

Cultural History of Islam in the Balkans

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To understand the important events of islamization in the Ottoman Empire on Balkan grounds we need a modern, multicultural and inter-disciplinary approach. Therefore, the first part of this paper is dedicated to defining problems related to Balkans islamization, including both individual and group transitions to Islam. Consequences of this process are still present in modern cultural history of the Balkan nations. Cultural analysis of their faith and life reveals religious and cultural syncretism. This is manifested in various spheres like architecture, literature, philological, oriental, and socio-ethnological sciences, and historical and religious events, leaving permanent consequences in the culture of the Balkan nations.

Uniqueness of Islam in the Balkans can be characterized like Ottoman regionalism where people are not primarily united by single national identity, cultural and historical progress, language and alphabet, but a single faith based on absolute respect of Koran. Traces of such Islamic culture and civilization of the Ottoman type are found in the development of “Balkan towns” and “Zulu mosques” in the oriental physiognomy and architecture of large trading towns and centers. During the Ottoman period (from 14th to the beginning of 19th century) the Balkan nations have become an integral part of Islamic – Ottoman culture, with all their singularities.

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The Iberian, the Apennine, and the Balkan Peninsula were the three large south European peninsulas where Christianity and Islam were in cultural and historical contact over a long period of time. Existence of Islam on the Iberian Peninsula (from 8th to 15th century), and Apennines (from 9th to 11th century) left permanent trace in the cultural morphology of Spain and Southern Italy. Its specificity developed in Moors art and architecture, and the Sicilian decorative art of ceramics painting¹. The Aljamiado texts witness residues of Moor literature. Written in Spanish, they use numerous Arab words and expressions, which convey not only religious statements but also poems and prose, medical texts, various ethnic beliefs and old folklore².

1. Moor art was created by merging of many elements: the West-Gothic, Syrian-Byzantine and Arab, from which the so-called mudeyare artistic style emerged and remained preserved after Christian reconquiste of the Andalusian cities of Cordoba, Seville, Toledo and Granada. The most famous religious monuments are: Giralda, Maskvita Aljami, Medina az-Zahra, Alcazar and the Alhambra. However, in Italy thanks to the Ottomans the ceramic art flourished over the centuries and blossomed in wall decoration and in hand-processed items: plates, glasses and dishes. The existence of Sicilian Islam can hardly be discussed in more detail because most oriental monuments were destroyed by the arrival of the Normans in 1092, while on the other hand, Calabrian monks played a crucial role in deislamization that led to survival of Christianity in this region. St. Nile the Calabrian played a special role among the missionaries (1005). More on this in: N. Kubisch, *Architecture of the Spanish Umayyads and the Taifas: Islam Art and Architecture*, Berlin, 2000, pp. 218-237; B. Rill, *Sizilien im Mittelalter. Das Reich der Araber, Normanen und Staufer*, Stuttgart 1995, pp. 79, G. Popović, *Islamic Art*, Belgrade, 1980, pp. 44.

2. In a sense, the Balkan nations possess a kind of Islamized Aljamiado, a kind of literacy or literature, and these are primarily of local Muslim poets and writers in the Serbian, Spanish or other languages written in Arabic script (Arabic). Modern Oriental science (especially Turkology) now believes that the Serbian vernacular language has about three thousand turcisms. The folk songs and legends, for example, remember Turkish guns, and a certain impact was imposed by music and poetry, of which particularly stand out sevdalinka, ballads and romances, nurtured by the harem and court environments. Ballads are particularly feminine songs which are not sang but "spoken", among which the famous Hasanaginica stands out. Oriental environment, transferred by the Ottomans in the Balkans, caused the appearance of the major part of the Serbian literature such as the epic Osman by Gundulić, Mountain Wreath by Njegoš, Death of Smail-Aga Čengić by Mažuranić, and pieces of less value such as songs of Jovan Ilić or Ramadan evenings by Branislav Nušić and more. More on this in: F. Barjaktarević, "A. R. Nykl: A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature" in: *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva*, VII-VIII, 3-4 (1929-30), pp. 394-395; O. Zirojević, „Pisani

It is important to notice that Islam stayed alive and fruitful only in the Balkans, either through its institutions or followers, even after the Ottoman retreat. Its uniqueness is characterized by geographical location and, above all, powerful Ottoman heritage. This heritage, according to D. Tanasković, is interwoven by religious syncretism, developing a special variability of the Balkan type Islam, a more pragmatic variant of Islamic teaching and its application³. Among traces of spiritual culture, the Sunnite type of the religious character of Ottomans is accentuated, belonging to the Hanefiyyt religious and legal school (Masheba) of Matudiad type, i.e. based on respect of Islamic holy book of Koran and the Sheriat⁴. Uniqueness of the Balkans is present is a wide belt of Byzantine and Euro-Asian and Turkish eastern culture, which left permanent material and spiritual traces of Ottoman orientalization in the Balkan grounds⁵.

tragovi Osmanskog carstva na tlu Jugoslavije“ in: *Zbornik za orijentalne studije*, 1992, pp. 39; S. Balić, *Kultura Bošnjaka, muslimanska komponenta*, Vienna 1973, pp. 23-35; A. Mitrović, *Naučno delo Fehima Barjaktarevića*, Belgrade, 1996, pp. 151; F. Nametak, *Pregled književnog stvaranja bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana na turskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1989, pp. 7-21.

3. D. Tanasković, “Islam in the Balkans, Islam within the Balkans” in: *Islam at the Balkans in the Past, Today and in the future*, ed. D. Đorđević, D. Todorović and LJ. Mitrović, Niš, 2007, str. 12.

4. We will mention, briefly, the four most important religious and legal schools in Islam: Maliki, whose founder is believed to be Malik Ibn Anas (795), a school which is influential today in the Maghreb and sub-Saharan Africa; Hanefite, according to Abu Hanifa (767) with considerable influence in Turkey, Egypt and the Indian subcontinent; Shafite, whose founder was Muhammad al-Shafi'i (820), dominant in Malaysia, Indonesia and in East Africa, and Hanbalite created by a student al-Shafi'i, by whom it is named Ahmed ibn-Hanbal (855), and which is now partially influential in Saudi Arabia. More on this in D. Tanasković, *Islam: dogma i život*, Belgrade, 2008, pp. 115-119; D. Tanasković, „Islam na Balkanu“ in: *Enciklopedija živih religija*, Belgrade, 1981, pp. 300; V. Kornel, „Plod drveta saznanja“ in: *Oksfordska istorija islama*, (2002), pp. 111-112.

