FORMS AND FORMATS OF RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER. ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRAVELLING CONCEPT IN THE HORIZON OF THE MULTIPLE TRANSLATION OF ALEVISM

İNANÇ BİLGİ AKTARIMININ BİÇİMLERİ VE FORMATLARI. ALEVİLİĞİN ÇOKLU TERCÜMESİ UFKUNDA SEYAHAT KAVRAMININ GELİŞİMİ ÜZERİNE

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ABSTRACT

In this article, the concept of travelling knowledge (as a form of knowledge) is (re) considered within the horizon of a sociological theory of translation (Renn, 2006; 2014), namely as a moment of transplation. Following Joachim Renn, translation in the language of differentiation theory means the change of form or a "meaning transformation" (Renn, 2018, p. 165) of different forms of imperatives that coordinate action. The article focuses primarily on presenting some conceptual reflections on travelling knowledge using the example of the multiple translation of Alevism (Yıldızlı, 2023; 2024). The specific translation relationships between the distinctions made in differentiation theory between milieu and organisation are elaborated using selected sequences of qualitative interviews with representatives of the Alevi religious community in an urban context (Istanbul), applying the evaluation method of "macroanalytical depth hermeneutics" (Renn, 2018). The results of the material analysis show from a sociological perspective, the concept of travelling knowledge is more complex and multi-layered than previously considered and assumed by cultural studies: On the basis of the sequential interview analysis, a connection can be shown between a spatial/historical change (I), a structural change in the order of religion (II) and the transformation or re-thematisation of central religious roles or religious authorities (III).

ÖZ

Bu makalede, gezgin (seyahat) bilgi kavramı (bir bilgi biçimi olarak), tercüme sosyoloji kuramı içinde (Renn, 2006; 2014) ve özellikle bir tercüme anı olarak tekrar düşünülmektedir. Joachim Renn'in ifadesiyle, farklılaşma kuramı dilinde tercüme, eylemi koordine eden farklı emir biçimlerinin biçim değişikliği veya "anlam dönüşümü" (Renn, 2018, s. 165) anlamına gelir. Makale, özellikle Aleviliğin çoklu tercümesi örneğini kullanarak gezgin bilgi üzerine bazı kavramsal düşünceleri sunmaya odaklanmaktadır (Yıldızlı, 2023; 2024). Farklılaşma kuramında yapılan çeviri ilişkileri, özellikle kentsel bağlamda (İstanbul) Alevi İnanç Topluluğu'nun temsilcileriyle yapılan nitel mülakatların seçilmiş dizileri kullanılarak ve "makroanalitik derin hermeneutik" değerlendirme yöntemi (Renn, 2018) uygulanarak çevre ve örgüt arasındaki ayrımlar arasındaki özel tercüme ilişkileri ayrıntılı bir şekilde ele alınmaktadır. Sosyolojik bir bakış açısından yapılan malzeme analizinin sonuçları göstermektedir ki gezgin bilgi kavramı, kültürel çalışmalar tarafından önceki düşünüldüğünden ve varsayıldığından daha karmaşık ve çok katmanlıdır: Ardışık mülakat analizi temelinde, mekânsal/tarihsel değişim (I), inanç düzeninde yapısal değişim/dönüşüm (II) ve merkezî inanç rollerinin veya inanç otoritelerinin dönüşümü veya yeniden değerlendirilmesi (III) arasında bir bağlantı gösterilebilir.

Introduction

In this article, the concept of travelling knowledge (as a form of knowledge) is (re)considered within the horizon of a sociological theory of translation (Renn, 2006; 2014), namely as a moment of translation. Following Joachim Renn, translation, in the language of differentiation theory, means the change of form or a "meaning transformation" (Renn, 2018, p. 165) of different forms of imperatives that coordinate action. The article focuses primarily on presenting some conceptual reflections on travelling (Yıldızlı, 2024)[1] knowledge using the example of the multiple translation of Alevism (Yıldızlı, 2023). The specific translation relationships between the distinctions made in differentiation theory between milieu and organisation are elaborated using selected sequences of qualitative interviews with representatives of the Alevi religious community (for detailed information on the selection of interview partners, the field research in Turkey and the analysis of the interviews, see: Yıldızlı, 2023, p. 91-104) in an urban context (Istanbul), applying the evaluation method of "macroanalytical depth hermeneutics" (Renn, 2018).

With regard to different forms and formats of knowledge, the Alevi religious community, which is not recognised in Turkey and has grown historically in the context of Islam, is particularly interesting from a sociological perspective. This is because it is predominantly organised in village structures in the form of a milieu and possesses specific religious knowledge. However, the first question is who Alevis actually are and what defines them, in order to then address their particular organisational and milieu-specific situation in Turkey. With the migration to the cities, the form in which religious knowledge is passed on and the form of Alevi organisation changed against the background of recognition and negotiation processes in a predominantly Turkish-Sunni society.

Who are Alevis and What Characterises Them?

Alevis are a majority religious community living in Turkey, making up around 15 to 25 per cent of the Turkish population. A precise definitional description as well as an exact period of origin of Alevism is difficult due to historically (cf. Dressler, 2013a p. 186, 238; 2013b) conditioned and divergent self-descriptions (cf. Dressler, 2019, p. 65), (cf. Mélikoff, 1998; Sökefeld, 2003, p. 246; 2005c, p. 128-147; Yaman, 2004). Discourses on Alevism are still characterised by the unresolved question of its origins and location as well as its religious practice (cf. also: Dressler, 2013a; 2002; Massicard, 2005; Kehl Bodrogi, 1993). The dominant opinion in the research literature is that the faith basically "emerged over a longer period of time in the context of Islam" (Sökefeld, 2003, p. 246) and that Islamic elements can therefore be detected (cf. Dressler, 2013a, p. xixii; Vorhoff, 1995, p. 185; 2000; Yıldırım, 2018; Spuler Stegemann, 2003). The vast majority of Alevis (Kanar, 2010, p. 459; Devellioğlu, 2007, p. 28; Dressler, 2013a, p. 1) trace their ancestry back to the Prophet Mohammed's cousin Imam Ali and the Ehlibeyt (Dressler, 2013a, p. 1,5). Taking into account the geographical location, there are Zaza, Kurmanci, Kurdish and Turkish-speaking Alevis (Sökefeld, 2005c, p. 131), who can differ from one another in terms of specific religious practices and rituals (cf. Kehl, 1988).

The central faith elements of Alevism include: dede and ocak, the dede talip relationship, müsahiplik, cem, the fasting period muharrem, visits to holy places and sacrifices (cf. Yıldırım, 2018, p. 80). The dedes and their wives, who are referred to as ana, are genealogically legitimised religious authorities who belong to different "sacred clans" (Sökefeld, 2005a, p. 207) (Tr.: ocak) and pass on religious knowledge across generations. This cross-generational transmission of specific religious content and practices as well as (especially) lived religiosity basically formed the non-formalised "training" to become a dede or ana - with a simultaneous lack of texts on Alevism or (so far) very limited access to a few religious sources. In the language of milieu-based Alevism, one cannot and does not speak of an "education". Rather, it is a path taken or, in other words, the religious performance as a way of life and the practice of the religious collective that characterises the (emergence) formation of a religious Alevi authority (socalled dede). Depending on the affiliation to an ocak, access to religious textual sources and the transmission of religious knowledge can exhibit particular multidimensional path dependencies and be divergent. The relationship between the ocaks

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[1] This article is a revised english version of the following forthcoming publication in German: Yıldızlı, E. (2024). Reisendes Wissen- als Moment der Übersetzung? Konzeptuelle Überlegungen zu traveling concepts am Beispiel der multiplen Übersetzung des Alevitentums. Harbusch, M. (Hg.). Reisendes Wissen. ‚Traveling Concepts' als soziologische Kategorie. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

(more number from ocak, also the same with dedes and talips) is characterised less by a hierarchical than by a circular interdependence. Every Alevi is (simultaneously) a talip (i.e. a learner, follower of the Alevi path). The dede-talip relationship is mutually hereditary, in which the dedes have a comprehensive responsibility for their talips - it includes both the religious and moral conduct of life (Sökefeld, 2005a, p. 208).

