THE MEVLEVI TARIKAT

CONSIDERED AS

ORGANIZED MYSTICISM IN TURKISH ISLAM

by

Beatrice Margaret Carson

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of M.A.

--

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University, Montreal

1958

PREFACE

A student who deals with a theme from Turkish Islam is confronted with special problems of transliteration, owing to the use of the Latin alphabet by modern Turks. The method which has been adopted here utilizes a standard transliteration scheme, an outline of which is presented in the Appendix, for those Islamic technical terms which originated in Arabic and Persian. For terms and names which are recognizably Turkish, there is no problem of consequence. But since this study follows in part a historical course, there has been a certain amount of overlapping when the technical terms come to be used by the Turks. However, it is felt that these inconsistencies follow a natural transition, and the dual spelling has usually been indicated when they first appear. A cardinal principle has been to make the Turkish forms, especially but not exclusively for proper names which enter the story after the Turks do, a first choice, when choice is necessary; again, there are one or two exceptions.

There is one aspect of this general problem which is invariably at least mentioned by orientalists, and that is the extent to which "standard English spellings" are used. This aspect has widespread repercussions, not particularly relevant here, but about which the writer holds convictions. Accordingly, the practice here has been to use the available English spellings, as these appear in two of the smaller dictionaries based on the O.E.D., for words from oriental languages, except when the necessity for emphasis makes another course desirable.

Bearing in mind what Fowler[1] has said about certain tendencies among specialists, there seemed to be no point in abetting practices which add to the world's work without adding to its knowledge.

One of the convictions mentioned above is that the more "oriental" terms are assimiliated into the living language, the better. The example of one scholar[2] who, after a study of one dervish order, concluded that the name of its founder was "already familiar to English readers" and forthwith spelled it "according to the usual English spelling", has been followed here. In addition the terms "Mevlevi" and "Chelebi" appear so. "Rūmī" has been written, with some reluctance, with the usual diacritical marks; this is almost exclusively a Western name for the founder of the Mevlevi order.

Foreign words have been italicized. Geographical names are as they appear in the Canadian Oxford Atlas of the World (Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1957). Hegira dates are used especially when a historical process is being noted.

I wish to thank Mr. M. R. Feroz and Mr. S. A. Kamali, fellow-students at the Institute of Islamic Studies, and Mrs. M. Spiegelmann, the orientalist-librarian of the Institute, for much practical assistance and advice. I am particularly grateful for the invaluable contribution of Mr. Feroz, who not only procured the works of Abdülbâki but also translated them.

---

[1]See especially the article "Didacticism" in his Modern English Usage.

[2]Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 11.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

--

INTRODUCTION

The whirling or dancing dervishes of Islam have for some centuries been of peculiar interest to the traveller with an eye for the picturesque. For the Western student of mysticism or of Turkish Islam the fascination of the Mevlevis is not less, but the special studies which will make a true understanding of them possible date, approximately, only from their demise as an institution.[1] They and all the other "dervish orders" were suppressed by a decree of the new Republic of Turkey in 1925 A.D.

Upon reading a recent specialized interpretation[2] of these dervish[3] organizations in the Ottoman Empire, the writer has been struck both by the conclusions arrived at and the method used. The latter consists in integrating the available source material into the categories of "so-called religious sociology". First of all the orders are characterized as belonging to the complex of men's societies, for which there is much evidence. The question of the basic impulse towards their creation is found to be irrelevant. The sociological role of the orders is that of the organized Vorhof-religion, representing, it is said,

---

[1]For the general difficulties of bibliography in the field of Ottoman society, see Gibb and Bowen, I, Pt. I, 1-3.

[2]H.J. Kissling, "The Sociological and Educational Role of the Dervish Orders in the Ottoman Empire", in G.E. von Grunebaum, ed., Studies in Islamic Cultural History (The American Anthropologist Memoir no. 76, 1954), pp. 23-35.

[3]"Broadly through Islām . . . a member of a religious fraternity, but in Persian and Turkish more narrowly . . . a religious mendicant called in Arabic a fakir." D.B. Macdonald, "Derwīsh", SEI, p. 73.

> the primitive and lower religion of the people, inherited from earlier religious ideas, as contrasted with orthodox Islam, which had little to offer to the mind of the masses, precisely because of its well known rationalism.[4]

The most typical order from this point of view, both in character and in the part it played in Ottoman history, is the Bektashi.

This concept is illuminating. But is it comprehensive enough to cover a field about which, as Kissling says, fundamentally we know very little? And if not, is there one which is, or might be, more so? Our purpose here is to suggest that the concept of organized mysticism, which is dismissed at the outset by Kissling as being of little value in clarifying the orders as an institution or in interpreting them individually, may, on the contrary, be usefully explored in a specific instance.

Let us illustrate with a minor but nevertheless significant matter, the presence of women in the dervish orders. We know that in the Bektashi order women participated to such an extent that their place there has been referred to as "unique in Ottoman history".[5] Also, in the ritual of the oldest Turkish order, the Yesevî, unveiled women took part.[6] Therefore it would not appear that the Bektashi order can be described simultaneously in this case as a men's society and as incorporating the Vorhof-religion. Furthermore, Kissling seems to express some surprise that women were admitted into the Halvetî order. If, however, the dervish groupings are considered as organized mysticism, there is no conflict.[7]

---

[4] Op. cit., p. 27.

[5] Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 159.

[6] Köprülü, Influence du Chamanisme, p. 7.

[7] See below, pp. 29, 42, 90-1.

There are four grounds for such a hypothesis. First, this basic approach cannot be neglected where many problems are unsolved, especially that of origin; secondly, there is a growing realization not only of the meaning of mysticism in religion but of its positive character;[8] thirdly, it can be demonstrated that certain features of the organizations, seemingly inexplicable otherwise, represent Islamic variants of aspects of the mystical element in religion; lastly, there is at least one, the Mevlevi, which can be satisfactorily interpreted in no other way. Moreover, the Mevlevis do not fit into the thesis expounded in the paper referred to, although the writer has discovered since beginning this enquiry that the thesis can be fitted into them. If the Mevlevis are to be regarded merely as an exception to the rule, they are, in view of their historical importance, a remarkable one.

In this investigation three initial problems of definition must be recognized: religion, Islam, mysticism. First, whatever religion is, it is manifested in history as religions. The singular and plural use of the term, however, implies that there can be a Religionswissenschaft. What is Islam? Whatever may be, or may have been, or will be Islamic for any one Muslim in his lifetime,[9] the most rewarding attitude for the non-Muslim student must be to regard Islam, if and in so far as he can, not as a religion, but as religion. Then ultimately anything must be

---

[8] "In the hands of some of its best modern exponents, mysticism is being rescued from the cloudland of hazy speculation and frothy emotionalism. It is taking a recognized place as a definite and practical movement of religious life . . . It is now clearly seen that there is in mysticism a solid core of philosophical thought, as well as a profound religious experience." Hughes, p. 3.

[9] Cf. W.C. Smith, Modern Islām in India, pp. 304-5.

Islamic if Muslims accept it as such.

The "tremendous fomenting and integrating power"[10] of religion is its most relevant sociological function. It springs from that experience the core of which is communion with God. Fundamentally, what each of the world religions offers is a new experience. Originating in the founder's experience of the holy, it will form the characteristic "attitude" of the religion. In it is the central motivation, "creating, determining, and regulating the application of principles, ideas, norms, and rules to actual behaviour".[11] In a religion this experience develops and intensifies, and the eventual increase in the difficulty of communicating it may lead to a repetition of the original religious integration in a society, on another level: "a smaller, more intense religious élite is formed . . . bound together by deeper experiences, by stricter precepts, or by a stricter organization than the one open to the masses".[12] There is, however, no agreement as to whether it is actually possible to communicate religious experience.[13] Thus one of the paradoxical questions of religion appears - whether it is primarily an individual or a group phenomenon - and this notion has varied considerably.[14]

It is particularly difficult for modern Western man to grasp a religious attitude which differs from his.[15] Analysis is possible, but synthesis will remain elusive. The element of metaphor in both human

---

[10] Wach, p. 6.

[11] Ibid., pp. 46-7.

[12] Ibid., p. 37.

[13] Ibid., p. 337.

[14] Ibid., pp. 28-32, 37, 388; cf. below, Ch. II.

[15] H.A.R. Gibb, "The Structure of Religious Thought in Islam", MW, XXXVIII (1948), 18-9.

speech and religious thought is apt to be misleading.[16] Thus, islām is a metaphor. It is derived etymologically, as is muslim, from the Revelation to express "the characteristic attitude of the true believer in relation to God",[17] which is translated as submission. "Whichever way ye turn, there is the face of God."[18] The Muslim world-view is God-centred. "In Islam God, not man, is the measure of all things."[19] Now what is "peculiar and incomparable" in this or any spiritual type will be shown in mysticism, because it plumbs the depths of the human spirit.[20]

What is mysticism, or tasawwuf?[21] Among the many definitions of the mystic experience offered within numerous frames of reference, the following two offer scope for the variety which is possible: "Mysticism means communion with God, that is to say with a Being conceived as the supreme and ultimate reality",[22] and, "Tasawwuf is: to grasp the (divine) realities and to renounce that which is in the

---

[16]Cf. H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam, p. 21.

[17]T.W. Arnold, "Islām", SEI, p. 176.

[18]Koran: 2, 109.

[19]Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, p. 73. Cf. Macdonald, Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, p. 129.

[20]Otto, Mysticism East and West, p. xv.

[21]Taṣawwuf (Turkish, tasavvuf) and ṣūfī are among the terms for mysticism and the mystic in Islam.

[22]Inge, p. 8. Cf. the demur of Ellis, p. 183 no. 1. The problem of definition and meaning is discussed in Hughes, pp. 28-34. A list of seventy-eight Islamic definitions, representing "a single aspect ... a point of view ... or perhaps a momentarily dominant mood", appears in Nicholson, "A Historical Enquiry Concerning the Origin and Development of Sufiism", JRAS, XXXVIII (1906), 303-48.

hands of men".[23] The essential fact is that what is involved is not a doctrine, but an attitude.

Chapter I of this thesis has been devoted to an assessment of the place of this mystical attitude in religion, as manifested in Islam. The use of the sociological categories, purely descriptive though they are, or strive to be, cannot make it possible to avoid such questions as the relationship of mysticism to orthodoxy, of mysticism to theism, and mysticism to pantheism, where the sufi orders are concerned. Hence Kissling begins this section of the argument with the following and develops it at some length:

> For one thing can be stated without reservation: no dervish order was orthodox in the sense of traditional Islam, and from this fact necessarily derive the first significant consequences of their sociological position.[24]

A more extensive treatment of these questions will throw light on any order in the wider context of organized mysticism.

It is unnecessary here to relate the process by which since the early nineteenth century it has become apparent to Western scholars that sufism is Islamic mysticism, and that its seeds can be found in the Koran and the Sunnah of the Prophet. The metaphor of the stony soil of Islam recurs, although the luxuriant growth of the phenomena discussed belies this. Even when the grandeur of the sufi mystics is recognized, an element of incongruity is alleged by the most sympathetic of Western

---

[23] Maʿrūf al-Karkhī (d.200/816) quoted in Nicholson, ibid., p. 331; cf. his Mystics of Islam, pp. 1, 14. This is the oldest extant sufi definition. It will be noted that it, like the first selection, is qualified.

[24] Op. cit., p. 24.

scholars.[25] It should be added that one of the requirements for successful investigation wherever religious phenomena are concerned is an affinity for and sympathetic appreciation of the subject.[26]

Aside from these complicating extraneous factors, mysticism invariably seems to excite division within a religion itself:

> Few phases of religious life and thought have been so persistently opposed; none have been attacked from so many angles, or from such different motives, as has mysticism. As a specific movement it seems to have the quality of ranging men in attitudes of deep antagonism, forming two extreme camps. The history of religion, and more explicity the history of the Christian religion, suggests that every religious man is either a mystic or an anti-mystic.[27]

In order to establish the sociological position of the dervish orders, Kissling had to consider their place in the whole system of Islam in the Ottoman Empire. For sociology this is a fertile field. Islam has from the start meant a social expression of the faith.[28] In the Empire the fomenting and integrating character of religion was demonstrated to

---

[25] "In the course of their quest they reached, if not the goal, at any rate a purer religion and a higher morality than Islam could offer them." R.A. Nicholson, "Mysticism", in T. Arnold and A. Guillaume, eds., The Legacy of Islam (London; Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 238. This predisposition is, of course, resented by Muslims. "Their writings [those of Western orientalists]... almost invariably aim at proving that this new path founded by these saints in some way made amends for the inherent defects of Islam as a way of life." Ahmad, pp. v-vi. This sort of misunderstanding is almost inevitable until Muslims themselves write the definitive books.

[26] Wach, p. 10. Cf. H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism, pp. v-vii.

[27] Hughes, p. 6.

[28] Gibb and Bowen, I, Pt. II, 70; W.C. Smith, "Islam Confronted by Western Secularism", in D.S. Franck, ed., Islam in the Modern World (Washington: Middle East Institute, 1951), p. 22.

a remarkable degree. Religion was the cement of the structure which was built on a corporate basis.[29] Recent research only reveals the dimensions of the field.

Some of the problems, such as Sunni-Shiite[30] relations, await the complete investigation of popular religion in Turkey which Giese[31] observed forty years ago was necessary. The enthusiasm of Huart[32] when the first of Köprülü's studies based on the primary sources appeared is understandable. Also among those problems is the still controversial one of the origin of the Empire; "it is certain that in its origins it was as much a popular-religious as a dynastic enterprise".[33] It is said that the history of the Empire is only comprehensible after its origin has been accounted for.[34]

The Mevlevi order and the Ottoman state arose in the similar environment of political upheaval and religious ferment in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Asia Minor. Jalāl-al-Dīn Rūmī, the presiding genius of the order and perhaps the world's greatest mystic poet, died

---

[29]Gibb and Bowen, I, Pt. I, 10, 277.

[30]The basic sectarian division of Islam. ʿAlī, the Prophet's son-in-law and the fourth Sunni khalīfah (vicegerent) after Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān, is recognized by the Shīʿah as the first legitimate Caliph and infallible in the capacity of Imām (leader) of the community. He had a prominent place in dervish lore. The thwarted Shiite elements in time took on a revolutionary tinge. On the establishment of the Shiite Safavī dynasty in Persia in the early sixteenth century, the tenets of the dissenters assumed a treasonable aspect in the rival Ottoman state. Cf. ibid., pp. 21-2.

[31]"Muhammadanism (in Turkey)", ERE, VIII (1916), 905.

[32]"Les Anciens Derviches Turcs", JS, XX (1922), 5-18.

[33]Gibb and Bowen, I, Pt. I, 41.

[34]Wittek, Rise of the Ottoman Empire, p. 5.

in 672/1273. Orhan, son of the eponymous founder Osman, and the first ruler in whose name coins were minted, died in 761/1359. The order survived the Empire by two years.[35] Thus, when the full history of the order is written it must span a period of almost seven hundred years in Anatolia, a period longer than the life of the Empire itself. This thesis is concerned with the order in a specific aspect of Turkish Islam, and the historical and cultural milieu must be considered as contributing to its peculiar character. As in the case of the Empire it seems apparent that the original circumstances will assist in interpreting its development. Chapter III has been devoted to the background against which the relevant problems among those which are coming to light must be seen, and against which in Chapter IV we measure the typology of mysticism.

The early history of the Mevlevi order is not as obscure as most, since besides early Mevlevi literature in volume we have reminiscences of the first years of the order, Eflâkî's Manāqib al-ʿĀrifīn (The Acts of the Knowers-of-God). This was begun in 718/1318, forty-five years after Rūmī's death, at the command of his grandson, Ulu Arif Çelebi, and was probably completed in 754/1353.[36] It contains much oral testimony. Its purpose was primarily hagiographical; nevertheless, its translator's opinion is that it gives a faithful picture of the times.[37]

The study of the Mevlevis has been notably advanced with the recent works of Abdülbâki; based upon archival sources and on personal

---

[35]For the order as an institution outside Turkey after 1925 A.D., see Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, pp. 361-3.

[36]Huart, Les Saints, I, i.

[37]Huart, "De la Valeur Historique des Mémoires des Derviches Tourneurs", JA, XIX (1922), 317.

experience, they are a landmark. This scholar is, or was, a Mevlevi, of a family which has had a distinguished connection with the Yenikapi tekke or monastery in Istanbul; he presents much new information and thereby clears up some misconceptions. For example, he illuminates the part played by the order in the ancient sword ceremony, kílíç alayí on the accession of the Sultan. Legend, and hearsay among Western observers, have maintained that the girding was from the beginning a privilege of the Chelebi of Konya, the head of the order. In a brilliant review of the circumstantial evidence, Hasluck[38] concluded that this ceremony was first performed by the Chelebi in 1684 A.D. This has been generally accepted. According to Abdülbâki,[39] the Chelebi performed this rite for the first and only time in 1909 A.D., the rest being Mevlevi propaganda.

The writer regrets that lack of time has prevented the detailed study of Abdülbâki's work,[40] especially of those sections dealing with the Mevlevi school of poets and the relations with other orders. This thesis is a deductive presentation, weighing the evidence for conformity to patterns, where these can be discerned. Abdülbâki's evidence, it is felt, opens vistas whose exploration cannot essentially modify the basic assumptions of the writer, and will in the main confirm them.

---

[38] II, 611.

[39] Mevlevílik, p. 276.

[40] Among other works which were not available were Furūzānfarr's biography of Rūmī, almost all of Ritter's work on Rūmī, and some of Köprülü's studies of Islam in Anatolia.

I

THE MYSTIC AND HIS RELIGION

The uniformity of the mystic experience is a platitude. A classic expression of it is this:

> We find the same recurring note, so that there is about mystical utterances an eternal unanimity which ought to make a critic stop and think, and which brings it about that the mystical classics have, as has been said, neither birthday nor native land. Perpetually telling of the unity of man with God, their speech antedates languages, and they do not grow old.[1]

But on questioning the mystics closely we are likely to be met with replies such as the "feu, feu" of Pascal, and the "burning flash of lightning"[2] of the sufi. These will serve to emphasize three characteristics of the experience on which the testimony agrees, and which ought to be accepted at the outset: spontaneity, ineffability and authority.

The assumption of a pattern for mysticism requires that it be spontaneous[3] in a religion and innate in man, a "spiritual function which is almost a physiological function".[4] As for ineffability,[5] this does not mean that silence will always be maintained where the object of the

---

[1]James, p. 419.

[2]Nicholson, "A Historical Enquiry Concerning the Origin and Development of Sufiism", JRAS, XXXVIII (1906), 344.

[3]Underhill, p. xiv; M. Smith, Studies in Early Mysticism, pp. 2, 256.

[4]Ellis, p. 232.

[5]"The keynote of all mysticism is the incommunicableness of the transport." James, p. 405.
"Something remains untold, but the Holy Spirit will tell thee without me as the medium." Nicholson, Rūmī, p. 190.

religious consciousness is concerned, since eloquence is characteristic of the mystics generally.[6] The question of authority is a basic issue. Philosophical grounds can be asserted for the mystic's claim that there is a deeper knowledge of reality to be gained through intuition than by discursive reasoning.[7] For the individual mystic there is never any doubt.[8] Jung[9] says:

> That religious experiences exist no longer needs proof. But it will always remain doubtful whether what metaphysics and theology call God and the gods is the real ground of these experiences. The question is idle, actually, and answers itself by reason of the subjectively overwhelming numinosity of the experience. Anyone who has had it is seized by it and therefore not in a position to indulge in fruitless metaphysical or epistemological speculations. Absolute certainty brings its own evidence and has no need of anthropomorphic proofs.

In what way, then, does mystic experience differ from ordinary religious experience? There appears to be, in the main, only a difference of degree.[10] Otto's research into the basic feeling of religion and its manifestation, East and West, led to the conclusion that an over-stressing of the non-rational (i.e., non-conceptional) elements inherent in it resulted in mysticism. It "continues to its extreme point the contrasting of the numinous object (the numen) as the 'wholly other' with ordinary experience".[11] There is, however, an important qualifying factor. A

---

[6]Otto, Idea of the Holy, p. 2.

[7]Hughes, pp. 110-46.

[8]Cf. the extract in Nicholson, Rūmī, p. 48, which the translator has titled "Mystics Know".

[9]"God, the Devil and the Human Soul", Atlantic Monthly, November, 1957, pp. 58-9.

[10]James, p. 428; Hughes, pp. 32-4, 281-2; Pfleiderer, quoted in Inge, p. 25. This is postulated in the definitions above, pp. 5-6.

[11]Idea of the Holy, p. 29

mystic has a different God.[12]

In faith itself two aspects of God are distinguished: immanence and transcendence. These often complement each other. But to mention the antithesis does not do justice to the paradox:

> The antithesis is rather this: that the divine, which on the one hand is conceived in symbols taken from the social sphere, as Lord, King, Father, Judge - a person in relation to persons - is on the other hand denoted in dynamic symbols as the power of life, as light and life, as spirit ebbing and flowing, as truth, knowledge, essential justice and holiness, a glowing fire that penetrates and pervades . . . what is here insisted upon is not so much an 'immanent' God, as an 'experienced' God.[13]

Usually the mystic is defined as one who experiences the divine as immanent and seeks union with it, in contrast to the experience of the divine as transcendent. But the object of relationship differs in these cases. It is this conception of the divine as wholly non-rational, in contrast to the personal God of simple theism, which makes a mystic. Also, "mysticism is not first of all an act of union, but predominantly the life lived in the 'knowledge' of this 'wholly other' God".[14] Thus the ecstasy of union is not the goal; there is a further stage, a transformed state of being to be striven for.[15]

The God of the mystic is not, it appears, a colourless abstraction. If mysticism seems to imply the depersonalization of God, that is due to the attempt to combine philosophy with religion.[16] The mystics themselves

---

[12]Otto, Mysticism East and West, pp. 140-1.