5. Today's science typologically divides cultural geography of the Ottoman Balkans into two groups: Levantine (referring to countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea and which is situated in the east of Italy) and the Balkan, defined by Jovan Cvijić as Balkanism par excellence. The very word Balkan is Turkish (Balk-mud, the suffix-an), and it means “very high forest-covered mountain range”, or “mountain pass”, or “wreath”. This word is in use since the times of the Turks in Rumelia with a general meaning “mountain”, using additional names or adjectives to easily define it geographically. The word “Emine-Balkan”, is a translation of the word “Hemus-mountain”, derived

The Ottoman role of a missionary of Islamic faith and culture in the Balkans has certain similarities with Moor civilization in Spain, especially if we notice numerous expressions that relate to the areas of military and governance, as well as depict material culture objects and art. Numerous Ottoman elements and turcisms in toponyms of the Balkans provide a clearer picture of the Turkish influence upon life in towns and villages. Cities were built with strategic purpose and served as military bases. But they also protected state borders and served more or less to help impose economic and social politics⁶. Ottoman influence stayed visible in life of towns, which culture was especially manifested by designated clothing (regulated by the state), as well as jewelry and food preparation, while this influence was not strong in the villages. Village houses before the Balkan islamization were simple dugouts, made of trees and logs, and containing usually a single room covered by straw, while the Ottoman house was built with stone, covered by ceramide, and was traditionally decorated with kilims and rugs. Ottoman culture of living, regulated by the government, contributed to the development of the whole, and as such represented the Islamic oriental civilization.

from the Greek "Aimos", which the Ottomans connected with Hemus from ancient and medieval geographers. Jovan Cvijić included the following areas in the old Balkan Cultures: the north area bordered by the Sava and Danube, the southern area between the Adriatic, the Aegean-Ionian Sea, Black Sea in the east and the valley of the Soca in the northeast. He believed that the culture that existed before the establishment of the South Slavs and the Turkish conquest had no influence on the core population and that this lacking is the basic characteristic of its Balkan (dis)continuity, in contrast to Western and Central Europe. However, we should not forget the fact that the Turkish tribes (Oguz, Turkmens) gained their first cultural contact with Islamic culture in Iran by adopting a multitude of old oriental traditions and beliefs: Byzantine, Roman, Seljuk, Anatolian and timursko-Mongolian, which together contributed to the creation of the Ottoman version of the mideastern empire. More on this in: J. Cvijic, *Naucne Sinteze*, Kragujevac, 2010, p. 8-11; J. Cvijic, *Balkansko poluostrvo*, Belgrade 1966, pp. 230; M. Todorova, *Imaginarni Balkan*, Belgrade, 1999, pp. 53-55, A. M. Lapidus, „Sultanati i barutna carstva“ in: *The Oksfordaska istorija islama*, (2002), pp. 391.

6. The main cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina were developed or built by the Turks. Sarajevo bears their name and still is their only national center. Mostar was built as a military and transportation center, Banja Luka as well. Travnik, on the other side, was exclusively designed as a Turkish city, the seat of the Bosnian governor. More on this in: V. Ćorović, *Političke prilike u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Belgrade 1939, pp. 11-12.

As a direct consequence of islamization of the Balkans, which was most prolific in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the 15th century, oriental Balkan towns and mosques appeared, as residences of governors, the representatives of the Sultan. The governors or beys received a powerful support from their base in Istanbul, contributing to the expansion of town urbanization, developing slowly governmental and trading centers. Large areas were governed from the base of Sandzak-bey, where Christian Spahia dominated, and where their culture and tradition was nurtured, while in other areas of state interests, the government sponsored building mosques and Ottoman living quarters, forming in this was trading cores of oriental cities around which Ottoman type houses with towers and chimneys were built.

Primary principles for developing an area were directed towards creating small and large places or towns, named kasabas, while villages were differentiated by existence of pazar. Larger urban centers were called shehers. This structural division transmits material culture and legacy of the Byzantine and Persian world, which the Ottomans have inherited in Anadolia, and then continued to transmit and develop. Their influence is present in Islamic architecture and art through the development of Ulu mosques, which are the most common sacral buildings in this area, with a rectangular subdome, balcony on the entrance side, and smaller and shallow roof domes. Turkish architecture has come up with one floor mosque through an older Arab mosque with several equal domes, which has certain similarities with Christian Byzantine domes and which influenced the later development of large mosques in Istanbul. The combination of a dome with a subdome and under-dome space represents undoubtedly Byzantine and not Arab influence. This architectural solution was applied in Husrev Bej Mosque in Sarajevo (1530) and Ferhat Pasha's Mosque in Banja Luka (1583)⁷.

Main indicators of orientalization of cities in the Balkans are more mosques, madrasas, maktab, and the existence of kadi, Jannisare's aga and

7. More on this in: H. Redžić, *Islamska umetnost*, Zagreb 1982, pp. 50-51.

tribute, local *ćehaja*, *muhtesiba*, calibrator and *Dizdar*. This criterion was necessary for acquiring the status of a large town.⁸

Two other key state institutions considerably contributed to the development of Ottoman towns and economy: *Vakuf* and *Muafiet*. *Vakufs* were religious legacies of property for welfare purposes, containing two types of artefacts. The first type are religious-humanitarian institutions like mosques, *hans*, *caravansarays*, *Mektebs*, *Imaret Tekke* and *Zavije*, and the second are *Waqf's* realstate such as *Hans*, *caravansarays*, shops, baths, *bezistan*, mills and various soil complexes, which helped finance state humanitarian and religious institutions.

The institution of *Muafiets* has promoted the orientalization of the Balkan towns by ways of various financial and economic benefits given by the state. People who had such privileges (*muafnama*) received immunity, which further made possible tax exemptions and larger rights in property allocations⁹.

Traces of oriental material culture are also visible from the method of Ottoman urbanization of towns, with clear division on two structural parts: *Charshi* and *Mahalas*. *Charshi* is built on the grounds of *Vakuf*, where main role was reserved for stores which dictate the economic strength of the town. *Mahalas* were residential areas which didn't change much, inhabited by Christians. Muslims and Christians lived in separate quarters, where ethnic distribution remained the same for centuries.

