THE FALLIBLE MASTER OF PERFECTION:

SHAH ISMAIL IN THE ALEVI-BEKTASHI TRADITION

by

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iii

Most of all, I wish to thank my extended family (too many to mention!) for providing me with sustenance and sanctuary during these years-- especially my grandparents, Joseph and Julia Bellonte. One of the earliest memories I have of my father is a speculative conversation we had about the nature of God, so he really deserves the credit for my chosen path. To both of my parents, my sister Rachel and my husband Semir, it is impossible to express my gratitude in words.

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

TITLE: The Fallible Master of Perfection:
        Shah Ismail in the Alevi-Bektashi Tradition

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As the hereditary leader of the Safavid Sufi order, Shah Ismail founded the Safavid dynasty in 1501. This study goes beyond Shah Ismail's historical legacy, however, to examine the pious and literary sources which have shaped a permanent place for him within the Alevi-Bektashi community, an Islamic sectarian minority in Turkey.

Although Shah Ismail has received extensive treatment in both historical chronicles and modern historiography, this dissertation locates the development of his cult in the legendary versions of his life story. In this respect, the Turkish "Minstrel Tale" (*hikâye*) is fundamental to the transformation of Shah Ismail's significance in the sectarian context. This dissertation also traces the development of his pious significance through both the "authentic" poetic works of Shah Ismail, as contained in his earliest collections of poetry, as well as the poetry attributed to Shah Ismail by the Alevi-Bektashi. It is further demonstrated how the poetry attributed to Shah Ismail is integrated into ritual structures. Through the examination of these disparate literary genres, this thesis accounts for Shah Ismail's legacy as it transformed and endured within a pious context beyond his lifetime and beyond his empire.

RÉSUMÉ

TITRE: Le maître fallible de la perfection

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En tant que leader héréditaire de l'odre Sufi Safavid, le Chah Ismail fonda la dynastie Safavid en 1501. Cette étude va au-dela de l'héritage historique du Chah Ismail, pour examiner les sources pieuses et litéraires qui lui ont laisé une faille permanente au sein de la communauté Alevi-Bektachi, une minorité sectaire slamique evoluant en Turquie.

Même si le Chah Ismail ait reçu une grande considération dans les chroniques historiques et l'hisoriographie moderne, cette thèse situe le développement de son culte parmi les versions légendaires de l'histoire de sa vie. Dans ce contexte, "l'épopée du ménéstrel" turque (*hikâye*) est fondamentale à son influence sur la transformation du Chah Ismail dans le contexte sectaire. Cette thèse trace aussi le développement de son importance pieuse à travers la poésie "authentique" du Chah Ismail, telle que presentée dans ses premiers recueils de poèmes, ainsi qu'à travers la poésie attribuée au Chah Ismail par les Alevi-Bektachi. Cette these montre aussi comment la poésie attribuée au Chah Ismail est integrée aux structures rituelles du groupe. En examineant de ces genres littéraires variés, cette thèse considère comment le patrimoine du Chah Ismail s'est transformé et a servécu dans un contexte pieux, au-delà de sa vie et son empire.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VI. THE RITUAL CONTEXT

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATIONS

The transliteration paradigm applied to the poetry translated in this dissertation follows the system for Ottoman Turkish recommended by the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. Additionally, the guidelines for transliteration proposed in Eleazer Birnbaum's article, "The Transliteration of Ottoman Turkish for Library and General Purposes" are also followed.[1] Islamicate terminology not directly pertaining to the literary and ritual contexts discussed in this dissertation are transliterated according to Arabic and Persian paradigms (i.e., *shaykh*, as opposed to *şeyḫ*). Place-names, select terms and proper names of frequent occurrence are not transliterated (Shah Ismail, Qizilbash, Safavid, Bektashi, Alevi, etc.). Foreign words appearing in translation retain the orthography of the original texts used for translation. I have also corrected obvious misprints in several of the modern texts used in translation.

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[1]*Journal of the American Oriental Society* 87 (1976): 122-156.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE SUBJECT

As the founder of the Safavid throne, the legacy of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī (1487-1524) is recognized. The ruling house for over two centuries (1501-1722), the Safavid dynasty ushered Iran into modern times as an integral entity. The population of Iran also became overwhelmingly Shīʿī during this time through an endeavor envisioned by the state from its inception. Shah Ismail's legacy is also ensured as a mystical demagogue. The first in a long line of hereditary Sufi *shaykhs* to secure political power, Shah Ismail's followers, like those of his father and grandfather before him, worshipped their spiritual leader as a god. In this respect, the poetry of Shah Ismail, written under his pen-name Ḥatāʾī, is widely held as the foremost primary source revealing the heresy current among the Safavids and their followers during their ascendancy to political power.

However, Shah Ismail's legacy endured beyond his historic achievements and he remains a figure of veneration among several related Islamic sects in Turkey, the Balkans, Iran and Iraq to this day. The present study addresses this aspect of Shah

Ismail's legacy as it is manifest within the literature and liturgy of the Alevi-Bektashi of Turkey. Shah Ismail's image as a holy figure in Alevi-Bektashi religiosity next to his status as a major figure of world history also offers the opportunity to compare his historical and legendary lives. On the surface, this comparison presents a profound discrepancy between Shah Ismail's images in the pious context and those presented in contemporary European reports, Safavid chronicles and Ottoman polemical writing. This contrast is further seen through the contents of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* in comparison to the poetry attributed to him as it proliferated among the Alevi-Bektashi.[1] While the poetry of the latter context is considered to be improperly attributed, it will be shown that it echoes those works which are likely authentic. Within this connection lies the pious synthesis of Shah Ismail-- a Ḥaṭā'ī tradition which emerged after Shah Ismail's death during which time the belief in his divinity had largely dissipated. While retaining aspects of his former charismatic glory, the historical Shah Ismail became absorbed by the words of a mortal, fallible *pīr* (spiritual leader) as reflected by his pen-name which came to be widely accepted to mean "one with fault." We will see how Shah Ismail's image within this tradition also transformed through narratives, while which for the most part are legendary and fantastic, at the same time recall accounts of his historical life.

Although the focus of this study is confined to Shah Ismail's place within the Alevi-Bektashi tradition, it should be remembered that Shah Ismail, like other luminaries such as Hacı Bektaş, stands as a saint in the piety and religious texts of other

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[1]According to its poetic usage, *dīvān* (Arabic: *dīwān*), refers to the authoritative collection of a single poet's major compositions alphabetically and according to poetic form.

heterodox Islamic sects which are referred to variously as syncretic or *ghulāt* ("extremist") sects.[2] Irène Mélikoff notes that a version of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* is guarded as a sacred object among the Ķırķlar, a sectarian community in Azerbayjan related to the Ahl-i Ḥaqq.[3] Shah Ismail's poetry is also prominent within the sacred literature of the Shabak sect of Iraq.[4] Although Vladimir Minorsky's research did not extend to Shah Ismail's poetry within these sectarian contexts in his examination of what was then considered to be the oldest and most authentic version of his *dīvān*, he left us these intriguing observations:

> From my Ahl-i Ḥaqq friends I learnt that the Khaṭā'ī mentioned in one of their hymns was no less a person than the founder of the Ṣafavi dynasty: *Khaṭā'ī-dä nāṭiq oldï, Türkistanïn pïri oldï*"(Godhead) came to speech in the person of Khaṭā'ī, (who) became the pïr of the Turks (of Āzarbāyjān)". . . .[5]

The significance of Shah Ismail in these sectarian communities is only vaguely understood, both historically and phenomenologically. Even among closely-related Alevi communities in the Balkans, the significance of Shah Ismail as an object of veneration varies significantly. For example, certain Alevi sects of Bulgaria grant Shah Ismail a pre-eminent place in their pantheon of *pïrs* and saints:

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[2]Jean During suggests the term "hyper-Shia" to designate sects centered on the primacy of the first Shī'ī *imām*, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661). See Jean During, "A Critical Survey on Ahl-e Haqq Studies in Europe and Iran," *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives. Papers Read at a Conference Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, November 25-27, 1996*, ed. Tord Olsson Elisabeth Özdalga and Catharina Raudvere (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 1998) 105.

[3]Irene Mélikoff, "Le problème Bektaşi-Alévi: quelques dernières considérations," *Turcica* 31 (1999): 27.

[4]Martin van Bruinessen, "Shabak," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition.

They sing his [Shah Ismail's] poetry, they raise their hands and bow their heads, or make a *niyaz*[6] whenever his name is mentioned in the *nefes* composed by him or in prayers where he is often referred to as *pirim* or *pirimiz Sultan*. Furthermore, the most ecstatic stages of the *sema*[7] in Gerlovo and in the Rhodope mountains are accompanied by the rhythmatic cry Şah, Şah, Şah which the dancers as well as the onlookers repeatedly shout out . . . the Babaïler and the Musahipler of Rhodopes despise the Qur'ān and discarded completely. In these sects the word Qur'ān is used to refer to the *nefes*[8] composed by Şah Ismāʿil, which constitute one of the pillars of their liturgy.[9]

It is clear that the unique extent to which Shah Ismail is venerated among these specific communities in Bulgaria does not apply to all Alevis.[10] Nevertheless, Shah Ismail's presence is so strongly felt in Alevi ritual that Ahmet Yaşar Ocak credits Shah Ismail with the actual form of Alevi rituals practiced in Turkey today.[11] Precisely to what extent Shah Ismail is venerated among these communities, however, would best be

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[5]Vladimir Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿil I," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 4 (1939-1942): 1007.

[6]An act of offering or supplication to a superior; an informal prayer.

[7](Arabic: *samāʿ*); literally, "listening," *samāʿ* (modern Turkish: *sema*, *semah*) refers to ritualized Sufi music and dance.

[8]Literally, "breath," *nefes* is a general term referring to a religious poem associated with the Alevi-Bektashi.

[9]Frederick de Jong, "Problems Concerning the Origins of the Qızılbāş in Bulgaria: Remnants of the Safaviyya?" *Convegno sul tema: la Shīʿa nell'impero Ottomano (Roma, 15 Aprile 1991)* (Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1993) 210.

[10]In this way, Irène Mélikoff's research on the varying degrees of reverence accorded Hacı Bektaş among Alevi communities in Bulgaria is relevant. See Irène Mélikoff, "La communauté kızılbaş du Deli Orman, en Bulgarie," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groups relevant de Hadji Bektach*, ed. Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein (Istanbul: Isis, 1995) 401-409.

[11]Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Un aperçu général sur l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Turquie: réflexions sur les origines et les caractéristiques du Kızılbachisme (Alévism) dans la perspective de l'histoire," *Syncretistic Religious Communities in the Near East: Collected Papers of the International Symposium "Alevism in Turkey and Comparable Syncretistic Religious Communities in the Near East in the Past and Present," Berlin, 14-17 April 1995*, ed. Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Anke Otter-Beaujean (Lieden: Brill, 1997) 201. Irène Mélikoff also suggests this by attributing the form of Alevi rituals to Shah Ismail's lifetime: Irène Mélikoff, "La cérémonie du *ayn-i djem* (Anatolie centrale)," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis* 67. See also Ahmet Yürür, "*Mi'raçlama* in the Liturgy of the Alevi of Turkey: A Structural and Gnostic Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1989) 12.

seen by further group-specific and comparative study, such as in Frederick de Jong's

article cited above. Progress has been made in establishing significant parallels among

heterodox Islamic sects, and recent conferences pertaining to Alevism-Bektashism have

also been inclusive in their coverage of these related systems of belief.[12] However,

much work remains concerning the historical development of these religious forms and

more extensive research into basic aspects of their religiosity and inter-relatedness are

still required.[13] In her exploration of the revolutionary foundation of the Safavid ethos,

Kathryn Babayan reclaims the term "*ghuluww*" from medieval heresiographers to

describe a influential and identifiable vision of Islam. She characterizes *ghuluww* --

more accurately translated as "exaggeration" rather than "extremism" -- as an

interpretation of Islam based on a cyclical view of history, marked with the periodic

renewal of prophethood and the human manifestations of the divine.[14] Belief in

transmigration of souls (*tanāsukh*)-- thus negating bodily resurrection-- and divine

incarnation (*hulūl*) are central notions associated with both historical and contemporary

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[12]The following collections include studies pertaining to other related sectarian communities in addition to the Alevi-Bektashi: *Syncretistic Religious Communities in the Near East: Collected Papers of the International Symposium "Alevism in Turkey and Comparable Syncretistic Religious Communities in the Near East in the Past and Present," Berlin, 14-17 April 1995*, ed. Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, Barbara Kellner-Heinkele and Anke Otter-Beaujean (Lieden: Brill, 1997); *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groups relevant de Hadji Bektach*, ed. Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein (Istanbul: Isis, 1995); *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives. Papers Read at a Conference Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, November 25-27, 1996*, ed. Tord Olsson Elisabeth Özdalga and Catharina Raudvere (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 1998).

[13]For a comparative study based primarily on missionary sources, see Matti Moosa, *Extremist Shiites: The Ghulat Sects* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988). On the historical development of *ghulāt* sects see Michel M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids: Šī'ism, Şūfism and the Ġulāt*. Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972.

[14]Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002) xxiv-xxxviii.

"*ghulāt*" sects.[15] Babayan further qualifies *ghulāt* religiosity in its later stages as shaped by currents from Shī'ism and Sufism.[16]

Shah Ismail's role in the pious expression of *ghulāt* sects underlines basic assumptions of the Safavid order's influence in the crystallization of these belief systems during the early modern period, especially in the formation of the Alevis, the Ahl-i Ḥaqq, the Shabak and related communities. Moreover, the perpetuation of Shah Ismail's cult through the vehicle of poetry further emphasizes the literary basis of piety across these variant forms of *ghulāt* pieties.[17]

Of all of these related communities, the Alevis of Turkey are the most well-researched for several reasons, not the least of which is the fact that they constitute an important and influential religious minority in the Turkish republic. Their affiliation with the Bektashi Sufi order has also generated academic interest. Although no exact census figures exist delineating Sunni and Alevi populations in present-day Turkey, Alevis are estimated to be between nine and fifteen million people-- perhaps as much as

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[15]See Marshall Hodgson, "Ghulāt," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition.

[16]Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs* xxxvii.

[17]On the commonalties of mythic narrative and symbolism among the Bektashi-Alevi, the Ahl-i Ḥaqq and related sects, see Irène Mélikoff, "Le problème Kızılbaş," *Turcica* 6 (1975): 54-59; Irène Mélikoff, "Recherches sur les composantes du syncrétisme Bektachi-Alevi," *Studia Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci Dicata* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1982) 381-385; Irène Mélikoff, "L'ordre des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach: survol du problème," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis* 5; On the veneration of Hacı Bektaş among related sects see Mélikoff, "L'ordre des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach" 4; Mélikoff, "Le problème Bektaşi-Alévi" 10; Martin van Bruinessen, "Haji Bektash, Sultan Sahak, Shah Mina Sahib and various Avatars of a Running Wall," *Turcica* 21-23 (1991): 57; Martin Van Bruinessen, "When Haji Bektash Still Bore the Name of Sultan Sahak. Notes on the *Ahl-i Haqq* of the Guran District," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis* 118-119; On the place of Shah Ismail among these related sects see Mélikoff, "Le problème Kızılbaş" 57-62; Mélikoff, "Le problème Bektaşi-Alévi" 24-27.

twenty per-cent of the general population.[18] Throughout this study, the terms "Alevi"

and "Alevi-Bektashi" will be employed. However, as Irene Mélikoff emphasizes, the

term Alevi is of relatively recent usage.[19] Literally meaning "red head," the term

Qizilbash (Ottoman: Kızılbāş) originally designated those tribes affiliated with Shah

Ismail's father Haydar (d. 1488), because of their red head-dress. This term remained in

usage beyond the affiliation of these populations with the Safavid order as they

developed into a permanent sectarian community in Ottoman-Turkish society. Due to

the tenuous negative connotations of the term "Qizilbash," however, the term "Alevi"

came to replace "Qizilbash" in the nineteenth century. The term Alevi (Arabic: ʿĀlawī)

more accurately reflects the sect's belief in the historical and metaphysical centrality of

the Prophet Muhammad's son-in-law and the first Shīʿī *imām* ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d.

661).[20] The designation "Alevi-Bektashi" is also complex. The close association of

the Qizilbash/Alevi with the Bektashi order of dervishes has been established concerning

the basic aspects of their religiosity such as their doctrine, ritual and literary corpus.

However, as the literature review at the end of t his chapter will show, fundamental

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[18]The use of the term Alevi here is meant to be distinct form the ʿAlawī community related to the Syrian Nuṣayrīs living mainly in the Arabic-speaking Hatay. For a comparison, see Marianne Aringberg-Laanatza, "Alevis in Turkey - Alawites in Syria: Similarities and Differences," *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives* 151-165. A sizable minority of Alevis in Turkey speak Kurdish and related dialects. While linguistic variation may coincide with the social and hierarchical organization of these communities, distinctions along ethnic-linguistic lines are a minor factor in formal piety. The liturgical language is Turkish even among Alevis whose primary language is not. On Alevi population demographics in Turkey see *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey* Peter, ed. Alford Andrews and Rüdiger Benninghaus (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989) 56-58 (Turkish-speaking Alevis), 116-118 (Kurdish-speaking Alevis) and 123-125 (Zaza-speaking Alevis).

[19]Mélikoff, "Le probleme Kızılbaş" 49-50.

[20]By the time of Hasluck's writing, the term "Alevi" was used widely in Turkey. Frederick William Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans*, ed. Margaret M. Hasluck, 2 vols. (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1929) 1: 140.

aspects pertaining to the Qizilbash-Bektashi convergence of the sixteenth century remain obscure.

SOURCES, METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

Unlike many other sacred figures of the Alevi-Bektashi tradition recalled in poetry, folklore, legend and ritual, we can be reasonably certain of the main aspects of Shah Ismail's historical existence-- the date of his birth, his death, as well as the course of his public career and how this shaped his times. Less is known, however, about the perpetuation of Shah Ismail as an iconic figure beyond his lifetime. This study was conceived through the observation of several intriguing references to the continued relevance of Shah Ismail in Alevi-Bektashi piety and pious poetic expression. Mélikoff, among others, observes Shah Ismail as the most venerated of Alevi-Bektashi poets.[21] Contemporary treatments of Alevism published in Turkey accord Shah Ismail the same eminence. At the same time, there has been no extended research as to how and why Shah Ismail sustained a relevance within this tradition and to this extent. This dissertation aims to rectify this omission to Shah Ismail's full legacy.

This is the first study that outlines the literary means by which Shah Ismail's relevance was achieved and maintained in a pious context centuries after his death. Despite the historical role of Shah Ismail in the formation of the Qizilbash as a religious sectarian community, it is doubtful that he would be incorporated into Alevi-Bektashi

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[21] Irène Mélikoff, "Recherche sur une coutume des Alevis: musâhip, '*frère de l'au-delà*'," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis* 78.

culture to this extent but for the literature generated subsequent to his lifetime. Although varied by literary genre and literary styles with the genres, the sources employed to guide this study were authored by, attributed to, or inspired by Shah Ismail. As both a literary personality and literary persona, Shah Ismail is the thread which holds these sources in common. Ultimately, through disparate literary genres, this dissertation characterizes the "Ḥaṭāʾī tradition" within the Alevi-Bektashi literary tradition.

Shah Ismail's poetry has survived within a pious context and has flourished through latter attributions intended for this context. This body of poetry now constitutes a literary tradition with its own unique characteristics. Furthermore, a large corpus of poetry attributed to Shah Ismail is integrated into ritual forms. These compositions serve to express the collective veneration of sacred figures of the Alevi-Bektashi tradition as well as to narrate and commemorate both historic and mythic events of Alevi-Bektashi sacred history. Shah Ismail's heroic and romantic exploits have also been re-invented and narrated through Turkish folklore, specifically the highly stylized *hikâye*, or minstrel tale. In addition to these traditional literary forms, Shah Ismail has also been recast and remembered through the relatively new literary form of the novel.

Approaching the study of Alevism-Bektashism through its literature is certainly not a new method of inquiry. Interest in the literature associated with the *tekke* ("dervish lodge") milieu-- of which the Alevi-Bektashi contribution forms an important part-- can be traced back to the early Republican period, during which Turkish historians began to chart the development of what they upheld as the history of Turkish "national"

literature. Fuad Köprülü and his school attached the greatest significance to the development of *tekke* poetry especially among the heterodox *ṭarīqaṭs*.[22] In this spirit of inquiry, Bektashi legends as incorporated into the numerous *menāḳıbnāmes* (biographies of saints) have also attracted keen if not sustained interest.[23] Extending the scope of the sources to include both narrative and poetry, the present study adopts an iconological approach to Alevi-Bektashi literature by focusing on Shah Ismail's image across variant genres of source material. The contribution of this study lies in the employment of disparate source genres to establish the legacy of a revered individual.

Martin van Bruinessen used a similar approach by confining his recent study to a particular image of Ahl-i Ḥaqq legend which is also found across various traditions-- from Bektashism to Buddhism.[24] The image revolves around a contest-- a spiritual joust in which a triumphant saint commands a magic wall as a vehicle of transportation, much like a magic carpet. By confining the focus of inquiry to a particular image or figure, the significance of the icon in its variant forms presents itself through its comparison and transformation.[25] Similarly, through the transformation of Shah Ismail as a literary figure, the tenacity of Shah Ismail's veneration will be accounted for. It will be argued that Shah Ismail's image of the god-king re-constructed from the historical record as well as Shah Ismail's own poetry is but a phase of Shah Ismail's pious

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[22]Fuad Köprülü, "Turks: III. Ottoman Turkish," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition.

[23]Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, ed., *Manakıb-i Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî "Vilâyet-nâme"* (İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1958); Ocak, *Bektaşî Menâkıbnâmelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1983); On the importance of *menāḳıbnāme* texts in Bektashi studies, see Suraiya Faroqhi "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis* 25, 27

[24]Van Bruinessen, "Haji Bektash, Sultan Sahak, Shah Mina Sahib" 55-73.

[25]See Faroqhi, "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research" 10-11 on the iconological approach to Bektashi studies.

significance, one that scarcely outlasted his lifetime. It will be further demonstrated that later attributions to Shah Ismail's poetic corpus as well as legendary narratives are ultimately responsible for his lasting place within the Alevi-Bektashi tradition.

After a review of relevant literature, this dissertation introduces Shah Ismail through the historical record (Chapter Two). Specifically, the second chapter explores how historians have interpreted and presented Shah Ismail to modern audiences through a theoretical framework that accounts for the enormous sway Shah Ismail held over his followers. Exploring the historiography of Shah Ismail-- from his dervish heritage to his establishment of an empire, this chapter presents Shah Ismail through his charismatic legacy.

The following chapter departs from the Shah Ismail of history to present what can be seen as the "alternative" visions of his life and mission, culminating in a genre closely associated with the Alevi-Bektashi milieu, the minstrel tale (*hikâye*). Although indebted to the historical record, the narratives discussed in this chapter are more properly seen as legendary sources. Based loosely on actual events, these narratives of Ismail will be shown as products of the visions and concerns of their authors, many of whom remain anonymous. The *hikâye* accounts of Shah Ismail are taken from versions published in Turkey.

The fourth chapter introduces another genre of sources-- the poetry of Shah Ismail. The collections of poetry which are the basis of this chapter have been accepted as important historical sources by historians since the discovery of Shah Ismail's Paris *dīvān*. Through examples taken from Shah Ismail's earliest *dīvāns*-- those of Paris, Tashkent and the Sackler Gallery-- we will explore the poetic images of Shah

Ismail which he himself constructed. Although a comparison of these *dīvāns* as such is not the intention here, Shah Ismail's images of self-glory within these three collections are the primary focus. This characteristic aspect of his *dīvān* poetry is chosen as the area of focus for it would become essential to the re-construction of Shah Ismail's biographical history and political mission.

The following chapters (five and six) examine issues surrounding the poetry attributed to Shah Ismail in the Alevi-Bektashi literary tradition. Chapter Five outlines the problem of "pseudo- Ḥaṭā'i " that is, the poetry written under the pen-name Ḥaṭā'i which proliferated in the centuries following Shah Ismail's death to become an important part of the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. This section cites one of the earliest manuscript versions of a Qizilbash pious text, the *Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār*, which contains two compositions attributed to Shah Ismail. These compositions will be presented to highlight the strategies and themes which would become fundamental to the "Ḥaṭā'i tradition" of Alevi-Bektashi religiosity. These early contributions to the corpus of "pseudo- Ḥaṭā'i " present a point of departure from the historical sovereign, wherein Shah Ismail speaks as a trans-historical *pīr* addressing the sacred myths and ritual procedures of an established religious community.

As the final area of focus in this study, Chapter Six contextualizes the Ḥaṭā'i poetic tradition in Alevi ritual. Shah Ismail's pertinence to ritual is established both through the historical accounts of Qizilbash-Alevi ritual and the function of poetry attributed to Shah Ismail in these ritual forms. Intentionally varied by category and ritual function, the compositions cited in this section have made frequent appearance in modern anthologies and manuals pertaining to Alevi ritual.

All poems of my own translation which are cited in the text-- whether in part or in whole-- appear in their entirety, next to the Turkish originals, in the appendices corresponding with the chapters. Technical and foreign terms of central relevance to this thesis are included in a glossary following the appendices.

RELEVANT BACKGROUND LITERATURE

Shah Ismail's connection to the Alevi-Bektashi tradition began to emerge from the field of Ottoman studies. Early investigations into the Bektashi order began with broad inquires pertaining to its origins, the historical relationship of the order with the Janissaries as well as its role in the Islamization of Anatolia and the Balkans.[26] Further examining the foundations of Bektashi history and beliefs, the early studies of Fuad Köprülü and John Kingsley Birge also drew attention to Shah Ismail's poetry as an integral part of Bektashi rituals and its primacy in expressing the beliefs of the order. At the same time it was acknowledged that many of the works found in the Bektashi milieu were almost certainly not the authentic works of Shah Ismail, even before research into his *dīvān* began.[27]

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[26]For early German contributions to the history of the order, see Faroqhi, "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research" 9.

[27]Rıza Tevfik, "Gizli Fakat Ruhlu, Canlı bir Edebiyat," *Peyâm, Edebî İlâve* (Mart 1914); rpt. in *Rıza Tevfik'in Tekke ve Halk Edebiyatı İle İligili Makaleleri*, ed. Abdullah Uçman (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982) 82; Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar*, 2nd. ed. (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1966) 240-241 (First edition: 1919); John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* (Hartford: Hartford Seminary, 1937) 68-69.

At this early stage, Alevis drew attention mainly from authors with a missionary agenda;[28] in academic circles, Köprülü's description of the Alevis as "village Bektashis," sufficed for some time.[29] The studies of Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı and especially Irène Mélikoff brought Alevis and Alevism into the appropriate context alongside the Bektashi in studies of Ottoman-Turkish heterodoxy. Gölpınarlı as well as other scholars in Turkey such as Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun established an inclusive approach to what is now recognized as an integral Alevi-Bektashi literary tradition.[30] The breadth of Mélikoff's scope has established several approaches to the subject.[31] Her investigations range from the role of the Bektashi order within the Ottoman state to the development of various Qizilbash communities as well as extensive accounts of their beliefs and practices. The avenues of inquiry Mélikoff paved have been followed by other scholars from the fields of history, anthropology, art history and other disciplines.[32] Sporadic for decades, interest in Alevism has grown steadily in recent

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[28]For a summary of information on the Alevi-Bektashi collected from early missionaries and travelers, see Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans* 1: 144-159.

[29]Irene Mélikoff, "Bektashi / *Kızılbaş*: Historical Bipartition and its Consequences," *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives* 6.

[30]Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, ed., *Bektaşi Edebiyatı Antolojisi: On Yedinci Asırdan Beri Bektaşi-Kızılbaş-Alevi Şairleri ve Nefesleri* (İstanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1956); Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* (İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1962); Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Alevî-Bektaşî Nefesleri* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1963).

[31]For collections of her research on Alevism-Bektashism, see Irène Mélikoff, *Sur les traces du soufisme Turc: recherces dur l'Islam populaire en Anatolie* (Istanbul: Isis, 1992); *Au banquet des quarant: exploration au coeur du Bektachisme-Alevism* (Istanbul: Isis, 2001).