[13]Ibid., p. 131.

[14]Ibid., p. 141.

[15]Cf. Hughes, p. 349.

[16]B. Groethuysen, "Mysticism", ESS, XI (in Vol. VI), 176.

accord personality to the ultimate Reality,[17] and in personality is probably the only means of reconciling transcendence and immanence.[18] The crux of the matter here would seem to be the poverty of language in dealing with new non-rational concepts.[19] It is because of this that lyricism is one of those related tendencies, capable of an independent existence in history, which mysticism may bring together.[20] In attempting to describe the state of mystical blessedness recourse is had to poetry. And, of course, beyond poetry man has developed the one wholly non-conceptional means of expression in music.[21]

It is partly this difficulty of expression which accounts for the fact that mysticism is very often described as having a pantheistic basis. It is true that the "mystical feeling of enlargement, union, and emancipation"[22] can be loosely described as "a feeling of pantheistic wholeness";[23] and that it can be accommodated within diverse theologies. But this is not to say that "just because mysticism is fundamentally pantheistic, it can incorporate the most heterogeneous elements, even the most glaring

---

[17]Hughes, pp. 19-20, 144-5.

[18]Ibid., p. 17.

[19]Cf. Otto, Mysticism East and West, p. 168, for the overpowering newness of these in Eckhart's case.

[20]Groethuysen, op. cit., p. 178. Others are romanticism, and a "state of general religiosity dependent on the emotions and unlimited by dogma".

[21]"Music is the one element through which we are best spoken to by mystical truth." James, p. 420-1.

[22]Ibid., p. 425.

[23]Kissling, op. cit., p. 25.

contradictions".[24] Also, if the idea of personality in God is accepted, then pantheism is not possible. And the assertion of individuality which the mystic experience does actually demand forbids the pantheistic absorption.[25] In many mystics, however, an appearance of pantheism may be produced which is actually panentheism, "not the doctrine that all is God, but the doctrine that all is in God, who is also above all".[26]

Within the uniform nature of mysticism, comparative religion discloses, are possibilities of variation which are as great as those in religion generally: "the peculiar spirit, the genius et nomen loci . . . colors very differently the inward experiences of mysticism".[27] In a mystic there is always some positive relationship between his mysticism and his orthodox religion,[28] since neither mysticism nor theism exist merely as such. The true mystic uses in some fashion the forms of the religion he knows.[29] The esoteric interpretation of these and of the sacred scriptures, intended to reveal an inner knowledge to the initiated, is characteristic of mysticism.[30]

A great variety in mystical mood, method and attitude is possible within a religion, even to the extent of conflict.[31] Many mystics do not

---

[24] Ibid., p. 26.

[25] Hughes, pp. 65-70; 361.

[26] Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, p. 27; cf. von Hügel, II, 336.

[27] Otto, Mysticism East and West, p. 165.

[28] Ibid., 101-2 and passim.

[29] Cf. von Hügel, II, 283, on the "Exclusive Mystic"; Underhill, 95-6.

[30] Otto, Mysticism East and West, pp. xvii, 141; M. Smith, Studies in Early Mysticism, p. 1.

[31] Otto, ibid., pp. 39-40; James, pp. 424-5.

follow a mystic way of training;[32] but it may be noted that "whenever the soul of man takes up a certain attitude towards God, certain results follow, and they are always the same class of results".[33] A mysticism may have a peculiar quality, e.g., coolly intellectual, or impassioned like Persian mysticism.[34] Several schemes of classification have been elaborated, but categories such as Nature and Philosophical Mysticism would seem to have limited value, especially since it is demonstrated that Religious Mysticism is the basic type, and mysticism primarily a religious fact.[35]

Let us now apply some of these observations to the sufi and to Islam. We have said that the Muslim outlook is God-centred. To repeat:

> The most vital element in Islam is 'Islam itself, i.e., that surrender to Allah which is not merely the dedication of the will to him, but also at the same time the entering upon the 'Allah' state of mind here and now, the object of longing and striving, a frame of mind . . .which may possess and enrapture the man like an intoxication and can give rise to a mystic transport of bliss.[36]

In the concept of Allah presented in the Koran it is the sheer numinous which predominates.[37] Furthermore, the reality of the Unseen is, as

---

[32]Cf. Hughes, p. 61.
"All that we usually term 'mystical method', all purposeful self-training for 'mystical experiences', all soul-direction, schooling, exercising, the technique for attaining a spiritual state, artificial exaltation of the self - this . . . lies aside from their /Śankara and Eckhart/ path." Otto, Mysticism East and West, p. 29.

[33]Hughes, p. 179.

[34]Otto, Mysticism East and West, p. 151.

[35]Hughes, pp. 14-5. Otto's choice of Rūmī as an example of Nature Mysticism in contrast to the "mysticism of the spirit" is not a happy one. Mysticism East and West, pp. 73-6. Cf. Inge, p. 156, and Nicholson's commentary, Idea of Personality in Sufism, pp. 52-3.

[36]Otto, Idea of the Holy, p. 170.

[37]Otto, Ibid., pp. 77, 94. Fear, awe and terror of the Judgement are salient features of religious belief remarked on in a Turkish orthodox village today. Stirling, p. 159.

Macdonald's[38] well-known exposition showed, something which the Muslim is remarkably conscious of. These are the basic reasons for the fact that personal religious experience in Islam especially "can hardly rise to its full height without becoming mystical".[39] To be a Muslim, it would seem, is to be, more or less, a mystic.

Nowhere in the Koran, nor in any other Scripture, does it say in a word that God is transcendent or that He is immanent. Two celebrated examples will demonstrate the antithesis of the dual symbolization which we have said is implied in the living paradox, although their impact must necessarily fade in translation. First, the Throne-Verse:[40]

> God! There is no God but He; the Living, the Eternal; Nor slumber seizeth Him, nor sleep; His, whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is in the Earth! Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His own permission? He knoweth what hath been before them and what shall be after them; yet nought of His knowledge shall they grasp, save what He willeth. His Throne reacheth over the Heavens and the Earth, and the upholding of both burdeneth Him not; and He is the High, the Great!

Second, the Light-Verse:[41]

> God is the Light of the Heavens and of the Earth. His Light is like a niche in which is a lamp - the lamp encased in glass - the glass, as it were, a glistening star. From a blessed tree is it lighted, the olive neither of the East nor of the West, whose oil would well nigh shine out, even though fire touched it not! It is light upon light. God guideth whom He will to His light, and God setteth forth parables to men, for God knoweth all things.

The Koran is a Revelation. As such it was constantly recited, studied and meditated upon, and memorized by the pious. This meditation

---

[38] Religious Attitude and Life in Islam.

[39] Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, p. 3.

[40] Koran: 2,256.

[41] Koran: 24, 35.

was an early synonym for tasawwuf.[42] The varying outlets for interpretation were reinforced by a powerful aid, the incomparability of the Koran. To appreciate what that must have meant to Arabs and to other Muslims long familiar with the sacred language involves two factors: first, the untranslatable richness and subtlety of the language of the Koran, and second, the importance of words and language as the dominant means of expression for the aesthetic feelings of the Arabs,[43] and hence, in some degree, for other Muslims. The Koran is not only the Revelation; it is the Word. Outside the domain of Islam were the Infidel, but some among them were distinguished from the rest by the fact that they, too, had a Book.

The concept of Allah in the Islamic revelation cannot, of course, be separated from the religious attitude of Muhammad. It may be stated at the outset that creative personalities in religion, including founders of religions, have almost invariably been people with mystical traits.[44] It has been said of Muhammad that, rather than having a theology, he was God-intoxicated.[45] However, the several strands in his experience have been well and frequently analyzed (that is, by Western scholars) for their theological import. Among them is, in Macdonald's phrasing, the nearness, though terrible, of Allah, with whom a direct relationship is not impossible. A related aspect of his experience to which not so much attention has been paid is a most interesting one. Evidence can

---

[42] L. Massignon, "Taṣawwuf", SEI, p. 580.

[43] H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam, pp. 4-5.

[44] Hughes, pp. 34-5.

[45] D.B. Macdonald, "Allāh", SEI, p. 36.

be deduced that the Koran as a record of the Prophet's devotional life shows him as a mystic,[46] and this not only in one aspect of his general attitude, but in specific experience[47] and in method. Muhammad, it is said, deliberately cultivated a mystic method, and by the use of devices such as standing at prayer, vigils and a sane asceticism, was able to induce mystic states.[48] He was thus a mystic in the technical sense, and habitually sought in this way to increase his knowledge of the Unseen.[49]

The interpretation of the Revelation in the Muslim community proceeded apace amid the stress of circumstance, the accumulation of tradition, and the enormous enlargement of the community itself. In the first century of the Hegira there were neither theologians nor sufis.[50] There were only Muslims, of varying degrees of piety. From our present vantage-point, let us venture to generalize on the course of events and to simplify the issues involved.

During six centuries, let us say up until 656/1258, when the fall of the centre of Islamic civilization, Baghdad, to the Mongols marks a dividing line, a massive structure of theologies and law had been built up with care and ingenuity to realize Islam. These were based primarily on the Koran and Tradition (Hadīth). Today we see the two systems of theology, the orthodox and the sufi, as they are termed, as full-blown and complete in themselves, and Western students usually conveniently

---

[46]Archer, Mystical Elements in Mohammed.

[47]Koran: 94; 17, 1.

[48]Archer, pp. 72-3.

[49]Ibid., p. 87.

[50]H.A.R. Gibb, "The Structure of Religious Thought in Islam", MW, XXXVIII (1948), 280.

contrast them as the transcendent and the immanent. Now as Gibb[51] points out, the "either, or" notion is probably erroneous so far as most Muslims were or are concerned, who more likely neither made this rigid separation nor took either very seriously. It must be remembered that philosophy and metaphysics ultimately did not exist in Islam apart from theology. The orthodox scheme "was concealed from the masses, and was viewed with more or less dislike by the pious".[52] The same is true of the sufi scheme; the discretionary motive was even more applicable, for another reason. Further, the sufi theology-philosophy was slower to develop; its culmination is considered to be in the doctrines of "existentialist monism" of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). And even he, who conformed to the practice of the Muslim faith and professed its beliefs, had his "zealous defenders" among the orthodox.[53]

Also, it must be borne in mind that "learning and manifestation of piety are inseparable in Islam".[54] Mosque, madrasah (school for the religious sciences) and monastery were not plainly distinguished as educational institutions. In 250/864 the first public lectures on mysticism were given in the mosques of Baghdad.[55] The early leaders of sufism were of the ʿulamāʾ, the orthodox religious teachers. And it was common for devout men to live permanently in the mosque.[56] The

---

[51] Ibid., pp. 285-6; Modern Trends in Islam, p. 21.

[52] D.B. Macdonald, "Allāh", SEI, p. 39.

[53] T.H. Weir, "Ibn ʿArabī", SEI, p. 146.

[54] J. Pedersen, "Madrasa", SEI, p. 305.

[55] L. Massignon, "Tasawwuf", SEI, p. 580; cf. J. Pedersen, "Masdjid", SEI, p. 337.

[56] J. Pedersen, "Madrasa", SEI, p. 305; hence, zāwīyah (corner), a term for a monastery. H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism, p. 134.

religious sciences were cultivated in the monasteries; these were built originally as a home for sufis and a place for their devotional exercises. By the seventh century of the Hegira the combination of monastery and madrasah was remarked on as especially characteristic of the Persians.[57] Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), whose achievement it was to find a place for tasawwuf within the orthodox structure, had charge at the end of his life of a madrasah and a khānqāh (monastery) at Tus in Khurasan.[58]

Another binary classification may be made, each branch of which in its own way sought to realize the all-pervading nature of Islam. This concerns what we may call the conduct of life in the world. The first branch, like the orthodox theology, was the first in time to develop. It was the broad way of the sharī'ah (highway). This was the canon law; it "regulates only the external relations of the subject to Allah and his fellow-men and ignores his inner consciousness".[59] As it was worked out in meticulous detail this canon law eventually comprised "as an infallible doctrine of duties the whole of the religious, political, social, domestic and private life", and this achievement has been termed "the nucleus of Islam itself".[60] The latter has been and still is the conviction of many Muslims.

The narrow way of the tarīqah (path) was the other side of the coin; it concerned the inner life. In the beginning it was "a method of moral psychology for the practical guidance of individuals who had a

---

[57] J. Pedersen, ibid., p. 306. The madrasah was an independent institution, but in principle there was no difference between it and other mosques. Ibid., pp. 303-4.

[58] D.B. Macdonald, "Al-Ghazzālī", SEI, p. 111.

[59] J. Schacht, "Shari'a", SEI, p. 525.

[60] Ibid.

mystic call".[61] These early Muslim mystics did not foresee any conflict with the administrative authorities of the community, since they sought only to draw near to God in prayer.[62] Taṣawwuf we have already defined as an attitude. The crux of the matter, from our point of view, became the sufi claim to maʿrifah (experimental wisdom or gnosis) as revealing the divine reality (ḥaqīqah), in contrast to, or, rather, complementing the knowledge (ʿilm) of the scholastics. A literature arose on the question of reconciling the two systems. This was achieved, although not to everyone's satisfaction, by the efforts of many scholars, including, finally, Ghazālī, who were themselves both Sunni and sufi. It remained a live issue, perhaps the only one in Islamic intellectual life, since the Western Renaissance passed Islam by, down to the nineteenth century.[63]

We have said that this second binary classification concerns the conduct of life. As the ideas implicit in the notion of ṭarīqah were elaborated with characteristic Islamic zest and thoroughness, schools of disciples clustered about the teachers arose.[64] Through the systems of "rites for spiritual training", including the compilation of rules and the regular recital of litanies (dhikr) derived from the Koran, which

---

[61] L. Massignon, "Ṭarīḳa", SEI, p. 573.

[62] L. Massignon, "Taṣawwuf", SEI, p. 580.

[63] H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism, p. 146.

[64] The pir or mūrṣid (spiritual director) takes his place in an ancient tradition; an Oriental "cannot imagine a man without a teacher as being anything else than a disciple of Satan". T.J. De Boer, The History of Philosophy in Islam (London, 1903), p. 28, quoted in Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 215. In the ṭarīqah his position as an imparter of truth is fundamental. Birge, ibid., p. 100. This idea is not unknown in the West. See von Hügel, II, 362-3, on the part played by the Director among Western Catholic mystics, the range in ecclesiastical and social position of the persons chosen, and the blind obedience shown to them.

then ensued and were handed down, tarīqah (Turkish, tarikat) came to mean "a common life . . . founded on a series of special rules in addition to the ordinary observances of Islam".[65] It is the usual term for a self-perpetuating Muslim "order". As compared with the sharī'ah, this tarīqah idea had a very late start, roughly corresponding to the dividing line of the Mongol invasions, but it had a remarkable proliferation. During the next six centuries, schools, orders and sub-orders rose, flourished and waned, especially in the Ottoman Empire, whose growth they paralleled. Massignon[66] lists over forty in Anatolia. It is difficult to estimate the numbers of adherents, since both multiple and lay membership were common, and enthusiasm varied at different times, but it has been concluded that the orders probably influenced the lives of a large majority in Turkey.[67]

So in the end the tarīqah became as thoroughly institutionalized as the sharī'ah. And thus we see how Muhammad's "sociological"[68] idea of God expressed itself in the lives of his followers, the religious men, and the religious men who were mystics.

From our point of view these events raise a very important question. Among these modes of thought, these ways of life, which was "orthodox"? The catholicity of Islam, based upon an apparently simple

---

[65] L. Massignon, "Ṭarīḳa", SEI, p. 573. Like the sharī'ah, it extended its scope to the most minute details. Every item of dervish dress, for instance, had a complicated symbolization.

[66] Ibid., pp. 575-8.

[67] Birge, p. 14.

[68] Archer, p. 32.

profession of faith, is often remarked upon.[69] A Sunni is one who conforms to "the theory and practice of the catholic Muhammadan community".[70] The principle of ijmā' (consensus), the third root of the faith, is not only a principle of authority but, within limits, a principle of toleration; usually moving slowly over the centuries, it permits within Islam the existence of groups of Muslims holding differing views.[71] "Orthodox", it would appear, is a Western term.[72] In Islam what is orthodox is a matter of practice. Thus, in so far as the orders were concerned the canonists were only able to attack them as propagating innovations (bida').[73] The sharī'ah, being concerned with externals alone, could not deal with matters of the conscience, and thus there was never unanimous Sunni condemnation of mysticism.[74] And even as regards bida' the consensus of the 'ulama' was not able to prevail against the consensus of the people, e.g., in the use of coffee, wine, narcotics and music, in the orders and outside of them.[75] The example of music is particularly relevant here. We have remarked on its affinity with mysticism. Its power in enhancing religious rites has been so great that often "fear has been felt that it might confuse the religious meaning of

---

[69] See Birge, Guide, p. 128, for a quotation from G. Washburn of the Seyhülislâm, "the highest authority in Turkey": "whoever confesses that there is but one God and that Muhammad is his prophet is a true Moslem, although to be a good one it is necessary to observe the five points of confession, prayer, fasting, almsgiving and pilgrimage".

[70] A.J. Wensinck, "Sunna", SEI, p. 552.

[71] H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam, p. 12.

[72] See W.C. Smith, "Islam Confronted by Western Secularism", in D.S. Franck, ed., Islam in the Modern World (Washington: Middle East Institute, 1951), p. 22.

[73] L. Massignon, "Ṭarīḳa", SEI, p. 574.

[74] L. Massignon, "Tasawwuf", SEI, pp. 580-1.

[75] Kissling, op. cit., pp. 29-30. Wine is forbidden by the Koran. See below, p. 89.

the message it illustrated."[76] Some of the 'ulamā' presumably shared this fear, but were never able to suppress the samā' (musical assemblies) of the dervishes, and the law, if not discussion, centred on such questions as which instruments were permissible.[77]

Let us return once more to the inner springs which we are attempting to get at in this chapter. The ambivalence which we have observed among the Muslims also characterized the theological interpretations of the central fact in the religious consciousness, the oneness of Allah. Here, as so often in Islam, two ideas stemming from the theoretically opposed concepts lead to the same result. For instance, both the orthodox doctrine of predestination[78] and the sufi doctrine of trust in God (tawakkul) often resulted in what is called fatalism in the ordinary Muslim. There have been, as we shall see, Muslims who rejected the result of both interpretations. The unity of Allah (Tawhīd), in which is implicit the problem of His nature, was capable of several interpretations,[79] and the problem is further complicated for the Western student by the difficulties inherent in the term "personality" for both Muslim and Christian.[80] As Nicholson's analysis[81] showed, both theologian

---

[76]Wach, p. 381.

[77]J. Schacht, "Sharī'a", SEI, p. 525; D.B. Macdonald, "Emotional Religion in Islam", JRAS, XXXIII (1901), pp. 213-4, 237.

[78]H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam, p. 22.

[79]See D.B. Macdonald, "Tawḥīd", SEI, p. 586.

[80]Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, pp. 1-2.

[81]Ibid., especially p. 73.

and mystic must return to the central point, which is, we repeat, the "Say: God" of the Koran.

The non-Muslim who comments on the inadequacies of the Muslim creed for the Muslim is at a disadvantage.[82] A creed is often a defensive statement, but it always has a relation to that original concept which was an attempt to communicate something experienced.[83] One may suggest that to the ordinary Muslim the problem of the attributes of God expressed as "They are not He nor are they other than He" might be a not unsatisfactory expression of the numen. The Muslim theologian and the Muslim mystic were not the first, as we have said, nor are they the latest[84] to be flummoxed by the inadequacy of language. For the Prophet, Allah was the Reality (al-Ḥaq), but "he never asked what that meant".[85] Says Kissling:[86] "The Islamic dervish does not mind merging the pantheistic all-god term ḥaqq with the orthodox term Allâh, while the strictly orthodox Moslem will carefully distinguish between them." Perhaps he does.[87]

---

[82]"Only by ignoring the Fifty Articles of his creed can the Moslem come near to God; but the Sufi who enjoys communion with God can, if he wishes, take the creed to his heart and see in the words a partial and inadequate reflection of what his inner light has revealed to him." Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, p. 15. See H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism, 127-8; but cf. his Modern Trends in Islam, p. 21.

[83]Hughes, p. 404.

[84]See Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, p. 73.

[85]D.B. Macdonald, "Allāh", SEI, p. 36.

[86]Op. cit., p. 25.

[87]Cf. D.B. Macdonald, "Ḥaḳīḳa", SEI, p. 126: "Ahl al-ḥaḳīḳā are the mystics who know the real nature of God, as opposed to ahl al-ḥakk, the orthodox followers of the Sunna."

We come now to the Muslim mystic himself. Here again, however, there must be a preliminary consideration of terminology. "Sufi" and "sufism" are applied by Western students to all Muslim mystics;[88] but in Islam the term sūfī has been as ambiguous as the term "mystic" elsewhere. The Islamic word and its connotations have, in addition to the antagonism which we have noted is almost invariably aroused by mysticism in a religion, suffered obloquy for quite extraneous reasons. There have been periods, as we shall see, when Muslim mystics themselves were contemptuous of those who bore the name, and preferred other terms to describe themselves. Although "the initial framework of Sufism was specifically Muslim and Arab",[89] foreign elements were very soon added to it. The nickname[90] "sūfī", from the wearing of the woollen robe of the ascetic, had presumably from the beginning a certain derisive aspect because of its resemblance to the practice of the Christian ascetic, which increased when the undoubted bidʿah[91] of celibacy won acceptance by many sufis. This, and an exaggerated asceticism, were the reasons for the bitter criticism which centred about "monkery in Islam"[92] and those early sufi communities which existed in a Christian environment in Western Asia.

