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RITUALS AND MAIN PRINCIPLES OF SUFISM DURING THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Ö TUĞRUL İNANÇER

Introduction

Music, as a means of artistic expression, has always been very important to sufism. This is due to the fact that when the spirits were created, the Creator asked them "*elestü bi Rabbikum*" (Am I not your Lord?) and the spirits replied "*Qālū balā*" (Yes!). This divine address by the Creator put them in a state of ecstasy, because it was an indescribable (by man) and incomparable divine music, which could only be felt. When the spirits were put in a body, imprisoned in a cage of skin and sent to the world, they remembered this divine music every time they heard the rustling of leaves or the sound of waves, a sad folk song or the music of an orchestra, the twitter of birds or the booming sound of *mehter* (traditional Ottoman military music). One must remember that music is also connected to the end of the world, since an angel of death called İsrāfil will blow the last trumpet (*Sūr-i İsrāfil*) on the Day of Judgment. So everything will end with music. God could have notified the dead souls by telling them "get up and assemble", but he also preferred to have music during the Day of Last Judgment.

All these are signs that can be perceived only by those of particular sensitivity and knowledge. Mawlānā was one of those and that is why he began his *Mathnawī* poem by stating *Bişnev in ney* (listen to this *ney* or flute). With this he wanted to underline the importance of listening, hearing, of sound ie. of music.

Religion has two aspects, one of 'obligation' the other of 'love'. Scholars teach us how to execute our religious obligations, while the way of demonstrating our love towards things divine is taught to us by the philosophy of sufism. Music being undoubtedly one of the most effective ways of showing love, it is used also by sufism.

It is a known fact that the universe has an immutable rhythm and harmony. The most beautiful and aesthetically pleasing manifestation of this rhythm and harmony is the 'dance', but not a dance of forms, a dance of

hearts and sentiments. The rites of sufism are rites that are based on these principles and that are made up of elements of music and dance.

Within the framework of the development and institutionalisation of sufism, the Persians, followed by the Turks, called such rites *āyīn*; while the Arabs in addition to this term used the terms *ḥaḍrat*, *ḥaḍle* or in Turkish *ihtifāl* (commemoration), *urs* (ceremonial dinner on occasion of a marriage) and sometimes *mawlid*. In the Ottoman world sufi rites have generally been called *āyīn*, *samā'*, *muqābala* or *tawḥīd*, while the places where such rites were held, were called *maydan*, *sama'khāna* or *tawḥīdkhāna*. In later times the terms *āyīn*, *samā'* and *muqābala* began to be used only by Mawlawis. Even though the real meaning in Arabic of *samā'* was hearing, it has always been perceived as meaning turning around one's own axis during dances of a religious character. Some special rites of certain religious orders have been given special names: The rite executed in a kneeling position by the Djalwatīs and by the Ḥayātīs, who were a branch of the Khalwatīs, was called *nıṣf-i qıyām* (half standing), the rite of the Sha'bānīs who were another branch of the Khalwatīs, was called *ḍarb-i esmā'*, while the rite of the Naqshbandīs was called *khatm-i khwādja*. The rite consisting of people walking step-by-step all together in a circle was generally called *dawrān*. Some of the names of individual phases of rites were *demdeme*, *dalga tawḥīdi*, *Badawī topu*, *Bayyūmī*, *Nawba taqdīmi*, *Tawāf tawḥīdi*, *Qıyām İsm-i Djalālī*, *Qıyām Kelime-i Tawḥīdi* and *Dhikr-i erre*. The general name of the rites of the Shādhālī, who were a relatively new (their first *tekke* in Istanbul was founded at Unkapanı in the 1820's and their first sheikh was Ḥādji Aḥmad Efendi, who died in 1828 at Mecca) order in Istanbul having originated from the Western North African-Andalusian sufi school, was *ḥaḍrat*. Among the 'Aydarūsīs, who were not present in Anatolia and Istanbul, the rite was known as *rāṭib*. Some ritual or informal meetings of the Mawlawis and Bektashīs were called *āyīn-i djam*, '*ayn al-djam*' or *bezm-i djam*. The special movement within the context of the Bektashī rite was known as the *samāh*.

Even though in Islam individual prayer is highly formal and institutionalised, collective prayer with the rest of the community has a special meaning. The Friday and festivity prayers may be done only collectively, not individually. Also the daily regular prayers should be done collectively, but also those done individually are acceptable. The main principle is that the obligatory points should be executed collectively, while

those that are part of the sunnah (not laid down in the Qoran, but among the customs of the Prophet Muḥammad and thus not obligatory) may be done individually. The *tarāwīḥ* prayer, which is done during the month of Ramaḍān (the month of fasting known as Ramaḍān), should be done collectively even though it is part of the sunnah.

Religious order rites are the result of the Qoran's verses exhorting to "Pronounce the name of God". Thus the collective execution of this exhortation, within the context of religious orders, has been known as *dhikr* (whose literal meaning is to pronounce, to mention). Some have seen these collective and ritualised *dhikr* ceremonies as *bid'at* (something invented later) and they have become another of the points of contention between conventional religion (medresses) and unorthodox religion (*tekkes*), which is a conflict that has gone on throughout history, for example the famous Sivāsi-Qāḍizāda conflict (1630-1657). Defenders of conventional religion have even been against the use of the word *āyīn*. Nevertheless religious order rites have survived, even though those against them still exist.

The rites of religious orders fall into one of three categories (according to the *Āl-i 'Imrān* sura at the beginning of the 191st verse of the Holy Qoran) *Qu'ūdī* (sitting), *Qiyāmī* (standing) and *Dawrānī* (in a step by step movement). All rites begin with the sitting position, but in *qu'ūdī* rites people maintain this position throughout the ritual. In *qiyāmī* rites people get up after the initial *qu'ūd*. *Dawrānī* rites include sitting, standing and also movement.

A- *Qu'ūdī* (sitting) Rites

The most noteworthy of the *qu'ūdī* rites is the Naqshbandī rite. The Naqshbandī order originated from the Khorasan school of sufism and was founded by Muḥammad Bahā al-dīn Naqshband (1318-1389). Around a century later it was introduced into Anatolia and Istanbul by the Sheikh 'Abd Allah-i Īlāhī (d. 1490). 'Abd Allah-i Īlāhī, known also as Molla Īlāhī-i Simāwī, was the first sheikh of the *tekke* near the Zeyrek Mosque. The Naqshbandī religious order originated from the school of sufism known as *khwādjagān tariqī*, which had taken its definitive shape with Khwādja Yūsuf-i Hamadānī (d. 1140). From this school the Naqshbandī religious order adopted both the *dhikr-i khafī* (silent *dhikr*) introduced by 'Abd al-Khālīq Gudjduwānī (d. 1179) and the *dhikr-i djahrī* (sonorous *dhikr*) introduced by Khwādja Aḥmad-i Yasawī (death 1166). In the branches of The Naqshbandī

order, which have adopted the *dhikr-i khafi*, like the Khāliidiya and Rabbānī branches, the only ceremony that can be called a rite is the *khatm-i khwādjagān*.

The *khatm-i khwādjagān* consists of the silent recitation of verses of the Quran and of prayers, subsequent to a sign by the Sheikh. One cannot say that it is a real rite, much less a musical one. Nevertheless it is a typical *qu'ūdī* rite since people sit throughout it. In the case of religious orders that adopted both the *qiyāmī* and *dawrānī* rites, the person who takes the place of the Sheikh, because of illness or absence, will conduct the rite, but cannot have people do *qiyāms* or *dawrāns*, because this would be against the spirit and manners of the religious order. In such a case people would just recite the *Kelime-i Tawhīd* (*Lā ilāha illāllāh*), the *Īsm-i Djalāl* (name of God) and the *Īsm-i Hū* in a sitting position and the rite would end with prayers. In some religious orders, in commemoration of the anniversary of the death of past sheikhs, the rite would end after the recitation of the *Kelime-i Tawhīd* (generally seventy five thousand times) as a sign of respect, without getting up. Both these rites are examples of *qu'ūdī* rites.

All such rites have common characteristics. They are highly ritualised, with every single detail being predetermined and with absolutely no omission or addition permitted. Not only does every single phase and movement have a meaning and reason, it also has a rule on which it is based. All these rules, which cannot be compromised, are collectively known as *khurda-i tarīq*. It is generally accepted that the *khurda-i tarīq* of a religious order has been established by its founder or at the most by his successor (*Pir-i Thānī*), who are considered as being authorised to set precedents (*mudjtahid*); thus any change, degeneration or omission concerning such rules would be considered against the manners and spirit of that order.

Rites are performed in special sections of the *tekke* called *samā'khāna*, *tawhīd khāna* or *maydān*. Generally they are performed once a week and the day when they are done is called the *hafta günū* (the day of the week) or *hafta gecesi*. In addition to this, rites are also performed on the nights of *Qadir* (the 27th night of the month of Ramaḍān when the Qoran was revealed) and of *Qandil* (religious festivities done during the night) and these are called *iḥyā gecesi*. Such rites are also done on the anniversaries of the deaths of important sheikhs and during the 'coronation' ceremonies of sheikhs called *khilāfet djem'iyeti*. The regular weekly rite begins after a

collective daily prayer. After the sheikh or someone appointed by him has recited the *fātiḥa*, a collective prayer to the Prophet Muḥammad (*ṣalawāt*) is said with a loud voice and to the accompaniment of music. In some religious orders the *maydancı*, who could be defined as the protocol director of the *tekke*, recites this prayer immediately after the regular prayers in the way used by that order, so as to point out to everybody, including any guests, how it is carried out. This is the signal for the rite to begin. All the dervishes assembled turn towards the Sheikh, ie. facing Mecca, in the shape of a crescent made up of many intersecting rings (the Mawlawī rite will be explained later).

The fur hide of the sheikh, symbolising his position, is generally red, which is the colour of 'manifestation'. In the Üsküdar 'Aziz Maḥmūd Hüdāi Convent, which is considered the *āsitāna* (main convent) of the Djalwātī, the sheikh does not sit on a fur hide but on a prayer rug. In the Nūr al-dīn Tekke in Karagümruk, which is considered the *āsitāna* of the Djarrāḥī order, the fur hide of the sheikh is blue, which is the colour of the light of the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd*. The sheikhs of the Sa'dī order sit on a white fur hide tending to yellow. Some Bektāshī sheikhs use a black fur hide. Also the fur hide of the *maydancı*, which can be found in all *tekkes*, is generally black. In some orders there is also a fur hide with a colour between green and brown for visitors. In all orders the dervish fur hides are white. According to religious principles the fur hide would have many symbolic meanings tied to sufism. Thus its feet would symbolise 'service', its neck 'resignation', its fur 'abundance', its back 'patience' and its tail 'zeal'.

Everybody's place in the circle of *dhikr* is predetermined. The *dargāh dābitānı* or *tekke* employees, with titles like *ser-ṭarīq*, *ser-tabbākh*, *pīsh-qadem*, *dhākirbaşı*, *imām*, *maydancı*, *sāqī*, *türbedār*, *çerağcı*, *pazarıcı*, *'aşādār*, *farrāsh*, *kapıcı* or *naqīb*, the sheikhs and dervishes, would all sit according to their rank and seniority. Any visiting sheikh would sit on a fur hide placed near the one of the resident sheikh. The circles resembled crescents, while the sheikh himself would be like a star, thus forming a classic crescent and star pattern. The guests not included in the circle of *dhikr* sat in the *zuwwār maqşuresi* (visitors' loggia), while the women sat in the *kadınlar maqşuresi* (women's loggia), which would be screened with a grille or light curtain.

Ceremony

The rite begins with the Sheikh's signal (*maydan açma*). This consists of a *fātiḥā* prayer, during which the souls of the great personalities of Islam, of the founders, former sheikhs and dervishes of all orders, together with those of all the faithful are commemorated and an auspicious future is wished for all those present, for all the faithful, for the nation and the country, for the greater community of Islam and for all humankind. (In case of the Celveti order the *maydan açma* is done not by the sheikh himself, but by the *dhākırbaşı* [dervish performing the *dhıkr*]) After this signal, which opens the *maydān* (initiates the ceremony), the *maydancı* brings an incense box emanating a pleasant aroma and places it in the opening in front of the sheikh, where it stays until the end of the *tawḥīd*. This also is one of the rules of the religious order. In general aloe wood, with the one from the Isle of Java being particularly desirable, is burned in the incense box.

After the *fātiḥā* and the collective *şalawāt*, the *fātiḥā* sura is recited silently. By now the *maydan* is open and the rite has started. Without exception the rites of all orders begin with a commemoration of the Prophet Muḥammad, the *sebeb-i khilqat-i 'ālam* (reason for the creation of the universe) and the *mafkhar-i banī Ādem* (pride of humanity), who for all believers is more precious than their own well being and lives (beginning of the 6th verse of the Aḥzāb Sūra) and whom all believers have to salute (saying the *şalawāt* prayer) just like the angels do (56th verse of the Aḥzāb Sūra). In addition to this, both the *maydan* and the general organisation of the rite carry meanings of a symbolic importance as far as the sufi beliefs are concerned (we shall not mention them here). The *şalawāt* prayer is the most important element of the rite. It has slightly different shapes and names according to the religious order, some of which are: *Şalāt-ı Kamāliya*, *Şalāt-ı Quṭbiya*, *Şalāt-ı Mundjiya*, which are main-*şalawāts* (*Şalawāt-ı Sharīf*), the *Na't-ı Mawlānā* (recited at the beginning of the Mawlawi rite), the *Sünbūli Şalāt*, the *Şalāt-ı Afḍaliya* of the Hāshimī branch of the Djalwatis and the *Şalāt ü Selāms* of the Qādiri order. After the *şalawāt*, which is a sign of the respect and love felt for the prophet Muḥammad, there is generally the recitation of the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd*. Sometimes there may be the recitation of the *bismele* (*bismillahirrahmānirrahīm*, in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful) and of the *istiğfar* (*estağfirullāh*, I ask pardon of God, said in repentance).

In some of the orders there is the custom of collectively singing the *awrād-i sharīf*. *Awrād* is the plural of the word *wird*, which means 'portion of the Qoran recited regularly'. Such recitations are common to all orders, but only the Qādrī, Rifā'ī, Sa'dī, Bayrāmī and Khalwatī-Djarrāhī orders have the custom of singing the *Awrād-i sharīf*. The *Sünbülī Şalāt* can be considered the musical *Awrād* of the Khalwatī-Sünbülī order. The Naqshbandī *Awrād* known as *Awrād-i Bahāiye* (some of the Naqshbandīs immigrating from the Balkans began the collective recitation of the *evrād* and this erroneously became a tradition), the Mawlawī *Awrād*, the *Wird-i Sattār* or *Wird-i Yaḥyā* of the Khalwatīs, the *Wird-i Kabīr* of the Djarrāhīs, the morning *wird* called *feth-i qudsī* or *kashf-i ünsī* of the Bakrīya branch of the Khalwatī-Sha'bānī order and the *awrād* known as *Ḥizb-i Hüdāi* of the Djalwatīs, were all daily *wirds* recited individually without the accompaniment of music. Such a recitation of *awrād* is not considered part of the principles of the rite. The music of the Bayrāmī *awrād* prepared by Ḥādji Bayrām-ı Walī has been forgotten. Ḥādji Bayrām-ı Walī made his followers work in chores like sowing seeds, reaping and doing the laundry, collectively and to the accompaniment of hymns like the 'laundry hymn' and the 'sowing hymn'. These were a continuation of the Akhī tradition, but unfortunately they have been forgotten.

After the *salavāt* or recitation of a musical *awrād-i sharīf*, the recitation of the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* begins. There are various ways of beginning the *tawḥīd*, all of which have artistic value from a musical point of view. This can be sung in various ways and according to various *makams* (musical modes) like 'Ushshāq, Şabā, Rast, Sūzināk and Hūzzām. The sheikh chooses one of them and subsequently everybody starts the recitation of the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* according to the sheikh's choice. During the *tawḥīd* all heads turn to the right when saying *Lā ilāhe* and to the left towards the heart when saying *illāllāh*, being careful that everybody's movements are coordinated and in harmony. There is another system consisting of rhythmic strikes, which is called *feth-i esmā*. This is accompanied by *dhākirs* (those that do the *dhikr*) who are reciting hymns at the same rhythm as the *tawḥīd*. All this is managed by the *dhākirbaşı* (chief of the *dhākirs*). The choice of the hymns depends from the month. During the month of Dhū al-ḥidjdja, the subject of the hymn will concern ritual sacrifice and pilgrimage, during Ramaḍan fasting, during Djumādā al-ülā repentance, during Rabi' al-awwal the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, during Muḥarram the Karbalā event

and the martyrdom of Hüsayn. It is also proper to choose hymns of the order of the visiting sheikhs and dervishes. If the visiting sheikh is a Qadiri, a hymn about 'Abd al-Qādir Kīlānī a hymn, the lyrics of which were written by Ashrafoghlu Rūmī, will be sung; if the visiting sheikh is a Djalwatī, a hymn the lyrics of which were written by 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hūdāī will be chosen, while if the visiting sheikh is a Khalwatī, hymns the lyrics of which were written by Khalwatī elders like Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī or Ümmī Sinān will be sung. All this is part of religious order manners and courtesy and requires the *dhākirbaşı* having a vast repertoire.

