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My purpose here, in order to fit with the topic of this issue — *Rethinking tariqa. What makes something tariqa?* — is an attempt to question the rituals of the *tariqa* and particularly to determine if the characteristics of these rituals could help us in understanding what makes something a *tariqa*. But, first of all, we need to answer the question ‘What are the Sufi rituals?’, and precisely, what is the reception / initiation ritual which is the most important ritual among many others, food rituals, seclusion (*khalwat*) rituals, invocation (*dhikr*) rituals, dance rituals, and so on, since the reception ritual makes a man a member of a *tariqa*.

In general, the presentation of the reception ceremony in Sufism by scholars specialized only in Arabic Sufism, is reductionist for, according to them, the reception ceremony in Sufism is comprised of three rituals only, although sometimes these are combined: i.e. the spiritual pact, usually a ritual taking of the hand of the Shaykh (*‘ahd, bay’a, mubāya’a*), the transmission of the *dhikr* (*talqīn al-dhikr*) and the transmission of the cloak (*khirqa*), and sometimes also of the turban or headgear (*tāj*) [Chodkiewicz 2003: 80]. This wrong evaluation comes from an ignorance of the Sufi ceremonial rites in the Turko-persian area. Actually, in this region, the question of the reception ceremony is more complicated than in the Middle-East, since these three rituals were mingled over time with two other rituals sometimes considered prior in importance to them, i.e. the girding on the belt and the shaving of the head. Besides, regarding the anthropological characteristics of these rituals, let us remark that two of them are *symbolic gestures* (the handshake and the shaving the head), one is an *ascetic exercise* (the *dhikr*), and two are related to *sacred clothing* (the cloak, the headgear, and the belt).

My point here is to investigate the role played by the girding on the belt (*shadd* / *şedd*; *kamar* / *kemer*) in the reception ceremony in Turkiic and Persian Sufism, particularly in the Persian Khaksariyya, in the Turkish Bektaşiye and Mevleviye, and in the guilds of the Ottoman craftsmen (*esnaf, lonca*). My approach is both synchronically, i.e. through the history of this ritual, and diachronically. It concerns the 20th century and the present period. Besides, mention should be made that some Sufi lineages in the Turco-Persian area, like the Şaziliye, the Halvetiye, and the Nakşibendiye, never respected the custom of the initiatic belt, as it was in general found in the Rifa’iye and in the Kadirîye, although this ritual was exceptionally introduced in some Ottoman branches of these two last lineages, a point to be examined in the third section of this article.

1. **The initiatic belt in the Futuvva and in the guilds of craftsmen**

The ritual of girding on the belt (*şedd*) around the waist of a candidate comes from the Futuvva movement, a chivalrous and mystic heterogeneous sodality strongly influenced by Sufism (especially...
There are at least two hypotheses for the origin of this belt; either it could have come from the sacred girdle of the Zoroastrians [Gölpınarlı 1949-50: 83-85], or it has emerged in a genuine Muslim milieu, since instead of a belt or girdle we can find initiatic trousers, breeches, or strap. This belt was usually a strip of leather or cloth to be fastened round the waist. Rather than to be held together by a buckle, the belt is knotted and every knot bears a symbolic signification. According to some Futuvva books, other rituals were associated with the binding of the belt, i.e. the drinking of salted water (shrub) and other rituals coming from Sufism, the giving of the cloak (hırka), the donning of the headgear (tâc), and the shaving of the head. There are several significations for this belt. According to Algar, the “first initiatic belt was that which Adam girded on at the behest of Gabriel as a token of fidelity to his terrestrial mission as divine vice-regent [Algar 1998].” But this practice alludes also to the Quran (37: 101-111) when Abraham tied the legs of his son Ismail to sacrifice him. Here the belt is a symbol of self-sacrifice, and in a Futuvva manual of the 19th century the belt refers to the famous Hadith, “to die before death,” and alludes to the fighting against the satanic side of the self and to the liberation from any doubt about the religion. In this manual, the şedd, actually a piece a cloth and not a belt or a girdle, is folded width-wise in five, then folded lengthwise in three and at the end in the form of a square. Particular significations are attributed to all these gestures: the number five hints at the five prayers in Islam, the five prophets and the five obligations of this religion. Three hints to the three paths of the şer’iat, the tarikat and the hakikat. The number four (the square) hints to the four corners of the world, the four spiritual masters, the fourth caliphs and the fourth holy books (the Gospel, the Torah, the Quran, and the Book of Psalms) [Arslanoğlu 1997: 34-40].