In the past, the necessary religious knowledge about Alevism and its ritual duties was mainly passed on orally in a non-formal teacher-pupil relationship by dedes (cf. Sökefeld, 2005c, p. 130) in the communal ritual cem (Arabic: "community, congregation, gathering" (Sökefeld, 2005a, p. 208)), which currently usually takes place in the cemevi of the same name, is led by a dede and is performed with the joint participation of men and women, without physical separation. The ritual was practised in the village context in the largest available space, which was not reserved exclusively for religious purposes (cf. ibid.). In many places in Turkey, weekly practice of the cem in a cemevi is now possible and the appropriate premises are available. Although the association buildings are called cemevi, this refers to the specific part of the association building that is intended for the practice of cem (cf. Sökefeld, 2005a, p. 222).

Until the 1950s, the Alevi belief system developed and established itself within a closed, familiar and rather familial village context (cf. Yıldırım, 2018, p. 79). With the migration to the city, the Alevi religious community began to transform in the context of macro-social and structural constellations in Turkey. In this respect, the Turkey-specific ideological, religious-political and economic macro-dimensions in the 1970s to 1990s and the social marginalisation of Alevis at various levels and areas of life, which will be explained in more detail below, are formative, momentous factors in the recognition and negotiation process of Alevis and their struggle for visibility in the public sphere (cf. Şahin, 2005). The latter leads, on the one hand, to the transformation of places of Alevi religious practice and the change in forms of transmission of religious knowledge and, on the other hand, to the transformation of the once invisible religious denomination itself and ultimately contributes to the formation of Alevi organisations (cf. Massicard, 2007).

Organisational and Milieu-Specific Situation of the Alevis in Turkey

In the 16th century, the community life and religious practice of the Alevis, who were considered a "misguided sect" (Sökefeld, 2003, p. 248) by the Ottoman Empire, who had "left the path of true faith and could be punished with death" (Sökefeld, 2003, p. 248), shifted into seclusion (cf. Massicard 2007, p. 36). They hid their religious affiliation and saw invisibility as a way to survive. It thus became part of the Alevi way of life to conceal their faith when in danger, to be unable to fulfil ritual duties, to temporarily abandon them altogether or to imitate other rituals, e.g. Sunni rituals (Massicard 2007, p. 36). Due to the lack of organisational unity, a central Alevi scriptural culture and an institutionalised teaching authority for knowledge transfer, dissemination and safeguarding have not been able to develop (cf. Bozkurt, 2006, p. 203). The history of the Alevis is frequently linked to themes of persecution and oppression. However, Benjamin Weineck provides a re-evaluation of their history in his book "Zwischen Verfolgung und Eingliederung" (2021). His research focuses on the interactions between the Alevis and the Ottoman Empire from the 16th to 18th centuries, employing previously unexamined Ottoman sources to reveal that Alevis "regularly interacted with agents of the state in various contexts" after facing persecution (Bozkurt, 2006, p. 203). Weineck shows that these interactions were largely aimed at facilitating the integration of the Alevis into the Ottoman political structure (Bozkurt, 2006, p. 203). He uses the prevailing narrative of persecution, as seen in the daily lives and organizational practices of the Alevis, as a reference point for his analysis.

The onset of industrialisation and rapid urbanisation led to fundamental economic and social upheavals in Turkey, which also had an impact on the Alevis. While they were able to maintain certain demarcation mechanisms in village structures, which dissolved with the migration to the cities that began in 1950, it was hardly possible for them to continue their religious practices in the big cities (cf. Subaşı, 2002; Ellington, 2004), maintain the internal cohesion of their community (cf. Gümüş, 2007) and shield themselves from external influences (cf. Vorhoff, 1999, p. 31). Consequently, migration resulted in "the dissolution of specifically Alevi social structures" (Sökefeld, 2005b, p. 51) and generally led to the loss or fading of religious knowledge and the neglect of religious rituals.

The situation came to a head during the military dictatorship in the 1980s: Alevis' fear of state repression led to the final shift of religious practices into the private sphere (cf. Sökefeld, 2005a; 2005c). In the city, attempts were initially made to realise cem in the private premises (as had previously been common practice in the village) of Alevi apartment blocks. But in the anonymous multi-storey residential complexes

in an ethnically and religiously mixed neighbourhood, the practice of religious rituals was no longer possible for fear of being evicted. In the urban context, it was also difficult for a cem to reach a dedes due to the great distances involved, so that many Alevis gradually distanced themselves from their faith.

City life changed the significance and function of the dedes in particular (cf. Kehl Bodrogi, 2017 [1988], p. 43) and also led to an increasing change in the cem: while in the village context conflicts were settled by dedes in the cem and punished in agreement with the communitas, in the city the implementation of the most effective sanction element of Alevism, namely exclusion from the Alevi community (Tr.: düşkünlük), as was once the case in the village, is no longer possible in this form and takes on a mainly symbolic form (cf. Yıldırım, 2018, p. 84). In urban modernity, in contrast to the previously very familiar village cem, anonymity prevails to a large extent (Sökefeld, 2005a, p. 210) and it is no longer possible to exclude participants for religious norm violations without further ado. In addition, under urban conditions, many young Alevis distanced themselves from religious traditions and joined left-orientated movements that they regarded as modern and rational (cf. Laçiner, 1989, p. 239-240; Steinbach, 1996, p. 379; Kehl Bodrogi, 1993, p. 271; Sökefeld, 2005a, p. 205). These movements saw the Alevis as allies due to their marginalised and financially weak situation (cf. Massicard, 2013, p. 25-27). In the politically very turbulent period for Turkey from the 1960s onwards, Alevis were accused of adhering to an ideology that was atheistic and jeopardised the Turkish nation (cf. Massicard, 2013, p. 25-27). Thus, "[t]he religious difference [...] was transformed into a political antagonism [...]" (Gorzewski, 2010, p. 45). Consequently, this led on the one hand to the "equation of Sunnis with Turkish nationalism, Islamism and a general legal orientation" (Gorzewski, 2010, p. 45) and on the other hand "the equation of Alevis with secularism and a general left-wing, revolutionary political orientation" (Gorzewski, 2010, p. 45). Alevism or "traditional Alevism" (Yıldırım, 2018), which was practised in the village context, thus experienced a religious erosion until 1970 and 1980 (cf. Erdemir, 2007).

After the 1990s, the Alevis began a phase of returning to their religious traditions, which is also referred to as "religious revitalisation" (Dressler, 2008). Internal religious and political discourse as well as religiously motivated attacks and deadly attacks on Alevis (cf. Sinclair-Webb, 2003; Kaya, 1998) in Turkey were decisive for the perception of Alevis as a religious community of destiny and for the re-emphasis of religious beliefs (cf. Dressler, 2002, p. 175-176).