8. The famous Turkish chronicler *Evliya Çelebi* wrote, while staying in this area between 1660 and 1665, that the cities that had the status of large cities were: *Bitola*, *Skopje*, *Novi Sad*, *Belgrade*, *Novi Pazar*, *Pljevlja*, *Foča*, *Mostar*, *Sarajevo* and *Banja Luka*. Comparing *Sarajevo* with *Belgrade*, he says that *Sarajevo* had approximately two hundred and seventy mosques, eight *madrasas*, seventeen *Tekke*, six *caravansarays*, twenty-one *han*, three thousand and seven hundred shops and seventy thousand houses around the *Charshi*. *Belgrade* had, according to *Evliya*, six hundred public fountains. More on this in: *H. Redžić, Islamska umetnost*, pp. 33.

9. More on this in: *M. Kocić, Orijentalizacija materijalne culture na Balkanu, Osmanski period XV-XIX vek*, *Belgrade*, 2010, pp. 51-58; *O. Zirojević, Srbija pod turskom vlašću: 1459-1804*, *Beograd*, 2007, crp. 34-54; *Z. Vejnstejn, „Carstvo na vrhuncu moci (XVI vek)“* in: *Istorija Osmanskog carstva*, (2002), pp. 246-251.

The process of fortification, inherited from previous regimes, dictated the allocation of a military garrison in the town center, while the civilian part developed outside of the fortified area.

It should be remembered that the Ottoman empire was one of military character and that legally territorial units were also military units (Sandzak or Liva), as military governor (sandzak bey) received from the Sultan his area – Sandzak, which was then divided in Nachias, and newly won territories were called Vilaets or Subashiluks. The largest military governing unit was the Elaet or Beylergegluk, governed by a Pasha or Vizier, through whom the Sultan imposed his will. In the Ottoman Empire the military ranks of Voinuka (horse men) and Martolosa (frontiersmen and policemen) were highly regarded¹⁰.

Religious laws of Koran were the key criteria for defining difference in rank and social standing. Division was made to Asker and Raya. The Asker were the soldiers and civilians who worked in the government, and also promoted the glory of the Sultan. The others were common people who worked on the land and produced what higher ranked citizens needed. They had the status of Raya and were simple people who served the empire. This group mainly consisted of Serbs, which were rarely owners of their own land, and more often dependants who worked on the feuds owned by the Spahia.

There was another group of Raya with certain benefits (Beraya). Any Christian or Muslim who worked for the benefit of the Ottoman empire could become a member of this social layer. Religious element was crucially important and even previous slaves could rise up to the highest positions in the government (black people excluded). The ruling nobility,

10. In fact it is about Vlachs, members of the Roman population who eventually mixed with the Slavs in the Balkans. They were, being a nomadic tribe, village farmers and had their own chief or prince, who collected taxes for the Ottomans (tribute), while his assistant, primicur, charged fees called Filurija (ducat) from the Serbs. They were acquitted of extraordinary levies, which was a significant financial incentive. They lived like nomadic hill tribes in the summer pastures. More on this in: A. Zirojević, *Srbija pod turskom vlašcu: 1459-1804*, pp. 35-37.

courtiers and warriors, and everyone who depended on the mercy of the Sultan who was the Shadow of God upon Earth, needed to confess Islam. This was indeed the strength of the state idea of the Ottomans, the unity of administration is the spirit of Koran, which enabled the equality of all righteous Sultan's servants, with no regards to their race and language. Judicial and legal system was Sheriat in essence, with elements of Byzantine legal system, and was partially independent from official authorities, so most of the Sultan's subjects were equally entitled to direct road to justice. People were given high position in court thanks to personal abilities and services, but also the Sultan's mercy, and carried titles of highest officials like Janissare Aga, Sandžakbey, Beglerbey, Vizier and Grand Vizier ¹¹. However, even though the state was led by religious character, Christians and Jews were only tolerated by the Milet system, but they paid big taxes, which enable the Ottoman state a constant and safe income¹².

11. Among the most famous grand viziers was beglerbeg Mehmed Pasha Sokolović (1579) of Rumelia, a Serb from the Bosnian village Ravanica near Rudo, who as a child attended school at Mileševa, and then forcefully taken to Adrianople as a tribute in parents' blood. As an extraordinary political mind, and real ruler, he knew that the Turkish conquered the entire Serbian nation, and that it was possible to preserve the Serbs by getting a decree from Suleyman the Magnificent, which he managed to obtain. Decree guaranteed religious equality and freedom of religious confession, "that every religion may be freely confessed and that no one can take away the Christian goods". On the basis of the Sultan's decree Serbs asked for the restoration of the Patriarchate of Peć. A permit of the renewal was issued by the great and all-powerful vizier Rustem Pasha in 1557. During the reconstruction of the Patriarchate of Peć in 1557 Patriarch Macarius Sokolović was by no doubt helped by his brother, the Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha Sokolović. After Patriarch Macarius, the throne of the Peć Patriarchate was inherited by two other patriarchs of the Sokolović family: Antonije (1574-1575) and Gerasim (1575-1587). The influence of islamized Serbs, turned Turk, was so strong with the big Porte, that the Serbian language was used as one of diplomatic languages. See more on this in: V. Corović, *Istorija Srba, (II)*, Belgrade, 1989, pp. 155; F. Slijepcević, *Istorija srpske pravoslavne crkve (I)*, Munich 1962, pp. 327-329; O. Zirojević, *Srbija pod turskom vlašcu: 1459-1804*, pp. 78.

12. There have been attempts to impose the idea that even in Ottoman times there was a national "Bosniak consciousness" out of the political-ideological reasons, but given that the Ottoman state was theocratic, and that religious tolerance was regulated through a system of Miletus in accordance with Shariah, it is difficult to speak of the existence of separate Bosniak nation in the modern sense of the word. The names "Bosnak",

Taxes for the state were known as *аваризи диваније и такјалифи урфије*, taxes in blood and taxes for small cattle, sheepherding and pig raising. Christian Raya owed to their master one tenth of all produce, as opposed to Muslim people who were often relieved of any taxes and personal debts. It is possible that these economic and socio-political reasons consequently led to faster islamization of Slavs, offering manageable life conditions¹³.