[32]Suraiya Faroqhi, *Der Bektaschi-Orden in Anatolien, vom späten fünfzehnten Jahrhundert bis 1826* (Wien: Verlag, 1981); Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, *Die Kızılbaş/Aleviten. Untersuchungen über eine esoterische Glaubensgemeinschaft in Anatolien* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1988); Altan Gökalp, *Têtes rouges et bouches noires: une confrérie tribale de l'Ouest Anatolien* (Paris: Société d'ethnographie, 1980); Frederick de Jong, "The Iconography of Bektashism. A Survey of the Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects and Pictorial Art," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989): 7-29. See Chapter 6 for further references to anthropological studies on Alevism.

years to the point that, according to a review of Mélikoff's most recent work, the field

has become "too vast and varied to be commanded by a single scholar."[33]

In the field of history, both the Safavid influence in Ottoman territory and the

subsequent persecution of those elements loyal to the Safavids have been the subject of

several studies.[34] The uprisings and persecutions of the Qizilbash in the sixteenth

century have been partially reconstructed through the *Mühimme* registers, which include

official documentation pertaining to the Ottoman authorities' measures against

heretics.[35] In addition, the ideological foundations the state's action against the

Qizilbash can be seen through contemporary Ottoman judicial rulings and similar anti-

Safavid tracts.[36] Beyond the Safavids' active support of Qizilbash-led rebellions in the

early sixteenth century,[37] internal causes for the harsh posture adopted by the Ottoman

government have also been explored. These studies point to an emerging concern in

implementing Sunni orthodoxy among populations of disparate religious loyalties as

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[33]Martin van Bruinessen, review of *Hadji Bektach: un mythe et ses avatars*, by Irène Mélikoff, *Turcica* 31 (1999): 553.

[34]Adel Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict 906-962/ 1500-1555* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983); Faruk Sümer, *Safevî Devletinin Kuruluşu Ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü (Şah İsmail ile Halefleri ve Anadolu Türkleri)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Basımevi, 1992).

[35]See Ahmet Refik, *On Altıncı Asırda Râfizîlik ve Bektâşîlik. On Altıncı Asırda Türkiye'de Rafizîlik ve Bektaşiliğe dair Hazine-i Evrak Vesikalarını Haizdir* (İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1932); Colin H. Imber, "The Persecution of the Ottoman Shī'ites According to the Mühimme Defterleri," *Der Islam* 56 (1979): 245-273; Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash 'Heresy' and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century," *Anatolia Moderna, Yeni Anadolu, VII* (Paris: Institut Français d'études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 2000) 1-15.

[36]Elke Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz, 1970); de Jong, "Problems Concerning the Origins of the Qizilbash in Bulgaria: Remnants of the Safaviyya?" 209-210; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "A propos d'un ouvrage sur la polémique ottomane contre les Safawides," *Revue des Études Islamiques* 39 (1971): 395-400.

[37]See Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict* 96-112.

conformity to Sunni orthodoxy was increasingly enforced by the state during the first half of the sixteenth century.[38]

Several studies have also clarified similar developments which contributed to the successful eradication of "Qizilbash Islam" in the Safavid Empire. The replacement of Qizilbash religiosity with that of orthodox ("Twelver")[39] Shī'ism has been attributed to the ascendancy of the *imāmī 'ulamā'* as the political influence of the Qizilbash eroded.[40] It is not clear precisely when this process of de-heretication began; it is tempting to date the Safavid move towards *imāmī* orthodoxy from a spiritual crises endured by Shah Ismail after his embarrassing defeat of Chaldiran (1514), which, it is supposed, nullified belief in his infallibility. It can be said with certainty, however, that from the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (1524-1576) and especially during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās (1587-1629), Qizilbash religiosity-- from extreme devotion to the Shah to occasions of their liturgical assemblies-- was actively discouraged and even violently

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[38]Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Le règne de Selim 1er: tournant dans la vie politique et religieuse de l'empire ottoman," *Turcica* 6 (1975): 34; Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash 'Heresy' and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia" 4; During Süleymān's reign see Rhoads Murphey, "Süleyman's Eastern Policy," *Süleymân the Second and His Time*, ed. Cemal Kafadar and Halil İnalcık (Istanbul: Isis, 1993) 229-248.

[39]Qizilbash Islam, or Alevism, should be technically regarded as a part of the *inthnā 'asharī* tradition, as the Qizilbash-Alevi also adhere to the "twelver" line of *imāms*, ending with the *imām* Muḥammad al-Mahdī who entered "major occultation" in 940. Qizilbash Islam departs from other fundamental aspects of "orthodox" *inthnā 'asharī* Shī'ism, however. Thus "orthodox" *inthnā 'asharī* will henceforth distinguished as "*imāmī*" Shī'ism.

[40]On the role of the *imāmī 'ulamā'* in the marginalization of Qizilbashism, see Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* 141-150; Kathryn Babayan, "The Safavid Synthesis: From Qizilbash Islam to Imamite Shi'ism," *Iranian Studies* 27 (1994): 135-161; Said Amir Arjomand, "Religious Extremism (*ghuluww*), Ṣūfism and Sunnism in Safavid Iran: 1501-1722," *Journal of Asian History* 15 (1981): 1-35; Andrew J. Newman, "The Myth of the Clerical Migration to Safawid Iran: Arab Shiite Opposition to 'Alī al-Karakī and Safawid Shiism," *Welt des Islams* 33 (1993): 66-112; Devin Stewart, "Notes on the Migration of 'Amilī Scholars to Safavid Iran," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55 (1996): 81-103.

suppressed by Safavid authorities.[41] Despite this cultural revolution within the Safavid Empire, evidence also points to the continued loyalty to the Safavid Shahs in some form among Qizilbash in Ottoman territory until well after the death of Shah Ismail.[42]

Nevertheless, it is clear from official Ottoman sources that wide-scale persecution of the Qizilbash subsided considerably by the last decades of the sixteenth century as the Celâlî rebellions gained momentum. However, the extent of Qizilbash participation in the latter uprisings, both in ideology and in active support, has yet to be fully elucidated.[43] The decline in incidents of active persecution of Qizilbash towards the end of the sixteenth century has been attributed to the submission of the most militant Qizilbash tribes as well as the erosion of Qizilbash power within the Safavid military and administrative structures.[44] Despite evidence of sporadic persecution of the Qizilbash into the seventeenth century, what is seen as a definitive departure in state policy is still left to be addressed.[45]

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[41]For suppression of the Qizilbash in the Safavid Empire, see Arjomand, "Religious Extremism (*ghuluww*), Sūfism and Sunnism in Safavid Iran" 5-7; Roger Savory, "Some Reflections on Totalitarian Tendencies in the Safavid State," *Der Islam* 53 (1976): 232; Michel Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)*, ed. Andrew H. Morton (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993) xvi; Andrew H. Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbash Ritual in Safavid Persia," *Etudes Safavides*, ed. Jean Calmard (Paris: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1993) 238-242.

[42]Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash 'Heresy' and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia" 3.

[43]Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash 'Heresy' and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia" 2, 4, 13; Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict* 128; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Conflict, Accommodation and Long-Term Survival: The Bektashi Order and the Ottoman State (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis* 175-176.

[44]Faroqhi, "Conflict, Accommodation and Long-Term Survival: The Bektashi Order and the Ottoman State" 175; Colin H. Imber, "The Persecution of the Ottoman Shī'ites According to the Mühimme Defterleri" 251; Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research" 17.

[45]On later judicial proceedings against Qizilbash heresy see M. A. Danon, "Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans (1619)," *Journal Asiatique* 11, 17 (1921): 280-293; Andreas Tietze, "A Document on the Persecution of Sectarians in Early Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis* 165-170.

Possibly the most consequential factor determining the change in Ottoman policy towards the Qizilbash is also the least understood. This involves the association of the Qizilbash with the Bektashi order of dervishes. The eponymous founder of the order, Hacı Bektaş (d. circa 1270) has long been recognized as one among many hailing from the tribal religious leadership of thirteenth century Anatolia, now identified with the Baba'i uprisings against the Saljūqs in 1240. It is now understood that during the sixteenth century, the Bektashis re-organized and consolidated, absorbing other heterodox groups while assimilating aspects of their doctrines and practices.[46] The organization of the order on a centralized basis in the early sixteenth century has been interpreted by several scholars as evidence of a mandate given by the state of neutralizing heterodox elements.[47] Of course, as far as the state was concerned, the Qizilbash constituted the most dangerous heterodox element throughout most of the sixteenth century. Evidence pointing to the affiliation of Qizilbash communities with the Bektashi order emerged by the 1570s and this would indeed coincide with a change in state policy as evidenced by the *Mühimme* registers from the following decades.[48] Nevertheless, as Suraiya Faroqhi admits, it is impossible at this point "to establish the principle stages by which Bektashis gained allegiance of the Kızılbaş."[49]

Although the Bektashi order is centered on the cult of Hacı Bektaş, it has been determined that the central tenets of the order's beliefs developed long after his death in

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[46]Faroqhi, "Conflict, Accommodation and Long-Term Survival: The Bektashi Order" 179-180.

[47]During this transformative period, the Bektashi order was re-organized along two distinct lineages when a new branch of the order emerged which practiced celibacy. See Faroqhi, "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research" 18-19; Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, "Kızıl-Baş," *İslâm Anskiklopedisi,*

[48]Faroqhi, "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research" 17.

[49]Faroqhi, "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research" 17.

the thirteenth century. As Gölpınarlı describes the beliefs of the order, he draws parallels to those of the Qizilbash-Alevi: the centrality of Alī as the manifestation of the Godhead, the veneration of other figures connected to the Prophet's family, such as the Twelve *imāms* and the "Fourteen Pure Innocents."[50] In addition, the respective prayers, rituals, feasts, fasts and pious literature of the Bektashi and Alevi are also held in common.[51] Thus the profound influence of Qizilbash beliefs within the Bektashi order is deduced. Using a comparative literary methodology, Mélikoff notes that Bektashi poets before the time of Shah Ismail lack a pronounced 'Alīd devotion which characterizes virtually every academic description of the "beliefs and practices" of the Bektashi order.[52]

Along the same lines, Ahmet Karamustafa has established that the Bektashis absorbed elements of earlier "mystical anarchist" religious groupings including Qalandars, Abdāls, Haydarīs and Hurūfīs.[53] Karamustafa ante-dates the transformation of the Bektashi order from a tract authored by one Vāḥidī during the reign of Süleymān (1520-1566) which describes several contemporary dervish groups in detail.[54] Significantly, the beliefs and practices which became widely associated with the Bektashi order are lacking in the Vāḥidī's description. These include elaborate patterns

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[50]This refers to the children of the *imāms* believed to have been martyred during childhood. For other categories of veneration see Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 145-148.

[51]Gölpınarlı, *Alevî-Bektaşi Nefesleri* 5.

[52]Mélikoff, "Le probleme Kızılbaş" 52.

[53]Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "*Kalenders, Abdâls, Hayderîs*: The Formation of the *Bekâşiye* in the Sixteenth Century," *Süleymân the Second and His Time*, ed. Cemal Kafadar and Halil İnalcık (Istanbul: Isis, 1993) 128.

[54]Ahmet T. Karamustafa, ed., *Vāḥidî's Menāḳıb-i Ḫvoca-i Cihān ve Netīce-i Cān* (Cambridge: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University, 1993).

of 'Alīd veneration as mentioned above as well as the preeminence of charismatic poetic

figures including Ḥaṭā'i.[55]

As modern research into the religious geography of Turkey and the Balkans has

shown, it is clear that in the long term the Qizibash form of "*ghulāt*" Islam survived

despite the persecution of these same elements within Ottoman territory which appeared

quite severe at times during the sixteenth century. Moreover, the Qizilbash maintained

affiliation with the Bektashi order despite the major purge of the Bektashis in 1826 with

the abolition of the Janissaries as well as the *de jure* illegal status of the order since

1925.[56] A culture of secrecy, geographic isolation and the association with the

Bektashi order are cited as the factors which ensured the survival of the Qizilbash in

Ottoman territory.[57] Conversely, the Safavids achieved a greater degree of success in

eradicating this sectarian community which at the same time was instrumental in their

ascendancy to political power.

Since the initial ventures into this field, scholars have characterized Turkish-

Anatolian heterodoxy, particularly Bektashism and Alevism, in terms of religious

syncretism.[58] This syncretic approach also extends to Shah Ismail himself, his

religious formation and his subsequent influence on Qizilbash-Alevism. Ocak sees

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[55]Karamustafa, "*Ḵalenders, Abdâls, Ḥayderîs*: The Formation of the *Bekâşiye* in the Sixteenth Century" 124.

[56]On the history of the order in modern times see Irène Mélikoff, "L'ordre des Bektaşi après 1826," *Turcica* 15 (1983): 155-178; Faroqhi, "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research" 23.

[57]Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, "The Significance of *musahiplik* among the Alevis," in *Syncretistic Religious Communities in the Near East*, 119.

[58]Fuad Köprülü, *Influence du Chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les ordres mystiques Musulmans* (Istanbul: Imp. Zellitch f̧eres, 1929).

Ismail as the "true" architect of Qizilbashism, a system of belief he describes as pre-

Islamic and syncretic.[59] And Mélikoff describes Shah Ismail's vision as follows:

> Though he had received an Islamic culture, in religious matters there remained in him the reminiscence of archaic rites and beliefs from Central Asia which he had inherited from the Aq-Qoyunlu. In his poems, we find the belief in reincarnation and in the multiplicity of forms. He declares himself to be Zat-i Hak, the Essence of God, the Mazhar-i Hak, the cyclic incarnation of Ali. He calls himself the mystery of Ali: Ali'nin Sirri.[60]

The assessment of Shah Ismail as an embodied amalgam of disparate doctrines is

not new, but was also a current in contemporary Ottoman polemic which saw Shah

Ismail as the ultimate heresiarch. According to the sixteenth-century Ottoman

litterateur Ālī Çelebi (d. 1600), Shah Ismail arbitrarily selected elements from each of

the seventy-one Islamic heresies to spawn his own perverse creation.[61] Tracing

elements of Alevi-Bektashi religiosity to pre- and extra-Islamic religious forms--

ranging from various Christian heresies (now largely dismissed) to ancient Turkic

shamanism-- remains a pervasive approach to the study. The extent to which this

approach can be usefully applied, however, is currently under evaluation.[62]

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[59]Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Un aperçu général sur l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Turquie" 202-203.

[60]Irène Mélikoff, "The Worship of Shah Isma'il in Turkey in Past and Present Time," *Journal of Azerbaijani Studies* 1 (1998): 64-65.

[61]Cited from *Nuṣretnāme* in J. R. Walsh, "The Historiography of Ottoman-Safavid Relations in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) 207.

[62]Irène Mélikoff and Ahmet Yaşar Ocak have made important contributions to the development of this approach. See Mélikoff, "Recherches sur les composantes du syncrétisme Bektachi-Alevi" 381-385; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Bektaşî Menâkıbnâmelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri*. For critiques of this approach see Faroqhi, "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research" 26; Karin Vorhoff, "Academic and Journalistic Publications on the Alevi and Bektashi of Turkey," *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives* 26-27; Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, "Alevilik Hakkındaki 19. Yüzyıl Misyoner Kayıtlarına Eleştirel bir Bakış ve Ali Gako'nun Öyküsü," *Folkor/Edebiyat* 29 (2002): 301-324.

In addition to the academic progress made in the field outlined above, special consideration should also be given to the literature on the subject which has generated from within the Alevi community itself. Accounts of Alevism-Bektashism intended for a general audience-- often written by authors within the tradition-- is certainly not new in Turkey.[63] However, within the last fifteen years or so, inquiry into Alevism has reached an unprecedented scale in quantity and scope. While the subjective nature of many of these publications has been noted,[64] they should not be overlooked for the elucidation they offer into previously obscure aspects of Alevi religiosity. For both the historian and phenomenologist of religion, this literature also provides insight into the context and relevance of a given topic in current discussions. Shah Ismail, for example, has been the subject of several recent monographs written for a general audience, attesting to his continued relevance not only within the ritual and traditional literary forms, but also within contemporary Alevi culture and society.[65] These recent contributions to the Alevi discourse in Turkey treat Shah Ismail in terms of his impact on Anatolian religious history and sectarian formation,[66] his contribution to Alevi-

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[63]See Vorhoff, "Academic and Journalistic Publications on the Alevi and Bektashi of Turkey" 23-50; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Alevilik ve Bektaşilik Hakkındaki son Yayınlar Üzerinde (1990) Genel bir Bakış ve Bazı Gerçekler," *Tarih ve Toplum* 16 (1991): 20-25 (I); 115-120 (II); Ali Yaman, *Alevilik-Bektaşilik Bibliyografyası* (Mannheim: Alevi-Bektaşi Kültür Enstitüsü, 1998).

[64]See Karin Vorhoff, "'Let's Reclaim Our History and Culture!'-- Imagining Alevi Community in Contemporary Turkey," *Welt des Islams* 38 (1998): 220-252.

[65]See Tord Olsson, "Epilogue: The Scripturalization of Ali-Oriented Religions," *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives* 204-205; David Shankland, "Anthropology and Ethnicity: The Place of Ethnography in the New Alevi Movement," *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives* 15.

[66]Ziya Şakir, *Mezhepler Tarihi ve Şah İsmail: Şiîlik - Sünnîlik - Alevîlik - Kızılbaşlık: Nedir ve Nasıl Çıktı?* (İstanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1958).

Bektashi literature,[67] as well as the role of his poetry in ritual and the expression of beliefs.[68]

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[67]İsmet Zeki Eyuboğlu, *Hatayi (Şah İsmail) Bir Ozanın İçevreninde Gezintiler* (İstanbul: Geçit Kitabevi, 1991).

[68]Ömer Uluçay, *Şah Hatayi ve Alevilik: İnanç - Töre - Öge ve Ahlak* (Adana: Hakan Ofset, 1993).

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE MAKING OF A DEMAGOGUE

Shah Ismail presents a contradiction to historians. His image as a spiritual

master of perfection (*murshid-i kāmil*), adored and worshipped by his followers, is seen

alongside his image as a ruthless warrior and despot, with his fanatical troops

desecrating graves and performing cannibalism at his instigation. And in his later life,

after the defeat at Chaldiran in 1514, Shah Ismail becomes a debauched monarch,

presiding not over an army, but over a decadent court in which substance abuse and

pederasty were commonplace diversions, like polo or hunting. This curious portrait is

not as a result of juxtaposing, for example, an Ottoman source with a Safavid chronicle.

Often the sources present this contradictory personality within themselves. Following a

sympathetic account of Ismail's early life in which he is portrayed as an orphan raised by

an Armenian priest, the oft-quoted anonymous Venetian merchant declares: "From the

time of Nero to the present, I doubt whether so bloodthirsty a tyrant had ever

existed."[69] Nor do Safavid sources obfuscate Shah Ismail's excesses; rather, much like

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[69]According to the same account, like Nero, Shah Ismail also committed matricide: "They even slaughtered all the dogs in Tauris, and committed many other atrocities. After this, Ismael sent for his own mother. . . after reviling her, caused her head to be cut before him." In other accounts, however, Shah

the Roman annalists, the Safavid chroniclers seem to relish documenting lurid details of the Emperor's court life.[70]

Modern historians reconcile Ismail's contradictory personality as it is presented in the sources through the Weberian lens of charisma. In this way Shah Ismail is immediately recognized as a demagogue, whose adoration by his followers is rivaled by the scorn of his enemies. Even before the extent to which Shah Ismail possessed this charisma had been fully realized, Edward G. Browne assessed Shah Ismail in the following terms:

> He presented, in short, the strangest blend of antithetical qualities; and we are alternately attracted by his personal charm, his unquestionable valor, generosity and --within certain limits-- justice, and repelled by actions, such as those recorded above, revealing a savagery remarkable even in that cruel and bloodthirsty age.[71]

The biographical history of the Safavid *shaykhs* and Shah Ismail has relied predominately on literary sources in the form of Safavid hagiographies and chronicles.[72] Denison Ross began the work of exploiting Safavid sources over a century previously, presenting this "brave and no less bigoted king" to Western audiences through a history

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Ismail executes his stepmother. Charles Grey, ed. and trans., "The Travels of a Merchant in Persia," *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873) 191.

[70]As in Aubin's reconstruction in Jean Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré," *Moyen Orient & Océan Indien* 5 (1988): 1-130.

[71]Edward G. Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)*, vol. 4 of *Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902-1929) 62.

[72]The registers related to the Safavid shrine in Ardabil, known as the *Sarīh al-Milk* are a notable exception to the lack of documentary evidence for early Safavid history. See Andrew H. Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Tahmāsp I," *Iran* 12 (1974): 31-64 (I) and 13 (1975): 39-58 (II).

that came to be known by his name, the *Ross Anonymous*.[73] The critical examination of Safavid historical literature, much of it still in manuscript form, continues to the present day. Through this literature, Roger Savory, Jean Aubin and Andrew H. Morton have shaped the picture of the founder of the Safavid dynasty over the past several decades.[74] These historians, along with Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti and Hans R. Roemer, have integrated European accounts of Shah Ismail into their research, the main sources of which have been edited and published.[75]

Only one monograph in a Western language is exclusively dedicated to Shah Ismail's life—Ghulām Sarwar's 1939 work, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī*. Written in a style much like the Persian narratives on which he bases his biography, Sarwar's work continues to serve as a reliable chronological history but contains virtually no exploration into the nature of Shah Ismail's charismatic leadership or following. As of

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[73]E. Denison Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʻīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28 (1896): 249-340. For other early accounts, see Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1951) (first ed.: 1915) 2: 158-164; William Erskine, *History of India Under the Two First Sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Bāber and Humāyun*, 2 vols. (London, 1854) 295-304; Clements R. Markham, *A General Sketch of the History of Persia* (London, 1874) 264-271; John Malcolm, *The History of Persia, from the Most Early Period to the Present Time: Containing an Account of the Religion, Government, Usages, and Character of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom*, 2 vols. (London, 1815) 2: 495-505.

[74]Roger Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 1-130; Jean Aubin, "Révolution chiite et conservatisme: les Soufis de Lâhejân, 1500-1514," *Moyen Orient & Ocean Indien* 1 (1984): 1-40; Andrew H. Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*. Notes on a Persian History of Shah Ismāʻīl I," *History and Literature in Iran: Persian and Islamic Studies in Honour of P. W. Avery*, ed. Charles Melville (Cambridge: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1990) 179-212; Andrew H. Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Ismaʻil in the *Afẓal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere," *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996) 27-51. See bibliography for further references by these authors.

[75]Hans Robert Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit: iranische Geschicht von 1350-1750* (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 1989); Hans Robert Roemer, "The Safavid Period," *The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, ed. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, vol. 6 of *Cambridge History of Iran*, 7 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 189-350; Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods," *The Timurid and Safavid Periods* 610-655;

Sarwar's writing, the sources of poetry on which the charismatic significance of Shah Ismail would be based had not been exploited.[76] However, Sarwar was cognizant of Shah Ismail's poetic works through information contained in the *Ross Anonymous* attesting to the existence of both a Turkish and Farsi *dīvān*.[77]

Browne, before Sarwar, was also aware of Shah Ismail's poetry through selections contained in the *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Ṣafawīyya*, a later genealogy of the Safavids.[78] Although the poetry cited in the *Silsilat* expresses a deep veneration of 'Alī akin to *ghulāt* piety during this time, Browne nevertheless assessed Shah Ismail, anachronistically, as a harbinger of *imāmī* orthodoxy: ". . . he [Ismail] would not tolerate the exaggerated veneration of 'Alī characteristic of the *Ghulāt*, represented by certain Arabs called *Musha'shi'* who venerated 'Alī God . . . ."[79] Neither Browne nor Sarwar attributed substance to the claims that the followers of Ismail worshipped him, contained in reports which were made widely accessible after the Hakluyt Society's publication in 1873 of *Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia*. Rather, they saw these European reports as colorful descriptions of a king's command of devotion.[80]

Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, ed., *Šāh Ismā'īl I nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo* (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1979).

[76]Although by this time the British Museum's manuscript of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* was known. Charles Rieu, ed., *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: Gilbert and Rivington, 1888) 205-206.

[77]Ghulām Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī* (Aligarh: Muslim University, 1939) 101; See also Rieu, ed., *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* 206.

[78]Edward G. Browne, "Notes on an Apparently Unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1921): 412; *Silsilät-ul-Nässäb: Généalogie de la dynastie Säfävy de la Perse par Cheik Hossein fils de Cheik Abdâl Zâhedi sous le regne de Chah Soleiman* (Berlin: Chāpkhānah-i Irānshahr, 1924) 69-72.

[79]Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)* 58.

[80]Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī* 101; Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)* 60; Percy Sykes' earlier assessment, however, quotes European sources regarding the fanaticism of Shah Ismail's followers in Sykes, *A History of Persia* 2: 163-164.

It was not until Vladimir Minorsky's examination of Shah Ismail's poetry that the image of Ismail as a charismatic demagogue took definitive form. Minorsky had earlier discovered that the identity behind the pen-name Khatā'i (Turkish: Ḥatā'i), whose poetry is prominent in the sacred literature of the Kurdish Ahl-i Ḥaqq sect, was that of Shah Ismail.[81] Using what was then considered to be the earliest manuscript of Shah Ismail's *dīvān*, the Paris version, Minorsky introduced "the queer religious ideas" of the first Safavid monarch in which Shah Ismail appeared to equate himself with the divine. Minorsky gave Shah Ismail's *dīvān* literal significance, viewing it as "an historical document characteristic of the strivings of the age."[82] With its "mass of authentic facts," Shah Ismail's *dīvān* has since become a rare primary source revealing the psychology of a boy-king who believed himself to be a manifestation of God. After Minorsky's article "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl" was published, neither Shah Ismail nor the Safavids would be viewed in the same way again. Minorsky was the first to connect the poetry in Ḥatā'i 's Paris *dīvān* to the ideology of the Safavid revolution:

> The *dīvān* alone gives a clue to the secret heresy of the early Safavids. These dynamic ideas, mystical and religious as they were on the surface easily found their expression in direct action.[83]

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[81]In Vladimir Minorsky's 1911 article (in Russian), "Material useful for the study of the beliefs of the Persian sect known as 'Ahl-é Haqq' or 'Alī Ilāhī"; For the complete reference of this Russian article see *Iranica: Twenty Articles* (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1964) xiii.

[82]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1006.

[83]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1025.

Minorsky's treatment of Shah Ismail's poetry affected how other sources of early Safavid history were valued. Faizullah Ruzbihan Khunjī's chronicle of theAqqūyūnlū dynasty, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, also edited and translated by Minorsky, effectively extended the "secret heresy" of the Safavids back to Ismail's father and grandfather.[84] Based on Khunjī's assertions that the followers of Junayd and Ḥaydar deified them, Savory concludes: "During the last half of the fifteenth century, before the establishment of the Safavid state, there is no doubt whatever that Safavid propaganda asserted that the Safavid leader was not merely the representative of the Hidden Imām, but the Hidden Imām himself."[85] Before Minorsky's research, contemporary European reports describing Ismail's command of devotion were dismissed as hyperbole. However, Minorsky established how these European sources would be viewed by subsequent scholars: "When the travelers of Safavid times declared that the Shahs were worshipped as God, these statements were interpreted figuratively, but they should rather be taken literally."[86] Thus, Amoretti holds that the European sources "provide us with evidence of the Mahdist and reforming aspect of his mission as well as the fanaticism of his followers"; their devotion to Ismail being a "peculiar military-religious type."[87] In his 1965 article Roger Savory, aligning evidence from the European reports,

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[84]Vladimir Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490; An abridged translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1957).

[85]Roger Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 23.

[86]Vladimir Minorsky, "Persia: Religion and History," *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. Gustave E. von Grunebaum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), rpt. in *Iranica: Twenty Articles* (Tehran: University of Tehran, 1964) 252.

[87]Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods" 635.

Minorsky's article and the 1959 publication of Shah Ismail's complete Paris *dīvān*,[88]

definitively declared:

> The religious bond between Ismāʿīl and his *murīds* was powerfully reinforced by his pretensions to semi-divinity. . . using simple language, and addressing them in their own tongue, Ismāʿīl fostered in these often illiterate tribesmen the belief that he was the manifestation of God himself.[89]

Viewed in light of his own poetry, the founder of the Safavid Empire took the shape of a spectacular demagogue in the following decades, and critical analysis into this phenomenon began: "If one pursues Ismail's thought to its conclusion and relates it to his political intentions, one realizes he is proclaiming a Shīʿi theocracy with himself at its head as a god-king."[90] According to Roemer, this persona fulfilled the messianic expectations of the age: "Ismail's descent from the shaikhs of Ardabīl, his personal appearance, his religious ideas and his sense of mission corresponded almost perfectly with the expectations which an oppressed people might nourish in their religious daydreams."[91]

With the extent of Shah Ismail's charismatic command now fully realized, several studies, including those of Amoretti, Michel Mazzaoui, Said Amir Arjomand and others, placed Shah Ismail at the pinnacle of a host of preceding movements and

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[88]Turkhan Gandjei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḫaṭāʾī* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1959). This version of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* is from the same Paris manuscript used by Minorsky in his study, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I."

[89]Roger Savory, "The Consolidation of afawid Power in Persia," *Der Islam* 41 (1965): 91-92.

[90]Roemer, "The Safavid Period" 198.