On closer inspection, this structural transformation from a secular, political group to a (re-)religious community that recognises its religious traditions and adopts an active, public stance and participatory attitude is, firstly, a response to the lack of a constitutional response to attacks on Alevis and, secondly, a reaction to fear of losing their identity (Yıldızlı, 2023). As a result, many Alevis in Germany joined the newly founded Alevi associations. After the "Alevi Declaration" by the Alevi Cultural Association in Hamburg (Sökefeld, 2005b), the narrative of an invisible Alevism changed: within a short period of time, an Alevi identity movement was formed that publicly campaigned for the visibility (cf. Şahin, 2005, p. 465) and recognition of Alevism (cf. Özkul, 2019; Sökefeld 2005c, p. 138). In Germany, too, Alevis were largely inconspicuous in the public arena with regard to their religious identity. The developments in Germany shaped the Alevi movement in Turkey, which emerged at almost the same time (cf. Özyürek, 2009; Avcı, 2005), but which is "more fragmented and diversified [...] as no strong, overarching umbrella organisation has developed" (Sökefeld, 2005c, p. 137).

Overall, the Alevi movement has had a formative influence on the transformation of Alevism "from a hidden to a public [...] form of religion" (Sökefeld, 2005c, p. 137). Although the path to an organisation (form) in Turkey was made more difficult due to the lack of a legal basis . In Turkish association law, "any form of organisation based on cultural, ethnic or religious difference is regarded as an attack on the unity of state and nation" (Sökefeld, 2005b, p. 51) and is therefore classified as "potential separatism" (Sökefeld, 2005b, p. 51). This led to the formation of a hybrid form of Alevi organisation in the city: the fusion of cemevi and association (cf. Yıldırım, 2018, p. 85-86) to form Alevi cultural and religious centres. These first socially and sacredly used Alevi premises in initially converted buildings represent a spatially symbolic dimension of Alevi religious practice in the urban milieu and led to the transformation of religious practices of the Alevis, which primarily refers to the social structure and the form in which rituals are performed rather than the transformation of the ritual itself (cf. Sökefeld, 2005a, p. 208).

With the migration to the city, the previously spatially intangible faith that was lived locally in the village context changed into the form of a visible, formally organised faith in the urban milieu, namely Alevi

organisation(s). At the same time, however, the religious knowledge that was very present in the village context now lost its contours in the urban context. Through these Alevi organisations, foundations, institutes and networks founded in the 1990s on a local and national level, as well as communication and cooperation with political actors, Alevism became the focus of media attention. With the privatisation of the media in Turkey and the Alevi radio and television stations that this made possible, Alevis had the opportunity to publicly discuss their problematic situation and draw attention to deficits in the rule of law (Gurcan, 2013; Şahin, 2005).

The dede as an authority (also) survived in itself, generally as a "traditionally hereditary and not as an acquired function, but its function and definition were severely restricted" (Hendrich, 2011, p. 15). For the internal organisational unit of an Alevi organisation in urbanity, this means the redistribution of areas of competence between the dede and the association's board, which now have specific knowledge, skills and resources to "create new networks, use modern communication strategies and act in accordance with the respective legal and social circumstances" (Hendrich, 2011, p. 15). The quality of knowledge was transformed and the shift of knowledge transfer and decision-making powers to the organisation's management led to tensions in the transmission of Alevism and, for the most part, to the "loss of Alevi knowledge" (Sökefeld, 2005a, p. 215). For the dedes, their radius of action and deployment is reduced to the management of the cem, "often at the invitation of the organisation" (Sökefeld, 2005a, p. 215).

In the urban milieu, the emphasis on the dede-talip relationship has been replaced by the affiliation of people to the cemevi and is manifested in the language: talips who once belonged to a dede in the village go to their local cemevi in the city, where they are members of the Alevi organisation and can leave the cemevi and visit another one at will (cf. Yıldırım, 2018, p. 87-88). The term talip of a dede changes in the city to member of a cemevis and thus stands for the change to belonging to a religious community qua membership (Yıldızlı, 2023). The transition to the form of paid membership in an Alevi organisation creates a new dimension of interaction: between association members and management, who are under pressure to perform and are expected to provide services such as visiting the sick or settling disputes "in the same way as a non-religiously oriented regional association would" (Hendrich, 2011, p. 8) and which must be accountable to the members of the association. For further considerations, this means that it is not only macrostructures that can have an external impact on Alevis and Alevi organisations and have an internally latent disintegrative effect, but (internal) organisational structures such as interdependencies between association management and dede, taking into account different forms and formats of knowledge, can lead to specific (conflict-laden) tensions.

Multiple Translation Relationships and a Meaning-Reconstructive Approach to The Case

In the course of field research in the period from 2017 to 2020, interviews were conducted with Alevi clergy and association functionaries in Istanbul/Turkey for the purpose of reconstructing multiple forms and formats of Alevi religiosity (Yıldızlı, 2023, p. 101). The interviews all took place on the premises of the respective Alevi organisation. The interviewees were asked to report on their role and tasks within the Alevi organisation using guided interviews with strong narrative elements. As part of the narratives, it was possible to go into more detail on certain aspects, such as local cooperation between Alevi organisations and other (political/religious) actors, by asking occasional interim questions. The developments, changes and challenges in the course of the recognition and negotiation processes of Alevis in Turkey and of Alevism on the way to the current form of religious organisation are not explicitly visible and not necessarily intentionally present to the speakers. In this respect, the collected material was analysed with the aim of identifying or reconstructing the underlying structures of meaning using the evaluation method of macroanalytical deep hermeneutics (cf. Renn, 2018) and interpreted against the background of translation theory (Renn 2006; 2014).

Using the evaluation method, it is possible to understand the relationships between the micro and macro levels - to outline the theoretical starting point -"in terms of differentiation theory as different forms of social translation" (Renn, 2018, p. 199). Based on this, translation relationships exist between different levels of social integration such as system, organisation, milieu and person, i.e. translation must take place both between and within these levels of integration. However "the traces of the indirect relationships between the micro and macro levels [...] can only be inferred indirectly [...], in that the traces of those indirect relationships within 'translation relationships' [...] can be inferred 'deeply hermeneutically' from 'latent' layers of meaning of 'manifest' meanings within specific horizons of meaning" (Renn.).

With regard to the journey of knowledge, it was central to draw on those interview sequences that illustrate the translation performance of central religious authorities and, with their translation work, pave the way for a journey of knowledge in a spatial but also in a historical transformation process. It was interesting to see which interpretations and practices the interviewees develop in order to maintain the gap between the traditional roots of Alevism and the challenges of a modern, urban, contemporary interpretation. In this respect, the material not only reveals the complex structure of the Alevi organisation or the Alevi milieu, but also its multidimensional and regionally different interdependence, macro-structural situation and the associated difficulties/tensions of the (traditional, previously organised in village structures) Alevis on their way to the (religious) form of organisation, which are examined in the case study.

Since the reciprocal influences of the different contexts take place in the mode of interruption of interdependence and the translation relationships can be demonstrated in the material, the analysis concentrates on how breaks in meaning between (which) horizons of meaning are expressed and what conclusions can be drawn in the light of the theoretical and methodological orientation of the contribution. For it is precisely these breaks in meaning that point to the coincidence of different horizons of meaning that have formed boundaries against each other. In relation to the concept of travelling knowledge, these breaks could also be interpreted as indications of different horizons of knowledge, which lay the tracks for the border crossing of one form of knowledge into another order of knowledge (Yıldızlı, 2024). The metaphorical concept of the journey in the context of knowledge appears in the material (in the sequences shown here) to be understood as a transit from one order of knowledge to another, the transition of which is not obvious, however, but would have to be identified and methodically reconstructed by means of breaks in meaning.

