

Journal of Balkan Studies

Balkan Çalışmaları
Dergisi

Revista për
Studime Ballkanike

Списание за
Балкански Студии

Volume • **1** / 2021



Issue • **1**

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Volume • **1** / 2021



Issue • **1**

Journal of Balkan Studies

Volume 1 / Issue 1 / 2021
E-ISSN: 2671-3659

Journal of Balkan Studies is an international, academic and peer-reviewed refereed journal. It is published twice a year.

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Graphic Design

Ömer Furkan Taşkıran

Publication Type

International Periodic

Publication Period

Published twice a year, January and July

Print Date

January, 2021

Printed by

Ajgraph - Skopje Citadel, 1000

Correspondence

Journal of Balkan Studies
Pushkarska No.01, Cair - Skopje, North Macedonia
www.balkanjournal.org, info@balkanjournal.org

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articles

Tasavvufun Bir Din Bilimi Haline Gelmesi: Ümmi Gelenegın Dönüşme Süreci ve Nesnel Bilim Alanının Genişlemesi

Ekrem Demirli

Özet: Tasavvuf üzerindeki akademik arařtırmalar son dönemlerde ciddi bir ivme kazanmış olsa bile, bu çalışmalar henüz tasavvuf hakkındaki belirsizlięi gidebilecek nitelięe ermemiřtir. Bunun birincil nedeni elimizde iki kaynaktan beslenen birbiriyle her zaman uyuřmayan tasavvuf telakkisinin bulunmasıdır: Birincisi Cüneyd-i Bağdıdı sonrasında gelen Sünni tasavvuf eserlerinin temsil ettięi anlayıřtır. Bu anlayıřa göre tasavvuf zâhidlięin eleřtirel evresinin ardından bir din bilimi haline gelerek yöntemi, konusu ve meseleleri belirgin bir ahlak ilmi olmuřtur. İkinci telakki ise Müslümanların toplumsal hayatında ortaya çıkan tarikatlarda temsilen karizmatik önderler ekseninde teřekkül eden tasavvuftur. Bu meyanda kitâbi tasavvufun bile karřısında yabancı ve “nâdân” kaldıęı düzeyde bir tasavvuf anlayıřı, tarikatlar üzerinden İslam toplumunun farklı bölgelerinde yařamaktadır. Bu tasavvufun kendine mahsus sorunları, kendine özgü özellikleri bulursa bile, tasavvuf hakkında nesnel ve güvenilir yol, kitâbi tasavvuf arařtırmalarında bulunabilir. Bu eserlerde tasavvuf din bilimi haline gelme sürecinde tahlil edilirken tasavvufun ortaya çıkıřının ve öteki dinî tavır ve disiplinlerden ayrıřmasının hakiki gerekçelerini de ortaya koyar. Tasavvufu öteki tavrılardan ayrıřtıran en temel nitelik, savunduęu güçlü ve etkin Tanrı telakkisidir. Din bilimlerinin geliřmesiyle birlikte Müslüman cemaat Tanrı'nın kendisi yerine dikkatlerini řeriata ve dinî yasalara vermiş, Tanrı ile konuřmayı ya da

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© Association of Education and Thought Fettaħ Efendi
DOI: <http://doi.org/10.51331/A001>
Journal of Balkan Studies, 2021,
balkanjournal.org



Received: 01.11.2020

Accepted: 01.12.2020

O'na kavuşmayı öte dünyaya ertelemiştir. Tasavvuf denilen şey, haddizatında Tanrı hakkındaki bu erteleyici tavra dönük tepkide kendini göstermiştir. Bu tepkinin kendini gösterdiği ilk ciddi ayrışma olan şeriat-hakikat ayrışması, ahirette buluşacağımız Tanrı ile ilişkiyi dünyaya taşımaktan ibarettir. Tanrı hakkında bu tavır, nübüvvet ve insan telakkisini de temelden değiştirmiştir. Peygamber'in sünnetinden daha çok şahsiyetine dikkat vermek, tasavvufun velayet görüşüyle irtibatlı bir konudur. Böylece üç temel kavram olmak üzere Allah, peygamberin hakikati –gerçi bu tabir yedinci asra aittir- ve insanın velayeti tasavvufun kurucu kavramları haline gelmiştir. Makale tasavvufun bu gelişim seyri hakkında bir değerlendirmeyi içerir ve günümüzde tasavvuf üzerindeki her araştırmada bu kavram üçlüsünün dikkate alınmasını önerir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: tasavvuf, meşruiyet sorunu, Serrac, Cüneyd, Şeriat ve hakikat, ibahilik, Sünnet, Ebu Haşim sufi, zahitlik. sünni tasavvuf, din bilimi

Abstract: Even though academic research on Sufism has gained significant momentum in recent years, these studies have not yet reached the quality that is able to attend to the uncertainty about Sufism. The primary reason for this is we have the conception of Sufism to be found to be nurtured from two sources that don't always align with one another: The first of these is the understanding that the Sunni Sufi works developed after al-Junayd al-Baghdadi represent. According to this understanding, the methods, topics, and issues of Sufism, by becoming a science of religion after the critical phase of renunciaton, became a distinct moral science. The second conception is the Sufism that formed around charismatic leaders who were represented in the sects that emerged in Muslims' social lives. Among other things, an understanding of Sufism existed in various regions of Islamic society through sects at a level that remained strange and *nâdân* [uneducated] even in relation to the rhetorical style of Sufism. The problems peculiar to this Sufism is that, even though it has its own characteristics, objective and reliable ways about Sufism can only be found in the research on the rhetorical style of Sufism. While these works analyze Sufism in the process of becoming a science of religion, they also reveal the real reasons for the emergence of Sufism and its distinction from other religious attitudes and disciplines. The most basic feature that distinguishes Sufism from other attitudes is the conceptualization of the powerful and active God that it advocates. With the development of religious sciences, the Muslim community gave its awareness to the *sharia* and religious laws instead of God Himself; it delayed talking with God or converging with Him to the afterlife. What Sufism means shows itself in its response toward this attitude of procrastination about God. The *sharia*-truth divergence, which is the first serious dissociation where this response manifested, consists of conveying to the world the relationship with the God who we will meet in the afterlife. This attitude about God has also fundamentally changed the conceptualization of prophethood and human beings. Giving more attention to the personage of the Prophet rather than the Sunnah is a matter related to Sufism's view of guardianship. Thus, God, the truth of the prophet (although this term belongs to the 7th century AD), and the guardianship of humans has become the founding concepts of Sufism. This article contains an assessment of this course of Sufism's development and recommends every research on Sufism today to consider this trio of concepts.

Keywords: Sufism, problem of legitimacy, Abu Nasr al-Sarraj, al-Junayd al-Baghdadi, *sharia* and truth, antinomianism, Sunnah, Abu Hashim al-Sufi, renunciaton, Sunni Sufism, Science of religion

Giriş: Bidat ile Yenilik Arasında Meşruiyet Sorunu

Herhangi bir bilimin meşruiyeti üzerinde odaklanan tartışmalar, başka hiçbir din biliminde, tasavvufta olduğu gibi yaygınlık ve süreklilik arz etmedi. Tartışmalar yaygındı, çünkü sorun tasavvufun kendisi kadar her bir tikel bahsini ilgilendiriyordu; sürekli idi, çünkü tasavvufun bütün dönemlerinde meşruiyet sorunu varlığını güçlü bir tarzda hissettirdi. Sorunu ele almayan mutasavvıf olmadığı gibi halihazırda dahi tasavvuf kendini “din bilimi” olarak kabul ettirmede başarısız kabul edilebilecek yegâne din bilimidir.

Bütün din bilimlerinin ilk ve temel sorunu meşruiyet meselesini aşabilecek bir yaklaşım geliştirmektir. Bunun nedeni din bilimlerinin vahiy ve sünnet ekseninde teşekkül etmiş olmalarıdır; vahiy ekseninde bilgi üretmek, bilgiyi yorum ötesine taşıma imkânı tanımaz. Bu nedenle her din bilimi bir “tefsir” faaliyeti şeklinde ortaya çıkar, tefsir faaliyeti ise -ki bunun teknik tabiri *istinbât* veya *istidlâl*dir- kendini kaynağa uygun veya yakın olmakla tahkim etmek ister; yorumun meşruiyeti de buradan gelir. Başta “ehl-i hadis” diye bilinen gelenekselci yaklaşım olmak üzere birçok Müslüman dinde yeni yaklaşımları veya yeni bilim anlayışlarının oluşmasını reddediyor, yeniliği nübüvvetin ihmali veya ondan uzaklaşma sayıyordu. Onların *bidat* tabiri altında dile getirdikleri ithamlar, din bilimlerinin değişen hayat şartları ile vahyin irtibatını belirlemedeki krizlerinin ana sebebinin teşkil ediyordu. İnançta, amelde ve ahlaki hayattaki her türlü yeniliğin bidat sayılması, çatışmaların mecrası haline gelerek düşünce ortamının soğukkanlı düzenini bozmuştu. Kavramın yumuşatılmasına dair teşebbüsler çerçevesinde *bidat-i hasene* gibi yeni tabirler bulunsa bile, bidat tabiri hasenenin bütün iyiliğini silecek kadar katı ve belirsizdi.

Tasavvuf kadar, böyle tartışmaların yıkıcı etkilerini üzerinde hisseden başka disiplin bulmak mümkün değildi. Tasavvufta tartışmalar bir yandan bilimin varlığını ele alma cihetinden ortaya çıkarken öte yandan bütün tikel konularda da varlığını hissettiriyordu. Özellikle ibadet hayatında musikinin kullanılmasıyla birlikte ortaya çıkan tasavvufi uygulamalar, bidat ithamından kendini kurtarmasında sorun yaratmıştır. Vakia, tasavvuf diye bir din bilimi olabilir mi ve tasavvufun ele aldığı konular gerçekte Müslüman toplumun hayatı için gerekli midir? Erken dönemden itibaren tasavvuf üzerindeki tartışmalarda belirleyici rol oynayan sorunların başında bu sorunlar gelmişti: bunu kısaca “meşruiyet sorunu” şeklinde ifade etmek mümkündür.

Bu eksen de yapılabilecek ilk iş, tasavvufun din bilimi olarak meşruiyet sınırlarının bulunması olacaktır. Süfîler “Sünnî tasavvuf” anlayışının kurucu metinleri sayabileceğimiz eserlerde¹ böyle bir teşebbüse girişmiş, tasavvufu din bilimlerinden birisi olarak ele alırken öteki din bilimlerindeki yöntemi takip etmişlerdi. Önce tasavvufun ne olduğu sorunu tartışılmıştı: Öteki din bilimleri bu sorunu ele alırken naslarda bilimleriyle ilgili zikredilen açıklamalara başvurur, ayet ve hadislerin bilimlerine nasıl işaret ettiğini bulmak isterlerdi. Süfîler de benzer bir yol takip ettiler: Hz. Peygamber’in hadislerinde ve ayet-i kerimelerde bilgilerine ve yöntemlerine işaret olup olmadığını araştırdıklarında ciddi bir sorun ile karşılaştılar. Başta “tasavvuf” ve “süfî” kelimesinin kökeni olmak üzere tasavvufa dair birçok husus için hadislerde ve ayetlerde sarîh delil bulmak mümkün değildi. Süfîler “tasavvuf” ve “süfî” kelimelerinin ilk nesilde kullanılan bir tabir olmadığını söylediklerinde, bunun zamanla tasavvufun meşruiyet sorununu aşamayacak derecede çözümsüzleştirildiğini hesap etmişler miydi? (Serrâc, 2016: 31-34; Kuşeyrî, 2002: 478-484; Hücvîrî, 1980: 227-237; Sircânî, 2012: 37-40). “Tasavvuf” kavramının sözlük veya terimsel anlamıyla ilk neslin kavramlarından birisi olmaması tasavvuf için ciddi bir sorun olarak günümüze kadar gelecekti. Oryantalist araştırmaların yaygınlaşmasıyla birlikte, sorun daha ciddi bir meseleye dönüşecek, “tasavvufun yabancılığı” iddiası bidat ithamı üzerinden “içeriden” büyük destek bulacaktı. Üstelik bu durum tasavvufu fıkıh ile kelam hatta hadis gibi din bilimleri karşısında görece tezyif ediyordu. Çünkü sahabe nesli arasında zikredilmiş olmak öteki din bilimlerine büyük bir güç, özellikle de meşruiyet kazandırıyordu. Başta bilimin adı ve ana konuları olmak üzere, din bilimiyle ilgili çeşitli bahislerin sahabe neslinde ve ana kaynaklarda –ayet ve hadisler- yer alması, meşruiyetin en güçlü gerekçesiydi. Her din bilimi naslarda isminin geçmiş olmasından hareketle din bilimleri tasnifinde yerini tahkim etmek istemişti.

1 Serrâc’ın *el-Lüma’*, Kelâbâzî’nin *et-Ta’arruf*, Ebû Tâlib el-Mekki’nin *Kütü’l-kulüb*, Kuşeyrî’nin *er-Risâle* ve Hücvîrî’nin *Keşfü’l-mahcûb* gibi eserleri kastedilmektedir.

Bu meyanda Hadis ilminin öteki ilimlere göre güçlü bir imkâna sahip olduğu aşikârdır; ilk nesil uzun zaman bilgiyi hadisi bilmek veya nassı bilmek şeklinde yorumlayarak otantik bilgi anlayışını aktarılmış bilgi sınırında tutmuştu. İkinci asırdan itibaren hadis dışında yeni bilimler ortaya çıkmaya başladığında, onların nasıl ele alınacağı ciddi mesele haline gelmiş, genel tutum olarak bilginin en dar ve sahih tarzı savunulmuştu: “bilmek nassı bilmek olmalıdır.” Hadis ilmi herhangi bir yoruma tabi tutmadan sözün veya eylemin aktarılmasını üzerine kuruluordu. Daha sonra hadisçiler, dikkatlerini isnada vermiş olsalar bile, ana gelenekten uzaklaşmamışlardı: onlar için bilgi her zaman “hadisi bilmek” idi (Kutluer, 2000: 109-114). Fakihler ile kelamcılarının ilk nesilden hareketle kendilerini temellendirme gayretleri hadise göre daha sorunluordu; özellikle kelam bu konuda daha ciddi sorunlara maruz kalmıştı. Onların ilimlerinin isimlerinin ana metinlerde zikredilmiş olması sorunu aşmalarına yeterli gelmiyordu. Bu meyanda fıkıh daha avantajlı olsa bile kelamın din bilimleri arasındaki seyri tasavvuf gibi sorunluordu. Bu ilimlerin isimleri ana metinlerde sözlük anlamlarıyla kullanılmış olsa da ilk neslin fıkıh ve fakih derken anladığı ile ikinci neslin anladığını bir görmek zordu. Kelam ise dolaylı yoldan kendini temellendirme imkânına sahipti. Haddizatında sözlük anlam ile terimsel anlam arasındaki değişim bilimin gelişim seyrini anlatır. Bu itibarla fıkıh ve kelam, sözlük anlamıyla kendilerini buldukları naslarda, terimsel olarak kendilerini bulamamanın sorununu yaşayacaktı. Bununla birlikte bazı görüş ayrılıklarıyla birlikte ilk üç ilim meşruiyetini kazanmada büyük güçlük yaşamadı.

Tasavvuf ise soruna başka şekilde dâhil oldu. Her şeyden önce “tasavvuf” ve “sûfi” kelimeleri ana metinlerde yer almıyordu. Bu durum meşruiyet sorununda büyük bir mesele teşkil etmiş, tabakât literatürünün ortaya çıkmasıyla birlikte sûfiler tasavvufu nereden başlatacakları hususunda tereddüde düşmüşlerdi. Birçok yazar tasavvufu asr-ı saadetten başlatmak istemiş olsa bile teorik olarak bunu temellendirmek zordu. Bunun yerine başka bir yöntem takip edilerek tasavvufun ilk nesildeki varlığını keşfetmek istediler. Önce sahabe arasında *sûf* (yün) giydiği iddia edilen bir zümre olan ashâb-ı suffe ile tasavvuf arasında irtibat arandı. Birçok tasavvuf yazarına göre *suffe ashabi* denilen grup tasavvufun sahabe neslinde en güçlü kaynağıdır (Serrâc, 2016: 33; Sülemî, 1986: 3; Hücvîrî, 1980: 285-290). Onlar, öteki insanlar işlerinde güçlerinde iken, kendilerini dinî hayata adanmış zâhid kimselerdir. Lakin öyle görünüyor ki buradaki benzerlik zayıftır ve üçüncü asırdan itibaren tespit edilmiş gerekçelendirmenin ötesine gidemez.

Sûfiler isim üzerinden kuramadıkları bağı, bu kez tasavvufun meseleleri üzerinden tesis

etmeye çalışarak daha tutarlı bir yol aradılar. Hz. Peygamber'in ve sahabenin ahlaki hayatları bütün dönemlerinde sūfilerin ideali sayarak tasavvufun bu hayatın takibi olduğunu savunmuşlardır. Serrâc'ın (ö. 378/988) eserinde bu hususta geniş açıklamalar bulunur (Serrâc, 2016: 171-202). Birinci nesilde "tasavvuf" kelime olarak zikredilmemiş olsa bile, anlamca ona denk kelimeler ve yaşanan hayat tarzı ile asr-ı saadette var kabul edildi. Bu bağlamda fakirlik, ihlas, cömertlik, samimiyet gibi yüksek erdemleri anlatan tabirler tasavvuf ile örtüşen kavramlar kabul edilerek sahabe ile sonraki asırları birbirine bağlayan ana konular olarak görülmüştür (Kuşeyrî, 2002: 379, 433 465). Bu noktada ikinci, üçüncü asra geldiğimizde birbiriyle çelişebilecek birkaç tane sahabe ve peygamber telakkisinin Müslümanlar arasında yayıldığını görmekteyiz. Sūfilerin asr-ı saadet ve Hz. Peygamber derken anladıkları ile hadis ehlinin veya fakihlerin anladığı ayrışmaya başlamıştı.

Tasavvufun din bilimleri arasındaki yerinin tespitiyle ilgili ikinci büyük sorun tasavvuf hakkındaki belirsizliklerdir. Tasavvufun mahiyeti üzerindeki tartışmalar günümüzde de geçmişteki önemini yitirmemiştir. Hiçbir evresinde tasavvufun açık ve seçik tanımını yapmak mümkün olmamıştı. Tasavvuf taraftarlarının abartılı ve yüceltici yorumları ile tasavvufu bidat ve dalâlet sayanların görüşleri arasında mutedil yorumlar ortaya çıkmasaydı, tasavvuf hakkında hiçbir fikre varamayacaktık. Sünni tasavvuf anlayışının en önemli temsilcilerinden biri olan Serrâc bundan şikayetini belirtirken abartı ile aşağılama arasında tasavvufa yer arar. Ona göre tasavvuf veya sūfîler ne dinî hayatta ciddiyetsiz ve laubali bir zümredir, ne de müfrit taraftarlarının ileri sürdüğü gibi yegâne hakikattir (Serrâc, 2016: 7). Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî'nin (ö. 909/297) takipçileri sayabileceğimiz yazarların en önemli görevi, tasavvufu "normal" ve makul bir zemine taşıyarak -bilgi zemini- onun üzerindeki belirsizliği aşmaktır. Bu meyanda iki kitabın isminin yeterli bir bakış açısı verebileceğini düşünebiliriz: Birincisi Serrâc'ın *el-Lüma'* (ışık, aydınlatma), öteki Kelâbâzî'nin (ö. 990/380) *et-Ta'arruf li mezhebi ehli't-tasavvuf* udur (tasavvuf ehlinin mezhebinin tanınması). Her iki kitap da bize tasavvufu tanıtmayı hedefler ve tasavvuf üzerindeki belirsizliği gidererek ifrat ile tefrit arasında tasavvufun mahiyetini göstermek ister. Kitapların hedef kitlesi de sadece tasavvuf ehli değildir; belki onlardan daha çok "ortalama" âlimler için yazılmıştır. Serrâc'ın eserinde yapılan karşılaştırmalar bize bunu gösterirken (Serrâc, 2016: 7-27) Kelâbâzî'de savunmacı tavrı daha açık görmekteyiz (Kelâbâzî, 1994: 13-57).

Mutedil yorumlar içinde tasavvufu yöntemi bakımından ele alanlar onu riyazet, müca-

hede veya kalbin tezkiyesi gibi kavramlarla özdeşleştirdiler (Muhâsibî, 1970: 32-151; Mekkî, 2001: I, 248-286; Tirmizî, 2001). Buna mukabil öteki din bilimleriyle ilişkisi bakımından ele alındığında tasavvuf, sistematik bilginin (ümmi cemaatin yeni din bilimleri anlayışı) mukabilinde daha pratik ve düzensiz olanı (ümmilîge dönüşü) temsil eder. Bu durum kabiliyet sahibi âlimlerin ortaya çıktığı din bilimlerine göre ümmi geleneğin kendini gösterdiği din anlayışını temsil eder. Bu yönüyle de tasavvuf ehl-i hadis geleneğinin “ümmi” kısmı kabul edilebilir: ehl-i hadis rivayeti esas alırken sûfiler pratiği ve ameli olduğu gibi aktarmayı (*ittibâ*) esas alır.

Öte yandan tasavvufun din içindeki yeri üzerinde de ciddi tartışmalar olagelmıştır. İslam ve öteki kültürlerle ilişkiler bahsinde olumsuz ve ayrıştırıcı tavrı benimseyenler için tasavvuf heretik bir akım olduğu gibi İslam’ın çevresindeki din ve kültürlerin İslam’a sızdığı zayıf halkadır (Afifi, 2018: 52-76). Buna mukabil birçok insan için tasavvuf dinin hakikatini temsil eden ideal yorumdur. Velhasıl tasavvufun mahiyeti üzerindeki belirsizlikler ve tartışmalar, ifrat ile tefrit arasında değerlendirmeler ve hükümler ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu bakımdan Serrâc’ın ünlü eseri *el-Lüma*’da söylediğinden farklı bir noktada değiliz: “İnsanların tasavvuf hakkındaki tutumlarını ele alırken abartılı övme ile aşırı tahkir arasında tutarsız hükümler serdederler.” (Serrâc, 2016: 7).

Tasavvufun mahiyeti ve din bilimleri arasındaki yeri hakkında en doğru ve delilli yaklaşım erken dönem tasavvuf eserlerini yazan Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî ile talebelerinin telakisidir. Onlara göre tasavvuf, meseleleri, yöntemi ve delilleri belli bir din bilimidir (Demirli, 2015: 31-67). Bu yaklaşım, dört asırda tasavvufun karşılaştığı pek çok sorunu ve gelişmeyi içeren paradigmatik bir değişimdir. Vaka, “tasavvuf bir din bilimidir” dediğimizde, burada *tasavvuf*, *din* ve *bilim* tabirlerinden her birinin bir anlamı olmalıdır: Bir şeyin bilim olması onun sistematik bir yönetime sahip olmasını gerektirir. Bu meyanda din bilimleri arasında erken dönemde önce fıkıhın, kısmen de kelamın dışında sistematik bir bilimden söz etmek mümkün değildi. Tasavvuf kavramlarını tanımlayarak, yeni bir dil inşa ederek, metodunu ayrıştırarak “bilim” olma sürecine girdi. Bununla birlikte işin en önemli kısmı tabakât literatürünün yazılması olmuştur. Sahih ve bâtil tasavvuf anlayışını temin eden şey tabakât literatürü olacaktır. Tabakât literatürü önceki nesilleri bir “imam” ve referans noktası haline getirmekle tasavvufu bir istikamete taşımaya hizmet etmişti (Sülemî, 1986; Ebû Nu’aym, 1974; Herevî, 1963). Artık tasavvuf doğruluk ölçütü olarak eski nesilleri tanıyor, onları selef otoritesi haline getirerek “miyar” kabul ediyordu. Tasavvuf nedir sorusuna “selefin yaşadığı” cevabını vermek, tabakât

eserlerinin yazılış sebebini bize gösterir. Bu itibarla tasavvufta doktrin tabakât üzerinden inşa edilmiştir, dememiz mümkündür.

Meselenin ikinci kısmı ise tasavvufun meselelerinin tespiti idi. Süfyân es-Sevrî (ö. 161/778), “sûfi” lakabıyla bilinen ilk isim sayılan Ebû Hâşim es-Sûfî’den (ö. 150/767) söz ederken “O olmasaydı, rıyanın inceliklerini öğrenemezdim” demişti (Serrâc, 2016: 33). Bu basit ve kısa açıklama bize tasavvufun meseleleri hakkında bakış açısı verir. Haddizatında bir fakih veya kalamcı böyle bir mesele ile ilgilenmez; fakat tasavvuf başından beri insan nefsinin kötü nitelikleri ile iyi ahlak üzerinde odaklanarak meselelerini öteki bilimlerin meselelerinden temyiz etmişti. Cüneyd sonrasında ortaya çıkan metinler, meseleler bahsini daha teknik bir şekilde ele alarak haller ve makamları (*ahvâl ve makâmât*) bir tasavvuf kitabının ayrılmaz konuları yapmışlardır (Serrâc, 2016: 61-104; Kuşeyrî, 2002: 151-580; Herevî, 1988). Öte yandan burada “bilim” derken din biliminden söz ettiğimizi söyledik. Bir şeyin din bilimi olabilmesi için iki temel meseleye işaret etmek gerekir: Birincisi vahiyden hareket etmesi gerekir. Vahye dayalı olmayan bilgi dinî bilgi sayılamaz. Bu itibarla bütün din bilimleri ve bu bilimlerde üretilen bilgiler, vahiy yorumu şeklinde ortaya çıkarlar. Serrâc ve Kuşeyrî (ö. 1072/465) gibi yazarlar “sûfilerin istinbâtlarından” söz ederken buna dikkat çekerler: sadece tasavvuf tefsirleri değil, bütün tasavvuf eserleri tikel konularda vahiy yorumu olarak kabul edilebilir (Serrâc, 2016: 149-170; Kuşeyrî, 1971). Bu itibarla *istinbât* (hüküm çıkarma), sadece fikhın değil, tasavvuf da dâhil olmak üzere, bütün din bilimlerinin ortak bilgi üretme yöntemidir (Serrâc, 2016: 149). Buna bağlı ikinci durum ise bilginin *kurbîyet*, yani Hakk’a yakınlığa vesile olmasıdır. Haddizatında bu durum din bilimlerinde gayenin teşkilinde kendini gösterir. İnsanlar din bilgisiyle bu amaçla ilgilenirler, bunu “rızaaya ulaşmak” şeklinde anlatabiliriz ve ibadetlerdeki “niyet” kısmı bunu sağlar. Din bilimlerinde gaye bazen açık bazen dolaylı olmak üzere Allah’a yakınlık şeklinde anlatılır. O zaman tasavvufu din bilimleri arasında kabul edeceksek, iki hususu birden kabul etmeliyiz: Tasavvufta ortaya çıkan bütün bilgiler vahiy yorumu şeklinde olmalıdır, ikincisi ise bu bilgiler Allah’a kurbîyet sağlamalıdır. Birinci durum tasavvuf için Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî’nin “Bizim bu ilmimiz Kur’ân ve sünnet ile sınırlıdır” sözünde (Sülemî, 2015: 117) ilke şeklinde vazedilmişken ikincisi ise tasavvufun gayesinde zikredilir. Şimdi de tasavvufun bir din bilimi haline gelme sürecindeki bazı evrelere işaret etmeliyiz.