It is likely that it was through the Anatolian Ahi movement (14th-15th c.), a combination of Sufism and Futuvva, to which the name of Ahi Evren is associated, that the tradition of the belt was introduced in several Turkish Sufi lineages and in the guilds of craftsmen. This custom has survived in all these trends after the disappearance of the Futuvva and of the Ahis in 15th-16th century. Particularly, the Ahis left a strong imprint on the guild of the tanners, based at Kırşehir, who were still active at the end of the 19th century and in close relations with Sufi lineages, as we will see below [Nuri 1922: 524-531; Cavit 1929: 3-7; Taeschner 1955: 71 sq.; Bayram 1991].

Several terms and expressions were used for the ritual of girding on the belt in the Sufi orders and guilds: şedd kuşatmak and bel bağlamak in Turkish, kamar bastan, miyân bastan in Persian. The ritual belt bears several names: şedd, fīta and peştemal in the Ottoman guilds; lung or kamar, pâlhang in the Khaksariyya and the Qalandariyya; tiğbend (sword-belt), kemer, makram, kanberiye, and lunk (for lung) in the Bektashiyye; elif-i nemed in the Mevleviye; şedd in the Rifa’iye and the Kadiriye; qamarbandî among the Islamized shamans of Central Asia.

The oldest description of the belt ritual in the guild ceremony is given by Evliya Çelebi (mid-17th century). The master girded on the belt (şedd) of the apprentice, a ceremony which was

1) [Gölpınarlı 1949-50]
2) [Arslanoğlu 1997: 57]. This hadith is quoted in another text about the şedd of the Futuvva in the beginning of the 20th century, [Yahyâ b. Sâlih el-İslâmbolî 2006: 167].
3) Among the guilds we find the terms şedd and peştemal, also fīta.
followed by a pact (biat) [Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi 1896-1897: 495-499]. Several documents are available about the social organisation of the guilds in 19th century, although the details about the ritual are quite poor. According to Raymond [Raymond 1998: 173-174], the custom of the šedd is attested from the 16th to the 19th century in the Arab lands of the Near East but absent in the Maghrib. Nevertheless one source points to a šedd ceremony in a Moroccan guild at the end of the 19th century.  

Let us quote two examples of the belt ritual in the Turkish guilds, a few decades before it was banned by the Young Turks government and the Republic. At the beginning of the 20th century, in Ankara, there were two ceremonies called šedd kuşatmak, the first for a çırak (apprentice) to become a kalfa (qualified apprentice or assistant master), and the second, for a kalfa to be promoted as ustad (master). The master in chief of all the guild was the ahibaba, based at Kırşehir; he was actually the head of the mother lodge of the guild of the tanners. Although the belt was the main element in this ritual, several versions of this ritual existed according to the craft where it was operated. Thus, in a second example which regards the guild of the tanners at Muğla (south-west of Turkey), in 1929, we learn that the new member (çırak) had to go through a preliminary stage of 1001 days, before being girded with a peştemal and becoming a master in the craft (ustad). At this time, the man in charge of the girding ceremony was a “Naqshbandî sufi” coming from Kırşehir [Cavit 1929: 3-7]. It is likely that this shaykh, instead of being a Naqshshbandî, was actually a representative of the mother lodge of the guild of the tanners located in this city.

To conclude this section, it is worth noting that the Futuvva has been influential, directly or indirectly through Sufism, on Central Asian Islamized shamanism, for the initiatic belt has been introduced into its reception ritual [Centlives-Dumont 1988: 162; Garrone 2000: 110, 113-115, 248]. Actually, Shamanism has embodied an important diversity of practices and the initiatic belt is one of them. There is one example where the belt is knotted, like in the Futuvva, but the meaning of these knots refers to the spirits (jinn) who will help the shaman [Garrone, 2000: 115]. So, the belt ritual was reinterpreted according to the purposes of the shamans, that is to heal with the help of the spirits.

From the above, it may have become clear that in the Turko-Persian area, the initiatic belt of the Futuvva was incorporated into the major spiritual trends, i.e. the Sufi brotherhoods, the guilds of craftsmen, and even Islamized Shamanism. We may infer from this that the ethic of the Futuvva was strong enough in this region to permeate the whole of its social, professional and religious activities. The meaning of the belt was then adapted to these different trends but without losing its first chivalric and mystical mark apart from in Islamized Shamanism.

