REVISITING THE QIZILBASH-ALEVI TRADITION

IN LIGHT OF SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY *MECMUA* MANUSCRIPTS

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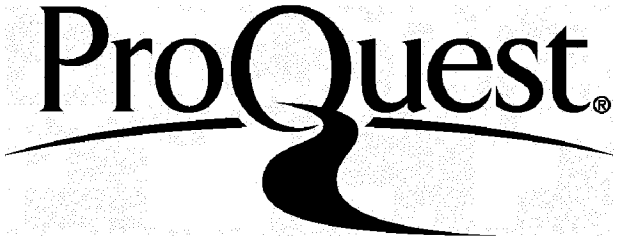


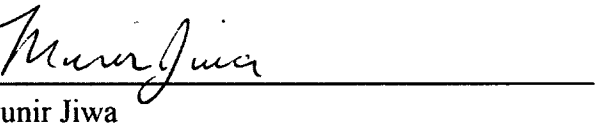
Abstract

In the late 15th century, some Sufi-linked groups in Anatolia supported the Safavid cause against the Ottomans. These groups were labeled as Qizilbash (literally, "red head"), derived from their distinctive twelve-gored crimson headwear, and persecuted as political rebels and religious heretics by the Ottomans. In parallel with the gradual decline of the Safavid influence among Anatolian supporters, they transformed into an isolated socio-religious community in the 17th century. Qizilbash religiosity has often been described with either pejorative terms of Islamic theology such as *ghulat* (extremist Shi'i) and *batini* (esoteric), or of Western scholarship such as heterodoxy, syncretism, and folk/popular religion. The available scholarship studied the early phase of the Qizilbash tradition from the official perspectives of the Ottomans and Safavids. However, due to the lack of sufficient official records about the later development of the Anatolian Qizilbash tradition, transformation of the Qizilbash community to today's Alevis remains largely controversial.

This dissertation aims to understand the trajectory of the Anatolian Qizilbash tradition in the 17th century by focusing on textual, contextual and religious aspects of the earliest four *Mecmua* manuscripts preserved by the members of the community. These manuscripts are of crucial significance because they provide vital information on the fundamentals of the Qizilbash path and reveal the remnants of the Safavid propaganda texts over Anatolian supporters. A close examination of these manuscripts further shows that they employ the collective traditions that were formed and reproduced in the Turco-Persian cultural landscape. Therefore, the characteristics of the *Mecmuas* cannot be determined by modern conceptions of cultural and religious boundaries. These

manuscripts provide a unique example of the continuation of religious and cultural symbiosis in the context of the rising Safavid and Ottoman orthodoxies.

The Qizilbash tradition of the *Mecmuas* can be characterized with devotional love and reverence toward Ali, the cousin and the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, and his descendants, referred to as *Ahl-al Bayt*. The Qizilbashes were also largely influenced by the *futuwwat*-Sufism tradition embedded in early Anatolian and pre-Safavid Islam. They have two contradictory views of religion: the abandonment of the *shariat* (religious law) for the sake of the *tarikat* (the spiritual path); and the integration of the *shariat* and *tarikat* without requiring the submerging of one to another.



Dr. Munir Jiwa

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I dedicate my dissertation to all the lovers of *Ahl-al Bayt* (the household of the Prophet Muhammad), as well as those who suffer from any injustice, but still command the right with perseverance.

Preface

Regarding my research on the early manuscripts of the Qizilbash (historical ancestors of today's Alevis) community, the tiresome question I had to face was why I, a Sunni Muslim, study the history of a religious group whose Muslimness still remains controversial among both Sunnis and Alevis. I had also been suspected to distort the textual heritage of Alevis with my "Sunni" perspectives or to contribute towards the official efforts of the Turkish State to reconstruct the Alevi tradition in accordance with either the fundamentals of Sunni Islam or political exigencies. Needless to say, none of these reasons can explain the lengthy and tedious hours I spent at ISAM (The Center of Islamic Studies) in Istanbul, Turkey, where I transcribed the messy and illegible manuscripts written in Ottoman Turkish, and at the Graduate Theological Union (GTU) Library in Berkeley where I completed my dissertation.

When I started the Ph.D. program at the GTU, I had been interested in Sufi narratives penned in pre-modern Ottoman history. Searching for a dissertation topic, my initial readings aroused my interest in the Bektashis, who are similar to the Alevis in terms of their theologies, practices, and beliefs as well as their hagiographic narratives. Ayfer Karakaya-Stump's article on the published Alevi *Buyruks* inspired me to focus on the earliest extant copies of these texts at national libraries in Turkey, because several outstanding questions remain to be addressed about the religious history of the Anatolian Alevi communities.

In addition to my academic goal to make substantial contributions to the newly emerging field of Alevi studies, I also have personal reasons to study the origins of the Alevis. I was born in Erzincan in Eastern Anatolia, historically known as a safe haven for the Alevi communities. My favorite childhood pastimes took place in the warmly and

welcoming neighborhood that was densely populated by Alevi families. Later, my family moved from Erzincan to Gelibolu, a small coastal district in Western Turkey. In my Ph.D. journey, it was very tempting to study the textual heritage of the community, which deeply and positively shaped my childhood memories.

I was also culturally motivated to study the Alevi textual literature. My passion for Turkish folk music has mostly been inspired by Alevi poetry. At college, I practiced the *bağlama,* the stringed musical instrument played in contemporary Alevi rituals. The songs produced by the literary legacy of Pir Sultan Abdal and Hatayi and played by Erkan Oğur and İsmail Hakkı Demircioğlu, became a source of comfort while studying.

During my research in Turkey, I also learned of my ancestors' interactions with the Alevi community. I met an Alevi Dede from Erzincan at a Cemevi. It was quite unusual for a Sunni woman to visit a Cemevi, and Dede was initially skeptical about why I was there. When I mentioned my family lineage traceable to the Sağıroğlu family, he warmly welcomed me because a person from my family lineage helped the Alevis construct a tomb for a prominent Alevi figure in Kemah, Erzincan. Although I do not know much about my ancestors, I hope my dissertation not only makes the Qizilbash texts speak for themselves without any ideological or theological interference, but also satisfies the expectations of the Alevi community.

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Introduction

> Unfortunately, except for Shah Ismail's poetry, we do not possess Qizilbash writings illuminating their beliefs. For the Safavids went through a process of redefining themselves once they were able to discipline the Qizilbash. They rewrote their own history and purged it of exaggeration.[1]

Qizilbash (lit. red head) is the political name given to the mostly Turkish speaking 'Alid groups in Azerbaijan, Anatolia and Northern Iraq since the 15th century. Some of these groups contributed to the foundation of the Safavid Dynasty in Iran and played a central role in the context of Safavid-Ottoman political rivalry. Initially, these groups were among the followers of the Safavid Sufi Order. The network of Safavid followers were engaged in missionary activities and gained many followers, mostly from Turcoman tribes of Anatolia, northwestern Iran, northern Syria, and northern Iraq. Safavids evolved to a trans-regional political movement since the mid-15th century with 'extremist' Shi'i tendencies. The supporters of the Safavid military order were named Qizilbash after their red/crimson headgear as a symbol of their allegiance to Safavid Shahs.[2] The military support of the Qizilbash had enabled Shah Ismail (d. 1524) to establish the Safavid state in Tabriz in 1501. Ismail declared Shi'ism as the official religion of the state. He ultimately united all of Persia and his expansionist policies in Western regions started the clash with the powerful neighbor Ottoman Empire. After the defeat of Shah Ismail in the decisive battle of Chaldiran by Ottomans in 1514, extreme Shi'i tendencies and messianic

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[1] Kathryn Babayan, *Mystic, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), xlii.

[2] Most historians agree that before the rise of Safavid dynasty, wearing this headgear was a common practice among pro-Safavid religious communities. Because of pejorative meanings associated with this term, it was replaced by *Alevi* in modern times. But there is uncertainty on the history of the term Alevi among scholars. Throughout the dissertation, I will use the terms Qizilbash (or Qizilbash) and Alevi interchangeably because of the possibility that the religious title Alevi had been used earlier than the 19th century for the religious groups.

pretensions of Shah Ismail had ended, and the military and political influence of Safavids over Anatolia had declined.[3] Under the time of Shah Tahmasb (d. 1576), *shariat*-minded Arab theologians had been invited to facilitate the spread of Twelver Shi'ism in Safavid Iran.[4]

Anatolian Sufi-linked groups with 'Alid loyalty had supported the Safavid cause against the Ottomans. The followers in Ottoman territories had been persecuted and suppressed during the major Ottoman campaigns against the Safavids during the 16th century. The office of *khalifat al-khulafa* (the deputy of Sufi affairs) started to lose its influence after the death of Shah Abbas (r. 1588-1629).[5] Yet, the Anatolian Qizilbash community maintained their connection with the Safavids by paying taxes to the Shah and having their *khalifas* appointed by the head of the Central Convent in Ardabil. However, Anatolian Qizilbash groups (later named Alevis) did not adopt Twelver Imam Shi'ism, but instead continued their 'Alid loyalty and maintained their religious and cultural identity even after the fall of Safavid Dynasty in the 18th century. Due to lack of official statistics that specify religious differences, the current Alevi community are estimated to constitute somewhere between 10 and 20 percent of Turkish population in Turkey today.

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[3] Adel Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict* (906-962/1500-1555) (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), esp. 31, 47-48, 50-51; Markus Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy: Competing Claims for Authority and Legitimacy in the Ottoman -Safavid Conflict," in *Legitimizing The Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. by Hakan T. Karateke et al. (Brill: Boston, 2005), 64,159.

[4] For the import of Shi'i theologians from Syria to Iran during Shah Ismail, see Roger M. Savory, *Iran Under Safavids* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 30. For the appointment of local clerical notables in early Safavid administrative state, see Said Arjamand, T*he Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Organization and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 127-135.

[5] Savory, "The office of Khalifat al-Khulafā Under the Safavids," *Journal of American Oriental Society*, LXXXV (1965), 501-502; Babayan, "The Safavid Synthesis: From Qizilbash Islam to Imamate Shi'ism," *Iranian Studies* 27 (1994), 140. Babayan argues that the office survived until the reign of Shah Sultan Huseyn, but its function underwent the change since it was granted only on *sayyids* (the descendants of Prophet Muhammad) and charged with the matters of *shariat*.

Review of Historiography

Both Safavid and Ottoman historians are interested in the Qizilbash communities mainly on the account of the roles they played in the origins of the Safavid dynasty, the rise and foundation of Safavid state, the transition in the Safavid religious discourse from unorthodox and messianic religious system into Twelver Shi'ism, the inter-tribal struggles between Qizilbash groups, and the rebellions and persecutions of pro-Safavid followers in Anatolia against the Ottomans.

I. Safavid Historiography

Historians of the Safavid Empire are interested in the origin of the term Qizilbash and its associated meaning. Savory holds that Shaykh Haydar was instructed in a dream by Imam Ali to devise a red headgear with twelve points symbolizing the Twelve Imams, which became a distinctive mark of Safavid supporters. Initially the name Qizilbash applied only to Turcoman tribes, but later used for non-Turcoman supporters as well. [6] Roemer interprets that the tradition of having caps with twelve parts does not prove itself Haydar's Shi'i inclinations since the Twelve Imams had always played an important role in "folk Islam".[7] Babayan finds the origins of the term Qizilbash in pre-Islamic Iranian religious patterns.[8] Revisiting the previously scholarly works to assume a singular religious ideology that persisted continuously over time, Bashir argues that the term Qizilbash itself had undergone the changes in the course of two centuries of Safavid history. While the early historical sources use Qizilbash only referring to the Safavid

[6] Savory, *Iran Under Safavids*, 19-20; R. Hans Roemer, *The Safavid Period*, vol.6, *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 195.
[7] Roemer, *The Safavid Period*, 207.
[8] Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs and Messiahs*, xxviii-xxxviii.

troops and their activities, the red headgear was connected to the origins of Safavid dynasty and became associated with Twelver Shiism in the later sources.[9]

Based on anti-Safavid Sunni sources[10] and several European accounts,[11] Safavid historians commonly argue that Qizilbash Islam/early Safavid Islam was *ghulat*[12] Shi'ism rather than orthodox Shi'ism because of deification of Ali, divine incarnation of Shahs, and abandonment of the *shariat*.[13] Taking extremism out of the connotation of the term, Babayan defines the concept of *ghuluww* as exaggeration of time and being rather than simply as divine incarnation of Ali and other imams.[14] But she still keeps the negative connotations of the term in her understanding of the early Qizilbash religiosity.

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[9] Shahzad Bashir, "The Origins and Rhetorical Evolution of the Term Qizilbash in Persianate Literature," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 57 (2014): 379-85.

[10] In his anti-Safavid chronicle, Khunji, who served at the court of Sultan Yaqub Aq Koyunlu (d. 1490), says, "The fools of Rum, who are a crowd of error and a host of devilish imagination, exposed their own trinity to exemplary punishment in the nethermost hell. They openly called Shaykh Junayd 'God (ilah)' and his son 'Son of God (ibn-Allah)". Shaykh Haydar was accused of not observing the obligatory Islamic rituals. His Qizilbash followers were also portrayed as the ones who "considered him as their god (*ma'bud*) and neglecting the duties of obligatory daily prayer and public prayers, looked upon the shaykh as their qibla and prostrated him (*masjud)*." See Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī-Iṣfahānī, *Tārīkh-i 'ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, Persian text ed. John Woods, with the abridged English translation by Vladimir Minorsky; revised and augmented by John E. Woods (Royal Asiatic Society, 1992), 57-58.

[11] On the divine veneration of Shah Ismail, see *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Hakluyt Society, Vol. 49, Pt. 2, (London, 1873), 206; on the extraordinary spiritual authority of Shah Tahmasb over the Turcomans of Anatolia, see Michele Membre, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, trans. A.H. Morton (Wiltshire: E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 1999), 18, 32, 40-43.

[12] Historically, *ghulat* (extremist) was first used as a pejorative term to designate the various positions of early Shi'is from denial of the death of Ali and the later Imams, and belief in the return of the Imam after the absence, condemnation of Abu Bakr and 'Umar as usurpers of Ali's right, infallibility of the Imam, and believing in reincarnation and even transmigration of souls into sub-human bodies. The term *ghulat* was later adapted and used by the Imami Shi'is for the other Shi'i groups who attributed divinity to Imam Ali or other Imams. For the historical overview of the term *ghulat*, see Hodgson, "Ghulat", *EI,* 1093-1095.

[13] Kathryn Babayan, "Sufis, Dervishes and Mullas, The Controversy Over Spiritual and Temporal Dominion in the Seventeenth-Century Iran"(117-138), in *Safavid Persia, The History and Politics of an Islamic Society,* ed. Charles Melville (I. B. Tauris, Cambridge, 1996), 118; Savory, *Iran Under Safavids*, 33; Roemer, *The Safavid Period*, 195, 213; Said Amir Arjumand, "Religious Extremism (Ghuluww), Sufism and Sunnism in Safavid Iran: 1501-1722," *Journal of Asian History*, 15 (1981): 1-35; M. M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids : Shi' ism, Sufism and the Ghulat* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 233-234.

[14] Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, xvii, xxv, xxxii.

Roemer questions the accuracy of historical claims on the self-divinity of Shahs because of the anti-Safavid nature of the contemporary sources,[15] but agrees that Shah Ismail was venerated as a divine.[16] The poetry composed in Turkish by Shah Ismail was also regarded as further evidence for his divine rule, overlooking the poetic nature of these expressions.[17]

Surprisingly, Safavid/Persian sources do not provide information on the Qizilbash rituals and religious beliefs, with the single exception of *Tadhkirat al-Muluk* that describes religious ceremonies associated with the office of *khalifat al khulafa.*[18] Fortunately, Membre's account of his mission to the court of Shah Tahmasb offers early textual evidence for Qizilbash beliefs and rituals.[19] Qizilbash Islam was regarded as a particular religious synthesis of Sufism, 'Alid loyalty, and *ghuluww* (exaggerated Shi'ism), sustained its monopoly in Safavid religious life until the end of the 17th century.[20]

II. Ottoman Historiography

Like Safavid historians, Ottoman historians are mainly interested in the roles the Qizilbash played in the context of the Safavid-Ottoman rivalry and the impacts of

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[15] Roemer, *The Safavid Period*, Ms-198.

[16] Roemer, ibid., 214. Citation for the source of this information is not given.

[17] For the evidence of Shah Ismail's divine incarnation, Savory quotes Shah Ismail's poetry without giving the citation (but referring to another article), "I am very God, very God, very God! Come now, O blind man who has lost the path, behold the Truth! I am that Agens Absolutus of whom they speak." See Savory, *Iran*, 23; Viladimir Minorsky, 'The Poetry of Shah Ismail', *BSOS*, X/4 (1942): 1006-53; Minorsky, "Khata'i", *E.I.*

[18] *Tadkirat al-Muluk: A Manual of Safavid Administration*, (c.1137/1725), ed. and trans. V. Minorsky (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, 1980), 55. This source includes examples such as confessional ceremony, and the distribution of bread, halva, and sweets among the assembly, in addition to the loud dhikr performed on Friday evening in the House of the Unity (*tawhid-khaneh*) attached to the palace.

[19] Michele Membre, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia*, 18, 32, 40-43.

[20] Regarding the gradual transformation of Safavid religious discourse from Qizilbash Islam to Imamate Islam, see Babayan's article, "The Safavid Synthesis," 135-161; idem, "Sufis, Dervishes and Mullas," 118.

Anatolian Qizilbash communities over domestic policy.[21] Ottoman historiography represents the official attitude of the Ottomans against the Qizilbash and showed more attention to their ethnic and religious roots than any other aspects. Unlike the abundant chronicles of the 16th century reporting pro-Safavid activities in Anatolia,[22] historical sources from the 17th century are silent on the Qizilbash tradition and groups.

The Turkish nationalist historiography initiated by Köprülü has argued that the nomadic Turcoman clans and the Turcoman *babas* (lit. fathers) migrated to Anatolia via Khorasan, Azerbaijan, and Khwarazm were affiliated with the Yasawi Sufi order, and this order played a central role in the Islamization of Anatolia. In parallel with this paradigm, the two of the major Sufi orders, the Naqshibandiya and Bektashiyya, are traced back to Ahmad Yasawi. Their 'popular' version of Islam included *batini* (lit. esoteric)[23] beliefs. The roots of the Qizilbash belief were traced back to Central Asia and

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[21] For Ottoman official documents regarding the persecution of heretics in the Ottoman Empire, see Ahmet Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik* (Muallim Ahmet Halit Kütüphanesi: Istanbul, 1932); Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, 'Kizilbash Heresy and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century', *Anatolia Moderna* 7 (1997): 1-15; Saim Savaş, *XVI. Yüzyıl Anadolu'da Alevilik* (Ankara: Vadi, 2002); Colin Imber, "The persecution of the Ottoman Shiites according to the Muhimme Defterleri, 1565-1585", in *Studies in Ottoman History and Law* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1996), 118-119.

[22] Ayse Baltacioglu-Brammer, "Safavid Conversion Propaganda in Ottoman Anatolia and the Ottoman Reaction, 1440s-1630s," (PhD Thesis, The Ohio State University, 2016). Her dissertation gives a comprehensive analysis of both Safavid and Ottoman chronicles on the Safavid movement. Her work shows that the 16th century Ottoman chronicles mention Anatolian supporters of the Safavid Shahs who supported the Safavid cause by sending money and gifts to the center of the order (see p.111-112, 113-114).

[23] The *batiniyya* is a theological term used in medieval times to designate the Ismailis who put the stress on the esoteric meanings behind the literal meanings. Later, this label was generalized for anyone who rejects the literal meanings of sacred texts in favor of their esoteric meanings. What distinguishes the mostly Shi'i-linked *batini* groups from all other groups that adapted esoteric interpretations in some way was their sectarian character. Ottoman/Turkish scholarship has commonly used this terminology to define Alevi and Bektashi communities. For the historical review of the term, M.G.S. Hodgson, "Batiniyya", *EI*, 1098-1100. For the early examples of this scholarship that puts stress on the *Batini* teachings of 'Alid groups in Anatolia from the 13th to the 16th century, see Köprülü, Islam in Anatolia, 6, 31; Gölpınarlı, "İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı ve Kaynakları," İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası Vol. 11, no. 1-4 (1949-50): 59-61. Gölpınarlı here interchangeably uses *ghuluww* and *batiniyya* to describe the nature of Shi'i-linked ideas held by Alevis and Bektashis.

the pre-Islamic religions of the Turks, particularly the Shamanic remnants.[24]

Responding to the idea of influence of Persian culture over Anatolian religiosity in the orientalist scholarship, Köprülü claimed that these Turcoman dervishes introduced the spirit of Shi'ism to Anatolia before the appearance of the Seljuks. These Turcoman groups represented a potential threat against the Sunni political powers of Anatolia from the Seljuks to the later periods of Ottomans and led many social-political uprisings.[25] Following the Köprülü paradigm, Melikoff defined Bektashi-Alevi tradition as an Islamized Shamanism. Unlike Köprülü's portrayal of Alevis as rural Bektashis, she does not see any distinction between Bektashis and Alevis except the regions in which they predominantly lived.[26] Ocak found the pre-Islamic origins of Alevi beliefs and practices in the ancient Iranian and Indian traditions and "heretical" Christian traditions rather than

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[24] For Köprülü's ideas on Shamanistic influences in the origins of the Bektashi order, see Fuat Köprülü, "Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri," *Türk Yurdu Sayı*, 16-22, no.169-8 (1925; reprint, Ankara: 2001), 9:68-76; idem, *Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol Sur les Ordres Mystiques des Musulmans* (Istanbul: Inst. de Turcologie de l'Univ. de Stamboul, 1929). For his general views of the development of Islam and Sufism in Anatolia, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar* (1919; Reprint, Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1984), 14, 19; idem, "Anadolu'da Islamiyet," *DEFM*, 4 (1338/1922): 305-309, 405-408.For the critique of the shamanism paradigm developed by Köprülü, see A C S Peacock and Sara Nur Yildiz, "Introduction", in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East* (London: New York: I.B. Tauris, 2013), 10-11.

[25] Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion* (first published in 1922 in Ottoman Turkish), trans. Gary Leiser (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 6, 31. Also, for his view of these uprisings, see Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia*, 13-15. According to Köprülü, the Baba'i uprising, one of the earliest uprisings was led by a Turcoman Qalandari dervish, Baba Ishaq (1240) who holds extremist Alevi beliefs. Hacı Bektaş, the eponym of Bektashi (also Bektashiyya) order, was one of his successors in Anatolia. Köprülü further suggests that the 14th -century Badr al-Din rebellion was led by the remnants of the supporters of Baba Ishaq.

[26] Irène Mélikoff has many articles on this issue. See, for example, "Le Probleme Kizilbash," *Turcica*, 6 (1975): 49-67 and "Recherches sur le composantes du Sincretisme Bektachi-Alevi," *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata* (Naples: Roma Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1982): 379-395. For a collection of her articles, *Au Banquet des Quarnate: Explortation au Coeur du Bektaschisme-Alevisme* (Istanbul: Les Editions Isis, 2001). For the summary of her ideas, see her book, *Hadji Bektach: un mythe et ses avatars: genèse et évolution du soufisme populaire en Turquie* (Leiden, Brill 1998), 126-143, 161-178. For an academic critique of Mélikoff's *Hadji Bektach: un mythe*, see Hamid Algar, "Reviewed work: Hadji Bektach: Un mythe et ses avatars. Genèse et évolution du soufisme populaire enTurquie by Irene Mélikoff," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004): 687-689.

Shamanism.[27] The missionary works from the early 20th century depicted Qizilbash as syncretic and heterodox community, whose beliefs and rituals mainly reflect Christian and pagan elements.[28]

The Köprülü paradigm has been seriously challenged with recent historical works. Based on Central Asian sources, DeWeese argued against the overemphasis on the Central Asian influence over Anatolian Sufism.[29] More recent Ottoman studies have criticized the application of dichotomous views of religion into Anatolian religious history and questioned externalist explanations of antinomian religious movements and the theory of "insufficient Islamization", because these approaches have failed to grasp the religious complexity of Muslim groups in pre- and early Ottoman Anatolia.[30] Their approaches have greatly inspired and influenced the methodologies of many scholars who study the religious history of Ottoman Anatolia.[31]

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[27] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Alevî ve Bektaşî İnançlarının İslâm Öncesi Temelleri* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000), 53-110; idem, *Babailer İsyanı: Aleviliğin Tarihsel Altyapısı yahut Anadolu'da İslâm-Türk Heterodoksisinin Teşekkülü* (İstanbul: Dergah, 2000).

[28] For Western scholarship, see F. W. Hasluck, "Heterodox Tribes of Asia Minor," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 51 (1921): 327-42; John Birge, *The history of Bektashi Order* (Hartford: Hartford Seminary Press, 1937). For the critique of missionary accounts of the Alevis, see Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, "The Emergence of the Qizilbash in Western Thought: Missionary Accounts and Their Aftermath," in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W.* Hasluck 1878-1920, ed. David Shankland. (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004), 329-353.

[29] Devin DeWeese, 'Foreword,' in Mehmed Fuat Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, trans. and ed. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London: Newyork: Routledege, 2006), viii-xxvii; Ahmet Karamustafa, "Haci Bektas Veli ve Anadolu'da Muslumanlar," in *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler*, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, 2005; ibid.., "Kaygusuz Abdal, A Medieval Turkish Saint and the Formation of Vernacular Islam in Anatolia," in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A.C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yildiz (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015); Riza Yildirim, "Sunni Orthodoxy vs Shi'ite Heterodoxy?" A Reappraisal of Islamic Piety in Medieval Anatolia" in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, viii-xxvii.

[30] See Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 53-54; Ahmet Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period*, 1200-1550 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 4-11; Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 17-39.

[31] Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (The Pennsylvania State University Press University Park, 2003); E Zeynep Yürekli Görkay, "*Legend and Architecture in The Ottoman Empire : The Shrines of Seyyid Gazi and Haci Bektaş*" (PhD dis., Harvard University, 2005); Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, "Subjects of the Sultan, Disciples of the Shah:

III. Recent Alevi Studies

The emerging field of Alevi studies includes many works in a broad range of disciplines from theological studies to sociology. Turkish Sunni theologians have studied the Qizilbash-Alevi tradition in an effort to determine to what extent it is a part of the Islamic tradition. They mostly treat the written sources of the Alevis as fixed and unchanged religious sources for understanding the essentials of Alevi beliefs and practices. [32]

Similar to Sunni theological works, Alevi scholars attempted to define the Alevi tradition for their own community. As a response to patronizing approaches of Sunni theologians, popular literature of the Alevis remained apologetic and defensive. This literature can be divided into two groups. The first group considers the Alevi path as a part of the larger Islamic tradition or the real essence of Islam. The second group argues that the Alevi tradition is not an Islamic sect and tradition, but a different religion and belief. [33]

Formation and Transformation of the Kizilbash/Alevi Communities in Ottoman Anatolia"(PhD dis., Harvard University, 2008)"; Rıza Yıldırım, "Turcomans Between Empires: The Origins of the Kizilbash Identity in Anatolia (1447-1514)" (PhD dis., Bilkent University, Ankara, 2008; Tijana Kristić, *Contested Conversions to Islam: Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Ayse Baltacioglu-Brammer, "Safavid Conversion Propoganda".

[32] For example, Sönmez Kutlu, *Alevilik-Bektaşilik Yazıları: Aleviliğin Yazılı Kaynakları: Buyruk: Tezkire-i Şeyh Safi* (Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları, 2006), 159-175.

[33] For the first group, see Bedri Noyan, *Bektaşilik Alevilik Nedir?* (Ankara: Sanat Kitabevi, 1987); Rıza Zelyut, *Öz Kaynaklarına Göre Alevilik* (İstanbul: AKY, 1990), especially 12; İsmail Kaygusuz, "İmam Cafer Sadık, Ortodoks- Heterodoks Caferilik ve "Buyruk," in *Alevilik*, İsmail Engin and Havva Engin, ed., (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 233-259, especially 249-258. Differently from these two authors, Ismail Kaygusuz makes two interesting claims: first; the Qizilbash committee consisting of seven leading experts/dedes wrote Buyruks and second; these books have reflected the doctrines of 'heterodox' form of the Jafariyya sect, which was an early form of the Twelver Shi'i Islam. For proving his claim, he points out the inter-textually between Buyruks and Ismaili literature. For the second group, see Mehmet Bayrak, *Ortaçağ'dan Modern Çağa Alevilik* (Ankara: Özge Yayınları, 2004); Esat Korkmaz, *Anadolu Aleviliği* (İstanbul: Berfin, 2000), 9-11; Nejat Birdoğan, *Anadolu'nun Gizli Kültürü: Alevilik*, Second Edition, (İstanbul: Berfin, 1994); Erdoğan Çınar, *Aleviliğin Gizli Tarihi: Demirin Üstünde Karınca İzi* (İstanbul: Çiviyazıları Yayınevi, 2004); Fuat Bozkurt, *Aleviliğin Toplumsal Boyutları* (İstanbul: Yön Yayıncılık, 1990). For example, by supporting the idea that Alevi tradition is outside Islamic tradition, Çınar argues that the oral tradition of Alevis is the sacred book for Alevis. Bozkurt claims that Alevi tradition is Anatolian religion, so Islam is nothing than a cover on it, p.15.

According to sociological studies, Alevi beliefs and practices are subordinated into the social and economic structure of the Alevi community. Therefore, sociological analyses have failed to develop an interactive analysis of the Alevi tradition, but rather privileged social, political, and economic factors over religious elements in order to explain the development and transformation of the Alevi communities.[34]

In the past decade, three monographs deserve special attention regarding historical studies of the Qizilbash-Alevi groups. Yıldırım examines Ottoman, Safavid and Italian primary sources to understand the socio-political and ideological aspects of the emergence of early Qizilbash identity. Baltacioglu-Brammer's monograph contributes to understanding of the long-lasting history of pro-Safavid propaganda from the mid-15th to the mid-17th century and the Ottoman response to these activities. Karakaya's dissertation covers a broader range of historical contexts from the mid-15th century to the late 19th century by using newly available historical documents from the leading Alevi families. These monographs complement each other as both Yildirim and Baltacioglu-Brammer tackle the issues of Qizilbash identity formation in the larger context of Ottoman-Safavid relationship using all of the available primary sources from outside the community, and Karakaya examines the development of Qizilbash–Alevi socio-religious organizations based on the internal sources of the community. [35]

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[34] Yılmaz Soyyer, *Sosyolojik Açıdan Bektaşi Geleneği* (Seyran: İstanbul, 1996); David Shankland, *The Alevis in Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic-Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 1-12, 94-132.

[35] Rıza Yıldırım, "Turcomans between Empires"; Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, "Subjects of the Sultan"; Ayse Baltacioglu-Brammer, "Safavid Conversion Propaganda." For further versions of Karakaya-Stump's analysis of Buyruks, see her two articles, Karakaya-Stump, "Alevi Dede Ailelerine Ait Buyruk Mecmuaları," *Turkuaz Yayinlari*, 21 (Istanbul: 2012): 361-380"; idem, "Documents and Buyruk Manuscripts in the Private Archives of Alevi Dede Families: An Overview," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, v37 n3 (2010): 273-286. Similarly, Yıldırım expands his initial analysis of *Buyruks* in his later work. For a comparative analysis of the *Menakib* of Ms-199 with the two of the earliest Turkish *Futuwwat-names*, see Yıldırım, "Inventing a Sufi Tradition: The Use of the Futuwwat Ritual Gathering as a

The Religious Texts of the Qizilbash Community

It remains unclear how the Qizilbash community maintained their religious identity under the Ottoman rule after the decline of their roles in Safavid politics. There have been very limited sources about the Qizilbash in 17th century, and their beliefs and practices and their connection to Shi'ism are widely controversial among historians.

The Qizilbash-Alevi tradition had mainly been transmitted through oral means, except for their manuscripts, the *Mecmuas*. The earliest copies of these manuscripts are available in national libraries of Turkey. The *Mecmuas* prescribe the teachings and practices of the tradition as well as socio-religious norms and disciplinary charges for the followers who transgress these norms. These manuscripts are of primary significance for understanding the internal trajectory of the Qizilbash-Alevi tradition and its followers in the post-revolutionary period (between 1590 and 1722).[36]

Historical sources mention that in order to find both economic and military support for the Safavid cause, the Safavid representatives had transferred thirty-four copies of heretical (*rafizi*) books to Anatolia after the first half of the 16th century.[37] The original copies of these books are not available and it remains uncertain whether the *Mecmua* manuscripts were inherited from these books. To be able to answer this

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Model for the Qizilbash *Djem,* "in *Sufism and Society Arrangements of the Mystical in the Muslim World, 1200–1800,* ed. John Curry and Erik Ohlander (New York: Routledge, 2002). For methodological approach to literary dimensions of Alevi sources, see also, idem, "Literary Foundations of Alevi Tradition: An Essay on Literary Mainstream, Canon, and Orthodoxy," 2016. I am grateful to Yıldırım for sharing his article, "Literary Foundations" before being published. I also want to thank Karakaya-Stump and Baltacioglu-Brammer for sharing their dissertations before putting them online.

[36] Babayan divides Safavid history into two main phases: the revolutionary phase (1447-1501) and the imperial phase (1501-1722). The imperial phase is also classified into two eras: the classical age of Safavid rule (1501-90) and the Isfahan phase of Safavid rule (1590-1722) in which the process of centralization took place. In this study, I loosely use "post-revolutionary phase" suggesting the Safavid period for the Isfahan phase between 1590 and 1722. See Babayan, "The Safavid Synthesis," 138, 142.

[37] Saim Savaş, *16. Asırda Anadolu'da Alevilik*, 29, 32, 39-42, 206; Ahmet Refik Efendi, *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik*, 35-36.

question, my dissertation aims to do a textual and contextual analysis of the *Mecmua* manuscripts.

This dissertation deals with the earliest four copies of the *Mecmuas*. The earliest *Mecmua* is entitled *Kitab-ı Menakıb-ı Şerif,* which had been compiled after 1601.[38] This date was determined by the death of a Qizilbash poet Nizamoğlu Seyyid Seyfullah, whose poem is included in the manuscript.[39] *Menakıbü'l-Esrar Behçetü'l Ahrar*[40] has been dated 1608 by Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı.[41] These Mecmuas contain the eulogy for Shah Tahmasb attributed to the poet known as Bisati.[42] But the content analysis of these two manuscripts, as suggested by Gölpınarlı, proves the composition of these manuscripts long after the reign of Shah Tahmasb. *Risale-i Şeyh Safi* was compiled around 1612 by Muhammad b. Habib.[43] The latest *Mecmua* entitled *Kitabı Makam Menakıb-ı Kutbü'l Arifin Hazreti Şeyh Seyyid Safi* can reasonably be traced to the reign of Shah Sulayman (r. 1666-1694) based on its Safavid genealogy.[44]

The *Mecmua* manuscripts are interlayered with different religious texts including *Hutbe-i Düvazdeh İmam* (the sermon on the Twelve Imams), *Menakıb/Risale*, the letter sent from *Dergah-ı Âli* (the supreme or exalted convent), other short treatises as well as

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[38] *Mecmua, Kitab-ı Menakıb-ı Şerif*, ms. (Mevlana Müzesi Abdülbaki Kütüphanesi), no.198. Hereinafter, it is referred to as Ms-198.

[39] Gölpınarlı, Mevlana Müzesi Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı Kütüphanesi Yazma Kitaplar Kataloğu (Ankara: TTK Yayinlari, 2003), 262.

[40] *Mecmua, Menakıbu'l-Esrar Behçetü'l-Ahrâr*, ms., (Mevlana Müzesi Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı Kütüphanesi), no. 181. Hereinafter, it is named as Ms-181.

[41] For this date, see Gölpınarlı, Mevlana Müzesi Yazmalar Kataloğu, III (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1972), 431.

[42] Ms-181: 15a; Ms-198: 38b-39b

[43] *Mecmua, Risale-i Seyh Safi*, ms. dated 1021/1612, Mevlana Müzesi Ferit Uğur Kitaplığı, no. 1172; its partial transcription and facsimile published in *Bisati- Şeyh Safi Buyruğu*, ed. Ahmet Taşğın (Ankara: Rheda-Wiedenbrück Çevresi Alevi Kültür Derneği Yayınları, 2003). Hereinafter, it is referred to as Ms-1172.

[44] *Kitab-ı Makam Menakıb-ı Kutbül Arifin Hazreti Şeyh Seyyid Safi*, ms. (Mevlana Müzesi Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı Kütüphanesi), no.199. For the dating of the manuscript, see Mevlana Müzesi Yazmalar Kataloğu, 264. Hereinafter, it is referred to as Ms-199.

mystical poetry of didactic nature.[45] The *Menakıb/Risale* is the largest component of each *Mecmua*. The published copies of *Menakıb* are also known as *Buyruk* today.[46]

Despite their apparent significance, there has not been any critical study of the *Mecmuas*. Recent Alevi studies made a brief analysis of a few *Buyruk* manuscripts, but they are not primarily based on the *Mecmuas*. Regarding the publications of Alevi written sources, some available manuscripts have also been fully or partially published under the title of *Buyruk*. The first *Buyruk* manuscript was published in 1954 as a part of the Arabic book entitled *al-Shabak* by al-Sarraf.[47] The most read copy of *Buyruks* was published by Sefer Aytekin in 1958.[48] With the so-called Alevi revival of 1980s and 1990s, these religious manuscripts received a great deal of attention within the Alevi communities. During this period, different *Buyruk* manuscripts have been published[49] and several scholars have mentioned the significance of *Buyruk* manuscripts in their studies.[50] However, there has been no monographic study focusing on these manuscripts with the

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[45] For the list of individual texts in the *Mecmuas*, see Appendix I.

[46] The title *Buyruk* is currently used for the published copies of *Menakıb/Risale*. But the *Mecmuas* do not use it. The word *Buyruk* is a derivative noun from a Turkish verb, *buyurmak* (to order or to command). In the manuscripts, this verb is used in two ways. First, in question-answer dialogues between Shaykh Safi and his son and disciple Shaykh Sadr ad-Din, 'buyurdu' (he ordered/commanded) is used in third person and past tense, in order to express the direct quotation of an answer from Shaykh Safi. Second, 'Buyurun' (please order/command) is used in the polite form of imperative when Shaykh Safi addressed questions of Shaykh Sadr ad-Din. Meanwhile, the second word 'buyurun' evokes the word, *befarmaeed* used in Persian on occasions in which people are politely asked to eat, sit, come, speak, or do anything.

[47] Ahmad Hamid Al-Sarraf, *Al-Shabak: An Extremist Sect in Iraq: Their Origin, Language, Villages, Beliefs, Traditions, and Customs* (in Arabic) (Baghdad: Al-Maarif Press, 1954). For its Turkish translation, *Buyruk: Menakıb-i Şeyh Safi Musul ve Çevresindeki Şebeklerin Buyruğu*, ed. Ahmet Taşgin (Malberg: Alevi-Bektaşi Kültür Enstitüsü, 2010).

[48] Sefer Aytekin, ed., *Buyruk* (Ankara: Emek Basımevi, 1958); For other *Buyruk* publications, see Hasan Ayyıldız, ed., *İmam-ı Cafer Buyruğu: Kerbela Faciasından Evvel Şam'da Halifeliğini İlan Eden Muaviye'den Kayser Rum'un Kuran'ı Kerim'den Sorduğu ve Muaviye'nin Cevap Veremediği 100 Sual ve Âyetleri İle Cevapları* (İstanbul: Ayyıldız Yayınları, 1959); Fuat Bozkurt, ed., *Buyruk* (İstanbul: Anadolu Matbaası, 1982).

