CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF SOME TEXTUAL REFLECTING ALEVI- BEKTAŞİ ORAL TRADITION IN POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT

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Abstract

In our research, traditions such as ceremonial cem, semah, prayer, hymn, folk poetry, folk song, nefes, deyiş, duvazimam, etc., which started orally in the Alevi-Bektaşi belief and turned into a ritual, and the social, educational, cultural, political, social, educational, cultural and political in addition to its dimensions, its internal and religious dimensions constitute the scope and main target of our research. Methodologically, comparative literature review and analysis method were determined in our study. Findings were exemplified and discussed depending on the results of this survey. First of all, it should be noted that the Alevi culture was created, transferred and continued as an oral discourse. Alevi poetry played the biggest role in this process. In this research, which also includes Alevi poetic discourse, cem, poetry, dance, semah, prayer and reading of hymns, which are an Alevi ritual, are also discussed. Within the scope of our research, Alevi poetry, urban Alevi poets using the poetic forms of classical Ottoman literature or palace literature are excluded from my discussion. Among these forms, there are cebel, kaside, kıt'a, terciibend, terkib-i bend, mersiye and so on. Among the forms, it mainly follows the form, style and metric system used by the court poets who were educated in Madrasa. Cem rituals, folk poems and dances vary from one region to another. Despite the differences between them, it is believed that their "essence" is the same. We can say that the deyiş "There is one way, but there are a thousand ways" is the main concept in their cosmology. In our research, the belief structure and form of worship of Alevi culture are discussed on the basis of mania and running. In addition, the syllable structure, and meanings of the words mani, Kosma and Deyis are presented with examples in Turkish and English. Alevi minstrels such as Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi and Muhiddin Abdal have transformed their pseudonyms into an individual creation by putting them in that short verse form. Depending on the melody it is associated with in local tradition, social context, geographical region, and other performance components, running can be called with names such as deyiş, deme, duvaz imam, mersiye. These word structures and formulas reveal the Alevi belief structure in the socio-cultural context in religious rituals, music, and art. The brief history of the Alevi-Bektaşi society, which forms the basis of this belief structure, is also evaluated in our study.

Keywords: Alevi-Bektaşi Tradition, folklore, verbal formula, cem ritual, history.

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SİYASİ VE SOSYOLOJİK BAĞLAMDA ALEVİ-BEKTAŞİ SÖZLÜ GELENEĞİNİ YANSITAN BAZI METİNLERİN TASNİF VE ANALİZİ

Araştırmamızda Alevi- Bektaşi inancında sözlü olarak başlayıp bir ritüele dönüşen ayin-i cem, semah, dua, ilahi, halk şiiri, türkü, nefes, deyiş, duvazimam vb gelenekleri ve bu geleneksel ritüellere bağlı olarak meydana gelen muhabbetlerin sosyal, eğitimsel, kültürel, politik boyutlarının yanında içsel ve dini boyutları araştırmamızın kapsamı ve ana hedefini oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmamızda metodolojik olarak, karşılaştırmalı litaratür taraması ve analiz yöntemi belirlenmiştir. Bulgular ise bu tarama sonucuna bağlı olarak örneklendirilmiş ve tartışılmıştır. Öncelikle belirtmek gerekmektedir ki, Alevi kültürü esas olarak sözlü bir söylem olarak yaratılmış, aktarılmış ve varlığını sürdürmüştür. Bu süreçte en büyük rolü Alevi şiiri oynamıştır. Alevi şiirsel söylemini de içine alan bu araştırmada, bir Alevi ritüeli olan cem, şiir, dans, semah, dua ve ilahilerin okunması da ele alınmıştır. Araştırmamız kapsamında Alevi şiiri, klasik Osmanlı edebiyatının şiirsel biçimlerini kullanan kentli Alevi şairler ya da saray edebiyatı tartışmamın dışında tutulmuştur. Bu formlar arasında cebel, kaside, kıt'a, terciibend, terkib-i bend, mersiye vb. formlar arasında esas olarak Medrese eğitimli saray şairlerinin kullandığı biçim, üslup ve metrik sistemi takip etmektedir. Cem ritüelleri, halk şiirleri ve dansları bir bölgeden diğerine değişmektedir. Aralarındaki farklılıklara rağmen, "özlerinin" aynı olduğuna inanılmaktadır. "Bir yol var ama bin yol var" deyişinin kozmolojilerindeki ana kavram olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Araştırmamızda Alevi kültürünün inanç yapısı ve ibadet şekli mani ve koşma temelinde ele alınmıştır. Ayrıca mani, koşma ve deyiş kelimelerinin hece yapısı ve anlamları Türkçe ve İngilizce örneklerle sunulmuştur. Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi ve Muhiddin Abdal gibi Alevi âşıklar mahlaslarını o kısa manzum forma sokarak bireysel bir yaratıya dönüştürmüşlerdir. Koşma, yerel gelenek, sosyal bağlam, coğrafi bölge ve diğer icra bileşenlerinde ilişkilendirildiği ezgiye bağlı olarak deyiş, deme, düvaz imam, mersiye gibi isimlerle anılabilmektedir. Bu kelime yapıları ve formüller, dini ritüellerde, müzikte ve sanatta sosyo kültürel bağlamda Alevi inanç yapısını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu inanç yapısının temelini oluşturan Alevi-Bektaşi toplumunun kısa tarihçesi de çalışmamızda ayrıca değerlendirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alevi-Bektaşi geleneği, folklor, sözlü formül, cem ritüeli, tarih.

Introduction

1. A Brief History of Bektaşism and Alevism

This chapter will deal with a brief history of the Alevis, the formula structure of the oral tradition products in Bektaşi-Alevi belief and some "deyiş" are indicated with examples. The term Alevi in general refers to the follower of Ali or friends of Ali, the fourth Caliph of Islam. It is used today to denominate a specific group of people, who speaks Turkish and consist of approximately 15 to 30% per cent of general population of Turkey. There are also different ethnic groups of Kurdish and Arabic speaking Alevis in Irak Syria, which are not the topic of discussion of this chapter.