On Forms of Multiple Translations of Alevi Religiosity- a Case Study

The sequentially analysed case presented here is an interview with a young dede from an independent cemevi in Istanbul/Turkey that is not affiliated to any foundation or federation. The interviewee studied Turkology, completed his master's degree in Turkish folklore and was preparing for his doctorate. In the opening passage, the list of his educational qualifications is followed by his duties as a dede in the cemevi, whereby he describes himself and others as dede candidates: "[...] to be honest, we do not say that we are dedes. We are dede candidates. [...]" (Interview). They are "not actually dede" (Interview), but are still learning: "[...] we [are] actually not dede we learn to be dede. According to our family lineage, yes, we are dede, although of course we don't attribute that solely to our lineage. You are not dede just because you come from a dede family. [...]" (Interview). After all, it is not enough to belong to a dede family to be a dede. Rather, a dede must also have cultural and "necessary knowledge" (Interview) in addition to their ancestry: "[...] In this matter, you have to be equipped in a cultural sense anyway, you have to have the necessary knowledge. You have to be able to fulfil the wishes and demands of the citizens anyway, that's what we're here for. I can say that we are actually students here [laughs], because we learn a lot here while teaching. [...] Yes, our job here anyway (.) if you ask officially, officially I am the deputy of the Organisationleader. [...]" (Interview).

Even in this opening passage, these qualifications express a modern understanding of a dede, as genealogical descent is not sufficient to be labelled a dede. The role of the dedes here expresses different forms of knowledge (secular knowledge and religious, Alevi religious knowledge). This is because dedes are not exclusively included in the Alevi organisation and the Alevi milieu as religious experts. They are also integrated into the education system or the world of work (depending on their profession), "multiple affiliations" (Renn, 2018, p. 215) and depending on the milieu, must have practical milieu-specific knowledge that coordinates their social behaviour (knowing "how 'exactly' a rule should be followed") (Renn, 2018, p. 221). In this sequence, the image of a dedes is staged as a service provider whose task is to satisfy the citizens. The term "citizen" here implies systemic imperatives and expresses a translation of political implications in the context of a religious milieu, a religious organisation. Instead of speaking of believers, talips or members according to the form of the organisation, a political horizon of meaning with corresponding linguistic formatting is at work here.

The interviewee says that they are not dedes, but claims with equal certainty that they are "actually students here" (Interview). In addition, the dede candidate officially holds the office of board representative and thus expresses not only his personal identity, but also the associated milieu-specific knowledge: "In general, I am always here with my identity as a dede with my identity as a dede I try to serve. [...] But eh in

general I'm always here with my identity eh as dede with my identity as dede I try to serve. We help the youth with their twelve services classes. I help out with the semah classes (.) one on one. Eh we also help with the humanities subjects of course literature Turkish eh history sometimes geography so we have an active (.) eh (.) understanding of service here" (Interview).

These unclear and changing descriptions of his position and task in the cemevi, which particularly emphasise identity and service, reveal an incomplete training as a dede, which becomes clear in the phrase "actually no dede we learn to be dede" and gives the impression that the to be a dede is a further qualification in addition to his previously mentioned university degrees. According to this reading, the cemevi appears to be an institution that mechanically trains dedes like a service provider. Here, the motif of the dede candidate and the learning process indirectly express the imperatives of an educational system and the associated qualification levels, which become performatively visible in the practical context of execution.

By thematising the effectiveness and power of the dedes, its interrelationship with the talips and the description of to be a dede, it is possible to draw conclusions about the responsibilities and function of a dedes, "because our job as dedes is not just to pray and perform religious rituals, we also have to ensure that the cemevis function properly in terms of administration". Here, the interviewee emphasises the special dual function or multifunctionality of the dedes. This is because the dedes deals with religious issues, but also manages non-religious administrative matters like the cemevi "functions". This multiple identity of the dedes refers to a multiply differentiated society (cf. Renn, 2006; 2014) of modernity, in which diverse inclusion profiles can coexist and the administration and coordination of different forms of knowledge is the responsibility of the person themselves. Just as the dede is not exclusively responsible for prayer, the cemevi is not exclusively a place for praying, but also a place for self-development and realisation: "Well, people understand the following cemevis are just built to pray there no quite the opposite (.) these are places where all social activities (.) anyway the national holidays, the religious holidays of the people, their religious attitudes and also where attention can be paid to the education of the children. [...] These are places where they can develop themselves, where they can realise themselves, where they can say we also have a place - to be honest, that's how I see it [...]" (Interview).

It shows the identity-forming dimension of a religious place that relates to all areas of life and where social activities in particular are becoming increasingly important. The lack of these cemevis or associations leads to the alienation of "society from its own identity". The depiction of the to be a dede and the cemevis as not primarily religious, but also social, cultural and identity-forming institutions could be a reaction to the surrounding contexts, namely the urban space, and could be interpreted as a differentiation of the function and significance of the dedes and the cemevis. This differentiation could also be interpreted as an organisation- and milieu-specific translation of environmental factors or as a milieu-internal translation of external environmental imperatives (Yıldızlı, 2023). In this respect, the urban knowledge systems and the institutional framework conditions changed the form and self-image of the dedes as well as the knowledge of how religious practice should be practised. The effects of the new local contexts in urbanity and the associated structures of meaning can be reconstructed indirectly through the way the religious practitioners think and work. Ultimately, Alevism must adapt the structures and new forms of knowledge transfer in the new urban context - or rather, it must be translated between milieu-based and organisational Alevism.

In addition to the task of leading the cems as a religious leader, the multiple identity of the dede also includes being a "mouthpiece". For example, it can happen that current political events or events from "social life" require a reaction that the interviewee wants to express as a "citizen" and then "puts the dede identity to one side" (Interview). The people in the cemevi have corresponding expectations of the dede: "They want you to speak. They want you to be their mouthpiece" (Interview): "[...] three four years ago there was the Soma disaster in Turkey you know 300 people eh became martyrs died [...] that day you come to the cem [...] and you are angry. There are things you want to say. [...] Eh because you are here as a citizen and you put the dede identity aside as a citizen you have to react to it and you have to express the reaction of the people to you. [...] The citizens are like that, they come here (.) something may have happened that day (.) that requires a reaction [...] you want to react to it. [...] And he shows this reaction here. [...] But not by speaking. They want you to speak. They want you to be their mouthpiece (...) eh well sometimes you speak very harshly then they say dede today you were very harsh. [...] Eh that happens [...] in the end, not every topic can be pleasant, because faith itself is hard" (Interview).

By using the term "citizen" and discarding the dede identity, which can be read here as a metaphor, the interviewee implies a shift between different horizons of meaning and imperatives for action, thus creating the impression of an attempt to make a linguistic distinction between his rights and duties as a citizen interested in political society and his religious responsibility as a dede. At the same time, this attempt to separate the religious and political spheres implies a translation of political imperatives into the (religious) milieu horizon. However, this interaction before the cem on topical political issues and the subsequent transition to prayer stages a (travelling) dede who transcends horizons of meaning and borders, who serves an audience and tries to fulfil its expectations and interests, which presumably exist more in the political discussions than in the religious ceremony (and forces the invocation of different effective horizons of knowledge). Religious motives are communicated and verbalised externally (including to the Sunni majority society), but internally there is still a political interest and political motives are at work. Evidence for this assumption can be found in the following passage, in which the young dede addresses the political involvement of the Alevis in the 1970s and their renunciation of their faith: "[...] now back then they were always together with the dede, they did their cem together, they prayed together. But now society has changed. This society in the 60s 50s begins the migration to Istanbul, or rather the migration to the city begins with the 60s begins the mayoral period in political terms. Eh well, when you get to the 70s, the Alevis move a bit more to the left (...) because we were never to the left, you have to say that openly. They are slipping to the left, but by slipping to the marginalised left, they are also moving away from the faith. Now these people who have moved away have children (..). Now we are trying to be a dede to the children, trying to teach them the faith. Whether you like it or not, it's difficult. And you can't teach the child something that science has now rejected (...). I say that they want something new, well I don't want to criticise the dedes who come from tradition, actually I criticise the youth (..) they don't understand the dedes. Eh and because they don't understand it either, so because our thing is more mysticism yes eh they don't understand the mysticism there they are also right (..) so we don't expect them to understand it at this age anyway. But there is the thing with the language now between a 70-year-old 60, 40-year-old dede and between a 15- and 20-year-old child there is the thing with the language. We can't manage to get the language here (..) now here he tells us [...] Imam Ali grabbed the Hayber Castle anyway and threw it into the sky. How many metres away did he throw it, yes, he grabbed it and threw it away, you couldn't see the beginning or the end [...] You ask the dede here the following dede I'm a physicist anyway and there's no such thing in physics [...] (...) and he says [...] that's the miracle of Imam Ali, he then says [...]" (Interview).