[91]Roemer, "The Safavid Period" 211.

religious-political formations stretching back to Saljūq times.[92] The leaders of these movements and sectarian communities are held up as the spiritual ancestors of Shah Ismail, for like the Safavids, their followers deified them. Often these precedents are grouped under the rubric *ghuluww* and thus used to designate a gamut of heresies hinging on what was deemed the exaggerated role of a particular figure in the divine plan, either as a messiah or an incarnation of God. However, by this time the sects so designated encompassed too vast array of religious forms to be meaningfully lumped together as *ghulāt*, as these movements also evidenced other currents particular to Sufism and 'Alīd loyalty.[93] The belief in the imminent return of the Twelfth *imām* as the eschatological *mahdī*, and indeed, in his actual presence is an important element which characterizes these movements to varying extents.[94]

By citing these religious-political movements as precedents, the messianic beliefs the Qizilbash placed in the person of the Safavid leader are emphasized. The Shī'ī Sarbadār dynasty of Khurasan (1338-1381) is cited for its expectation of the *mahdī*'s return; reportedly a riderless horse waited outside the city walls every day in order to facilitate his triumphant entry. The cabalistic mysticism of the Ḥurūfīs is viewed as a precedent based on the claims of the sect's founder, Fażl Allāh Ḥurūfī (d.

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[92]See Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods" 612-613; Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam: Religion, Political Order and Societal Change in Shi'ite Iran from the Beginning to 1890* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) 69-78; Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids: Ši'ism, Ṣūfism and the Ġulāt* 61-71; I. P. Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran*, trans. Hubert Evens (Albany: State University of New York, 1985) 304-311; Alessandro Bausani, "Religion Under the Mongols," *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle, vol. 5 of *Cambridge History of Iran*, 7 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1968) 545-549; Ocak, "Un aperçu général sur l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Turquie" 196-197.

[93]On these influences on *ghulāt* religious forms, including Qizilbashism, see Babayan, "The Safavid Synthesis: From Qizilbash Islam to Imamite Shi'ism" 136; Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* xxxvii.

1394) to be the "Lord of the Age" (*ṣāḥib al-zāman*). The founder of the Musha'sha'

dynasty in Khuzistan, Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Falāḥ (d. 1461 or 1456), also claimed to

be the awaited *mahdī*, as did Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 1463) of the Kubrāwī

Sufi order.

Observing the armed revolt and political formations that often accompanied the

pursuit of pre-Safavid charismatic utopias, these movements are also described as

"militant" millenarian movements. These include: The 1240 Babā'ī revolt of Saljūq

Anatolia, the Sarbadārs, the Anatolian revolt surrounding Shaykh Badr al-Dīn (d. 1416),

and the Musha'sha' state. Other studies specifically emphasize the Sufi precedents of

the Safavids. This trajectory traces the development of Sufi orders during the post-

Mongol period, comparing the Safavids to other Shī'ī Sufi orders, or orders which, while

remaining officially Sunni, nevertheless adopted 'Alīd piety. Again, the Kubrāwī and

the Ni'mat-Allāhī are among those Sufi orders cited in this regard. The Safavids are

further presented through a line of what is termed "popular" insurrections. The "popular"

basis is emphasized because of the origination of the leaders of these movements from

within the Turkic tribal milieu, such as the Babā'ī revolt (1240) as well as that of

Shaykh Badr al-Dīn (executed in 1416). In this respect, the "popular" anti-nomian

dervish groups susceptible to these insurrections-- the Qalandars and their localized

counterparts such as the Abdāls of Rūm-- are also cited as the discontented well from

which the Safavids drew their adherents.[95]

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[94]Hodgson, "Ghulāt"; Babayan, "The Safavid Synthesis: From Qizilbash Islam to Imamite Shi'ism" 136.

[95]Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Kalenderi Dervishes and Ottoman Administration from the fourteenth to the sixteenth Centuries," *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*, ed. Carl Ernst and Grace Martin Smith (Istanbul: Isis, 1993) 250; Halil İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilāyentāmesi," *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam* 223.

While there is value in examining the Safavids through the background trajectories mentioned above, the following historical context will trace Shah Ismail's Safavid lineage. For those historians, such as Ghulām Sarwar, who are interested in "eliminating legend from history," Safavid literary sources are problematic.[96] The genealogy of the Safavid house presented in these sources, with a lineage traced to the seventh *imām*, Mūsā al-Kāżim, has been shown in several studies to be a later fiction.[97] The often fantastic accounts of the Safavid *shaykhs'* relations with sovereign powers reveal more accurately attitudes towards sovereign power than any actual events. And one of the most extensive accounts of the early life of Shah Ismail, the aforementioned *Ross Anonymous*, has only recently been exposed as a late, unreliable source.[98] Nevertheless, these legend-infused sources are the foundation of Safavid historiography. Sources such as the *Safwat al-Safā*, a classic Persianate hagiography, and the *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Safawīyya*-- in a similar vein, intended to be a spiritual genealogy of the Safavid line-- provide the most substantial information we have of the early history of the order, until the careers of Shaykh Junayd (d. 1460) and Shaykh Ḥaydar (d. 1488), who although attracting the attention of chroniclers independent of the Safavids, are perhaps more enigmatic than their forefathers.

These literary sources served to perpetuate the charismatic authority of the Safavid *shaykhs*, and by extension, the dynasty. Browne, one of the first scholars to

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[96]Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī* ix.

[97]See Zeki Velidi Togan, "Sur L'origine des Safavides," *Melanges Louis Massignon*, 3 vols. (Damascus: L'institut français de Damas, 1957) 3: 346-347. Togan bases his conclusions on earlier manuscripts of the *Safwat al-Safā*, and proposes a Kurdish origin for the family. The manuscripts of the *Safwat al-Safā* with doctored genealogies date from the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp.

[98]Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 179-212.

examine the contents of the *Safwat al-Safa,* found it "biographically disappointing."[99]

Rather, the *Safwat* should be valued as pious testimony of the spiritual power of the order's founder, as it was intended. The *Safwat al-Safa* further demonstrates the role of the cult of sainthood in the institutionalization of Sufism during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A disciple of Shaykh Safi al-Din, Ibn Bazzaz, the author of the *Safwat al-Safa,* outlines the basis of his master's spiritual power through a theory of sainthood which allows for the *shaykh*'s display of phenomena properly the prerogative of prophets. As Safi al-Din's *murshid,* Shaykh Ibrahim Zahid Gilanai explains in the work, prophethood is accompanied by revelation (*wahy*) and miracles (*mu'jizat*), whereas sainthood, (*wilaya*), which is guided by inspiration (*ilham*), manifests a different kind of phenomenon, termed *karamat.*[100] This distinction in terms should not limit the scope of *karamat,* however, as it includes telepathy, bi-locution, feeding multitudes and such. Completed in 1357/8, during the first generation after Safi's death, the *Safwat al-Safa* is an immense log of *karamat,* attributed not only to Shaykh Safi but to his ancestors, his followers, and his master, Shaykh Ibrahim Zahid.

THE CHARISMATIC LEGACY OF SHAH ISMAIL: THE SAFAVID ORDER

The eponymous founder of the Safavid order, Safi al-Din Ishaq (1252-1334) came from a long line of pious ancestors. We are told that his first forefather to settle in Ardabil, Firuzshah, was gifted with the ability to convert neighboring infidels. One

[99]Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)* 39.

[100]Nikitine, "Essai d'analyse du Safvat-us-Safa," *Journal Asiatique* 1957 (245): 388.

of Safi's ancestors was also kidnapped by genies (*jinn*) at a young age and instructed in

the Qur'ān.[101] Safi al-Dīn himself spent years in search of a spiritual director

sufficiently gifted to interpret the mystical dreams and visions he had been experiencing

since an early age. He finally united with Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid, and in addition to

forging a master-disciple relationship, forged one of father and son: Safi married his

shaykh's daughter and upon Shaykh Zāhid's death in 1301, Safi became the spiritual and

material heir of his order. The date of Shaykh Zāhid's death is taken as the

establishment of the Safavid order proper.

The *Silsilat* reminds the reader that Safi was only five years old when the

Mongol Hūlegü conquered Persia.[102] The patronage, respect and even fear of temporal

rulers towards the saint is a common feature of the Islamic hagiography. These dervish-

sultan anecdotes serve to demonstrate the ultimate triumph of spiritual leaders over

their temporal masters.[103] As one would expect, the *Safwat al-Safā* casts Shaykh Safi's

authority into a similar paradigm, citing the Īlkhāns' reverence of him.[104] The

correspondence of the Īlkhānid historian and administrator Rashīd al- Dīn Fażlullāh

could provide additional evidence to this claim if these letters were not likely deliberate

forgeries.[105] Nevertheless, these letters attest to the perception of Safi's fame if

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[101]For an extended account of Safavid origins reconstructed from official Safavid sources, see Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 1-26.

[102]Browne, "Notes on an Apparently Unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 399.

[103]See William Hickman, "Ümmi Kemal in Anatolian Tradition," *Turcica* 14 (1982): 162-163; Halil İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilāyentāmesi" 217-222.

[104]Nikitine, "Essai d'analyse du Safvat-us-Safā" 390.

[105]One of these letters deal with the annual allotment of gifts for the order's Ardabil center. In another, in which he refers to Safi as "His Holiness the Pole of the Heaven of Truth, the Swimmer in the Oceans of the Law, the Pacer of the Hippodrome of the Path," Rashīd al-Dīn advises his son to earn Safi's favor. An explanation for the forgeries remains a mystery independent of any Safavid connection. Andrew H.

nothing else.[106]   Another Ilkhanid historian and administrator, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī

(d. 1349), also comments on the magnitude of Ṣafī's following. His influence extended

to the Mongol overlords, from whose injustice he protected the people.[107]

Likely through Ibn Bazzāz's work, Shaykh Ṣafī's sainted reputation was

perpetuated for generations, creating reverence even among outspoken enemies of Ṣafī's

heirs.   Despite writing one of the most damning and historiographically influential

condemnations of the Safavids, the Āqqūyūnlū court historian, Fażlullāh b. Rūzbihān

Khunjī, reserves reverence for Shaykh Ṣafī. Khunjī, whose information on the early

Safavids was obtained from "trustworthy people, who have read the books composed on

the life of this family,"[108] begins his invective with the acknowledgment of Ṣafī's

holiness. This holiness is proven genuine for Khunjī through Ṣafī's aversion to temporal

power and relates a story to this effect, illustrating the betrayal of Ṣafī's ethical

standards by his heirs.   As Khunjī explains, the Ilkhanid Muḥammad Öljeytü (r. 1304-

1316) had once invited Shaykh Ṣafī to dine at his court. However, "the shaykh [Ṣafī]

knew that, should he abstain from eating at the feast, the king might take offense, but

his rectitude was opposed to accepting food (*navāla*) from sultans."[109] Ṣafī sent his son

Ṣadr al-Dīn to the Ilkhān court in his place. For Khunjī it is at this point that the

Safavids began their disastrous intrusion into the realm of temporal power: "What a

pity that, while Ṣafī al-dīn preserved his being from a doubtful repast (*luqma-yi shubha*),

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Morton, "The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn: Ilkhānid Fact or Timurid Fiction?" *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Rueven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999) 182.

[106]Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)* 19, 33.

[107]Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Ṣafawids: Šiʿism, Ṣūfism and the Gulāt* 46.

[108]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i ʿAlam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 62.

[109]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i ʿAlam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 62.

he did not restrain his children from the vanities of the world (*ḥutām*). As a result, his progeny forsook poverty and humility (*khāksārī*) for the throne of a kingdom."[110] Similarly, in a letter to Shāh Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524-1575) the Uzbek Khān 'Ubayd states: "We have thus heard concerning your ancestor, His sainted Holiness Shaykh Ṣafi, that he was a good man and an orthodox Sunnī and we are greatly astonished that you neither follow the conduct of Murtaḍā 'Alī nor that of your ancestor."[111]

After the death of Shaykh Ṣafi in 1334, leadership of the Safavid order passed to his son Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā (d. 1391), whom Savory credits with its basic organization.[112] Ṣadr al-Dīn ensured Ardabil's rise as a major destination of pilgrimage, as Shaykh Ṣafi's shrine was constructed near the Ardabil *zāwiya* within ten years of his death. The shrine was certainly existent by 1359, the date of the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā*'s completion, which recounts miracles surrounding the shrine's construction.[113] We know from the *Ṣafwat* that Shaykh Ṣafi's followers became numerous during his lifetime, and archeological evidence from the Ardabil center corroborates this. A second, larger *zāwiya* was built on the site to accommodate Shaykh Ṣafi's growing following.[114] Despite evidence of a new *zāwiya* constructed during Ṣafi's lifetime, sources portray Shaykh Ṣafi as indifferent to physical expansion of the center, preferring to use their wealth for charity. The *Ṣafwat* quotes Ṣafi's laments that money was better spent on the table than for a

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[110]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 62-63.
[111]Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)* 43-44.
[112]Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 10.
[113]Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I" I: 47.
[114]Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I" II: 46.

new building.[115] Ṣadr al-Dīn did not inherit this tendency and his mission to expand the Ardabil center of operations is witnessed by the archeological evidence from the Ardabil site, which grew into a complex of buildings by the time of Ṣadr al-Dīn's death.[116]

Combined with the reputation of the Ardabil center as a sanctuary for the poor and persecuted, the portrayal of Safavid *shaykhs* as arbiters against tyranny is part of the appeal of the Safavids in the traditional sources. These sources tend to reveal ambivalence on the part of the Safavid *shaykhs* towards the various sovereign powers of Ardabil. The respect in which the Īlkhāns held Shaykh Ṣafi has already been mentioned. However, not all sovereigns are portrayed as properly reverent nor all *shaykhs* commanding an influence that is purely spiritual.

Where the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā* ends shortly after the death of Shaykh Ṣafi (1334), the *Silsilat al-Nasab-i Safawiyya* continues the biographical history of the Safavid leaders. The *Silsilat*, however, is a later source, written during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1666-1694) and is intended to be a spiritual history of the house, according to the author.[117] Concerning Ṣadr al-Dīn, the *Silsilat* tells of his entanglement with the notorious tyrant Malik Ashraf, a Chūbānid successor to the Īlkhānids in the Ardabil. As the *Silsilat* relates the story, Malik Ashraf imprisoned Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn for three months in Tabriz. Because of this and other injustices perpetuated against holy men,

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[115]Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I" II: 52.

[116]Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I" I: 54.

[117]Written by a descendent of Shaykh Ṣafi's spiritual master and father-in-law, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zāhid Gīlānī. Browne, "Notes on an apparently unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 397.

the Khān Janī Beg Maḥmūd (r.1340-1357) overthrew Malik Ashraf, allowing Ṣadr al-Dīn to return to his work among the indigent.[118]

The relationship between Khwāja 'Alī (d. 1427) and Tīmūr (d. 1405) is another case in point. In the widely-circulated story of their encounters, (the earliest recorded version is that of the Portuguese author Joâo de Barros)[119] Tīmūr grants Khwāja 'Alī the release of tribes which had been taken as prisoners of war during his Anatolian campaigns. Henceforth, these tribes remained affiliated with the Safavids and their descendants became known as the "Sufis of Rūm."[120] The official chronicle of Shāh 'Abbās' reign, *Tārīkh-i 'Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, glosses over the equivocal relationship between Khwāja 'Alī and Tīmūr presented in the hagiographic sources.[121] Iskandar Munshī simply relates that Tīmūr became a devotee of the Safavids after witnessing Khwāja 'Alī in an apparition "emanating from the visionary world."[122] The *Silsilat*, however, claims that during the second meeting with Khwāja 'Alī, Tīmūr attempted to poison him to death. This plan failed, however, when Khwāja 'Alī's audible litany (*dhikr*)[123] and ecstatic dancing expelled the poison from his system in a profuse

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[118]Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 12. Browne, "Notes on an apparently unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 406.

[119]Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Isma'il in the *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 43.

[120]Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 14.

[121]Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 14.

[122]Roger Savory, ed. and trans., *History of Shāh 'Abbās the Great (Tārīk-e 'Ālamārā-ye 'Abbāsī) by Eskandar Beg Monshi* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978) 27.

[123]Literally, a mentioning or remembrance; *dhikr (zikr)* is the ritualized recitation of the Qur'ānic names of God. On the practice of *dhikr* (with reference to the Chishti order) see Carl Ernst and Bruce B. Lawrence, *Sufi Martyrs of Love: The Chishti Order in South Asia and Beyond* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan 2002) 27-34; See also Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975) 167-178.

sweat.[124] These anecdotes, however apocryphal, nevertheless emphasize political and spiritual realities; the triumph of the Safavids' spiritual power over their temporal suzerains is itself reflective of a real means of political legitimacy in the power re-alignment of the post-Mongol era. The association with local Sufi *shaykhs* provided an aura of permanence and authority to sovereigns who lacked both; as Khunjī cynically accounts for Uzun Ḥasan's patronage of Shah Ismail's grandfather Junayd, the Āqqūyūnlū chieftain hoped "to catch from his shirt the aura of sanctity of his ancestors."[125]

According to some recent Safavid historians, notably Roger Savory, it was under the leadership of Khwāja 'Alī (1391-1427)[126] that the Safavid order adopted its Shī'ī orientation.[127] Anecdotes in the *Silsilat* associate Khwāja 'Alī with an emphatic, even militant Shī'ī loyalty. At one point Khwāja 'Alī advises Tīmūr on his religious policy, urging him to punish the "friends of Mu'āwiya," explaining, "we wear black garments in mourning for the Immaculate Imāms."[128] Instructed through visions of the *imāms*, Khwāja 'Alī miraculously blocked the Dizful river until the surrounding inhabitants "believed and accepted the commands of the Holy Law, abjured their

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[124]Browne, "Notes on an apparently unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 409.

[125]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 63; Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods" 612.

[126]According to the property registers of the Ardabil shrine examined by Morton, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, another son of Ṣadr al-Dīn, held the Ardabil post for a short time before the tenure of Khwāja 'Alī. See Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I" II: 45.

[127]Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 13.

[128]Browne, "Notes on an apparently unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 408.

infidelity and heresy, and confessed the saintship, vicegerency and trusteehood of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭalib."[129]

However, the religiosity of the early Safavid *shaykhs* is suspect when gleaned from a late source such as the *Silsilat*, written at a time in which identification along Sunni-Shīʿī lines held more significance than Khwāja ʿAlī's own time.[130] Insight into the early beliefs and practice of the Safavid order should be complemented with the earlier *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā* as well as the archeological evidence from the Ardabil complex. From this evidence we can discern that the rituals practiced by the early Safavids were not unlike those of other contemporary Sufi orders. Ecstatic dancing accompanied by music (*samāʿ*) is frequently described in sources as a practice of the early Safavids; an entire chapter of the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā* is dedicated to Shaykh Ṣafi's "ecstasies and devotional dancing."[131] And in the correspondence of Rashīd al-Dīn Faẓlullāh, Shaykh Ṣafi is offered both money and goods in exchange for a performance of *samāʿ* in the administrator's presence as part of the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday.[132]

The *Ṣafwat* also discusses the Sufi practice of *tawba*, signifying the ritualized act of repentance of a Sufi adept.[133] Shaykh Ṣafi's *tawba* is mentioned in connection with his first encounter with his long sought master, Shaykh Zāhid, and is presented as a private meeting between a master and his disciple. But after Shaykh Ṣafi became

[129]Browne, "Notes on an apparently unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 407.

[130]See Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995) 76.

[131]Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)* 39; On the development and institutionalization of *samāʿ* see Ernst and Lawrence, *Sufi Martyrs of Love* 34-45. See also Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* 178-186.

[132]Browne, "Notes on an Apparently Unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 418.

[133]Nikitine, "Essai d'analyse du Ṣafvat-uṣ-Ṣafā" 387.

master of the order, the *tawba* is presented as a communal ritual on a grand scale in the *Safwat al-Safā*, which describes a *tawba* ceremony Shayhk Safi conducts before a flock of 20,000.[134]   The large following accompanying Shaykh Safi-- the *Safwat* mentions the presence of bodyguards to protect him from the enthusiastic crowds[135]-- contrasts with the eremitic style of Shaykh Zāhid's spiritual direction. As Shaykh Zāhid told Safi before his death:

> I have been able to live the life of a recluse, but you cannot. Wherever you are summoned, you must go, to make converts and to give instruction. It is God who has given you this task of instruction and spiritual guidance.[136]

The practice of a fixed period of time for meditative seclusion, referred to as *khalwa*, is also cited as a form of discipline among the early Safavid *shaykhs* and their disciples. Features shared between the Safavid and Khalwatī orders, the latter which takes its designation from this form of discipline, are perhaps not incidental.[137]   A *khalwat-sarā* structure likely existed for this purpose on the Ardabil site during the lifetime of Shaykh Safi.[138]   This building later came to be known as the *chilla-khāna*,

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[134]Nikitine, "Essai d'analyse du Safvat-uṣ-Ṣafā" 387.

[135]Nikitine, "Essai d'analyse du Safvat-uṣ-Ṣafā" 387.

[136]Savory, "Some Reflections on Totalitarian Tendencies in the Safavid State" 228-229.

[137]H. J. Kissling places Ibrāhīm Zāhid Gīlānī in a line of Khalwatī *shaykhs*. See H. J. Kissling, "Aus der Geschichte des Chalvetijje-Ordens," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 103 (1953): 282; See also B. G. Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes," *Scholars, Saints and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972) 278; An additional connection is found in the Anatolian poet Ümmi Kemal, generally accepted as a Khalwatī dervish, but actually a Safavid adept according to his own poetry. See William Hickman, "Ümmi Kemal in Anatolian Tradition" 156-157.

[138]Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I" II: 45-46.

with "*chilla*" referring a period of forty days-- the ideal duration of a *khalwa*.[139] The

khalwa continues to serve as a spiritual discipline in the later *Ross Anonymous*, where it

is presented as a communal ritual of forty disciples.[140] Qāsim al-Anwār (d.1433-4), a

well-known *murīd* of Ṣadr al-Dīn, so came to be so known as the "distributor of lights"

after successfully completing a forty-day standing *khalwa*, endured by tying his hair to

the roof of the *chilla-khanā*.[141]

It is important to distinguish styles of piety among the Safavids and other

dervish groups at this early stage, such as the Qalandars, for they become increasingly

confounded. Until the time of Shaykh Junayd, the religiosity of the early Safavids

contrasts sharply with that of anti-nomian dervishes. In the *Ṣafwat*, Shaykh Zāhid is

presented as a severe critic of the unconventional Qalandar dervishes, admonishing their

trickery in procuring fruit out of season. And the enmity is mutual: the Qalandars are

accused of plotting to assassinate Shaykh Zāhid.[142]

Before the Safavid order became associated with anti-nomian elements, rather

much like other Sufi orders during the Islamic Middle Period, it underwent a process of

institutionalization during which it developed such characteristics as a *silsila*

(established chain of transmission), an elaborate center of activities and its particular set

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[139]Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I" II: 46-47.

[140]Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʿīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 328.

[141]Roger Savory, "A 15th-Century Ṣafavid Propagandist at Herāt," *American Oriental Society, Middle West Branch, Semi-Centennial Volume: A Collection of Original Essays*, ed. Denis Sinor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969) 189-197; Browne, "Notes on an Apparently Unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 405; Edward G. Browne, *Persian Literature Under Tartar Domination*, vol. 3 of *Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1902-1929) 478.

[142]Nikitine, "Essai d'analyse du Ṣafvat-uṣ-Ṣafā" 388; Jean Aubin, "Shaykh Ibrāhīm Zahīd Gīlānī (1218?-1301)," *Turcica* 21-23 (1991): 43.

of rituals and discipline.[143] According to Ahmet Karamustafa's study, groups centered

on deviant piety such as the Qalandars formed as a response to "establishment" dervish

orders during this time. The itinerant lifestyles of these dervishes starkly deviate from

the Safavids' regulated discipline, with their rich and growing complex in Ardabil. By

Shah Ismail's time, however, the relations of the Safavid order to anti-nomian elements

had reached a rapprochement. As the Portuguese author Duarte Barbosa describes Shah

Ismail's followers:

> And they began to go about naked, which is customary among them, leaving goods,
> honour and clothing behind, and covered themselves only with skins of goats and
> bears and deer, and their own hair which they wear very long. On their arms and
> chests they have many scars of fire, and on their backs or around them they carry
> many iron chains and in their hands they carry arms different from those borne by
> others. . . . Their Siech Ismail took this habit and settled to shout and cry for Hali
> and cared not for Macometto.[144]

However, the Safavid order developed along more conventional lines throughout

the tenure of Shaykh Ibrāhīm (1427-1447), whose life at the head of this well-

established, rich and expanding order is uneventful according to the sources, especially

in light of later developments. An obscure Armenian clerical source portrays Shaykh

Ibrāhīm, however, as a stern advisor to Jihān-Shāh. This "cruel governor of Ardabil"

advises the Qaraqūyūnlū ruler: "as the Christians abused our Prophet, assess them with

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[143]Ahmet Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200-1550* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1994) 87-88.

[144]Mansel Longworth Dames, ed. and trans., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants, Written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed About the Year 1518 A. D.*, 2 vols. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1918) 1: 83.

heavy taxes and tribute."[145] Mazzaoui is typical in his academic distinction between the early Safavid *shaykhs*, referred to as "heads of the order" and Shaykh Junayd and Haydar, who he refers to as the "leaders of the Safavid movement."[146]

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SAFAVID ORDER

In Islamic societies, the head covering has served as a traditional symbol of one's social and spiritual position. The color, shape and type of material a man wore on his head was a visible definition of his status, his vocation, his political loyalty and piety. The head covering a man wore during his lifetime also marked his grave in his death. The symbolism evoked by the hat is a convenient literary trope employed to illustrate the transformation of the Safavid order under Junayd (1447-1460) and Haydar (1460-1488): as Khunjī wrote, "changing the (dervish) cap of poverty (*kulāh-i gadāī*) for a crown of world domination," the Safavids transformed from peaceful unassuming dervishes into a ruthless military troop.[147] Throughout his treatment of the Safavids, Khunjī's condemnation of their betrayal of dervish life is ubiquitous: "They ought to have abandoned the thought of the crown (*tark-i tāj*) and chosen the 'crown of renunciation.'"[148]

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[145]Vladimir Minorsky, "'Thomas of Metsrop' on the Timurid-Turkman Wars," *Professor Muhammad Shafī' Presentation Volume*, ed. S. M. Abdullah (Lahore: Majlis-e Armughan-e Ilmi, 1955); rpt. in *The Turks, Iran and the Caucasus in the Middle Ages* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978) 26.

[146]Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids: Šī'ism, Ṣūfism and the Ġulāt* 43.

[147]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 61.

[148]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 63.

Junayd was the first Safavid *shaykh* to be associated with the title "Sulṭān" and

the first to arm his followers.[149] The *ghāzī* ethos, most commonly credited with the

establishment of the Ottoman Empire is also linked to the establishment of the Safavid

Empire through Shah Ismail's poetry, which consistently portrays his troops as nothing

less than *ghāzīs*.[150] But unlike Shah Ismail, who repeatedly declared his mission in

his *dīvān*-- "I am Shah Ismail, I am the head of all these *ġāzīs*"-- neither his grandfather

Junayd nor his father Ḥaydar left any written evidence indicating mission or motivation.

That Junayd's raids extended to Muslim targets as well lends itself to the assessment of

Junayd as a "wandering knight staying at the head of a mob of Turkish robbers"[151]-- a

theory first proposed by Khunjī.

Junayd's early military campaigns against Christian kingdoms in Georgia and

Circassia began shortly after his father's death in 1447. The military confrontations

that erupted between the Safavids and their Christian neighbors during Junayd's lifetime

became incorporated into later hagiographic lore, as a foreshadowing in hindsight. The

Silsilat relates an anecdote in which Ṣadr al-Dīn successfully recovered a door that had

been pillaged from an Ardabil mosque and placed on a Georgian church. Ṣadr al-Dīn

managed to cart the enormous door back to Ardabil aided by two dervishes.[152]

The militarization of the Safavid order likely led to Junayd's exile in 1448 from

Ardabil at the insistence of its suzerain, Jihān-Shāh Qaraqūyūnlū. Apparently a split

[149]Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids*, 16.

[150]Roemer, "The Safavid Period," 203; Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* 53, 93.

[151]Rustam Shukurov, "The Campaign of *Shaykh* Djunayd Ṣafawī Against Trebizond (1456 AD/ 860 AH)," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 17 (1993): 139.

