Contrary to the Orientalist discursive statements about the supposed incompatibility, even antagonism, of Islam and music, Turkish example shows that music is a vital and indispensable element in everyday Muslim ritual worship and practicing of Islam as religion and culture. This positivity of music in Muslim religious practice can be recognized by seriously taking into account the empirical factuality of events, things, and discourses, which constitute the reality of practice and everyday life in Turkey, as well as in some other places where Islam is practiced, such as Indonesia and California. The main argument of this essay is that everyday practice reveals reality of the world and, in order to better understand it, any well-founded anthropology or ethnomusicology of Islam should take into account this phenomenon by fully describing it, and not by solely basing its conclusions on mental ruminations and cognitive interpretations. In other words, explicit and ideologically dominating discourses, both of "Oriental" and "Occidental" provenance, should be followed by, juxtaposed with, and sometimes challenged by the equally explicit, but often ignored, practice. One such explicit example of religious musical practice in Turkey is the Tesrik Tekbir, performed both in the mosques and the Sufi lodges.

1 This essay is an enlarged version of a conference paper (Kusić 1996b). I am thankful to Stephen Blum, Józef Pacholczyk, Philip Schuyler, and Jane Sugarman for their criticism, helpful comments, and friendly suggestions to the earlier versions of this essay.
Two centuries of post-Enlightenment Euro-American scholarship have been shaped and conditioned by idealism, by Western ideas of humanism and anthropology, and the ubiquitous supremacy of logophilia.2 According to Michel Foucault, the only way out from this "universal presence of the Logos" in history is by cleansing it "of all transcendental narcissism" and allowing historical analysis to be "deployed in an anonymity on which no transcendental constitution would impose the form of the subject" (Foucault 1972:203, 209). Regarding Islam, a special discourse has been deployed: Orientalism.3 Within the Orientalist discourse, Islam represents a special case, but not an exception. It was, and in some quarters still is, approached, interpreted, represented, and invented, both allegorically and metaphorically, as book, text, literary fiction.4 In many an Orientalist discourse, Islam does not exist as reality and everyday practice that undergoes constant transformations, except maybe as aberration from the established discursive model. This approach, therefore, misses the crucial element in relation to Islam - its proper understanding as temporally and spatially conditioned positivity. By the term positivity I understand the empirical factuality of events and things which, in their

2 In his essay "No haute cuisine in Africa", in which he reviews Jack Goody's book *Cooking, Cuisine and Class* (1982), Ernest Gellner argues that "the reader may not be aware that idealism is a strong, possibly dominant, element in contemporary thought. Not under that name, of course. The notion... that what really guides social life are symbols and meanings and systems thereof, codes, etc., is extremely widespread, in and out of anthropology, and is associated with slogans such as 'hermeneutics' and 'structuralisme'" (Gellner 1990:160). Gellner's weariness with idealism echos a similar critique of mentalism, expressed by Edward S. Casey. In his book, *Remembering*, Casey says that "mentalism... has dominated Western epistemology from Descartes to the present" (1987:88). By mentalism, he adds, "I mean the view that human minds - or surrogates for these minds, most notably computers - furnish the ultimate locus as well as the primary limit of human experience. A critical consequence of this view is that all that we undergo must come to be represented in the container of the mind if it is to count as an 'experience' at all" (ibid.).

3 Apropos Orientalism, Edward Said says that "without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage and even produce - the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period" (Said 1978:3).

4 Fiction understood in a sense of Paul Ricoeur's terms *mimesis*2 and the *as if*, "the kingdom of fiction", expressed in his trilogy *Time and Narrative* (Ricoeur 1984:64; 1985; 1988; see also Kusić 1996:13—19). This comes close to Gadamer's *understanding-as*, i.e. "understanding of something as something" (1994:90—91), which he has probably derived from Heidegger's notions of das *As*, the *as*, and die *As*-Struktur, the as-structure of interpretation: "The 'as' makes up the structure of the explicitness of something that is understood. It constitutes the interpretation" (Heidegger 1962:189, H. 149). For Heidegger, interpretation is the "development of the understanding" (H. 148), and it is implied that the latter always comes first, primordially, as the Vor-Struktur, fore structure.
temporal dispersion and spatial co-existence, constitute the reality of practice and everyday life. In this sense, idealism and transcendentalism are positivities conditioned by their own time and space. They are discourses that view the world as spectacle and symbol to be hermeneutically translated and internalized by the subject; their aim is to "uncover an interpretation... to decide on a rationality, or to embrace a teleology" (Foucault 1972:125). But there are also discourses whose intention is to describe the world as exteriority, as something outside of the interpreting subject. It is these discourses and their positivities I am interested in here. Such discourses are capable of revealing the positivity of music in Islam, as practiced in Turkey. They can perform such a function not by reference to a cogito, or by denying the established truths of Orientalist discursive statements, or by trying to awaken Orientalists from their tranquilized sleep. They can do it by simply asserting their own place in the dispersion of all discourses. The type of discourse which I propose here, and which would attempt to describe such a practice, is fully aware of the discursive positivity of the so-called "sama" polemics, which, by being repeated so many times, intentionally or not, has established the supposedly negative attitude of Islam as religion towards music. The intent of this essay is to question the practical reality of such

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5 This definition of positivity as "empirical factuality of events and things", comes close to Paul Rabinow's understanding of representations, i.e. discourses, in anthropology as "social facts" (Rabinow 1986).

6 Understood in a sense of Max Weber (1976), Rationalism is the "intellectual child" of the West. As a historical concept, or, more precisely, as "the particular concrete form of rational thought", rationalism was the ground from which the Lutheran idea of a Beruf, calling, and the Protestant devotion to labor in such a calling - an ethical obligation unknown to Catholicism (Weber 1976:78-81) - has grown, becoming the indispensable condition for the development of capitalism as the uniquely Western (Anglo-Saxon) economic system, morality, and culture. A good critique of Weber's concept of rationality and of the idea of the West and Westerners as possessors "of a rationality not available to others", can be found in Jack Goody's book The East in the West, especially in its first two chapters, "Rationality in Review", and "Rationality and Ragioneria: the Keeping of Books and the Economic Miracle" (1996:11-81).

7 I have borrowed this term from Michel Foucault. In his The Archaeology of Knowledge, Foucault critically refutes the old, conservative themes of cultural totalities, of a search for origins, and "of a living, continuous, open history", i.e. the themes of a privileged history as "a place of rest, certainty, reconciliation, a place of tranquilized sleep" (Foucault 1972:14). This notion of tranquility Foucault might as well have borrowed from Heidegger's interpretation of Dasein's 'falling into the world', a tranquility "for which everything is 'in the best of order' and all doors are open" (Heidegger 1962:222, H. 177-178).