[49] *Imam Cafer Buyruğu* (İstanbul: Şahkulu Sultan Külliyesi Mehmet Ali Hilmi Dedebaba Araştırma Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 1995); Mehmet Yaman, ed., *Erdebilli Şeyh Safi Buyruğu* (Istanbul: Ufuk Matbaası, 1994); Mustafa Erbay, ed., *Şeyh Safi Buyruğu* (Ankara, Ayyıldız Yayınları, 1994). Adil Ali Atalay, *Imam Cafer Sadik Buyruğu* (İstanbul, Can Yayınları, 1993); Mustafa Erbay, ed., *Şeyh Safi Buyruğu* (Ankara, Ayyıldız Yayınları, 1994).

[50] Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı and P. Boratav, *Pir Sultan Abdal*, Ankara, 1943, esp. 15,188. Irene Melikoff, "Le Problem Kizilbash."

exception of Doğan Kaplan's book on more than twenty *Buyruk* (*Menakıb*) copies.[51] While analyzing the earliest *Mecmua* manuscripts that consist of different religious texts and poetry, he solely focuses on the *Menakıb* sections with the later copies of *Buyruks* to understand their religious content. Because of this selective approach over an exhaustive list of *Mecmuas*, his book is not focused on deeper analysis of the development and transformation of *Buyruks* over several centuries.

My project is to understand what the *Mecmuas* reveal about the Qizilbash tradition and its followers. It remains unclear whether the said *Mecmuas* are commissioned by the Safavid Shahs or copied/produced by Anatolian Qizilbash followers and to what extent *Mecmuas* are the transcriptions of actual beliefs and practices of the Qizilbash community. The continued relevance of these manuscripts throughout the 17th century and the availability of the revised copies of *Mecmuas* in later centuries demonstrate that they served to transmit the socio-religious tenets of the Qizilbash-Alevi tradition. The interplay between orality and textuality poses a challenge for the comparative study of these manuscripts. They are full of vivid and concrete imagery, formulaic expressions, hagiographic elements and mystical poetry, so it is not trivial to stitch them together to have a coherent narrative. Nevertheless, the reciprocity between orality and textuality provides a unique opportunity to unravel the possible impact of these manuscripts for the intended audience as well as the demands of the community.

Based on detailed analysis of these manuscripts, my dissertation shows that the *Mecmuas* were not the copies of the top-down written manuals of Safavids sent to Qizilbash communities as a tool of propaganda, though they contain the remnants of the

[51] Doğan Kaplan, *Yazılı Kaynaklarına Göre Alevilik*, 3rd Edition (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2011), esp. 26, 38. 41.

supposedly Safavid propaganda texts. A close examination of these manuscripts further shows that they employ the collective traditions that were formed and reproduced in the Turco-Persian cultural landscape for centuries. Therefore, the characteristics of the *Mecmuas* cannot be determined by the modern conceptions of cultural and religious boundaries. These manuscripts provide a unique example of the continuation of religious and cultural symbiosis in the context of the rising Safavid and Ottoman orthodoxies.

Throughout the following chapters, I will interchangeably use the title Qizilbash-Bektashi (Bektaşi in Turkish) and Alevi-Bektashi because these two titles simply connote the historical convergence of Qizilbash/Alevi groups and Bektashis since the late 17^{th} century. Qizilbash was the political title designating the groups who support the Safavid cause. In this dissertation, Alevi is used as a generic term to describe the groups who privileged Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, over other companions without confessional boundaries. In addition to the generic meaning of Alevi, this term is also used as a historical term for the distinctive religious groups who are the later descendants of the Qizilbash communities of Anatolia.

Methodology

There is neither any authoritative copy nor an original copy of the *Mecmuas*. Despite many overlaps between the *Mecmua* copies, there is a considerable degree of alterations and omissions suggesting that the *Mecmuas* are not uniform textual sources. They contain the traces of oral traditions through hagiographic elements, formulaic expressions, repetitions, non-linear narratives, concrete symbols, and didactic poetry. The existence of four versions of the *Mecmuas* theoretically suggests that the Qizilbash tradition was subject to transformation, but it is yet to be studied why and how it changed.

Understanding the dynamics of these *Mecmuas* requires an interdisciplinary methodology that integrates orality studies, literary criticism, and social history.

I. Orality Studies

The available theories of orality studies give necessary conceptual and analytical tools to understand the oral texture of the *Mecmuas*. The idea that oral composers used fixed and formulaic thought patterns to produce narratives was first introduced by Milman Parry and later developed by Albert Lord.[52] Especially, Lord argued that oral composition does not have an idea of a fixed text and is not a product of artistic abilities, but rather recreated out of the available traditions in the context of performance.[53] Other scholars have criticized this clear-cut distinction between the oral and written versions of composition.[54] Foley makes a distinction between actual oral texts that were performed in live settings and oral derived texts that include oral aspects in the written literature.[55]

Being critical of the sharp contrast between orality and literacy, Ong provides a comprehensive summary of the main characteristics of primary oral cultures, those untouched by writing. In oral literature, *discourse* is produced with a feeling that it be spoken aloud; *thought* is always articulated in 'heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or antitheses, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulary expressions, in standard thematic settings (the assembly, the meal, the duel, the hero's

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[52] Milman Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collective Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. Adam Parry (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); Albert Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard university Press, 1960), 4-5, 13-29.
[53] Lord, *The Singer*, 11, 13, 14, 22,24,27, 29.
[54] Lord, 125, 129. For the critique of this divide, see Ruth Finegan's writings, "Literacy vs. Non-Literacy: the Greater Divide?' in *Modes of Thought: Essays on Thinking in Western and Non-Western Societies*, ed. Robin Horton and Ruth Finnegan (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), 112-44; idem, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977),1-30, 52-87.
[55] John Miley Foley, "Oral Tradition and Its Implications," in *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. Ian Morris and Barry Powell (New York: Brill, 1997), 146-73.

helper and so on)...'[56]; *knowledge* is situated in a context of human struggles; *meaning* is not dependent on grammatical structures; *narratives* are redundant and nonlinear; *lengthy narratives* such as genealogies and ritual formulas have often specialized content[57]; *narrative style* is 'participatory and empathetic rather than objectively distanced' because knowing in oral cultures means 'a communal identification with the known'. Therefore, narrator, audience and character are interrelated with each other. *Memory* is subject to variation because of the exigencies of the continuing present and uses heroic figures, bizarre figures (such as a two-eyed monster), and formulary number groupings (such as the seven against Thebes).[58]

According to Ong, manuscripts are transitional texts that best reflect interdependency between orality and literacy because they were written in the form of 'a book as a kind of utterance, an occurrence in the course of conversation, rather than as an object'. The readers of manuscripts were also spatially and temporally less disengaged from the narrator than are the readers of printed books. He also argues that print culture sees a work as 'closed' from other works with the notions of originality and creativity. But manuscript culture treated intertextuality for granted as manuscripts were created 'out of other texts, borrowing, adapting, sharing the common, originally oral, formulas and themes.'[59] Therefore, reading of the manuscripts was a communal activity rather than an isolated and individual act of reading.[60] The *Mecmua* manuscripts as orally derived

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[56] W Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982), 34.
[57] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy,* 141.
[58] Ibid., 31-78, 147.
[59] Ibid.,125, 131, 133
[60] For the interdependence between the oral and the written with emphasis on different aspects of medieval life and thought, see Brian Stack, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 9, 13, 15, 92, 252, 456, 522.

texts demand the methodology of orality in analyzing the major narratives and narrative styles.

II. Literary Criticism

Literary criticism is the interpretation of literary works, but its methodology has widely been employed by other disciplines such as history, anthropology, biblical studies, humanities, and others. There have been multiple ways of practicing literary criticism, such as textual, biographical, source, redaction, new criticism, phenomenological and feminist criticism, and new historicism.[61] For the *Mecmuas*, one could attempt to recover the original copies and parallel meanings of various texts, but this would be nothing more than the outmoded approach of textual criticism.

New Historicism as a form of literary criticism shapes my analysis of textual aspects of the *Mecmuas*. Its basic goal is to integrate the text with its external circumstances such as culture, power, politics, economics, other texts, the author, and readers.[62] As pointed out by Colebrook, a long tradition of relating a text to its context cannot be reduced to New Historicism alone. New Historicism critics have challenged older historicist criticisms of literary works that relied on general models of the relation between the text and context. By rejecting the assumed distinction between text and history, this critical practice does not see the text as dependent upon or separate from history, but rather investigates the dynamic relation between them. This has meant that both the actual material and spatial circumstances produce the texts and become the

[61] For the detailed discussion of some of modern literary theories, see Terry Eagleton, *Introduction to Literary Theory* (the first edition in 1983) (The University of Minnesota Press, 1996).
[62] Claire Colebrook, *New Literary Histories: New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University, 1997), 221.

products of the text's meaning.[63] According to the new critical approach expounded by Greenblatt, the cultural domain is a dialectical area where various factors dynamically circulate through 'practical strategies of negotiation and exchange'.[64] Influenced by the methodology of New Historicism, this dissertation focuses on the dynamic relation between the *Mecmuas* and their contextual circumstances.

III. Social History

In addition to a purely textual analysis of *Mecmuas*, my analysis is also grounded in the insights of social history. Social historians insist that past cannot be properly understood as a context of perceptions, experiences, discourses and meanings alone. Conditions and consequences, structures and processes have also need to be taken into an account. [65]

My historical methodology is mainly shaped by Davis's interdisciplinary approach in her analysis of the royal letters of pardon and remission in the 16th century France. She has first performed a literary analysis of these letters and then related them to the larger social, political, and cultural contexts. She attempted to address how narratives were produced from the real stories of criminals, what narrative techniques were chosen, the relationship between the tales and the interests held by the narrator and the audience, and what role the external structures played in the storytelling event.[66]

This approach is applicable to my interdisciplinary methodology because of the privileged position of the *Mecmuas* over other relevant documents/narratives referred in these manuscripts. Social history and literary criticism are equally loose and reshape their original links to the dominant realm of each discipline without imposing any

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[63] Colebrook, *New Literary Histories*, 24-27
[64] Colebrook, 25
[65] Ibid., 26.
[66] Natalie Z. Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in the Sixteenth Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 8.

superiority over each other. Similarly, while my practice of literary criticism shows what extent the *Mecmuas* create alternative historical narratives; my practice of social history relates the inner-contextuality of the manuscripts to the external contextuality that is depicted in the historical narratives of available sources.

The Concrete Model for My Interdisciplinary Project

By drawing on the insights of modern anthropology, sociology and rhetorical criticism, Robbins develops a five-textural model including inner-texture, intertexture, cultural and social texture, ideological texture, and sacred texture.[67] According to this model, *inner texture* concerns the way in which a text attempts to persuade its reader through linguistic patterns and structural elements of a text. *Intertexture* deals with a text's configuration and reconfiguration of phenomena outside the text including other texts, language, historical traditions, social objects, social institutions, social codes, cultural values and attitudes, and other specific extra-textual contexts, which the text interacts with and makes specific narratives out of them. *Social and cultural texture* concerns the capacities of the text to transform, share or reject the dominant social and cultural system, the common values and attitudes, and modes of interaction in this system. *Ideological texture* concerns the particular alliances and conflicts nurtured and evoked by the language of a text. *Sacred texture* deals with the religious nature of the text, which addresses the relation of humans to God.[68] I will follow this formulation for the outline of my interdisciplinary model, but with some revisions.[69] I will begin with the historical

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[67] Vernon Robbins, *Exploring the Texture of Texts: A Guide to Socio-Rhetorical Interpretation* (Pennsylvania: Trinity Press International, 1996). In this book, Robbins adds the sacred texture to his four-texture model previously formulated in his other works.

[68] Robbins, *Exploring the Texture*, 3-4.

[69] Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse, Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (Routledge, 1996), 15. Robbins uses the metaphor of a thickly woven tapestry to explain the nature of texts. He assumes that when we explore a text from different angles, we see multiple textures of meanings, convictions, values,

background of the *Mecmua* manuscripts. While Robbins excludes the discipline of history from his methodology, I will use social history as a sub-discipline alongside literary criticism and orality in my interdisciplinary model. Unlike separate analysis of the ideological texture, my analysis of socio-cultural texture of *Buyruks* overlaps with the ideological/political texture.

Chapters

Chapter one will give an overview of the Safavid Ottoman rivalry and survival of the Qizilbash community under the Ottoman rule. This chapter emphasizes that confessional uncertainty was the main characteristic of pre-Safavid and early Ottoman religious life. It explains the emergence of the Ottoman and Safavid state supported orthodoxies as a result of numerous external and internal factors. Therefore, heresy policies of both the Ottomans and Safavids cannot be explained only with theological concerns because of the complexity of historical realities.

Chapter two will describe the oral and written aspects of the components in the *Mecmuas.* Individual sections of the *Mecmuas* will be introduced with a special focus on the central themes and narratives, narrative voices, and oral dimensions. This chapter argues that the *Mecmuas* are not simply the written sources of the Qizilbash tradition describing its central teachings and rituals, but also the performative texts of the Qizilbash community.

Chapter three will analyze social, cultural, and religious traditions that survived to the *Mecmuas* in written form with the remnants of orality. These traditions include the

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emotions and actions and he suggests socio-rhetorical criticism as an alternative method to historical and theological studies of the religious texts. Socio-rhetorical criticism moves beyond historical and theological approaches that limit the resources of the text. It brings the dynamics of religious belief by establishing a dialogical environment for analytical strategies.

futuwwat, the Hurufi, the hagiographic literature, and Anatolian mystical poetry that were embedded in the Turco-Persian world. This chapter indicates that *Mecmuas* were the products of the socio-religious legacy, which both Safavids and Ottomans mutually shared for a long time.

Chapter four will put the inner contextuality of the *Mecmuas* in dialogue with the socio-political environment that concerns the Qizilbash community. This chapter begins by describing the socio-religious norms and punitive rules on account of wrongdoings and provides in depth analysis of the letter sent from the Central Convent to the representatives of the path, and the anonymous poetry that most reflects the troubles, struggles, and responses of the community. It reveals that the ritual space served as the de-facto court system to obtain a degree of independence from the central authority of the Ottomans. It also argues that the allegiance of the Qizilbash to the Shah as a political ruler eventually evolved into a spiritual loyalty to the Shah. Influence of the Shahs was reduced in later years. Poetry and referrals to Shah Ismail were largely omitted from these texts, and often replaced by referrals to Hacı Bektaş Veli, the founder of the Bektashi order. Furthermore, it shows that in response to Ottoman *fatwas* against the Qizilbash, the *Mecmuas* used the exclusive language against Sunnis.

Chapter 5 will describe the religious content of the *Mecmuas.* This chapter argues that the central religious theme of the *Mecmuas* is the unity of prophethood and sainthood. This theme was expressed in the form of *futuwwat*-Sufism and 'Alid devotionalism. It also claims that two forms of religiosity coexist in the *Mecmuas*. First, an integrative approach combines the outer and inner dimensions of religion in a complementary way. For example, one does not need to fully abandon *shariat* in favor of

Tarikat. Second, a dualistic approach that puts these dimensions side by side or abandons the outer in favor of the inner. For example, one can abandon certain rules of *shariat* in favor of *tarikat*, such as drinking wine in religious ceremonies of the path.

Chapter 1: Contextuality outside the *Mecmuas*

The earliest copies of the *Mecmuas* were the products of the historical milieu in which both Safavid and Ottoman histories contentiously interconnected with each other. In order to understand the function of the *Mecmuas* for the intended communities under the changing historical circumstances, this chapter focuses on the broader historical period spanning from the late 15th century to the late 17th century since the *Mecmuas* include references to the Anatolian Sufi mystics and Shahs, who lived in this period.

I. Safavid Contextuality

The eponymous founder of the Safavid Sufi order was Shaykh Safi al-Din Ardabil (1252-1334) in Azerbaijan. The network of Safavid followers were engaged in missionary activities both within and outside Iran since the time of Shaykh Ibrahim, the father of Shaykh Junayd (d.1460). K*halifat al-khulafa* acted on behalf of the shaykhs and appointed his representatives in the Qizilbash provinces. Through the *khalifat al-khulafa* and his subordinates, the Safavids maintained close connection with their supporters.[70] With the missionary activities of *khalifas*, the Safavids gained many followers, mostly from the Turcoman tribes of Anatolia, northwestern Iran, northern Syria, and northern Iraq. They had been transformed into a military order under Shaykh Junayd and his son Haydar (d. 1488). Shah Ismail captured Tabriz and established the Safavid Dynasty in 1501. Safavids had no intention to become a Turkish or Iranian empire, because Ismail appointed both Turkish and Iranian dignitaries to the highest military posts.[71]

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[70] Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, 16, 39. For more information on the missionary activity of the khalifas in Anatolia under the rule of Shah Ismail, see Gh. Sarwar, *History of Shah Ismail Safavi*, (Aligarh, 1939); R. M. Savory, "The Office of Khalifat al-Khulafā," 497; *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, 126.

[71] H. R. Roemer, *The Safavid Period*, 205, 214, 231, 246, 264. See also J. Aubin, "Shāh Ismā'īl es les notables de l'Iraq person," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, II (1959), 37 – 81; Savory, *Iran Under Safavids*, 36-38.

Demographic and linguistic settings in Iran were quite too complicated to make a clear argument on the Safavid origin[72] because Qizilbash tribes and the early Shahs spoke Turkish, native Iranians spoke Persian, and the language of the religion was Arabic.[73] The success of the Safavid project was facilitated through their recognition and inclusion of diverse elements extant in the region at the time. [74]

Shah Ismail's declaration of Twelver Shi'ism as the official religion of Iran did not result in the establishment of a legalistic interpretation of Twelver Shi'ism overnight. There were Shi'i oriented movements in Iran before the Safavids, but the establishment of Twelver Shi'ism in Iran was a new phenomenon in the late 15th century.[75] This process of Shi'ization was not completed until the end of the 16th century.[76] The shift from the coexistence of diverse religious forms in pre-Safavid Islam to Twelver Shi'ism was a complex process. Scholars agree that Shi'ism had been introduced to Iran with subtle changes during the Ilkhanid period. Sufi orders provided the ground for the spread of doctrinal Shi'ism in this territory.[77] But due to lack of a conceptual framework to explain the coexistence of the various religious groups in pre-Safavid Iran, except for

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[72] For an overview of these arguments, see Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, 2-3. Hinz put emphasis on the Arab origin of the Safavid dynasty whereas Kasravi, Minorsky, and Savory favored that the Safavids were of Turkicized Iranians. Ayalon alleged that Safavids were of Turk origin. However, Zeki Togan claimed that Shaykh Safi was Kurdish in origin with Sunni Islamic orientation.

[73] Andrew J Newman, "The Iconography of the Shah-Nama-yi Shahi" (pp.53-79), in *Safavid Persia, The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, Charles Melville ed., (I. B. Tauris, Cambridge, 1996), 58, 59; idem, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 2-3. In addition, Minorsky argued, 'the beginning of the dynasty can be represented not inaccurately, as a third wave of the eastward movement of the Turcomans. The great majority of Shah Ismail I' supporters belonged to the tribes from Asia Minor, Syria and Armenia mixed with the tribes detached from the rival Qare-Qoyunlu and Aq-Qoyunlu. See 'the Appendices I, Iranians and Turks,' in *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, 188.

[74] Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth*, 228. Here he further says, "If this tendency is not distinctly Persian, it is nonetheless familiar over the history of many of the peoples who have dealt in and around that plateau which extends from the Mesopotamian lowlands to the Oxus River and south to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean."

[75] See Michel M. Mazzoui, *The Origins of the Safawids*, 2.

[76] Markus Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy," 159. For a more detailed analysis of this transformation, see Kathryn Babayan's article, "The Safavid Synthesis," 135-161.

[77] Sayyid Huseyin Nasr, "Religion in Safavid Persia," *Iranian Studies* 7 (1974): 273.

Pfeiffer's concept of confessional ambiguity,[78] historians applied the binary definition of religion to pre-Safavid religious life, such as folk Islam versus high Islam and Sufism versus the *shariat*-minded religiosity in both Sunni and Twelver Shi'i forms. For instance, Mazzoui interpreted the religious diversity of pre-Safavid period as the confluence of Sufism and *ghulat* in the disguise of Shi'ism. Explaining the transition of the Safavid order, he claimed, "the Sufi orders as well as the *ghulat* stole the show and used Shi'ism, in its more popular and folk-Islamic garbs, for their own purposes. This is perhaps the truer picture; and it can best be seen through a study of one of these Sufi orders, that of Shaykh Safi al-Din Ardabil, the eponymous founder of the Safavids."[79]

There was not any missionary activity and no spread of Twelver Shia Islam in Iran before the Safavid state.[80] Safavid Iran became a threat to the Ottoman Empire because of its expansionist plans over Anatolia through pro-Safavid propaganda.[81] Due to the Safavid-Ottoman political rivalry, doctrinal boundaries were established between *shariat*-based Sunnism and *shariat*-based Shi'ism.[82] However, the main impetus behind the adaptation of Twelver Shi'ism by the ruling elites of Safavids cannot be explained only with counter-reaction to Ottoman Sunni propaganda. As in the case of early Ottoman religious life, confessional fluidity was the main characteristic of pre-Safavid religiosity.[83] *Ahl al-Bayt* devotionalism (which means the devotional attachment to 'Ali

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[78] For further details on the religious fluidity of medieval Iran before the Safavids, see Judith Pfeiffer, "Confessional Ambiguity vs. Confessional Polarization: Politics and the Negotiation of Religious Boundaries in the Ilkhanate," in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, ed. Judith Pfeiffer (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014).
[79] Mazzaoui, *The Origins of Safawids*, 40.
[80] Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, 105.
[81] Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy," 64.
[82] Rula Jurdi Abisaab, *Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire: Converting Persia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 4.
[83] To describe the complexity of the late 15th century religious life in Iran, Scarcia-Amoretti, an Italian scholar, used the phrase, "Religiously promiscuous ambiance." B. Scarcia -Amoretti, "L'Islam in Persia fra

and the Household of the Prophet) was widespread among the population before the Safavids. The widespread socio-religious organizations of young men called *futuwwat* emphasizing Ali as the role model of *futuwwat* were another example of the popularity of *Ahl al-Bayt* piety among the population in Iran even before the emergence of Safavids as a regional power. No doubt, this familiarity with pro-Shia teachings had helped to facilitate the spread of Twelver Shi'ism.[84] Regarding the ground suitable for spread of Twelver Shi'ism in Iran, Nasr also emphasizes the role of Sufism as a bridge in the period between the Mongols and the Safavids in Iran. [85]

The current scholarship has different explanations of why Safavids preferred the Twelver Shi'ism to Sunnism even though pre-Safavid religious diversity was favorable toward both Sunnism and Shi'ism. Historians agreed that Arab Shi'ite scholars invited by Shah Ismail and later patronized by Shah Tahmasb facilitated the spread of Shi'i Islam in Safavid Iran.[86] However, Newman questions this "migration" and "transplantation" of scholars and scholarly tradition from Lebanon to Iran.[87] For the spread of Twelver

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Timur e Nādir," *Annali della Facoltà di lingue e letterature straniere di Ca' Foscari*, XIII. 3 (1974): 68, cited in Said Amir Arjomand, "Religious Extremism (Ghuluww), Sufism and Sunnism in Safavid Iran: 1501-1722," 29; for the uncertainty of the Shi'i and Sunni identities of Aq Qoyunlu and Qara Qoyunlu Turcoman dynasties, see Roemer, "Turkmen Dynasties," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol.6, Timurid and Safavid Periods (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 184.

[84] Arjomand, "Religious Extremism (Ghuluww)," 30; Lloyd Ridgeon, Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism: *A History of Sufi-Futuwwat in Iran* (Routledge Sufi Series 10: London and New York, 2010), 3. For the early anti-*futuwwat* policies adapted by Safavids, see Abisaab, *Religion and Power*, 25-26.

[85] Seyyed Husseyn Nasr, "Religion in Safavid Persian," 272. For further reading on the relation between Sufism and Shiism, see Nasr, See S.H. Nasr, "Shiism and Sufism,'" in *Sufi Essays* (London: 1972); Kamil M. Al-Sahibi, *Sufism and Shiism* (Guildford and King's Lynn, 1992).

[86] For this scholarship, see Shah Ismail, Savory, *Iran*, 30; Said Arjamand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Organization and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (The University of Chicago Press, 1984), 105-212; idem, "The Clerical Estate and the Emergence of a Shi'ite Hierocracy in Savafid Iran," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 28 (1985): 169-219; Devin J. Stewart, "Notes on the Migration of Amili Scholars to Safavid Iran," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 55/ 2 (1996): 81-103; idem, "An Episode in the 'Amili Migration to Safavid Iran: Husayn b. 'Abd al-samad al-'Amili's Travel Account," *Iranian Studies*, 39 (2006): 481-508; Albert Hourani, "From Jabal 'Amil to Persia," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 49 (1986): 133-40.

[87] Andrew Newman, "The Myth of the Clerical Migration to Safawid Iran: Arab Shiite Opposition to 'Alī

Shi'ism in Safavid Iran, Abisaab offers a more balanced approach. According to her, neither Qizilbash Turcomans nor Persian notables were able to conform to the imperial policies to strengthen political domination. Therefore, in early Safavid period the Safavid rulers cultivated an alliance with the Shi'i scholars of Jabal al-'Amil in Lebanon, who were familiar with Sunni theology and used rationalistic methodology, in order to establish religiously and politically legitimate ground in the eyes of their subjects. Defining heterodox notions of Shi'ism and Shi'i orthodoxy on the basis of Ja'fari law, these scholars helped the Safavids to struggle with Shi'i 'extremism' (ghuluww), popular Sufism, and the *futuwwat* tradition. On the other hand, she argues that the internal structural and historical forces in Safavid Iran shaped the ideas of Arab Shi'i theologians and their exchanges with Iranian scholars in the long process of Safavid conversion to Twelver Shi'ism.[88]

As a part of their anti-Sunnite propaganda, the Shi'i *ulema* promulgated and sanctioned the practice of public cursing of the three caliphs and 'Aisha even though the ritual of public cursing alongside the ritual of beating-confession was a continuation of Qizilbash rituals.[89]

The definitive establishment of Twelver Shi'ism took more than a century. The Safavid state both advocated the Shi'ite orthodoxy and identified itself with popular religious discourse over the 17th century.[90] The process began with the second half of Shah Tahmasb's reign. Shah Tahmasb and Shah Abbas I (r.1588-1629) suppressed the

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al-Karakī and Safawid Shiism," *Die Welt des Islams*, 33 (1993), 66-112.

[88] Rula Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire*, (I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2004), 3-5, 11, 12-13, 26, 30.

[89] Abisaab, ibid., 26-27.

[90] Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth*, 121. Regarding the gradual transformation of Safavid religious discourse from Qizilbash Islam to Twelver Shi'i Islam, see Bayayan, "The Safavid Synthesis: From Kizilbash Islam to Imamite Shi'ism," 135-161; idem, "Sufis, Dervishes and Mullas," 118.

Qizilbash because of their *ghuluww*. They also gradually replaced the Qizilbash troops, [91] and institutionalized the *Ghulam* system.[92] Despite the decline of their influence in Safavid military, Qizilbash units continued to serve until the end of the dynasty in the 18th century.[93] Tahmasb also suppressed the leading members of the Nurbakhshiyya, the significant messianic movement of the 15th century. The movement was eventually assimilated to Twelver Shi'i Sufi movement eliminating the messianic tendencies.[94]

Safavids adapted more suppressive policies against different religious groups especially under the centralizing policies of Shah Abbas I. He adapted anti-millenarian religious policy in favor of the Shi'i hierocracy and suppressed Sufi orders such as Nuqtaviyya[95], Nurbakhsiyya[96] and Nimatullahiyya even though they had great influence in the early phase of the Safavid dynasty.[97] The military power of Qizilbash was also diminished with the establishment of a new military corps with the purpose to prevent their Qizilbash strength against the Safavids. Shah Abbas also persecuted religious minorities such as Sunnis, Sufis, Jews and Christians. The religious policy of Shah Abbas

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[91] Viladimir Minorsky, *Persia in 1478-90* (London, 1957); *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, 30, 189; Savory, *Iran Under Safavids*; Roemer, *The Safavid Period*, 265; Adel Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict*, 31, 47-48, 50-51.

[92] The *Ghulam* were the recruited soldiers from various Christian communities.

[93] Roemer, *The Safavid Period*, 205, 214, 231, 246, 26; Savory, *Iran Under Safavids*, 92-93. Based on primary Safavid sources, Minorsky argued that by the death of Shah Abbas I, only 20 percent of the high administration consisted of the recruited soldiers from Circassians, Georgians, and Armenians and the rest of military chiefs were Qizilbash. See Minorsky's introduction to *Tadhkirat al-Muluk*, 17-18.

[94] For the Nurbakhsiyya-Safavid relations, see Shahzad Bashir, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions: The Nurbakhshiya Between Medieval and Modern Islam* (Columbia: South University of South Carolina Press, 2003), 186-195. For a general overview of the nurbakhshiyya movement, see Hamid Algar, "Nurbakhshiyya," *EI*, 8:134-136.

[95] The Nuqtaviyya was the offshoot of Hurufism in Iran. For more information on Hurufism, see Chapter II of this dissertation.

[96] For a general overview of the Nurbakhsiyya movement, see Hamid Algar, "Nurbakhshiyya," *EI*, 8:134-136; for the most comprehensive treatment of this movement from the fifteenth century to the modern times, see Shahzad Bashir's monographic study, *Messianic Hopes and Mystical Visions*. For the other examples of the messianic movements in the 14th and 15th century in Central Asia and Iran, see Devin Deweese, "Intercessory Claims of Sufi Communities," in *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*, ed. Orkhan Mir-Kasimov (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

[97] Said Amir Arjomand, "Religious Extremism (Ghuluww)," 2-3, 8-9; Seyyed Husseyn Nasr," Religion in Safavid Persian,"279-280.

was not only the result of his devout commitment to Twelver Shi'ism. These policies were also aimed at eliminating any opposing potential power against his reign.[98] This is why he targeted the organizational Sufi orders while tolerating individualistic and apolitical Sufism.[99]

In the reigns of Shaykh Safi (1629-1642) and Shah Abbas II (1642-1666), we see a considerable degree of tolerance toward the ascetic Sufis and the Sufism of intellectuals in parallel with the revival of philosophy. While there were not Sunni persecutions by Safavids in both these two periods, many prominent family members were persecuted for political reasons.[100] Despite the tolerant atmosphere toward Muslim minorities, Jews and Christians were persecuted for religious reasons in this period.[101] Under the reigns of Shah Suleiman (1666-1694) and Shah Husayn (1694-1722), the Safavids re-adapted the antagonistic policies against the Sufis and the gnostic philosophy called as *irfan* under the attack of the Shi'i dogmatic scholars.[102] Nasr argues that the later religious policies of the Safavids were a result of their transformation from the Sufi order to the ruling dynasty that lost spiritual discipline and became diluted through the interference of wordly affairs.[103] His argument reflects the religious dimension of the Safavid repressive policies against Sufis, but does not adequately account for the socio-political implications of the changing policies between the mid-16th and the late 17th centuries toward Sufis. Where the political implications are concerned, anti-Sufi tendencies cannot be attributed to the rise of Shi'i orthodoxy or the disappearance of spiritual aspects in their political

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[98] Vera B. Moreen, "The Status of Religious Minorities in Safavid Iran 1617-61," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (1981): 120, 122, 124.
[99] Arjumand, "Ghuluww, Sufism and Sunnism," 24.
[100] Moreen, "The Status of Religious Minorities, 121.
[101] Moreen, ibid.,124. Moreen further mentions that Christians suffered persecutions under the reign of Shah Abbas I, but not motivated by theological reasons (p. 126).
[102] Arjuman, "Ghuluww," 25-29, Seyyed Husseyn Nasr," Religion in Safavid Persian"; 278-279.
[103] Seyyed Husseyn Nasr, "Religion in Safavid Persian," 280.

legitimacy. The intermittent uncertainty of the Safavid policy about Sufi orders must be related to the organization of Sufi orders. The communal Sufi orders, rather than individualist ascetics or contemplative Sufis, represented the potential threat to the political legitimacy of the Shahs with their alternative models of leadership, loyalty and organization. [104]

II. Ottoman Contextuality

The early Ottomans were historically tolerant to unorthodox beliefs and practices as long as they were not practiced publicly and could not challenge the legitimacy of the Ottoman authority. [105] Despite the Ottoman-Karamanid rivalry, [106] Ottomans remained very cautious about any attack against their Muslim fellows unless there was a valid reason for the opposite before the late 15th century.[107] It was uncommon for the Ottomans to label their political rivals with pejorative religious nomenclature or to use religion as the sole legitimizing source of their policies. The earliest Ottoman perception of Seyh Bedreddin uprising in the early 15th century supports this conclusion. Bedreddin served as the chief of justice in the court of Musa Çelebi (d. 1412) during the Interregnum (1402-1413) and was executed after being associated with a messianic revolt in 1416. Yet, he was never accused of being religious heretic, but a political rebel by the Ottoman authorities. The

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[104] For the development of tariqa-based Sufism, see Erik S. Ohlander, *Sufism In an Age of Transition: 'Umar al-Suhrawardi and The Rise of Islamic Mystical Brotherhoods* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 1-15.

[105] Marcus Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy," 156.

[106] The long history of Ottoman-Karamanid relations from the early 14th century to the late 15th century was exception to the established Islamic rule that secure the *dar al-Islam* (the land under the rule of Muslims). By having established their centre on the city of Konya, the old Seljuk capital, the Karamanid principality considered themselves successors to the Islamic tradition of Anatolian Seljuks. Therefore, the Karamanids depicted the Ottomans as disloyal to the *gazi* (holy warrior) tradition because of their attacks on Muslim fellows. The Ottomans countered with a claim that their main task was waging war against Christian infidels, but the Karamanid attack diverted them from carrying on that task. See Norman Itzkowitz, *Ottoman Empire and Islamic Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 14-15.

[107] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler: 15-17. Yüzyıllar* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998), 99, 101.

15th century, as argued by Terzioglu, was the transition period between the relative metadoxy[108] of the 14th century and the sectarianism of the 16th century.[109]

Since the late 15th century, the Ottomans had adapted the new official discourse that integrated religious and political matters. In times of political rivalry, this discourse employed exclusivist religious terminology shaped by Sunni theology against their political enemies. This emerging state-supported Sunnization replaced the previous imperial ambivalence on individual religious identity since the late 15th century onwards.[110] The Ottoman defeat of the Mamluk Empire in 1517 had accelerated the process of Ottoman political legitimization grounded on confessional terms.[111] With the conquest of holy cities, Makkah and Medina, the caliphate was transferred from the Arabic world to the Ottoman realm. The concept of caliphate took a different meaning from what it was in classical Islam under the Abbasids. Unlike the office of caliphate in Mamluk Empire, the Ottoman Sultan himself represented the caliphate.[112] As the Ottoman Empire failed to protect other Muslim lands in the 19th century, the Sultans had to rely more on the power of Caliphate emphasizing their caliphal rights as the guardian

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[108] For the original use of this term, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 76. By conceptualizing the religious history of Anatolian and Balkan Muslims in the frontier areas of the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, he uses this term, which means as "a state of being beyond doxies, a combination of being doxy-naïve and not being doxy-minded, as well as the absence of the state that was interested in rigorously defining and strictly enforcing an orthodoxy."

[109] Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (Routledge: New York, 2012), 90-91. On the socio-religious circumstances of Shaykh Bedreddin rebellion, see Krstic, *Contested Conversions*, 43-44; on the Ottoman official narrative on the influences of Bedreddin on the Kizilbash/rafizi groups in the early 17th century, see Ahmet Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik*, 5-6.

[110] Nabil al-Tikriti, "Kalam in the Service of State: Apostasy and the Defining of Ottoman Islamic identity", in *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, edited by Hakan T. Karateke et al. (Brill: Boston, 2005), 149.

[111] For the scholarship on the link between the sunnization of the Ottoman state and the Ottoman incorporation of the Mamluk lands, see Derin Terzioglu, "How to conceptualize Ottoman Sunnization," 309-310.

[112] Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, 95. For the later trajectory of the caliphate, Halil İnalcık, "Islam in the Ottoman Empire," in *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul: Eren Yayincilik, 1998), 234.

of all Muslims.[113] Thus, the legitimizing sources of Ottoman political authority moved from the *Gaza* ideal to the dynastic legacy, to messianic roles and legalized Sunni Islam based on both *shariat* and *kanun* (local law), and finally to the theoretical conception of the Caliphate.[114]

Pro-Safavid propaganda in Anatolia became an important factor, albeit not a single one, in the formation of Ottoman Sunnism. Both the Safavid and Ottoman chronicles affirm that the Safavids carried out pro-Safavid propaganda over the Anatolian population from the mid-15th century. Furthermore, several Safavid chronicles written during or after Shah Ismail mention that the Safavids sent the representatives/khalifas to Anatolia long before the emergence of Safavids as a leading political power in Iran. The Ottoman official authorities perceived pro-Safavid activities of the *khalifas* over Anatolian Muslims as the threat against the Ottoman legitimacy in central and eastern Anatolia since the late 15th century because the Safavid *khalifas* encouraged local communities by sending money and gifts and by serving in the Safavid army or migrating to Safavid Iran. The Safavid followers were very often called as heretics in Ottoman chronicles.[115]

The religious dichotomy between Ottoman Sunnism and Safavid Shi'ism was the product of the Ottoman-Safavid geo-political rivalry, not its cause.[116] Yet, the origin and development of Ottoman Sunnization cannot be explained solely by the Safavid political

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[113] For the Ottoman religious polices in the late 19th century, İnalcık, "Islam in the Ottoman Empire", 234; Selim Deringil, "The Struggle against Shiism in Hamidian Iraq: A Study in Ottoman Counter-Propaganda," *Die Welt des Islams*, New 1/4 (1990): 45-62.

[114] Dressler, "Inventing," 162, 163, 167.

[115] For a comprehensive treatment of the Ottoman chronicles and official historical documents as well as the available Safavid chronicles and Italian traveller literature, see Baltacioglu-Brammer, "Safavid Conversion Propoganda," 106-117. For the Safavid khalifes in Anatolia in the reign of Bayezid II, see Ahmet Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik*, 7.

[116] For the extensive treatment of this argument, see Baltacioglu-Brammer's 'Safavid Conversion Propoganda".

rivalry. Due to the complexity of internal and external circumstances in Ottoman Empire between the 15th and 17th centuries, Ottoman Sunnization was the result of a more gradual process of *ulema* (*shariat*-abiding religious scholars) empowerment and the spread of "Islamic literacy" in the Ottoman lands.[117] As pointed out by Krstic, the internal challenges the Ottomans had to face in the historical period from the late 15th century onwards triggered the development of Ottoman Sunnization as an official discourse. These simultaneously developed confessional policies were aimed at creating the ideological tools of social disciplining and state building in order to regulate social behavior through religious indoctrination.[118]

Rebellions in Anatolia

Among the challenges of the Ottoman polity in the 16th century, small-scale rebellions against the centralized state are worthy of further attention. These were usually considered as pro-Safavid insurgents in the official Ottoman sources. The most famous rebellion was led by Shah Kulu[119] (lit. the subject of shah) between 1511 and 1512. Roemer argues that the supporters of Shah Kulu rebellion were the landless rural classes who suffered from the economic distress in Anatolia. This social aspect was combined with Shi'i extremism. The Shah Kulu rebellion not only resulted in the harsh persecution of him and his followers, but also eventually triggered the persecution of more than 40

[117] See Terzioglu, "How to conceptualize the Ottoman Sunnization," 309, 318. Similar to Terzioglu, Zarinebaf-Shahr argues that external circumstances such as Safavid threat and propaganda activities mattered in the changing internal conditions of Ottoman polity. See Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash Heresy', 4.