It is possible to assume that the social phenomenon of islamization of the Balkans flew in two directions. The first one was identified by migration of Turkish inhabitants of Ottoman Empire and colonization of Turkmen from Anatolia and Yuruk from Asia Minor. Another direction was partially forced islamization of Serbs, when the new converts started hiding their father's name, and received new ones as euphemisms Abdullah or Abdulgafar (Slave of God, Servant). Evidence of this may be found in Turkish records, where Slavic surnames help discover the birth data of brothers who converted to Islam. The goal of the Ottoman colonization politics was to reduce the influence of Christian environment. Personal Muslim names appeared with Islam, came from the Arab or Persian language, and became a part of general anthroponymia¹⁴.

"bosniyak" in the Ottoman language stands for Slavic speaking Muslims who lived in Bosnia, to distinguish them from the Ottomans themselves. Thus, it is not a Native ethnic definition. More on this see: D. Tanasković, *Islam i mi*, Belgrade, 2006, pp. 151.

13. A great writer and Nobel Prize winner Ivo Andrić presented his vision on the development of spiritual life in Bosnia in his doctoral dissertation in 1924, arguing that islamization proceeded slowly and gradually, and that the Turks, at least in the first decades of their reign, tried with all their powers to adapt to indigenous cultures, allowing enough time for assimilation. Complexity of inter-related material and psychological facts put the Bosnian nobility and beys (the so-called "favorite Sultan's children") before a dilemma: whether to keep the land and power in their hands and thus to acquire new dignities in the Ottoman Empire, which would eventually end up with the transition to Islam, or lose everything and become subjected Raya. Andrić presented his views and attitudes in brief: "Ottoman state idea, as well as Bosnian kingdom, Islam, and also Bogomilism, were only the means to preserve the land property and the power that stemmed from that property." More on this see: I. Andrić, *Razvoj duhovnog života u Bosni pod uticajem turske vladavine*, Belgrade, 1982, pp. 55-59.

14. For identification of any community, there are ethnic identifiers. Among them seven are taken as criteria for ethnic determinants. They are language, territory, the relevant economy (livelihood), culture, belonging and awareness of possible racial and religious

A special role in the expansion of Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina was the role of the Sufi, gathered in Techia, who were the most reverent missionaries of Islamic religious enthusiasm, thus adopting a mix of Christian and Islamic folklore and beliefs, but with an accent on social justice. Rifaic Dervish groups from Sarajevo were well known. They used the Zikr prayer technique in Sinan's Tekke, similar to the Christian prayer of repetitious calling for the name of Christ¹⁵.

Three main types of Dervish prayers exist and they are called Nefes. Only mystics with special abilities could conquer the technique of Nefes. Isa `ya malik (inspired by Jesus' miraculous breath) was able to rise from the dead and to cure the disabled and blind¹⁶. Sheikh Husein from Prizren was one of those Dervishes; he was even considered a miracle maker who lifted up his own suicidal son from the dead. His grave is frequented by many childless Muslim women. Other than these miraculous events, there are many cult related objects which appear in Turkish literature of the Ottoman period, among them a cup as a pledge of oath between two contracted parties. In the history of the Osman dynasty, by Turkish chronic writer Chikaashazade from the 15th century, it is noted that Sheikh Edebalia, interpreting Osman's dream, said that he and his offspring will be the Sultans and that he should therefore

affiliation. Ethnic characteristics that distinguish Muslims from the south Slavic area from the Serbs is only religion. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the so-called Cyrillic was used until the Austrian occupation in 1878. It was also called bey letter or "bosančica" (old Serbia). This Muslim issue was wisely described by M. Begović, claiming that although the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims converted to Islam, they still managed to preserve their language, their customs, and their national cyrillic alphabet (Old Serbia). They convey the glory of Slavic genius and create a special literature in our native language. More on this in: P. Vlahović, „Srpska i muslimanska tradicija u prijepoljskom kraju - prilog upoznavanju etnickog identiteta“, in: *Istoci i utoci: sećanje na Slavoljuba Djindjića: Proceedings*, Belgrade, 2009, pp. 31-40; M. Hadzijahic, M. Traljić, N. Šukrić, *Islam i muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 1977, pp. 43; M. Begović, *Muslimani u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Belgrade, 1938, pp. 29.

15. Rifa'iyah are also known on the territory of central Serbia, Belgrade, Nis and Novi Pazar, while in Kosovo more important centers of Rifa'iyah are to be found in Djakovica, Gjilan, Mitrovica, Peć, Pristina and Prizren. A. Popović, „Balkanski derviši“, in: *Zbornik za orijentalne studije*, (1992), pp. 178-193.

16. G. Elezović, *Derviški redovi muslimanski*, Skopje, 1925, pp. 39.

award them with a charter. The Sultan replied I will give you the Cup, may it be in your hands, and you shall keep this oath¹⁷. An analogy is obvious with a liturgical Cup of the Holy Communion, for which Christ says Drink from it , for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is spilt for the resolution of sins of all people¹⁸.

One document can be mentioned that testifies about the cultural influence of the Ottomans in the Balkans. It is a so called gift document which is written to the name of Great Vezier and Ibrahim Pasha, conqueror of Kaniza and Sultan's son-in-law. According to Babinger Damad Ibrahim Pasha is from Slavonia by birth, or Bosniak from the vicinity of Dubrovnik¹⁹, who, thanks to his heroic acts during the time of Mehmed III, was awarded with the title of Great Vezier. His body was brought from Belgrade to Istanbul and he was burried with a turbe in the princes' mosque. The deed was written in Zemun in 1600, and speaks about the principles of Muslim diplomacy²⁰. It describes literary and scientific texts, and official documents of the Ottoman administration. A collection of important documents, letters, and deeds, known as *Acta Turcica*, are kept in the archives of the Republic of Dubrovnik (*Inventario de scriture turchesche anno 1724*), and were written in Serbian, Turkish, Hebrew, Greek, and Armenian language. The oldest documents about the relations between Dubrovnik and the Turks with other nations are dated from 1396/7, one of the most notable ones being the first trading priviledge awarded to Dubrovnik by Murat II in 1430, written in Serbian Cyrillic²¹.