8 For fuller information about the "sama" polemics", see, for example, Kristina Nelson (1985:32-51) and Ğazzâlî (in Macdonald 1901/1902).

9 The most recent example of such an attitude that comes to my mind is the concluding chapter, "Arabesk and Sema", in Martin Stokes' book The Arabesk Debate (1992:203-227). It is unclear to me why, in this otherwise fine book on a popular Turkish musical genre, the author had to invoke the phantoms of Orientalism and draw conclusions not
statements and to show that their ideology is not necessarily followed through in real life.

The *positivity of music* is dispersed not only in the secular domain of Turkish society and culture but also in the domain of religion and its forms of worship, *ibadet*, which represent the core of the practical aspect of Islam as religion.\(^{10}\) I would like to emphasize that in this essay I talk exclusively about the practice within the Sunni *Hanefi mezhep*,\(^{11}\) leaving aside the other *mezhep*-s and the Shia Islam, as well as other Islamic countries, cultures, historicities, and societies, which, if mentioned, are used only for the sake of tentative comparison. Thus, the *positivity of music* reveals itself through activity and performance in everyday Muslim ritual worship, *namaz*,\(^{12}\) and can be observed in many mosques and dervish lodges, *tekke*-s, throughout Turkey. I will focus on one representative form of Turkish mosque music, the *Bayram Tekbir*-s. I argue that this musical form not only reveals the importance of music in the *namaz* but also informs us about the history of Turkish religious music and its place in Ottoman culture in general.

### The liturgical structure of *namaz*

Although the *namaz* can be and often is performed individually, in which case its verbal content is uttered silently, one can talk about its musical
performance only when it is performed as liturgy, i.e. as a public congregational form of worship, under the leadership of the imam and the assistance of the muezzins. In this case, some of its verbal content is uttered aloud and performed musically.

The basic structure of the namaz may be represented as consisting of three parts, which I name: Introduction, Core, and Conclusion (Table 1). Each part can be further divided into segments of either the Rek'at or the Dua type (Table 2). The Rek'at Segments are called so because they consist of the performance of the somatic-verbal cycles called the rek'at (rākāt, pl. raka'āt). As such, a rek'at is the minimal structural unit of the namaz and its indispensable condition - without it there cannot be any namaz. Thus, as a somatic-verbal cycle, a rek'at consists of four bodily actions: (1) standing, kiyam (qiyām), (2) bowing, rūkū (rukū'), (3) prostration, sajdah (sajdah), (4) sitting, qa'dah (ka'de); and several verbal actions, i.e. liturgical readings of the prayer type, dua (du'a'), uttered while performing bodily actions. Some of the rek'at dua-s are murmured silently by the congregation, and some are uttered aloud by the imam. Only one of the rek'at dua-s, the tekbir (takbīr), is always uttered aloud (Table 3).

The tekbir, a formula of magnifying Allah (God), consists of two words: Allahu akbar, "Allah is greater". It is pronounced by the imam and sometimes repeated by the muezzin(s) before every bodily movement, except the intermediary standing between bowing and prostration, in which case it is replaced by the tahmid (tahmīd), another formula in praise of Allah. The Rek'at Segment ends with a verbal formula called the Selām, "Greetings".  

13 The minimal number of rek'at-s in a Rek'at Segment is two, in which case we are dealing with the Rek'at Couplet (Table 3). The precise number of rek'at-s in every single type of namaz is fixed by the fikih (fiqh, jurisprudence). According to the Muslim religious law, şeriat (ṣarī'ah), all actions and duties of an individual, both religious and worldly, are prescribed as rules and classified in the Mükellefiyet Code (mukallafiyyah, obligation, liability; Kusić 1996:90—95). All rek'at-s in all namaz-s are likewise classified according to this code, and are divided into the farz (fard, obligatory), vacip (wajib, necessary), and sünnet (sunnah, traditional) rek'at-s (Table 4). The rek'at-s of the Core Part of the namaz are of the farz type, performed congregationally under the leadership of the imam. Those of the other two parts are either the sünnet or vacip rek'at-s, performed individually.

14 Another musically important rek'at dua is the kiraat (qirā'ah), i.e. the reading from the Kur'an while in standing position. However, depending on the time of namaz, the imam reads this dua either silently or aloud (Kusić 1996:187, 233—236).

15 The tahmid consists of two sentences: the first, samā'ilāhu liman ḥamidah, "Allah hears whoever praises Him", is pronounced by the imam during the movement from the bowing to the intermediary upright position. The second tahmid sentence, rabbana laka'l-hamd, "Our Lord, unto Thee thanksgiving", congregation pronounce silently in response to imam. Translation of the both tahmid sentences is by Alijan (nd:32—33).

16 The selām (salām) consists of a single sentence: as-salāmu 'alaykum wa rahmatullāh, "Peace with you and Allah's compassion and mercy", which the imam utters twice, first
Unlike the *rek’at* Segments, which are a combination of verbal and somatic actions, the *Dua* Segments of the *namaz*, i.e. the *dua-s* performed outside of the *rek’at*, consist of purely verbal actions, i.e. the utterance of the liturgical text. Now, the body is placed in sitting position and no movement is performed. As such, the *Dua* Segments are positioned either before or after the *rek’at* Segments (Table 2).

**How liturgical structure informs musical structure**

In actual performance and practice, all aloud verbal actions in the segments of the *namaz* are musically rendered so that they become the Musical Segments or the Musical *dua-s*. In this sense, it becomes clear that the way the *namaz* is structured liturgically provides the space for its musical structuring. In other words, the liturgical structure of *namaz* informs its musical structure.

A special type of *namaz*, the *Bayram Namazi* (*şalātu’l-‘id*), is performed in place of the Morning Ritual Worship on two most important Muslim holidays, *Ramazan Bayrami* and *Kurban Bayrami*. This *namaz*, of the *vacip* type, differs from other congregational *namaz-s* in at least two respects: it is performed only twice a year, and the number of the *tekbir-s* in its two *rek’at-s* is increased, from the standard eleven (see Table 3) to seventeen. The multiplicity of *tekbir-s* provides an ample opportunity for musical expression and creativity.

In the performance of the *Bayram Namazi*, which I recorded in the Beyazit Mosque, Istanbul, on the first day of the *Ramazan Bayrami* (April 16, 1991 C.E. / 1st of *Şevval* 1411 A.H.), all *tekbir-s* were musically rendered. Turning his head to the right, and then to the left. The congregation silently repeats the *selām* with the same bodily movement.

The Turkish word *bayram* is equivalent to Arabic *ul-‘id*, and means the (religious) festival, holiday. In contemporary secular Turkey it also means any holiday, including the state holidays such as the *Cumhuriyet Bayram*, the Day of Republic. Thus the *şalātu’l-‘id* is the same as the *Bayram Namaz*, lit. "Holiday Ritual Worship".