2. The belt of the Sufis

4) The new member is given the cloak (hırka) and then, the shaykh “lui ceindra aux reins la ceinture et l’initiera à la science,” [Mercier 1869: 434].
5) [Baha Said Bey 1925, 2000: 62-63, 66-67]. On the last state of the Turkish guilds in Istanbul see also [Nuri 1922].
6) This stage of 1001 days is not limited to this particular guild but mentioned in some other guilds; [Dalsar 1960: 120 ff].
The belt of the Futuvva was introduced in the ceremonials of some particular Persian and Turkish Sufi lineages. The common element of these lineages, namely the Qalandariyya, the Khaksariyya and the Bektaşiye, being the lack of a full observation of the obligations of Islam, contrary to other lineages, e.g. the Naqshbandiyya. There is for example a chapter dedicated to the initiatic belt (kamar) in a Central Asian treatise on the Qalandariyya, a Sufi lineage renowned for its heterodoxy. This chapter contains a list of all the prophets and saints who were given the belt, and indicates that the belt have seven bonds or knots (band), each of them comprising four maqam: the seven knots are: the Islamic law (shari‘a), the spiritual path (tarîqa), the Truth (haqîqa), the prophethood (nubuvva), the intercession (shafâ‘at), love (‘ashq), and poverty (faqr). In his travelogue ("Safarnâma," 18th c.), the East Turkestani Qalandar and poet Muhammad Dhalili / Zalili writes that he wore a jànda (janda), the term for cloak (khirqa), and that he girded himself with a belt (jändäni kiydim, kämär baghladim) [Zalili Divani 1985: 620]. Besides, it is of interest to note that in Central Asia, the Qalandariyya was closely associated with some branches of the Naqshbandiyya, and that the belt, as a sacred object and not as a ritual, may has been adopted by the second lineage. For instance, I found such a belt in the belonging of a Naqshbandî Sufi, Akhûnjân Ishân, living in Kashghar in 1998; the belt belong to his grandfather, Tâhir Khân Khwâja (d. 1947), who was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya at Bukhara at the end of 19th century. I was told by Akhûnjân Ishân who was, up to his death in 2000, the head of a branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Jahriyya in Kashgar, that the two major symbols of legitimacy in this lineage were the headgear (tâj) and the belt (kamar). It might be said that his kamar was a remnant of the belt ritual used among the Central Asian Qalandars. However, one of the famous masters in the Naqshbandi silsila, Abû’l-Hasan Kharaqânî (d. 1033), who is credited with the writing of a treatise on Sufi rituals, gave a description of the belt ritual and of the other main reception rituals, namely the shaving the hair of the head with scissors (maqrâz), the transmission of the cloak (khirqa) and of the headgear (kulâh).

In the Persian Khaksariyya lineage, the equivalent of the initiatic belt is the lung (loin-cloth, waist-cloth) and/or the kafan (shroud). There are some poems read to the candidate which provide explanations about this ritual of girding on the lung. In Bektashism, a lineage very close to the Khaksariyya, the initiatic belt is called tiğbend (sword belt), and is habitually a rope made of rams’ wool. In the course of the ceremony of reception, the rope is used several times. First and foremost, the initiator places the tiğbend around the neck of the candidate (talib) ("tiğbendi talebin boynuna takib"). Then, taking in his right hand the right hand of the candidate and together holding the ends of

8) “Risâla-yi Qalandarân,” f° 18-23.  
10) Private Archives of Akhûnjân Ishân (d. 2000), Kashgar.  
11) On this East Turkestanı Naqshbandı lineage, see [Zarcone 2002: 536; 2008].  
12) See a picture of this belt worn by a Bukhara dervişe in [Frembgen 1999: 17].  
the tiğbend they make salutations (niyaz) to the threshold and enter the assembly hall of the Bektashi lodge. The last moment of the belt ritual happens towards the end of the ceremony when the initiator or the guide takes up the tiğbend and ties three knots in it accompanying the tying of each knot with a recitation of some sura of the Quran.\(^{15}\) Finally, the initiator binds the tiğbend around the waist of the candidate (“talebin tiğbendi kuşatıp”)\(^{15}\)\[Derviş Muhammed 2006: 69-70, 73-80, 90; Necib Âsim 1925: 17, 19; Birge (1937) 1965: 188, 191-193; Soyyer, 2005: 223-227\]. There are some Bektashi poems (tercüman) which deals with this initiatic belt intended to be read to the candidate \[Ahmet Rifat 1876: 289; Soyyer 2005: 265, 268\]. In general, the candidate is bound in the tiğbend at the gallows of Mansûr al-Hallâj (Dar al-Mansur), a place in the Bektaşi reception hall (meydan) where he is symbolically hung, as it is illustrated in this poem of the female Bektaşi Remzi Bacı:

They reveal to me the secret of ‘dying [before death]’
The night when I was brought to the gallows of Mansûr [el-Hallâj].