Tanrı ve Şeriat: Tasavvuf ile Öteki Din Bilimleri Nerede Ayırıştı?

Erken dönem zühd hareketleriyle başlayan tartışmalar Cüneyd-i Bağdâdi ile birlikte belirli bir noktada karar kaldı: İlk zâhidlerin herhangi bir ölçü ve sınır tanımayan eleştirileri yeni evrede makul sınırlara dönerek sûfiler ile cemaat arasında uzlaşma sağlandı (Muhâsibi, 1987; Hakîm, 2005). Bu süreçte katı ve uzlaşmaz dile sahip bireysel hareketler “din bilimi” haline gelerek yeni şehrin ve toplumun kurucu unsuru oldu. Tasavvufun “ehlileşmesi” ve yeni şehre dâhil olması -ki yeni şehir öncelikle Bağdat, yani bütün bilimlerin ve İslam toplumunun başkenti idi- İslam toplumunun birliğinin sağlanması bakımından güvenli bir adımdı. Bu birlik, “şeriat-hakikat uzlaşması” şeklinde dile getirilebilir (Başer, 2017). Bundan sonra tasavvuf eleştirdiği bilimlerden birisi haline gelerek Müslümanların bilim dünyasını zenginleştirmeye başladı. Bu süreçte sûfileri ve tasavvufu şehirde ve kitaplarda tanımaya başlayacaktık, Kelâbâzî'nin anlatımıyla “kitabî” evreye veya soru-cevap dönemine girilmiş oldu (Kelâbâzî, 1994: 4). Tasavvuf bu süreçte zengin bir kavramsal dil üretti, eserler yazıldı, hepsinden önemlisi ise bir “ulema sınıfı” ortaya çıkararak İslam ümmeti içinde kendilerine ayrıcalıklı yer kazandı. Daha önce “ilk safta” olmayı inzivada bulan insanlar, bu kez “şehrin protokolünde” yer almada bir çelişki görmediler. Sûfiler davetlerin ve toplantıların baş misafirleri haline gelmiş, hürmet görüyor, itibarla karşılanıyorlardı. Bu süreç içinde Melamilik gelişmesi dikkat çekicidir (Hargûşî, 2006: 24-26; Hücûvîri, 1980: 259-266). Melamilik tasavvufun birkaç asır önce dile getirdiği eleştirelliği bu kez bizzat sûfilere yönelterek yeni bir süreci ortaya çıkardı.

Serrâc her bilimde otoritenin o ilme mensup âlimler olduğunu savunduğunda (Serrâc, 2016: 8-9) tasavvuf, “Sünni tasavvuf” evresine çoktan girmişti (Demirli, 2016: 1-32). Artık sûfiler belirli konuları öteki bilimlere bırakmış olsalar bile, kendi meseleler alanında kendi otoritesini sahiplenen bir ilim haline gelecekti. Bu bakımdan tasavvufun din bilimi olarak kabul edilmesi üç asırlık sorunların ve tartışmaların neticesinde gerçekleşmişti.

Sorunların en önemlisi “hakikat” arayışında sistemsiz ve disiplinsiz hareketlerin tasavvufta kendine alan bulmuş olmasıydı. Tasavvufun böyle akımların merkezi haline gelmesi ise sûfiler ile öteki Müslümanlar arasında gerilimleri artırmış, tasavvuf Müslüman

cemaatin dışladığı kuşkulu bir harekete dönmüştü. Tasavvufu din bilim haline getirmek onu kontrolsüz hareketlerden ve bilhassa “heretik” görüşlerden korumak imkânı sağlıyordu. Bu sürecin en dikkate değer yönlerinden birisi sahih ile bâtil/bidat arasındaki keskin ayrımın çizilmesi idi. Tasavvufta sistematik yapının (konu, metot ve kavramlar) teşekkülüyle birlikte heretik veya *dâll* (sapkın) diye görülecek zümrelerin tespiti mühim bir merhale olmuştu. Bu sayede tasavvuf, doğru ile yanlış sûfiler arasında sınır koyarken “sûfi” ile “sûfi gibi olan” (*mustasvif*) da titizlikle ayrıştırıldı (Serrâc, 2016: 570; Hücürî, 1980: 231). Bunun ardından Hz. Peygamber’e varan bir tarih ve sünnet yoruyla üç asırdaki sahih çizgi tebellür etmiş oldu.

Din bilimi haline gelme sürecinde tasavvuf öncelikle sistematik bir metot kazandı dedik. Bu sayede nispeten sistemsiz ve belirsiz olan yöntem, nefis teorisinin gelişmesiyle birlikte, tedris ve takip edilebilir hale gelmiştir. Cüneyd-i Bağdâdî sonrasındaki eserlerde *âdâb* bahisleri (Serrâc, 2016: 203-298; Sühreverdî, 1977) ile haller-makamlar kısmı bunun göstergesidir (Serrâc, 2016: 61-104; Kuşeyrî, 2002: 151-580; Herevî, 1988). Tasavvufun din bilimi olması, naslardan bilgi *istinbât* ederek onu hakikat olarak ortaya koyması demektir. Bu itibarla hakikat ister bâtınında ister daha derininde olsun, nastan istinbât edilecekti. Tasavvuf, kelim veya fıkıh gibi belirli bir yöntemle naslardan hüküm çıkartarak dinî bilginin alanının genişlemesine hizmet etmiştir.

Tasavvufun böyle bir gelişim seyrinden geçmesi onun ilk iddialarıyla nispeten çelişir. Çünkü tasavvufun İslam toplumunda ortaya çıkışı “sistematik” bilim anlayışına karşı bir tepki idi. Yeni süreçte ise tasavvuf geri adım atarak kendini kontrolsüz hareketlerin etkisinden ve ibâhî eğilimlerden kurtarmak üzere daha önce eleştirdiği din bilimlerinden birisi haline geldi. Bu durumda hicri üçüncü asırdan itibaren karşılaştığımız tablo, din bilimlerinin alanının genişlemesiyle birlikte ümmiliğin görece daralması ve etkinliğini yitirmesi olacaktı. Daha önce hakikati ümmilikte -burada ümmilik sistematik din bilimlerinden biri olmamayı temsil eder- bulan insanlar, artık hakikati sistematik yapılara sahip bilim anlayışında bulacaktı. Tasavvuf kavramlarının tanımlanması ve çerçevelerinin belirlenmesi, tasavvufun sübjektif alandan nesnellige intikalinin en önemli merhalesidir. Bununla birlikte “kitâbî tasavvuf” başarısız olduğu ölçüde ümmi gelenek varlığını sürdürecektir, tasavvuf ikiye bölünmüş olacaktır: kitâbî gelenek ile ümmi gelenek!

Tasavvufun çevresindeki akımlardan kendini ayrıştırması ve sahih-bâtil çizgisini ortaya

koyabileceği bir çerçeveye sahip olması mühim bir merhaleydi. Bu kez sorun tasavvuf ile öteki din bilimlerinin ilişkisinde ortaya çıktı. Şöyle bir soru sormamız lazım: Din içerisinde normatif geleneği temsil eden fıkıh-kelam geleneğiyle ilişkileri dâhilinde tasavvuf nerede duruyor? Meseleye normatif gelenek cihetinden bakarsak tasavvuf gereksiz bir meşgale olarak kalabilir. Din bilimleri alanındaki tamamlanmışlık duygusu başka bir bilimin gerekliliğine imkân vermez. Daha iyimser olanlar için tasavvuf bir hâl (sübjektif tecrübe) ve *âdâb* bahsi olarak sınırlı bir işleve sahiptir. Bununla birlikte tasavvufu din bilimi haline getirenler bu bilimin gerekliliğinde çok iddialıdır: Tasavvuf olmaksızın din bilimlerinin tamamlanmasından söz edilemeyeceği gibi öteki bilimler söz gelişi evlilik ve ticaret gibi dinin görece istisnai ve herkesi ilgilendirmeyen konularıyla ilgilenilebilir. Buna mukabil dinin hakiki ve her daim geçerli konuları olan imanın sıhhati, ihlas, ahlak tasavvufun ilgi alanını teşkil eder (Serrâc, 2016: 26-27). Bu nedenle tasavvufsuz eksik olan sadece din bilimleri alanı değildir; Müslümanların hayatında Kur'an-ı Kerim ve sünnetin geniş bir yer bulabilmesi tasavvuf sayesinde mümkün olabilir. Bu nedenle Serrâc gibi tasavvuf yazarları için tasavvuf, din bilimleri alanında "kurucu" disiplindir. O zaman en azından sûfiler cihetinden tasavvufun nerede durduğuna bakmamız gerekir.

İslam kısa zamanda Hicaz'dan Doğu Akdeniz'e yayılarak bir devletin dini haline gelmişti. Bu süreçte Müslüman cemiyette bilimler ortaya çıktığında ellerinde sadece tek metin vardı: Kur'an-ı Kerim. Evveleminde Kur'an-ı Kerim'den dinin kurallarını çıkardılar, dinin farklı alanlarındaki kurallarının tespiti Doğu Akdeniz'de Müslümanların kimliklerini korumada büyük rol oynadı (Hodgson, 1974: I, 231-443). Müslümanların kimliğinin oluşturulması sürecinde, iman-amel ilişkisine yönelik görüş ayrılıkları bağlamında Müslümanın kim olduğuna yönelik tartışma, dinî düşüncenin ilk ve kalıcı tartışması idi. Bu tartışmalar kelam ve fıkıh alanında yapılırsa bile bütün cemaati derinden sarsan neticeler ortaya çıkardı ki son halife Hz. Ali'nin şehit edilmesi bu tartışmanın bir sonucu idi. Fıkıh daha çok davranışlar üzerinden bu tartışmalara katılırken kelam, akide ve inanç alanında Müslümanların inanç ilkelerini Doğu Akdeniz'deki inançlara karşı müdafaa görevini üstlendi. Aslında ne olduysa bu süreçte oldu: Dinin standart ve kurallarını belirleme sürecinde normatif gelenek Kur'an-ı Kerim'i başı sonu belli bir metne dönüştürerek okumak zorundaydı. Böylece kadim kitap Müslümanların hayatına "bir metin" olarak girerken -en azından sûfilere göre- bir kırılma ve kopuş yaşandı.

Kuralların ve normların tespiti sürecinde Tanrı telakkisinin daha tenzihci bir dile dönüşmesi gerekiyordu. Bu şekilde daha tenzihci, daha statik ve soyut bir tanrı anlayışı ile birlikte akılcı dinî düşüncenin önü açılabilirdi. Fıkıh ve kelam geleneği geride şöyle bir din anlayışı bırakarak dini, kurallara ve ilkelere bağlayabilirdi: daha soyut, daha tenzihci tanrı telakkisi ile O'nun gönderdiği başı-sonu belli bir metin olarak ilahi kelam! Kuralları belirlenince artık dikkati daha çok O'nun şeriatına çevirerek dinî hayatın istikameti şeriata uymak şeklinde yeniden yorumlandı. Bunu Hz. Peygamber ve sünneti için düşünürsek benzer bir durum ortaya çıktı: Hz. Peygamber'in şahsiyetinden ziyade onun sünnetine dikkatimizi vermemiz daha statik ve soğuk bir dinî hayatın ortaya çıkması demektir. Dolayısıyla fıkıh ve kelam geleneği Müslümanların dikkatini *şeriata*, yani kurallara çekerek Tanrı ile irtibatı şeriat üzerinden kurmaktan başka bir yol bırakmadı. Kur'an-ı Kerim'de beyan edilen canlı ve etkili üslup ise paranteze alınarak Tanrı ile ilişkimiz öte dünyaya ertelendi. Kelamcılar bu konuda daha etkili bir tutum benimseyerek insanın Tanrı ile ilişkisini öte dünyaya bırakacak bir varlık anlayışını savundular. Bu konuda Mu'tezile ile Ehl-i sünnet arasındaki *vaad ve va'id* (sevap ve cezanın zorunluluğu) tartışmaları belirleyici rol oynamıştı (Kâdi Abdülcebbar, 1988: 134-135; Şehristânî, 1964: I, 63; Neşşâr, 1968: I, 436). İslam içinde tasavvufun neye karşılık geldiği sorusunun cevabını ararken ilk bakacağımız yer burası olmalıdır: Tanrı telakkisinin öte dünyaya ertelenmesine karşılık sûfîlerin gösterdiği tepki!

Müslümanlar bir mebd'e ve meâd (başlangıç ve son) fikrine sahiptir; mebd'e Tanrı'dan gelmek veya O'nun tarafından yaratılmayı anlatırken meâd ise ölüm sonrasındaki durumumuzla ilgilidir: "Ölümden sonra Allah'a gideceğiz ve dünyadaki hayatın karşılığını O'nun nezdinde bulacağız." Bununla birlikte ortada bir boşluk vardır: başlangıcımız ile ahiret arasındaki dünya hayatı! Bu boşluğu nasıl izah edeceğiz veya Tanrı ile buradaki ilişkimiz nasıl olacaktır? Kur'an-ı Kerim'e baktığımızda tanrının yeryüzüyle ve insanla ilişkisinin güçlü vurgularla anlatıldığını görürüz: hayatta ortaya çıkan her bir tikel fiil, her şeye şah damarından daha yakın olan Tanrı'ya bağlanır (Kur'an-ı Kerim 50:16). Normatif gelenek ise statik bir din dilini tercih edip dinamik ilişkiyi erteleyerek Tanrıyla irtibatımızı öte dünyaya bıraktı. Burada büyük bir çelişkinin ortaya çıktığı kesindir: Her şeye şah damarından yakın olan Tanrı, dönülen her yerde bulunan Tanrı sadece ahirette mi bulunacaktır? Sûfîlerin bu alanda yaptıkları en önemli değişim, öte dünyayı bu dünyaya taşıyarak Müslüman toplumun hayatına muazzam bir dinamizm getirmek oldu. Sûfîler iki dünya arasındaki izafi mesafeyi ortadan kaldırmakla ilahi huzurda

olmak dedikleri bir hali dinî hayatın odağına yerleştirdiklerinde tasavvufun ne olduğu belirginlik kazanmış oldu: Tasavvuf Tanrı'nın huzurundaki safta bulunmaktır. Sûfilere göre *tayy-i mekân* veya *tayy-i zaman* (mekânın dürülmesi ve zamanın dürülmesi), dünya hayatı ile ahiret hayatı arasındaki görelî mesafenin ve zamanın ortadan kalkarak huzurda yaşamanın imkânıdır. Böyle bir yaklaşım Müslümanların din ve ahlak anlayışını temelden değiştirme imkânına sahipti. Her an Allah ile olmak veya ahirette gerçekleşecek nimet veya cezayı burada bulmak, ahlaki hayatı yeni baştan kurmak demekti.

Meselenin bu yönü haddizatında Ehl-i sünnet kelamı ile teorik olarak çelişmiyordu; çünkü Ehl-i sünnet inancı determinist ve doğacı teorilere karşılık böyle bir Allah anlayışını savunuyordu (Wolfson, 1976: 518-600). Başka bir ifadeyle nedenselliğin yıkılması gerçekte Tanrı'nın fiilinin ve etkinliğinin savunulması için yapılmıştı. Fakat Ehl-i sünnet kelimada başardığını fıkıhın ihtiyaçları üzerinden kaybederek statik bir dil inşa etti. Bu itibarla kelamın yıktığı, fıkıh tarafından "âdet anlayışı" üzerinden yeniden inşa edilerek şeriat ekseninden statik ve durağan bir tanrı-insan anlayışı işlendi. Tasavvuf bu nedenle Ehl-i sünnet kelamının değil, fıkıh ve paradoksal bir şekilde de selefi anlayışın statik dünya anlayışını aşmak için mücadele verdi.

Müslümanların Tanrı ile ilişkisinde doğrudan irtibatın kurulması İslam toplumunda önemli bir bilgi ve ahlak anlayışı değişimine yol açtı. Sûfilerin iddiasına göre ise unutulmuş bir düşünce hatırlanarak dikkatimizi Allah'a vermemiz sağlandı. Tasavvuf öte dünyayı beri dünyaya taşıyarak veya ilahi huzurda olma Allah'ın huzurunda olma kavramını getirerek bir anda bize kıyameti tecrübe imkânı sundu. "Ölmeden önce ölmek" tam olarak bu demektir. Böyle olunca artık her şeyi başka türlü görmek zorundayız: Baktığımız bir ağacı başka türlü göreceğiz; çünkü o ağaç Tanrı'nın halihazırdaki bir tecellisidir. Başımıza gelen bir iş veya olay, hakiki fail olan Tanrı'nın hayatımıza müdahalesidir. Böylece yaşadığımız hayat değişerek ilahi huzurda yaşanan dinamik ve bilinçli bir hayat haline geldi.

Peki, sûfiler bunu nasıl yaptılar? Kanaatime göre bunu Tanrı telakkisini Kur'an-ı Kerim ve sünnette söylenen tarza dönüştürmekle yaptılar. İlk birkaç asırda dile getirilen yorumları paranteze alarak Kur'an-ı Kerim ve hadislerdeki dinamik Tanrı telakkisine döndüler. Kur'an-ı Kerim'e baktığımızda yeryüzündeki bütün fiillerin Allah tarafından yapıldığını görürüz. Her şey ile Tanrı arasında doğrudan bir ilişki vardır. Bazen bir melek canımızı alır, bazen Cenâb-ı Hak doğrudan canımızı alır; rızığımızı O verir, bütün

fiillerimizi O yaratır. Kelamcılar -daha çok Mu'tezile kelamcıları- böyle bir dili korumadılar. Onlar Tanrı-insan-âlem ilişkisini anlatan dili soyutlayarak Tanrı'nın fiil ve iradesini sınırlamak istediler. İnsan özgürlüğü ve tabiatın araştırılabilmesi için bunu yapmak kaçınılmazdı. Bunun neticesinde ise Tanrı'nın zatı -İslam geleneği içinde mümkün olsa *şahsiyeti* tabirini kullanabilirdik- diyebileceğimiz şeyi paranteze alarak O'nun şeriatını öne çıkardı. Süfilere göre, Tanrı'nın şahsiyetini öne çıkaran Tanrı-âlem yorumu, hakikate mutabık olan din yorumudur.

Süfîler bu değişimin ikinci merhalesini Peygamber telakkisinde gerçekleştirdiler. Tasavvuf ve hadis ilişkisinde en çok üzerinde durulması gereken nokta burasıdır. Bu itibarla tasavvuf ile hadis arasında ciddi problemleri ve yaklaşım farkları olduğu kanaatindeyim. Problemin temelinde de peygamber telakkisi yer alır. Hadis tıpkı fıkıh ve kelam gibi hadisi ve peygamber mirasını metne çevirdi. Tasavvuf işi başa döndürerek "peygamberin şahsiyeti" kavramını merkeze taşıdı. Bu iki kavrama ulaşmış olmak geride önemli bir kavrama imkân tanıdı: insan! Tanrı bizimle her an ve her yerde irtibat halinde iradeli bir zât-ı ilahiye ise veya peygamber hiç ölmemiş gibi aramızda ise buradan dikkatimizi vereceğimiz şey bizzat insanın kendisi olur. Tasavvufun dine getirdiği en önemli katkı bu bakış açısı oldu. Bu sayede dikkatimizi insan meselesine çekerek velâyet ve kemal kavramlarını Müslümanların gündemine getirebildi.

Sonuç

Tasavvuf bir din bilimi olarak kendini kabul ederken tanrı ve peygamber telakkisini başa döndürerek yorumu yeniledi, Gazzâlî'nin (ö. 505/1111) ifadesiyle dinî düşüncüyü "ihya etti" de diyebiliriz. Bu süreçte tasavvuf insanı keşfederek ona insanlığın sınırlarını gösterdi. Tasavvuf insan nefsinin günahlarının gizlediği arzuları keşfederek insanın kemaline gidebilecek yolu aradı. Neticede "insan-ı kâmil", "hakiki insan" ve "veli" diye dinî hayatta ideal insanı anlatan kavramlar ortaya çıktı (Tirmizî, 1999; İbnü'l-Arabî, 1980: 54-55). Bu kavramlarla bir sūfî, avam-havas şeklinde ortalama insandan ayrıştı. Fıkıh ve kelam geleneğinin ideal insanı ibadetlerini yerine getirmiş, haram ve helallere dikkat eden, mükafatı ise ahirette bekleyen biridir. Bunun dışında insanla ilgili bütün kabuller fantezi ve abartıdan öte anlam taşımaz. Bu itibarla Gılgamış destanındaki gibi ölümsüz insan ya da rabbani insan gibi anlayışlar, aşmamız gereken birtakım kuruntular ve abartılardan ibarettir. Tasavvuf, Doğu Akdeniz'de insan hakkında dile getirilen bütün iddiaları olumlu bir şekilde ele alarak onları insan-ı kâmil teorisi meyanında bir

yere bağladı. Buradan hareketle İslam toplumuna şunu dedi: Biz insan hakkındaki arayışlardan hareket eder ve insan ideali ortaya koyarsak, Zerdüştlüğün arayıp bulamadığını veya Grek felsefesinin arayıp bulamadığını insanlığa anlatmış oluruz.

O halde tasavvufun üç anahtar kavramı veya dinde temsil ettiği husus şudur: şeriatin yanında her an ve her yerde hâzır bir Tanrı anlayışı, sünnetin yanında Müslümanların kalplerinde yaşayan ve sevginin muhatabı olan canlı peygamber, ahirette ulaşabileceği bütün kemallere yeryüzünde ulaşabilen, hakikati tam ve olduğu hal üzere görebilen insan-ı kâmil anlayışı! Bu anlamıyla insan-ı kâmil, ünlü şair Mehmed Âkif Ersoy'un (ö. 1936) ifadesiyle "kalmasın ferdâya didârın" diyerek Allah ile vuslatı ve mutlak hakikati görmeyi dünyada talep eden insan demektir.

Sufism Becoming a Science of Religion: The Transformation Process of the Tradition of *Ummism* and Expansion of the Field of Objective Science

Ekrem Demirli

Çeviren: **Ahullah Collins**

Introduction: The Problem of Legitimacy Between Everyday Innovation and Innovation in Religion

Discussions focused on the legitimacy of any science have not been as widespread and continuous in any other religious science as it has in Sufism. The discussions were widespread because the problem concerned each particular mention of Sufism as much as Sufism itself; it was continuous because the issue of legitimacy made its presence felt strongly in all periods of Sufism. Just as one who does not address the problem is not a mystic, even today Sufism is the only religious science that can be considered to have been unsuccessful in establishing itself as a “science of religion.”

The primary fundamental problem of all religious sciences was to develop an approach that could transcend the issue of legitimacy. The reason for this was that religious sciences had been formed around revelation and Sunnah; producing information around revelation doesn't carry the opportunity for conveying information beyond interpretation. Therefore, each science of religion emerges as an activity of *tafsir* [Qur'anic interpretation/commentary], which is the technical term for *istinbat* [judicial power based on Qur'anic or Sunnah arguments] or *istidlal* [inference/legal reasoning]; each wants to fortify itself by being in harmony with or close to the source, which is where

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© Association of Education and Thought Fettah Efendi
DOI: <http://doi.org/10.51331/A002>
Journal of Balkan Studies, 2021,
balkanjournal.org

the legitimacy of interpretation comes from. Many Muslim religions, especially in the traditionalist approach known as Ahl al-Hadith, reject new approaches or the emergence of new scientific conceptualizations and regard innovation as neglect of prophethood or a distancing from it. The accusations, which they voice under the term *bid'a*, formed the main reason for the religious sciences' crises in specifying the link revelation has with the changing life conditions. Considering all types of innovation in faith, deed, and moral life as *bid'a* disrupted the cool-headed order of the environment of thought by becoming a conduit for conflicts. Within the framework of attempts to soften the concept, even if new forms such as *bid'a hasana* [the beauty of innovation] existed, the term *bid'a* was so rigid and ambiguous that it would erase all the good of *hasana*.

Finding another discipline that had felt the devastating effects of such discussion as Sufism had is impossible. While the discussions on Sufism had on one hand emerged from the point of addressing the existence of science, on the other hand they also made its presence felt in all particular topics. Sufi practices that had emerged together with the use of music in particular had created the problem of protecting itself from the accusation of *bid'a*. Actually, can a science called Sufism exist, and are the issues Sufism address necessary for the Muslim community's existence? Since the early period, these problems head the issues that have played a deterministic role in the debates on Sufism: in short, this can be stated as "the problem of legitimacy."