The first holiday is the *Ramazan Bayram*, which celebrates the end of the month of fasting, *Ramazan* (*rafa‘dān*, the 9th month of the Muslim lunar year); it is observed on the 1st of the month of *Şevval* (*sawwāl*, the 10th month) and the following two days. *Ramazan Bayram* is in Turkish also known as the *Şeker Bayram*, lit. the "sugar/candy holiday", on which the sweets are given out, or the *Küçük Bayram*, the Little Bayram. In Arabic it is called the *‘I’dul-fitr*, "the holiday of breaking the fast", or *‘I’dul-sa‘īd*, lit. "the little holiday" (*SEI* 1961:156).

The second holiday is the *Kurban Bayram*, i.e. the holiday of sacrifice, celebrated on the 10th of the month of *Zilhicce* (*qu‘l-hijjah*, the 12th month) and the following three days. *Kurban Bayram* is also known as the *Büyük Bayram*, lit. the Great Bayram. In Arabic it is called the *‘I’dul-adhāh* or *‘I’dul-qurbān*, "the holiday of sacrifice" (*SEI* 1961:156).

This means that each *rek’at* in the *Bayram Namazi* has three additional *tekbir-s*. 

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performed in the same way. The imam began the namaz with the pronunciation of the İftitah Tekbir, "Opening Tekbir", followed by a specific hand movement performed only in this tekbir: both hands are raised to ear-level, with thumbs touching the earlobes from behind. The muezzins repeated the tekbir in chorus, followed by the same hand movement. With this, the Rek'at Segment of the Bayram Namazı began. Then, the imam uttered three times the so-called Zevaid Tekbirleri, lit. "additional tekbir-s" (Dikmen 1988:392). The muezzins repeated each Zevaid Tekbir in chorus (Ex. 1).

As in other namaz-s, the Rek'at Segment of the Bayram Namazı ended with the Selâm, which was here rendered aloud by the imam and repeated by the muezzins (Ex. 2). Immediately after the Selâm, the muezzins continued, without any break and in standing position, with the choral performance of yet another kind of tekbir, the so called Teşrik Tekbir-s (Ex. 3).

The Teşrik Tekbir was repeated three times by the muezzins. During this musical performance, the imam, who up to this point was performing his office in the mihrab (mihrâb), a shallow niche built in the mosque's wall facing the kible (qiblah), the direction of Mecca, approached the mimber, pulpit (Fig. 2), climbed on it, and as soon as the tekbir-s were

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19 In this description of a single religious event, I use the past tense, thus referring to a specific performance that occurred at such and such time, in such and such place, and as observed by me and recorded by my video camera. Other performances of the same type of namaz, at other times and in other places in Turkey, gazed at by other individuals and other camera lenses, might be different. In this sense, I here deliberately avoid the so-called "ethnographic present" (Clifford 1988:228), a synchronous present frozen in time, without the past and the future, i.e. without history. By doing this I refrain from establishing any fixed models that would treat this singular, but not necessarily unique, performance as a fait accompli and opus operatum. In agreement with Pierre Bourdieu (1991:1, 18—19), I look at it as a modus operandi.

20 From the Arabic za'idah, pl. zawâ'id, surplus, addition, redundance. During the first two Zevaid Tekbir-s, the hands are raised and then lowered down, hanging loosely next to the body. The third time the hands are clasped on the naval. The Zevaid Tekbir-s are uttered again three times in the second rek'at.

21 The tekbir-s and Selâm are chorally repeated by the muezzins only in a more crowded namaz-s, such as the Cuma, Bayram, and the Teravih Namazı, the nightly ritual worship during the month of Ramazan. In other namaz-s, these verbal actions are performed only by the imam.

22 Teşrik is a word which refers to the last three days of the Kurban Bayram, also known as the eyyam-i teşrik (ayyâmu't-taşrîq), the "days of teşrik": from the 11th to the 13th of the Zilhicce. The day preceding the Kurban Bayram, on the 9th of the Zilhicce, is called the Arefe Gün (yeym-i arefe (yawm 'Arafah). The tekbir-s performed during these five days are called the teşrik tekbirleri, i.e. teşrik tekbir-s. Regarding the meaning of the word taşrîq, it seems that it has not been universally accepted (see, for example, SEI 1961:124—125).

23 Also spelled as minber (minbar).
Nar. umjet. 34/1, 1997, pp. 147—178, D. Kusic, Positivity of Music and Religion in...

finished, started reading the *hutbe* (xuṭbah, sermon). At three points during the *hutbe*, the muezzins also performed a single *Tesrik Tekbir*. Finally, at the end of the *hutbe*, they again performed the *Tesrik Tekbir* three times, and the imam stepped down from the mimber and returned to the mihrab.

Musically, all the Bayram Tekbir-s, as well as the tahmid and the Selâm, were performed in a single makam, *Irak* or *Segdh* (Ex. 4). The Zevaid Tekbir-s, as well as the first statement of the Selâm were rendered on the pitch düğâh, a, the dominant of the *Irak makam* (represented with a half note in Ex. 4). The second statement of the Selâm (the second line in Ex. 2) ended on the makam's tonic, the pitch *Irak* (f#). Since the performance of the *Tesrik Tekbir*-s continued after the Selâm without a break, muezzins used the same pitch to start the melody of the *Tesrik Tekbir* (Ex. 3). The piece was in a slow tempo and free rhythm, and the long syllable la in *Allâh* and in the sentence la ilâha illallâh, was likewise prolonged in its musical rendition. Structurally, the melodic progression, seyir, of the piece was brought in a fashion typical for classical Turkish music in general. The structure resembled the Beste form of the AABA type, i.e. with four sections, which Yılmaz Öztuna calls the hane-s (Öztuna 1990/1:155; see also Kusic 1996:316—325). The first two statements of the *Allâhu ekber* sentence moved around the makam's tonic; the second sentence, la ilâha illallâh, reached the dominant but returned to the tonic; in the third sentence, which was the textual repetition of the first, the register was, like in the contrasting third hane of the Beste, changed and the seyir moved a third up above the dominant; and finally, the last sentence brought both the register and the melody back to the tonic.