The Alevi history is marked by several social traumas since the seventh century in Muslim dynasties and empires in the Middle East and Turkey. It all begins by the death of the Prophet Muhammad and the election of the first Caliph, the vicar who would leads the Muslim community after him. The Prophet Muhammed who died in 632 neither designated his successor, nor the rules and procedures which should be followed in the election of a caliph. For that reason, the Muslim community faced the first major crisis in the election of the Prophet's successor. In the discussion of the election issue two opposing views emerged even before the burial of the Prophet. The companions (sahabe), who followed him when he emigrated from Mekka to Medina in 622, and represented the Muslim establishment, maintained that it was their rights to elect the caliph. Ali and some friends on the other handheld the opinion that the caliph should be from the tribe of the Prophet, the Hashinite, sons of Abbas, the uncle of the Prophet. Ali the nephew, the son –in- law of the Prophet and one of the first converts to Islam was their candidate. In fact, this argument was supported by the words of the Prophet on several occasions. In his lifetime the Prophet once said: "Ali is my brother, my executor and my successor among you. Hearken unto him and obey him" (Esposito, 2010: 39). The prophet expressed similar opinion during his last visit to Mekka, the last Haj, next to a small creek called Ghadir Khum. He said, "O Muslims! I am giving you two valuable things, one is the Kuran in which you will find liberation and happiness, the other my household members. If you follow them, you won't lose the true path of Islam" Then he held and raised the hand of Ali deyiş "O my God! Be friend those who are the friends of Ali, be the enemy of those who are the enemies of Ali (Gölpınarlı, 1959:19).

When Ali and his supporters were grieved and busy with the burial service, the Companions assembled, found a candidate in Abu Bakr, and elected him the first caliph of the Muslim communities. (Ümmeti Muhammned) Neither Ali nor his followers participated the election. Some historical sources indicated that Abu Bakr and some of his supporters went to the house where Ali and his friends met and threatened them by burning the house unless they give up proposing Ali's candidacy (Gölpınarlı, 1959: 21-29). Although the Muslim community pledged allegiance to Abu Bakr and committed to support his administration Ali did not until the death of his wife Fatıma, the daughter of the Prophet. This first opposition is called Ali's schism marked the beginning of a long-lasting rift in Muslim history, that dissent became a major doctrinal and political force throughout the following centuries as far as today among the Arabs, Iranians and the Turks. That is where the term schii and schism were originated.

The election of the second Caliph Umar did not pose any problem because Abu Bakr who died in 634 designated his successor, and Umar selected a committee, called Shura, which included Ali to decide for the election of the next Caliph. The committee selected Uthman, the third Caliph.

Ali did not vehemently oppose the rule of the first two Caliphs and played rather a small role in that period. However, when Uthman, the third Caliph occupied the highest post of Islam, Ali's followers did not hesitate to express their opposition, because Uthman was from the Omeyyad clan, not from the Hashemite, the clan of the Prophet. The Omeyyads had offered a stiff resistance to Muhammed's new religion in the beginning, for that reason and for his weak leadership the Shiites, the Ali's supporters refused to accept his rule and opposed his administration and even called for the removal of Uthman from the office. Ali led that opposition. In 656 Uthman was assassinated in his house while reading the Kur'an by a band of Egyptian origin (Esposito, 2010: 42).

Ali thus was elected the fourth Caliph in 656 and most of the Muslim communities recognized his caliphate but Muaviyah, a nephew of Uthman. In Ali's term in the Muslim community, unrest and revolt followed each other. Ali successfully dealt with many of them and defeated them except a bid by Muaviyah, for the Caliphate. Muaviyeh, the governor of Syria managed to assemble a powerful army and continued his challenge to Ali's Caliphate. This feud between Ali and Muaviyah, developed into an open warfare. Their armies met in Sıffin in 657. In the battle when Ali's forces had an upper hand, he made a mistake by accepting an arbitration proposed by Muaviyah. As a result of the canning manipulation of Muaviyah the arbitration ended up by his victory and he declared himself the Caliph. Ali who refused to surrender to his authority continued his claim of being the legitimate caliph in Kufah supported by a small force (Gölpınarlı, 1959: 27).

The Siffin arbitration further divided the Ali forces. A group of his followers,4000 in number left him, claiming that the right of Caliphate should not be negotiated. They are called Seceders (Kharijite) in Muslim history. Ali was threatened by Seceders' rebellion in many cities. Although, initially he defeated them, they survived. And a member of this Kharijite dissent by the name Muljam managed to attack and assassinate Ali in 661. Hasan succeeded his father for just six months. and was poisoned by one of his many wives (Köprülü, 2006: 6-7).

According to Köprülü (2006, 7-9), Ali's second son Hüseyin, who was encouraged by the majority of the Shia, many tribal leaders and Islamic aristocracy, declined to pledge allegiance to Yazid's caliphate (683-684) who succeeded his father Muaviyah after his death. Hüseyin, and twenty other members of the Prophete's household, Hüseyin's brothers and sons and sons of Hasan were killed at Kerbela desert on 10 October 680 (10 Muharram 61 Hejira) by the Yazid forces. In that incident the Kufans who promised support to Hüseyin and then failed to stand up for him played a major role.

The violent death of Hüseyin and his family which elevated him to martyrdom had a profound effect on the following Shiite movement to call for the revenge of Hüseyin's blood. And lament songs and poetries written for that deaths become a major theme in Alevi-Bektaşi literature. There is no Alevi poet who does not express his deep sorrow by a lament for the Kerbela event which took place in the rule of the Omeyyad dynasty.

The Muslim Empire called the Omeyyads (661-744) founded by Muaviyah ruled the Arabs for 63 years during which the Muslim armies conquered Egypt, the North Africa, Spain, Syria, part of Iran and Anatolia. Islam thus came face to face many great civilizations all of which especially Iranian civilization had great impact on the original Islam of small Arab community. Because of this contact new religious doctrines (mezhep) emerged under the influence of The Ancient Greece, Iranians, Early Christian mystics. The most important of these doctrines was Muslim Sufism mysticism) which changed the civilization of the Middle East and Central Asia (Köprülü, 2006: 6-7).

In the appearance of Muslim Sufism another important economic factor should be taken into consideration. This is the great wealth in the hand of the Arap commanders, soldiers and the Arab peoples Prophet Muhammed proclaimed from the very beginning of his career that the aim of Muslim is to work for the happiness in the other world. But the great share of war spoils should be considered a real cause which attracted Muslim masses to join Prophet Muhammed's forces.