When the *tawḥīd*, sung according to a *maqām*, and the accompanying hymns are finished, the *tawḥīd* once more begins, but without singing, in a plain way. Another way of signalling the beginning of the recitation of the *tawḥīd* is the following: The sheikh recites the *a'ūdhu besmele*, slowly and prolonging the vowels, and recites the words *fa'lem ennehū lā ilāhe illāllāh*, at the beginning of the 19th verse of the Muḥammad Sūra. When he says *illāllāh*, everybody participates in chorus. The *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* is repeated thrice at this speed, after which it proceeds at normal rhythm. While the recitation without melody of the *tawḥīd* is going on, the *dhākirbaşı* or another *dhākir* appointed by him sings a *qaṣīda* (eulogy). At certain intervals and for five or seven times the pitch of the *qaṣīda* rises and then descends. Every time the pitch rises the rhythm of the *tawḥīd* increases while it diminishes once more when the pitch decreases. This system is called *perdeli tawḥīd* (*perde* being the pitch) and is used especially during the standing rites of the Qādirī, Rifā'ī and Sa'dī orders. When the name of the writer of the *qaṣīda* is pronounced, the *tawḥīd* becomes *qalbī* (hummed without pronouncing the words). The *qalbī tawḥīd* is recited at a slower pace with a rhythmic echo. When the sheikh pronounces once more *illāllāh* and the words *Seyyidinā Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh Haqq'an ve Şıdqān* the *dhikr* of the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* ends.

Following the *tawḥīd* there is the *'ashr-i sharīf* (recitation of ten verses of the Qoran), a short prayer and then the *dhikr* of the *İsm-i Djalāl* (God). While the name of God is collectively being repeated at a certain rhythm, all heads are bowed towards the heart and made to rise again in a coordinated and harmonious way. Once the sheikh pronounces *Allah-u akbar djalla djalāluh*, the recitation of the *İsm-i Djalāl* ends. This is followed by the *dhikr* consisting of the *İsm-i Hū*. This collective *dhikr* ends when the sheikh says

illā Hū. The *dhikrs* of the *Īsm-i Djalāl* and of the *Īsm-i Hū* are not accompanied by the singing of hymns.

Sometimes between the *Kelime-i Tawhīd* and the *Īsm-i Djalāl* there is the recitation of the *durak* by a single *dhākir*, while everybody else listens silently. The *durak* is a kind of hymn, but much slower and more artistically composed, which is sung in free form and is typical of sufi music. After the *durak*, the *Īsm-i Djalāl*, and the *Īsm-i Hū* the rite ends.

The above-mentioned rites, which include the Naqshbandī rite and the parts of the rites of other religious orders done in a sitting position, are those classified as *qu'ūdī* (sitting). In addition to these some orders have special rites done in a sitting position, which also are called *qu'ūdī*.

Special Sitting Rites
Among the Sha'bānīs

The *ḍarb-i esmā* rite, which is particular to the widespread Sha'bānī branch of the Khalwatī order, can also be considered a kind of *qu'ūdī* rite. When the recitation of the *Kelime-i Tawhīd* reaches its *qalbī* phase the recitation of the *Īsm-i Ḥayy* begins. The participants, who are sitting in a circle or a straight rank, rise on their knees, bow, move their arms as if they were rowing and then get back to their sitting position. This movement is accompanied by them saying *Yā Ḥayy*. Together with this *dhikr* the *dhākirs* sing especially composed hymns appropriate to this kind of recitation. The *ḍarb-i esmā* hymns are also known as Sha'bānī hymns; they are necessarily composed in the *sofyan* style and begin with a syncopated sound that regulates the rhythm of the rite. The first syncope is the sign for the beginning of the *Yā Ḥayy* recitation and for the bowing movement. The syncopated style goes on, with each syncope signalling a pause and the subsequent two beats signalling first the *Yā* and then the *Ḥayy*. The fact that *Yā* is said at the moment of rising on the knees and moving the arms in a rowing position while *Ḥayy* is said at the moment of sitting and that all this is followed by a breathing pause, gives the whole ceremony a very enthusiastic and aesthetically pleasing look. The singing of hymns that are not only in accordance with these movements, but also regulate them, complete the rite (as will be mentioned later on, once the sheikh signals the end of the *ḍarb-i esmā*, the Khalwatī *Dawrān* begins).

Among the Djalwatī

Another rite, which can be considered *qu'ūdī*, is the Djalwatī *nısf-ı qıyām*. This rite used to be performed after Friday prayers in the Hüdāi Convent in Üsküdar, the Djalwatī āsitāna (main convent). The participants in the *dhikr* sat in a circle, within which there was another smaller circle. At this point the Sheikh sat in the space in front of the *minber* (pulpit) enclosed by a grille. After the *fātiḥa*, the *dhākirbaşı* began the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* slowly, prolonging the vowels. After the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* had been repeated collectively ten, twelve or fifteen times, the *dhākirbaşı* said *Yā Allah Hū* and everybody rose on his knees (in the Djalwatī rite also the *dört dört* [four four] *tawḥīd* initiating system was used, according to which the pitch of one out of four *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* was higher, for a total of four times and a total number of sixteen *tawḥīd* recitations). Once everybody was on his knees the *dhikr* went on with the *Allah Hū* recitation. At this point a hymn, among those the lyrics of which were written by Hüdāi, would be sung. Such a rite done in a kneeling position was typical only to the Djalwatīs and was called *nısf-ı qıyām* (half a *qıyām*). It was also called *Khıdr qıyāmı*. It is generally accepted that the reason for this kneeling rite was that once, the Djalwatī sage Hüdāi—when he was in a trance during a ritesaw the spiritual presence of the Prophet Muḥammad and as a sign of respect tried to get up. The Prophet Muḥammad told him to remain seated, but not being able to do so in His presence out of respect, the sage continued his *dhikr* on his knees (another version states that the Saint whose spiritual presence was felt had been Khıdr from which the name *Khıdr qıyāmı*).

During the *nısf-ı qıyām* the *dhākirbaşı* would increase the pitch and say *Yā Allah Hū* at which point everybody would rise to a standing position and the *dhikr* would become a *qıyām dhikr* and go on with the *Hū* recitation. After a certain number of *Hū* recitations the *dhākirbaşı* would start the recitation of the *İsm-i Djalāl*. This would end with the *dhākirbaşı*'s three long *Hū* recitations, at which point everybody would start singing an appropriate hymn. During this singing the Sheikh came out of his enclosed space and sat on his ceremonial prayer rug. At the end of the hymn everybody sat down once more and started listening to a *durak* sung by a *dhākir*. The part described up to now was the initial phase of the Djalwatī rite. When the singing of the *durak* ended the Sheikh would recite a *fātiḥā* or skipping this part would hit the ground with his hands and saying *Yā*

Allah Hū would rise and initiate another *qiyām dhikri*. Apart from the *nişf-i qiyām* there was something else that was typical only to the Djalwatīs and it was a solo rendition of a hymn. Even though hymns are always sung collectively during all religious order rites, with the exception of the *durak*, in Djalwatī rites hymns accompanying it are sung by an individual. The Djalwatī order is characterised by contrasting attitudes: from intense enthusiasm to extreme calm, from movement to immobility, from emotion to indifference, from conversation to reflection and from ecstasy to pious reverence. This contrasting attitude also appears in its rites. The solo rendition of hymns is also a reflection of this.

Among the Ḥayātīs

More than a rite, the *nişf-i qiyām* of the Ḥayātī branch of the Khalwatī order is a principle (*arkān*), since the dervishes of this order walk on their knees while serving their sheikh, as a sign of respect.

Among the Mawlawīs

The regular morning rite of the Mawlawīs can be classified as a *qu'ūdī* rite. It is also called reciting the *Īsm-i Djalāl* or the *lafza-i Djalāl* and used to be performed in the small mosque of the Mawlawī convents after morning prayers. After prayers the sheikh would sit on his fur hide and everybody would sit according to their rank and seniority forming a circle. The *maydancı* would place a very big string of prayer beads in a way that the sheikh would be holding its *imāma* (stem) and everybody else would be holding the string with both hands. The sheikh would very slowly and at a low pitch recite the *a'ūdhu besmele*, after which all the participants would recite slowly the *Kelime-i Tawhīd* three times and then again slowly the *Īsm-i Djalāl*, in a way that there would be a slight pause after the second syllable and the second syllable would be prolonged. Later the pitch while reciting the *Īsm-i Djalāl* would be gradually raised. At each increase of pitch the rhythm would increase, until the single letters of the word were unintelligible and only the two syllables could be heard. This would be accompanied with a movement of the head tracing the *alif* letter, with the head coming down at the first syllable and rising at the second. During this time the string of prayer beads would be moved towards the right by each hand. The Mawlawī recitation of the *Īsm-i Djalāl*, with its characteristic rhythm and rising pitch is among the more beautiful and impressive *dhikrs*. After having said the name of God a certain number of times, the *dhikr*

ended with the sheikh reciting the prayer, which started with *Allah'u akbar kabîrâ*. After the recitation of the *gûlbang* (collective prayer) the *meydancı* collected the string of prayer beads, kissed its stem and then waited. The departing sheikh stopped at the centre, greeted the assembled people by bowing his head and the *maydancı* would answer. Once at the door the sheikh would once again bow his head, everybody would respond by bowing theirs and the assembled faithful would disperse in an orderly and respectful way. Sometimes the *İsm-i Djalâl* would be recited during the *samâ'* rite, immediately after the prayer or the recitation of the *Mathnawî*, in the same room where the *samâ'* rite had been held (*samâ'khânâ*). In the cases when, for whatever reason the *samâ'* rite could not be done, one of the elders would conduct an *İsm-i Djalâl* recitation session and the weekly rite would be considered done.

Daily Rites

The daily rites performed by those orders that followed the *Qiyâmî* or *Dawrânî* styles in their weekly rites, would generally be called *uşûl* and would be *Qu'ûdî*. The rites performed by the Sünbüli, Sinânî, 'Ushshâqî, Sha'bânî, Sivâsî, Djarrâhî and other branches of the Khalwatî order and by some *qiyâmî* orders like the Qâdirî, Rifâ'î, Sa'dî and Badawî orders, after the morning, evening and night prayers and on the mornings of religious festivities and kandil days, would be private rites, with only the dervishes participating and almost no visitors in attendance. According to the customs of the order, the dervishes would assemble immediately before or after regular prayers and sit in a straight rank or in a circle. The rite would begin with the sheikh reciting the *fâtîha*, after which there would be the collective recitation of the *Kelime-i Tawhîd* and of various names according to the customs of the order. The common characteristic of all *uşûl* rites was that the recitations would not be accompanied by the singing of hymns and the names would be recited without melody. Such rites would finish with a prayer and a *gûlbang*.

After Prayers

In *tekkes* where the mosques were open to the general public, some prayers would be followed by the recitation of the *Kelime-i Tawhîd*, of the *İsm-i Djalâl* and of the *İsm-i Hû*. This was followed by a *fâtîhâ*. Such rites, done only in *tekkes* and part of religious order customs, could also be classified as being *Qu'ûdî*.

B- *Qiyāmī* (standing) Rites

Ceremony

Qiyāmī rites are performed by the Qādirī, Rifā'ī, Sa'dī, Badawī and Shādhālī orders. In addition to which, there are standing parts in the *djahri dhikrs* (open and sonorous *dhikrs*) performed by some branches of the Naqshbandīs.

Qiyāmī rites are made up of two phases. They begin with a sitting position (*qu'ūd*). The first phase ends with the completion of the recitation of the *Īsm-i Hū*. The sheikh hits the floor with his hands and everybody else does the same after having kissed the floor. The participants stand in ranks facing each other.

The only exception is the *Qiyāmī* rite of the Shādhālīs, in which the participants stand in concentric circles. The sheikh stands in the centre (*quṭb-khāna* where *quṭb* denotes a person having attained perfection). The *dhākirs*, who will accompany the rite by singing hymns, stand or sit on fur hides between the two ranks. After the sheikh is in place there is a collective singing of a hymn, which is called *djumhūr ilāhī* (collective hymn). During this singing the participants sway towards their sides and this is called *servi salınımı* (cypress swaying).

The *djumhūr ilāhī* is a hymn sung separately from the *dhikr*, while those sung together with the rite are called *dhikr ilāhī*, *uṣūl ilāhī*. *Djumhūr ilāhīs* are sometimes erroneously called *djumhūr durak*. This derives from the fact that such a hymn is sung during a pause of the rite or more precisely during a pause of the recitation of names.

When the singing of the *djumhūr ilāhī* ends, the sheikh indicates which name has to be recited. This is called *esmā atmak* (reciting names). The following rite will be conducted by the *dhikr reisi* (chief of the *dhikr*) or the *dhākırbaşı*.

Like all other rites, the *Qiyāmī* rites also require ability and experience. People with such abilities would be known, independently from their rank within the religious order, as *qiyām ra'isi* and they would conduct the dynamics of the rite. Many people in Istanbul became famous for their ability to conduct such religious dances: Mızıkalı Nūri Efendi, Sheikh of the Beylerbeyi İstavroz Dere Badawī *tekke*, Hāshim Efendi, Rifā'ī Sheikh of

Üsküdar Toygartepe and its *ra'is* Dökmeci 'Ali Baba, Rif'at Efendi, Sheikh of the Sancaktar Tekke and father of the famous Hâfız Yaşar Efendi, Sâ'd al-din Efendi known as Ceylân Efendi from Eyüp and his son Nazmi Efendi, Mahyacı 'Azîz Efendi, İbrâhîm Dede *reis* of the Çarşamba *tekke* at Üsküdar, Shams al-din Efendi Sheikh of the Üsküdar Fethî Efendi *tekke* and his son Kemal Efendi, the *reis* of the same *tekke* Sobacı Hasan Dede, Haqqî Efendi Qâdirî Sheikh of Haydarkhâna and Fakhr al-din Efendi, Sheikh of the Karagümrük Nûr al-din *âsitanâ* were some of these people.

The *dhâkirbaşı* conducts the musical side of the rite. The fundamental movement of the *Qiyâmî* rite consists of a swinging movement done on the knees by turning the upper part of the body sideways and bowing. All this has to be done in a coordinated and harmonious fashion. The rite begins with a sideways movement. The first name or the first syllable of the name is pronounced while the movement is towards right and the recitation is completed in four phases. If it is the *Kelime-i Tawhîd*, which is being recited, *Lâ ilâha* will be said in two phases towards the right, while *illâllâh* will be said in two phases towards the left. If it is the *İsm-i Djalâl* that is being recited, the *Al* syllable will be pronounced while bending towards right, while the *lah* syllable will be pronounced while straightening. The second time *Allah* will be said while bending towards left and straightening once more. Names like *Hayy al-Qayyûm Allah*, *Allah Wâhid Aḥad Şamed*, *Hayy Hayy Hû*, *Hayy Allah Hayy* and *Yâ Hayy* will all be said according to this principle of four phases. Oscillations and bows also will follow the same principle. The rhythm of such movements of the *Qiyâmî* rites will be gradually made faster by the *qiyâm ra'is*. Once a certain fast rhythm has been attained (as in the case of the high-pitched *qu'ûdî* rites) the recitation will become *qalbî* with the names being hummed.

All the while the *dhâkirs* and *pîyrevs* (apprentice *dhâkirs*) will sing hymns and individual *qaşidas* suitable to the rhythm of the rite, under the direction of the *dhâkirbaşı*. The initiation by the *dhâkirbaşı* of the singing of a hymn is called *ilâhî atmak*. The hymn initiated by the *dhâkirbaşı* will be continued by the *dhâkirs*. To be able to choose appropriate works of Turkish Sufi Music, which has a very vast repertoire, and to be able to execute them all together as if they were a single work in harmony with the rhythm of the rite, requires a thorough knowledge of the music and kinds of *dhikr* and a continuous coordination with the *reis*. That is why the position of *dhâkirbaşı*

entails a great deal of responsibility, together with specialised knowledge. The choice of a correct *maqām* is also very important, since as the rite proceeds not only does the rhythm of the rite increase, but also the voices become higher pitched, necessitating appropriate *maqāms*. When passing from one piece to another by means of an improvisation (*taqṣīm*) it becomes very important not to ruin the pitch of the note, because these are the characteristics that give such rites their artistic merit.

The lyrics of some of the hymns accompanying the *Qiyāmī* rites are in Arabic. Such hymns with lyrics in Arabic, but composed by Turks, are called *shuūl*. The fact that the religious orders doing *Qiyāmī* rites were of Arab origin brought about this preference towards *shughūls* as accompaniments to their rites. In the *Dawrānī* rites preferred by the Khalwatī order, which was of Turkish origin, *shuūls* were not used.