The first task that could be performed on this axis would be finding the boundaries of Sufism's legitimacy as a science of religion. The Sufis undertook such an attempt in the works² that we can count as the founding texts of "Sunni Sufism"; they followed the methods of other religious sciences while addressing Sufism as one of them. First the problem of what Sufism is had been discussed: While addressing this question, the other religious sciences referenced the explanations mentioned about the sciences in the *nass* [provisions of the Qur'an and hadith that must be strictly followed]; they wanted to find how the ayahs and hadiths designate these sciences. The Sufis followed a similar path: They encountered a serious problem when investigating whether or not the sciences and methods were indicated in the hadiths of the Prophet or the Qur'anic verses. Finding clear evidence in the hadiths and ayahs for many matters regarding mysticism was not possible, especially the origins of the words "mysticism" and "Sufi."

2 Works such as al-Sarraj's *al-Luma'*, Kalabadhi's *al-Ta'arruf*, Abu Talib al-Makki's *Qūt al-kulüb*, Qushayri's *al-Risālah* and al-Hujwiri's *Kashf al-mahcüb* are referred to here.

When Sufis stated that the words “mysticism” and “Sufi” were not terms that had been used in the first generation, did they not reckon over time that this would make the problem of Sufism’s legitimacy insurmountably unsolvable (al-Sarraj, 2016: 31–34; al-Qushayri, 2002: 478–484; Hujwiri, 1980: 227–237; al-Sirjani, 2012: 37–40). The concept of “mysticism” not being one of the concepts of the first generation in the lexical or terminological sense would come to the present as a serious problem for Sufism. With the spread of Orientalist studies, the problem would turn into a more serious issue; the claim of the “strangeness of Sufism” would find great support from “within” over the allegation of *bid‘a*. Moreover, this situation relatively insulted Sufism in the face of religious sciences such as *fiqh* [Islamic jurisprudence], *Kalam* [Islamic scholastic theology], and even hadith because being mentioned among the generation of the companions of the prophet had great power and legitimacy in particular to the other religious sciences. Having various discussions related to the science of religion, particularly the name and main subjects of the science, occur in the generation of companions and in the main sources (i.e., *āyāt* and *hadiths*) was the strongest justification for legitimacy. Based on the fact that the name of each religious science had occurred in the strictly obligatory provisions of the Qur’an and Hadith, Sufism wanted to strengthen its place in the classification of the religious sciences.

Among other things, the science of Hadith obviously had a strong possibility compared to the other sciences. By interpreting the knowledge of the first generation as knowing hadiths or knowing the *nass*, its understanding of authentic knowledge held to the limit of the narrated knowledge. When new sciences began to emerge apart from hadiths from the 2nd century AH onward, how to address them became a serious issue with the narrowest and soundest form of knowledge being defended as a general attitude: “Knowing must be knowing the *nass*.” The science of Hadith was established upon conveying words and actions without any interpretation. Later on, even though hadith scholars focused their attention on *isnad* [the chain of human transmission legitimizing any hadith], they did not turn away from the main tradition; for them, knowledge was always “knowing the hadith” (Kutluer, 2000: 109–114). The efforts of Islamic jurists and theologians to firmly establish themselves based on the first generation were more problematic with respect to hadiths; the theologians in particular remained exposed to more serious problems in this regard. Having the names of their sciences mentioned in the main texts was not enough for them to overcome the problem. Even

though *fiqh* had the greater advantage among these, the course of *Kalam* among the religious sciences, just like Sufism, was problematic. Although the names of these sciences had been used with their lexical meaning in the main texts, What the first generation meant when saying *fiqh* and *faqih* [*fiqh* expert] and what the second generation understood is difficult to see. *Kalam* had the opportunity to indirectly establish itself firmly. As such the change between the lexical meaning and the terminological meaning explains the developmental course of the science. In this respect, *fiqh* and *Kalam* would experience the problem of not being able to find themselves terminologically in the *Nass*, where they had found themselves lexically. However, apart from some differences in opinion, no great difficulty was experienced in gaining the legitimacy of the first three sciences.

Sufism was involved in the problem in another way. First of all, the words “mysticism” and “Sufi” do not occur in the main texts. This situation posed a big issue on the problem of legitimacy; with the emergence of the *Tabaqat* [Islamic biographical literature organized by century] literature, Sufis became hesitant on the issue of where to have mysticism initiate from. Although many writers wanted to originate Sufism through the times of the Prophet, this was difficult to justify theoretically. Instead, they wanted to discover the presence of mysticism/Sufism in the first generation following another method. Contact between mysticism and the Ashab al-Suffah, a group claimed to wear *suf* [wool] among the first Companions, was searched. According to many Sufi authors, the group called the Ashab al-Suffah was the most powerful source of mysticism in the generation of the Companions (al-Sarraj, 2016:33; al-Sulami, 1986:3; al-Hujwiri, 1980: 285–290). They were the literalists who devoted themselves to religious life while others were in power at their work. However, the similarity here appears weak and unable to go beyond the justification established from the 3rd century AH onward.

The Sufis searched for more consistent way by trying to frame the connection they had been unable to establish over the name this time over the issues of mysticism. They argued mysticism to be the pursuit of this life by considering the ideals of the Sufis during all periods of the moral lives of the esteemed Prophet and the Companions. Extensive explanations are found on this issue in Abu Nasr al-Sarraj’s (d. 378 AH/988 AD) work (2016: 171–202). Even if *tasawwuf* as a word was not mentioned in the first generation, it was accepted as having been present in the time of the Prophet through words with equivalent meanings and the lifestyle that was lived. Phrases describing

exalted virtues in this context, such as poverty, sincerity, generosity, and candor, were seen as the main issues connecting the Companions with the following centuries by acknowledging the concepts that overlapped with mysticism (al-Qushayri, 2002: 379, 433, 465). At this point, when we come to the 2nd and 3rd century AH, we see the conceptions among Muslims of the Prophet and a few companions that are able to contradict one another. What Sufis understood when saying the time of happiness and the Prophet began to differ from what the *Ahl al-Hadith* [Hadith scholar movement of the 2nd-3rd Islamic centuries] and *faqih*s understood.

The second big problem regarding the determination of the place of Sufism among the religious sciences was the uncertainties about Sufism. The debates on the nature of Sufism today have not lost the importance they had in the past. Making a clear and distinct definition of Sufism has not been possible at any stage. If moderate interpretations had not arisen between the exaggerated and exalting views from the Sufi side and the views of those who regarded Sufism as *bid'a* and misguided, we would have been unable to arrive at any opinion about Sufism. Al-Sarraj, one of the most significant representatives of Sunni Sufism, sought a place for Sufism between exaggeration and humiliation while stating his complaints about this. According to him, Sufism and Sufis were neither a frivolous or ambiguous group in religious life nor the only truth, as the extremist side advocated (al-Sarraj, 2016: 7). The most important task of the authors, whom we can consider as followers of al-Junayd al-Baghdadi (d. 297/909), was to overcome the uncertainty surrounding it by placing Sufism on a “normal” and reasonable foundation, the foundation of knowledge. We can consider in this context the titles of two books that are able to provide an adequate perspective: the first of these is al-Sarraj’s *Kitāb al-luma’ fi’l-taṣawwuf* [The Book of Light Flashes on Sufism], and the other is Abu Bakr al-Kalabadhi’s (d. 380/990) *Kitāb at-ta’arruf* [The Doctrine of the Sufis]. Each book aims to introduce us to mysticism and desires to show the nature of Sufism between the extremism and deficiency by removing the uncertainty surrounding Sufism. The target audience of the books are not just Sufi people; perhaps they were written more for “average” scholars than for them. While the comparisons made in al-Sarraj’s (2016: 7–27) work show us this, we see the defensive attitude more clearly in al-Kalabadhi’s (1994: 13–57).

Those who addressed Sufism with mild comments in terms of its method (al-Muhasibi, 1970: 32–151; al-Makki, 2001: 248–286; al-Tirmidhi, 2001) identified it with con-

cepts such as renunciation, self-struggle, and heart-cleansing. Correspondingly, when address in terms of its relation to the other religious sciences, Sufism represents the more practical and irregular (the return to the *Ummi* [non-literary community, not to be confused with illiterate]) in contrast to systematic knowledge (the new understanding of the religious sciences of the Ummah community). This situation represents the understanding of religion where the *Ummi* tradition showed itself compared to the religious sciences from which the talented scholars of the Companions had emerged. In this respect, Sufism can be accepted as a part of the *Ummi* tradition of the *Ahl al-Hadith*: While *Ahl al-Hadith* is based on narration, Sufis take *taqlid* [imitation/transference] of practices and deeds as their basis.

On the other hand, serious debates have occurred on the place of Sufism within Islam. For those who adopt a negative and disjunctive attitude in mentioning the relations with Islam and other cultures, Sufism is the weak link where the religions and cultures around Islam infiltrate Islam as well as a heretic movement (Afifi, 2018: 52–76). On the other hand, Sufism for many people is the ideal interpretation that represents the truth of the religion. In short, the uncertainties and debates on the nature of Sufism have revealed the evaluations and judgments between *ifrāt* and *tafrīt*. From this perspective, we are at a point no different than the one al-Sarraj stated in his famous work *Kitāb al-luma' fī'l-taşawwuf* (2016: 7), “People draw inconsistent judgments between exaggerated praise and excessive insult while addressing their attitudes about Sufism.”

The most accurate and evidentiary approaches on the nature of Sufism and its place among the religious sciences are the conceptions of al-Junayd al-Baghdadi, author of Sufi works of the early period, and his students. According to them, Sufism is a science of religion with its issues, methods, and proofs (Demirli, 2015: 31–67). This approach is a paradigmatic change that involves many of the problems and developments Sufism had faced over four centuries. In fact, when we say, “Sufism is a science of religion, each of the terms of *Sufism*, *religion*, and *science* must have its meaning here: For something to be a science requires it to have a systematic method. Talking about a systematic science apart from *fiqh* and in part *Kalam* was not previously possible in the early period among the religious sciences in this context. By defining the concepts of Sufism, building a new language, and distinguishing its method, Sufism had entered the process of becoming “science.” Aside from this, the most important section of the work was writing the *Tabaqat* literature. What would provide the authentic and false

understanding of Sufism would be the *Tabaqat* literature. The *Tabaqat* literature served to carry Sufism in one direction by making the previous generations an “imam” and reference point (al-Sulami, 1986; Abu Nu‘aym, 1974; al-Harawi, 1963). Sufism now recognized the past generations as the criterion of truth and accepted them as the “standard” by making them the authority of the predecessors. Answering the question “What is Sufism?” shows us the reason for writing the *Tabaqat* works. In this respect, the doctrine in Sufism can be said to have been constructed upon the *Tabaqat*.

The second part of the issue was determining the concerns of Sufism. Sufyan al-Thawri (d. 161/778), while talking about Abu Hashim al-Sufi (150/767), said, “Without him, I wouldn’t have learned the subtleties of hypocrisy” (al-Sarraj, 2016: 33). This short and simple explanation gives us perspective about Sufism’s concerns. As such, a *faqih* or *Kalam* scholar does not deal with issues like this; however, Sufism had discerned its issues from those of the other sciences since the beginning by focusing on the bad qualities of the human *nafs* [soul/ego] and on good morals. The texts that emerged after Junayd made *ahwal* [conditions] and *maqamat* [stations] inherent topics of a Sufi book by addressing the issues mentioned more technically (al-Sarraj, 2016: 61–104; al-Qushayri, 2002: 151–580; al-Harawi, 1988). Meanwhile, when saying “science” here, we said we are talking about religious science. In order for something to qualify as a science of religion, two basic issues need to be indicated: The first is the need to act from divine inspiration. Knowledge not based on revelation cannot be considered religious knowledge. In this regard, all religious sciences and the knowledge produced in them appear as an interpretation of revelation. Authors such as al-Sarraj and al-Qushayri (d. 465/1072), when referring to the “metaphors of the Sufis,” drew attention to this: Not just Sufi commentaries but all Sufi works can be considered as interpretations of revelation on particular subjects (al-Sarraj, 2016: 149–170; al-Qushayri, 1971). In this respect, *istinbat* [power to make legal decisions based on Qur’anic/Sunnah arguments] is the method for producing knowledge not just for *fiqh* but common to all religious sciences including Sufism (al-Sarraj, 2016: 149). The second situation in connection with this is knowledge being *qurbat* [being close to God]. As such, this situation shows itself in the formation of purpose in the religious sciences. People are interested in religious science through this purpose; we can describe this as “reaching consent,” and the “intention” part of worship provides this. In the religious sciences, purpose is expressed as closeness to Allah (*swt*), sometimes explicitly, other times indirectly. Then

if we can accept Sufism among the religious sciences, we must accept two things at once: all knowledge that emerges in Sufism must be in the form of interpretation of revelation, and secondly this information should provide closeness to Allah. While the first case has been preached in the words of al-Junayd as a principle “Our knowledge is limited to the Qur’an and Sunnah” (al-Sulami, 2015: 117), the second intoned in the purpose of Sufism. Now we should indicate some of the stages in the process of Sufism becoming a science of religion.

God and *Sharia*: Where Did Sufism and the Other Religious Sciences Separate?

The debates that had started with the early *Zuhd* [renunciation] movements settled on a certain point with al-Junayd al-Baghdadi: The criticisms of the first renunciants, which knew no measure or bounds, reached a compromise between the Sufis and the community by returning to reasonable limits in the new phase (al-Muhasibi, 1987; Hakim, 2005). The individual movements possessing a firm and uncompromising language in this process were the founding elements of the new city and society by becoming the “science of religion.” The “taming” of Sufism and its inclusion in the new city, the new city primarily being Baghdad and the capital of all sciences and Islamic society, was a reliable step in terms of ensuring the unity of the Islamic community. This unity can be expressed as the “reconciliation of the truth with sharia” (Başer, 2017). Afterward, Sufism began to enrich the scientific world of Muslims by becoming one of the sciences that it had critiqued. In this process, we would begin to recognize Sufis and Sufism in cities and in books; with the expression of al-Kalabadhi, the “bookish” phase, or question-and-answer period had been entered (al-Kalabadhi, 1994: 4). Sufism produced a rich conceptual language in this process, works were written, and most importantly, Sufism gained a privileged place within the Islamic community by revealing a “class of *ulama* [transmitters of religious knowledge]. The people, who had previously found seclusion in the “first line,” this time saw no contradiction in being included in the “protocol of the city.” The Sufis had become the head guests of feasts and meetings, saw reverence, and encountered respect. The development of *Malamatiyya* [mystic group valuing self-blame] in this process is remarkable (al-Harguşi, 2006: 24–26; al-Hujwiri, 1980: 259–266). *Malamatiyya* revealed a new process by directing the criticism Sufism had expressed a few centuries earlier this time personally toward the Sufis.

By the time al-Sarraaj (2016: 8–9) argued that the authorities in each science are the scholars of that science, Sufism had already entered the “Sunni Sufism” phase (Demirli, 2016: 1–32). Now even if Sufis left certain issues to the other sciences, it would become a science that possessed its own authority in the area of its own matters. From this perspective, Sufism being accepted as a science of religion had occurred as a result of three centuries of problems and debates.

The most significant of the problems in the search for “truth” was having the unsystematic and undisciplined movements find space for themselves in Sufism. Sufism having become the center of trends like this had increased the tensions between Sufis and other Muslims, and Sufism had turned into a suspicious movement excluded by the Muslim community. Sufism becoming a science of religion had provided it with the opportunity to protect itself from uncontrolled movements and in particular from “heretic” views. One of the most notable aspects of this process was the drawing of the sharp distinction between *sahih* [legitimate] and superstition/*bid'a*. Along with the formation of a systematic structure (subject, method, and concepts) in Sufism, determining the groups that would be seen as heretical or deviant was an important step. While Sufism placed a boundary between true and false Sufis in this way, Sufi and *mustaswif* [pretender] was also meticulously distinguished (al-Sarraaj, 2016: 570; al-Hujwiri, 1980: 231). After this, the legitimate line of three centuries had been confirmed through a history reaching back to the Prophet and interpretation of the Sunnah.

We have said that Sufism, in the process of becoming a religious science, had primarily gained a systematic method. The method, which had been relatively unsystematic and uncertain, had become teachable and followable by developing the theory of *nafs* in this way. The mentions of *abad* [effacement of one's moments in eternity] in the works after al-Junayd (al-Sarraaj, 2016: 203–298; al-Suhrawardi, 1977) and part of the conditions/*maqamat* are indications of this (al-Sarraaj, 2016: 61–104; al-Qushayri, 2002: 151–580; al-Harawi, 1988). Sufism being a science of religion meant revealing it as truth by seeking knowledge from the *Nass*. In this regard, whether the truth was in its subtlety or deeper would be subjected to *istinbat* based on the *Nass*. Sufism, like the *Kalam* or *fiqh*, served to expand the field of religious science by making judgments from the *Nass* using a specific method.

Sufism having passed through a course of development such as is in relative contra-

diction with its initial claims because the emergence of Sufism in Islamic society had been a response against the “systematic” understanding of science. By taking a step backward in the new period, Sufism had become one of the religious sciences it had previously criticized in order to save itself from the effects of uncontrolled movements and trends that regarded everything as permissible. The picture we encounter from the third century AH onward in this case would be the relative narrowing and loss of effectiveness of *Ummi*-ism alongside the expansion of the field of religious sciences. People who had previously found truth in *Ummi*-ism –here representing not being in one of the systematic religious sciences– would now find truth in the understanding of science that possessed systematic structures. Defining the concepts of Sufism and determining their frameworks had been the most important stage in Sufism’s transition from the subjective field to objectivity. However, the *Ummi* would maintain the presence of tradition to the extent that “bookish Sufism” had failed, and Sufism would be divided in two: The literary tradition and the *Ummi* tradition!

Sufism separating itself from the movements around it and possessing a framework in which it could reveal the legitimate/baseless line was a momentous milestone. This time the problem arose between Sufism and the other religious sciences. We have to ask the following question: Where did Sufism stand in its relations with the *fiqh-Kalam* tradition that represented the normative tradition within the religion? If we look at the issue in terms of the normative tradition, Sufism was able to remain as an unnecessary preoccupation. The sense of fulfillment in the field of religious sciences did not allow the necessity of another science. For those who were more optimistic, Sufism had a limited function as a mystical state (subjective experience) and mentioned as a spiritual courtesy. However, those who had made Sufism a religious science were very assertive in the necessity of this science: Just as the completion of religious sciences cannot be mentioned without Sufism, other sciences may deal with relatively exceptional issues of religion that don’t concern everyone, such as marriage and trade. Correspondingly, faith, sincerity, and morality, which are true and always valid subjects of religion, constitute Sufism’s area of interest (al-Sarraj, 2016: 26–27). Therefore, the field of religious sciences isn’t the only deficient thing without Sufism; the Qur’an and Sunnah have been able to find a broad space in the lives of Muslims thanks to Sufism. Thus for writers such as al-Sarraj, Sufism is the “founding” discipline in the field of religious sciences. In that case, we at least need to look at where Sufism stans from the

perspective of Sufis.

Islam at the same time had become a state religion by spreading from the Hejaz to the Eastern Mediterranean. When the sciences emerged in the Muslim community in this process, only one text existed in their hands: the Qur'an. In the beginning they took the rules of the religion from the Qur'an; determining the rules in the different areas of religion played a great role in preserving the identities of the Muslims in the Eastern Mediterranean (Hodgson, 1974: 231–443). In the process of forming Muslims' identity, the debate about what their identity is in the context of the differences of opinion regarding the faith-deed relationship was the first persistent debate of religious thought. Even though these discussions happened in the field of *Kalam* and *fiqh*, one of the consequences of this debate, which produced results that shook the whole community, was the martyring of the last of the rightly guided caliphs, Ali. While *fiqh* participated in these discussion mostly through behaviors, *Kalam* undertook its duty to defend Muslims' principles of belief in the areas of creed and belief against the beliefs in the Eastern Mediterranean. In fact, whatever happened had happened in this process: In the process of determining the standards and rules of the religion, the Qur'an had to be read by converting it front to back into a specific text. Thus while the ancient book was entering the life of Muslims as "a text," a shattering and fracture had been experienced –at least according to Sufis.

In the process of determining the rules and norms, the conceptualization of God needed to transform into a more absolving language. In this way, together with a more absolving, static, and abstract understanding of God, the precursor to rational religious thought had been opened. By leaving such an understanding of religion behind, the *fiqh* and *Kalam* tradition was able to link religion to rules and principles: the divine *Kalam* was a clear text sent by God from start to finish with a more abstract, absolving, conceptualization of God! When determining the rules, these were reinterpreted in a way that adapted the direction of religious life toward the sharia by turning attention now more to His *sharia*. If we consider this in terms of the Prophet and his Sunnah, a similar situation had arisen: Paying attention to the Sunnah of the Prophet rather than his personality meant the emergence of a more static and cold religious life. Therefore, the tradition of *fiqh* and *Kalam* had left Muslims with no other way than to establish contact with God by drawing their attention to the *sharia*, namely the rules. The lively and impactful wording stated in the Qur'an had postponed our relationship with God

to the afterlife by being bracketed. By adopting a more impactful attitude on this topic, the *Kalam* scholars advocated an understanding of existence that would leave human's relationship with God to the afterlife. The debates on the need for reward and punishment between the *Mu'tazilah* and the *Ahl al-Sunnah* in this regard played a determining role (Qadi, 1988: 134–135; Shahrastani, 1964: 63; Nashar, 1968: 436). While seeking answers to the question of what Sufism corresponds to within Islam, the first place we will look at should be here: the response that Sufis showed toward delaying the conceptualization of God to the afterlife!

Muslims have the idea of genesis and afterlife; while genesis relates to coming from God or being created by Him, the afterlife concerns our situation after death: "We will go to God after death and find the recompense of life in the world at His side." However, there is a gap: the life of the world between our genesis and afterlife! How can we explain this gap, or how will our relationship with God be here? When we look at the Qur'an, we see that God's relationship with the Earth and humans is explained with strong emphasis: "Indeed, 'it is' We 'Who' created humankind and 'fully' know what their souls whisper to them, and We are closer to them than 'their' jugular vein" (Qur'an, 50:16). By preferring a static language of religion and delaying the dynamic relationship, the normative tradition leaves our contact with God to the afterlife. Certainly a great contradiction arises here: Will God, who is closer to everything than the jugular vein, the God who is found in everything that will return, only be found in the hereafter? The most important change Sufis made in this area was to bring an enormous dynamism to the life of the Muslim community by conveying the afterworld to this one. When Sufis, by eliminating the relative distance between the two worlds, placed a state they called being in the divine presence at the focus of religious life, what Sufism is gained clarity: Sufism is to be found purely in the presence of God. According to Sufis, *tayy al-makan* [folding of space] or *tayy al-zaman* [folding of time] is the possibility of living in peace by eliminating the relative space and time between the life of the world and the hereafter. Such an approach had the possibility of fundamentally changing Muslims' understanding of religion and morality. Being with God in each moment, or finding in here the blessing or punishment that will come true in the hereafter meant founding moral life all over again.

This aspect of the matter did not theoretically contradict as such the *Kalam* of *Ahl al-Sunna* because the beliefs of *Ahl al-Sunna* advocated an understanding of Allah (*swt*)

such as this as opposed to determinist and naturalist theories (Wolfson, 1976: 518–600). In other words, the razing of causality was actually done in order to advocate the deeds and effectiveness of God. However, the *Ahl al-Sunna* had constructed a static language by losing what it had accomplished in the *Kalam* in terms of the needs of *fiqh*. In this respect, a static and fixed God-human understanding had been treated along the axis of the *sharia* by *fiqh* reconstructing what the *Kalam* had destroyed over “the understanding of customs.” Sufism therefore struggled to transcend the static world understanding of not just the *Kalam* of *Ahl al-Sunna*, but also of the *fiqh*, and paradoxically of the Salafist understanding.

Establishing direct contact in Muslims’ relationship with God led to an important change in the understanding of knowledge and morality in Islamic society. According to Sufis’ claims, remembering a forgotten thought had allowed us to give our attention to Allah (*swt*). By conveying the afterlife to this side of the world or by being in the presence of the diving bringing the concept of being in the presence of Allah, Sufism presented us with the opportunity to experience the afterlife in a moment. “To die before dying” means exactly this. Being this way forces us to see everything now as different types; we will see a tree we look at another way because that tree is a manifestation of God in the present. A deed or event that happens to us is God, the agent of truth, intervening in our lives. Thus, the life we live becomes a dynamic and conscious life lived in the presence of the divine by changing.

So, how did the Sufis do this? In my opinion, they did this by transforming the conceptualization of God into the style spoken of in the Qur’an and the Sunnah. They returned to the dynamic understanding of God in the Qur’an and hadiths by bracketing the comments mentioned in the first few centuries. When we look at the Qur’an, we see that all the actions on Earth are done by Allah (*swt*). Everything has a direct relationship with God. Sometimes an angel takes our life, sometimes God Almighty takes it directly; He provides sustenance and creates all our actions. *Kalam* scholars –mostly *Mu’tazilah* [rationalist school of *Kalam* scholars]– did not defend a language like this. They wanted to limit the action and will of God by abstracting the language that explained the God-human-universe relationship. Doing this was inevitable for being able to research human freedom and nature. As a result, God’s essence –we would have been able to use the term *personality* if this were permissible within the Islamic tradition– brought forth His *sharia* by bracketing the things we are able to say. According to Sufis,

the God-universe interpretation that highlights the *shakhsiyat* [uniqueness] of God is an interpretation of religion that is in agreement with the truth.

Sufis conducted the second stage of this change on the conception of the Prophet. Here is the point that needs to be emphasized the most on the relationship between Sufism and hadiths. I am of the opinion that serious problems and differences in approaches existed between Sufism and hadiths. At the root of the problem occurs the conception of prophet. Sufis translated the hadiths and legacy of the prophet just like *fiqh* and *Kalam*. Sufism centered on the concept of “the prophet’s *shakhsiyat* by going back to the beginning. Reaching these two concepts left behind one important concept: humanity! In the case that God is in contact with us at every moment everywhere, whether a strong-willed human divinity or among us as if the prophet never died, the thing we will give our attention to from here becomes the self of the person in the flesh. The most important contribution Sufism brought to religion is this perspective. In this way, Sufism has been able to bring the concepts of *Walayah* [love and devotion to God] and perfection to the agenda of Muslims by drawing our attention to the human issue.

