POSITIVITY OF MUSIC AND RELIGION IN TURKEY[1]

DANE KUSIĆ

Universtity of Maryland Baltimore County, Baltimore

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 ethnomusicoloy 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.

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 Als*, the *as*, and *die Als--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*.[5] 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).[6] 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*.[7] 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 "*samā*ᶜ polemics",[8] which, by being repeated so many times, intentionally or not, has established the supposedly negative attitude of Islam as religion towards music.[9] The intent of this essay is to question the practical reality of such

---

[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 tranquillized 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 "*samā*ᶜ polemics", see, for example, Kristina Nelson (1985:32–51) and Ġazzālī (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 *Hanefî 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

---

unlike those of H.A.R. Gibb (1949) and Bernard Lewis (1960, 1991), or even Gilbert Rouget (1985:255—314).

[10] According to the Turkish *ilmihal*-s, catechisms, the religion of Islam is divided into three broad domains: (1) Faith, *İman (īmān)*, (2) Practice, *Amel (ʿamal)*, and (3) Ethics, *Ahlâk (axlāq)* (Kazancı 1989:6). The third domain, Ethics, Murata and Chittick combine with Aesthetics and call it *Ihsan (iḥsān)*, "doing what is beautiful" (1994:xxvii—xxxiv). The second domain of Islam, *Amel*, pertains to the ritual duties and religious actions and practices, generically called *ibadet (ʿibādah, pl. ʿibādāt)*. In this sense, *ibadet* means both the ritual actions as such and the jurisdiction, *hüküm (ḥukm, pl. aḥkām)*, which regulates such actions (Kusić 1996:83—84).

[11] There are five widely recognized theological doctrines in Islam, known as *mezhep*-s *(madhab, pl. madāhib)*. Four of them, the *Hanefî, Hambelî, Maliki*, and *Şafii mezhep*-s, are Sunni, and one, the *Ca'ferî mezhep*, is Shii (Sachedina 1981:3—30; Kusić 1996:79—81). Historically, the Turks have largely followed, and still follow, the *Hanefî mezhep*. The most part of the Kurdish population in Southeastern Anatolia follows the *Şafii mezhep*. Regarding the *Alevî*-s of Turkey, who are generally viewed as the Shii, see Şapolyo (1964:254—344), Markoff (1986) and Barnes (1992).

[12] Turkish definitions of Muslim ritual worship, *namaz*, agree that it is "religious practice of worship, *ibadet*, [performed] at determined times with particular movements and readings" (Dikmen 1988:261; Kazancı 1989:83). The word *namaz* (Farsi, *namāz*) is used in Iran and Turkey, as well as in some former Ottoman territories, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, or territories which were historically under the Turco-Farsi influence, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir, the Central Asian Republics. Arabs as well as majority of other Muslims use the Arabic equivalent *salat (ṣalāh, pl. ṣalawāt)*.

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* (*rakʿah*, pl. *rakaʿāt*). As such, a *rek'at* is the minimal structural unit of the *namaz* and its indispensable condition - without it there cannot be any *namaz*.[13] Thus, as a *somatic-verbal cycle*, a *rek'at* consists of four *bodily actions*: (1) standing, *kıyam* (*qiyām*), (2) bowing, *rükû* (*rukūʿ*), (3) prostration, *secde* (*sajdah*), (4) sitting, *ka'de* (*qaʿdah*); and several *verbal actions*, i.e. liturgical readings of the prayer type, *dua* (*duʿā'*), 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).[14] The *tekbir*, a formula of magnifying Allah (God), consists of two words: *Allāhu 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*),[15] another formula in praise of Allah. The *Rek'at* Segment ends with a verbal formula called the *Selâm*, "Greetings".[16]

---

[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* (*šarīʿah*), 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* (*wājib*, 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 *kıraat* (*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, *samiʿallāhu liman hamidah*, "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, *rabbanā 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 *selâm* (*salām*) consists of a single sentence: *as-salāmu ʿalaykum 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 Namazı* (*salātu'l-ʿīd*), is performed in place of the Morning Ritual Worship on two most important Muslim holidays, *Ramazan Bayrami* and *Kurban Bayrami*[17] 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.[18] The multiplicity of *tekbir*-s provides an ample opportunity for musical expression and creativity.

In the performance of the *Bayram Namazı*, which I recorded in the Beyazıt Mosque, Istanbul, on the first day of the *Ramazan Bayramı* (April 16, 1991 C.E. / 1st of *Şevval* 1411 A.H.), all *tekbir*-s were musically

---

turning his head to the right, and then to the left. The congregation silently repeats the *selâm* with the same bodily movement.

[17] The Turkish word *bayram* is equivalent to Arabic *al-ʿīd*, and means the (religious) festival, holiday. In contemporary secular Turkey it also means any holiday, including the state holidays such as the *Cumhuriyet Bayramı*, the Day of Republic. Thus the *salātu'l-ʿīd* is the same as the *Bayram Namazı*, lit. "Holiday Ritual Worship".