[152]Browne, "Notes on an Apparently Unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 406.

occurred in the Safavid order at this time, with Junayd's uncle and tutor Ja'far assuming the duties in the Ardabil center. Ja'far certainly enjoyed better relations with Jihān-Shāh and Ja'far's daughter married into the Qaraqūyūnlu house. Put into modern terms, Ja'far represented the "moderate" branch of the Safavids, centered in Ardabil, while the "militant" branch headed west with Junayd.[153]

Junayd's subsequent exile in Anatolia is recorded by 'Āşıkpaşazāde. 'Āşıkpaşazāde relates a poetic anecdote in which the Ottoman Sultan Murād II (r. 1446-1451) considers Junayd's petition for refuge in Ottoman territory with his viziers. But the Sultan's viziers advise him: "One throne cannot accommodate two sultans."[154] After Murād II refused him asylum in Ottoman territory, Junayd is recorded causing civil and religious disruption in Konya and Mamluk Allepo.[155]

After an unsuccessful campaign against the Christian kingdom of Trebizond in 1456, Junayd spent the next few years (1456-1459) enjoying the hospitality of the Qaraqūyūnlu rival, the Āqqūyūnlu Uzun Hasan, then based in Diyarbakır.[156] Khunjī attributes Uzun Hasan's patronage of Junayd to his habit of courting "hermits and dervishes."[157] Naturally Safavid sources attribute this to genuine admiration and affection. Whatever the motivation, Uzun Hasan bound the respective houses together through the marriage of his sister Khadīja Begum to Junayd. After his stay in

[153]Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 101-102.

[154]Walther Hinz, *Uzun Hasan ve Şeyh Cüneyd. XV. Yüzyılda İran'ın Millî Bir Devlet Haline Yükselişi,* trans. Tevfik Bıyıklıoğlu (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1992) 17.

[155]Shukurov, "The Campaign of Shaykh Djunayd Safawī Against Trebizond" 131; Roemer, "The Safavid Period" 195.

[156]The Trebizond date is from Shukurov, "The Campaign of Shaykh Djunayd Safawī Against Trebizond" 134.

[157]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Fadlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 63.

Diyarbakır, Junayd attempted to recover Ardabil via an expedition to the Circassians, but he was killed en route in Shīrwān Shāh territory in 1459.[158]

Born one month after Junayd's death, Haydar's youth in the Āqqūyūnlu capital is obscure. Like his father, Haydar also secured a marriage to an Āqqūyūnlu princess, Uzun Hasan's daughter 'Ālamshāh Begum.[159] By this time the Āqqūyūnlu were the undisputed power in the region, after defeating the Qaraqūyūnlu in 1467. But after Uzun Hasan died in 1478, the Āqqūyūnlu relations with the Safavid order deteriorated into war. During a raid of Shīrwān Shāh territory Haydar was killed by the Āqqūyūnlu Ya'qūb. Khunjī's account of the Safavids takes pains to portray the Āqqūyūnlu involvement in the death of Haydar as justified on the grounds of self defense: "The dispensation of the law and the call of chivalry (murawwa) coincided, and the king [Ya'qūb] moved to the rescue of the king of Sharvān."[160] The Āqqūyūnlu thus halted Haydar's design to "loot the world."[161]

To demonstrate the enmity that arose between the Safavids and the Āqqūyūnlu, the *Ross Anonymous* employs the headgear. When Haydar presented Uzun Hasan the Sufi *tāj*, he showed his reverence by kissing it. Uzun Hasan's son Ya'ūb, however, not

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[158]Roger Savory, "Djunayd, Shaykh," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition.

[159]Shah Ismail's mother as she was known in Hasan Rūmlū's *Ahsan al-Tawārīkh*. She was also variously known as Halīma, 'Alīyya and Marta, the latter name indicative of her maternal heritage, as she was a daughter of the Trebizond princess Theodora. Shukurov, "The Campaign of Shaykh Djunayd Safawī Against Trebizond" 127; Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Ismail in the *Afzal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 32. See also Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 104-105.

[160]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Fadlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 74.

[161]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Fadlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 61.

only refused to wear it, he proscribed Safavid disciples from wearing the crimson *tāj-i*

Haydarī, the trademark from which the Qizilbash received their name.[162]

Beyond their militarization of the Safavid order, the most intriguing aspect to

Junayd and Haydar is the messianic significance their followers attached to them. The

major source on which the extraordinary concept of Junayd and Haydar is based is again

Ya'qūb's court historian, Khunjī:

> They openly called Shaykh Junayd "God (*ilāh*)" and his son "Son of God (*ibn-Allāh*)". . . with the eyes of certainty they saw that (Junayd's) weak corpse (*lāsha*) was stuffed with dust and blood. In his praise they said: "he is the Living One, there is no God but he." Their folly and ignorance were such that, if someone spoke of Shaykh Junayd as dead, he was no more to enjoy the seed beverage of life; and if someone said that a part of this body (head) became missing, they would give up the threshing ground of his existence to the wind of non-existence.[163]

Khunjī was the first to trace the blasphemy of the "New Safavids" to the

unrefined beliefs of the nomads of Rūm. After Junayd's death:

> The fools of Rūm, who are a crowd of error and a host of devilish imagination, struck the bell of the inane claim of Christians on the root of the monastery of the world, and, like that nation gone astray, exposed their (own) trinity (*thālith-i thalātha*) to exemplary punishment in the nethermost hell.[164]

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[162]Roger Savory, "The Struggle for Supremacy in Persia after the Death of Timūr," *Der Islam* 40 (1964): 56. For earlier uses of the term "Qizilbash" see Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods" 630; Gölpınarlı, "Kızıl-baş."

[163]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Fadlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 66.

[164]Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Fadlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 65-66. Regarding Haydar: "Many people from Rūm, Tālish and Siyāh-kuh (Qaraja-dagh) gathered to him and it is reported that they considered him as their God (*ma'būd*) and, neglecting the duties of *namāz* and public prayers (*'ibādāt*), looked upon the shaykh as their *qibla* and the being to whom prosternation [sic] was due (*masjūd*)." Minorsky, ed. and trans., *Fadlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i 'Alam-ārā-yi Amīnī* 67-68.

Modern scholarship similarly attributes the Safavids' transformation from a respectable Sufi order into a line of warrior messiahs under Junayd and Haydar to the same elements as did Khunjī. That is, their militant heresy was fashioned for and among the Turkmen tribes of Anatolia.[165] According to Minorsky,

> [Junayd] spent six or seven years in visiting the adepts of his house among the Turkish tribes of Anatolia and Syria. It is possible that having discovered shi'ite leanings among the Anatolians, he felt that a wider scope for his enterprise would open with his own move in the same direction. . . . He assumed the rôle of a descendent of the shī'ite imams, and even an incarnation of their spark of divinity.[166]

In the same way, Aubin explains that the ideology of Junayd and Haydar was closely connected with the Safavids' change of clientele as the nomadic Anatolians gained ascendancy over the sedentary Azeris.[167] Morton further asserts that Junayd "made use of the existing heterodox beliefs of the nomads to pursue a militant policy. Central was the belief in a messiah-like leader, regarded as an emanation of the divinity."[168] Petrushevsky's description of the militarized Safavids as poor, unruly, and doctrinally undisciplined nomads is also representative.[169]

This incongruence of dervish and military activity, the union of which for Khunjī was the greatest sin, is acknowledged even in official Safavid sources looking in

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[165]On the tribal components of the Qizilbash, see Sümer, *Safevî Devletinin Kuruluşu ve Gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin Rolü (Şah İsmail ile Halefleri ve Anadolu Türkleri)*; James J. Reid, *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1983) 20-21.

[166]Vladimir Minorsky, "Shaikh Bālī-Efendi on the Safavids," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 20 (1957): 439- 440.

[167]Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 4.

[168]Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)* xv.

[169]Petrushevsky, *Islam in Iran* 314.

hindsight. The major historian of Shāh ʻAbbās' reign, Iskandar Munshī, records that Junayd gave his disciples "spiritual guidance in a way that gave clear evidence of his desire for temporal power and kingship."[170] As for Ḥaydar:

> The number of Ṣufis who frequented Ḥeydar's court increased; as a result, Ḥeydar possessed both temporal and spiritual authority. Inwardly, following the example of shaikhs and men of God, he walked the path of spiritual guidance and defense of the faith; outwardly, he was a leader sitting on a throne in the manner of princes.[171]

By Munshī's writing, the course of events which transpired under Junayd and Ḥaydar were already recognized as a major transition in the history of the order. Far from reconciling the new military pretensions of the *shaykhs*, Munshī presents their pursuit of temporal power as a striking duplicity. Lacking Khunjī's censure concerning the intrusion of the Safavids into the realm of temporal power, Munshī instead defers to the call of destiny in his account of a humble family of dervishes which became a dynasty of kings.

THE LIFE OF SHAH ISMAIL

Ismail, born on 17 July 1487 to the Āqqūyūnlu princess ʻĀlamshāh Begum, was only an infant when his father was slain in 1488. Although differing considerably in detail, both the Safavid and European sources narrate the extremely difficult circumstances of Ismail's early childhood, with sympathy, and some in great detail: the

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[170]Savory, ed. and trans., *History of Shāh ʻAbbās the Great* 1: 29.
[171]Savory, ed. and trans., *History of Shāh ʻAbbās the Great* 1: 31.

imprisonment of the family under the order of Sultan Ya'qūb upon Ḥaydar's death, the

pursuit of Ismail after the death of his older brother Sulṭān 'Alī and his formative years

spent in hiding until his emergence in 1499. Safavid sources agree that Ḥaydar's eldest

son, Sulṭān 'Alī, held the leadership of the Safavid order after his father's death and the

threat this posed to the claimants of the Āqqūyūnlu throne. According to Ḥasan Rūmlū,

after Ya'qūb's death, the Āqqūyūnlu claimant Rustam released the family, "But, when it

came to his ears how the people flocked to them, he feared for his throne."[172]   Rūmlū

goes on to describe the man-hunt which ensued in Ardabil for the remaining Safavid

heirs after Sulṭān 'Alī's elimination. Housed in various secret locations unknown even

to his mother, Ismail was smuggled out of Ardabil and survived under the protection of

Kār Kiyā Mīrzā 'Alī, the ruler of Gilan.[173]   According to the earliest account,

Khwāndamīr's,[174] Ismail had also been accompanied by a brother, Ibrāhīm, who after

settling in Gilan, turned traitor. Symbolically discarding the Sufi *tāj* for the Āqqūyūnlu

headgear, Ibrāhīm left for Ardabil.[175]

Rūmlū presents the direct succession from 'Alī to Ismail as divine plan: "And

'Alī, by prophetic vision, knew that he was to die, and he took his sufi cap from off his

head, and set it on Ismail's head and sent him to Ardabil."[176] Morton's study of Fażlī

Iṣfahānī's *Afżal al-Tawārīkh*, however, emphasizes the chronicle's alternative version of

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[172]C. N. Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Safawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū*, vol. 2 (English Translation) (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1934) 1.

[173]Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Safawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 2-5.

[174]*Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, completed in 1524.

[175]Jean Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 5.

[176]Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Isma'il in the *Afżal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere," 33; Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Safawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 2.

this event. As mentioned earlier, Khwāndamīr implies that Ibrāhīm defected from the Safavid cause, and significantly, Ḥasan Rūmlū does not mention the existence of Ibrāhīm.[177] In the *Silsilat*, Ismail's "brothers" are killed, presumably along with ʿAlī, before Ismail's escape to Gilan.[178] The *Afḍal al-Tawārīkh*, which is a later history written during the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (r. 1629-1642), divides the succession of Safavid leadership between Ismail and his brother Ibrāhīm, three years Ismail's senior.[179] Aubin reads this discrepancy surrounding the role of Ibrāhīm as a militant-quietist split in the Safavid order, seen before between Shaykh Junayd and his uncle Jaʿfar. Aubin further points to a moderate branch of the Safavids that was strong in Ardabil during Ismail's childhood.[180] Fażlī Iṣfahānī, while relying on the major chronicles, including those of Ḥasan Rūmlū, Khwāndamīr and Iskandar Munshī, also makes use of the oral history of the Ardabil Sufis.[181] Morton conjectures that the oral tradition of the Ardabil Sufis may be the source for this unique account of a split succession:[182]

He [Sultan ʿAli] made his younger brother Ibrahim his deputy for the chain of mystical guidance, commanded him to transmit guidance and occupy the prayer carpet, and transferred matters of military action and kingship over the whole world which, by the grace of God became adorned with his [presumably Ismaʿil's] noble existence, to Sultan Ismaʿil Mirza, who was seven years old.[183]

[177]Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Ismaʿil in the *Afḍal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 34.
[178]Browne, "Notes on an Apparently Unique Manuscript History of the Safawi Dynasty of Persia" 412.
[179]Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Ismaʿil in the *Afḍal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 33.
[180]Aubin, "L'avenement des Safavides reconsidéré" 8.
[181]Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Ismaʿil in the *Afḍal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 30, 32.
[182]Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Ismaʿil in the *Afḍal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 30-31.

Ibrāhīm's powers were relegated to the religious theater of operation, and those

invested in Ismail to the political-military in this account. Whether such a division of

the realms of power ever existed in the Safavid order, it is clear that the author intended

to preserve the integrity of both the dervish and the military commander through their

separation. The account reveals a tension between the Sufi world and the world of

kingship, neither fully reconciled in the chronicles nor, (if Morton is correct for the

source of Fażlī's narrative) in the oral tradition:

> Making Sultan Ibrahim Mirza his heir in transmitting guidance and the ways of his
> noble-natured grandfather, which had come to him in regular succession, ordered the
> *khalīfas* of the retreat, the *pīras*, *tarīqchīs*, sayers of *zikr* and disciples to serve and
> obey his dervish-natured brother.[184]

The subsequent development of this duality in Safavid leadership is not seen

however, as Fażlī relates that Ibrāhīm died early on, before Ismail took power.

Henceforth, Ismail carries on as his predecessors by commanding both spiritual and

military leadership roles. According to Rūmlū, Safavid followers, unmolested after the

death of Rustam in 1497, flocked to Gilan, "and Ṣūfis from all parts, from Turkey and

Qarācha Dagh and the district of Mushkīn, came with presents, and returned to their

own lands."[185]

In Roemer's close reading of Khunjī, he notes that the Āqqūyūnlū historian

accuses Junayd and Ḥaydar's followers of attributing divinity to the *shaykhs*, without

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[183]Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Ismaʻil in the *Afżal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 34.

[184]Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Ismaʻil in the *Afżal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 35.

[185]Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 4.

specifically mentioning any Shī'ī heresy. Roemer is therefore skeptical of locating Shī'ī beliefs definitively in any Safavid leader before Ismail, tracing these beliefs to Ismail's education and formative years in Gilan.[186] The role of Ismail's protector in Gilan, Kār Kīyā Mīrzā also receives special attention in later sources. The integrity of the ruler of Gilan is illustrated by the story of how he protected Ismail from capture. Threatened with a massacre in Gilan, Kār Kīyā Mīrzā complied to take a solemn oath on the Qur'ān, swearing that Ismail was not on his land. At the moment of his oath Ismail was suspended in a basket from a tree bow, dangling over, but not resting on the land of Gilan. In the *Ross Anonymous* version of this story, Imām 'Alī himself instructs Kār Kīyā Mīrzā how to deceive the Āqqūyūnlu through this ruse.[187]

In European sources Ismail is especially noted for eschewing council from any advisors, even as a child. However, he was surrounded by an elite group of Qizilbash hierarchs, and we can assume, as Jean Aubin has, that his preparation for warfare in 1499 was the decision of this group of high-ranking Qizilbash-Safavid officers.[188] The district of Erzincan was designated the meeting place for the Qizilbash tribes now under the nominal command of Ismail. Shirwan, the first military target struck in December 1500, had personal significance for Ismail, fulfilling his obligations of filial vengeance. After defeating the Āqqūyūnlū Alwand in the summer of 1501, the Qizilbash took their capital of Tabriz, and the triumphant entry of the Safavid Qizilbash into the Āqqūyūnlū capital is taken as the beginning of the Safavid dynasty.

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[186]Roemer, "The Safavid Period" 197-198.

[187]Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Isma'il in the *Afżal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 36.

[188]Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 9; Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 21-22.

Shī'ism was formally declared in Safavid territory. On the Friday following Ismail's coronation in Tabriz, the *khuṭba* contained the phrase "I bear witness that 'Alī is the friend of God."[189] The accompanying violence to this religious policy is alluded to in the later *Ross Anonymous*. When Ismail's advisors voiced their reservations about implementing Shī'ism he said to them: "God and the immaculate imāms are with me and I fear no one; By God's help, if the people utter one word of protest, I will draw the sword and leave not one of them alive."[190] In the same account, Imām 'Alī appears to Ismail, soothing his apprehensions:

O son, do not let anxiety trouble your mind . . . let all the *qizilbāsh* be present in the mosque fully armed, and let them surround the people; if, when the *khuṭba* [formal sermon in a mosque] is recited, the people make any movement, the *qizilbāsh* will be able to deal with the situation, since they surround the people.[191]

After gaining control of Azerbayjan, continual campaigns and successes followed for the next decade. The Safavid army achieved territorial suzerainty over most of Iran, encompassing Diyarbakır and Baghdad (1508) and consolidating Shirwan in 1509. It was not until 1512 that the Safavids suffered a significant defeat by the Uzbeks in Transoxania, a battle fought as the result of an alliance with the future Mughal emperor Bābur.[192] Despite this repulse, by this time the whole of Persia, including Iraq and

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[189]Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)* 54.

[190]Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)* 53.

[191]Quoted in Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 29.

[192]On the relations of Bābur and Shah Ismail, see Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian Relations: A Study of the Political and Diplomatic Relations between the Mughal Empire and Iran* (Teheran: Iranian Culture Foundation, 1970) 5-12.

Diyarbakır, was in Shah Ismail's hands.[193] This steady territorial expansion culminated

in 1510 with the battle of Khurasan and the defeat the Uzbek Shaybānī Khān.

Although in his correspondence to Sultan Selīm, Shah Ismail claimed good

relations with Beyazīd II (r. 1481-1512) evidence found in Beyazīd II's own

correspondence demonstrates the Ottoman Sultan's suspicion towards the success of the

Safavid endeavor.[194]   Adel Allouche attributes the growing hostility between the

Ottomans and Safavids essentially to a Safavid offensive in the form of propaganda

which succeeded in instigating revolt among their followers in Anatolia.   Allouche also

makes a solid case for a planned Safavid campaign in Ottoman territory during the

assembly of Qizilbash troops in Erzincan in the spring of 1500, before the capture of

Tabriz.[195] During the same time, a revolt was underway in Karaman involving tribes

loyal to the Safavids.

In 1511, the Ottomans had put down a major revolt in western Anatolia led by

Şāh Ḳūlī Tekkelü, whose father, Ḥasan Ḥalīfe, had been a Safavid disciple.   After Şāh

Ḳūlī's execution, the survivors of the revolt pillaged their way back to Safavid territory.

We are told by Rūmlū that Shah Ismail himself ordered the execution of the remnant of

the revolt as punishment for highway robbery.[196]   During the following year, a

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[193]Roger Savory, "Ismā'īl I," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition. See Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī* 43-71 for detailed territorial and military accounts, supplemented by Savory, "The Consolidation of afawid Power in Persia" 71-94.

[194]Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict* 54-55; Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī* 72-73.

[195]Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict* 75.

[196]Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 57.

campaign was led by another of Shah Ismail's partisans, Nūr 'Alī Ḥalīfe, whose brief success saw the *khuṭba* read under the authority of the Shah in Tokat.[197]

Under Sultan Selīm, who came to the throne in 1512 and died in 1520, relations openly deteriorated. Before Sultan Selīm's 1514 campaign against the Safavids, a major purge was conducted against the Shah's followers in Anatolia. The *fatwās* Selīm obtained before the infamous purge survive if exact figures do not; traditionally the figure quoted is 40,000 Safavid partisans put to death or imprisoned.[198] A series of hostile correspondences between Selīm and Ismail preceded the battle of Chaldiran which took place 22 August 1514.[199] Beyond the numerical superiority of the Ottoman troops-- the Safavid troops were vastly outnumbered according to estimates on both sides[200]-- the defeat of the Safavids in this battle is also attributed to the Ottomans' superior firearm technology.[201] Nevertheless, the defeat had little effect on territory; the province of Diyarbakır was the only significant area to become a permanent Ottoman possession as a result of Chaldiran. And Safavid interference in Ottoman

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[197]Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Safawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 62-63; Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict* 96.

[198]Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict* 111-112.

[199]Allouche, *The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict* 83-89; 107-119.

[200]Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismāʿīl Safawī* 79.

[201]Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 44. According to both Safavid and Ottoman sources, one (or two) of Shah Ismail's wives were captured during the battle of Chaldiran. One of them, Shāh Begī Begum, otherwise known as Tājlū Begum, having given birth to Ismail's successor Ṭahmāsp just months before, managed to escape or bribe her way back to the Safavid camp shortly after capture. The presence of the royal women at the battle has yet to be fully investigated. The participation of Safavid women in combat was claimed by Caterino Zeno: "The Persian ladies themselves follow in arms the same fortunes as their husbands, and fight like men, in the same way as those ancient Amazons who performed such feats of arms in their time." Charles Grey, ed. and trans., "Travels in Persia by Caterino Zeno," *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873) 59. However, the reports vary significantly and this incident was incorporated into later Safavid legendary narratives. See Morton, "The Ardabīl Shrine in the Reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I" II: 41; Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismāʿīl Safawī* 81; Joseph von Hammer Purgstal, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman, depuis son origine*

domestic affairs was subdued, but not eliminated.[202]   The spiritual effects of

Chaldiran are emphasized more than its strategic outcome.

It is generally acknowledged that what Morton calls the "messianic pretensions"

of Shah Ismail suffered as a result of Chaldiran. In the estimation of the Iranian historian

Naṣr Allāh Falsafi, the defeat took its toll, and "his egotism and arrogance changed to

despair and dejection."[203]   Safavid sources reveal how Shah Ismail channeled this

dejection in a lively court existence.[204]   European envoys sent to the Safavid court

never materialized an alliance against the Ottomans of any consequence; rather, by all

accounts, from the time of Chaldiran to his death, Ismail shunned the battlefield in favor

of court amusements:[205]

For (the last) ten years (of his life), the king, who was Jupiter in grandeur, spent his
time in 'Irāq and Adharbāyjān, and never thought of extirpating foreign foes; so that
the original idea of conquering the whole world went out of his mind. Such excesses
resulted in extreme weakness in the limbs of that dignified king, and he passed away
to the immortal world in the prime of his life.[206]

The first Safavid Shah died in 1524, succeeded by his ten year-old son, Shāh

Ṭahmāsp. The young shah inherited an empire which rested on a volatile balance of

Qizilbash alliances, demonstrated by violent struggles among these power networks

jusqu'a nos jours, 18 vols. (Paris: Bellizard, Barthès, Dufoer and Lowell, 1835-1848) 4: 208; Selâhattin
Tansel, Yavuz Sultan Selim (Ankara: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1969) 62-65.

[202]On the battle of Chaldiran, see Allouche, The Origins and Development of the Ottoman-afavid
Conflict 116; Sarwar, History of Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī 78-82.

[203]As quoted in Savory, Iran Under the Safavids 45.

[204]See Roger Savory, "The Consolidation of Ṣafawid Power in Persia" 93; Aubin, "L'avènement des
Safavides reconsidéré" 48-52.

[205]Savory, "Ismā'īl I."

[206]From a general Safavid history to 1590, as quoted in Sarwar, History of Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī 99.

during the first decades of his reign. Despite this civil strife, Shāh Ṭahmāsp managed to firmly align the Safavid mission with that of the orthodox *imāmī* establishment during his reign.[207]

CONCLUSION: THE CHARISMATIC BURDEN OF SHAH ISMAIL

Āqqūyūlū and Safavid historians were not alone in recognizing the contradiction presented by a dervish king. Shortly before engaging his troops in battle against the Safavids, the Uzbek Shaybānī Khān reportedly sent Shah Ismail a staff and beggar's bowl, adding: "A son does the father's work, and a daughter the mother's."[208] Orchestrating a similar taunt before the battle of Chaldiran, Sultan Seīim sent Ismail a more elaborate gift consisting of a cloak, a rosary and other symbols of the mendicant vocation.[209] The scorn displayed by Ismail's contemporaries regarding his exalted temporal position is echoed in modern analytic discussions. However, the dervish king is no longer ridiculous: he is charismatic.

Arjomand's analysis is the most theoretically Weberian. The Safavid leaders drew on several fonts of charisma: "Not only did they claim the charisma of the warlord, drawing on the (non religious) epic tradition of pre-Islamic Iran, they also arrogated to

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[207]On the growing climate of orthodoxy under Shāh Ṭahmāsp see Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* 146-147.

[208]Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī* 63; Wheeler M. Thackston, ed. and trans., *Mirza Haydar Dughlat's Tarikh-i-Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1996) 155-156.

[209]ʿsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 8 vols. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1983) 2: 250.

themselves the incarnation of the omnipotent God, demanding worship . . . ."[210]

Closely following Weber's characteristics of pure charisma, Arjomand argues that the

Safavids' charisma

> amounted to the abolition of all normative order independent of the personal will of the supreme leader, who was, at one and the same time, the Sufi *murshid,* the Shiʻite Imam, and the primordial godhead. . . . The claim of the Safavids to incarnation of God left no room for the rule of divine law. No wonder the prime accusation leveled against the early Safavids from Junayd onwards was *ibāḥa:* disregard of the sacred law.[211]

As the culmination of the preceding two centuries of charismatic movements in

Iran and Anatolia, Ismail became the most successful example of Weber's classic

definition of charisma:

> A certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. . . . How the quality in question would be ultimately judged from any ethical, aesthetic or other such point of view is naturally entirely indifferent for purposes of definition. What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his "followers" or "disciples."[212]

However, analysis beyond Weber's sustaining of judgment, that is, "how the

quality in question would be ultimately judged from any ethical, aesthetic or other such

point of view" is crucial to the assessments of Ismail's command of power. This is not

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[210]Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* 82.

[211]Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* 82.

[212] Max Weber, "The Nature of Charismatic Authority and its Routinization," *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers,* ed. S. N. Eisenstadt, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1968) 48.

so much a theoretical revision of Weber, but a set of generally negative connotations that have been attached to the identification of charismatic leadership. This particular reading of Weber, astutely observed by Benedict O'G. Anderson as part of a general trend in the social sciences, views charisma as "something demagogic, irrational, regressive, shady, and usually dangerous."[213] While retaining a prominent place in academic discourse a century after its introduction into the study of religious and social movements, charisma has lost, Anderson observes, its redemptive character. Discussions of Shah Ismail's charismatic authority and following generally support Anderson's predictions. This reading of charisma has directed the focus of scholarly investigation to the followings of charismatic leaders. Indeed, Arjomand stresses the need to pay closer attention than did Weber to the belief systems which are conducive to the success of charismatic authority.

In this way, the regressive nature of Shah Ismail's charismatic appeal is specifically located in the primitive beliefs of the Turkmen tribes, which constituted the bulk of the Qizilbash: "The ideational and theological elements of the shi'itized Sufism of the Qizilbash appear to have been extremely crude, covering a substratum of shamanistic and anthropolatric folk religiosity."[214] The conversion of the Safavid clients to Islam is deemed "recent and most superficial" whereas their "Central Asiatic beliefs and customs" are tenuous.[215] In analyzing the followings of charismatic leaders, the stock explanation evoked is what Anderson calls "a newly discovered social disorder

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[213]Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990) 89.

[214]Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* 80.

[215]Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* 79.

called *millenarianism*,"[216] or as Arjomand refers to the Safavid ethos-- "warrior

millenarianism."[217] Attention is often drawn to a long period of instability ushered in

by the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century, which is seen as a logical explanation

for an irrational belief in a utopia on earth. From Weber's original criterion for charisma

which rested on the voluntary recognition by the leader's followers, we see rather

manipulation and coercion. Shah Ismail, aware of his power, consciously manipulated

it: "Like the Musha'sha' before him, Ismā'īl varied his claim to mahdistic authority to

the audience."[218] In this regard the poetry of Ismail is viewed primarily as a tool of

propaganda-- a point to which we shall return.

Jean Aubin, far from viewing the establishment of the Safavid state as

revolutionary, views it as a continuation of pre-existing social and political institutions.

Parallel to the reactionary power structures of the Safavid state, the Safavids' charisma

is also characterized as regressive. Aubin invariably attributes Shah Ismail's war

atrocities and decadence as well as the fanatical behavior of the Qizilbash to a pre-

Islamic paganism prevalent among the Turkmen tribes. This pagan regression explains

the intense devotion of the Shah's followers, manifesting itself in such practices as

cannibalism.[219] These gruesome excesses of warfare are found in Safavid sources as

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[216]Anderson, *Language and Power* 90.

[217]Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* 79.

[218]Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* 76.