...  
A this very moment, my master (pir) takes my hand  
and girds the tiğbend around my waist (Remzi Bacı)\(^ {16} \)

\textit{Mutu kable sırrın eyledi ifşa}  
\textit{Mansur’un dârına durduğum gece}  
...
\textit{Ol saatte aldı Pîrim elimi}  
\textit{Bağladı tığbendle benim belimi}  

There are many other Bektashi poems which allude to the belt ritual. It is not easy however to determine at which period they were composed. The following verse refers to a quite rare tradition according to which the belt is tied with forty knots.

There is on his waist a belt with forty knots.  
\textit{Kırk dügümden kuşağı var belinde} (Veli Baba, epoch unknown) \[Nüzhet 1930: 393\]

And the verse below points to the first moment in the belt ritual when the tiğbend is placed around the neck of the candidate.

My guide tied my neck.  
\textit{Rehberim boynuma bendetti baği} \[Nüzhet 1930: 348\]

Finally, something must be said of the Mevlevi order. In this Sufi lineage, the initiatic belt ritual is

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15) All these knots have meaning, like in the Futuwwa, see \[Birge (1937) 1965: 192, footnote 3; Gölpinarlı 1949-50: 49-51\].

16) \[Özmen 1995: 147\]. The belt alludes also to the acceptation of the gallows, see \[Molé 1959: 138\].
present in the ceremony although it is not as significant as in the Bektaşiye order. The reason is that there is no ritual of girding on this belt around the waist of the Mevlevî dervish. The belt is no more than a remnant of the Futuvva. Esrâr Dede, a Mevlevî writer (d. 1796) mentions a rope called elîfi nemed (for it resembled the letter alîf), fixed on the dress and confirms that this custom was borrowed from the Futuvva. As is well known, Futuvva played a major role in Seljuk Anatolia at the time of Mevlana and of his son Sultan Veled who set up the brotherhood.

3. Anatolian syncretism: the initiatic belt in the Rıfa’iye and in the Kadiriye

The Khaksariyya, Bektaşiye and Mevleviye are genuine Turko-Persian lineages, contrary to the Rıfa’iye and the Kadiriye which grew up among Arabs and never adopted the custom of the initiatic belt. However, in Anatolia, there are some branches of these two last lineages which have integrated this custom at least since the 16th century. Conversely, the Arab branches have favoured the cloak and headgear rituals only, as we can see from a manuscript on the Kadiriye at the beginning of the 19th century. In one word, I would distinguish two cases of the merging of the Futuvva or of the Ahilik with either the Kadiriye or the Rıfa’iye orders. The first case concerns the association of an Ottoman branch of the Kadiriye with the mother-lodge of the Ahi Evren tanners guild at Kırşehir. The second case points to the presence of several Futuvva doctrine and practices in some tekkes of the Rıfa’iye order in Macedonia. In both cases, the initiatic belt has occupied an important place in the ceremonies conducted in these tekke, up to the beginning of the 20th century, as it is documented in several Kadirî and Rıfa’î manuals, in manuscript and in print.

In 17th century, some Kadiri tekkes in Anatolia and in Albania were closely associated with the local guilds of the tanners (debbağ) and shared rituals with them. At Tosya (Central Anatolia), Tefsirî Mevlâna Şeyh Mustafa (d. 1640-41), was both the shaykh of the Kadiri tekke (of the Ismailiye-Rumiye branch) of this city and the head (ahibaba) of the guild of the tanners in the place, directing the dhikr/zikr ceremonies, the dance and the šedd ritual [Haddâdî 1956: 246-250]. The mother lodge of this branch of the Kadiriye was the famous Kadirihane of Tophane (Istanbul). One of its shaykhs, Ahmed Muhyiddîn (d. 1909), authorized an abridged book of a well-known treatise of Futuvva. His text points to several aspects of the belt ritual, precisely the ritual called “the seal of the belt” (mühr-i şedd). The şedd, described as a belt (kuşak), is tied with three knots. The Prophet spread out his cloak (rida)’ on the soil and folded it in the form of an alîf. Then he said some prayers and put it around his neck. After that, he took it out and said that at the time of the Mirâj, Jabrâ’il had girded on this belt (kuşak) around his waist and then brought him to God. Hence, the Prophet girded Ali with this belt. The signification of one of the knot alludes to the secret of elîf-lam-mim (i.e. Allâh, Jabrâ’il, 

17) [Horata 1998: 45-46, 94-95, 104; Gölpinarlı 1977: 332]. Sometimes, the Bektâşi belt is equated with the “elîf-lam,” according to [Derviş Muhammed 2006: 73].