Knowing all these rules related to the music and to the movement brought some *dhākırbaşı*s to fame. There were many famous *dhākırbaşı*s and *dhākır*s especially in Istanbul, but also in Bursa, Edirne, Diyarbakır, Konya, Cairo, Bagdad, Damascus, Rumeli and even in Çrimea. Baba 'Alī *dhākırbaşı* of the Bursa Amīr Sulṭān convent (XV. Century), Üsküplü Niyāzī (XVI. Century), Tābī Meḥmed from Trabzon (d. 1552), Sinān al-dīn Yūsuf (d. 1565), Meḥmed Tchelebi (d. 1603), the Bosnian Kumkapılı Sha'bān (d. 1685), Khaṭīb Dhākırī Ḥasan (d. 1622), Dervish 'Alī Eswed *dhākırbaşı* of Bursa Khayr al-dīn Efendi (d. 1614), Ḥāfız Qumṛal and Sha'ban Dede (d. 1650) *dhākırbaşı*s of the Hūdāi āsitāna, Sütçüzāda 'Īsā (d. 1627), Antepi Bedri Meḥmed (d. 1654), Ḥāfız 'Ubayd in Bursa (d. 1656), Ya'qūbzāda Meḥmed sheikh of Bursa Karaağaç (d. 1666) and its *dhākırbaşı* Abūbākr (d. 1666), its other *dhākırbaşı* Kefeli Dervish 'Abdī (d. 1695), Muḥḍürzāda Şālīḥ Tchelebi in Bursa (d. 1667), *dhākırbaşı* Faḥ Allah Tchelebi (d. 1699) son of Husayn Efendi Sheikh of the Çarşamba *tekke*, Ṭablizāda 'Aqlī Sheikh of the Bursa Fenārī Aḥmad Pasha *tekke* and *dhākırbaşı* of the Debbagh-zāda *tekke* (d. 1704), Aḥmad Tchelebi, *dhākırbaşı* of 'Abd al-Madḡid-i Sivāsī, Dedezāda Ḥabīb, *dhākırbaşı* of 'Abd al-Aḥad Nūri, Khaṭṭat Meḥmed *dhākırbaşı* of Ḥasan Burhān al-dīn Djihangīrī, Çatalsakal Muṣṭafa and Dhākır Khātem Meḥmed from Bursa (d. 1740) *dhākırbaşı*s of the Bursa Üftāde convent, Qabaqzāda Muṣṭafa (d. 1745) Çavuşzāda Ḥādḡī Meḥmed (d. 1759) Çıkrıkçıoğhlū Siyāhī Aḥmad (d. 1778) Karagözzāda Muṣṭafa (d. 1780) *dhākırbaşı*s of the Ashrafoghlu *tekke* in Bursa, Khastazāda 'Abd Allah

dhākirbaşı of the Gazzī *tekke* in Bursa (d. 1746), Djum'a Beyzāda Hādji Meḥmed (d. 1756), Hādji Şālih (d. 1772), Qapan kātibizāda Bursalı Muştafa (d. 1755), Şivei Aḥmad Tchelebi *dhākirbaşı* of Bayrāmī Himmetzāda 'Abd Allah Efendi, Edirneli Şaban Dede (d. 1721) and Muştafa Dede (d. 1812) *dhākirbaşıs* of the Gülşeni order, Molla Muştafa (d. 1732) Arap Sheikh İsmā'il (d. 1826) *dhākirbaşıs* of the Qādirikhāna at Topkhāna, Hopçuzāda Hādji Meḥmed Shakir (d. 1859) sheikh of the Qarabash *tekke* and his sons Aḥmad Ghawthī (d. 1908) and 'Alī Riḍā (d. 1924), Sheikh Aḥmad Wafqī who became famous as the Draman *dhākir* (d. 1748), Dhākir 'Umar (d. 1813), Khaḫīb 'Azīz (d. 1855), Bukhūrizāda Sheikh 'Abd al-Karīm (d. 1778) Shikārizāda Sheikh Hādji Aḥmad (d. 1831) *dhākirbaşıs* of the Sünbūli *āsitāna*, Türbedār Sheikh Ḥamd Allah (d. 1864), Sheikh Muştafa (d. 1873) and 'Atṭār Hādji Aḥmad (d. 1874) brothers of Türbe-dār 'Uthmān Dede, Hādjikadınlı Nūri (d. 1847), Kısık Muştafa (d. 1876), Ḥusayn Ḥūsni (d. 1894), Hāfiz Resmī sheikh of Cihangir (d. 1901), Sheikh Meḥmed Sinan (d. 1924), 'Uthmān Türbedār of Sheikh Wafā (d. 1889), Sheikh Hasan (d. 1804) and Sheikh Meḥmed Nadjīb Dede (d. 1819) *dhākirbaşıs* of the Djarrāhī *āsitāna*, Pepeyi Sheikh Ḥasan (d. 1822), Sheikh Muştafa (d. 1827), Qambur Hāfiz Sheikh İsmā'il (d. 1839), Sheikh Şālih (d. 1852), Sheikh Şālih overseer of the dealers of handkerchiefs (d. 1869), Yorgancı Sheikh 'Umar (d. 1872), Kutucu Sheikh 'Alī (d. 1876), Hāfiz Mahmud sheikh of Tahta Minare (d. 1878), Malak Hāfiz Ḥusayn (d. 1904), Sheikh Muştafa (d. 1915), Sheikh İbrāhim Edhem (d. 1916), Eğrikapılı Sheikh Meḥmed (d. 1916), Nadjm al-dīn (d. 1930), Ser-Tariq 'Alī Ḥaydar (d. 1958), Hāfiz Ḥusayn Khālīş sheikh of the Remli Qādirī convent (d. 1919), Hāfiz İsmā'il *dhākirbaşı* of the Sinānī order (d. 1936), Kasımpaşalı Djamāl (d. 1937) and his disciple Tal'at Rifā'i sheikh of Otakçılar (d. 1921), Fehmi, *dhākirbaşı* of Seyyid Nizām (d. 1934), Edhem sheikh of Çengelköy of the Badawī order (d. 1904) and Shams al-dīn, sheikh of the Bursa Mısrī *āsitāna* (d. 1936) were all famous, not just as composers or singers, but also as conductors of music and rites (*dhākirbaşı*).

Another characteristic of the *Qiyāmī* rites was that they were accompanied by string instruments (*saz*). With the exception of the Mawlawī rites, sufi rites were usually only accompanied by percussion instruments like *qudüm*, *bendir*, *maḫzar*, *khalīla* or *nawba*.

When the rite became *qalbī* those among the *dhākirs*, who knew how to play such instruments, started to pluck on their *saz*. Very rarely during the

qalbī part of the rite, instead of a vocal *taqsīm*, a *taqsīm* with a flute (*ney*) could be played. Throughout the month of Muharrem string instruments were not used as a sign of respect to Ḥusayn and the other Karbalā martyrs.

Even though the word *saz* is the name of a certain instrument, it is frequently used to define all kinds of stringed instruments. In similar fashion, even though the *nawba* is the name of an instrument made of a metal half sphere, comparable to the cover of a pot, covered with leather that is hit with a leather belt and that can have different diameters and depths, it is used to define all percussion instruments used in Sufi rites. The player of a *qudüm* is called *qudüm-zen*, of a *bendir* *bendir-zen*, of a *khalila* *khalila-zen* and the general name of all players of percussion instruments is *nevbe-zen*. All religious orders that do *Qiyāmī* rites accompany the *qalbī* part of the rite with a *nawba*. In addition to which they do *nawba* rites in place of their regular weekly rite preceding a *qandil*. They also do three *nawba* rites during the *Ramazān Bayramı* (festivity at the end of the Ramaḍān fasting) and two during the *Kurban Bayramı* (festivity of the ritual sacrifices). In this way they celebrate the impending *qandil*.

The *nawba* was played also during the *Bayram Haftası* (festivity week). If the weekly regular rite day happened to be a festivity, the regular rite would not be done. The next regular rite would be considered *Bayram Haftası* and the *nawba* would be played.

This rite would be held in celebration of the belief according to which the seven skies and the seven layers of earth and everything in between sing the glory of God (İsrā Sūra of the 44th verse of the Qoran) and in commemoration and re-enactment of the fact that when the Prophet Muḥammad reached Medina, its inhabitants greeted him with the words *Ṭala'a al-bedru 'alaynā* (You are a full moon rising over us) and by playing *bendirs* and tambourines. There were special rules determining who would play which instruments. During regular weekly rites the *dhākirs* would play these instruments, while in *nawba* rites the sheikh and the visiting sheikhs, the *dhākirbaşıs*, eventual *seyyids* (descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad) and the children younger than twelve of the sheikhs and successors would play the *khalila*, the *dhākirs* the *kudüm*, the successors the *nawba* and the dervishes the *bendir* and the *mazhar*. All this was managed by the *dhākirbaşı*. Famous players and conductors of the *nawba* were Şevki *dhākirbaşı* of the Beşiktaş Yaḥyā Efendi Dargāh (convent), 'Ārif, sheikh of

Toygar, Kastamonulu Turşucu Hâfız, Aḥmad Badawī sheikh of Çengelköy and his son Edhem, 'Umar, sheikh of the Naqshbandī Çınar *tekke* at Üsküdar, Maẓhar, Baba of the Kasımpaşa Ḥusām al-dīn 'Ushshāqī *āsītāna* and his brother Sebilci Ḥusayn Efendi and 'Abd al-Şamed Molla, sheikh of Himmetzāda at İzmit.

Tulūbī Nawba (Sa'dī order)

The special *nawba* rite of the Sa'dī order is called *Tulūbī Nawba*. This rite begins with a *nawba taqdīmi* (presentation of the *nawba*), during which the *dhākirbaşı* recites, with his own particular style, verses from the Qoran about how all creatures recite the name of God and about the *dhikr*. This is followed by a singing of the parts of *Mawlānā's Mathnawī* narrating how before the first pulpit was built together with the Medina Mosque, the Prophet Muḥammad preached by leaning his shoulders on a pole or dried up palm (*Sütün-u Ḥannāna*) and how once he stopped doing this he cried with longing. Once the *Qiyāmī* rite becomes *kalbī* the playing of the *nawba* starts. This is followed by the recitation of *İllāllah Ḥayy* and *Allah Yā Dāim*.

Dawsīya (Sa'dī order)

The following is another special characteristic of the rites of the Sa'dī order: During the regular weekly rite at the moment when the *Qiyāmī* rite becomes *qalbī* the dervishes accompany ill people and especially the children into the *tawḥīdkhāna* where they are made to lie face down on the ground. The Sheikh walks over them while continuing to pray and do his *dhikr*. This is called *Dawsīya* and was done especially in the month of Rabī' al-awwal, which is the month when the prophet Muḥammad was born. Also sheikhs of other religious orders were sometimes authorised to do *Dawsīyas*. Meḥmed 'Aṭā' Allah Dede Efendi (d. 1912), sheikh of the Galata Mawlawīkhāna used to do *Dawsīyas*. The word derives from *devs*, which means 'stepping on'. It is a commemoration of the miracle by Yūnus al-Djibāwī, son and successor of Sa'd al-dīn al-Djibāwī founder of the Sa'dī order, who when in Cairo for the first time stepped on a line of very fragile glass containers without breaking any of them. This miracle gave birth to a religious order tradition and ritual, with the only difference that instead of stepping on glass containers the sheikhs step on dervishes, ill people and children. The Dawsa Rite done in Cairo until the Khedive of Egypt, Meḥmed Tawfiq Pasha forbid it in 1881, was done in the following way: On the 12th

day of the month of Rabi' al-awwal, which is the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad, on the birthdays of Seyyide Zeyneb, granddaughter of the Prophet Muḥammad, of İmam Shāfi'ī the mausoleum of which is in Cairo, of Sheikh Yūnus al Djibāwī and on *qandil* days the Sheikh would mount his horse and depart from the Masdjid-i Ḥusayn (or its *tekke*). All along the road there would be dervishes lying face down on the ground. Those that were not lying down would be playing their percussion instruments and reciting the *İsm-i Djalāl*. The horse would walk over the prostrate dervishes, as the horse proceeded, the dervish upon which the horse had stepped would get up and start to follow his sheikh. This rite would generally be done in the Özbekiye Square of Cairo and would end with all the dervishes sitting in a *dhikr* circle and doing a short *dhikr* and prayer. That same night a *mawlid* (poem or chant narrating the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad) ceremony and banquet would be held. During its last years the Cairene *Dawsīyas* and following rites were led by sheikhs, who were members of the noble Egyptian Bakr family (descendants of Abū Bakr, one of the first four Caliphs). Similar *Dawsīyas* were also done in the Sudan and Syria, while those done in Iraq, Anatolia and Rumeli were done inside *tekkes* in the way described at the beginning of this paragraph.

Also the *qalbī* part of the rite of the Sa'dī order has something particular. The dervish sitting in front of the sheikh and the sheikh look in each other's eyes and the dervish turns rigid. Such a state goes on until the end of the rite when another look by the sheikh (*nazar-ı murshid*, look of the guide) frees the dervish from his trance. This is called *Sa'dī Dondurması* (*dondurma* in the sense of freezing, having nothing to do with the Turkish word meaning ice cream). In Tahtakale at Bursa there is a Sa'dī *tekke* known as Dondurma Tekke.

The members of the Sa'dī order used to do a rite in Damascus, which was their centre, at the Emewiye Mosque after Friday prayers. As a reflection of this custom of their centre, the Sa'dī of Istanbul used to do a rite at saint Sofia, especially on *Qadr* nights (the 27th night of the month of Ramaḍān). The space under the great inscription of the name of 'Alī was considered a Sa'dī *tekke*.

Nawba Vurma (Playing the *Nawba*)

There is another ritual tied to playing the *nawba*, which is typical of Istanbul. This used to be done on *bayram* mornings between the Merkez

Efendi Khalwatî-Sünbülî Tekke and the Yenikapı Mawlawîkhâna. The dervishes at the Yenikapı Mawlawîkhâna would do their regular morning prayers in their own *tekke* and then go to the Merkez Efendi Tekke, where they would make their festive *bayram* prayers. After which the sheikh of the Mawlawîkhâna would conduct a special service and wish everybody a happy festivity. When the time came to return, some of the dervishes would shoulder the *qudüm* and start walking with the *qudüm-zen* following them and playing their instruments on their friends' shoulders at the same time. Together with them there would be *ney-zens* playing *pîshraw* (four-part rhythmic music, which generally served as an introduction) and sometimes *samâ'-zens* (whirling dervishes) doing the *samâ'* dance. Thus would the group return to its own convent. The music would end once the convent was reached. Prayers would be said in front of a window used by the sheikh to receive homage and the ceremony would end with a *gûlbang*.

This in summary was the *Qiyâmî* rite. Nevertheless some religious orders have special rites and there are other particularities common to all orders.

The Beyyûmî Dhikr (of the Beyyûmî Order)

The Beyyûmî *dhikr*, which was a *Qiyâmî dhikr* of Egyptian origin, is one of these. The dervishes stand in rank and without moving their feet turn their bodies towards the right saying *Allah*, then they turn left and say *Yâ Dâim*, all the while rocking on their knees. There is a pause between the *Yâ Dâim* and the turning back. The *dhikr* goes on in this way. A *dhâkir* stands between the two ranks facing each other, facing the *qibla* (the direction of the Mecca) and sings a *qasîda* (eulogy), in which the pitch of the voice rises at each couplet. This is accompanied by an increase in the rhythm. When the name of the writer is pronounced the *dhikr* becomes *qalbî* and the percussion instruments start to be played. With the increase of enthusiasm deriving from the ever-increasing rhythm, the knees go lower and even touch the floor, while the arms start being flailed. When the sheikh shouts *İllâllah* the Beyyûmî ends. The difference between the Beyyûmî and other *Qiyâmî* rites is the fact that instead of bowing and straightening, the movement of the dervishes consists of a right-left turning. It is similar to the movement done during the Bektâshî *samah* rite.

The Beyyûmî religious order, which was founded by 'Alî Hîdjâzî al-Beyyûmî (1696-1769), has rites particular to itself. Its typical rite in which the

dervishes clap their hands, was done in the places where this order was widespread, like Egypt, Arabia, Yemen, Turkestan and even India, but was almost non-existent in Anatolia and Rumeli. In Istanbul it was done only in the Koca Muştafa Pasha Ağačkakan Badawī *tekke* and at the İslām Bey *tekke* at Eyüp. The Beyyūmī rite, which was different from the Beyyūmī *dhikr* done by all *Qiyāmī* orders, would be initiated by the *dhākirbaşı* and start with the recitation of the *İsm-i Djalāl*. While the standing ranks were reciting the *İsm-i Djalāl*, the sheikh would make his solemn entrance and shout *Hū*, upon which the standing ranks would become semi-circles and the recitation of *Yā Allah Yā Dāim* would begin. This recitation would turn into a recitation of *Yā Allah Yā Dāim* and the rhythm would increase. A difference in comparison to other *Qiyāmī* rites was the fact that the feet were not in a fixed position. They would make half turns on the toes and while the body was turning right and left the hands would be crossed on the chest and clapped at the moment of straightening. The ranks would get closer towards the end of the rite, which would end with the declamation *Allah Hū Rabbanā Yā Raḥmān*.

The Naqshbandī Order

Those branches of the Naqshbandī order that have adopted a *djāhri* (sonorous) *dhikr* have a *Qiyāmī* rite particular to themselves. The dervishes, who stood in ranks or *dhikr* semi-circles facing each other, would oscillate right and left and as the rhythm increased they would strike their right knees to the floor and straighten again. The beauty and emotion of this rite was proportionate to its difficulty. The recitation was done with a guttural voice that the Yasawīs called *Dhikr-i Erre* and was popularly known as the *testere dhikri* (*dhikr* of the handsaw). This technique was also employed in Northern Africa. Even though the rite of the Northern African branches of the Khalwatī-Sha‘bānī order like the Bakriya, the Kamāliya, the Ḥofniya, the Tidjāniya, the Dirdiriya and the Sāwiya, was *Dawrānī* (in a step by step movement), there were also *Qiyāmī* parts and the *Dhikr-i Erre*.

