the river Vardar was situated another tekke of this dervish order. This tekke, founded in the 16th century, was called the tekke of Velijudin Vardar, and it was active until 1912.⁴⁶

2.12. The Dervish Order Djelveti

The tekke of this dervish order in Skopje was founded before 1595/1596 and it was named zavie of Hadji Ajshe Hatun (according to the builder of the tekke) or tekke of Ismail Haki.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Palikrushcheva, “Dervishkiot red Halveti vo Makedonija”, *Zbornik na Shtipskiot narodnen muzej*. Shtip 1959, p.112-118

⁴⁵ Tefvik ed. Elezovich Glisha, *Kratka Istorija Bitoljskog vilajeta*, Shtamparija Drag Gregorich, Beograd 1933, p.39

⁴⁶ Marsol – Colancevska, “Propos recueillis et documents sur des tekkes de Skopje disparus”, *Anatolia Moderna* IV, Paris 1992, p.70-74, 82

⁴⁷ Bogoevic - Kumbardzi, *Osmanitski spomenici vo Skopje*, Skopje: IZRM, SNIK 1998, p.133

CONCLUSION

At the time of the Ottoman rule spiritual music had significant place in social life in the territory of the Republic of Macedonia. This is confirmed by the existence of a large number of active sacral buildings in which divine service was performed through expressive music content. In this spiritual music, there was a hierarchy of musical forms that constituted the ceremonial and ritual divine services. The forms which are adaptable to high aesthetic standards of culture had the priority and they observed the moral and ethical requirements of the religion. Both branches of spiritual musical culture—the music in mosques and the music in tekkes, reflect the Ottoman spiritual idiom that was evident from the musical forms represented in the spiritual services and the ritual ceremonies in the spiritual institutions throughout Macedonia. The construction of a large number of mosques during that period intensified the spiritual life and thus the Islamic spiritual music tradition. All these prompted emergence of significant names that made a great contribution to the dissemination and nurturing the spiritual musical repertoire in these areas.

Mistical spiritual life at the time of the Ottoman Empire had vivid activity through numerous tekkes and activities of 11 dervish orders. Through the ideologies of spiritual, cultural, and educational ascent, the tekkes made a huge impact on all segments of social life. By accepting the music as the strongest means of “educating the personality” and “purifying of the heart”, they enrich the overall musical life of an environment. At the same time, the presence of musical instruments among some of the orders had a large contribution in the development of the instrumental music even in the sphere of secular music.

DİLİN KÖKENİ PROBLEMİNE ERNEST RENAN'IN YAKLAŞIMI

S. Atakan ALTINÖRS*

Özet

Bu makalemizde, Ernest Renan'ın dilin kökeni problemine yaklaşımını incelemeyi ve dil felsefesi açısından değerlendirmeyi hedefledik. Söz konusu probleme yaklaşımında Renan'ın kendisine, “semavi ihvan” adıyla andığı bir grup tezi eleştirel hareket olarak aldığı tespit ettik. Renan'a göre dil, ilâhî bir müdahaleyle insana bahşedilmemiştir. Renan dilin, insanın akıllı ruhundan, kendiliğinden ve bir anda fıkkırılmış olduğuna kanıdır. Yani, beşeriyet dili icat etmek üzere uzun devirler boyunca uğraşp durmamıştır. Dünyada ilk insan grupları ortaya çıkar çıkmaz dil de bir anda tezahür etmiştir. Bu itibarla da ona göre diller dünyada ilk ortaya çıktığı sırada, ifade edilmek istenen şeyleri karmaşık bir şekilde ve hepsini bir anda dışa vurmuş olsa gerekir. Renan, dillerin gelişiminde katettiği güzergâhı, genel olarak insan müdrikemesinin geçirdiğine inandığı dönüşümün evreleriyle açıklar. Dillerin ilk ortaya çıktığı çağlardaki senkretizm hali, tarih sürecinde kaybolmuş, diller günümüzde de süren analitik halini almıştır. Renan topyekün insan müdrikemesi gibi, onun ürünlerinden başlıcası olan dilin de gelecekte sentetik bir hale dönüşeceğini muştulamaktadır. Renan böylece, tarih ve insan bilinci hakkındaki genel düşünce sistematiğini, dilin tekamülüne de uygulamıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Dil felsefesi, dilin kökeni, dilde çoğul kökenlilik, Renan.

ERNEST RENAN'S APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE

Abstract

In this article, we aim to examine Ernest Renan's approach to the problem of the origin of language and to evaluate it in terms of philosophy of language. We determined that Renan, in his approach to the said problem, had taken a series of theses which he called “celestial grant” as the starting point. According to Renan, language is not granted to man by a divine intervention. Renan believes that language instantly and spontaneously sprung from the spirit of man. In other words, humanity has not struggled for ages to invent language. The language appeared instantly, once the first groups of people

* Öğr. Gör. Dr., Galatasaray Üniversitesi, Fen-Ed. Fak. Felsefe Bölümü aaltinors@gsu.edu.tr