18) [Rif’at el-Kâdirî 1822-23: ff° 32r and v]. On the Kadiri reception, see also [Brown 1868: 110-114].

This is, I believe, a proof of the sympathy of the Kadiriye for the Futuvva and another confirmation of the mixing of the two trends, at least on paper, since there is no confirmation that the belt ritual was implemented in the Kadiri ceremonial at the Kadirihane.

The association of the Kadiriye with the guild of the tanners also existed in Albania in the 18th century. It was the case of some “Kadiri-Ahi” tekke at Elbasan, Tirana and in the south of the country. For example, a Kadiri lodge situated at Tirana was called the “Tekke of the Tanners [Clayer 2000: 214-216].” The link between the Guild of the tanners at Kırşehir and the Kadiri lineage at Elbasan is demonstrated in a “Regulations for the corporations of the Tanners of the City of Elbasan”, dated 1657, written by el-Şeyh Seyyid Mustafa İhtiyar el-Kâdirî ibn Seyyid Süleymân Malatyahlı, the head of the guild and a Kadiri dervish. In this document, the name of Ahi Evren, the initiator of the Ahilik and of the guild of the tanners, is frequently quoted. More, Abdülkadir Geylânî (d. 1165-66), eponym of the Kadiriye, is credited with the revival of the Futuvva (Şeyh seyyid ‘Abdülkâdir Geylânî tarîk-i fütüvvete revnak verdi ve ihyâ eyledi) and also of the “tarikat” of Sultan Ahi Mahmud Evren (Sultân Ahî Mahmûd Evrân’ın tarikatı ‘Abdülkâdir Geylânî ihyâ eylemişdir) [“Regulations for the corporations of the Tanners of the City of Elbasan,” 7]. This affirmation is quite interesting and symbolic although it is historically wrong for Geylânî died one century before Ahi Mahmud Evren (d. 1262).

What is striking here is the existence of two silsila to which this tekke traces its spiritual origin: the first silsila is called silsila-i zerriye (hereditary silsila) and the second, silsila-i futuvvet (silsila according to the Futuvva) [“Regulations”: 7]. It means that the for Futuvva and the Kadiriye to mingle they must have operated side by side in this tekke.

Also, according to these regulations, Ahi Evren has transmitted several sacred objects as symbols of legitimacy to his followers in both guilds and Sufi lodges, among which are the cloak of the dervishes, the belt or girdle and the crown (tekbîr ile hırka ve kûşâk ve tâc verirler...) [“Regulations”: 7]. The belt ritual is transmitted according to a way which resembles the tiğbend ceremonial in Bektashism: a makram (Arabic, mikrama), actually a cloth used as an apron, is bound around the neck of the candidate (boynuna makramsîn takub...) who will be girded later [“Regulations,” 1, 10]. Actually, the tekke of Elbasan, used to be a lodge of the Kadiriye and although its regulations have recognised Geylânî as a renovator of the Futuvva and of the Ahi guild, it clearly belonged to the guild of the tanners. Let us mention that the term “tekke” was used by the corporation of the tanners for the places of their meeting, like the sufi. Futuvva regulations used at Tosya and Elbasan are quite identical and are obviously two variants from a single model; this is also the case with the belt ritual [Haddâdi 1956: 247-249].