The Shādhali Order

The Shādhali order also has North-West African (Magrib) origins and its *dhikr* is a *Qiyāmī* rite. The difference consists in the fact that the dervishes do not stand in straight ranks, but in intersecting circles, with the sheikh

standing in the centre (*quṭbkhāna*). The distinguishing characteristic of the Shādhali rite is the way the sheikh throws back his head while his arms are stretched towards the front and he claps his hands to conduct the rite. This clapping is so loud that it is heard through the din of the rite and accompanying hymns and needs special ability. The accompanying hymns have Arabic lyrics and are called *Shādhali Shughuls*. The last masters of *Shādhali Shughuls* were Taḥsin Efendi sheikh of the Istanbul Alibeyköy Shādhali convent, Ḥamza Zāfir (d. 1903), Muḥammad Zāfir (d. 1904) and Bashir Zāfir (d. 1909) sheikhs of the Beşiktaş Ertuğrul Tekke and Khaṭṭāt Ḥādji Nūri Efendi (Korman) (d. 14/9/1951) *dhākırbaşı* of the Beşiktaş Yahyā Efendi convent.

One of the elements of the history of the Shādhali order is very important from the point of view of Ottoman social life. The *Şalawāt-ı Sherif* titled *Şalāt-ı Mashīhiya*, which is popular among Muslims of all sorts and not just Shādhali or sufis, was written by Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Salām b. Mashis al-Ḥasanī (d. 1228), sheikh of the founder of the Shādhali order Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Shādhali. This *şalawāt* was used for didactic purposes also by sheikhs of other orders and has been recited also by non-sufis as a *thawāb* (pious act). In addition to this the *awrād* titled *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*, which has always had mass appeal, was written by the founder of the Djazūliya branch of the Shādhali order, the Moroccan Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Djazūli (d. 1465). The *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*, which is a collection of *şalawāts* and prayers, is popularly known as the *Dalā’il-i Sherif* and is frequently recited. During *qandil* and Ramaḍān evenings and on occasion of weddings, births, beginning of military service and succession ceremonies of certain religious orders, there used to be collective recitations of the *Şalāt-ı Mashīhiya* and of the *Dalā’il al-Khayrāt*. In some mosques foundations have been established so that the *Dalā’il* could be recited continuously. Nowadays there is still the custom to recite the *Dalā’il* with one, two or four day intervals.

The Qiyāmī Kelime-i Tawḥīd

Another of the *Qiyāmī* rites, which are not particular to any *Qiyāmī* order, is the *Qiyāmī Kelime-i Tawḥīd*. This does not mean just reciting *Lā ilāha illāllāh* while standing, which is common to all *Qiyāmī* religious orders,

but reciting it with a certain beat. The syllables and accents of the expression *Lā ilāha illāllāh* are pronounced according to the *düyek* (rhythmic pattern of 8 beats with signatures of 8/8 8/4) method of Turkish music. This begins with a slow rhythm, but as the pitch of the accompanying hymns and *qaşidas* rises the rhythm also increases with a very strong and enthusiastic accent on the *he* syllable of *Lā ilāha*. Parallel to the increasing ebullience of the *dhikr* the *dhākirs* sing hymns of different *maqāms* (from the 'Adjamashirān to the Māhūr and from the Māhūr to the Mukhayyar etc.) at appropriate moments. Later the 'Ushshāq or Hidjāz *maqāms* are used and the recitation of *Shay'an Lillāh* (something in the name of God) begins. The four great names of sufism (*Aqtāb-i Arba'a* the four great *qutb*) ie. those of 'Abd al-Qādir Kilānī, Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī, Aḥmad al-Badawī and İbrāhīm-i Dasūqī are commemorated. This is followed by a commemoration of the founder of the order organising this rite. The rite finishes at the same pitch and rhythm with which it had begun.

The Qiyāmi İsm-i Djalāl

The *Qiyāmi İsm-i Djalāl* is another of the *Qiyāmi* rites that are not particular to any *Qiyāmi* sufi order. The dervishes stand in ranks facing each other and when the sheikh declaims *Yā Haḍrat-i Allah* they begin to recite the *İsm-i Djalāl* by saying *Allah Allah* at a very low pitch with a slight right and left oscillation (*servi salnımı*). One of the *dhākirs* starts to sing a *qaşida* with the Ḥusaynī *maqām*. At the end of each couplet of the *qaşida* the dervishes bow towards their right hand front and say *Yā Allah* at the same pitch of the *qaşida* and then go on with their free recitation of *Allah Allah*. Thus proceeds the *Qiyāmi İsm-i Djalāl*. When the couplet containing the name of the writer is reached, the dervishes once more bow towards their right-hand front during the pause and they straighten while saying *Allah*. The same is done when bowing towards the left-hand front, ie a silent bow and straightening while saying *Allah*. Thus the word *Allah* is recited twice in four movements. The *dhākirs* sing collective hymns according to the rhythm of the *dhikr*. At a certain point the *İsm-i Djalāl* becomes *qalbī*. Like many *Qiyāmi* rites, also the *Qiyāmi İsm-i Djalāl* is a very ebullient rite. It ends when the sheikh declaims *illāllāh*.

In *Qiyāmi* rites, as the rhythm of the *dhikr* increases, the recitation of the sheikh generally becomes *qalbī*. Sometimes the sheikh may change the recitation into a recitation of *Hayy* without changing the rhythm. There are

even times when the *Qiyāmī* rite begins directly with the recitation of *Ḥayy*. There are various recitation styles, but in all cases it consists of four movements (right front bowing followed by a straightening up and a left front bowing followed once more by a straightening up). The recitation of *Ḥayy Ḥayy Ḥayy* pause *Yā Allah* is done in two sets of four movements. When the rhythm increases it becomes *Ḥayy Ḥayy Yā Allah* recited in only four movements. There are many other similar styles. Whatever the style of the recitation, towards the end of the rite the sheikh sometimes starts the *Yā Ḥayy* recitation, upon which the feet are stomped on the ground with the *Yā* and with the *Ḥayy* the dervishes in one rank move one step forward while those on the other move one step back. This kind of rite in which the ranks move back and forth is called *Dalga Tawḥīdī* (*Tawḥīd* in waves) even though the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* is not recited.

Sometimes towards the end of the *Qiyāmī* rite, when the rhythm has increased, the recitation of *Allāhümme* with the stress on the second syllable begins. The dervishes bow and straighten up, but this is done by alternate dervishes. Thus when one is bowing those on his sides straighten up and when one is straightening up those on his sides bow. This style is called *Demdeme*.

Again in cases when towards the end of the *Qiyāmī* rite, the rhythm has increased, the sheikh may change the recitation into *Ḥayy Allah Ḥayy* or *Allah Allah Ḥayy*. In such cases also the movement changes. Instead of a right-left oscillation and of a bowing followed by a straightening up, there begins a right left turning of the whole body keeping both the neck and the waist straight.

Badawī Topu

Even though the *Qiyāmī dhikr* known as the *Badawī Topu* is typical to the *Badawī* religious order, it is done at the end of the rites of all *Qiyāmī* orders and even at the end of the rites of some *Dawrānī* orders. While the dervishes, standing in ranks facing each other, recite the noble name *Ḥayy* during their *Qiyāmī dhikr*, the sheikh standing in the middle claps his hands over his head, inviting in this way everybody to assemble around him. At that moment a *dhākir* starts to recite the chant called *ṣalā* with the same *maqām* being used to sing the hymns. The moment the declamation of *Yā Rasūlallah* is heard, the recitation becomes *Yā Ḥayy*. The *dhikr* goes on in this way, with the feet staying fixed and the knees rocking, until the end of the *ṣalā*. After

the *ṣalā* the recitation will turn into *Ḥayy Ḥayy* and the *dhikr* will end when the sheikh declaims *illāllāh*. There is another way with which the dervishes assemble: The Sheikh holds hands with the dervish standing at the end of a line and starts to turn him around himself towards the right. In this way all the dervishes holding hands form a spiral with the sheikh in the centre. The moment the *ṣalā* starts they stop and everybody puts his hands on the shoulders of the dervish just in front forming a ball like and very compact group, ie. the *Badawī Topu*. Since the hymns accompanying the *dhikr* can be of very different *maqams* and the *ṣalā* has to be of the same *maqam* as the hymns and since reciting *ṣalās* at different *maqāms* is very difficult, being a *dhākir* during a *Badawī Topu* required great mastery. The *Badawī* religious order was founded in Egypt and gained widespread acceptance there. It spread in Anatolia and Istanbul rather late, during the 1700's, but nevertheless the *Badawī Topu* rite was adopted by all orders. *Dawrānī* orders used to do this rite with the sheikh holding the hand of a dervish in the *dawrān* circle and forming a spiral. (Ḥādījī Sheikh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥilmī Efendi, chief of the Nūr al-dīn Djarrāḥī Āsitānasi of the *Dawrānī* Khalwatī-Djarrāḥī order, died in 1801 when he was around 110 years old during a *Badawī Topu*.)

Badawī Mawlıds

At this point we have to mention the *Badawī Mawlıds*, which are a kind of rite particular to the *Badawī* order. The famous Mameluke Sultans al-Malik-al-Zāhir Baybars and Qā'id Bey (Kayıtbay), had feelings of deep respect for Seyyid Ahmad al-Badawī, founder of the *Badawī* order, whose mausoleum and *tekke* was in the Tanta town to the north of Cairo. They showed their respect by participating in the ceremonies commemorating him. These commemorations and *mawlıds* continued in later Ottoman times and even as recently as the days of the khedive, as if they were official state functions. These *mawlıd* ceremonies are performed each year during the last week of the month of Dhū al-ḥıdjja, even though Aḥmad al-Badawī died on 12 Rabi' al-awwal 675 (24 August 1276). Ceremonies similar to the ones performed in Tanta were also done in Istanbul at the Çengelköy and Eyüp İslām Bey *Badawī tekkes*. The *Badawī* sheikh 'Alī Baba was a famous reciter of *mawlıds*.

Rifā'ī Rites (Bürhān)

Among the *Qiyāmī* rites the *Rifā'ī* rites are noteworthy, because of their showing of *bürhan* (*bürhan gösterme*), which means incontrovertible truth or proof. Seyyid Ahmad er-Rifā'ī, who studied at the Ümmü 'Ubayda *tekke* near Basra, went to the Hadj pilgrimage in 1160. During his visit to Medina he saw the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad (Rawḍa-i Muṭahhara) from afar and descending from his camel he entered it. As if he wanted to show that he was a Seyyid (descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad) he said, 'I greet you o Grandfather' (*al-Selāmu 'Aleyke Yā Djaddī*). At that moment a voice was heard – and this was confirmed by witnesses – saying, 'I greet you o son' (*'Aleyk al-Selām Yā Waladī*). Upon which the founding saint knelt and declaimed a poem, which said, 'When afar I sent my spirit here so that he could kiss your earth. Now the same privilege has become possible also for my worldly body. Extend your hand so that I may kiss it with the lips of both my spirit and body.' And... a hand of light extended from the tomb and the saint kissed it. The showing of *bürhān* is done to commemorate this event and to show that the natural laws of the world may sometimes not be valid. This consists of inserting instruments like swords, skewers or knobs into the cheeks, stomach, throat or eyes or even licking white-hot metal called *gül* (rose) and putting it on one's naked body. This is done to show that it is not the knife that cuts, but God and that it is not fire that burns, but God. The showing of *bürhān* is done during the *Rifā'ī* rite at the moment when the *Qiyāmī dhikr* is increasing its rhythm and turning into the *qalbī* form, upon a sign of the sheikh. This does not take place every time the rite is done, but only when the sheikh considers it appropriate. It is never done during the month of Muharrem.

Qabir Tawḥīdī

Another rite, which may be considered a *Qiyāmī* rite, is the *Qabir Tawḥīdī* (tomb *Tawḥīd*), done during a burial ceremony or during a commemoration at a mausoleum. When a member of a religious order dies, a usual Muslim rite is performed, but after the burial the people assemble around the tomb in a *dhikr* circle and a sheikh or senior dervish initiates a collective recitation of the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd*. Sometimes this may be followed by the declamation *Lā ilāha illāllah Muḥammad Shafī' Shāfī' Allah*. The *Qabir Tawḥīdī* ends with a *gülbang*. A typical example of a *Qabir Tawḥīdī* rite done in a mausoleum is the one done in the Djalwatī *āsītāna*. Every

Sunday and Thursday people assembled at the Üsküdar 'Azîz Maḥmûd Hüdâî convent in the mausoleum of the saint, where they did a collective *Kelime-i Tawḥîd*. After the *Tawḥîd* the *dhâkirbaşî* or the imam would recite the Mülk Sûra; the sheikh would say a prayer and following the *gûlbang* everybody would go out of the mausoleum. In the courtyard the participants would drink from little cups, the water that the *Türbedâr Efendi* had taken from the well in the mausoleum (as in the case of the Zemzem well in the courtyard of the Kaaba), in the belief that it was beneficial. This moment could be accompanied by hymns the lyrics of which had been written by Hüdâî. If the visit to the mausoleum happened during the month of Muḥarram, water was not drunk as a sign of respect to Ḥusayn and the Karbalâ martyrs.

C- *Dawrânî* Rites

Among the sufi rites, those that consist of dervishes walking step by step all together in a circle (*dhikr* circle) are called *Dawrânî* rites. When the *Dawrân* rite is mentioned, the name that springs to the mind is that of the Khalwatî religious order (and of its more than forty branches), which is widespread among Muslim Turks. In Khalwatî rites, the *dhikr* circle turns by means of steps towards the left, while in the Ashrafî and Rûmî branches of the Qâdirî religious order, the *dhikr* circle turns by means of steps towards the right. The *Dawr-i Waladî* (the Sultân Walad circle), which is the first part of the Mawlawî rite, can be considered a *Dawrânî* rite. The founder of the Khalwatî order, 'Umar al-Khalwatî lived in the Geylan area of the southwestern Caspian, while its second sage and the one who spread the philosophy of the order, Seyyid Yahyâ-i Shirwânî lived in Şamahî and Baku. Most of the saints who founded the various branches of the Khalwatî religious order lived in cities like Manisa, Uşak, Çanakkale, Sivas, Kastamonu, Malatya, Afyon, Çerkeş, Edirne, Karaman, Kayseri, Erzincan, Tebriz and Istanbul. The founder of the Mawlawîs Mawlânâ lived in Konya, Ashrafoghlu 'Abd Allah-ı Rûmî, founder of the Qâdirî-Ashrafî order in Ankara, Hama and İznik, İsmâ'il-ı Rûmî, founder of the Qâdirî-Rûmî order in Tosya and Istanbul. It is noteworthy that all these orders originating from Azerbaijan or Turkey, and thus of Turkish origin, adopted the *Dawrânî dhikr*.

Khalwatī Dawrān

The *Khalwatī Dawrān* is the most widespread of the *Dawrān* rites and includes all the characteristics of such rites. As in the case of the *Qiyāmī* rites, the *Dawrānī* rites are executed in two phases. They begin in a sitting position (as was explained when describing both the *qu'ūd* and the *qiyām*). Once the *maydan* is open and the first phase in a sitting position is complete, the sheikh strikes the floor with his hands and gets up. In this he is followed by all others, who, according to the number of people present, form one, two, three... circles. The sheikh stands in one of the circles. The *dhākirs* accompany the *dhikr* by singing hymns and playing percussion instruments from their special loggia (*dhākir maqşuresi*) or more rarely in the centre of the circles. The fur hides laid out on the ground are collected by the *maydancı* and his helpers. As in the case of the *Qiyāmī* rites, the rite begins with a *djumhūr ilāhī*. Sometimes at the end of a hymn a *fātiha* is recited for the soul of the writer of the lyrics of that hymn. Subsequently the sheikh declaims for three times *1-İsm-i Pāk*, *2-Djism-i Pāk*, *3-Nes-i Pāk* *Ḥadrat-i Muḥammad Muştafā rā Şalawāt* and a *Şalawāt* with a special music is sung collectively. At the end of it the sheikh declaims *Yā Allah Hū* or *Allah Yā Hū* or *Hū Mawlām Hū* and this is the signal for the *Dawrānī* rite to begin (these three expressions have all slightly different sufi and spiritual meanings). The dervishes hold hands, with the right hands turned upwards and the left hands turned downwards; they kiss each other's hands and start to make half steps towards the left side (moving the left foot towards the left and moving it slightly towards the right). In this way they very slowly start to move in a circle. This is accompanied by a right and left movement of the head, in harmony with the steps. At each step the *Hū* name is repeated. At the moment when the left foot moves, the head is turned left and *Hū* is said. When the weight of the body is on the left leg and the right foot is being moved towards the left, the head turns to the right and breathes. In this way the *Dawrān* circle moves. At the third *Hū* the *dhākirs* start to sing a hymn suitable to the pitch and rhythm of the *dhikr*. When the name of the writer of the lyrics of the hymn is pronounced, the sheikh stamps his foot and exclaims *Ḥayy*, upon which the rhythm slows. At this point the dervishes stop reciting *Hū*, instead of which they recite *Ḥayy*. They say two *Ḥayy*'s while moving the left foot and moving the right one towards it, ie. in the time it took them to say one *Hū*. At this stage the dervishes do not hold hands, they hold the left shoulder of the dervish on their left side with their left arm and

the waist of the dervish on their right side with their right arm. This is called *kol atnak* (holding arms). At the moment when the *Ḥayy* recitation starts the *dhākirs* start playing their percussion instruments like the *quḍüm*, *bendir*, *mazhar*, *khalila* or *nawba*. Religious order etiquette and manners require the *nawba* being played by eventual visiting sheikhs and the *khalila* by the *Seyyids*. Convent etiquette and manners also require that no instrument should be used during the month of Muḥarram as a sign of respect towards Ḥusayn and the Karbalā martyrs. Once the *Ḥayy dhikri* starts the sheikh and the successors remove their ceremonial caps and cloaks, which are particular to each religious order and rank. At the moment when the dervishes hold hands, the sheikh has both his hands turned downwards, while when the dervishes have their arms around each other's, the sheikh has both his arms around the shoulders of those around him. Another alternative is for him to be outside the circle in the centre called *quṭbkhāna*, facing the direction of the Kaaba (*qibla*), from where he directs the rite. In case that the sarcophagi of the former sheikhs are adjacent to the *tekke's tawḥīdkhāna*, in which case the *tawḥīdkhāna* would be called *türbeli meydan*, the sheikh could face either the *qibla* or the sarcophagi. If the *dhākirbaşı* were in the circle, at the moment of the *kol atma* he would leave the circle and go to the *dhākir maqşuresi*. The *Dawrān* is conducted entirely by the sheikh himself and there is no other chief as in the case of the *Qiyāmī* rite. That is why the sheikhs of *Dawrānī* religious orders should be well versed in music and be in harmony with the *dhākirbaşı*, especially as far as questions of rhythm are concerned.