[118] Tijana Krstic, *Contested Conversions*, 13-15.

[119] According to the Sunni chronicles of Idris Bitlisi and the Uzbek khan Ubayd-Allah, he was the son of one of the prominent khalifas of Shah Ismail's father. Cited in Minorsky, "Shaykh Bali Efendi on Safavids," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1/3 (1957): 441. See Roemer, "Safavid Period," 220.

thousand-Qizilbashes[120] in Anatolia by the order of Selim I in 1514 before the battle of Chaldiran.[121] Another important rebellion was led by a self-claimed Mahdi, Shaykh Celal in 1519.[122]

Changes in the Ottoman economic system resulted in large-scale *Celali* rebellions from 1580 to 1610. Over the centuries, the Ottomans were able to hold a large professional army, with their *timar* system. The *timar* was a land tenure system in which the revenues of the land were assigned to the cavarlymen, and other members of the military class. This land system appears to have provided military troops for the army and helped the state to establish its absolute authority over the control of land by removing any private property rights. The *timar* system gradually eroded[123] due to many internal and external factors of the 16th century. The most important factors were the increase in the cost of all goods due to the influx of silver from the New World, the increase in Ottoman population, the decrease in the Ottoman *akçe* (an Ottoman silver unit), the insufficient land to meet the warfare expenses on the East and West, the new warfare strategies such as replacement of cavalrymen with modern units, and the assignment of

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[120] As Zildzic bring it to my attention, 40 thousand should be taken as a symbolic number since chronicles often rounded numbers. It is nothing more than a short way of saying: a lot.

[121] Fariba Mucteba Irgurel, "Celali Isyanlari", *TDIV*, 252-257; Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash Heresy," 4; R. M. Savory, "The Office of Khalifat al-Khulafa,' 497.

[122] The Mahdi is the messianic figure in Islamic history. The idea of Mahdi has developed over the time in history. For the Twelver Shiis, the Mahdi is the twelfth imam who went into occultation and expected to come before the end of the world, in order to show the truth of the Twelver beliefs. For the Nizari Ismailis, the Mahdi is the imam present in the community. Although many Sunni scholars doubted on the idea of mahdihood, Sunnis see the Mahdi as the eschatological figure, who will come before the end of the world to struggle against the anti-Christ. For the history of the idea of Mahdi in different Islamic sects, especially branches of Shia Islam, see Shahzad Bashir, *Messianic Hopes*, 3-28, esp. 24-28.

[123] For the general overview of the *timar* system, see Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, trans. Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber (New York: Praeger Publishers: 1973), 104-121; for the explanation of the three main principles (including fiscalism, provisionism, and traditionalism) which the Ottoman economic system was established upon, see Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2000), 43-96.

timars for non-military purposes.[124] The rebels of these uprisings consisted of different social groups including peasants who were enlisted as the salaried soldiers for the army and were left vagrant on their return from war, religious students, who were not able to enter the employment system because of scarcity of new jobs and a hierarchy among the religious institutions, and administrative officials who demanded more power and income from lands.[125] Because of the diversity among the rebels, Barkey claims that the *Celalis* were "status-seeking rebels", because they never demanded independence from the central state, except a few separatist movements. Instead, they wanted to be included in the system. The banditry became the source of legitimizing factor for the Ottoman centralizing and consolidating policies as the Ottoman state protected the *reaya,* mostly peasant subjects of the Ottomans, against the plunder of bandits in provinces.[126] Due to lack of substantial number of historical documents from the 17th century on the Qizilbash,[127] the recent scholarship leaves aside the question of religious motivation behind the *Celali* uprisings.[128]

Reaction of Ottoman Ulema against Antinomian Dervish Groups during Ottoman-Safavid Rivalry

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[124] See William J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion: 1000-1020/1591-1611* (Berlin: Kaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983), 1-17; Halil Inalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, 110, 116; Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats*, 48-54.

[125] Barkey, *Bandits*, 156-157.

[126] Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 12-18. For the simplistic narrative of the *Celali* uprisings, see Refik, 7-9. Refik here argues that the mutual drive behind all these *Celali* uprisings was the social discontent with the centralizing policies of the sultan and the poverty of local population in Anatolia.

[127] For two cases of persecutions of the Qizilbash in the early 17th century, see M. A. Danon, "Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans (1619)," *Journal Asiatique II*, 17 (1921): 280-293; Andreas Tietze, "A Document on the Persecution of Sectarians in Early Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis*, 165-170.

[128] Based on the Ottoman archival sources that do not always separate the Qizilbash from other rebellions, Zarinebaf-Shahr criticizes the recent scholarship of making the artificial separation between religious and political movements from the 16th to the early 17th centuries. For her criticism of the scholarship, see her article, "Qizilbash Heresy," 3, 4. But she fails to support her assumption on the interconnection with evidence from the 17th century sources.

The empowerment of *ulema* and the spread of "Islamic literacy" in the Ottoman lands prepared the ground for the definitive establishment of Ottoman Sunnization.[129] Within the learned establishment, the office of the mufti of Istanbul, *shaykh al-Islam* was the highest rank. The early function of this office was to "to create within the state a distinctively religious figure, who would serve as an embodiment of the *shariat*".[130] *Shaykh al-Islam* originally served independent from the taint of the secular government. This office yielded to change especially as the institution started to engage in the political affairs. The long tenure (1545-1574) of Ebussu'ud Efendi, the most influential *shaykh al-Islam* of the Ottoman Empire, was the best representative of religious policies that made a compromise between the political demands and the *shariat*.[131] The office eventually transformed from a pure religious institution to a semi-political institution serving on behalf of the state.[132]

In parallel with the empowerment of *ulema*, a considerable number of religious treatises concerning the limits of acceptable Islamic beliefs and practices came to existence. One of the earliest treatises in this regard was written by the scholar prince Korkud (1488-1513). Based on the arguments of Islamic theology and jurisprudence, he formulated three or four conditions meriting *kufr* (disbelief or infidelity): intentional

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[129] Terzioglu,"How to conceptualize the Ottoman Sunnization," 309, 318.

[130] The office of *shaykh al-Islam* was first created by Bayezid II (r.1481-1512). R. C. Repp, *The Mufti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy* (London: Ithaca Press, 1986), 300.

[131] For this compromise, Halil Inancik provides an example of the religious permission on the use of money in the establishment of pious endowments during Ebussu'ud's tenure. See his article, "Islam in the Ottoman Empire," 231-2.

[132] Repp, *The Mufti of Istanbul*, 295. In parallel to the transformation of the office of mufti, Zulfi argues that a considerable change of emphasis had occurred in ulema's goals and the conditions by which their successes were measured. While the early religious scholars such as Taşköprüzade (b. 1495) were interested in the scholar's piety, learning, and writings and pious foundations, the 17th century scholars such as Ata'i (b. 1683) were more concerned with the progress in the hierarchical structure. For this argument, see Madeline Zulfi, *The Politics of Piety, the Ottoman Ulema in the Classical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988), 28-29.

abandonment of communal prayer, abuse of the Qur'an or other religious texts, false claims of prophecy and the use of sorcery to gain followers. Moreover, he asserted that those who wear non-believers' headgear should be treated as apostate (*mürted* in Turkish and *murtad* in Arabic). He was referring to the Qizilbash red headgear that was widespread throughout Anatolia at his time. His legal argumentation affected the *fatwas* (religious decrees) on apostasy issued later by *shaykh al-Islams*. [133]

Hamza Efendi's (d. 1514) *fatwa* is one of the earliest examples that define Qizilbash as heretics, because they derided the Qur'an and other religious texts, insulted the rightly-guided Caliphs, the prophet's wife 'Aisha, and *ulema*. This *fatwa* also stated that the Qizilbash exalted and worshiped their Shahs, and it is incumbent on all Muslims to kill them. Their wives, property, and children could be legally appropriated. Their marriage was not to be seen legally binding and their repentance after captivity was not to be accepted. In Ibn Kemal's (d. 1534) treatise, wearing a red headgear without compulsion was considered sufficient visible evidence of one's apostasy. [134]

The Ottomans often employed the pejorative religious terminology such as *zındık*, *mülhid* and *rafizi* for the antinomian dervish groups between the late 15th and 16th centuries. [135] It is worth defining nomenclature in order to understand how medieval religious terminology conformed to the historical, political, and cultural circumstances of

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[133] The *fatwa* collections became an important genre of Ottoman religious literature in the 16th century. A Turkish theologian Ozen gives a comprehensive list of a large number of Ottoman *fatwa* collections from the 16th century onwards with a brief introduction for each collection. He mentions two types of these *fatwa* collections. The first include the *fatwas* issued by the Ottoman Grand Muftis (Shaykh al-Islams); the second contains the *fatwas* of scholars such as provincial muftis, professors at madrasas (mudarris), judges, and fatwa scribes. For his article on these collections, see Şükrü Özen, "Osmanlı Döneminde Fetva Literatürü," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, vol 3, no 5 (2005): 249-378. On the significance of Ottoman fatwa collections for historical studies, see Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Toplum Tarihi İçin Zengin Bir Kaynak: Fetvâ Mecmuaları", *Toplumsal Tarih*, I (1994): 47-48; Saim Savaş, "Fetvaların Işığında Osmanlı Sosyal Hayatı Hakkında Bazı Tespitler I-II", *Toplumsal Tarih*, V (1996): 40-46 ve 54-58.

[134] Tikriti, "Kalam in the Service of State," 137- 143.

[135] Tikriti, ibid., 145,147, 149.

this historical context. *Zındık* had originally been used for the ones who conceal Manichaean beliefs and practices under the garb of Islam. It later became a general term for the ones who confidentially deny the Islamic principles and rulings.[136] Ibn Kemal offered the complete definition of *zındık* following the persecution of certain *Malamites* who were accused of having their religious ceremony as obligatory worship with quotations from the Qur'an and Hadith. According to Ibn Kemal, this term refers to someone who conceals his disbelief using arguments from the main sources of Islam.[137] *Mülhid* describes all types of deviant religious groups that strayed from the main path of Islam, regardless of their origins, beliefs and practices.[138] *Qizilbash* was frequently used in the 16th century documents to refer to Turcoman religious groups who supported the rule of the Shah against the Ottoman Sultan. *Rafizi* was originally used for the extremist Shi'ite groups. It later became a label for all antinomian religious groups of Ottomans who had Shi'i tendencies, such as Kalenderis and Abdals.[139]

Even though these antinomian dervish groups were charged with heresy based on their loose relation with the *shariat*, the official attitude toward these groups cannot be solely accounted by religious concerns. For example, a number of Melami-Bayramis[140] were executed on charges of *mülhid* and *zındık*.[141] Although there is no historical evidence of any affiliation of these 'heretics' with supporting the Safavid cause,[142] the spiritual lineage of Melami-Bayrami originally traces back to the Safavid lineage. After the persecutions, Melamis attempted to avoid these accusations by adapting the spiritual

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[136] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Türk Heterodoksi Tarihinde Zındık, Harici, Rafizi ve Mülhid ve Ehli Bid'at Terimlerine Dair Bazı Düşünceler", *TED*, 12 (1981-1982): 507-512.
[137] Colin Imber, "The Malamatiyya in the Ottoman Empire," in *Studies in Ottoman History and Law* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1996), 148.
[138] Ocak, "Türk Heterodoksi," 516.
[139] Ocak, 514-6; Mustafa Öz, "Rafiziler," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*.

lineages of Naqshibandi (also Naqshibandiyya, Nakşibendi) and Halwati (also Halwatiyya, Halveti) Sufi orders. Yet, they became victims of persecutions in the context of the Ottoman-Safavid rivalry because they were considered close to the Safavids.[143]

The Bektashi (also Bektashiyya, Bektaşi) is the only antinomian Sufi order officially recognized by the Ottoman state until the early 19th century. They mostly lived in the Western borders of the Ottoman territory, hence did not pose a threat during the Safavid rivalry. They had a close connection with the Janisarries (the military recruits of non-Turkish children, notably Balkan Christians), who traditionally paid allegiance to Hacı Bektaş Veli. The Bektashis enjoyed many benefits such as tax exemption, endowments, and state funding in the Ottoman realm. Under the context of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict, the intimacy between them and the state was temporarily interrupted in the reign of Selim I.[144] Socially antinomian dervish groups such as Qalandar, Abdals of Rum, and Jamis were kept under scrutiny. Eventually Bektashis were transformed into a new Sufi order, while Qalandars, Haydaris, and Abdals of Rum disappeared as separate

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[140] According to Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, the Melamis consist of three groups: The first (classical) Melamis (Melametis), the second Melamis (Bayramis), the third Melamis (Nuriye-Melamis). For this classification and more information on each group, see Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Melamilik ve Melamiler* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931). Bayramiye was the first Sufi order that was established in Anatolia by a Sufi master who was born and grew up in Anatolia. With the death of the patron saint, Haci Bayram Veli (d. 1429-30), the order was split into two opposing branches: Semsiye-Bayramiye represented by Seyh Aksemseddin (d. 1459) and Melami-Bayramiye represented by Ömer Sikkini (d.1475). While the former followed a Sunni perspective, and showed more allegiance to the *shariat*, the latter adapted the principle of *melamet* (hiding their real deeds and displaying their faults to attain perfect sincerity in their devotion to God) at the center of its teachings. For the further information on Bayramiyye, see Fuat Bayramoğlu and Nihat Azamat, "Bayramiye," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 269-73; J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam* (Oxford, 1971), 99-100. Fuat Bayramoğlu, *Haci Bayram-ı Veli* (Ankara, 1982).

[141] "Melamiyye", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 29-35. Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar*, 271, 27, 274, 297, 354-356; Gölpınarlı, *Melamilik ve Melamiler*, 72, 98-99. Hamid Algar, "The Hamzeviye: A Deviant Movement in Bosnian Sufism," *IS*, 36 (1997): 2-5; Ahmet Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik*, 17, 24-25. Reşat Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf: Anadolu'da Sufiler, Devlet ve Ulema (XVİ. Yüzyıl)* (İstanbul: 2000), 167-178.

[142] Terzioglu, *Sufi and Dissident*, 236-237.

[143] For this argument, see Halil İnalcık, *Ottoman Empire*, 200-202.

[144] Sureiya Faroqhi, "XVİ-XVİİ. Yüzyılarda Anadolu'da Şeyh Aileleri," *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri* (1973) (Ankara, 1975), 212; idem., "The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities," *IJMES*, VII (1976):183-208.

dervish (a member of a Sufi order) groups. Bektashis of the later times represented the beliefs and practices of the earlier dervish groups as well as their original beliefs. Hence, the other dervish groups actively adapted Bektashiyyah as the only privileged discourse of renunciation during the course of the 16th century.[145]

The registers of important affairs[146] from the 16th century were mainly concerned with the Qizilbash rather than other "heretical" religious groups, because Safavid propaganda activities became a serious problem for the Ottoman officials in provinces. For example, in a *mühimme* dated in 1568, the Ottoman central authority ordered the provincial officials to investigate if several groups engaged in any illicit acts such as participating in any gathering with the *khalifas* to perform the rituals of *mülhid* (apostate) and *müfsid* (mischief). If the accusations werer true, these people were secretly to be drowned into the river of Kızılırmak, or persecuted on the pretext of burglary and banditry.[147] In 1576, the imperial authority ordered the provincial officials to investigate the news that the 34-*rafizi* books were brought from Iran to Anatolia.[148] In 1578, an official order requested a further investigation to find out whether people sent donations

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[145] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends,* 83-84. Unlike Karamustafa, Ocak sees Bektashis as an offshoot of Kalenderis. For this, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Bektaşilik", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.5, 373-379. For a more detailed analysis on the development of Bektashis, see Fuat Köprülü, *İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 33-34, 207-209, W. Hasluck, *Bektaşilik Tetkikleri*, trans. Ragıb Hulusi, Istanbul 1928; John K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (London, 1937). For detailed analyses on influences of pre-Islamic religious traditions over Bektashi beliefs and practices, see Köprülü, "Anadolu'da Islamiyet," *DEFM*, 4 (1338/1922): 305-309, 405-408; Mehmet Eroz, *Türkiye'de Alevilik ve Bektaşilik* (İstanbul, 1977), 257-396; Abdülkadir İnan, *Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm* (Ankara, 1972), 120-146; I. Melikoff, "Recherches sur les composnates du syncretsne Bektashi-Alevi," *Studia Turcologica Memoria Alexii Bombaci Dicata* (Naples:Roma Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1982), 379-395; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Bektaşi Menakıbnamelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983). For Shi'i influences on Bektashi teachings, especially see Baha Said, "*Bektaşiler*", *TY*, 28 (1927): 321-332.

[146] The *mühimme defterleri* are the official decisions of the imperial council sent out to provincial judges and governors in response to the reports initiated by the local community itself.

[147] Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik,* 29.

[148] Ibid., 36.

(*nezir ve sadaka*) to the bandit (*saki*).[149] Similarly, in 1579, the official order was given to investigate if the large amount of money alongside the registers of three thousand people were sent to Iran and in return the sword and cloak (*kaftan*) were sent from Iran to their representatives. Suggesting the close link between religious policies and political exigencies in the Ottoman official policy towards antinomian religious groups, the order ends by commanding that the ones who do not conform to the *shariat* not be charged unless they assault Sunni Muslims or join the *rafizis* and *mülhids*.[150]

Based on these documents, Imber classifies the characteristics of heretics in the Ottoman Empire in four categories. First, they curse and revile the Four Guided Caliphs. Second, they call Sunni Muslims by some derogatory names such as "Yezid", the second Umayyad caliph who was held responsible for the murder of the Prophet's grandson Husayn in Karbala. Third, they gather at night for false rites bringing wives and daughters. Fourth, they do not practice obligatory prayer and fasting. According to Imber, what distinguished the Qizilbashes from other groups was their alliance with the Shah of Iran, their rebellion against Ottoman authority and the wearing of the Qizilbash hedgear.[151] Therefore, describing the Qizilbashes as both religious heretics and political infidels might have served to cover the underlying economic, social and cultural causes behind the Qizilbash problem. [152]

Examining the changing attitudes of the Ottoman state toward Syrian Shi'is between the 16th and 19th centuries, Winter's article provides a better analysis for understanding the correlation between religious discourse and the political and economic

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[149] Ibid., 37.
[150] Ibid., 40.
[151] Colin Imber, "The persecution of the Ottoman Shiites," 118-119.
[152] Marcus, "Inventing Orthodoxy,"154-156.

conditions of the time. After the conquest of Mamluk domains in 1516, notable Shi'i families of the area were coopted into the Ottoman provincial administration in the Syrian coastal highlands. Unlike the Ottoman treatment of Anatolian Turcomans in the 16th century, the term Qizilbash was not applied to Hamdass, Harfushes and Twelver Shi'i notables of Lebanon until the end of the 17th century.[153] However, between 1691 and 1822, the administrative authorities occasionally derogated Syrian Shi'is as Qizilbash heretics over more mundane violations, by adapting Ebussu'ud's *fatwa* on the Qizilbashes. Unexpectedly, the authorities neither connected them with the Anatolian tribes nor with the supporters of Iran. In the 18th century, the central government tolerated local notable dynasties regardless of their confessional affiliation and began to use the term Qizilbash "as a mildly derogatory ethnographic identifier" rather than as a religious term. [154] Therefore, Ottomans' attitude toward the Qizilbash was relevant to the contemporary political and economic conditions rather than merely a question of religious affiliation.

Salafi Movements in Ottoman Empire

In the history of Sufism, the greatest challenge to Sufi beliefs and practices came from puritanical reform movements, known as *Salafi* movements. The main concern of these movements was to restore the purity of Islamic faith and practice as available in the times of the Prophet Muhammad and the Four Guided Caliphs. But only few of them rejected all aspects of Sufism or Sufi practices and beliefs. A *Salafi* reform movement, known as the Kadızade movement, was spread in the Ottoman realm in the late 16th and 17th centuries. Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1635) was inspired by the writings of Birgivi

[153] Stefan Winter, "The Kizilbashes of Syrian and Ottoman Shiism," in *The Ottoman World*, edited by Christine Woodhead (Routledge: New York, 2012), 181.
[154] Winter, ibid., 171-184.

Mehmed Efendi (d. 1573), who criticized various Sufi beliefs and practices that did not conform to the *shariat*. The writings of the followers of this movement, or Kadızadelis were directly concerned with Sufis and the belief system of popular Islam.[155] The most enthusiastic response came from the ranks of mosque preachers and public lectures who were not part of the Sufi orders, but of the lower ranks of the learned establishment.[156] The Kadızadelis regarded themselves as exponents of the true faith and were engaged in determining the limits of "true" Islam.[157] They condemned many of the common religious and cultural practices, such as the visitation of tombs to ask for the intercession of the dead, pilgrimages to the tombs of alleged saints, invocation of blessings upon the Prophet and his Companions upon every mention of their names, supererogatory prayers and rituals, singing, chanting, dancing, whirling in the Sufi ceremonies for zikr, the practice of cursing the Umayyad Caliph Yazid, shaking hands in greeting and bowing down before social superiors and consumption of opium, coffee and tobacco.[158]

The Halveti Sufi order[159] became the chief target of the Kadizadelis even though they were not previously affected by persecution of Sufi dissidents during the reigns of Selim I and Suleyman I. Halvetiye was established in Azerbaijan in the late 14th century and it became the most popular Sufi order in the Ottoman lands throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. Halvetis took a middle stance between the loose Bektashis and the strict

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[155]Terzioğlu, *Sufi and Dissident,* 211. For a more detailed analysis of Birgivi's ideas, see idem, 209-212.
[156] Terzioğlu, *Sufi and Dissident,* 193.
[157] Zulfi, *The Politics of Piety,* 132, 143-144, 38-9, 136.
[158]Terzioğlu, *Sufi and Dissident,* 194, especially 218-219. This list also includes denouncement about the writings of Ibn Arabi, believing the prophet's parents died as believers, the belief in the immortality of the Prophet Hızır, and Islam as religion of Abraham.
[159]Halvetis were mostly located in Istanbul, western Anatolia and the Balkans; its new branches were expanded to other Ottoman lands. For the scholarship on the Halvetiye, see Süleyman Uludağ, "Halvetiyye," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol.15, 1997; G. Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes", *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis* (ed. Nikki R. Keddie), London 1972, s. 275-305; J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1975, s.74-78; "Khalwatiyya," *EI*, IV, 991; Reşat Öngören, *XVI. Asirda Anadolu'da Tasavvuf* (PhD Thesis, MU Sosyal Bilimler Enstitütüsü, 1996), 16-87.

Nakshbandis in terms of adherence to the *shariat*. Halvetis were subjected to charges of *bid'at*, blasphemous "innovations", especially their particular form of *zikr*, known as *devran*. The Kadizadeli attacks against Halvetis led to the weakening role of Halvetis in Ottoman Sufi life since the late 17th century.[160]

The Kadızadelis also accused the *ulema* with falling short of the straight path of Islam and hence causing the development of divergent forms of Sufism and other innovations. As a result, the Ottoman *ulema* became a target of the Kadızadeli.[161] Terzioglu says, "the relative passivity of the *ulema* elite, crippled by the crisis that had stuck the Ottoman central state in the late 16th century, led to a congestion in their ranks, frequent dismissals and a general erosion of their social prestige." Although Sufi orders played an important role in political and religious life in the first two centuries of Ottoman rule, a breach between the ruling elite and Sufi dervishes grew when the Ottoman Empire transformed from a frontier principality to a centralized empire.[162]

Conclusion

The histories of Safavids and Ottoman reveal many overlaps in the given historical period. Both Safavids and Ottomans used religious discourses to legitimize their policies against their rivalries, though in two different forms of normative Islam. The emergence of their sectarian affiliation as an ideological discourse had different repercussions on domestic religious groups. Some of the previous friends of the state were seen as unruly groups and others became the friends of the state. Therefore, heresy policies in both political realms cannot be explained only with theological concerns because of the complexity of historical realities. Hence, in examining their histories, one must take into

[160] For a more discussion on the history of Halvetis, see Terzioğlu, *Sufi and Dissident*, 247-253.
[161] Zulfi, *Politics of Piety*, 111.
[162] Terzioğlu, *Sufi and Dissident*, 220-221.

account multifarious factors instead of overemphasizing the role of religious aspects over others in shaping both the imperial and mundane policies.

Chapter 2: Inner Texture of the Qizilbash/Alevi *Mecmuas*

The available *Mecmua* manuscripts are interlayered with different religious texts including *Hutbe-i Düvazdeh İmam* (the sermon on the Twelve Imams), [163] *Menakıb/Risale,* short treatises as well as poetry. Introducing thematic and rhetorical dimensions of these texts, this chapter will show that the *Mecmuas* are not simply the written sources of the Qizilbash tradition describing its central teachings and rituals, but also the performative texts of the Qizilbash community.

Sections of the *Mecmua* manuscripts

I. *Hutbe-i Düvazdeh İmam*

This sermon includes the narratives about the prophets and angels, and links these stories to the superiority of Ali, Twelve imams, and other spiritual prominent figures of the path. It has many signs of oral tradition, conflicting with histories of authoritative collections in Islamic tradition. The sermon is placed as a separate section in the beginning of some *Mecmuas* (Ms-181 and Ms-198); some parts of this sermon are scattered throughout other copies (Ms-199 and Ms-1172). The central theme of *Düvazdeh İmam* is the redemptive role of Twelve Imams that was reflected in the history of all the prophets. This theme is supported and developed by several narratives. First, the story of Prophet Adam's journey is one of the hagiographic narratives in both versions of the sermon. According to Ms-181, Adam was walking around paradise. He saw a dome of light. All the residents turned around the four corners of dome. He asked God what is inside the dome and how he could enter into it. God said that it had five floors and there was a door in each floor. The doors are not opened unless the phrase at the front of each door is recited by the Prophet.

[163] The manuscripts (Ms-198 and Ms-181) preserved the initial Persian pronunciation of duwazdeh, which means twelve. Here, I transliterated it as *düvazdeh* in Turkish.

Giving a detailed description of the dome, the narration says that Adam saw a palace inside the dome. There was a high sultan without naming who the sultan is. The sultan said, "The drops in my ear are my soul (*can*). The belt on my belly represents Ali, and the twelve windows of the dome are my descendants."[164]

Ms-198 gives a clearer version of this narrative. According to this version, Adam encountered Fatima's radiant light without naming the place of occurrence. He saw several doors on his journey, upon which several phrases praising Prophet Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, and Husayn respectively were inscribed. When Prophet Adem said each phrase, another door was opened. Eventually, he entered inside the dome. There a sultan was sitting, with a crown of light on her head, two drops of light in her ears, a belt of light on her belly. He did not recognize her because inside of the dome was illuminated by her radiance. She seemed to be the moon. She eventually introduced herself to him. She, then, said that the crown on her head was Prophet Muhammad and the twelve openings/windows in the crown represented her twelve sons. The paradise and its inhabitants were created of the radiance of crown. But the narrative does not talk about who the two drops and the belt represented.[165]

Only in Ms-181, the story of Adam is connected smoothly to the prophetic history of salvation. He was repentant of his mistake. Three hundred years later, he miraculously remembered Fatima's advice about reciting the names of the Twelve Imams in times of troubles. Gabriel gave him the good news that he would be accepted to paradise. But, Adam requested to be united with Eve in the paradise.[166] Because of this request, his whole body became very dark. For atonement, Gabriel commanded him to fast on the

[164]Ms-181: 4a.
[165]Ms-198: 3a.
[166] Ms-181: 4a.

13th, and 14th, and 15th days of the month and to recite the names of Twelve Imams. After fasting for three days, his body became light from foot to thigh, from thigh to chest, from chest to head respectively.[167]

Another hagiographic narrative found in both copies of the sermon is Prophet Musa's beseeching God to acquire what were given to Prophet Muhammad and his descendants. Once Prophet Musa saw the spirits of Prophet Muhammad's community, he fervently entreated God to have (or observe) the month of Ramadan and the day and night of Friday. He was told that each has a value of precious coral. His request was denied because only Prophet Muhammad's descendants were worthy of these days. His descendants are as worthy as the prophets of Banu Israel (sons of Israel). Prophet Musa asked about the deeper value of the prophet's descendants, Imam Ja'far, the sixth Shi'i Imam, appeared and showed him an unlimited ocean, which represents the breadth and continuity of spiritual standing represented by the Prophet's descendants. Imam Ja'far drank some water from that ocean. This was the lowest level of the *Maqam Muhammadiyya* (the station of Muhammad).[168]

In Ms-198, the Musa narrative continues with God's conversation with Prophet Muhammad in the presence of Prophet Musa (whereas in Ms-181, God addresses Prophet Musa in the presence of Muhammad) upon the significance of Prophet Muhammad's descendants and the rewards of reciting their names. The most important reward is that God would accept all the wishes and requests for the sake of these names. Another is to get a reward twelve thousand times over. For example, those who recite, or write the names of the Twelve Imams would get blessings equivalent to committing twelve

[167] Ms-181: 4b.
[168] Ms-181: 2b.

thousand good deeds, emancipating twelve-thousand descendants of prophets, making pilgrimage and remembrance of God twelve thousand times. Twelve thousand angels give them daily protection.[169]

Both versions of the sermon also mention a tradition attributed to Shaykh Najm al-din Kubra, a 13th century Persian Sufi and the founder of Kubrawiya order influential in the Ilkhanate and Timurid dynasty. His later descendants adopted Shi'ism.[170] The sermon refers to Kubra as the one who prescribes a certain type of *namaz.*[171] In Ms-181, this *namaz* consists of twenty-four cycles. Each cycle requires recitation of certain Qur'anic verses. The sermon should also be recited along with the blessings on the Twelve Imams at the end of every other cycle. Kubra is reported to say that if someone properly follows the given instructions for the *namaz*, God would undoubtedly accept his/her personal prayers. But if they are not accepted, he requested that they curse him. Ms-198 narrates the same tradition, but it is a condensed version of a *namaz* with four cycles, instead of twenty-four cycle prayer mentioned in Ms-181.

This excerpt from the Kubrawiya order does not prove itself any liaison between the Kubrawiya order and the Qizilbash-Alevi path, but can be explained with the influence of his thought that laid the emphasis on the centrality of rituals for the attainment of visual experiences in the spiritual path. It can be also seen as the indirect influence of the messianic Kubrawi circles that saw Najm al-Din Kubra as an

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[169] Ibid.

[170] For more information, see Hamid Algar, "Kubra, Najm al-Din", *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition; idem, 'Some observations on religion in Safavid Persian', in *Iranian Studies*, 7/1-2 (Winter-spring 1974): 287-90. For the study of the Kubrawi lineage, see Devin DeWeese, "The Eclipse of the Kubravīyah in Central Asia", *Iranian Studies*, vol. 21, No. 1/2 (1988), 45-83.

[171] For the word *salat* in Arabic, which is a formal and obligatory prayer, *Namaz* is used in Turkic and Persian Muslim cultures.

extraordinary religious figure promising the supreme mystical attainments to the disciples.[172]

The sermon continues with the narrative of many prophets who were released from various hardships and troubles by way of praising the Twelve Imams. The last of these narratives is the story of immortality given to Ilyas (Elias) on his request to serve the descendants of Prophet Muhammad until the end of his life.[173] Comparing the narratives on the prophetic history, there is not any considerable difference between these two copies, except the story of Prophet David.[174] The sermon in Ms-181 ends with a three-page long ceremonial prayer in Arabic with the same title, *Hutbe-i Düvazdeh İmam.*[175] This prayer is placed at the end of the *Menakıb* of Ms-198.[176]

From the comparison of the Twelve Imam sermons in Ms-181 and Ms-198, it is possible to conclude that Ms-181 largely provides expanded forms of parallel narratives with formalized descriptions of teachings and rites larger than those in Ms-198 and the latter uses more symbols to describe the narratives. Also, considering that Ms-198 has the longest poetry section among all other manuscripts, this copy might be orally recited in the communal settings more than any other copies.

II. *Menakıb*

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[172] DeWeese, "Intercessory Claims of Sufi Communities," 205.
[173] Ms-181: 4b-5a; Ms-198: 8b-13a.
[174] According to this narrative, by the help of these names, David was able to fashion the iron pomegranate tree, which was located in the House of Sacred (in Jerusalem) and visited by pilgrims. See Ms-198, 11a. The earliest source mentioning the pomegranate tree fashioned by Prophet David is the anonymous Ottoman Turkish text from the mid-sixteenth century as a guidebook for the pilgrims of the House of Sacred. For further information, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Suleyman's Glosses," in *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 25 (2008):17-105.
[175] Ms-181: 5b-7a.
[176] Ms-198: 106b-107b.

The largest section of the *Mecmuas* is the *Menakıb*. The *Menakıb* begins with the pseudo-historical narrative of how this book came to exist and survived over time. According to this narrative, in the last days of his life, the Prophet bequeathed Ali the requirements of *tarikat* (the spiritual path rather than the Sufi order), which were revealed by Gabriel. Immediately, Ali put his suggestions into writing in his presence and eventually compiled them into a book. This book was transmitted through his descendants until the time of Shaykh Safi.[177]

The *Menakıb* explicates the fundamentals of the spiritual path, the conditions, requirements and faults for the seeker (*talib*), spiritual brother/companion (*musahib*), guide (*rehber*), and vicegerent of the spiritual patron (*halife*), the enemies of the spiritual path, the stations of friends of God (*evliya*) and seekers, and the initiatory ritual (*ikrar*), the repentance (*teslim tercüman ikrarı*) ritual, the ritual of girding (*kemer kuşanmak*), and physical and financial punishments for the wrongdoers.[178]

Considering the *Menakıb* as an evolving genre of the cumulated traditions, it includes multiple voices of narration. While some parts were written in third person that refers to the addressee as 'they' or the narrative as 'it', other parts were written in a format of dialogue that takes place between Shakyh Safi and his disciple Sadr al-Din. The narrator reports the dialogues and the narratives, but on a number of occasions, he becomes the voices of these figures and sometimes turns to the voice of the audience in the first plural subject (we). The language of the *Menakıb* also suggests that this copy was heard by the Qizilbash community in the communal settings rather than read individually

[177] Ms-198: 15a-15b; Ms-181: 8b.
[178] The rituals will be mentioned in the next chapters.

or used only by the representatives of the path. The overlap between oral and textual traditions can be discernible in the hagiographic narratives of the *Menakıb*.

In the *Menakıb*, the rituals and teachings of the path are prescribed neither literally nor abstractly, but rather elaborated with hagiographic stories. For example, explaining the fundamentals of the path, the *Menakıb* narrates the event of *Ghadir Khumm* that epitomizes the appointment of Ali by the prophet as his successor according to Shi'a sources.[179] According to this narrative, the Prophet came to a place called *Ghadir Khumm* after his last pilgrimage on the way back from the battle of Uhud toward Badirhanayn. The Qur'anic Verse 5:67 was revealed.[180] He ordered his companions to make a pulpit (*minbar*) so he could make his announcement. There were no trees around, so he ordered them to use camel saddles. They piled seven saddles and surrounded them with three sets of seven saddles. On the pulpit consisting of twenty-eight saddles in total, the Prophet held up the hand of 'Ali and said: "For whomever I am his *mawla* (leader), 'Ali is his *mawla*."[181]

After the selection of Ali as *mawla* (as the successor), the Prophet returned to Medina. Gabriel came to the house of the Prophet, told him to visit 'Ali and Fatima that night. The Prophet went to his daughter's house and Gabriel reappeared. The angel put an object like wheat thread in front of him. The Prophet asked: "O my dear brother Gabriel! What is this?" He answered that this is the belt adorned with jewels *(murassa kemer)*, which is created of the omnipotence of God. Adam put on this belt, which protected him from evil acts. Adam ate the wheat because of Eve. Both are expelled from heaven. This

[179] Sunni historical works share this narrative but they do not interpret it as the appointment of Ali.
[180] "O Apostle! Deliver what has been sent down to you from your Lord; and if you don't do it, you have not delivered His message (at all); and Allah will protect you from the people ..." (Qur'an 5:67)
[181] Ms-198: 46a-48b; Ms-181: 17b-18b.

belt was transmitted from Adam to other prophets, which protected them from many troubles. Finally, Gabriel brought this belt to the prophet Muhammad. The prophet performed two-cycle *namaz* and remained in prostration until he heard a voice from the unseen reality (*gayb*) declaring that his prayer was accepted. After girding the Prophet's waist with *murassa kemer*, Gabriel asked the Prophet to buckle the girdle around 'Ali's waist. Ali girded the waists of Hasan and Husayn.[182] Then, each following Imam girded his successor's waist. The Prophet also asked 'Ali to make seventeen people being girded with the belt so those came to be called as *on yedi kemerbeste*. Subsequently, Ali girded only the waists of three people (who are Ja'far, Kanber, and Salman Farisi). With the permission of the Prophet, Salman Farisi girded the waists of fourteen people.[183]

The spiritual pact between the Prophet and Ali is culminated with the most symbolic narrative in the *Mecmuas,* which depicts the appearance of Prophet Muhammad and Ali with one body and two heads. According to the narrative, the Kharijites,[184] the first literalist group of Islamic history, were suspicious of the reality of the conjoined body as they appeared on two heads. The Kharijites asked Prophet and Ali to display a sign for their conjoined appearance. As a response, the Prophet and Ali pulled their heads back into the shirt they wore. They turned into having a single body and single head in the presence of the Kharijites. The prophet recommended his companions be spiritual brothers to each other. Using symbolism of having a single body with two heads, this narrative reflects a profound critique of the exoteric approach to Islam, which lay

[182] Ms-198: 50a-52b; Ms-181: 18b-19b.
[183] Ms-198: 52b-53b, 54b-57a; Ms-181: 19b.
[184] Historically, the Prophet was dead more than 20 years before Kharijites came out and met with Ali.

emphasis only on external dimensions of religion, in other words, the *shariat* without seeking its inner dimensions.[185]

Another hagiographic narrative is meeting of the Prophet Muhammad with the forty-assembly. The forty-assembly is told as a story to show the primacy of serving people over all other responsibilities. According to this version, one day the prophet came across the door of *Suffe-i Safa* (the hall of happiness) where the forty were chatting with each other. Muhammad could not enter inside the *Suffe* with his prophethood. He attempted to go inside twice, but he was expelled from the door of the *Suffe*. While he was turning away each time, he was ordered by God to go back to the door. He was accepted to go inside the hall when he introduced himself as a servant of poor men. As the Prophet went inside the assembly, he did not recognize Ali's presence therein. They said: "The forty of us are one and each one of us is the Forty". Muhammad asked them to show a proof for this. Once Ali's arm was struck by the lancet, a drop of blood followed from the forty people of the assembly. Selman came from "Pars" and brought one piece of grape. The forty asked the Prophet to make a sherbet out of one piece of grape on the request of the forty. God ordered Gabriel to bring a platter made of light from the heaven for the Prophet to turn the grape into sherbet inside the platter. The forty people drank from the sherbet and became intoxicated. Muhammad entered into *semah* (spiritual dance). His special garment (*tennure*) fell down and was divided into forty pieces. The forty put this on as a robe.[186]

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[185] For the detailed analysis of this symbolism and the function of *kharijites* in this narrative as well as in *Mecmuas* in general, see the chapter, 'Religious Texture of the *Mecmuas*.'