There were several other names[93] for the Islamic mystic aside from the generic sūfī. Among them was walī. This, the most respected

---

[88] L. Massignon, "Tasawwuf", SEI, p. 580.

[89] Ibid., p. 582.

[90] Arberry, Sufism, p. 35

[91] Koran: 24, 34.

[92] L. Massignon, "Tasawwuf", SEI, p. 580.

[93] See Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, pp. 173-4.

term for the saint in Islam, has a peculiar significance apart from the leading of a holy life. In the Koran the walī is mentioned as the "friend of God", and it is also applied to God as the Friend of believers.[94] Its special meaning is of one who knows God, and who belongs to "a comparatively small class of men and women who have attained to the highest mystical experience".[95] As the concept developed, miraculous gifts (karāmāt) from God were believed to be the prerogative of the saint, demonstrated through his special influence (barakah).[96]

One of the very early mystics, Rābi'ah al-'Adawīyah (d. 185/801), was perhaps not known in her lifetime as sūfī, but she was undoubtedly a walīyah. As a mystic she brings up several interesting points. To be a Muslim does not mean that one is a man, since the Koran speaks of women as believers as well as men, apart from what it says on the relations between them. To summarize: "In spite of some ecclesiastical restrictions and in spite of the general contempt for her sex, the Muslim woman was, theoretically at least, on a spiritual equality with men".[97] For every term for the mystic, there was a feminine equivalent.[98] Some

---

[94]B. Carra de Vaux, "Walī", SEI, p. 629.

[95]Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, pp. 56-7; cf. D.B. Macdonald, "The Unity of the Mystical Experience in Islam and Christendom", MW, XXV (1935), 330.

[96]In view of the ramification of saint-worship in Islam, in doctrine, hierarchy and practice, the basic significance of the walī must be kept in mind. In this discussion of Islamic mysticism the terms necessarily represent the classic types, which, as James points out, can only be extracts from a large mass. Op. cit., pp. 424-5.

[97]M. Smith, Rābi'a the Mystic, p. 136.

[98]Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, pp. 173-4.

theologians are said to have named Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter, as the first Qutb, the Pole or head of the sufi hierarchy which invisibly sustains the world.[99]

As de Beauvoir's[100] study shows, the mystical attitude is one of the characteristic ways in which the second sex expresses its peculiar position in the world. To be a woman, it would seem, is to be, more or less, a mystic. "Adore, and draw thou nigh",[101] were among the words of the first revelation of the Koran. How naturally, seven centuries before Saint Theresa, the Basra slave expresses as Woman her love of God.[102] She shines like a pale star in the galaxy of the early sufis. The wonder is, of course, that she is there at all.[103] It is her spontaneous, disinterested love of God (mahabbah) for His own sake which was to play an important role in the mystic experience in Islam:

> O my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of Hell, burn me therein, and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me Thine Eternal Beauty.[104]

Mahabbah as the term for the love of God is found in the Koran, expressive of both man's love for God and of God's love for man, but it

---

[99] M. Smith, Rābi a the Mystic, p. 2, citing Goldziher. All Muslims who claim descent from the Prophet do so, of course, through Fāṭimah; ʿAlī was a cousin of the Prophet.

[100] Second Sex, pp. 670-8.

[101] Arberry, Sufism, p. 21.

[102] Cf. Whinfield, p. xv.

[103] This observation cannot be confined to Islam. It is in religion that Woman has found almost the only means through which she has been able to face the world as a sovereign human being and to take possession of it, in spite of what the religions may say about her situation in it. de Beauvoir, pp. 621-2. Thus, it was Rābiʿah's sanctity which made her a freed woman. Also, she remained celibate in a patriarchal society.

[104] M. Smith, "Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiya", SEI, p. 462.

is on the whole of minor importance there.[105] Another term, ʿishq (Turkish, aşk), meaning a more ardent love, though it does not appear in the Koran, vied with maḥabbah for a place in the sufi theosophy; the latter was triumphant.[106] One of the points at issue in the attempted reconciliation of sharīʿah and ḥaqīqah was this notion of ʿishq, about which the sufi sheikhs themselves did not agree. Varieties of mysticism, as we have seen, may co-exist in a religion.

The concept of ardent love was embodied in Ḥallāj (d. 309/922) of Baghdad, whose name, as they say, is still fragrant as the martyr of love. He was condemned partly because his doctrines appeared in a form which Muslims associate with the Christian Incarnation,[107] but Massignon[108] emphasizes that he was pre-eminently a Muslim, faithful to the Muslim community. It was through the group of his followers who fled to Khurasan that his influence continued in Persian and Turkish mystical poetry.

In Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī al-Khayr (d. 440/1049) of Khurasan, who, as will be seen, was in many ways a precursor of Rūmī, are found both the sufi idea of the passing away of the self in the Unity of Allah, and the mystic idea of love which leads to the goal:

> The creatures are nothing, the Friend is everything - when thou hast said 'One' thou must not again say 'Two'. The right faith is to say God and therein to stand fast. Whatever thou dost see

---

[105] R.A. Nicholson, "Love (Muhammadan)", ERE, VIII (1915), 176.

[106] Massignon, Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique, pp. 173-4.

[107] Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, p. 30.

[108] al-Hallaj, I, 69; II, 465.

> or say, see and say from what is existent, which never ceases to be. Love that One Who, when thou shalt cease to be, will not Himself cease to be, that thou too mayst become one who will never cease to be.[109]

Let us briefly consider some points concerning the mystic experience as exemplified in Rūmī, bearing in mind his dual position as representative of the heights of Islamic mysticism and of the mystic phenomenon everywhere.

Now, Rūmī was irresistible,[110] and he still is.[111] He creates, Nicholson[112] has said, "an aesthetic atmosphere which defies analysis". We have already indicated the importance of words and language as the predominant channel for the aesthetic impulse among Muslims. Art and religion were one in a sense that they are not elsewhere.[113] A saying about Rūmī was: "Though he has not a Prophet, he has a Book".[114] But what makes him unique is his religion, not his art.

---

[109] M. Smith, Introduction to the History of Mysticism, p. 65.

[110] Köprülü, "Les Origines du Bektachisme", Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions, II (1925), 403.

[111] The English on the whole have been sympathetic translators of Persian literature, possibly because of the close relationship between mysticism and poetry which exists in both literatures, though not to the same extent. Ever since Fitzgerald the translator qua translator has been suspect. In Rūmī the problems are especially great because of his teeming mind, as Nicholson has indicated. Mathnawí, VII, xiii. In his Mathnawī (Turkish, Mesnevi) the form and metre, meant for narration and description, allowed him full play to embroider the thought, so the translator must choose or combine to compress. In the lyrics of the Dīwān the ghazal form permitted him to soar within a comparatively small compass. Cf. Nicholson, Selected Poems, p. ix. The rubā'ī form is concise and brief, making a more exact translation possible. It is in the latter that Rūmī achieved the most startling results from the point of view of mysticism. Arberry, Rubā'iyāt, pp. xxiii-xxvi.

[112] Mathnawí, VII, xiii.

[113] Cf. H.A.R. Gibb, "The Structure of Religious Thought in Islam", MW, XXXVIII (1948), 283.

[114] Nicholson, Mathnawí, VII, xii.

The nature of the experience which made Rūmī a poet is bound up with the phenomenon of creativity. The parallels of Plato and Socrates, and Dante and Beatrice, have been suggested.[115] Rūmī came of a family well known among the ʿulama; he was himself learned in all the religious sciences and succeeded his father in the academic field at Konya. He may have, although this is not certain, also passed through the sufi training.[116] At the same age as Ghazālī had been at the time of his conversion to the sufi path, Rūmī met, loved and lost the wandering dervish, Shams-i-Tabrīz. What the latter said to Rūmī we do not know.[117] Shams was, or perhaps had become, a despiser of book-learning, so it may have been in essence nothing more than "There's a wind in the circling skies".[118]

At any rate, the spark ignited tinder which had been awaiting it.[119] The afflatus of the poet descended on Rūmī.[120] In him from that time the rapture, jadhbah (Turkish, cezbe), of the divine attraction was combined with the ʿishq which we have noted as one strand of Islamic mysticism. This combination is regarded by Abdülbâki[121] as the dominant characteristic

---

[115]Nicholson, Selected Poems, p. xx; Rumi, p. 22. Cf. Ritter's comment that Rūmī found the lost Shams in himself. "Celâleddin Rûmî", Islâm Ansiklopedisi, III (1945), 55. Köprülü doubts the real existence of Shams. L. Bouvat, "Les Premiers Mystiques dans La Littérature Turque", RMM, XLIII (1921), 256.

[116]Ritter, op. cit., p. 54; Nicholson, Rūmī, p. 18.

[117]The Mevlevis were not able to decide which of the two was the mürşid. Abdülbâki, Mevlânâ, p. 95.

[118]Arberry, Rubāʿiyāt, p. 61.

[119]Cf. Ritter, op. cit., pp. 54-5; Abdülbâki, Mevlânâ, p. 96.

[120]Arberry, Rubāʿiyāt, p. 38; cf. Hughes, pp. 238-9, especially with reference to Blake.

[121]Cf. Mevlânâ, pp. 163-4.

of Rūmī. He became, in his own words, a madman of love.[122] A glimpse of his own method from one source has an authentic ring:

> There was a pillar in the Maulavī's house, and when he was drowned in the ocean of love he used to take hold of that pillar and set himself turning round it. Meanwhile he versified and dictated and people wrote down the verses.[123]

However, these events took place in mediaeval Islam. Rūmī was not merely a poet.[124] He was, as he said, "a pen in the hand of the Lord".[125]

Was Rūmī a Muslim? No one asks whether Niagara is a waterfall.[126] But sometimes he states the case simply:

> So long as I shall live,
> To God's Koran my faith I give;
> God's chosen one,
> Mohammed, is my lord alone.[127]

He does not reject the ritual obligations of Islam.[128] He states explicitly: "The Sunnah is the safest road, and the community of the Faithful your best fellow-travellers".[129] And again: "Do not spurn any infidel, for it may

---

[122]Arberry, Rubā'iyāt, p. 36.

[123]Nicholson, Selected Poems, p. xl.

[124]It is unnecessary to comment on the symbolism used by Rūmī, except for one instance. See below, p. 98. Otherwise it was conventional, as in Persian poetry and Christian mysticism. Almost always the distinction between a friend and The Friend is clear. See Arberry, Sufism, pp. 113-6; E.J.W. Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry, I, pp. 64-5; Nicholson, Selected Poems, pp. xlii-xliv; Hughes, p. 308.

Faced with the poverty of language, the mystic may, as we said, turn to music. Ghazālī's analysis of the spiritual effects of music is a prose form of the opening lines of the Mathnawī, excluding the lines on love. D.B. Macdonald, "Emotional Religion in Islam", JRAS, XXXIII (1901), 729-30. Nicholson translated this as "The Song of the Reed". The reed, of course, could be either a flute or a pen.

[125]Nicholson, Rumi, p. 49; Selected Poems, p. 121.

[126]Cf. Abdülbâki, Mevlânâ, p. 190; he discusses here only Rūmī's parrying of his critics. Rūmī commented on them in this manner: "The moon sheds her light and the dogs howl". Whinfield, p. 275.

[127]Arberry, Rubā'iyāt, p. 3.

[128]Whinfield, p. 223; cf. A. Bausani, "Theism and Pantheism in Rumi", Pakistan Quarterly, III (1953), 39-40.

[129]Nicholson, Rūmī, p. 71; cf. ibid., p. 143.

be hoped that he will die a Moslem".[130] What rouses his wrath is forms for the sake of forms, without reference to the living truth (that is, for the religious man), which they seek to embody.[131] This, in Islam as in other religions, was not exceptional. One of the first achievements of the Muslim theologians had been "to establish a distinction between religion as a matter of ritual only and religion as an inner experience".[132] For Rūmī it was a matter of the "experienced" God. He earnestly pleaded with others to "see" the difference also.[133] The framework of his thought was the familiar mingling of the Law (Sharī'ah), the Path (Ṭarīqah) and the Truth (Ḥaqīqah).[134] Again, it is the warmth of his devotion to Muhammad which in one of his odes "grips the heart and mind with a power comparable to that of the Qur'an itself".[135]

It has been said[136] that in Islam there is no place for 'ishq which is, as we have noted, not Koranic. Rūmī[137] couples it with mahabbah; the latter is derived from the Koran and arose spontaneously among the early sufis. For Christian mystics love has a peculiar

---

[130] Ibid., p. 172.

[131] Whinfield, p. 104.

[132] Wensinck, p. 36.

[133] Whinfield, pp. 82-4, 294-5.

[134] Nicholson, Mathnawi, VI, 3.

[135] H.A.R. Gibb, "The Structure of Religious Thought in Islam", MW, XXXVIII (1948), 122-3; cf. Nicholson, Selected Poems, pp. 33-7, 222.

[136] Cf. Abdülbâki, Mevlânâ, p. 153.

[137] Nicholson, Rūmī, p. 102.

importance.[138] However, Otto[139] points out that love may have a wide variety of expression, including that based on an aesthetic experience which may be almost unknown to the Christian. We have seen the close relationship between cezbe and aşk in Rūmī. Like other mystics, he emphasizes love as an instrument towards immediate knowledge of God; for him it has also a special meaning in contrast to the way of the ascetic.[140] But it cannot be expected to have a central place in Islamic mysticism and it has not in Rūmī.

"Mysticism", says Otto,[141] "is always bold." From the standpoint of the simple believer its expressions can even appear blasphemous, implying not just a unio mystica, but complete identity with God. In Islam these are very common.[142] Thus, Rūmī:

> From end to farthest end
> Of being we extend,
> Yea, we sit upon
> God's imperial throne.[143]

---

[138]See Hughes, pp. 70-8.

[139]Mysticism East and West, pp. 212-4.

[140]Nicholson, Rūmī, pp. 43, 102.

[141]Mysticism East and West, p. 98.

[142]See L. Massignon, "Shaṭḥ", SEI, p. 533.

[143]Arberry, Rubā'iyāt, p. 49; cf. Nicholson, Selected Poems, p. 73. However, Rūmi's religious consciousness was always Muslim:

> Except a man himself deny,
> To self he shall not wholly die,
> Nor realize the mystery
> Of unity:
>
> Which is not God incarnated,
> But being unto selfhood dead.

Arberry, Rubā'iyāt, p. 32.

As we have seen, this type of mysticism must be based on the theism in which it arises. Nicholson's penetrating analysis[144] has shown how the experience of the sufi and the orthodox theologian begin and end in the Unity of Allah, which is at the same time transcendent and immanent. In the Koran Allah is not only over and above all and nearby, but, for the mystic, in everyone.[145] And at these heights, or depths, there is in Rūmī no madness but a stillness, a sudden pause:

> Into my heart's night
> Along a narrow way
> I groped; and lo! the light,
> An infinite land of day.[146]

It has been deduced[147] that what the sufi expresses is a personal experience of the transcendence of Allah. For Rūmī the experience of fanā' (annihilation) does not lead to pantheism.[148] Bausani suggests that infinity may not mean for Rūmī that sea in which soul-drops finally merge, which he uses sometimes as a metaphor, but "a Way towards the far away limit of God".[149] It may be remarked that Rūmī also uses another metaphor, that of the wind, which raises the dust-cloud: "Thy wind invisible sweeps us through the world."[150]

---

[144] Idea of Personality in Sufism, especially pp. 22-5, 73.

[145] Cf. Archer, p. 38.

[146] Arberry, Rubā'iyāt, p. 186.

[147] Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, pp. 16-21.

[148] Ibid., pp. 52-4; Bausani, op. cit.

[149] Ibid., p. 39; cf. Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, p. 73.

[150] Nicholson, Rūmī, p. 154; Whinfield, p. 295. Motes and atoms are a frequent metaphor. See below, p. 98.

For Rūmī, as in a sense for all Muslims, God is both "centre and circumference of the universe".[151] If we then assume that Kissling's[152] hypothetical mystic viewing the starry sky is a Muslim, he may say this:

> Thy infinite grace
> Raised up a world of time and space,
> Yet reckoned naught
> These ordered intricacies it wrought:
>
> One drop did rain
> Out of that flood into our main,
> And in our plain,
> Sowed of that granary one grain.[153]

Our next task is to build a bridge between the mystic and his fellow-men. This is not difficult. The great mystics have been centres of activity and creative forces in the world; what they seek is nothing less than the extension of their own transforming experience to all humanity.[154] The mystic points the Way.

"This is the paradox of religious experience", says Hughes,[155] that when men are most truly themselves they are most closely united to all others." The sense of community is thus inseparable from the mystic experience; in Islam, as we have seen, this is even more true.

Rūmī, whose experience was firmly grounded in Islam, believed that God reveals His oneness through all the religions: "The lamps are

---

[151]Whinfield, p. 274.

[152]Op. cit., p. 25.

[153]Arberry, Rubā'iyāt, p. 183.

[154]Hughes, pp. 84-90, 401.

[155]Ibid., p. 285; cf. Wach, p. 388.

different, but the Light is the same: it comes from Beyond".[156] Also, as a Muslim he deprecated the solitary ascetic, but he was not a solitary ecstatic either: "Make yourself like to the community, that you may feel spiritual joy".[157] The essential characteristic of his mysticism is that it is active, it is a teaching mysticism:

> I likewise, in order to please the merciful God,
> Beat my drum at every door in hope of dawn.[158]

It is for this reason that he sought in the Mathnawī to expound "the roots of the roots of the roots of the Faith", in an esoteric interpretation of the whole Koran.[159] So Rūmī is called Mawlānā (Turkish, Mevlânâ), "Our Master", and his followers, the Mevlevis.

---

[156]Nicholson, Rūmī, p. 166; cf. Groethuysen, op. cit., on the super-religion of the mystic.

[157]Nicholson, Selected Poems, p. 167; cf. p. 302. Nicholson was not primarily interested in the communal aspect of Rūmī's experience. The remainder of the ode and of Nicholson's note surely bear out the meaning we give it here.

[158]Whinfield, pp. 288-9.

[159]The Mevlevis considered that his exposition had the status of tafsīr, the branch of the religious sciences concerned with Koranic commentary, and even fiqh (jurisprudence). Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, p. 304. Esoteric Koranic interpretation, tā'wīl, was originally a term synonymous with tafsīr. B. Carra de Vaux, "Tafsīr", SEI, p. 558.

II

CHARACTERISTICS OF COLLECTIVE MYSTICISM

The concept of collective mysticism embraces two aspects of religion each of which is paradoxical in itself. The first concerns the great partition by which the religious field may be divided - the distinction between institutional and personal religion.[1] Mysticism is primarily self-centred, yet:

> Even in the most highly personalized religion there is present, however veiled, such a powerful drive toward institutionalization that this tendency may be regarded as an essential characteristic of religion itself, a tendency which for its complete realization, however, presupposes a fairly stable social system.[2]

The second aspect concerns the individual and collective elements in religion. The question of whether the individual or the group is the fundamental subject is one of the paradoxes of religion which has already been noted. Our difficulty is this: why do mystics, averse as they are to all "group religion", nevertheless establish religious communities? We cite this observation:

> It seems to be a fact that there is a deep-rooted tendency in man which urges him to join with others in the worship of the numen and thus to derive encouragement, strength, and comfort from sharing what he has with others.[3]

Mystical movements are not chance occurrences.[4] Before considering

---

[1]James, pp. 28, 334.

[2]A. Bertholet, "Religion", ESS, XIII, 230-1.

[3]Wach, pp. 338-9.

[4]Hughes, p. 41; cf. Otto, Mysticism East and West, p. xvii.

their possible sociological consequences we may ask what conditions are conducive to the development of mystical epochs. Collective mystical activity may coincide with a period of prosperity, material progress and artistic and intellectual achievement,[5] or it may immediately follow the peak of such a period.[6] The fall of an empire or the sudden disintegration of a way of life,[7] more, no doubt, than the gradual onset of its decline, is the natural occasion for the turning of men's thoughts towards the City of God; and this will be especially marked among the onlookers of the disaster. It may be added that "in every period of true mystical activity we find an outbreak of occultism, illuminism or other perverted spirituality".[8]

We have thus far considered mysticism as an individual affirmation. But it has its negative aspect as well:

> The mystic call is as a rule the result of an inner rebellion of the conscience against social injustices, not only those of others but primarily and particularly against one's own faults: with an intense desire after inner purification to find God at any price.[9]

---

[5]As in Spanish mysticism, so described in Allison Peers, Spanish Mysticism, Introduction, cited in Hughes, p. 401.

[6]Underhill, p. 453.

[7]See Groethuysen, op. cit. This sociologist notes that in the historical sense a break-up of personality may occur in a time of great crisis. Also, the distinction between the educated and the uneducated may disappear, for the simple believer most often attains "an immediate vision of God", while the theologian adheres to traditional forms of thought. This may explain the influence of mysticism in the lower strata of society. Wach, pp. 201-2, quoting Faris, The Nature of Human Nature, p. 48, finds the origin of sects or independent groups during times of collapse: "The sect is the effort of the whole community to integrate itself anew."

[8]Underhill, p. 149.