While the *dhikr* and the *Dawrān* are going on, the *dhākirs* sing hymns and give the beat of the rhythm, which increases every time one hymn finishes and another one starts. As the *Dawrān's* pace quickens, the way the feet are moved changes. The right foot, which was being moved near the left one, starts being moved to the back of the left foot. In this way the right foot goes inside the circle, while the left one is outside of it. Between the hymns there are *taqsims* consisting of short *qaşidas* sung by a *dhākir*. The *taksim* may be used as an occasion to change the *maqām*. The *Ḥayy dhikr* may be done in a *qalbī* way, in which case the *taqsims* may be done with a flute (*ney*). The person doing the *taqsim* generally stands in the *quṭbkhāna* or sometimes in the *dhākir maqşuresi*.

Sometimes when the pace of the *Dawrān* has quickened, the sheikh may stomp his foot and slow down its rhythm (*qısm etmek* or *asma*), at which point the style of the *dhikr* will change with the *Ḥayy Ḥayy Ḥayy* being audible and the *Allah* being *qalbī*. The names most often recited in the *Dawrān* are the sacred names of *Hū* and of *Ḥayy*, but the way they are recited changes very much. During the hymn composed especially for the *Dawrān*, titled *A sultānım sen vār iken* (O my sultan when you were present), the *dhikr* consists of *Yā Ḥayy* accompanied by a foot stomping while the vocal refrain of the hymn is being sung and of only *Ḥayy* while the rest of the hymn is being sung. Sometimes the *Dawrān* ends with a *Badawī Topu*, while sometimes it can end with the sheikh's declamation of *illāllah*.

At the end of the *Dawrān* the dervishes in the *dhikr* circles assemble in the shape of a crescent, the open side of which faces the *kible*. At a sign by the sheikh a double recitation of the *Hū* name begins, accompanied by the *dhākirs* chanting *Lā ilāha illāllah Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh, Sāllāllahu 'aleyhi ve sellimū teslimā*. At the end of which a *dhākir* recites a final prayer with the *makam* of the hymns sung during the *Dawrān*. At the end of the prayer the declamation of *İllā Hū* ends the recitation of the name *Hū*. Sometimes at this point everybody sits and listens to the recitation of the *Qoran* followed by a short prayer and a *fātiḥa*. The visiting sheikhs and other senior visitors are honoured with the permission to say a *fātiḥa* each, which they recite in order of their rank and seniority. This also is part of the oft-mentioned religious order etiquette and spirit. Later the sheikh or someone authorised by him to conduct the rite (someone to whom the *maydan* has been given) will conduct a collective *şalawāt* or *tekbir*. This is followed by a *gūlbang*. This will be recited by the sheikh or by someone who has been honoured by him with the assignment of this recitation, while the listeners will be chanting with a low voice a double *Allah Allah*. At the end of the *gūlbang* the name of the founder of the order (Dem-i Ḥaḍrat-i Pır) will be pronounced. This will be the signal for everybody to kiss the ground and rise with the exclamation of *Yā Allah Hū*. At this point if there is a mausoleum at the *tekke* everybody will turn towards it and recite a *fātiḥa*. The sheikh's final greeting will be answered by various people like the *Ser-ṭarīq*, *Pishqadam* or the chief cook with precise formulae depending from the religious order and their ranks. The other people will remain silent. At the end everybody will leave the *tawḥīdkhāna* silently and respectfully, in other words with serenity (*ḥudūr*), reverence (*khushū'*) and courtesy (*ādāb*). Sometime the

İllā Hū may be followed by a *gūlbang* recited standing, after which the rite will end.

These were the general characteristics of the *Dawrānī* rite, but there are also parts of it, which are particular to certain religious orders.

The Qādirī Order (Ashrafi, Rūmī and Resmī branches)

Even though the Qādirī religious order is one of the orders that performs the *Qiyāmī dhikr*, its Ashrafi, Rūmī and Resmī branches, which are those most widespread in Anatolia, follow their *Qiyām* with a *Dawrān*, but this does not move towards the left like the one of the Khalwatīs, but towards the right. In addition to this, the Qādirīs have a special rite called the Qādirī *samā'*. During this rite a dervish will stand in the *quṭbhāna*, while the rest are doing their *Dawrān* and do a *samā'* consisting of turning very fast around his axis, but contrary to the Mawlawī *samā'*, without stretching his arms and turning towards the right instead of towards the left.

The Sivasī Order

In the Sivasī branch of the Khalwatī order the *Dawrān* begins with the dervishes doing a *samā'* before forming a circle. During the *samā'* they recite *Hayy Allah*.

The Sünbülī Order

The Sünbülī branch of the Khalwatī order also has something unique to itself. In the Sünbül Efendi Tekke at Koca Muṣṭafa Pasha, which is both the *āsītāna* and house of its founder, it has been a tradition to always sing the same hymn during the *Dawrān*. This starts with the verse *Şafḥa-i şadrında dāim 'āşıqın efkārı Hū* (*Hū* is in the minds of all lovers in these ranks in front of you) written by Djamāl al-dīn Khalwatī. At the end of each couplet the pitch increases and the pace quickens. When towards the end the name of Sheikh Djamālī is pronounced, the recitation of *Hū* turns into a recitation of *Hayy* and the pace slackens. The rest of the rite is the same as other Khalwatī rites.

The gardens of the Sünbül Efendi Asitānasi contain the mausolea of two daughters of Ḥusayn. From the founding of the convent, it held a special rite on the 10th day of the month of Muḥarram, the anniversary of the Karbalā disaster. On the 10th of Muḥarram, after regular daily prayers, together with visiting sheikhs and dervishes from many *tekkes* of Istanbul and environs,

twelve cycles (*rak'at*) of the *husamā* prayer (a voluntary or *nafile* prayer) were completed, followed by a *mawlid*, a *merthiya* (elegy) and the public singing of *qaşidas* expressing love of *Ahl-i Beyt-i Muşţafa* (the family of the Prophet Muḥammad) and condemnation of the Karbalā murderers. During dinner the 'āshūrā sweet (made of cereals, sugar, raisins etc.) was eaten and after the nightly regular prayer, the most senior sheikh would conduct a session, during which the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* was recited seventy thousand times, followed by a *Dawrān*. Even though on the 10th of Muḥarram there were such rites in all the *tekkes* of Istanbul, this was by far the most important service. Nowadays this day is commemorated with *mawlids* and *marthiyas*.

The Gulshani Order

The Gulshani religious order, being a branch of the Khalwatiş, performs the *Dawrānī* rite. The difference consists in the fact that during the rite special hymns, called *Gulshani Şawt*, are used. *Şawt* means a poem sung to the accompaniment of music, but in this case it expresses hymns with short lyrics, slow pace and oft-repeated phrases. The dynamics of the Gulshani *Dawrān* are also slightly different. While the *Şawt* are being sung the *dhikr* circle turns with the normal *Dawrān* steps, but once the *Şawt* end, and more lively hymns are sung, the step changes. Instead of the usual leftwards movement of the circle while holding hands, the dervishes start to move their left feet towards the centre of the *dhikr* circle, called the *quṭb khāna*, while at the same moment their right feet go in the opposite direction. Together with their left feet they bow their body towards the front and straighten up with their right foot. When seen from the top this movement creates the impression of a rose bud opening and closing. When one considers that the Gulshani hat is pink and its *destar* green, one can imagine what a beautiful spectacle this must have been.

The Zayni Order and the Wafā'ī Dawrī (Wafā'ī Circle)

The Zayni religious order was founded by Zayn al-dīn Ḥāfi, who was a follower of the Khorasan sufi school. The Zeyni rite is very similar to the Khalwati rite. Its only difference is the *Wafā Dawrī*, which is a special *Dawrān* rite introduced by Sheikh Abū al-Wafā, founder of the Wafā'ī branch of the Zayni religious order. The dervishes stand in concentric *Dawrān* circles holding hands (right hands towards the front and left hands towards the

back). The circular movement begins with the left foot, the *quṭbkhāna* being on the left, as in the case of the going round the Kaaba (*ṭawāf*) during the pilgrimage at Mecca. Every four steps are considered a unit. First comes the recitation of the *Ḥayy al-Qayyūm Allah*. Later as the rhythm increases, first *Allah, Wāḥid, Aḥad, Ṣamed* and as the pace increases even more *Ḥayy Ḥayy Hū* is recited. All the while the *dhākirs* chant hymns appropriate to the pitch and rhythm of the moment. No percussion instruments are used during the *Wafā'ī Dawrī*. At the end of the *Ḥayy Ḥayy Hū* recitation the *Dawrān* stops and the *Wafā'ī Dawrī* ends in the same way as the *Khalwatī* rite.

The Djarrāḥī Order

Apart from the usual *Dawrān* rite, the *Khalwatī-Djarrāḥī* order has a *Dawrān* rite peculiar to itself, which is called *Ṭawāf Tawḥīdī*. This kind of rite, which among other things was introduced by Nūr al-dīn Djarrāḥī, is done in the following way: While the *Dawrān* is proceeding with the *Yā Ḥayy* recitation the sheikh conducting the rite exclaims 'ranks by three', upon which the dervishes from the innermost *dhikr* circle form ranks of three people each. The left sides of these ranks point towards the *quṭbkhāna*. In the meantime the other circles continue with their *Dawrān* towards the left. Those in the ranks stomp their right feet and proceed with normal steps in the opposite direction. The sheikh is in the exact centre or *quṭbkhāna* turning on his axis towards the left, in other words doing a *samā'*, even at times stretching his arms in the *Mathnawī* fashion. Seen from the top the 'ensemble' looks like a wheel, with the outer circles turning like the wheel itself and the three-dervish ranks looking like the spokes of the wheel and all together a beautiful result. This rite can be done anytime, but it was especially performed during the first week of the month of Ramaḍān.

There is another rite done only by the Djarrāḥīs: This is done on the evening of the eve of the Feast of Ritual Sacrifices (*Kurban Bayramı*) and is meant to be a replica of and spiritual participation to the *Waqfa* being done at the same moment at Mount Arafat at Mecca. As in the case of the real *Waqfa*, recitations of *Talbiya* (*Iebbeyke*, at your service!), *Tekbīr* and *Ṣalawāt* are done. After a prayer and a short *Dawrān* the rite ends. This rite used to be performed at the Sır Tekke at Sakızağacı, just outside the Edirne Gate of the Istanbul walls, where nowadays there is the cemetery, but in later times it was done at the Karagümrük Asitānasi.

In the *tekkes* of all orders that had adopted the *Dawrānī* rite, the *Qiyāmī* rite was also done. When a sheikh of a *Qiyāmī* order was visiting, he was honoured with an execution of a *Qiyāmī* rite on the principle of *teberrük* (showing respect to another rite with the hope of gaining its blessings). Sometimes the opposite happened with a *Dawrān* being done in a *Qiyāmī tekke*. The *Dawrān* was initiated by the sheikh with the greatest seniority, who would assign the responsibility of conducting it to next most senior sheikh. This would go on in this way so that each sheikh got a turn conducting. This was another of the customs tied to *tekke* etiquette. As in the case of the *dhākirbaşı* and of the *Qiyām* conductors, there were sheikhs, who had become famous as *Dawrān* conductors. Some of these were Hāfiz İhsan, sheikh of Cihangir, Sha'bānī Tayyār, sheikh of Üsküdar Nalçacı, Waşfī, sheikh of 'Atıq Wālida, Quṭbī, sheikh of Koca Muştafa Pasha, Aḥmad Mas'ūd, sheikh of Merkez Efendi, Aḥmad, sheikh of Qādirikhāna, Bayrāmī 'Abd al-Ḥayy, sheikh of Himmetzāda, Shams al-dīn Mısrī, sheikh of Bursa and Fakhr al-dīn, sheikh of Nūr al-dīn Djarrāḫī.

The *Dawr-i Waladī*, which can be considered the first part of the Mawlawī rite, can also be considered a *Dawrānī* rite.

D- Mawlawī Rite

Due to its unique characteristics, the Mawlawī rite can be considered in a class apart in addition to the general sufi groups of *Qu'ūdī*, *Qiyāmī* and *Dawrānī*.

The Mawlawī rite is popularly known as *samā'*, but its official name is *Muqābala-i Sherif* and it is done in the section of the *tekke* known as *samā'khāna*. This section is generally made up of a part for visitors enclosed with a railing (*zuwwār maqşüresi*), a part for those chanting hymns and playing instruments (*muṭripkhāna*) and a central space where the *samā'* is done (*maydān-ı sherif*). The *samā'khāna* also includes the pulpit (*miḥrāb*) where the *imam* sits during prayers and the place where the reciter of the *Mathnawī* (*mathnawīkhwān Dede*) sits. In some *tekkes* the sarcophagi are also under the same roof as the *samā'khāna*.

In *tekkes* outside Istanbul, the *mukabele* was generally performed after Friday prayers, while in the case of the five *Mawlawīkhānas* of Istanbul, each convent had its own day for this rite. At Galata it was on Fridays and Tuesdays, at Üsküdar it was on Saturdays, at Kasımpaşa it was on Sundays, at

Yenikapı it was on Mondays and Thursdays and at Beşiktaş (later Eyüp, Bahariye) on Wednesdays. In addition to these days this rite was held during *ihyā* evenings (festivities, *qandils* and succession ceremonies).

The Mawlawī rite was a ritualised form of Mawlānā's *samā'*, which contrary to the rite was only a spontaneous manifestation of a state of ecstasy (*wadjd*). Mawlānā's thoughts, ideas, life style, science, love and captivating characteristics were formulated for the first time during the time of his son Sulṭān Walad. Both Sulṭān Walad and his son used to do the *samā'* like Mawlānā himself, spontaneously and without following determined rules. Nevertheless the custom by which people used to assemble after Friday prayers around Mawlānā's tomb or the special meetings, during which his works were read publicly, became the cause of the birth of formalised rites and *samā'*s. The *samā'* took its present day shape during the time of Pīr 'Ādil Tchelebi and Pīr Ḥusayn Tchelebi. Pīr 'Ādil Tchelebi was the son of Amīr 'Ālim Tchelebi (d. 1388), son of Shams al-dīn Amīr 'Ābid Tchelebi (d. 1338), son of Sulṭān Walad (d. 1312). When 'Ārif Tchelebi II son of Muẓaffar al-dīn Ekber Amīr 'Ādil Tchelebi (d. 1368) son of Feridūn Ulū 'Ārif Tchelebi (d. 1328), died in 1421, Pīr 'Ādil Tchelebi got his title of *Tchelebi* (leader of the Mawlawī order), which he kept for 39 years until his death in 1460. He is the one who gave the *samā'* rite its present day characteristics. The last minor adjustments were made by Pīr Ḥusayn Tchelebi (d. 1666) son of Ḥasan Tchelebi, son of Ferrukh Tchelebi (d. 1591). Pīr Ḥusayn Tchelebi got his title of *tchelebi* upon the death in 1642 of Afyonkarahisarlı 'Ārif Tchelebi III. He was the 18th chief of the Konya Āsitānāsı and lived through the worst years of the medresse vs. *tekke* conflict (orthodox vs. non-orthodox Islam) and in particular of the Sivāsīs Qādizādalis conflict, because of which he felt obliged to give the Mawlawī rite a shape acceptable to everyone, but the ignorant and the stubborn. The Mawlawī rite as reformed by Pīr Ḥusayn Tchelebi is performed in the following way:

Ceremony

On the day or evening of the *muqābala*, the *maydancı Dede* goes to the *samā'khāna* just before regular prayers, takes the red fur hide of the sheikh, which is lying face down on the floor, and placing it on his left shoulder goes to the sheikh to ask him to authorise the *samā'*. If the sheikh authorises it by saying *eyvallah* then he chants *abdeste, tennūreye šalā* in a way that all

dervishes can hear and goes back to the *samā'khāna* to position the fur hide in the prescribed way. This is followed by the call to prayer (*adhān*). The dervishes who are going to participate in the *samā'* start to prepare. The *tennūres* (robe worn by the dervishes during the *samā'*; having a large lower part and an upper part with no sleeves and 'V' collar), which would be folded inside out, are carried under the armpits. The dervish holding the *tennūre* in this way sits facing the *qibla* and recites three *İkhlās* and one *Fātiḥa* for Mawlānā's soul. After which the dervish puts on the *tennūre* while in a sitting position, in a way so that it is not inside out any more. He gets up and ties the *elifi nemed* (*elif-Lam bend*) around his waist. Over the *tennūre* he wears a waistcoat without buttons, open in the front and with sleeves, which is called *destegül*. This is generally white, but sometimes and especially in the case of children it may be of another light colour. All this is covered with a ceremonial cloak (*resim khirqasī*), which has very large sleeves and is long and large. The sleeves are worn only by the sheikh. Once also the hat (*sikke*) made of brown felt is worn the costume is complete. The cloak is generally made of black or other dark coloured cloth. Sometimes the *sikke* can be white.

