

MYSTICAL PHILOSOPHY AS THE SOURCE OF OTTOMAN TOLERANCE THE CASE OF ISMAIL HAKKI BURSEVÎ'S DOCTRINE OF BEING

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ABSTRACT

Many of us may have heard something about the religious tolerance of the Ottomans and how they could have harmonized different religions such as Christianity, Judaism and so on. But only very few people know the details that are expressed in answering these two questions: what was their philosophy of tolerance? And how was this philosophy influenced from Tasawwuf? Our study which is composed of two parts attempts firstly to answer these questions. In the first part, we are going to investigate into the mystic thought of İsmail Hakkı Bursevî (d.1725) in his *Risâle-i Hazarât-ı Hams-i Ulûhiye (the Treatise of Five Divine Presences) (RHH)* as a sample of the philosophy of the Ottomans. The second part will include accounts of Bursevî's thought in his masterpiece work *Tafsîr Rûh al-Bayân (Commentary on soul of the Qur'ân) (RB)*. This part will also provide some accounts of how the mystical thought was applied to the Qur'anic verses to offer ideas that can be read as tolerance. The first part deals with tasawwuf especially Ibn Arabî's (d. 1240) *wahdat al-wujûd* (the Theory of Oneness of Being), which can be defined simply as a theory that unifies the diversity of things in God's existence by using the motto "There is no true existence except the Ultimate Truth (God)", occupies an important position in Ottomans thought. The theory has been widely accepted and constantly interpreted by a school called Akbariyya (Ibn Arabî School) throughout the Ottomans era to contemporary Turkey. Bursevî's mystical thought that is scattered throughout his *RHH* and his commentary (RB) is influenced from the philosophy of being of Ibn Arabî School. However he develops a new approach that we call "mystical tolerance". Mystical tolerance can be summarized in points below: The existence is same in its essence, although there is diversity in its shape and manifestation. Moreover, this diversity is relative. However, we evaluate most things from this relative aspect of the existence. It is the main reason that leads us to ignore the real aspect of things and to not tolerate the negative aspects of things that are relative. However, we are supposed to see the existence as it is in a way that is expressed in verses from the chapter of the Cave. Mystical tolerance is a kind of philosophic way starting from the mystic's own spiritual experience via epistemological premises to ethical practices. The main steps of mystical tolerance are: There is one reality in the existence which is the Reality (Haqq). But, there are countless manifestations of this Reality. Our valuation on these countless manifestations is relative too. So, what we value as "good" could be "bad" or vice versa. Therefore, tolerate things or behaviors that are supposed bad. Mystical tolerance has two objects: Existence and Behaviors. Mystical tolerance is different from the "pragmatic tolerance" of those people who treat tolerance as a social need to be able to live together peacefully. The mystic tolerates things due to his mystical experiences. Lastly, within a society in which people respect this idea, it would not be so difficult to tolerate a difference of beliefs, language, or races which are relative from one man to another, and see the human as a pure existence.

Keywords: İsmail Hakkı Bursavî, İbn 'Arabi, Konevî, tasawwuf, wujûd, Islamic philosophy, reality

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INTRODUCTION

The theory that explains religion as being the key reason for the growing divide between Muslim and Western societies no longer holds interest amongst scholars. Instead, as it has been addressed in a report of the AOC (Alliance of Civilization), religion is considered a factor that can play a critical role in promoting an appreciation of other cultures and religions. Therefore, to study religion and especially the historical reality of **religious tolerance** can be regarded as an important academic work.

We have all learned that, tasawwuf (Islamic mysticism) is an important reference for tolerance in **Islam**. Also many of us may have heard some about the religious tolerance of the Ottomans and how they could have harmonized different religions such as Christianity, Judaism and so on. But fewer of us know the details that are expressed in the answers of these two questions: what was their philosophy of tolerance, and how was this philosophy influenced from tasawwuf?

First of all this study will attempt to reply to the above questions, and secondly we shall try to fill in an academic blank regarding the area of "tolerance in tasawwuf", and contribute some knowledge in the realm of the tasawwuf of the Ottomans. In our investigation, rather than just bringing up aphorism of Sufis that indicates religious tolerance like those found in the footnote¹, the mystic thought of Sufis (Mystics of Islam) that underlies their words and behaviors regarding tolerance will be dealt with.