The first holiday is the *Ramazan Bayramı*, which celebrates the end of the month of fasting, *Ramazan* (*ramaḍān*, the 9th month of the Muslim lunar year); it is observed on the 1st of the month of *Şevval* (*šawwāl*, the 10th month) and the following two days. *Ramazan Bayramı* is in Turkish also known as the *Şeker Bayrami*, 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 *ʿīdu'l-fiṭr*, "the holiday of breaking the fast", or *ʿīdu'l-ṣaġīr*, lit. "the little holiday" (SEI 1961:156).

The second holiday is the *Kurban Bayramı*, i.e. the holiday of sacrifice, celebrated on the 10th of the month of *Zilhicce* (*ḏu'l-ḥijjah*, the 12th month) and the following three days. *Kurban Bayrami* is also known as the *Büyük Bayram*, lit. the Great Bayram. In Arabic it is called the *ʿīdu'l-adḥāh* or *ʿīdu'l-qurbān*, "the holiday of sacrifice" (SEI 1961:156).

[18] This means that each *rek'at* in the *Bayram Namazı* has three additional *tekbir*-s.

performed in the same way.[19] The imam began the *namaz* with the pronouncement 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"[20] (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).[21] 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[22] (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* (*miḥrāb*), a shallow niche built in the mosque's wall facing the *kıble* (*qiblah*), the direction of Mecca, approached the *mimber*, pulpit[23] (Fig. 2), climbed on it, and as soon as the *tekbir*-s were

---

[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 *zā'idah*, pl. *zawā'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 Bayramı*, also known as the *eyyam-ı teşrik* (*ayyāmu't-tašrīq*), the "days of *teşrik*": from the 11th to the 13th of the *Zilhicce*. The day preceding the *Kurban Bayramı*, on the 9th of the *Zilhicce*, is called the *Arefe Günü* or *yevm-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 *tašriq*, it seems that it has not been universally accepted (see, for example, SEI 1961:124—125).

[23] Also spelled as *minber* (*minbar*).

finished, started reading the *hutbe* (*xuṭbah*, sermon).[24] At three points during the *hutbe*, the muezzins also performed a single *Teşrik Tekbir*. Finally, at the end of the *hutbe*, they again performed the *Teşrik 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 *Segâh* (Ex. 4). The *Zevaid Tekbir*-s, as well as the first statement of the *Selâm* were rendered on the pitch *dügâh*, *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 *ırak* (*f#*). Since the performance of the *Teşrik Tekbir*-s continued after the *Selâm* without a break, muezzins used the same pitch to start the melody of the *Teşrik Tekbir* (Ex. 3). The piece was in a slow tempo and free rhythm, and the long syllable *lā* in *Allāh* and in the sentence *lā ilāha illallāh*, 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 Kusić 1996:316—325). The first two statements of the *Allāhu ekber* sentence moved around the *makam*'s tonic; the second sentence, *lā ilāha illallāh*, 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*, *Teşrik 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 *Teşrik Tekbir* was composed by the famous Turkish composer Buhurizade Mustafa Efendi Itrî (1638?—1712), whose activity as musician, poet and *Mevlevî* dervish

---

[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 Bayramı hutbe* is *zekat*, almsgiving, and the topic of the *Kurban Bayramı 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 Itrî, but to Hatîb 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 Namazı*, and several times in the *tasavvuf (taṣawwuf)*, 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 Namazı* (Funeral Ritual Worship), in the performance of the *Mevlûd*,[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 Namazı* 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

---

[25] *Mevlûd*, also spelled as *Mevlid*, is a poem depicting the birth of the Prophet Muhammed. The first Turkish *Mevlûd* poem, entitled *Mevlid-i Şerif*, 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, *mevlûd (mawlid,* birth) is also a Muslim holiday, known as *Mevlid Kandili* or *Mevlid Gecesi*, celebrated on the 12th of the *Rabiülevvel (rabīʿuʾl-awwal,* the 3rd month of the Muslim lunar year). As such, it is one of the five *Kandil Geceleri (laylatuʾl-qandīl)*, 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 (laylatuʾl-raġāʿib)*, anniversary of the conception of the Prophet, celebrated on Thursday night preceding the first Friday in the month of *Receb (rajab,* the 7th month); *Miʾrac Kandili (laylatuʾl-miʿrāj)*, the night of the Prophet's miraculous journey to Heaven, celebrated in the night of the 26th/27th of *Receb; Berat Kandili (laylatuʾl-barāʾa)*, the night of the forgiveness of sins, observed on the 14th/15th of *Şaʾban (Šaʿban,* the 8th month); and *Kadir Kandili (laylatuʾl-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).[26] 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 *Nakşibendi* order, based in Oakland, California, performs the same *Teşrik Tekbir* in its *zikir*-s (Fuson 1996). In Fuson's audio recording of a *Nakşibendi zikir*, performed in the Masjid al-Īmān, a mosque in Oakland, on Saturday, April 27, 1996, the *Teşrik Tekbir* is uttered twice during the *Taslīm* (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" *Teşrik 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 *Nakşibendi şeyh*] Muhammad Nazim adil al-Qubrusi al-Haqqani 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*).[27]