17. His tomb is located in tekke of sanini dervish order (previously Kralja Petra street, Belgrade). Lj. Čolić, „Prilog proučavanju medjusobnih hrišćansko-muslimanskih uticaja” in: *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*, Belgrade, LXXI, 1-4 (2005/06), pp. 150.

18. Holy Gospel according to Matthew 26, 27-28.

19. More on this see in: F. Babinger: *Aus Südslaviens Turkenzeit*, Berlin 1927, pp. 13-23.

20. More on this see in: F. Barjaktarević, „Naučni pregled iz Jugoslavije pod Turcima“, in: *Srpski književni glasnik* XXIII, 6, (1928), pp. 463.

21. O. Zirojević, „Pisani tragovi Osmanskog carstva na tlu Jugoslavije“, in: *Zbornik za orijentalne studije* (1992) pp. 45; F. Barjaktarević, *Tursko-islamska kulturna baština Južnih Slovena*, Split, 1966, pp.7-9; A. Mitrović, *Naučno delo Fehima Barjaktarevića*, pp. 165.

According to T. Djordjevic, Miram Turbes in Prishtina witness the respect that both sides had for the Islamic sanctities. It was frequented by both Christians and Muslims. "Muslims would come on Saturday in daytime, and Christians on Lazar's Saturday in the evening and untill late night. When someone comes to kneel before the grave, they would light the candle and pray... Christians bring purely Christian objects, such as metal lamps (kandili, oil lamp) with a relief of crucified Jesus, or holy Virgin with Christ, icons of St. Nicholas, St. Archangel or St. Savvas, and towels with embroidered crosses. I saw beautifully embroidered cross on a nice piece of red velvet, and beneath was an inscription: Gift from Darinka Bogicevic from Kosovska Mitrovica. Under the Turbe many people light fire and slay lambs and chickens, make halvah and rice, and then share with the neighbors. I saw many pieces of ceramide, turned upside down by those who wanted their luck changed, that is to turn it from ill to good"²².

One extraordinary Dervish was a Bektashi saint, Sari Saltik, who was at first, according to F. Hazlak, respected by only one tribe, but later became highly respected and even identified with St. Nicholas. Muslims have taken over several churches devoted to St. Nicholas in the European part of Turkey. He bears certain resemblance to St. George (he kills a dragon) and his mission is to convert Europe. Muslims have taken over a Church of Fourty Saints (Kirk-kilise) in Trakia. They also give great importance to number forty in geographical names and natural cults of hills and springs (for example Kirk-agac means forty trees, or Kirk-in means forty caves). The same author mentions miracles and healings that happened at the grave sight of St. Policarpus in Smyrna. Muslims claim this to be a grave (turbe) of Grandfather Yusuf, killed in battle, whose martyr motif of suffering resembles Christian hagiology²³. There

22. T. Djordjević, *Naš narodni život*, (VII), Belgrade, 1984, pp. 138-139.

23. Similar motifs and folk beliefs are found in the village of Turići in Bosanska Posavina, where people describe the martyrdom of a priests Lovra, who was beheaded by the Turkish judge: "But the priest did not fall, but caught the head in his arms and began to flee. The Turks went after him, but could not reach him until he fell on the ground on a hill that was then named Lovra's Hill". In a village Divača near Zvornik similar information was recorded in the local Muslim population. There is a burial

is evidence proving the existence of Crypto-Christians among Muslims in Trebizond, believers who confess both religions, which converted into Islam but still practiced Eastern Church customs and Greek language, and use Armenian language in everyday life. Example of this could be found with Crypto-Christians in Cyprus, who baptized their children before they were circumcised, and then gave them old Christian names together with their Muslim ones. There are places in North Macedonia which testify about the double confession sanctuaries and about conveying material and spiritual cult and heritage. Those are the Tekke of Sersem Alia (in Tetovo), the Tekke of Karaga Ahmed (in Aleksandrovo), and the St. Naum monastery (in Ohrid), which was frequented by Muslims due to its healing power against insanity.

There are even opinions that the name Sari Saltuk related to the spread of Islam among the Slavs, and that he was a symbol of Islamic-Christian syncretism. Semi-legendary Saltuk killed the dragon in Kroy, and died in Corfu (as a dervish-gazija in the late thirteenth century). Monastery of Saint Naum Muslim Bektashi revered him as their own Sari Saltuk. Albanians identify him with Saint Spyridon, respect him and go to Corfu praising and glorifying him as their patron of the island under his Muslim name. In Prizren Podgor (Novo Selo) Muslims celebrate St. Nicholas Day, light candles, burn incense at home, and even keep icons. Muslim Bulgarians mark this day as Nikuldan. It is particularly interesting that the dervishes accepted a confession, the sanctity of the cross and a kind of Eucharist from Christians.

In Trebizond, in Bulgaria and Albania, the Muslims had their children baptized in order to prevent leprosy. In Albania, the Muslims baptized their children, because the mystery of Christian baptism was experienced as a spiritual protection against evil spirits, witches and wolves. An interesting

chamber there of Evlya and Mevlya, who "brought their severed heads in their hands to the place where their grave now stands, where they fell and were buried". Both Muslims and Christians visit their shrines, especially the sick, who pray to God there and make the sacrifice. More on this see in: T. Djordjević, *Naš narodni život*, (X), Belgrade, 1934, pp. 68.

fact is that among the Bulgarians there are the so-called Bulgarian Muslims who are known as Christian Bulgarians and godfathers-Hasanovci. They have a custom that first a Bulgarian Christian names the newborn child, and then the mullahs of Islamic belief. There is also a religious practice that Bulgarian godfather addresses his godson with the godson Hasan or Osman. This phenomenon of two faiths is present with some Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where it is thought that the baptism of children should be handled as a defense against disease and death²⁴.