Goldziher, a well-known scholar of Islam reported the following: Ten Muslims during the lifetime of Muhammed were given good news by the Prophet that they were destined to heaven for their good services to Islam and behaviors as a perfect Model of piety. One of such people al Zubeyr left in his death a landed property valued 35.200 00 dirhem of gold and eleven houses in Medina alone and some other houses in Basra. Kufa and Alexandria (2004: 118).

Under the Omeyyads, rejecting the world, the basic doctrine of Islam was transformed to conquering it for the sake of Allah, and spending the plundered treasures in the way of God.

Muaviyah also succeeded to introduce a fundamental change in the way of Caliphate's election. He appointed his son Yazid (680-683) Caliph, just disobeying the traditional election process. By this new

doctrine his relatives and the members of his dynasty succeeded each other as Caliph until the end of Umayyad empire (Goldziher, 2004: 134).

This worshipping to wealth and power and the way of luxury life of the Omeyyads did not please the pious Muslims who followed the modest way of life recommended by the Prophet. They refused the new mundane way of life and worn a cloak made of coarse wool which was called Sufi in Arabic to express their opposition. The name Sufi, the mystic of Islam who were, throughout Muslim history, the real free thinkers of Islam derived from that name.

The Shiite of Ali and later the Shite of Hüseyin never stopped their opposition to the Omeyyad dynasty, organized and provoked revolt one after the other the latter of which was organized by Zayd b. Ali in 740. and Zayd was killed following the failure of the revolt. Then the Shiite leadership went underground and developed a new doctrine called Imamat. They believed that the legitimate leadership after the death of Hüseyin should go to twelve individuals, (The twelvers) Imams who are divinely guided and authoritative teacher from the Prophet's line of descent. The last imam Mahdi, the hidden is believed by shii will return to the world from his hideout and establish a just rule, like Jesus Christ. When the latest revolts of Shii leaders and forces were crushed by the Omeyyads, a shii fraction went to Horasan and joined the forces of Abu Muslim who ended the Omeyyad Empire and replaced it with a new Muslim dynasty called the Abbaside (Goldziher, 2004: 127-131).

The Islamization of the Turks which begins slowly in Central Asia under the Abbaside rule, became an important religio-political force which played a major role in the history of Islam and politics of the Middle East, Balkan countries, Europe and Caucasia.

The Turks, the great majority of whom were nomad in Central Asia their homeland for various reasons and reached at the Byzantine frontier, defeated a Byzantine army in 1071 in eastern Anatolia. This decisive battle opened the way of Anatolia for the Turks called Oguz and Turkmen. Then they conquered the Asia Minor and established two powerful Empires, first Seljukide and then of the Ottoman.

The Turkish Islam no matter whether it is Sunni and Shii, ignored the official doctrines of the two and adopted a form of Islam that conformed their own shamanic and ethnic traditions inspired by Turkmen babas and dedes, fathers and grandfathers, two honorifics, referring their popular mysticism, in the religious lodge (Köprülü, 1993: 29-35).

The masses of Turks in Anatolia in the 12th and the 13th century under the strong impact of the Central Asian Sufism and popular Sheik's babas, dedes joined many uprisings which were organized by these babas and dedes in Anatolia in the Seljukides and then the Ottoman Empires. Baba Ilyas, a strong Babai leaders revolted first against the Anatolian Seljukide Empire and was defeated with the assistance of Christian Mercenaries in 1239 and was killed.Then Hajı Bektaşi Veli, (d,1272) whose brother was killed in Baba Ilyas revolt, a disciple of Baba Ilyas escaped from the Seljukide sword and settled in a village called Sulucakaraöyük, today Hajı Bektaş town and established there a heterodox religious order called Bektashı order of dervishes and a lodge, tekke.. He established there a tekke, a Batıni, heterodox lodge.

These Tekke's which are important economic, politic and religious institutions in 12 and 13th century Anatolia emerged when the Turkish tribal society transformed to sedentary, that is agricultural villagers. In the new agricultural life, the authority of the tribal chef whose tent functioned as asocial, political, economic and religious center was over. The neatly organized tribal society where everyone's duty and right was set up by a traditional law yasa, (tribal law) is also gone. The new settlers needed a similar center of authority, social activities where they can learn new technique in building the house, tilling the field. They found it in the Batıni tekkes and the sheyh, the religious leader of such institutions. In tekkes the settler also came into contact with the written literature The sheyh,who was educated in a Medresse, Muslim theological college, was also a political figure. But Islam in these tekkes was a different interpretation of the holy sources, Kur'an and Hadith, the holy tradition. It is usually called Batıni, esoteric Islam, which conflicts the traditional Sunni Islam in many ways. That is why several revolts until the 17th century under the Saljukide and Ottoman Empire were instigated by the Şeyh of the tekkes and were participated by their followers (Köprülü, 1993: 29-35).

Today's Alevi in Turkey called themselves Alevi-Bektaşi to form a strong bond with the Bektaşism which was recognized as a legitimate religious order by the Ottoman power.

Turkish Baba's and Dede's were dervishes who believed the holy war joined the forces of the Ottoman Sultans Osman and Orhan together with a handful of followers and helped them to capture land and fortress from the Byzantines. And the Ottoman rulers who appreciated this help granted them lands, tax free status and allowed them to establish their tekkes, religious lodge in Anatolia and Balkan countries. These cooperation and tolerance ended when the Iranian Shiite dynasty called Safavides was established by a strong leader Shah Ismail (Goldziher, 2004: 131-139).

2. Relationship of Anatolian Alevi's with Iranian Shiite Faith

Ismail who wrote poetry in Turkish using the pen name Hatayi. In fact, he is considered one of the great Alevi poets. His poetry is still very much appreciated by Alevis and hadsa permanent place in the Alevi Cem ritual.

Safavides accepted shia as the official state religion. Iranian schiism, however, is not exactly the same as the official shii theology in the Muslim past. Iran mixed the traditional shiism with folk Islam, the cultural reality of Iran and the Muslim mysticism and especially a strong political motif of hostility to the Ottoman Sunni Empire, next to its border. This political overtone was conceived necessary to define a different identity for Iranians than the Ottomans, another Muslim dynasty. Iranian Shiism however preserved a strong belief of the veneration of Ali, Hasan, Huseyn and the Twelve Imams.