[9]L. Massignon, "Taṣawwuf", SEI, p. 580.

In estimating the place of mystical movements in the history of a religion a strong case can be made for summing it up as recurrent protest and reaction against the burdens of excessive intellectualism, institutionalism or dogmatism.[10] Yet Christian monasticism "raised a way of life into a principle, which in the first instance was based . . . on the idea of a perfect enjoyment of God here and of immortality yonder".[11] One analysis[12] states that while the religious temper, in its longing for simplification, always attempts to minimize or suppress one or other of the elements of religion, the historical or institutional element has a special motive for suppression of the mystical element, apparently spring "from the very essence of religion, from two of its specific inalienable characteristics - those of externality and authority".[13]

It is possible to outline in general terms the social structure which will embody this affirmation and protest. Bearing in mind the individualism of the mystic and the basic incommunicability of his experience,[14] it is evident that a pronounced degree of organization is unlikely: "Mystical fellowship can but be characterized, by a term Ernst Troeltsch coined, as a 'parallelism of spontaneities'".[15] Even in a cult mysticism

---

[10]Hughes, pp. 41-8.

[11]Harnack, Monasticism, p. 31.

[12]von Hügel, I, p. 65.

[13]Ibid., p. 72.

[14]Wach, p. 166.

[15]Ibid. Cf. Groethuysen, op. cit. When a strict organization develops, Wach suggests that other factors are usually responsible.

emphasis is placed on "the individual subjective mystic interpretation of objective and communal acts of devotion and worship".[16] Mystics congregate in "free groups"; at their meeting-places seekers of communion with God assemble, and relations of friendship are formed between the groups, especially between men and women mystics.[17] Women play an important part in mystical epochs and their participation in mystical movements, particularly at the start, is common.[18]

Let us first refer to the social expression of the affirmative character of mysticism. An interesting hypothesis has been suggested by Bergson and developed by Toynbee. Confronted by the creative personality which the great mystic is, there are two ways in which a society may follow his lead to dynamic growth:

> The one is by way of drill . . . the other is by mysticism . . . The first method inculcates a morality consisting of impersonal habits; the second induces imitation of another personality, and even a spiritual union, a more or less complete identification with it.[19]

Comparing these two methods of social drill and intellectual communion, Toynbee[20] comments:

> The inertia of mankind in the mass has never in fact been overcome by the exclusive use of the Platonic [i.e., the latter] method; and . . . in order to draw the inert majority along in the active minority's train, the ideal method of direct individual inspiration has always had to be reinforced by the practical method of wholesale social drill . . . which can be made to serve the cause of social progress.

---

[16] Wach, p. 167.

[17] Groethuysen, op. cit.

[18] Ibid.; cf. the example given in Wach, p. 183.

[19] Henri Bergson, Les Deux Sources de la Morale et de la Religion, pp. 98-9, quoted in Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, Vols. I-VI abridged by D.C. Somervell (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 215-6.

[20] Ibid., p. 216.

Toynbee also points out that this latter method, "mimesis", is a short cut, which may lead eventually to a breakdown in the society. Its weakness lies in "its being a mechanical response to a suggestion from outside, so that the action performed is one which would never have been performed by the performer on his own initiative".[21] Thus growth will in time cease for lack of flexibility and spontaneity on the part of the followers, if not the leaders, and disintegration will ensue.

Mystical groups in a society can exist alongside of the traditional organization of the religion. The degree of radicalism of the movement will vary according to its context.[22] The crux of the matter where any protesting group is concerned is this: will it realize its ideals within the traditional group, or outside it as a new community?[23] Which alternative will develop depends on three factors: the basic impulse and concepts of the movement which predetermine its structure, the extent to which the main group is susceptible to reforming influences, and internal or external circumstances which could transform the policy or theology of the movement.

Wach's analysis[24] of the sociological consequences of the protest within, that is, by "those desirous of raising the religious and ethical

---

[21] Ibid., p. 278.

[22] Wach, p. 166. He cites sufism as an example of a protest movement whose "individual or collective, orthodox or heterodox aspects varied at different times", p. 173.

[23] Ibid., pp. 34, 167-70. Among his Islamic examples of the protest group outside the community is the Shī'ah.

[24] His typology, the only one which has been examined by the writer, is followed here. In a brief reference, p. 200, he mentions "private personal religion of the mystic type" as the "cult type" in H. Becker's typology.

standards of the body without provoking a split" produces three types, classed under ecclesiola in ecclesia.[25] The criterion appears to be the degree of "specialization of functions" and "differentiation of structure".[26] All seek to return to the central religious experience; all emphasize the devout attitude.

The first Wach terms the collegium pietatis; its members represent basically an attitude, not a specific attempt at organization. It is

> a loosely organized group, limited in numbers and united in a common enthusiasm, peculiar convictions, intense devotion, and rigid discipline, which is striving to attain higher spiritual and moral perfection than can be realized under prevailing conditions.[27]

The "meeting" for the purposes of "prayer, meditation, reading, edification" is the sociological expression of this group.[28] The motive force of the movement may be "the desire for more intense individual experience or for a maximum of common standardized religious practices", exemplified respectively by sufism and the tarikat.[29] Criticism of the main body is characteristic, the emphasis is on the practical side of religion, and the movement may be marked by "contemplation . . . ascetic discipline, and active charity".

The second and third categories are the fraternitas and the

---

[25]For the origin of this term see ibid., p. 175.

[26]Ibid., p. 183.

[27]Ibid., p. 177.

[28]Ibid., citing the early Methodists. Macdonald refers to sufi meetings as "much like our own prayer-meetings, still more like the 'class-meetings' of the early Methodists, as opposed to stated public worship". Development of Muslim Theology, p. 178.

[29]Wach, pp. 178-9.

monastic order.[30] As the "equalitarian conception of fellowship" gives way to the "beginnings of stratification" the group advances to the next stage. The monastic ideal makes exclusive, permanent demands; its binding characteristics are "absolute obedience, fixed residence, peculiar garb, meals in common, special devotions, and common labour". Wach here again cites the tarikat, with its "vigils, fasts, invocations, litanies and special dispensations". Three aspects of monasticism are particularly noticeable: the abundance of outstanding personalities, the dynamic process of the movement and the provision for tertiaries, i.e., "men and women affiliated with some order but not generally practising communal life".

Mystical fellowship is not, however, confined to the experience of these groups embodying the protest within.[31] It is therefore necessary here to refer to some aspects of other categories of the specifically religious organization of society. But first we must briefly consider the basis of authority in religious leadership, from the sociological viewpoint.

Otto suggests that if we wish to study the genesis of an "original and genuine" religious community we should repair to Morocco, where the "naive emotional force" of religion shows itself alive through the holy man of Islam:[32]

---

[30]See ibid., pp. 181-8. For the fraternitas, Wach cites "loosely organized Mohammedan brotherhoods" such as the Ikhwān al-Safā'. These early mediaeval Brethren of Sincerity have not yet been fully investigated, but their activities were political as well as religious. Hitti, pp. 372-3.

[31]Wach, p. 167.

[32]Idea of the Holy, p. 162.

> It is not that he himself teaches that he is such, but that he is experienced as such. But it is only such experiences which, while they may be crude enough and result often enough in self-deception, but at least be profoundly and strongly felt, that can give rise to religious communities.

The holy man shares in a power which has been called "charisma"[33] (gift of grace). It may be purely individual and innate. Given a certain disposition, it may be developed by special training and intensive preparation in a professional sense. As an example of the latter at a comparatively low cultural level, Wach cites the shaman of the north-eastern Asiatic nomads: "Tradition and custom codify methods of cultivating this gift and of making it yield its peculiar fruits in abnormal states of consciousness, ecstasy and rapture". But any extraordinary gift, skill or ability may serve to establish the "man of God". The "sociological corollary" of the leader's charisma is a group of followers, more or less transitory.[34]

The core of religious authority is the close communion with the deity:

> Great emphasis is placed on the preparation for and conservation of the right mood and disposition for this communion with the numen and on every means of fostering it: spiritual exercises, self-examination, worship, prayer and meditation. Enthusiasm is the exceptional rapture preparing for and resulting in the closest union with the deity and cult is the guarantee of permanent intercourse. Since it is considered possible and desirable to have others share in this decisive experience, everything that leads to this end becomes essential - as preaching, teaching, missions, propaganda, and education . . . The 'world' has to be met and confronted with the spirit born of the new experience.[35]

---

[33]Weber introduced this term for "the specific power postulating and exercising authority over others". Wach, p. 343. Cf. D.B. Macdonald, "Karāma", SEI, pp. 216-7

[34]Wach, pp. 341-2. Charismatic groups are difficult to study because of their spontaneous character. Ibid., p. 379.

[35]Ibid., pp. 345-6.

The classification for the types of religious charisma has been termed "hierocracy".[36] After the founders[37] of religion Wach cites the reformer, and this type is of interest:

> In times of threatening decay or disintegration leaders arise in religious groups who are difficult to classify in the traditional historical schemes . . . Their creative religious power does not match that of the originator of a great faith. They somewhat resemble the founder in the power and possibly even in the magnetism of their personality, in their energy and endurance; but the sociological effect of their activity cannot be compared to that resulting in the emergence of the great faiths. Moreover, their self-interpretation and the role with which these reformers are credited by their followers differ from those of the founder.[38]

Their charisma varies considerably; gifts of vision or ecstasy, intellect or sensibility, talents for organization or ascetic discipline may be found.

Of Wach's other types, three only need be mentioned, the saint, priest and religiosus. The prestige of the first depends on his own nature and character. It is as an example that he influences others. His communion with God "may have a mystical connotation".[39] Cited here is the walī, whom Wach seems to identify with the sufi shaykh,[40] and the saints of the Islamic orders.

The priest[41] appears during the transition from a creative religious era to one of regulation and interpretation. He is primarily concerned

---

[36] By Weber. Ibid., p. 347.

[37] "Each of these sacred names stands for a unique experience, and has become an uninterchangeable symbol of human faith and hope." Ibid.

[38] Ibid., p. 351. Cf. ibid., p. 134, for what would seem to be a more inclusive type, the Divine Man, to be compared sociologically with the founders.

[39] Ibid., p. 366.

[40] Cf. the equivocal position of the shaykh as magician. Ibid., p.362.

[41] Ibid., pp. 368-77.

with the "conduct of worship" and his authority "rests ultimately on his communion with the numen expressed in formalized cult". The priesthood may be exclusive to a tribe or family; it may become highly organized and develop a hierarchy; it may become hereditary. Priests usually receive rewards for the regular performance of their function, but voluntary poverty is well known among them. Some of the most important functions of the priest are carried out in relation to his congregation: "the quiet and profound influence" of this kind of spiritual leadership has been more far-reaching than his "official" activity. Wach cites again the sufi shaykh, and also the regular and monastic spiritual leader.

The category of the religiosus covers all varieties of the monastic life, from the hermits to the tertiaries: "men and women who have been compelled by their religious experience to live a life of closer communion with God than that of ordinary people and, without withdrawing entirely from the world, to order their lives according to special religious rules".[42] These are particularly prevalent in the more complex civilizations.

Besides the innate, personal charisma there is also a charisma of office, which is "narrower, shallower, and more limited".[43] Most of Wach's types combine the personal and the official in varying degrees. The charisma of the saint is almost entirely personal, that of the priest

---

[42] Ibid., p. 377.

[43] Ibid., p. 344. Wach compares "the allegiance shown to the prophet and master and that shown towards the priest and teacher". Where an equalitarian concept prevails, official charisma may not exist. See ibid., p. 148, for the opposing concepts in Islam of the ummah (community of the faithful) and the ashrāf (descendants of Muhammad).

is almost entirely official. Once the principle of charisma is acknowledged, a hierarchy based on degrees of it, and eventually also on seniority, will result. The subsequent re-organization into an ecclesiastical body to provide an adequate source of authority is a complex phenomenon.[44]

It should be noted that it is the recognition of charisma which is the most important criterion of discrimination for those entering the new fellowship which is to be found in any form of the specifically religious organization of society.[45] In the growth of a protest group the personal charisma of the leader is an essential factor among those which will determine its course.[46]

We pause here to emphasize the integrating power in religious grouping generally of three factors which are particularly relevant - music, dancing and the word. The three arts had their origin in religious inspiration and all have a cultic significance.[47] "So long as artistic creativity served its original purpose, its integrating influence on religious groups was immeasurable".[48] The power of music in religion has been mentioned above. Dancing has a fundamental importance,[49]

---

[44]See ibid., pp. 127, 143, 340.

[45]Ibid., p. 113.

[46]Ibid., p. 168. Among other qualities the leader must have "a conception of the religious community which will allow for the development of a permanent organization".

[47]Ibid., p. 44.

[48]Ibid., p. 45. Cited here is the recitation of Persian lyrics.

[49]"All religions, and not merely those of primitive character, have been at the outset, and sometimes throughout, in some measure saltatory." Ellis, p. 38.

especially for the group. "Its value and significance consist not only in its being an outlet for all kinds of emotions; it also serves to unite thoroughly the group which participate in it."[50] Wach says this about the word:

> The 'word', spontaneously uttered or recited as a formula, used for its numinous effect or for the conveying of definite meaning, has ever had a particularly strong effect upon the minds of men . . . the oral and written word wins and unites souls. This effect does not necessarily depend on logical and convincing argumentation only. Numinous syllables, sacred sounds, and ecstatic utterances may have a more cumulative, animating, stirring and electrifying influence.[51]

From our discussion of the nature and relation of mysticism and religion, it would seem likely that in their social expressions a definite separation is impossible. Elements of mysticism are, we have noted, found in other groupings than those recognized as having a distinctly mystical basis.

The secret society is, according to Wach, the raw material of specifically religious groupings:

> Religion has been greatly influenced by this type of religious organization, particularly in its more advanced forms. The cultivation of a genuine experience of the holy, the fostering of awe and reverence, the stress upon proper preparation, the discipline of mind and body through asceticism, meditation, and solitude are of great value in the development from cruder beginnings to higher forms of religious life.[52]

---

[50] Wach, p. 381. He cites here the "Mevlemeti" order.

[51] Ibid., pp. 380-1. Cf. Otto, Idea of the Holy, p. 195: "When the ecstatic Dervishes of Islam bring their 'Zikr' to an end, they break into ejaculations, such as 'Allah Akbar', which end finally in a protracted groaning Hu. This Hu has indeed been explained on rational grounds as the Arabic personal pronoun of the third person, 'He', i.e. Allah. But any one who has actually heard these ejaculations finds it hard to think of them simply as pronouns. Rather we have the impression that in this sound the numinous feeling is seeking to discharge itself."

[52] Wach, p. 119.

Some structural differentiation is apparent, e.g., the functionaries and the inner circle. The capacity for ecstatic experience is often required, as in the shamanistic societies of Asia. Dramatic performances and masked dances, as well as prayer, sacrifice and lustration are characteristic. There are initiatory tests of increasing severity.[53]

The mystery society is a somewhat similar grouping, but appears in a more complex culture and is more highly developed theoretically. Its aims may not be exclusively religious, but it springs from a genuine individual or collective religious impulse.[54] The emphasis may be devotional or interpretative as regards the traditional religion; it may supplement the latter or serve as an escape.

Like these two groups Wach's two remaining categories, the circle of disciples and the brotherhood,[55] are closely related; they coalesce in the founded religion, the point of division being marked by the death of the founder. The central figure in each is, of course, the latter. The circle begins when the man of God after a "call" or at a certain age begins his mission and attracts disciples. The circle is oriented towards him and his vision. From his experience come the new ideas of fellowship and communion. After his death he becomes an object of worship, and belief in his mission becomes the criterion for membership in what is now a brotherhood.

The disciples may vary widely in age and type. Their association

---

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid., p. 122.

[55] Ibid., pp. 135-143.

may be loosely or closely knit. One of them is often singled out as the master's intimate confidant. They are also apostles. Integration of their group is achieved from the start by meditation, prayer, singing and exhortation. With new concepts, a new symbolism and a new attitude, a new religion is being formed. The circle is not strictly organized. But with the founder's death, and there can be no successor, comes a gradual transformation, as doctrine and cult are formulated and norms established.

It will be noted that there is no sharp cleavage between any of these groupings as outlined by Wach. Secret societies, mystery cults and founded religions spring from the same kind of initiative.[56] All of them derive their ideal from an historical figure, or attribute their ideal to one.[57]

The central impulse of Wach's final category, the independent group which adopts its own principle of organization, or, as a more radical protest, the sect,[58] is also usually from a genuine religious experience, although the complexity of the movement is such that it is not exclusively so. The mystical element in these groupings is seen in the "high regard for charismatic authority (immediate inspiration, spirit, inner light, etc.), which replaces tradition". The sociological type of the sect, or, in some cases, of the independent group, is determined by "characteristic attitudes", e.g., reforming or reviving,

---

[56] Ibid., pp. 312-3.

[57] Ibid., p. 390.

[58] Ibid., pp. 198-207. The sect proper is selective in character, stressing intensity rather than universality.

rather than "specific theological and philosophical doctrines". The development of sectarianism can hardly be separated from economic, social, ethnic, and cultural factors. It is to be noted that in spite of the usual dislike of sectarian groups for interference by the state, in some circumstances a sect may welcome official support or protection. Finally, the self-interpretation of the group must be carefully considered, and this, as in all religious groups, must supplement the historical description of origin and external development.

III

THE MATRIX OF THE MEVLEVI TARIKAT

In this phase of the investigation a preliminary recognition is necessary of the scope of the problems of research which exist in the study of Turkish Islam. Barthold[1] indicated the problems of eastern Islamic history during the second half of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, a period which "belongs on the whole to the darkest pages of Muslim history". The history of the Turkish[2] settlement of Asia Minor has still to be written.[3] There is as yet no adequate history of the predecessors of the Ottoman Turks there, the Seljuk Turks of Rūm[4](ca. 1100-1300 A.D.). Especially important here is the lack of a comprehensive study of the currents of thought which during the mediaeval period swept the Muslim world from Spain to the Oxus,[5] and, in particular, Anatolia.[6]

In an indirect approach[7] to the question of the rise of the

---

[1]Turkestan, p. 30.

[2]It is to be noted that it was not until the decline of the Ottomans and the increasing penetration of the Western notion of nationalism that the name "Turk" began to have, for Turks in Asia Minor, its modern connotation.

[3]T. Kowalski, "Turks", EI, IV, 922.

[4]Asia Minor, as ruled successively by Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman; E.J.W. Gibb, I, 149, n.1. Cf. Le Strange, p. 127. Hence, Rūmī.

[5]Cl. Huart, "Les Anciens Derviches Turcs", JS, XX (1922), 18.

[6]Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 79.

[7]W.L. Langer, and W.P. Blake, "The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and Its Historical Background", AHR, XXXVII (1932), 483.

Ottoman Empire, the geographical term "Khurasan"[8] is encountered; it denotes that region which at various times in Islamic history included territory on both sides of the Oxus, the ancient boundary between Iran and Turan, lands of the Persian-speaking and Turkish-speaking peoples. Khurasan is a key to the understanding of the Mevlevi tarikat as well. It was the birth-place of Rūmī and the centre of his family traditions, and its vigorous intellectual tradition played a part in forming his outlook and that of some of his followers.

Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr (d.440/1049) has been mentioned above as a Khurasanian precursor of Rūmī. His group of disciples shows how the monastic life was lived at that period. By his time it was the rule that:

> If any one by means of asceticism and self-mortification shall have risen to an exalted degree of mystical experience, without having a Pir to whose authority and example he submits himself, the Sufis do not regard him as belonging to their community.[9]

Here, as we have implied in Chapter I, was the germ of organization. This group of wandering sufis, later including a number of women who had their own teachers, were settled in their khāngāh at Nishapur by a rich patron. A large revenue was derived from gifts and the contributions of novices and lay brethren.

Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr exercised a considerable degree of spiritual authority through his reliance on the inner light, augmented by his poetic and musical gifts in the samā'. Notwithstanding the

---

[8]Cf. Le Strange, pp. 8, 382, 433.

[9]Nicholson, Studies, p. 10.

miraculous powers attributed to him, and his luxurious way of life in the convent, his ideal of the walī was both noble and practical:

> The true saint goes in and out amongst the people and eats and sleeps with them and buys and sells in the market and marries and takes part in social intercourse, and never forgets God for a single moment.[10]

His father knew both sharī'ah and tarīqah; when he himself became a sufi[11] he abandoned those studies in which, like Ghazālī after him, he was not able to find the proof of what he sought. Except for the pilgrimage to Mecca he complied, though perfunctorily, with the forms of the law.[12]

Although this Persian mystic, again like Ghazālī almost a century later, did not found a self-perpetuating order, in the rules for his convent he formulated perhaps the first Muslim example of a regula ad monachos.[13] These ten rules, all based on Koranic injunctions, were simple, devotional guides to a communal religious life. The emphasis is on prayer, contemplation, charity and study.

In the Khurasanian environment appears the militant aspect of sufism. In Islam the jihad was a religious duty only in a collective sense.[14] The classic sufi interpretation of this duty was an individual ethical one, in accordance with the conception of the mystic call as a rebellion against one's own faults. For some of their

---

[10] Ibid., p. 55.

[11] In keeping with the Islamic tradition of the wandering scholar, the investiture of the sufi with the mantle (khirqah) by a pir never marked an exclusive process; e.g., Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr received more than one. Ibid., pp. 22-3.

[12] Ibid., pp. 60-1.

[13] Ibid., pp. 46, 76.