Conclusion

While Sufism accepts itself as a religious science, it had revived the interpretation of the conception of God and prophet by going back to the beginning; in the words of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali (d. 505/1111), we can say Sufism had “invigorated” religious thought. In this process, Sufism showed humans by exploring them the borders of humanity. Sufism sought the path to be able to lead to humanity’s perfection by exploring the desires that the sins of human ego conceal. As a result, concepts such as “the perfect human,” “the authentic human,” and “steward” emerged that explained the ideal human in religious life (al-Tirmidhi, 1999; Ibn al-Arabi, 1980: 54–55). Using these concepts, a Sufi was distinct from the average human in the form of *avam-hawas* [common-elite]. The ideal human of the *fiqh* and *Kalam* tradition is one who fulfills their worship, pays attention to haram and halal, and awaits their reward in the hereafter. Apart from these, all assumptions related to humans carried no meaning beyond fantasy and exaggeration. In this respect, understandings such as the immortal human or divine human as in the Epic of Gilgamesh consisted of some delusions and exaggera-

tions that we need to overcome. By handling all the claims made about humans in the Eastern Mediterranean in a positive manner, Sufism connected them to a place somewhere in the midst of the theory of the perfect human. From this point on, Sufism had the following to say to the Islamic community: If we act from the searches regarding humanity and reveal the human ideal, we explain to humanity what Zoroastrianism and Greek philosophy had looked for and couldn't find.

In that case, the three key concepts of Sufism or what it represents in religion is as follows: The understanding of a God who is present everywhere in all moments alongside the *sharia*, a living prophet who lives in the hearts of Muslims and is the addressee of love alongside the Sunnah, and the understanding of the perfect human who can attain on Earth all the perfections that can be reached in the afterlife and who can see the truth completely as it is! The perfect human in this sense, as said in the words of the famous poet Mehmed Âkif Ersoy (d. 1936) "*kalmasın ferdâya dîdârın* [Don't remain, be visible to the future]," means people who demand to see the absolute truth and their meeting with Allah (*swt*).

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Effect of the Perception of Pay (in) Equality on the Intention to Leave the Work: Research on White-Collar Employees in the Banking Sector

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Abstract: This study aims to research the effect of the perception of white-collar employees' in the banking sector of the pay (in)equality and the intention to leave the job. The study is based on the model of equality payment system. Through a previously prepared questionnaire we have measured the perceptions of general equality, including internal and external, individual and procedural equality, and through a linear regression we have measured the overall effect of the pay (in)equality on the intention to leave the job. In the scope of this research, we have analyzed the impact of demographic differences on the dimensions of pay (in)equality and the intention to leave the job. For the purpose of hypothesis testing we have used a selected sample of white-collar employees in the banking sector in the city of Istanbul. The data has been gathered by means of a questionnaire. 350 questionnaires have been distributed, to which we received only 239 feedbacks. The data has been analyzed in SPSS Statistics, version 22.0. At the end of research, a substantial negative relationship has been found between white collar employees' perception of pay equality and their intention to leave the job. This implies that pay (in)equality has a solid impact on the employees' intention to leave their work place. On the other hand, a result of this research is that in the demographic aspect, the employees' perception of the pay equality varies according to gender and wage level, whereas for the variable of the intention to leave the job, the employees' perception varies only based on gender.

Keywords: Payment system, equality pay, internal/external equality pay, individual/procedural equality pay, intention to leave work.



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0000-0001-9375-5389



© Association of Education and Thought Fettah Efendi
DOI: <http://doi.org/10.51331/A003>
Journal of Balkan Studies, 2021,
balkanjournal.org



Received: 20.09.2020
Accepted: 01.11.2020

Introduction

The survival, development and superiority of businesses in the age of information and globalization, in addition to the value of financial resources, depend a lot on the value of the employees' i.e. "human capital". In general, human resources and organizational behavior management is a separate goal of several researches with regard to the employees' dissatisfactions and motivation. The issue of the payment systems is one of the most attractive topics related to the motivation of the employees and is a high impact factor on productivity and individual or organizational performance. The continuous growth of the costs of human resources, the increasing need of qualified people (qualified with high mental capacities, knowledge production, innovation, technical skills and capacities); the permanent changes on the needs, expectations, values, judgments and the beliefs of the employees; the need for advancing and training, the high circulation of labor force; the lack of jobs, the stressing workplaces, monotony, alienation, dissatisfaction, etc. are some of the factors that are in a continuous need of solution from the human resources department. The maintenance and increase of the competition advantage in the market requires a more serious, meaningful and multidimensional approach. Human resources are recognized as valuable, rare, inimitable and irreplaceable with another equivalent. Employees that possess knowledge, skills and high motivation are able to learn faster, develop new skills and accomplish organizational objectives. The usage of the full potential of the human capital is directly connected to its level of motivation. The motivation and stimulation of employees to work towards the accomplishment of organizational objectives depends a lot on the level, quantity and manner of distribution of material goods in general. People's behavior in an organization is determined by many factors, yet among the most important, undoubtedly, are the payments/wages or compensations that employees receive in exchange for their labor and efforts. The creation of payment systems that reflect employees' equality, effectiveness and satisfaction are an imperative of every business.

1. Theoretical review of the importance of payment systems

Nowadays, the survival and the sustenance of an enterprise's competitive advantage in order to achieve organizational goals depends a lot on the quality and capacity of

the human resources that the enterprise possesses. The human resources infrastructure needs to be paid as much attention as the financial and physical resources. The age of globalization brings serious changes on information technology and structure of business organizations. The dynamics created and the need for adaptation to the new circumstances has pushed businesses to permanently seek, sustain and develop qualified employees in order to preserve their competitive advantage in the market. In the relationships between employers and employees, there is an inverse relationship regarding financial compensations and the labor or efforts of the employees. The employer seeks an alternative and a solution to increase productivity and work quality while maintaining the lowest cost levels. Meanwhile, the employees constantly demand higher wages as a compensation for the labor and contribution they offer. The more equilibrated this correlation, the higher the chance for success, considering that wages comprise the greater part of overall expenditures of the enterprise (at least 60% of the total cost) and that they have an immense impact on employees' motivation. The ineffective management of the payment system creates problems regarding the overall personal and organizational performances that can lead to total bankruptcy. The wage is the most fundamental element as regards the working conditions and the motive why people go to work. The wage should enable a dignified life for every employee, taking into consideration not only their physical needs, but also their social and psychological ones. For employees, it is also important that their incomes be regular and secure in regards to time intervals. Wages can be defined from several perspectives. In the economic perspectives, wages are the price of a job, in the social and political aspect, wages are a survival opportunity, and in the legal aspect wages are a compensation for the intellectual and physical labor of the employees. (İ. Ataay, 2000: 253) The wage refers to the job level of the employees, and in most cases is an indicator of individual success. It has a direct impact on family welfare, the increase of self-confidence, social status and motivation at work. This implies that employees do not perceive their wages only from the financial aspect, rather they impose upon them a psychological meaning, as well as considering them as an indicator of their place within the organization. In fact, every employee compares their work and the wage they receive. Comparing is natural to humans; therefore, if wages are not fair and equal in relation to the knowledge, skills and performances displayed, there will be dissatisfaction among employees. Every decision made that is considered unjust regarding the issue of wages will be re-

flected as lack of motivation, drawback, decrease in productivity, creation of mistrust and loss of loyalty among workers. (D. Torrington, L. Hall, S. Taylor and C. Atkinson 2014: 413) Decisions about the quantity, shape and level of payments represent a special problem for every business, therefore the creation of fair, inclusive and competing payment systems is necessary. Every decision about payments requires a multidimensional commitment and evaluation of different aspects, such as: performance, experience, expectations, commitment, loyalty, contribution, responsibility, etc. Decisions about the manner of wage determination, the main components, the level and wage position of the enterprise in relation to its competitors and the other aspects are determined through the payment policies of every business.

2. The process of creation of payment systems

The development of business activities under dynamic conditions facing many dangers and pressures from the environment forces the business to create fair and effective payment systems in order to maintain and develop its competitive advantage in the market. Every payment system requires a consensus between the stakeholders that influence the work relationships. (Zeyyat Sabuncuoğlu, 2000: 207; G.T. Milkovich; Jerry M. Newman, 2002: 16) Depending on the stakeholders' requests and the organizational culture, the enterprise opts for one of the payment approaches. The choice dilemma is between the egalitarian form for all of the employees and the elitist form, depending on performance. The egalitarian payment approach implies giving rewards based on membership in the organization, by setting standards for a minimal performance, on which the equal distribution of rewards for everyone is made. (Gómez-Mejía, Balkin and Cardy; 2012: 317) On the other hand, the approach of reward giving based on performance implies pay differences among the employees, based on the clear criteria of work performance. The employees that offer a performance above the required average are rewarded and stimulated more in order to maintain such performance in continuity. (DeCenzo, Robbins and Verhulst; 1996: 275) Setting a fair and egalitarian payment system depends on the nature of the enterprise's business, its mission as well as the selection of its payment policies. (M.E. Sharpe Inc; Amuso, L. E., and Knopping, D. 2008: 206-214)

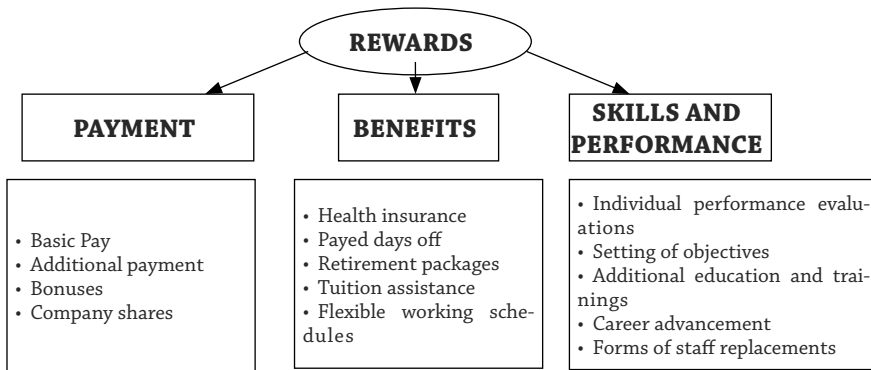
Figure 1

EQUALITY	PERFORMANCE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pay based on experience; • Increase in all payment levels; • Payment comparisons in the industrial level; • Annual increase of the payment scale; • Bonuses every new year. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No payments based on experiences; • No long-term pay increase for low-performance employees; • Payment structure according to the market; • Even broader comparison of payments in the industrial level; • Bonuses based on performance results.

Source: Robert. L. Mathis and John H. Jackson, **Human Resource Management**, 12th Edit. Thomson Corporation, 2008, p.362

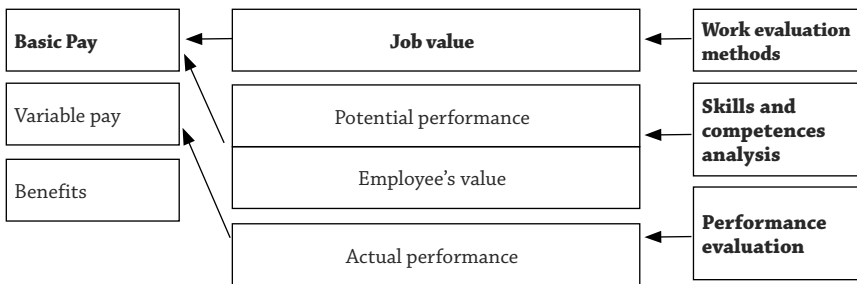
The payment system through its components aims to impact the employee's behavior and their motivation in achieving organizational goals. In general, these are distinguished as internal or external rewards. The internal rewards include appreciating the employees, and these rewards motivate in the psychological and social aspects. Meanwhile, the external rewards are related directly to material compensation for the employees' labor and contribution. (DeCenzo, Robbins and Verhulst; 1996: 263) According to Armstrong, components of material rewards are: the basic pay, minimum wage, bonuses, financial rewards and profit shares, whereas the non-material rewards are personal appreciation, opportunities for career advancement, titles and status, benefits, better physical and social working conditions, organizational support, flexible working schedule, etc. (Armstrong, 2006: 365; G.T. Milkovich, J.M. Newman and B. Gerhart, 2010: 8)

Figure 2. REWARD SYSTEM COMPONENTS



Source: Robert. L. Mathis and John H. Jeckson, Human Resource Management, 12th Edition, Thomson Corporation, 2008, p.360

Table 3. Comprising components of the key elements of reward systems



Source: Riza Demir, “Payment systems based on performance and a research at state hospitals on the application of extra payments for doctors”, PhD thesis, Istanbul University, 2013, p.38

The basic payment, except for being sufficient and competitive, should adhere to the principles of fairness and equality among the employees. The wage depends on the analysis and the job description, which are evaluated according to the job importance and content. A widely applied component in contemporary enterprises is the variable pay, which takes into consideration the individual contribution and is based on individual, group or organizational performances. (R.L. Mathisand J.H. Jeckson, 2008:397) Meanwhile, variable payment types are: wages based on production units, programs of

profit shares, commissions, rewards, long-term intentions, merit-based pay increase, the option of shares, etc. (L.A. Berger ve D.R. Berger, 2008: 27) The variable pay depends mainly on the employees' displayed performances and the analysis of the individual skills and competences, while the benefits as an element are an inseparable part of the rewards for every type of job, changing only in form and size. (Rıza Demir; 2013: 38)

2.1. Factors that impact the payment system

Payment decisions in an organization are influenced by various individual and organizational factors. Individual factors are: knowledge, experience, skills, competences and job performances, while organizational factors are: the strategy of the organization, the market, sector, position, competition, financial capacity, etc. (G.B. Bolander ve S.A. Shnell; 2010:419-423); in this context, in general, every business faces three choices: to be a leader in the market, to adapt to the payment level of the market, or to offer payments above the market level. However, as a main determinant in choosing payment policies, other than the job analysis and performance evaluation, is also the balance between labor force offer and demand. (Dessler, 2013: 35); the payment levels according to the specified market/industry; (Benligiray, 2003: 22); the competition's pressure (Bolander ve Shnell, 2010: 421); the standard of living and the impact of the inflation (DeCenzo, Robbins, and Verhulst;1996: 272); the economic factors such as: national and international competition, inflation crises, economic recessions, (Gönül Budak; 2013: 549); collective agreements and syndicate pressure; (Türker Toplahan, 2013: 170); national and international legal regulations about the form, direction and minimum and maximum wage limitations. (Dessler, 2013: 358) In general, the management of the payment system aims to attract, motivate and develop the individual and organizational performances with an optimal equivalence between the organizational effectiveness and the overall costs. The management of payments includes decisions regarding the payment scale, pay value of the job, components of the payment system, payment structure, differences between the levels and groups within the structure, wage increases based on defined criteria (performances, knowledge, skills and experience); wage increases after transfers and promotions, and the achievement of wage equality and fairness among the employees. (Gary Dessler, 2013: 359; Bingöl, 1996: 419). In order to ensure a fair and effective payment policy, the following criteria should be met: **Sufficiency**: wages should meet the necessary level for the economic,

social and legal needs; **Equality**: maintaining a direct relation of wage and individual knowledge, skills and contribution; **Cost effectiveness**: being suitable to the financial capacity of the enterprise; **Credibility**: wage amount and form should be credible to the employees; **Appropriation**: Every employee in the company should know and understand the reward system and be convinced that this system benefits him. (Barutçugil, 2004:448)

3. Pay equality as a theoretical concept

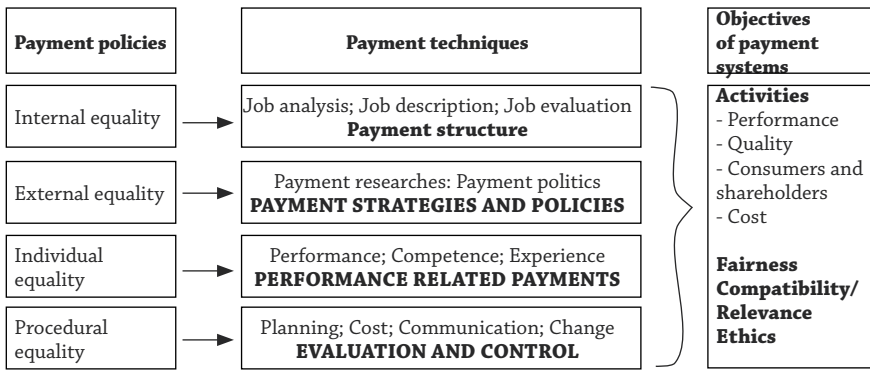
Equality and fairness have always been necessary in order to regulate human behavior in general. They are often mentioned together as synonyms, yet they differ in content and meaning. Not every equal treatment can be considered fair, therefore, the equal distribution of wages, regardless of the requirements, position, responsibilities, contribution and performance, would be an unjust distribution that creates dissatisfaction among the employees. In this context, creating a fair, credible and competitive payment system is a necessity for every successful business. The most convenient approach regarding the increase of fair and equal wages, implies the perseverance of contradictory interest balances between the employees, the employers, the state and society. Equality and fairness as concepts, represent not only absolute values through which comparisons and decisions are made, rather they are also a result of human perceptions. (Özlem Çakir, 2006: 30) The importance of fairness for human behavior has been observed even at the time when Plato was alive, and it is said that “Justice is an imperative for a society to live safe, problem-free and organized.” According to Plato, fairness is the distribution of goods in equal parts for everyone. On the other hand, according to Roman justice, “every individual should receive as much as he contributes for the overall wellbeing.” (Güriz, 1994: 6) As per Roman justice, in order for the relationships between the employees and the employers to reach equality, there should be equivalence of labor and rewards. If such equivalence is missing, an atmosphere of distrust is created, which results in consequences for the organization. The fair and equal perception is based on the theory of justice on the distribution of profits in the economic and social aspects. (Shikur Ahmed and Navjot Kaur; 2016, 15-29) In general, the employees in enterprises are compared according to their contribution (their knowledge, skills, experience and performance) and the benefits (wage, promotions, bonuses, work conditions) they receive. This is also confirmed by Adams’ theory of equality, which stresses

the fact that if inconsistency in the relations between contribution and rewards exists or is created, then the individual perceptions will be worrisome. (J. S. Adams, 1963: 423 Dessler, 2011: 420; John R. Schermerhorn; 2011: 366) According to this theory, every employee compares the relationship between his investment and benefit (input/output) with that of the others. If the employee observes that his proportion of investment/benefit is greater, then he commits to maintaining it through increased contribution, whereas, if his proportion of investment/benefit is lower than that of the other employees, he will take measures to increase his benefits (wage, promotion, bonuses, work conditions) or decrease his investment – outputs (labor, contribution, performance, application of capacities, knowledge and skills). In general, the equality theory is based on the injustices that occur during the distribution which can be verified through the employees' cognitive perception and behavior. (J. S. Adams, 1963: 423) This implies that, if based on the comparisons, wage injustices and inequalities can be noticed, then dissatisfaction at work will be evident and there will be intentions to leave the job. (Cohen- Charash, Yochi and Spector, P.E., 2001:278)

3.1. The pay (in) equality

The concept of payment system as always is related to the business's strategy to achieve its overall objectives, such as: performance, competitiveness and wage fairness. (M. Armstrong, 2014:359) The analysis of the dimensions related to performance, experience, loyalty and responsibility, should be taken into consideration in the creation of a payment structure. Meanwhile, in order to increase the motivation of the employees and in order to use their full potential, special attention is required towards the dimension of wage injustices and inequalities. The emergence of inequalities creates negative results and problems related to performance, productivity, organizational leadership and it also increases the level of the intention to leave the job. (Shi Zheng; Zhigang Wang; Shunfeng Song, 2014: 1219–1231) In order to prevent the inequalities and injustices in the distribution of material goods (payments), it is necessary to create criteria that are fair and equal in relation to the individual labor, knowledge, skills and performances, from the internal and external, individual and procedural aspects. (David E. Terpstra and Andre L. Honoree, 2003; 67-68) Table 4 illustrates the model on which the research on wage (in)equalities is based.

Table 4: Rewards system model



Source: Milkovich, Newman and Gerhart, **Compensation**, 10th Ed., 2010, p.12

a. Internal pay (in)equality

Internal equality is pay consistency according to job importance and content. In order to ensure pay fairness and equality within the payment structure, it is necessary that jobs same or similar in quantity and quality be paid the same for all employees. This is expressed in the saying “Same wages for same jobs.” (Dessler, 2013; 353-354) The different methods of job evaluation determine and classify jobs based on importance and content. If the job content differs (in skills, labor, responsibility and work conditions), then it is necessary that the rewards (payments) vary as well. Hence, the methods of job evaluation serve to determine a relationship of pay equality among different jobs. The fundamental criteria based on which pay differences should be made are the following: skills (knowledge, experience, education), labor (intellectual and physical labor), responsibility (responsibilities about the job, security, finances and facilities) and work conditions (the eventual diseases, possible accidents, and physical conditions such as noise, cold weather, hot weather, smoke, humidity, etc.) (Armstrong, Cummins, Hastings and Wood, 2003:5) If the employees believe that same jobs are paid the same, according to job classification, they will also believe that there is internal equality within the company. (R. L. Mathis and J. H. Jackson, 2008; 365)

b. External pay (in)equality

External equality is the payment consistency of an enterprise with the other enterpri-

ses of the same sector within the same industry. This type of payment/wage equality reflects the pay of a job within an industry or economic branch. External equality is achieved when a certain position within the enterprise is paid the same with the same position in another enterprise within the industry. (D. E. Terpstra, A.L. Honoree 2003; 67-73) In other words, external equality means pay equality within a certain industry from different enterprises that cover a certain region or state. (Cascio, 2010:421; Dessler, 2011:420; Ivancevich, 2010:295; Milkovich 2011:20; Shi, 2007:66) Every employee compares the payments of the enterprise he works for and those of the other enterprises in the same sector, industry, state or region. (Jac Fitz-enz and Barbara Davison; 2002: 132) If wage differences are noticed, then his perception of the injustices will increase and result in dissatisfaction and a high intention to leave the job. Such injustices offer opportunities for the employees' transfer to other enterprises that offer better work conditions for the same job. In order to avoid this phenomenon, it is necessary to conduct serious researches of the market on the wages of the labor force. (Sabuncuoğlu, 2005:251) The researches can be conducted by the enterprise itself, but in most cases, due to lack of expertise enterprises hire specialized external services.

Individual and procedural pay (in)equality

Individual justice implies payment consistency of the employees depending on the level of their performance. Payment equality exists when payments are based on the knowledge, skills, competences and job performances. (Benligiray Serap, 2003: 15) If within the payment structure distinctions are made based on individual knowledge, skills, competences and performance, then this is a case of individual equality. (Acar, 2007: 133; Dessler, 2011:434; Worldat Work, 2007:101) Individual equality implies a comparison of wages in relation to the contribution of the employees of the same enterprise. This implies that wages should be differentiated depending on the kind of job and the performance displayed. Within the payment structure, for each job, a minimum and maximum payment is determined which can vary for each employee, taking into consideration his individual performances. Meanwhile, procedural equality means consistency of principles, rules, methods and payment decisions regarding the distribution of material goods in a just and equal manner. In order to achieve procedural equality, it is necessary to have open communication, transparency, complaint mechanisms, participation in decision making etc. (Farooq and Farooq, 2014:57; Heery and

Noon, 2008:364-365; Locke, 2011:382; Greenberg, 1990:402) The increase of trust in the company's process and procedures of reward distribution, increases the employees' motivation and loyalty. Fair and equal procedures exist when there is consistency in time in the distribution of rewards by respecting the same rules and principles for every individual employee. (Folger, R. & Cropanzano;1998: 56-62) Avoiding from prejudices, relying on verified data, abiding by ethical norms, considering all opinions, suggestions and requests by the employees (feedback) make the payment system efficient and fair from the aspect of procedural equality. (Dean B. Mcfarlin and Paul D. Sweeney; 1992: 626-637)

3.2. The intention to leave the job

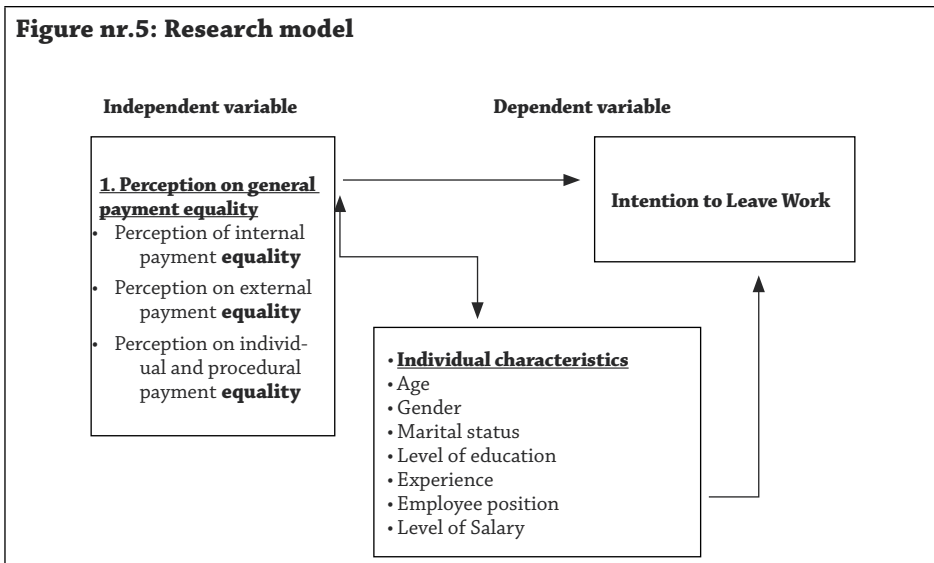
The individual employee with all personal characteristics, motivation, ideas, opinions and values that he brings to the workplace, is one of the most valuable resources for the organization. The main reasons that lead employees to consider leaving their jobs are not having their expectations met and their job not being able to satisfy them in the psychological, physical and financial aspects. (Blau 1988:193) The intention to leave the job is also defined as a complete termination of the work relationship and the financial compensations between the individual and the organization. (Şahin; 2011:278) The intention to leave the job is portrayed as a negative and widespread phenomenon in the business world that influences employee flow. There many important factors as regards the dilemma as to whether to stay or leave the job, such as: injustices within the payment system, job level, working conditions, responsibilities, contribution, performances, individual competences and priorities related to the personal career of the employees. According to Cotton, J. L. and Tuttle, J. M., factors impacting the intention to leave the job are the external factors (unemployment rate, perception about the job, alternative job opportunities, syndicates etc.); job-related factors (wages, performance, satisfaction from the job, organizational loyalty); as well as the individual factors (age, experience, education and skills). (Cotton, J. L. & Tuttle, J. M. 1986:55-70) Imperative for each business is the creation of defense and correcting mechanisms for problems that prevent the flow of highly qualified employees. It is a fact that every employee, if not satisfied with his compensation in the financial aspect and the work conditions, begins to consider leaving the job. (Mobley, W.H., 2009:155-178)

4. Research methodology and model

4.1. Research scope and survey sample

This study investigates the effect of white-collar employees' perception of pay equality in the banking sector (Istanbul) on the emergence of the intention to leave the job. Simultaneously, the study tests whether the perception of general payment equality and the intention to leave the job vary based on demographical characteristics of the employees (gender, marital status, age, education, experience, position and salary level), which have been presented as sub-objectives of this research. For the purpose of data gathering, the method of voluntary survey has been used which is easier to access and enables enough time for its conduction. The questionnaire has been prepared through confirmed indicators from factor analysis for relevance and credibility. From a total of 350 questionnaires submitted, only 239 feedbacks have been received.