Since then, the Iranian Shii Empire tried successfully to receive the allegiance of the Anatolian Bektaşi and the Alevi groups established a strong alliance with them against the Ottoman Sunni empire. It was for that association that the Ottomans condemned the Alevi-Bektaşi as heaten, unbeliever, troublemaker and tagged them with a derogatory term Kızılbaş, literally redhead to show their association with the Iranian shiism whose founders worn a read headgear with 12 imams.

According to Yıldırım (2015: 79-85), beginning with the ascendance of Yavuz Sultan Selim (1512-1520) to the Ottoman throne, a well-known Kızılbaş hunt begins in the Ottoman Empire. This Ottoman Sultan ordered the registration of the Kızılbaş in the Sultan's defter. Thus 40.000 names of were sent to Yavuz Selim. Selim also pressured the office of the Sheyh el Islam, the highest religious authority to issue decree to condemn them by the strongest term. The religious decrees one after the other condemned them by strongest religious terminology: The Kızılbaş are heretics, heaten, mischief maker, plotter, kafir, (infidel, irreligious) insulter of the Kur'an and the sharia. Their status in Muslim society is worse than the unbelievers, their act of marriage is not legitimate and should not be religiously sanctioned, their children are illegitimate, their right to inherit money and estate from good Muslim ancestors should be denied. The animal that they slaughter is dirty and should not be eaten by Muslim. Here is their verdict: All of them (Kızılbaş) should be murdered and their communities crushed. This is the religious duty of all Muslims. Their regrets and penitence are worthless should not be accepted, those who incline the Kızılbaş beliefs and who are about to join their communities should also be killed. Their wives and children can be taken by Muslim and should not be considered sin, those who killed them are religiously sanctioned and destined to Heaven. Those religious decree in Hand Yavuz ordered mass murders of Alevis and his order was executed promptly between 1513-1514 at a time when he began his campaign against Sah Ismail of Iran.

The reaction to the Anatolian Alevis and Bektaşis to those deaths was a continuous support, and the maintenance of their allegiance to Iranian Shii empire. They never lost an opportunity to instigate revolt and and participate openly many of them which were called Celali Revolts. Celali revolts which begun in the reign of Kanuni may be considered the response to the Kızılbaş events of Sultan Selim. The revolts took the name from the uprising of Sheyh Celal who led a revolt in 1518 (Avcı, 1998: 58-60).

The Celali revolts which shook the very foundation of the Empire for two hundred years were all instigated and actively participated by these people called Alevi-Bektaşi. Kalender Çelebi's uprising was the most important of the Celali revolts. Kalender who was the holder of the Haci Bektaş Tekkes post, the highest position of the Bektaşi managed to mobilize the support of thousands poor peasants defeated several

Ottoman forces but lost a decisive bottle in Maraş, captured, and killed in 1537. All Ottoman Sultans after Kanuni Sultan did follow their predecessors in suppressing and killing of the "Kızılbaş" people tough in small scale. Anatolian and Balkan Alevi in Turkey considers these constant events of the Kızılbaş their most enduring social trauma.

Although the Anatolian Alevi-Bektaşi are politically supported by the Iranian Shiite Empire, this support just had a political motivation to hurt the Ottoman Empire in their Hartland. It is known that A common theological belief connect The Turkish Alevis and Iranian Shiite, they all venerate Ali Hasan and Hüseyin and the Twelve Imams who were all considered the legitimate heirs of the Caliphat. Both also believe the Messianic function of the twelfth Imam Mehdi. But we also observe great differences between the two Muslim communities. First of all, Schism in Iran is an official state religion and as such the basic social structure, traditional norms, values and human relations of the Iranian society made them the supporter of an oppressive, intolerant political power in the past and even today. Alevis in Anatolia on the other hand, has never been even a part of the state religion, they survived in small and isolated villages as self-sufficient communities and a force ready to oppose even to revolt to the Central Ottoman Power.

Another difference exists between the two in the main ritual mourning which taks place every year to commemorate the tragedy of Hüseyin and his family in the Kerbela. The mourning day in Iran is a state organized ritual which includes mystery plays and bloody flagellation. Anatolian Alevi's venerate that day with ten days fasting during which they refuse to drink water as long as the body tolerates.

The last tragic movement that Alevi-Bektaşis was the subject in the Ottoman Empire consists of the abolition of the Janissary corps by Mahmud the second in 1826.The powerful Janissary army of the Ottoman Empire associated itself from the very beginning with the Bektaşi order and considered Haji Bektaşi Veli as their master saint. For that reason, when Sultan Mahmut the second abolished the Janissary corps and replaced it with a new Ottoman army closed the Bektaşi tekkes banded the Bektaşi orders, exiled many Bektaşi babas and shayk to faraway places and cities in Anatolie. This closing of the Bektaşi tekkes and exiling their leaders were reversed by Sultan Aziz (1861-1876) and their tekkes were reopened. Despite that beginning in the second half nineteen century, the Bektaşi –Alevis in the Empire actively participated in every anti-government and anti-sultanate movement. But the National Liberation movement organized by Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the following war between 1920-22 was strongly supported by the Bektaşi- Alevis (Goldziher, 2004: 138-144).

3. A Brief Analysis of Anatolian Alevi-Bektaşi Culture

The establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 opened a completely new chapter in the history of Alevis. Although the new republic abolished the Bektaşi tekkes and the public rituals of the Alevis together with all the mystical orders such as Mewlavi, Kadiri, etc. Alevis are welcomed the Republic. Because first time of their tragic history Alevis gained equal status to the others as the subject of the Turkish Republic. There were Bektaşi members in the Grand Turkish National Assembly. Under the Republic the Alevi literature and culture were highly respected because their ritual language was Turkish and the Alevi-Bektaşi literature preserved the Turkish language and save it from the pressure of the Persian and Arabic domination.