[219]The references morbid incidents such as grave desecration and cannibalism are numerous. The *Ross Anonymous* is one of the sources for the Qizilbash practice of cannibalism after victory in combat: "[T]he *ghāzīs* placed them on spits and roasted them," and a chronicle of the Kurdish dynasty tells us they were "eaten as *kebāb*." See Roger Savory, "The Consolidation of Ṣafawid Power in Persia" 72-73, 79. J. P. Roux argues that the Qizilbash practice of grave desecration can be traced to their Mongol heritage. See J-P. Roux, "Une survivance des traditions turco-mongoles chez les Séfévides," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 183 (1973): 11. The fate of Shaybānī Khān is usually mentioned in this list of Shah Ismail's atrocities. Shaybānī Khān's head, stuffed with straw, was sent to Beyaz£d II while his scull was preserved

well. Aubin sees the Qizilbash practice of cannibalism as a ritualistic manifestation of elements of Mongol culture. The desecration of graves, also a war tactic of the Qizilbash, is rooted in the ancient shaman belief that the soul lived in the bones beyond death.[220] The list goes on: the use of the skull as a drinking vessel-- as Shah Ismail used Shaybānī Khān's skull-- is also a vestigial Mongol custom.[221] Ismail's copious alcohol intake is ascribed both to Persian Sufi culture of the ecstatic type and Mongol libertinism.[222] There is something in Ismail, and in his followers (which is why he appeals so strongly to them) that is essentially pagan:

Ismail blended Muslim religiosity with archaic rites resurgent from the Anatolian Turkmen milieu, with their foundation in the beliefs of Central Asia. Added to the Shī'ī cult of 'Alī, with its vengeance for the martyr, Ismail presided over ritual acts that were not in the least Islamic. For the unrefined Qizilbash of Anatolia, the dervish was confounded with the shaman.[223]

The post-Weberian charismatic lens that reconciles the European reports, Shah Ismail's poetry, the contemporary polemic as well as equivocal Safavid chronicles, not only make cruelty, perversity and divine inspiration plausible within one figure, but theoretically determined. The cruelty of Shah Ismail and the fanatical conduct of the Qizilbash constitute the dark side of charismatic authority. Because the charismatic leader is no longer deserving ethically or aesthetically of the devotion he commands, the

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as a chalice for the Shah. See Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Safawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 54; Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismā'īl Safawī* 59.

[220]Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 44.

[221]Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 46.

[222]See Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 50.

nature of this devotion must be accounted for. In the case of the Safavids, this accountability lies within a regressive paganism combined with a climate of millennial expectation among their restless followers. Certainly the studies cited in this chapter provide considerable evidence pointing to messianic expectation and pre-Islamic beliefs prevalent among Qizilbash tribes. At the same time, these studies serve to accommodate Shah Ismail's personality as well as the religiosity of his followers within a theoretical framework unknown to Ismail's contemporaries and pre-modern historians.

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[223] Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 44.

CHAPTER III

SHAH ISMAIL AS A ROMANTIC HERO OF THE MINSTREL TALE

While Shah Ismail's historical life has received extensive treatment in Safavid

chronicles, accounts narrating his legendary lives have also developed within the Safavid

literary tradition and beyond. Simultaneously with Shah Ismail's rise to power on the

edge of the Ottoman Empire in 1501, reports destined for the Venetian Republic were

describing Ismail as a "New Prophet," and within a short time these initial reports to

Europe developed their own elaborate narratives, adorned with unique versions of

Ismail's early life. The major Safavid histories, such as Khwāndamīr's *Habīb al-Siyar*,

completed the year of Shah Ismail's death, and Ḥasan Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh*,

begun during Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign, include a spattering of legendary elements.

However, the historical literature for the most part stands in contrast to later Safavid

narratives, (referred to collectively as the "Anonymous Lives of Ismail"), in which

miraculous elements and heroic deeds became central to the unfolding of Ismail's story.

This chapter will focus on the presentation of Shah Ismail in a similar category of

ahistorical narratives known as the *ḥikāye* (henceforth: *hikâye*), the Turkish minstrel tale.[224]

Since the inception of folklore studies in Turkey, scholars have emphasized the contribution of heterodox orders and communities in the development of folklore genres in the Turkish language. The term "*âşıḳ*" (*'āşıḳ*, lit., lover) demonstrates this connection. A term employed to designate the narrator as well as the protagonist of the *hikâye*, "*âşıḳ*" is at the same time used in reference to musicians who perform from the poetic Alevi-Bektashi repertoire. The *hikâye* form, however, is not associated with overtly mystical or sectarian themes as is the case with Alevi-Bektashi poetry proper, nor does the *hikâye* serve pious or liturgical functions. It is frequently emphasized that the *hikâye* is a literary genre by which to express human love as opposed to a mystical love or devotional piety. Nevertheless, the *hikâye* constitutes a part of Alevi-Bektashi literary expression, a connection which was first established, like so many others, by Fuad Köprülü.[225]

More recent examples of Shah Ismail as a figure of literary inspiration among Turkish and Azeri authors echo his personae in these earlier narratives. Shah Ismail was the subject of two operas, composed centuries apart. In 1919, the Azeri composer Muslim Magomayev (d. 1937), created the most recent opera dedicated to Shah

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[224]Although often translated as a "minstrel tale," according to İlhan Başgöz, there is no accurate equivalent to the *hikâye* (Arabic: *ḥikāya*) form in Western folklore. İlhan Başgöz, "Turkish *Hikâye*-Telling Tradition in Azerbaijan, Iran," *Journal of American Folklore* 83 (1970): 391-405, rpt. in *Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature: Selected Essays of İlhan Başgöz*, ed. Kemal Silay (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1998) 24.

[225]See Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Saz Şâirleri: Türk Edebiyatında Âşık Tarzının Menşe ve Tekâmülü-- XVI. ve XVII. Asır Saz Şâirleri* (Ankara: Millî Kültür Yayınları, 1962) 28-29, 34-38; Köprülü, "Turks: III. Ottoman Turkish."

Ismail.[226] The first operetta was composed in Italian in the sixteenth century. It was

hoped that this composition would serve a significant political objective according to

the author Theodore Spandounes, who was an Ottoman subject of Byzantine heritage:

> I am taking this work with me to Rome to show it to the Pope [Paul III], the main
> benefactor of myself and of the Greek nation. . . . It is my hope that the Pope
> together with the Christian princes will invite the same "Sophi" to co-operate in the
> holy, pious and glorious campaign against the Turks.[227]

Echoes of these alternative narratives can also be heard today. As Tord Olsson

observes, concurrent with the political assertion of religious minorities in nation-states

such as Turkey, the writing of minority history is increasingly deemed as an important

prerogative of minorities themselves.[228] As part of this re-evaluation of Qizilbash-

Alevi history currently underway in Turkey, some contemporary Alevi authors have

used the novel as the vehicle to explore Shah Ismail's significance.[229] These recent

works owe much to the creativity of their predecessors who came centuries before.

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[226]Entitled *Shāh Ismāʿīl*, the opera was staged again in 1987 in the People's Republic of Azerbayjan. Unfortunately, a rare recording of this opera catalogued at Indiana University is unavailable for consultation at present.

[227]Donald M. Nicol, ed., *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors, Translated from the Italian Text of 1538 as Edited by C. N. Sathas, "Documents inédits relatifs a l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge," IX (Paris 1890), pp. 133-261; Theodoro Spandugnino, Patritio Constantinopolitano, "De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani, ordini de la corte, forma del guerregiare loro, religione, rito, et costumi de la natione"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) 5-6. According to Nicol, Spandounes' "operetta" is included in Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge* 252-261, however, this version records the work in prose-narrative form.

[228]Olsson, "Epilogue: The Scripturalization of Ali-Oriented Religions" 199; On the current discourses of Alevis in Turkey regarding their history see Vorhoff, "'Let's Reclaim Our History and Culture!'-- Imagining Alevi Community in Contemporary Turkey" 220-252.

Sixteenth and seventeenth-century narratives, both historical and legendary, greatly inform the events of Reha Çamuroğlu's novel *İsmail*, just as variants of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* contribute to the mythical texture of İsmail Onarlı's *Şah İsmail: Biyografi*.[230]

To return to the earlier versions of Shah Ismail's life as presented in the European accounts, the Safavid legendary narratives and the *hikâye*: it is important to observe the distinction that these narratives, while they may be presented as truth, they are not presented as history. References to geographical and chronological specifics are ignored or stylized.[231] But that is not to say these alternative accounts of Ismail's life have not played a significant, indeed central, role in modern historiography. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Minorsky's examination of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* led to an enhanced valuation of contemporary European sources.[232] And the *Ross Anonymous*, long considered an authoritative, even first-hand account of Ismail's life, was recently connected with these later Safavid legendary narratives as opposed to the earlier authoritative histories.[233]

Informed by rumor, mystical vision and wishful thinking, these alternative narratives, while unreliable historically, should be valued for their insight into the societies which produced them. In this respect, the *hikâye*, through its association with the Qizilbash-Bektashi tradition, is of primary concern to this study. However, unlike

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[229]The first historical novel based on Shah Ismail published in Turkey is Feridun Fazıl Tülbentçi, *Şah İsmail (Büyük Tarihî Roman)* (İstanbul: Gün Matbaası, 1956). This work is based largely on the academic histories published in Turkey.

[230]Reha Çamuroğlu, *İsmail* (İstanbul: Om Yayınevi, 1999); İsmail Onarlı, *Şah İsmail Biyografi* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2000).

[231]As in the seventeenth-century Safavid anonymous accounts. See Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 205.

[232]Minorsky, "Persia: Religion and History" 252.

the European accounts, for example, the *hikâye* is a highly structured literary form, and as such conforms to the limitations of the genre. Once we establish Shah Ismail's folktales' conformity to the *hikâye* structure, however, other elements that inform the narrative present themselves more clearly. Shah Ismail's *hikâye* retains the influence of sources outside the *hikâye* tradition which can be seen through the narrative's departure from the conventions of the genre. But despite these influences, the Shah Ismail of the *hikâye* possesses attributes typical of the exemplars of the genre, creating a new vision of Ismail. Stripped of his former militaristic and messianic associations, Ismail emerges as a post-messianic hero in the *hikâye*, with his sword replaced by his *saz*,[234] the weapon of the *âşık*.

ISMAIL AND THE AMBASSADORS OF CHRISTENDOM

After Shah Ismail's own poetry, the portrayal of Ismail as a divine monarch finds its most spectacular expression in the contemporary accounts of Christian envoys, merchants and spies.[235] The aura of supernatural sanctity imbued upon Ismail in these writings is not so much despite the authors' Christian perspective, it seems, but because of it. Palmira Brummett has shown how these contemporary accounts of Shah Ismail cast him in conformity with Christian ideals of a divinely-inspired monarch, worshipped

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[233]Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 179-212.

[234]A stringed instrument similar to the lute.

[235]The earliest accounts referring to Shah Ismail from the collected reports and correspondence of the Venetian republic are compiled in Amoretti, ed., *Ṣa>h Ismāʿīl I nei Diarii di Marin Sanudo*.

for his miraculous deeds, which are presented in a tone of plausibility. From Ismail's rise to power until his defeat at Chaldiran, Brummett observes a latent Christian messianic hope, revived and projected upon the young Shah. According to Brummett: "[Ismail] became, however briefly, the equivalent of Prester John, the mystical warrior king whose intervention was expected to shift the weight of victory to the Christian side at the time of the crusades."[236] After the battle of Chaldiran and the shift of geo-political alliances among Muslim and Christian states, accounts of Shah Ismail reaching Europe lost their original messianic overtones and conformed to the discourse of realpolititk.[237] However, the vague and mysterious nature of Ismail in the initial reports served to perpetuate the hope in the existence of a savior poised to deliver Christendom from the Turkish affliction.

As mentioned earlier, Minorsky's research revolutionized the way in which these sources were viewed by Safavid historians. Despite Minorsky's recommendation for a literal reading of these narratives, the nature of the genre warrants more caution. According to Brummett, "None of the early tellers actually saw Ismail. Hence, layers of story intermingled with literary convention, entertaining anecdote, rumor, observation, official report, trope, and commercial information."[238]

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[236]Palmira Brummett, "The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi: Political Rhetoric and 'Divine' Kingship," *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Victor Tolan (New York: Garland, 1996) 338.

[237]On later European reports from Safavid Persia, see Jean Aubin, "Les ambassades portugaises à la cour de Châh Isma'îl," *Journal of Azerbaijani Studies* 1 (1998): 20-29.

[238]Brummett, "The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi" 333.

In the context of this ongoing struggle against Ottoman domination, the European reports served to justify close relations with a rival Islamic power.[239] Furthermore, the new Safavid power was only vaguely acknowledge as such. As Brummett has further shown, what gave credence to the unlikely identity of Christendom's new savior was the development of Ismail's "Christian," even Christ-like attributes, as seen in this Venetian report dated 1508:

> [A Venetian officer] reports that a holy man of the Turks came to him secretly saying that he had come representing the Sufi. He said that Ismail was the friend of the Christians and would come to destroy the army of the Turkish sultan with an innumerable army. He felt good will toward Venice because of his love of their patron saint, St. Mark, and [Ismail himself] had his own evangelists.[240]

Adapted to a European world-view, the religion of "The Sofi," (as Ismail was known in Europe), is described as "very catholic."[241] According to the Portuguese agent Tomé Pires, writing in 1512-1515, "There is no doubt that those who wear the red cap are like the Portuguese than like the people from anywhere else."[242] Ismail is further likened to his intended audience by an Armenian Christian heritage through his mother according to the same author and others.[243]

As informants to Europe learned more of the new prophet, they began to narrate the perilous circumstances of Ismail's childhood, albeit the details of these narratives

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[239]Brummett, "The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi" 351.
[240]Brummett, "The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi" 343.
[241]Brummett, "The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi" 336.
[242]Brummett, "The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi" 333.
[243]Brummett, "The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi" 341.

differ significantly from Safavid sources.[244] Following the Safavid accounts, they relay

that Ismail spent his formative years in hiding, but they place him under the guidance

and protection of an Armenian priest. This priest takes on the role of Kār Kīya Mīrzā

as Ismail's protector and foster father, who had similarly "served the Shah faithfully, and

found favor in his eyes."[245] Caterino Zeno, a Venetian ambassador dispatched to the

Āqqūyūnlū court in order to forge an alliance against the Ottomans, records the

following version of Ismail's childhood. After the death of Ḥaydar, his three sons went

into hiding:

> one to Natolia, another to Aleppo, and the third to an island in the lake Atamar [Van], inhabited by Armenian Christians and called by the name of the Holy Mother of God, where he [Ismail] remained four years concealed in the house of a priest, without anything being known of it in Persia. This youth, who was called Ismail, was thirteen years old, of noble presence and a truly royal bearing, as in his eyes and brow there was something, I know not what, so great and commanding, which plainly showed that he would yet some day become a great ruler . . . . Therefore the good priest, who professed to be an astrologer and to know the course of events from the aspect of the heavens, cast his horoscope, and foresaw that he would yet become lord of all Asia. On this account he set himself with greater solicitude to serve him, and treated him to the extent of his power with every sort of indulgence and courtesy, thus laying up a debt of the greatest gratitude from him.[246]

A similar version of Ismail's upbringing is found in the account of an anonymous

Italian merchant, dated 1508. The merchant further claims that the good priest tutored

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[244]A notable exception is the account left by the physician Giovanni Rota (in a relation to the Doge of Venice, written before 1508) which conforms to Safavid sources concerning Ismail's childhood in hiding. See Pierre Jodogne, ed., "La 'Vita del Sofi' di Giovanni Rota. Edizione Critica," *Studi in onore di Raffaele Spongano* (Bologne: M. Bono, 1980) 215-234.

[245]Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 4.

[246]Grey, ed. and trans., "Travels in Persia by Caterino Zeno" 46-47.

Ismail "in our holy faith and in the Scriptures, showing him also the vanity and

emptiness of the Mohametan religion."[247]

In these narratives, the descriptions of Ismail's fugitive and fatherless childhood

are constructed to arouse sympathy, which is why the account of the Vicenzan Giovan

Maria Angiolello stands as an anomaly. Angiolello himself is anomalous in that as a

slave of the Sultan, he spent most of his career in Ottoman servitude, accompanying the

army during its campaigns against the Āqqūyūlū.[248] Angiolello's Ottoman

environment could therefore account for the singularity of his foreboding account of

Ismail's birth:

> This Ismael, when he was born, issued from his mother's womb with fists clenched
> and covered with blood; a remarkable fact, and when his father saw him, he said,
> "Surely he will grow up a bad man"; and agreed with his mother that he should not
> be reared; but God disposed otherwise, as when they sent him away to be put to
> death, those who were charged with the deed, touched by his beauty, had pity on him
> and brought him up.[249]

Part classical Oedipus, part scriptural Joseph, while ambivalent, Angiolello's

narrative ultimately presents Ismail as a bad seed pre-disposed towards malevolence in

the womb. A similar image of an evil pre-natal spawn resurfaces in the correspondence

to Sultan Süleymān's Grand Vizier, Rüstem-Paşa. In a letter written by a Rumelian

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[247]Charles Grey, ed. and trans., "The Travels of a Merchant in Persia" 187; In Duarte Barbosa's account, however, Ismail was forced to escape from the Armenian friar, "lest he should slay him as a Moor." Dames, ed. and trans., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants, Written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed About the Year 1518 A. D.* 1: 83-84.

[248]See Donald M. Nicol, "Introduction," *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors* xxi-xxii.

[249]Charles Grey, ed. and trans., "A Short Narrative of the Life and Acts of the King Ussun Cassano by Giovan Maria Angiolello," *A Narrative of Italian Travels in Persia in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1873) 103.

cleric, Shaykh Bālī-Efendi (d. 1552), an additional source of Safavid apocrypha is preserved from an Ottoman perspective.

The letter suggests that Shaykh Ṣafī's sainted reputation remained intact even among the Ottoman religious elite, as he is described as "a Perfect Murshid and one of God's men (ehl Allāh)."[250] Then Shaykh Bālī-Efendi goes on to relay the familiar theory of subsequent Safavid corruption, culminating in the person of Ismail. As Shaykh Bālī-Efendi had heard from "trustworthy people," Shaykh Ṣafī had once experienced a dream in which barking dogs filled his loins. Interpreting the dream predictively, Shaykh Ṣafī saw it as "a sign that from my descent a tyrannous band will rise and uproot the Muhammadan law."[251] Because of this ominous dream, Shaykh Ṣafī even attempted to block the succession of his son to the head of the Safavid order. The letter goes on to relay that the first Safavid Shah, conceived illegitimately and born prematurely, was hailed as a miracle by his heretical following. Moreover, we are told that subsequent allusions to Ismail's illegitimate conception, which had been declared by the Sunnis, eventually caused him to vindictively turn to Shī'ism.[252]

That a disparaging narrative regarding Safavid origins should circulate among the sixteenth-century Ottoman elite is hardly surprising. Fanciful yarns such as Shaykh Bālī-Efendi's, through their inception, and especially through their circulation, spun around real political concerns. As Brummett has shown, the accounts of Ismail's miraculous powers and quasi-Christian qualities played up to the fears of the Venetians and Portuguese desperate for an ally to check Ottoman expansion. As for the counselor

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[250]Minorsky, "Shaykh Bālī-Efendi on the Ṣafavids" 444-445.
[251]Minorsky, "Shaykh Bālī-Efendi on the Ṣafavids" 445.

of Süleymān's Grand Vizier, Minorsky suggests that his narrative served to perpetuate a

strong-armed policy against Qizilbash heresy.[253] By demonstrating of the inveterate

evil of the Safavid house, the Shaykh's narrative intended to persuade the Grand Vizier

"to defeat by the sword and to destroy by force (*qahr*) that tribe, its great and its small . .

. its property and women with the exception of the children (*ṣibyān*)."[254]

THE MAKING OF A SAFAVID MYTH

As the Safavid religious establishment endeavored to eliminate Qizilbash

religiosity and discourage any extraordinary devotion to the person of the Shah,[255]

narratives of Ismail's life arose in which elements of Safavid history became increasingly

fanciful. Although further research on these legendary narratives is desirable, their

existence has been noted for some time, and two versions have been published.[256]

Morton traces the origins of these narratives (generally referred to as the "Anonymous

Lives of Shah Ismail") to the repertoire of professional story-tellers observed by Michele

Membré as popular entertainers during the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.[257]

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[252]Minorsky, "Shaykh Bālī-Efendi on the Ṣafavids" 447.

[253]Minorsky, "Shaykh Bālī-Efendi on the Ṣafavids" 443.

[254]Minorsky, "Shaykh Bālī-Efendi on the Ṣafavids" 445.

[255]On the cultural and religious theaters of this endeavor, see Kathryn Babayan, "The Safavid Synthesis: From Qizilbash Islam to Imamite Shi'ism" 135-161; Kathryn Babayan, "Sufis, Dervishes and Mullas: the Controversy over Spiritual and Temporal Domination in Seventeenth-Century Iran," *Safavid Persia: The History and Politics of an Islamic Society*, ed. Charles Melville (London: Tauris, 1996) 117-138; and most recently, Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran.*

[256]Muntaẓir-Ṣāḥib, Asghar, ed. *'Ālamārā-yi Shāh Ismjā'īl.* (Tehran: BTNK, 1349/1970); Yadallāh Shukrī, ed., *'Ālamārā-yi Ṣafavī* (Tehran: 1349/1971).

[257]Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)* 52. Morton further surmises that these narratives were committed to writing before the publication of *Asia* by the Portuguese author João de

Recourse to the supernatural is not entirely absent in the early Safavid chronicles; however, such episodes figure significantly only in the early part of Ismail's life.[258] In Ḥasan Rūmlū's history, Ismail receives inspiration from the *imāms*, but without additional details as to how these inspirations are accessed. In the chapter entitled, "The War Between Ismāʿil and the King of Shīrwān," the *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh* reveals this guiding source of Ismail's military planing: ". . . and [Ismail] said that in the night the Imāms had bade him go to Shīrwān."[259] And following his victory there, "the Shāh saw in a dream that the Holy Imāms commanded that he should leave Gulistān and go to Ādharbāyjān."[260] Rūmlū also includes heroic elements in his history, which will become central to later legendary and folk traditions: "And there he heard of a bear, living in a cave and troubling men. And his men surrounded that beast, and it came out of the cave. And Ismāʿil, being then but thirteen years of age, slew that fierce beast with a single arrow."[261] Ismail's obsessive hunting, well-attested to in the sources, is given heroic significance by Rūmlū, who portrays Ismail slaying beasts which specifically menace humans.[262]

Barros in 1553, as a similar narrative of Shah Ismail's life is included in this European account. Morton, "The Early Years of Shah Isma'il in the *Afẓal al-Tavārīkh* and elsewhere" 44. See also Jean Aubin, "Révolution chiite et conservatisme: les soufis de Lâhejân, 1500-1514," *Moyen Orient & Ocean Indien* 1 (1984): 1.

[258]Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 42-43.

[259]Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 18.

[260]Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 20.

[261]Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 15.

[262]Rūmlū also relates a similar incident that occurred during the Baghdād campaign: "In those days His Majesty heard of a forest, wherein there dwelt a lion, which did much mischief, and had stopped the road in those parts. And his lion-hearted officers begged that they might be sent against this evil beast. But His Majesty would not let them go, but himself approached the beast, and with a single arrow he laid it

The designation of Ismail as the leader of the Safavid order by his elder brother

is recounted simply in Rūmlū: "And Sulṭān 'Alī, by prophetic vision, knew that he was

to die, and he took his cap from off his head, and set it on Ismā'īl's head and sent him

to Ardabīl."[263]   Later, we see in the *Ross Anonymous*, Sulṭān 'Alī also bequeaths a

divine mission to his younger brother in the same act: Placing his *tāj* upon Ismail's

head, 'Alī girds him with his sword and declares,

> Oh! my brother, it is pre-ordained that I shall this day be killed. The disciples will
> take my body and place it in the mausoleum of my ancestors, by my father's side. I
> desire you to avenge me and your father and your ancestors upon the children of
> Ḥasan Pādishāh. For the die of heaven's choice has been cast in your name, and
> before long you will come out of Gīlān like a burning sun, and with your sword
> sweep infidelity from the face of the earth.[264]

The *Ross Anonymous* is actually not anonymous. The author's name, Bījan,

was first correctly identified by Ghulām Sarwar.[265] For decades this work was widely

believed to be a near contemporary of Khwāndamīr's *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, which was

completed in 1524.[266] Because of this erroneous dating, since Ross' time this narrative

has been central to the re-construction of Safavid history, especially for Ismail's early

life. Ross himself acknowledged that some elements in the work appear legendary and

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low on the ground of destruction." Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 47.

[263]Seddon, ed. and trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 1.

[264]Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismā'īl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 262.

[265]Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 179-180. The title of the work is now accepted as the *Jahāngushā'ī-yi Khāqān-i Ṣāhibqirān.*

fictitious.[267] However, he is credulous elsewhere; commenting on the episode of Ismail's flight to Gilan after Sulṭān ʻAlī's death, Ross concludes, "From the minuteness of our author's details. . . one might feel justified in supposing that he was in the same districts at the time, and even took part in some of the scenes of which he speaks."[268] We now know that cannot possibly be true: Morton dates Bījan's composition nearly two centuries later, as late as the 1680s.[269]

The *Ross Anonymous* shares certain characteristic features with the anonymous "Lives of Shah Ismail" mentioned above. Among these features noted by Morton is the dramatic emphasis on human relationships, especially during Ismail's early life.[270] Events related in other sources are given added urgency and drama in the *Ross Anonymous*. For example, during the pursuit of Ismail, Rūmlū relates that the Āqqūyūnlū authorities planned to torture his mother, ʻĀlamshāh Begum, in order to extract location of her son, "but the sacred precept prevented this."[271] In the *Ross Anonymous*, the physical torture of ʻĀlamshāh Begum is actually carried out, however, "so deep was she sunk in the ocean of grief at separation from her dear son that all the pain and torture had no effect upon her."[272]

[266]Ross, "The Early Years of Shịh Ismaʻīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 251. Although suspicions on this early dating of the work were noted a century ago. See H. Beveridge, "The Author of the Life of Shāh Ismāʻīl Ṣafavī," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 34 (1902): 889-895.

[267]Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʻīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 252.

[268]Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʻīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 264.

[269]Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 181.

[270]Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 203.

[271]Seddon, trans., *A Chronicle of the Early Ṣafawīs Being the Aḥsanuʼt-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū* 2.

[272]Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʻīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 284.

Nowhere are the affinities between the *Ross Anonymous* the later Safavid legendary narratives so apparent as in the *khurūj* episodes. A term denoting an "emergence" or "coming out," *khurūj* is employed by the authors of these narratives to signify Ismail's departure from Gilan under the protection of Kār Kīyā Mīrzā ʿAlī to challenge the Āqqūyūnlū and establish Safavid rule.

The *Ross Anonymous* weaves the *khurūj* episode between two events taking place simultaneously in temporal time and in the vision of one of Ismail's disciples.[273] The section begins with Ismail informing Kār Kīyā Mīrzā of his intention to depart for Ardabil. Following this, Ismail goes hunting with his Sufi companions. When they come to a forest Ismail tells them, "No one of you is to follow me across this river, but you are to await my return on the other side." With that, Ismail enters the forest alone. The narrative then introduces the visionary witness of Ismail's *khurūj*, Dede Muḥammad Rūmlū, identified as the disciple of "Ḥasan Khalīfa Tikelī." His spiritual master, Ḥasan Khalīfa Tikelī, is described as follows:

> He had once waited on Sulṭān Junaid, and twice on Sulṭān Ḥaidar, who had sent him with forty Ṣūfis to a *chilla-khāna*, where each had a jug of water and a loaf of bread as their sustenance during the period of fasting [*chilla*]. When this period was over they came out of the *chilla-khāna*. All of them had consumed their provisions, excepting only Ḥasan Khalīfa, who brought his untouched to "His Holiness," [Sulṭān Ḥaidar] who then sent him back to Tike Ilī, having first given him a promise with regard to the appearance and coming of Ismaʿīl. When he returned to the aforesaid *Il* he performed many miracles and uttered prophecies, repeatedly announcing to pious Ṣūfis the coming of Ismaʿīl. On leaving this world he bequeathed his "throne" to his son Bābā Shāh Kulī, who was also a revealer of mysteries and a worker of wonders,

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[273]The following is account of Ismail's *khurūj* taken from Ross' translation of the episode in "The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʿīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 326-333.

and gave him an *ablak*[274] saying: "in the year 907 our Guide will mount the throne of Irān in Tabrīz."[275]

In this way, the author links the visionary of Ismail's *khurūj* to the family at the helm of the 1511 Şāh Kūlī Tekkelü revolt of Ottoman Anatolia. The narrative describes how Dede Muḥammad had obtained instructions from Bābā Şāh Kūlī guiding his pilgrimage to Mecca and the shrines of Najaf. Bābā Şāh Kūlī further instructed Dede Muḥammad to meet Ismail in Tabriz after his pilgrimage. And from there the narrative follows the vision of Dede Muḥammad Rumlū: on the journey from Mecca to Baghdad, Dede Muḥammad is separated from his caravan, wandering through the desert for three days "supported only by spiritual power." At the point of death he encounters an "Arab youth" who leads him to a palace with golden thrones. Inside, seated on a throne is a figure whose face is covered with a veil. At one point, a party enters among which is a "boy of about fourteen years of age, with red (surkh) hair, a white face, and dark-gray eyes; on his head was a scarlet cap." The culmination of the episode is the meeting between the boy and the veiled figure:

> [T]he veiled youth then said to him: "Oh! Ismaʿīl, the hour of your 'coming' has now arrived." The other replied: "It is for your Holiness to command." The prince then said: "Come forward." He came forward, and His Holiness taking his belt three times lifted it up and placed it on the ground again. He then, with his own blessed hands, fastened on the girdle, and taking (Ismaʿīl's) cap from his head, raised it and then replaced it. . . . His Holiness then told his servants to bring his own sword, which, when brought, he fastened with his own hands to the girdle of the child. Having recited the *Fātiḥa* he entrusted the child to the two or three persons who had brought him in.[276]

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[274]Ross glosses this as a type of gem-stone.