Figure nr.5: Research model



4.2. Data gathering

The questionnaire prepared for the gathering of data in this study has served for the measuring of variables of the employees' perception of pay equality from the internal, external, individual and procedural aspects, as well as the measuring of the impact of

the perception level on the intention to leave the job. The questionnaire contains a total of 27 questions/affirmations to measure the employee's perception of general pay equality, and among them, as sub-dimensions have been included: internal equality in 9 questions, with KMO (Kaiser; Mayer; Olkin) value of 0.892 and the total variance explained 60.729 %, while the value of Alpha Cronbach is 0.919; external equality: a total of 11 questions, KMO value 0.878 and total variance explained 61.453%, value of Alpha Cronbach 0.782; individual and procedural equality: a total of 7 questions, value of 0.912, total variance explained 69,408 %, value of Alpha Cronbach 0.926. The measuring scales of the questionnaire for each variable of the wage equalities have been based on the authors [Livingstone, Roberts and Chonko (1995: 38); Zheng, WangandSong (2014: 7) and Terpstra and Honoree (2003: 69)] and adapted to the Turkish language version of the authors Cavide Uyargil and Riza Demir in 2014. Meanwhile, the questionnaire's measuring scale for the variable of the intention to leave the job is comprised of 3 questions from authors Rosen and Korabik (1991) translated and adapted in the Turkish language version by Örucü and Özafşarlıoğlu (2013), and an additional question to increase the scale of measurement credibility according to the analysis factor. From the final assessment of the results, the KMO value was 0.680 and the total variance explained 57.867%, while the value Alpha Cronbach of the scale 0.735. The last part of the questionnaire contains questions of socio-demographic nature, such as age, gender, marital status, education, experience and monthly wage.

4.3 Data analysis

The participants in the questionnaire answered questions according to the evaluation of the scale of Likert type. (For example, from 1: Completely disagree, to 5: Completely agree) The data have been analyzed in the SPSS program 22.0. As descriptive statistical techniques in the data analysis have been used the arithmetic mean and the standard deviation. Also, to increase the level of credibility, we have calculated the value of credibility as well (Cronbach Alpha) for each stage of the research. For hypothesis testing, we have used the linear regression analysis, t-test and the unilateral analysis of variance.

Table1. Credibility values regarding the dimensions of the research

Factors	Value	
	Cronbach Alpha	Number of questions
Internal equality	0,919	9
External equality	0,782	11
Individual and procedural equality	0,926	7
Intention to leave the job	0,735	4

The descriptive statistical analysis (the arithmetic mean and the standard deviation) in regards to this research are: the arithmetic mean of the perception of internal pay equality is the highest with a value of 3.20 (standard deviation is 0.93); External pay equality 2.93 (standard deviation 0.59); individual and procedural pay equality 2.75 (standard deviation 0.98); while the intention to leave the job has the lowest average value of 2.45 (Standard deviation 0.94). The standard deviations and the arithmetic mean for each measuring scale are included in Table 2.

Table 2. Average of the research dimensions

	No	Average	Std. Deviation
Perception of General Payments Equality	233	2.97	0.73
Perception of Internal Payments Equality	237	3.20	0.93
Perception of External Payments Equality	236	2.93	0.59
Perception of Individual and Procedural Payments Equality	238	2.75	0.98
Intention to leave the job	237	2.45	0.94

a. Correlation analysis

The Pearson correlation coefficient between the employees' perception of general pay equality and the intention to leave the job is -0.541, which clearly indicates that there exists an moderately negative relation between the two variables. In other words, while the general perception of equality increases, the intention to leave the job decreases. The testing shows that there exists a statistically meaningful relation between these two variables. (**Importance level:** $0.000 < 0.01$)

Table 3. Correlation between variables

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Internal Payments Equality	1				
2. External Payments Equality	0.718**	1			
3. Individual and Procedural Payments Equality	0.803**	0.691**	1		
4. Intention to leave the job	-0.549**	-0.380**	-0.519**	0.080	1
5. General Payments Equality	0.936**	0.873**	0.914**	-0.085	-0.541**

b. Research hypothesis

The influence of general pay equality on the intention to leave the job according to the regression model is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: The results of the influence of the perception of general pay equality on the intention to leave the job

Intention to leave the job	B	Beta	t	p
Constant	4.508		20.756	.000
The general perception of pay equality	-0.691	-0.541	-9.744	.000
R :		0.541		
R2 :		0.293		
R2 regulated :		0.290		
F :		94.937		
p (importance) :		0.000		

** $p < 0.01$ (importance value 0.01 is statistically meaningful and accepted)

According to test results, it is obvious that the regression model in relation to the effect of general pay equality perception on the intention to leave the job is statistically meaningful with a value of 0.01 ($p = 0.000 < 0.01$). The influence of the general pay equality perception has an effect on the intention to leave the job ($B = 0.691$; $p = 0.000 < 0.01$), meaning that an increase of 1 unit in the general perception of the pay equality results

in a decrease of 0.691 units in the intention to leave the job. Moreover, the R^2 value shows that 29.3% of the difference in the intention to leave the job can be explained with the general pay (in)equality. In other words, knowing the employee's perception of the pay (in)equality enables an accurate evaluation of 29.3% in the forecast of the intention to leave the job. In this study we have tested the hypothesis in order to determine whether the general perception of pay (in)equality influences the intention to leave the job, and the relation between the two. Table 5 below contains the hypotheses and their results.

5. Research results

Research hypothesis	p -value	Result
H1: The general perception of pay equality effects on the intention to leave the job	0.05 (B= -0.691)	<i>Accepted</i>
H.2.a. Employees' perception of overall equality of payment differentiated based on gender	0.00 < 0.05	<i>Accepted</i>
H.2.b. Employees' perception of intention to leave the job differentiated based on gender	0.040 < 0.05	<i>Accepted</i>
H.3.a. Employees' perception of overall equality of payments differentiated based on marital status	0.657 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>
H.3.b. Employees' perception of intention to leave the job differentiated based on marital status	0.435 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>
H.4.a Employees' perception of overall equality of payment differentiated based on the position of the employees	0.232 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>
H.4.b. Employees' perception of intention to leave the job differentiated based on the position of the employees	0.513 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>
H.5.a. Employees' perception of overall equality of pay differentiated based on age of the employees	0.197 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>
H.5.b. Employees' perception of the intention to leave the job differentiated based on the age of the employees	0.637 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>

H.6.a. Employees' perception of overall pay equality differentiated based on education level.	0.282 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>
H.6.b. Employees' perception of the intention to leave the job differentiated based on the level of education	0.382 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>
H.7.a. Employees' perception of overall pay equality differentiated based on work experience in the organization	0.844 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>
H.7.b. Employees' perception of the intention to leave the job differentiated based on work experience in the organization	0.054 > 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>
H.8.a. Employees' perception of the overall equality of payments differentiated based on the salary level received by the employee	0.000 > 0.05	<i>Accepted</i>
H.8.b. Employees' perception of intention to leave the job differentiated based on the level of salary received by the employee.	0.316 < 0.05	<i>Not accepted</i>

Table 5: Employees' perception of overall equality of pay and intention to leave work based on gender

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Differenc	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Inten. To Leave Work	Equal variances assumed	.541	.463	-2.065	231	.040	-.26655	.12907	-.52085	-.01225
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.089	168.784	.038	-.26655	.12760	-.51844	-.01465
Gen. Equit Pay	Equal variances assumed	.539	.464	3.801	227	.000	.37812	.09947	.18211	.57412
	Equal variances not assumed			3.749	152.664	.000	.37812	.10087	.17884	.57740

Table 6: Employees' perception of overall equality of payment and intention to leave work based on marital status

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Differenc	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Inten. To Leave Work	Equal variances assumed	.660	.417	-.782	206	.435	-.10445	.13358	-.36782	.15891
	Equal variances not assumed			-.795	187.968	.428	-.10445	.13142	-.36371	.15480
Gen. Equit Pay	Equal variances assumed	.130	.719	.445	204	.657	.04620	.10382	-.15851	.25090
	Equal variances not assumed			.447	181.673	.655	.04620	.10330	-.15763	.25002

Table 7: Employees' perception of overall equality payment and intention to leave the job based on position at work.

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Differenc	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Inten. To Leave Work	Equal variances assumed	1.185	.277	-.656	229	.513	-.11391	.17373	-.45623	.22840
	Equal variances not assumed			-.638	44.212	.527	-.11391	.17847	-.47355	.24572
Gen. Equit Pay	Equal variances assumed	.904	.343	-1.198	226	.232	-.16472	.13752	-.43570	.10625
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.117	41.385	.271	-.16472	.14749	-.46250	.13305

Table 8: Employees' perception of overall pay equality and intention to leave work based on the level of salary received by employees.

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Differenc	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Inten. To Leave Work	Equal variances assumed	.689	.0407	1.371	226	0.172	.17921	.13068	-.07829	.43671
	Equal variances not assumed			1.330	155.550	.0185	.17921	.13475	-.08696	.44538
Gen. Equit Pay	Equal variances assumed	2.289	.0132	-4.192	222	0.000	-.41783	.09967	-.61426	-.22141
	Equal variances not assumed			-4.018	141.892	0.000	-.41783	.10399	-.62341	-.21226

Table 9: Employees' perception of overall equality of pay and intention to leave work based on age according to the results of the Anova test.

Test of Homogeneity of Variances	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Intention to Leave Work	2.180	2	226	0.115
Gen. Equity Payment	0.690	2	222	0.503

* p<0,05

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intention to Leave Work	Between Groups	0.804	2	0.402	0.452	0.637
	Within Groups	200.925	226	0.889		
	Total	201.729	228			
Gen. Equity Payment	Between Groups	1.750	2	0.875	1.635	0.197
	Within Groups	118.795	222	0.535		
	Total	120.545	224			

* p<0,05 ** p<0,01

Table 10: Employees' perception of overall equality of pay and intention to leave work based on level of education

Test of Homogeneity of Variances	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Intention to Leave Work	0.948	2	230	0.389
Gen. Equity Payment	2.901	2	226	0.057
* p<0,05				

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intention to Leave Work	Between Groups	1.708	2	0.854	0.967	0.382
	Within Groups	203.135	230	0.883		
	Total	204.843	232			
Gen. Equity Payment	Between Groups	1.375	2	0.688	1.273	0.282
	Within Groups	122.048	226	0.540		
	Total	123.423	228			
		* p<0,05	** p<0,01			

Table 11: Employees' perception of overall equality of pay and intention to leave the job based on the level of work experience.

Test of Homogeneity of Variances	Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
Intent to Quit	1.187	2	214	0.307
Gen. Equity Payment	1.263	2	211	0.285
* p<0,05				

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intention to Leave Work	Between Groups	5.216	2	2.608	2.966	0.054
	Within Groups	188.155	214	0.879		
	Total	193.371	216			
Gen. Equity Payment	Between Groups	.190	2	0.095	0.170	0.844
	Within Groups	117.577	211	0.557		
	Total	117.767	213			
		* p<0,05	** p<0,01			

Discussion and suggestions

This study investigated the effect of white-collar employees' perception of pay equality in the banking sector on the intention to leave the job. The study shows that the level of the employees' general perception of pay equality has an average of 2.97, which is relatively positive. In other words, the employees' general perception of pay equality in the banking sector approached high levels. The employees' intention to leave the job has an average of 2.45 and is lower than the level of the general perception of pay equality. On the other hand, the sub-dimensions of employees' pay equality, internal equality has the highest average of 3.20, which implies that the classification and the internal pay division are on the required level. The perception of external pay equality has an average of 2.93 and that of individual and procedural pay equality has an average of 2.75. This shows that this sector has visible problems with the system and procedures of material goods distribution and the following of pay trends in this industry. Meanwhile, according to the results of the correlation analysis and the Anova testing, there is an average and statistically meaningful relationship. The correlation indicator (-0.541) represents the inverse and meaningful relationship between the general perception of the employees on pay equality and the intention to leave the job. According to this, it is obvious that while the level of the general perception of pay equality increases, the intention to leave the job decreases. The general perception of pay equality, as an only dimension, impacts the intention to leave the job ($B=0.691$; $p=0.000 < 0.01$), meaning that an increase of 1 unit in the general perception of equality will result in a decrease of 0.691 units in the intention to leave the job. Moreover, the R^2 value shows that 29.3% of the difference in the intention to leave the job can be explained with the general pay equality. According to the testing of the demographic differences on the above-mentioned variables, it results that the general perceptions of pay equality differ in a statistically meaningful level among the employees, according to gender and salary level. Meanwhile, the analysis of the intention to leave the job shows that employees differ in a level that can be considered statistically meaningful only in regards to their gender and do not vary in regards to other demographic characteristics. In conclusion, if the employees have problems with internal (in)equality, this shows that the company has problems with the analysis, description and classification of jobs and should undertake pre-emptive measures for the reformulation of the payment system based on the job importance and description. Provided that there are problems over external pay

(in)equality, then this indicator shows the lack of market research on the following of pay trends and requirements of a certain industry that needs to be eliminated. Meanwhile, when there are problems on the perception of individual and procedural pay (in)equalities, then the company should revise the plans and the evaluation system of the employees, their performance and should also determine more consistent ways of pay distribution, methods of promotion, transparency, informing, feedback and methods of complaint. In general, in order for the payment policies and distribution methods to be fair and equal, the company should take into consideration credible criteria, competing wages, opportunities for participation in payment decisions, merit-based pay system, based on individual or group performance, as well as create an environment and culture of trust that stimulates high performances.

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Kryengritjet shqiptare në Kosovë si alternativë çlirimi nga sundimi serbo-malazez (1913-1914)

Fitim Rifati

Abstrakt: Kryengritjet e armatosura shqiptare kundër pushtimit dhe aneksimit serbo-malazez të Kosovës, paraqesin një tablo realiste të një periudhe historike (shtator 1913 - prill 1914) derisa shqiptarët po përballeshin me tri alternativa për të ardhmen e tyre: organizimin e kryengritjes së armatosur për çlirim, emigrimin dhe asimilimin. Ky artikull studimor paraqet qëndrimin e Mbretërisë së Serbisë dhe Mbretërisë së Malit të Zi ndaj shqiptarëve, kryesisht ndaj atyre myslimanë, shkaqet e organizimit të kryengritjeve të armatosura për çlirim dhe rezultatet e tyre. Përmes burimeve arkivore, shtypit periodik të kohës, dokumenteve të botuara dhe literaturës historiografike, prezantohen informacione dhe interpretime të reja, të cilat ndriçojnë dhe ndërtojnë ngjarje, dukuri dhe personalitete, që e kanë karakterizuar Kosovën gjatë asaj kohe. Gjithnjë e më shumë, duke u mbështetur në të dhënat burimore, është arritur në konstatimin se Mbretëritë Serbo-Malazeze në Kosovë synonin zbatimin e politikave shtetërore, të cilat çonin drejt ndryshimeve kombëtare, demografike, kulturore dhe rrënjësish në dëm të popullsisë shqiptare.

Fjalët kyçe: Kosovë, shkatërrim, serbizim, kryengritje.



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0000-0003-3413-7681



© Association of Education and Thought Fettaf Efendi
DOI: <http://doi.org/10.51331/A004>
Journal of Balkan Studies, 2021,
balkanjournal.org



Received: 24.08.2020
Revision: 08.10.2020
Accepted: 14.11.2020

Abstract: The Albanian armed uprisings against the Serbian and Montenegrin occupation and annexation of Kosovo, present a realistic tableau of a historical period (September 1913 - April 1914) until the Albanians were confronting with three alternatives for their future: organizing the armed uprising for liberation, emigration and assimilation. This study article explicates the attitude of the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro towards Albanians, primarily to those Muslims, the causes of the organization of armed uprisings for liberation and their results. Through archival sources, the press of that time, published documents and historiographical literature, presented new information and interpretations whom enlighten and construct events, occurrences and personalities, which have characterized Kosovo during that time. Increasingly, relying on the source data, reached in ascertainment that the Serbo-Montenegrin kingdoms in Kosovo intended to implementation the state policies whom lead towards national, demographic, cultural and radical changes to the detriment of the Albanian population.

Keywords: Kosovo, destruction, Serbianisation, uprising.

Qëndrimi serbo-malazez ndaj shqiptarëve në Kosovë dhe pozita e gruas

Pushtimi serbo malazez i Kosovës në tetor-nëntor të vitit 1912, solli një situatë të re për popullsinë shqiptare. Mbretëria e Serbisë dhe Mbretëria e Malit të Zi, ndonëse kishin proklamuar se shqiptarëve në Kosovë do t'u garantoheshin të drejtat dhe prona e tyre, nuk zbatuan vendimet e Konferencës së Ambasadorëve për të respektuar të drejtat e minoriteteve. Përkundrazi, në lëmshin politik të krijuar gjatë dhe pas Luftërave Ballkanike, ato mbajtën një qëndrim të kundërt ndaj jetës dhe pronës së shqiptarëve. Veç çarmatosjes, shteti serb bëri përpjekje për të tërhequr bashkëpunëtorë të veçantë nga radhët e shqiptarëve, për t'i vënë në shërbim të interesave të tij. (Војновић, 631 :1984) Në të vërtetë, prijësit shqiptarë të Kosovës me orientim kombëtar, por edhe popullsia civile, nuk pranuan të bashkëpunonin me organet serbe. Për këtë arsye, pa zbatuar procedura gjyqësore, ata u burgosën, u izoluan, u internuan dhe u vranë. Në mesin e tyre ishin edhe krerët e Drenicës, si: Halil Haxhia, Hetem Kozhica, Fejzullah Lubaveci, Temë Dobrosheci, Rexhep Llausha dhe tetëmbëdhjetë krerë të tjerë, të cilët i ekzekutuan në Kaçanik. (AIHT, 11 shtator 1 :1913; Liri e Shqipërisë, 2 :1913) Sipas politikës propaganduese dhe shoviniste të qeverive serbo-malazeze, shqiptarët e Kosovës nuk përbënin kurrfarë elementi me rëndësi kulturore, historike e kombëtare. (Лукач, 264 :1981) Ata konsideroheshin “të egër” (Војновић, 371 :1984), “gjakpirës” (Cana, 201 :1997), “mashtrues”, “dinakë”, “të pabesë”, “konservatorë”, “regresivë” (Политика, 1 :1914), “kusarë” etj. (Shala, 150 :1990) Administrata ushtarake, policore dhe shtetërore, madje edhe elementi serb në Kosovë, i kishin duart të lira të vepronin ndaj shqiptarëve, për t'i torturuar dhe rrahur ata deri në vdekje. (AIHT, 10 janar 2 :1914) Rrjedhimisht, ky qëndrim solli tensionimin e raporteve ndëretnike dhe nxitjen e konflikteve ndërmjet shqiptarëve dhe serbëve në Kosovë.

Këto regjime zbatuan një politikë hegjemonie e shkatërrimi ndaj shqiptarëve, dogjën fshatrat, masakruan banorët, plaçkitën pasurinë dhe grabitën pronat e tyre. (АВИ, 2 фебруар 1 :1913; Çeku & Destani, 52-49 :2015; Freundlich, 39-7 :2010) Në platformën e tyre për Kosovën dhe shqiptarët, e cila bazën kryesore e kishte te “Projekti” (“Naçertania”) shovinist i Ilia Garashaninit dhe projekte të tjera, zbatohesh me përpikëri parimi bosht politik:

“Serbizim me çdo çmim”. (AIHT, 29 shtator 1913: 2; Germek, Gjidara & Šimac, 2010: 29-104; Verli, 1998: 21-29; Bajrami, 2004: 9-64)

Inspektori i Policisë serbe në Shkup, Mihailo Ceroviç, i kërcënonte e shantazhonte shqiptarët, duke u vërsulur ndaj tyre se:

“do t’u shkurtonjë këmbët e kryet po të mos bëhen sërbe”. (Perlindja e Shqipëniës, 1913:2)

Në këtë kontekst, synimi i politikës serbo-malazeze në Kosovë ishte shtypja politike dhe ekonomike e shqiptarëve, për t’i dëbuar ata nga atdheu i tyre, Kosova, dhe për të vendosur kolonë serbë, me qëllim realizimin e kësaj platforme. Në një pozitë shumë të rëndë ishin familjet e prijësve politikë të Kosovës, si: Hasan Prishtina, Isa Boletini e Bajram Curri, për faktin se gjatë kohës që ata vepronin në Shqipëri, familjet e tyre përpos vëzhgimit të vazhdueshëm nga organet ushtarake dhe policore, njëherazi, nuk u lejuan të lëviznin nga shtëpitë e tyre dhe aq më pak të niseshin drejt Shqipërisë. (Perlindja e Shqipëniës, 1913: 2; Duka, 2012: 124) Serbo-malazezët, veç presionit ndaj këtyre familjeve, synonin tërheqjen e këtyre prijësve në Kosovë, për t’i neutralizuar përpjekjet që ata bënin për çlirimin e Kosovës.

Regjimi ushtarak serbo-malazez u përpoq t’i armiqësonte shqiptarët, duke nxitur përçarje mbi baza fetare ndërmjet tyre. Shqiptarët katolikë në Kosovë u përballën me pretendimet për t’i rreshtuar në kuadër të kornizave dhe interesave të politikës serbe e malazeze dhe për t’i futur në konflikt me shqiptarët myslimanë. (AIHT, 18 mars 1914: 1) Masë tjetër e marrë nga pushteti serb e malazez ndaj shqiptarëve ishte edhe shërbimi i detyrueshëm ushtarak. Shqiptarët obligoheshin t’u përgjigjeshin ftesave, të cilat përcilleshin me kërcënime për të kryer shërbimin ushtarak. (Shqypnia e Re, 1913: 3) Në rast se refuzonin ose nuk i përgjigjeshin me kohë thirrjes për të përfunduar këtë shërbim, pasonin sanksione të rënda me masat: keqtrajtim dhe burgosje. (AIHT, 23 janar 1914: 3) Këto masa të ashpra patën për pasojë një shpërngulje të konsiderueshme jashtë Kosovës të personave të aftë e njëkohësisht edhe të familjeve të tyre, të cilat dëshironin t’i shmangeshin paraprakisht detyrimit ushtarak dhe dënimeve nga mosrespektimi i tij. (AIHT, 6 janar 1914: 1) Këto masa ishin në kundërshtim me vendimet e Konferencës së Ambasadorëve në Londër dhe ato të Marrëveshjes Osmano-Serbe, të nënshkruar në Stamboll, më 14 mars të vitit 1914. Kjo marrëveshje i siguronte të drejta qytetare dhe politike popullsisë myslimane nën Mbretërinë e Serbisë, i garantonte nënshtetë-

sinë osmane për tre vite pas nënshkrimit të saj, nuk e detyronte atë të paguante asnjë lloj takse, nuk e detyronte t'i nënshtrohej pushtetit ushtarak, i garantonte të drejtën e paprekshmërisë së pronës, i premntonte vetëqeverisje lokale, respektim të besimit, zakoneve, shkollimit etj. Kjo marrëveshje ishte një lloj presioni ndaj Mbretërisë së Serbisë për të ruajtur popullsinë myslimane në Kosovë, por nuk u jetësua në praktikë dhe në perspektivë rrezikonte shqiptarët nga shkombëtarizimi dhe emigrimi. (ASHAK, 1912-1913: 2; Политика, 1914: 2) Ratifikimi i kësaj marrëveshjeje nuk ndodhi për shkak se Mbretëria e Serbisë, si para, ashtu edhe pas nënshkrimit të saj, zbatoi një politikë serbizimi në Kosovë. (Malcolm, 2011: 336) Lidhur me mosrespektimin e kësaj marrëveshjeje, ambasadori britanik në Beograd, Dayrell Crackanthorpe, më 26 maj 1914, i dërgoi një raport konfidencial Sekretarit të Jashtëm, Edward Grey, në të cilin, midis të tjerash, nënvizoi:

“...Zyrat administrative në territoret e reja (Kosovë dhe vise të tjera, F. R.) u mbushën kryesisht me një grup zyrtarësh të papërvojë dhe të paskrupuj, që abuzuan me autoritetin e tyre në çdo drejtim, nuk lanë gur pa lëvizur për të mbushur xhepat e tyre dhe ndoqën një politikë shtypjeje të hapur ndaj pakicave të huaja... Pakicat në territoret e aneksuara do të vazhdojnë të vuajnë përsa i përket lirive të tyre civile dhe fetare”. (Çeku & Destani, 2015: 149-150)

Gjithashtu, edhe gruaja në Kosovë, e cila para pushtimit serbo-malazez, ndonëse jetonte në një shoqëri konservatore dhe në pabarazi gjinore, kishte të drejta të caktuara që i garantonte sistemi juridik osman dhe e drejta zakonore. (Musaj, 1998: 59) Mirëpo, gjendja e gruas nën pushtimin e ri u përkeqësua jashtëzakonisht. Përkundër jetesës në një shoqëri patriarkale me tradita të vjetra (Begolli, 1984: 17-30), qenia e saj ishte vënë në rrezik, sepse ajo përballlej me probleme të shkaktuara nga rrethanat e reja politike. Në shënjestër të keqtrajtimit fizike e psikologjike ishte posaçërisht gruaja shqiptare. Ajo u ballafaqua me një situatë të ekspozuar me rreziqe të vazhdueshme (tortura, vrasje, çnderime, martesë e konvertime të dhunshme) dhe shpeshherë e pambrojtur nga aksionet dhe operacionet ushtarake, policore e shtetërore serbo-malazeze ndaj shtëpive dhe familjeve shqiptare. Nën pushtimin serbo-malazez, asaj i mohohesh çdo e drejtë shoqërore dhe kulturore. E kufizuar në ekonominë familjare, krahas veprimtarisë në punët e shtëpisë, si: përgatitja e ushqimeve dhe kujdesit ndaj fëmijëve, bagëtisë e shpezëve, gruaja punonte edhe tokat bujqësore, si: mbjelljen, korrjen e dëlirjen

e grurit, kositjen e sanës dhe grumbullimin e saj në arë. (Berisha, 2004: 66-71; Populli, 1915: 4) Mirëpo, i tërë ky rol dhe kontribut i saj i pazëvendësueshëm në familje nëpërkëmbej, shpërdorohej, ndëshkohej e përmysej si pasojë e brutalitetit të pushtuesve serbo-malazezë.