The multi- party democracy in Turkey which was initiated by the People's Republican Party transferred the power to the Democratic Party (D.P) following a free election in 1950. The new political party's rule led by the prime minister Adnan Menderes until 1960and ended up with a military intervention. The last four years of the Republican Peoples Party between 1946 and 50 and the following 10 years of the Democratic Party, slowly changed the tolerance accorded to the Alevis. To guarantee the vote of the traditional Sunni masses, the majority of population, the political parties begin to distance themselves from considering Alevis the citizen of the Republic with equal rights and freedom. The Military coup d'état by General Kenan Evren in 1980 and the following years made the situation worse. Alevi became the target of either verbal or actual attacks. for various reasons. First Alevis always supported leftist political parties in every election since 1960 (Goldziher, 2004: 121-130).

The terms Kızılbaş, literally means read head, is used by the Iranian Safevide Sheyk, Haidar who wore a hat with twelve gores in referring to the twelve Imams. This term has been used throughout centuries by the Sunny Ottoman power to denigrate Anatolian and Kurdish Alevis and to point their Iranian connection consequently to declare them the enemy of the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the Anatolian Kızılbaş joined several revolts to destroy the Ottoman power. Pir Sultan Abdal, a well venerated Alevi poet of the 16th century, was executed because of his involvement in such a revolt. He openly called the destruction of the Ottoman power "Let us come together my soul brothers, let us put the unbeliever's sword, let us take the revenge of the Hüseyin's blood, putting our trust in God." called themselves Alevi-Bektaşi associating their religious belief with the Bektaşism in Anatolia (Esposito, 2010: 39).

Bektaşism is the name of a Tarikat, religious order which was established by Hajı Bektaşı Veli in the 13th century and especially developed in cities. Alevi's who may be called the village Bektaşi share the religious belief and some rituals with the Bektaşi. The Bektaşi who are organized as a well-established religious order in the Ottoman cities came to a good term with the Ottoman Power and enjoyed the Ottoman support in form of lend gift and gift as a texes granted to them until 1826.

The Alevis, however has usually been in good term with the Ottomans. It was a hidden order, and one could not become an Alevi unless he is borned into an Alevi family. But one could become a Bektaşi following an initiation ceremony and obeying the rules and rituals of Bektaşism.

4. Reflection of Alevi Poems on Turkish Folk Literature and Rituals

The Alevi discourse, in general can be defined as a complex unit which includes several cultural forms and genres which may be categorized from different perspectives. Oral and written may be a criteria, prose and poetry another. The themes and meaning may further be used in that categorization. Some theoretical discussions are due to explain the difficulty of such an approach to taxonomy.

It should be pointed out first that the Alevi culture is created, transmitted, and survived mainly as an oral discourse. The major role in that process is played by the Alevi poetry. Our discussion of the the Alevi poetical discourse will briefly deal with an Alevi ritual Cem which functions as an umbrella bringing together, the poetry, ritual dance Semah and recitation of prayers and hymns. The Alevi poetry, which is the creation of Bektaşi, urbanite Alevi poets who used the poetical forms of the classical Ottoman literature, or court literature will be excluded from my discussion. These forms include gazel, kaside, kıt'a, terci-i bend, terkib-i bend, mersiye etc which follow the form, style and the metric system used mainly by the Medresse educated court poets.

The Alevi poetry, which is the creation of the Alevi aşıks, minstrel, played a major role in transmitting the Alevi moral principles, the social and individual behaviors, the history of the Alevi community, the legendary life stories of the Alevi Babas and Dedes and most importantly, the Alevi religious beliefs and ritual. It is that poetry which nurtures the love, and respect of Ali, his family and his followers. and the hate of the enemy of the Alevis. Much more of than these the Alevi poetical discourse functioned as a means of commemoration and healing which will be discussed later. The Alevi Aşık poetry is always sung as a song by the accompaniment of a musical instrument called saz which has different names based on the number of frets and strings.

Listening to a poetical performance does not require literacy, for that reason the teaching function of that poetry has been very effective.

5. Oral And Written Alevi Literature

For a long time, the questions "what is oral poetry?" and "in which genre should oral poetry be included" have been discussed by scholars from different disciplines (linguists, folklorists, anthropologists and so on). Increasing studies since 1960s, especially the ones on some indigenous communities, have shown that art of oral poetry exists in many various forms throughout the world. Furthermore, some of these various genres do not conform to "the accepted Western models" of oral poetry genres. For example, the authentic song lyrics of Australia, mythological and religious melodies of Polynesia, poetic stories in prose,

conversational poems, short poems for magic, poems recited on the streets or rhymed poems -all these have not been taken into account (Finnegan, 1977, 119-127). When I thought about this problem in the context of Turkey, Roman Jakobson's (1960) explanation of poetic function of language and John McDowell's "The Poetic Rites of Conversation" were very enlightening works for me. Jakobson argues that "poetics deals primarily with the question, what makes a verbal message a work at art? He explains that folkloric semiosis, in traditional performance settings, "customarily involves the production of stylized messages in which 'the sign vehicle becomes an aspect of the expression form" (McDowell, 1985, 113, quoting Umberto Eco, A Theory of Semiotics, 266). He stresses that the medium of expression itself, with its semantic codes, is deliberately focused on verbal folklore performances. "The resulting speech exhibits, in greater or lesser degree, what Roman Jakobson defines as the poetic function of language, a 'focus on the message for its own sake.'" Therefore, folklore can be seen as one branch of poetry engaging in "the overarching study of poetic or verbal artistic composition" (Finnegan, 1977: 113).

6. Genres in Alevi Musical Melody

6.1. Koşma

The basic poetical form *koşma* of the Alevi poetical is called koşma. The koşma may be known by several names, such as *deyiş, deme, düvazimam, mersiye, şarkı, ağız*, depending on musical tune it is associated with in the local tradition, social context, the geographic area, other performance components. The main poetical form of the Alevi aşık poetry is koşma. Koşma in Alevi ritual performance are given several names, such as deme, deyiş, nefes etc. which varies depending upon the social context and musical tunes.

The topic of the Koşma in Alevi literature is not different than that of non-Alevi Aşıks, but it refers very often to the Alevi beliefs, legends, social and historical tragedies of the Alevis. Ali, the Twelve Imams, the Kerbela Şehits. When a koşma is devoted to the tragedy of the Alevis it is called Duvaz, or Düvaz Imams. The koşma of Pir Sultan Abdal, or Düvaz by Pir Sultan Abdal.