[275]Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʿīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 328.

[276]Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʿīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 330-331.

Dede Muḥammad is then led by the Arab youth to his lost caravan, and he asks the identity of the veiled figure. The Arab youth replies that he was the "Lord of the Age." The narrative then returns to real time, back to the group of Sufis waiting for Ismail at the river as requested. Upon seeing Ismail emerge from the forest with a sword, they prostrate themselves. Ismail, accompanied by seven Sufis, sets off for Ardabil.

Wheeler Thackston presents a similar *khurūj* narrative contained in the anonymous history *ʿĀlamārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl,* which differs substantially from the Ross version only in the identities of the visionaries.[277] Otherwise, the narrative is essentially identical. The veiled figure girds Ismail with a sword, telling him "My son, you have permission to withdraw." After the visionary dervish is led away from the scene, he asks the identity of both the boy and the veiled one from his Arab escort who replies, "Have you still not realized that the king was the Master? The boy was His Majesty Shah Ismaʿil, son of Sultan-Haydar. The Master gave him permission to emerge."[278]

As mentioned earlier, the legendary narratives proliferated during a time in which the Safavid establishment discouraged any extraordinary devotion to the person of the Shah reminiscent of their *ghulāt* foundations. Given the supernatural inclination of these later narratives, Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont therefore proposes that they

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[277]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Ismaʿil I," *Asian Art* 1 (1989): 55-56. Here the witness of Ismail's *khurūj* is named "Dede Hasan." He is described a disciple of Dede Mehmet, a Constantinople dervish and disciple of Hacı Bektaş Veli.

[278]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Ismaʿil I" 55-56.

derive from Safavid propaganda dating from Shah Ismail's lifetime.[279] However, the portrayal of Ismail in the *khurūj* sequence conforms more to a post-messianic image of Ismail rather than reflecting beliefs held during his lifetime. The visionaries of the event present Ismail's "coming out" in a way that does not equate Ismail with the Hidden Imām. Ismail is, however, clearly presented his invested representative. Shah Ismail's poetry is often cited to illustrate a seamless identification with the "Veiled One," as well as the belief in this identification, with the Hidden Imām. However, these later Safavid narratives present Ismail as wholly distinct from the Veiled One. According to Morton, these narratives reveal the self-image of Safavid society in the seventeenth century, a society which continued to perpetuate the privileged access of the founding house to the supernatural.[280]

From the perspective of a society without hopes place in a living messiah, the implementation of Shī'ism remained as Ismail's greatest achievement.[281] Taken as such, the *khurūj* cycle is a visionary presentation of the mission entrusted to Ismail more than the significance of Ismail himself. In this way, the *khurūj* cycle can be seen as a myth detailing the origins of the Safavid house, taking place in Mircea Eliade's "fabled time of the 'beginnings,'" revealing to the audience "how, through the deeds of Supernatural Beings, a reality came into existence. . . ."[282] Furthermore, the mission of establishing Shī'ism in the Safavid realm was one which was entrusted to all the figures

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[279]Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, *Les Ottomans, les Safavides et leurs voisins: contribution à l'histoire des relations internationales dans l'Orient Islamique de 1514 à 1524* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te °stanbul, 1987) 299.

[280]Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 203, 205.

[281]See Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 204.

[282]Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, ed. Ruth Nanda Anshen (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) 5.

associated with the dynasty, and not to Ismail exclusively. As Ḥaydar is privileged to

learn from Imām 'Alī in the *Ross Anonymous*:

> One night the Prince of the throne of guidance and sanctity, that is to say the commander of the faithful ('Alī), upon whom be the prayers of God, appeared in a vision to Sulṭān Ḥaidar, and said to him "Oh my son, the time is now at hand when my child from among your descendants shall rise and sweep Infidelity from off the face of the Earth. It now behooves you to fashion a cap for the Ṣūfīs and your disciples, and you must make it of scarlet cloth."[283]

As far as the vehicle of this Safavid myth is concerned, Morton suggests that the

anonymous accounts of the life of Ismail were born of an organic creative-literary

process, characterizing the narratives as "fantasies evolved from items in the existing

literary record."[284]   As will be seen, this characterization extends to another genre

which developed during the post-messianic phase of Ismail's mythic life, the *hikâye*.

THE *HİKÂYE*

From the legendary Safavid narratives in Persian literature, we now turn to the

presentation of Shah Ismail in the Turkish folklore genre known as the *hikâye*. A prose

narrative punctuated by regular intervals of poetry, the *hikâye* form is generally divided

into two categories-- the romantic and the heroic.[285]   As the variants of Shah Ismail's

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[283]Ross, "The Early Years of Shāh Ismaʿīl, Founder of the Ṣafavī Dynasty" 254-255.

[284]Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 205.

[285]See Pertev Boratav, "Ḥikāya: The Narrative Genres of Turkish Literature and Folklore," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition; Pertev Boratav, "L'Épopée et la Ḥikâye," *Philologiae Turcicae*

hikâye which will be described here follow the thematic paradigm of the romantic

hikâye, this discussion is likewise confined to this form of the *hikâye.*[286]

As its translation to English as "Romantic Folktale" indicates, the *hikâye* revolves around the amorous exploits of a poet-musician hero. The separation of the hero from his love interest throughout the major part of the narrative is not as a result of the beloved's own coy and cruel volition--as is in the dramatic paradigms of classical poetry-- but rather as a result of external circumstances such as meddlesome parents and vicious rivals. Like all *hikâyes,* Shah Ismail's *hikâye* is known by the hero's *maḫlaṣ,* or pen-name. However, Shah Ismail's actual *maḫlaṣ,* Hatā'i, is not associated with his *hikâye;* rather, his historical name is used throughout. That Shah Ismail's *maḫlaṣ* conforms to his historical identity in these narratives supports the efforts by the narrator to convey the *hikâye* as a "real" story which took place in historical time and place among figures who actually lived.[287] In fact, other cycles of the genre are based on historical figures, for example, Shāh 'Abbās (r.1571-1629) and Sultan Murād IV (r. 1612-1640) are also the subjects of *hikâyes.*[288]

The origin of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* is traced to the seventeenth century, which is regarded as the "Golden Age" of the *hikâye* genre and the century from which other

Fundamenta, ed. Pertev Naili Boratav, 2 vols. (Weisbaden: Aquis Mattiacis Apud Franciscum Steiner, 1959-1964) 2: 32; Natalie Kononenko Moyle, *The Turkish Minstrel Tale Tradition* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990) 1-5.

[286]For other variants of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* see Azizaga Memedov, "Şah İsmail Hatainin Edebi Tesiri," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 7 (1983): 311-313.

[287]On the techniques employed to convince the audience of the actuality of the events see Başgöz, "Turkish *Hikâye-*Telling Tradition in Azerbaijan, Iran" 25.

[288]Başgöz, "Turkish *Hikâye-*Telling Tradition in Azerbaijan, Iran" 25.

well-known *hikâyes* also date.[289] The *hikâye* form and the poetry associated with it

took shape, however, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The genre is traced

back even further to the pre-Islamic epic traditions of Central Asia. According to the

dominant scenario of Turkish folklore development, the *hikâye* form is directly derived

from the ancient Turkic epic tradition.[290] The continuity of the epic is cited in the

hikâye's formal structure as well as in its socio-cultural milieu, as these genres are held

as the oral literature of predominately tribal and nomadic societies.[291]

The foundation of Turkish folklore as an academic discipline must be understood

within the context of Turkish nationalism.[292] Ziya Gölkalp, the intellectual architect

of Turkish nationalism, is also cited for laying the foundations of folklore studies in

Turkey, followed by Köprülü, Pertev Naili Boratav and their students. The study of

Turkish folklore as a part of the cultural construction of the Turkish Republic during the

first half of the twentieth century accelerated the large-scale gathering, recording and

publishing of folklore. The collection and publication of folklore, first undertaken by

the by the Turkish Folklore Association, continued through "People's Houses" which

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[289]Köprülü, "Turks: III. Ottoman Turkish Literature."

[290]Boratav, "L'Épopée et la Hikâye" 30; Başgöz, "Turkish Folk Stories about the Lives of Minstrels," *Journal of American Folklore* 65 (1952): 331; Köprülü, "Turks: III. Ottoman Turkish Literature"; İlhan Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances," *Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson*, ed. Linda Degh, Henry Glassie and Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1976) 11-23, rpt. in *Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature* 70.

[291]Wolfram Eberhard, *Minstrel Tales from Southeastern Turkey* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955) 1-2.

[292]See İlhan Başgöz, "Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 9 (1972): 123-137, rpt. in *Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature* 41-51.

published numerous variants of the *hikâye*.[293] The texts used to describe the structure

of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* are a result of this effort.[294]

The plot of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* will be described according to the structuralist

paradigm outlined in Vladimir Propp's *Morphology of the Folktale* and adapted by İlhan

Başgöz in his analysis of the folklore structure specific to the *hikâye* form.[295] Unlike

the school of folklore represented by Propp, however, Başgöz rejects the contextual

disengagement of the structuralists, and therefore discusses the *hikâye* in light of its

social and cultural significance. The research of Başgöz extends the contextualization

of the *hikâye* in Ottoman-Turkish society to its origins as well as the evolution of its

formal structure through performance.[296]

The association of the *hikâye* with Alevi-Bektashi culture is a way to further

explore the contextualization of the form. Başgöz suggests that the repression of the

Qizilbash in sixteenth-century Ottoman society led to "the transformation of religious

practice into fiction motifs."[297] The image of Ismail in these narratives further

demonstrates the context of Alevi-Bektashi literary expression within this climate. As

it will be shown, Ismail's *hikâye* persona conforms to the ideals of the genre's hero rather

than representing a messianic or mystical ideal.

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[293]Başgöz, "Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey" 48.

[294]See Boratav, "L'Épopée et la Hikâye" 2: 38.

[295]Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968); Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 64-75.

[296]Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 64.

[297]İlhan Başgöz, "Dream Motif and Shamanistic Initiation," *Asian Folklore Studies* 26 (1967): 1-18 rpt. in *Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature* 19.

ŞAH İSMAİL HİKÂYESİ[298]

The following description of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* is based on the structural

analysis provided by İlhan Başgöz with alterations made to accommodate the specific

features of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* structure.[299] Although this description is based on

several publications of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* cycle,[300] a comparison of these texts as

such is not the intention here. The general structure among the variants of Shah Ismail's

hikâye published in Turkey between the years 1936 - 1975 contain few significant

variations in form, style or detail. Throughout the description of the structure, only

those episodes which contain significant variations as well as direct quotes will be cited

to the specific version.

Generally, the *hikâye* commences with the hero's birth and concludes with his

marriage. Establishing the hero's "initial situation," his family is described in a given

time and place. From there, a crisis is introduced, a typical example of which is the lack

of a child, which is resolved when the hero is born. The hero is faced with the pivotal

crisis of the narrative, however, during his adolescence after he falls in love.

Simultaneously, the hero is granted a divine gift-- the ability to express his love in

poetic song. In the context of the performance of the *hikâye*, the compositions of the

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[298]All of the poems cited in this section are of my own translation and appear (with original versions) in Appendix A.

[299]Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 64-75.

[300]The versions of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* used in this section are as follows: Selâm Münir, *Şah İsmail Hikâyesi* (İstanbul: Yusuf Ziya Kitapevi, 1936); Dâniş Remzi Korok, *Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: Türk Neşriyat Yurdu, 1937); Süleyman Tevfik, *Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: Kültür Basımevi, 1940); *Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1943); Muharrem Zeki Korgunal, *Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: Ak-ün Basımevi, 1944); Rezzan Güney, *Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 1960). Other versions listed in the bibliography are those that derive from the versions cited here. See bibliography for complete references.

âşık are accompanied by the *saz*. The central crisis of the narrative arises when the hero is separated from his beloved. The remainder of the *hikâye*, then, revolves around the hero's efforts to re-unite with his beloved, encountering a series of obstacles and adventures along the way. During times of trial and exuberance, the hero turns to poetic song to express his elation, desperation and distress. The action and plot of the narrative, however, are expressed in prose.[301]

Initial Situation and Plot Action One (Crisis). The opening segment of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* describes his parents and their geographical setting. Situated in the Iranian city of Kandıhar, Shah Ismail's father is referred to as the sovereign (*padişah, hükümdar*) of Kandıhar rather than by his proper name throughout the narrative. The family crisis is one of childlessness, which is a typical initial crisis in the *hikâye* structure. In this case, the crisis is compounded by the couple's obligation to provide a successor to the throne of Kandıhar. In line with the description provided by Başgöz, this initial crisis is resolved in short order, and in any event, is not the central crisis of the narrative. When the sovereign articulates the crisis to his wife, she advises him to go on a journey in search of a solution to this problem.

The solution of this crisis is found through a mysterious stranger whom the sovereign encounters while resting at a natural spring (described as *Hızır çeşmesi*, the "Fountain of Hızır"[302]) during the course of his journey. The mysterious stranger identifies himself variously as a dervish, a world traveler or as one of the *Horasan*

[301]Başgöz, "Turkish *Hikâye*-Telling Tradition in Azerbaijan, Iran" 24.

[302]Identified with the mysterious guide of Moses in the Qur'ān (18:65), "Khidr" is also prominent in Islamic piety. In Anatolian piety Hızır is associated with St. George (Gercis).

erenleri ("the enlightened of Khorasan").[303] Easily identifiable as the "Holy Protector" of Başgöz's description, the mysterious dervish is presented as the broker of divine gifts. Miraculously aware of the sovereign's crisis, he procures an apple and instructs the sovereign to eat half of it, his wife the other half and to give the peels to his horse. After proper gestation, both a child and a new horse are promised to the sovereign. The mysterious stranger requests, however, that the sovereign not name the newborns until they meet again. The miraculous births transpire just as the "Holy Protector" had promised.

Plot Action One, Part Two: A Childhood in Hiding. In the structure of the *hikâye* provided by Başgöz, the resolution of the initial crisis (here, resolved by the procuring apple of the mysterious stranger), is followed by the hero's romantic coming of age. During this central transformation of the hero, his maturity is achieved through his first encounter with his beloved and the manifestation of his artistic gifts. The subsequent separation of the protagonists sets the narrative on its main course.

In Shah Ismail's *hikâye*, however, an additional sequence precedes the event of the hero's transformation. This episode also involves a crisis of sorts, but one which is less typical respective to the genre. At the age of seven, the palace astrologers read the fortune of the nameless prince of Kandıhar. According to some versions, the astrologers advise the sovereign to keep the child hidden from sunlight.[304] In other versions, the child's tutor recommends isolating the boy from the outside world so that

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[303] *Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: İstanbul Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1943) 4.

[304] *Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: İstanbul Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1943); Rezzan Güney, *Şah İsmail.*

he will not be distracted from his studies.[305]   Whatever the reason for removing the child from his environment, the result is that a subterranean structure is built in which the boy spends the remainder of his childhood. He is isolated from the outside world and all human contact with the exception of his tutor.

Plot Action Two: Emergence and Transformation. In the episode which Başgöz refers to as the "Transformation," the major events transpire which form the hero's destiny. As in other examples from the genre, the age of fifteen is invariably the age during which the hero undergoes his transformation into an "adult-lover-artist."[306]   It is during this sequence that the ideal qualities of the genre's hero are granted and displayed. These musical-poetic talents, like his *mahlas*, are not self-generated but rather presented as divine gifts, accessed miraculously. The element of the hero's "Emergence" is appended to this transformative sequence because in Shah Ismail's *hikâye*, his emergence from underground directly precedes his transformation proper.

After years of study in his underground living quarters, the nameless prince discovers a bone in his meat (hitherto all bones had been removed from his food). Immediately the prince hurls the bone to the window located at the top of his underground structure and faces sunlight for the first time in years. Accompanied by his tutor, the prince emerges from underground. His father at this point concedes that the time has come to give his son a proper name. At the precise moment in which a name will be chosen for the prince, the mysterious stranger re-appears, proclaims his

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[305]Münir, *Şah İsmail Hikâyesi*; Korok, *Şah İsmail*; Tevfik, *Şah İsmail*; Korgunal, *Şah İsmail*.
[306]Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 66.

name to be Şah İsmail and the name of his horse to be Kamer ("moon"). The following day, Shah Ismail sets off with Kamer on his first hunting expedition.

According to Başgöz, the hero's transformation takes place during a dream sequence which bears the elements of an initiation ceremony, most notably drinking from a cup administered by a master, the "Holy Protector."[307] In Shah Ismail's *hikâye*, however, Shah Ismail never directly communicates with the mysterious stranger. The poetic gifts bestowed upon the hero, as well as his *mahlas* indeed his very existence, are nevertheless connected to the "Holy Protector." Shah Ismail's father, the sovereign of Kandıhar, plays a mediating role in the granting of these gifts.

When the hunting party comes to a natural spring to rest, Shah Ismail suggests that they disperse so that he may continue the hunt alone. In pursuit of gazelle, Shah Ismail ascends a mountain where he stumbles upon a tent settlement of a Yürük tribe. Seeing a girl from this tribe emerge from a tent, he is struck by the sight of her, faints and falls from his horse. The hero's transformation into a poet-musician is seen upon his revival from his fainting spell.

This episode completes the transformation of the hero, with a *mahlas*, a gift of composition and a muse. For the first time, Shah Ismail and his beloved, Gülizar, exchange a series of *manis*. One of the principle poetic forms of the *hikâye*, the *mani* is an independent quatrain in the syllabic meter (*hece vezni*).[308] The exchange of *manis* between the hero and his beloved is a re-occurring structure repeated during each of their encounters throughout the narrative:

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[307]Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 66.

Shah Ismail:
Shah Ismail has come to you,
Reveal to me your beautiful name,
Do not let me leave burning with desire,
Separation is impossible for me!

Gülizar:
Gülizar is your lover,
I saw your face in my dream,
By God, this is my confirmation,
Go now hero, but I am still yours![309]

And with that, Shah Ismail leaves Gülizar. After he returns to his hunting party,

he continues to demonstrate his new-found talents:

Oh brothers! Defenders of the faith!
I have kissed her, we have absolved ourselves,
See from what I have departed,
I have departed from sweet lips!

One day may I be joyful, may I laugh,
May I attain my desire from the heavens,
One night may I be her guest,
I have departed from the rose-faced beloved.

Shah Ismail desires
That the heavens not permit this longing,
Houri angel, tall as a cypress,
I have parted from Gülizar![310]

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[308]On the strategies of the form, see İlhan Başgöz, "Love Themes in Turkish Folk Poetry," *Review of National Literatures* 4 (1973): 99-114, rpt. in *Turkish Folklore and Oral Literature* 62.

[309]*Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1943) 8-10. See Appendix A: 1.

[310]*Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1943) 10-11. See Appendix A: 2.

Plot Action Three: The Search. During this episode, the principle crisis of the narrative unfolds. Following a typical plot line, Shah Ismail's father and the father of Gülizar agree to the marriage of the protagonists. The crisis unfolds, however, when Gülizar's mother learns of the betrothal. Furious at her husband's arrangement, she demands that their tribe immediately migrate to India (Hindistan). One version gives the following explanation for her brash decision:

> How could this [marriage] be? A girl who is born on the back of a horse, will die on the back of a horse --a horse is her cradle as well as her grave-- do nomadic girls like her enter a gold cage? Her father knows this better than I, he knows, but he cannot oppose the *padişah* to his face. . . . Let us take a road on a high plateau, one which neither the hands nor the feet of the *padişah* can reach.[311]

Upon learning of Gülizar's disappearance, Shah Ismail informs his parents of his intention to find her. In most versions, his parents' reaction is quite violent. His father tells him, "Go to Hell if you want. I have no use for a son like you."[312] From assembling all the prospective substitute brides in Kandıhar, to locking the palace gates, Shah Ismail's parents unsuccessfully try to prevent his departure. Başgöz analyses the *hikâye* narrative as a presentation of the adolescent sexual awakening of the hero accompanied by the rebellion against his father.[313] Ever observant of the ways in which the Freudian family drama is played out in the *hikâye* form, Başgöz states that the hero's intention to leave his family and establish one of his own results in the

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[311]Güney, *Şah İsmail* 18.
[312]Münir, *Şah İsmail Hikâyesi* 24.
[313]Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 71.

alienation of the hero's parents and "the final blow to the little family unity that remains."[314]

Plot Action Four: Obstacles and Assembling the Harem. This sequence inaugurates a series of obstacles encountered by the hero in his search. According to Başgöz, in the context of *hikâye* performance, the narrator may repeat this episode, varying the obstacles and thereby extend the plot to span several sessions.[315] "Assembling the Harem" is applied to this segment of the Shah Ismail *hikâye*, for the two major obstacles that the hero encounters during his search for Gülizar not only result in their successful resolution but also in the hero's betrothal (or marriage) to additional love interests.[316] The hero's two subsequent love interests, however, do not prevent Shah Ismail from the pursuit of his first love, Gülizar.

Shah Ismail encounters his first obstacle on the road to Hindistan when he comes to the aid of five brothers in the midst of battle against mythic creatures (identified variously as giants or dragons). Shah Ismail enters the battle and succeeds in rescuing the brothers. To show their gratitude, the brothers decide to give their sister, Gülperi, to Shah Ismail in marriage. Shah Ismail agrees to this union, but informs them the he must also honor his betrothal to Gülizar and he sets off with their blessing, promising to return to Gülperi.

The obstacle surrounding Shah Ismail's next love interest, however, is less typical. Further on the road to Hindistan, he encounters a terrifying African warrior,

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[314]Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 66.

[315]Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 67.

[316]See Pertev Naili Boratav, *Halk Hikâyeleri ve Halk Hikâyeciliği* (Ankara: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1946) 86 for similar plot structures.

called Arap Üzengi (lit., "Arab Stirrup"). In Turkish folklore, "Arab" is also the term employed for Africans who represent several common character types and are distinct from "white" or ethnic Arabs. Among other types, the African "Arab" is often portrayed as a super-human giant.[317] In Shah Ismail's *hikâye*, Arab Üzengi is similarly presented as a ferocious warrior, intent on slaughtering all of the young men who traverse his path. Drawn into a protracted battle with this dreadful African warrior, Shah Ismail reaches the point of certain victory when he makes a shocking discovery: behind the veil of the warrior is a beautiful girl.

Arab Üzengi explains to Shah Ismail that she had vowed to marry the man who would defeat her in battle, and Shah Ismail's betrothal to Arab Üzengi is established.[318] Arab Üzengi furthermore offers her help in the search for Gülizar. The character of Arab Üzengi combines several distinct traits associated with both Africans ("Arabs") and women respectively in Turkish folklore. Before her true gender is discovered, as an African warrior, Arab Üzengi is grotesquely violent. Portrayed as a cannibal --another trait associated with Africans in Turkish folklore-- she prepares a rice dish made with the blood of her victims.[319] Even as a woman, Arab Üzengi's tendency towards violence remains unabated, now serving to illustrate her fidelity to the hero. Echoing earlier social customs of tribal society, the ideal woman of the earlier epic tradition is commonly portrayed as a warrior.[320] Carried over to the *hikâye*, this Amazonian

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[317]Pertev Naili Boratav, "The Negro in Turkish Folklore," *Journal of American Folklore* 64 (1951): 83.

[318]For other examples of this paradigm see Boratav, "The Negro in Turkish Folklore" 84.

[319]Boratav, "The Negro in Turkish Folklore" 85.

[320]İlhan Başgöz, "Love Themes in Turkish Folk Poetry" 57.

character uses her martial ability in the service of the hero, eliminating his most dangerous obstacles.[321]

Once in Hindıstan, Shah Ismail and Arab Üzengi quickly learn that Gülizar is to be married to a prince. A meeting between Gülizar and Shah Ismail is arranged and they proclaim their enduring love for one another. During this meeting, they decide to set off for Kandıhar at once. As the protagonists of the *hikâye* often sleep together before a formal marriage ceremony, Shah Ismail and Gülizar also consummate their love at this point.[322] And with soldiers in pursuit of the threesome, (Arab Üzengi kills them single-handedly), they eventually unite with Gülperi and all make their way back to Kandıhar.

Plot Action Five: Resolution. Before the successful resolution to the Shah Ismail *hikâye*, a final obstacle is presented to the hero after his return to Kandıhar. This obstacle differs the most among the variants, and in one version, this final sequence is omitted completely.[323]

In some versions, Shah Ismail's mother, jealous of her son's happiness and bounty, convinces her husband to eliminate Shah Ismail and take his women out of spite.[324] In other versions, Shah Ismail's mother had died shortly after Shah Ismail's departure in search of Gülizar, and the sovereign of Kandıhar had since remarried. The

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[321]Başgöz, "Love Themes in Turkish Folk Poetry" 57; See also Mark Glazer, "Women Personages as Helpers in Turkish Folklore," *Studies in Turkish Folklore in Honor of Pertev N. Boratav*, ed. İlhan Başgöz and Mark Glazer (Bloomington: Turkish Studies, Indiana University, 1978) 98-109.

[322]Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 67; The sleeping episode during the flight from Hindistan transpires in all versions. The following passage is a representative example: "Benefiting from this opportunity, Shah Ismail and Gülizar began to love each other [*sevişme*] and then fell into a sweet sleep." Korok, *Şah İsmail* 19. In what is perhaps an attempt to introduce traditional sexual mores to the narration, one version states explicitly that Shah Ismail and Gülizar sleep separately: "Şah İsmail ile Gülüzar ayrı ayrı yerde yattılar." Münir, *Şah İsmail Hikâyesi* 50.

[323]Korok, *Şah İsmail.*

[324]Münir, *Şah İsmail Hikâyesi*; Korok, *Şah İsmail*; Tevfik, *Şah İsmail*; Korgunal, *Şah İsmail.*

new wife, Shah Ismail's stepmother, is also the daughter of the sovereign's treacherous vizier. Together, the vizier and his daughter convince Shah Ismail's father that his son is planning to kill him and assume the throne.[325]

Irrespective of the motivations or agents, the sovereign lures Shah Ismail to the palace in an attempt to poison him. This having failed, (due to the foresight of Arab Üzengi) the sovereign orders Shah Ismail's eyes gouged out and then banished. In revenge, Arab Üzengi requests that one-hundred ladies-in-waiting be sent to their residence and proceeds to slaughter them all, one by one. Arab Üzengi then engages the sovereign's army in battle until Shah Ismail returns after miraculously regaining his sight. Together they plot a staged battle wherein Shah Ismail is disguised as a soldier of the king. When they call upon the sovereign to deliver the final death-blow to Arab Üzengi, she cuts the sovereign in two with a single stroke.[326]

Plot Action Six: Union. Shah Ismail's *hikâye*, like most examples of the genre which have come down to us, ends happily.[327] The hero marries all of his betrothed. Some versions use this denouement episode to draw attention to the lack of rivalry among the brides. After the brides recite their selfless concern for one another in the narrative's final poetic episode, Shah Ismail declares:

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[325]*Şah İsmail*, Rezzan Güney, *Şah İsmail* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 1960).

[326]The versions in which Shah Ismail's father has been deceived by the vizier and his daughter, the sovereign is spared in the end. Realizing his error, the sovereign abdicates the throne in favor of Shah Ismail.

[327]On the transformation of the *hikâye* from tragedy, see Başgöz, "The Structure of Turkish Romances" 68, 70.

I have three beautiful lovers,
Their natures are all beautiful!
Communing like roses, they do not envy,
Their natures are all beautiful!

I see the perfection of Gülizar,
That I reach the presence of Gülperi,
That I attain happiness from Arab Üzengi,
Their statures are all beautiful!

Fortunate men must be like me,
They receive their reward from God,
They must be full of joy inside,
Their natures are all beautiful![328]

CONCLUSION

As has been detailed above, Shah Ismail's *hikâye* conforms to the general structure of the genre. The structure of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* departs from the model reconstructed by Başgöz, however, during the episode of the hero's subaltern childhood in isolation. This remarkable parallel to the historical accounts of Shah Ismail's childhood perhaps illustrates what Boratav refers to as the genre's "clear tendency towards realism."[329] That Shah Ismail's ages during the two pivotal pre-transformative events of his childhood --his descent underground (age seven) and his emergence (age fifteen)-- correspond with the chronicles' tabulations for the ages in which the historical Shah Ismail went into hiding and his coronation could be coincidental. This parallel suggests that the *hikâye* also represents "fantasies evolved

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[328]*Şah İsmail* 47-50. See Appendix A: 3.
[329]Boratav, "Ḥikāya: The Narrative Genres of Turkish Literature and Folklore."

from items in the existing literary record," just as Morton characterizes the mythic narratives of Ismail's story in Safavid Persia.