Best testimony of this Muslim religious tradition and religious syncretism is the practice of triple godfatherhood - sunetic, married and shorn godfather, sometimes performed on the Easter Sunday or dawn before Easter Friday. The one who first walks past the house of a newborn, whether Muslim or Christian, will be the shorn godfather of the child, and the person holding a child passes the scissors to the shorn godfather. He, then, shears the child's hair above forehead in a form of a cross and wraps it in wax. Such shorn godfatherhood in some areas is considered not only more important than a married one, but also from sunetic godfather, taking into account that the members of these houses can not get married among themselves and need to respect one another as spiritual cousins. There is also a visible resemblance to the Christian sacraments of baptism where the priest, after the baptism and Confirmation, shears hair in the name of the Holy Trinity. We also notice opposite cases, like the proposal for the bride and giving money by the brother-in-law, which reflect the Sheriat law²⁵. Many Muslims

24. More on this in: O. Zirojević, *Islamizacija na Južnoslovenskom prostoru*, Belgrade, 2003, pp. 28-29 and 42-48.

25. More on this in: A. Hangi, *Život i običaji muslimana u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, 1990, pp. 105-112 and 160-161. A comparison is possible here with the Shiite sect of nusairite or alevite that are unique in that they allow to the fourth Islamic caliph, Alia, the cult of a deity. Their doctrine is a mixture of Islamic, Christian, Gnostic and old oriental elements. It is interesting to note that nusairite religious calendar, on top of the Sunni and Shiite, also marks the most important Christian holidays, including Christmas and Easter, and people even use incense, candles and consecrated wine in their prayers. They make up minor communities in Syria, Lebanon and Turkey. There is also a sect of kizilbasha, called also alevites since the nineteenth century, which now mostly consist of Kurds and Turkmen. They are close with the Bektashi who believe

in the area of Debar maintain Christian wedding customs and have: officers, godfathers and a bridesman, but they call them different names. It is similar with the funeral rites that require wearing black as a sign of mourning for the deceased, and appearance at the cemetery four times a year (the seventh and fortieth day, at six months and one year). Bulgarian Muslims light candles at the graves, which are then poured by wine or water, while in Trnovo in Tekke Kavak old women practice Christian burials, and some tombstones have a cross inscribed and the Christian name of the deceased.

It is particularly interesting that some Muslims in Tikves, Kičevo and Prizren region celebrate the glory of the Christian saints, among them especially St. George, St. Demetrius and St. Nicholas. The celebration starts three days before the feast day with the people carrying wheat and lighting candles on the walls of the old church²⁶. Also in Montenegro some Muslim families this day celebrate the patron saint of their ancestors, for example: the Petricević family in Veliko Selo celebrate Midsummer, the Barjaktarović and Lunja families celebrate Ascension Day, the Dapčević family celebrate St. Nicholas Day, the Vulić and Dabezić family celebrate St. Petka, and even the Runje mullah from the Montenegrin Frontier admitted that his ancestors celebrated St. Petka. Guests were drinking wine and spirits, singing and celebrating for two or three days²⁷. The ultimate goal of Bektashism was not to connect of Christianity with Islam, but absorb it and these aspirations had social and political background in the Balkan territory²⁸. Tolerance towards "the people or

in a mix of Turkish pre-Islamic beliefs, certain elements of the extremist Shiite religious doctrine, Sufism and Hurufism. The "Yezidi" sect is named after Yazid, the killer of Imam Hussein, who is glorified as a divinity. Their cult is syncretic, and includes some Christian elements, important among them being baptism, the breaking of bread, and tour of Christian churches. More on this see in: D. Tanasković, *Islam: dogma i život*, pp. 186-190.

26. Muslims in Debar, Skopje, Tikveš and Prizren region are called the Torbesh, those in the Debar area are called the Kurks, and those who turned Turk in Bulgaria are called Pomaci. However, they do not publicly admit that their ancestors were Christians. More on this in: J. Vasiljević, *Muslimani naše krvi u južnoj Srbiji*, Belgrade, 1995, pp. 34-48.

27. More on this in: T. Djordjević, *Naš narodni život*, (IV), Belgrade, 1984, pp. 258-259.

28. F. Barjaktarević, „Hrišćanstvo i islam pod sultanima“, in: *Srpski književni glasnik*, XXXII, 7, (1931), pp. 558-664.

Nations of the Book" provided to the Sufis easy assimilation into each region, because of their preaching the "folk Islam", and in places where there wasn't any phased settlement of the Ottoman Muslims. Especially active in the missionary work was the Bektashi Order who had in mind the final goal of making easier converting Christian believers into Islam.

It is therefore possible to assume that the Ottoman state did not always use violent measures and reprisals, at least during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to compel the Balkan Christians to turn into Islam, as this would entail the cessation of payment of annual taxes for cultivated land (ispendže) and capitation taxes²⁹. Violent islamization, and tribute in blood (devširme), was probably conducted most profoundly among the Serbs, because the so-called Yaya-Basha, with realism in their assessment, due to earlier censuses (defters), chose for the future Janissaries and royal service only the best boys and young men preferably of noble birth. Also, it isn't not insignificant that the Ottomans offered various ways for the people to get a better and safer life if they accepted the new religion, particularly promising to young men that they would be selected as Ichoglan and become favorites of the Sultan, or be brought up as the Ottoman servicemen residing at Saray of an important Padishah. Less intellectually endowed but physically able children were marshaled into their homes teaching them agriculture, and driven to grow up there and become physically stronger, using the teaching of the Koran and the basics of Turkish language. All of them together were the offspring Janissaries army and individual orders of so-called Ajamioglan (adžamioglan)³⁰.

29. There are opinions and financial calculations that, for example, if in 1488 the entire Christian population from Anatolia converted into Islam, the Sublime Porte would have lost tens of kilograms of gold. Similarly, if the 894,432 Christians converted in 1500, the Ottomans would annually lose 2.800 kgs of gold, which couldn't be afforded by the Porte and even the sultan himself. This is one of the important economic and financial reasons why they were not particularly interested in the massive transfer of Christians to Islam. More on this see in: N. Baldičanu, „Organizacija Osmanskog carstva (XIV-XV v.)“, in: *Istorija Osmanskog carstva*, (2002), pp. 161-162.

30. It is interesting to mark the words of the Nobel Prize winner Ivo Andrić in this context, who speaking about the importance of imposed Islamization and institutions of adžamioglan for the spiritual life in Bosnia, says that parents who didn't want to give their children to the Janissaries, gladly offered money to their fellow converts to Islam

R. Samardžić claims that the Janissaries were a unique phenomenon and a particularly Balkan example, and that perhaps they were the main carriers of subsequent Islamization³¹. Such a transformation of one nation to another, with the recognition of faith but not the nation, with decades of Shariat education in the spirit of the Koran, created high court dignitaries of the former boys Janissaries, who were the lifeblood of the mighty Ottoman Empire.