For the purpose of this study which is composed of two parts, I would like to refer to İsmail Hakkı Bursevi (d. 1725)² (below Bursevi) and his two books; *Rûh al Bayân (Commentary on*

soul of the Qur'ân, below *RB*)³, *Risâle-i Hazarât-i Hamse-i İlâhiyye (the Treatise of Five Divine Presences*, below *RHH*).⁴

In the first part, I would like to investigate into the mystic thought of Bursevi (d.1725) in his *RHH* as a sample of the philosophy of the Ottomans. The second part will include accounts of Bursevi's thought in *RB*. This part will also provide some accounts of how the mystical thought was applied to the Qur'anic verses to offer ideas that can be read as tolerance.

PART I: BURSEVÎ'S MYSTICAL THOUGHT IN *RHH*

1. *Al-Hadarât al-Khamsa* (Tr. *hazarât-ı hamse*, *The Theory of the Five Divine Presences of God*)

Al-Hadarât al-Khams (below *hazarât-ı hamse*)⁵ is a theory of sufi cosmology that explains relation of God to the creatures. The theory is regarded as the most compact explanation as well as the kernel of Ibn 'Arabî's (d. 1240) thoughts.⁶ Probably, for that reason, nearly all members of the **Ibn 'Arabî School** throughout the Islamic world have discussed it in their works.

he spent most of his life in and died in Bursa in 1725.

- 3 *RB* is a mystical Tafsir (Qur'anic Exegesis) in Arabic. It is the most voluminous work (5000 pages) amongst Bursevi books. It can be a important book because of some reasons such as it includes author's sermons or preaching to the ordinary people in mosques over 20 years, and has being read over centuries in the Islamic World.
- 4 In this book, which is still a manuscript in Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi and registered with the number Mihrişah Sultan 139, Bursevi interpreted the definitions of hadarât al-khams and al-insân al-kâmil which were done by al-Jurjânî (d.1413) in *al-Ta'rifât (The definitions)*. This work is important in some points; for instance, within it we don't see only quotations from books of philosophy and theology concerning these two concepts; we also find Bursevi's own opinions related to them. Secondly, the book is highly evaluated in the Turkish world because it was written in Turkish so that it could be easily understood by the general Turkish people who couldn't understand Arabic.
- 5 The term of al-Hadarât al-Khams and its Turkish pronunciation is a noun phrase that is consisted of two words. The first word is the plural of the term **hadra** which means "**presence**". The second word means "**five**". For English translation of the term we prefer to use "the Theory of the Five Divine Presences of God".
- 6 He, Muhy al-Din Ibn 'Arabî (1165-1240 AD), was one of the most famous Muslim mystics of al-Andalus in 13th century. During his life that were spent in a very broad area including Spain, Anatolia (Asian part of Turkey), and Damascus left many controversial ideas. His thoughts especially those ones that known wahda al-wujûd (oneness of being) and al-insân al-kâmil (the prefect man) and his writings such as Fusus al-Hikam (the bezels of the wisdom) and al-Futuhât al-Makkiyya (the Meccan Illuminations) had a deep positive and negative impact throughout the Islamic world and even Christian world. He was not a master of any sufi order but his ideas have been succeeded and constantly interpreted by a school which is called akbariyya (İbn Arabi School) until present time.

- 1 "Come, come, whoever you are, Wanderer, idolater, worshiper of fire." (Mevlana)
"My heart has become capable of every form: it is a pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks, And a temple for idols and the pilgrim's Ka'ba, and the tables of the Tora and the book of the Qur'ân." (İbn Arabi)
"Tolerate the creatures because of the Creator." (Yunus Emre)
- 2 Bursevi, is one of Turkish Sufi scholars in 18th century's Ottoman Empire. Because of his books, which nearly half of them were written in Turkish and are read even now, and being a sheikh of Jalwatî order which was active until the abolition of *tekkes* (dervish lodge) in 1925, he is regarded as one of the greatest Sufis in the Turkish history by most of the Turkish researchers on Sufism. He was born in Aidos, which is located in the contemporary Bulgaria. His meeting with the Sufi circumstances was in Aidos under the supervision of Osman Fazlı Efendi (d.1691) who was the most influential master in Bursevi's spiritual and religious education and was the *shaikh* (sufi master) from whom Bursevi obtained his *ijâza* (the authority of being a sheikh). Until he became a sheikh of *jalwatî order* (Tr. *tarikât-ı celvetiye* or *celvetiler*) in 1690, he had served as a *khalifa* (representative or successor of a sufi master, Tr. *halife*) in several places such as Macedonia, Bursa and so on. Although he was away from Bursa for a while, as so in his immigration to Damascus (1717-1720),

The concept of *hazarât-ı hamse* has been defined in various ways by the members of the school. It can be defined as follows: "Before God, every *wujūd* (existence) has five presences which are made up according to their respective relation with God"⁷.