Indeed, Shah Ismail's *hikâye* includes elements found in narratives outside the Turkish folklore tradition. These elements include Ismail's childhood in hiding and the important role of his father in the unfolding of his destiny-- elements which also appear in Safavid and European sources. The *hikâye* also echoes the mythic *khurūj* episodes by presenting the transformation of the hero preceded by a venture into the wilderness alone, as in the *Ross Anonymous* and similar legendary accounts. In the *hikâye*, Shah Ismail displays his poetic gifts for the first time during this venture, only one day after receiving his name from the mysterious dervish. In the Persian legendary histories, this venture is the setting for his investiture by the Hidden Imām. Both traditions relate a fulfillment of destiny through coming of age, in the *khurūj*, from a hunted child to world conqueror, in the *hikâye*, from a hidden, nameless child to poetic maestro.

As mentioned earlier, the Shah Ismail *hikâye* likely took form during the seventeenth century, the same period which witnessed the proliferation of the Safavid legendary narratives of Shah Ismail's life. However, like other forms of orally-transmitted literature, it is difficult to determine a precise date for the origin of Shah Ismail's *hikâye*. In any event, generations had passed since Shah Ismail's death, the early historical accounts and these narratives of his legendary lives. Although a common source for the *hikâye* and the Safavid mythic narratives would be impossible to surmise at this point, both of these narrative genres can be said to represent later ideals of Shah Ismail rather than beliefs held during his lifetime. These narratives present visions of a former messiah who has been transformed into a folk hero, gifted with talents

appropriate the respective ideals of the genres.[330]   Given the *hikâye*'s dramatic

limitations, nor would it be the appropriate forum for the presentation of a messianic or

mystical ideal. Instead, the *hikâye* presents quite a different ideal of a hero.

The post-messianic context of Shah Ismail's presentation can be seen through his

conformity to the *hikâye* hero's qualities. The idealized traits specific to the genre's

hero rest in his gift of poetic expression of human love and only secondarily in his

heroism. Although Shah Ismail is forced to utilize his martial talents, skills of the

military-heroic type are not where his true gifts lie. Stripped of a sectarian militancy

which characterizes the poetry of the historical Shah, as the hero of the *hikâye*, he uses

verse to express a distinctly earthly devotion. Once in battle, however, his poetic

expression echoes his former lives:

Shah Ismail came, he entered the battlefield,
Advancing his horse, attacking the enemy,
Wielding Zülfikar,[331] may it be painted with blood,
Lord have mercy! God, help me![332]

The battlefield sequences notwithstanding, the Shah Ismail of the *hikâye* is, so to

speak, a lover and not a fighter. He would prefer to avoid battle were it not necessary to

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[330]Similarly, Biancamaria Amoretti suggests that certain variants of the Köroğlu *hikâye* present in
literary form a "vivid echo" of the "religious vicissitudes of Ismā'īl and his followers." In this heroic
hikâye cycle, the protagonist, Köroğlu, is betrayed by the vaguely-identified "Shah." This betrayal is
itself reflective of the Safavid betrayal of the Qizilbash ethos, or the compromise after Chaldiran which
reduced the living savior to a fallible mortal. See Amoretti, "Religion in the Timurid and Safavid Periods"
638-639.

[331]The name given to 'Alī's double-edged sword.

[332]Tevfik, *Şah İsmail* 31. See Appendix A: 4.

secure his love interest. Before the true identity of Arab Üzengi was revealed to him,

Shah Ismail pleaded to the African warrior in an exchange of *manis*:

Shah Ismail:
I hail from Kandıhar in pursuit of my desire,
Have mercy, Arab. Come on, don't hurt me!
Allow me to go my own way,
Have mercy, Arab. Come on, don't hurt me!

Arab:
I have taken many so many victims like this,
You'll see this castle is built of skulls,
Do not be shocked and let yourself tremble,
Those who come depart by losing their heads.

Shah Ismail:
If I rise, taking my lance in my hand,
Reciting the names of Hızır and "The Forty"[333] on my tongue,
Then my Lord will come to the aid of Shah Ismail,
For the love of God, don't hurt me.

Arab:
You are a child, you won't make it on the battlefield,
You have gone wild with fear, look at the color of your face,
Have you never heard of Arab Üzengi?
Those who come here depart by giving their life.[334]

The cycle of Shah Ismail's *hikâye* also illustrates the distinction of folk poetry

from sacred and mystical poetry. As Başgöz characterizes the *hikâye* and the purveyors

of the genre:

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[333]In Alevi-Bektashi legend, "The Forty" are identified as those family members and companions present with 'Alī during the Prophet's night journey and ascension to heaven (*mi'râj*).

[334]Tevfik, *Şah Ismail* 36-38. See Appendix A: 5.

Although the *âşik*'s role continued to be associated with Alevi-Bektashi rituals after this century [fifteenth century], this new breed of poet was not a healer or spiritual master who contacted spirits or who aspired to ultimate intimacy and union with God. He was sought after now simply to entertain his audience during secular gatherings.[335]

However, the romantic hero is only a part of Shah Ismail's post-messianic persona functioning within the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. Like the *âşıḳ*, Shah Ismail's role also functions within the realm of the sacred, derived from his *dīvān* poetry written under his pen-name Ḥaṭāʿī.

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[335]Başgöz, "Love Themes in Turkish Folk Poetry" 58.

CHAPTER IV

ḤAṬĀ'Ī'S GARDEN PARTY:

THE BELOVED AND THE BATTLEFIELD

This chapter will examine Shah Ismail's poetic persona expressed through the pen-name Ḥaṭāʿī. The self-glorifying content of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry will receive particular attention, as these images are those with which we are most familiar. Since the beginning of its appearance in Safavid and Ottoman historiography, Shah Ismail's poetry revealing this self-image (taken exclusively from the Paris version of his *dīvān*) has been held up as a primary source of Safavid propaganda and heresy during the messianic phase of Safavid history. Despite the deep foundation of this poetry in the mystical experience, both as a genre and in Ḥaṭāʿī 's individual approach, less attention has been given to the influence of Sufi expression to the poetry's internal strategy. The chapter will move beyond a limited historical context, however, to provide a more inclusive approach to the poetry of Shah Ismail, accounting for its subsequent proliferation in Alevi-Bektashi religious literature.

HAṬĀ'Ī 'S *DĪVĀN*: MANUSCRIPTS AND PUBLICATIONS

The search for the historical Shah Ismail led Safavid scholars beyond collections

of his work as it proliferated in Alevi-Bektashi circles and seek those texts assumed to

be more firmly grounded in history, represented by the various manuscripts of Shah

Ismail's *dīvān*. According to its poetic usage, "*dīvān*," refers to the edited and

authoritative collection of a single poet's major compositions alphabetically and

according to poetic form.[336] Shah Ismail's son Sām Mīrza, in his biography of

contemporary poets, informs us of the existence of two *dīvāns*, one in Turkish and the

other in Farsi.[337] Despite this evidence attesting to the existence of Shah Ismail's

Persian *dīvān*, only limited sections of it are known.[338] Even less is known about the

extent of his production of Arabic verse, which is scarcely mentioned.[339] However,

several versions of Shah Ismail's complete Turkish *dīvān* exist. A *dīvān* manuscript now

in Paris (Paris I), copied in 1541, for decades was considered the oldest and most

authentic of these. Minorsky used the Paris manuscript in the initial venture on this

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[336]The compositions of *dīvān* (Arabic: *dīwān*) collections are ordered according to the Arabic alphabet, based on the last letter of the first half-line (*mıṣra*) of a couplet (*beyt*). Thus all poems in which the first *mıṣra'* ends with *alif* come first, followed by *bā*, etc. Conventionally *dīvāns* are assembled with *ḳaṣīdes* placed first, followed by *ġazeß*, *mesnevīs* and then followed by other stanzaic forms which are less frequently employed. However this order is subject to variation. Shah Ismail's Paris I *dīvān*, for example, does not arrange *ḳaṣīdes* and *ġazeß* separately.

[337]Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* (İstanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1956) 11.

[338]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1008.

[339]For mention of Shah Ismail's Arabic poetry see Tahsin Yazıcı, "Şah İsmail," *İslâm Ansiklopedesi.*

subject "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl."[340]   Turkhan Gandgei then published the *dīvān*

from the Paris I manuscript in 1959, in what was intended to be a preparatory work for a

critical edition of the *dīvān*, but is not actually a critical edition.[341]

Since Minorsky's time, however, disagreement has surfaced surrounding the issue

of Shah Ismail's oldest extant *dīvān* manuscript. According to the Azeri literary scholar

Azizaga Memedov, the manuscript located in Tashkent contains the oldest known

version of Shah Ismail's *dīvān*.[342]   Evidenced by its own inscription, the Tashkent

manuscript was copied in 1535 by Shāh Ṭahmāsp's calligrapher, Shāh Maḥmūd

Nishabūrī.[343]   This indeed would date the Tashkent manuscript a few years before the

Paris manuscript, which bears the date 1541. The contents of this Tashkent *dīvān* have

also been published in a collection Memedov edited.[344]

To further complicate the determination of Shah Ismail's oldest *dīvān*, we also

have the illustrated manuscript of Ḥaṭāʾi 's *dīvān* in the Vever collection at the Sackler

Gallery in Washington D.C.   This manuscript, if Wheeler Thackston is correct, is

actually the earliest known copy of Ḥaṭāʾi 's *dīvān*, completed during Shah Ismail's

lifetime. The proof of this may be contained in one of the inscriptions. A particular

frieze accompanying one of the illustrations contains Shah Ismail's name and titles.

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[340]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1006-1053 .

[341]Turkhan Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḥaṭāʾī* (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1959).

[342]Azizaga Memedov, "Le plus ancien manuscrit du *dīvān* de Shah Ismail Khatayi," *Turcica* 6 (1972): 8-23.

[343]İbrahim Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* (İstanbul: Der Yayınevi, 1992) 30.

[344]Azizaga Memedov, ed. *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari*, 2 vols. (Baku: "Elm" Nashriiiaty, 1966-1973). The first volume presents the work in the original script and the second volume is a transliteration into Cyrillic Azeri.

According to Thackston, only the titles of the patron would be appropriate in a manuscript of this type. He therefore dates the manuscript before 1524.[345] This early dating is not entirely unlikely considering rumors of such a manuscript have been circulating for years: Memedov even conjectured that this manuscript could be in Shah Ismail's own hand.[346] Unfortunately, the Sackler Gallery copy is damaged and incomplete; especially at the beginning, many folios are missing and this *dīvān* has not been published. Nor is the manuscript available for consultation at present; a copy of its contents were provided by Wheeler Thackston to be used here.[347]

Other *dīvān* manuscripts of varying degrees of completion and quality are housed in the following locations: The British museum in London: the illustrated evidence of this incomplete manuscript dates it to the sixteenth century; Tabriz, dated 1545; Tehran, dated 1547. From the seventeenth century: Ardabil, dated 1613; Leningrad, dated 1626; Berlin, dated 1666; Mazar-i Sharif, Afghanistan, seventeenth century; the Vatican, which is not dated, but is considered to be from the seventeenth century; Paris II, also undated, but determined to be from the seventeenth century.[348] A manuscript copy from the nineteenth century (1829) was also in the possession of Vladimir

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[345]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il I" 61. The style of the Sackler Gallery's *dīvān* illustrations also supports the early dating of the manuscript. This manuscript is featured in *An Annotated and Illustrated Checklist of the Vever Collection*, ed. Glenn D. Lowry, Milo Cleveland Beach, Roya Marefat and Wheeler M. Thackston (Washington: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1988) 138.

[346]Memedov, "Le plus ancien manuscrit du *dīvān* de Shah Ismail Khatayi," 12; Gandjei also suggests that the manuscript in London (see below) was copied from a manuscript dating from Shah Ismail's lifetime. Turkhan Gandjei, "A Note on an Illustrated Manuscript of Shāh Ismā'īl," *Turcica* 18 (1986): 160.

[347]*Dīvān of Shah Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī*, ms., Sackler Gallery, s86.0060, transcription by Wheeler Thackston.

[348]On the locations of these *dīvāns* see, Gandjei, "A Note on an Illustrated Manuscript of Shāh Ismā'īl" 159; Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il I" 61; Memedov, "Le plus ancien manuscrit du *dīvān* de Shah Ismail Khatayi" 13; Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1008-1009; Gandjei, ed., Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* 8.

Minorsky.[349] Finally, the manuscripts in Istanbul's Millet Kütüphanesi (Ali Emîrî

collection) deserve special consideration. Though cited alongside the above *dīvāns*, the

Istanbul "*dīvān*" is actually two manuscripts containing poetry attributed to Ḥatā'ī, one

of which includes poems in the syllabic meter (no. 131). The other is a manuscript of

mixed contents containing Shah Ismail's poetry as well as selections from other poets

from the Alevi-Bektashi tradition (no. 631). Thus the Istanbul "*dīvān*" only partially

includes works found in Shah Ismail's classically assembled *dīvāns*. Ergun's publication

contains the poetry from these Ali Emîrî manuscripts as well as selections from other

manuscripts located in Turkey.[350] This edition has also been used here. Manuscripts

of Ḥatā'i 's poetry in private collections are also existent, some of which may also

contain versions of Shah Ismail's complete *dīvān*.[351]

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[349]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1009. This *dīvān* was copied from a 1613 manuscript bearing the seal of Shāh 'Abbās, thus it is likely a copy from the Ardabil manuscript.

[350]Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri.*

[351]See for example Cahit Öztelli, "Les Oeuvres de Hatâyî," *Turcica* 6 (1975): 7. Apart from the *dīvāns*, two additional *mesnevīs* attributed to Ḥatā'ī should also be mentioned. The first work, known as the *Dehnāme*, is unique in that it is the only work completed during Shah Ismail's lifetime bearing a definite date, 1506. Turkhan Gandgei, "Ismā'īl I: 2. His Poetry" *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition. Ḥatā'ī's *Dehnıme* appears as a separate work appended to several *dīvān* manuscripts, specifically those of Leningrad, Tabriz, Tashkent and Mazar-i Sharif. The *Dehnāme* is published (in modern Turkish script) in İbrahim Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 154-240. Gandgei categorizes the *Dehnāme* as a literary genre in its own right, widespread in fourteenth and fifteenth century Turkish literature, in which two lovers meet in a series of ten encounters through letters. See Turkhan Gandjei, "The Genesis and Definition of a Literary Composition: The Dah-nāma ("Ten Love Letters")," *Der Islam* 47 (1971): 60. The other *mesnevī*, known as the *Nasīhatnāme*, is also titled for the strategy it adopts. As the title indicates, the *Nasīhatnāme* is a work intended to council adepts regarding the spiritual path. On this type of *mesnevī*, see Alessio Bombaci, "The Turkic Literatures: Introductory Notes on the History and Style," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ed. Nail Boratav, 2 vols. (Weisbaden: Aquis Mattiacis Apud Franciscum Steiner, 1959-1964) 2: lxii. Versions of Ḥatā'ī's *Nasīhatnāme* appear with the *dīvān* manuscripts of London, Istanbul, Mazar-i Sharif, Paris II, Leningrad, and Minorsky's copy. The *Nasīhatnāme* is printed in Mehmet Yaman, ed., *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç-İbâdet ve Ahlâk İlkeleri* (Mannheim: Mannheim AKM Dedeler Kurulu, 2000) 173-192; Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 241-248; Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 201-210; Nejat Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 1991) 365-378. According to Gandgei, the difference between the style and content of the *Nasīhatnāme* and that of the authentic poems of Ḥatā'ī indicate that it is a work produced

This returns us to the issue of the most authentic version of Ḥaṭāʾī's *dīvān*. As it now stands, the Paris manuscript's position as the oldest known copy of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* is in serious doubt. Other inconsistencies particular to the Paris *dīvān* have also been noted. The first is a solitary poem composed according to the syllabic meter, standing apart from other composition in the *dīvān*, composed entirely in classical *ʿaruż* meter.[352] This particular poem and the problem of prosody variation in general will be taken up later in the discussion about pseudo- Ḥaṭāʾī. The second anomalous composition unique to the Paris *dīvān* is what appears to a panegyric to Shah Ismail rather than a work composed by him.[353] Following is the last couplet (*beyt*) taken from Minorsky's translation:

His name is Ismāʿīl [*ismi Ismāʿīldür*], he is one with the Commander of the Faithful ('Alī). [*hem ẕāt-ı amīr al-müʾminīn*],
On seeing his face the outsiders [*ḫavāric*] would rather to turn to stone.[354]

The poem's final couplet, in which the poet's *maḫlaṣ* is conventionally stated, casts doubt on the identity of the author. Although it was common practice for poets to address themselves in the third person when declaring their *maḫlaṣ*, here the usage of this convention deviates from Ḥaṭāʾī's general practice. Throughout the Paris *dīvān*,

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after his death in his name. Turkhan Gandjei, "Pseudo-Khaṭāʾī," *Iran and Islam in Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1971) 265.

[352]Poetry in *ʿaruż* (Arabic: *ʿarūḍ*) prosody is based on the regular patterning of long and short syllables, so determined according to the arrangement of long and short vowels and consonants into specified patterns. This is the dominant prosody form of Arabic, Persian as well as classical Ottoman and Azeri poetry. Syllabic-meter prosody (*hece vezni*) is prosody based on a set number of syllables in a line. Poetry in the syllabic meter is mainly associated with Turkish mystical-folk poetry and folk poetry proper.

[353]Memedov, "Şah İsmail Hatainin Edebi Tesiri" 304-305.

Shah Ismail consistently declares his *maḫlaṣ* as " Ḫaṭāʾī ": the use of the third-person

genitive construction of "*ismī*"--(*his* name)-- with "Ismail," failing mention of Ḫaṭāʾī, is

highly irregular in view of other compositions in the *dīvān*.

An extensive investigation into the problem of Ḫaṭāʾī's oldest *dīvān* manuscript,

one which would also take into full account the paleographical and codicological aspects

of manuscript dating is required. With the issue of the oldest *dīvān* in question, the

Paris *dīvān*'s pre-eminence rests solely on its content. The partisans for the exclusive

authenticity of the Paris *dīvān* also cite the fact that the poems which express Ḫaṭāʾī's

self-glorification are represented in the Paris *dīvān* more than any other known source.

As was explained previously, the Shah's religious authority continued its transformation

during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, in conformity with orthodox *imāmī* Shīʿism. Even a

superficial perusal of Shah Ismail's Paris *dīvān* would provide many examples

contradicting orthodox *imāmī* views of authority. The evidence that the Tashkent

manuscript is a royal commission under Shāh Ṭahmāsp adds to the likelihood that it

underwent a purge of poems and verses which were no longer appropriate to the

direction taken by Safavid religious authorities. The Tashkent *dīvān*, while pre-dating

the Paris *dīvān*, in fact excludes several of the poems which blatantly express the Shah's

divinity. The Paris version, however, is not signed, and its generation from official

Safavid quarters during Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign is unlikely viewed against the contents of

the Tashkent *dīvān*.

However, we will show upon a closer examination of the Tashkent *dīvān*, the

Sackler Gallery *dīvān*, and the collection of Ḫaṭāʾī's poetry assembled by Ergun, that

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[354]Brackets are mine. Based on Minorsky's translation in Minorsky, Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh

images of Hatā'ī's exalted status are by no means exclusive to the Paris *dīvān*. Even in an "official" post-1524 Safavid commission such as the Tashkent *dīvān*, a significant degree of Hatā'ī's self-glorifying expression is present. This presence of Hatā'ī's voice of self-aggrandizement beyond the Paris *dīvān* indicates a higher degree of accommodation of such "heretical" expressions than previously thought.

HATĀ'Ī'S IMAGES OF SELFHOOD[355]

From a literary-historical perspective, the artistic quality of Shah Ismail's poetry has generated equivocal judgments. From Minorsky's comments regarding the "banal" images and "monotonous" themes,[356] to Aubin's disparagement-- "de facture médiocre et de contenu juvenile"[357]-- and Thackston's more charitable comments on the "youthful exuberance,"[358] of the poetry, Shah Ismail is by no means universally hailed for his literary merits like his contemporaries Habībī or Fuzūlī, for example.[359] Nor was Shah Ismail the only poet-king among his peers. All of his direct contemporaries produced verse: Selīm I (r. 1512-1520), the Uzbek Shaybānī Khān (r. 1500-1512), the

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Ismā'īl I" 1048, corresponding with *beyt* 5 in Gandjei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Hatā'ī* # 214.

[355]The works cited in this section have been taken from the publications of Gandjei, Memedov, Ergun as well as the copy of the Sackler Gallery manuscript produced by Wheeler Thackston. As Vladimir Minorsky has previously examined the contents of the Paris *dīvān*, some of his translations have been retained, although I have conformed his transliterations to the Ottoman paradigm and have updated some of the language. All other translations are my own, with their Turkish originals appearing in Appendix B.

[356]Vladimir Minorsky, "Khatā'ī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition.

[357]Aubin, "L'évènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 37.

[358]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il I" 38.

[359]Azeri literary historians differ significantly in the assessments of Shah Ismail's literary merits. Memedov, "Le plus ancien manuscrit du *dīvān* de Shah Ismail Khatayi" 11, refers to Hatā'ī as a "master"; and according to A. Caferoğlu, "Ādharī: ii) Literature," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition, Hatā'ī was central to the development of literary Azeri.

founder of the Mughal dynasty, Babur (r. 1526-1530), and the Mamluk Sultan Qansawh al-Ghawri (r. 1501-1516). The oft-cited irony is that Sultan Selim was the only one of these monarchs to use Persian rather than Turkish as his literary language. However, interest in the literary output of these monarchs does not extend to the direct influence their poetry exerted upon the masses. Shah Ismail's poetry is set apart from that of his contemporaries, however, precisely for this reason.

Shah Ismail, it is understood, did not compose poetry for his "heart's delight"; the poetry's Turkish idiom was chosen specifically for the intended audience.[360] Raised in a Turcophone environment-- we recall Ismail's mother and paternal grandmother were both royals from the Aqquyunlu house-- Ismail initiated a linguistic departure from the literary tradition of his paternal line. Previous Safavid *shaykhs* known to have composed poetry, including Safi al-Din, Sadr al-Din and Khwaja 'Ali, preferred Persian dialects for composition.[361] In modern times, the language of Shah Ismail's *divan* is designated as the Azeri idiom of Western Turkish (as opposed to Eastern, or Chaghatay Turkish), alternatively referred to as "Turkmen Turkish" and also known by "Qizilbashi" in contemporary sources, in contradistinction to Ottoman, or Rumi.[362] As such, Ismail stands within the literary and linguistic tradition of Nesimi (executed, early fifteenth century), Fuzuli (d. 1555) and the Qaraquyunlu ruler Jihan Shah (d. 1467) who wrote

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[360]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shah Ismaʿil I" 1008.

[361]Browne, *Modern Times (1500-1924)* 43-46; Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids: Šīʿism, Sūfism and the Gulāt* 55. A selection of Khwaja ʿAli's poetry appears alongside the selection of Hataʾi's (mentioned earlier) in *Silsilät-ul-Nässäb: Généalogie de la dynastie Säfävy de la Perse par Cheik Hossein fils de Cheik Abdâl Zâhedi sous le regne de Chah Soleiman* 50-62.

[362]Gandgei, "Ismaʿil I: 2. His Poetry."

under the *mahlas* Ḥaḳīḳī.[363] The influence of Chaghatay literature, in a more advanced

stage of development, is discernible in the development of Western Turkish as a literary

language at this time. In accordance with this trend, Chaghatay grammatical forms and

orthography are also common in Ḥaṭāʾī's older *dīvāns* to varying extents.[364]

The most intriguing aspects of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* are the self-referential verses

in which Ḥaṭāʾī equates himself to a litany of holy and legendary figures, and above all

to God himself. Minorsky's introduction of these self-glorifying poems shaped the

theory that Shah Ismail's poetry effectively served as a tool of propaganda for the

Safavid cause. In other words, Shah Ismail used verse to inculcate in his followers the

belief in his divine nature as their *murshid-i kāmil*. The Paris *dīvān*, when seen as "an

historical document characteristic of the strivings of the age,"[365] stands as a primary

source for Qizilbash beliefs and the impetus of the Safavid revolution, as in Savory:

> During the last half of the fifteenth century, before the establishment of the Safavid
> state, there is no doubt whatever that Safavid propaganda asserted that the Safavid
> leader was not merely the representative of the Hidden Imām but the Hidden Imām
> himself. . . . The evidence of Ismāʿīl's own poems is incontrovertible proof that he
> wished his followers to consider him a divine incarnation.[366]

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[363]Vladimir Minorsky, "Jihān-Shāh Qara-Qoyunlu and His Poetry," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954): 273-276.

[364]The Chaghatay influence in the Tashkent *dīvān* further convinces Memedov of its early dating, as these forms are only partially preserved in Paris I. Memedov, "Le plus ancien manuscrit du *dīvān* de Shah Ismail Khatayi" 15-20; Thackston also remarks on the notable Chaghatay influence in the Sackler Gallery Manuscript, relative to Paris I. Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khataʾi: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Ismaʿil I" 61.

[365]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1007.

[366]Savory, *Iran Under the Safavids* 23.

As was mentioned above, many of the poems expressing Shah Ismail's divinity

contained in the Paris *dīvān* are either omitted or altered in other versions. To cite an

example of a verse which appears to be altered from its form in the Paris *dīvān*:

I am Ḥaṭāʾī, from Pre-Eternity I am the Mystery of Ḥayder,[367]
He who does not recognize this as Divine Truth is a stranger to us.
[*Munı ḥakk bilmiyen bī-kārnemizdür*][368]

The same *beyt* as it appears in Tashkent and in Ergun's publication contains a slight, yet

significant variation:

I am Ḥaṭāʾī, slave to the mystery of Ḥayder,
Our enemies are those who do not know the Shah as the Divine Truth.
[*Şāhı ḥakk bilmiyen düşmānımızdır*][369]

In the Paris version, it is likely that the poet is expressing his identification

with the deity. However, in the Tashkent and Istanbul versions, "*ḥakk*" is equated with

the more fluid identity of the "Shah." This alternative version results in eliminating the

ambiguity of a statement signifying the poet's apotheosis as it is written in Paris.

Through these selections it is possible to detect what is likely deliberate and significant

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[367]As well as the name of Shah Ismail's father, Ḥaydar is also an epitaph of 'Alī.

[368]Minorsky's translation, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1044, corresponding to beyt 5 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḥaṭāʾī* #103.

[369]Azizaga Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 134-135; Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 163-164 (From a manuscript in Ergun's private collection). For the Tashkent version see Appendix B: 1.

alterations in relation to the Paris *dīvān*. But as it is shown above, this purge of Shah

Ismail's "original" *dīvān* was not chronological, nor, as will be seen, was it complete.

Because works in which Ḫaṭā'ī expresses his divinity understandably have

generated the most interest, one receives the imbalanced impression that self-glorifying

expressions constitute the dominant theme of Shah Ismail's *dīvān*. However, not only

does the poet's high estimation of himself break with the *dīvān* convention at large, but

it also stands apart from the majority of Shah Ismail's own poetry. For the most part,

Ḫaṭā'i 's *dīvān* conforms to classical convention in that the poetic forms, themes and

vocabulary are similar to other contemporary Persianate *dīvāns*. Even in the Paris

version, most of the poetry constitutes what Minorsky blandly describes as "ordinary

lyrics in which pagan hedonism is often interwoven with Sufi ecstasy"[370]-- in other

words, typical Persianate *ġazels*.[371]

A thematic definition of the *ġazel*, by far the major form of *dīvān* poetry, would

be useful. Thackston provides the following description of the *ġazel*'s dramatic

framework:

> The Persianate *ghazal* is first and foremost the vehicle of love poetry. The
> expression is in terms of lover and beloved, both of which were cast in fixed and
> unchanging molds: a cruel, unapproachable, and disinterested beloved worshipped
> and adored by a distraught miserable lover. . . . A cumulative genre constantly
> building upon itself, the *ghazal* requires familiarity on the part of the reader with the

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[370]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1025.