In the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century, during the period of *Pax Ottomanica*, the most important leader of urbanization in a stable and powerful Ottoman Empire was not just a single economic space in three continents, but also a strong demographic basin that led to the creation of the classic cosmopolitan state³². Transformation of existing institutions was conducted by landlords and Janissaries entering the trade and industrial life of cities, thus creating a city's élite who sought political power. The concept of citizenship in the social context was to act in accordance with Shariat division of the Asker and Raya, and regulations of Ottoman Oriental collection of regulations Kanun-i-Raya, that have enabled the system where only by faith and not by nation, one could achieve acceptance or non acceptance to the state universalism.

so that they would place their children. This was done in the hope that those children would rise to senior positions in Constantinople. The echo of their fame and wealth reached Bosnia and seemed tempting to their relatives, so there were more proselytes than fanatic mullahs or sheikhs in Islam. More on this see in: I. Andrić, *Razvoj duhovnog života u Bosni*, crp. 65-67.

31. More on this in: R. Samardžić, „Prodor islama u jugoistočnu Evropu“, in: *Književnost*, X, (1990), pp. 1734-1736; R. Samardžić, „Turci u srpskoj istoriji“, in: *Zbornik radova za orijentalne studije*, (1992), pp. 26-27.

32. During the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent (1566), Istanbul becomes capital of the western Islamic world, populated by thousands of scientists, artists and merchants from Cairo, Alexandria and Damascus, creating a multitude of Süleymaniye and Mosques, representing masterpieces of Ottoman architecture and art. The peak of Ottoman art was the period when the Ottoman Turks completely mastered the world of the Mediterranean Sea, both politically and militarily. However, at the beginning of the seventeenth and eighteenth century the Ottoman Empire began to decline, mainly because of the weakening of the centralized state, in which the prominent begs, pashas and Aidan took power. More on this see: K. Prenner, *Die Stimme Allhs, Religion und Kultur des Islams*, Graz-Wien-Köln 2001, pp. 254.

The Ottomans contributed, particularly by political migration during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, to the establishment of demographic and ethnic changes in the population, replacing it with new, more reliable and biologically productive ethnic groups, thereby ensuring supremacy in some Balkan countries. Islamized Arbanasi colonies may serve as a classic example of political and economic migration flows. They first belonged by their ethnogenesis to lower strata of population, and only by a calculated political pressure by the Porte they were given preferential status in the defense function of the Ottoman state system. D. Bogdanovic believes that the first islamization of Albanians began after the collapse of Skanderbeg state and migration of a part of Albanians to Italy, while the larger part of the population, mostly in middle Albania, embraced Islam during the sixteenth century, thus improving their economic and social status, turning from the oppressed Raya into privileged class. Islamized Albanians have become the strongest and cruelest weapon of the Ottoman state not only to conquer recalcitrant Christian people but also for the islamization and albanization of Serbs. The emigration of the Serbian people in Kosovo and Metohija was further complicated by the dramatic history of the Turkish-Austrian wars, largely reflected in the migration of Serbs to the territories north of the Sava and Danube. But these were not the reasons for the disappearance of the Serbian population in Kosovo and Metohija, because Prizren remained the capital of Serbia until the end of the eighteenth century. According to D. Bogdanovic, colonization of Albanians in the eighteenth century, ran slowly through infiltration into existing settlements and the displacement of the Serbian population, and not settling empty spaces³³. Significant impetus to islamization of

33. D. Bogdanović, *Knjiga o Kosovu*, Belgrade, 1985, pp. 80. 91-94. By the way, let us mention that at the time of the great Austrian-Turkish wars of 1683-1699 and 1717-1737 the Serbs organized liberation uprisings against the Ottomans, which caused not only the Turkish devastation of Serbian lands due to war, but also large migrations of Serbs to the areas of Austro-Hungarian Empire. Large migrations of Serbs, under the patriarchs Arsenije III Čarnojević in 1690 and Arsenije Jovanović IV-Shakabent in 1737, significantly weakened the Serbian ethnic composition, although the area of Old Serbia was still homogeneous until the middle of the eighteenth century. Engagement of the Patriarchate of Peć in the liberation movements of the Serbs against Turkey, only

Albanians came from the prominent noble families, such as Bushatli, but also from Ottoman dignitaries such as Ali Pasha Tepelenli. National and ideological framework of Albanian nationalism was established with the formation of the League of Prizren, so most of the people even today are Sunnis, even though Islam in Albania never became the official state religion³⁴.

This sequence of historical events necessarily led to the awakening of national consciousness of the enslaved Balkan nations which inevitably led to the switch in official policy of Constantinople towards the new political reality. Balkan peoples, Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians and

accelerated the decision of the Sublime Porte to eliminate this most important institution of the Serbian people. By abolition of the Peć Patriarchate in 1766 the Ottomans managed to politically weaken the spiritual strength, destabilizing the Serbs. Despite this, uprisings did not subside through the remaining decades of the eighteenth century, until the First Serbian Revolution in 1804. Islamized Albanians rose as a new political element, who, thanks to the privileged position in the Ottoman Empire and the biological expansion, rapidly spread on the territory of Old Serbia and used brutal force to turn Serbian people into a minority in their own land. These events from Shkodra to Prizren are supported by detailed study of certificates of Catholic missionaries who penetrated in the central Balkans through the Congregation for religious propaganda (founded in 1622), but with parallel monitoring of the preserved Turkish documents that describe actual events and demographic changes among people in this country. The Catholic Church was a witness and participant in these events for centuries.

34. Attempt to obtain the status of a "special nation" of Muslims in Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Bulgaria can be presented as a regional group of citizens of uncertain identity, whose main reference is Islam, who were aided by the communist regime in its clearest Stalinist version, and who were the main bastions of communism. For Kosovo Albanians, the then Federal Republic of Yugoslavia allowed the right of religious tolerance. They then fought against the same country and on behalf of the state ideology of Albania, where it was absolutely forbidden. The Communist Party of Yugoslavia speaks of Muslims in the ethnic sense in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1960, only to promote them into a nation and one of the six constituent peoples of Yugoslav Federation in 1970. In Croatia, the NDH did not recognize ethnic Muslims, but they were flattered to be "purest blood Croats", and Serbs were identified as Croat Orthodox population. In Bulgaria the violent atheization of Muslims was firstly conducted, and after forty years the Bulgarian government stated that they were not true Turks and Tatars, but "Bulgarians of the Islamic religion." See more about this in: A. Popović, *Jugoslovenski muslimani*, Belgrade, 1990, pp. 33-36; D. Tanasković, *Islam i mi*, pp. 158; M. Muradbegović, *B-H Muslimani na sudbonosnom ispitu*, Belgrade, 1991, pp. 13.25.