The koşma's structure consists of at least three and at most 12 quatrains. The number of syllables in each poetic line may vary between 7, 8 and 11. The rhyme pattern can be seen in the following graphic description. The koşma in the history of Turkish literature, was written first time by an Alevi poet Kaygusuz Abdal a in the 14th.century. As an example of the formal structure of koşma:

1st stanza------------------a. seven syllables

      ------------------b seven syl.

      ----------------- c. seven syl.

      ------------------b seven syl.

2nd stanza------------------d seven syl.

      ------------------d seven syl.

      ------------------d seven syl.

      ------------------b seven syl.

3rd stanza------------------e seven syl.

      ------------------e seven syl.

      ------------------e seven syl.

      ------------------b seven syl.

Last stanza------------------f seven syl.

------------------f seven syl.

Pen name-------f seven syl.

------------------b (Boratav, 1969: 24-28).

The Alevi writers today attribute a metaphoric explanation to the number of three and twelve. To Ali Yaman (2007: 17-29) for example, the three refers to trilogy Allah-Muhammed-Ali. There exist longer forms of koşma, such as destan, a kind of ballads which may have more than 100 stanzas, but they remained in written form and are not performed in the Alevi ritual discourse.

When the long koşmas, long narrative poetry devoted to the severeal topics and called destan may have more than twelve quatrains.

6.2. Mani

Alevi discourse also includes another poetical form which is called mani, an anonymous folk poem in Turkish folk literature consists of an independent quatrain with the rhyme pattern *aaba*. This poetical form which is also known in Turkish folk literature since the 13th.century. Number of syllables in each many lines varies between 7 and 11. Mani is used mainly by young men and women in public ceremonies such as marriage and social get together as a means of communication to express their love which is the main theme of the form. But several Alevi aşık created or wrote mani to express the belief and ideology of Alevism and inserted their pen name in this short form to make it individual creation. Hatai, the pen name of Shah Ismail, the founder of Iranian Shia Empire, who writes his poetry in Turkish, writes several manis. Is considered the great Alevi poet by the Anatolian Alevis. He says "Aşıkız can bulur söz ağzımızda" [We are aşık (minstrel-lovers) words come alive when we speak.] (Başgöz, 2000: 146). Here is a mani by Hatayi:

Hatayi hal çağında

Hak gönül alçağında

Ya Ali sen erişgil

Derdimin bol çağında (Gölpınarlı, 1963: 266).

Hatayi lives in good time

God dwells in the modest heart

O Ali! Rush to my aid

In time when I have many trouble

The majority of Alevi manis remained in manuscript and is not included in the Alevi Cem ritual.

6.3. Koşma

The *koşma* in the Alevi ritual includes two basic themes eulogy for the Alevi Baba's, Dede's, Pirs and sheyh and lament, ağıt. To lament means crying, weeping.

Here are some quatrains from a koşma by Hatayi which eulogizes Hacı Bektaşh-ı Veli:

Gece gündüz hayaline yanarım	Day and night I am burned by imagining you
Bir gece rüyama gir Hacı Bektaş	Come to my dream one night O Hacı Bektaş
Gunahkarım günahımdan bizarım	I am a sinner and unhappy with it
Özüm dara çektim sor Hacı Bektaş	I hangued myself see Hacı Bektaş

Gahi bulut olup göğe ağarsın	You are clouds sometimes rising to the sky
Gahi yağmur olup yere yağarsın	Sometimes rain falling the earth
Ay mısın gün müsün kandan doğarsın	Are you the sun or the moon, from where you rise
Ilgit ilgıt eser yel Hacı Bektaş.	You are the breezing wind o Hacı Bektaş

Derdime Hatayi eyler niyazı Hatayi,	Hatayi finds a solution to my problem
Ulu Pir katardan ayırmaz bizi	Keep us among the followers of the great Pir.
Bu mahşer günüdür isteriz sizi	This is the judgment day
Muhammed önünde car Hacı Bektaş	We need your intercession in front of the Prophete Muhammed

Hacı Bektaş (Gölpınarlı, 1963: 220-224)

6.4. Mersiye

The fourth theme which is always performed in Alevi Cem rutual is called Mersiye in Alevi literature are written to commemorate, mainly the tragic murder of Hüseyin and express the grief and ailment of the Alevi for that trauma. We also find in Mersiye a strong theme of anger and rage that Alevi felt toward the enemy of Hüseyin and others who killed him. Mersiye is also dedicated to Alevi poets such as Pir Sultan Abdal, who was hanged in Sivas by the order of certain Hızır Paşa, the Ottoman governor in the second half of the 16th century. The authorship of Pir Sultan lament, is attributed to either a daughter or son of Pir Sultan Abdal (1963: 58). Here is some quatrains from that ağıt:

Dün gece seyrimde coştuydu dağlar	In my dream yesterday night mountains became ebullient
Seyrim ağlar ağlar Pir Sultan deyü	My dream cries screaming Pir Sultan, o Pir Sultan.
Gundüz hayalimde gece düşümde	During the day in my imagination in night in my dream.
Düş de ağlar ağlar Pir Sultan deyü	My dream also cries screaming Pir Sultan, Pir Sultan.
Uzundu usuldu dedemin boyu	My grandfather was tall and slim
Yıldız'dır yaylası Banaz'dır köyü	His summer pasturage was Yıldız mountain and and his village Banaz
Yaz bahar ayında bulanır suyu	The river runs flooded and unclear in Spring
Sular ağlar çağlar Pir Sultan deyü	The river runs screamin and calling Pir Sultan, Pir Sultan.
Pir Sultan kızıydım ben de Banaz'da	I was the doughtier of Pir Sultan in Banaz
Kanlı yaş akıttım baharda yazda	Bloody tears run from my eyes in Spring and Summer.
Dedemi astılar kanlı Sivas'ta	They hanged my grandfather in Sivas, the murderous.
Dar ağacı ağlar ağlar Pir Sultan deyü	The gallows cries calling Pir Sultan, Pir Sultan (1963: 59).

Alevi culture also includes written sources such as Menakıbname, the legendary biography of the Alevi Dede and Baba, such as Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, Kaygusuz Abdal, Abdal Musa, Demir Dede, Sarı Saltuk Baba, Hacım Sultan and written religious heroic epics narrating the campaigns of Ali and other Alevi heroes. These sources remained in manuscript until the second half of the 19th. century and are not narrated in the Alevi rituals.