Gjatë kësaj periudhe në Kosovë, sipas normave juridike, fetare dhe atyre zakonore, gruaja ishte e obliguar të ushtronte veprimtarinë në shtëpi dhe, sa herë që dilte jashtë mureve të shtëpisë, pavarësisht se nuk u praktikua në përgjithësi, sidomos në zona rurale, ishte e detyruar të mbulonte fytyrën me perçe dhe trupin me fereuxe. (Musaj, 1998: 59) Organet e pushtetit serbo-malazez në Kosovë nuk pranonin të respektonin traditën kulturore dhe të veshjes së gruas shqiptare. Në këtë kontekst, në shënjestër të abuzimeve ishin edhe aktet ceremoniale të martesave, kurorëzimeve dhe festave familjare, në të cilat gruaja shqiptare shënonte momente të veçanta të jetës së saj. Gjatë këtyre rasteve ndërhynin nëpunës të organeve administrative, të cilët jo vetëm që ndalonin dhe prishnin ceremonitë festive, por urdhëronin që vajzat dhe gratë shqiptare të hiqnin mbulesën nga koka, duke paragjykuar e cenuar nderin dhe besimin e tyre. (AIHT, 19 mars 1914: 3) Gruaja shqiptare rrezikohej rëndë gjatë aksioneve kontrolluese ushtarake dhe policore ndaj shtëpive dhe familjeve, që dyshoheshin për veprimtari subversive kundër regjimit serbo-malazez. Në mungesë të burrave dhe të pambrojtura e nën presione, gratë kërcënoheshin, fyheshin e grabiteshin me forcë. Raste të tilla u shënuan shpesh në Kosovë. Në janar të vitit 1914, me arsyetimin për të kapur kryengritësit shqiptarë, organet serbe realizuan një operacion kontrolli në shtëpinë e Fazli Kabashit në Apterushë të Rahovecit. Gjatë këtij operacioni, sekretari i komunës së Zaçishtës dhe xhandarët serbë, ofenduan me fjalë të rënda në mënyrë të veçantë gratë e kësaj shtëpie. Mirëpo, pronari i shtëpisë dhe burrat e tjerë reagues në çast, duke u përleshur me sekretarin dhe xhandarët, ndërsa si pasojë e përleshjes u vra djali i F. Kabashit, disa mysafirë e një pjesë u plagosën. (AIHT, 16 janar 1914: 2) Me këto aksione, jeta normale e gruas shqiptare bëhej e pasigurt dhe e pamundur përballë një makinerie ushtarake dhe shtetërore antishqiptare. Në shënjestër të sulmeve të administratës serbo-malazeze ishin edhe përfaqësueset shpirtërore katolike (murgeshat). Murgeshat e Manastirit katolik në Prizren, çdoherë që dilnin jashtë mureve të tij, provokoheshin dhe sulmoheshin nga ushtarët serbë. Për të komprometuar misionin që kryenin, pushteti serb vinte në dyshim edhe shërbimin e tyre fetar. (Војновић, 1984: 366)

Gruaja shqiptare, sikurse burrat, u ballafaqua edhe me procesin e konvertimit fetar, i cili u drejtua nga organet shtetërore dhe kisha ortodokse serbo-malazeze. Aksionet e ushtrisë serbe e malazeze, me qëllim plaçkitjen, bastisjen, torturat, konvertimin dhe vrasjen e shqiptarëve, pothuajse ishin bërë përditshmëri. Kështu, në pranverë të vitit 1914, në njërin nga këto operacione, shtatë ushtarë serbë u futën në mbrëmje në sh-tëpinë e një shqiptari, ku pronarit i kërkuan me forcë t'ua jepte paratë. Të pakënaqur me kaq, duke u larguar i grabitën dy vajzat e tij, të cilat i detyruan të mohonin fenë islame dhe të deklarohen se tani e tutje përqafonin fenë e krishterë, përkatësisht ritin ortodoks. (Taraboshi, 1914: 2) Abuzimet e dhunimet që administrata shtetërore, ushtarake dhe policore serbo-malazeze ushtronte ndaj gruas shqiptare në Kosovë, thelloheshin sidomos në raste krizash e revoltash të armatosura të shqiptarëve. Kështu, pas kryengritjes së armatosur të shqiptarëve në pranverë të vitit 1914, në shenjë hakmarrjeje, ushtria dhe grupet civile të armatosura serbe u sollën në mënyrë çnjerëzore ndaj gruas shqiptare. Për mizoritë serbe në viset e Kosovës raportonte edhe shtypi shqiptar i kohës. Gazeta Taraboshi, e datës 17-18 prill 1914, që botohej në Shkodër, shkruante se:

“...graat janë t’dhunueme e mandej t’mytuna...”. (Taraboshi, 1914: 3)

Elementi serb që jetonte në Kosovë, ose i printe ushtrisë serbe në ndërmarrje të tilla ose ishte pjesëmarrës i tyre. Kështu, kishte plot raste kur serbët lokalë i shfrytëzuan rrethanat politike për të kryer akte çnjerëzore ndaj vajzave e grave shqiptare. Në këtë kohë u shtuan rastet kur vajzat shqiptare në fshatrat e Kamenicës grabiteshin me dhunë prej famëkeqit Koica Popoviq nga Maroca, i cili njihej për veprimet çnjerëzore ndaj shqiptarëve të kësaj treve. Ai grabiti dy vajza shqiptare në fshatrat Kranidell dhe Kremenatë. (Latifi & Sermoxhaj, 2002: 28; Redenica, 2014: 48-53) Gjatë kësaj kohe, organet e administratës ushtarake dhe shtetërore serbe, në shumë operacione që ndërmerrnin ndaj familjeve shqiptare, shpeshherë i përfundonin ato në shenjë hakmarrjeje duke çnderuar e përdhunuar gratë dhe vajzat shqiptare. (Besa shqiptare, 1915: 2-3) Në rrethana të tilla të një pushtimi dhe regjimi ushtarak, pozita shoqërore, ekonomike dhe kulturore e shqiptarëve ishte absolutisht shtypëse dhe diskriminuese në çdo aspekt të jetës. Në vargonytë e projekteve shoviniste serbo-malazeze, shqiptarët synohej të dëboheshin, të shkombëtarizoheshin, të konvertoheshin në fenë ortodokse dhe të sllavizoheshin.

Kryengritja e armatosur si opSION kundër sundimit serbo-malazez në Kosovë (1913)

Shqiptarët, për shkak të divergjencave politike, ekonomike, shoqërore dhe kulturore-arsimore, duke mos parë perspektivën e tyre brenda pushtetit arbitrar e të dhunshëm serbo-malazez, ndodheshin përballë tre opsioneve për të ardhmen e tyre: 1. Organizimi i një kryengritjeje, si shans i fundit për t'u çliruar nga dhuna sistematike ose përfundimisht për t'u flijuar në trojet e tyre; 2. Emigrimi si mundësi për të shpëtuar nga gjendja e rëndë me shpresën për një jetë më të sigurt; 3. Asimilimi ose sllavizimi, që nënkuptonte pranimin e pushtimit dhe administrimit serbo-malazez me të gjitha dimensionet e tij politike, ekonomike, shoqërore e kulturore-arsimore.

Që në fillimet e veta, shqiptarët në Kosovë nuk e pranuan pushtimin serb e malazez (Dreshaj, 1991: 256) dhe nuk u pajtuan me vendimet e Konferencës së Ambasadorëve në Londër, për aneksimin e viseve të tyre Mbretërisë së Serbisë e Malit të Zi. (AIHT, 26 shtator 1913: 1) Në fillim të muajit shtator të vitit 1913, organet shtetërore serbe shpallën zyrtarisht aneksimin e Kosovës dhe viseve të tjera shqiptare. (Verli, 2004: 163) Krerët shqiptarë, sapo u njoftuan me këtë vendim, përmes një memorandumit të dërguar nga Kosova, menjëherë kërkuan nga ministrat e Punëve të Jashtme të gjashtë Fuqive të Mëdha jo vetëm të rishikonin vendimet e Londrës, por të përmirësonin padrejtësitë kombëtare ndaj shqiptarëve. Ata ankoreshin për dhunën dhe mizoritë që po përjetonin si pasojë e këtij regjimi. (Liri e Shqipërisë, 1913: 2) Sipas politikanit socialdemokrat serb, Kosta Novakoviç, deri në fund të vitit 1913, ky regjim shfarosi më shumë se 120.000 shqiptarë të të gjitha moshave, si dhe shpërnguli me dhunë më tepër se 50.000 vetë në drejtim të Perandorisë Osmane dhe Shqipërisë. (Novakoviç, 1990: 305) Ndonëse shifrat mbi numrin e shqiptarëve të vrarë dhe të dëbuar vazhdojnë të jenë të papërcaktuara, sipas Raportit të Komisionit Ndërkombëtar të Hetimeve, të përgatitur nga Fondacioni Karnegi për Paqen Ndërkombëtare (1914), konstatohet:

“Shtëpi dhe fshatra të tëra ishin bërë hi e pluhur, shumë njerëz të pafajshëm e të paarmatosur ishin masakruar, akte të pabesueshme dhune, plaçkitje dhe brutalitet i çdo lloji - të tilla ishin mjetet që u përdorën dhe ende po përdoren nga ushtria serbo-malazeze, me qëllim të ndryshimit rrënjësor të strukturës etnike të rajoneve të banuara ekskluzivisht nga shqiptarët”. (Carnegie, 1914: 151)

Udhëheqësit e lëvizjes kombëtare nga Kosova, të cilët vepronin në shtetin shqiptar, nisën të ndërmerrnin masa organizimi për të shprehur pakënaqësitë e tyre përmes veprimeve të armatosura, ndërsa brenda territoreve të aneksuara, shqiptarët kryenin sulme e aksione klandestine, pikësypnim i të cilëve ishin përfaqësuesit ushtarakë, policorë e shtetërorë serbo-malazezë. (Cana, 1997: 300-307) Vetëm vrasja e një xhandari në Fshaj të Gjakovës, më 7 shtator 1913, e nxiti pushtetin serb që në shenjë hakmarrjeje të urdhëronte djegien e fshatit dhe të 32 banorëve në Ujz, masakrimin e popullsisë së fshatit Fshaj, si dhe djegien e fshatit Smaç. (AIHT, shtator 1913: 2) Në anën tjetër, vjelja arbitrare e taksave të prapambetura të periudhës osmane, madje edhe e atyre zyrtarisht të falura, si dhe taksat e reja të ngarkuara, sipas zëvendëskonsullit britanik në Shkup, Walter Divie Peckham:

“shqiptarëve u kishin ardhur në majë të hundës”. (Duka, 2012: 123)

Në këtë situatë të tensionuar e të padurueshme, organet më të larta ushtarake të Mbretërisë së Serbisë, duke qenë në dijeni për lëvizjet e shqiptarëve rreth Gjakovës e Prizrenit, urdhëruan komandat ushtarake të qarqeve dhe rretheve të Pazarit të Ri, Mitrovicës, Prizrenit, Prishtinës dhe Gjakovës, të vinin në funksion divizionet e tyre me qëllim të ruajtjes së kufirit, sigurisë dhe parandalimit të një kryengritjeje të mundshme të shqiptarëve të Kosovës. (ASHAK, 5 shtator 1913: 2)

Shqiptarët nga Kosova të përqendruar në Shqipëri nën drejtimin e Isa Boletinit, Bajram Currit, Riza Gjakovës, Mehmet Derrallës, Bajram Daklanit etj., po përgatiteshin për një sulm të armatosur kundër pushtetit serbo-malazez. Qëllimi i tyre ishte çlirimi i Kosovës e viseve të tjera të pushtuara e të aneksuara dhe bashkimi i tyre me Shqipërinë. Për të realizuar këtë qëllim, ata ishin bashkuar në shoqërinë “Shkipnia”. (Цамбазовски, 1983: 252; Duka, 2012: 242) Në gjysmën e dytë të shtatorit të vitit 1913 nisën sulmet e shqiptarëve ndaj forcave ushtarake serbe në zonën kufitare me krahinën e Lumës. (Цамбазовски, 1983: 262) Sipas informacioneve që kishte siguruar Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme e Mbretërisë së Serbisë, pretendohet se gjoja “invazioni shqiptar në territorin serb” (Marcovitch, 1921: 15) ishte përgatitur dhe orkestruar nga Qeveria e përkohshme e Vlorës prej një periudhe tremujore, nën dirigjimin e ministrit Hasan Prishtina e Isa Boletinit dhe nën agjitetimin e vazhdueshëm të Bajram Currit e Riza Gjakovës, të cilët përgjatë kësaj periudhe, edhe nën influencën austro-hungareze, kishin siguruar armë e municion të nevojshëm. Duke përdorur si pretekst kërkesën e tyre për të vizi-

tuar tregjet e Dibrës dhe të Gjakovës, shqiptarët kishin arritur të çanin kontrollin kufitar të ushtrisë, duke e orientuar sulmin e tyre në tre drejtime: në drejtim të Dibrës, të Ohrit dhe të Prizrenit. Për veprimet e shqiptarëve, qeveria serbe me shqetësim i kishte njoftuar edhe Fuqitë e Mëdha. Për të kundërvepruar ndaj kryengritjes së organizuar, ajo urdhëroi shtimin e forcave ushtarake në zonat e luftimeve. (Лыкач, 1981: 377-378) Në fakt, Qeveria e përkohshme e Vlorës, në krye me Ismail Qemalin, ishte e detyruar të mbante një qëndrim të përmbajtur dhe të mos përfshihej me anë të mekanizma-ve zyrtarë në radhët e kësaj kryengritjeje, sepse i druhej komprometimit nga Fuqitë e Mëdha. (Historia e Popullit Shqiptar, 2007: 431) Për shtypjen e kësaj kryengritjeje, Mbretëria e Serbisë kishte aktivizuar 20.000 - 50.000 ushtarë. (AIHT, 25 shtator 1913: 1; Perlindja e Shqipëniës, 1913: 6) Mirëpo, kjo kryengritje, edhe pse nuk kishte të njëjtin intensitet dhe nuk filloi njëkohësisht në të gjitha trevat (Murzaku, 1996: 125), shumë shpejt u shtri në thellësi të Kosovës deri në afërsi të Prishtinës, në zonën e Drenicës, në rrethinën e Mitrovicës (AIHT, 9 tetor 1913: 3), në Rrafshin e Dukagjinit (Duka, 2012: 117, 216-217) dhe gradualisht përfshiu gjithë territorin e saj. (Liri e Shqipërisë, 1913: 1) Kjo kryengritje përfshiu edhe Shkupin, Tetovën, Gostivarin, Kërçovën, Manastirin dhe rrethinat e tyre. (Xhemaili, 2008: 112; Destani & Elsie, 2018: 252-270) Alarmi dhe paniku që kaploi ushtrinë serbe ndikoi që të jepej urdhri për ngujimin në shtëpitë e tyre të banorëve të Prizrenit dhe rrethinës. Për rrjedhojë, në mungesë të ushqimit pati edhe vdekje të banorëve. (Duka, 2012: 333) Në anën tjetër, pas luftimeve të zhvilluara disa ditë në Junik, Rekë të Keqe, Malësi të Gjakovës, Bec dhe në Dushkajë, ushtria malazeze vrau 87 burra në Ponoshec të Gjakovës në shenjë hakmarrjeje për dy ushtarë të vrarë dhe një të plagosur. (Shqypnia e Re, 1913: 2) Ajo masakroi popullsinë, dogji e shkatërroi fshatrat shqiptare si: Maznik, Jabllanicë, Zhabel, Novosellë, Dushkajë, Strelc, Popoc etj. (AIHT, 27 shtator 1913: 1) Shtypi socialdemokrat serb në atë kohë raportonte nga vendi i ngjarjes për reprezaljet e ushtrisë serbe ndaj shqiptarëve. Një ushtar serb, përmes gazetës Radnicke novine, ndër të tjera konstatonte se kishte:

“...fshatra me njëqind, njëqind e pesëdhjetë, dyqind shtëpi ku nuk ka më as një burrë... Ne... i shpuam me bajonetat tona”. (Cana, 1986: 324; Swire, 2005: 152)

Kryengritja e shqiptarëve revoltoi aq shumë autoritetet ushtarake serbe, saqë tërë arsenalin luftarak e kishin vënë në përdorim kundër shqiptarëve, “për t’i shfarosur të gjithë”. (Duka, 2012: 123) Organet ushtarake, për të rritur shkallën e presionit, kër-

cënonin se do të burgosnin gratë e prijësve shqiptarë: Hasan Prishtinës, Isa Boletinit e Bajram Currit, por edhe udhëheqësve të tjerë, në rast se ata nuk dorëzoheshin ose nuk pranonin pushtetin dhe administrimin serbo-malazez me të gjithë komponentët e tij në Kosovë. (Duka, 2012: 123-124) Megjithëse kryengritja e organizuar nuk posedoi forcën e as numrin e konsiderueshëm të luftëtarëve për të sfiduar ushtrinë serbe, ajo njëkohësisht nuk pati as mbështetjen e faktorit ndërkombëtar, i cili shprehej se respektonte vendimet e Konferencës së Ambasadorëve në Londër. (Лукач, 1981: 408; Rizaj, 2005: 206) Qëndrimi i Fuqive të Mëdha, sidomos i Rusisë dhe i Francës, për pushtetin serb e malazez nënkuptonte legjitimitimin e ndëshkimit më të fortë dhe likuidimit fizik të çdo elementi a grupi të shqiptarëve që ndërmerre veprime kundër tyre.

Sprapsja e shqiptarëve nga ushtria serbe pas një javë luftimesh, i krijoi kushte të përshatshme Komandës së Lartë, për të përdorur masa represive ndaj shqiptarëve. (Atdheu, 1913: 3) Ushtria dhe grupet civile serbe vrisnin me ndjenja krenarie dhe pa kurrfarë procedure paraprake popullsinë shqiptare në Kosovë. Një ndër komitët serbë nga Çagllavica, afër Prishtinës, deklaronte dhe e pranonte me mburrje se në ngjarjet e fundit “kishte vrarë 100 shqiptarë”. (AIHT, 24 tetor 1913: 2) Në bazë të një raporti, nga një pjesëtar i një grupi komit serb, dërguar kryetarit të Parlamentit të Mbretërisë së Serbisë, Andre Nikoliq, më 30 nëntor 1913, në mes të tjerash, theksohej:

“Kudo ku ka kaluar ushtria jonë duhet dërguar tjetër popull, meqenëse ai popull dhe çdo gjë që i përkiste atij është zhdukur tërësisht”. (Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX, 2017: 452)

Rrjedhimisht, kjo kryengritje i shërbeu Mbretërisë së Serbisë si pretekst për ripushtimin e një pjese territoriale të shtetit shqiptar, me qëllim për të zgjeruar “kufirin strategjik”, duke filluar nga bjeshka e Bogës dhe Valbona në veri deri në kufirin grek në jug mbi liqenin e Ohrit. Kësisoj, në këtë zonë okupimi hynte pjesa më e madhe e Malësisë së Gjakovës, Hasi, Luma, Lura, Dibra, Çermenika, Malësia e Qukësit, Derveni, Mokra, Pogradeci dhe Starova. Ndërkaq, Mbretëria e Malit të Zi ripushtoi pjesën tjetër të Malësisë së Gjakovës deri te Fierza dhe Merturi. (Cana, 1998: 15, Rizaj, 2011: 435-446) Në këtë kontekst, Mbretëria e Serbisë, përmes rihapjes së problemit të “pikave strategjike”, dëshironte të ndryshonte kufirin shqiptaro-serb, të vendosur në Konferencën e Ambasadorëve në Londër.

Mirëpo, pavarësisht reprezaljeve, zona kufitare ndërmjet Prizrenit dhe Gjakovës ka-

rakterizohej nga grupe shqiptarësh, të cilët në çdo moment ishin të gatshëm të organizonin sulme ndaj forcave ushtarake serbe e malazeze ose të demonstrosnin lidhur me kërkesat e tyre drejtuar Komisionit të Caktimit të Kufirit Verior të Shqipërisë, për të shtyrë vijën kufitare sa më thellë në viset perëndimore të Kosovës. (Duka, 2012: 254-257) Ndërkohë, në fund të vitit 1913 dhe në fillim të vitit 1914, në zonën malazeze nisën bastisjet e keqtrajtimet ndaj familjeve të patriotëve shqiptarë, që kishin marrë pjesë në kryengritjen e vitit 1913. Një pjesë e këtyre familjeve dëbohej nga shtëpitë e tyre jashtë kufijve të administrimit malazez. (Bicaj, 2003: 202) Duke vlerësuar peshën e lëvizjeve refraktare të shqiptarëve në orbitën e faktorit ndërkombëtar, më 21 nëntor 1913, Mbreti Nikolla I Petroviq, përmes një proklamate drejtuar shtetasve malazezë në viset e pushtuara, ndër të tjera premtonte kujdesin dhe sigurinë personale dhe pronësore, gjykata efektive e nivel modern të arsimit, si dhe zhvillim të hovshëm ekonomik. Po ashtu, ai shprehej se Mbretëria e tij do të respektonte lirinë e mendimit dhe të besimit për myslimanët dhe katolikët, të cilët ishin nën mbrojtjen shtetërore të Malit të Zi. (Глас Црногорца, 1913: 1-2) Mirëpo, në ditët vijuese u dëshmuua se proklamata e Mbretit malazez ishte një premtim i rremë.

Kryengritja e vitit 1914 dhe reprezaljet serbo-malazeze kundrejt shqiptarëve

Edhe pas Kryengritjes së shtatorit të vitit 1913, shqiptarët nuk mund të qëndronin të ndarë dhe nën presionin e një dhune konstante e diktature ushtarake të vendosur nga organet e pushtetit serb e malazez në Kosovë, prandaj, si brenda, ashtu edhe jashtë saj, po planifikonin që në pranverë të vitit 1914 të organizonin një revoltë të re. (AIHT, 17 janar 1914: 1) Në këtë kontekst, zbarkimi i Princ Vidit në Shqipëri, më 7 mars 1914, për stabilizimin dhe konsolidimin politik e shtetëror të saj (Milo, 2013: 190), ndikoi në inkurajimin e patriotëve të Kosovës në Durrës, të cilët ishin bashkuar në Shoqërinë “Besa Shqiptare”, e formuar në këtë qytet, më 18 mars 1914. (AIHT, 25 prill 1914: 1) Ata shprehonin se Princ Vidi do të mbështeste programin e saj për çlirimin e trevave të Kosovës dhe të viseve të tjera shqiptare. (AIHT, 25 prill 1914: 1; Политика, 1914: 1) Mirëpo, ai, duke u përballur me një situatë të rëndë politike në Shqipëri, mbante një qëndrim të kujdesshëm karshi kërkesave të shqiptarëve të Kosovës, për të organizuar një sulm të armatosur kundër Mbretërisë së Serbisë e asaj të Malit të Zi dhe për të çliruar Kosovën. (Shala, 1988: 279) Misioni i Princ Vidit ishte konsolidimi shtetëror i Shqipërisë

dhe ruajtja e asnjësisë së saj, karshi ngjarjeve në rajon. (Swire, 2005: 191) Ndërkohë, në Mbretërinë e Serbisë dhe atë të Malit të Zi, nisi një fushatë komprometuese kundër Princ Vedit, me qëllim mjegullimin dhe diskreditimin e menjëhershëm të rolit të tij karshi ambicieve kombëtare të popullsisë shqiptare në Kosovë. (Duka, 2012: 314-315) Pretendimet shtetërore dhe të organeve të shtypit për të dezinformuar shqiptarët, në radhë të parë i shërbenin interesave të politikës serbo-malazeze në Kosovë, të cilën synonin ta mbanin të shtypur, të nënshtruar dhe të kontrolluar në çdo sferë të jetës.