**How musical structure informs musical history**

This classical example of the seyir-structuring in Turkish classical music brings us to the second point in this essay. The musical dua, *Tesrik Tekbir*, is not an *ad hoc* improvisation in performance, but rather a fixed composition. According to two contemporary Turkish musicologists, Yılmaz Öztuna (1990) and Yalçın Tura (1983), the *Tesrik Tekbir* was composed by the famous Turkish composer Buhurizade Mustafa Efendi Itri (16387—1712), whose activity as musician, poet and Mevlevî dervish

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24 As in the Friday Ritual Worship, the imam reads the Bayram *hutbe* from the mimber. There are two *hutbe*-s: the first in Arabic, and the second, in Turkish, both pertaining to the subject of the Bayram. The subject of the Ramazan Bayrami *hutbe* is *zekat*, almsgiving, and the topic of the Kurban Bayrami *hutbe* is *kurban*, the sacrificial slaughter of an animal, usually a sheep, but also a cow or an ox). Unlike the Cuma *hutbe*, the Bayram *hutbe* begins with the pronunciation of the tekbir.
spans from the second half of the seventeenth century to the first decade of the eighteenth, and whom many Turkish musicians regard as the greatest classicist ever. On the other hand, another Turkish musicologist, Suphi Ezgi, ascribed its authorship not to Itri, but to Hatib Zakiri Hasan Efendi (1545?—1623), who lived a generation or two earlier. Regardless of who actually composed the piece, one important element seems obvious: in all likelihood, the Teşrik Tekbir, as a musical composition, has a history of some 300 years. This temporal positivity suggests that the musical structure of the namaz and its musical procedures are capable of informing our perception about Turkish history.

Even though the Teşrik Tekbir is a well-known piece, it is performed relatively rarely, due to its specific function, usage, and purpose. In 1991, I was able to observe its performance only in two places in Istanbul: once in the Beyazıt Mosque, in the Ramazan Bayram Namazi, and several times in the tasavvuf (tasawwuf), Sufi, context. In the Cerrahi Tekkesi, the lodge of the Cerrahi order, for example, it is uttered on the occasion of initiating a novice, at the ceremony of accepting Islam and becoming a Muslim, as well as during the spiritual promotion of a dervish to a higher tasavvuf level. However, as Tura (1983) states, it is also sometimes performed in the Cuma and Cenaze Namazi (Funeral Ritual Worship), in the performance of the Mevlâd.25 and when performing kurban. Obviously referring to the Ottoman past, Tura also states that the Bayram Tekbir is (was) performed on the occasion of various religious and national holidays, before the battle and during the war, as well as in other similar occasions, either chorally, cumhur, or individually. Both Tura and Öztuna state that the Teşrik Tekbir is performed not only in the Bayram Namazi in Turkey, but throughout the Islamic world (Tura 1983; Öztuna 1990/1:376).

This statement, without additional data and further elucidation, might sound questionable. However, beyond any intention to reduce these

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25 Mevlâd, also spelled as Mevlid, is a poem depicting the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. The first Turkish Mevlâd poem, entitled Mevlîd-i Serif, which consists of several sections called bahr or bahir, was written by Süleyman Çelebi, who died in Bursa in 1421 (Çelebi nd; Anon 1988). However, mevlâd (mawlid, birth) is also a Muslim holiday, known as Mevlid Kandili or Mevlid Geceesi, celebrated on the 12th of the Rabî‘ul-awwal, the 3rd month of the Muslim lunar year. As such, it is one of the five Kandil Geceleri (laylatu'l-qandîl), lit. illuminated nights, called so because, on these nights, the minarets are illuminated (today, the old-fashioned oil-lamps, kandil, are replaced by electric bulbs). The other four Illuminated Nights are: Regaib Kandili (laylatu'l-rağa’ib), anniversary of the conception of the Prophet, celebrated on Thursday night preceding the first Friday in the month of Receb (rajab, the 7th month); Mi‘rac Kandili (laylatu'l-mi‘rāj), the night of the Prophet’s miraculous journey to Heaven, celebrated in the night of the 26th/27th of Receb; Berat Kandili (laylatu’l-barâ‘a), the night of the forgiveness of sins, observed on the 14th/15th of Şa‘ban (Sa‘ban, the 8th month); and Kadir Kandili (laylatu’l-qadr), the "Night of Power (Fate)", observed on the 26th/27th of Ramazan.
two authors to informants and anthropological types, it might as well be that in their discourse of familiarity, as Pierre Bourdieu would argue, they have left "unsaid all that goes without saying [and took] for granted the presuppositions taken for granted by the historical agents" (Bourdieu 1991:18) - something like Hegel's "original historians" (Herodotus, Thucydides, Guicciardini), who describe scenes in which they themselves have been actors, or, at any rate, interested spectators, and whose narratives "cannot, therefore, be very comprehensive in their range" (Hegel 1991:2). Be it as it may, and, of course, unless some other ideological agenda lurks behind it, the Tura-Öztuna statement might be a reflection of the positivity of things. In a personal communication with Tim Fuson, a graduate student in ethnomusicology at UCLA, I have learned that a North American branch of the Naksibendi order, based in Oakland, California, performs the same Tesrik Tekbir in its zikir-s (Fuson 1996). In Fuson's audio recording of a Naksibendi zikir, performed in the Masjid al-İmân, a mosque in Oakland, on Saturday, April 27, 1996, the Tesrik Tekbir is uttered twice during the Taslim (Greetings) part of the zikir, which, in this Sufi order and in this mosque, follows the zikir proper. I can only speculate about the reasons why the same "Turkish" Tesrik Tekbir melody is performed in California. A partial answer to this predicament is possibly given in a "Naqshbandi Homepage" on the Internet. One of its documents reads:

[The Naksibendi seyh] Muhammad Nazim adil al-Qubrusi al-Ilaqqani was born in Larnaca, Cyprus, 1922... After completing high school in Cyprus, he moved to Istanbul... in 1940... His first seclusion by the order of Shaykh `Abdullah Daghestani was in the year 1955, in Sueileh, Jordan. There he spent six months in seclusion... He was called by our Grandhaikh, Shaykh `Abdullah ad-Daghestani [who] told him, "I have received an order from the Prophet (s) for you to make seclusion in the mosque of `Abdul Qadir Jilani in Baghdad. Go there and make seclusion for six months..." [After seclusion] Shaykh Nazim left Baghdad and went back to Damascus, Syria... Recently in 1991, he began his journey to America. In his first trip he visited over 15 states... This resulted in the establishing of over 15 centers of the Naqshbandi Order in North America (http://www.naqshbandi.org).
According to Fuson, the Masjid al-İmān was established in Oakland, in 1992, owing to the efforts of the local African-American Muslim community. Fuson adds that "Yassir Chadly has been serving as imām of the mosque since its inception. He is a native of Casablanca, Morocco, and has been living in the United States since the late 1970's." During Shaykh Haqqani's trip to the U.S., his assistant, Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, of Lebanese origin, established a sizeable Naksibendi Center in Los Altos. Following the suit, the Masjid al-İmān, in Oakland, became one of the Naksibendi Centers in the U.S., and its imam Yassir Chadly joined the order. He learned the office of the zikir leader from Shaykh Hisham Kabbani, and, today, beyond performing the office of the imam, Chadly also leads the Saturday night zikir-s in his mosque, Masjid al-İmān (Fuson 1996:3-5).