For the lack of universal literacy of the past (in 1927 only 7 % of the people in Turkey was literate) such written sources were accessible only to few literate peoples.   To call these sources prose does not do

justice to the genre. Because the Menakıbname includes fragments of poetry here and there in the main prose discourse. Furthermore, some Menakıbnames, for example that of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, has also a versified version (Noyan, 2000: 27- 53).

In the Alevi discourse, not only the boundary between prose and poetry, but written and oral is also blurry. Many manuscripts in the Alevi culture for example the Vilayetname of Haji Bektaş Veli were read aloud by a literate person to the benefit of an audience. Unfortunately, we do not know much about the manuscript culture when it was presented to an audience by reading. In a brief discussion Prof. Başgöz, explains that such reading should also be considered performance, because the reader introduces some changes to the manuscript even while reading it to different audiences (2008: 27- 41). Furthermore, we know that some stories from the Vilayetname are also narrated orally for the Alevi audience.

7. Gülbangs in Alevi Cem Rituals

The existence of the Alevi prayers Gülbank and Tercüman in prose and verse complicate taxonomy problem further. The majority of these prayers are in form of prose. It is not however the prose per see, but rather a rhythmical prose, which can be analyze only as examples of ethno poetics. In order to see all these commemoratives and/or poetic features which we have mentioned, let us look at some *gülbank* samples. First one was told by folk poet-*dede* Dertli Divanı in a *Cem* Ritual in 2002:

Dede: Allah Eyvallah mı <u>erenler</u>?

(Do you agree with God, <u>wise people</u>?)

Dinleyici: Eyvallah!

(Agree!)

Dede: Şimdi gönül birliğimize hep birlikte diyelim Allah, Allah!

*(*Now all together, through the unity of our souls let us say God, God!)

Dinleyici: Allah Allah!

(God, God!)

  Dede:Allah, Allah, Allah, Allah, Allah, Allah!

  (God, God, God, God, God, God!)

Dede: <u>Üçler'in, Beşler'in, Yediler'in, Kirklar'in, On iki İmamlar'ın, On dört Masum Pak'in, On iki Kemerbest'in</u> hüsnü himmet ve hidayeti üzerimizde hazır ve nazır ola;

(Be the help and the protection of <u>The Three Ones,The Five Ones, The Seven Ones, The Forty Ones, The Twelve Imams,The Fourteen Innocent Ones, The Twelve Young Ones</u>, upon us);

Dede:Gelmiş, erişmiş, göz gönül katmış ola

(Let them come, reach and contribute by their eyes, by their souls);

Dede:<u>Hak erenler</u> cem-i cümlemize birlik, dirlik, düzen ihsan eyleye

(Let the God's beloved <u>wise people</u> bestow unity, peace and order to our gathering);

Dede:Dil bizden, nefes <u>şah-i şehid-i Kerbela</u>'dan ola

(Language is ours, nefes comes from the <u>holy martyr of Kerbela</u>).

Dede:Gerçek <u>erenlerin</u> demine <u>Hü</u>! mümine,<u>ya Ali</u>

(<u>Hu</u>! (hail/Allah/Ali) to the true <u>wise people</u>, let God be with faithful) (Melikoff, 2008: 27-49).

The underlined words and phrases, call and evoke Alevi Saints. If we look at the content of whole prayer, we can say that few informative and more commemorative discourses are used together.

7.1. The Formulaic Structure of Gülbangs in Alevi Cem Rituals

Here is nother sample from the widely known *gulbank*s; the opening gülbank in a Cem ritual (Caglayan, 2002: 27- 49):

Dede speaks:

[Rhyming words are in red; / caesura; // Semantic symmetry; /// Stylistic symmetry]

Bis mi Şah (three syllables) /Al lah Al lah (four syllables) 3+4= 7 syl.

(For the name of the ruler, and God, God)

Ak şam lar (3) hayr o la, (3) / ha yır lar (3) feth o la, (3). 3+3+3+3= 12

(May our evenings be prosperous and good deeds enduring.)

Tüm şer ler (3)/ def o la. (3). 3+3=6.// Mey dan (3) a bad o la. (4) 3+4=7

(May all evils stay away; may our place be prosperous)

Hiz met ler (3)/ ka bul o la. (4) //. 3+4=7 Mu rad lar ///(3) ha sıl ola. //(4). 3+4 =12

Mün kir mü na fık mat o la. No traditional pattern of syllable but rhyming is preserved.

(May our services be accepted by God, and our wishes fulfilled. May the non-believers and hypocrite be destroyed.)

Hak, Mu ham med, Ali / yar dım cı mız o la. No syllabic pattern

(May God, the Prophet and Ali assist us)

Dem ler da im o la, /// (6) / cemler ka im o la, (6). 6+6=12

(May our ritual drink be enduring and our cem strong)

I ba det ler (4)/ mak bul o la. (4) 4+4=8 / Fa kir fu ka ra (5)/ ma mur o la. (4). 5+4=9.

(May our prayers reach to the presence of God; may poor people be prospereous)

Üç ler Beş ler (4) ye di ler (3). 4+3=7 On İki İmamlar canlarımıza dogrusunu,/ hayırlısını vere. No syllabic pattern.

(The Three ones, the Five Ones, the Seven ones, "invisible saints" the Twelve Imams, lead us to the right pace.)

E ren ler (3)// ev li ya lar (4). 3+4=7. Dertlerimize derman ola, cümle insanlığa doğruluk dürüstlük ve sağlık ihsan eyleye. (No pattern. Alliteration by the repetition of the letter

(May those who reached the Divine truth, and the saints heal our trouble, and endow us, and all humanity with honesty, good health and rightfulness.)

Dil biz den (3) ne fes Hün kar (4) Pir den ola.(4). 3+4+4=11

(Tong is ours but the nefes belongs to the Pir, religious leader)

Nur-ı Nebi, Kerem-i Ali. Pirimiz Hünkarımız Hacı Bektaş Veli ve gerçek erenler demine devranına Hu diyelim huuu! No syllabic pattern.

(For the divine light of the Prophet, generosity of Ali, our supreme leader Haci Bektash Veli, we all together call Allah,and Allah.