Shqiptarët, të organizuar në grupe të vogla klandestine, të cilat vepronin brenda e jashtë viseve të Kosovës, vazhduan të shfaqnin revoltën e tyre përmes aksioneve të armatosura guerile kundër xhandarmërisë dhe përfaqësuesve të pushtetit administrativ. Në fillim të vitit 1914, të tilla veprime kishin marrë përmasa të gjera, saqë nisën të alarmonin qeverinë në Beograd, se situata e sigurisë në rajonet e Kosovës ishte e brishtë dhe duhej të ndërmerreshin hapa frenues, për të mbajtur shqiptarët nën kontroll. Në këtë kontekst, zona kufitare me Shqipërinë vazhdonte t'u sillte probleme serioze autoriteteve ushtarake serbo-malazeze në Kosovë. (AIHT, 30 prill 1914: 2; Политика, 1914: 2) Në anën tjetër, për të shtuar terrorin e dhunën ndaj shqiptarëve (Политика, 1914: 1), qeveria në Beograd organizonte dhe sillte në vise të Kosovës elementë kriminelë-kolonizatorë, të cilët, në momentin që bashkoheshin me grupet e çetave komite serbe, të drejtuara nga kryetari i komitetit të rekrutimit Bogdan Radenkoviç dhe anëtarët Risto Egnenoviç, Griso Elezoviç dhe gazetari David Dimitrijeviç, shtonin edhe më nivelin e krimeve ndaj shqiptarëve. (AIHT, 19 mars 1914: 4; Durham, 2000: 270)

Organet ushtarake dhe policore kryenin vazhdimisht aksione kontrolli nëpër shtëpitë e shqiptarëve me qëllim zbulimin e grupeve kryengritëse, që gjenin strehim në popull dhe familje të caktuara. (AIHT, 16 janar 1914: 1; Taraboshi, 1914: 2) Sipas një raporti të konsullit të përgjithshëm austro-hungarez në Shkup, Heinrich Jehlitschka, më 31 mars 1914, i cili bazohej në informata të besueshme, ndër të tjera, thuhej:

“...Shqiptarët nxirren natën nga shtëpitë, çohen në fushat, ku gjinden varreza të përgatitura më përpara, theren atje me thika në qetësi të plotë dhe futen në gropë. Grave, që kërkojnë të vrrarët u thuhet vetëm se burrat ose djemtë e tyre janë dërguar në Beograd”. (AIHT, 31 mars 1914: 2)

Këto veprime shkatërruese serbo-malazeze ndaj shqiptarëve, përmes një raporti, i konstatonte edhe Komisioni Hetimor Ndërkombëtar i vitit 1914. (E vërteta mbi Ko-

sovën dhe shqiptarët në Jugosllavi, 1990: 311-312) Në rrethana të tilla të papërbalueshme, gjendja e përgjithshme e shqiptarëve rëndohej edhe më, duke i detyruar ata të organizonin veprime të armatosura kundër arbitraritetit e dhunës serbo-malazeze. Shoqëria “Besa Shqiptare”, përmes korrierëve të përgatitur enkas, agjitonte e fuste letra propagandistike në lokalitete të caktuara në Kosovë, me anë të të cilave ftonte shqiptarët të mos braktisnin vatrat e tyre, të grumbullonin sasi të mjaftueshme mielli dhe të mos shisnin bagëti të trasha. Ky mesazh nënkuptonte fillimin e një revolte të re në Kosovë (AIHT, 31 mars 1914: 1; Avdiu, 2018: 186), e cila kishte për qëllim përfundimtar çlirimin e viseve shqiptare nga pushtimi e administrimi i dhunshëm serbo-malazez dhe bashkimin e tyre me Shqipërinë. (Дедијер & Антић, 1980: 630)

Qendër fillese e kësaj kryengritjeje ishte fshati Banjë i Malishevës. Në terrenin malor të këtij fshati, përkatësisht në zonën e mikrotoponimit “Llazi i Madh”, ku morën pjesë rreth 600 anëtarë të lëvizjes kombëtare nën drejtimin e prijësve të shumtë, përgjatë dy ditëve, zhvilloi punimet një kuvend në të cilin u hartua plani, qëllimi dhe rëndësia e veprimeve të armatosura. (Rushiti, 1986: 165) Kështu, kryengritja shpërtheu në dhjetëditëshin e fundit të muajit mars të vitit 1914. Drejtues të saj ishin: Idriz Seferi, Hasan Hysen Budakova, mulla Rifat Haxhihasani, prifti Nikollë Gllasniqi, Musa Efendi Prizreni, Sadri Abaz Bytyçi nga Kërvasaria, Lush Bajraktari nga Astrazubi, Hasan Keçë Beu nga Vushtrria, vëllezërit Fetah e Asllan Laci nga Drenoci e shumë krerë të tjerë. Ata drejtonin rreth 3.000 shqiptarë në një hapësirë që përfshinte Drenicën, Karadakun, Prishtinën, Rrafshin e Kosovës, Rrafshin e Dukagjinit, Vushtrrinë, Janjevën, Mitrovicën, Pazarin e Ri, Senicën, Hasin, Prizrenin, Lumën e Krasniqen. (ASHAK, 14 qershor 1914: 1; Дедијер & Антић, 1980: 631; Historia e Popullit Shqiptar, 2007: 434; Shala, 2012: 294) Për të përligjur veprimet ushtarake kundër shqiptarëve, shtypi serb alarmonte opinionin në mënyrë të dezinformuar se në Kosovë ishin aktiv rreth 10.000 shqiptarë të armatosur mirë e të pajisur me mitralozë. (Политика, 1914: 2) Preteksti kryesor, që nxiti ushtrinë dhe xhandarmërinë serbe të reagonte me forcat e rregullta ushtarake, dhe një pjesë të rezervistëve të saj, kundër shqiptarëve, ishte plagosja dhe arrestimi i kryetarit të rrethit të Podgorës (Suharekë), Kosta Rakiq, pas përleshjeve të armatosura në fshatin Kërvasaria, gjatë rrethimit të shtëpisë së Sadri Abaz Bytyçit. Me këtë rast shqiptarët zunë rob edhe disa xhandarë, të cilët më pas i dërguan në ndërtesën e komunës së fshatit Banjë dhe aty i mbajtën peng, por nuk i keqtrajtuuan. Mirëpo, pas intervenimit të ushtrisë, shqiptarët u sprapsën nga Banja dhe zhvilluan luftime nëpër

fshatrat përreth. Me këtë rast, u lirua kryetari i rrethit të Podgorës dhe xhandarët. (AIHT, 11 prill 1914: 2; Политика, 1914: 1)

Gjatë luftimeve, ato shtëpi prej të cilave shqiptarët qëllonin kundër trupave të ushtrisë, bombardoheshin dhe u vihej zjarri. Kryetari i qarkut të Prizrenit, Gjorgje Matiq, i bënte fajtorë shqiptarët e armatosur dhe familjet që i mbështesnin ata. Ai, për të justifikuar operacionet e fuqishme të ushtrisë serbe, i konsideronte shqiptarët “mendjemëdhenj” dhe popullsinë shqiptare “të mashtruar”. (AIHT, 6 prill 1914: 1) Sipas qarqeve diplomatike britanike në Beograd, organet ushtarake në Kosovë kishin ndërmarrë masa të jashtëzakonshme për të shtypur me të gjitha forcat revoltën e shqiptarëve dhe, për t'i frikësuar ata, kryenin masakra në zonat e trazuara. (Duka, 2012: 305) Vetëm në bajrakun (krahinën) e Astrazubit, nga 1.380 shtëpi, u dogjën mbi 90% (1.029 shtëpi) e tyre, u vranë dhe u masakruan rreth 300 shqiptarë. Ndër të vrarët kishte gra e fëmijë. Nuk munguan raste si në fshatin Banjë, ku të plagosurit ishin varrosur të gjallë. Në shumicën e zonave të revoltuara u përdhunuara gra dhe vajza nga ushtarët dhe grupet e armatosura serbo-malazeze. Si pasojë e kundërveprimit të ashpër të ushtrisë, disproporcionit të forcave luftarake dhe numerike, shumica e shqiptarëve të armatosur, të ndjekur nga trupat ushtarake serbo-malazezë, të shpartalluar, kishin ikur në Shqipëri. (AIHT, 6 & 11 prill 1914: 2; Braha, 1992: 211) Sipas të dhënave jo të plota, edhe ushtria serbe pati humbje të ndjeshme, ku u vranë dhjetëra xhandarë e ushtarë dhe shumë prej tyre u plagosën. (AIHT, 11 prill 1914: 3)

Përfundimi

Kryengritjet shqiptare kundër sundimit serbo-malazez në Kosovë gjatë viteve 1913-1914, bënë jehonë si brenda, ashtu edhe jashtë Kosovës, duke provuar edhe njëherë para Fuqive të Mëdha se shqiptarët nuk do të pranonin mbi supet e tyre të rëndonte vazhdimisht një sundim i dhunshëm me qëllim asgjësimin e tyre fizik, kulturor dhe kombëtar. Ato dëshmuuan se kishin karakter çlirimtar dhe u paraqitën si alternativë e kohës për lirinë e Kosovës dhe bashkimin e saj me Shqipërinë. Në ndërkohë, autoritetet e pushtetit ushtarak dhe administrativ serbo-malazez në Kosovë, paralizimin e përkohshëm të veprimeve të armatosura të shqiptarëve e përdorën si shkas për të kryer reprezalje të skajshme e rrjedhimisht t'ua humbnin shpresat shqiptarëve për të ardhmen e tyre në Kosovë. Ky ishte synimi përfundimtar i qarqeve shtetërore të Mbretërisë së Serbisë dhe Mbretërisë së Malit të Zi, që në Kosovë të ndryshonin rrënjësisht demografinë

e shqiptarëve, duke zbatuar politika asimilimi, kolonizimi e spastrimi etnik. Mirëpo, fillimi i Luftës së Parë Botërore pengoi përkohësisht realizimin e tyre.

Extended Abstract

The Albanian Uprisings in Kosovo as an Alternative for Liberation from Serbo-Montenegrin Rule (1913-1914)

Fitim Rifati

The Serbian-Montenegrin occupation of Kosovo between October and November 1912 created new circumstances for the Albanian population. The Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro, in spite of proclaiming that Albanians in Kosovo would be guaranteed their rights and property, did not implement the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors to respect the rights of minorities. (Војновић, 1984: 631) These regimes implemented a policy of hegemony and destruction toward Albanians, burned their villages, massacred the inhabitants, looted their property and stole their assets. In their platform for Kosovo and the Albanians, the principle of political axis was strictly applied: "Serbization at any cost". (AIHT, 29 September 1913: 2; Verli, 1998: 21-29) In this context, the aim of Serbo-Montenegrin politics in Kosovo was the political, economic, social and cultural-educational oppression of Albanians, their expulsion from their homeland, Kosovo, and the bringing of the Serbo-Montenegrin settlers, in order to implement this platform. These intentions were contrary to the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors in London and those of the Ottoman-Serbian Agreement. (Perlindja, 1913: 2; Duka, 2012: 124; Политика, 1914: 2)

Furthermore, at this time, in parallel with the men, the condition of the women under the new occupation deteriorated tremendously. The Albanian woman was especially target of physical and psychological abuse. She was exposed to constant dangers (torture, murder, sexual violence, forced marriage and religious conversion) and often unprotected from Serbo-Montenegrin military, police and state actions and operations against Albanian homes and families. Under Serbian-Montenegrin occupation, she was denied all social and cultural rights. (Berisha, 2004: 66-71; Populli, 1915: 4) The Serbo-Montenegrin authorities in Kosovo refused to respect the cultural tradition and clothing of Albanian women. In this context, the ceremonial acts of marriages, coronations and family celebrations, in which Albanian women celebrated special moments in their lives, were also target of abuse. The Albanian woman was seriously endangered during military and police control actions against houses and families suspected of subversive activities against the Serbo-Montenegrin regime. In the absence of men, unprotected and under pressure, women were threatened, insulted and forcibly robbed. Such cases were frequently reported in Kosovo. Catholic spiritual representatives (nuns) were also targeted by the Serbo-Montenegrin administration. The nuns of the Catholic Monastery in Prizren, whenever they went outside the monastery walls, were provoked and attacked by Serbian soldiers. In order to hinder their mission, the Serbian government also questioned their religious service. Albanian women, like men, also faced the process of religious conversion, which was led by state bodies and Serbo-Montenegrin Orthodox churches. (AIHT, 16 January 1914: 2; Војновић, 1984: 366)

The actions of the Serbian and Montenegrin armies, with the aim of looting, raiding, torturing, converting and killing Albanians, had become almost daily. The Serbian elements that were living in Kosovo either led the Serbian army in such operations or took part in them. In the circumstances of an occupation and military regime, the social, economic and cultural position of Albanians was absolutely oppressive and discriminatory in every aspect of life. (Taraboshi, 1914: 2)

Albanians, due to divergences and political, economic, social and cultural-educational oppression, seeing no perspective within the arbitrary and violent Serbo-Montenegrin government, were faced with three options for their future: 1. Organizing an uprising, as a last chance for freedom from systematic violence or eventually be sacrificed for their homelands; 2. Emigration as an opportunity to escape from a difficult situation in the hope of a safer life; 3. Assimilation or Slavization, which meant the acceptance

of the Serbo-Montenegrin occupation and administration in all its political, economic, social and cultural-educational dimensions.

From the beginning, the Albanians in Kosovo did not accept the Serbian and Montenegrin occupation and did not agree with the decisions of the Conference of Ambassadors in London for the annexation of their territories to the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro. Albanian leaders, through a memorandum sent from Kosovo, urged the foreign ministers of the six Great Powers (Great Britain, Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France and Italy) to review London's decisions and to improve national injustices against Albanians. They complained about the violence and atrocities that they were experiencing as a result of Serbo-Montenegrin rule. According to Serbian Social Democrat politician Kosta Novakovic, from October 1912 to the end of 1913, the Serbo-Montenegrin regime exterminated more than 120,000 Albanians of all ages, and forcibly expelled more than 50,000 Albanians to the Ottoman Empire and Albania. (Novakovic, 1990: 305; Verli, 2004: 163)

The leaders of the national movement in Kosovo, who operated in Albania, began to take organizational measures to express their dissatisfaction through armed actions. While within the annexed territories, the Albanians carried out clandestine attacks and actions, the target of which were the Serbo-Montenegrin military, police and state representatives. (Cana, 1997: 300-307) Kosovo Albanians that were concentrated in Albania under the leadership of Isa Boletini, Bajram Curri, Riza Gjakova, Mehmet Deralla, Bajram Daklani, etc., were preparing for an armed attack against the Serbo-Montenegrin government. Their intention was the liberation of Kosovo and other occupied and annexed territories and their unification with Albania. (Џамбазовски, 1983: 252; Duka, 2012: 242) In the second half of September 1913, began the Albanian attacks against the Serbian military forces in the borderline region with the province of Luma. (Џамбазовски, 1983: 262) The Albanians were able to break through the army's border control and oriented their attack in three directions: in the direction of Debar, Ohrid and Prizren. (Јукач, 1981: 377-378) This uprising, although not of the same intensity and not simultaneous in all areas, spread out to almost the entire territory of Kosovo. The Albanian uprising angered Serbian military authorities to a point that the whole fighting arsenal had been put to use against Albanians in order "to destroy all of them". A Serbian soldier through newspaper Radnicke novine, among other things ascertained that there were "...villages with a hundred, a hundred and fifty, two hundred houses

where there was no man anymore... We... killed and massacred them with our bayonets". (Swire, 2005: 152; Duka, 2012: 123)

The deterrence of the Albanians by the Serbian army after a week of fighting created suitable conditions for the High Command to use repressive measures against the Albanians. The Serbian army and the civilian groups killed the Albanian population in Kosovo, feeling proud about it and without any prior procedure. One of the Serbs in an armed group from Çagllavica, near Prishtina, declared and boasted that in recent events "he had killed 100 Albanians". (AIHT, 24 October 1913: 2) In a report sent to the Chairman of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Serbia, Andre Nikolic, on November 30, 1913 by a member of a Serbian armed group, among other things the author of the report declared: "Wherever our army has passed, other people must be sent, because the people and everything that belonged to it has completely disappeared". (Historia e shqiptarëve gjatë shekullit XX, 2017: 452) Consequently, this Albanian uprising served to the Kingdom of Serbia as a pretext for the reconquest of a territorial part of Albania, in order to expand the "strategic border", set at the Conference of Ambassadors in London. To suppress this uprising, the Kingdom of Serbia activated 20,000 - 50,000 soldiers. (AIHT, 25 September 1913: 1; Perlindja, 1913: 6)

However, the Albanians could not remain separated and under the pressure of constant violence and military dictatorship imposed by the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities in Kosovo. Therefore, both inside and outside of Kosovo, they were planning to organize another revolt in the spring of 1914. (AIHT, 17 January 1914: 1) Organized in small clandestine groups, they continued to show their revolt through armed guerrilla actions against the gendarmerie and representatives of the administrative power. At the beginning of 1914, such actions had become so widespread that they began to alert the government in Belgrade that the security situation in the regions of Kosovo was fragile and that restraining steps had to be taken to keep the Albanians under control. (AIHT, 30 April 1914: 2; Политика, 1914: 2)

In order to increase the terror and violence against Albanians, the Serbian government in Belgrade organized and brought criminal colonizing elements to the territory of Kosovo, who by joining the Serbian armed groups, led by the chairman of the recruitment committee, Bogdan Radenkovic and members Risto Egnenovic, Griso Elezovic and the journalist David Dimitrijevic, further increased the level of crimes against

Albanians. (АИHT, 19 March 1914: 4; Политика, 1914: 1) According to a report by the Austro-Hungarian Consul General in Skopje, Heinrich Jehtlitschka, on March 31, 1914, which was based on reliable information, among other things it was stated that: "... Albanians are taken out of their houses at night, sent to fields where prepared cemeteries are found, slaughtered there with knives in complete silence and put in the pit. Women who seek the slain are only told that their husbands or sons have been sent to Belgrade". (АИHT, 31 March 1914: 2) These destructive Serbo-Montenegrin actions against Albanians, through a report, were also ascertained by the International Commission of Inquiry of 1914. (E vërteta mbi Kosovën dhe shqiptarët në Jugosllavi, 1990: 311-312)

In such unbearable circumstances, the general situation of Albanians worsened, forcing them to organize armed actions against the arbitrariness of the Serbo-Montenegrin violence. The initial center of this uprising was the village of Banja in Malisheva. The uprising broke out in the last ten days of March 1914. Its leaders were: Idriz Seferi, Hasan Hysen Budakova, mullah Rifat Haxhihasani, priest Nikollë Gllasniqi, Musa Efendi Prizreni, Sadri Abaz Bytyçi from Kërvasaria, Lush Bajraktari from Astrazub, Hasan Keçë Bej from Vushtrri, brothers Fetah and Asllan Laci from Drenoc and many others. They led about 3,000 Albanians in an area that included Drenica, Karadak, Prishtina, Fushë Kosovë, Fusha e Dukagjinit, Vushtrri, Janjeva, Mitrovica, Pazari i Ri, Senica, Has, Prizren, Luma and Krasniqe. (ASHAK, 14 June 1914: 1; Дедијер & Антић, 1980: 631; Historia e Popullit Shqiptar, 2007: 434)

During the fighting, the houses from which Albanians fired at army troops were bombed and set on fire. The mayor of Prizren, Djordje Matich, blamed the armed Albanians and the families who supported them. In order to justify the operations of the Serbian army, he considered the Albanians "arrogant" and the Albanian population "deceived". (АИHT, 6 April 1914: 1) According to British diplomatic circles in Belgrade, the military authorities in Kosovo had taken extraordinary measures to suppress the revolt of Albanians with all their might and carried out massacres in the troubled areas to intimidate them. (Duka, 2012: 305) Only in the Bajrak province of Astrazub, out of 1,380 houses, over 90% of them (1,029 houses) were burnt down and about 300 Albanians were killed and massacred. Among those killed were women and children. There were cases such as in the village of Banja, where the injured were buried alive. As a result of the army's fierce response, the disproportion of combat and numerical forces, most of the armed Albanians pursued by the Serbo-Montenegrin military troops, fled to Alba-

nia after being defeated. (AIHT, 6 & 11 April 1914: 2; Braha, 1992: 211)

The Albanian uprisings against the Serbo-Montenegrin rule in Kosovo during the years 1913-1914, echoed both inside and outside Kosovo, proving once again to the Great Powers that the Albanians would not accept the constant weight on their shoulders of a violent regime that aimed their physical, cultural and national annihilation.

They proved to have a freedom-loving character and were presented as an alternative of the time for the freedom of Kosovo and its unification with Albania. Meanwhile, the Serbo-Montenegrin military and administrative authorities in Kosovo used the temporary paralysis of the armed actions of the Albanians as a reason to carry out extreme reprisals and consequently to cause the Albanians to lose hope for their future in Kosovo. This was the ultimate goal of the state circles of the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro, to radically change the demographics of Albanians in Kosovo by implementing policies of assimilation, colonization and ethnic cleansing.

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Migrations in Balkans: Historical Perspective

Shener Bilali

Abstract: Migration is a constant process immanent to humans from the beginning of humanity until today. In some regions such as the Balkans, this process was particularly intense, with its own specifics and characteristics. This peninsula is a crossroads of civilizations with different ideological, socio-cultural, religious practices. It helped here to be developed a spirit of cooperation in all spheres of social life: political, economic, and cultural. But the interests of the great powers to dominate this strategic region occasionally led to conflicts, which resulted in forced migration of the population. The purpose of this paper will be to analyze exactly the process of migration, both forced (political) and voluntary (economic) that are characteristic of modern society. In the analysis of this topic we will use a historical approach, and the subject of our observation will be the period between the 17th and the beginning of the 21st century. Our analysis will cover a longer time interval because it will allow us to identify clear patterns of behavior of collective political actors - states as well as individuals.

Keywords: Immigrations, Balkans, Civilizations, Religion, History.



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© Association of Education and Thought Fettah Efendi
DOI: <http://doi.org/10.51331/A006>
Journal of Balkan Studies, 2021
balkanjournal.org



Received: 13.10.2020
Revision: 03.11.2020
Accepted: 01.12.2020

Introduction

Migration is a phenomenon of humanity since the beginning of civilizations. Through history migrations were reality of Balkan region as well. Therefore, it could be said that migration is a natural process that follows the historical development of the Balkans. According to the United Nations, migration is a movement of the population regardless of the reasons that motivated it. The term migrants include refugees, displaced persons and economic migrants (International Organization for Migration 2004: 14). Migrations are one of the most important demographic categories that are determined by the two dimensions of space and time (Poulain, Perrin 2001). The space refers to the place where the migrant leaves, as well as to the place where he / she moves. While time refers to the length at which a particular migrant remains to live in a particular area. The right to migration is regulated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations in 1948. The second article of this declaration aims to ensure that every person has the right to leave any country, including his or her homeland. Depending on the cause, migration can be political or economic. Political migrations indicate that politics as a regulation of relations between large social groups in a given area is dysfunctional and results in military conflicts, whether on an ethnic basis (as is often the case) or on an ideological basis (as was the case with civil war in Greece). Military conflicts by degeneration cause mass migrations to the regions where they occur. The population migrated during military conflicts because they felt insecure and exposed to military dangers. Military conflicts often cause migrations after their end, as a result of the population adjusting to the realities that have arisen with the outcome of military conflicts. Economic migration paths occur as a result of disparities in economic development and living standards in individual countries. The direction of migration is from the economically weaker to the more economically developed countries. The difference between political and economic migrations is that the former are forced, while the latter are voluntary. There is an element of coercion in forced migration, including the threat to the lives of those migrating. The group of forced migrations includes refugees and displaced persons (International Organization for Migration 2004: 25). Voluntary migration, on the other hand, occurs on the basis of individual decisions by individuals that aim to improve their own standard of living, upgrade their profession, or provide prosperity for their family. Significant political migrations occurred after

the central political force in the Balkans, the Ottoman Empire, reached its zenith and began to show weaknesses. Following the historical development of the Balkans as a place where different civilizations touch, since 1800 it can be noticed with greater influence of the Slavic and German civilizations. Here, one can note the role of Russia, which assumes the role of protector of the Slavs living in the Balkans. After a long period of serious Russian influence, the United States and the European Union have recently shown their ambitions to regulate the political situation in the Balkans.

Military conflicts and migrations between the 17th and 19th centuries

The first serious migrations to the Balkans began after the war between the Ottoman Empire and Austria between 1683 and 1699, especially after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire at Vienna in 1683. After this defeat, the Muslims who settled in the border areas of the Empire began to gradually withdraw to its central parts. During this period the city that received the most migrants was Edirne. Immediately after him, Skopje was among the cities where most migrants settled. In 1774, after the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarja, about 500,000 inhabitants migrated to the territory between Anatolia and the Balkans (Halacoğlu, 1988: 3). As a result of one of the major defeats of the Ottoman Empire after the Ottoman-Russian War, 1877-78 many citizens of the Ottoman Empire were forced to migrate. There are various statistics on the number of migrants, but it mainly ranges between 1,230,000 and 1,253,500 people who have changed their place of residence (McCarthy, 1998: 174). The Ottoman-Russian war ended with the Berlin Peace Treaty. As a result of this agreement, Bosnia and Herzegovina was occupied by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Dissatisfied with their situation, 120,000 Bosniaks (Muslims) migrated to the interior of the Ottoman Empire.

The Balkan wars and migration

An important factor for migration in the early 20th century was the Balkan wars. They had their background in the ambitions of Russia and other European powers to have their influence and control over certain territories / states in the Balkans. The prehistory of the Balkan wars begins with the Serbian uprising of 1876, and in 1877-78 the Ottoman-Russian war took place. At this moment Russia openly sided with the Orthodox Slavs in the Balkans. An important factor in the Balkan wars was the Macedonian

question. After the failure to separate Macedonian territory from the Ottoman Empire by supporting an uprising, the strategy of the Balkan states, supported by Russia and other European empires, was through direct conflict between the Ottoman Empire and an alliance of Balkan states to separate Macedonian territory from the Empire. At the same time, some European centers of power, such as Austria-Hungary, supported the Albanians in seeking independence from the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the defined policy of forming an alliance of Balkan states to separate the territory of Macedonia from the Ottoman Empire by military means, the Balkan states began to conclude mutual agreements. Thus, on March 12, 1912, an agreement between Serbia and Bulgaria was signed, on May 29, 1912 was signed an agreement between Greece and Bulgaria, and a later was signed an agreement between Bulgaria and Montenegro (Sojlemzoğlu, 1949: 288). These agreements paved the way for the first and second Balkan wars. The results of these wars were catastrophic. The territorial form of all the states involved was significantly changed, the Ottoman Empire abandoned the last significant territory in the Balkans that was part of it, many civilians were terrorized, especially Muslims, and there was room for Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian nationalism to grow. All these events led to a new wave of migrants. Many people had no choice but to migrate to the territory of the Ottoman Empire. The personal destinies of these people were tragic. Migrations have brought challenges in many respects economic, religious, and cultural. To better illustrate the challenges of this time period, we point to remarks made by foreign observers of the Balkan wars. One of the French journalists who were dealing with the immigrants during and after the Balkan Wars was Stephan Lauzanne (1990: 47-48). The desperation of migrants is best illustrated by the following testimonies of Lauzanne:

I had the chance to see the first immigrant group 20 km near to the Istanbul. After this group I was witness to the other immigrant groups who were coming to Istanbul. There were some pours, old men's, women's, children are who were approaching to our side, and they with total silence and panic were escaping from non seen power that was chasing them..... You can see the fear, confusion and emptiness upon them (Lauzanne 1990: 37-48)

Lauzanne's testimony indicates that the migrant situation in Istanbul in 1912 was shocking. He goes on to describe the situation in the following words:

Most of the immigrants were coming by the trains, the roads were full by immigrants. You can see that Istanbul was occupied by the Immigrants and they were settling in one location. After short period the streets of Istanbul were block by immigrants. There was a big line of immigrants who came in Istanbul with their arrow cars. In each car upon the hay stack there were women and children's. All of them were presents who escape from the war and they were sleeping in the beg yards of mosques and centers..... That was the picture of military defeat that made them to immigrate.