Relying on Fuson's statements, it seems that the social, ethnic, and religious web of the Masjid al-İmān is rather rich and colorfully interwoven, including as diverse cultural traces and ethnic backgrounds as African-American, Moroccan, Cypriot Turkish, Lebanese, Syrian, Iraqi, European-American. However, beyond the fact that the same Tesrik Tekbir is performed both in the Masjid al-İmān, Oakland, and in the Beyazıt Mosque, Istanbul, it is obvious that additional investigation is necessary in order to trace the memory path(s) of this musical monument - from Turkey, or possibly some other place - maybe Syria or Iraq or even Morocco - to America.

Back to the namaz. If the above statement of Tura and Öztuna were true, that would show not only the past cultural influence of the Ottomans across the Islamic world, but would also show that similar musical conditions in the performance of the namaz may presently exist elsewhere, outside of Turkey - in Indonesia, for example. In the case of the Teravih Namazi (salātu't-tarāwīh), a type of ritual worship performed only in the nights of the month of Ramazan, it seems that the musical, and not only liturgical, similarities between its performances in Turkey and Indonesia might not be just accidental. I ground this parenthetical statement on a video recording of an excerpt from the Sholat Taraweh, i.e. Teravih
Namazi, recorded by Anne Rasmussen in Jakarta, Java, in 1996. As a ritual worship, the Teravih Namazi is inserted in the Yatsi Namazi (the Night Ritual Worship and the last among the five daily namaz-s, Table 4). It has twenty rek'at-s, and, together with thirteen rek'at-s of the Yatsi, the performance of this composite type of namaz takes approximately an hour. Structurally, the Teravih Namazi is divided into five sets of four rek'at-s, and after each set there is an interruption or suspension of bodily actions, when everybody remains sitting for a few minutes before continuing with the performance of the next Rek'at Set. Hence the name teravih: tarawih, pauses, rests. During this somatic "suspension", however, the muezzins do perform various musical dua-s and/or ilâhi-s, Muslim religious hymns. On Anne Rasmussen's video tape, the performance of the Sholat Taraweh is musically structured in a way similar to the one in Istanbul, i.e. with the imam and the muezzin carefully exchanging their ending tones, karar-s, and musically rendering the selâvat-s or other musical dua-s during the "pauses". Thus, at least in Istanbul - and possibly elsewhere, such as in Jakarta - it is certain that these musical features are understood as vitally important and essential elements / musico-structural procedures in the performance of the Teravih Namazi.

How liturgico-musical structure and history inform the Ottoman culture

The third point in this essay is that not only does the liturgical structure inform the musical structure of the namaz, and the latter the history of Turkish religious music, but that all of them combined may inform our perception about and knowledge of Ottoman culture.

During the first two centuries of Ottoman conquests and the establishment of the empire, it is hard to speak about any firmly-founded Ottoman culture. However, twelve years after the capture of Constantinople (1453), Sultan Mehmed II Fatih (in the West known as "the Conqueror", r. 1444—1446; 1451—1481), started building the first Ottoman imperial palace, which would soon become the center of Ottoman learning, art,

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28 The recording of this performance of the Sholat Taraweh was made in the Mesjid Takwah, Jakarta, on February 17, 1996 (Anne Rasmussen 1997, personal communication).
29 The selâvat (sâlâmât, prayers) is a dua in praise of the Prophet Muhammed. Most usually, it consists of the following sentence: Allâhumma salli'ala sayyidina Muhammed, "Oh, my Allah! Pray unto Muhammed".
30 After its completion, the Topkapi Sarayı, or Topkapı Palace, also known as "The Cannon Gate Palace", was not only the seat of the Sultan, but it "provided leadership for the Ruling Class as a whole" (Shaw 1976:115). In laying out this new palace, Mehmed
and culture. Its Imperial Inner Section, Enderun-i Hümayûn, also included the Enderun Mektebi, Palace School. Since the learning of music was stressed in this school, it soon included the Palace Music Ensemble, Saray Fasit Heyeti, and the Palace Music School, Enderun Musiki Mektebi. An important feature of the Palace Music School was the emphasis on the systematic music education of religious servants, imams and muezzins. The Ottomans realized how important music was for the performance of namaz, ezan (adân, the call to ritual worship), as well as for other religious musical forms, one of which is the Treşik Tekbir.

The performance and learning of religious music was carried on outside the Palace, mainly, but not exclusively, by the Mevlevî dervishes, in their tekke-s and dergâh-s, also known as the mevlevihane, which started to appear in Istanbul at the close of the fifteenth century.

In the second half of the sixteenth century there appear the first few established Turkish composers whose works have been preserved. In contrast, the next century shows more than half a dozen outstanding music personalities, including İtrî. There are two significant factors here: (1) all

Faith "was to establish the pattern of Ottoman court life for many centuries to come" (Kinross 1977:143—146).

The Enderun was divided into seven oda-s, chambers or departments: 1. Küçük Oda, Small Chamber, 2. Büyük Oda, Big Chamber, 3. Doğanci Odasi, Falconry Chamber, 4. Seferli Odasi, Campaign Chamber, 5. Kiler Odasi, Larder, 6. Hazine Odasi, Treasury Chamber, and 7. Has Oda, Privy Chamber. The education received in these Palace Chambers was hierarchical; and the students were able, owing to their merit only, to proceed gradually from the lowest, Küçük Oda, all the way to the highest, Has Oda, where the services performed were directly connected to the sultan.

31 The Palace Ensemble "gave regular concerts for the Sultan, besides saluting him with song half an hour before dawn and an hour and a half after sunset, and with musical greetings on other occasions" (Kinross 1977:151).

32 Among the services in the highest ranked imperial chamber, Has Oda, there was the office of the müezzinbaşi, Head Muezzin, also variously known as the hünkâr müezzin, Sultan's Muezzin, or the ser-müezzin-i hazret-i şehriyârî, Head Muezzin of the Sovereign. This muezzin was the Sultan's personal muezzin, who would read the ezan for the Sultan's performance of namaz in the Palace. The müezzinbaşi was carefully selected from among the best musicians and composers at the Palace. This explains the role music played in the training of the palace muezzins and through these the importance attached to the practical/performative side of the religion in general.

33 The first mevlevihane, Galata, opened in Istanbul in 1492, during the reign of Sultan Beyazit II Veli (r. 1481—1512), the son of Mehmed Fatih and the builder of the Beyazit Mosque. The next mevlevihane was opened in Yenikapi area of Istanbul, in 1598; then in Beşiktaş, in 1621; Kasımpaşa, 1631; and others in Uskudar, Lyub, 1'diçekkapisi (Oztuna 1990:2:54—55). Cultural Mevlevî activity in Istanbul found the full support of the sultans, some of whom were Sufis themselves. For the list of Ottoman sultans and their Sufi affiliations, see Sapolio (1964:448—449).