Whereas "back then" (Interview) (meaning: in the Alevi village) people were "constantly together with the dede" (Interview), which suggests an intensive dede talip elationship, and held cems together, now "society has changed" (Interview). This reflects the interviewee's modern and advanced ability to reflect. With the migration to the city, the political phase also began and the "Alevis who migrated to the cities in the 1970s moved a little more to the left" (Interview). The politically left-wing attitude and activity of the Alevis had consequences in terms of identification with religious content and affiliation with Alevism. Because "by slipping to the marginalised left, they also distance themselves from the faith" (Interview). At this point in the interview, both the politicisation of the Alevis and their turning away from the faith in this phase become manifest with the migration to urban areas - it could be interpreted as an indication of the fading or loss of relevance of religious knowledge. One possible conclusion from this would be that the generation that migrated from the village to the city in the 1970s is still not very close to the faith today, and if it is, then political issues in the cemevi, which the dede attempts to address as the example above shows, could still be of importance to them. At the same time, this attempt implies a work of translation between the political and religious generations, because "these people who have distanced themselves are children (...). Now we are trying to be a dede for the children, trying to teach them the faith" (Interview). However, the dede here problematises the transmission of religious knowledge or faith to the children of a politically engaged generation of parents who have turned away from faith and describes this as difficult because "the youth (.) they don't understand the dedes" (Interview) and "they don't understand mysticism" (Interview). So it is not just a question of the challenge of mediating between a generation of parents and a new, young generation. Rather, it gives the impression that the difference between a generation that knows the tradition (but has turned away for political reasons) and the generation that has grown up with science but is open to religious content is challenging and manifests itself particularly in language. The interviewee contrasts the traditional dedes with a young generation that demands something new, which implicitly expresses the contrast between traditional and modern. The difference between these two horizons of meaning (traditional and modern, old and young, but also between different forms of knowledge) becomes visible in

the language and manifests itself in the horizon of subjective behavioural practices, such as a rejecting and strongly questioning youth in contrast to older, traditional dedes both in the village and in the city: "Eh now the reason why the new dedes and the old dedes (..) are arguing is precisely this point" (Interview), namely the aspect of language and thus the mutual formation of boundaries of meaning, the exchange of which is to take place in the mode of translation. In this context, it crystallises that there is obviously a language of the traditional (village) dedes that does not seem to conform to the language of the youth in the urban context and leads to breaks in meaning: "[T]he youth (.) they don't understand the dedes" (Interview): "[...] The elders have understood the essence (...) because they have grown up with the tradition I tell you for example (.) the honoured Ali has killed with his sword four eh 40000 people I tell you. As a person who has grown up in the tradition you will say ahh the saint did that, yes you say. [...] But he understands that (...) In the following way he understands that (.) yes he says that the sword is his language here (...) with one word he could stop 40000 people himself" (Interview).

The older generation understands mysticism and religious metaphorical language because they have grown up with tradition and therefore have implicitly habitualised knowledge. In contrast, the children of today are not socialised with tradition and therefore also lack access to religious knowledge: "But now the children are far removed from it [...] the father has slipped to the left marginalised side" (Interview):

"I: The older people understood that? B: Of course the elders understand that. Very much because he grew up in the tradition because you used to be in the cems with the dedes all the time, you could decipher the mysticism. (..) [...] But now the children are far removed from it [...] the father has slipped to the left marginalised side [...]" (Interview). The remarks indicate that there was apparently a specific traditional religious language in the village (Yıldızlı, 2023, p. 117), which, if it is not learnt and passed on, as the example of the politically active generation of parents who distanced themselves from faith illustrates, is not connectable and is neither spoken nor understood by the next generation in the city. Accordingly, the transmission of religious knowledge must also change or adapt accordingly: "And you can't teach the child something that science has rejected (...). I say that they want something new, well I don't want to criticise the dedes that come from tradition" (Interview). In this context, the conflict between the young, progressive dedes (candidates) in the city and the older, traditional dedes both in the city and in the village and their respective specific religious knowledge is revealed alongside the break between a traditionally religious village language and a new religious city language, so that a translation is required. The generational conflict between the politicised generation of parents and the children becomes manifest in the following lines, in which the reason for the parents' distance from faith is explained: "[...] Well, the cemevi yes (.) they had [...] distance to the faith because they migrated here from the village they had dedes or didn't have one that was a big gap (.) they couldn't live out their faith because there weren't the places for it these people finally experienced the 80s these are people who experienced the 90s (.) eh when the children came here the family also started to come (..) in the beginning we had problems the children came and the families didn't come (.) eh three four months later when the children kept talking about it the families [...] said let's go and have a look [...] now they come all the time" (Interview). Here, the interviewee addresses the situation of the parents' generation following their migration to the cities, citing the lack of dedes and places to pray in the city as the reason for their distance from their faith, not their political commitment. This text passage illustrates a dynamic process: with the migration of a generation socialised in the traditional religious village to the city, where they "did not live out their faith because there were no places to do so" (Interview), "a large gap" (Interview) is created. This gap is compensated for by the interest in politics discussed above. The next generation, which perceives and experiences the existence and (re)opening of Alevi houses of faith and organisations in an urban context, is more likely to come into contact with the cemevis and Alevism, seek out the cemevis and "ensure cohesion here. So they also manage to bring the family here (...) there is such a structure here" (Interview). This depiction emphasises the centrality of the cemevis as a place that protects against distancing from faith and turning to politics. The interviewee thus presents the cemevi as a guarantee for the continued existence of Alevism and the transfer of religious knowledge (possibly to be understood as travelling knowledge) (Yıldızlı, 2024). Accordingly, the generational conflict could be a motif through which indirect access to the latent level and, in the broadest sense, to travelling knowledge is possible: the familial negotiation processes between parents and children about the sovereignty of interpretation of political or religious knowledge. Furthermore, the language and generation problem is thematised again: "[...] apart from that, we have a language problem, a generational problem (...) Alevism is one to one [...] there is a traditional Alevism (...) which was formed in the 16th century [coughs slightly], there is a buyruk which emerged at that time. The buyruk is simply the basic law of Alevism (.) we are still

trying to live this Alevism that is described there (..). We are still trying to live the Alevism of the 16th [...] 13th century, but if we look at it logically, we are not in the 16th century, we are in 2018 (...) we are in the 21st century (...). In my opinion, the term century no longer exists (..) so (..) in the meantime (..) we have overcome that (...)" (Interview).