During the Balkan Wars, a significant portion of the Muslim population retreated with the Ottoman army, first to Istanbul and then to Anatolia. A significant number of them lost their lives along the way. Much of the retreating population was captured by local paramilitary formations and executed. Those who somehow managed to reach Istanbul, Thessaloniki and Kavala struggled with other types of problems such as cold, lack of shelter, lack of food, health problems, etc. Those who fled to Edirne, Janiene, Schoeder had an even more serious problem because they were surrounded by the armies of the Balkan states. To understand better the dimensions of migration from the Balkan wars we will use relevant statistics. Before the Balkan Wars, the number of Muslims in the Balkans that were part of the Ottoman Empire was 2,315,293. After the Balkan Wars, the number of Muslims in the same territory decreased to 870,114. There is a difference of 1,445,179 people who migrated. Calculated as a percentage, it is approximately 60% of the Muslim population that migrated during the Balkan wars (McCarthy, 1998: 184-192). Of the total number of migrants from Rumelia (Balkans) to Turkey (1,445,179), according to Justin McCarthy, about 27% settled in Anatolia. Many Muslims migrated during the Balkan wars, but Icdygy, Sert (2006: 88) indicate that after the Balkan wars about 440,000 Turks migrated from Thrace and Macedonia to Turkey.

There are various and many statistical sources related to immigration from the Balkans to Anatolia during and after the Balkan Wars, starting from 1912 to 1926. It can be said that in addition to Muslims, non-Muslims migrated to Anatolia during this time interval. In that period there was a population exchange based on Turkey's interstate agreements with Bulgaria and Greece. Based on these agreements, many people who felt loyal to the Ottoman state, who were originally Bulgarians and Greeks, also moved to Turkey. They saw no future for themselves and their families in the emerging nationalist Balkan states. A characteristic of the newly formed Balkan states in this period of

time was a strong nationalism that was stimulated in order to build a sense of statehood, which went very hard after 400 years of living under the umbrella and under the protection of the Ottoman state. Nationalism in the newborn countries was stimulated to suppress the positive feelings towards the Ottoman state that prevailed among a significant part of the population. As a result of these nationalist concepts, the Muslim population was marginalized, segregated, and difficult to integrate into the emerging nationalist states. Hence, population exchange agreements began to be concluded. The first such agreement was signed between the Ottoman state and Bulgaria. Between December 2-15, 1913, a joint commission was formed with 6 members from the Turkish side and 9 members from the Bulgarian side. The commission aimed to delimit the population within 10 kilometers of the border between the Ottoman state and Bulgaria. This commission decided 46,764 Bulgarians to migrate from Turkey to Bulgaria, and 48,570 Muslims to migrate from Bulgaria to Turkey (Ağanoğlu, 2011). The second attempt at population exchange was between the Ottoman state and Greece. The first attempt at population exchange was made in 1914, but due to the beginning of the First World War this attempt was stopped and postponed for some time.

According to the Carnegie Commission, immediately after the Second Balkan War, 50,000 people from Aegean Macedonia migrated to Bulgaria, and in the first three decades of the 20th century, 100,000 people from Greece migrated to Bulgaria (Cheprezanov, 2008:221). Pejov (1968: 96) states that in November 1919 alone, about 100,000 people from Greece, mostly from Aegean Macedonia, migrated to Bulgaria.

Migrations between the two world wars

In the period between the Balkan Wars and the First World War, population migration also took place in the Balkans. These migrations were not organized by the states, but rather by the preference of the population to live in a country dominated by their ethnic group. Statistics show that in 1926, 626,954 people migrated from Anatolia, while from the eastern Black Sea migrated

182,635 inhabitants. The total number of people who migrated to Greece during this period is 1,104,216 (McCarthy, 1998: 336). Based on the protocols signed by Turkish and Greek representatives in the settlement commissions, on January 30, 1930, the total number of Greeks who migrated was 186,189 (Eren, 1993: 358). These migrations had their socio-economic, political and cultural dimensions. They changed the demog-

raphic picture and political realities of the Balkans. Migrants were usually faced with the problem of adapting to a new environment, learning new rules of conduct, new living standards, and so on. States on the one hand insisted that migrants accept existing standards, while migrants insisted on maintaining old practices. Also, during the migrations themselves, a number of practical problems arose, such as the registration of migrants from migrant centers in certain cities such as Edirne. Additional logistical problems arose as to the migrants to be redistributed from one migrant center to another and above all to end up in their final destination from where they will continue their daily life.

According to Akgündüz (2008: 9) the number of people who migrated from the Balkans to Turkey from the 18th century until 1923 when the modern Turkish state was created is not less than 5 million. In addition to the majority of the Turkish population, this number includes Cherkezi, Albanians, Bosniaks and other smaller ethnic groups. The issue of immigrants from the Balkans to Turkey will continue after establishment of the Republic of Turkey. The main factor for Turkey like main state who is receiving immigrants from all of the Balkans is the cultural, religion and historical background of Empire. This imperial culture is allowing to all emigrants to adopt and integrate in all areas easily. Based on the Stephan Ladas the immigrant's number who came to Turkey during the periods of 1921-1928 from different states like Greece, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania and Soviet Union were 463.534. Like a source Ladas is referring to the Turkish State Institute for Immigrations (Office Central de statistique, 1928: 36).

In the period from 1923 to 1933, 26,120 families or 108,179 inhabitants migrated from Yugoslavia to Turkey in their own arrangement. In the period from 1936 to 1947 the number of migrants from Yugoslavia to Turkey was 5,894. The migrations from 1936 to 1947 were pre-planned. According to (Ağanoğlu, 2011: 320) the number of migrants from Yugoslavia to Turkey in the period 1936 to 1947 was 2,277. Migrants from Romania also arrived in Turkey. Thus, between 1923 and 1938, 113,710 migrants arrived in Turkey from Romania. Some of these migrations were planned, and some of the citizens themselves migrated in their own arrangement. In the period from 1936 to 1960 the number of migrants from Turkey to Romania was 7,631 (Eren, 1994: 382).

Migration after World War II

The newly established Yugoslav communist regime, led by Tito, in the first phase of its establishment did not agree to allow the population to migrate. However, migrations did occur. They were caused by financial, social, religious and national reasons. The migration of the population from the Balkans to Turkey continued in 1990, after the break-up of Yugoslavia, which was caused by the rampage of radical nationalism. After the declaration of independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Serbian aggression, about 1,300,000 Bosniaks were forced to migrate, and about 20,000 of them migrated to Turkey. The Serbian aggression in Kosovo in 1999 also sparked a wave of migration in the Balkans, some of which ended in Turkey.

Table 1, Ethnic international migration in some Balkan countries in the period 1945-1992/93, absolute values

Country of Origins	Country of destination	Amount	Period	Ethnic groups
Yugoslavia	East and West Germany	360,000	1945-1950	Germans
Yugoslavia	Italy	200,000	1945-1950	Italians
Slovakia, Romani and Yugoslavia	Hungary	315,000	1945-1950	Hungarians
Romania	West Germany	402,000	1950-92	Germans
Yugoslavia	West Germany	90,000	1950-92	Germans
Bulgaria	Turkey	630,000	1950-66	Turks and other Muslims
Yugoslavia	Turkey	300,000	1950-66	Turks and other Muslims
Romania	Western Europe	240,000	1960-92	Jews
Romania	Israel, USA	500,000	1991-93	Mainly Gypsies
Yugoslavia, Romania	Hungary	124,000	1988-93	Mainly Hungarians

Source: Fassmann, Münz (1994)

In the post-World War II period, migration trends in the Balkan Peninsula were mainly influenced by the processes of industrialization and urbanization. These processes took place in the Balkans several decades later than in Western Europe. This period is also

marked by significant economic migration, from some Balkan countries such as Yugoslavia and Turkey to Western Europe. In the early 1960s, Yugoslavia was the only communist country on European soil that had open borders and population migration agreements. In the period until 1964, legislation was passed that allowed the population to migrate. During this period Yugoslavia became the most important source of labor for countries such as Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Between 1964 and 1973, some 860,000 Yugoslav citizens migrated. Many of them, or about 200,000 citizens, migrated across the ocean to countries such as Canada, the United States, New Zealand and Australia. In 1969 alone, 192,232 migrants from Yugoslavia were registered in Germany, and in 1970, 202,360 were registered, and in 1971, 113,333 new migrants were registered. This means that in just 3 years, 507,925 citizens migrated from Yugoslavia to Germany. Between 1964 and 1971, more than 10% of the population between the ages of 20 and 30 migrated. If we analyze the educational structure, 34% of the highly educated population in Yugoslavia migrated during this period. Due to concerns about the outflow of a large part of the young population, restrictions on migration followed for some time. Thus, already in 1972, the number of migrants from Yugoslavia to Germany dropped to 75,501, while in 1973 that number dropped to 81,504 (Akgündüz, 2008: 110). Between 1973 and 1985, an additional 500,000 people migrated from Yugoslavia to Western Europe. In the late 1980s to 1990, another 550,000 inhabitants of Yugoslavia migrated to Western Europe (Bonifazi, Mainolo, 2004: 521). The Balkans in general and Yugoslavia in particular have long had a mobile population. The wars that followed in the 1990s restored the trend of political migration to the former Yugoslavia.

The labor-recruitment agreement between Turkey and Germany, signed on October 30, 1961, only regulated the practice that had been going on before. In June 1960, 2,495 Turkish workers worked in Germany. As early as July, the number rose to 5,200. Between 1961 and 1973, about one million Turkish workers were legally staying in Western Europe. Because there were a number of workers who did not return on time after the contracts expired, the assumption was that in 1973 there were 1,300,000 migrants from Turkey in Western Europe. The largest number of migrants was recorded in 1968. According to the Turkish Employment Bureau, 525,000 workers left the country this year. Most of them, about 80% went to Germany (Martin, 2012: 128). On November 23, 1973, Germany stopped accepting migrants from non-European Economic Com-

munity countries. Among the countries from which migrants were banned was Turkey (Akgündüz, 2008: 4). In 2008, 2.3 million citizens born in Turkey lived in the European Union. Of these, 1.5 million lived in Germany, 158,000 in Austria, 230,000 in France, and 200,000 in the Netherlands (Biffi, 2011: 1). According to Turkish statistics, in 2009, 3.8 million Turkish citizens lived outside the country, covering overseas countries and the Middle East. According to these data, 1.7 million Turkish citizens live in Germany (Martin, 2012: 130).

Conclusion

The Balkans are of key strategic and geopolitical importance in world politics. Many wars for supremacy have been fought in this area throughout history. They had their political, economic, cultural, and psychological consequences, primarily reflecting on migration processes. Migrations were caused by the dynamics of political relations that went hand in hand with the military supremacy of individual states, new religious concepts, economic difficulties, ethnic misunderstandings and prejudices, territorial changes of states, etc. In this paper we had the opportunity to see that starting from the 17th century until today we have a constant dynamics of migration trends in the Balkans. During this period, significant changes took place in world politics, which were reflected in the Balkans as well. There was an awakening of national consciousness in Europe and a wave of nation-building. Certain powerful political ideologies such as liberalism have supported such processes. As a result, the once powerful and glorious empires began to collapse. Among the empires that were in great crisis in the second half of the 19th century, and which in one way or another disintegrated in the early 20th century, were the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire. This paper shows that the process of weakening and the final collapse of the Ottoman Empire had a strong impact on the migration processes on the Balkan Peninsula. This caused sad sorrows, personal dramas of people who had to leave their homes and migrate to areas unknown to them until then. These processes continued between the two world wars, as well as after the Second World War, but this time the migrations were not political, but economic.

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book
reviews

Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (Diplomatik)*.

4. Baskı, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2018, 616 s.

Reviewer: Borče Nikolov

Четвртото издание на *Osmanlı Belgelerinin Dili (DİPLOMATİK)* само по себе е доказ за значењето на ова дело. Кутукоглу на 616 страници го воведува читателот во османлиската дипломатика, и пред сè прави обид да им ги доближи на истражувачите, коишто директно или индиректно се занимаваат со историјата на оваа империја, разните документи и материјали од турските и светските архиви, кои се производ на Османлиската Империја и нејзината администрација.

Книгата е поделена на седум глави, а во предговорот авторот накратко се осврнува и дава рудиментарни податоци за османлискиот архив, дипломатиката како наука и



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0000-0003-3896-5134



© Association of Education and Thought Fettah Efendi
DOI: <http://doi.org/10.51331/B001>
Journal of Balkan Studies, 2021
balkanjournal.org

поодделно османлиската дипломатика.

Во првото поглавје од првата глава, Кутукоглу не запознава со алатот и материјалите потребни за продукција на документите: хартија, перо (*kalem*), мастило (*mürekkeb*) итн. Во второто поглавје се задржува на арапското писмо, и поодделно на стиловите кои се среќаваат во османлискиот јазик и османлиската дипломатика (*sülüs, nesih, tevki', rika', muhakkak, reyhani, ta'lik, divânî, siyakat*), и на крајот ги дава кратенките кои се фреквентни во османлиските документи, а кои најчесто се однесуваат на датумите и имињата на арапските месеци.

Втората глава е посветена на употребата на симболите и печатите во османлиските документи. Овде е објаснето кои сè симболи се користат (*тузга, пенче, сере*), на кои авторитет тие му припаѓаат (султан, голем везир итн.) и од кои делови се состојат. На сличен начин се опишани и османлиските печати (*mühür*) за кои се дадени повеќе примери. Во третата глава авторот веќе започнува со анализа на документите. Најпрво се третираат оние кои се однесуваат на султанот: *ферман, берат, намеи хумајун* (*name-i humayûn*), *ахид-намеи хумајун* (*ahidnâme-i humayûn*), *хатихумајун* (*hatt-ı humayûn*), *ирадеи сеније* (*irade-i seniyye*), *себеби тахрир хукму* (*seber-i tahrir hükmü*).

Во четвртата глава Кутукоглу ги вметува документите кои се издадени од страна на државните великодостојности како големиот везир, беглербег и сл. и тоа: *бујурулду, телхис, такрир* и *арз*. Во петтата глава се анализирани односите центар-провинција во Османлиската Империја низ документите: *писмо* (*mektup*), *тахрират, шука* (*şukka*), *телеграф*. Шестата глава фрла светлина на кореспонденцијата помеѓу различните институции во рамките на еден град. Овде се опфатени документи како: *тезкире, каиме, сенет, илмухабер* (*ilmühaber*) и *музеккире* (*müzekkire*). Во седмата глава се опишани разните форми на барања и извештаи во Османлиската Империја изразени во вид на *арзухал, ариза, мазбата, лајиха* (*lâiha*). Во последната глава се опфатени документите продуцирани од администрацијата на казите во Османлиската Империја, како и од институцијата на Шејх ул-исламот како: *фетва, илам, хуџет* (*hüccet*), *вакфије* и *сурет*. На крајот на делото е даден заклучок, по што следуваат библиографија, индекс и додатоци.

Големината на ова дело не се огледува само во тоа што авторот теоретски за предмет на анализа ја има опфатено османлиската дипломатика. Освен тоа што во делото

Кутукоглу доста концизно и со јасен стил ни ги опишува местото, значењето, настанувањето и функцијата на секој документ одделно, тоа што му дава тежина на оваа дело и анализата и разработката на составните делови на разните османлиски делови. Овде најмногу се гледа долгогодишното, повеќедецениско искуство на Кутукоглу на полето на османлиската дипломатика. Не само што авторот во делото има наведено многубројни текстови како примери, туку и доста умешно ги сецира составните делови на документот како *dâvet* (invocatio), *elkab* (inscription), *nakil/iblağ* (narratio/expostio), *emir/hüküm* (dispositio), *te'kid/tehdid* (sanction, comminatio), *unvan, dua*, итн. Покрај тоа, ни ги дава и можните готови формули кои се користат при одделните делови на документот, како што се на пример во *dua, elkab, emir/hüküm* како и почетокот на *nakil/iblağ* деловите, и кои може да бидат десететици на број. Со оглед на фактот што тие се скаменети изрази и при нивното пишување не се води премногу сметка за јаснотијата и убавото пишување, често се „прекршуваат“ одредени правила во пишувањето (како на пример изоставување на дијакритичките знаци) што го отежнува нивното читање, тие се од голема помош при правилното одгатнување на тој дел од документот.

Книгата изобилува со оригинални документи на османлиски, а понекогаш и на други светски јазици како тематски така и по периоди, што дава можност преку истите да се следи и развојот на османлиската бирократија и администрација од нејзините зачетоци до зенитот на Империјата.

Со таквиот широк опфат на документи и нивната детална анализа, делото се обраќа до поширок аудиториум. Книгата може да биде од корист и за оние кои се во почетна фаза од откривањето и читањето на документите од архивите на земјите наследнички на Османлиската Империја, но и за поискусните истражувачи, бидејќи често се случува при истражувањето истражувачот да се фокусира на одредена тема која е поврзана со одреден стил, па при „судир“ со документи од различен фонд, институција (со тоа и различен стил) да се јават потешкотии при преводот од поголем или помал размер.

Развојот на *Османлистиката* во последните децении, како и потребата од познавање не само на османлискиот јазик, туку и на османлиската дипломатика во целост, уште повеќе го прават актуелно делото на Кутукоглу, кое и покрај зголемената продукција на дела од овој тип, сè уште е (едно од) најбараните трудови кои ја

третираат оваа проблематика.

Неколкните печатарски грешки (на пример, нумерирањето на насловите на стр. XV и XVII) никако не можат да ја намалат суштински вредноста на оваа дело, кое е повеќе од обичен водич, и претставува практично помагало за сите истражувачи кои имаат намера во своите истражувања да користат и документи од османлиска провениенција.

На крајот само да споменеме дека авторот при транскрипцијата на текстовите од османлиски се има определено за т.н. „поедноставена транскрипција“, наместо т.н. „целосна академска транскрипција“ (на пример: *zimmi*, наспроти *zimmī*). Првата е генерално прифатена и повеќе се користи во фелата на историчарите и истражувачите кои се фокусираат на подоцнежните периоди на Османлиската Империја, додека последната се преферира кај книжевните кругови. Секако, ваквата поделба не е остра и понекогаш зависи од изборот на истражувачит.

Yasin Yayla, Nesib Pepić, Enver Ujkanović. *Osmanska dokumenta Orientalne zbirke Arhiva „Ras“ u Novom Pazaru,*

Novi Pazar, 2018, 291 str.


Reviewer: Sedad Bešlija

Na prostoru Balkana u posljednjih nekoliko godina intenziviran je rad na objavljivanju prvorazredne arhivske građe osmanske provenijencije. To je svakako značajan proces koji će pomoći u objektivnijem sagledavanju osmanske prošlosti u danas nezavisnim državama koje su nastale u postosmanskom razdoblju. Teško je zamisliti pisanje relevantne historije iz vremena Osmanske države bez korištenja građe osmanske provenijencije. Svjedoci smo da su historiografije u današnjim balkanskim državama često pribjegavale pisanju i interpretaciji tog dijela naše zajedničke prošlosti bez konsultovanja osmanskih arhiva, što je uveliko imalo za posljedicu monoperspektivan, često i tendenciozan, pristup historiji osmanskog razdoblja. S obzirom na to da su mnoge teme iz tog vremena aktuelne i danas, takav pristup prošlosti značio je i „kontaminaciju“ u širem društvenom smislu.

Među institucijama koje su odlučile stručnoj i široj javnosti prezentovati i približiti

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DOI: <http://doi.org/10.51331/B002>
Journal of Balkan Studies, 2021
balkanjournal.org

svoje arhivske fondove nalazi se i Istorijski arhiv „Ras“ u Novom Pazaru. Dio dokumenta Orijentalne zbirke navedenog arhiva publikovan je 2018. godine u Novom Pazaru. Predgovor i uvodne riječi potpisuju dr. Yasin Yayla, profesor na Fakultetu za prirodne i društvene nauke Univerziteta u Kirklareliju i dr. Enver Ujkanović, naučni saradnik Istorijskog arhiva „Ras“ Novi Pazar.

Prvi dio knjige započinje radom pod nazivom: „Deosmanizacija Balkana i muhadžirska pribježišta u Sandžaku (1878–1912)“, autora dr. Safeta Bandžovića, naučnog savjetnika u Institutu za historiju Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Bandžović rad započinje historiografskim opservacijama o počecima nacionalnog pitanja u Evropi u kontekstu sve slabije pozicije Osmanske države, zapisujući da je „princip nacionalnosti izmijenio 1830–1878. godine političku kartu Evrope“, a da je „militarizam u njoj od 1870. godine postao nova politička i društvena paradigma“. Nadalje se fokusira na migracije koje su mijenjale demografsku sliku Balkana i bile posljedica formiranja nacionalnih država, jer je princip nacionalnosti shvaćen kao „recept za nasilje“. Tako on iznosi podatke o masovnim progonima muslimana s Balkana u rusko-osmanskom ratu 1877. godine te o posljedicama Berlinskog kongresa na stanje u balkanskim zemljama. Do 1878. godine u međunarodnom pravu nije bilo odredbe o zaštiti muslimanske manjine u od Osmanlija „oslobođenom području“. Autor nadalje tematizira pojam i mentalitet „Istočnog pitanja“, za koji kaže da je „nastavio da živi i u XX stoljeću“, ističući da je homogenost nacionalnih država značila i eliminaciju muslimanskog dijela stanovništva. Nakon odluka s Berlinskog kongresa Bosna (i Hercegovina) je, uz junački otpor Bošnjaka, okupirana od austro-ugarske vojske. Time je započeto novo doba za Bosnu. Autor analizira odnos nove vlasti prema Bošnjacima, muslimanima, ali i njihovu reakciju na nove vlasti, te novi kulturno-civilizacijski krug u kojem su se našli, ističući da su ostavljeni u „nedoumici između tradicionalnih inercija i maglovitih perspektiva“. Nakon šoka i šutnje, temeljno pitanje koje se nametnulo bilo je iseljavanje, i to s vjerskog aspekta. Potom iznosi podatke o broju iseljavanja bosanskih muslimana od 1878. do 1918. godine ističući nemogućnost preciziranja brojeva, ali navodeći brojke u rasponu od 63.000 do 180.000 i 300.000 ljudi. Zatim prati podatke o pribježištima muslimana iz Bosne na području Sandžaka koji je i dalje bio pod osmanskom upravom te opisuje strateški i geopolitički značaj Sandžaka od 1878. do 1912. godine. Piše, nadalje, o naporima i metodama Porte u Kosovskom vilajetu oko zbrinjavanja „muhadžira“. Sagledava stanje u Sandžaku i među Bošnjacima nakon proglašenja aneksije Bosne i Hercegovine od Austro-Ugarske

monarhije 1908. godine te potezima koje je pravila Osmanska država, posebno zbog pojačanog iseljavanja muslimana iz Bosne. Na kraju, autor ističe značaj i posljedice balkanskih ratova, u kojim su se dogodila brojna kršenja međunarodnih konvencija i počinili strašni zločini, po muslimansko stanovništvo odnosno ostatke Osmanske države u jugoistočnoj Evropi.

Drugi dio knjige obuhvata 19 originalnih dokumenata o doseljenicima (muhadžirima) iz Bosne, Beograda i Loveča u toku 1878. godine, koji daju podatke o njihovom prihvatanju i zbrinjavanju, zatim dokumenti govore o troškovima opremanja i ukopa doseljenika (muhadžira) iz više balkanskih naselja.

U narednom poglavlju pod nazivom „Ostala dokumenta“, donesena su 43 dokumenta, najvećim dijelom iz druge polovice 19. stoljeća, koji govore o različitim temama: o odbрани Novog Pazara od austrijskog napada uz pomoć okolnih beglerbegova i njihovih vojnika; o naknadi vojnicima na dužnosti u Novom Pazaru; o transportu pšenice i žitarica iz Novog Pazara u sjenički hambar; o raznim službenim putovanjima, knjigovodstvenim uslugama i putnim troškovima u tu svrhu; o podmirivanju potrepštinama zatvore i zatvorenike u Sjenici, Kalkandelenu (Tetovu), Debru, Prizrenu, Novom Pazaru, Bijelom Polju i Prištini; o raznim uslugama, administrativnim potrebama i popravkama; o spisakovima poštanskih konjanika iz Novog Pazara, Mitrovice i Bijelog Polja; te o sklapanju braka (vjenčanju). Na kraju je donesen i rječnik manje poznatih i stručnih termina. Za svaki dokument u knjizi je uvršten faksimil originala, transkripcija latinskim pismom i prijevod s osmanskog turskog na bosanski jezik.

Ovaj vrijedan naučnoistraživački, diplomatičko-paleografski i prevodilački poduhvat predstavlja temelj za nove historijske spoznaje balkanske prošlosti na kraju 19. i početku 20. stoljeća.

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E-ISSN: 2146-7099