Once the *maydancı Dede* has exclaimed *Buyurun Yā Hū*, the elders followed by the rest start filing into the *samā'khāna* one by one, saluting with a bow of the head, with their right feet first, without stepping on the threshold. They take their places according to seniority and wait standing. The *muṭrib* (musicians' ensemble) takes its place in the *muṭribkhāna*. Everybody stands with the big toe of the right foot over the big toe of the left foot (position called 'with locked feet', *ayakları mühürlü*) and holds his right shoulder with his left hand and left shoulder with his right hand. Waiting for the sheikh in this position is called *niyāz waḍ'iyeti*.

Once the sheikh has entered the *samā'khāna* together with the *maydancı*, who follows him from his right back, he locks his feet and greets the assembly by bowing his head. Everybody answers the greeting silently. The sheikh takes his place and the prayer begins. After the end of the prayer, which is done like in the mosque, the sheikh says a *fātiḥa*.

• The dervishes, who had taken a position of prayer, now change their position and stand facing the point where the *Mathnawī* will be recited and commented upon. Once the sheikh or the *mathnawikhwān Dede* have taken their places (according to who is going to do the reciting), everybody sits

and kisses the floor. The sheikh or the *mathnawīkhwān Dede* (*qāri-i Mathnawī*, reader of *Mathnawī*) starts to recite the *Mathnawī* sitting on a prayer rug and facing the *qibla*. After the recitation of couplets in which God is asked to forgive any mistakes and even to correct them and to help in the expression of thoughts with more effective phrases, the commentary of the *Mathnawī* begins. This ends with a strophe stating, "Thus has Mawlānā, discoverer of divine secrets, told us. What he says is neither a dream nor the result of a divination. God knows best, but probably these words are the result of divine inspiration." This is followed by the recitation of an '*ashr-i sherīf*' but not of a *fātiḥa*. The *fātiḥa* will be recited only after the sheikh's recitation of a *post duasī* (prayer of the fur hide, symbolising the position). When the sheikh leaves, the point from which he has recited the *Mathnawī* and all the rest, everybody gets up kissing the floor and takes position to the right of the *samā'khāna* facing the *qibla*. In the rare cases when the *Mathnawī* recitation/commentary has not been done, this phase begins after the regular prayers and the *post duasī* is done when the sheikh sits on the fur hide (during the Mawlānā *iḥtifāls* [commemorations] done in Konya since the 1950's, only the part beginning from this phase was done).

The rites of all religious orders start with a *ṣalawāt* as a sign of respect for the Prophet Muḥammad. In the Mawlawī rite this respect is shown by means of the *Na't-i Mawlānā* (*naat* is a poem praising the Prophet Muḥammad). This famous *na't* by Mawlānā begins with the verse *Yā Ḥabīb Allah, Rasūl-i Khāliq-i Yektā tū yī* (O beloved of God, You are the only and unique ambassador of the Creator). The music for it, in the *Rast maqām*, was composed by that genius of Turkish music Muṣṭafa 'Itrī Efendi. Since then and for more than two centuries, this masterpiece has been sung as the *Na't-i Mawlānā*, not only in *mawlawīkhānas*, but in other *tekkes* as well. It is the most famous *na't* music and it was adopted on the recommendation of 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Tchelebi (d. 1679) or Bostan Tchelebi II (d. 1705), as a piece to be sung in all *mawlawīkhānas* before the flute *taqsīm*. Sometimes this same music has been used to sing other *na'ts* by Mawlānā. In addition to this, the refrain *Yā Ṭabīb al-Qulūb. Yā Waliyy Allah* (O doctor of hearts, o friend of God) has been used by the more masterly *na't* singers to introduce the style and *maqām* of the following rite. It is understood that İsmā'il Dede Efendi used to do so when he was *na'tikhwān* (singer of *na't*) at the Yenikapı *mawlawīkhāna*. One must assume that before this music by Itrī, other

melodies that have been forgotten were used or that other *na'ts* by Mawlānā were sung by improvisation.

After the *na't* has been listened to in silence, the chief of the *qudüm-zens* strikes his *qudüm* a few times or the chief of the *ney-zens* or someone who has been authorised by him plays a *taqsım* called *post-taqsımi*. Traditionally this *taqsım* introduces the style of the following rite, first of all with a low pitch and then with longer sounds. Subsequently it shows the high pitches of the *maqāms* (called *mayān açmak*) or other parts of the *maqāms* by using high pitches. It usually ends in a dignified way. At the end of the *taqsım*, without any interruption, the chief of the *qudüm-zens* strikes his *qudüm* with the *zaḥme* (stick used for this purpose) initiating the *pīshraw* (introductory piece of classical Turkish music). At the moment of the *zaḥme* strike, the sheikh and the *samā'-zens* hit the ground with their hands and pronouncing *Allah* with a low voice get up. This is called *ḍarb-ı Djalāl*. At this moment also the *ney-zens* get up and go on playing in a standing position.

The *samā'-zens*, who have just got up, adjust their robes and assemble. At this moment the sheikh, who his standing in front of his fur hide, greets everybody and all bow their heads in response. The sheikh turns right and with the same rhythm of the *pīshraw* he puts forward his right foot and pushes forward his left one to the same position. Thus he moves, followed in the same way by the *samā'-zens* who were standing facing the centre of the *samā'khāna* and who now have turned right. Once the dervish immediately after the sheikh (the chief cook or the chief of the *samā'-zens*) has reached the fur hide, he locks his feet and bows his head, after which he crosses, without stepping on it, the imaginary line called *Khatt-ı İstivā* between the end of the fur hide and the door or *muṭribkhāna*, on which only the sheikh can step, first with his right and then left foot. Without turning his back to the fur hide he locks his feet and waits. During this time also the following *samā'-zen* will have approached the fur hide. He also will lock his feet and facing the previous dervish they both will look into each other's eyes and especially to a point between the eyebrows, with their hands inside their cloaks on their hearts and greet each other. The person behind the fur hide will turn right without showing his back to the *samā'khāna* and walk forwards, followed by the next *samā'-zen*. In this way everybody will have greeted each other in a ceremony called *Djamāl Seyri* or *djamāl djamāle*

gelmek. Once the part near the fur hide of the *Khatt-i İstivā*, which is supposed to divide into two parts the *samā'khāna* is reached, the feet are locked once again and the head is bowed. The dervishes continue walking without facing each other. If the rite is being held in a *samā'khāna* with sarcophagi, the dervishes also bow their heads when passing near them. Once the sheikh reaches the fur hide he will be facing the dervish with the least seniority. They also greet each other and the second and third circles proceed in the same way. These three tours around the *samā'khāna* are called *Dawr-i Waladī* (the circle of Sulṭān Walad). All this while the *muṭrib* is going on with its *pīshraw*. Even if it should finish during the *Dawr-i Waladī* it would start again from the beginning (this part of the Mawlawī rite is a typical *Dawrānī* rite).

During the third tour, the *samā'-zen* at the end will salute the fur hide and proceed without waiting for the sheikh. As he reaches the place he occupied during the first positioning, the sheikh will have reached his fur hide. At this point the chief of the *quḍūm-zens* strikes his *quḍūm* with the *zaḥme* strongly and more than once to show that the *pīshraw* should end. This is followed by a short flute *taqsim* that shows the *maqām* of the following rite (if this rite is being held at the Konya Āsitānasi, the *Djamāl Seyri* will be done not in front of the fur hide, but in front of the sarcophagus of the founder Mawlānā). During the *Dawr-i Waladī* everybody will be reciting silently the *İsm-i Djalāl* (Allah).

At the end of the flute *taqsim* the chanters in the *muṭribkhāna* will start singing to the accompaniment of *saz*. The sheikh will salute on the fur hide, while the *samā'-zen* will salute bowing their heads standing on the left of the sheikh. Except the chief of the *samā'-zens*, who will conduct the *samā'*, all the other *samā'-zens* take off their cloaks leaving them where they were standing and get in the position of salute (*niyāz durumu*).

The sheikh takes three steps forward in front of his fur hide and bows his head, followed by everybody else bowing their heads. While the sheikh is waiting with crossed hands, the right hand being over the other, the chief of the *samā'-zens* approaches the sheikh and kisses the free hand. The sheikh will bow and kiss the hat of the dervish kissing his hand. The chief of the *samā'-zens* will pass to the right of the *Khatt-i İstivā* and standing on the right front of the sheikh will take the position of salute and bows his head. Every time he bows his head all the other *samā'-zens* bow their heads. The

sheikh will also bow his head and thus authorise the *samā'*. The *samā'-zens* will come one by one in front of the sheikh and bowing their heads will kiss his hand, the sheikh will respond by kissing their caps. According to the chief of the *samā'-zens'* signal (pulling his right foot backwards or towards the front) the *samā'-zens* will start the *samā'* towards the centre or towards the side by three steps. The hands on the shoulders will slowly descend. The outside of the hand will lightly touch the body and hat and rise in a way that the right hand's inside is facing upwards and the left hand's inside is facing downwards. The head of the *samā'-zen* will be slightly inclined downwards, his face slightly to the left and his narrowed eyes looking at the thumb of his left hand. After all the *samā'-zens* are in this position, the chief of the *samā'-zens* will bow his head to the sheikh and start to move in the *samā'khāna* to conduct the *samā'*. The sheikh will move to the back of his fur hide and start to watch the *samā'* in a standing position.

The left foot of the *samā'-zen* is called *direk*, while his right foot is called *tcharkh*. The *direk* will always touch the floor and the knee will never be bended. The *tcharkh* will always proceed around the *direk* towards the left (heart), while the *direk* will move towards the back touching the floor. The resulting rotation around one's own axis will also be called *tcharkh*, while the act will be called *tcharkh atma*. A rotation done with the *direk* in a fixed position, without touching the floor, will be called *direk tutma*. The *samā'-zen* will silently recite the *İsm-i Djalāl*, once every *tcharkh*. The *samā'* will go on in this way...

The fact that the first section of the music of the rite has ended can be understood from a change in style. When it has ended the *samā'-zens* will face the *quṭbkhāna* and bow their hands in the *niyāz* position, standing in groups of three with their shoulders touching each other. The sheikh will pass in front of the fur hide and bow his head. All will respond by bowing their heads. The sheikh will silently recite the *selām* prayer and get once more to the back of the fur hide, bowing with his head to signal the beginning of the second section. The *samā'-zens* will respond by bowing their heads and beginning the second section as they had begun the first one. The only difference being that there would not be any hand or hat kissing. At the end of this section a change in music would signal the beginning of the third section. The fourth section also would be signalled in the same way.

At the fourth section the *samā'-zens* will not get in the central part of the *samā'khāna* proceeding with their *samā'* along the sides. Once every *samā'-zen* has entered the *samā'*, they will rotate with the system of *direk tutma*. The chief of the *samā'-zens* will greet the sheikh and take a position near the sheikh, from where he will not move again. On the other hand the sheikh will pass to the front of the fur hide and after the usual ceremonial salute will start his *samā'* by holding the right side of his cloak at waist level with his left hand while his right hand will pull slightly open the right side of his cloak. The position of his head and face will be like the *samā'-zens* during the *samā'*. Proceeding by rotating along the *Khaṭṭ-ı İstivā*, he will reach the centre of the *samā'khāna*. At that point he also will rotate with the system of *direk tutma*. This style of *samā'* done with closed arms, holding the cloak and slowly is called *Post Samā'ı*. The chief of the *samā'-zens* will do the *Post Samā'ı* where he is standing.

When the vocal part of the fourth section ends, the *saz* will commence the last *peşrev* and subsequently the *yürüksamā'ı* (a six beat rhythmic pattern). If a hymn in the Segāh *maqāmı*, called *Niyāz İlahisi*, is going to be sung, then instead of the last *peşrev* one of the *saz* will be used to play a *taqsım* introducing the Segāh *maqāmı*, after which the hymn will begin. When the *yürüksamā'ı* or *Niyāz İlahisi* is finished the last *taqsım* will begin. It is not necessary for the last *taqsım* to be done with a flute as in the case of the *post taqsımı*. As the *taqsım* begins, the sheikh, who was rotating with the system of *direk tutma*, will slowly go towards his fur hide continuing the *samā'*. Once he has reached it, the *taqsım* ends and one of the chanters at the *muṭrip* begins to recite the Qoran at a high pitch. The 115th verse of the Baqara Sūra is traditionally always recited. (Both the East and the West is of God, wherever you turn you will find Him. Without doubt God's mercy and favour are vast. He knows everything.) This can be followed by other verses. Once the recitation of the Qoran has started, all will bow their heads and after having kissed the floor will sit. The hands will be crossed on the chest and the heads bowed. The dervishes will listen to the Qoran with their cloaks on and sitting. Once the recitation of the Qoran ends, one of the elders (*Du'ā-gū Dede*) will recite a special prayer, the *tekbir* and the *şalāwāt*. At the end the sheikh will ask for a *fātiha* to be recited and everybody will recite it silently. Following which, the sheikh included, everybody will stand up after having kissed the floor. The sheikh, standing on the fur hide, will recite a *gūlbang* ending with the words *Hū diyelim* (let us say *Hū*). The *muṭribān*

(players at the *mutrib*) and the *samā'-zens* will bow their heads and declaim with a loud voice *Hū*. Once the sheikh leaves his position near the fur hide, he will bow his head and salute with a loud voice saying *al-Selāmū 'Aleykūm*, the chief of the *samā'-zens* will respond by saying *ve 'Aleykūm Selām wa Raḥmat Allahi wa Barakātuhū Huuu*, with the last *Hū* being long. Together with the start of the response of the chief of the *samā'-zens*, the *samā'-zens* start to bow and when the *Hū* is pronounced they straighten up. In the meantime the sheikh walks towards the door. At midway he salutes once more. This time it is the chief of the *ney-zens*, who responds with the *mutribān* doing what the *samā'-zens* have just done. Once the sheikh reaches the door he turns towards the fur hide and bows his head. Everybody responds with a bow of the head. After the departure of the sheikh everybody leaves the *samā'khāna* one by one, having saluted the fur hide of the sheikh (If the *samā'* has been done in a *samā'khāna* with sarcophagi, at the moment when everybody has risen there will be the recitation of a *fātiḥa* for the souls of those lying in them, followed by a *gūlbang*). The *maydancı Dede* will collect the fur hide and fold it ritually, signalling thus the end of the Mawlawī *muqābala*. As was the case during the time of Sultān Walad, the name of *Allah* will be recited during the *samā'*. The *samā'-zens* will say *Al* while raising their *tcharkh* and *lah* while stepping, thus at every *tcharkh* step they will recite the *İsm-i Djalāl* throughout the rite.

Āyīn-i Djam (Djam Rite)

Apart from the above-described official Mawlawī *muqābala*, there is another rite, called *Āyīn-i Djam* or *Āyīn-i Djam*, which is not performed in the *samā'khāna* of the *tekke*, but in a private quarter called *Maydan Odası*. This would be done during an informal meeting and would skip the *na't*, beginning directly with a flute *taqsīm*. There would be no *Dawr-i Waladī* and there would be only the chanting. Only those who so desired would put on the sleeves of their cloaks. The *samā'* would be done like the *Post Samā'i* with closed arms and with no stopping between sections. This rite also would finish with a recitation of the Qoran and a *gūlbang*. If it was desired, at the end of everything the informal meeting went on where it had been interrupted. The date of the death of Mawlānā is according to the calendar of the Hegira, 5 Djumādā al-ākhir 672. Mawlawis consider this date as the

date of rejoining the lover or the 'Night of the Bride' (Shab-i 'Arūs). On this day the *Āyīn-i Djam* would certainly be held. If it was in summer (one must consider the rotation of the months of the calendar of the Hegira through the seasons) it would be held in the open air (at Konya Meram or in the garden known as Dede Bahçesi on the north side of the Alâeddin Tepesi), while if it was in winter it would be done in the *Maydan Odası*.

Mubtedī Muqābalasi

In addition to these two rites there is another rite called *Mubtedī Muqābalasi*. This is the ceremony with which a *samā'-zen*, who has just finished learning the *samā'* (*naw-niyāz*), will be authorised to participate in the *Muqābala-i Sherīf*. The sheikh will not participate in this ceremony, which will be conducted by the chief cook (*Ser-ṭabbākh*), who stays near the fur hide of the sheikh in the *samā'khāna*. As in the case of the *Āyīn-i Djam* it begins directly with a flute *taqsīm*, skipping the *na't*. Together with the *pīshraw* the *Dawr-i Waladī* also begins. The characteristic of the *Mubtedī Muqābalasi* is the fact that it is done without the accompaniment of hymns. The four-section *samā'* is accompanied only by the *pīshraw*. As in previous cases it ends with a recitation of the Qoran and a *gūlbang* (The Mawlawī *Īsm-i Djalāl* rite has been described in the chapter about *Qu'ūdī* rites).