8. Alevi Discourse as Commemoration

Through my experience as a researcher, I can say that many Alevi people cite the names of Ali, Imam Hüseyin, Haci Bektasi Veli when they wake up in the morning, when they begin to a new day, in their prayers

before meals, before they go to bed, when they begin to a new work, when they get in trouble, and they ask the help and intercession of the Alevi Saints and Sheikh's. I heard the following formulaic expressions many times from many Alevis and from my family:

"Ya Allah, Ya Ali, ya Hunkar Haci Bektasi Veli sen yetis"

(O God, O Ali, O Sultan Haci Bektasi Veli, rush to my help.)

My grandfather used to tell us a story when we were elementary school student. The story deals with an accident, my father's falling under an under an oxcart and how my grandfather saved his life by calling the intercession and help of Ali and Haji Bektash Veli screaming loudly:

"Ya Ali, Ya Pirim Haci bektas-i Veli, erenler siz yetisin!"

(O Ali, O My Guide Haci Bektaşi Veli, those who reached the eternal truth come, help me!). He used to add that with the help of them he could lift the oxcart up and saved my grandfather.[1]

Of The fluidity of the cultural forms and genre in the Alevi discourse is due to the fact that this categories are the forms created by the mind of the Western scholars and culture, If we take the oral poetry, for example:

Keeping these reservations in mind dealing with taxonomy we may say that the Alevi folk poetical tradition used two basic poetical forms: Koşma and mani. In this cathegorisation I exlude the Bektaşi poetical tradition which used almost all poetical forms of the Ottoman classical literatyre. These forms are all borrowed from the Ottoman Classical literature and are Gazel, kaside, murabba, terci-i bend. Terkib-i bend, murabba, mersiye etc. but they are used only by the Bektaşi poets with a Madrassa education.

9. Reflection of Alevi's in Cultural Stories and Their Poetic Language

If we look at hikâye from an ethnopoetic view, we can see that it acquires different features in performance settings. To understand hikâye as a social event, it should be evaluated as a whole performance. This is because in the performance we can see not only the interplay of three components of performance -among teller, audience and hikâye- but also other relational factors, "dominant ideologies and religions, social structure, social norms and values, the written literature of high cultures, the level of tolerance by regimes toward freedom of speech, the time and space designated for the event all interacting." (Noyan, 2000: 155-157).

Başgöz analyzed some oral formulas in hikâye in terms of ethnopoetics (2008: 164-165), but he did not view the entire performance as an ethnopoetic discourse. I believe the entire hikâye performance may also be defined in terms of ethnopoetic approaches.

McDowell (1985: 28-31) argues that "The study of verbal folklore, as one branch of poetics…" and he explains this in the following way: it is "the tendency of the performer to work without the benefit of a script, relying instead on memorization and improvisation;… the co-presence of performer and the audience, reliance on an accessible rhetoric, a tendency of the message content, in its literal or figurative aesthetic ecology of the speech community" which makes an ordinary speech a poetic art.

The place of performance plays not a small role in the poetical structure of the hikâye. The most suitable space for the hikâye performance is the coffee house where people meet, sip coffee or tea, conversation talk politics or (now) watch television programs. A Turkish expression says:

"Gönül ne kahve ister ne kahvehane, gönül sohbet ister, kahve bahane"

[my heart neither misses the coffee or coffee house, my heart misses' friends; the coffee house is just a pretext.] Because of a lack of clubs, libraries and other places for social activity the coffee house has become a social meeting place. The importance of social meeting places in creating, sustaining and transmitting culture has been, for the last three decades an important issue in social science and humanities research (Rose, 1985: 87-133).

Without the comfort of such a place it would be difficult to enjoy the performance. The performance time is usually Ramadan, after the evening meal when people do not want to go to sleep until the early meal,

the *sahur*. It is the time of entertainment for other folklore performance, such as the shadow play theatre *Karagöz*, the narration of *Meddah* story, and musical concerts. Başgöz sees the digression in the poetical organization of the hikâye performance as an important component which links the past and present culture, thus providing security for the audience (Rose, 1985: 162).

Discussion and Conclusion

The point we want to emphasize in our study is to touch on the historical origin of the religious rituals that occur as a result of performance-performance activities, the morphological structure of these oral tradition products and the contextual contents of the texts that make up this structure. In the socio-cultural sense, the birthplaces of Alevi oral tradition products are environments of conversation. Conversation takes place in crowded environments such as cem rituals, coffee houses and village rooms. Interpreting these muhabbet performance and gülbang performance We can say that we can see many poetic functions of the language in the conversation. As McDowell shows, in a complementary way, prose and poetic narrative are dedicated to the telling of a story in a complex performance event (1985: 403). While two other genres, mersiye and duvaz imam, which are in the form of a poem, are performed in cem ritual, it is possible to see interplay of poetic and prose expression. This interaction is necessary for maintaining the performance with success. Thus, it does not seem possible to understand a communicative event by focusing only on text that is, by separating prose from poetic expression. In both poetry and prose Alevi narrations commemorative discourse plays a crucial role. Though the severity of commemorative features changes from one performance to another, we can see them in the performances of almost all genres. Even some words, phrases and groups of words which have commemorative characteristics function as oral formulae. Moreover, it is possible to see the coexistence of commemorative and informative narration in any Alevi performance. Just as commemorative discourse almost completely predominant in duvaz-ı imam and mersiye, in the conversational genres sometimes informative discourse becomes dominant. Alevi cem rituals such as "deyiş", "mani", "koşma", "mersiyye" and "gülbang" mentioned above also bear traces of the past, tradition and the experiences of ancestors. it shows us the cultural value norms and most importantly the belief structure.

As a result, in our research, the syllable structures, sound characteristics and formulaic sequences of these rituals were determined. In addition to the literature review in our research, the effects of the grandfather and the listener on the ceremony were exemplified in the compilations. In our research, the reflections of the rich oral tradition of the Alevi-Bektaşi tradition on worship and ceremonies, based on the rituals of koşma, mersiye, mani, gulbang and cem, are embodied by theoretical approaches and compilation methods. In our study, it was aimed to draw attention to the richness of the oral culture treasure of Anatolian-Bektaşi culture theoretically, and how these oral tradition products came into existence is explained with historical examples.

Sonnotlar

[1] İsmail Akgül, 88 years old, retired, Bingol province.

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