---

[26] In ethnomusicology, Thomas Turino's description of the 1986 *Fiesta de la Cruz* in Conima, Peru, although with points and purposes different than mine, is a manifest example of a fieldwork situation in which the choice of strategies, the practical understanding, i.e. em-bodiment, of the *habitus*, and the "things that go without saying", are negotiated on the spot (Turino 1990:403—405).

[27] As of April 10, 1997, the *Excite Search* on the Internet (World Wide Web) gives 333 documents related to the word "naqshbandi". One may choose between several Web--sites: from America Online to the site in England and elsewhere, in several languages. The quantity and quality of information ranges from the more esoteric teachings about Sufism, to the simple announcements, such as: "Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani,

According to Fuson, the Masjid al-Īmān 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 īmām 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 *Nakşibendi* Center in Los Altos. Following the suit, the Masjid al-Īmān, in Oakland, became one of the *Nakşibendi* 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-Īmān (Fuson 1996:3—5).

Relying on Fuson's statements, it seems that the social, ethnic, and religious web of the Masjid al-Īmān 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 *Teşrik Tekbir* is performed both in the Masjid al-Īmān, 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 Namazı (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*

---

leader of the Naqshbandi Sufi Order in America, met yesterday with the first lady, Mrs. Shaykh Kabbani also presented a copy of his latest book, The Naqshbandi Sufi Way" (*http://www.ummah.org.uk/ haqqani/Hillary.html*), or the following: "New Naqshbandi Sufi Chanting. Join us every Friday and Saturday evening at: Natural Healing Creative Arts Studio, ... , Ann Arbor, Michigan, for a night of remembrance (Zikr), Sufi Chanting in association [!], conversation with refreshments. Information, videos and audio tapes and newly release [!] books of Grand Shaykh Nazim and Shaykh Hisham of the Most Distinguished Naqshbandi Sufi Order. Starts at 9 pm until... Admission is complimentary open to men, women and children. For more information call..." (*http://www.786baraka.com/lsi/ events.html*).

Namazı, recorded by Anne Rasmussen in Jakarta, Java, in 1996.[28] As a ritual worship, the *Teravih Namazı* is inserted in the *Yatsı Namazı* (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 *Yatsı*, the performance of this composite type of *namaz* takes approximately an hour. Structurally, the *Teravih Namazı* 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: tarāwîh*, 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[29] 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 Namazı*.

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,[30] which would soon become the center of Ottoman learning, art,

---

[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* (*ṣalawāt*, prayers) is a dua in praise of the Prophet Muhammed. Most usually, it consists of the following sentence: *Allāhumma ṣalliʿalā sayyidinā Muhammad*, "Oh, my Allah! Pray onto Muhammed".

[30] After its completion, the *Topkapı 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 Fasıl Heyeti*, and the Palace Music School, *Enderun Musiki Mektebi*.[31] 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* (*aḏān*, the call to ritual worship), as well as for other religious musical forms, one of which is the *Teşrik Tekbir*.[32]

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.[33]

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 Itrî.[34] There are two significant factors here: (1) all

Fatih "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. *Doğancı Odası*, Falconry Chamber, 4. *Seferli Odası*, Campaign Chamber, 5. *Kiler Odası*, Larder, 6. *Hazine Odası*, 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 *müezzinbaşı*, Head Muezzin, also variously known as the *hunkâr müezzini*, 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 *müezzinbaşı* 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 Beyazıt II Veli (r. 1481—1512), the son of Mehmed Fatih and the builder of the Beyazıt Mosque. The next *mevlevihane* was opened in Yenikapı area of Istanbul, in 1598; then in Beşiktaş, in 1621; Kasımpaşa, 1631; and others in Üsküdar, Eyub, Edirnekapısı (Öztuna 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 Şapolyo (1964:448—449).

[34] The outstanding seventeenth century composers are the mature Hasan Efendi and Hüdâyî (1543—1628), Hafız Post (1620?—1694), Recep Çelebi (d. 1701), Itrî (1638?——1712), Ali Ufki (1610?—1685), the young Osman Dede Nâyî (1652—1730), and Kantemiroğlu (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 Beyazıt Mosque.[35] It was in these great mosques of Istanbul that the most respected imams conducted the *namaz*; the best *vaiz*-s (*wāᶜiḏ*, 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*,[36] 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, *dinî 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.