This implicitly expresses the reason for the language and generation problem, namely traditional Alevism from the 13th to the 16th century, which can no longer be practised in this form (in urban areas). At the same time, the dede implicitly expresses the need for a reform or transformation of Alevism or Alevi religious doctrine and practice, or a translation of traditional Alevism into a new, post-traditional form in order to solve the problem of language and generations. In other words, Alevism would have to be translated from a traditional village language, with which a hermeneutic interpretation of mysticism was possible, into a language that conforms to urban science, which would simultaneously involve a translation between different horizons of knowledge, or we could speak of the journey of knowledge or of travelling knowledge.

Although the youth do not understand mysticism, they have learnt religious knowledge in the cemevi in the city to practice religious rituals and "they have made a difference in their villages" (Interview). Furthermore, according to the interviewee, the youth are accepted by the elders in the village because of their religious knowledge (specifically in relation to ritual practice). Consequently, they have a milieu-specific knowledge of how to act in a certain religious context, for example in a ritual, or in other words: they have a specific knowledge that can be interpreted as a learnable guide to action and practice: "[...] when these children go to the cems in the village (.) if you look at the cems in the village then there are the 12 services they have to do 12 services there are not many who can do this because people are no longer interested in it the older people say we forget it we can't do it any more the youth they turn to the youth the youth they turn to are young people who are educated here (.) and in the village a difference is noticeable. Which cemevi do you go to (.) which dedes do you go to or where did you learn that from so now the youth are also coming into society. Find acceptance. These are people aged 14, 15, I'm not talking about 30 or 35 years old" (Interview).

This could be interpreted to mean that although certain ritual practices can be learned and practised, the religious knowledge needed to understand the specifically Alevi mysticism cannot be passed on without further ado, precisely because this specifically Alevi knowledge is a habitualised implicit knowledge (village Alevism). But even the mere imitation of religious practices and the observance of religious commandments and regulations have an outward impact. The younger generation from the city turns into religious experts in the village and "finds a hearing" (Interview).

In the interview, the hermeneutic interpretation of mysticism is localised in the traditional Alevi village and attributed to the older generation and the dedes, but with the migration to the city this mysticism was lost or even exchanged for politics. However, this shows that a process of forgetting has (also) occurred in the village, but that the rituals are being revived by young people who have grown up in the city and not in the tradition, but who have been socialised with the religious knowledge of ritual practice. It follows that ritual practice, with its visible, observable and imitable elements, can be learnt, unlike the language of (religious) stories or mysticism. The implicit knowledge, such as the hermeneutic interpretation of Alevi mysticism and the understanding of the village language, seems to have been internalised by the older generation in the village, which gradually falls into oblivion, does not seem to be communicable to the younger generation via the language and leads to breaks in interpretation between traditional and urban Alevism in the urban context. Whether this inaccuracy of fit between traditional Alevism from the 13th century and the urban religious way of life leads to the gradual dissolution of traditional Alevism cannot be answered precisely at this point. However, this inaccuracy of fit between organised Alevism in the city and the more milieu-based Alevism can be reconstructed indirectly via the motif of language and generational problems. In this context, the interviewee problematises further aspects and again addresses the lack of specific religious milieu knowledge about Alevism. According to this, the Alevis have "no access to the sources" (Interview) and are not familiar with Alevism: "The problem with Alevis is that they don't know what Alevism is. (..) [...] They don't know what Alevism is. They have no access to the sources (...). See you have no access to sources. They lock themselves into political ideologies (..) [...] We are trapped, so we are trapped in a political ideology and step out of the faith. Oh, a party what should I do with it believe me some cemevis have become the back gardens of parties (..) [...] Why. What is this this is the faith the faith. This is the place where the innocent and the guilty are separated. But there is no such thing in politics" (Interview). The dede attempts here to justify the political commitment of Alevis and creates an image of

ignorant Alevis ("[t]hat is also the problem, what the Alevis have no idea of anything we have no idea" (Interview), who do not know Alevism due to a lack of access to sources and would consequently adhere to political ideologies: "They lock themselves into political ideologies" (Interview).

The image of being trapped in a political ideology contains a passive moment and a victimisation of the Alevis by political ideologies, which is expressed more explicitly in the following, this time in the "we" form: "We are trapped, so we are trapped in a political ideology and leave the faith" (Interview). The Alevi group claims solidarity as a victim group. The problematisation of the relationship of Alevis to politics and political ideologies, which is ultimately also the reason for turning away from faith, is again evident here. Consequently, this interview passage indirectly expresses a tension between faith (Alevism) and politics, or rather it suggests an incompatibility between politics and religion, because political activity leads to turning away from faith. Ultimately, however, the real problem is not the state or Alevism per se, but that the members of Alevi organisations are multiply differentiated forms of life (Renn, 2018) that are integrated into various sub-contexts of Turkish society under the conditions of modernity. They all know the imagined, true village Alevism only second-hand: "That's also the problem, [...] the Alevis have no idea about anything [...] we have no idea" (Interview).

Travelling Knowledge- a Moment of Translation?

The exemplary reconstructive case analysis of Interview sequences illustrated the specific organisational and milieu situation of the Alevi religious community in Turkey. The special overlapping relationships between the differentiation-theoretical distinctions between the integration units of organisation and milieu show that urban and milieu-based Alevism are forms and formats of Alevi religiosity (Yıldızlı, 2023, p. 247). The elaborate diversions via the theoretical-heuristic considerations on the multiple translation of Alevism (Yıldızlı, 2023, p. 247), analysed exemplarily on the basis of an empirical case, was both a necessity and a condition for conceptual considerations, enriched by translation theory, on (lifeworld) contexts of travelling knowledge in general and the moment of translating knowledge in particular. At this point, the article cannot and does not intend to develop a fully developed theoretical conceptual architecture, but it can provide some food for thought as well as considerations with certain differentiation-theoretical implications and with the respective conceptual tools of translation theory (Renn, 2006; 2018) on the concept of travelling knowledge and how to make it visible. Thus, the article proposes to understand the concept of travelling knowledge as the path of knowledge that makes the boundaries of knowledge orders or interdependencies between integration units visible. Travelling knowledge can be understood metaphorically as the path of knowledge from one specific context to another, undergoing a certain transformation or specific forms of knowledge transformation. This transformation/formation or change in the aggregate conditions of knowledge can be understood in terms of differentiation theory as a form of complex translation relationships: Macroscopically constructed, abstract forms of knowledge are translated at the ground level of local social practices and have an indirect effect on the coordination of action as path-dependent meaning-shifting horizons of meaning (Renn, 2006; 2018).

In this context, the concept of travelling knowledge is conceptually interesting: travelling knowledge conceived as a moment of translation, as a time of translation, implies not only processes of transformation but also processes of negotiation of knowledge (stocks) and forms of knowledge within specific orders of integration in which both the content and the form can change. These considerations become sharper with the example of multiple translations of Alevism and the case study presented above in this context: the group of Alevis, who were/are predominantly organised in village structures in milieu form and have specific religious knowledge, "travelled" (or migrated) from the village to the city, i.e. there was an actual geographical relocation of the group. With the migration to the cities, the group initially remained the same (apparently, at first glance), with the majority living in Alevi neighbourhoods in the urban context. However, migration to the denominationally and ethnically very mixed and politically and legally tense urban environment changed the way in which religious knowledge was passed on.

But the form of Alevi organisation also underwent a change against the background of recognition and negotiation processes in a predominantly Sunni society in Turkey, which could be worked out in the light of a differentiation-theoretical heuristic by means of a deep hermeneutic evaluation method, namely "macroanalytical deep hermeneutics" (Renn, 2018), using the material collected to uncover latent dimensions of meaning. This method makes it possible to find traces of these indirect and difficult-to-access larger-scale factors or environmental contexts at the micro level of latent meaning in the empirical material.