[186] Ms-181: 23a-23b. The *Mecmua* Ms-198 includes a brief reference to the forty-assembly by mentioning only the acceptance of Prophet Muhammad to the assembly on the condition of being a servant to (poor) people (84a).

In some of the published versions of the *Menakıb*, this event occurs in the context of the Prophet's ascension to heaven (*Miraj*).[187] But there is no connection between the ascension experience of the Prophet and the forty-assembly in the prose narratives of *Menakıb*. The last four couplets of an anonymous poem (assumed to be written by Shah Ismail) in Ms-198 connects *the Miraj* to the forty-assembly as follows.

> Ali who became the lion on the path to *Miraj*
> The one who got the seal with his mouth and goes
> The one who came to the forty and be united with them
> The one who finds a sign to the sign (is) Ali [188]

The current Alevi ritual ceremony is grounded on the forty-assembly narrative. Some historical sources show that Shah Ismail's poetry had been associated with the Alevi ritual since his lifetime; it is not ascertained when and how the *Miraj* narrative was added into the forty-assembly narrative. But the official divan collections of the Shah Ismail's poetry mention the forty only as the beatific reward for the entry to sanctuary.[189] The *Menakıb* of Ms-1172 refers to this miraculous event only as a subject of allusion rather than a complete narrative.[190] Ms-181 only offers a full account of the forty-assembly without having reference to the *Miraj*.

Comparative analysis of the *Menakıbs* from the four *Mecmuas* also gives clues about their origin. It is very clear that Ms-199 is the latest copy of all the manuscripts, but

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[187] For the narratives connecting the forty-assembly to the ascension, see Sefer Aytekin, *Buyruk*, 7-11.
[188] Ms-198: 141a.
[189] For the association of Shah Ismail's poetry with the Qizilbash rituals, see Gallagher, "Shah Isma'il Safevi and the Mi'raj: Hatai'I Vision of a Sacred Assembly," in *The Prophet's Ascension: Cross-Cultural Encounters with The Islamic Mi'raj Tales*, eds. Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 316-317, 320-324.
[190] According to the Ms-1172, "Prophet Muhammad (p.u.h) uttered twenty thousand words with God during the miraj. They are the word of the Marifat, which is the secret of God. He also listened ninety thousand words from God. Only the thirty thousand is about the *Hakikat*. They (the rest) are about the *shariat*, *tarikat*, *marifat*, and *hakikat* (p.3a)

there is uncertainty on the producing date of Ms-198, Ms-181, and Ms-1172. The parallels between these three copies suggest several suppositions. First, due to the availability of longer versions of narratives, Ms-181 appears to have been compiled later than Ms-198. No further textual evidence suffices to support this claim, but it is seen that Ms-198 and Ms-181 were copied from or interacted with the same reference text. Similarly, Ms-1172 includes some verbatim parts found in these *Menakıbs*. But it is still ambiguous to determine whether these parts of Ms-1172 were directly adapted from these texts. Despite many verbatim parts, the abridged and modified versions of narratives as well as additions of new narratives to each copy show that the prolonged history of writing the *Mecmuas* was not simply verbatim copying. It was rather the changing accounts of the collective memory in both written and oral memory.

Finally, the *Menakıbs* also contain the genealogy of Safavid Shahs, who claim to be the descendants of 'Ali. In the established historical narrative based on the primary historical sources, the historical lineage of Safavid Shahs goes back from Shah Abbas to the grandfather of Shaykh Safi: Shah Abbas-Shah Tahmasb-Shah Ismail-Haydar-Junayd-Ibrahim- Hoca Ali-Sadr al-Din-Safi-Jabrail- Salih.[191] In comparison with either the oldest manuscript of *Safwat al-Safa* or the Safavid genealogy composed during the reign of Shah Suleiman (1667–1694), written by Shah Husayn ibn Abdal Zahidi,[192] the verbatim

[191] Based on the primary Safavid sources, Baltacioglu-Brammer says that the lineage of Shaykh Safi goes back to his grandfather Salih, his father Jebrail, and his brother Sheikh Salah ad-Din Rashid. See Baltacioglu-Brammer, "Safavid Conversion Propoganda," 62-63.

[192] It refers to the common names between the genealogies of the *Mecmuas* and the following official genealogy. In the official genealogy, the Safavid lineage from Shaykh Safi to Prophet Muhammad is given as follows: "**Shaykh Safi al-din Abul Fatah Ishaq** ibn (son of) Shaykh Amin al-Din Jabrail ibn **Qutb al-din** ibn **Salih** ibn **Muhammad** al-**Hafez** ibn Awad ibn **Firuz** Shah Zarin Kulah ibn Majd ibn Sharafshah ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Sayyid Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Sayyid Jafar ibn Sayyid Muhammad ibn Sayyid Isma'il ibn Sayyid Muhammad ibn Sayyid Ahmad 'Arabi ibn Sayyid Qasim ibn Sayyid **Abul Qasim** Hamzah ibn **Musa al-Kazim ibn Ja'far As-Sadiq ibn Muhammad al-Baqir ibn Imam Zayn al-Abidin ibn Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abu Talib** Alayha as-Salam. For this genealogy, see Zahidi, *Silsilat al-nasab-i*

version of genealogy (called as *nasab-name*) found in Ms-198/Ms-181/Ms-199 shares four people listed after Shaykh Safi and the chains of Shi'i Imams from Musa al-Kazim to the father of Imam 'Ali, Abu Talib. The rest of names have been omitted or replaced with others. The existence of Safavid genealogy in the *Menakıb* clearly reflects the influence of the understanding of spiritual authority based on hereditary lineage and its current impact on the Qizilbash-Alevi and Qizilbash Bektashi communities of Anatolia.

> Shah Dehmaz (Shah Tahmasb), son of Sayyid Shah Ismail, son of Sayyid Shah Haydar, son of Sayyid Shah Junayd, son of Sayyid Ibrahim (his name is not mentioned in the official genealogy in the footnote), son of Sayyid **Qutbuddin**, son of **Sayyid Shah Salih,** son of **Sayyid Muhammad**, son of **Sayyid 'Ivaz/Ayvaz** (this name might be a corruption of Hafez) , son of **Sayyid Niruz** Shah (which might be a corruption of Firuz Shah), son of Sayyid Mahdi, son of Sayyid 'Ali, son of Sayyid Muhammed, son of Sayyid Husayn **Sayyid Abu al-Qasim**, son of Sayyid Thabit, son of Sayyid Dana, son of Sayyid Davud, son of Sayyid Ahmad, son of **Imam Musa Kazim, son of Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq, son of Imam Muhammad Bakir, son of Imam Zayn al-Abidin, son of Imam Husayn, son of 'Ali, son of Abu Talib.**[193]

Ms-1172 provides another example of Safavid genealogy beginning with Shah Abbas.

> Sultan Shah Abbas, son of Sultan Shah Tahmasb, son of Sayyid Shah Imam Ali, son of Sayyid Shah Junayd, son of Sayyid Shah Haydar (Junayd is the father of Haydar) son of Sayyid Shah Ibrahim, son of Sayyid Shah Ishaq (or Shah Safi), son of Shaykh Salih, son of Sayyid Shaykh 'Ivaz/Ayvaz, son of Sayyid Shakyh Pir, son of Sayyid Shah Fahraddin, son of Sayyid Shakyh Husayn, son of Sayyid Shakyh Abul kasim, son of Sayyid Shaykh Hasan, son of Sayyid Shaykh Davud,

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Safavīyah (Berlīn: Chāpkhānah-'i Īrānshahr,) 1924. For the purpose of the *Silsilat*, Mazzaoui argues that "The Silsilat deals more with the religious-Sufi 'history rather than the political-shi'i aspects of the Safawid family." See Mazzaoui, *The Origins of Safawids*, 51.

[193] Ms-198: 57b; Ms-181: 21a. Bolding mine. For the same version, see Ms-199, 77a.

son of Sayyid Imam Musa Kazim, (son) of Imam Ja'far, son of Imam Muhammad Bakir, son of Imam Zayn al-Abidin, son of Imam Husayn, son of 'Ali Murtaza.[194]

Comparing the version of Ms-198/Ms-181/Ms-199 with the official one, the earliest chains are almost the same with a few exceptions. The later chains especially after Shaykh Safi do not include same names. The genealogy of Ms-198/Ms-181 does not even include Shaykh Safi. When Ms-1172 is concerned, this version seems to be an abridged version of Ms-198/Ms-181/Ms-199 with the addition of Shah Abbas. The genealogy of Ms-1172 has an inaccurate chronological order of Haydar and Junayd since Junayd comes after his son, Haydar. Ms-1172 includes Shah Ali instead of Shah Ismail. The omission of Shah Ismail can be further explained with three possibilities. First, unintentionally the copyist forgot to write down Shah Ismail and added Shah Ali[195], the older brother of Shah Ismail, in the list before Shah Tahmasb. Second, Shah Ismail might have been titled as Shah Ali implying he was an incarnation of Imam Ali. But the overall content of this treatise does not prove this assumption on his incarnation as Imam Ali. Third, because of the hostile political environment, the copyist must intentionally have left it out. In overall, the differences between the *Mecmua* genealogies and the official list clearly suggest that these genealogies were written out of oral memory. Considering the differences between the version of Ms-198/Ms-181/Ms-199 and that of Ms-1172, these genealogies have demonstrated the adaptability of historical memory over time though it was once preserved in writing. It is noteworthy that these genealogies show the continued relationship with the Shahs as their Shaykhs.

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[194] Ms-1172: 14a-b. Underlining shows the shared names between this version and other genealogies under consideration.

[195] For the information on Shah Ali, see *A Chronicle of the Early Safawids Being the Ahsanu't-Tawarikh of Hasani Rumlu,* C. N. Seddon, ed. and trans., vol. 2 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1934), 2.

III. *Risale*

Risale of Ms-1172 explains the basics of the spiritual path from the four dimensions of Islam, *shariat* (religious law), *tarikat* (spiritual path), *marifat* (experiential knowledge), and *hakikat* (ultimate reality). Due to the frequent usage of the Sufi terminology such as *nafs al-'ammarah* (the carnal self), *nafs al-luwwamah* (the self-accusing self), and *nafs al-mutma'innah* (the self at peace) and the effort to explain Islamic rituals from the four-fold dimension, the *Risale* echoes the manuals of classical Sufi scholars.[196] But at the same time, it provides the norms of the ritual community and the conditions of the initiates.

The *Risale* uses the title *Menakıb* in terms of the common heritage consisting of the teachings of Prophet and Ali and the sayings of Twelve Imams.[197] This treatise shares some features of Islamic hagiography and catechism, but it rather resembles a religious treatise that is devoted to a particular theme. This section is structurally coherent because it is mostly written by the single voice of an author/narrator/compiler. While it consistently calls the leading members of the community, the holders of the manuscript, in a second person subject, it addresses the receiver of the teachings as "them".

> If you ask what twenty-eight questions are on the rites of the friends of God, the first one is divine unity, the second is justice, the third is prophethood, the fourth is trustworthiness, the fifth is to enjoy the right, the sixth is to forbid the evil, the seventh is *tevella* (to love the descendants of the Prophet), the eight is *teberra* (to hate the enemies of his descendants). For the ninth, if they ask you who your father is, say them I am the son of the path. If they ask about whose path is this,

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[196] John Renard, *Knowledge of God in Classical Sufism: Foundations of Islamic Mystical Theology* (New York: Paulist Press, 2004), 27-38.

[197] The copy Ms-1172 specifically uses the term *üstadlar kavli* or the sayings of the masters, including Muhammad, Ali and Twelve Imams and the term *üstadlar dergahı* for the spiritual station they collectively represent. See *Mecmua* Ms-1172: 17b, 21a.

tell that it is the path of Muhammad-Ali.[198]

There is a similar narrative for the miraculous union of Muhammad and Ali, seen in the *Menakıb* copies. The *Risale* narrates that Gabriel brought a cloak from the paradise. When Prophet Muhammad wore it, they became one flesh and one spirit. On the request of his companions, the Prophet put it on. Some of them saw Muhammad and Ali as one body having two heads. For the second time, he wore it, some saw them as two bodies and two heads. For the third time, others saw that they were one body with one head. This narrative concludes that 'all spirits are from the essence of prophet, which is the light of Allah. So, people of the reality/ the truth (*ehl-i hakikat*) are the manifestation of God (*zati tecelli hak*).[199]

There is no mention of the *Ghadir Khumm* narrative. Instead, *Risale* traces back the origin of the ritual space (*cemiyyet*) and the rites of the spiritual path (*erkan-i tarikat*) to the early Muslim community. Accordingly, when the number of early Muslims increased, they needed a space wherein they would receive guidance and practice their rituals. So, the Prophet asked the early Muslims to dig in the ground in order to establish a house. This house was perfumed with pleasant fragrances. The Prophet asked Abbas (the paternal uncle of the Prophet)[200] to teach the believers the path of Muhammad and Ali. Following the act of companionship between Muhammad and Ali, all other Muslims became companion with each other. Muhammad declared that Ali is his flesh and blood suggesting him as his successor. He also further argued that Ali is his son in the *tarikat* and his brother in the *hakikat*. By the request of Muhammad and Ali, Salman became the

[198] Ms-1172: 11b-12a.
[199] Ms-1172: 32b-33b.
[200] According to Islamic historical sources, Abbas later converted to Islam.

spiritual guide of Fatima, Hasan, and Husayn. In the end, they ate a meal as a sign of thankfulness and recited prayers (*gülbank*). *Risale* also says that this "historical" meal is the origin of the meal of thankfulness (*şükrane taam*).[201]

The *Risale* provides one of the most vivid depictions of the Qur'anic narrative of pre-eternal covenant with God. According to this narrative, "Adam fell from flying to *taşra*, 'inhabitable or hostile land', or simply 'in the middle of nowhere'. He cried for two hundred or according to some, three hundred years and was given a leaf to cover his body. But the leaf was not big enough to cover his entire body. He had to hold it by two hands, and could not even scratch his head. Eventually, he was forgiven by God and was given two garments for his repentance and patience. God made a covenant (*ahidname*) with him on the condition that his descendants will follow the ordinances of God. Lots of food was brought from heaven and the souls of people came together and responded to the question of God, "Alastu birabbikum (Am I not your Lord?)" as "Yes, for certain, Qalu Bala (you are our Lord)." God ordered Adam to hide this covenant in the Hajar al-Aswad, the black stone in the Kaba. The narrative concludes, "That is why this stone was so far visited by the pilgrims. Without this meaning, it is just a black stone like other stones."[202] Gabriel brought halwa (a type of desert made of flour, butter, and sugar) from heaven to Adam, so he could give it to other people.[203] The narrative visualizes how all the souls affirm their bond with God as their Lord, by describing the covenant event in physical space, which is "inhabitable or hostile land" and providing real evidence, which

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[201] Ms-1172: 50b-51b. This narrative neither mentions the seventeen-people girded by the belt nor the ritual of girding with the belt.

[202] This narrative echoes a well-known quote of the Second Caliph Umar about Hajar-al-Aswad. He kissed Hajar and said "I know well that you are just a stone that can do neither good nor harm. Had I not seen the Prophet kiss you, I had not done so." Bukhari, *Al-Hajj*, 2396, No. 808.

[203] Ms-1172: 45b-46b.

is "the black stone in the Ka'ba". This visual depiction of the covenant helps the audience to better understand the inner meaning of covenant, and shows the possibility to renew the covenant in our time and space.

This treatise provides different hagiographic narratives not found in other *Mecmua*s. To explain the origin of the ritual of putting a stone in the neck of criminal/sinner, the hagiographic story of the stone hung over Musa's neck is narrated. According to this narrative, Musa was swimming in the river of Nile. He put his cloths over a stone. A stone left his cloth and run away. He chased the stone. As he caught it, he poked it from its twelve sides. The stone said: I did so because the Jews made a false accusation claiming that your body is sick. I intended to show this false, but you poked me.[204]

Risale of Ms-1172 prescribes the three exemplary and seven obligatory pillars of the path (*üç sünnet yedi farz).* These are the pillars of the Shah (*erkan-ı padişah*).[205] According to Ms-198/Ms-181, the exemplary pillars consist of reciting the word of confession (*kelime-i tevhid*), showing no enmity, jealousy, and arrogance to anyone, and speaking in the name of God instead of arguing with people. The seven obligations include keeping the secrets of the path from the outsiders, constant repentance for the wrong, not gossiping and lying, obedience to the rights of spiritual teacher, being girded with the belt by the khalifas, bringing their spiritual companion to the ritual gathering, wearing a headgear (*tac*) and a special cloth (*kisvet*), and pledging allegiance to masters of the path (*meşayih*).[206]

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[204] Ms-1172: 48a-b.
[205] Ms-1172: 61a attributes the pillars of the path to Shah Tahmasb.
[206] Ms-181: 29b; Ms-198: 68a-68b.

But Ms-1172 has some differences. For example, the third exemplary pillar is to practice the obligatory acts of the path and the second obligation is to accept what is told as the truth without hesitation and the third obligation is to be in supplication for their wrongdoings.[207] To encourage the followers and the leaders of the community to forgive the wrongdoers who seek repentance, Ms-1172 provides a new narrative on the story of releasing a male slave (*ghulam*) who sought the repentance for his wrongdoing by Ali.[208]

IV. A Bektashi Treatise of Ms-199

The first treatise of Ms-199 with forty-seven sheets praises Hacı Bektaş Veli, the 13th century Muslim mystic and the eponymous founder of the Bektashi/Bektaşi order. The treatise calls Hacı Bektaş the spiritual master, and calls the path as the Bektashi Sufi path.[209] The copyist also refers to the *Khurdename* of Hacı Bektaş Veli, yet we do not know *Khurdename* among his known books. It might be a generic name referring to Hacı Bektaş's spiritual experiences or a book that is not well known. The treatise also combines *futuwwat* and Hurufi traditions.[210] Because of the fragmentary nature of the

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[207] Ms-1172: 32b-33b.

[208] Ms-1172: 49a-49b.

[209] Ms-199: 39b-40a, 43a. In Persian, *khurde* has two meanings: 1) that has eaten, drunk, corroded, worn, received, or experienced 2) that is eaten, drunk, corroded, worn, received, or experienced. On the same page, the word *khurde* is also written without waw (one of the short vowels in Arabic-Persian script). In Persian, it has the following meanings. 1) little, small, 2) thin, slender 3) trifling, insignificant. Suprisingly, Bedri Noyan, the well-known Bektashi *dede* and prolific writer on the Bektashi order, similarly mentions a manual book (*erkan* prescribing the teachings of the path), whose composer was affiliated with a Bektashi convent known as *Horosanli Ali Dergahi* located in the town of Candia in Crete, which refers to a book entitled *Khurdename* attributed to Haci Bektash. For this information, see Bedri Noyan, *Bektaşilik Alevilik nedir* (Ankara: Doğuş Matbaacılık, 1985), 29. On the citation for the *khurde-name*, see Ms-199: 19b.

[210] *Futuwwat* is a socio-religious organization of young men based on the characteristics of manliness such as chivalrousness, forgiveness, solidarity, generosity, and hospitality. It had a close relation with the Sufi orders after the Mongolian period. Hurufism is a mystical and philosophical movement of the 14th century that put the main emphasis on the role of the letters of the Perso-Arabic alphabet as the manifestation of the divine essence on the earth and on the parts of human body. For further discussion of these movements, see chapter 3.

treatise, it can be seen as a near-copy of *futuwwat* or a Hurufi treatise.[211] Because of the emphasis on Hacı Bektaş as the spiritual master of the path, it can be regarded as one of the earliest Bektashi treatises.

The treatise includes various issues including the inner dimensions of the *post* (the spiritual position of shaykhs and the physical space they hold during the rituals) and tac (headgear), the ten characteristics of şah-ı fütüvvet/ the shah of *futuwwat*),[212] and the conditions of *pir* (lit. elder), and *mürid* (disciple), the spiritual meanings of poverty, the ordinances of *tarikat*, and the pillars of *tarikat*. Without giving any details on how to do, it also refers to the rituals such as wearing a cloak, bring a big basket (*zenbil*) to the ritual and serving a milk pudding (*keşkül*), bring a stick (*asa*), being girded with a long belt, having his ear struck, and having his neck hung with a repentance stone (*tok* or *palheng*: a stone representing the submission to the shaykh and wish to be forgiven from what they wronged), the ritual of initiation, and the things be released and secured through the ritual of girding. [213]

The rest of the treatise continues with the Hurufi narratives that are attributed to Ali with the title of *Şah-ı Fütüvvet* (the Shah of *futuwwat*).[214] The central theme of these narratives is the manifestation of material beings (such as the thirty-two letters, the twelve horoscopes, the stars, and the four elements on the earth) on both human body and soul. Behind these narratives lies the idea in a particular understanding of divine unity. According to the treatise, there is no separation between God and all the beings because

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[211] Although we discuss the influence of *futuwwat* on the *Mecmuas*, it is important to note that Gölpınarlı sees this treatise as a *futuwwat* text by dismissing the Hurufi elements that make a considerable part of this treatise. See Gölpınarlı, "İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı," p. 68.
[212] It refers to Imam Ali.
[213] Ms-199: 1a-17a.
[214] Ms-199: 17a-27a.

there is no existence except God.[215] Everything on the earth including mankind is created of seven layers: marrow, bone, sugar, vein, blood, flesh, and skin. But Adam is chosen as the superior being over all other beings because of the full self-manifestation of the Divine on him. This treatise ends with another parallel narrative that the human face represents the thirty-two letters of the Persian alphabet, which corresponds to the first letters of the names, such as Muhammad, Ali, Khadija, Fatima, Twelve Imams and the fourteenth innocent. [216]

The last part of the treatise continues with devotional prayers in Arabic and rhyming prayers in Turkish called *tercüman*, written both in prose and poem. The Arabic prayers include the blessings to Muhammad and Ali's descendants and Turkish poetic prayers that be recited before or during the rituals.[217] The Turkish prayers enthusiastically explain the origin and primacy of the rituals. For example, a prayer for the ritual of carrying a battle-ax (*teber* in Persian) was followed with the explanation on the specifics of the ritual in a question-answer format as given below.

> If they ask you, what is the essence of battle-ax, the answer is the omnipotence of God. If they ask you who drew the battle-axe, this is Abu Muslim. If they ask you what is the faith of the battle-axe, it is to draw the battle-axe against Yazd for the love of the people of the household (*ahl al-bayt*).....if they ask whether it (carrying the battle-axe) is an obligatory or exemplary act, (tell them) this act is obligatory because its essence is the omnipotence and supremacy of God and it is also an exemplary act because it was inherited from the ninety thousand spiritual masters (*erenler*, lit. means the ones who fulfilled the spiritual progress) of Khorasan and Haci Bektash Veli. [218]

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[215] Ms-199: 20a.
[216] Ms-199: 24b-26b. Also, see Ms-199: 22a.
[217] These rituals include spreading the table (for ritual meal), distributing water, beating with a piece of wood or metal beveled, repentance, wearing a headgear, and having keshkul as a ritual meal, and carrying a battle-axe.
[218] Ms-199: 42b-43a.

As mentioned above, Hacı Bektaş Veli is called the spiritual master (*pir*) of the path.[219] Shah Abbas is also described as the perfect spiritual master (*kamil mürşid*).[220] In one place, it also suggests that the tradition of carrying the knife and battle-axe is attributed to both the writings of Imam Ja'far and the spiritual path of Shaykh Safi.[221] Given that this *Mecmua* was not written before the late 17th century, the acceptance of Shaykh Safi and Shah Abbas as the spiritual master of the path alongside Hacı Bektaş shows the existence of spiritual affiliation between the Safavids and Bektashis. But in the *Menakıb of* Ms-199, the existence of the parts prescribing the amounts of punitive money expected by the transgressors of the path to be paid to the Safavid Shahs sheds a new light on the continued relationship between Bektashis and Safavids by the late 17th century. But the nature of this relationship is an issue of controversy, as will be discussed in the fourth chapter.

V. The letter sent from *Dergah-ı Âli* to the Mystics

Of the *Menakıb* copies, Ms-181 and Ms-199 also include a letter by a certain Seyyid Abdülbaki from the *Dergah-ı Âli* or Central Convent to the followers of the path. What makes this copy different from the *Menakıb* is first that the word *buyruk* was used as a generic term in terms of the commandments of God, Muhammad and Ali, and the book of spiritual guides. Therefore, the *Menakıb* might have been known as the *Buyruk*[222] since the early 17th century.[223]

The content of the letter suggests that it is an abridged version of the *Menakıb* for three reasons. Similar to the *Menakıb*s, it explicates the fundamentals of the path in a

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[219] Ms-199: 39b-40a, 43a, 45b, 46b.
[220] Ms-199: 43b.
[221] Ms-199: 43b-44a.
[222] On the history of the term *Buyruk*, see the Introduction.
[223] Ms-181: 53b, 54a, 58a-58b

dialogue between Shaykh Safi and Shaykh Sadr al-Din.[224] Second, it suggests the audience to consult the *pirs* who held the *Menakıb* in times of need.[225] Third, the succinct language of the letter clearly implies that the intended audience was familiar with the teachings and rites. The copyist explains the purpose of this letter as follows:

> Now, we wrote the name of the friend of God and his teachings inside this book. So, for the seekers who love the friends of God, they should read it and follow what they read. Once they read, they should remember me in their prayers. Even if one has a long life as Noah, they cannot finish writing the *Menakıb* because there is no finality in the *Menakıb* of *awliya* (friends of God) and their esoteric knowledge. Therefore, this size of *Menakıb* is only for your guidance. What is required for shaykhs, khalifas (vicegerent of shaykh) and pirs (the elders of the path) is to gather at nights and serve the meal for the sakes of Muhammad, Ali and his descendants. Before the end of the gathering, they should read the *Menakıb* to the seekers, so they can hear and follow the rites and teachings of the friends of God.[226]

The author does not expand the narrative of *Miraj*. It narrates that when Ali was elevated as the one who watched the seven layers of heaven and earth and the throne on heaven, he came across the prophet on the *Miraj*, and gave advice to the forty as their master.[227]

The letter also provides the narrative on Muhammad and Ali as primordial beings. According to this narrative, God wanted to create the universe to manifest His power. Before the creation of everything, God created a light out of a green ocean and divided it to two parts, green and white. He put it in the niche inside the green dome. The green light was of Prophet Muhammad and the white was of Ali. All spirits were created out of these lights. God created an angel and asked him: Who are you? Who am I? The angel

[224] For the complete account of this letter, see Ms-181: 50b-63b.
[225] Ms-181: 53b.
[226] Ms-181: 51b-52a.
[227] Ms-181: 57b.

said: This is me. This is you. God destroyed him. He created another angel. He did not answer this question appropriately. The six thousand years later, he created Gabriel. Gabriel also did not get the right answer and flew in heaven for six thousand years. He did not get it in the second time as well. He flew back again for another six thousand years. On his trip, he came across the niche inside the dome. The white light recommended him to say, "I am your created being, You are the creator." Gabriel said so and this was the correct answer. God created Mikail, Azrail, Israfil and Azazil. Any of these angels said what Gabriel told them, but Azazil did not. When they reached to the dome like niche, they could not open the door of the dome. God asked them to pray for a thousand year. When they did so, the door was open to them; they witnessed that the two lights became one light. God asked them to prostrate before this light. Azazil refused to do so claiming that "This is a created being as I am."[228] Adam was created from the soil in front of the *tuba* tree,[229] which 'Ali kneaded by his own hands for thousand years.[230]

VI. Other Short Texts

The following sections are found as a separate section in Ms-1172 and inner components of the above-mentioned texts in the three other *Mecmuas*.

i. Çehar Kelam (The Four Words)

This text explains the basics of the spiritual path using only four words. For example, Imam Husayn says that it is necessary to overcome anger, wrath, arrogance, and laziness for the wellbeing of humankind. This section includes the sayings attributed to Imam Ali and his twelve descendants as well as well-known spiritual leaders including Junayd al-

[228] Ms-181: 55a-55b.
[229] According to Qur'an, tuba is a tree that grows in heaven.
[230] Ms-181: 55a-56a.

Baghdadi, Abu Ali Sina, Hallacı Mansur, Sultan Ibrahim Edhem, and Seyyid Battal Gazi.[231]

ii. Sahib'ul Huruf Derviş

This short text explains how long Prophet Muhammad, Imam Ali, and twelve imams lived, how they died, and where they were buried.[232]

iii. Çaharda-i Masum (The Fourteen Innocent)

This text gives a list of 14 children of Imams who died at very young age. [233]

iv. Tac-name (The book of Headgear)

This individual section introduces the inner dimensions of the headgear (*tac*) on the authority of Imam Ja'far, the sixth Shi'i Imam. It has many verbatim parts from the *Menakıb*. Considering the scholarly controversy on the origins of the red headgear worn by Qizilbash communities as a symbol of Safavid allegiance, *Tac-name* provides a new religious narrative. Accordingly, the origin of the headgear goes back to those given to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Muhammad, and Ali. The color of the headgear given to Prophet Adam, Noah, and Abraham was white; the color of Prophet Muhammad's headgear was green. Ali's headgear was red.[234] The red headgear associated with the Qizilbash has a religious meaning rather than a political meaning. The practices of wearing a specific headgear with four folds and twelve gores that represent the four doors (referring to four ways of the spiritual path) and the Twelve Imams, respectively.

v. Post-name

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[231] Ms-181: 63b-65a. This text is written as "Cehâr kelâm" in Ms-181.
[232] Ms-1172: 62a-63b; Ms-199, 27a-32a.
[233] Ms-1172: 63a-64b.
[234] Ms-1172: 64b-66b. For its verbatim parts, see Ms-198: 63a-b; Ms-181: 26b-28b. For the historical overview of the practice of wearing a specific headgear, Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre: Hayatı* (Istanbul: Bozkurt Basımevi, 1936), 40-44. Köprülü sees the origins of this headgear in Shamanism. See Köprülü, "Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur Les ordress Mystiques Musulmans," 17-18. For the overview of historical studies on the red headgear, see "Introduction" of this work.

This introduces the meaning of the post or station of the Shaykhs and its inner dimensions on the authority of Imam Ja'far.[235] It includes the verbatim copy of the relevant parts from the *Menakıb*.[236]

VII. Poetry

The *Mecmuas* contain both didactic and lyrical poems, mostly attributed to the prominent poets of the Alevi-Bektashi literature. The most mentioned poets of the *Mecmuas* are Hatayi, Pir Sultan, and Kul Himmet. The poetry in the *Mecmuas* reflects the living tradition of the formal and thematic aspects in Anatolian Sufi poetry that were inherited from Perso-Arabic tradition. The poems in *Mecmuas* use the favorite lyric form of this tradition, the *gazel*, a couplet of two lines in general and more lines with some exceptions. In the *gazel* form, the two lines of the first couplet have rhyming end words and the second line of each following couplet follows the same rhyme. The first or the second line in the last couplet of these lyric poems usually contains the pen name of the poet. [237]

The major themes of this poetry can be listed as *tawalla* (love for the family of the Prophet) and *tabarra* (enmity for the enemies of the family of the Prophet), four gateways of the spiritual path, forty stations, characteristics and obligations of the seeker (*talib*), spirutal guide (*murebbi*), spiritual companion (*musahib*), and shaykh, the forty

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[235] Ms-1172: 66b-67b.

[236] For this, see Ms-198: 66a-67b; Ms-199: 2a-3a.

[237] For more information on the gazel, Walter G. Andrews, "Ottoman Lyrics: Introductory Essay," in *Publications on the Near East: Ottoman Lyric Poetry: An Anthology (2)*, Walter G. Andrews, Najjat Black, Mehmet Kalpakli, eds., (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 7-8; on the detailed study of prosody and rhyme in Ottoman poetry, see Walter G. Andrews, *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* (Minneapolis&Chicago: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976), 14-72; on the connection of Ottoman poetry to Perso-Arabic literary tradition, see Elias John Wikinson Gibb, *The History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. 1, (London: Luzac&Co.*, 1900); on the critical assessment of Gibb's characterization of Ottoman poetry, see Walter G. Andrews, "Ottoman Lyrics: Introductory Essay," 5-10.

assembly, Prophet Muhammad and Ali as primordial beings, and criticism of external aspects of Islam.[238]

The versions of *Menakıb* in Ms-198 and Ms-181 include a great number of didactic poems teaching the fundamentals of the Qizilbash path to the members of the community. Most of these poems are attributed to Shah Hatayi, the penname of Shah Ismail. There are several other poems attributed to Shah Adil[239], Kul Himmet and Pir Sultan Abdal. The poetry of Shah Ismail often explicates the liturgical aspects of the Qizilbash-Alevi tradition.[240] The following couplets from a poem of Hatayi describe the ten stations/obligations of dervish-hood.

> Ten stations of dervishhood (being dervish) are there, the believer
> If you are gnostic, come and listen first
> That is No god, but God
> Recite the word of confession by tongue
> The second is not to treat (someone) as enemy
> Obeying your greed, do not follow the Satan
> The third is to have a conversation on God
> Obliterate (the blemishes of) the mirror of the heart, so it will be pure
> .....
> One more door of being a dervish is there
> Submitting his essence to the pir is the brave man
> Hatayi! Reality is the secret
> Bring a curtain from the path of covering[241]

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[238] Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre: Hayatı*, 66.

[239] Gölpınarlı refers to Hatayi as the author of this poem without giving citation of the source, though he was aware of the version attributed to Shah Adil in Ms-181: 17a. For the similar version of this poem, see also Ms-198: 45b.

[240] For liturgical purposes, Hatayi's poetry was not only used by Alevi-Bektashi, but also Ahl-i Haqq, and Shabak. On the comparative history of these groups in terms of religious teachings and practices, see Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites*. This book is the only comparative history of these groups with a special focus on their religious beliefs and practices, but the author's biased and anachronistic approach is the biggest defect of this work. A comparison of Hatayi poetry used in the ritual ceremonies of these communities is to yet be studied.

[241] Ms-198: 70b-72a; Ms-181: 30b. The full version of this poetry in Turkish is as follows.
Dervişlüğün on babı vardur mü'min / 'Arif isen gel dinle evvelinden
Ol budur La İlahe İllâllâh / Kelam-ı tevhid oḳuya dilinden
İkinci budur 'adavet itmeye / Hirsa uyub şeytana gönül katmaya
Mü'min gönlünde küsü tutmaya / Geçi gör yatılu fikr ü fi'ilinden
Üçünci budur ki nutkı hakk ola / Siline kalb ayinesi pak ola
Ḳudretden can kulagı saf ola / Hakikat gevheri sunar halinden hayra

While Hatayi's poetry mostly instructs the teachings and rites of the Qizilbash tradition, the lyrical poetry of Kul Himmet and Pir Sultan Abdal express the devotional loyalty and reverence toward the household of Prophet Muhammad represented by Ali, Fatima, and the Twelve Imams. The following poetry of Pir Sultan Abdal reminds the contemporary community of the difficulties of this path expressed by Muhammad and Ali.

The ones who accepted the initiation should come
I groaned, my sorrow is Muhammad Ali
The ones who send blessings to (their) names
My path and my special prayer is Muhammad Ali

See! Mansur accepted the execution
The wandering person did not find any object in this world
The spiritual guide (and) the master (is) every place I look at
I see with my eyes Muhammed Ali

(It is) that (he) did not find excuse for transference
Nothing other than God comes to the mind
Falling into the season of separation
My place and homeland is Muhammad Ali

I will find a beloved when I travel
I will wipe the eyes that pour out tears
I cleaned and purified the palace of heart
Inside my heart is Muhammad Ali

Dördüncidür ki öl serdar ola / Gide dost bağçesine çün gülzar ola
Ah-ile Mansur gibi hem berdar ola / Bir kez olan ırak olmaz ölümünden
Beşinci budur ki bin bir otura / Özinün oğrısın ele getüre
Hem Resulüllah'un kavlin yetüre / Geçmüş ola şeri'atün kalinden
Dürlü altıncısı budur ki 'özr eyleye / 'Özrün Mevla'sı kabul eyleye
Dürlü münadi terk eyleye / Nasib ola ana rahmet balinden
Yedinci budur ki mürebbisine / Derd ile düşmen ola hevasına
Ḳondıra gönül ḳuş yuvasına / Bahri olmuş gevher olur gölünden
Erenler bu derd beşiğine nişane / Emr budur böyle geldi 'Ali'den
Tokuzuncı budur ki tac [v]uruna / Bu yana kalbi Hakk'un nurına
Huyla ihlas-ile gire cennet şarına / Hülle giye ol İdrîs'ün elinden
Onuncı budur musahib bula / Anunla özge 'ameller kıla
Edeble Hakk'ına teslim ola / geçmüş ola Sırat'ınun kılından
Dervişlüğün bir babı dahı vardur / Özin pirine yetüren erdür
Hatayi hakikat bir gizli sırrdur / Getürsün perde hicab yolundan

The news came from the friend, bend down, bend down
Recover, the scars in the heart, recover!
Pîr Sultan says do not be heart-broken
Helping the needy is Muhammad Ali. [242]

Besides the poetry of *Menakıb* in Ms-198 and Ms-181, a separate section including poems is placed at the end of each *Mecmua* (Ms-198, Ms-199, Ms-1172) except Ms-181. Ms-198 has the longest of these sections and includes anonymous poems alongside numerous examples of lyrical poetry from different poets. The anonymous poems of Ms-198 are of great significance for reflecting the contemporary struggles such as confiscation of wealth and captivity of women of the community, forceful conversion, and criticism of *shariat*-minded view of religion.[243]

Poetry does not play a significant role in the *Menakıb* of Ms-199. It includes only one poem, albeit long, attributed to Shah Hatayi. The *Risale* of Ms-1172 contains two poems attributed to Shah Hatayi; Ms-1172 has also a short section of poetry attributed to Shah Hatayi, Pir Sultan, Nesimi, and Kaygusuz Abdal. Differences between the manuscripts with regard to poetry cannot be explained as a personal choice of each copyist. The different emphasis on poetry over time not only suggests the changing rhetorical goals in accordance with the newly occurring circumstances, but also the

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[242] Ms-181: 32a; Ms-198:75b.
Gelsün ikrarına beli diyenler / İnledim derdüm Muhammed, Ali'dür
İsmin anınca salavat virenler / Meşrebüm virdüm Muhammed, Ali'dür
Gör Mansur Kabul eyledi darı / Alemde nesne bulmadı serseri
Her kande bakarsam mürşid piri / Gözümle görürüm Muhammed, 'Ali'dür
Ki bahane bulmadı nakle / Hakk'dan gayrı nesne gelmez 'akle
Düşenceğiz bu gayrılık iklimine / Mekanum yurdum Muhammed, 'Ali'dür
Gezeyüm bu alemde bir yar bulayum / Akan çeşmün yaşın sileyüm
Arıtdım pak itdüm gönül sarayın / İçerü girdüm Muhammed, Ali'dür
Dosdan haber geldi eğil eğil / Onul yürekdeki yareler onul
Pir Sultan dir melul olma gönül / Kalmışa yardım Muhammed, Ali'dür

[243] The examples of this anonymous poetry will be given in the following chapters, as we will discuss the social and religious texture of the *Mecmuas*. Also, for the list of poets named in both in the *Menakıb* and the poetry section of each *Mecmua*, see Appendix I.

diminishing role of didactic poetry as rituals. In other words, compared to Ms-198 and Ms-181, the insignificance of poetry for Ms-199 can be explained with the availability of liturgical prayers (called as *tercümans*) in the first treatise of Ms-199. It seems that the simultaneous act of reciting poems, being didactic or lyrical, as part of rituals was replaced with the regulated forms of prayers that were to be recited in the ritual settings.