2. Perspective of Bursevi

Bursevi points out that there are five dimensions in existence and looks at existence from two viewpoints. The first viewpoint is from God's side *hazret* (Ar. *hadra* singular of *hadarāt*). From this view, we see every existence returns to God. The second viewpoint sees all existence from side of the creation *âlem* (Ar. *âlam* "world"). Bursevi claims that each existence has a presence before God.⁸

There are also three other concepts which are used by Bursevi to categorize all the existence in each *hazret* or *âlem* and refer to forms of the existence within each presence or world. These concepts are as follows; *sübût* (Ar. *thubût*, reality or existence), which means a kind of existence between to be and not to be, *vücûd* (Ar. *wujūd*, existence), which indicates being founded, or existence, and lastly *zuhûr* (Ar. *zuhûr*, manifestation) that could be translated as a manifestation or something that is noticeable or sensible

3. Bursevi's Hazarat-ı Hamse

3.1. Hazret-i Hüviyet-i Zâtiye 'the Presence of Essential Personality'

This is the God's essential presence. In this presence, God is incomparable to anything. So, He retreats from all *taayyün* (Ar. *ta'ayyun*, individuation), *kesret* (Ar. *kathrat*, plurality), *terkîb* (Ar. *tarkib*, combining), *esmâ* (Ar. *asmâ*, names), and *sifât* (Ar. *sifât*, attributes).

In this presence there is no place for *âlem* (world). Bursevi points out that, to start to speak about world here, *feyz-i akdes* (the most holy emanation which means coming down from *ilim* (Ar. *ilm*, God's knowledge) to *kelâm* (Ar. *kalâm*, word) should occur. In this case the feature of the creation here is *sübût* between nothing and existence, and its world is *âlem-i âyân-ı sâbite* (the world of immutable entities).

⁷ For more definitions of *al-hadarāt al-khams* see William C. Chittick, "The Five Divine Presences: From al-Qunawi to al-Qaysari", *The Muslim World*, 72 (1982), 107-128; İsa Çelik, "Tasavvufi Gelenekte Hazarat-ı Hams veya Tenezzülât-ı Seb'â Anlayışı", *Tasavvuf*, 4/10, (2003), 159-184.

⁸ Bursevi writes, "...mertebeden hazret ile tâbirde nükte budur ki, Allah Teâlâya nisbeti ile cem-i eşya cümle-i merâtibde alet'tafsîl hâzır ve müşâhidir... (...the purpose of calling each dimensions of the existence as a presence is that, all of the things are present before God...)" Bursevi, *Hazarât-ı Hamse*, 137a.

3.2. Hazret-i İlmiyye (the Presence of God's Knowledge)

This is a presence where the creation starts existence for the first time. From the viewpoint of the Creation we call this an *âlem-i ceberût* (the world of Jabarût) whereas if it is ascribed to God it can be called as a *hazret-i ilmiyye* (the presence of God's knowledge).

The form of the creation in this presence is *ervâh* (Ar. *arwâh*, the spirits). The spirits are divided into two groups. The first group which is founded in this presence is called *ervâh-ı âliye-i müheyeme* (the higher bewildered spirits). The second group of spirits⁹ has some relationship with the material world. These spirits are the starting point of all actions and movements in the universe [Bursevi, *Hazarât-ı Hams*, fols. 144a-146b.].

3.3. Hazret-i Rûhiyye □ the Presence of Spirits □ [Bursevi, *ibid*, fol.146a.]

As for the world of this presence, Bursevi prefers to use the expression *âlem-i melekût* (the world of im-material spirits). According to Bursevi's point of view, this world has an intermediate role between the world of spirits and that of materials. The form of existence in this dimension is *suver-i misâliye* (the imaginary forms). More precisely, this world is the dimension where dreams are seen. Accordingly, the creation gains here the feature of *zuhûr* (manifestation) [Bursevi, *ibid*, fol. 140b.].

3.4. Hazret-i Nâsûtiyye (the Presence of Humanity)

In this presence *eşyâ* (Ar. *ashyâ*, things) become an existence and starts to be seen. To explain this Bursevi develops two concepts:

Firstly, *hareket* (movement): He claims that if there is movement, there must be something that causes this movement. He adds that what moves the things is humans and what moves humans is *sırr-ı tecellî* (the secrets of God's manifestation [Bursevi, *ibid*, fol. 143a.]. Bursevi uses the metaphor of a mill to explain how movement bears the existence, and claims that if millstone does not move then flour does not come out.