E- Symbolism of the Mawlawī Rite

The Mawlawī *samā'* rite is full of symbols, both in its music and its costumes. Since a Mawlawī dervish is considered as having already died, insofar as his worldly desires are concerned, his hat is his tombstone, his *tennūre* is his shroud, while his cloak is his tomb. The *samā'khāna* is the universe, with its right section being the material world and the left side the spiritual world. A movement from the fur hide towards the left symbolises a descent from the spiritual to the material, while a movement from the *Khaṭṭ-i Īstivā* to the fur hide symbolises an ascent from the material to the spiritual. The first strike on the *qudūm* represents God's order for creation to happen. The flute is the complete person. The playing of the flute is comparable to Īsrafīl's blowing the last trumpet (*Sūr-i Īsrāfīl*) on the Day of Judgment. The fact that the dervishes hit the floor with their hands is a symbol of both creation and of the people rising upon hearing the last trumpet. The three tours of the *Dawr-i Waladī* represent the three states of knowledge (*'Īlm al-yaqīn*), seeing (*'Ayn al-yaqīn*) and being (*Ḥaqq al-yaqīn*).

The sheikh on the red fur hide (the colour of manifestation) represents Mawlānā. He knows the road leading to truth and that is why only He can step on the *Khaṭṭ-i İstivā*, which is the shortest road to truth. Once the people have risen upon hearing the *Sūr-i İsrāfil*, instead of wandering aimlessly, they will follow the complete person, making the same movements as He and walking in His footsteps. This is represented by the movement of the *Dawr-i Waladī*. The salutations in the *samā'* represent various sufi concepts like Essence, Attributes, Act and Unity. The four sections represent the four phases of canonical law, religious order, reality and spiritual knowledge. The last section with its stationary dance is a symbol of the unity of God and all creation. At the end it is stated, "Even if you know all the meanings and you have attained perfection, do not renounce servitude. The highest rank is servitude, but those who know and those that do not are not equal."

The most important characteristic of the Mawlawī rite is that it is not conducted by anybody like the sheikh, *ser-tarīq*, *pīsh-qadam*, *ra'is*, *dhākirbaşı* or the *maydancı*, but by the music itself. Except the *mi'rādjiya* (poem recounting the ascent of the Prophet Muḥammad to heaven), the music of the Mawlawī rite is the only kind of Turkish music composed to be played in harmony with certain movements.

Gharibler Samā'ı

Once the ritual is finished those that still feel like going on remain in the *samā'khāna* and without taking off their cloaks have another eighteen *tcharkhs* in the style of the *Post Samā'ı*. Since this *samā'* is done without music and without lights it is called *Gharibler Samā'ı* (the *samā'* of the *gharīb*, which basically means lonely) or *Qaribler Samā'ı* (the *samā'* of those that are near).

F- Bektashī Rites

Like the Mawlawī rites also the Bektashī rites have to be studied as a class apart.

Because of the principle of the *taqiyye*, according to which for various reasons of convenience the real principles of the faith and of the rites can be kept secret, there is no information concerning Bektashī rites in ancient written documents. Only recently has it been possible to learn something about their rites by means of using oral sources. This state of affairs has been known among the common people as the 'secret of the Bektashī'.

The Bektashī order has been influenced by the Central Asian Yasawīs, the Babāīs of Baba İlyas from Khorasan, the Wafā'īs of Abū al-Wafā Baghdādī, the Ḥurūfīs of Faḍl Allah, the Ḥaydarīs of Quṭb al-dīn Ḥaydar, by sects like the Shi'ites, the Bāṭnīs, the Rāfīdīs, even by other religions like Shamanism, Buddhism, Manichaeism and especially by Anatolian Alawiism, which appears like a continuation of Central Asian Turkish customs. The main rite of the Bektashīs is the *Āyīn-i Djam*. According to Prof. Fuat Köprülü this rite is the present day version of the ancient pre-Islamic Turkish rites to which only married couples participated and in which *kımız* (fermented mare's milk) was drunk. The second main rite is the *İqrār āyini*, in which novices enter the order and are presented to existing members. Both these rites are of an extremely private nature and their details cannot be divulged.

Generally speaking they start with a *fātiḥa* recited by the Baba Efendi, go on with a recitation from the Quran, various prayers and *awrād*, a short *dhikr*, a *ṣalāt* in honour of the Prophet Muḥammad and most importantly a commemoration full of respect and even deep love for 'Alī, his descendants and the family of the Prophet Muḥammad. It ends with a *gūlbang*. While the hymn of the *Tcharāgh Uyandırma Tardjumanı* is being chanted the candles in the candlesticks are lighted and everybody leaves the *samā'khāna* in a dignified way and goes to the *maydan odası*, where a religious dance called *samah* is done. In addition to these there are rites with names like *Baş Okutma*, *Dolu İçme*, *Mudjarrad Āyini*, *'Alī Sofrası*, *Qurban Tiğlama*, *Loqma Etme*, *Tcharāgh Uyandırma* and *Qoyun Baba*, some of which include the *samah*. Some are completed without any *samah* and only with a *gūlbang* without music or the singing of prayers called *tercūman* with music composed especially for them. Also the *Mawlid-i 'Alī*, the lyrics of which are thought to have been written by Shah İsmā'il Şafawī (Khaṭāyī), is recited, but without the accompaniment of instruments. As in all classic *Mawlid* ceremonies this would be interrupted by the singing of *nefeth* (Bektashī hymns). No *samah* is done during the month of Muḥarram, during which month only *marthiyas* (*elegies*) for İmām Ḥusayn and the Karbalā martyrs are recited.

The *samah* is a religious dance done without holding hands, with the participants being both men and women and consists of rhythmic movements of the body, arms and feet. It begins with a slow part called *ağırlama*, goes on with a faster part called *yürütme* or *yeldirme*. The *samah*

is accompanied by chants by the *dhākirs* and during refrains like *Eyvallah Hū*, *Shaah Shah Shah* and *Dooost* everybody participates.

Frequently people confuse the Bektashī rites and related *samah* with the *samah* of the Alawis. Even in recently written books and articles the concepts of Alawi and Bektashī have been used together as if they were synonyms. This is completely wrong. The *samahs* performed in rural areas to the accompaniment of folk music are prevalently Alawi *samahs*. On the other hand the *samahs* done in *tekkes* in urban areas to the accompaniment of classical music are prevalently Bektashī *samā'hs*. This kind finds its highest expression in Istanbul.

A unique characteristic of Bektashī rites consists of the use of *nefeth* hymns called *deste*, *takım* or *arka*. Some of the refrains in these hymns are repeated with the canon technique of western music. In addition to this, some of the participants repeat words like *Yā Allah*, *Yā Shah*, *Hū* with the same pitch of the *nefeths*. This is called *dem tutmak*. As in the case of other religious orders, among the Bektashīs there is also the tradition of raising the pitch and increasing the rhythm at the same time. Poems recited without music are called *nuṭq*. According to their subjects, the *nefes* can be classified as *Na't-ı 'Alī*, *Duwāzdah* (twelve) *İmam*, *Marthīya*, *Mi'rādjiya* or *Nawrūziya*. If their music is slow they are called *Oturak* and if it is of *yürük* (lively) style then they are called *Shahlama*. Since the *Shahlamas* are sung during the *samahs*, their melodic structure and rhythm have to be appropriate. There are also special *samah* songs like *Turnalar Samāhi*.

The rites done in cities are those rites and *samahs* done in accordance with the methods and principles established in the *Arkānnāma* ascribed to Balım Sultān. In addition to these rites based on Balım Sultān's teachings, which begin in the *samā'khāna* and end with a *samah* in the *maydan odası*, there are *djams* and other meetings that are much simpler. This rite begins with a signal by the *murshid* (guide), upon which a *nefeth* is sung. These *nefeth* are very slow and are called *Oturak Havası*. They are listened to in silence and in a sitting position. Once the livelier *nefeth* called *Shahlama* begin, also the *samah* begins. These pieces acquire an increasingly fast pace as the ceremony progresses. Everybody who knows how to do this dance participates in the *samah*. The participants have to be in couples. When one is tired he kisses the knees of one of the persons sitting and this person starts to dance in his place. The dancers stand in front of each other without

holding hands. Everybody moves according to the music being played by someone in the centre of the *maydan*. The movements would be movements of the feet accompanied by a stretching and pulling back of the arms crossing them on the chest or putting the right hand on the left of the chest and the left hand on the right of the chest. The dance includes also greetings of the dancers to each other. When passing in front of the candlesticks called *Tcharāgh Takhti* and when passing in front of the *Baba Efendi* people never turn their backs. As another sign of respect, once the name of the writer of the *nefeth* is pronounced the feet are locked, the arms are crossed on the chest and the head is bowed at which point the *samah* stops. This is called *paymatchān* or *dārda durmak*. Once that verse is finished the *samah* goes on. The *samah* rite ends with a signal by the *murshid*. After having eaten whatever is offered everybody goes.

Taraqlama Samahı

In the *Taraqlama Samahı*, eight men and eight women stand in opposing ranks in two groups of four women and four men on each side with the groups of men facing the groups of women. Instead of circulating, the dancers come and go in groups (in a way similar to the *Dalga Tawhıdi* described in the chapter about the *Qiyām*). The music accompanying it would be very lively. Since the movements have to be very well coordinated without hitting people, with nobody turning their backs on others and in harmony with the music, it requires great mastery. Since finding sixteen such masters is difficult, such a rite is only rarely done. This is the most artistic and aesthetically pleasing *semah*.

Qoyun Baba (Çoban Baba) Āyini

Among the Bektashī rites, those done in the open air are called *Qoyun Baba Āyini* or *Çoban Baba Samahı*. These rites are held on festive occasions such as *Hidrellez* (the 40th day after the spring equinox) on 6th of May, *Nawrūz* (the Persian New Year) on 21st March or when meeting (*Kır Muhabbeti*) near a mausoleum or other tomb for a commemoration or prayer. These meetings often take the shape of a picnic and the *semah* is done during them. The *Qoyun Baba Āyini* used to be performed at the Merdivenköy Şahkulu Sultan convent in Istanbul.

The people who sing hymns or play musical instruments during Bektashī rites are called '*āshiq, dhākır, güyende* or *sāzende*. The instruments

used are the *bağlama*, *saz*, *tanbura*, *dīvan sazı*, *cura*, *ruzbā*, *çöğür*, *kabak kemāne*, *qaval*, *Bulgarī saz* (in Rumeli) and in the cities instruments of Turkish classical music like *ney*, *tanbur*, *ud*, *rebab*.

PRINCIPLES

Introduction

In this way we have summarised the main sufi rites, classified as Qu'ūdī, Qiyāmī, Dawrānī and the Mawlawī and Bektāshī rites, which are a separate kind. The rites that have been described are the visible manifestation of sufi orders. Nevertheless one must keep in mind that a religious order does not consist only of a rite held once a week in the *tekke*. Sufism is a lifestyle that goes on twenty-four hours a day 365 days a year. The following comparison illustrates this situation. An army would never be established just for the sake of parading during festivities. The *raison d'être* of an army is to repel an attacking enemy or to take the necessary preventive precautions so that an attack does not happen. To do this there are continuous training activities, organisational preparations and procurement of weaponry. Nevertheless all armies also organise parades. Their main aim of these parades is to gain sympathy and admiration, especially among young people and to instil a sense of security among the population. They are also a source of pride for the members of the army itself. Organising parades will never be the main function of an army, but at the same time one cannot imagine an army that does not parade. A similar situation is true also for sufi orders, for which the rites have a function similar to the one parades have for an army. The sufi religious orders' main function is to wage a war against the weaknesses of our worldly bodies and the temptations they encounter. The training for this war is not done once a week or during the rites, but always. As in the case of the parades when shining weaponry, smart uniforms and the best looking soldiers are exhibited, the rites of the sufi orders are occasions to exhibit their music, dances, costumes and thus to entice young people to join them. Another characteristic of the rites is that they represent various symbols of their philosophy. For example the principle expressed in the 75th verse of the *Zümer Sūra* (You will see those angels that sing their praises to their Lord and revolve around his throne glorifying him). In the same way that an army's main occupation is not to parade, but to wage war, a religious order's main occupation is not to hold rites, but to wage war against worldly

temptation. In addition to this, in the same way that an army has rituals like saluting etc. and uniforms distinguishing it from others, the religious orders also have rituals like the initiation of novices, burials etc and principles that characterise them. In the same way that soldiers stand at attention, and salute with their hands on their hats, dervishes stand in the position of *niyāz* and salute with their hands on their hearts. The armies have manuals and the orders have *arkānnāma* (sets of principles). Soldiers wear uniforms, while dervishes have their *çeyiz* ('dowry' or all the cloaks, hats, belts etc. worn by a dervish).

Bī'at (oath of allegiance)

Life begins when one leaves the womb and enters the world. On the other hand sufi life begins with an oath of allegiance to the *murshid* (guide or sheikh) of a religious order...

The word *bī'at* derives from the word *bey*, which can mean also sale. In this case it would be the fact that a *murīd* (novice) sells his free will to his *murshid* and in a way renounces his individuality and initiative and all this is accepted by the *murshid*. This renunciation-acceptance has also been called: *Mubāya'a* (exchange), *el almak* (take one's hands), *naşib almak* (acquire a destiny), *akhdh-i tariq* (acquire a road, in the sense of a religious order), *intisāb* (become member) *telqin-i dhikr* (being given the mission of reciting God's names), *'ahd-i mīthāq* (oath of agreement) or *iqrār vermek* (declaring one's intention). *Bī'at* is the most important principle of sufi life. During the related ceremony absolutely no strangers are admitted. The person about to swear allegiance is brought by two people, the one on the right being the *rehber* (this word also means guide, but at a more practical level than the *murshid*) and the one on the left being the *muşāhib* (companion), to the presence of the sheikh. He is made to kneel in front of the sheikh, in a way that he is facing the *qibla* (direction of the Kaaba) and that his knees are touching those of the sheikh. The novice clasps the hands of the sheikh and declares his repentance from past sins and asks God's pardon for them. This is followed by a recitation of the *bī'at* verse of the Qoran (10th verse of the *Feth Sūra*). The novice is taught the names he will have to recite, the principles he will have to follow and he takes an oath promising that he will follow them. This ceremony represents the new dervish's allegiance and submission to his sheikh and through his intercession to the founding sage, to the Prophet Muḥammad and to God.

In the same way that the sheikh's hand is over the novice's hand it is assumed that the hands of the founding sage, of the Prophet Muḥammad and of God are over the sheikh's (by means of the hierarchy of past sheikhs). This is a symbol of the rule *el ele el Ḥaqq'a* (holding hands to reach God). If the novice is a woman, the knees don't touch and no hand holding is done; in this case the female novice and the sheikh hold the ends of a set of prayer beads or of a belt or yet again both have their hands immersed in the same container full of water. In the case of the Bektāshī order the candidate dervish is brought to the presence of the sheikh with a rope tied to his neck to symbolise his submission. This rope is made of twelve thin ropes, which symbolise the twelve imams and the twelve main religious orders. This is called *tğ bend*. In the case of the Mawlawī order the hat (*sikke*) is worn by the novice to the accompaniment of recitations of the *tekbīr* (*Allahu akbar*) and there is no handholding. When the dervish is a woman only the wearing of the *'araqīya* is accompanied by recitations of the *tekbīr* since women Mawlawis wear the *'araqīya* and not the *sikke* as a hat. The *bī'at* ceremony ends with the blessing with *tekbīrs* of all the accessories worn by a dervish (skullcap, *tennūre*, *'araqīya*, the belt, the belt called *elif-lam bend*, *kamarçin*, *ḥaydarīya* etc.) and by a final prayer and *fātiḥa* by the sheikh. The new dervish swearing allegiance will donate something to the sheikh, commensurate to his own wealth, which may be an animal to be sacrificed ritually or a simple glass of water (swearing allegiance to the Caliph and Sultan is a totally different subject).

As in all institutions and circumstances, breaking one's word or oath was also not looked upon favourably in the case of sufi orders, and the dervishes who did this were called *peymān-shikan* (breaker of the word given). If the sheikh died and was succeeded by another, the oath of allegiance was renewed (*tadjdid-i bī'at*).

Khilāfat Ceremonies

These ceremonies are very important from the point of view of the principles of religious orders. With these ceremonies the sheikh gives authority to those that are like him spiritually, to be a guide to the other dervishes and to instruct them in their responsibilities. These dervishes then acquire the title of *khalīfa* and their position is called *khilāfat*. This title is given to the dervishes that have attained a high level in the road leading to perfection (*seyr ü sulūk*) according to the rules of sufi philosophy. This

ceremony is followed by all the other *khalifas* of that order and by some visiting *khalifas* from other orders. Nevertheless at the moment of transferring the knowledge of the secrets of the order, these are whispered in the ear of the new *khalifa*. In addition to this, the newly appointed dervish is given a seal, a stamped diploma, and—to the accompaniment of *tekbirs*—the dervish dons the hat and cloak that go with his new position. The sheikh or a visiting sheikh thus honoured pulls the new *khalifa* towards his own fur hide. The ceremony ends with the new *khalifa* reciting a *fātiḥa*. The ceremony would certainly be followed by a rite. This rite would be initiated by the sheikh, but he would immediately assign the conducting of the rite to the new *khalifa*, who would end the rite at the right moment. In case of the Mawlawī order some sheikhs did not have the title of *khalifa*, but in all other orders the sheikhs had to have attained the rank of *khalifa*. In other cases a dervish could have the title of *khalifa* without having the authority of guidance (*irshād*). Such *khalifas* were called *Nefsine Khalifa*. In this case the hat ceremoniously given to him would be different. The *Murshid Tādji* (hat of the guide or *Tādji-i Sherif*) and the *Khalifa Tādji* were different (especially in the case of the Qādirī and Naqshbandī orders).