Comparative Analysis of Four *Mecmuas*

The *Mecmuas* integrate both aspects of orally derived texts, orality and textuality. Similar to purely oral texts preserved in communal memory through formulaic and symbolic expressions, these manuscripts include recurrent themes (such as *tevella*, *teberra*, forty assembly), formulized numbers (such as that of bones, veins, and hairs in human body, four (for four gateways), seventy thousand, and seventeen (for the people who were girded)[244] and motifs (such as radiant light, niche, dome, door, servanthood, and unlimited ocean). Parallels between the four *Mecmuas* cannot be seen as a result of verbatim copying of these manuscripts from the written copies. They were rather products of the retentive memory of the intended communities that were able to translate the shared heritage to the following generations through vivid images, symbols, and numbers.

These manuscripts show parallels with the catechetical works (*ilm-i hal*) in Ottoman religious literature since the instructions in both works were given in a question-answer format. Their narrative style sought to accomplish two functions; the disciple or

[244] In the famous story of the Arab-slave girl, Tawahhud said: "There were made in man *three hundred and sixty veins*, *two hundred and forty-nine bones*, and three souls or spirits, the animal, the rational and the natural, to each of which is allotted its proper function." For the full account of the story, see "Abu al-Husn and his slave-girl Tawahhud," in *the Book of The Thousand Nights and a Night*, trans. Richard F. Burton 17 vols. (London: Burton Ethnological Society, n.d. (1884-1886), Tales 436-462, v. 189-245.

believer had to know the right answers at the time of reading/listening and explain them.[245]

As another rhetorical tactic to capture the attention of the audience, each ritual or teaching is associated with the events that occurred in heavenly realms or would occur in the hereafter. For example, according to the *Mecmuas*, being on the scale (*mizan)* symbolizes the act of confession and repentance on the Day of Resurrection. Standing at the *dar* (door/gate) during the rituals is similar to passing by a long and narrow bridge that everyone will have to pass through before entering paradise (*Sırat*). Having the legendary sword of Ali given by Muhammad (*zülfikar*) symbolizes the punishment of sinners on the Day of Judgment. A ritual of girding belts was the earthly representation of the girding of Adam by a belt made of grain on the paradise and this ritual came down from Adam to the Twelve Imams. The ritual of *tariki zam* (the ritual of beating the wrong-doers for cleansing the sins) was the enactment of the beating ritual of Gabriel by Ali in the name of Prophet Muhammad.[246]

Citing a chain of transmissions is a typical feature of residual orality in Islamic literature.[247] Contrary to the common tendency in the conventional Islamic literature, the *Mecmuas* did not emphasize the chain of narrators for traditions that are conveyed in the *Mecmuas*, except the names of those who held an important place in the imagination of the collective memory, such as Prophet Muhammad, Imam Ali, Twelve Imams, those

[245] On the Sunni manuals of beliefs and practices of Ottoman religious literature between the 15th and the 16th century, see Tijana Krstic, *Contested Conversions*, 28-37.
[246] Ms-198: 51a, 82b.
[247] Hadith studies (the branch of Islamic science that studies the prophetic traditions) have had a well-established tradition of recording the chain of transmitters who had largely retained the traditions through oral memorization since the early centuries. Its methodology has deeply influenced the character of other religious writings, such as works in the Qur'anic exegesis, Islamic jurisprudence and Sufi literature.

whose belts are girded by Imam Ali and Salman Farisi, and the fourteen innocent people who were believed to be the infants martyred at the battle of Karbala,[248]and Shaykh Safi.

As seen in the story of Prophet Musa and his conversation with God, the copyist describes this conversation as a reliable (*sahih*) hadith because the utterance of God is directly heard and transmitted to his community by Prophet Muhammad himself. Such an understanding of hadith that integrates a holy hadith (qudsi hadith) with a reliable hadith (*sahih hadith*)[249] is a typical example of how the *Mecmuas* loosely use the established religious knowledge. No doubt, this was a natural result of the cultural environment in which writing played no decisive role on the preservation of religious knowledge. In such cultures, the main purpose was not to share the most accurate information with the audience, but rather to take the attention of the audience by putting emphasis on concrete and simple facts.

With regard to the grammar of narration, some *Mecmuas* have a single voice, which is an omniscient voice of the narrator.[250] But it is not always clear to determine in the *Mecmuas* who tells the narratives and for whom they were told. The *Menakıb* have many narrative voices, including the "I" voice of a religious figure, the 'we' voice of the intended audience, and the voice of an unspecified reporter, such as "the following part mentions the conditions and meaning of the post of the representative of the path"[251] or

[248] Historically, such an event did not occur during the massacre of Karbala wherein Husayn and other descendants of the Prophet were martyred by the soldiers of Umayyad Caliph, Yazid.
[249] Ms-181: 2b. In the Islamic scholarship, the traditions attributed to the Prophet with regard to his deeds, silence, and appearance are categorized as *hadith*. The reliability or authenticity of *hadiths* is evaluated based on the multiple chains of transmission as well as its content. Instead of this category, the *Mecmua* echoes another category of Hadith scholarship that is Hadith Qudsi, the prophetic saying inspired by God to Prophet Muhammad and conveyed by the Prophet.
[250] Ms-1172 addresses the followers of the religious path calling them as his brothers (29a).
[251] Ms-181, 15b: Ms-198, 40a

"the following part informs the conditions of being a spiritual guide or the conditions of being a spiritual companion." [252]

In the two copies of *Düvazdeh Imam*, the copyist announces himself to be Abdul Majid Firishtegolu claiming that he translated this prayer from Arabic to Turkish. Historically speaking, Firishteoghlu (d.1459-60) was one of the few who made the Hurufi literature, especially of Fadlullah, founder of the Hurufi sect, accessible by translation from Persian into Turkish.[253] Given the lifetime of Firishteoghlu and the earliest date of the *Mecmuas*, he cannot be the real author/narrator of this sermon, but rather implies that the copyists of the *Mecmuas* assimilated the Hurufi ideas.

The Mecmuas also refer to the audience in second person, especially in both manual-style descriptions of the path and poems. A short poem below is given after the narrative on pre-eternal light of Fatima in Ms-198 suggesting that the audience was an active participant of the text.

> Inside the paradise is found the sultan
> If you are the subject of Twelve Imams, O friend.
> Enter if you wish to see the face (*didar*)
> Recite *salawat*, "salam alayka" again.[254]

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[252] Ms-181-17b: Ms-198, 46a.

[253] Hüsamettin Aksu, "Abdülmecid Firişteoğlu," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 134-135, See also, Ömer Faruk Akun, 'Firishte-oghlu," *EI*, II: 924. Among his works are *Ishqnama-yi Ilahi* that is an abridged translation of Fadlullah's Book of Eternal Life (*Javidnama*), *Tercume-i Khwabnama* that is a translation of Seyyid Ishak Astarabadi's *Book of Dream* (*Khwabnama*), and the Book of Advice (*Hidayatnama*) that is a translation of Fadlullah's *Muhabbatnama*, and the Book of Afterlife (*Akhiratnama*) that explains the Hurufi doctrines of hereafter. For the general overview of the literature that was translated by Firishte-oghlu, see *Hurufilik Bilgisi: Firişteoğlu Abdülmecid Külliyatı*, edited by Fatih Usluer, Özer Şenodeyici, İsmail Arıkoğlu (Ankara: Gece Kitabliği, 2014), 9; idem, *Hurufilik: İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren* (Istanbul: Kabalci Yayinevi, 2009), 87-90. According to him, Ishqname is described as a collection of translations of different books attributed to Fadlullah rather than the translation of *Javidnama*. *Hidayatnama* is also compilation made by himself rather than the translation of *Muhabbatnama*. *Akhiratname* of Firishteoghlu does not only explain the hereafter. *Risale-i Huruf Tercumesi* is a three-page translation made by Firishteoghlu, which explains the creation through letters and describes the manifestation of letters on the beings.

[254] Ms-198: 3a.

In Ms-181, after narrating the story of Adem as a reporter, the narrator adapts a voice of Fatima as she quotes several prophetic sayings in Arabic alongside their Turkish meanings for the divine selection of her lineage. Fatima's voice disappears as the narrator begins to report the story of other prophets in unseen realm. Emphasizing the pre-existential substance of Prophet Muhammad, the narrator also becomes the audience by saying "we must love him."[255] He shifts to a neutral reporter again. The change in the narrator's voice from that of Fatima to a reporter or from the audience to a reporter might be simply explained not only with the urge to create the feeling of loyalty and attachment to the Twelve imams among the community members, but also with the intimate connection between the narrator and the audience.

Other oral-aural characteristics are discernible in the *Mecmuas* in numerous ways. First, the disciples are called upon to listen to the instructions and follow them accordingly. This clearly suggests that the *Mecmuas* were read aloud in communal settings.[256] Second, similar narratives are scattered in various places, therefore, the narration of *Mecmuas* is repetitive and nonlinear. Third, the poetry in *Mecmuas* seems to have a common language consisted of recurrent themes and phrases. It suggests that the

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[255] "As this (*hadith*) evidence shows, we must love him. God commands to Muhammad, "O Muhammad! Whoever loves your descendants, I would forgive their sins even if they are equal to all the things in the earth and the heaven and show mercy to them. But whoever hates them, their final destination is the hell even if they commit good deeds as numerous as the things in the earth and the heaven. The Prophet Muhammad said, if one follows a shaykh who is not a descendant of the prophet, his shaykh is Satan. It means, if a person whose lineage does not go back to the twelve descendants of the Prophet Muhammad guides (the community), his guidance is unacceptable." See Ms-181: 1a-b.

[256] Ms-198: 15b-16a; Ms-181: 8a. "Shaykh Safi orders that if a seeker listens *menakıb-ı evliya* and understands what it means, he would be resurrected with us on the day of judgement." For evidence, see Ms-198: 27a; Ms-181: 11b. It says, "Seyh Safi said: when a seeker hears a word of awliya (saints of God), he should know it as the word of God. He should listen menakibi evliya. He should practice whatever it orders and fulfill the orders of mürşid (the shakyh)." Or, "The sign of a seeker is to listen *menakıb-ı şerif,* and hear the voice of *awliya*, and understand the meaning of them and practice accordingly." See Ms-198: 28b; Ms-181: 12a.

composition of poems in *Mecmuas* cannot be simply reduced to a single poet, but it must be understood that they were created out of the shared themes and phrases preserved in the communal memory.

There is enough verbatim language in the four copies of *Mecmua*. Therefore, it is possible to argue that the *Menakıb* is a reference text from which the *Mecmuas* must have been copied or reproduced. Yet the variation among the copies shows that there was no attempt of its compilers to copy the entire collection of texts and poetry in the *Mecmuas* word for word. Therefore, the availability of *Mecmuas* as the earliest Qizilbash texts does not prove that the accumulated traditions of the Qizilbash community was fully textualized or standardized through the *Mecmuas*. It rather suggests that *Mecmuas* were re-composed out of the available narratives of prose and poems of the collective heritage that come down to the Qizilbash communities in both written and oral form. The process of writing down these narratives did not end with the manuscripts.

The *Mecmuas* freely use historical heritage in order to make a meaningful narrative out of the well-known traditions for the intended community rather than preserving the exact account of the traditions. As mentioned above, the narrative of *Ghadir Khumm* was elaborated with several motifs such as the importance of the number seven and twelve, being girded with the belt from heaven, and the appearance of Muhammad and Ali as a single body. The compiler/narrator must have intended to create a concrete imagery of the divine appointment of Ali and his descendants. In contrast to the intended function of historical narrative, the accuracy of historical information on religious personages, groups, chronology, names of places and events is not critical in the *Mecmuas*, particularly the *Menakıb*. The *Mecmuas* employ very concrete and visual

depiction of events for the audience not only in historical narratives given above but also pseudo-historical narratives such as the story of covenant.[257]

[257] Ms-1172: 45b-46b.

Chapter 3: Intertexture of the Qizilbash/Alevi *Mecmuas*

Narratives of *Mecmuas* refer to numerous social, cultural, and religious traditions that survived to the *Mecmuas* in written form with the remnants of orality. These traditions include the *futuwwat*, the Hurufi, the hagiographic literature, and Anatolian mystical poetry. Each *Macmua* reflect various forms of influences from these traditions in forms of verbatim copying, flexible adaptation, or inspiration. As pointed out by Karamustafa, the search for origins cannot be abandoned in the sphere of cultural history based on the risks of either reductionism that reduces the current phenomena to the origins or functionalism that usually deals the dynamic nature of the same phenomena in synchronic dimension. The origin analyses of historians should consider both the historical nature and dynamic function of the cultural heritage.[258] Motivated by the same objective, this chapter deals with the origins of the traditions in the Qizilbash *Mecmuas* not for its own sake, but rather to understand the intertexture in which the Qizilbash tradition was embedded.

I. Futuwwat-names

Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı drew our attention to the influences of the *futuwwat* traditions over the Qizilbash-Alevi texts. The *futuwwat* in Arabic (or *jiwanmardi* in Persian and *ahilik/ fütüvvet* in Turkish) came to be designated as a socio-religious organization of young men based on the characteristics of manliness such as chivalrousness, forgiveness, solidarity, generosity, and hospitality.[259]

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[258] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "The Origins of Anatolian Sufism," in *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society: Sources-doctrine-rituals-turuq-architecture-literature-iconography-modernism,* ed. Ahmet Yasar Ocak (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu, 2005), 68-70.

[259] For the comprehensive overview of *futuwwat* and its literary tradition, Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, "İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı ve Kaynakları," 7-18, 41-42, 47-53. For further reading on the history of *futuwwat,* see Claude Cahen, "Futuwwat," *EI,* vol. II, 961-969; for the discussion on the historical link between the *akhi* and *futuwwat* organizations, idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A general survey of the material*

The scholarship suggests that the *futuwwat* organizations recruited its neophytes from occupational groups, but the relation between guilds and *futuwwat* organizations before the 15th century has yet to be studied. [260] Ocak classifies the *futuwwat* tradition in four stages. The first stage refers to the *futuwwat* as a social concept of solidarity. The second stage is the institutionalization of the *futuwwat* by Abbasid Caliph Nasr al-Din (1180-1225); the third stage corresponds to the convergence between futuwwat and Sufism since the 13th century; the fourth is the spread of *futuwwat* in Anatolia, which is called as *ahilik*. The spread of *futuwwat* had been adapted as an official ideology by Abbasid Caliph Al-Nasir (r. 1180-1225) because the power of the caliphate became decentralized and was shared with different political actors in the Near East. It was aimed to maintain unity and secure political, economic and military control of Turco-Persian territories.[261] Under the patronage of the Caliph, Suhrawardi (1144-1234), the eponym of the Suhrawiyya Sufi order, served as the embassy and wrote two *futuwwat* texts for dissemination in Anatolia. [262] Following the Mongol invasion, *futuwwat* organizations continued to serve as de-facto powers in the Near East. Between the 12th and the 16h

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and spiritual culture and history c. 1071–1330, trans. J. Jones-Williams (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1968), 193-200; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Fütüvvet", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 259-263.

[260] On the overview of the secondary literature on the history of guilds in Syria, Egypt, and Turkey from the tenth to the 20th centuries, Gabriel Baer, "Guilds in Middle Eastern History," in M.A. Cook (ed.), *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East* (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970), 16; on the analysis of the assumed connection between guilds and the *futuwwat* organizations in Iran, W. M. Floor, "Guilds and Futuwwat in Iran," *ZDMG*, 134, 4 (1984): 114.

[261] Marshal Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization: Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods, II* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), *279-287*; on the membership of the two Seljuk sultans, Kaykhusraw I (r. 1192–6, 1205–11), and his son and successor, Izz al-Din Kayka'us (1211–19) to the caliphal *futuwwat*, see Sara Nur Yıldız and Haşim Şahin, "In the Proximity of Sultans: Majd al-Din Ishaq, Ibn Arabi and the Seljuk Court", in *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court And Society In The Medieval Middle East, ed.* A.C.S. Peacock and Sara Nur Yıldız (London ; New York : I.B. Tauris, 2013).

[262] Erik S. Ohlander, *Sufism In an Age of Transition*, 13.

centuries, many other *futuwwat* treatises, the *Futuwwat-names,*[263] were composed in Turco-Persian territories.[264]

The convergence between Sufism and the *futuwwat* tradition remains unclear. Although classical scholars such as Sulami, Qusahyri, Ibn Arabi, and Suhrawardi raised different opinions on the relationship between the *futuwwat* and Sufism, both Sufi and *futuwwat* texts clearly reveal that these communities mutually exchanged several rituals. Sufis adapted the rites of initiation from the *futuwwat* tradition such as girding of the waists, and wearing the trousers (*şalvar*) during initiation rites for the disciples entering the path. The people of *futuwwat* similarly embraced several Sufi practices such as wearing the cloak and the headgear, shaving the head, and lighting the candle, and serving a communal meal (*helva*).[265]

The *Menakıb* draws parallels with the major narratives in the *Futuwwat-names.* These narratives are those on the cloak and a special garment (*libas*) brought by Gabriel to Prophet Muhammad and Ali and the ceremony of girding of Prophet Muhammad, Ali and the seventeen people as a sign of the initiation, serving *helva* as a ritual meal, and the forty-assembly.[266] In addition, different Sufi groups also composed *futuwwat* manuals for the explication of their teachings and rites.[267] The *Mecmuas* particularly share with the narratives in the *Futuwwat-names* that were composed by Sayyid Huseyin b. Gaybi in the

[263] These futuwwat books are also known as *kitab al-futuwwat* in Arabic, or *futuwwat-namah* in Persian or *fütüvvetname* in Turkish.
[264] For the comprehensive overview of these texts, see Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, "İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı ve Kaynakları."
[265] For the exchanges between the futuwwat and Sufism, see Gölpınarlı, "İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet, 26-29, 66-72, 93; on the connection between futuwwat and Persian Sufism, see Lloyd Ridgeon, *Morals and Mysticism in Persian Sufism,* 28-60, 61-91.
[266] Gölpınarlı, "İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet," 26-29.
[267] Mehmet Saffet Sarıkaya, "Bektaşi ve Alevi Kültürünün Yazılı Kaynağı Olarak Fütüvvetnameler,"1-15.

mid-15th century and Sayyid Muhammad b. Sayyid 'Ala' al-Din al-Husayn Razavi in the first half of the 16th century.[268]

The commonalities between the *Futuwwat-names* of Gaybi and Razavi and the *Menakıb* can be classified in four categories. First, similar to the socio-hierarchical organization model of Gaybi and Razavi consisting of *shaykh/khalifas* (master), *naqib* (guide), and *feta* (novice),[269] the *Menakıb* divides the ritual community into three main groups. But the *Menakıb* uses alternative terms, i.e. the spiritual master (*khalifa/pir/mürşid*) of the group for shaykh, spiritual guide (*rehber/mürebbi*) for the keeper of rituals (*nakib*), and seeker (*talib*) for the initiates (*feta*). Each of these three groups is also divided into three sub-groups. For these sub-groups, according to Gaybi, fetas are divided into *ahbabs* (neophytes as potential recruits of the organization), *nim-tariqs* (newly initiated novices who had the 'path father' and two 'path brothers'), and *the sahib-i tariq* (the fully initiated ones who were girded with the belt of Ali by their master of craft). The *naqibs* (helpers of the ritual) have three internal groups, *basharishs* (those who stood during the ritual), *naqibs* (those who guided people into their proper places) and the *naqib-al nuqaba* (head naqib). Similarly, the shaykhs consisted of three groups,

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[268] For the first of these futuwwat texts, see "Seyyid Gaybi Oğlu Seyyid Hüseyin'in Fütüvvetnamesi," transcribed and published by A. Gölpınarlı, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, XVII/1-4 (1955-6), 47-96 (hereafter Gaybi) and for Gölpınarlı's analysis of the text, see p.1-25. For the second *Futuwwat-name*, Razavi's text, see Rahşan Gürel, *Razavi'nin Fütüvvet-namesi (Fütüvvetname-i kebir veya miftahü'd-dekayık fi beyane'l-fütüvveti ve'l-hakayık)* (PhD Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, Istanbul, 1992). It is important to note that the earliest Turkish *Futuwwat-name* was compiled by Yahya b. Halil b. Çoban el-Burgazi (hereafter Burgazi) in the 13th century. The main source of Burgazi's compilation is a Persian *Futuwwatname* entitled Tuhfat-al-Vasaya composed by Ahmad Nakkash. Burgazi's *Futuwwatname* was published and edited by A. Gölpınarlı. For Gölpınarlı's analysis of this *Futuwwat-name*, "Burgazi ve Fütüvvet-namesi," in *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17, 1-4 (1953-54): 76-110; for the full transcription, see ibid., 111-150.

[269] In this regard, see *Gaybi*, 66-67. Razavi also uses the similar terminology in his *Futuwwat-name* (*Razavi*, p. 89-100). In addition, Razavi lists the seven occupational groups which were organized on the principles of the *futuwwat* organization: 1) the ruling elite, begs, viziers, and bureaucrats; 2) the learned classes and people of knowledge 3) the disciples of Sufi orders; 4) rich people and estate owners; 5) the administrators of agricultural enterprises; 6) tradesmen; and 7) craftsmen and artisans (ibid., p. 50).

the *khalifas* (deputies of shaykhs), the shaykhs (those who had their own prayer rug so that they can guide the community in their own right), and the shaykh of shaykhs (the head of all the people in the *futuwwat* organization). Yildirim argues that the *Menakıb* has three modifications on the *futuwwat* model of the socio-religious organization. First, the rehber/guide is not a generic term in the *Menakıb*, but refers to the performer of a specific service. Second, the bond between a *talib* and his *rehber* was meant to be a lifetime relationship rather than having a temporary dimension. Third, the position of mürşid/shaykh/pir was hereditary rather than spiritual. [270]

Second, the rites of girding in the *Menakıb* are similar to those of Gaybi and Razavi's *Futuwwat-names*.[271] Considering that these two texts employed the common narratives of girding in the previous *Futuwwat-names,* this parallelism cannot be restricted to the influence of these two texts. [272]

Third, the *Menakıb* assimilated the well-cited Shi'i narrative of *Ghadir Khumm*[273] into the original *futuwwat* narrative of girding. Shi'i classical Islamic sources agree that on the way back from the final pilgrimage, the prophet stopped at the place known as *Ghadir Khumm* where he gave a short speech on Ali's relation to the prophet Muhammad. Sunni classical sources acknowledged this event, but with a different

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[270] For a comparative analysis, see *Riza Yildirim*, "Inventing a Sufi Tradition," 168-169.

[271] For a close analysis of the rites of initiation and girding in the *Futuwwat-name* of Razavi, see D. A. Breebaart, "The Futuvvet-name-i Kebir. A Manual on Turkish Guilds," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 15 (Jun 1972): 203-215, esp. 208-215; on the analysis of the futuvvetname written by Husayn Va'iz-i Kashifi (d.1504-1505), which have similarities with these two *Futuwwat-names*, see Arley Loewen, "Proper Conduct (Adab) is Everything: The Futuwwat-namah-i Sultani of Husayn Va'iz-i Kashifi," *Iranian Studies* 36 (2003): 543-570. For the influence of Kashifi's *Futuwwat-name* on a Persian work dealing with the red headgear with twelve gore, called *taj* or crown, see Shahzad Bashir, "The World as a Hat: Symbolism and Materiality in Safavid Iran," *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and Construction of Religious Authority in Islam* (Brill: Leiden&Boston, 2014), 354-355.

[272] In regard with the detailed description of these narratives, see Chapter 1, p. 5. For the full accounts of narratives in *Mecmuas*, see Ms-198: 50a-53b, 54b-57a; Ms-181: 18b-19b.

[273] See Arzina Lalani, "Ghadir Khumm", Oxford Bibliographies (online); L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Ghadir Khumm," EI, 2: 993–94; Moojan Momen, *Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), 11-22.

interpretation. For the Shi'i literature, it meant the designation of Ali as the successor of the Prophet, while for Sunnis it was interpreted as the prophet's suggestion to his companions to show love and respect of Ali.

The earliest historical sources are silent on this event. Based on a narrative from Ibn Kathir's *al-Bidayah wan-nihayah*, Lings reports that on the way back from the campaign in the Yemen, Ali headed to Mecca to make the pilgrimage with the Prophet. Some companions changed their clothes out of the linen from the spoils. Once Ali saw them with new clothes, he ordered them to return the new ones to the spoils. After the pilgrimage, the resentment continued and some troops complained about him. The Prophet accordingly said. "Am I not nearer to the believers than their own selves?" After they affirmed, he added, "Whose nearest I am, his nearest 'Ali is." Then, they stopped at *Ghadir Khumm* and raised Ali's hand up saying as follows: "O God, be the friend of him who is his friend and the foe of him who is his foe."[274]

Different versions of the narrative of girding are available in the earlier *Futuwwat-names*. The very interesting one is the version given in an anonymous *Futuwwat-name* compiled in the 14th century Persian collection. According to this story, one day, a man came to the prophet and informed him that a man and a woman are committing adultery. He sent Ali to check if it was true. When he entered the house with closed eyes, he wandered inside the house by touching the walls and left it. Ali said to him, I entered the house, but I do not see anyone. The prophet called him the chivalrous man (*feta*) of the Muslim community. He asked a glass of water and a pinch of salt. Salman Farisi brought them. The prophet put some salt three times to the water calling the first salt as the *shariat*, the second as the *tarikat*, and the third as the *hakikat*. He

[274] For this account, see Martin Lings, *Muhammad: His Life Based on The Earliest Sources*, 332, 335.

passed it on to Ali. When Ali drank it, he said, "you are my companion (*refikim*)" as I am the companion of Gabriel and Gabriel is the companion of God. The prophet asked Selman to be the companion of Ali. Accordingly, Salman drank the salty water from the hand of Ali to become a companion. At the end, the prophet made Ali wear his trouser (shalwar) and buckle his belt.[275]

Fourth, while not found in Razavi, the *Menakıbs* share another narrative with Gaybi upon the joined body of Muhammad and Ali following the girding ceremony.[276] Surprisingly, both *Futuwwat-names* neither include nor refer to the forty-assembly narrative of the *Menakıb* in Ms-198 and Ms-181. Burgazi's *Futuwwat-name* contains the shorter version of the forty-assembly narrative found in the *Menakıb* of Ms-181. According to Burgazi, people of *Suffa* brought one piece of grape to the prophet and asked him to make everyone share it. He squeezed it and made five people (not forty people) drink it. Then, People of *Suffa, Ashab-i Suffa* (historically, those were a group of young companions who resided in the yard of the Prophet's house in Medina and were only occupied with religious knowledge) entered into *semâ'* (spiritual dance). When the Prophet was whirling alone, Gabriel came and admonished him not to dance alone since everything on the earth is whirling. After he turned around/danced *semâ* three times, his shawl (*ridâ*) fell down from his shoulders. *Sem*â' became halal (allowed) only for the lovers and forbidden (haram) for the non-lovers.[277]

In comparison to the *Menakıb*, *Risale* of Ms-1172 emerges as a Sufi-*Futuwwat-name* that explains the basics of the spiritual path through futuwwat rites and narratives.

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[275] See Gölpınarlı, "İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet," 18.
[276] According to Ms-1172, the Prophet's and Ali's bodies were eventually united having one head. In the *Menakıb* versions of Ms-198, Ms-181, and Ms-199, their bodies become a single body, but still had two heads. *Gaybi*, 80.
[277] See *Burgazi*, 136. For the forty-assembly narrative in the *Mecmuas*, also see Chapter 2.

While briefly explaining the ritual of initiation, the *Risale* shows a great deal of interest in the principles of the Sufi order (*ahkam-i tarikat*), proper norms of behavior (*adab*), and conditions of the spiritual path. While using the *futuwwat* terms such as the selection of the master (or *pir tutmak* in Turkish, lit. to hold on to a master) and *nuqaba,*[278] the helpers of the rituals, it neither narrates the original narrative of girding of Ali's waist nor connects this narrative to the *Ghadir Khumm.* Instead, it reports that Gabriel brought the cloak (*hırka*) to Prophet Muhammad and Ali and they both appeared from inside this cloak with only one head.[279] Like other *Mecmuas*, Risale of Ms-1172 contains the individual sections with the Shi'i themes,[280] reflects the remnants of the Safavid propaganda,[281] and the tradition of three Sunna and seven obligatory acts of the path attributed to Shah Tahmasb.[282]

Although Gölpınarlı claims that *Risale* of Ms-1172 must have been written under the influence of Razavi's *Futuwwat-name*, it is clear that parallelism of *Risale* with Razawi's *Futuwwat-name* does not go further beyond its parallelism with Gaybi and other futuwwat works. Razavi had another work entitled *Risala Irshad al-Talibin*, composed specifically for the people of the spiritual journey (*ahl-al suluk*). Therefore, a further comparison of the *Risale* of Ms-1172 with the Sufi-*Futuwwat-name* of Razavi can shed new light upon the interactions between the *Risale* and Sufi-*Futuwwat-names* than *Futuwwat-names* of Razavi, Kashifi, and Gaybi, which were composed specifically for the use of the occupational groups.

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[278] The *Risale* uses the *futuwwat* term, *nuqaba* (pl. of naqib) for the ones who helped the dervishes during the rituals by guiding the dervishes into their proper places and laying the *sofra* (a cloth serving as food table). See Ms-1172, 46a.
[279] Ms-1172: 32b-33b.
[280] These sections are titled as *Sahib'ul Hurıf Derviş* and *Çaharda-i Masum* in Ms-1172: 27a-32a, 63a-64b. For the explanation of these sections, see Chapter 2; on the nature of Shi'ism in *Mecmuas*, see Chapter 5.
[281] Ms-1172: 16a.
[282] Ms-1172: 38a-44a.

The first treatise of Ms-199 might be considered as a Bektashi *Futuwwat-name.* It is clear that the *futuwwat* teachings and rituals are intertwined with the Bektashi rituals, such as wearing a cloak and a headgear, bringing a basket, and serving milk pudding as a communal meal. While the treatise does not detail any of these practices, it gives a full list of formulaic prayers, which correlates strongly with those found in *Futuwwat-names.*[283]

Our comparison of the *Mecmuas* with the *Futuwwat-names* requires revisiting the assumption that the influence of the Shi'i propaganda of Safavids can be observed through *futuwwat* texts over the *Mecmuas.* Considering the social-political function of *futuwwat* in times of political destabilization,[284] it is possible that the *Futuwwat-names* written between the 15th and 16th centuries were the direct sources of *Mecmuas.* However, a close analysis of these *Mecmuas* does not prove any further connection between the *Mecmuas* and the *Futuwwat-names* of Gaybi and Razavi, except the *Ghadir Khumm* narrative. Considering the prolonged effects of *futuwwat* traditions over the dervish groups both in Iran and Anatolia and the evolving nature of these texts as a religious genre, or "genre in progress,"[285] it would be incorrect to claim that the *Mecmua* manuscripts were simply the religious manuals of Safavids or composed by the order of Safavid authorities. These manuscripts must be considered as the written sources of a culturally fluid, religiously heterogeneous, and politically competitive environment of the

[283] See Gölpınarlı, "İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet," 47-57.
[284] For the al-Nasir's political project using the *futuwwat* in order to create a single spiritual center as a source of political legitimacy, see Ohlander, *Sufism In an Age of Transition, 19- 27.* For the history of futuwwat or *ahilik* organizations in Anatolia, see Neşet Çağatay, *Bir Türk Kurumu Olarak Ahilik* (Ankara: Ankara University, 1974); for the role of *futuwwat/akhis* in the founding of Ottoman Empire, see Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia,* 18, 28-29.
[285] This term is borrowed from Arzu Öztürkmen's article, "Orality and Performance in Late Medieval Turkish Texts: Epic Tales, Hagiographies, and Chronicles," *Text and Performance Quarterly*, 29, 4 (2009): 327.

Turco-Persian world rather than the products of either Safavid or Ottoman milieus. The composers of these *Mecmuas*, whether they were the subjects of Safavids or Ottomans, had to take into account the themes, motifs, images, and traditions familiar to the intended audience because the survival of the manuscripts necessarily requires the good reception of the manuscripts by the community members. The following analysis of other traditions will also help better understanding the dynamism of the cultural landscape which the intertextuality of *Mecmuas* was based on.

II. Hurufism

Hurufism was a mystic and philosophical movement that originated from Iran in the mid-14th century. This movement put the main emphasis on the role of the letters of the Perso-Arabic alphabet[286] as the manifestation of the divine essence on the earth and on the parts of human body. After the execution of Fazlullah Astarabadi, the founder of the movement, in 1394, Hurufism turned into a clandestine movement. But his representatives succeeded in spreading his ideas to Anatolia. Turkish became the language of the Hurufi literature since the 15th century. The Hurufi literature reached to the present through the efforts of various Sufi groups in the Ottoman Empire, particularly Bektashis.[287]

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[286] It is important to note that the mystical study of letters and numbers cannot be reduced to Hurufi circles. Isma'ili circles studied the cabalistic tradition of letters and numbers for centuries. The Nuqtavi movement, the messianic movement of the 15th century in the Iranian environment, put emphasis on the signifance of the letters and numbers. See Abbas Amanat, *Apocalyptic Islam and Iranian Shi'ism* (London and Newyork: I.B. Tauris, 2009), 3.

[287] Fatih Usluer, *Hurufilik: Ilk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren*, 26-27; idem., *Hurufilik Bilgisi: Firişteoğlu Abdülmecid Külliyati*, 9-17. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Hurufilik Metinleri Kataloğu* (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1973), 16-35; Shahzad Bashir, *Fazlallah Astrabadi and the Hurufis* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2006), 45-84, 109-127; Hamid Algar, "The Hurufi Influence on Bektashism," in *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach*, ed. Alexandre Popović; Gilles Veinstein (Istanbul: Les Éditions Isis, 1995), 39-55.

The Hurufi influence can be discernible in *Mecmuas* in three places. First one is the Twelve-Imam sermon in the *Menakıb* of Ms-198 and Ms-181. The narrator calls himself Firishteoghlu, the one who translated it from Arabic to Turkish. Abdul Majid Firishteoghlu (d. 1459-60)[288] was the first to make the Hurufi works of prose accessible from Persian to Turkish except for Nesimi's treatise written in prose. Usluer claims that this sermon does not reflect any connection to the Hurufi ideas since there is no textual evidence for Firishteoghlu's affiliation either with Shia Islam or the Safavid version of Islam. Regardless of whether the historical Firishteoghlu was the real author of this sermon, it is obvious that the *Mecmuas* were compiled specifically for the religious groups of Anatolia who were already exposed to the Hurufi ideas through Firishteoghlu.

Second, the *Menakıbs* of Ms-198 and Ms-181 contain three poems from Shah Adil, two of which make an apparent use of Hurufi themes. The two poems are also attributed to Nesimi, the Hurufi poet. The five lines from Adil's poem with the refrain, "I am the Truth (*Ehl-i Hakkim*)" provides an example to see of how the Sufi philosophy of *wahdat al-wujud* or the unity of beings was blended with the Hurufi themes, such as the representation of stars, moon, the four elements, six sides, heaven, earth, and the protected tablet of God (*lavh-i mahfuz*) on the human body.

Come forward come, see who I am, oh my heart
With external and internal dimensions, see my attribute, oh my heart
Inside the world, I am the source of the mother line, oh my heart
I am both the time of Suleyman and the line, oh my heart
I am the people of the Truth, (you) know (it), so come with certainty that I can look at, oh my heart
Inside myself there are the stars of worlds, both stars and the moon
In the head my headgear is the Divine Light, in the belly my sincerity is my belt
I am the holy soul that I shared news from my essence

[288] Fatih Usluer, *Hurufilik Bilgisi: Firişteoğlu Abdülmecid Külliyatı,* 10. While listing the four earliest copies of the *Menakıb* (including Ms-198 and Ms-181), wherein this sermon was found, he mistakenly argues that the earliest copy of these manuscripts dates back to 1845, p. 10-11.

Not arrived at the hidden treasure, from each essence (he is) unaware
Four elements are inside me; I am with the six sides, oh my heart

Inside me the Heaven and the Throne, the Pen of the Protected Tablet
The Truth (God) created us from a drop of water from Adam
My heart is shaped similar to a city; (He) set foot (on it)
Inside my heart the throne was established, the honourable residence
I am the people of the Truth, the Truth I knew, the Truth I searched, oh my heart!

I knew the secret and mysterious states of all the things
Both *shariat* and *tarikat* I follow
The ascetic, do not assume that I receive the *hakikat* from this temporal World
If I go from a door, I come back from another door.
People of the external (the law) assume that I am dead, my heart!

Of this temporal world, we are the guiding wheel of destiny
This temporal world is nice with us; actually we are its brightness
Did we drink the language of Adil? Inside us, we are the server of the drink.
Sometimes we come, sometimes we leave; the Alive, The Eternal, the Everlasting we are
From this secret (you) know me that I am the life, oh my heart![289]

Despite the availability of the two poems attributed to Shah Adil and the brief reference to Firishteoghlu, it would be an overgeneralization to say that Ms-198, Ms-181,

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[289] Ms-181, 17b; Ms-198, 62a. The original version of the poem in Turkish is as follows.
Gel beri gel bir beni gör kim ne zatum ey gönül
Zatla ma'na ile gör ne sıfatum ey gönül
Alem içre zübde-i hem ümmehatum ey gönül
Hem Süleyman-ı zamanum ben-de hatum ey gönül
Ehl-i Hakk'um bil yakin gel ben bakayum ey gönül

Bendedür Arş-ile Kürsi, Levh-i Mahfuz-ı Kalem
Hakk bizi bir katre sudan yaratdı çün adem
Gönlümi bir şehre nisbet yasıyub basdı kadem
Gönlüm içre taht kıldı bir karâr-ı muhterem
Ehl-i Hakk'um Hakk'ı bildüm Hakk arratum ey gönül

Cümle eşyanun seraer remz-i hâlin bilürem
Hem şerî'at şart ile hem tarîkat kıluram
Sanma zahid bu fenâdan ben hakikat aluram
Bir kapudan gider isem bir kapudan gelürem
Ehl-i zahirler zanurlar oldum mematum ey gönül
Bu fenanun çerh-i gerdişiyle runamı bizüz
Bu fena hoşdur bizümle gerçi revnaḳı bizüz
Kavl-i Adili içmüşüz mi bizdedür saki bizüz
Kah gelür kah giderüz Hayy Ebed Baki bizüz
Pes bu hafiden beni bil-kim hayatum ey gönül

and Ms-1172 copies were under the high influence of Hurufism. These copies show some degree of Hurufi influence over the Qizilbash teachings, but their connection with the Hurufi teachings does not go further beyond the Sufi idea of *wahdat al-wujud.*[290]

Third, the first treatise of Ms-199 elaborates the idea of God's manifestation through Perso-Arabic letters and the numerical values of letters on the material world and the faces of the religious figures such as Prophet Muhammad, Imam Ali, and his twelve descendants.[291] A strong Hurufi influence can be found in five major themes. The first theme is the centrality of Adam as the perfect created being and the interconnection between Adam's body and the specific letters of the Perso-Arabic script. The second theme is the view of Adam as a macrocosm that consists of twelve doors that correspond to the twelve horoscopes. His bodily parts from the neck to the belly represent the seven layers of heaven while those from the belly to the kneecap are parallel to the seven layers of the earth. The third is the particular understanding of *tawhid*, or the divine unity, claiming that every being has a part of God's existence and there is no existence beyond God. [292] This view of *tawhid* is contrary to the established view of *tawhid* relying on the absolute difference between God and the created beings. The idea of divine unity is also shared with the rest of the *Mecmua* copies. But it does not suffice alone to prove the direct influence of Hurufism over all copies of *Mecmua.* The fourth is the perfect attainment of divine knowledge through the deeper awareness of two dimensions of Adam, esoteric and exoteric. [293] The fifth is the mystery of *istiva* that divides Adam's face into two pieces with white lines and black lines and the representation of 32 letters

[290] This Sufi idea and the impact over Alevi-Bektashi poetry will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter.
[291] Ms-199: 24b-27a.
[292] Ms-199: 20a-b.
[293] Ms-199: 21b.

on the face of Adam through these two lines.[294] Given that Ms-199 was obviously compiled for Bektashi Sufis, the availability of the treatise explaining both Hurufi and Futuwwat traditions confirms the integration of Hurufism with Bektashi Sufi teachings since the late 16th century and also reveals that *futuwwat* and Hurufism were intermingled with each other.[295]

III. Hagiographic Literature

The title *Menakıb* originally referred to the works devoted to the mystical practices and the doctrines of the prominent Sufi masters. These works eventually transformed into a specific genre devoted to the supernatural stories of distinct Sufi Shaykhs.[296] Renard lists three main categories of Islamic hagiographical lore. The first category is hagiography that focuses on the spiritual and moral qualities of friends of God with miraculous and marvellous events. The second is bio-hagiography that gives information on their personal and public life. The third is hagiology that introduces the elements of doctrine and other theoretical considerations with narratives. For hagiology, Renard mentions a specific genre known as *malfuuzaat* (utterances or discourses) that presents the sayings of a renowned Sufi figure rather than his life story.[297]

Between the 13th and 15th centuries, many popular Islamic literary texts that contain epic tales and hagiographic narratives were produced in Arabic, Persian, and

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[294] Ms-199: 25b-26a.