---

[35] Among the biggest mosques of Istanbul are the *Fatih Cami* (Fatih Mosque), built by Sultan Mehmed II Fatih; *Beyazıt Cami*, by Beyazıt II Veli (r. 1481—1512); *Süleymaniye Cami*, by Süleyman I Kanunî (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 lapislazuli blue tiles on its interior walls, built by Sultan Ahmet I (r. 1603—1617).

[36] In the *tasavvuf* context, the *meşk* (*maš̌q*) 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, *hâfıza*, 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* Self (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.[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 *tasavvuf* configures in these new, changed circumstances - that is an open question now.

To sum up, *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.[38] *Ihsan* is not necessarily nor solely something written down as a set of rules in the old medieval

---

[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 *Nakşibendi*, order known in Turkey for its political activity and agenda. I have even heard that Özal's mother was buried next to a *Nakşibendi 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 Kıbrıs-î, 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 *Mevlevî* ceremony, *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" (*Mevlâna Kültür ve San'at Vakfı*), conducted by Doğan Ergin. (This *Mevlevî* tour in North America was sponsored by The Threshold Society, based in Brattelboro,Vermont, and by its director, Kabir Helminski, the *şeyh* of the North American *Mevlevî* 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 *Mevlevî* order, that it was formed in 1990 to preserve the artistic and intellectual heritage of the *Mevlevî* tradition, and that it includes more than 100 performing musicians in its membership. However, the real *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 *Mevlevî* order and its activity.

[38] Murata and Chittick translate *ihsan* (*iḥsān*) as "doing what is beautiful" (1994:xxv), deriving the term from the word *ḥusn*, 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 *Teşrik 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).

---

[39] According to Dikmen, the performance of *namaz* must be sincere, *ihlâs*, 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 *ihlâs* 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 *Mevlûd* ceremonies in a southwestern Turkish township, Eğidir, 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 *Meditationes 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"[41] (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).

---

[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 echos 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

NAMAZ		
Sünnet	*Farz*	*Sünnet*
INTRODUCTION	CORE	CONCLUSION

Table 2 - Dua and Rek'at Segments in the Namaz

NAMAZ		
Dua	*Rek'at*	*Dua*
Rek'at		*Rek'at*
Dua	*Dua (Selâm)*	*Dua*

Table 3 - Structure of the Rek'at Segment (Rek'at Couplet)

FIRST *REK'AT*		SECOND *REK'AT*	
VERBAL ACTION	SOMATIC ACTION	VERBAL ACTION	SOMATIC ACTION
Tekbir	Standing (*Kıyam*)	*Tekbir*	Standing (*Kıyam*)
Tekbir	Bowing (*Rükû*)	*Tekbir*	Bowing (*Rükû*)
Tahmid	(Intermediary Standing)	*Tahmid*	(Intermediary Standing)
Tekbir	First Prostration (*Secde*)	*Tekbir*	First Prostration (*Secde*)
Tekbir	(Intermediary Sitting)	*Tekbir*	(Intermediary Sitting)
Tekbir	Second Prostration (*Secde*)	*Tekbir*	Second Prostration (*Secde*)
		Tekbir	Sitting (*Ka'de*)

SELÁM

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

	REK'AT SEGMENTS				
Namaz	*SÜNNET REK'AT-S*	*FARZ REK'AT-S*	*SÜNNET REK'AT-S*	*VACİP REK'AT-S*	TOTAL
Sabah (Morning)	2	2	-	-	4
Öğle (Noon)	4	4	2	-	10
İkindi (Afternoon)	4*	4	-	-	8
Akşam (Evening)	-	3	2	-	5
Yatsı (Night)	4*	4	2	3	13
TOTAL	14	17	6	3	40

* First *Sünnet Rek'at-s* of the *İkindi* and *Yatsı Namazı* are the *sünnet-i gayr-i müekkede*, "weak *sünnet-s*." All other *sünnet-s* in this table are the *sünnet-i müekkede*, "firm *sünnet-s*."

Nar. umjet. 34/1, 1997, pp. 147–178, D. Kusić, Positivity of Music and Religion in...

Figures

(Tekbir   Standing   Tekbir   Bowing   Tekbir   Prostration   Tekbir   Sitting)

1st *Rek'at*

2nd *Rek'at*
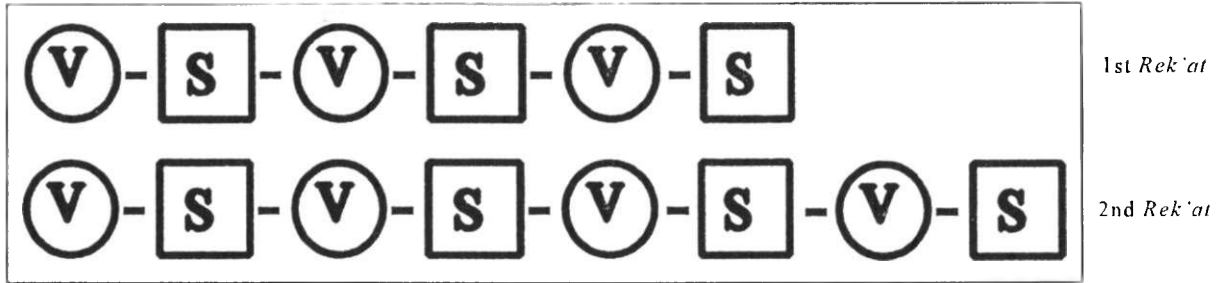
V = Verbal Action; S = Somatic Action