[14] D.B. Macdonald, "Djihād", SEI, p. 89.

monasteries, at first especially for those in eastern Islam, the sufis appropriated a term used on the frontiers to denote an Islamic outpost, the ribāṭ.[15] Here also was used the term for the volunteer warrior of the faith on the Islamic frontier, the ghāzī.[16]

There developed among the eastern Muslim mystics at an early period a school of thought of an even higher ethical level, one which was very difficult to sustain. We have remarked that the term ṣūfī had an identification with early Muslim ascetics who were centred in Iraq. In this sense it was until about the fourth Islamic century contrasted with the Malāmatī school of Khurasan, and then superseded it as a generic term for the mystic.[17] The latter school had an intense detestation of religious hypocrisy, which to them meant the belief that the Pharisaical observance of the forms laid down in the sharī'ah was sufficient. To avoid what they deprecated, they performed the more obvious duties. They would declare themselves in none of the familiar ways, such as a distinctive dress, meetings for the recital of litanies, residence in a monastery, or wonder-working. But the "Path of Blame" implied that they were willing, even eager to incur censure as non-conformists.[18] It is the opinion of Köprülü[19] that Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr was a representative of this school; this would explain the

---

[15] G. Marçais, "Ribāṭ", SEI, p. 475.

[16] Ghāzī and ṣūfī were not synonymous terms; cf. Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr, quoted in Browne, II, 264. See Nicholson, Studies, p. 72, for a reference to a sufi military expedition to Rūm from Khurasan. It was recognized that one of the legitimate objects of dervish travel was the holy war. Nicholson, Kashf al-Maḥjūb, p. 345.

[17] L. Massignon, "Ṭarīqa", SEI, p. 574; "Taṣawwuf", SEI, p. 580.

[18] Nicholson, Kashf al-Maḥjūb, pp. 62-9; Gibb and Bowen, II, 180.

[19] "Les Origines du Bektachisme", Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions, II (1925), 398.

antinomian aspects of his activities. These tendencies, as might be expected, became dangerously intensified in this variety of mysticism.

In Rūmī we observe these trends of thought and practice. He endorsed the basic tradition of the mūrsid, so vital in his own experience, but also gave a characteristic warning against mere blind imitation.[20] He was contemptuous of contemporary systems of thought,[21] while being fully conversant with them, because such knowledge was not of the immediate sort. His was a practical approach:

> Quit excessive speculation and inordinate science,
> 'Tis service of God and good conduct that gains its end.[22]

Although in metaphysics he found evil a necessary abstraction, he had, as is common among mystics, a profound sense of the devil in man.[23] The greater warfare against the self requires as much courage as the lesser warfare against the Infidel.[24] His attitude was pacific,[25] but never passive. He made a vigorous protest against fatalism, of whatever doctrinal basis:

> Your fatalism is to sleep on the road; sleep not
> Till ye behold the gates of the King's palace.
> .....
> Fatalism means sleeping amidst highwaymen.
> .....
> If ye really have trust in God, exert yourselves,
> And strive, in constant reliance on the Almighty.[26]

---

[20]Whinfield, pp. 45-7, 236-9.

[21]For the framework of Ottoman thought in tradition and philosophy, and above all, mysticism, which permeated both, see E.J.W. Gibb, I, 15-24, 33-69.

[22]Whinfield, p. 306.

[23]Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, pp. 54-5; cf. Hughes, 426-9.

[24]Whinfield, p. 268.

[25]"Fighting ... 'tis the business of Turks", Nicholson, Mathnawí, VI, 226.

[26]Whinfield, p. 20.

Rūmī's last instructions to his followers, if we assume they are authentic, are couched in the same vein as is Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr's regula, except that there is no stress on the communal aspect:[27]

> My testament is this, that ye be pious towards God, in private and in public;- that ye eat little, sleep little, speak little;- that ye depart from wickedness and sin;- that ye continue instant [sic] in fasting and steadfast in vigilance;- that ye flee from carnal lusts with all your might;- that ye endure patiently the contumely of the world;- that ye shun the company of the base and foolish, and consort with the noble-hearted and the pious. Verily the best man is he who doeth good to men, and the best speech is that which is short and guideth men aright. Praise be to God who is the only God.

A Malāmatī strain in Rūmī explains a feature which has been puzzling: "He goes so far as to say", commented Whinfield,[28] "that in the mouth of a saint even infidelity and blasphemy may be true piety". Abdülbâki emphasizes the fact that Rūmī's idea of ṭarīqah, like that of his father, was of the Khurasanian school. As against the sufism of 'Iraq, the pronounced asceticism, solitude, litanies and special garb, he opposed the Malāmatī theory of no institutionalized forms, that is, in so far as he would commit himself to a theory.[29] Love and rapture

---

[27] Ibid., pp. xl-xli, from the Nafaḥāt al-Uns of Jāmī (d.898/1492). Cf. Redhouse, p. 90. The writer has not found any other reference to this testament. However, its commonplace character may be an argument against its having been invented.

[28] Ibid., pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

[29] Mevlevîlik, pp. 185-6. Cf. Nicholson, Selected Poems, p. 153, bearing in mind this translator's comment that Rūmī's words "will always bear the profoundest interpretation", ibid., p. xlii:

> Happy the moment when we are seated in the palace, thou and I,
> With two forms and with two figures but with one soul, thou and I.
> .....
> Joyful, and secure from foolish babble, thou and I.
> .....
> Are at this moment both in 'Irāq and Khorāsān, thou and I.

are the key to Knowledge, and music and dance in the sama' help to induce these. As we have seen, Rūmī upheld the customary forms of the faith. In his establishment at Konya, which approximated that combination of monastery and madrasah which we have noted was becoming common in the east, his imām, the leader of the communal prayers, was, on occasion, the celebrated sufi, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī (d. ca. 672/1275), pupil and relative of Ibn 'Arabī.[30] There is apparently no record that Rūmī made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

We turn now to the basic environmental factor which influenced the position of the Mevlevi tarikat and was in turn influenced by it. This is the distinctive colouring of Turkish Islam, as it is usually called, or, more explicitly, Islam as realized by the Turks. The Mevlevi tarikat, although its origins were different from the Bektashi, became, like the latter and alone with it among the great orders, an almost exclusively Turkish institution.[31] In Ottoman religious life they appear to have played parts which were essentially complementary, but their political importance was such that they are often considered as rivals. Using the procedure which was followed in Chapter I, let us briefly designate in the Turkish role in Islam the most relevant aspects which can be discerned for our purpose.

It may be said that the original religion of the Turks made it easier for them to become attached to that side of Islam recognized as specifically mystical. Certainly from the point of view of the sociology of mysticism the secret society, the basic type of religious grouping,

---

[30] Abdülbâki, Mevlânâ, p. 64; Huart, Les Saints, II, pp. 65, 97.

[31] Cf. Gibb and Bowen, II, 196, n.2.

and the systematic cultivation of an ecstatic experience of the holy under the leadership of the shamans, both of which were known to these Central Asian nomads, are a promising start. As the process of Turkman immigration westward into Asia Minor lasted from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, their fundamental religious attitude was constantly renewed.[32] The Turkish baba (father) was the shaman under an Islamic veneer. Furthermore, by the time the Turks in large numbers began to experience islām, there was, as we have seen, not just one standardized interpretation of the faith to which they might adhere. It was inevitable that Khurasanian mysticism of one sort or another should influence them most.[33]

The acceptance of Islam by the Turkish tribes occasions the especial use of the term "heterodoxy" by scholars who use languages in which that concept occurs. We have noted how broadly based are the Islamic norms. Even more difficult to confine than the notion of orthodoxy is heterodoxy as a deviation from it. Its use to signify a wilful departure from a standard which was not apprehended would seem to be of doubtful value here. Perhaps a more accurate term for the incomplete assimilation to one of the fully developed Islamic traditions is "near-Muslim", but in the literal sense this could have been justly denied by those to whom it would be applied.

---

[32]Köprülü, Influence du Chamanisme, pp. 10-11. The Mongol invasions continued this process. Ibid., pp. 11-2.

[33]Gibb and Bowen, II, 183; cf. ibid., n.1: "It may be of some significance for the later history of Islâm that to the Turks, as a nation or group of peoples, early Moslem orthodoxy was known only as a formal or imperial system, and that their own religious experience within Islâm was from the first of a mystical or sufistic type."

As indicating Islamic sectarianism, however, "heterodoxy" is valid, since it frequently implies a Shiite affiliation. It may be assumed that among the Turks of Asia Minor there has always been an element recognizable as Shī'ī, although its influence fluctuated.[34] But Shi'i tenets readily mingled with a whole complex of ideas. One which particularly influenced the mystics was the Batinī, primarily an allegorical interpretation of the Koran.[35] Yet there was a basic antagonism between the sufi and the Shiite who regarded the Imām as mediator, notwithstanding the parallel between Qutb and Imām. The focal point for esoteric doctrines developed among numerous protest groups with Shī'ī leanings in early and mediaeval Islam, as well as among quasi-mystical movements based on Khurasanian messianism, was 'Alī.[36] 'Alī acquired a dual legend as saint and warrior,[37] the Friend of God and the Lion of God. It may be said that among all Turks the main bond with the Shī'ī was a warm regard for the persons of 'Alī and his sons as heroic figures, martyrs. The precise nature of their cult is difficult for the outsider to grasp.[38]

The first Turkish school of mysticism is an interesting and

---

[34]See above, p. 8, and below, p. 92. A recent survey estimates the present Shī'ī minority in Turkey as over twenty per cent. The Middle East, 2nd ed., (Royal Institute of International Affairs, London [1954]), p. 509. Cf. Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 14, on the widespread subterfuge of takiye (dissimulation) as a protective measure in a nominally Sunni country.

[35]Gibb and Bowen, II, 181.

[36]Cf. Langer and Blake, op. cit., pp. 483-4.

[37]Cl. Huart, "'Alī", SEI, p. 31.

[38]It retained a powerful appeal in the twentieth century. See Edib, pp. 119-20. It may be noted that in the index to Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, p. 529, 'Alī is the only caliph, imam or sultan to be identified with the historic title of Amir al-Muminin, Commander of the Faithful. See Gibb and Bowen, I, 35, for the significance of this title in "the true and original conception of the Caliphate". Veneration, even adoration, of 'Alī survives in Alevî and Kızılbaş villages of Anatolia. It was a predominant strain in Bektashi thought; Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 213. "Kızılbaş" has a Persian Shiite derivation; ibid., p. 64.

influential link in the tarīqah idea. Its eponym, Ahmed Yesevî (d. 562/1166) of Transoxiana, has characteristics which are familiar. He was a poet in the ecstatic tradition of Ḥallāj, the first to write in the East Turkish language. His purpose, strongly didactic, was to propagate the sufi ideas, hitherto only accessible in Persian,[39] among the recently converted. In the Yesevî Way, which spread rapidly westward with the immigrants, was exemplified what Köprülü calls avame tasavvuf, popular (i.e., Turkish) mysticism.[40] The tarikat as it developed had a pronounced "heterodox" tinge.[41] Its character was devotional, ascetic and formalist, and emphasized a fanatic and total loyalty towards the mürşid.[42] This was typical of mystic tendencies among Turkish villages and nomadic tribes; abstract concepts and moral subtleties were simplified, and took a concrete and practical form.[43]

A simplified form of Mevlevi ideas almost immediately began to

---

[39]Cl. Huart, "Les Anciens Derviches Turcs", JS, XX (1922), 10. Massignon considers this group a branch of a Persian order, in turn descended from a doctrinal school of Baghdad. "Ṭarīḳa", SEI, pp. 575, 577.

[40]Bouvat, op. cit., p. 236.

[41]Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 118; this is a reversal of an earlier opinion. Bouvat, op. cit., p. 250. It should also be noted that Yesevî may have been of the Hanefî school of the law, the most liberal of the four which Sunni Islam, characteristically, recognizes. Ibid. This rite, which flourished in Khurasan and Transoxiana, was adopted by the Seljuks and the Ottomans. Rūmī adhered to it. Whinfield, p. 236.

[42]See Bouvat, op. cit., pp. 246-8; Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 101. The six practices of the Yesevî Way were prayer in common, rising at dawn, making complete ritual ablutions, living with the thought of God and repeating His name (i.e., the dhikr), and obeying virtuous people. Retreats were recommended. The dhikr was musical.

[43]Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 117. See Ostrorog, pp. 37-8, on "Turkish psychology", characterized by a lack of taste for logical subtlety and metaphysics, loyalty, a deep sense of discipline, and a natural tendency towards hierarchical organization.

reach the Anatolian Turks.[44] Rūmī's culture was, of course, Persian. However, his few fragments of verse in West Turkish are the earliest known in that language, and their didactic intent is unmistakable.[45] His son, Sultan Veled, in 700/1301 wrote the earliest important West Turkish work; its chief merit is its earnestness, his purpose also being a missionary one. But this was a literary achievement, in thus fashioning "from the rough dialect of camp and market-place a medium for the teaching of a spiritual philosophy".[46]

The first native lyric poet of Anatolia, whom legend makes the Caedmon of West Turkish literature, was Yunus Emre (d. ca. 740/1340). Like Yesevî, with whose poetry his has much in common,[47] he takes his place in the Islamic tradition of Ḥallāj.[48] He is remarkable in two respects. The first is the thoroughly Turkish character of his work, in language, syllabic metre and simple form, and in the sincere devotional spirit of the popular religion. In this lies his continuing appeal for all Turks, although he was claimed particularly by the Bektashi order.[49]

---

[44]The ideas which Rūmī expressed artistically were no doubt prevalent in crude form among the people. R.A. Nicholson, "The Goal of Muhammadan Mysticism", JRAS, XLV (1913), 68.

[45]E.J.W. Gibb, I, 149-50.

[46]Ibid., p. 156.

[47]Ibid., p. 169.

[48]L. Massignon, "La Légende de Hallacê Mansur en pays turcs", Revue des Etudes Islamiques, 1941-6, cited in Gibb and Bowen, II, 191-2.

[49]Birge, Bektashi Order, pp. 53-5. Even a cursory mention of popular Turkish religious poetry may not omit the most loved of all, the Mevlidi Şerif, the birth-song of the Prophet. It was written in 812/1409 by Süleyman Çelebi, chief Imam at Bursa, and a celebrated sufi. He is said to be of the Halvetî order; MacCallum, p. 5. For a reference to him as a Mevlevi, see Edib, p. 159.

The second is his absorption in sufi thought and themes. For this he has been referred to as "the most single-minded poet in all Turkish literature".[50] Significant here is the fact that his inspiration was clearly derived from Rūmī; the relationship was that of master and disciple.[51]

It was the mystic movement in Asia Minor which created the new literature. At its birth and during the early formative period the most powerful influence was the Mevlevi.[52] Contemporary Persian poetry was permeated by mysticism, and the Seljuk court at Konya had been a centre of Persian culture. In Ottoman literature, which emerged from a West Turkish dialect, mysticism at first was pre-eminent as a formal subject, and later became "the foundation and background of the whole".[53]

Thus the Turks became literate, as they had become Muslims, primarily under Persian influence. In Ottoman poetry two schools developed among the mystics.[54] The first was formed on the parent Persian model and was always precious. The second stemmed from Yunus Emre, taking its ideas from the Persian but adapting them to Turkish popular verse. However, poetry was regarded as "a single entity", "no more to be affected by questions of race or language than was theology or science."[55]

Tekke poetry in the vernacular was the new literary form deriving

---

[50] E.J.W. Gibb, I, 168. It is interesting to note that his work shows evidence of an extensive knowledge of theology; ibid., pp. 169-70. It also displays respect for the sharī'ah; Bouvat, op. cit., p. 261.

[51] E.J.W. Gibb, I, 168-9; Bouvat, op. cit., p. 261.

[52] M.F. Köprülü, "Turks", EI, IV, 942; E.J.W. Gibb, I, 126.

[53] Ibid., pp. 144-9.

[54] Bouvat, op. cit., p. 264.

[55] E.J.W. Gibb, II, xxxv-vi.

from Yunus Emre. Chanted to musical accompaniment, it comprised the principles of the tarikat and its ethics, hagiography and praise of the spiritual life.[56] Bektashi poetry in particular is now considered to have preserved what became the Turkish national ideal.[57]

The other group was the Ottoman School proper. It retained the Mevlevi impress to the end. There were frequent instances of the mesnevi form, but Rūmī's remains the one always referred to as "The Mesnevi".[58] The last notable poet of this school, who wrote what has been called "the crown and consummation of the Turkish mesnevi",[59] was Şeyh Galib (d. 1213/1799), head of the Mevlevi convent at Galata.

One other type of Turkish literature should be listed: the martial epic, based on the exploits of warriors of Islam. This was the spontaneous expression of a military people and the gazi mentality, and conforms in its fashion to the concept of the predominantly religious inspiration of the literature.[60]

The rise of the Turks, from their first appearance in the Islamic world as mercenaries until the establishment by their arms of dynasties from India to Syria, culminates in the Empire of the Ottoman sultans.

---

[56]Bouvat, op. cit., p. 264.

[57]Birge, Bektashi Order, pp. 16-7. The writer has been unable to pursue this aspect of popular Mevlevi poetry.

[58]The formal Mevlevi translation of the Mathnawī was the work of Ismail Rüsûhî Ankaravî (d. 1631 A.D.).

[59]It is considered that the originality of this work precludes any great indebtedness to Rūmī. See E.J.W. Gibb, IV, 180-2, 194. Direct Mevlevi influences are evident elsewhere. Ibid., pp. 195-6.

[60]Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 27; Bouvat, op. cit., p. 264.

This dynasty eventually ascribed to itself the Caliphate, and the extent of its temporal conquests at least lent dignity to the claim.[61] The Empire forms the grandest enterprise of the second half-dozen centuries of Muslim history. What should be noted is the identification by the Ottomans of their Empire with Islam and of themselves "first and foremost as Muslims".[62] To be of the Ottomans, to be a Turk, was to be a Muslim.

By the sixteenth century, the height of the victorious period of the Empire, "the inner religious and social evolution of the state", Kramers[63] remarks, "had not been less astonishing than the enormous expansion of its territory". We continue here the examination of Turkish Islam, selecting some social aspects for emphasis.

An important strain of mediaeval Muslim thought is that embodied in futuwwah[64] ideas, which eventually came to include all those associated with the Western notion of chivalry, the moral ideas of fraternal sufism, and "the idea of professional solidarity".[65] The origins of the resulting futuwwahassociations are obscure. By the thirteenth century the knightly ideals were taken over both by ghāzī groups on the frontiers and by urban elements, some of which came under the patronage of the sufis.[66]

---

[61] T.W. Arnold, "Khalīfa", SEI, p. 238.

[62] Bernard Lewis, "Islamic Revival in Turkey", IA, XXVIII (1952).

[63] "Turks", EI, IV, 964.

[64] "A canon of rules by means of which the virtuous life, as understood by Islam with its mystical inclination, might be lived." Wittek, Rise of the Ottoman Empire, p. 37.

[65] Langer and Blake, op. cit., p. 500.

[66] Gibb and Bowen, II, 181-2. These groups had many names. There was a Khurasanian futuwwah connection with the Malāmatī school. Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, pp. 103-4.

The process by which the futuwwah later became absorbed into the Islamic guild is still unsettled.[67] What seems probable is that one stage in the fusion was connected with a futuwwah group which had a peculiarly Turkish character and which influenced other Ottoman institutions as well. This was the ahi[68] organization which arose in Anatolia after the Mongol invasions and flourished until the rise of the Ottoman power:

> The Akhis appeared as a strong widespread organization, willing and able to control. With 'solidarity and hospitality' as its code, the artisan class as its social basis, and the 'slaying of tyrants and their satellites' as its task, the Akhi movement spread rapidly in town and countryside. It was a movement at once social, political, religious and military.[69]

As a religious movement this organization may have "played a preponderant role in launching the Ottoman enterprise, by way of a Holy War".[70] It was probably also a progenitor of the janissary corps.[71] There is a wide range of opinion on the question of its heterodoxy.[72] The mystical basis

---

[67] B. Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds", EHR, VIII (1937).

[68] See ibid., n.32, on the East Turkish derivation of the word, meaning chivalrous, generous, i.e., the equivalent of futuwwah. See H.A.R. Gibb, Ibn Battúta, pp. 125-6; Gibb and Bowen, I, 58, n.5.

[69] B. Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds", EHR, VIII (1937). Köprülü assigns a much wider social base to it; Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, pp. 107-11.

[70] Gibb and Bowen, I, 41, n. Brockelmann dissents from this view of the dominant role of the organization. History of the Islamic Peoples, p. 261.

[71] Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 111; Gibb and Bowen, I, pp. 58-9.

[72] Ibid., pp. 64-5; B. Lewis, "The Islamic Guilds", EHR, VIII (1937). Köprülü sees in the hierarchy among the adepts and the revelation of truths according to it a Bāṭinī origin; Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 111.

of the organization's doctrine is not disputed; this is said to be similar to that of the dervishes, "though otherwise developed".[73]

Since the Ottoman corporations, the heirs of the futuwwah traditions, encompassed every occupation,[74] the importance of this most characteristic feature of Ottoman society "can hardly be overestimated".[75] We note that they retained the tarikat idea like the ahi organization. There were structural resemblances. Every guild had a patron saint and a binding ceremony of initiation for apprentices; there was a similarity in nomenclature for officers and meeting places. The guilds also may have had a heterodox tinge.[76]

Obscure as are the early relationships among these associations, all of which were more or less mystical, it is certain that the full-blown Ottoman corporation had a strong connection with the full-blown tarikat, although precisely by what mechanism is not known:

> The social function of the corporations was enhanced (not in all, but in most, especially of the craft-corporations) by their religious affiliation, usually to one of the great religious orders. The moral effect of this religious personality, as it were, was incalculable; it encouraged the qualities of honesty and sobriety which all observers agree in attributing to the Moslem artisan, and to it is probably due the remarkable tenacity of the corporations over so many centuries. It supplied the moral and religious foundation for the discipline which was exercised by the craft-organization over its members; and in spite of, or perhaps even because of, the differences in wealth and sometimes in condition between the members, it made for social solidarity and emphasized social duty.[77]

---

[73]Gibb and Bowen, I, p. 64.