34 The outstanding seventeenth century composers are the mature Hasan Efendi and Hüdâyi (1543—1628), Hafiz Post (1620—1694), Recep Çelebi (d. 1701), İtrî (1638—1712), Ali Ufki (1610—1685), the young Osman Dede Nâîî (1652—1730), and Kântemiroglû (1673—1727).
of the known seventeenth century composers were either Palace musicians, religious servants, or Sufis, or all three combined, and (2) from now on it is possible to trace uninterrupted chain, silsile, of music teachers and students which continues to the present.

In addition to the Enderun Mektebi and the mevlevihane-s, a third place of higher learning in Istanbul were the mosques, especially the biggest and the most important ones, such as the Beyazit Mosque. It was in these great mosques of Istanbul that the most respected imams conducted the namaz; the best vaiz-s (wāqiḍ, preacher), delivered their orations; the best reading of the ezan was heard from their tall minarets, and the best Kur'an readers gathered in them during the month of Ramazan. Their imams and especially the muezzins were musically educated; many of them, as skilled musicians, bestekâr-s (composers), dervishes or muhib-s (tasavvuf sympathizers), would attend on a regular basis the meşk, in numerous tekke-s of Istanbul. Their religious and musical lives were often inseparable, and the music they learned and nourished they abundantly used in their mosques. In 1991, I observed that this tradition was still in full swing in the very same mosques.

**Conclusion**

Muslim mysticism, tasavvuf, and religious music, dini musiki, as its inseparable counterpart, seem to be the truly integral parts of Turkish culture, society and history. Throughout the centuries they remained the underlying elements of Turkish everyday life, practice, religious feelings and, of course, politics. Even in the most recent time, in republican Turkey, whose laws are based on those of Western democracy, tasavvuf remains, despite the government's unfavorable official stance towards religion, as vitally important as it ever was in the lives of many Turks.

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35 Among the biggest mosques of Istanbul are the Fatih Cami (Fatih Mosque), built by Sultan Mehmed II Fatih; Beyazit Cami, by Beyazit II Veli (r. 1481—1512); Suleymaniye Cami, by Suleyman I Kanuni (in the West known as the Magnificent, r. 1520—1566); and the Sultanahmet Cami, in the West known as the Blue Mosque", owing to its lapislázuli blue tiles on its interior walls, built by Sultan Ahmet I (r. 1603—1617).

36 In the tasavvuf context, the meşk (mašq) is a music lesson, rehearsal, as well as a musical gathering in which religious music is practiced and its repertoire memorized. During my 1991 research in Turkey, Monday nights in the Cerrahi Tekkesi, Istanbul, were devoted to the meşk, as opposed to Thursday nights, which were reserved for the performance of the zikir. A good historical overview of the meşk, as an Ottoman institution of music learning and practice, is Cem Behar's article "Osmanlı'da Musiki Öğrenim ve İntikal Sistemi: Meşk" (1988). On the role of memory, háfiza, in the meşk, see Section One of Behar's collection of essays (1987:19—63). In an unpublished paper I have also discussed ideas of the meşk as a monument of the Cerrahi Sef (Kusić 1997).
However, since my last fieldwork in Turkey, in 1991, the process of change in Turkish politics has introduced political parties who openly advocate a religious agenda, such as the Refah Partisi, the Welfare Party, which won the elections in January 1996.\textsuperscript{37} The collapse of the Soviet Union and the advent of the "new world order" calls for a review of the geopolitical and strategic position of Turkey as a democratic Islamic country and a member of the NATO pact. How Turkish \textit{tasavvuf} configures in these new, changed circumstances - that is an open question now.

To sum up, \textit{ihsan}, the Muslim idea of the good and the beautiful, of ethics and aesthetics, and, as Murata and Chittick argued (1994:xxxii, 265—317), a dimension of Islam as religion, culture, and society, is observed and practiced on an everyday basis.\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Ihsan} is not necessarily nor solely something written down as a set of rules in the old medieval

\textsuperscript{37} More precisely, the process of change started immediately after the last military coup, in 1980 (Kusić 1996:148—181). By the late 1980s and the early 1990s the "new breeze" was felt rather strongly. This new climate created a fertile soil for all kinds of "facts", either true or invented, as well as gossips, which went around in the public and semi-public arena of everyday Turkish life. According to one such gossip, even the then president of Turkey, Turgut Özal, was a Sufi, more precisely a Naksibendi, order known in Turkey for its political activity and agenda. I have even heard that Özal’s mother was buried next to a Naksibendi şeyh’s tomb. Even the above mentioned "Naqshbandi Homepage" explicitly states that Shaykh Haqqani, who is "known by the beloved nickname of al-Kibrisi [rather Kibris-ı, the Cypriot] throughout Turkey... was the Shaykh of the late president of Turkey, Turgut Özal, and he was extremely well-respected by him" (http://www.naqshbandi.org/frmchain.htm).

Another interesting "fact" of the same or similar kind, which, just a few years ago, would be an unheard-of statement, occurred during the performance of the Mevlevi ceremony, \textit{Ayin}, on February 2, 1997, in Lisner Auditorium, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C. According to the program notes, this was "A Performance of Spiritual Music and Dance", brought to us by "The Whirling Dervishes of Turkey and The Mevlevi Turkish Ensemble of The Mevlana Culture and Art Foundation" (Mevlana Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı), conducted by Doğan Ergin. (This Mevlevi tour in North America was sponsored by The Threshold Society, based in Brattleboro, Vermont, and by its director, Kabir Helminski, the şeyh of the North American Mevlevi branch. For more information see The Threshold Society Homepage at http://www.sufism.org). The program notes also read that the Foundation is one of the artistic and cultural wings of the Mevlevi order, that it was formed in 1990 to preserve the artistic and intellectual heritage of the Mevlevi tradition, and that it includes more than 100 performing musicians in its membership. However, the real \textit{coup de théâtre} occurred even before the curtains went up, when a Turkish official stepped on the stage and briefly spoke about Atatürk and Sufism in Turkey, clearly stating that, in spite of the (in)famous 1925 Law, which closed all tekke-s in Turkey, and made illegal all Sufi activity (Toynbee 1927:574), Atatürk has actually never banned the Mevlevi order and its activity.