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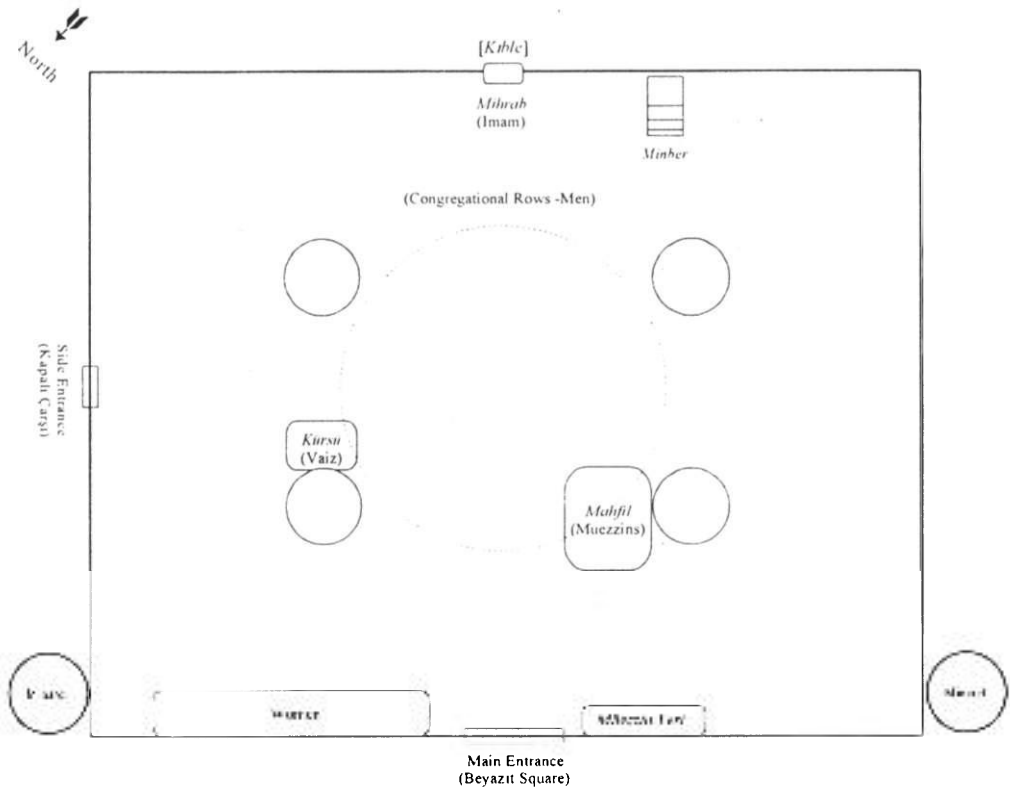
Figure 2 - Ground Plan of the Beyazıt Mosque, Istanbul

Music Examples

Z e v a i d   T e k b i r l e r i

Somewhat Heavily

Al------lā-----hu   ek------ber.
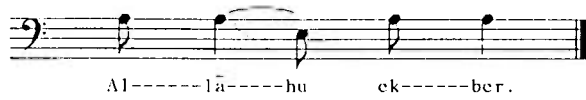
Example 1 - Muezzins' Zevaid Tekbir-s

B a y r a m   S e l âm

Es---se---lā---mu   a---ley--kum   ve   rah---me----tul---lāh.

Es---se---lā---mu   a---ley--kum   ve   rah---me----tul---lāh.

Example 2 - Muezzins' Selâm

WORDS:

اسلام عليكم ورحمة الله
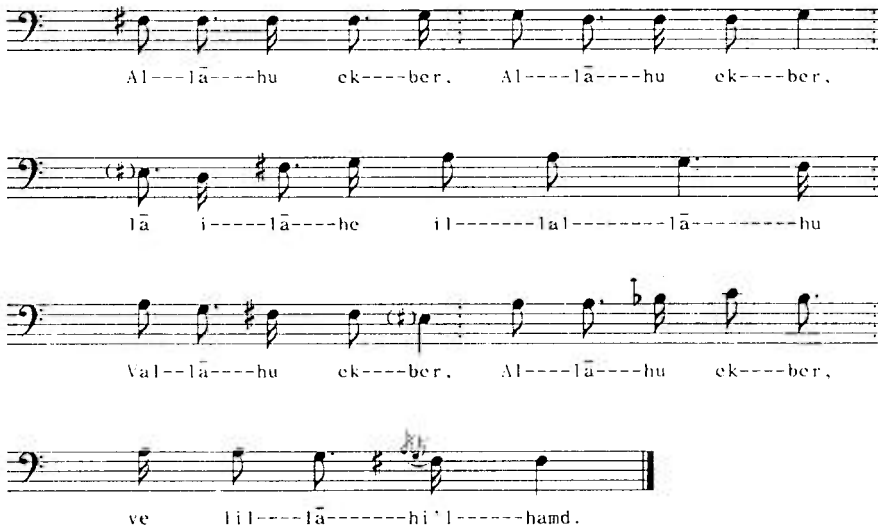
As-salāmu ʿalaykum wa raḥmatullāh
"Piece with you and Allah's compassion and mercy"

