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MAN'S IMMEDIATE AMBIANCE IN THE MYSTICAL
WORLD OF EFLAKI, THE MAWLAWI DERVISH,
QONYA (1286-1291, d. 1360)

In his mystical universe, that of the sufi order of the Anatolian Mawlawis which played a crucial role in the transformation of medieval Anatolia, Eflaki displays a very considerable awareness of man's immediate physical environment and specifically that part on which the everyday life of the Qonyiotes intimately relied. This awareness of the immediate environment takes a double form in the writings of Eflaki: natural and supernatural. The importance of this environment to the very survival and existence of the inhabitants of Qonya is instrumental in Eflaki's transformation of the natural into the supernatural and of the inanimate into the animate.

The first of these environmental elements, the existence of which constituted the basis for all life, vegetative, animal, and human, was of course water. Qonya, on the semi-arid Anatolian plateau, had its own springs and waters both in the city and in its vicinity. Nevertheless it is located in a semi-arid region and in an area of marginal rainfall. Thus human, animal and vegetative life was not always secure in its possession of sufficient water to sustain life. Accordingly

ABBREVIATIONS

- EFLAKI-YAZICI *Şams al-Din Ahmad al-Aflaki al-'Arifi Manakib al-'Arifin*, edited by TAHSIN YAZICI, Ankara 1976-1980, vols. I-II.
- EFLAKI-HUART *Les saints des derviches tourneurs. Récits traduits du Persan et annotés*, by CLAUDE HUART, Paris 1918-1922, vols. I-II.

Eflaki's text shows a concern for, and importance of, water in his universe. The grain fields and the beautiful gardens of the city were subject to the vicissitudes of drought and flash floods¹, and in consequence to them was either scorched or drowned. When the supply of water was normal, the earth bloomed, animals and humans rejoiced, and the larders of the Qonyotes' houses were filled. Water of another type, the sea, was correspondingly felicitous and treacherous, at one time bringing the merchants and goods of India, Egypt, Syria to Qonya, at other times sinking, or threatening to sink the Qonyotes en route from Alexandria to Antalya². Water was essential, as a purifier, in the Islamic cult. It was essential to the performance of ablutions before the five daily prayers, and of course it was necessary to the carrying out of purifications after such acts as sexual intercourse, urination and the like³. Water and the bath, in conjunction with medication, were important features in the cure of illness⁴. We are told that when Rumi was about to go to a public bath his yaran (his familiars) went on ahead to prepare the hammam for their master's enjoyment. They proceeded to expell its occupants, to wash the bath and to perfume it. When Rumi arrived and entered the bath house he saw a pitiful sight. Many lepers and other sick people were hurriedly dressing, having just been chased out of the public bath. Rumi stopped them, and after having undressed himself took them back into the water where he helped them bathe⁵. I shall deal with the matter of illness and cure elsewhere, noting here the belief in the curative powers of water and the public baths, in the case of an illness as devastating as leprosy.

1. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 748-749, 869-870. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 233, 331.

2. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 473-474. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 373-374.

3. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 196, 747. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 149, II, p. 232. See also EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 212. EFLAKI-HUART, p. 194.

4. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 122. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 95-96.

5. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 337. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 285.

The velocity and pressure of flowing water was considered essential for the sanitation of the city itself, as in the case of the stream flowing out of Qonya, which carried away the stinking impurities of the town's leather craft industry⁶.

The erotic associations of water have already been noted, in a previous study, in the anecdote of the young man who encountered Amir Arif, the grandson of Rumi, at the bath house of Khwaje Omar in Ladiq⁷. In this respect Eflaki's contemporary, the traveller and bon vivant Ibn Battuta, reported the fact that in the city of Ladiq the qadi himself as well as the citizens, hired out pretty Greek slave girls to go into the bath with customers there to accomodate them sexually⁸.

The citizens of Qonya believed that water, as the land and the skies, was inhabited by spirits and monsters, and Eflaki would have us believe that these were members of the sub-human domain of mystics that acknowledged Rumi as their mystical sovereign, as indeed all the watery creation⁹. He presents Rumi as the dispenser of water and refers to him by the Persian title *mir ab*¹⁰, the distributor of water. An entire water cult grew up around his person and his turbe (mausoleum).

6. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 507. EFLAKI-HUART, II, p. 54. On Rumi and the Mawlawi dervish order: A. SCHIMMEL, *The Triumphal Sun. A Study of the Works of Jalaloddin Rumi*, London 1978. A. GOLPINARLI, *Mevlanadan sonra, Mevlevilik corrected edition*, Istanbul 1983. A. TANERI, *Türkiye Selçuklularl kultur hayati (Menakibu'l-arifin)*, degerlendirilmesi, Konya 1977. T. BAYKARA, *Selçuklularl devrinde Konya* Ankara 1971. See also, S. VRYONIS, «The Muslim Family in 13th-14th Century Anatolia as Reflected in the Writings of the Mawlawi Dervish Eflaki», in the proceedings of the *First International Conference on Turkish Studies*, Rethymno, edited by E. ZACHARIADOU, 1993, pp. 213-223.

7. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 936-937. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 382-383.

8. SP. VRYONIS, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Berkeley 1971 p. 240 note 581. *Voyages d'Ibn Battuta, texte arabe accompagné d'une traduction* par C. DEFREMERY et B. R. SANGUINETTI, Paris 1854, vol. II, p. 272.

9. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 367-370, 608-609. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 28-31, 109-111.

10. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 748-750, 869-870. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 233, 331-332.

Water often played an essential role in attaining his mystical ecstasy, or union with God, and it was water that «attended» often his fasts and seclusion. At one time Rumi would effect this in various areas of the bathing establishment, alternatively in an out-door water mill, or even in the deep cold stream emerging from the gorge atop the cliffs of which was located the Greek monastery of Eflatun (Plato)¹¹.

The aqueous institution most often mentioned, however, is the hammam, or bath. There was the public bath, usually established as a pious foundation, and which included the baths of the Bazaar of the Furriers¹², the Caravansary of Diya al-Din which after its prostitution establishment was shut down was converted into a bath house and came to be known as Naqashli Hammam¹³; Eflaki also refers to the bath house of Zirwa¹⁴, to the bath of Kalitche, and finally to the bath house of Khwaje Omar at Ladiq¹⁵. There were in some of the private houses of Qonya family hammams as well¹⁶. The bath was absolutely essential for the daily life of the Muslim community, and even Rumi's wife, Kira Khatun, who after her rejection by Rumi refused to leave her apartments during the day, at night would quietly leave them to cleanse and purify herself in the bath¹⁷. Important as well were the special baths at the mineral springs of Abi Garm, to which curative powers were attributed. Incidental and accidental details in various anecdotes refer to the various activities that went on inside the hammam. The customer first undressed, and then was supplied with a rug and towel¹⁸. There were

11. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 294, 344, 293. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 264, 175, 260.

12. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 35-36. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 28.

13. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 375-376. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 185-186.

14. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 453-454. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 357.

15. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 939. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 384-386.

16. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 343. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 286.

17. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 717-718. EFLAKI-HUART, vol. II, pp. 204-205.

18. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 124; EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 98.

attendants to assist the bather, soap and palm fronde were supplied¹⁹ for washing and lathering the soap. Various parts of the bath house appear in the pages of Eflaki: the khazine or water basin, heating stoves, the tepidarium, the steam boiler. Eating, music, and seances, the presence of barbers and prostitutes are all associated with the baths of thirteenth and fourteenth century Anatolia. Rumi's yaran often came and a sema or mystical seance was carried out. It was customary to drink a drink called foqa prior to the bath and to eat dried apricots thereafter (at Abi Garm apples were placed in the bath for Rumi's enjoyment), and finally there were solitary rooms for bathers who wished privacy²⁰.

Water and the watery domains are sufficiently important to have made their imprint on the language of Eflaki and Rumi. In a pun on the name, Shaykh Badr al-Din Bahri is described as a veritable sea (Bahri) of mystical wisdom²¹. Rumi speaks of the wisdom of Fakhr al-Din Iraqi of Toqat as a stream that flows in the canal of his soul. His thoughts are like the fish that swim in a stream. These fish do not surface unless one throws bread into the stream. It is only then that they can be snared by fishermen²². In another passage Rumi is presented as having compared two quarreling friends to land and water. Water fertilizes the land and so is the cause of life. It is elastic, not immobile like land. Therefore, the friend who is like water should go to the rigid friend who is like land²³.

19. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 64. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 52.

20. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 344, 353, 717-718, 453-454. EFLAKI-HUART, vol. I, pp. 175, 180, 204, 357; vol. II, pp. 73, 382-383.

21. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 212. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 94.

22. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 400. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 312-313.

23. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 464-465. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 365. For the various physical and spiritual qualities attributed to water in Byzantine Greek literature, SP. VRYONIS, «Θάλασσα και ύδωρ: The Sea and Water in Byzantine Literature», in SP. VRYONIS, editor, *The Greeks and the Sea*, New Rochelle 1993, pp. 113-132.

Animals and vegetation, immediately dependent upon water and essential to man's life, constitute an important part of the immediate environment in Eflaki's universe and so they too occasionally surface in his account of the lives and deeds of the Mawlawi Khalifs. The garden appears as a constant in their lives. Rumi and his extended family were fond of the gardens, many of them owned their own gardens, and they seem to have spent much time in them. We read of semas that take place in or about the garden of Hosam al-Din, of the roses which Siradj al-Din, the reciter of the *Mathnawi*, brought to Rumi and the *yan*²⁴, of Rumi's three day sema in the garden of Kira Mana Khatun²⁵, and of a tumultuous sema held in the garden of the *zawiya* (dervish monastery) of Qadi Nadjim al-Din Ladiqi²⁶.

Apparently the Qonyiotes were conscientious gardeners, fussing about the gardens, their upkeep, and protecting their produce either by constructing walls about them, as did Zarkub, and or by hiring guards, the *bagban*²⁷. In the case of Fakhr al-Din, Eflaki relates that he was able to sell part of his garden produce on the local market for 9,000 dirhems, and to fill his storage bins, for the coming year, with the remainder²⁸. His bumper crop for that particular year was the result of plentiful rain/water, whereas in other years draught had scorched the plants.

The gardens were not only the scene of the Mawlawi re-

24. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 163. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 125-126. On the garden of Rumi's grandmother, EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 641; EFLAKI-HUART, II, p. 137.

25. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 320. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 158. Huart has mistranscribed the name as Kira-Ana-Khatoun. The Persian text reads *Kira-Mana-Khatoun*, which indicates an important difference. Mana, instead of Ana, would seem to refer to the Greek word «mother».

26. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 924-925, 902-904. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 356-358, 381.

27. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 721-722, 748. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 206-208, 232-233. For a thief stealing fruit from the trees, EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 376-377. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 293-294.

28. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 705. EFLAKI-HUART, II, p. 107.

ligious sema and a source of sustenance of human life, but places of aesthetic enjoyment, recreation and pleasure as well. Rumi, Shayh Sadr al-Din, qadi Siradj al-Din, the companions and Rumi went on an outing to nearby Meram to visit the great mosque as well as the town's beautiful gardens, some of which were irrigated by the stream of a nearby water mill. The gardens were also, occasionally, the scenes of wondrous miracles. While still a bachelor Amir Arif loved to ride through the gardens of Qonya. One autumn while he was enjoying his ride through the gardens, at the time that the grapes were ripe on the vine and the gardeners had begun to make the famous grape syrup that filled the warm air with a sweet, drowsy mist, two children suddenly appeared, brought him two bouquets of roses, and just as suddenly disappeared. In this environment of nature's moist fertility supernatural forces convinced him that his time to marry and to fructify had come²⁹.

A very «tasteful» miracle was effected during Sultan Walad's visit to the garden of Hosam al-Din. The yaran expressed the desire to eat some of the delicious honey from the hives of the garden. Hosam al-Din ordered his *bagban* (gardener) to remove some honey combs from the beehives, and when the gardener brought 5 or 6 combs, and when the companions had finished off the sweet fabrication of the Qonyote bees, they hungered for more. As the host beckoned to the gardener to continue the business of extracting yet more honey combs, the latter replied that the hives had been depleted of their golden contents. Hosam al-Din then performed his miracle, telling the *bagban* that the supply of honey is limitless and that he could not empty the hives even if he were to remove honey combs, continuously, up to the resurrection. Thus 70 more combs were extracted, the satiety of

29. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 842-843. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 309-310.

the yaran's appetite for the garden's produce was finally attained, and yet the beehives were still full of honey. Hosam then gave the hive, as a gift, to Sultan Walad and the miracle continued long thereafter. Many new hives were colonized from it, and all sick persons who drank a potion prepared with their honey were immediately cured³⁰.

Not a great deal is said about specific vegetation, but it is nonetheless present. The rose, as symbol of love and fecundity, is perhaps the most prominent of the plants in this mystical world. It appears, then, as a token of sex and love, fulfillment and pregnancy, as well as of marriage³¹. It acquires curative powers as well, and the yaran are anxious to possess petals of the roses which Siradj al-Din, the reciter of the Mathnawi, brought to the house of Hosam al-Din during one of Rumi's semas. When Rumi caught sight of the roses, he exclaimed:

«Whoever comes from the garden brings flowers by way of benediction.