Secondly, *vâsita* (the vehicle): a kind of medium substance which Bursevi calls *nâsûti ruh* (the human spirit). Bursevi uses *âlem-i mülk* (the world of possession) as a name for this presence's world, and *suver-i mürekkebe* (the complex forms) as a name for the formation of the existence here [Bursevi, *ibid*, fol. 141b.].

3.5. Hazret-i Câmie (The All-Comprehensive Presence)

This presence includes all previously mentioned presences. Its alem is *insân-ı cami-i*

⁹ Bursevi uses names for these spirits. He quotes philosophic terms such as *nufûs-u semâiyye* (souls of the heaven) of *Mashshâiyyûn* (Peripatetic philosophers) and *envâr-ı müdebbire* (the governing lights) of *ishrâqiyyûn* (Illuminationists) [Bursevi, *Hazarât-ı Hamse*, fol. 146b.].

âlem (the world of comprehending man). Bursevi interprets how human combines all of the worlds in two ways. First, being combined means that a human knows everything in his mind. The second interpretation is that a human, with both of his spiritual and physical aspects, has some similarities with the universe.

4. Concluding Analysis of Bursevi's Approach

Firstly, Bursevi did not create any new concepts (See table 1). However, he differentiates on making a distinction between where to use *hazret* (presence) and *âlem* (world). He uses the word *hazret* when he sees the creation from God's side, whereas he uses *âlem* if he considers the existence from the angle of the creature (See Table 2).

Secondly, He recognizes that there are two existences (God and the creature) in the theory.

Thirdly, Presences are not real existence. Presences are a relative existence made up in the relation of the two existences (see Figure 1).

PART II

1. Application of Mystical Thought in RB

So far, we have examined Bursevi's interpretation of the five divine presences of God. Now we will focus on how this theory is applied. Bursevi, as a master of the jalwati order, might have expressed his ideas to the followers of the order or to ordinary people. For that reason, I referred to RB as it is said to include his sermons from over 20 years.

1.1. Example I

The first example is from the story of the companions of the cave or vulgarly called "the tale of seven sleepers". The story refers to a group of young men who believed in God and because of their faith were forced to leave their town and seek refuge in a cave where they slept for 300 years.

As for the dog, according to a narration, when they were going out from their town they came across a dog. This dog didn't leave them until they entered the cave. When they fell asleep the dog didn't leave them and waited until it died. The 18th verse of the chapter is about this dog. The verse is as follows.

"While this period their dog laying its paws at the entrance"

Before entering into Bursevi's tafsir I would like to bring attention to another commentator's comments.

Ismâ'il ibn Kathîr, (d. 1301) in *Tafsîr al-Qur'ân al-'Azîm*:

"The dog laid its paws in front of the cave. Because, angels don't enter into a place in which a dog exists. The reason why dog is mentioned in this verse because of their Baraka (sanctity or blessing) and companionship with them [Ibn Kathir 1986 III, 563] .

al-Fakhr al-Razi (d. 1209) in *al-Tafsîr al-Kabîr*:

"You are not to sit like dog during prayer. It is that sitting style which is described in this verse [Razi 1995 XI, 102] .

Bursevi's comment:

"This dog is one of those animals that will enter paradise."

"for dogs in general, A good dog in your house is better than a betrayer for a neighbor [Bursevî n.d. 226-27] ."

"The dog has ten characters that Muslims should have as well. The dog is always hungry. Hunger is also necessary for everybody. Fullness of stomach is not good in the religious life etc.

The dog doesn't have a place where it settles down. Being homeless is one of the features of those people who leave everything to Allah (mutawakkil)... [Bursevî n.d. 226-27]"

To indicate important parts of the comments I would like to use figure below¹⁰.

Commentators	Ismâ'il ibn Kathîr, (d. 1301)	al-Fakhr al-Râzî (d. 1209)	Bursevi
Comments	Where the dog was sitting: outside of the cave, because it is unclean	Badness of sitting style of the dog: Beware of sitting like a dog	good aspects of dog
Features of comments or results	canonical aspect	canonical aspect	dualism (good/bad)

As it is shown in the figure, Ibn Kathîr and al-Fakhr al-Râzî emphasize on canonical aspects of the dog. For example, Ibn Kathîr, comments on the sitting place of the dog (entrance of the cave), he tries to prove uncleanliness of the dog. Same thing can be seen in al-Fakhr al-Râzî's tafsir. Bursevi on the other hand, emphasizes the dog's aspect of being pure in existence,

¹⁰ In the figure, there are three columns. The column furthest to the left is *tafsir* of Ibn Kathir, the middle one is tafsir of Fakhr Razi, the furthest to the right is Bursevi's tafsir. As you see each mufassir's (commentator) name is written in top row of each column. The next row of each column indicates each mufassir's tafsir. And the bottom row shows evaluation of mine to each mufassir's tafsir.

and that it can be regarded “good/clean” due to the positive comments above. But, where is this tafsir coming from? Or, why does he need to make such comments? Although it is very hard to determine origin of his interpretation we can find some hints if we try to understand his mystical view.