[295] Based on the existing Bektashi poetry from the 16th and 17th centuries, Gölpınarlı argues that the Hurufi ideas became one of the central teachings of Bektashis since the 16th century. For his argument on the affinity between Hurufism and Bektashi order, see Gölpınarlı, *Hurufilik Metinleri Kataloğu*, 29; on the Hurufi influences over Futuwwat tradition, see Gölpınarlı, *İslam ve Türk İllerinde Futuvvet Teşkilatı ve Kaynakları*, 33.

[296] Jurgen Paul, "Hagiographic Literature', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, XI, 536-539; Haşim Şahin, "Menakıbname', *TDV Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 112-114; DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tukles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

[297] John Renard, "Literary Dimensions: Genre, Function, and Hermeneutics," *Friends of God, Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment, and Servanthood* (pp. 237-257) (University of California Press, 2008), 240-241, 245.

Turkish.[298] Especially, the 15th century Ottoman hagiographies, which narrate the miraculous stories of the Sufi mystics as both holy men and warriors (*gazi*) who played a central role in the Islamization of Christian territories in Rumelia and Anatolia, became an important religious genre of Ottoman religious literature.[299] Moreover, during the 16th century, some hagiographic works written in Arabic and Persian were translated to Ottoman Turkish and new hagiographies were also produced in accordance with the increasing role of Sufi orders over the Ottoman religious life.[300] These texts were used to teach the fundamentals of the spiritual path to disciples through the typical miraculous life stories of the Sufi masters. In addition to Sufi lodges, they were read in public places in the early periods of both Safavids and Ottomans. The early Ottoman historiographies such as the *Battalname* and *Saltukname* represent the fusion of the elements of epic tales and hagiography.[301] Inalcık further argues that the earliest chronicles were read aloud in military gatherings or in market places to motivate ghazis or holy warriors against the enemies.[302] Similarly, national epic tales and eulogies for Shi'i figures were read aloud in public gatherings to promulgate the official ideology during the early Safavid period. [303]

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[298] Ahmet Karamustafa, "Islamisation through the Lens of the Saltuk-name," in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A.C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yildiz (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 349.

[299] Krstic, *Contested Conversions*, 52-53.

[300] On the significance of these hagiographies for the early Ottoman history, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Menakıbnameler* (Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım) 3rd edition (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2010), 59-69; for the conversion narratives of hagiographies, Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion*, 159.

[301] Arzu Öztürkmen, "Orality and Performance in Late Medieval Turkish Texts: Epic Tales, Hagiographies, and Chronicles," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 29/4 (October 2009): 329; Krstic, *Contested Conversions*, 58-59.

[302] On the hagiographic character of early Ottoman historiography, see Halil İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 152-167; On the Ottoman usage of hagiography, see Irène Mélikoff, Abu Muslim, le "Porte-Hache" du Khorassan dans la tradition epique turco-iranienne (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1962); and idem, Hacı Bektaş Efsaneden Gerçeğe, trans. Turan Alptekin (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 1999), 44.

[303] On the popular epico-religious literature and the negative attitude by Imami scholars toward this literature, see Jean Calmard, "Popular Literature under the Safavids," in *Society and Culture in the Early*

Based on its content and narrative style, the *Menakıb* cannot be considered as a typical example of the *Menakıbname* genre (the Sufi genre on the miraculous life stories of a Sufi saint). Rather than miraculous events, it concentrates on the teachings and practices of the path in the form of dialogues between Shaykh Safi and Shaykh Sadr al-Din. Particularly, *Menakıb* fits in the category of *malfuuzaat* among all the genres of Islamic hagiographic lore as it introduces the teachings and sayings mostly attributed to Shaykh Safi instead of his life and the miracles he performed.

It is noteworthy that the *Menakıb* of the *Mecmuas* is of a hybrid nature that integrates the aspects of catechism and hagiography. The *Menakıb* shares with catechism as they arrange the fundamentals and rituals of the path in a question-answer format between Shaykh Safi and Sadr al-Din and in a sequential order. But orality still retains since the *Menakıb* often begins the sentences, if they ask you or if you ask me this... You should answer or know this answer... It also serves as religious manuals for the representatives of the path who must have been in charge of transmitting them to the initiated or potential novices. This hybridity also draws parallels with the aforementioned futuwwat texts.

The researchers who first come across *Terceme-i Menakıb-ı Şeyh Safi* might assume that this copy is another version of *Menakıb-ı Şeyh Safi*, the largest component of the *Mecmuas*. In reality, *Terceme-i Menakıb* is the translated copy of the 4th chapter of *Safwat al-Safa,*[304] a famous hagiographic work devoted to the life of Shaykh Safi. A

Modern Middle East: Studies on Iran in the Safavid Period, ed. Andrew Newman (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 333.

[304] The original copy of *Safwat ul Safa* is not known. But fortunately, its fourth chapter was translated from Persian to Ottoman Turkish in 1358. This translated copy is considered as the earliest partial copy of the original *Safwat ul Safa*. This version is preserved at the Suleymaniye Library in Istanbul (MS Kemankeş 247). The translated version of the fourth chapter is entitled "*Terceme-i Menakıb-ı Şeyh Safiyuddin Erdebili*". Ghulam-Riza Tabatabai has published a new edition of *Safwat ul Safa* by comparing the

comparative reading of these copies shows that there is no direct resemblance between *the Menakıb* and *Safwat* except the format of question-answer dialogue between Shaykh Safi and Shaykh Sadr al-Din and usage of parallel Sufi terms and themes such as the four doors of the spiritual path, union, and Miraj. However, *al-Safa's* understanding of four doors of the path including the *shariat, tarikat, marifat and, hakikat* is different from what was meant in the *Menakıb* of *Mecmuas*. According to the *Safwat*, *shariat* is the words of God and the Prophet. *Tarikat* is the way the Prophet practice these rules. *Hakikat* is the only path toward God. *Safwat* makes it clear that *tarikat* cannot exist without *shariat* and *hakikat* without *tarikat*. But in *the Menakıb*, the *shariat* is the five pillars of Islam; *tarikat* is the inner dimensions of the obligatory pillars. The relationship between these two doors is not always clear since the *Mecmua* sometimes puts central emphasis on the esoteric dimensions of the religious obligations. [305]

Considering the wide-ranging popularity of the hagiographic literature among the common folks, it is logical to assume, albeit not substantiated with extra-textual evidences, that designation of the largest component of the *Mecmuas* as the *Menakıb* was a conscious selection of the composers/copyists. Through this generic title, they might have intended to create a familiar zone between the texts and the audience, and introduce the teachings and rites of the Muhammad-Ali path on the authority of Shaykh Safi.

IV. Anatolian Mystical Poetry

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available nine copies of the manuscript. Accordingly, he divides these copies into two groups. First, six copies were written before the rise of Safavids to power. Second, three copies were revised by Mir Ebul Fetih Huseyni by the order of Shah Tahmasb. For comparison of the available copies of this chapter, *Makalat: Şeyh Safi Buyrığı*, edited by Sönmez Kutlu and Nizamettin Parlak (Istanbul: Horasan Yayınları, 2008). For further information on the history of Safwat al Safa, see Edward Browne, *A literary History of Persia*, vol. IV (Cambridge: 1930), 40; Baltacioglu-Brammer, "Safavid Conversion Propoganda," 57-58.

[305] For the complete account of these terms, Serap Şah, "Safvetü's-Safa'da Safiyüddin-i Erdebili'nin Hayatı, Tasavvufi Görüşleri ve Menkıbeleri," (PhD Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İlahiyat, 2007), 663.

The poems in the *Mecmuas* that are attributed to later Alevi/Bektashi poets show strong similarities, and sometimes direct verbatims, from the early Anatolian mystical poetry. This is not fully surprising, because the process of writing a literary production in pre-modern times cannot be simply explained with the modern conceptions of authenticity and originality of works. It was rather a process of reproducing the employed forms, themes, and expressions of the living literary tradition in a new manner. This way of literary composition was common to the wider literary realm including Persian, Ottoman, and Urdu literatures.[306] The following sentences of Fuzuli (1483-1556)[307], the famous Ottoman poet, best represents the pre-modern idea of authenticity and originality of poetry.

> At times, I would taste the poison of sleeplessness until the morning, bloodying my breast as I wrote a new *mazmun* [a type of traditional formulaic poetic image or metaphor]. Then come morning, I would see that I stumbled into *tevarüd* [unintentional coincidences] with [the works of] other authors and scratch what I had written out. At times, I would dive into the sea of reflection and engrave with the diamond of poetry a pearl hitherto unuttered by anyone. Then, no sooner would those who saw it say, "This *mazmun* makes no sense! It would never be used nor accepted among masters of the word" than that *mazmun* would fall out of favour with me, even to the point where I would wish that I had never picked up a pen and committed it to paper. A strange thing, this! Something that has been uttered before cannot be written because it has been uttered before; and yet, something that has never been uttered before cannot be written because it has not.[308]

In parallel with Fuzuli's vacillation between imitation and originality, the earliest

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[306] Veysel Öztürk, "The Notion of Originality from Ottoman Classical Literature to Turkish Modern Poetry," 135-161, *Middle Eastern Literatures* 19, 2 (2016): 137-138.

[307] Fuzuli is also considered to have been one of the seven prominent poets of the Bektashi-Alevi tradition.

[308] Quoted in Veysel Öztürk, "The Notion of Originality" 137. The newness or originality in the mystical literature in Turkish is not connected with the issue of authorship. The Turkish literature has numerous examples of poetry, which raise considerable questions on the authorship of the works. For example, *Divan-ı Hikmet* is one of the earliest examples as the collection of poems attributed to Ahmad Yasavi, the 12th century Sufi master. But the earliest manuscripts of *Divan* can be traced as early far back as the fifteenth century. For further information on *Divan-ı Hikmet*, see Mehmed Fuat Fuat Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, trans. and ed. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London: Newyork: Routledege, 2006), 128-129.

examples of Anatolian literary tradition creatively adapted Persian poetic works.[309] Similarly, the authors of the poems in the *Mecmuas* have composed their poems out of the common themes and formal features employed by the tradition of Anatolian mystical poetry. Yunus Emre (c.1240-c.1320) is considered as the main source of this poetry.[310] Gölpınarlı provides the list of the major themes of Alevi-Bektashi poetry employed by Yunus. Those include the light in the lantern created out of divine power in the heavenly realm, the forty assembly, the heavenly ascension of the prophet during which he encountered a lion and gave his ring to this lion by the order of Gabriel[311], Muhammad and Ali as primordial beings, *tawalla* (love for the family of Prophet Muhammad) and *taberra* (hatred for the enemies of the Prophet's household), four doors, forty stations, love for the beloved, and love for the world, criticism of external aspects of religion such as the obligatory prayer and circumambulating the Ka'ba.[312]

Yunus composed his poems in the cultural environment to which Turco-Persian religious and cultural elements mutually contributed.[313] Yunus shared the major themes of Sufism. Yunus wrote his poems in simple and straightforward Turkish using syllabic

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[309] For one major examplar from this Anatolian literary tradition, see Sara Nur Yildiz, "Battling Kufr (Unbelief) in the Lands of Infidels: Gulsehri's Turkish Adaptation of 'Attar's Mantiq al-Tayr," in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A.C. S. Peacock, Bruno De Nicola, and Sara Nur Yildiz (Burlington: Ashgate, 2015), 329-349.

[310] Köprülü was the first who mentioned the influence of Yunus Emre on the development of Turkish mystical poetry. For his analysis of Yunus's poetry, see his Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*.

[311] We did not encounter the lion and ring narrative in the *Mecmuas*.

[312] Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1961), 180-1, 234-235. Gölpınarlı performed a detailed study of the major impacts of Yunus Emre's poetry over the Alevi-Bektashi literature. Gölpınarlı wrote several books on Yunus's historical identity and his poetry, though most of these books are repetitive of each other: *Yunus Emre: Hayatı*; idem, *Yunus Emre Divanı*, vol.1-2, (Istanbul: Ahmet Halit Kitabevi, 1943), *Alevi-Bektaşi Nefesleri* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1963).

[313] Köprülü argues that the poetry attributed to Ahmed Yasawi, the Central Asian Sufi figure of the 12th century influenced that of Yunus. Being critical of the idea of the Yasawi influence over Yunus, DeWeese criticizes Köprülü's condescending approach to the poetry of Yasawi. For further information, see Devin DeWeese, 'Foreword,' in Mehmed Fuat Köprülü, *Early Mystics in Turkish Literature*, trans. and ed. Gary Leiser and Robert Dankoff (London: Newyork: Routledege, 2006), xx-xxii.

meter, and his poems were more than what accessible to ordinary people.[314] The living tradition of Anatolian mystical poetry beginning with Yunus was adapted and flourished with the later mystical poets such as Nesimi, Yemini, Kaygusuz Abdal,[315] Pir Sultan Abdal,[316] Aşık Paşazade, Seyyid Seyfullah, and Hatayi. Although the ideologies of Safavids and Ottomans had isolating effects in the context of the political rivalry, the didactic and lyrical poetry of the *Mecmuas* attributed to later mystical poets still reflects the remaining impacts of the shared cultural space of Turco-Persian realms.

Hatayi, Yemini, Virani, Pir Sultan Abdal, Nesimi, Kul Himmet, and Fuzuli were considered as the greatest seven poets (called as *Yedi Ulular*) of Alevi-Bektashi tradition. Of these poets, Hatayi, Pir Sultan, and Kul Himmet are the most cited in *Mecmuas*. These manuscripts also contain several poems attributed to Kaygusuz Abdal, Nesimi, and *Seyfullah,* and many unknown poets. Surprisingly, none of these manuscripts includes any poems from Yemini, Virani, and Fuzuli.[317] This might be related to their preference

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[314] E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry, vol 1 (London: Luzac& Co, 1900),* 169. Without denying the relationship between Yunus and Rumi in a master-disciple relationship, Gibb argues that Rumi's influence over Yunus's poetry does not go beyond the idea of unity of beings. He further claims, "Yunus had practically no model; though inspired by Jelal, he did not, like the early Mesnevi-writers, copy the Persian masters, and there was no lyric poetry in Western Turkish. There was nothing but some rude folk-songs and popular ballads; and it was in the way of these that Yunus fashioned his verse." Unlike Gibb, Başkal claims that "the only difference between the Mathnawi by Rumi and Risalat-un Nushiyya (or Risale-i Nushiyye), the work of Yunus Emre, both written in the same meter and genre, is the language used in the two works. This type of division of literature can be considered a retrospective and anachronistic understanding of history, one that, to a great extent, carries the flaws of a twentieth-century perspective with it." For his claim, see Zekeriya Başkal, *Yunus Emre: The Sufi Poet in Love* (New York: Blue Dome Press, 2014), 13. For further comparison of Yunus Emre and Rumi based on the common themes, see Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre: Hayatı*, 8-9, 14, 36-46.

[315] Kaygusuz Abdal, the 15th century poet of Anatolia, is considered to have be the founder of Alevi-Bektashi literature. See Gölpınarlı, *Yunus ve Tasavvuf*, 234.

[316] Based on the information drawn from his poetry, Pir Sultan Abdal is estimated to have lived in the reigns of Shah Tahmasb (1524-1576) and the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman (1520-1566). See Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre: Tasavvuf*, 239; idem, Gölpınarlı and Pertev Naili Boratav, *Pir Sultan Abdal* (Ankara, 1943), 61, 69.

[317] Yemini is said to have lived in the late 15th and early 16th century. He is the author of *Faziletname*, the famous example of the genre of didactic poetry that describes the virtuous deeds of important religious personages. *Faziletname* is believed to be the Turkish translation of a Persian work written in prose. Gölpınarlı repeatedly highlights the parallel narrative of the light in the lantern in Yunus's poetry and the *Menakıb* of Ms-181. For one of his accounts on this affinity, see Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre: Hayatı,* 16. It is

for the Persian meter of rhyme (*aruz vezni*) instead of syllabic meter (*hece vezni*) in their poetry. Considering that the *Mecmua*s were composed out of verbal and textual traditions and read aloud in the ritual settings, the composers must have added the folk poetry using colloquial Turkish and syllabic meter instead of the poetry following the complex rhythmic structure and Persian-Arabic language of the *divan* literature. The lack of these three poets in *Mecmuas* raises an important question about the connection of these poets with the Alevi-Bektashi communities and requires further studies on the characteristics of their available poetry in comparison with the common themes of Alevi-Bektashi literature.

The below cited poems of Yunus and Hatayi show strong parallelism. These can be listed as the form of couplet with the same rhyme, the syllabic prosody, and the simple and straightforward form of Turkish. These versions share verbatim parts and phrases, indicating that the composer of the Hatayi's version reproduced a new version out of Yunus's poem.

Yunus's version:

We should **show full obedience** to a city/ No one is to be expelled
We should **lean on** the threshold/No one is to be taken over
We should **become a bird flying**/ We should pull over
We should drink a *şerbet* (a sweet drinking)/ The ones who drink are not to be sober
We should become a nimble river/We should dive into a sea
We should unearth the jewel/ So none of jewellers is to be aware of it
We should enter into a garden/ We should make it spread nicely
We should spread a rose/ So this rose is never to fade
We should become a lover/ We should find the beloved
We should be burnt with the fire of love/ The separate room is not to be burnt

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important to note that the letter sent from the Central Convent found in the *Menakıb* of Ms-181 has this narrative.

Yunus! **Now come and sit/** Turn your face toward the *Hazret* [318]
Train **a brave person** like your essence/ So such a person is not to come to the world[319]

Hatayi's version:

We should come and serve to a *pir*/ The effort is not to be lost
Hold tightly onto the skirt of a *mürşid*/No one is to take him from you
We should finish a work/ We should make up the mistakes
We should hang out with the friend/ He is not to put us in the reproach (*sitem*)[320]
We should praise a genealogy/ This genealogy should alleviate my pain
We should speak with the same language/ Angels are not to know.
We should become a nimble river/ We should dive into ocean
We should unearth the jewel/ None of jewellers is to be aware of it
We should become a lover/ We should find the beloved
We should die before we die/ One is to be immortal in Him.
We should become a bird flying/Necessary to choose this meaning
We should drink from the same goblet/ **The ones drinking are not to be sober**
We should enter into a garden/ We should spread love out of it
We should smell a rose/ **This rose is never to fade**
Hatayi! **Come and sit down**/So bring up a meaning to the cause
Bring **a brave man** to your conversation/ So he is not to be afraid of sacrificing his head and soul [321]

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[318] *Hazret* as a title is used before God, the names of prophets as well as important religious personages. Here, it refers to God

[319] Gölpınarlı first mentions the resemblance between these two versions. For Yunus's version, see his book, *Yunus Emre: Hayatı*, 178-179.
Bir şehre kul olmak gerek hergiz ma'zul olmaz ola
Bir eşik yastanmak gerek kimse elden almaz ola
Bir kuş olup uçmak gerek bir kenara geçmek gerek
Bir şerbetten içmek gerek içenler ayrılmaz ola
Çevik bahri olmak gerek bir denize dalmak gerek
Bir gevher çıkarmak gerek his sarraflar bilmez ola
Bir bağçeye girmek gerek hoş teferrüş kılmak gerek
Bir gulu yaylamak gerek hergiz ol gül solmaz ola
Kişi aşık olmak gerek ma'şukayı bulmak gerek
İşk oduna yanmak gerek ayruk oda yanmaz ola
Yunus imdi var dek otur yüzünü hazrete götür
Özün gibi bir er yetür hiç cihana gelmez ola

[320] *Sitem* is the ritual of interrogation in the Alevi-Bektashi terminology.

[321] Ms-198: 30b-31a; Ms-181:12a-b.
Gel bir pire hizmet eyle emek zayi olmaz ola
Mürşid etegün muhkem dut kimse elünden almaz ola
Bir işi bitürmek gerek eksigün yeturmek gerek
Yar ile oturnak gerek hiç bir siteme goymaz ola
Bir soyu soylamak gerek, bir acımı toylamak gerek

Most of Yunus's poems reflect the influence of *wahdat-al wujud* (the unity of beings in God). This idea suggests that God's existence necessarily requires the non-existence of all things before God. The same theme was also employed in the Hatayi's poetry. The following poem of Hatayi is an adapted version of Yunus's famous poem, "I love you beyond the depth of my own soul". As seen below, this cited version replaces the pronoun "you" in the poem of Yunus with Ali.

I love Ali beyond the depth of my own soul.
I love your path beyond the path.
Do not call me inside me because I am not in myself.
Also, there is an 'I' inside me, inner than myself.
The occupation of the one who denies religion is infidelity
What such an infidelity is inside faith
To *shariat* and *tarikat*, *marifat* is the truth
There is the fire of the truth inside itself.
They told (that) Suleiman knew the language of bird
There is a Suleiman inside Suleiman.
There is the guide of the Truth who directs (them) to the Truth
Also, there is a guide inside the guide.
Shah Hatayi reaches to the Truth in his inner-self
From the door, the sultan takes him inside[322]

Bir dilden söylemek gerek, ferişteler bilmez ola
Çabuk bahri olmak gerek bir ummana dalmak gerek
Bir gevheri bulmak gerek hiç sarraflar bulmaz ola
Gerçek aşık olmak gerek ma'şukunu bulmak gerek
Ölmezden ön ölmek gerek varup onda ölmez ola
Bir kuş olup uçmak gerek, bu manayı seçmek gerek
Bir kadehden içmek gerek içenler ayılmaz ola
Bir bahçeye girmek gerek hub teferruç kılmak gerek
Bir gulu koklamak gerek hergiz ol gül solmaz ola
Gel Hatayı sen geç otur davayı manaya yetur
Sohbetine bir er getur cana başa kalmaz ola

[322] Ms-181:44a. For Yunus's poetry in Turkish, see Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre: Hayatı*, 178-179.
Severem ben seni candan içeri
Yolum ütmez bu erkandan içeri

Her kandayısen gönlüm dolusun
Seni kande koyam benden içeri

O bir dilberdür yokdur nişanı

It is important to note that as pointed out by Gallagher, all the poetry attributed to Shah Ismail cannot be seen as a repository of his real beliefs and practices. In many examples of pseudo-Shah Ismail poetry with the penname of Hatayi, he served as a spiritual prototype of the living tradition rather than the historical person.[323]

Studies on the Alevi-Bektashi poetry agree that the poetry dated before the 17th century was commonly shared by various antinomian dervish groups, such as Abdals of Rum and Kalenderis before their assimilation with Bektashis and Alevis. The crystallization of Bektashis and Alevis as the distinctive religious communities led to the emergence of their separate poetic heritage.[324] Due to the shortage of historical evidence on biographical information on these poets and the availability of collections of parallel

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Nişan istemen bi nişandan içeri

Beni sorma baba bende değülven
Suretum boş yürür dondan içeri

Beni benden alan ırmez elum
Kim kadem başa sultandan içeri

Tecelliden nasip erdi kimine
Kiminün maksudu bundan içeri

Kime didar gününde şu'le degdise
Lacerem maksudu günden içeri

Senün ışkun beni benden alubdur
Ne şirin derd bu dermandan içeri

Unutdum din diyanet kaldı benden
Bu ne mezhebdur dinden içeri

Dinin terkedenün küfürdür işi
Bu ne küfürdür imandan içeri

Geçer iken Yunus şeşoldu dosta
Kaldı ol kapuda andan içeri

[323] Amelia Gallagher, "The Fallible Master of Perfection: Shah Ismail in the Alevi-Bektashi Tradition," (PhD Thesis, McGill University, 2004), 18-19.

[324] Sadettun Nüzhet Ergun, *Bektaşi Şairleri ve Nefesleri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1944), 79. Ergun previously classified poets alphabetically in *Bektaşi Şairleri in 1930*. But in its revised version, he mistakenly classified these poets by chronology instead of themes as if there is certainty associated with the historical identities of the poets.

poems attributed to different poets, the real historical identities of most of the given poets in the *Mecmuas* remain controversial. Thus, the nature and function of the Qizilbash poetry cannot be understood with the issue of originality or authorship.

The shared space of the Qizilbash poetry with the collective heritage of Anatolian mystical poetry must have been a result of the oral transmission of this heritage. As pointed out by Finnegan, oral composition is not always the kind of composition in performance. Prior to oral performance, poems might be composed in a written form. Also, the written composition of poem might be circulated in a long term of period by oral means.[325] Similarly, the parallels between the poems of Yunus and the later Alevi-Bektashi poets cannot only be seen as reproduction of the written heritage in the light of new circumstances. It rather suggests that the Anatolian Sufi poetry continued to be circulated and transmitted through oral ways though being recorded in written collections. The composition of this poetry, being lyrical or didactic, in simple Turkish and syllabic meter enabled this poetry to survive for a long time via oral ways and made it accessible to the community members.

Whether or not the identity of poets specified in the *Mecmuas* is real, what makes this poetry primary for understanding the pre-modern history of Qizilbash beliefs and practices is their content, never-ending continuity with the heritage, and being receptive to adaptation. It is also noteworthy that the cultural heritage cannot be reduced only to either Persian or Ottoman speaking realms. The adapted versions of this poetry within the

[325] Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature,* 16-24. Influenced by the idea that there is not always a clear-cut distinction between written and oral poetry, Ruth says; "the three ways in which a poem can most readily be called oral are in terms of 1) its composition 2) its mode of transmission, and 3) its performance. Some oral poetry is oral in all these respects, some in only one or two. It is important to be clear how oral poetry can vary in these ways, as well as about the problems involved in assessing each of these aspects of 'oral-ness'. It emerges that the 'oral' nature of oral poetry is not easy to pin down precisely." (p.17)

contemporary Alevi-Bektashi communities imply that the shared cultural heritage must have been an important factor behind the survival of this poetry long after the Safavids distanced themselves from the Qizilbash communities.

Conclusion

Intertextual analysis of the *Mecmuas* reveals that these texts were produced from available traditions that were preserved in the collective memory of the Qizilbash communities orally and survived in a written form. None of these traditions can be reduced to the context of a single cultural and religious territory. The Turco-Persian world was by no means two disengaged cultural entities since the period of Seljuks. In the Seljukid State, Arabic was a language of religion, Persian was a language of most intellectuals and the state, and Turkish was the language of Turcoman and the army. The Ottoman Sultan Selim wrote poems in Persian and Shah Ismail wrote in Azari Turkish, albeit their opposing political motivations. Kashifi's *Rawzat al-Shuhada* was adapted with additions into Turkish by the Sufi poet, Fuzuli (d. 1556).[326] The content of *Mecmuas* suffices itself to prove the religious and cultural fluidity of this territory between Safavids and Ottomans.

Collectively, the analysis of *Mecmuas* has showed that these manuscripts constitute a large synthesis of different hagiographic, historical, and mystical traditions that were embedded in the Turco-Persian world. Seeing these manuscripts as Safavid propaganda texts would disregard the socio-religious environment in which they were produced and reproduced. Intertextual analysis of these manuscripts has revealed that regardless of wherein they were composed or by whom they were dispatched/copied, the *Mecmuas* were the products of the socio-religious legacy, which both Safavids and

[326] Calmard, "Popular Literature under the Safavids," 328.

Ottomans mutually shared for a long time. The utmost emphasis laid on the authenticity and originality of these narratives (either in prose or poem) as well as the historical identity of poets cannot account for the dynamic relationship between these narratives and their function in different contexts.

Chapter 4: The Socio-Political Texture of *Mecmuas*

According to the widely accepted narrative in historical studies, Qizilbash communities became isolated mystical communities in parallel with the decline of Safavid influence over Anatolian communities. Qizilbash communities held their relationships to Sunni communities to a minimum level. This period is referred to as the time of silence. The absence of Qizilbashes in Ottoman documents has been considered the corollary of this so-called silence.[327]

To avoid the imposition of the contextuality derived from the top-down research into archival and chronicle sources into the *Mecmuas*, this section puts the contextuality of the *Mecmuas* in dialogue with the outside contextuality. Of all the *Mecmua* texts in prose and verse, the *Menakıb* is of primary significance because it not only prescribes socio-religious pillars of the community and punitive measurements against the wrongdoers, but also provides the references to Safavid Shahs, including Shah Ismail (in Ms-198, Ms-181,Ms-199), Shah Tahmasb (in Ms-198, Ms-181, Ms-199, Ms-1172), Shah Abbas (in Ms-1172), and Shah Suleiman (only mentioned in Ms-199). In addition, anonymous poetry in *Ms-198* also needs special attention, because they provide significant clues for understanding the hardships and difficulties of the Qizilbash-Alevi communities from an internal perspective.

This chapter discloses two overlapping arguments. First, the Qizilbash communities maintained a unique social-religious structure, which connected them to the Central Dergah most likely located outside Anatolia. Detailed analysis of *Menakıb* indicates that the twofold allegiance of the Qizilbash to the Shah as a political and a

[327] Ilyas Üzüm, "Qizilbash," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 550.

spiritual ruler, which had become a contentious matter of politics between the Safavid and Ottomans over a century, eventually evolved into a spiritual allegiance to the Shah in the late 17th century. Second, the *Mecmuas* reflect a considerable degree of dialogue with the official historical narratives on the Qizilbash, albeit in the form of conflict.

I. Endowment to the Shah

The *Menakıb* offers detailed prescriptions of physical and financial punishments for those who violate these pillars set by Shah Tahmasb. For example, if a disciple transgresses the first exemplary act, he must offer any service for *khalifa*. If he transgresses the second act, he is to be beaten only one time (*tarik-i zam*), pay one *akçe* as an act of confession (*tercuman*) and give three *akçe* to *khalifa*. The degree of physical and financial punishments increases with each transgression. For the transgression of the last three obligations, the sinner is to be beaten forty-seven times, give forty-seven *akçe* as an act of confession to ghazis, thirty-three akçe to *khalifa* and seventy-nine *akçe* as endowment to the Shah. The talibs who violate all these obligations would be excluded from the community. For atonement, they must go to the *Dergah*. [328] They would no longer be allowed to gatherings (*cemiyet*) until the spiritual leader (*mürşid*) forgives them. If they are absolved, their wealth is still to be confiscated. It also says, if a seeker practices homosexuality (*livata*) and does not seek repentance for this sin, he would be excommunicated from the path. But if he regrets, he would be beaten three hundred sixty times, give three hundred sixty *akçe* to ghazis, ninety-nine *akçe* to *khalifas*. Also, his wealth would be confiscated for the sake of the spiritual patron (*üstad*). [329] Moreover, if a

[328]Here, the *dergah* refers to the Central Convent.

[329] Ms-181: 29b-30b; Ms-198: 68a-71a; Ms-1172: 41a-43a. The *Mecmuas* also provide specific instructions for physical and financial punishments on account of major sins and lapses. See Ms-199: 113a-114b; Ms-

seeker who loves the household of the Prophet (*muhabbeti hanedan*) sells a horse[330] or mule registered as endowment to the *Dergah,* he would be excluded from the community. If he regrets his action, he should be beaten ninety-nine times. Also, it requires ninety-nine *akçe for khalifa* and two hundred *akçe* for Shah on behalf of the spiritual patron be collected and be sent to the *Dergah* by their spiritual companions (*kazanç ehli*).[331]

The second version of the punitive charges comes from the letter in Ms-181 and Ms-199.[332] This letter is estimated to have been composed in 1630s, because of its reference to the Shah as the expected military leader who was ready to take the revenge of the descendants of the Prophet.[333] Considering that Shah Abbas retook the city of Baghdad from the Ottomans in 1625 until his death in 1638, the said Shah seems to be Shah Abbas. This version draws parallels with the first version in terms of descriptions of the pillars as well as punitive measurements, such as collecting money, confiscation of the material belongings, and the ritual of confession beating. But this version puts the stress on the allegiance to the way of Muhammad, Ali, Twelve Imams, and the spiritual leaders who followed their path. Another difference is the lack of direct reference to the shah or ghazis (holy warriors). Instead, *khalifas* and the spiritual patrons of the path are mentioned as those who are receivers of the ascribed money collected from the transgressors as a way of confession. Also, it introduces new punitive methods against

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181: 35b, 43b; Ms-1172, 38a-40b. In Ms-1172, it prescribes a forty-day ordeal (*çile*) for those who do not take repentance for their sins, see pp. 39b.

[330] In *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, *Lütfi Paşa*, the Ottoman chronicler, mentions that the residents of Erzincan (a district in north eastern Anatolia) provided Shah Ismail with horse and yeragh (instruments) against the Ottomans. Cited in Sümer's *Safevi Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü*, 26.

[331] Ms-198: 72b; Ms-199: 92. Ms-181 and Ms-1172 does not include this part. Unlike Ms-198, Ms-199 does not specify the items registered to the Dergah.

[332] In Ms-199, the letter is interrupted with the narrative of inclusion of Abdals into the ritual community (130a-139a). Therefore, it is distributed in two portions. For the letter, see Ms-199: 124b-127b, 139a-154b.

[333] Ms-181: 50b-63b; Ms-199:124b-127b.

those who are excommunicated from the path, including the rituals of tying a large stone on the necks and putting their feet on thorns. [334]

In the second version of the pillars, the replacement of Shah with the spiritual patron (*üstad)* might be interpreted in two ways. First, this can be seen as a sign of the decreasing role of the Shahs over the intended communities. Second, this change can be interpreted as the unification of the titles Shah and the spiritual patron rather than replacement of Shah with the spiritual patron. Considering that Shah Abbas insisted on his role as the patron of the Safavid Order, despite his suppressive policies toward the Qizilbash, the second interpretation seems more historically accurate by suggesting the definite consolidation of the Shah's political and spiritual powers.

Moreover, the word Shah is crossed out in the prescriptions of Ms-1172 (even though the holder of the copy or the copyist seems to have forgotten to cross it out in two places), this version might be seen as an indication of the worsening relationship of the Qizilbash with the Shah or the high risk associated with being connected to the Shah.[335]

Besides the pillars of the path attributed to Shah Tahmasb, the *Menakıb* of Ms-199 offers other descriptions on the amount of money and the number of beating for the major sins and the ones who deny their sins after they were proved. In these descriptions, there is no mention of the Central Convent or the list of people who are receivers of the collected fines. [336]

Besides the pillars of the path, Ms-199 and Ms-181 introduce a new episodic narrative. According to this narrative, once ghazis (holy warriors) Ali Khalifa, Ibrahim

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[334] This information is not given in the version of the letter in Ms-199. It is only included in Ms-181. See Ms-181: 53a-54b.
[335] Ms-1172: 41a-42b.
[336] Ms-199: 113a-114b; Ms-181: 43b;

Khalifa and Ebu'l Gar gathered for the union ritual in the presence of Shah Tahmasb, they informed the Shah about a controversy with them.[337] The Shah said: "if forty persons come together and there are forty apples, it is obligatory to give one apple to each one, regardless of being a new or old member of the path. No one is superior to another. Acceptance is based on the consent of love. If a person comes sincerely, he should be welcomed to this path. Therefore, the *khalifa* and *zakir* (the one who is in charge of the *dhikr*) in rituals should accept him." [338]

Since there is little mention of the office of *khalifat al-khulafa* in the reign of Shah Tahmasb, we do not know the historical identities of the named khalifas. It is known that Husayn Quli was appointed to the office of *khalifat* in his reign. When he was dismissed from this post and blinded by on the orders of Shah Ismail II, he was replaced with his enemy, Bulgar Khalifa.[339] Possibly, Ebu'l Gar might be a corruption of Bulgar in the manuscripts. The storytelling character of this narrative is likely the adaptation of orally preserved memory into the Qizilbash manuscript. So, this narrative might be compiled to erase the negative memories of the prolonged inter-tribal conflicts of the Qizilbash groups especially during the reigns of Shahs Tahmasb and Abbas.[340]

In the *Mecmuas*, the Safavid genealogy is another example of the continued relationship between the Qizilbash communities and the Safavid Shahs. The first group of hereditary lines consists of Shah Abbas I (only in Ms-1172), Shah Tahmasb I, and Shah

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[337] The nature of this controversy is not described.

[338] Ms-199: 92a; Ms-181: 31a. There are many khalifas known with these two names except Bulgar khalife. For instance, a mühimme register from the late 16th century gives a report on a man from Iran sent by Khalife Emir Ali Efendi to collect taxes. For this information, see Ahmet Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik*, 39-40.

[339] Sümer, *Safevi Devletinin Kuruluşu*, 82; Arjomand, "Ghuluww, Sufism and Sunnism," 5.

[340] Arjomand, "Ghuluww," 5.

Ismail I (in Ms-181, Ms-198, Ms-199) in order.[341] In the genealogies, it is true that Shahs were named as hereditary and spiritual heirs of Shaykh Safi whose lineage is traced back to Prophet Muhammad and Ali through his descent to Musa al-Kazim, the seventh Shi'i Imam.

The references to Haci Bektash as spiritual master in Ms-199 as well as the omission of Shah Ismail's poetry from Ms-199 and Ms-1172[342] might indicate the decreasing role of the Safavid Shahs over the intended communities. It does not mean that their relationship with the Shah completely ended, considering the ending of Ms-199 that invokes the blessing on Shah Suleiman as the living shah.[343] Considering that Shah Suleiman was remembered for his indifference to affairs of state, antagonistic attitudes of the *ulema* against the Sufis and preference of the harem life,[344] this reference simply indicates the composition date of the manuscript.

II. The Qizilbash Space

In the *Mecmuas*, different words such as *cem'iyyet*,[345] *mahfil*,[346] *meydan* (lit. square),[347] and *dergah* (convent)[348] were used to describe the space allocated for Qizilbash rituals or gatherings. None of these terms represents the full connotation of a central convent. This

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[341] For the full versions of the genealogies, see Chapter 2.