The influence of the Futuvva is also observable at a Rıfâ’i tekke situated at Üsküb / Skopje in...
Macedonia, for one of its shaykhs, Muhammed el-Bâkir el-Rifâ‘î el-Üskübî (d. 1896), authorised a manuscript intitled “Fütüvvetnâme-yi Rifâ‘îyye” in 1906. In this document, we see that the şedd ritual is associated with the transmission of the cloak (kürka) and of the headgear (tâc) [“Fütüvvetnâme-yi Rifâ‘îyye”: 12]. In this Rifâ‘î tekke, the şedd appears in the investiture of a halife, i.e. a representative of the shaykh. This ritual resembles those analysed above since the şedd is put on the shoulders of the candidate [“Fütüvvetnâme-yi Rifâ‘îyye”: 14-15]. A similar şedd ritual for halife is described in a manual on the practices of the Rifâ‘îye intitled Feyzul Sabah written by Nihat Karakaş, a Sufi belonging to the same tekke. This book, printed in 1985, was based on several manuscripts conserved in the tekke. It indicates that the şedd was bound around the waist of the new halife, then it was divided into two sections and the ends of one section were tied to his neck [Feyzul Sabah 1985: 45]. However the şedd is present also in the reception ritual; it is placed around the neck of the candidate who is later brough to the dar and the şedd is then bound around his waist. It is knotted three times. The ceremonial is completed with the transmission of the headgear and of the cloak [Feyzul Sabah 1985: 33-35]. It is striking that this ritual is very close, not to say quite similar, to the belt ritual executed in the Kadiriyâ and in the Bektaşiye orders. We may suppose that all these rituals were borrowed from the guild of the tanners.

Surprisingly, we learn also that, according to the Feyzul Sabah, there are seven ways to gird on the şedd, one for each of the seven officers of the tekke, i.e. the çavuş, alemdar, nakip, niçebba, halife, shaykh (one name of an officer is missing) [Feyzul Sabah 1985: 116-118]. It is very likelihood that the presentation of the şedd in the Feyzul Sabah was modelled upon the “Fütüvvetnâme-yi Şeyh Yasin al-Rifa‘î” and by other Fütüvvetnâme written by Rifâ‘î shaykhs. In one of these Fütüvvetnâme dated 1806, we find several illustrations of these şedd, all being quite similar to those drawn in the Feyzul Sabah [Gölpınarlı 1949-50: 71; Sarkinaya 2002: 166-170].

CONCLUSION

My conclusions can be summed up in a few words. The present article has attempted to provide a historical and anthropological framework for the analysis of the initiatic belt, a ritual originally cultivated in the Futuvva and among the craftsmen, which has became a major element in the reception ritual of some Turko-Persian Sufi lineages. History told us that the ethical rules and, more striking, several rituals of the Futuvva were still in use in these Sufi lineages up to the beginning of the 20th century. This fact was well known among lineages like such as the Bektaşiye,

22) This manuscript originally conserved in the Kadirîhane of Istanbul, is now in the private library (Kyoto) of Prof. Tonaga Yasushi’s to whom I would like to record here my special gratitude for authorizing me to consult this document.
23) A whole chapter — “der beyân-i hilâfet-i rifâ‘îye” — is dedicated to this ritual; “Fütüvvetnâme-yi Rifâ‘îyye,” 14 sq.
Mevleviye and Khaksariyya, although this needs further study, but rarely mentioned in the cases of lineages like the Kadiiriye and the Rıfa’iye. There are two explanations for the transmission of the belt ritual to these Sufi orders. First, some lineages may have borrowed this ritual directly from the Futuvva and the Ahi organisation (Bektaşiye), and directly from the Futuvva in the case of the Persian Khaksariyya (or through the Qalandariyya). Second, other lineages (Kadiiriye, Rıfa’iye) have mingled with the Ottoman guild of the tanners (let us remark by way of parenthesis that the name of Ahi Evren, far from being known only among the Ottoman craftsmen, was also venerated in the guild manuals (risale) of some remote countries, like for example Afghanistan).  

Regarding the belt ritual, our historical researches suggest that there was no attempt to have a standardized belt ceremony, an action which would however have been impossible to do since the belt custom had spread throughout the whole of Asia and the Middle East. Moreover, following its introduction into some Sufi lineages, the şedd ritual found new significance (in relation with Sufism). In Sufi lineages, the belt was associated with the classic Sufi rituals of reception, hırka, tâc, etc. In addition, the belt has rarely totally replaced these rituals although the confusion between the şedd and the hırka was encouraged.

So, the reception ritual is worthwhile observing if we want to understand whether a certain organization works as a tariqa. Nevertheless it must be born in mind that almost all the reception rituals mentioned above, including the ritual of the belt, were also performed by mystical or gnostic trends, sometimes not Sufi, i.e. groups which are not strictly tariqa, and years before these rituals were integrated into the Sufi orders. So what makes the difference when these rituals passed from a pre-tariqa framework to a tariqa. Actually, the differences lie, I believe, in the fact that these rituals, when adopted by the tariqa, were in general integrated in a wider ceremony, a ceremony to be understood here as a set of rituals defined and presented in a clear and ordered way, i.e. codified, and under the strict supervision of Sufi monitors, shaykhs, khalifa, etc.

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26) See [Centlivres-Demont 1997].
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