Romanians³⁵, in an attempt to liberate themselves from the central government, sought a more favorable situation with improved national religious under protection of Orthodox Russia, which acted as their protector in front of the Great Port. In the nineteenth century, the Balkan countries gained independence, and the Berlin congress in 1878 acknowledged their sovereignty.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Ἡ πολιτιστική ἱστορία τοῦ Ἰσλάμ στὰ Βαλκάνια

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Ἡ παρουσία τοῦ Ἰσλάμ στὰ Βαλκάνια ἐκκινεῖ στὶς ἀρχές τοῦ 14ου αἰῶνα μὲ τὴν ὀθωμανικὴ κατάκτηση. Δὲν παύει ὅμως νὰ ἐπιδρᾷ διαρκῶς σὲ ἐπίπεδο πολιτισμοῦ ἀποτελώντας μοναδικὸ παράδειγμα μόνιμης συνύπαρξης τῶν δύο δογμάτων (Χριστιανισμοῦ καὶ Ἰσλάμ) στὴν Εὐρώπη. Κατὰ τὴν ὀθωμανικὴ περίοδο, πού χαρακτηρίζεται ἀπὸ τὰ φαινόμενα τοῦ θρησκευτικοῦ συγκρητισμοῦ καὶ τῆς πολιτισμικῆς ἀλληλεπίδρασης, ἵχνη τοῦ ὑλικοῦ ἰσλαμικοῦ πολιτισμοῦ εἶναι ἀπολύτως διακριτὰ στὰ Βαλκάνια. Ἡ ἰδιαίτερη φύση τους εἶναι ὄρατὴ στὴ γένεση τῶν πόλεων, στὴ διαίρεση σὲ ἀστικά καὶ ἐπιχειρηματικὰ κέντρα ἀλλὰ καὶ στοὺς λοιποὺς τομεῖς τῆς κοινωνικῆς καὶ δημόσιας ζωῆς: ἐπιχειρήσεις, οἰκονομία, μεταποίηση, χειροτεχνία, τέχνες καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονική. Αὐτὸ τὸ ἰδιαίτερο μοντέλο ὀθωμανικοῦ «ὑλικοῦ» πολιτισμοῦ προϋπέθετε κάποιου εἴδους θρησκευτικὴ-νομικὴ ἐκπαίδευση, τὴν ὑπαρξὴ μιᾶς συγκεκριμένης μεθοδολογίας γιὰ τὴν κατασκευὴ πόλεων καὶ τζαμιῶν, τὴν παρουσία ὀρισμένων δερβισικῶν ταγμάτων, μία συγκεκριμένη

35. According to some estimation (Bugarel Klejer) more than 8 million Muslims inhabited the Balkans, and they can be divided into four main linguistic ethno-groups: albanophone (4-4.5 million), slavophone (2.5 million), turkophone (over 1 million) and the Roma of which they do not have precise figures. Religious sociologists present an interesting view that the Balkan Muslims consider ethnic and national ties primary over religious values. More about this in: D. Todorović, „Islam i hrišćanstvo na Balkanu: perspektive kulture mira“, in: *Islam na balkanskoj vetrometini*, ЈУНИП, Ниш, 2007, pp. 49-50.

στάση απέναντι στη μὴ μουσουλμανική κοινωνία, τὴν ἀποτελούμενη ἐν πολλοῖς ἀπὸ ὀρθόδοξους Σέρβους, καὶ ἐπίσης τὴ γλωσσικὴ ἀλληλεπίδραση σὲ διάφορα πεδία τῆς ἐπικοινωνίας. Ὅλα αὐτά, ποὺ ἔκαναν τὸ Βαλκανικὸ Ἰσλάμ ἰδιαιτέρως περιφερειακὸ γιὰ τὴν Ὀθωμανικὴ Αὐτοκρατορία, δημιούργησαν ἓνα διττὸ θρησκευτικὸ φαινόμενο: τὸν Κρυπτο-Χριστιανισμὸ μὲ τὰ διπλᾶ ἱερά του. Ἴγνη μιᾶς τέτοιας ἐθνοθρησκευτικῆς, πολιτισμικῆς καὶ κοινωνιολογικῆς διπλῆς πίστεως ἀνιχνεύονται σὲ σταθερὴ βάση στὴ Βοσνία καὶ τὴν Ἑρζεγοβίνη.

Στὴν πραγματικότητα, πρωταρχικὸς στόχος τῆς ἐθνικῆς πολιτικῆς τῆς *Pax Ottomanica* στὰ βαλκανικὰ ἐδάφη, τοῦλάχιστον κατὰ τὸν 16ο αἰῶνα, ἦταν ἡ δημιουργία μιᾶς νέας θρησκευτικῆς καὶ ἐθνοτικῆς δομῆς, ἀποτελούμενης ἀπὸ ἐποίκους, νέους πιστοὺς καὶ γενίτσαρους, ἡ ὁποία ὑπὸ τὸ πατρωνύμιο “bin Abdullah”, ἐπρόκειτο νὰ καταστεῖ ὁ κύριος φορέας τοῦ Ἰσλάμ, τὸ μέσο γιὰ τὴν ἔσχατη ἐπικράτησή του. Μὲ αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπο, χωρὶς ὑπερβολὲς ἢ ὑποβιβασμούς, ἐπιχειρώντας μιὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ δίκαιη προσέγγιση τοῦ πολύπλοκου αὐτοῦ προβλήματος, εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἐξηγήσουμε τὸ φαινόμενο τῆς θρησκευτικῆς πολυπολιτισμικῆς ἐπέκτασης καὶ τῆς ἐξάπλωσης τοῦ Ἰσλάμ στὰ Βαλκάνια, ἡ ὁποία εἶναι διαρκῆς καὶ ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ ὑφίσταται ἀκόμη καὶ μετὰ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀποχώρηση τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν.

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