[342] For further discussion on the poetry of Shah Ismail in the *Mecmuas*, see Chapters 2 and 5.

[343] Ms-199: 159a. The following is the Turkish version, "cümle tahta geçen evlâdlarınun ve mürşid-i kamil Süleyman-ı zaman şahımızun dem-i devleti ve dem-i devranı hürmeti hakkı-çün gerçeğe hu..."

[344] Roemer, "The Safavid Period," 305-309.

[345] *Cem'iyyet* as a generic term for the ritual space is interchangeably used for a place of gathering where a community meets for rituals as well as the community of people who come together for ceremonies.

[346] *Mahfil* is used as a generic word for gathering place in the *Mecmuas* even though it is commonly used for ritual space in futuwwat texts.

[347] *Meydan* is also used as a generic term for any place where the ritual of confession is performed as if the seeker is questioned on the Day of Judgment. See Ms-198: 58b-59a; Ms-199, 105a-b. For the usage of *meydan* in the Safavid period for a large public square used for various festivities as well as horse races, polo ground etc, see Calmard, "Popular Literature under the Safavids," 333.

[348] *Dergah* is used as a generic name for the place the rituals were practiced or the spiritual station exemplified by Muhammad, Ali, and Twelve Imams. On the example of its generic usage, see Ms-1172, 7b (*Muhammad Ali dergahına layık olur*), 25a (*Muhammad Ali dergahında dahi kabul ola*), 30b.

did not only serve as the pious ground for the manifestation of the events, being cosmological, historical, or pseudo-historical; and the fulfilment of religious needs through rituals. Rather, this was a liminal space that creates a haven outside the orthodox realm for the Qizilbash to monitor socio-religious behaviors and resolve inter-communal problems.

All the manuscripts reveal that the Qizilbash space was restricted to the followers of the path and the *mürids* (seekers) should hide the secrets of the path even from their loved ones. The community was warned against practicing their rituals in the presence of the followers of exoteric or *shariat*, and hence these people were not allowed to enter the convent.[349] Unlike the other three manuscripts, Ms-199 suggests the inclusion of Abdals to the path.[350] Abdals were an antinomian dervish group who lived in late-medieval Anatolia. They recognized Hacı Bektaş as one of their patron saints and observed celibacy. They supported the Safavid cause, faced persecution in the 16th and 17th centuries and eventually were assimilated to the Bektashis through a prolonged process.[351]

Ms-199 makes a distinction between celibate Abdals and "real" Abdals. It says, "If *celibate Abdals* had a family and other possessions, they would not have abandoned

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[349] Ms-199: 90a, 101b.

[350] Abdals were not a single and homogenous group of dervishes. Scholars do not agree on the origins of this dervish group. Floor mentions three available definitions of Abdals. First, Abdal is seen as one of the highest Sufi ranks in a collective form referring to the station of the forty people. The other two definitions come from the Safavid historiography. Abdals are described as the Sufis initiated by the head of Sufis in the Sufi convents of Ardabil, Mashhad, and Isfahan and concerned with the spread of Shiism through Shi'i propaganda and cursing the Sunnis. Another group of Abdals is described as the dervishes who begged others for their needs and wore animal skins. They survived until the end of the Safavid dynasty. For these accounts, see Willem Floor, "The Khalifeh al-kholafa of the Safavid Sufi Order", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellscharft*", Vol. 153, No. 1 (2003), 54. On the origin of the term Abdal in Sufi literary tradition, see Ahmet Karamustafa, *The Sufism; The Formative Period* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 2007), 127-128, on the historical overview of Abdals of Rum, Abdals of Anatolia, see Karakaya-Stump, "The Forgotten Dervishes: The Bektashi Convent in Iraq and Their Kizilbash Clients" in *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol. 16, Nos, 1&2 (2010):12-13.

[351] Karakaya-Stump, "Subjects of the Sultan," 102, 138; idem, "The Forgotten Dervishes," 12.

them in the presence of *mürşid*. So, the *talibs* are more preferable than these Abdals because the latter have not been challenged with abandoning any possessions. True *Abdals* are the ones who desert everything under their possession by their own will and give them to their *mürşids* (spiritual masters)." It also continues, "Once a *Mürşid* becomes (real) Abdal, Sufis pledge allegiance to him. But these *mürşids* should not be patronizing Sufis. If celibate Abdals get permission from their own *mürşids* and the *mürşids* of *talibs* authorize the inclusion of Abdals, these Abdals can attend the rituals of the *talibs*".[352] This manuscript suggests the integration of Abdals of Rum with the Qizilbashes. Considering the assimilation of Abdals of Rum into Bektashis in the 17th century, Abdals of Ms-199 might refer to either *Babagan* or *Çelebi* Bektashis who claimed to be spiritual or biological descendants of Hacı Bektaş, respectively. Based on lack of further connection between Safavid Shahs and Hacı Bektaş in this copy, it is likely that the said Bektashis were *Babagan* Bektashis rather than *Çelebi* Bektashis.

III. *Dergah-ı Âli*

Alongside the ritual space, the manuscripts suggest the existence of a central convent, called as *Dergah-ı Âli* (meaning high, glorious, exalted). Ms-198 also refers to *Dergah-ı Ali* referring to the convent of Imam Ali as it is described as the place where the principals and teachings of the path were read after the end of prophethood.[353] Such usage of Ali may be a typo, but rather corresponds to the spiritual station represented by Imam Ali rather than a physical space or a tomb of Ali in Najaf. As previously explained, the *Mecmuas* prescribed a certain amount of money be sent to the Central Convent for absolution of 'major' sins. The excommunicated seekers were also advised to make a

[352] Ms-199: 131b, 135a-b.
[353] Ms-198: 68b.

visit to this dergah for possible forgiveness from their faults. Obviously, *Dergah-ı Âli* not only played a central role in spiritual guidance, but also served as a socio-legal space for the communal demands and problems of the Qizilbash communities.

A question-answer dialogue between Safi and Sadreddin provides important information for the location of the Convent. According to this dialogue, Shaykh Sadreddin asks him about the situation of a seeker whose *rehber* (spiritual guide) goes to *Dergah-i Âli* in a far country in order to attain the love of *üstad,* the love of Muhammad and Ali. Shaykh Safi said, "if the teacher lives in a three, five or seven-day long distance, his seeker (*talib*) must visit him every forty days to seek his advice for the problems he would encounter. But if his teacher passed away, or went to a distant country in the forty-day-long distance, or lived in seclusion (*mücavir*) in *Dergah-ı Âli*, he must find another *müşkil-i mürebbi* (the teacher/guide in time of difficulty), since he cannot access to his teacher anymore.[354]

For the location of the Central Convent, we need additional historical evidence. Several versions of the above dialogue suggest that the Convent must be located in a 40-day long distance and to the East of the community in Anatolia. Considering that "Syria lays more than thirty days' march southeast of the Ottoman capital" the Convent must have been located in a more distant country than Syria.[355] Considering that the original copies of these portions must have been written during the reign of Tahmasb or Abbas, the location of the Convent might be Ardabil, since the Convent of the Safavid Order was still active in their times. Another possibility is that the Convent was one of the Sufi convents linked to the tombs of Imam Ali in Najaf and Imam Husayn in Karbala before

[354] Ms-198:79b-80b.
[355] Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion (1000-1020/1591-1611)*, 60.

the rise of Safavids as a political power and these lodges were earlier affiliated with Abdals of Rums and Hurufis. These sources also reveal that there were Bektashi convents in the 17th century in Iranian Azerbaijan and Iraq. [356]

An Alevi document originating from Iraq in the early 17th century, is made available by Karakaya-Stump, provides more reliable information about the location of *Dergah-ı Âli*. The letter was written by a descendant of Hacı Bektaş who lived in one of the convents in Iraq, referred to as *Dergah-i Âli*. The letter was sent to a member of Alevi Ocak family in Anatolia informing him that a ritual of initiation was carried out on his behalf and a *sikke* (a diploma presenting the status of *khalifa*) was granted to him.[357] This letter revealed that the relationship between Qizilbash communities and the lodges in Iraq traces back to the beginning of the 17th century. It is quite surprising that the last and shortest part of the letter on religious duties for the followers evokes the religious content of the *Menakıbs*.[358] Similar to the letter, Ms-199 refers to the Central Convent as *sikkehane,* the place where the diploma was given to the khalifas of the path. *Dergah-i Âli* might have been one of the Bektashi/Abdal convents around the tombs of Imam Ali and Twelve Imams. In support of this conclusion, an anonymous poem in Ms-198 advises the followers to pay a visit to *Dergah-ı Necef* (or *Dargah al-Najaf*), the convent in Najaf and the glorious station in Karbala. [359]

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[356] Karakaya-Stump, "The Forgotten Dervishes", 2-5; idem, "Subjects of the Sultan", 126. For the full list of Bektashi convents in places in Iraq, such as Baghdad, Kazimiyya, Karbala, Najaf, and Samarra, see her article, "the Forgotten Dervishes."

[357] Karakaya-Stump, "Kızılbaş, Bektaşi, Safavi Ilişkilerine Dair: Onyedinci Yüzyıldan Yeni Bir Belge," *Tuba* 30/11(2011): 121-123.

[358] Karakaya-Stump, "Kızılbaş, Bektaşi, Safavi Ilişkilerine," 128.

[359] Ms-198: 111b.

.....

Let's be Abdal in heart/ let's go to the glorious station at Karbala
Let's visit Dargah-i Najaf/ let's be intoxicated and have nine drinks

.....

IV. Dialogical Contextuality

There is close parallelism between the *Mecmuas* and the legal language of Ottoman *fatwas*[360] against the Qizilbash. Bakhtin, the linguistic philosopher, provides the theoretical foundation to conceptualize this parallelism between these two genres. According to him, language is not a neutral system of signs and symbols but a medium through which one participates in a historical flow of social relationships, struggles, and meanings.[361] His concepts of *polyphony* and *heteroglossia* are particularly helpful to understand how meanings are generated in both *Mecmuas* and *fatwas* in a responsive, but conflicting way with each other. The concept of *polyphony* means multiple voices in a single text, irreducible into a single perspective and not subordinated to the dominant voice of the author. Similarly, *heteroglossia* as an expansion of polyphony refers to multiple voices in a single speech.[362]

It is difficult to assess how the *fatwas* against the Qizilbash communities were enforced by the judicial officials of the 17th century, because of the scarcity of relevant documents. Court-registers (*Kadı-sicilleri*) and state registers of important affairs

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The lover of the path (*muhib*) should come here/ come to this dergah prostrating himself

.....

[360] In Islamic legal tradition, *fatwas* are religious decrees issued by religious scholars on various matters of private law and public law in addition to the questions on religious beliefs and practices. The one who issue a *fatwa* is called as *mufti*. The *fatwas* are non-binding legal advices to an individual questioner. The judges (*kadis*) did not always have to accept *fatwas* issued by *muftis*. They are of great significance for understanding the Ottoman legal worldview shaped by the Hanafi jurisprudence. In the Ottoman religious literature, *fatwa* collections usually include the precedent fatwas on ordinary matters and new *fatwas* issued by the contemporary *muftis* on unordinary matters. The *fatwa* collections also include *fatwas* on war and peace, taxation, the punishment of rebels, administrative measures and reforms, and the deposition of Sultan, but all of these *fatwas* were issued by the shaykh al-Islams. For the *fatwa* tradition in Islam, see Fahrettin Atar, "Fetva", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 487-496. For further information on Ottoman *fatwas* see Uriel Heyd, "Some Aspects of the Ottoman Fetva," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol.32 (1969):35-56; M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebusuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1972), 13-19.

[361] For Bakhtin's philosophy of language, see Eagleton, *Introduction*, 101-102, 106, 127, and 200.

[362] Michael Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoyevsky's Poetics*, Edited and Translated by Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minessota Press, 1984), esp. 51, 60-62, *Dialogical Imagination*, edited by Michael Holquist and Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1981), esp. 325-327.

(*mühimme defterleri*) published in this period are nearly completely silent on Qizilbash. There are only a few *fatwas* against Qizilbashes in this period. Theoretically, the *fatwas* issued by shaykh al-Islams had to be accepted and confirmed by their successors, even if the religious evidence for these rulings was dubious.[363] Therefore, there is no considerable difference between the *fatwa* collections of shaykh-al Islams in the 16th and 17th centuries. The 17th century *fatwa* collections[364] rarely included new *fatwas* on the Qizilbash.[365] This can be attributed to the decline in any sort of opposing movements initiated by the Qizilbash. The later available *fatwas* on the Qizilbash were given on occasions in which the Qizilbash were regarded as a political threat to the central authority and collected under the *fatwas* concerning the battlefield.[366] The collection of Şeyhülislam Esad Efendi (d. 1116/1704) includes one *fatwa* on the Qizilbashes.[367] According to this *fatwa*, the offenses of Qizilbashes under the query are described as cursing the people of the sunna and the community (*ahl al-sunna wa al-jamaat*), swearing at them during the the call to prayer (*adhan*), seeing people of *sunna* (*ahl al-sunna)* forty times inferior to Chrtistians and Jews (*ahl al-zimmi*), accepting the act of slaying people of *sunna as* equal to slaying 70 infidels (*kuffar*), having intercourse with female captives without marriage, reproaching 'Aisha with fornication, accusing the ones

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[363] Heyd, "Some Aspects", 44, 56.

[364] *Fetava-yı Esad Efendi, Behçetü'l-Fetava, Fetava-yı Abdürrahim Efendi, Fetava-yı Feyziyye and Fetava-yı Ali Efendi* were the ones of the most reliable *fatwa* collections until the end of the Ottoman Empire. They were collected in the 17th or the ealry 18th centuries. For introduction to each collection, see Şükrü Özen, "Osmanlı Döneminde Fetva Literatürü".

[365] *Fetava-yı Ali Efendi* does not have any section dealing with the status of *mürted*/apostate or the Qizilbash.

[366] In the Ottoman *fatwa* collections, *fatwas* concerning international affairs such as war, booty, captives, and fugitives were collected under the section of *kitab-ül siyer (Arab. kitab al-siyar).* Available *fatwas* on the Qizilbash were placed in this section of these collections not simply because of the religious heresy, but because of the political affiliation of the Qizilbash "heretics" with the Safavid representing *dar al- harb* (abode of war) against the Ottomans representing *dar al-Islam* (abode of Islam).

[367] Further examination remains to be done on the issue of correlation between the political setting and the anti-Qizilbash *fatwas* of the later centuries as in the previous centuries.

who accept Abu Bakr's right to caliphate as infidels, accusing the caliph Uthman of homosexuality and accepting the leadership of the Shah who even lost his faith in the Qur'an because of Uthman's leading role in the collection of the Qur'an, praising their soldiers fighting with the soldiers of Islam as martyrs or holy warriors, and considering the seventy-two sects of infidels and the four legal schools (*madhabs*) null. This *fatwa* advises that it is legal to fight against these people since they lived in the abode of war (*dar al-harb*). The juristic opinion advised by the Ottoman *fatwas* for apostates were either renewing their faith and marriage contracts or imprisonment until they return to the path. It is important to note that the *fatwas* on the apostasy of Qizilbash were given in the context of war. Therefore, being affiliated with the Qizilbash was seen as not only religious offense, but also political betrayal. Therefore, for the Qizilbash men, the punishment was execution. In the war conditions, their material belongings, and wives and children were legally allowed to be taken by the state officials. If the captive women of the Qizilbash came back to Islam, Muslim men could approach (i.e. to have intercourse with) them by the oath of property not by marriage contract. If they do not, these (slave) women were not allowed to the Muslims via either marriage or property contract.[368]

The *kitab-ül siyer* of Şeyhülislam *Abdürrahim Efendi* (d. 1128/1716) does not

[368] Şeyhülislam Esad Efendi, *Fetava-yı Esad Efendi*. no.157, İstanbul Müftülüğü, 74b-75a. Similarly, in *Behçet'ül Fetava*, consisting of fatwas issued by Shaykh al-Islam Yenisehirli Abdullah Efendi (d.1743), there are a couple of fatwas given on the offences of Qizilbash, but they were called as *refaviz-i acem* (the heretics of Iran). For these fatwas, see Şeyhülislam Yenisehirli Abdullah Efendi, *Behçet'ül Fetava*, ed. Suleyman Kaya, Betul Algin, Zeyneb Trabzonlu, Asuman Erkan (Istanbul: Klasik, 2011), 195-197. Like other collections, *Fetava-yı Feyziyye*, collecting the fatwas of Shaykh al-Islam Feyzullah Efendi (1639-1703), includes a couple of fatwas. Of them, the most striking one is given aganist kurdish bandits who shared the beliefs of *revafiz-i acem* in the borders of Ottoman land. This *fatwa* suggests that since they did not live in the land of infidels, army struggle is not legal aganist them, but the punishment for apostate is to be applied to this group. For this fatwa and a few others, see Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi, *Fetava-yi Feyziyye*, ed. Suleyman Kaya (Istanbul: Klasik, 2009), 129-130. I want to thank to Prof. Şükrü Özen for bringing *Behçet'ül Fetava and Fetava-yı Feyziyye* to my attention for the said fatwas on the Qizilbash communities.

contain any specific *fatwas* on Qizilbash, included *fatwas* on *mürteds* (apostates) and their punishment. The established juristic opinion for the *mürted* is renewal of their faith and marriage contracts, but if they do not repent, they are to be detained until they return to Islam.[369] The conditions concerning apostate were not restricted to oral testimony. If a person curses the faith or the legal school (without any intention to desert the religion) or trifles with the ruling of the *shariat*, s/he is to be charged with apostasy. But if anyone curses either Prophet Muhammad or the Four Caliphs and brings forth the slander against 'Aisha, this person is to be executed.

Similar to the aforementioned *fatwas* against the Qizilbash, the *Mecmuas* employ an exclusivist language against the outsiders. These outsiders were the ones who are not initiated in the path of Muhammad and Ali. For example, on the account of Shaykh Safi, it is advised that if a Mu'min[370] meets a hypocrite, he must repent before having intercourse with his wife. Or, if a Yazid[371] sees a Muslim woman's [372] face or any part of her body, she must repent before approaching to her husband. Otherwise, "they both will be like sleeping with a pig."[373] The *Menakıb* copies use the term apostate or apostate of *the tarikat* for the ones who returned from the path after they paid allegiance to the spiritual master.[374] Comparing apostates of *shariat* with those of *tarikat*, Ms-1172 says, according to the *shariat*, the punishment for the offense of apostasy is to recite the word

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[369]Abdürrahim Efendi Menteşizade, *Fetava-yı Abdürrahim, vol.1* (İstanbul:Darü't-Tıbaati'l-Ma'mure, 1243), 70, 71, 90.

[370] *Mu'min* literally means the one who has faith, but in the *Mecmuas* refers to the man of the (Qizilbash /Alevi) path.

[371] Yazid is the Ummayyad caliph who killed Imam Husayn, the grandson of Prophet Muhammad alongside with his family. In all *Mecmuas*, his name is used as a generic title or attribute for the enemies of the descendants of the Prophet. There is also a poem attributed to Hatayi cursing Yezid in Ms-198: 128a.

[372] Muslim literally refers to the one who submits to the Islamic faith, but here means the woman of the path.

[373] Ms-1172: 60a.

[374] For the concept of *mürted-i tarikat*, see Ms-199: 98a. Here, the copyist admonishes the members of the community to marry a woman from Yazid or share the food with people of Yazid. In Ms-198, 91a, *tarikat-ı mürted* is also described as the one who does not hide the secrets of the path.

of confession (which is defined as "there is no god, but God, and Muhammad is the messenger of God and Ali is the wali (friend) of God), but those guilty of apostasy on the path of *tarikat* cannot be forgiven solely based on this confession.[375] Similar to the Ottoman *fatwas* on apostasy, *Mecmuas* advise the *mürted* of *tarikat* to renew their faith (*tecdid-i iman*) and seek repentance in the presence of the mürşid to be accepted to the Convent again.[376] On the other hand, similar to the Ottoman *fatwas* on the Qizilbash heresy, the punishment for apostate of the *tarikat* is expanded to the point of either the confiscation of the material belongings or execution. [377]

Responding the *fatwas* advising the appropriation of Qizilbash women, an anonymously written poem of Ms-198 lyrically narrates the story of a (Qizilbash) girl appropriated by the ones who force her family to convert to the religion of Musa[378] and later emancipated with the payment of 100 *akçe* by a descendant of the Prophet (*seyyid*). The excerpts from this poem given below show best how the Qizilbash community perceived such a tragic event.

> Calling out the Huda (God) you are heard
> At thousand times you are said to convert from religion
> (It is) said come to the religion of Musa
> (It is) heard that "give your daughter and take your wealth"
> Poor, when he heard this word
> He fell down and lost his reason
> ... the fire of poor I am to be burnt with
> I am to return from religion, God forbid! for the sake of this world
> .... for the sake of your path I sacrifice my life
> In the hereafter, may God (Hak Huda) show mercy
> Muhammad's religion is the right religion

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[375] Ms-1172: 77b.

[376] "*Eğer bir talib evliya nefesini kabul etmese ve diğerleri de ona yanlış yapıyorsun demese o dergahdan sürgün olur. Safi diyor ki ama tecdidi iman getüre ve mürshidi emirin yerine yetüre andan sonra günahı yerliğine yargılanub mağfur ola ve evliya dergahında makbul ola (Ms-181-Ms-198)*"

[377] Ms-198: 76b; Ms-181: 32a-32b. "*Canu baş kıymak gerek veya mala kıymak gerek ki iş temiz ola ve sağ ola.*"

[378] "The religion of Musa" might refer to the religious understanding that favors the outer dimensions of religion over its inner dimensions.

I wish that the ones who come on the right path do not break the allegiance
.....
Oh my father and my mother hold me
Hold my hands and sell my flesh in the marketplace
Say (to them) she reached the age of puberty
Hide the price of my selling only for the sake of religion
I said this is my situation
If God (*Hayy la-Yanam* the Living, the one does not sleep) looks, He knows it
.....
...A hero heard the saying of the girl
.....
Oh the light of my eyes
That you are the lover of the lover of the God (Hak)
I made a mistake I did not know my duty
Prostrating myself I did not serve you

Now your mother and father suffer
From crying they shed blood instead of tears
.....
Muhammad came to my dream
The Prophet made a wish on you from me,
I emancipated you for the sake of him
Do not say I was far from home
May I send you with offering and kindness
May you reach your mother
.....
I had given 1000 fluris[379]and made you a close friend of mine
I will give 100 (fluris) more for the sake of the Habib (The Prophet)
.....
100 golds be an allowance to you so take it
Set off on the journey to your home. [380]

Another discursive interaction of *Mecmuas* with the Ottoman fatwas, which specifically accuse the Qizilbashes of swearing and cursing the Four Caliphs and 'Aisha, can be found in narratives of *Mecmuas* on Abu Bakr, 'Uthman, and Aisha. According to these narratives that are only found in Ms-198 and Ms-199, Abu Bakr ate the ceremonial meal (*lokma*) belonging to Ali in a ritual assembly. This allegoric narrative was interpreted as Abu Bakr being the first usurper of Ali's right to the caliphate. For the sake

[379] *Fluri* (Fr. Florin): a gold coin, a ducat, sequin, *Osmanli flurisi*: An Ottoman gold piece of the older time.
[380] Ms-198: 103b-106a. For the full version of this poem in Turkish, see Appendix II.

of this meal, he had a son who was to kill his sister 'Aisha and 'Uthman. In these narratives, 'Aisha was portrayed as the one who was not immune from the blazes of hell, and as the one who was cursed.[381] In Ms-199, these names were written only in the first letter ('ayn for Abu Bakr and 'ayn for 'Aisha, for instance) most likely because of the high risk of persecution associated with parallel narratives in the Ottoman realm. On the other hand, considering that Muhammad and Ali were written with mim and 'ayn respectively throughout the entire Ms-199, the reason for writing the first letters of proper names might have been the influence of Hurufism that put the utmost emphasis on the significance of letters.

Conclusion

It is naïve to assume that religious groups can survive without conforming themselves to the newly occurring circumstances. This chapter has shown that the intended communities of the *Mecmuas* were no exception to the natural course of history that exists as a discursive reality bound in time and space. The dialogical contextuality of the *Mecmuas* reveals the survival of Safavid affiliated communities as mystical communities with distinctive socio-legal dimensions. While this chapter has analyzed the socio-legal dimensions, the following chapter will deal with their spiritual dimensions.

My analysis suggests that rituals create a transient space not only between the heavenly world and this world, but also between the Central Convent and the Sunni dominant space. Such a transient space through rituals helped the intended communities

[381] Ms-199: 99b-101b, 103a; Ms-198: 99b. In both Sunni and Shi'i sources, there is no historical evidence of these narratives. They are pseudo-historical narratives that emerge not only as a natural result of prolonged oral transmission, but also product of new political circumstances. For the cursing practice of the Safavids, a Safavid chronicler Junabadi reports that rulers before Shah Ismail were not able to curse the first three caliphs and the Umayyads. Junabadi, p. 22-30, cited in Ayse Baltacioglu's "Safavid Confession Propoganda," 98.

of the *Mecmuas* to maintain their distinctive religious identities. These situational and temporary spaces served religious, communal as well as legal demands of Qizilbash communities. Despite the supposed decline in relationship between Safavids and the Qizilbash communities, the reference to the Central Convent in a far place proves the enduring connection between Safavids and these communities, though the nature of this relationship with the Shah is not always clear in available historical sources. To satisfactorily account for the nature of the relations between Anatolian Qizilbash and Safavids in the end of the 17^{th} century, further studies are yet to be done in the light of new emerging sources from the community or archival sources.

Chapter 5: Religious Texture of the *Mecmuas*

The available works concerning the Qizilbash/Alevi religious teachings and practices have often used the outside sources, which were mostly written against the path. For the Qizilbash-Alevi religiosity, scholars of Islamic studies have often searched for its origin in non-Islamic grounds. They tend to relate the Alevi interpretations of Islam to the beliefs and practices of previous religions including Zoroastrianism, Shamanism, and Christianity. This approach attributes negative connotations to the religious practices of Alevis, such as painting them as primitive and vulgar. Moosa's book entitled *Extremist Shi'i Sects* is a modern type of scholarship on the Qizilbash/Alevi tradition alongside other Muslim minorities of the Near East. He defines the Bektashis and the Alevis as one of the *Ghulat* sects based on Christian missionary reports, the treatise written by Ishaq Efendi in the late 19th century and the Turkish nationalist scholarship of the early 20th-century.[382] Disregarding the dynamic and complex relationship between the Bektashis and Alevis, he also treats these groups the same. Moosa argues that the *ghulat* and some proto-Shi'i writers considered Prophet Muhammad and Ali as pre-existential beings and concomitantly one and the same person. By taking these accounts too much at face value,

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[382] Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse University Press, 1988), 37-40. In response to the accusations similar to those in the treatise of Ishaq Efendi, Ahmet Rifat Efendi wrote a treatise entitled *Mir'atul Mekasid fi def'il-mefasid* wherein he described the basic principles and practices of the Bektashi order. For the modern Turkish transliteration of his treatise, see Ahmet Rıfat Efendi, *Gerçek Bektaşilik*, Istanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2007. For the Bektashi idea of Wahdat al-wujud, Rıfat Efendi said, "O the seeker of the mysterious path! From the mentioned explanation about all beings, it should not be drawn that all beings are God. God forbid! This is contrary to reason. Believe that all beings are not God. Necessary Being (*Wajib al-Wujud)* is only God. According to the people of Allah (*ahl al-Allah*) referring to the friends of God, all beings cannot exist by themselves. Hence, the existence of all beings is based upon God. Do not assume that all beings are the Reality. Ones who do not understand this meaning imagine groundlessly (p. 76)." For the status of Ali in the Bektashi order of his time, he also said, "The following saying of Imam Ali, 'the dot beneath the letter Ba refers to me' points out the perfect man who embodies all the attributes of God and all existing beings; either he is a friend of God or a prophet. The reality of Muhammad is the reason and essence of creation. But this reality is not contrary to the reality of Ali because all perfect human beings represent the essence of creation and they are embodied in existence." p.78).

explained and guided by the bare analysis of the earliest religious discourses without historical criticism and applying them to Alevi and Bektashi paths, Moosa claims that Alevis and Bektashis believe in "a trinity of God, Muhammad, and Ali as a composite."[383] "Ali and Muhammad are considered to be two names of the same person. They are identified with God as the Divine Reality."[384]

From the perspective of religious studies, Dressler offers a critical framework for the analysis of differences between Alevism and Sunni Islam. By criticizing the adaptations of the Western dichotomic conceptions of religions/cultures/traditions by local scholars, he suggests that analytical concepts such as heterodoxy and orthodoxy should be used in a discursive manner as indicators of religio-political power relations within particular contexts.[385]

Other scholars of the field have adapted Redfield's anthropological theory of religion that all religions are divided into "great tradition" and "little tradition". The great tradition is the orthodox form of the cultural\religious center and that of urban elite. It is "consciously cultivated and handed down". The little tradition is the heterodox form of the cultural and religious periphery. It is practiced by ordinary people in daily life and incorporates many elements of local beliefs and practices. The little tradition is not subject to improvement and is taken for granted.[386] These two traditions are

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[383] Moosa, *Extremist Shiites*, 50, 53, 57.
[384] Moosa, ibid., *xiii*-xxiii, 50.
[385] Dressler offers a comprehensive analysis of the nationalist writings on Alevis in the early Republic era based on the notion of Turkishness and the secular interpretation of Islam. See Marcus Dressler, *Writing Religion: The Making of Turkish Alevi Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 78-113. For the overview of the history of Alevis in Turkish Republic, see Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, "Ataturk and the Alevis: A Holy Alliance?" in *Turkey's Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview*, ed. Paul J White and Joost Jongerden (Boston: Brill, 2003), 54-69.
[386] Ronald A. Lukens-Bull, "Between Text and Practice: Considerations in the Anthropological Study of Islam," in *Defining Islam*, edited by Andrew Rippin (Oakville: Equinox, 2007), 40.

interdependent, "yet ever flowing into and out of each other".[387]As a result, most scholars did not adequately explain the complex relationship of the Qizilbash-Alevi path with the larger Islamic tradition and the contextuality of this path over the time.

Being critical of the binary classifications in anthropological studies of religion, Asad argues, "Islamic discursive tradition is simply a tradition of Muslim discourse that addresses itself to conceptions of the Islamic past and future with reference to a particular Islamic practice in the present."[388] Asad's view of Islam as a discursive tradition provides an important conceptual framework for the contextuality of diverse experiences of Muslims and their relationship with the Islamic past. The Qizilbash tradition is a good example of discursive practices in Islamic tradition since the trajectory of the Qizilbash tradition was embedded in particular political and cultural circumstances without losing its bond with the early history of Islam, though its relationship with the past is not always conventional.

Hodgson offers a historical classification of the forms of piety from the 13th to the late 15th centuries in Turco-Persian territories. He mentions three tendencies of Muslim piety in this period: *shariat*-minded, concerned with the outward behavior and legalized by the *ulema*; mystical minded, concerned with the inward dimensions of personal spiritual life and guided by Sufi pirs; 'Alid loyalism with its chiliastic vision. The 'Alid loyalism was sometimes merged with the *sharia*-minded piety of the Shi'ites and was sometimes interrelated with Sufism. It never became an independent force outside the *shariat* or a competitor of Sufism.[389] Recent scholarship has also shown that 'Alid

[387] Lukens-Bull, "Between Text and Practice," 41.
[388] Talad Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam*, (Washington: Center for Arabic Studies: George Washington University, 1986), 14-15.
[389] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam, vol. II*, 203-204, 214-215.

loyalism was more integrated with Sufism than with the Twelver Shi'ism in the contexts of pre- and early Ottoman Anatolia and pre-Safavid Iran.[390]

When the religious content of the *Mecmuas* is concerned, the central religious theme of the *Mecmuas* is the unity of prophethood (*nubuwwat)* and sainthood (*wilayat)* exemplified by Prophet Muhammad and Ali respectively, as reflected in the description of the Qizilbash path as the path of Muhammad-Ali.[391] As pointed out by Ricoeur, religious language has a meaning of its own and its meanings are ruled by modes of articulation specific to each mode of religious discourse.[392] The unity of Muhammad-Ali was expressed throug hagiographic descriptions of many historical events and traditions in both Sunni and Shi'i collections. Therefore, one must bear in mind that there is a close correlation between the Qizilbash religious discourse and its symbolic narratives.

The main characteristics of Qizilbash religiosity consist of *Ahl al-Bayt* (lit. household of the Prophet) devotionalism,[393] and futuwwat-Sufism. In terms of the relationship between the *shariat* and *tarikat*, the *Mecmuas* do not reflect a single religious discourse since they include religious narratives that contain both integrative and dualistic attitudes toward religion. This chapter aims to understand these aspects of the Qizilbash path.

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[390] For further information on the religious fluidity of medieval Iran before the Safavids, see Judith Pfeiffer, "Confessional Ambiguity vs. Confessional Polarization,"; for the loose lines between Sunnis and Shi'is in Anatolia before the Mongolian period, see Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey,* 258-60; on the religious fluidity of pre-Ottoman Anatolia, see Ahmet Karamustafa, "Haci Bektaş Veli ve Anadolu'da Müslümanlar,"; idem, "Kaygusuz Abdal, A Medieval Turkish Saint"; Riza Yıldırım, "Sunni Orthodoxy vs Shi'ite Heterodoxy?" viii-xxvii.

[391] Ms-1172: 11b-12a. Here, Muhammad and Ali are seen as the two halves of the whole in many ways. For example, they are two halves of the Divine Light. Muhammad is the man of morals (*hulk*) and Ali is the man of generosity and bravery (*muruvvet*).

[392] Paul Ricoeur, *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative and Imagination*, trans. David Pellauer, ed. Mark I. Wallace (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 39.

[393] In scholarship, this form of piety has been defined with various terms, such as '*Alidism* (referring to simple loyalty to the house of Ali), '*Alid* loyalism, pro-Shi'i tendency, *ahl-al baytism*, '*Alid* philism, or *Alawism*. So, I will use them interchangeably henceforth.

I. *Ahl al-Baytism*

Before the rising of the Safavid-Ottoman struggle, the historical practice of religiosity represented by many Sunnis and Shi'is in Turco-Persian landscape proves the confessional fluidity associated with this form of piety. For example, Kashifi (d. 910/1504–05) was the author of the *Rawzat al-Shuhada* (The Garden of Martyrs) and the *futuwwat* text,[394] which highly reflect his devotion to the *Ahl-i Bayt* and adaptation of the Shi'i themes, though he was a Naqshibandi Sufi and a Sunni.[395] Khunji, whose anti-Safavid ideas are mentioned above, has a poem in praise of the Twelve Imams.[396] The religious epic literature revolving around Abu Muslim, the heroic character of the Abbasid revolution, was another example of loose boundaries between Sunnis and Shi'is before Safavids. The compilers of Abu Muslim epic designated the partisans of the *Ahl-i Bayt* and the Abbasid faction as Sunni and accordingly the partisans of the Umayyads as Kharijites. Predictably, this epic literature was banned with the establishment of the Safavid Shi'i orthodoxy because of the confessional uncertainty linked to the Abu Muslim cult.[397]

The *Mecmuas* provides many examples of *Ahl-al Bayt* devotionalism in poem and prose. The following poem attributed to Kul Himmet is one of several poems expressing his love and grief for Shah Husayn, the grandson of the Prophet and the son of Imam Ali.

> You are the master of the worlds/ Oh Husayn, Shah Husayn
> You are the master of martyrs / Oh Husayn, Shah Husayn
> Hasan is the beloved of Husayn/The light of Muhammad's eyes
> Also, the successor of Ali/ Oh Husayn, Shah Husayn

[394] For a further discussion on his *futuwwat* text, see Chapter 2.
[395] Calmard, "Popular Literature under the Safavids," 327; Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia*, 49.
[396] Said Amir Arjomand, "Ghuluww, Sufism, and Sunnism," 30.
[397] Calmard, "Popular Literature," 319-320.

.....
Kul Himmet! Inform us from the friend/A nightingale sings from the cage
Both roses and the garden of roses cry/ Oh Husayn, Shah Husayn [398]

The available narratives in the *Mecmuas* also demonstrate the centrality of *Ahl al-Baytism* over the Qizilbash religiosity. The *Mecmua* manuscripts include "the Sermon on the Twelve Imams," which narrates the intercessory powers of Twelve Imams in the context of the prophetic history and praises their virtues. In a narrative concerning the origin of religious teachings, the *Menakıb* establishes a 'historical' link between the intended community and the path exemplified by Prophet Muhammad and Ali. Accordingly, on the last days of his life, the Prophet bequeathed Ali the requirements of *tarikat*, which were revealed to him by Gabriel. He said: "Now, *shariat* is for the Prophets and *tarikat* is for the friends of God. *Marifat* is to join their paths; *hakikat* is the stage of union, which means being the Truth with the Truth. Thus, we will give you these germs as a bequest. They are pearl-corals for our companions who are part of the special ummah (*ümmet-i has*) and the true believers (*mümin-i pak itikat*). The narrative continues that on behalf of the followers of the path, the Prophet prayed, "May the real lovers of the path be raised under our flag on the Day of Resurrection; May they not be excluded from

[398] Ms-198: 113a-b. The full version of his poetry in Turkish is as follows:
Alemlerin serversin / Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin
Şehidlerin serdarısın/ Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin
Hasan Hüseyin'in yarı / Muhammed gözü nuru
Hem Ali'nin yadigarı/ Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin
... oldu İmam Zeynel/Muhammet Bakır'dan evvel
..dini yanalım gel gel/ Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin
İmam Cafer'dir yârimiz/ Musa-i Kâzim mirimiz
.. şemme icinde nurumiz/ Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin
İmam Rıza ilim hüner/ Muhammet Taki el sunar
Hüseyniler denüb yanar/ Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin
Ali Naki, Hasan Asker/Muhammet Mehdi şer-defter
İmamların Seyyidi ekberdir/ Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin
(Kul) Himmet haber var dosttan /Bir bülbül öter kafesten
Hem gül ağlar, hem gülistan/ Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

our intercession." In his presence, Ali immediately wrote down the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and compiled them into a book. This book was transferred to Shaykh Safi through his descendants.[399]

The last will of the Prophet privately given to Ali is commonly reported in both Sunni and Shi'i traditional sources albeit it with alternative interpretations in Sunni tradition. On his deathbed, Prophet Muhammad asked his companions to bring paper to write a statement so that they would not go astray. But 'Umar prevented them from writing that statement because he was seriously ill.'[400] It seems that the tragic ambiguity and frustration of the early Muslim community over the death of the Prophet was overcome with the esoteric speculation of some 'Alid groups on successorship. Their esoteric notion, as explained by Hodgson, was that "Ali had received secret teachings from Muhammad for which most of the first Muslims were not qualified."[401] The copyists of the *Mecmuas* must have adapted this esoteric notion as many Sufi-linked groups assimilated it into their own traditions.