Whoever comes from the confectioner brings halwa.»

When Siradj al-Din threw the roses at the feet of Rumi, the yaran cried out, grabbed the flowers and the sema commenced³².

There are sporadic references to fruits. A friend brings figs, from the garden, as a gift to Rumi³³. Pekmez is prepared from the grapes of the Qonyiote gardens³⁴. Wine is preferred to pekmez by both Shams al-Din Tabrizi (allegedly on medical grounds) and by Amir Arif (on the basis of rather crude rationalization)³⁵. It was customary to eat the remoi-

30. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 748. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 232-233.

31. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 91, 163, 939. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 73-74, 125; II, pp. 384-386.

32. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 163. EFLAKI-HUART, I, 125.

33. EFLAKI-YAZICI, 454. EFLAKI-HUART, II, 9-10.

34. EFLAKI-YAZICI, 842. EFLAKI-HUART, II, 309.

35. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 405, 937. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 358-359, 383-384.

stened dried aprictos on return from the hammam³⁶, and cucumbers are also mentioned³⁷. Like the roses, the melon (kharbuze) is said to have magical powers. Shams al-Din Tabrizi, who ate melons frequently, is said to have experienced mystical revelations after each such ingestion³⁸.

But a good bit of Eflaki's treatment of the world of vegetation, and practically all that he has to say about the animal domain, are metaphoric, mystical, and are in the tradition of Aesop, Kalila wa Dimna and the Panchatantra. There is the image, and implied mystical metaphor, of the fruit tree so heavily laden with its rich, ripe fruit that it bows in humility³⁹. In Meram Rumi went into the water mill and began to perform his ritual dance reciting the following lines:

«The heart is like a grain, and we resemble the mill.

This latter, does it know why it turns?

The body is like the mill, the thoughts are the water
which make it turn...»⁴⁰.

After an all-night performance, Rumi departed and greeted the trees of the garden. They in turn bowed before him⁴¹. Eflaki refers, also, to an older time when trees assembled, and the plants and bricks spoke⁴².

The theologian Ikhtiyar al-Din saw a marvellous dream in which there was a great tree standing on the shore of an immense sea. On its branches perched many large birds, each one warbling sweet melodies and praising God. Rumi interpreted his dream as follows: The sea is the Islamic religion; The tree is the blessed body of Muhammad; The branches

36. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 936-937. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 382-383.

37. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 902-904. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 356-358.

38. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 642. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 138-139.

39. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 152. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 118.

40. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 370-371. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 291.

41. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 320. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 118.

42. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 154. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 121.

are the various degrees of prophets and saints; The birds are their souls and the songs represent their ideas and secrets⁴³.

Rumi, in his pantheistic exegesis of nature, explains that the birds of the air and the animals of the field are taken in traps because they have ceased to praise God. Further, birds are captured because they fly over the roofs of men who do not pray to God⁴⁴.

The poor donkey comes in for its unfair share of contumely, as in most cultures. Rumi's ψόγος ὄνου is based on the alleged enslavement of the animal to its genitalia and to the undisputed nature of its bray. Yet, Rumi says, even though the donkey does bray, all animals groan as a way of praising God, just as angels sing hymns. The parallelism between asinine braying and angelic hymnography is obviously functional and not intended to be aesthetic⁴⁵.

In his mystical transformation of the animal kingdom Rumi discourses on the famous story of the scorpion and the turtle⁴⁶ as well as on dervishes and birds⁴⁷. But like the farmer in the Kalila wa Dimna he understands and speaks to the animals in the mystical language. Thus his earlier cosmological assertion, that is that there was a time in antiquity when trees and plants spoke, is continued in his depiction of the animal kingdom which not only barks, brays, meows, and bellows, but which can communicate in this mystical language.

On one of his annual outings to the warm springs of Abi Garm Rumi, surrounded by his disciples around the edge of a pool, was deeply immersed in the recitation of his mystical thoughts. Suddenly the frogs inhabiting the pool began to

43. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 379. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 187-188.

44. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 199-200. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 152.

45. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 109-110. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 89-90.

46. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 564. EFLAKI-HUART, II, p. 78.

47. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 245-246. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 220.

croak loudly. Insulted by their rudeness and impudence, Rumi cried out to them in a frightful voice:

«What is this racket? Who is talking, you or I?»