Djulūs Ceremonies

Succession ceremonies were performed on the occasion of a sheikh's death or transfer to another *tekke* and are almost identical to the *khilāfat* ceremonies. Also in this case there would be visiting sheikhs and the old sheikh would pull the new one by his belt towards his fur hide. Also this ceremony would be followed by a rite (The exception being the Djarrāḥī order, in which case the new sheikh would not be pulled towards the fur, but would go there by himself. This symbolises the fact that the founder of this order, Nūr al-dīn Djarrāḥī was the only one to found his order when his own *murshid* 'Alā al-dīn-i Kōstendilī was still alive and the only one to take the fur by himself).

There would also be similar ceremonies in the case of the appointment of the other convent officials (*dargāh dābitāni*): *Ser-tariq*, *Pish-qadam*, *Ser-ṭabbākh*, *Djākirbaşı*, *İmam*, *Türbedār*, *Maydancı*, *Çerağcı*, *Pazarıcı*, *Kapıcı*, *Aşādar* etc.

Terminology and Behaviour in the Sufi Orders

Each religious order represented, in a sense, a different philosophical school with a set of related terminology. Not only were some concepts

expressed with different words, but also some words of common usage were used with different meanings. To eat = *loqma etmek* (to take morsels), table = *somat*, shoe = *pashmaq*, look = *nazar etmek*, there isn't = *Haqq'da* (God has it) or *Haqq vere* (let God give it), light = *tcharāgh* (candle), time = *dem* (among Bektāshīs *dem* was used for the Turkish drink *rakı*), eating in a banquet = *cūmbüşlenmek* or *hora geçirmek*, commit a crime from the point of view of the order = *yol bozmak* (to stray), to light a candle, lamp etc. = *uyandırmak* (to awaken), to extinguish a light = *dinlendirmek* (to rest), present = *berk-sebz* (green leave), person = *can*, woman = *bacı*, die = *göçmek* (emigrate), permission = *destur*, ritual ablution = *çeyizlemek*, room = *hüdjra* (cell), money = *mangır*, guest = *mihman*, sleeping = *waḥdette*, the finishing of a material = *bereketlenmek*, to be lost = *sır olmak* (to become a secret), you = *nazarım* (my eyesight), me = *faqī* (poor, said as a sign of modesty), to greet each other = *niyazlaşmak* or *'ashq u niyāz etmek*, to talk = *'ashq alıp vermek* (to exchange love), special present = *niyāz* (could be used also for fines), to be offended = *gönül koymak* or *gönül etmek*, cemetery = *khāmūshān* (those that don't talk), the other world = *'ālem-i Djamāl* (the world of God), to cut food = *uğlamak*. Two married people would call each other *Hū*, when one was angry he would say "Let God increase your troubles", to say, be dignified in your love and don't show it too much, one would say, "Let your blood flow into you." In general dervishes used to show great respect to the objects etc. they used in their daily life. They kissed their glass after having drunk, their clothes before wearing them, their cushion and sheets before going to sleep, the door of their home before entering it. They stepped lightly so as not to hurt anything... In this way they used to pay their debt to the things they used.

Khalwat – Tchila – Arba'in

Tchila is another version of the Persian word *tchihil*, which means forty. The word *tchila* means ordeal, because the ordeal novice dervishes went through lasted forty days. *Arba'in* is an Arabic word also meaning forty. *Khalwat* means seclusion for devotion purposes and such seclusion is considered very important by all religious orders. Since the *khalwat* also lasts forty days (according to 51st verse of the *Baqara Sūra* and to the 142nd verse of the *A'rāf Sūra*, Moses spent forty days and nights praying) these three words are almost synonymous.

Khalwat consists of spending time in a very small room, called *khalwatkhāna* or *khalwatgāh*, to pray. This took different shapes in the various religious orders. The *khalwatkhāna* should be in or very near a place where all five daily prayers are done collectively, as in the case of the *khalwatkhānas* in the Kastamonu Ḥādji Sha'bānī Walī Convent. Also in the town of Nevrapop, in present day Bulgaria, the Sha'bānī Khalwatīs had such seclusion rooms. A dervish in the *khalwatkhāna* would come out only for the five daily prayers and stay in his room all the rest of the time, even during the voluntary (*sunnah*) prayers. He would fast during the day. He would eat his boiled rice (the quantity of which would decrease every day) in his room and come out only for his toilet needs. He would never speak about temporal affairs. In the *khalwats* of some orders a dervish would recite the *Qoran* and say prayers counting them with his prayer beads. He would recite the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* without counting and spend time in contemplation. The body would be tied with a girth (*tchila kolani*) in a way not to permit the extension the legs. A kind of wooden support, called *müttekā* or *mu'in*, similar to a crutch would be used to support the head when sleeping. At the end of the fortieth day the sheikh would deliver (sometimes the sheikh could extend this by three, seven or ten days) the dervish from seclusion (*khalwat-nishīn*) and listen to the dreams he had seen in those days. That night there would be a ritual slaughter. In case of need the sheikh could send the dervish back to the *khalwat* (It is said that the founder of the Khalwatī order, 'Umar al-Khalwatī completed forty consecutive *arba'īns*).

The *khalwat* derives from the fact that the Prophet Muḥammad spent time at the Hirā Cavern in the Nūr Mountain to pray and in later periods he went into a retreat (especially during the last ten days of the month of Ramaḍān) in a small mosque. The aim of the *khalwat* is to be able to forget all worldly affairs that distract one from God. It is not the same thing as the Christian hermitage, which consists of renouncing completely the world and human company, because it is not possible to reach God without the company of people. In the *djalwat* (being with people) one needs the *khalwat*, while in the *khalwat* one needs the *celvet*. It is even possible to abstract oneself when in company (*khalwat der-endjumen*). The *khalwat*, religious conversations and service to the order are like medicines, the doses of which are established by the *murshid* on the basis of the spiritual needs and character of the person. 'Strangers after profit, the heart after the beloved.'

The Mawlawī *Tchila*

The Mawlawī *Tchila* is a bit different. It is a period of service and lasts a thousand and one days. During this period the *naw-niyāz* (novice) will do all the work in a convent. The service is accompanied by the study of languages, music, literature etc., commensurate to his abilities. He does not leave the convent after evening prayers even if he is married. He can leave the convent only for convent related business during the day. At the end of the thousand and first day he acquires the title of *Dede* and a cell within the convent, because of which he is called *ḥudjra-nishin dede* (holder of a cell). If he makes a mistake during the *Tchila*, the ordeal has lost its validity. He cannot go on from where he left, but must start all over again and that only if he has been forgiven. The Mawlawī *Tchila* could be done only in main convents called *āsītāna*, which had a *maṭbakh-i sherif* (convent kitchen) where the novice would work. These were the convents of Konya, Afyon, Kütahya, Manisa, Bursa, Kastamonu, Salonica, Gallipoli, Yenikapı, Galata, Beşiktaş and Kasımpaşa.

According to sufi principles, *āsītāna* is not just the name given to a convent where the founder of an order lived, but also to the oldest (most important) *tekke* of a city. For example in İstanbul the Sünbül Efendi Tekke is known as an *āsītāna*, because it is considered to be the first *tekke* of İstanbul. If an order had more than one *tekke* in a city and if the *tekke* of the founder was not in that city than the oldest among them would be known as the *āsītāna*. In the case of the Mawlawī order all big convents where the *Tchila* used to be done are known as *āsītānas*.

Table Manners

Table manners were very important within the context of sufi principles. There was the expression 'Founding a *tekke* means preparing a table.' The aesthetically pleasing elements of the rites, which aimed to attract people to a religious order and to the sufi way of life, were also present around the table. If a person who had come to the *tekke* only to have a hot lunch could learn something of the *tekke*'s manners and apply them in his life, then it would mean that he had taken the first step towards sufism. A popular expression sums this up very well, 'in the kitchen of a *tekke* you don't cook food, you cook people.' The position of chief cook was second only to that of the sheikh himself (in the case of the Mawlawī order it was equal to that of the *post-nishin*).

According to sufi principles, the table is the most important element of service and offering. The table is set under the control of officials with titles like *farrāsh*, *maydancı* and *sāqī*. As in the case of the rites where the place of everybody is predetermined, the seating around a table is also done according to strict rules. The table is set on the floor and everybody eats from a single container, with only the help of a spoon. When the table is set, the spoons face upwards like the hand of somebody praying or downwards as a sign of modesty. Eating begins immediately after the sheikh had recited a *besmele* (*bismillahirrahmānirrahīm*) and everyone eats rather quickly. It ends with an appropriate prayer and a *gūlbang*. In some cases a special hymn called *ḥamdiye* can be chanted. During the month of Muḥarram no glasses or decanters made of glass are put on the table as a sign of respect to Ḥusayn and friends, who died at Karbalā of thirst (during this month some sheikhs used a black *dastār* or a black belt over their *destar* and a black *ḥaydariya* as a sign of mourning). Metal containers or earthen pots are used for water so that the water should not be visible. In certain *tekkes* there would not be even such containers, instead of which there would be young dervishes whose duty was to provide water to those that wanted it. When someone drank water all the rest would stop so that the food portion of that person should not be eaten by others. In the Mawlawī order there was the custom to eat in silence until the rice. Also in the case of the Mawlawī order there was a specially made leather table covering called *alifi somat*. Among Bektashīs there was the custom of covering the glass containing an alcoholic drink with the hand so that it should not show. Another general principle of sufism related to table manners consisted of the fact that the plates, glasses etc. of the sheikh should be taken away kissing them and holding them covered so that whatever is left over should not show. In some cases, according to the principle that 'the leftovers of a Muslim are like a medicine for another Muslim' a little of his leftover water or tea would be drunk. In general the spoons would be left face down on the table in accordance to the principle of 'not showing dirt'.

Muḥarram 'Āshūrā

Among the elements related to eating, 'āshūra, *aṣure* has a very important place. During the month of Muḥarram, which is popularly known as the 'month of 'āshūrā, 'āshūrā would be cooked with special ceremonies, beginning from the day before. All the dervishes would assemble and once

the sheikh had lighted the fire under the cauldron, special hymns and *mersiyes* would be sung. Everybody would help to mix the cauldron. There would most certainly be the recitation of the *Kelime-i Tawhîd* and a final *gûlbang*. Once the cooking was done with, the 'āshūrā would be put in special pots to cool. During the cooling period there would be recitation of the Qoran (so that the 'āshūrā should acquire healing properties). Istanbul being the city with the most *tekkes*, there was an order with which the various *tekkes* started to cook 'āshūrā. On the 10th of Muḥaraem the first 'āshūrā would be cooked at the most important *tekke*, which was the Sünbül Efendi Tekke. In no *tekke* would there be the cooking of 'āshūrā before then. Until the month of Şafar, 'āshūrā would be cooked in a different *tekke* each day. The 'āshūrā with cream of the Tophane Qādirī āsitāna, the decorated 'āshūrā of the Şehremini Sa'dī *tekke*, the filtered 'āshūrā of the Karagümrük Djarrāhī āsitāna, the 'āshūrā with milk done in some *tekkes* of Eyüp and the 'āshūrā with resin, which came from the Gallipoli Mawlawikhāna, were all specialties.

İftār (meal used for breaking the fast) and

Saḥūr (meal taken before dawn)

The religious orders had particular customs also as far as the *iftār* and *saḥūr* meals were concerned. In *tekkes* the *iftār* meal used to be open to the public. Everybody from the Sultan to the most miserable beggar was a potential guest. At the end of the meal the *qahve naqîbî* and the *sāqî* would distribute coffee, tea and *sherbet* (sweet fruit drink). These offerings would go on also after the *tarāwîh* (special Ramaḍān service) prayers. Sometimes conversation used to go on until the *saḥūr* meal, after which there were the regular morning prayers and the meeting would end.

Tarāwîh Prayers

In some *tekkes* this rite used to be done to the accompaniment of hymns, while in others together with the *khatm* (recitation of the complete Qoran). The *dhākırbaşı* and the *dhākirs* of the *tekke* made the call to prayer and the rite would be accompanied with music. According to a plan said to have been organised by the master composer Bukhūrızāda Muştafa 'İtrî Efendi, the prayers would be done to the accompaniment of the rast, 'ushshāq, şabā, awıdj, 'adjamashīrān and ṭāhīr *maqāms*. During *qadir* nights there would be visits to the 'noble beard'. If the *tekke* was the *tekke* of the

founder of an order, there would be a veneration of the relics of the founder.

Greetings during festivities

In occasion of festivities, a special ceremony during which everybody greeted each other, was customary in all *tekkes*. The greetings would follow the hierarchical order after which everybody would take place on the right of the sheikh, also in hierarchical order. The ceremony would be accompanied by the recitation of the *ṣalāt u selām* and would end with a *gūlbang* recited by the sheikh or someone appointed by him. When a sheikh visited another *tekke* on an occasion like a religious festivity, *qandil*, marriage, appointment as *khalifa*, succession etc., he would be welcomed with the burning of incense and greeted in the same way when he went.

Funerals

Since in a way sufism is a way of attaining, with various systems, 'death before real death' (*Mūtū qabla an tamūtū*), death will be perceived in a totally different way in comparison to other people. The Noble *Ḥadīth* (saying of the Prophet Muḥammad) 'The faithful don't die, they emigrate', Yūnus Emre's 'A beast died, lovers don't die', Seyyid Nizāmoghlu quatrain 'We are lovers, We don't turn into earth, We don't stay in the dark, Night and day is not for us', the fact that the death of Mawlānā is called *Shab-i 'arūs* (night of the bride), are all different expressions of this perception. According to sufis, death is attainment for those who go and longing for those who stay. Death is a liberation of the spirit from the prison called body, and of the bird called life from the tyranny of skin. Death is the obliteration of all else, save God, the elimination of the obstacle between God and us. It is for these reasons that the dead celebrates and those who remain behind mourn...

It is for all these reasons that a funeral requires a special ceremony. During the ritual ablution of the corpse it was necessary to recite the *Kelime-i Tawḥīd*, the *Īsm-i Djalāl* and the *Īsm-i Hū*. In addition to which, the *Awrād-i Sherif* of that religious order would be sung. Among the Mawlawis, when a sheikh died the Noble Hymn in the *segāh maqāmu*, the words of which (in your absence the earth and the sky are crying) were written by Mawlānā on the occasion of the death of Ṣalāḥ al-dīn Zarkūb-i Qūnawī, was sung. Both in the coffin and in the tomb, various sacred objects like earth or henna from

Medina, a written seal made of Karbalā earth, dust from the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad or a piece of cloth used to clean it or a piece from the cloth covering of the Kaaba were put on the point where the shoulders of the dead would rest. After the operations of ablution and of shrouding were completed, the corpse would be laid in the coffin and if there were sarcophagi in the *tekke*, the coffin would be put near the feet of the sarcophagus of the founder of the order or of the sheikh with the most seniority. The sarcophagi of sheikhs had six handles instead of four. If the person who died had been a sheikh or a *khalifa* his *Tādj-i Sherif* would be placed on the sarcophagus, if not his skullcap and *'araqīya*. If the funeral service were held in a mosque the coffin would certainly be brought back to the *tekke*, where another prayer would be said in front of the ceremonial window of the convent. Inside the mausoleum the coffin would not be raised over the shoulders as a sign of modesty and respect towards the other tombs and would be carried at waist level. During transportation of the coffin to the funeral service a special *Tawḥīd* for funeral processions would be recited. During the funerals of dervishes of *dawrānī* or *qiyāmī* orders, the people in the procession would do a *dawrānī* or *qiyāmī* rite under the supervision of a sheikh, while proceeding. During Mawlawī funerals the cloak of the sheikh would be draped over the coffin and a *sema* would be performed. During burial the *Tādj-i Sherif* or *arākiye/sikke* and skullcap would be put over the head of the dead (in case it was a woman her dervish head-scarf). If the dead had been a *khalifa* his *khalifa* diploma (*'idjazatnāma*) would be placed in his right hand and be buried in that way. This was also done so as to prevent impostors adding their name and passing themselves as sheikhs or *khalifas*. After the burial there would be a recitation of the total Qoran and of seventy thousand *Kelime-i Tawḥīd* at the *tekke*. In case of sheikhs of *āsitānas* this recitation would go on for seven nights. Since repentance and funeral rites are done at the moment of entering a religious order, they are not repeated after death. In case of a sheikh's funeral exclamations like 'Say that your God is *Allah* and that your Book is the Qoran' would never be said out of respect. In sufism a funeral is a farewell. The dead person has rejoined his loved ones, the survivors will do the same later.

Conclusion

Thanks to its rites and to its essential principles, sufism occupied a very influential place within the context of Ottoman culture and civilisation and

in Ottoman times had a highly institutionalised presence within Ottoman society. Its grace, sensitivity and courtesy were an essential element of Ottoman culture that even nowadays offers a favourable model to be followed by the younger generations. Due to historical, social and political reasons sufism is no longer institutionalised and today has to be understood and valued as an element of culture. The fact that many people, who made a name for themselves in artistic (especially music) and scientific endeavours were members of a sufi order, underlines this. Nowadays sufism is a harbour for people trying to escape the waves of materialism.

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