Regarding the supreme status of Ali and Muhammad among all the created beings, the letter in Ms-181 and Ms-199 provides a narrative similar to the story of Adam's journey in heaven given in "the Sermon on the Twelve Imams" (see Chapter 2). According to this letter, Prophet Muhammad and 'Ali were created of the one Light, which is the Divine light, before creation. These two lights, represented by Muhammad and Ali, were hold inside a lantern in the heavenly realm. All spirits were created out of these two lights. After Gabriel was created, he was tested on his subjecthood before God,

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[399] Ms-198: 15a-15b; Ms-181: 8b, Ms-199: 48a. Ms-1172 includes an abridged version of this narrative and does not directly refer to Shaykh Safi as the one who transmitted these teachings from the descendants to the current community. For this version, see Ms-1172: 57a.
[400] Moojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam,* 15-16.
[401] Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. II, 203-204, 214-215.

he failed to do so until he was taught by the white light (of Ali) to say "You are My god, I am your servant". [402]

A well-known hadith "I and Ali are of one Light" is seemingly a reference source of 'the light in the lantern' narrative. Besides this narrative, Ms-198 offers an anonymous poem quoted below exalting Ali as the eternal being, the first being and the one who met with Muhammad on the road to the Miraj.

> The one who is the love of the *mürebbi*, the love of the *musahib*
> It is Ali whose love is deep down in my heart
> The one who is the ancestor of lovers, the head of my soul
> It was Ali who saw from the eternal and met
> It was the one who came first to the whole world
> It was Ali who came last to the whole world
> The one who touched the hand of Muhammad in the divine throne
> It was Ali who saw and met with Muhammad
> It was Ali who became the lion on the path to Miraj
> It was the one who got the signet from its mouth and went
> It was the one who came to the forty and was united with them
> It was Ali who found a sign over the sign [403]

The aforementioned depiction of Ali draws parallels with proto-Shi'i narratives. In the earliest copy of these proto-Shi'i works, referring to the verse in the Qur'an (53:10), "he revealed to his servant what he revealed," Qummi (d. 902-903) explains the intimate conversation scene in which God informs Muhammad about Ali's exalted status.

> (Ja'far Sadiq) reported that the Messenger of God said, "My lord caused me to travel by night. *He revealed to me-from behind a veil- what he revealed, and he spoke to me* (Q 53:10, 42:51). Among what he said to me was the following:

[402] Ms-181: 55a-55b, Ms-199: 140b-144b. It is important to remind that Anatolian cultural milieu had been familiar with a parallel version of this narrative before the Safavids through the poetry of Yemini, one of the seven prominent poets known in the Alevi-Bektashi literature. For the narrative on the light in the lantern in Yemini's poetry, see Gölpınarlı, *Alevi-Bektasi Nefesleri*, 114.
[403] Ms-198: 142a.

> 'Muhammad, Ali is the first, and 'Ali is the first, and 'Ali is the last, and *he is all things most knowing* (Q 57:3). I said, 'My Lord, is that not you? Is that not you? He replied, 'Muhammad, I am God, there is no God, but me... O Muhammad, I am God, there is no God but me. I am the First... I am the Manifest... I am the Hidden... I am God... (But) O Muhammad, Ali is the first: the first of the imams who accepted my covenant. O Muhammad, 'Ali is the last: the last of the imams whose soul I will seize... O Muhammad, Ali is the hidden: I will hide in him the secret that I kept secret with you. No secret between us will be kept from Ali.[404]

This passage does not necessarily show the divinity of Ali, rather it reflects Ali's high status among all the created beings.[405] Similarly, the above cited poem of Ms-198 should be interpreted as a poetic expression of Ali's supreme status alongside the Prophet, rather than as a sign of his deification.

It is also noteworthy that the representation of Ali as a lion recalls the standard interpretation of the lion as an attribute of Imam Ali in both Shi'i and proto-Shi'i groups.[406] Moreover, the representation of Ali as a lion in the context of the Miraj must have been inherited from the accompanying texts of early Safavid ascension paintings that first depicted Ali as a lion in the Miraj context in order to support the Shi'i idea of the revelation of Ali's successorship to the Prophet during Miraj.[407] Besides the said

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[404] Frederick Colby, "The Early Imami Shi'i Narratives and Contestation Over Intimate Colloquy Scenes in Muhammad's Miraj," In *The Prophet's Ascension: Cross-Cultural Encounters With The Islamic Mi'raj Tales*, eds. Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010), 144.

[405] Ibid.

[406] For more information about the symbol of lion in Islamic Anatolia, see Thierry Zarcone, "The Lion of Ali in Anatolia: History, Symbolism and Iconology," in *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shiism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, ed. by Pedram Khosronejad (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 104-105. In his article, Zarcone uses the term crypto-Shi'is for '*Alid* groups in Anatolia. Actually, I found this terminology problematic because of its two-fold connotation: first, deviation from the Twelver Shi'ism; second, the understanding of pro-Shi'i groups as part of normative Shi'ism in the disguise of Sufism.

[407] Christiane Gruber, "When Nubuvvat Encounters Valayat: Safavid Paintings of The Prophet Muhammad's Mi'raj. C. 1500-50," in *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shiism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shi'i Islam*, ed. by Pedram Khosronejad (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 47, 49. The representation of Ali as a lion in the miraj is found in the earliest divans (formal collections of poetry) attributed to Shah Ismail. But this poetry mentions the miraj as a subject of allusion rather than a complete narrative. For this poetry, see Gallagher, "Shah Isma'il Safevi and the Mi'raj: Hatai'i Vision of a Sacred Assembly," 315.

poem, there is no other reference to the Miraj in the context of the appointment of Ali as the Prophet's successor in the *Mecmuas*.

As for the appointment of Ali as the successor, the narrative known as the *Ghadir Khumm* is offered in three copies of the *Menakıb* with different emphases (see Chapter 2 for these narratives). The ultimate goal of this appointment is not to simply show who is going to lead the community after the Prophet's death, but to demonstrate the unity between Muhammad and Ali as expressed through the conjoined body of Muhammad and Ali at the end of the appointment. [408] Based on this narrative, it is claimed that the *Mecmuas* reflect the direct influence of Shi'i propaganda of Safavids via *futuwwat* texts.[409] But this argument remains incomplete due to the lack of further textual evidence of the connection between Shi'ism and the Qizilbash religiosity beyond *Ahl-al Bayt*ism. This issue requires further critical studies of these texts in comparison.

Referring to the famous Hadith, "my ummah will split into seventy-three sects, all of whom will be in Hell except one group," [410] in the Sunni version, the Hadith continues: "They said: Who are they, O Messenger of Allah? He said: " Those that I and my companions follow." The *Menakıb* says that from seventy-three groups, the only saved group are those who will annihilate the self-impulses and follow his descendants in the

[408] Ms-198: 46a-48b; Ms-181:17b-18b, Ms-199:68b. 172 does not refer to the Ghadir Khumm as the context of the spiritual companionship, but offers a parallel narrative that Muhammad and Ali wore the cloak brought by Gabriel after the farewell pilgrimage and both appeared in the same body with a single head in three stages. For the full version, see Ms-1172: 32a. For the details of this narrative, see Chapter 1.
[409] Gölpınarlı, *İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı ve Kaynakları*, 46, 56. While Gölpınarlı argues that *Futuwwa-names* of Gaybi and Razavi adopted Twelver Imam Shi'i elements such as praising the Twelve Imams and *Ghadir Khumm* narrative, he mentions that their adoptation of these elements is artificial and reflects the characteristics of *ghuluww* and *batiniyya*. Then, he further argues that Razavi's *Futuwwa-name* seems to have served as the propaganda text of the Safavid state.
[410] The Sunni version of this hadith has been widely referred by Sunni scholars to support their theological points of view against "innovative" groups, mostly Shi'is,

tarikat.[411] This interpretation is also shaped by *Ahl-al Baytism* that merged with Sufi elements instead of rigid confessional classifications widely found in the medieval Muslim literature.

Were the Shahs perceived as deities or incarnations of Ali? The narratives of prose in the *Mecmuas* do not include such expressions or connotations, but the poetry attributed to Hatayi, the penname of Shah Ismail, includes various expressions that can be interpreted as his divinity at their face value. For example, in the following poem of Hatayi, he says,

> Now we do not give secrets to the outsiders
> We should hide the morals of the saints
> The followers of Imam Ja'far are we
> Our meeting becomes the secret
> We die before we die/ the one who reaches the soul becomes the soul
> This is the first and the last
> ...
> Infidelity is the same in each *madhab*
> It becomes the faith here
> No space for haughtiness and resentment in it
> Not possible to be both 'I' and 'you'
> Killing a man does not cause blood
> Killing the inner self causes blood
> ...
> Shah Hatayi says I am the soul
> In the council of God (Hak) I am fettered
> You are inside you I am inside me
> Neither you nor I is there [412]

In the last couplet of a poem, Hatayi says, "Hatayi says the one who kill his carnal self becomes the Truth (God)". [413] In another poem, he says,

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[411] Ms-199: 71a.
[412] Ms-181: 34b; Ms-198:89b-90a.
[413] Ms-181: 35b; Ms-198: 92a.

I am existent before the heavens and the earths
I am existent inside the house of God since eternity
Since eternity I knew his secrets and he knew mine
Because of this reason, I am both the secret and the keeper of the secret
I donned the cloth of Adam no one knew my secret
.....
The judges peeled my skin similar to the followers of Husayn
In the gallows of Mansur I am the gallows of *Ana-l Haqq* (I am the Truth)
Hatayi says I know the Truth is the one without doubt
That is the One who created me, I resembled Him. [414]

The poetry attributed to Hatayi has been interpreted as textual evidence for Shah Ismail's self-claimed divinity. By taking poetic expressions too literally in the pseudo-Hatayi poetry, Shah Ismail was seen as a reincarnation of Ali and divine.[415] In a Shah Ismail's poem quoted by Savory, Shah Ismail said, "I am very God, very God, very God! Come now, O blind man who has lost the path, behold the Truth! I am that Agens Absolutus of whom they speak."[416] Moreover, in a Qizilbash battle cry, a follower of Shah Ismail said, "My spiritual leader and master, for whom I sacrifice myself (*kurban olduğim pirum mürşidim*). This was interpreted as "the king's claim to be venerated as a divine being" by Roemer.[417]

These poems can be interpreted as a clue to his deification or the ecstatic utterances of *tawhid* (the unity of God). As previously mentioned, one of the major themes in the poetry of the *Mecmuas* is the Sufi idea of *wahdat-al vujud* (the unity of being). In this idea, every created being in the universe is the manifestation of God. The ones who reach the level of perfect human being can experience the unity of being. The

[414] Ms-198: 129a. This poem is only found in Ms-198.
[415] Vladimir Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shah Ismail I," 1006a-1053a. For detailed analysis of the original diwan attributed to him and the pseudo-Hatayi poetry later attributed to him after his death for ritual purposes, see Gallagher, "The Fallible Master of Perfection," 112-178.
[416] See Savory, *Iran*, 23. For other examples of the pseudo-Hatayi poetry, see Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shah Isma'il".
[417] Roemer, *The Safavid Period*, 214. He does not cite the source of this information.

parallel expressions of self-glorification are found in the poetry of Yunus Emre, the most famous exemplar of the Anatolian mystic-poetry. For example, in one poem, Yunus Emre says, "I am the eternal/I am the everlasting/I am the One who is the soul of the souls/... /I am the One who makes it snow, I am the One who freezes/ I am the one who gives sustenance to animals/ Know this, I am the One who is All-Compassionate and All-Merciful to the creatures."[418] Apparently, the idea of *wahdat-al wujud* similarly played a central role in the poetry of Hatayi. Thus, such expressions in Hatayi's poetry cannot be seen as the evidence of self-divinity, but rather utterances of intoxicated love with the ultimate unity of God in the stage of *hakikat* as seen in his following poem.

I drank the wine of lovers (so) I became the Truth
I putted on the cloth made of (divine) power (so) I became pure
I reached the name of the Truth (so) I also became the Truth
Because of this I proposed the death (or I am not afraid of death)

The one who drinks the wine of the lover is swerving
The one who serves the forty is aggressive
The one (is) submissive to Shah İsmail
May Lord protect His servant who is the Imam.[419]

In addition to Hatayi's poetry, there is a eulogy for Shah Tahmasb attributed to the poet known as Bisati. In this poem, Bisati identified each Imam from Ali to the Mahdi, or the Twelfth Imam as Shah Tahmasb, he says, "To Bisati you are the Truth,

[418] Zekeriya Başkal, *Yunus Emre*, 62. The Turkish version of this line begins with "Evvel benem ahir benem canlara can olan benem."
[419] Ms-181: 16b, Ms-198: 43b-44a. In the version of this poem in Ms-198, the couple declaring Hatayi's union with God is omitted. For another example of Hatayi's poetry that expresses the idea of union with God as a result of self-negation, see Ms-181: 35b, Ms-198: 92a.

Oh the Truth is the guide (*rehnüma*) / You are the power of the secret of Huda (the one who guides) (*Kudret-i Sırrı Hüdasın*), Shah Dehmaz Pir Shah."[420]

Similar to Hatayi, Shah Tahmasb's followers was accused of venerating him as a divine figure.[421] But in one of the few available European accounts left by a Venetian messenger who spent a considerable time at the court of Shah Tahmasb, the Shah was not depicted as a divine figure, but rather as a charismatic leader combining both political and spiritual powers. The most interesting is the story of a Turk of Anatolia who was able to get one of the Shah's turban-cloths with extra effort even though they were only given to those in the Shah's favor. Membre said, "I asked him what the cloth was good for, and he told me that it was a *tabarruk*, that is, an object of beneficial effect; and having a sick father at home, he has seen the said Shah in a dream; and for that reason he wished for the cloth, for his father's contentment, that he would be well."[422] As seen in this account, Bisati's exalting expressions on Tahmasb can be seen as the high reverence toward Shah Tahmasb as a Shaykh-like figure.

II. *Futuwwat*-Sufism

Babayan argues that, in the early Qizilbash Islam, Sufism was intermingled with the *ghuluww*, putting emphasis on the "common belief in unitive fusion (*ittihat)* and the incarnation of part or all of the divine in humans (*hulul*)."[423] Her perception of Sufism is inadequate since she treats Sufism as a pure mystical movement that can be equated with the ecstatic utterances (such as saying "I am the Truth") of some intoxicated Sufis.

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[420] Ms-181: 57b; Ms-198:58a-b.

[421] For these accusations, see Minorsky, *Tadhkirat*, 125.

[422] Michele Membre, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia*, 41. Membre's observation apparently reflects a considerable change in the available European accounts on the Safavid Shahs from a divine being or incarnate of God to a charismatic political leader with spiritual merits, especially as a source of intercession and blessing. The part of the narrative on the secrecy associated with their relationship with the Shah as the Shaykh reflects the change in the official attitude toward the Qizilbash in his time.

[423] Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs*, xxiii- xxiv, xliv.

Historically, Sufism represents a rich complexity of teachings and practices. The 'historical' accounts of intoxicated Sufis such as Bayazid Bistami and Hallaj who are claimed to have said, "I am the Truth", are dubious and legendary by nature.[424] Because of the risk of misunderstanding the ecstatic utterances of Sufis, the scholarly-minded Sufis such as Ghazali had written treatises to explain the Sufi teachings and their conformity with the fundamental teachings of Islam.[425] In his Sufi commentary of divine attributes, Ghazali does not deny a level of spiritual development attained by an intoxicated Sufi suggesting that the utterance of "I am He (God)" should be taken figuratively, as it follows.

> We may use our saying "he is he' to express our saying 'he is as though he were he' just as the poet sometimes says 'as though I were the one I desire.... such a one commits the same error as the Christian, when they see that (same perfection) in the essence of the messiah, Isa (Jesus) and say: He is God; yet they are mistaken as the one who looks into mirror and sees it in a colored image yet thinks that this image is the image of the mirror, and this color is the color of the mirror. [426]

[424] For the various mystical trends in the formative phase of Sufism between the 9th and the 12th centuries, see Karamustafa, *The Formative Period of Sufism*, especially 1-71. For the scholarship on the persecution of Hallaj, and the Sufism of Bayazid Bistami, see ibid.., 4-5, 25-26.

[425] For example, according to al-Ghazali, the idea of becoming like-God means two possibilities; first, a perfect likeness in every aspect; second, a likeness to the extent of the name and a sharing in the common meaning of the attributes short of their specific (divine) meanings. Concerning the first option, he mentioned three related concepts, first, likeness by way of transferring the attributes from the Lord to the man; second, likeness by way of assimilating man's essence to the point where two would be identical (*ittihad*) 3) that by way of inherence (*hulul*) suggesting that man inheres in God and God inheres in man. To him, perfect likeness is impossible in forms of inherence, identification, or transference. He also argues that the idea of identification is false, but only possible through "the loose and figurative speech appropriate to the usages of Sufis and poets." For further discussion, see Al-Ghazali, *The Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God-al-Maqsad al-asna fi sarh asma' Allah al-husna*, translated by David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society, 1992), 150-153.

[426] Ghazali, 152.

Influenced by recent studies that focus on the role of Sufism in particular social and political circumstances,[427] I argue that *Futuwwat*-Sufism became one of the major sources for the Qizilbash path.[428] The Sufism of the *Mecmuas* under the influence of *futuwwat* traditions indicates the confluence of social and spiritual experiences through the initiation rites and socio-religious ethics for the seekers, the spiritual guides, and companions as well as the relevant punitive charges against the transgressors of the spiritual path.[429]

The *futuwwat* traditions served as more than the guidelines for the Qizilbash rituals. In the *Menakıbs,* the listed twelve services (*on iki hizmet*) of those who attended the ritual community and the service of the watchman, who monitored the behaviors of the disciples not only during the ritual, but in daily life [430] are clearly influenced by the *futuwwat* traditions. Considering the military and political function of the *akhi* (in Turkish for *futuwwat*) organizations that integrated futuwwat traditions into the guilds of craftsmen in times of political destabilization (especially after the declining power of Seljuk State of Rum and during the years of the Mongol domination),[431] it is not absurd to assume that the religious space shaped by *futuwwat*-Sufism might have continued to fulfill the same function for the intended communities of the *Mecmuas* in times of politically stretched times.

III. Integrative and Dualistic Views of Religion

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[427] Ohlander revises the old paradigms on the spread, transmission and social-political significance of tariqa-based Sufism using the case of Suhrawardi. For his breakthrough analysis, see Ohlander, *Sufism In an Age of Transition.* Also, see Karamustafa, *The Formative Period of Sufism.*

[428] Kathryn Babayan claims that the main religious sources of Qizilbash Islam are Alid loyalty, Ghulat Shiism, and Sufism.

[429] Ms-198: 50a-53b, 54b-57a; Ms-181: 18b-19b.

[430] Ms-199: 111b, 118a, 116b; Ms-181: 42b, 45b.

[431] Zekeriya Başkal, *Yunus Emre: The Sufi Poet in Love*, 12. For the communal roles of Sufi shaykhs in Anatolia during the Mongol Period, see B.S. Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods," 611; Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia*, 18; Yıldırım, "Inventing a Sufi Tradition," 166.

Regarding the two elements of the Qizilbash religiosity mentioned so far, it is possible to mention the considerable degree of consensus within the *Mecmuas*. But concerning the dialogical relationship between the *shariat* and *tarikat*, the *Mecmuas* provide two opposing views of religion. One is integrative in a sense that esoteric and exoteric dimensions are complementary to each other and each represents a necessary component of the spiritual path. The ultimate reality can only be achieved by integration of these two dimensions. Another approach is dualistic in a sense that *shariat* and *tarikat* have distinctive teachings and rituals. For the sake of the *tarikat*, the *shariat* can be forfeited.

Of the manuscripts, Ms-1172 offers detailed descriptions of the four doors[432] (meaning stages) of the religious path including *shariat, tarikat, marifat* and *hakikat* and the seven stations of each door. People of *marifat* are described as "those who keep the secrets of the Twelve Imams from the outsiders, are fully aware of the deeds, states, and sayings of Muhammad-Ali, and witness the manifestations of God's existence on the things."[433] From this manuscript, the most controversial account is that the things that are considered as sinful acts in regular circumstances are accepted as faith without any hindrance in the doors of *marifat* and *hakikat*.[434] This account is expanded as follows:

> In the *shariat*, it is allowed to say that this is mine and this is yours. But in reality, it is unfaithfulness to say so because all the spirits are created out of the essence of the Prophet, which is the light of Allah.[435] People of *hakikat* (the ultimate reality) are the manifestation of God (*tecelli-i hak*). There is no veil in (the station of) self-annihilation (*fana*), but the reality is the existence/subsistence only in or through God (*baqa*). This is the station of those who reached *marifat* and *hakikat*.

[432] As I have previously mentioned, the term, four doors (*dört kapı*) was first used by Yunus Emre, the 13th century mystic-poet of Anatolia.
[433] Ms-1172: 31a.
[434] Ms-1172: 27a.
[435] In another place, Ms-1172 says, "Muhammad was created in the image of God." For this account, see p. 37a.

> They can mutually benefit from their material belongings and enter into their houses without the condition of permission, but they cannot approach/talk with wives of one another without permission. If a man does not lower his gaze acting contrary to the Qur'anic verse, "do not approach to fornication", his spiritual station, though being in the heavenly station, will be reduced to the lowest of the low on the earth. But for the ones who reached the station of *hakikat*, there is no need for permission when they approach/talk one another's Muslim (wife)[436] and mutually use their material belongings and enter into their houses.[437]

These sentences can clearly be interpreted in various ways. Deeply soaked in the Sufi terminology of *tawhid*, the unity of God, especially through the concepts of *fana* and *baqa*, the copyist seems to have aimed at expressing the unity of the community as an expansion of *tawhid*. These sentences cannot be seen as textual evidence for permission given to everything forbidden by the *shariat* in the stage of the ultimate reality. It is important to note that considering the availability of Ottoman *fatwas* that accused the Qizilbash men of exchanging their wives in the ritual ceremonies, availability of these descriptions cannot validate the accuracy of these accusations, but suggests that similar descriptions might have been misunderstood by the outsiders who were unfamiliar with the terminology of this path.

Moreover, advising the seekers of *tarikat* not to lie, fornicate, and be deceitful, Ms-1172 orders them not to drink wine with the outsiders or the uninitiated ones.[438] While this reference apparently alludes to the practice of drinking alcohol in the ritual settings, 1772 does not provide any more examples for the abandonment of the *shariat* for the sake of *tarikat*. But it suggests that each stage has its own distinct rules and practices and does not necessarily have to conform to the rules of each other.

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[436] In the *Mecmuas, Muslim* refers to female initiates of the path. The title *Mu'min* is used for male initiates.
[437] Ms-1172: 34b-35b.
[438] Ms-1172:73b.

The forty-assembly is another symbolic narrative on the status of Ali and his relation to Prophet Muhammad. In order to understand the social function of this narrative in the contemporary *cem* (union) rituals, drawing on Victor Turner's theory of ritual, Schubel explains that the sacred assembly of the forty coincides with the characteristics of the liminal including equality, anonymity, absence of property, absence of status, nakedness, the minimization of sex distinctions, absence of rank, humility, and sacredness.[439] Beyond this interpretation, this narrative suggests the superiority of the *tarikat* over *shariat* in the path toward the *hakikat*. This is formed around three thematic elements. First, Muhammad could not enter inside the assembly with his prophethood. He attempted to go inside twice, but was expelled from the door of assembly. While he was turning away each time, he was ordered by God to go back to the door. He was accepted to go inside when he introduced himself as a poor man who came from nothing. Second, Ali has an active role in the narrative. For example, when the Prophet went inside the assembly, Ali was present, even though he did not recognize Ali's presence. Ali was depicted as the person whose arm was struck by the knife, in order to demonstrate a proof for the oneness of the assembly. Third, as in the event of the approval of the Prophet's entrance into the assembly, God helped him when he made a sherbet out of one piece of grape on the request of the forty. Gabriel brought him a platter from the heaven to make sherbet of the grape inside it. This account of the forty-assembly episode reveals that neither the prophethood nor the mere allegiance to the *shariat,* but self-annihilation through the active service to people is a precondition for divine guidance in the realms of

[439] Vernon Schubel, "When the Prophet Went on the Mirach, He Saw a lion on the Road: The Mirac in the Alevi Bektashi Tradition," in *The Prophet's Ascension: Cross Cultural Encounters with Islamic Miraj Tales*, eds. Christiane Gruber and Frederick Colby (330-343) (Bloomington: Indiana Unviersity Press, 2010), 337.

tarikat and *hakikat*. The prophet was not welcomed to the forty-assembly that is the symbol of *tarikat* and *hakikat* unless he obliterated his prophethood as a symbol of his subjecthood. [440] But from this narrative, it is not clear if the seekers of the path are expected to forfeit the obligations of the *shariat* albeit its emphasis on the significance of inner dimensions in the stages of the *tarikat* and *hakikat*.

The conjoined body of Muhammad and Ali can be seen as a symbolic narrative of unity between the exoteric and esoteric dimensions of religion in the *Mecmuas*. The narrative follows that the Prophet and Ali appeared first in a single body with two heads and then in a single body with a single head. For the relationship between these two dimensions gives further information as follows: "the *shariat* is given to *mim* (referring to Muhammad) and the *tarikat* is given to 'ayn (referring to 'Ali). They are not separated from each other. They are the same light that enlightens the whole world. The inexperienced ones only see the separation between them."[441] The *Menakıb* makes it clear that "without showing respect and love toward the friends of Muhammad-Ali, performing five-time daily prayers is invalid. [442] In another place, practicing the obligatory Islamic rituals are vain without purifying the heart through telling the truth, having good manners and having honest earnings (*haram lokma yeme*mek).[443] On the other hand, it is suggested, "if a seeker obeys the orders of his spiritual guide, everything considered to be unfaithfulness will become faith (*her küfr iman olur*). [444] The seekers of the path were

[440] Ms-199: 79a-80a.
[441] Ms-199:108b.
[442] Ms-199: 52b.
[443] Ms-181: 26a.
[444] Ms-199: 94b.

also discouraged from performing their rituals in the presence of the people of the *shariat*.[445]

Thus, the availability of two types of attitudes in the *Mecmuas* cannot be explained simply with the concept of *Batiniyya* just based on the overemphasis on esoteric dimensions of religion in the stage of the *tarikat*. It is possible to argue that this dualism might have been a reflection of the coexistence of two realities inside the communities: the abandonment of *shariat* in favor of the *tarikat* in the stage of *hakikat* and the practice of *shariat* side by side with *tarikat*.

Conclusion

Religious narratives of the *Mecmuas* have revealed that neither scholarly classifications of diversity such as the survival theory, heterodoxy vs. orthodoxy, and folk vs. high Islam nor theological categories such as the *ghulat* and the *batinis* can explain the complexity of Qizilbash religiosity. The arguments of the conventional scholarship on the early Qizilbash religiosity are not in tune with what these manuscripts present. The religious texture of *Mecmuas* commonly shares two religious elements: *Ahl al-Bayt* devotionalism and futuwwat-Sufism. On the other hand, the manuscripts reflect two different approaches toward religion: an integrative approach that combine the inner and outer dimensions of religion in a complementary way and a dualistic approach that puts these dimensions side by side.

[445] Ms-199: 101b.

Final Reflections

This dissertation has examined the textual and contextual dimensions of the earliest *Mecmua* manuscripts, in order to understand the trajectory of the Qizilbash tradition in the 17th century. It is noteworthy that the chronological framework has not rigidly been treated throughout this work since the content of the *Mecmuas* refers to the historical personages and textual traditions, which shaped the commonly shared religious landscape of the Ottomans and Safavids before this century.

This dissertation has demonstrated that the four *Mecmua* copies are collections of various semi-hagiographic and semi-catechistic texts, as well as poetry including examples of lyrical and didactic poetry. In the *Menakıbs*, the portions attributed to Shah Tahmasb, which include the detailed prescription of the socio-religious teachings and punitive charges, and the availability of the Safavid genealogy confirm that these texts include the remnants of Safavid propaganda. In the same *Mecmuas*, the addition of the letter sent from the Central Convent written in the time of Shah Abbas, reference to Shah Suleyman as the current Shah, and differences in Safavid genealogy among the copies collectively show the evolving nature of these manuscripts. In addition, two anonymous poems in Ms-198 individually referring to the *dergah* located in Najaf, suggest the connection of the Qizilbash communities to this convent in the 17th century. Poetry mostly attributed to Hatayi also played a central role in the *Menakıb* of Ms-181 and Ms-198 suggesting that these copies were read aloud in the communal settings.

The omission of the Hatayi poetry from the later copies of the *Mecmuas* (Ms-199 and Ms-1172) reflects the decline in the overwhelming influence of Hatayi in the ritual settings. In Ms-1172, crossout of the name of Shahs also suggests the loss of political

influence of the Safavid Shahs over this community. In addition, the availability of several devotional prayers mentioning Hacı Bektaş as the spiritual master of the path can be seen as the replacement of the Hatayi poetry.

Considering the confluence of orality and textuality through the metaphoric descriptions of historical events and traditions found in traditional Sunni or Shi'i collections, it is possible to argue that these manuscripts were not composed for individual use, except some sections. Asad argues that the pre-modern understanding of ritual cannot be explained with the delineations of performance since rituals were not regarded as a separate activity from the religious texts. Confirming Asad's analysis of ritual in pre-modern times, the textual elements of the *Mecmuas* show that the reading of these texts was a part of the ritual ceremonies by itself.[446]

Through the lens of textual and oral narratives adapted from various traditions such as *futuwwat*, hurufism and Anatolian mystical poetry in parallel with flexible boundaries in time and geography, this dissertation has revealed three important conclusions. First, the socio-religious outlook of the Qizilbash tradition cannot simply be reduced to the Safavid propaganda or the Safavid milieu. The allegiance of these Sufi-linked groups to Safavid cause was not a top-down process that can be merely explained with the success of Safavid proselytization over Anatolian subjects. The loose confessional boundaries of Anatolian Islam before the simultaneous rising of Safavid and Ottoman orthodoxies paved the way for this allegiance and its prolong continuation in either political or spiritual form. The nature of pre-Ottoman Anatolian Islam has influenced the development of the Qizilbash community. The *Mecmuas* are the products

[446] Talad Asad, "Toward a Genealogy of the Concept of Ritual," in *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 55-58.

of the collective traditions of Anatolian Islam, which were historically embedded in the Turco-Persian landscape. Second, the Qizilbash tradition remained spiritually connected to the Safavid Shahs considering them as their Shaykhs by the late 17th century. Third, the Qizilbash religiosity was marked with 'Alid devotionalism and communal Sufism integrated with the *futuwwat* tradition. Contrary to the conventional scholarship, antinomianism cannot be seen as the sole marker of Qizilbash religiosity, because the *Mecmuas* reflect the overwhelming idea of the unity between the *shariat* and the *tarikat* represented by Prophet Muhammad and 'Ali, respectively. The religious narratives suggest the coexistence of two forms of religiosity: abandonment of the *shariat* in favor of the *tarikat* and the unity of the *shariat* with the *tarikat* without emphasizing superiority of one over another.

From the early 17th century onwards, the Alevi silence in official records can be dissolved only with the poetry attiributed to Alevi poems available in other collections. Transformation of the Qizilbash community of the late 17th century into today's Alevis in Turkey can be unveiled by careful examination of this poetry in future studies.

Furthermore, the approach I employed in my dissertation is largely applicable to the religious history of the Bektashi order. Bektashis also have similar beliefs and practices to the Qizilbash/Alevi. Yet, unlike the Qizilbash, they were regarded as the loyal subjects of the Ottoman state and did not face major persecution over centuries. Because of this tolerance, a large number of antinomian religious groups gathered under the umbrella of Bektashis, which later merged with Qizilbash community. Given that Ms-199 was compiled for a Bektashi group, it shows the spiritual connection of certain Bektashis with the Safavid Shahs in the late 17th century. So, comparative reading of the

religious literature shared by Bektashis and Alevis may provide fresh insight for the historical transformation of the Bektashi order and interactions between Bektashi and Alevi communities.

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Appendix I

The List of Sections in the *Mecmuas*

Ms-181

Düvazdeh İmam

Menakıb (interspersed with poems)

The Letter sent from *Dergah-ı Âli* to the Mystics

Ms-198

Düvazdeh İmam

Menakıb (interspersed with poems)

The Letter sent from *Dergah-ı Âli* to the Mystics

Poetry

Ms-1172

Risale

Çehar Kelam (The Four Words)

Sahib'ul Huruf Derviş

Çaharda-i Masum (The Fourteen Innocent)

Tac-name (The book of Headgear)

Post-name

Poetry

Ms-199

A Bektashi treatise

Menakıb

Poetry

The List of Poets Named in the *Menakıb* of Ms-198 and Ms-181

The number of poems attributed to each poet is shown in parantheses.

Ms-181

Hatayi (28)

Shah Adil (2)

Bisati (1)

Kul Adil (1)

Kul Himmet (4)

Sultan Abdal (1)

Pir Sultan (2)

Kul Mazlum (1)

Ms-198

Hatayi (21)

Pir Sultan (3)

Kul Himmet (2)

Shah Adil (2)

Kul Adil (1)

The list of poets in the *Mecmuas*

Ms-198

Hatayi (21)

Pir Sultan (9)

Kul Himmet (5)

Kaygusuz Abdal (4)

Seyfi (2)

Kul Muhyiddin (1)

Öksüz (1)

Mustafa (1)

Aşık Dede (2)

Seydi (1)

Budala (1)

Abdal Muhammad (1)

Kul Alim (1)

Pir Sultan Dedem (1)

Yunus (1)

Kalender (1)

Gülşen (1)

Köroğlu (1)

Seyfullah (1)

Anynomous (20)

Ms-1172

Shah Hatayi (2)

Pir Sultan (2)

Nesimi (2)

Kaygusuz Abdal (1)

Ms-199

Shah Hatayi (1)

Appendix II

The following lines include the original version of a poem in Ms-198. It lyrically describes the sorrow of the enslaved girl and his parents as well as the bliss of his parents after her emancipation by a heroic figure.

... kağırub tavîladuğın
... bu Musa dînine gel didüğin
... miskin bu sözi eşidüb
... ko fukarâ âteşîne ben yanam
... yolunda canıma olsun fedâ
Muhammed dînidir hak din dedi
doğru yâr isen bunı dime
...oldu çünki bu bîçâreler
... ata ana beni tutın
uraşdırdub satun beni
budır hâlim ki didim ve's-selâm
beni cümle hikâyet eyledi
... yigit eşitdi ol kızun sözin
... ey gözlerimin rüşnâsı
ihtâ kaldım...bilmedüm
ahret hakkın helâl eyle bana
şimdi atan ile anan derdin çeker
kız karındaş ol bana sen ey nigâr
ey erem bağı gelinin mürg-i zârı yâr-ı hey
kullarının servi tâlîdir kuşların kavs...
ben nice vasvım eyleyim şirin dehânın şerhini
ey benim görmez gözümi Rûşen iden gülzâr

Dön dinünden deyu ben söyledüğin
Kızunı vir malunı al duydugın
yire düşüb aklı başından gidüb
dünyâ içün hâlâ dînimden dönem
ahretde rahmet etsün Hak Hüdâ
doğru gelen bozmasun akdin dedi
ey kişi dünyâ içün kığoyma ...
dertlerine bulmayub hic çâreler
ölüm alub bazara eletün satun
yek behâmı din içün saklan dîni
baksın bilür o hayy-i lâ-yenâm
Hak ana görine inâyet eyledi
ağlamakdan deyu şüri bilmez özin
ki sensin Hak habîbi âşinâsı
yüz sürüyüb hizmetüni kılmadım
kim aceb zulm eylemişim ben ...
ağlamakdan yaş yerine ...
eyledin bu gözlerim yaşın ...
kim senün vasfında didim bunca ...
saçı sünbül dili bülbül yeni fülfül
gonca-fem nazın zebândır gül yüzü ...

ey boyu servi sunûber ...

dişlerin dürr-i yetîmdir ey yetimler makbûli gözlerin ayne'l-yakîn bir yağmacı ...
geldi düşümde ol Muhammed Mustafâ seni benden dilek itdi ol Nebî
ben anun yüzi suyuna âzâd eyledim gurbete düşdüm dime eyleme âh ...
göndereyim gidesin a'zâzla ikrâmla vasl olasın vâlidine ...
sen gideliden anların hâli mükederdir katî yine göndün şâd ola sağ ...
anlara bizden selâm it göriceğiz yüzlerin hem sa'ânaka kılub gögsine ...
zîde fıkrat nârı gibi nâr olmaz dünyada döne döne yakdı döngün ...
bin ....saymış idem seni hem-dem idenim ol Habîb aşkına virem yüz ...
sebeb oldun bu görmez gözümün
görmesine
cihanda olmaya hic encilayin kârihî ...
... ile didi ol yigit turdı hem
... yüz dâne şerîfi ol zaman
... bağlayup virdi kıza didi harc idüb dua kılın bize
yüz altun bahşîş olsun al sana sen yine var kıl evinizden bana
... kız yüz altunı aldı ele tapu kıldı yigide girdi yola
gider şâdumân handân olur kâh güler kâh ağlayub kerîbân olur
binüb çâr tutdı pür-ka' yüzüne yıl irişmez ayağının tozına
... tâ kim oldı kapusına girdi içre ve anası tapusına
... oturmuş idi anası fırkat odına yüragi yanası
Ağlamakdan ... gözleri kerîbân idi âh ateşden cigeri biryân idi
oturdı anası gördi ânı turdı ayağ üzere sevindi cânı
... dir hâliki zikr eyledi Hak te'âlâya dilim şükr eyledi
... koçdı bağrına basdı kızın ferahlandı yüzüne sürdi yüzin
didi kızım düş mi gördüm ben aceb ya uyanıklık mı derindir sebeb
halbuki söyle bana sağ ve esen niçe kurtuldın ki kıldın ...
hâlini kız anasına söyledi yigidin düşün gördüğin ...
düşünde gördi seyidi ol hoş-nihâd benî âzâd eyledi hoş kıldı
üşde yüzaltun dahi bağışladı bizümile tenkri ki lütf ...
anası da geldi gördi kızını şükr idüb ol yire sürdi ...
didi ey kalmışlara derman iden kullarının gönlüni ma'mûr iden

hasretüni bana gösterdin bugün
yüragümde olmuş idi bir dügün

gönlümün kığuların şâd eyledin
gazadan canımı azâd eyledin

ata ana kızın eve gördiler
ikisi de ol murâda irdiler

dilerisen sen dahi şâd olasın
gaza ve kığudan âzâd olasın

şer idüni cümle hayra döndün
terki lütfundan seni ...

can virüb aşkiyle din.....
geri gidesin ... koçasın ker-hâtur ...

ki sakın dünya içün terk etme din
mü'min olan kimesnede kin olmaz

mü'min ola hiç kimesneye tutma kin
dünyasun kişide din olmaz

... anlar üç geçdi ac yatdılar
âciz olub niçe kanlar yutdılar

üç gün üç giçe aç ta'âm bulamadılar
Hak yolunda hic melûl olmadılar

... ölen bunı böyle kıldılar
Hak Resûlünden şefa'at buldılar

... halde bu halk dünyaçün
din koyub yelişü bir nân içün

... âlem arpa unuyla gül yedi
sonra bezargun akremet küllihî dedi ...

... unun etmek idüp yiyalar
korla yenmez katıkszı diyalar

... anbarları tahıl ola
fukarâya virmeye penhîl ola

... olan ödünc virmeyalar
geziyalar Ka'be'ye varmayalar

yolumda yedürüb yemayalar
yaz...virelim dimayeler

dinin olmaya hic mürüvveti
ehl-i ilme itmeyalar hürmeti

söyliyenin dahi sabrı kalmaya
virdüğine ol kana'at kıla

yalandır ya yigitdir ya koca
dinle ümîdi bu zaman halkı niçe

ne herkez namaz kılmaz ola
dîni yete mescide gelmez ola

ol zamanda küllî kesb ola haram
yazar koğub yalan söyleye avâm

olan ol zamana kalmaya
işini şer'a tehâlüf kılmaya