Quickly, relates Eflaki, the frogs fell silent before their mystical master. After Rumi had finished his discourse, he approached the frogs and said to them:

«Herewith it is permitted.»

Immediately the little beasts began to croak again. The miracle was considered so extraordinary, that, alleges, Eflaki, 2,000 men became disciples of the great mystic⁴⁸.

On a higher level were Rumi's relations with the canine kingdom. One day Rumi found himself in the bazaar of Qonya at the time of the evening prayer. The dogs of the market place formed a circle about him, and Rumi gazed upon them as he continued his sermon. The dogs became agitated, made noises of satisfaction at what they were hearing. Whereupon Rumi proclaimed to the citizens of Qonya,

«They understand our gnosis.»⁴⁹

The frogs of Abi Garm could merely understand his commands, whereas the dogs could comprehend the mysteries themselves.

The title of the Menaqib al-Arifin's most famous animal/actor on the stage of the lives and deeds of the Mawlawi khalifs must undoubtedly go to the dog Qitmir. Eflaki dedicates considerable space to him and does everything on behalf of his canine hero except send him to dog heaven.

We first encounter Qitmir's career as a canine mystic when he was still owned by Nasih al-Din Sabbagh, a na'ib of Amir Arif in Nigde. The local sayyids of the town wished to remove Nasih al-Din and the Mawlawis from the town, and so they invited him to dispute, with them, over the permis-

48. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 173. EFLAKI-HUART, I, p. 134.

49. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 160-161. EFLAKI-HUART, I, pp. 123-124.

sibility of the sema. Accordingly Nasih al-Din set out, with his faithful companion Qitmir, for the site of the debate. On entering the khanegah (dervish monastery) with little Qitmir, Nasih al-Din observed that the local shaykh had already spread his prayer rug over the sofa, thus asserting his priority over that of Nasih al-Din. Qitmir, unphased by the imposing scene, approached the rug, walked onto it and urinated generously all over it⁵⁰. His argumentation, though ritual rather than theological, was obviously efficacious and the rival's prayer rug had to be removed from the place of prominence⁵¹.

We are informed that the dog Qitmir was a true ascete. Having been offered a delicious almond cake he sniffed it carefully and then walked away from it, always sticking to a diet of dry bread crusts⁵². His mystical fortunes were greatly upgraded when his master Nasih al-Din made a gift of Qitmir to Amir Arif as a trustworthy guard of the Mawlawi establishment. Qitmir made his debut, in the entourage of Amir Arif, at a sema which the latter held in the town of Ladiq. He entered the circle and danced, along with the dervishes, according to the seductive, mournful tunes of the ney and of the commands of the drum. Eflaki narrates that no dog ever attacked Qitmir but rather all his fellow canines showed him the respect due a mystical master by squatting down in a circle about him. Such were his mystical powers that anyone suffering from fever could cure it by ingesting some of Qitmir's hair that had been boiled in water. Finally he had an uncanny ability to sniff out disbelievers in the mystical way:

«In every place that he saw one who denied, directly he urinated upon him»⁵³.

50. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 913-914. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 365-366.

51. EFLAKI-YAZICI, p. 914. EFLAKI-HUART, II, p. 366.

52. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 940-941. EFLAKI-HUART, II, p. 386.

53. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 940-942. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 386-388.

Rumi is also depicted as having conversed with the societies of the felines and the bovines⁵⁴.

In this short note, dedicated to the memory of a Byzantinist who was a spiritual leader in his own way, who trained so many of today's prominent Byzantinists and left his own environment profoundly effected, an effort has been made to resurrect a portion of the spiritual world of another world, that of the Mawlawi dervish Eflaki. In his writings he reflects the influence of Rumi and his descendants on a world, that of thirteenth-fourteenth century Anatolia, which was in a profound state of fermentation and change. His spiritual doctrine attempted to re-create and to reshape the conflicting worlds of Christianity and Islam into a new synthesis. His mystical doctrine was all-comprehensive, cosmogonic embracing as it did all layers of the animate, the inanimate, and the divine. These layers he infused with a kind of mystical pantheism, imposing hierarchical order and a union of nature, the plant and animal kingdoms, and that of mankind. This is a complex story which I shall continue on another occasion and at a different place.

54. EFLAKI-YAZICI, pp. 580, 174. EFLAKI-HUART, II, pp. 87-88; I, pp. 134-135.