B a y r a m   T e k b i r i
I r a k   makam

Aĝirca (Somewhat Heavily)

Example 3 - Muezzins' Teşrik Tekbir

WORDS:

اللهاكبر اللهاكبر لااله الاالله و اللهاكبر اللهاكبر و للهالحمد
Allāhu akbar, Allāhu akbar, lā ilāha illallāhu,
Wallāhu akbar, Allāhu akbar, walillāhi 'l-ḥamd

"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 *teşrik tekbir* is pronounced after the Morning Ritual Worship, *Sabah Namazı*, on the Day of Arefe, *Arefe Günü*, and the last after the Afternoon Ritual Worship, *İkindi*

Example 4 - The Scales of the Irak and Segâh Makam-s

Namazı, on the fourth day of the *Kurban Bayramı*, making a total of twenty-three *Teşrik Tekbir*-s. Since the *Ramazan Bayramı* does not have the *Arefe Günü*, the performance of the *Teşrik 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 ekber* of the *Teşrik Tekbir*: "*Allāhu akbar, Allāhu akbar, Allāhu akbar, lā ilāha illallāhu...*" (Özdemir 1981:135; Yücedir nd:59).

REFERENCES CITED

Alijan ul-Jerrahiyyul-Khalwatiyyul-Hanefiy. nd. *The Greatest Remembrance: Introductory Guide to Islamic Devotions.* Unpublished manuscript.

Anon. 1988. *Zbirka mevluda. Sve stvoreno učini se veselo.* Sarajevo: Predsjedništvo Udruženja islamskih vjerskih službenika u SR BiH. (Includes S. Çelebi's *Mevlid-i Şerif*, pp. 19—43, and its Serbo-Croatian translation by Hafiz Salih Gašević, pp. 45—64).

Barnes, John Robert. 1992. "The Dervish Orders in the Ottoman Empire". In *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey.* Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies 10. Barbara D. Metcalf, gen. ed. Raymond Lifchez, ed. Berkeley - Los Angeles - Oxford: University of California Press, 33—48.

Behar, Cem. 1987. *Klasik Türk Musıkisi Üzerine Denemeler.* Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları.

Behar, Cem. 1988. "Osmanli'da Musıki Öğrenim ve İntikal Sistemi: *Meşk*". *Defter* 7:83—108.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Outline of a Theory of Practice.* Translated by Richard Nice. Reprint of the 1977 edition. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Originally published in 1972 as *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d'ethnologie kabyle.* Librairie Droz S. A, Switzerland).

Casey, Edward S. 1987. *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study.* Studies in Phenomenology and Existential Philosophy. James M. Edie, gen. ed. Bloomington - Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Çelebi, Süleyman. nd. *Tam ve Tekmil Musahhah Mevlid-i Şerif.* Hazırlayan. Mustafa Varlı, ed. Istanbul: Esma Yayınları.

Clifford, James. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, James & George E. Marcus, eds. 1986. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley - Los Angeles - London: University of California Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1983. *The Archaeology of the Frivolous: Reading Condillac.* Duquesne Studies - Philosophical Series 37. André Schuwer & John Sallis, eds. Translated with and Introduction by John P. Leavey, Jr. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press. (Originally published in 1973 as *L'archéologie du frivole.* Paris: Éditions Galilée).

Descartes, René. 1962. *The Meditations and Selections From the Principles of René Descartes (1596—1650).* Translated by John Veitch. La Salle, Illinois: The Open Court Publishing Company.

Dikmen, Mehmed. 1988. *Tasavvuf ve Hikmet Işığında İslâm İlmihali.* Istanbul: Cihan Yayınları.

Foucault, Michel. 1972. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. World of Man, A Library of Theory and Research in the Human Sciences. R. D. Laing, ed. Translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon Books. (Originally published in 1969 as *L'archéologie du savoir*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard. Includes *The Discourse on Language*, pp. 215—237, originally delivered as a lecture at the Collège de France, Paris, on December 2, 1970, and published in 1971 as *L'ordre du discours*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard. Translated into English by Rupert Swyer and published in *Social Science Information*, April 1971:7—30).