[74]Ibid., p. 290.

[75]Ibid., p. 277. The study of these craft corporations is still in the initial stages. Ibid., p. 281, n.5.

[76]Ibid., pp. 283-6. This again may be a matter of the cult of ʿAlī. Guild initiation ceremonies stressed only the first three Imams, ʿAlī and his sons Ḥasan and Ḥusain. The ahi organization of Konya claimed spiritual descent from ʿAlī. H.A.R. Gibb, Ibn Battuta, p. 355.

[77]Gibb and Bowen, I, 277-8.

The widespread growth of the dervish organizations themselves has been mentioned above.[78] This trend reached its peak in the sixteenth century.[79] Sufism's greatest achievement, it is said, is to have created "a religious organization parallel to and identified with the units of which Muslim society was composed".[80] Thus villages, guilds, classes in the cities and regiments of troops all had sufi ties. It is perhaps not surprising that there should have appeared at this time a sufi organization whose basic tenet was a dislike of organization. This was a secret revival of the Malāmatī school, now the Melâmî. Its adherents included two incumbents of the offices of Şeyhülislâm and of Grand Vizier, the Sultan's chief minister.[81]

Pervasive as mysticism was in Ottoman culture, administratively it was not predominant. The Ruling Institution and the Religious Institution had, of course, other bases.[82] Their splendid hierarchies were peculiarly Ottoman, and almost un-Islamic in terms of previous history. Yet it is interesting to see how adaptable was the tarikat idea. In a sense the governmental systems may be said to exemplify it. The notion of a "way" with definite gradations in training and function impressed itself almost universally.[83]

---

[78]See above, p.

[79]H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism , p. 162. By the eighteenth century, through the tertiary system, "membership of the religious orders was practically synonymous with the profession of Islam." Gibb and Bowen, II, 76.

[80]H.A.R. Gibb, "The Structure of Religious Thought in Islam", MW, XXXVIII (1948), 289.

[81]Gibb and Bowen, II, 199-200.

[82]But the head of the latter may have been "a survival of the ancient mystical tradition of the Ottoman state, a tradition which demanded, alongside of the secular power, a religious authority having no judicial powers but representing, so to speak, the religious conscience of the people"; J.H. Kramers, "Shaikh al-Islām", SEI, p. 520.

[83]See Gibb and Bowen, I, 152, n.10, for the tarikat idea in the household of a pasha. This inter-relation of religion and society goes far beyond the sociological categories of occupational associations. Cf. Wach, pp. 251-4.

It has been stated[84] that by the end of the thirteenth century tasawwuf can be divided into two principal forms, the urban and the rural, the latter distinguished in part by a closer approximation to heterodoxy and a more active interpretation of the ghazi principle. It had been recognized, however, more than two centuries previously, that there were two classes of dervishes, the resident and the travelling, those who serve and those who still seek.[85] Let us consider for the moment the latter only.

The wayfarer was a common figure in early mediaeval Islam. Where the ṭarīqah idea was in the air, it was natural that many individual sufis should literally take to the road, as even Ghazālī had done. Also, there were the peripatetic scholars and those on the several pilgrimages. To these must now be added the members of nomadic dervish groups such as the Anatolian predecessors of the Bektashis, who made their appearance with the Seljuks. These groups had different names, Abdâlân (madmen) being one of the best known. The Yesevî group has already been mentioned. A more inclusive grouping was the Kalenderî, strongly influenced by the Malāmatī school. These wandering beggars scorned public opinion in every way and were a disturbing element. Their behaviour and appearance were strange. They practised poverty and celibacy; they shaved their hair, beards and eyebrows. Most were uneducated and of the baba type. Their mysticism was of an extreme Bāṭinī form.[86] In later centuries a

---

[84]Gibb and Bowen, II, 184.

[85]Nicholson, Kashf al-Maḥjúb, p. 340.

[86]Gibb and Bowen, II, 188; Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 119.

further development was the notorious "drunken sufism".[87]

No detailed investigation of the wandering dervish movements has yet been undertaken.[88] Clear-cut distinctions among them are difficult to maintain. It seems, however, that they represent a basic form of Islamic mysticism; it may even be that Kalenderî will be seen to be a generic term like ṣūfī and Malāmatī. What we have to note here is the prevalence of this type among the Anatolian Turks, whether or not an origin in Turkestan can be ascribed to the phenomenon.

It will now be apparent that before the middle of the thirteenth century the chameleonic character of tasawwuf was widely realized. It is a question, for instance, what sort of sufi Shams-i-Tabrīz was.[89] He might have been a Malāmatī, a member of a futuwwah organization, or a Kalenderî. The population of the sultanate of Rūm and its capital was a mixture of Muslims, near-Muslims and non-Muslims. It included many fugitives from the early Mongol invasions of eastern Islam, such as those, as was probably the case with the family of Rūmī, who because of the portable character of their possessions, could emigrate.[90] This country on the periphery of Islam was not only regarded as the richest land in the world,[91] but its liberal regime made it the country of choice for dervishes of all kinds.[92] There is a plain warning in Rūmī's words: "So does a vile man steal the language of dervishes to fascinate and

---

[87]Arberry, Sufism, p. 70; E.J.W. Gibb, I, 357 n. 1.

[88]Cf. Birge, Bektashi Order, pp. 32, 265; F. Babinger, "Ḳalandarīya", SEI.

[89]Abdülbâki, Mevlânâ, pp. 59-66.

[90]Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 51.

[91]/M.Th. Houtsma/, "Seldjūḳs", EI, IV, 212.

[92]Bouvat, op. cit., p. 254.

deceive one who is simple".[93] To the Turkish flock he said:

> Or good or ill the brother be, indeed he
> Upon a long and toilsome road will lead thee.
>
> The shepherd clutch thou fast, the wolves are many.
> O my black lamb, O my black lambkin, heed me![94]

Sūfī had become an equivocal term. The mystic began to prefer other names, such as Lover, Follower of Tasawwuf, or Sheikh.[95] Eflâkî called the Mevlevis Knowers-of-God, i.e., gnostics. Among them sūfī as applied to another tarikat had a derogatory connotation.[96]

The Mongol invasions mark, to repeat, a dividing-line in Islamic civilization. The Mongol armies reduced the Seljuks of Anatolia to vassalage some fifteen years before the fall of Baghdad, the state already having been weakened by a fierce Turkman revolt led by Baba Ishak. The golden age of the Rūm sultanate lasted less than the first forty years of the thirteenth century. But although the Mongol inroads were followed by political intrigue, civil strife and social anarchy, there was no such abrupt break in civilization as occurred in the east. A cultural continuity enabled the Ottomans to build their state on the Seljuk foundation.[97]

The break-up of the Seljuk power resulted in the division of Anatolia into small Turkish emirates, a decentralization which was facilitated by geographical conditions.[98] The relations between these principalities have not been fully explored. Throughout the area

---

[93]Nicholson, Rūmī, p. 53; cf. ibid., p. 54.

[94]E.J.W. Gibb, I, 150.

[95]Ibid., p. 26.

[96]Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, pp. 188, 195. This followed Malāmatī usage.

[97]Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, pp. 29-30; Wittek, "Deux Chapitres de l'Histoire des Turcs de Roum", Byz., XI (1936), 290.

[98]For the dozen most important of these, see map in Le Strange, facing p. 127, and Map II attached to von Zambaur, Manuel.

from the time of the appearance of the Seljuks until well after the establishment of the Ottomans, the most "effective" social institution was furnished by the futuwwah organizations combined with sufi leadership.[99] And it was apparently a variant of this which succeeded in establishing the Ottoman hegemony. The largest of the emirates, Karaman, in which was the city of Konia, was among the last areas of Anatolia to be definitely incorporated in the Ottoman state, and this some years after the conquest of Byzantium.

In the social and religious history of Anatolia the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries are a strongly formative phase.[100] It is from this milieu that the significant factors arise as we seek to determine the typology of the Mevlevi tarikat.

---

[99]Gibb and Bowen, II, 183.

[100]Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 32.

IV

THE MEVLEVI TARIKAT AS A TYPE

We have thus far treated the appearance of the ṭarīqah idea itself as an integral part of the development of Islamic scholastic tradition.[1] In time, from the circle of disciples about the master there proceeded the more-or-less loosely organized order, having branches or lodges distributed as centres of propagation, and a teaching hierarchy. This process has been recently described as an "unpremeditated" one, a gradual, seemingly inevitable creation of what is termed the sufi "movement".[2] Yet it is questionable whether this was an uninterrupted process, stimulated only by the expansion of the Islamic community and the sufis' function as missionaries. Macdonald[3] perceived the "curious point" that for centuries sufi organization consisted only of the teacher's following, which after his death might last through one or two generations, led by a pupil; then the self-subsisting corporation, "preserving an identity of organization and worship under a fixed name" began to appear. The study which we have used as a pilot begins with the assumption that the "origin" of the dervish orders is, in the present

---

[1]See above, pp. 22-3. This may be illustrated by adaptations of nomenclature and practice, such as the icazet or diploma of the dervish (J. Pedersen, "Madrasa", SEI, p. 307; L. Massignon, "Ṭarīḳa", p. 574); the silsile or chain of transmission of mystic doctrine and inspiration (ibid.; Gibb and Bowen, II, 186); the post, or rug as a seat for the sheikh (J. Pedersen, "Madrasa", SEI, p. 308; A.J. Wensinck, "Sadjdjāda", SEI, p. 487).

[2]Gibb and Bowen, II, 75.

[3]Aspects of Islam, p. 202; "Derwīsh", SEI, p. 74.

state of knowledge, too difficult a problem to be clarified.[4] It is our contention that we may with profit speculate on the organized tarikat as a response to an Islamic challenge, and the peculiar role of the Mevlevi tarikat therein.

In thus seeking to establish the pattern of tarikat formation in Islam we shall at the same time assist in assessing the Mevlevis as a type, since thereby the questions of origin and of self-interpretation will be clarified.

Let us recapitulate the classification of communal mysticism in Islam, omitting the generic terms. The doctrinal school, a characteristically Islamic phenomenon, is not, of course, an order. Twelve of these were recognizable early in the fifth century of the Hegira; it should be noted that they differed also "in their devotional practices and ascetic disciplines".[5] Then there are the two classes of dervishes, the itinerant and the resident. The latter must now be considered.

We have noted the development of the monastic institution by way of mosque, zāwīyah, madrasah, ribāṭ and khāngāh up to the Turkish tekke.[6] The crux of the matter is to determine, if possible, the point at which the principle of continuity becomes established, and a distinguishable sufi group settled into a permanent centre for the transmission of their activities. Macdonald[7] placed this in the latter

---

[4]Kissling, op. cit., p. 24.

[5]Nicholson, Kashf al-Mahjúb, p. 176.

[6]Cf. Brown, p. 97, n.5, and Gibb and Bowen, II, 186, n.1, on the derivation of this word. The writer has not pursued this point.

[7]"Derwīsh", "SEI, p. 74.

part of the twelfth century, during the time of the break-up of the Great Seljuks of Baghdad. Massignon[8] states that the Kadirî order of Baghdad, which is usually considered the oldest, was organized half a century after the death of its eponym, that is, at about 1215 A.D. There appears to be, however, some cogent evidence that there was an event some years later which had a catalytic effect on those tendencies, already existing in several parts of the Islamic world, towards the formation of the classic tarikat; that event was the abolition of the Caliphate of Baghdad in 1258 A.D., a "catastrophe . . . without parallel in the history of Islam".[9]

Now, if we look at the four main orders, of those orders still in existence, whose origins could have been of a date prior to this event, we note that the source material apparently does not give any conclusive evidence that these orders actually conformed to the tarikat proper at that time.

The Kadirî group presents what is to us a familiar phenomenon, the master whose training[10] had been in both ṭarīqah and sharī'ah, and who administered both a ribāṭ and a madrasah, the latter being of the strict rite of Ibn Ḥanbal. One of his numerous sons inherited his father's school and was in turn succeeded by his son, who was followed by a cousin of the latter.[11] Both of the institutions appear to have ended at the fall of Baghdad; it is also to be noted that it is likely

---

[8]"Ṭarīḳa", SEI, p. 574.

[9]T.W. Arnold, "Khalīfa", SEI, p. 238.

[10]He received the khirqah from the head of a school of Hanbali law. D.S. Margoliouth, "'Abd al-Ḳādir", SEI, p. 5.

[11]Ibid., p. 7.

that the rites and practices later characteristic of the order, whose norms were far from rigid, were not instituted by its eponym.[12] The sources which attribute miracles and arrogant claims of deification to him date at least from the early fourteenth century. Today the headship of the order is still in the family of the founder.[13]

The Rufâî group is sometimes called a sub-order of the Kadirî, since its eponym was of the family of the latter. He also was a student of both sharī'ah and tarīqah. The "marvellous performances" and shamanistic exploits which are associated with this group were apparently unknown to him, being innovations introduced after the Mongol invasions. He had no surviving sons and was succeeded by a nephew,[14] but there appears to be no connection in the later tarikat with the family of the eponym.

The remaining two orders originated in North Africa. Both of their eponyms were alive at the time of the fall of Baghdad. In the case of the Egyptian Ahmadīyah, the early studies of the eponym followed the conventional pattern. In later life a period of intense karāmāt ensued. The ceremonies of his order apparently were the work of his successor, but the succession was not in his family. The following is an interesting comment on his significance:[15]

---

[12]D.B. Macdonald, "Kādarīya", SEI, pp. 202-3.

[13]H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism, p. 155.

[14]D.S. Margoliouth, "al-Rifa'ī", SEI, p. 476.

[15]K. Vollers, "Aḥmad al-Badawī", SEI, p. 23.

> It is altogether impossible to account for the historical importance of Aḥmad al-Badawī by his individuality; it can only be explained by supposing that, both as a Sūfī and as a saint, he had become the point of crystallisation of many wants and tendencies of his own time and of those which came before and after him.

In the case of the Shadhilīyah, it does not seem that the formation of a tarikat was the intention of the eponym. He and his immediate successors, who were not of his family, refused even to erect meeting-houses. It is to be noted that the eponym thought that one of his incantations might have prevented the fall of Baghdad.[16]

What we have to bear in mind is that these two latter orders, both non-hereditary, originated in a region of Islam in which there were, and had been for some centuries, other versions of the Caliphate than the one at Baghdad.

Babinger[17] refers to the dervish orders, that is, the resident orders, as having been introduced from Eastern Persia. This is borne out by the lineage of the eponym of the Kadirî order, to whom, as was noted, the eponym of the Rufâî was related. And thus the Mevlevi order now enters the picture.

At the time of the fall of Baghdad Rūmī was already the centre of a flourishing circle of disciples at Konya; among them, about seven years after the disappearance of Shams, the Master had singled out a favourite, as his confidant and khalīfah,[18] or deputy. This was one Salâhaddin, a goldsmith, an unschooled man but handsome and of a fine nature.[19] Upon the death of this man, the khalīfah became, about 1264 A.D,

---

[16]D.S. Margoliouth, "Shadhilīya", SEI, pp. 509-10.

[17]"Kalandarīya", SEI, p. 214.

[18]Designations of authority in Islam seem to represent ideas rather than specific offices. Most of them quickly become current in other spheres than those in which they originate. Cf. T.W. Arnold, "Khalīfa", SEI, pp. 236-7.

[19]Ritter, op. cit., p. 56.

the youth Husâmeddin (d. 1284 A.D.), whose father was known as Ahi-Türk. Rūmī gave to this khalīfah a new title, that of çelebi; this is the first recorded instance of this Turkish word being used in this way.[20] This fact, or, rather, the ideas which it must have represented, we maintain, form a link between the abolition of the Caliphate and the formation of the tarikat.

To understand what this çelebi idea might have meant to Rūmī would require, no doubt, as a preliminary that comprehensive study of mediaeval currents of thought in Islam which we have not got. Bound up with it are the theoretical bases of authority in Islam. In Gibb and Bowen's survey of Ottoman society the analysis of government as "an organism intimately associated with the structure of society and the character and ideas of the governed" is regarded as a most difficult and delicate problem in psychology.[21] We must, however, attempt to indicate one or two salient aspects of it.

The disappearance of the Baghdad Caliphate meant that the Community no longer had a theoretical head, a successor of the Prophet, whose name could be mentioned in the Friday sermon in the mosque.[22] This fact, irregardless of the political theory involved, must have had a profound impact on the religious consciousness. There must have been a sort of vacuum, so to speak.

Those Muslims who were sufis had long since consoled themselves

---

[20] W. Barthold, "Čelebi", EI, I, 832.

[21] Op. cit., I, 9.

[22] T.W. Arnold, "Khalīfa", SEI, p. 238. There were two designations stemming from the Koranic khalīfah: khalīfat rasūl Allāh, successor of the apostle of God, and khalīfat Allāh, vicegerent of God. Ibid., p. 236.

for the Caliphate's coming to resemble a worldly dynasty.[23] They had evolved the doctrine of the invisible sufi hierarchy headed by the qutb, on whom depends the order of the universe. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries doctrinal sufism's theories of authority culminated in the complex of ideas which clustered about the notion of the Perfect Man, al-Insān al-kamīl. So he becomes not only the Qutb of the universe, but the very khalīfah of God, representing the divine attributes in the world. The prototype of this personage in Sunni Islam could only be the Prophet; in every age he delegates his saintly functions as the khalīfah of God.[24] And so the vacuum, from this viewpoint, was filled.

The Caliphate was inextricably mingled with the Imamate of the Community. Among the Shī'ah it was the latter concept which naturally received an extensive development, and influenced Sunni theory. Its essence was the transmission in the house of 'Alī of that esoteric knowledge of Islam which the latter had received from the Prophet. We note that the real Imam in every age was infallible and miraculously guided.[25]

During the same period in which the doctrinal evolution was taking place, the vacuum was being filled in Anatolia in another fashion. Before the end of the fourteenth century an Ottoman sultan was claiming the same bold title of the "chosen khalīfah of God".[26] Political theory then crystallized around the fact of the Ottoman sultanate on the basis that "sovereignty . . . is a gift divinely bestowed upon a selected person",

---

[23]It was "caliphal ungodliness" which had been a strong motive for the early asceticism. Arberry, Sufism, p. 33.

[24]R.A. Nicholson, "al-Insān al-Kāmil", SEI, p. 171; also, his Idea of Personality in Sufism , p. 62.

[25]D.B. Macdonald, "Imām", SEI, p. 165.

[26]T.W. Arnold, "Khalīfa", SEI, p. 238.

an idea which had been "in the air" for some time.[27] But there was a tacit recognition that the Ottoman sultanate did not represent the old ideas of Imam and Caliph.[28]

We return to the fall of the Caliphate. The Muslim Community was essentially an object "of the divine plan of salvation".[29] What now was God's plan for Muslims? Where now was the symbol or the assurance of continuity?

The second book of the Mathnawī is the first which is definitely known to have been written after the fall of Baghdad.[30] Early in it appears this passage:

> In every epoch after Mohammed a Saint arises to act as his vice-gerent: the people are on trial till the Resurrection.
> Whosoever has a good nature is saved, whosoever is of frail heart is broken.
> The Saint, then, is the living Imām, who appears in every age, whether he be a descendant of ʿUmar or of ʿAlī.[31]

But what was, after all, merely doctrinal reassurance, could not completely satisfy. Elsewhere, as we have seen in the genesis of

---

[27]Gibb and Bowen, I, pp. 33-4.

[28]Ibid., p. 34.

[29]R. Paret, "Umma", SEI, p. 603.

[30]Ritter, op. cit., p. 57.

[31]Nicholson, Rūmī, p. 77. Rūmī's family claimed descent from Abū Bakr; Ibid., p. 17. Rūmī was undeniably Sunnī; cf. Whinfield, pp. 232-3. For his attitude towards sectarian controversy, cf. Nicholson, Selected Poems, p. 340:

> Look thou on the God who bestows a hundred forms of creed;
> Why is the man of Marv a Sunnī, why is the man of Kum a Shī'ite?

At the same time, and not, as we have seen, to the derogation of the Prophet, he venerated the warrior, ʿAlī; the esoterism which centred on ʿAlī was part of the background of his thought. Ibid., pp. 243-4.

other orders, signs and wonders, evidence of God's miraculous gifts in men, were eagerly being looked for. Rūmī himself was not a thaumaturge.[32] From his fertile mind came the çelebi idea. No doubt this may be interpreted in part as the reflection of a personal relationship between himself and Husâmeddin, based on some variant of the theory of the Perfect Man. But we must surely also conclude that it was in some degree a synthesis of all those ideas of spiritual sovereignty which were then in ferment, or at least the expression of the need of a symbol for it. According to Eflâkî, Rūmī on his death-bed named Husâmeddîn as his "lieutenant".[33] Sultan Veled loyally accepted Husâmeddin as such; he said that he considered him "le vicaire de Dieu".[34] Finally, there is the fact that çelebi was a Turkish term. Its derivation and meaning are not exactly known, but among the nomadic Yürüks of Asia Minor it was the only word for God.[35] We have already noted that both Rūmī and Sultan Veled tried to reach the Turks.