In this sense, it is not about the "journey of knowledge" per se into another context or culture, as the dynamic cultural studies concept of travelling concepts (cf. Neumann/Nünning, 2012) means and in which the transcultural journey of knowledge, i.e. through different cultural or "diverse academic contexts" (Neumann/Nünning, 2012, p. 3) or, as Mieke Bal argues, that concepts are in principle travelling "between disciplines, between individual scholars, between historical periods, and between geographically dispersed academic communities" (Bal, 2002, p. 24).

Journey Through The Case-Specific Latent Dimensions of Meaning and The Multiple Translation of Alevism.

The case analysis shows an excerpt of a variety of ways in which the Alevi religious community deals with the tensions between tradition and modern, urban environmental conditions specific to Turkey (as an indirect consequence and translation reaction). Through the indirectly reconstructed situation of the religious authorities, namely here using the example of the dedes, it could be shown that both horizons of meaning for the preservation of tradition and the formal role of management in the urban context are necessary for the preservation of urban Alevism and have become characteristic of it: The integration practice as well as form of Alevism is in a position between milieu-shaped, habitual communitisation and the pressure towards an explicit form of organisation with optional membership. By analysing the complex social contexts in which the various forms and formats of religion or religiosity are embedded in a detailed, multidimensional manner based on differentiation theory, the collective religious way of life of Alevis can be reconstructed (Yıldızlı, 2023, p. 275).

In this context, the concept of travelling knowledge can be understood as a form of translation or as a moment of translation and can be reconstructed by means of the competition of religious metaphors in a multi-perspectivist urban environment with other different (political/scientific) orders of knowledge. The traces of travelling knowledge can also be seen in the adaptation of former, traditional interpretations in these newer orders (organised Alevism): For within the Alevi organisations, religious knowledge and the power of interpretation over Alevi knowledge must and is reinterpreted so that it is no longer only dedes who have exclusive knowledge, but every member of the association can gain knowledge through different channels but (and this is new) by visiting different Alevi organisations. Accordingly, the forms and formats of communication have also changed. As a result, the dedes in the Alevi organisations in the city are faced with the new challenge of acting as translators between different knowledge systems of Alevism. In this respect, by travelling from one knowledge system to another, knowledge not only changes the (religious) practice (or the knowledge about religious practice), but also the old or milieu-shaped traditional role patterns of the dedes.

The theoretical embedding of the analysis allows the practice of the Alevi way of life (cf. Renn, 2018) to be understood as a translation. This can be worked out most impressively with the motif of the Alevi village, which on the manifest level is an indication of latent tensions of meaning and indirectly points to the widening of the gap between organised and milieu-based Alevism. On the one hand, direct reference is made to the village as a context of origin that represents biographical memories. On the other hand, the village represents a projection surface on the latent level, as a topos, and is a metaphor for true, idealised Alevism (a fiction of collective religious identity). The differentiated forms of the dynamic reference to the village are the multiple differentiation of Alevism or the multiple translation of Alevi religiosity (Yıldızlı, 2023, p. 281). Externally, Alevism has the structure of an organisation and represents the organised Alevis (urban Alevism), which, however, does not represent true Alevism. True Alevism is milieu-based Alevism in the village (Yıldızlı, 2023, p. 281). In this respect, the village is semantically the representation of true Alevism. Under the conditions of a pluralised society, different forms of Alevi-religious lifestyles coexist-due to and because of the decoupling of different forms of differentiation from previously merged situations - predominantly independently of each other, all of which refer to milieu-shaped Alevism (the motif of the village). This is also what still holds Alevism in the city together: the reference to the village. Although the organisational form for true, village Alevism is an inappropriate form of institutionalised religious knowledge, the dede only regains meaning in the explicit institutionalised horizon of meaning, and a certain normative commitment can be established via the organisation with simultaneous moral decline (religious-normative missteps) of the Alevi religious community. In the urban context, the person (talip) has a relationship to the dede and to Alevism through the organisation, but (in contrast to the family structures in the Alevi village) can optionally belong to several Alevi organisations ("transitory identity", Renn/Straub, 2002). The inclusion of the person, who can also be referred to as the traveller with regard to the concept

of travelling knowledge, takes place under the conditions of urban modernity through membership. With the concept of Travelling Knowledge, it is possible to decipher the boundaries of knowledge horizons and to trace the person's journey between knowledge horizons. However, in true, milieu-based Alevism, the person is integrated through membership by birth and implicit, habitualised knowledge. Accordingly, the inclusion of personal identity in modern society in religious organisations and religious milieus proves to be multi-faceted, is the responsibility of the person themselves and must be interpreted by them in an ongoing effort (Renn/Straub, 2002). Multiple affiliation is therefore not special, but normal and less of a problem than a characteristic of the multiply differentiated modern age (Renn, 2018), which was illustrated here using the collective religious way of life of Alevis and their milieu- and organisation-specific situation.

From The Multiple Translation of Alevism to Travelling Knowledge as a Moment of Translation?

With the development of a translation-theoretically prepared and the resulting necessity of a deep hermeneutic case analysis, with the aim of raising it to the macro level, thematic possibilities for conceptual considerations on travelling knowledge arise. Overall, as the results of the material analysis show from a sociological perspective, the concept of travelling knowledge is more complex and multi-layered than previously considered and assumed by cultural studies: On the basis of the sequential interview analysis, a connection can be shown between a spatial/historical change (I), a structural change in the order of religion (II) and the transformation or re-thematisation of central religious roles or religious authorities (III). Through the case analysis, it is also possible to reconstruct not only the journey of categories themselves, which are subject to change in the urban context, but also to identify the points in the urban space, such as the Alevi organisation, which show the necessity of the journey of knowledge. This is because the migration of Alevis from the village to the city brought about or requires a change in the form in which religious knowledge is passed on: the milieu-shaped, implicitly habitually integrated Alevism must be transferred to the city, or translated into the form of the organisation, in order to survive. Urban Alevism, with its corresponding formal form of organisation, gives rise to other forms of knowledge. Furthermore, the complex functions and interrelationships of the *dede* between organisation and milieu, between village and city, between different generations have shown the consequences of the journey of knowledge, especially for the role and function of the *dede*s, but also for all those involved. The *dede* as a traveller between knowledge orders in the urban context must both assume the leadership of the association and organise the traditional leadership of the religious community in the form of a religious authority, which necessitates recourse to specific forms of knowledge.

The concept of travelling knowledge as a category, as the attempt at some conceptual considerations here shows, makes it possible to trace the specific translation relationships and the respective processes of change and, above all, to analyse them with finely tuned conceptual tools based on differentiation theory. The fact that precisely this journey can also be thought of as a moment of the (multiple) translation of Alevism was the conceptual attempt of the present contribution.

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İNANÇ BİLGİ AKTARIMININ BİÇİMLERİ VE FORMATLARI. ALEVİLİĞİN ÇOKLU TERCÜMESİ UFKUNDA SEYAHAT KAVRAMININ GELİŞİMİ ÜZERİNE
(Genişletilmiş Özet)

Mülakat dizilerinin örnek teşkil eden yeniden yapılandırıcı vaka analizi, Türkiye'deki Alevi İnanç topluluğunun kendine özgü örgütsel ve çevresel durumunu ortaya koymuştur. Örgüt ve çevre entegrasyon birimleri arasındaki farklılaşma-kuramsal ayrımlar arasındaki özel örtüşen ilişkiler, kentsel ve çevre temelli Aleviliğin, Alevi dindarlığının biçimleri ve formatları olduğunu göstermektedir (Yıldızlı, 2023, s. 247). Ampirik bir vaka temelinde örneklendirilerek analiz edilen Aleviliğin çoklu çevirisi üzerine kuramsal-sezgisel değerlendirmeler yoluyla yapılan ayrıntılı sapmalar, genel olarak bilginin seyahat bağlamları ve özel olarak bilginin çevrilme anı üzerine çeviri kuramıyla zenginleştirilmiş kavramsal değerlendirmeler için hem bir gereklilik hem de bir koşuldu.