The first thing that comes to mind is his mystical thought (or cosmology). According to Bursevi’s mystical cosmology, “Because everything is a manifestation of God’s attributes (sifât) and God has no “bad attribute in the existence because there isn’t any essential bad” and “Presences are relative existences”. If we compare this premise with his comment of a dog we may argue that Bursevi’s comment is deeply affected by his mystical view. Secondly, Bursevi interprets the dog ethically, that is to say, he emphasizes on ontological cleanness of the dog instead of the canonical aspect which evaluates the dog as unclean.

1.2. Example II

The next example is taken from the Story of Musa (En. Moses) and Al-Khidr (the Green Man). The story tells of the travels of Prophet Musa with Al-Khidr, and some mysterious behaviors and occurrences that happen during the vocation.

One such occurrence is “causing damage to a ship”. In the first part of the travel, al-Khidr remains behind and damages the ship, rendering it unsafe for use. The Prophet Moses criticizes this behavior and al-Khidr responds to the criticism. The example is related to that reply.

The related verse is below:

“As for the ship, it belonged to poor fishermen, and I wanted to render it defective. There was a king coming after them, who was confiscating every ship, forcibly Q: (18:79).

Bursevi claims that, Al-Khidr’s behavior has two sides: The first is bad aspect; causing physical damage to the ship (bad behavior). The second is a good aspect; the reason for damaging the ship is to protect the ship from capture of the despot ruler (good affect)

In this comment we can also see the effect of Sufi Cosmology which can be explained as “In the existence there is no essential bad”. So, damage to the ship can be described as bad behavior, as Prophet Musa did in accordance to his *shari’a* (religious law). But that is external badness. In reality, it was not bad.

3. Application of the Verse in Human Behaviors

Bursevî applies this dualism to human behaviors. He gives more examples from human relationships such as: “Criticism from an honest man to you is actually good. Because He

speaks the truth even if it harms you, eventually it is for your benefit (good aspect)”.

On the other hand, “acclaim of dishonest man has two aspects. First is a good aspect. Because, a dishonest man always speaks comfortable words to you. (Good aspect). But sometimes he hides facts that might cause loss to you if you are not informed of them (bad aspect)” [Bursevi, nd. V, 285]. Let me use a figure again.¹¹

Khidr’s behavior	Criticism of an honest man	Acclaim of a dishonest man
↓	↓	↓
Damages to ship (bad) Protects from capture (good)	harms you (bad) for your benefit (good)	Sounds good (good) causes you a loss (bad)

As it is seen here, evaluation of behaviors depends on the angle in which we see things. Behaviors are not just essentially good or bad. We can see also here the effect of Bursevi’s mystical cosmology.

4. Concluding Analysis of Two Examples

As for the first example which is about the dog in the chapter of Cave, unlike the other commentators who claim that the dog is not clean according to the Islamic legal opinins. Bursevi explains that the dog is clean as an existence. By doing so, he makes out a kind of dualism which is consisted of positive and negative evaluations. For instance, “cleanliness of the dog” refers to the positive pole of the judgement, whereas “uncleanliness of the dog” refers to the negative pole. The twofold evaluation of “protecting ship from confiscation” against the negative aspect of “damaging the ship” in the story of Prophet Musa & al-Khidr is a dualism that can be observed in human behaviors.

Likewise, the dualism observed between “goodness of acclaim from others” and “disadvantage of becoming blind to one’s own faults”; “bitterness of criticism by others” and “advantage of becoming aware of one’s own faults” can also be enumerated in the same dualism. From these implications of Bursevi, it may be argued that the main idea of this dualism is that our evaluations or judgments to the existence (being or behaviors) are relative.

¹¹ There are three columns which are separated with two vertical lines. The furthest to right indicates Bursevi’s comment about Al-Khidr’s behavior. The middle one and the furthest to right show Bursevi’s application of comment to human behaviors.