\textsuperscript{38} Murata and Chittick translate \textit{ihsan} (\textit{ihsan}) as "doing what is beautiful" (1994:xxv), deriving the term from the word \textit{husn}, meaning beautiful and the quality of both good and beautiful. I am using the term in its usual Turkish sense of kindness and benevolence.
theological books of Arabs, but rather an actual Muslim understanding of proper conduct in this life and preparation for the next. The performance of namaz, like any other action in a Muslim's life, must be pleasing to God, i.e. must be ethically good and aesthetically beautiful, for the two are inseparable: good is beautiful and *vice versa*, and only as such, as a combination and unity of the two, can *ihsan* be religiously valid.39

One can come to this understanding only by observing what is going on in practice and actual life. By understanding the namaz and its musical forms, such as the *Tesrik Tekbir*, as *ihsan* in practice, one can find, fully embedded in it like archaeological layers, the structural traces of liturgy, music, history and culture. By mapping the practice, by creating the cartography of everyday actions which carry within themselves these archaeological layers of information, one can discern the overarching system and its principles. The Orientalist approach was and still is about allegories, about telling the stories that are not interested in things themselves, but rather in meanings imposed upon them from outside, above, and beyond practice.40 The *real*, as Merleau-Ponty argues, has to be *described*, not constructed or formed, for it is a closely woven fabric. It does not await our judgement before incorporating the most surprising phenomena, or before rejecting the most plausible figments of our imagination (1962:x).

The world is not an object such that I have in my possession the law of its making; it is the natural setting of, and field for, all my thoughts and all my explicit perceptions. Truth does not 'inhabit' only 'the inner man' [*In te redi; in interiore homine habitat veritas* (Saint Augustine)], or more accurately, there is no inner man, man is in the world, and only in the world does he know himself (Merleau-Ponty 1962:xi).

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39 According to Dikmen, the performance of *namaz* must be sincere, *ihlās*, with pure heart, and the highest degree one can reach in such a performance of worship is the *ihsan*, a term which signifies both the ethical and aesthetic qualities, i.e. the good and beautiful, kindness and benevolence. According to a tradition, *hadis*, the Prophet Muhammed said: "*Ihsan* means that you should worship Allah as if you see Him. For even if you do not see Him, He sees you" (Dikmen 1988:255—257). For additional understanding of the terms *ihlās* and *ihsan*, see also Murata and Chittick (1994:273—275, 277—282).

40 An apt example of such an attitude is the article "The Birth of the Prophet: Ritual and Gender in Turkish Islam", by Nancy and Richard Tapper (1987). Its theoretical introduction, which calls for the establishment of an anthropology of Islam by "linking gender and religion" and by the "comparative studies of different Muslim communities" (1987:71), as well as its ethnographic description of women's *Mevlüd* ceremonies in a southwestern Turkish township, Egidir, are commendable examples of the new, post-modern, trend in studying Islam as everyday practice. However, by placing emphasis on "The road to salvation: Islam and Christian alternatives", as well as on "Gender constructions and ideologies of death and rebirth", i.e. Muhammed vs. Jesus, the article's conclusion gets sidetracked into an area of allegorical interpretations, metaphors, implied "meanings", and a typically Orientalist juxtaposition of these two monotheistic religions.
Unlike the Cogito of the Meditations de Prima Philosophia - especially the Second Meditation, in which it became manifest to Descartes that "bodies themselves are not properly perceived by the senses nor by the faculty of imagination, but by the intellect alone" (Descartes 1962:41), thus enabling him to establish "The Real Distinction Between the Mind and Body of Man", as the subtitle of his Sixth Meditation reads (1962:84) - the Cogito according to Merleau-Ponty "must reveal me in a situation [emphasis mine], and it is on this condition alone that transcendental subjectivity can, as Husserl puts it, be an intersubjectivity" (1962:xiii).

The true Cogito does not define the subject's existence in terms of the thought he has of existing, and furthermore does not convert the indubitability of the world into the indubitability of thought about the world, nor finally does it replace the world itself by the world as meaning. On the contrary it recognizes my thought itself as an inalienable fact, and does away with any kind of idealism in revealing me as 'being-in-the-world' (Merleau-Ponty 1962:xiii; italics mine).

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41 The concept of intersubjectivity Edmund Husserl has developed in the final years of his life, in the unfinished Part III of his Die Krisis der europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendentale Phänomenologie (translated into English as The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology, Husserl 1970; as a Jew unable to publish his work in the Nazi Germany, Husserl had to turn for help elsewhere, so that the first two parts of his Krisis were originally published in Belgrade, in 1936, in an international yearbook Philosophia). Introducing the concept of intersubjectivity, in Part III, Husserl says that "in whatever way we may be conscious of the world as universal horizon, as coherent universe of existing objects, we, each 'I-the-man' and all of us together, belong to the world as living with one another in the world; and the world is our world, valid for our consciousness as existing precisely through this 'living together'" (1962:108). However, having in mind the time and place, i.e. conditions in which Husserl lived, his philosophy is situated between two extreme existential poles, that of survival and doom - an existential crisis which will haunt Jean-Paul Sartre in the years following the Second World War, especially around 1948, the year foreshadowing the Cold War and the looming threat of global atomic war (Sartre 1992). However, Husserl's existential ideas and fears for the future of humanity, in many respects reflecting those of the Sigmund Freud of Moses and Monotheism (Freud 1939) and of Das Unbehagen in der Kultur of 1929 (Freud 1961, 1953b, this essay itself echoes Nietzsche's 1887 polemic Zur Genealogie der Moral, Nietzsche 1994), are unabatedly Eurocentric and occasionally slandering. When Husserl wonders about the spiritual struggles of European humanity in the years preceding the Second World War, he writes about it as a "genuine humanity", endowed with "the telos, which was inborn in European humanity at the birth of Greek philosophy". For him, "to be human at all is essentially to be a human being in a socially and generatively united civilization, [i.e.] a rational civilization, that is, one with a latent orientation toward reason or one openly oriented toward the entelechy" (1962:15). Only as such, as an absolute idea, can European humanity and "the spectacle of the Europeanization of all other civilizations bear witness to the rule of an absolute meaning, one which is proper to the sense, rather than to a historical non-sense, of the world" (1962:16). This historical non-sense are those "anthropological types" like "China" or "India" (ibid.). In "The Vienna Lecture", yet another type is mentioned, "the Papuan", in the broad sense that even he (the Papuan) is a man and not a beast (1962:290).
I argue that all knowledge is temporally and spatially conditioned as practice 'being-in-the-world', and so are its true and false propositions. As Foucault says, "a proposition must fulfill some onerous and complex conditions before it can be admitted within a discipline; before it can be pronounced true or false it must be, as Monsieur Canguilhem might say, 'within the true' [dans le vrai]' (1972:224). It is the same with music and Islam in Orientalist discourse and discipline. That music and Islam are at odds is a proposition and discursive statement of Orientalism. As such it remains "within the true" as long as the scholarly community obeys the rules of Orientalist discursive policy and adheres to what Foucault calls the "fellowship of discourse", whose function is to preserve or to reproduce discourse, but in order that it should circulate within a closed community, according to strict regulations, without those in possession being dispossessed by this very distribution" (1972:225). Only a monstrous truth, such as the positivity of practice which reveals itself in the world, can crumble such a "fellowship". Once this dialectic is fully grasped and understood, it becomes clear that the notion of the stable and unchanging structures, of established symbolic meanings, cannot sustain the derisive force and erosion of time. In this sense, the transcendental idealism of Orientalism sounds frivolous in its repetitive insistence for self-perpetuation. Only the careful archaeology of this frivolity can return the focus and scholarly gaze from the tranquilized truths to the study of practice. For "the frivolous extension", as Derrida claims, "leaves the idea without the thing and the sign without the idea, which lets the term's identity fall far from its object" (1983:133).
Tables