Freud, Sigmund. 1939. *Moses and Monotheism*. Translated by Katherine Jones. New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House. (Parts 1 and 2 originally published in 1937 in *Imago*; Part 3 first published in this edition, in English translation).

Freud, Sigmund. 1953. *Civilisation, War and Death*. New and enlarged edition. John Rickman, ed. Psycho-analytical Epitomes 4. London: The Hogarth Press - the Institute of Psycho-analysis. (Originally published in 1939).

Freud, Sigmund. 1953b. "Civilization and its Discontents". Translated by Joan Riviere. In *Civilisation, War and Death*. New and enlarged edition. John Rickman, ed. Psycho-analytical Epitomes 4. London: The Hogarth Press - the Institute of Psycho-analysis. (Originally published in 1939), 26—81. (Abbreviated version of the first English translation by Joan Riviere, 1930. London: Hogarth Press - the Institute of Psycho-analysis. For full version see Freud 1961. Originally published in 1929—1930 as *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*. Vienna: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag).

Freud, Sigmund. 1961. *Civilization and its Discontents*. Newly translated and edited by James Strachey. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc. (Full version based on the 1930 translation by Joan Riviere. See Freud 1953b).

Fuson, Tim. 1996. *Flexibility in* Dhikir*: Naqshbandi Dhikir in Oakland, CA*. Unpublished seminar paper (UCLA).

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. 1994. *Truth and Method*. Second, revised edition. Translation revised by Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall. New York: Continuum. [Originally published as *Wahrheit und Methode* by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1960. The revised English edition is based on the revised and expanded 5th German ed., *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 1, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen, 1986.]

Gazzālī, Abū Ḥāmid. nd. *Ihyā'ᶜulūmu'd-dīn*. See MacDonald: 1901—1902.

Gellner, Ernest. 1990. *Relativism and the Social Sciences*. Reprint. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (First published in 1985).

Gibb, H. A. R. 1949. *Mohammedanism: An Historical Survey*. The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge 197. London: Oxford University Press.

Goody, Jack. 1982. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goody, Jack. 1996. *The East in the West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hegel, Georg W. F. 1991. *The Philosophy of History*. Translated by J. Sibree. Great Books in Philosophy. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books.

Heidegger, Martin. 1962. *Being and Time*. Translated by John Macquarrie & Edward Robinson. New York - Evanston: Harper & Row, Publishers. (Originally published in 1927 in the *Jahrbuch für Phänomenologie und phänomenologische Forschung*. Edmund Husserl, ed. Translated from the *Sein und Zeit*, Seventh edition, Tübingen: Neomarius Verlag).

Husserl, Edmund. 1970. *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy*. Translated, with an Introduction, by David Carr. Northwestern University Studies in Phenomenology & Existential Philosophy; John Wild, gen. ed. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. (Originally published in 1954 as *Die Krisis der europäischen Wissenschaften und die transzendentale Phänomenologie: Eine Einleitung in die phänomenologische Philosophie*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff).

Kazancı, A. Lütfi et al. 1989. *Dinî Bilgiler Ders Kitabı*. 19th printing. Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları No. 208. Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı.

Kinross, Lord. 1977. *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire*. New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks.

Kusić, Dane. 1996. *Discourse on Three* Teravih Namazı-s *in Istanbul: An Invitation to Reflexive Ethnomusicology*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Maryland Baltimore County. Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International.

Kusić, Dane. 1996b. *Ethnomusicology* dans la vrai: *Metaphors and Allegories as Tranquilized Sleep*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Toronto, Canada. Unpublished.

Kusić, Dane. 1997. Meşk *or Sitting in the Circle: Practicing Music and Maintaining Culture in Turkey*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Stony Brook, NY. Unpublished.

Lewis, Bernard. 1960. *The Arabs in History*. New York - Evanston: Harper & Row, Publishers.

Lewis, Bernard. 1991. *The Political Language of Islam*. Paperback edition. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. (Originally published in 1988).

Lifchez, Raymond, ed. 1992. *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*. Comparative Studies on Muslim Societies 10; Barbara D. Metcalf, gen. ed. Berkeley - Los Angeles - Oxford: University of California Press.

Macdonald, Duncan B. 1901—1902. *"Emotional Religion in Islām as Affected by Music and Singing*. Being a Translation of a Book of the *Ihyā*ᶜ*Ulūm ad-Dīn* of al-Ghazzālī with Analysis, Annotation, and Appendices". *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1901 (April):195—252; 1901 (October):705—748; 1902:1—28.

Markoff, Irene. 1986. "The Role of Expressive Culture in the Demystification of a Secret Sect of Islam: The Case of the Alevis of Turkey". *The World of Music* 28(3):42—56.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. 1970. *Phenomenology of Perception*. Fifth impression. Translated by Colin Smith. International Library of Philosophy and Scientific Method. Ted Honderich, ed. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. (Title of the original: *Phénoménologie de la perception*. First published in England in 1962.)