5. Comparison with Mystical Thought

It can be said that, the main idea of Bursevi's comments on the two verses consists of the basic premise of Bursevi's mystical thought that is "presences are relative existences". More precisely, in the existence there are presences that are made up from their relation to God's attributes (sifât). And, our first conceptions to what surrounds us are related to those presences. Although, these presences are relative existence, they are not ontologically present. Hence, our conceptions to them are relative too.

However, there is a reality beyond this called *al-haqq* (the real) beyond the presences and our conceptions. The Real is a pure existence that is insulated from all bad.

6. Relating Mystical Thought to Tolerance

Before to entering into the conclusion, considering the mystical training of tasawwuf, I would like to put together Bursevi's thought from a different angle as shown below.

Bursevi's statements in *RHH* and *RB* can be attributed as a path that has 3 different steps:

The first one is the metaphysic level:

The seeker (*sâlik, sâlib, or sûfî*) in this step, after finishing the mystical training, is struck by the realization that everything is a sort of hallucination, and would become aware of the one reality beyond the hallucination. For instance, in the sample of the dog, beyond the canonical judgment of the dog as "unclean" that is relative as it is a manifestation of God's attributes, there is an aspect that refers the dog "clean" as a pure existence just as it is in the real beyond the manifestations. Therefore, the salik in his mystical stage would recognize that there is no essential bad in the being, and his consciousness of things as good or bad may not be true.

The second is the epistemological level.

The ideal forms of this reality get shapes of knowledge in the second level when it is written into books just as it is in *RHH* and *RB* or transmitted to others by narration. That is to say that, "relativity of good or bad in the being" transfers from sufi's individual mystical experience to the general consciousness within the shape of knowledge through the Qur'anic verses. For instance, the assumption of "relativity of bad and good" in "the sample of dog" and "al-Khidr's damaging of the ship" can be considered as an epistemological level of Bursevi's mystical experience.

The third is ethical or practical level.

This level is a stage when a Sufi wants others to perform his mystical experience or to practice his knowledge based on his mystical experience. For example, when Bursevi draws our attention to the dualism in our judgments to human behavior and wants us to seek the reality beyond our assumptions of good or bad his mystical experience arrives at the ethical or practical level. As a concept for the path with three steps we offer to use "mystical tolerance". Because, Bursevi wants us to tolerate the inessential aspect of things (often bad) and to seek the real aspect of things (often good) relying on his mystical thought.

Mystical tolerance has two parts:

The first is tolerance to the existence as seen in the example of the dog.

The second is tolerance to human behavior as it is argued in the sample of al-Khidr's causing damage to the ship.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of our investigating into the philosophy of tasawwuf as represented by the Ottoman scholars was to attempt to examine the philosophy of tolerance in the Ottomans and how the tasawwuf influenced it. Through examination of Bursevi's thought, which is scattered throughout his two works (*RHH* and *RB*), we have found out that in the Ottomans there was a type of tolerance that can be referred to as "mystical tolerance". In regards to this, the following points can be enumerated as a conclusion.

First of all, the existence remains the same in its essence, although there is diversity in its shape and manifestation. Moreover, this diversity is relative. However, we evaluate most things from this relative aspect of the existence. It is the main reason that leads us to ignore the true aspect of things and to not tolerate the negative aspects of things that are relative. However, we are supposed to see the existence in the manner expressed by the verses from the chapter of the Cave.

Secondly, mystical tolerance is a kind of philosophic approach to life starting from a mystic's own spiritual experience (metaphysic level) via epistemological premises to ethical practices.

Thirdly, the main aspects of mystical tolerance are; there is one reality in the existence

which is the Real (al-haqq). But, there are countless manifestations of this Reality .Our judgment on these countless manifestations are relative too. So, what we judge as “good” could be “bad” or vice versa. Therefore, there should be a tolerance to things or behaviors that are considered bad.

Fourthly, from Bursevi’s samples, mystical tolerance has two parts; Existence, and behaviors. Lastly, mystical tolerance is different from the “pragmatic tolerance” of those people who treat tolerance as social need to be able to live together peacefully. But, the mystic tolerates things due to his mystical experiences not for any pragmatic reasons.