**Table 1.** Basic Structure of the Namaz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAMAZ</th>
<th>Sunnet</th>
<th>Farz</th>
<th>Sunnet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CORE</td>
<td></td>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.** Dua and Rek’at Segments in the Namaz

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAMAZ</th>
<th>Dua</th>
<th>Rek’at</th>
<th>Dua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rek’at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dua</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dua (Selâm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 - Structure of the Rek'at Segment (Rek'at Couplet)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIRST REK'AT</th>
<th>SECOND REK'AT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VERBAL ACTION</strong></td>
<td><strong>SOMATIC ACTION</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tekbir</strong></td>
<td>Standing <em>(Kiyam)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tekbir</strong></td>
<td>Bowing <em>(Rūkū)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tahmīd</strong></td>
<td><em>(Intermediary Standing)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tekbir</strong></td>
<td>First Prostration <em>(Seccē)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tekbir</strong></td>
<td><em>(Intermediary Sitting)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tekbir</strong></td>
<td>Second Prostration <em>(Seccē)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tekbir</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*SELĀT*
Table 4 - Rek'at Segments and the Number of Rek'at-s in Five Daily Farz Namaz-s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Namaz</th>
<th>Sünnet Rek'at-s</th>
<th>Farz Rek'at-s</th>
<th>Sünnet Rek'at-s</th>
<th>Vacıp Rek'at-s</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sabah (Morn)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Öğle (Noon)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İkindi (Aft)</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akşam (Evn)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatsı (Nght)</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* First Sünnet Rek'at-s of the İkindi and Yatsı Namaz-s are the sünnet-i gayr-i mückede, "weak sünnet-s." All other sünnet-s in this table are the sünnet-i mückede, "firm sünnet-s."
(Tekbir, Standing, Tekbir, Bowing, Tekbir, Prostration, Tekbir, Sitting)

V - Verbal Action; S - Somatic Action

Figure 1 - Structure of the Rek'at Cycle
Figure 2 - Ground Plan of the Beyazıt Mosque, Istanbul
Music Examples

Zevaid Tekbirleri

Somewhat Heavily

\[ \text{Al-\text{\textotilde}l\text{-\textotilde}hu \ ek\text{-\textotilde}ber.} \]

Example 1 - Muezzins' Zevaid Tekbirs

Bayram Selâm

\[ \text{Es\text{-\textotilde}se\text{-\textotilde}l\text{-\textotilde}mu \ a\text{-\textotilde}ley\text{-\textotilde}kum \ ve \ rah\text{-\textotilde}me\text{-\textotilde}tul\text{-\textotilde}lah.} \]

\[ \text{Es\text{-\textotilde}se\text{-\textotilde}l\text{-\textotilde}mu \ a\text{-\textotilde}ley\text{-\textotilde}kum \ ve \ rah\text{-\textotilde}me\text{-\textotilde}tul\text{-\textotilde}lah.} \]

Example 2 - Muezzins' Selâm

Words:

اسلام عليك ورحمة الله

As-salamu 'alaykum wa rahmatullah

"Piece with you and Allah’s compassion and mercy"
Bayram Tekbiri
Irk makam

Ağırca (Somewhat Heavily)

Allâhu akbar, Allâhu akbar.

Valîâhu akbar, Allâhu akbar, walillahi'l-hamd.

Example 3 - Muezzins' Tesrik Tekbir

WORDS:

Allâhu akbar, Allâhu akbar, là ilâha illallâhu,
Wallâhu akbar, Allâhu akbar, walillahi'l-hamd

"Allah is greater, Allah is greater, there is no god but Allah, and Allah is greater, Allah is greater, and praise be to Allah"42

42 The first tesrik tekbir is pronounced after the Morning Ritual Worship, Sabah Namazi, on the Day of Arefe, Arefe Günü, and the last after the Afternoon Ritual Worship, İkindi
Namazi, on the fourth day of the Kurban Bayramı, making a total of twenty-three Tesrik Tekbir-s. Since the Ramazan Bayramı does not have the Arefe Günü, the performance of the Tesrik Tekbir-s begins with the Ramazan Bayram Namazı itself (Yücedir nd:58).

In the contrast to the Hanefi performance, the Şafii repeat three times the first Allahu akbar of the Tesrik Tekbir: "Allah akbar, Allah akbar, Allah akbar, lâ ilâha illallâhu..." (Özdemir 1981:135; Yücedir nd:59).
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POZITIVNOST GLAZBE I RELIGIJE U TURSKOJ

SAŽETAK

Nasuprot orijentalističkim iskazima o pretpostavljenoj nespojivosti, čak oprečnosti između islama i glazbe, turski primjer pokazuje da je glazba životni i neodvojivi dio svakidašnjeg vjerskog muslimanskog obreda i prakticiranja islama kao religije i kulture. Pozitivnost glazbe u muslimanskoj vjerskoj praksi može se uočiti ozbiljnim uzimanjem u obzir empirijske činjeničnosti stvari, događaja i diskursa koji čine stvarnost prakse i svakidašnjeg života u Turskoj, kao i u drugim mjestima koja prakticiraju islam, poput Indonezije i Kalifornije. Glavna je tvrdnja ovoga rada da svakidašnja praksa očituje stvarnost svijeta i, u namjeri da taj svijet bolje razumije, svaka bi dobro utemeljena antropologija ili etnomuzikologija islama trebala uzeti u obzir ovaj fenomen tako što bi ga u potpunosti opisala, a da pritom svoje zaključke ne zasniva isključivo na kognitivnim tumačenjima. Drugim riječima, eksplcitne i ideološki dominante diskurse, i "orijentalne" i "okcidentalne", valjalo bi preispitati i, iznad svega, sučeliti jednako eksplcitnoj, no često zanemarenoj praksi. Takav jedan primjer vjerske glazbene prakse u Turskoj je Tesrik Tekbir, koji se izvodi i u džamijama i u tekijama, derviškim obrednim mjestima.