Bu noktada, makale tam anlamıyla gelişmiş bir kuramsal kavramsal mimari geliştiremez ve geliştirme niyetinde de değildir; ancak bazı farklılaşma-kuramsal çıkarımlarla ve çeviri kuramının ilgili kavramsal araçlarıyla (Renn, 2006; 2018) gezgin (veya seyahat) bilgi kavramı ve bunun nasıl görünür kılınacağı üzerine değerlendirmeler sağlayabilir. Bu nedenle makale, gezgin bilgi kavramını, bilgi düzenlerinin sınırlarını veya entegrasyon birimleri arasındaki karşılıklı bağımlılıkları görünür kılan bilgi yolu olarak anlamayı önermektedir. Gezgin bilgi (veya seyahat eden bilgi), metaforik olarak, belirli bir bağlamdan diğerine, belirli bir dönüşümden veya bilgi dönüşüm biçimlerinden geçen bilginin yolu olarak anlaşılabilir. Bilginin toplam koşullarındaki bu dönüşüm/oluşum ya da değişim, farklılaşma teorisi açısından karmaşık çeviri ilişkilerinin bir biçimi olarak anlaşılabilir: Makroskopik olarak inşa edilen soyut bilgi biçimleri, yerel sosyal pratiklerin zemin seviyesinde çevrilir ve yola bağlı anlam değiştiren anlam ufukları olarak eylemin koordinasyonu üzerinde dolaylı bir etkiye sahiptir (Yıldızlı, 2024).

Bu bağlamda, gezgin bilgi veya seyahat bilgi kavramı kavramsal olarak ilginçtir: bir çeviri anı, bir çeviri zamanı olarak düşünülen gezgin bilgi, yalnızca dönüşüm süreçlerini değil, aynı zamanda hem içeriğin hem de biçimin değişebildiği belirli entegrasyon düzenleri içinde bilgi (stokları) ve bilgi biçimlerinin müzakere süreçlerini de ima eder. Bu hususlar, Aleviliğin çoklu tercümesi örneği ve bu bağlamda yukarıda sunulan vaka çalışmasıyla daha da keskinleşmektedir: ağırlıklı olarak köy yapılarında milieu formunda örgütlenmiş ve belirli bir inanç bilgiye sahip olan Aleviler, köyden şehre "seyahat etmiş" (veya göç etmiş), yani Alevilerin gerçek bir coğrafi yer değiştirmesi söz konusu olmuştur.

Çeviri kuramına dayalı bir yaklaşımın geliştirilmesi ve bunun sonucunda ortaya çıkan derin hermeneutik vaka analizinin gerekliliğiyle, bilgilerin dolaşımı üzerine kavramsal değerlendirmeler için tematik olanaklar ortaya çıkmaktadır. Genel olarak, sosyolojik perspektiften yapılan malzeme analizinin sonuçlarının gösterdiği gibi, kültürel çalışmaların önceki varsayımlarına göre dolaşan bilgi kavramı daha karmaşık ve çok katmanlıdır: Ardışık mülakat analizine dayanarak, mekânsal/tarihsel değişim (I), İnanç düzeninin yapısal değişimi (II) ve merkezi İnanç rollerin veya İnanç otoritelerin dönüşümü ya da yeniden ele alınması (III) arasında bir bağlantı gösterilebilir. Vaka analizi aracılığıyla, sadece değişime uğrayan kategorilerin kent bağlamında nasıl yol aldığını yeniden yapılandırmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda Alevi örgütlenmesi gibi kentsel mekânda bu bilgi yolculuğunun gerekliliğini gösteren noktaları da tespit edebiliriz. Bu, köyden kente göç eden Alevilerin, İnanç bilginin aktarım şeklinde bir değişikliği beraberinde getirdiği veya gerektirdiği için önemlidir: Milieu şekilli, dolaylı olarak alışkanlıkla entegre olmuş Alevilik, kente aktarılmalı veya örgütlenme formuna dönüştürülmelidir ki hayatta kalabilsin. Kent Aleviliği, buna karşılık gelen örgütlenme biçimiyle, başka bilgi formlarının ortaya çıkmasına neden olur. Ayrıca, dede'nin örgüt ile milieu arasında, köy ile kent arasında ve farklı nesiller arasında karmaşık işlevleri ve ilişkileri, bilginin yolculuğunun sonuçlarını özellikle dede'nin rolü ve işlevi açısından göstermiştir. Kentsel bağlamda bilgi düzenleri arasında yolculuk yapan bir dede, hem derneğin liderliğini üstlenmek hem de İnanç topluluğun geleneksel liderliğini İnanç otorite formunda organize etmek zorundadır, bu da belirli bilgi formlarına başvurmayı gerektirir.

Vaka analizi, Alevi inanç topluluğunun gelenek ile Türkiye'ye özgü modern, kentsel çevre koşulları arasındaki gerilimlerle (dolaylı bir sonuç ve çeviri tepkisi olarak) başa çıkma yollarının çeşitliliğini göstermektedir. İnanç otoritelerin dolaylı olarak yeniden inşa edilen durumu aracılığıyla, yani burada dedeler örneği kullanılarak hem geleneğin korunmasına yönelik anlam ufuklarının hem de kentsel bağlamda yönetimin resmi rolünün kentsel Aleviliğin korunması için gerekli olduğu ve onun karakteristiği haline geldiği

gösterilebilir: Aleviliğin entegrasyon pratiği ve biçimi, çevre şekilli, alışılmış cemaatleşme ile isteğe bağlı üyeliğe sahip açık bir örgütlenme biçimine yönelik arasında bir konumdadır. İnancın ya da dindarlığın çeşitli biçim ve formatlarının gömülü olduğu karmaşık sosyal bağlamlar, farklılaşma teorisine dayalı olarak ayrıntılı ve çok boyutlu bir şekilde analiz edilerek, Alevilerin kolektif inanç yaşam biçimi yeniden inşa edilebilir (Yıldızlı, 2023, s. 275).

Bu bağlamda, gezgin (seyahat) bilgi kavramı bir çeviri biçimi ya da bir çeviri, anı olarak anlaşılabilir ve inanç metaforların çok perspektifli bir kentsel ortamda diğer farklı (siyasi/bilimsel) bilgi düzenleriyle rekabeti aracılığıyla yeniden inşa edilebilir. Burada yapılan bazı kavramsal değerlendirme denemelerinin gösterdiği gibi, dolaşan bilgi kavramı, belirli çeviri ilişkilerini ve bunların değişim süreçlerini izlemeyi ve özellikle ayrımlaşma teorisine dayanan ince ayarlanmış kavramsal araçlarla analiz etmeyi mümkün kılar. Tam da bu yolculuğun, Aleviliğin (çoklu) çevirisinin bir anı olarak da düşünülebileceği gerçeği, bu çalışmanın kavramsal denemesini oluşturmuştur.

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Ethical Statement / Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği Beyanı

It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited. / Araştırmacı verilerin toplanmasında, analizinde ve raporlaştırılmasında her türlü etik ilke ve kurala özen gösterdiğini beyan eder.

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