Tables and Materials

	1. presence	2. presence	3. presence	4. presence	5. presence
Qunawi ¹	(al-hadra al-gyaybiyya al- ‘ilmiyya al-nûriyya al- muhîta bi-kull mâ zahara)	(hadra bayna hadra al-jem’ wa al- hadra al- ghaybiyya)	(hadra al-zuhûr wa al- shahâda)	(hadra nisbatuhâ ilâ al-ism al-zâhir wa martaba al-shâda aqrab)	(hadra al-jam’)
Jandi ²	(‘âlam al-ma‘âni)	(‘âlam al arwâh)	(‘âlam al mithâl)	(al-arwâh wa al-ma‘âni)	(‘âlam al-ajsâm)
Qaisari ³	hadra al-ghayb al-mushtamil	hadra al-was’ al-jâmi’ bayn al-‘arafayn	hadra al-arwâh al-‘ulâ	martaba al- ‘âlam al-mithâl al-muqayyad	hadra al-shahâda wa al-hiss
Qashani ⁴	hadra al-dhât	hadra al-ulûhiyya	hadra al-rubûbiyya	hadra al-mithâl wa khayâl	hadra al-hiss
Bosnawi ⁵	hazret-i gayb-ı mutlak	Hazret-i ervâh-i ceberûtiyye	hazret-i misâl-i mutlak	Hazret-i misâl-i mukayyed	hazret-i his ve şehâdet ⁶
Bursevi	hazret-i huviyyet-i zatiyye	hazret-i ilmiyye	hazret-i rûhiyye	hazret-i nâsûtiyye	hazret-i câmie

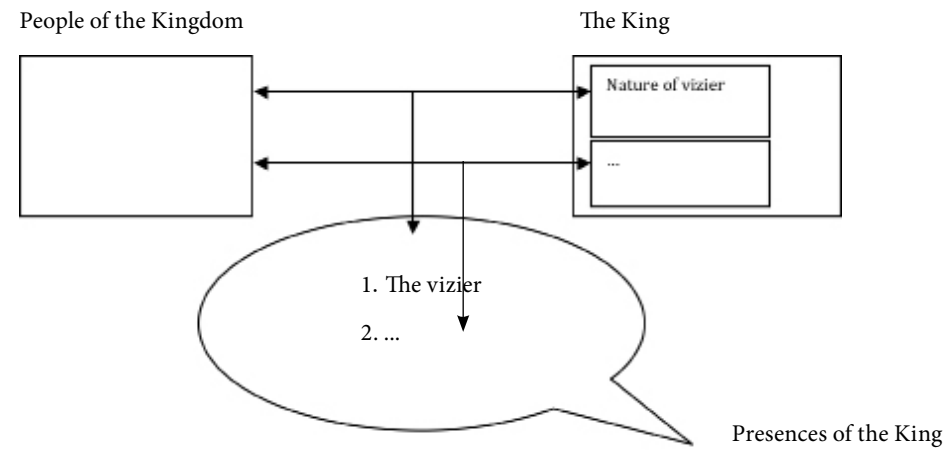
Table 1: Comparison Bursevi’s hazarat-i hamse with other main successors of Ibn Arabi’s school

1 Sadr al-Dîn al-Qûnawî, *I’jâz al- Beyân fi Ta’wîl Umm al- Qur’ân* (red. ‘Abd al-Qâdir Ahmad ‘Atâ), Cairo: Dâr al-Kutub al-Hadîtha, 1970, 99.
 2 Mo’ayyad al-Din, Jandî, *Sharh Fusûs al-Hikam*, Mashhad: Mu’assese-ye Châb va Enteshârât-e Dâneshgâh-e Mashhad, 1361, 21-22.
 3 Dâvûd ibn Mahmûd, al-Qaysari, *Rasâ’el-e Qeysari bâ Havâshî-ye’Aref-e Mohaqeq-e Aqâ Mohammad Rezâ-ye Qomshe’i, ta’lîq va tashîh va moqaddemeh Seyyed Jalâl al-Dîn Ashtiyânî*, Mashhad: Châpkhâne-ye Dâneshgâh-e Mashhad, 1357, 117. Besides this ranking, Qaisari who claims that the world is shadow (zill) of hazarat, has another alternative ranking where worlds and presences are put in a parallel way (al-Qaiari, *ibid*, 120-121).
 4 ‘Abd al-Razzâq al-Qâshânî, *Sharh ‘Alâ Fusûs al-Hikam*, Egypt: al-Ma’ba’a al-Maymaniyya, 1321, pp.110-111; Tonaga, Yasushi, “Sonzaiisseirongakuha no Kengensetsu niokeru Arra no kaii: Kashani to Jiri wo Chushin toshite (the position of God in the School of Wahdat al-Wujud: Focusing on Qashani and Jili)”, *Oriente*, 29/1, 1986, pp. 48-64. Besides alam and hazarat, Al-Qâshânî provides another concept which is majlâ (place of manifestation) (*Al-Qâshânî, Kitâb al-Isâlahât al-Sûfiyya*, 1845, 51-52.).
 5 In addition to five presences, Bosnevi brings a sixth presence which is called (insan-ı kâmil) the perfect man as well in some places of his books (Abdullah Bosnevi, *Şerh-i Fusûsu’l- Hikem*, 68.
 6 Although Bosnevi points out that there are five presences, he gives one more as a sixth presence that is named as a (hazret-i insân-ı kemâliyye-i cem’iyye-i câmi’e) the presence of perfect all-comprehensive human.