This first Chelebi died ten years after Rūmī, and was succeeded by Sultan Veled. Thereafter the headship of the order continued on a hereditary basis, following at times the Turkish custom of fraternal

---

[32]Cf. Huart, Les Saints, II, 203-5, for the incident of the arrival of a Rufâî wonder-worker in Konya. Rūmī's followers made up for his deficiency. The Manāqib is a welter of "occultism, illuminism", and "other perverted spirituality"; see above, p. 40.

[33]Huart, Les Saints, II, 231.

[34]Ibid., p. 252. We find what is basically the same notion, but bolder Islamically, expressed in the designation of the Turkman leader, Baba Ishak, as Baba Resul Allah; Hajji Bektash, the eponym of the Bektashis, was a khalīfah of his. Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 43.

[35]W. Barthold, "Čelebi", EI, I, 831. Cf. the Christian derivation given by one of the last Chelebis; Lukach, pp. 20-1. On çelebi as meaning "heir-apparent", see Brown, p. 217.

succession.[36] Sultan Veled himself was never titled Chelebi. That designation was assumed by his successor and thereafter continues. Thus it seems that with the first Chelebi appeared a typically Islamic conflict: "in Islam the contest between the principle that sanctity follows natural descent and that of its devolution by spiritual adoption or otherwise is, after all, as old as 'Alī".[37]

So the Mevlevi tarikat in its origins actually represents a spiritual dynasty. It follows a pattern which was formed in the East, through much the same stimulus:

> Amidst the terrible ravages committed by the Mongolians, the science of theology and its voteries alone continued to flourish. In the days of the earlier Chaghatāy Khāns the mullās of Turkestān had enjoyed a certain amount of protection, thanks partly to the principle of religious toleration and partly to the superstitious awe in which every class of the priesthood was held; and in almost every town there was some one or other holy man to whom the Moslems had recourse in the day of peril. The spiritual teachers thus became at the same time secular protectors, and from this time forward we find the . . . heads of the religious bodies and chief magistrates, and in general all men of remarkable piety, attaining an influence in the towns of Transoxania unknown in the rest of Islām, an influence which maintains itself to this day, though the land has been for centuries governed by Musulman princes. The seats of spiritual authority were filled by regular dynasties of learned men of certain families, as though they had been thrones.[38]

This hereditary principle found in some of the early resident

---

[36]Brown, p. 259. For a list of all the Chelebis, see Abdülbāki, Mevlevîlik, pp. 152-3.

[37]Brown, p. 171.

[38]A. Vambéry, Bokhara, pp. 159-60, quoted in Skrine and Ross, p. 163. The imperial character of Rūmī's family was noted by von Hammer, p. 40.

orders[39] is perhaps the most striking instance of that need for evidence of continuity which we have suggested. It may be added that by the thirteenth century many forms of spiritual descent had been traced, almost all of them going back to ʿAlī. The chivalric ideal of the futuwwah was ʿAlī.[40] We have noted the ahi group of Konya and the later Islamic guilds in this respect. And in all the main dervish orders the silsile, fixed in the thirteenth century, went back to ʿAlī.[41]

The dynastic character of the Mevlevi order introduces the whole question of the possibilities for the development of temporal power. We have noted Rumi's pacific character.[42] The Mevlevis are usually seen as an essentially withdrawn group. If it is true, however, that in Islam "even in later times sovereignty carried with it an authority which was more than purely secular",[43] conversely it must be true that a claim to Islamic spiritual authority cannot remain entirely divorced

---

[39]But cf. Kissling, op. cit., p. 29; he does not substantiate the statement that "up to the eighteenth century, the formation of dynasties was avoided by the orders. The cases in which the office of a sheikh was inherited by his son were comparatively rare in early times, though this happened occasionally". Among the Mevlevis the hereditary principle was eventually applied to other offices, including that of the sheikh of an individual tekke; this office dates from the sixteenth century. Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, pp. 368, 398.

[40]Hitti, p. 183.

[41]L. Massignon, "Tasawwuf", SEI, p. 582; Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, p. 199. In Gibb and Bowen, II, 186, the assertion of D'Ohsson in the eighteenth century that the Bistamî, Naḳs-bendî and Bektashi orders traced their spiritual origin to Abū Bakr is repeated. The first of these was a doctrinal school. The Naḳs-bendî order was of the same derivation as the Bektashi, and the latter was Alevî. Cf. Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 253; Brown, pp. 140-1; Bouvat, op. cit., p. 248. Perhaps D'Ohsson was misled by takiye.

[42]See above, p. 58. Cf. Huart, Les Saints, I, 231-5, on the arrival of the Mongols. These stories probably had a basis in the respect of the Mongols for the genuine holy man.

[43]Gibb and Bowen, II, 70.

from the world.

The important Turkoman dynasty of Karaman originated with a follower of Baba Ishak,[44] and thus was of that sūfī type which was coldly regarded by the very early Mevlevi dynasts. Ulu Arif Çelebi (d. 1320 A.D.) was reproached by an emir of Karaman for lack of support, and preference for the Mongols. Although the Chelebi replied that as dervishes they left such matters to the will of God, he added that God was "pour l'armée mongole; il a enlevé l'empire aux Seldjouqids pour le confier aux descendants de Tchinggiz-Khan".[45] An incident is then related which seems to amount to a skirmish between the mounted Chelebi and his followers and the garrison of Konya. The Karaman dynasty about this time had moved to Larende in the mountains; Konya became a provincial town.[46]

The gazi concept was peculiarly Turkish.[47] Mevlevi leaders apparently played a part in this tradition through the futuwwah ceremony of the investiture of the warrior with a weapon.[48] The most striking instance of what was possible, however, is furnished by that eminently Mevlevi dynasty which flourished briefly in the Turkoman emirate of Sarĭhan. The emir Ishak Çelebi (d. 1386/7 A.D.) founded the Mevlevi monastery at Manisa, as well as the chief mosque.[49]

---

[44]J.H. Kramers, "Ḳaraman-Oghlu", EI, IV, 748.

[45]See Huart, Les Saints, II, 374.

[46]Fr. Taeschner, "Konya", EI, Supplement, p. 126.

[47]Gazi, like Sultan, appears in Islamic history as a Turkish title. Hitti, pp. 464-5, 474. It was given to Mustafa Kemal, founder of the modern Turkish nation.

[48]Huart, Les Saints, II, 391.

[49]F. Babinger, "Ṣarukhan", EI, IV, 177-8. A Seljuk survivor known as "Gazi Çelebi" appears about this time at Sinop; von Zambaur, p. 148. The title of Celebi was becoming fairly common. All the sons of Sultan Bâyezid I (d. 1403 A.D.) bore it. For the Mevlevi strain in the House of Germian, see Brown, p. 181.

It would be strange if some form of the worldly gazi idea did not appear in that Turkish institution, the later Mevlevi tarikat. We may perhaps assume that that Mevlevi scholar in the eighteenth century who returned from the wars and thereafter always lectured fully accoutred for battle, was an eccentric.[50] The twentieth century saw a Mevlevi regiment led by the Chelebi engaged in the first World War.[51]

When the classic tarikat appeared in Islam, in it was stressed yet one more concept of the Wayfarer and the Way: sâlik and suluk. The latter is a stronger term than tarīqah.[52] It implies the quest "deliberately undertaken, methodically pursued".[53] By the fifth century of the Hegira a three-year period of spiritual discipline for the sūfī novice was conventional: the first year for "service of the people", the second for "service of God", and the third for "watching over his own heart".[54]

In our attempt to place the Mevlevi order in a sociological typology, it must be remembered that within it over the centuries, as with other orders,[55] there was an extremely wide variety of opinion and of practice. Abdülbâki[56] describes a bifurcation which existed from the earliest period. One group, stemming from Sultan Veled, was

---

[50]E.J.W. Gibb, IV, 213.

[51]Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, p. 278. However, the later Chelebis were exempt from military service. Ibid., p. 259.

[52]L. Massignon, "Ṭarīḳa", SEI, p. 573.

[53]R.A. Nicholson, "Sulūk", SEI, p. 551.

[54]Nicholson, Kashf al-Mahjúb, p. 54.

[55]Cf. Gibb and Bowen, II, 200; Birge, Bektashi Order, pp. 87, 162.

[56]Mevlevîlik, pp. 204-15.

primarily ascetic; the other, from Shams-i-Tabrīz, was primarily Bâtinî. The Alevî element was strong.[57] Nevertheless, there was a crystallization, expressed in ceremony and practice, which is recognized as Mevlevi.

The Way as suluk, the essentially ascetic concept, was, as has been noted, unfavourably contrasted by Rūmī with the Way of cezbe and aşk. Yet ascetic practices appear in all religions, and, as a form of the idea of service to the divine, seem to belong to a basal element in human nature.[58] We have mentioned in Chapter II the "powerful drive towards institutionalization" which also is inevitable. And there is the fundamental notion that while "enthusiasm is the exceptional rapture preparing for and resulting in the closest union with the deity", cult is "the guarantee of permanent intercourse".

It is considered that the Mevlevi tarikat as a cult mysticism begins with Sultan Veled, with his work of systematic organization and propagation.[59] In Rūmī's time, it is said, a simple initiatory requirement in the group was shaving in the Kalenderî manner.[60] The complete çile or apprenticeship took shape in the sixteenth century; it developed into a period of a thousand and one days, centred in the kitchen,[61] or

---

[57] Ibid., pp. 224-43.

[58] Cf. Hughes, pp. 384-5.

[59] Ritter, op. cit., p. 56.

[60] Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, p. 187. This was a Bektashi practice also; Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 103.

[61] The metaphor of "cooking" the sâlik was used by Rumi; Nicholson, Rūmī, pp. 78, 81-2. In the Bektashi Way the kitchen was important also. This was a pre-Islamic survival (Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, p. 288), a relic of the Vorhof-religion.

symbolically, the hearth. It was divided into eighteen grades of service, all menial. The grades of officers in the tekke, below the seyh, were also based on the kitchen, which in fact was, according to Abdülbâki, the soul of the tekke. The çile appears to have been strict.[62] Although it was thoroughly institutionalized, the tarikat, Abdülbâki believes, preserved the essential spirit of Rūmī.[63]

The Mevlevis were enthusiastically ceremonial. As we have seen, they had much to ritualize. The semâ', from the spontaneous spiritual concert of Rūmī's time, became gradually a rite with principles and forms, to be regularly performed. Even up to the sixteenth century, however, a man could still dance as he felt.[64]

If it were necessary, and were the required information available, it would no doubt be possible to confine the Mevlevi tarikat as the sociological consequence of the protest within, based on the conception of Rūmī as a reformer. Then the stages in the growth of the tarikat through which it must have passed as functions became specialized and structure differentiated, might be outlined, and such questions as the nature of the charisma of the Mevlevi sheikh explored.[65]

There is the alternative of treating the Mevlevis as a

---

[62]To drink wine, for instance, meant beginning again; ibid., p. 395; see above, p. 24. Cf. Gibb and Bowen, II, 203-4, on the widespread use of wine and narcotics in Islam. Neither was advocated by Rūmī (cf. Nicholson, Selected Poems, p. 167), but both made an early though apparently short-lived appearance in the tarikat; Abdülbâki, ibid., p. 207. Coffee-grinding became one of the kitchen duties. Celibacy was practised during the çile.

[63]Ibid., p. 186.

[64]Ibid., p. 246. Ceremony was, of course, characteristically Ottoman.

[65]Here that neglected source which is mentioned in Gibb and Bowen, I, 3, the periodical press and the field of imaginative literature, would probably be most valuable.

sectarian group. However, there was here no question of a desire for secession, and in Islam this is the prerequisite for the sect proper.[66] And the Mevlevis, although they stressed intensity, and although they eventually became confined to a small section of the Community,[67] at least never lost the ideal of universality,[68] so that they must be distinguished from a true sect. This ideal was derived from Rūmī. Since in the sociological categories the leader's charisma has a determining influence, we may add a word here to what has already been said about the effects of Rūmī's appeal.

Rūmī spread the net widely; there is something in the Mathnawī for every taste. How successful he was in Konya is well known. His disciples covered the widest range in the social order.[69] Women[70] in particular may be singled out as a group since it was their presence in the orders which has already been cited as indicating a true mystical movement.

Women of all classes displayed a striking enthusiasm for Rūmī's teachings. But those ladies of the court who showered the Master with

---

[66]H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism, p. 119.

[67]"A family affair" is the description Abdülbâki uses. Mevlevîlik, p. 258.

[68]Cf. Eliot, p. 201.

[69]Cf. Köprülü, Origines de l'Empire Ottoman, p. 115.

[70]See Huart, "De la Valeur Historique des Mémoires des Derviches Tourneurs", JA, XIX (1922), 315-7; Abdülbâki, Mevlânâ, pp. 209-11, and Mevlevîlik, pp. 278-81. For women in other orders see Garnett, pp. 175-6.

rose petals at the special performances of the semā' held for them after the evening prayers, represent, from our point of view,[71] merely the type which is labelled "The Female Sex". More significant are the daughters of Sultan Veled, who shared the family gifts of sanctity, and apparently played a role as apostles which was similar to that played by women in the family of Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr.[72] Women continued their work in the tarikat up to the seventeenth century.[73] Some of them held the office of khalīfah, precursor of the office of seyh.

Upon Rūmī's death his circle of disciples did not become the type which Wach terms the brotherhood. His self-interpretation and the role with which his followers credited him were not those which lead to a new religion or even a sect. Also, we have noted that Rūmī cannot be said to have had a conception of a religious community which would postulate a separate permanent organization.

There remains for possible consideration, then, the vague category of the independent group which adopts its own principle of organization. This, it was noted, is a complex grouping which like all forms of sectarianism involves economic, social, ethnic and cultural factors.

To ascertain the position of the Mevlevi tarikat among the available types means an examination of it from the standpoint of those factors which determined its development, i.e., to repeat, the basic impulse and concepts

---

[71] See above, p. 29.

[72] Huart, Les Saints, II, 430.

[73] Abdülbâki traces their decline to the urbanization of the order. Cf. Köprülü, Influence du Chamanisme, p. 8. This process did not apply so much among the Bektashis, who remained strong in the villages and rural areas. Exceptions, such as the poet Leylâ (d. 1848 A.D.), were found in later centuries among the Mevlevis (cf. E.J.W. Gibb, IV, 342), but their influence was necessarily limited.

which predetermined its structure, the extent to which the main body of Islam is susceptible to reforming influences, and the internal or external circumstances which might have transformed its policy or theology. Briefly, what this amounts to is assessing the role of the Mevlevi tarikat as organized mysticism in Turkish Islam, as expressed in the Ottoman Empire. In the vast panorama which we survey, we have found it profitable to seek patterns where they are likely to exist. We now attempt to place these patterns themselves into a design, even though some units are incomplete or missing altogether.

Bearing in mind the scope of the research which remains to be done, we cannot treat except in the most general terms the development of the Mevlevis as an independent group in Ottoman society. Some of the relevant economic, social, ethnic and cultural (including, especially, the linguistic) factors have been referred to.[74] From our limited point of view, however, it is not essential that this be done.

In the strata of Ottoman society the Mevlevis performed a

---

[74]See above, p. 10, for one aspect of the political importance of the Mevlevis, the kılıç alayı. Abdülbâki states that from the eighteenth century they considered the tarikat as a spiritual monarchy; Mevlevîlik, p. 278. Again, at an early stage the tarikat had a strong resemblance to a craft-guild; ibid., p. 261. Then there is the relationship with the sultanate, which, like all Turkish dynasties before it, became staunchly "orthodox", that is, mainly, that they imported and supported the full panoply of the law. Persecution of the Mevlevis occurred in very limited epochs, and was due, except possibly for a Persian Shiite connection in the sixteenth century, to the predilections of the unco guid. It is noteworthy that the Shî'î factor had a connection with the linguistic factor, through the Turkish poetry of the head of the Safavî dynasty; Birge, Bektashi Order, pp. 68-9. The Bâtinî-Alevî-Kalenderî strain among the Mevlevis no doubt found expression during the rural period of development, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when whole villages were known as Mevlevi; cf. Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, pp. 245, 270.

peculiar function. The Bektashis were closely associated with the Janissary corps. Other orders were, it was mentioned, affiliated with trade-guilds. Von Hammer[75] pointed out that it was after the Ottomans, having conquered the lands of the Infidel, turned to Anatolia and finally annexed the principality of Karaman, that Rūmī's ideas gained their widest currency and the Mevlevi order began to assume its characteristic position in the Ottoman state as: "la représentation du corps entier du effendi ou employés des chancelleries ottomans". For centuries the Mesnevi "determined the intellectual outlook of the best elements" in the Empire.[76] To the European observer towards the end the tarikat resembled an established church.[77] It had by then long been known as the richest order, through the vakĭf or pious-foundation system.

Our primary concern is with the role of the Mevlevis in Turkish Islam. Here it is difficult to separate the tarikat from its counterpart, the Bektashi tarikat, although they represented different levels or varieties of mysticism. Just as the Mevlevis looked down on other orders as sūfī orders, so the Bektashis in turn looked down on the village groups with which they were allied.[78] There would seem to be no reason to bring up a possible political rivalry of a later date in connection with the story of the Mevlevi reception of Hajji Bektash. Why should not this wandering sūfī dervish have acknowledged the superior charisma of Rūmī, and the Mevlevis commented that the former did not observe the religious law?[79]

---

[75] Op. cit., pp. 206-7.
[76] Brockelmann, p. 255.
[77] Garnett, p. 124.
[78] Birge, Bektashi Order, pp. 64, 212.
[79] Huart, Les Saints, I, 296-7.

When[80] the Bektashis settled down as a resident order and adopted Hajji Bektash, it is noticeable how many Mevlevi precedents they followed. The eponym is given a distinguished ancestry in Khurasan,[81] the head of the hereditary section is called Çelebi,[82] and Hajji Bektash, like Rūmī, is called Hünkâr, the World-Creator. At one remove, so to speak, through Yunus Emre and his like, the Bektashis shared Rūmī's thought. Both orders used the greeting "Aşk olsun", "Let there be love", and the same Kalenderî initiatory ceremony at first. We have commented on the importance of the kitchen in each novitiate.

In any event, of all the orders it was the Bektashi which influenced the Mevlevis most.[83] One of the last Chelebis, Abdülvâhid (d. 1907 A.D.), was also an officer in the Bektashi tarikat.[84] Although there was at times a particularly close mingling of both orders, or at least of one section of the Mevlevis with the Bektashis, a Mevlevi could not, says Abdülbâki, be completely satisfied with the latter. The Mevlevis always felt their superiority. Deeply integrated though they were with Ottoman society, it may be said that the Mevlevi tarikat, because of its origins and its self-interpretation, could never attain the identification with the Turkish national ideal which we have mentioned was the Bektashi achievement, expressed in literature and folk-custom.

In that study[85] of Ottoman society which we have frequently

---

[80]See Gibb and Bowen, II, 190.
[81]Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 36.
[82]Ibid., p. 82.
[83]Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, p. 293.
[84]Ibid., p. 236. The destruction of the Janissary Corps by the reforming sultan Mahmud II in 1826 A.D., followed by persecution of the Bektashis, did not permanently repress this order whose roots were so deep in Turkish Islam.
[85]Gibb and Bowen, II, 185.

cited, the dervish orders and the Religious Institution are described as presenting

> the curious spectacle of what were really two mutually contradictory systems of religion existing side by side and being generally regarded as one. To the great bulk of the people the inconsistency was of no moment, was indeed scarcely apparent.

From what we have seen of the development of the tarīqah idea and the genesis of the tarikat, however, we may ask whether this inconsistency does not lie almost entirely in the mind of the outsider, who, coming in at the end of the story, may mistake the significance of what he sees. If Muslims regarded the two systems as one, it must be because fundamentally they were one. They represent a common Islamic process. The Bektashis, for instance, had no difficulty, it appears, in reconciling two separate branches of their tarikat, each with a separate head, sharing the same headquarters and the revenue, even although the division was founded on the basic question of celibacy.[86] As we have remarked, in these matters it is the synthesis, not the analysis, which presents difficulties.

It has been further suggested that the relationship between these Ottoman institutions was a symbiotic one.[87] From our point of view it is equally enlightening to see them rather as two highly-developed branches of the same trunk, and to look to the roots which nourished them both to see why and how they grew.

It now seems that a greater attempt should be made to realize the true nature of Islam as a religion than is usually made by the

---

[86]Birge, Bektashi Order, p. 82.

[87]Gibb and Bowen, II, 76.

Western observer. As we have had occasion to point out, part of the difficulty lies in terminology. In its fundamental attitude, that rationalism which is sometimes superficially deduced scarcely exists in Islam. And, sufism is not a "movement" in Islam. In a sense, it is not an "element" in Islam. In sociological classification, the varying degrees with which people are endowed with the sense of the numinous[88] is one basis for categories. Only he who sees the burning bush takes off his shoes. What we have maintained is that Muslims are particularly prone to this experience.

We have referred to the "tremendous fomenting and integrating power of religion", and to the type of the sect as a possible effort at reintegration of the community in times of stress. It seems likely that the various types of social organization which we have encountered, the futuwwah organization, the ahi group and the gazi emirate, as well as the tarikat, must represent similar efforts to reintegrate the Islamic community in Anatolia. Each was, in its way, a "little Islam". They represent different aspects of the same ingredients, the mixture differing mainly, in view of the results, in the degree to which they were militant. A favourite title of the Ottoman sultans was Hünkâr,[89] and that expresses exactly their function in this respect.

The significant feature in these social institutions was the prevalence of different forms of mysticism. The evidence, some of which has been mentioned, is accumulating that the Ottoman state itself

---

[88]Wach, p. 339.