Murata, Sachiko & William C. Chittick. 1994. *The Vision of Islam*. New York: Paragon House.

Nelson, Kristina. 1985. *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an*. Modern Middle East Studies, No. 11. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1994. *On the Genealogy of Morality*. Ansell-Pearson, ed. Translated by Carol Diethe. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. Raymond Guess & Quentin Skinner, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Title of the original: *Zur Genealogie der Moral*. 1887).

Özdemir, M. Said. 1981. *Şâfiî İlmihali*. Fourth Printing. Ankara: Önder Matbaa.

Öztuna, Yılmaz. 1990. *Büyük Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi 1—2*. New edition. Kültür Bakanlığı 1163, Kültür Eserleri Dizisi 149. Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi. (First edition published in 1969 (vol. 1) and 1974—1976 (vol. 2) as *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi*. Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.)

Rabinow, Paul. 1986. "Representations Are Social Facts: Modernity and Post-Modernity in Anthropology". In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Clifford, James & George E. Marcus, eds. Berkeley - - Los Angeles - London: University of California Press, 234—261.

Ricoeur, Paul. 1984. *Time and Narrative, Volume 1*. Transl. by Kathleen McLaughlin & David Pellauer. Chicago - London: The University of Chicago Press. (Originally published in 1983 as *Temps et Récit*, vol. 1, Paris: Éditions du Seuil).

Ricoeur, Paul. 1985. *Time and Narrative, Volume 2*. Transl. by Kathleen McLaughlin & David Pellauer. Chicago - London: The University of Chicago Press. (Originally published in 1984 as *Temps et Récit*, vol. 2, Paris: Éditions du Seuil).

Ricoeur, Paul. 1988. *Time and Narrative, Volume 3*. Transl. by Kathleen Blamey & David Pellauer. Paperback edition 1990. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. (Originally published in 1985 as *Temps et Récit*, vol. 3, Paris: Éditions du Seuil).

Ricoeur, Paul. 1992. *Oneself as Another*. Transl. by Kathleen Blamey. Chicago - - London: The University of Chicago Press. (Originally published in 1990 as *Soi-même comme un autre*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil).

Rouget, Gilbert. 1985. *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations Between Music and Possession*. Translation revised by Brunhilde Biebuyck in collaboration with the author. Chicago - London: The University of Chicago Press. (Originally published in 1980 as *La musique et la transe: Esquisse d'une*

théorie générale des relations de la musique et de la possession. Paris: Éditions Gallimard).

Sachedina, Abdulaziz Abdulhussein. 1981. *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of the Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Şapolyo, Enver Behnan. 1964. *Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*. Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi.

Sartre, Jean-Paul. 1992. *Truth and Existence*. Original Text Established and Annotated by Arlette Elkaïm-Sartre. Translated by Adrian Van Den Hoven. Edited and With an Introduction by Ronald Aronson. Chicago - London: The University of Chicago Press. (Originally written in 1948 and posthumously published in 1989 as *Vérité et existence*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard.)

SEI. 1961. *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Photomechanic reprint. H. A. R. Gibb & J. H. Kramers, eds. Edited on Behalf of the Royal Netherlands Academy. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. (Originally published in 1953 by E. J. Brill, Leiden.)

Shaw, Stanford. 1976. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Volume I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280——1808*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stokes, Martin. 1992. *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey*. Oxford Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Tapper, Nancy & Richard. 1987. "The Birth of the Prophet: Ritual and Gender in Turkish Islam". *Man* (N.S.) 22:69—92.

Toynbee, Arnold J. 1927. *Survey of International Affairs 1925. Volume I: The Islamic World Since the Peace Settlement*. London: Oxford University Press -- Humphrey Milford.

Tura, Yalçın. 1983. *Dînî Türk Mûsıkîsi*. Unpublished Manuscript. Istanbul.

Turino, Thomas. 1990. "Structure, Context, and Strategy in Musical Ethnography". Symposium: The Representation of Musical Practice and the Practice of Representation. *Ethnomusicology* 34(3):399—412.

Weber, Max. 1976. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Translated by Talcott Parsons. Introduction by Anthony Giddens. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. (First published as a two-part article in 1904—1905 in the *Archiv fhr Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. Revised in 1920—1921 and posthumously published in Weber's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*.)

Yücedir, Ahkamullah. nd. *Resimlerle Büyük Şafiî Namaz Hocası: İtikâd - Taharet -- Ibâdet - Ahlâk*. Istanbul: Gonca Yayınları.

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 diskursâ 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, eksplicitne i ideološki dominantne diskurse, i "orijentalne" i "okcidentalne", valjalo bi preispitati i, iznad svega, sučeliti jednako eksplicitnoj, no često zanemarenoj praksi. Takav jedan primjer vjerske glazbene prakse u Turskoj je *Teşrik Tekbir*, koji se izvodi i u džamijama i u tekijama, derviškim obrednim mjestima.