	1	2	3	4	5
Presences	(hazret-i hüviyyet-i zâtiye) the presence of the essential personality ⁷	(hazret-i ilmiyye) ⁸ the Presence of the God’s Knowledge	(hazret-i rûhiyye) ⁹ the presence of spirits	(hazret-i nâsûtiyye) ¹⁰ the Presence of the Humanity	(hazret-i câmie) The All-Comprehensive Presence
Worlds	(âlem-i âyân-ı sâbite) the world of immutable entities	(alem-i ceberût) the world of Jabarut	(âlem-i melekût) the world of immaterial spirits	(âlem-i mülk) the world of possession	(insan-ı cami-i âlem) the world of Comprehensive Man
Forms of the creation		(ervâh-ı âliye-i müheyyeme) ¹¹ the bewildered high spirits	(suver-i misâliye) ¹² the imaginary forms	(suver-i mürekkebe) ¹³ the complex forms	(insan) ¹⁴ the Man/human
Features of the creation	(thübût) ¹⁵ between nothingness and existence	(thübût) between nothing and exist	(vücûd) ¹⁶ existence	(zuhûr) ¹⁷ manifestation	(zuhûr) manifestation

7 İsmail Hakkı Bursevi, *Hazarât-ı Hamse*, fols. 138b-146b.
 8 *Ibid*, fols. 140b-146b.
 9 ... things passed through the presence of knowledge and came down (mertebe-i ervâh) the presence of spirits, *ibid*, fol. 138b.
 10 *Ibid*, fol. 146b.
 11 *Ibid*, fol. 144b.
 12 *Ibid*, fol. 146b.
 13 *Ibid*, fol. 141b.
 14 *Ibid*, fol. 148a.
 15 The difference of *ayan al-thabita* and *wujud*: *Wujud* has manifestation, whereas the immutable entities (*ayan al-thabita*) don’t have (vücûd) existence neither manifestation (*ibid*, fol. 138b).
 16 in the presence of Spirits, *vücûd* is attached to things (*ibid*, fol. 138b).
 17 *Ibid*, fol. 138b.

Table 2: Bursevî's Hazarât-ı Hamse



Although the King is only one in the external world, the vizier who the absolute representative of the king and the other subordinates beneath him are King's different degrees and forms in each presences... (...Sultan zâhiri âlemde birdir, velâkin vekîl-i mutlak olan vezîr-i âzam ve ânin tahtında olan ehl-i merâtib, sultânin etvâr-i muhtelif ve merâtib-i mütenevviide zuhûrini tertipdir...)¹²

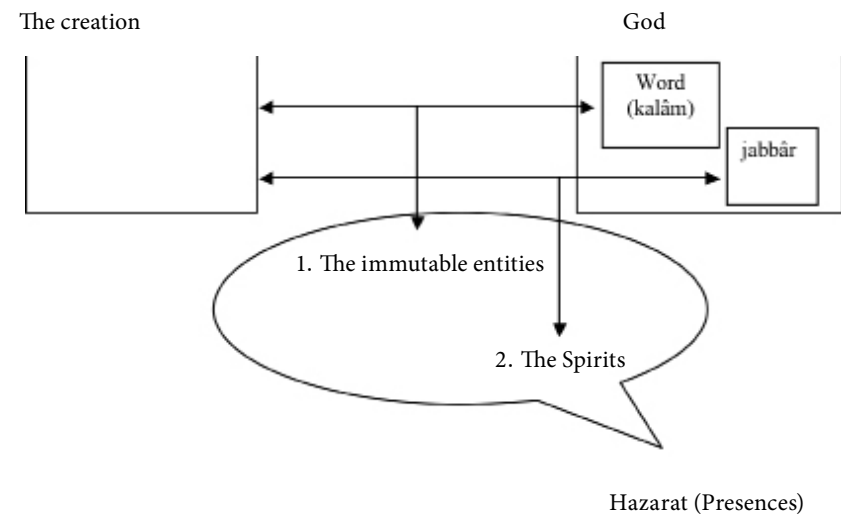


Figure 1 Metaphor of King, Vizier and People

12 Bursevî, *Hazarât-i Hamse*, fols. 136b-137a.

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