[89]Gibb and Bowen, I, 35-6.

originated as a kind of mystical movement, to the Western observer an astonishing one.[90] Among these efforts at integration expressed so enthusiastically by the Turks, the tarikat of the Mevlevis appears not only as a response to a specific challenge in Islam, but as essentially the classic type of mysticism. The appearance of a religious genius was the impetus which launched this tarikat as organized mysticism. Rūmī, like Shakespeare, for instance, is not to be entirely explained in terms of trends, or in terms of his predecessors and successors.

Various reasons may be advanced for the decline of the dervish orders.[91] From our point of view, we need note only the primary reason for the appearance of the need for reintegration:

> The ultimate source and the meaning of an expression or form valid in the realm of religion is its origin from and testimony to a significant religious experience. Wherever such expressions are genuine, they are meant not to serve external, - that is, social, political, economic, aesthetic, or personal - aims and purposes, but to formulate and perpetuate man's deepest experience, his communion with God.[92]

All these external aims inevitably affected the role of the

---

[90]Cf. Fr. Babinger, "Orkhan", EI, III, 1000: "The religious life of Islām under Orkhan, which had a marked ʿAlid, not to say Shīʿa, stamp, is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of religion and still requires elucidation in essential points through special studies."

Evidence for this theory of the origin of the Ottoman state is particularly seen in personal names and in titles; cf. J.H. Kramers, "Turks", EI, IV, 964; Gibb and Bowen, I, 140, n.2. Another line of development which could be traced is that in headgear, which "in the Orient for ages ... was considered really the characteristic article of clothing"; Brockelmann, p. 266.

[91]For instance, Toynbee's hypothesis may be applied; see above, pp. 42-3. For the Mevlevis, Abdülbâki cites particularly the hereditary principle and the vakîf system; Mevlevîlik, pp. 152, 258. The decline of the trade-guilds in the cities was another factor, but presumably this would not be so applicable in the case of the Mevlevis; cf. H.A.R. Gibb, Mohammedanism, p. 180. And in the background was the impact of the West.

[92]Wach, p. 385. The sufis had long had a name for those who "for the sake of money and wealth and power and worldly advantage" made themselves like sufis; Nicholson, Kashf al-Mahjúb, p. 35.

Mevlevis in Turkish Islam. As a final consideration we note briefly some aspects of the most characteristic ceremony of the tarikat, the semâ', which was intended to be the expression of the significant experience, and which at the same time was the principal means of integration. First of all, we may ignore the speculation[93] on the origin of the Mevlevi ceremony, which can have only a limited value. Some form of the semâ', judging from the amount of space given to it in the sources, was known from a very early time among the sufis. It readily, of course, lent itself to abuse. It is to be noted that music and, usually, dancing, were found among organizations like the Yesevî, Bektashi, Rufâî, Kadirî, and ahi. Among the Mevlevis, we are informed by Western scholars,[94] their "so-called dancing" was really only a turning-exercise, carried on "till dizziness gives way to ecstasy".

The theoretical basis of Rūmī's semâ' may possibly be referred to a form of the ancient theory of the music of the revolving spheres.[95] This cosmic significance was perhaps retained in the ritualized semâ' through such details as the direction of turning being always from east to west.[96] But Rūmī has furnished a description which may be unique in mystical experience. Arberry refers in this respect to the value of the Rubā'īyāt as religious documents.[97] Rūmī's symbolism here expresses a panentheistic vision of a universe in motion, from atoms and motes to circling stars and planets, and, at its centre, a man, dancing for joy:

---

[93]See the article "Mawlawīya", SEI, p. 364.
[94]Gibb and Bowen, II, 193-4.
[95]Whinfield, p. 182.
[96]Brown, p. 60.
[97]Rubā'īyāt, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

He that is my soul's repose
Round my heart encircling goes,
Round my heart and soul of bliss
He encircling is.

Laughing, from my earthy bed
Like a tree I lift my head,
For the Fount of living mirth
Washes round my earth.[98]

Rūmī's vision of the universe and of Man's place in it, one reason for his popularity through the centuries, brings to mind the only definition of mysticism which Ellis found satisfactory: "the joyful organization of an emotional relationship to the world conceived as a whole".[99] Five hundred years later, what is essentially the same vision was expressed in Şeyh Galib's description of the semā'.[100]

Even in a cult mysticism, as we know, the primary emphasis must be on the individual. When the semā' became a ritual carefully regulated in every detail, with the aesthetic appeal of ritual, there is evidence that it retained its original function. The Western spectator invariably comments on it as a striking illustration of religious devotion. In Konya especially, even towards the end, the overpowering impression[101] was of that Mystery, here in a splendid form, which a Western scholar[102] saw as one essential of religion in the East. The other essential, Knowledge, is the Muslim experience. For the Mevlevi Muslim, his experience when after careful preparation he joined the circle on the dancing-floor must have been of the nature of an Islamic synthesis

---

[98]Ibid., p. 77. Cf. his Sufism, p. 116.

[99]Op. cit., p. 183.

[100]E.J.W. Gibb, IV, 203-4.

[101]Eliot, p. 199.

[102]E.G. Browne, cited in Nicholson, Idea of Personality in Sufism, p. 70.

which is difficult to clarify. For the Muslim observer in the twentieth century, the spectacle retained its charismatic appeal.[103]

---

[103]See Lukach, p. 27; S. Anderson, "The Whirling and Howling Dervishes", MW, XIII (1923).

V

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MEVLEVIS

Since this thesis is not confined to the position of the Mevlevis in the Ottoman Empire, a word may be added on their significance as representing classic mysticism in the continuity of Turkish Islam. The Turks, having abolished those two mighty institutions, the *sharī'ah* and the *tarikat*, which were realizations of the Way, continue to be Muslims. Owing to the amorphous nature of mysticism, as we have seen, it is not essential that the Way should take a literal form; it is the basic attitude which will always produce the same results.

Evidence of the vitality of Islamic mysticism among twentieth-century Turks is not hard to find.[1] Gökalp (d. 1924 A.D.), who is considered to have laid the theoretical foundations for the modern state, was strongly influenced by the sufi heritage.[2] He is regarded by Turks primarily as a *mürşid*.[3] It is sufi ideas which were expressed in his efforts to discover the "universally valid truths in Islam".[4] In his thinking mysticism was identified with Turkish culture.[5]

---

[1]The "significant degree to which the orientation of individual Turks is *Sufi*" has been remarked upon by a contemporary observer; W.C. Smith, "Modern Turkey: Islamic Reformation?", *Islamic Culture*, XXV (1951). He cites a Turk as follows: "Certainly the tekke's were finished; and should be gone for ever. But *teseyvuf* is essential, is what we need."

[2]Heyd, pp. 23, 56, 80-5.

[3]Berkes, pp. 376-7.

[4]*Ibid.*, p. 387.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 382. As a practical suggestion for reform, he emphasized the need for the vernacular, entrenched as it already was in the popular religion; Heyd, pp. 102-3.

In another of the revolutionaries we find a familiar theme:

> The reverent and emotional tendency of my soul, and its absolute need of a spiritual reality higher than the human realities I had so far touched, was foremost. I had been hitherto a faithful Moslem in heart and practice, but I was not orthodox in mind. Somehow the Sunni teaching did not satisfy me . . . I had an infinite longing for the infinite.[6]

The influence of Rūmī, as one of the world's great voices, goes on.[7] In Turkey he continues to be a popular figure.[8]

It is interesting to see the tenacity of the tarikat idea. A generation after the abolition of the orders, we find this spontaneous reaction at the village level:

> This year, as winter lasted a long time, and then the crops could hardly be rescued from the spring mud, there was hardly anyone who did not enter a dervish Order. Of course! Why had God sent a winter like that? Because He wanted to turn the faces of his servants towards Himself.[9]

As might be expected, there have been reports of activity among the dervish orders, including the Mevlevi. These indicate, as has been said, "how powerful are the forces stirring beneath the surface".[10]

---

[6]Edib, p. 190; cf. p. 158.

[7]It was manifested in Iqbāl (d. 1938 A.D.), the philosopher of Pakistan. He, like Abdülbâki, saw Rūmī primarily as a reformer. The dynamism of Iqbāl was prefigured in Rūmī; cf. W.C. Smith, Modern Islām in India, p. 109.

[8]Abdülbâki, Mevlevîlik, p. 273. In December, 1957, a stamp commemorating Mevlânâ was issued; there were press reports of popular enthusiasm.

[9]Makal, p. 87.

[10]B. Lewis, "Islamic Revival in Turkey", IA, XXVIII (1952).

In what guise these forces will take shape, in what direction the Turks will proceed in reformulating the expression of the basic religious impulse, it is far too early to tell. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries, like the thirteenth and fourteenth, are a time of disintegration and reintegration for Islam and for the Turks. But it is certain that reformulation will be in some Turkish Islamic fashion based upon mysticism. And in it that strand in Turkish culture and religion which for so long was represented most typically by the Mevlevis must continue to find a place.

- - -

LXII
15.11.57

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

Consonants. From Arabic -

ء {initial: unexpressed; medial and final: ’}	د d	ض ḍ	ك k
ب b	ذ dh	ط ṭ	ل l
ت t	ر r	ظ ẓ	م m
ث th	ز z	ع ‘	ن n
ج j	س s	غ gh	ه h
ح ḥ	ش sh	ف f	و w
خ kh	ص ṣ	ق q	ي y

From Persian - as from Arabic except as follows:

پ p	چ ch	ژ zh	گ g
ث s	ذ z	ض ẓ	

From Urdū - as from Persian except as follows:

ٹ t	ڈ d	غ gh	ں ṇ
خ kh	ڑ r	و in words from {Arabic --- w; Persian -- w; Sanskrit - v}	

From Turkish[1] - according to the Latin spelling current in Turkey.

Vowels, diphthongs, etc.

short: ـَ a; ـِ i; ـُ u.

long: ا ā; و ū, and in Persian and Urdū also rendered by ō;
ي ī, and in Persian and Urdū also rendered by ē; ـے (in Urdū) ē.

alif maqṣūrah: ى á.

long with tashdīd: ـِّـي īya; ـُّو ūwa.

diphthongs: ـَي ay; ـَو aw.

tā’ marbūṭah: ة ah; but in iḍāfah: at.

[1]In this typescript the Turkish undotted "i" is indicated by an inverted circumflex.

BIBLIOGRAPHY[1]

Reference Works

The Encyclopaedia of Islam. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1913-34. /EI/

--------. Supplement. 1938.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. 12 vols. and index. Ed. James Hastings. Edinburgh: Clark, 1908-26. /ERE/

Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. 8 vols. Ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson. New York: Macmillan, 1937. /ESS/

Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam. Ed. H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers. Leiden: Brill, 1953. /SEI/

Birge, John Kingsley. A Guide to Turkish Area Study. Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1949.

Le Strange, G. The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate. Cambridge: University Press, 1930.

Zambaur, E. von. Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire d'Islam. Bad Pyrmont: Lafaire, 1955.

Mysticism

Beauvoir, Simone de. The Second Sex. Tr. H. M. Parshley. New York: Knopf, 1953.

Ellis, Havelock. The Dance of Life. Grosset's Universal Library. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, n.d. 1st ed. 1923.

Harnack, Adolf. Monasticism. Tr. E. E. Kellett and F. H. Marseille. London: Williams & Norgate, 1913.

Hügel, Friedrich von. The Mystical Element of Religion. 2 vols. 2nd ed. London: Dent, 1923.

Hughes, Thomas Hywel. The Philosophic Basis of Mysticism. Edinburgh: Clark, 1937.

---

[1]A few works not directly pertaining to the subject are given bibliographical reference where they are cited, and are not listed here. Abbreviations used for periodicals cited are listed at the end of the bibliography.

Huxley, Aldous. The Perennial Philosophy. London: Chatto & Windus, 1946.

Inge, W. R. Mysticism in Religion. London: Hutchinson, [1947].

James, William. The Varieties of Religious Experience. New York: Longmans, Green, 1920. 1st ed. 1902.

Jung, Carl G. "God, the Devil, and the Human Soul", Atlantic Monthly, November, 1957, pp. 57-63.

Otto, Rudolf. The Idea of the Holy. Tr. John W. Harvey. London: Oxford University Press, 1925.

---------. Mysticism East and West. Tr. Bertha L. Bracey and Richenda C. Payne. New York: Macmillan, 1932.

Smith, Margaret. An Introduction to the History of Mysticism. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, [1930].

Underhill, Evelyn. Mysticism. 12th ed. rev. London: Methuen, [1930].

Wach, Joachim. Sociology of Religion. London: Kegan Paul, [1947].

Islam and the Turks

Abdülbâki Gölpinarlı. Mevlânâ Celâleddin. Ikinci Basım. Istanbul: Inkilâp Kitabevi, 1952.

---------. Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik. Istanbul: Inkilâp Kitabevi, 1953.

Ahmad, M. M. Zuhūru'd-dīn. An Examination of the Mystic Tendencies in Islam. Bombay, 1932.

Anderson, Samuel. "Dervish Orders of Constantinople", The Moslem World, XII (1922), 53-61.

---------. "The Whirling and Howling Dervishes", The Moslem World, XIII (1923), 181-91.

Archer, John Clark. Mystical Elements in Mohammed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924.

Arberry, A. J. The Rubā'iyāt of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. London: Emery Walker, 1949.

---------. Sufism. London: Allen & Unwin, [1950].

Barthold, W. Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion. 2nd ed. London: Luzac, 1928.

Bausani, Alessandro. "Theism and Pantheism in Rumi", Pakistan Quarterly, III (1953), 36-41, 60-2. Karachi.

Berkes, Niyazi. "Ziya Gökalp: His Contribution to Turkish Nationalism", The Middle East Journal, VIII (1954), 375-90.

Birge, John Kingsley. The Bektashi Order of Dervishes. London: Luzac, 1937.

--------. "Jalal ud-din Rumi, the Moslem Saint with a Christian Heart", The Moslem World, XII (1922), 161-9.

Bouvat, L. "Les Premiers Mystiques dans la Littérature Turque", Revue du Monde Musulman, XLIII (1921), 236-82. Review of Türk Edebiyatında Ilk Mütesavvıflar (Köprülü).

Brockelmann, Carl. History of the Islamic Peoples. Tr. Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann. New York: Putnam, [1947].

Brown, John P. The Darvishes. Ed. H. A. Rose. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.

Browne, Edward G. A Literary History of Persia. Vol. II. London: Fisher Unwin, 1906.

Depont, Octave, and Xavier Coppolani. Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes. Algiers: Jourdan, 1897.

Edib, Halidé. Memoirs. New York: Century, [1926].

Eliot, Charles. [Odysseus]. Turkey in Europe. London: Edward Arnold, 1900.

Garnett, Lucy M. J. Mysticism and Magic in Turkey. London: Pitman, 1912.

Gibb, E. J. W. A History of Ottoman Poetry. 6 vols. Vols. II-VI ed. E. G. Browne. London: Luzac, 1900-9.

Gibb, H. A. R. Ibn Battúta, Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354. London: Routledge, [1953].

--------. Modern Trends in Islam. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

--------. Mohammedanism. 2nd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1953.

--------. "The Structure of Religious Thought in Islam", The Muslim World, XXXVIII (1948), 17-28, 113-23, 185-97, 280-97.

Gibb, H. A. R., and Harold Bowen. Islamic Society in the Eighteenth Century. Vol. I, Part I, Part II of Islamic Society and the West. London: Oxford University Press, 1950, 1957-

Gibbons, Herbert Adams. The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916.

Hammer, J. von. Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman. Tr. J.-J. Hellert. Vol. I. Paris: Bellizard, Barthès, Dufour et Lowell, 1835.

Hasluck, F. W. Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929.

Heyd, Uriel. Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: the Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp. /London/: Luzac, 1950.

Hitti, Philip K. History of the Arabs. 5th ed. rev. London; Macmillan, 1953.

Huart, Cl. "Les Anciens Derviches Turcs", Journal des Savants, XX (1922), 5-18. Review of Türk Edebiyatında Ilk Mütesavvıflar (Köprülü).

--------. Les Saints du Derviches Tourneurs. 2 vols. Paris: Leroux, 1918-22.

--------. "De la Valeur Historique des Mémoires des Derviches Tourneurs", Journal Asiatique, XIX (1922), 308-17.

Kissling, Hans Joachim. "The Sociological and Educational Role of the Dervish Orders in the Ottoman Empire", in G. E. von Grunebaum, ed., Studies in Islamic Cultural History. The American Anthropologist, Memoir No. 76, 1954, pp. 23-35.

Köprülü[1] Zade, Mehmed Fuad. Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les Ordres Mystiques Musulmans. Mémoires de l'Institut de Turcologie de l'Université de Stamboul. Istanbul: 1929.

--------. Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman. Etudes Orientales Publiées par l'Institut Français d'Archéologie de Stamboul. Paris: 1935.

--------. "Les Origines du Bektachisme", Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire des Religions, II (1925), 391-411.

The Koran. Tr. J. M. Rodwell. London: Dent, 1953.

Langer, William L., and W. P. Blake. "The Rise of the Ottoman Turks and Its Historical Background", The American Historical Review, XXXVII (1932), 468-505.

---

[1]See entries under Bouvat and Huart.

Lewis, Bernard. "The Islamic Guilds", Economic History Review, VIII (1937), 20-37.

--------. "Islamic Revival in Turkey", International Affairs, XXVIII (1952), 39-48.

Lukach [Luke], Harry Charles. The City of Dancing Dervishes. London: Macmillan, 1914.

MacCallum, F. Lyman. The Mevlidi Sherif of Süleyman Chelebi. London: John Murray, [1943].

Macdonald, Duncan Black. Aspects of Islam. New York: Macmillan, 1911.

--------. Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory. New York: Scribner's, 1903.

--------. "Emotional Religion in Islam as Affected by Music and Singing, Being a Translation of a Book of the Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn of al-Ghazzāli", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXXIII (1901), 195-252, 705-48; XXXIV (1902), 1-28.

--------. The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1909].

--------. "The Unity of the Mystical Experience in Islam and Christendom", The Moslem World, XXV (1935), 325-35.

Makal, Mahmut. A Village in Anatolia. Tr. Wyndham Deedes. London: Vallentine, Mitchell, [1954].

Massignon, Louis. Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane. Paris: Geuthner, 1914-22.

--------. La Passion d'al-Hosayn-ibn-Mansour al-Hallaj. 2 vols. Paris: Geuthner, 1922.

Nicholson, Reynold A. "The Goal of Muhammadan Mysticism", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XLV (1913), 55-68.

--------. "A Historical Enquiry Concerning the Origin and Development of Sufiism", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XXXVIII (1906), 303-48.

--------. The Idea of Personality in Sufism. Cambridge: University Press, 1923.

--------. The Kashf al-Mahjúb, by . . . al-Hujwíri; the Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufiism. Leyden: Brill, 1911.

--------. The Mathnawí of Jalálud'ddín Rúmí. 8 vols. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series. London: 1925-40.

Nicholson, Reynold A. "Mysticism", in Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume, eds., The Legacy of Islam. [London]: Oxford University Press, [1931], pp. 210-38.

--------. The Mystics of Islam. London: G. Bell, 1914.

--------. Rūmī, Poet and Mystic (1207-1273). London: Allen & Unwin, [1950].

--------. Selected Poems from the Dīvāni Shamsi Tabrīz. Cambridge: University Press, 1952. 1st ed. 1898.

--------. Studies in Islamic Mysticism. Cambridge: University Press, 1921.

Ostrorog, Léon. The Angora Reform. London: University of London Press, 1927.

Pears, Edwin. Turkey and Its People. London: Methuen, [1911].

Ramsay, W. M. "The Geographical Conditions Determining History and Religion in Asia Minor", The Geographical Journal, XX (1902), 257-82.

Redhouse, James W. The Mesnevī of Jelālu-'d-dīn Rūmī. Book I. London: Trübner, 1881.

Ritter, H. "Celâleddin Rûmî", Islâm Ansiklopedisi. Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi. III (1945), 53-9.

Skrine, Francis H., and E. Denison Ross. The Heart of Asia. London: Methuen, 1899.

Smith, Margaret. Rābi'a the Mystic and Her Fellow-Saints in Islām. Cambridge: University Press, 1928.

--------. Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East. London: Sheldon Press, 1931.

Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. "Islam Confronted by Western Secularism: Revolutionary Reaction", in Dorothea S. Franck, ed., Islam in the Modern World. Washington: Middle East Institute, 1951, pp. 19-30.

--------. Modern Islām in India. London: Gollancz, 1946.

--------. "Modern Turkey: Islamic Reformation?", Islamic Culture, XXV (1951). Hyderabad.

Stirling, Paul. The Social Structure of Turkish Peasant Communities. Unpublished dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford, June, 1951.

Wensinck, A. J. The Muslim Creed. Cambridge: University Press, 1932.

Whinfield, E. H. Masnavi I Ma'navi; the Spiritual Couplets of ... Rúmi. 2nd ed. London: Kegan Paul, 1898.

Wittek, Paul. "Deux Chapitres de l'Histoire des Turcs de Roum", Byzantion, XI (1936), 285-319.

--------. The Rise of the Ottoman Empire. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1938.

Abbreviations for Periodicals

The American Historical Review	AHR
Byzantion	Byz.
Economic History Review	EHR
International Affairs	IA
The Geographical Journal	GJ
Journal Asiatique	JA
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society	JRAS
Journal des Savants	JS
The Middle East Journal	MEJ
The Muslim World	MW
Revue du Monde Musulman	RMM