[371]The *ġazel* is a lyric poem arranged according to *'arūż* prosody. Formed in monorhyme, all half-lines which complete the *beyts* conform with the rhyme of the first *beyt*. *Ġazel* compositions are relatively short, generally numbering from four to fourteen couplets. On the technicalities of the form see Walter G. Andrews, *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976) 14-129; Walter G. Andrews, "A Critical-Interpretive Approach to the Ottoman Turkish Ġazel," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973): 97-110.

metaphorical vocabulary of unrequited love (the only type recognized by the convention) . . . .[372]

Ḥaṭāʾī's general approach to the *ġazel* form warrants a mystical-religious interpretation. However much profane themes and images seem to dominate the *ġazel*, this should not obfuscate understanding according to what Walter Andrews terms the "mystical-religious voice" of the *ġazel*, insisting that the mystical-religious aspect of the *ġazel* was and is "accepted and acceptable."[373] According to Thackston, the mystical-religious character of Ḥaṭāʾi 's particular approach to the *ġazel* is more traditional than revolutionary. By Ḥaṭāʾī's beloved serving as a representative of the divine (or a figure closely associated with the divine, such as the Hidden *imām*), and by his lover (the poet), serving as a representative of the religious devotee,

> Khata'i has invoked the method of the mystics who gave the *ghazal* its characteristics centuries before by drawing upon the language of love to express an otherwise ineffable relationship between the soul and the divine.[374]

Nevertheless, against the classical perimeters of the *ġazel* form, many images in Ḥaṭāʾī's *dīvān* remain peculiar, as the poet does not fit the mold of the miserable lover (or devotee), cruelly denied access to the beloved. When it is acknowledged that in the *ġazel* form, "union with the beloved is a vain hope,"[375] these images become even more

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[372]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Ismaʿil I" 37.

[373]Walter G. Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* 85.

[374]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Ismaʿil I" 60.

[375]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Ismaʿil I" 37.

striking. This is because Ḥaṭā'ī goes beyond the traditional *ġazel* dialectic consisting of a distant, cruel beloved on the one hand and a miserable lover on the other. Rather than employing the *ġazel* to express the unattainablility of the beloved and the poet's resultant agony, Ḥaṭā'ī instead employs certain *ġazels* to express the ecstasy and triumph of a union achieved:

I am God's eye, I am God's eye, I am God's eye!
['*Aynüllāhım 'aynüllāhım 'aynüllāhım*]
O blind man gone astray come and behold the Divine Truth.

I am the Absolute Agent [*fā'il muṭlaḳa*] they speak of,
The sun and moon are under my command.

Rest assured that my being is the abode of God,
Day and night, prostration before me is your onus.[376]

Indeed, the case of Ḥaṭā'ī forces a reconsideration of the limitations of the *ġazel* form. Thackston, in discussing Ḥaṭā'ī's relation to the traditional strategies of the *ġazel*, states:

> By subtle manipulation of these cliché figures [lover and beloved] the poet could express an enormous range of emotion, personal philosophy, pseudo-philosophy, mysticism-- and even, as we shall see in Shah Isma'il's case, sectarian propaganda.[377]

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[376]Based on Minorsky's translation in Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1047, corresponding with *beyts* 1, 2 and 3 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī* # 207.

[377]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il I" 37.

Alessio Bombaci sees these "sectarian propaganda" *ġazels* as "animated by a belligerent spirit."[378] His is a delicate description of a strategy in which daggers are employed not to pierce the lover's heart, but split the enemy's skull. In this spirit, Ḥaṭāʻi casts his characters against a backdrop of violence and warfare presented as an eternal struggle of good and evil played out on a cosmic battlefield. However, the opposing sides in this struggle loose much of their abstraction through the parallels Ḥaṭāʻi draws to his own time and circumstances, as in the following composition unique to the Paris I *dīvān*:

If my love but sits, legs crossed, wailing is unleashed,
If he remains sitting, the End Times are unleashed.

If all the people of Shirvan move on Tebriz,
The dominion of Iran will ask when Judgment Day is unleashed.

In seven nights, the dwellings of the Arab quarter are finished,
Oh how many Turkmen throughout Baghdad are unleashed!

If he emerges from the palace, he takes all that is in the world,
A master of the *ṭarīḳat*, who is young and old, is unleashed.

From the beginning of time Ḥaṭāʻī saw this as imminent,
Noah's sign comes as the floods are unleashed.[379]

In Walter Andrews' study of the Ottoman lyric poetry, he explores the predominating contexts of the *ġazel* form. Admittedly, Shah Ismail cannot be classified as an Ottoman poet without serious misrepresentations, but a brief comparison with Andrews' study will bring out the marked features of Ḥaṭāʻī's "ecology of the song." As

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[378]Alessio Bombaci, "The Turkic Literatures: Introductory Notes on the History and Style" 2: lix.
[379]Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʻīl Ḥaṭāʼī* #105. See Appendix B: 2.

Andrews observes, the Ottoman *gazel* takes a garden party as its typical setting. This

elite gathering serves as the backdrop to the drama of the lover and beloved. As

Andrews describes the fixtures of this ideal scene:

> It includes, as usual features, wines, choice foods (*meze, nukl*), the wine server, the beloved, musicians, close friends, candles, spices and perfumes. The optimum location is a garden lawn during the spring on a moonlit evening. These features manifest themselves directly in virtually every *gazel* throughout the tradition.[380]

Certainly Ḫaṭā'ī's besieged Arab quarters and vengeful Turkmen *ġāzīs* could not

be more awkward in this gentile, epicurean scene described above. But this contrast

concerns the incidental trappings of the scene more than the basic structural and

symbolic elements operating within it. As Andrews further analyzes the *gazel*'s ecology,

these underlying elements can apply to Ḫaṭā'i 's own version of the garden party with

striking parallels. Just as the garden itself, as a physical space, represents divine order,

so Ḫaṭā'ī's battlefield represents an attribute of the divine-- divine justice. The warfare

Ḫaṭā'ī presents   invariably recalls the martyrs of Karbalā', so that through direct

reference every enemy, in essence, is equated with Yazīd. Those who on this earth

succeeded in escaping justice will, in the end, receive their due on Ḫaṭā'ī's battlefield:

The blood of Shāh Ḥayder is still (unavenged),
Yezīd still awaits a crushing defeat.[381]

I will slash Yezīd and the heathens at the root,
The torch burning, I have now come.[382]

According to Andrew's observation, the social gathering at the center of the classical Ottoman *ġazel* is held for the purpose of assembling "those who share an understanding of and sympathy for the emotional interpretation of reality."[383] In other words, it is a selective affair, intended for a particular group whose members share a like orientation to reality, emotions and art. Similarly, Ḥatā'i 's partisans are described through their exalted exclusivity as "the people of divine truth," (*ehl-i ḥakḳ*)[384] or "the people of purity" (*ṣafā ehli*).[385] They are pitted against the ominous "outsiders." Ḥatā'i often employs the term "outsider," recalling at once the historical Khārijites, who betrayed 'Alī thereby signifying the military and sectarian enemy:

The angels have descended from the sky, announcing good news to the gnostics [*ehl-i 'arifāne*],
The hour of death to the outsiders [*ḥavāric*] and disaster to the Yezīds have come.[386]

If the world-conquering *ġazis* enter the field,
The outsiders [*ḥavāric*] will be turned upside-down.[387]

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[380]Walter G. Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* 146.

[381]Minorsky's translation, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1044, corresponding with *beyt* 4 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥatā'ī* #94.

[382]*Beyt* 4 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥatā'ī* #171. See Appendix B: 3.

[383]Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song* 105.

[384]*Beyt* 6 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥatā'ī* #94.

[385]Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 145.

[386]Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 144-145, corresponding with Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥatā'ī* #252. See Appendix B: 4.

Not permitting outsiders [ḫavāric] to root in the world,
I am Ḫaṭā'ī, as a testament I have now come.[388]

Andrews further observes that "in the context of the party, the participants will each adopt the role of a dervish."[389] Ḫaṭā'ī draws on the dervish identity of his literary warriors. By employing vocabulary conventionally associated with a dervish context, Ḫaṭā'ī's characteristic union of dervish and military discipline is created:

Our path is narrow, narrower than narrow,
Our rite [erkān] on this path is relinquishing our heads.[390]

As the poet himself embodies the ideals of the members of this elite, the virtues representative of this group are conventionally expounded upon in the taḫalluṣ or signature couplet.[391] In the contexts of both warfare and spiritual discipline, the cardinal virtue stands as the willingness to sacrifice oneself; for the ġāzī this sacrifice takes the form of his life, and for the dervish, it takes the form of his egotistical will and material comfort. The mystic is further merged with the warrior through his willingness to sacrifice his life because of his declaration of divine union. As Ḫaṭā'ī exemplifies these virtues in this selection from Paris:

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[387]*Beyt* 8 in Memedov, ed. *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 129-131 corresponding with *beyt* 7 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* #7; *beyt* 9 in Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 171-172. See Appendix B: 5.

[388]Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* #171. See Appendix B: 3.

[389]Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song* 105.

[390]*Beyt* 6 in Memedov, ed. *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 134-135, corresponding with *beyt* 6 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* #103. See Appendix B: 1.

In town I found the crown of all pearls,
I do not reveal it to the ignorant and unknowing.

Of infidelity and faith I know the reality of their mystery,
If I turn my face to the Compassionate.

See how he strikes me with misery that accursed Satan,
Night and day I curse Satan.

If only he had granted what I desire that Sultan of mine,
Let me sacrifice my life for my Shah and Sultan.

I am Ḥaṭāʾī, I do not suffer for I have uttered *enā'l-ḥakk* ("I am the Divine Truth"),
Like Ḥayder, I took the battlefield as a brave (soldier).[392]

Poems which take warfare as their setting are not exclusive to Shah Ismail's Paris *dīvān* as one might expect. The following composition is contained in the Paris *dīvān* as well as the Tashkent *dīvān* and the Ali Emîrî collection (no. 631) of Alevi-Bektashi verse. These lines are translated from the Tashkent *dīvān*:

The Shah of munificence is the master of beneficence,
His is sainthood and the light of the eye.

As the *ġāzīs* gird their swords and arms,
Terror and fear grip the hypocrites' cores.

If Yezīd's legion be one hundred thousand,
But one from the legion of sainthood will suffice.

On the sun-faced Shah the signs are
The *tāc* on his head and the belt on his waist.

Ḥaṭāʾī sacrifices his soul on the path of the Shah,

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[391]Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song* 170.
[392]Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḥaṭāʾī* #187. See Appendix B: 6.

There is no place for his possessions, wealth, silver or gold.[393]

While the above selection as it appears in Tashkent and the Ali Emîrî collection conforms to the Paris version without significant variation, both the Tashkent and the Ali Emîrî versions contain an additional three couplets absent in Paris, yet in keeping with the "belligerent spirit" of the poem's militaristic context. These additional couplets further emphasize the union of dervish/warrior virtue through specific allusion to their spiritual knowledge. The verses as they appear in Tashkent:

That legion of many is the mystery of strength,
Who recognizes it posseses special knowledge.

Just as the rain that has fallen to the ground,
So does every *ġāzīs* have one-hundred names.

The sword, arrow and dagger strike Yezîd,
May the lance and ax fly over his head.[394]

As a Safavid historian, Minorsky was particularly interested in exploiting the Paris *dîvān* for any autobiographical references alluded to by the first Safavid monarch. The following poem ostensibly describes a cosmic battle against Yazîd, the Umayyad sovereign responsible for the martyrdom of Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ (680) and the eternal

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[393]Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 129-131, *beyts* 1, 2, 3, 6, and 15 corresponding with *beyts* 1, 2, 3, 5 and 12 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḫaṭāʾī* #7. For Minorsky's translation see, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1042. See also Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 171-172, from the Ali Emîrî collection no. 631. See Appendix B: 5.

[394]Azizaga Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 129-131, *beyts* 7, 9 and 10. See Appendix B: 5.

enemy of the Shī'a. But reference to the figures of this event is made personal by

Ḥaṭā'ī's urgent references to avenge the death of his father, Ḥaydar:

(O Ḥaṭā'ī) thou hast a hand, (how) thoroughly hast thou defeated Yezīd,
Mayst thou be ruler of the world as long as the world exists.

The blood of Shāh Ḥayder is still (unavenged),
Yezīd still awaits a crushing defeat.

Rise and march o Ḥaṭā'ī, make a journey,
For thy paternal home is in the town of Ardabil.[395]

Without such explicit references as shown in the example above,

autobiographical insights are gleaned from other poems of Shah Ismail as well. For

example, Irène Mélikoff sees in the following verses an "echo of his despair" as a result

of the Safavid defeat at Chaldiran in 1514:[396]

Whatever happened (was) bound to happen, Oh for assistance! [*meded hey*]
The people of this world are bound to die, Oh for aid!

All of these unfortunate sons of Adam,
Shall fill the Seven Hells [*meded hey*].

No remedy can be found to Ḥaṭā'ī's pain, o Lord,
What shall be his state (on that day)?[397]

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[395]Minorsky's translation, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1044, corresponding with *beyts* 1, 2, 3, 4, 9 and 10 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḥaṭāʾī* #94.

[396]Mélikoff, "The Worship of Shah Isma'il in Turkey in Past and Present Time" 67-68.

In addition to autobiographical references, selections from Shah Ismail's *dīvān* are often cited to illustrate the specific doctrines of Qizilbash Islam during the formative stage of the Safavid Empire. As Bausani describes Ḫaṭā'ī's poetic articulation of these beliefs, ". . . the reader who expects to find expressions of 'normal' Imami doctrines will have a surprise."[398] 'Alī's divine essence, as the central doctrine of the Qizilbash, is expressed in the following verses included in a composition unique to the Paris *dīvān*:

Those who do not recognize 'Alī as Truth (or "God") are absolute unbelievers,
['Alī *yi ḥakk bilmiyenler kāfir-i muṭlak olur*]
They have no creed, no faith and are not Muslims.[399]

Such poetry can be seen as expressing beliefs similar those of the various *ghulāt* sects designated by historians such as Mazzaoui and Arjomand as direct spiritual predecessors of Shah Ismail. The following poem which expresses the centrality of 'Alī's significance is also unique to Paris:

My Shah is 'Alī Mürtaża,
I (turn) my face to him in this world and the next.

Who does not know 'Ali is a damned hypocrite,
They are excluded whose two eyes cannot see.

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[397]Minorsky's translation, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1049-1050, corresponding with *beyt*s 1, 7 and 8 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* #254.

[398]Alessandro Bausani, *Religion in Iran: From Zoroaster to Baha'ullah*, trans. J. M. Marchesi (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2000) 303.

[399]Minorsky's translation, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1046-1047, corresponding with *beyt* 3 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* #197.

'Alī is the Shah of brave men, the lion of God,
Those who do not realize he is God have erred a thousand fold.

The dust on my Shāh 'Alī's feet
Is salve to the eyes of the disinherited.

'Alī is the *ġāzīs'* Shah of Shahs,
He possesses the qualities of Muḥammed Muṣṭafā.

Body and soul Ḥaṭā'ī is a slave of the Shah,
A beggar at 'Alī's threshold.[400]

However, even the Paris *dīvān,* Ḥaṭā'ī's expressions of devotion to 'Alī do not necessarily hinge on an inflated concept of selfhood. In fact, Ḥaṭā'ī generally operates within the confines of the genre, expressing a requisite humility. As in the example above, the poet frequently identifies himself as equivalent to "a beggar at 'Alī's threshold," rendering his position in relation to 'Alī as one of subordination.

Nevertheless, the most intriguing aspect of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry is not so much how the poet exalts the figure of 'Alī, but how the poet partakes in 'Alī's essence and thereby exalts himself. Perhaps it is presumptuous to speculate as to whether these passages accurately reflect Shah Ismail's psychological reality. But does not detract from the fascination: "Did Shah Ismail really believe in his divine essence? In reading his exalted poems and remembering his young age, one is tempted to think he really believed that he was the incarnation of Ali. He said it repeatedly in his poems."[401] As in the following selection from the Paris *dīvān:*

[400]Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī* #9. See Appendix B: 7.

[401]Mélikoff, "The Worship of Shah Isma'il in Turkey in Past and Present Time" 66.

My name is Shāh Ismāʿīl, I am God's mystery,
I am the leader of all these *gazis*.

My mother is Fāṭima, my father is ʿAlī,
I also number among the Twelve *imāms*.[402]

To this point, Haṭāʾī's explicit self-references have been cited mainly in terms of
their historical effect on Shah Ismail's followers. That is, they are cited to illustrate the
literal beliefs the Qizilbash held in Shah Ismail's identity as a divine incarnation. But
rather than limiting this poetry as a reflection of Qizilbash beliefs during the messianic
period, this poetry at the same time hinged on a more universal understanding of its
strategy relative to its wider mystical context. The inclusion of poetic expressions of
self-exaltation in a wider range of sources than previously acknowledged suggests a
literary understanding of such a strategy, rather than a literal one. Even "official,"
royally commissioned manuscripts include Haṭāʾī's identification with the divine. For
example, both the Tashkent and the Sackler Gallery *dīvāns* contain the following, and
the translation is from the latter:

Drunk with the encounter, today I have come,
Always with God, here today I have come.

Know me as an intelligence,
As reality and purity, I have come.

Beware of deeming me as a separate entity,
As the beloved I have now come.

Striking the souls of hypocrites with a sword,
Today from the assembly of God today I have come.

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[402] *Beyts* 1 and 2 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḥaṭāʾī* #16. See Appendix E: 2.

Oh people of the heart, for the lover's sake,
Today as a sacrifice, I have come.

The stranger thinks I am apart from the Truth,
But by knowing His presence I have come.

Know me always as the essence of God,
I am distinct from all that is not God.

From the summit of heaven for the people of the West,
As the dust of an intoxicant, I have come.

I take a life for the souls who praise,
As Ḥaṭā'ī, offering his life as a sacrifice, I have come.[403]

An alternative interpretation, beyond rallying the Qizilbash troops does not eliminate the possibility or even the likelihood that this poetry indeed was received at one time as the literal truth, effectively serving Safavid propaganda. At the same time the mechanics of this mode of propaganda are more obscure, since a proliferation of manuscripts dating from Shah Ismail's reign have not been uncovered. However, Ḥaṭā'ī's *dīvān* survived and proliferated beyond his reign and this limited political purpose, retaining a significant amount of his "original" self-glory intact. This indicates the accommodation of these verses during a time in which Shah Ismail was no longer viewed as a divine incarnation. The following composition conforms to the established pattern of Ḥaṭā'ī's of exalted self-identification found in the Paris *dīvān*, exhorting the audience to prepare for his "coming." This work, however, is also contained in the Istanbul "*dīvān*," and this is the translation is from the latter:

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[403] *Dīvān of Shah Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī*, ms., Sackler Gallery, s86.0060, transcription by Wheeler Thackston #122; Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 489-490, corresponding with Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī* #240; For Minorsky's translation see Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1048. See Appendix B: 8.

May his name be glorified, come see that the light of God has come,
Muhammed Mustafâ, the seal of all prophets has come.

The souls of the lovers are joyous, the destiny of the faithful is fulfilled,
The spirit of believers has called, purity has come! Purity has come!

In all times, in all lands, the people of purity are first,
From the heavens, from the angels, many greetings have come.

The angels have descended from the sky, announcing good news to the gnostics,
The hour of death to the outsiders and to the Yezids disaster have come.

Do not be tempted by Azâzil who is Satan in essence,[404]
Heed council, come see the road of God, the guiding *imam* has come.

All the people of faith have heard that the guide of perfection has become manifest,
All of the *gazis* rejoice for the seal of the prophets has come.

The beautiful *gazis* are unleashed, on their heads is the crown of the dynasty,
This is the *mahdi*'s time, to the cyclical world the eternal light has come.

We have sanctioned the son of İmâm Hayder, heart and soul,
So that Ca'fer, Mûsi-i Kâzım and Ali Mûsâ Rızâ[405] have come.

He has put on the clothes of Halîlullah,[406] he is called İsmâîl,
Saying, sacrifice yourself for him, for a proclamation from God has come.

A man remains the manifestation of God, prostrate and do not follow Satan,
He has put on the clothes of man, God has come.

Amidst corruption, your candle extinguished into darkness,
Open your eyes, see that like the moon in darkness, religion has come.

The Pharaoh has seduced the world with sorcery,
But Moses' staff, to devour like a dragon, has come.

He himself as *Yâsin*, his tongue as *Tâhâ*, his cheeks as *Kaf* and the *Kur'an*.

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[404]'Azâzil, name of a "fallen angel" in Hebrew scripture and later Islamic writings.
[405]The sixth, seventh and eighth Shî'î *imâms* respectively.
[406]Literally, "The friend of God," that is, the Prophet Abraham.

His eyebrows as *Nun* his hair as "The Night," his face as the midday sun, he has come.[407]

My beautiful Shah, my moon, my place of desire, my heart's desire,
My perfected manifestation of God, the elect of saints has come.

Desperate Hatayî, unite with the beauty of the Shah if you so desire,
Sell your life and soul, as knowledge worth the soul has come.[408]

Shah Ismail's mystical approach to the *gazel* has previously been noted.   He skillfully mirrors the *gazel*'s standard themes and images to mystical realities through a literary process which Thackston describes as a "conflation of attributes":

> In Shah Isma'il's poetry the attributes of the religious devotee are subtly conflated with those of the lover, just as the attributes of the object of religious devotion (imam, dervish master, divinity) are shared with those of the beloved. In the end, the devotee "becomes" the lover in all respects, and the worshipped "becomes" the beloved.[409]

But Ḥaṭā'ī conducts this "conflation of attributes" on an increasingly profound level, and there is little subtlety about it.   All of the works so often cited as evidence of Shah Ismail's efforts to portray and disseminate his own deification operate on a strategy in which the lover has actually become the beloved in all respects.   As the lover is now completely conflated with the beloved, what is uttered by the poet is actually the utterances of the beloved.

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[407]This *beyt* refers to letters and chapters taken from the Qur'ān. "*Kaf*" refers to a mythic mountain commonly alluded to in Sufi poetry. Citing letters in this manner also points to the belief in the numeric significance given to features of the human face, likely derived from Ḥurūfism. See Gölpınarlı, ed., *Alevî-Bektaşî Nefesleri* 380-381 on the significance of these letters.

[408]Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 144-145 (from Ali Emîrî collection #631). For Minorsky's translation see Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1048-1049, corresponding with Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī* #252. See Appendix B: 4.

[409]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il I" 60.

Beware of deeming me as a separate entity,
As the beloved I have now come [*dilrübāyım*].[410]

By God, I was acutely desperate for the Shah,
Thank God, to the threshold I have now come.[411]

Interpretations of Ḥaṭā'ī's poetry which seek to discover precisely whom Shah Ismail "really" believed himself to be have resulted in contradictory conclusions. Ranging from legendary Iranian heroes to Solomon's signet ring, by virtue of his union with the beloved, the poet Ḥaṭā'ī is everything:

Today I have come to the world as a prince,
Know truly I sacrifice my soul for Ḥayder.

I am Ferīdūn, Ḥusrev, Cemşid and Żöḥḥāk
I am Rüstem of Zāl and Alexander.[412]

The mystery of *enā'l-ḥakk* is hidden here in my heart,
I am the Absolute Truth, what I say is Truth

My sign is my crown of happiness,
I am the ring on Solomon's finger.

Muḥammed is from the light, 'Alī is from the mystery,
I am the pearl in the sea of reality.

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[410]*Dīvān of Shah Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī* ms., transcription by Wheeler Thackston, #122, *beyt* 3. See Appendix B: 8.

[411]Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī* #171. See Appendix B: 3.

[412]According to Babayan, through reference to these figures, Shah Ismail "imagines himself to have lived through one full cycle of history that saw the initial glory, subjugation, and eventual rebirth of Iranian universal rule." See Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* xxx.

I am Ḥaṭāʼī, the Shah's imperfect slave,
At his gate, I am the least of his servants.[413]

Ḥaṭāʼī's poetic description of his union with the beloved, (translated above from the Tashkent *dīvān*) presented as a triumphant *fait accompli*, is of course, hardly an innovation of Shah Ismail's. Rather, it is recognizable as an example of the mystical expressive technique of *shaṭhiyyāt*. As al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) defines this technique:

[*Shaṭhiyyāt* are] broad, extravagant claims (made) in passionate love of God most high, in the union that is independent of outward actions, so that some go to the extent of claiming unification, rending of the veil, contemplative vision (of God), and oral conversation (with God) . . . . In this they resemble al-Husayn ibn Mansur al-Hallaj, who was crucified for uttering words of this kind, and they quote his saying, "I am the Truth."[414]

Expressions of *shaṭhiyyāt* (sing. *shaṭḥ*) take the nature of self as their point of departure.[415] As Ḥaṭāʼī refers to himself as a "pearl in the sea of Absolute Reality," and at the same time as "the smallest and last servant," it is virtually impossible to reconcile Ḥaṭāʼī's juxtaposition of polar opposites independent of the paradoxical logic guiding *shaṭhiyyāt*. Although generally understood as "ecstatic expressions" *shaṭhiyyāt* do not necessarily manifest during an ecstatic state. According to Ernst, "The majority [of *shaṭhiyyāt*] are admittedly answers to questions, written replies to letters, or actions

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[413]Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 408-409. Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʻīl Ḥaṭāʼī* #198. For Minorsky's translation see Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʻīl I" 1047. Appendix B: 9.

[414]From *Iḥyāʼ ʻUlum al-Dīn* as quoted in Carl Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* (Albany: State University of New York, 1985) 14.

[415]Carl Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* 18.

taken in response to some need."[416] Concerning Shah Ismail's medium of *shathiyyāt*, they are similarly generated during a state in which full control of the faculties are required such as the composition of classical *'arūz* poetry.

Although Hatā'ī's vocabulary and images conform to well-known classical *shath* expression, these expressions seem anachronistic from the pen of Shah Ismail. The archetypes of *shath* expression are represented by early, almost mythic figures such as Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī (d. circa 875),-- "Glory be to me" and al-Hallāj (executed 922)-- "I am the Divine Truth." Moreover, the extended commentaries and treatises on the subject also date from the classical period, such as Ruzbihan Baqlī's (d. 1209) *Sharh-i Shathiyyāt*. Therefore, the few studies which have dealt extensively with the phenomenon of *shathiyyāt,* most notably Carl Ernst's study, are limited in scope to the classical period of Sufism-- roughly from the ninth to the twelfth centuries-- and do not venture into its later developments.

According to Ernst, after the classical period, this form of "inspired speech" became a "conventional rhetorical device," formalized if not fossilized.[417] The post-classical development of *shathiyyāt* will not be outlined here; however, such an undertaking would find no lack of material in literary sources. For example, *shath* expression continued to serve as a mode of poetic expression among the so-called "popular" Anatolian dervish groups of the late middle period. As Schimmel states:

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[416]Carl Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* 48.

[417]Carl Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* 6.

The poets in this tradition liked to identify themselves with everything created and claimed that in one moment they were Jesus, in the next Moses, that they were now the flood and now Noah. Such expressions are common among Turkish Bektashi poets in the succession of Yunus Emre.[418]

In the Anatolian mystical tradition, *shath* expressions are not limited to poetry, but also appear in the more classical form of quotations collected by the disciple of the *shath* master. We are told in the *Vilāyentāme-i Sulṭān Otmān*, written by a disciple of Otmān Bābā in 1493, of the Anatolian saint's specific expressions of self-aggrandizement. Otmān Bābā also employed the Azeri idiom, and uses similar language to Ḥaṭāʾī's: he is recorded as proclaiming to be the "*sırr-i ḥaḳḳ*" (mystery of divine truth).[419] The following verses celebrate Otmān Bābā's triumph over his enemies through use of violent imagery:

You, power of God, master of the age,
You take the life of those who deny.
When you give a blow with the hand of divine power,
The oppressor realizes his place before you.[420]

The poet and martyr Nesīmī (d. 1404-1405) is often cited as the single-most direct literary influence on Shah Ismail's poetry. A follower, and likely a direct disciple of Fażl Allāh Ḥurūfī (d. 1394), Nesīmī was also executed like his master, possibly as a

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[418]Annemarie Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982) 158.

[419]İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilāyentāmesi" 213.

[420]İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An Analysis of the Otman Baba Vilāyentāmesi" 210.

result of his heretical utterances.[421] Nesīmī's influence on the poetry of Shah Ismail

has also led to frequent speculation that Shah Ismail was also a Ḥurūfī adept.[422]

In his poetry, Shah Ismail, like Nesīmī, explicitly cites the *shaṭḥiyyāt* of al-

Ḥallāj. By recalling this famous martyr both by name and through his immortalized

expressions, a wealth of poetic images is constructed, often hinging on the

commonalties of the mystical experience of al-Ḥallāj and of the poet himself, as in the

following quatrain attributed to Nesīmī:

O heart, the truth is in thee, the Truth is in thee!
Declare the truth, for "I am the Truth" ("Anā al-ḥaqq") is in thee!
The Absolute Truth, the Absolute Essence is in thee!
By all that is true! the writing of the Book is in thee![423]

Both Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry and his poetry in the syllabic meter make

frequent reference to the iconic master of *shaṭḥ*, al-Ḥallāj. The following translation

from the Tashkent *dīvān* follows the *ġazel*'s more traditional dialectic, subordinating the

lover to the beloved through the beloved's conflation with the image of the sovereign or

Shah:[424]

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[421]Kathleen R. F. Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimī Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi: With Annotated Translations of the Turkic and Persian Quatrains from the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa MS* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972) 29.

[422]See Yazıcı, "Şah İsmail."

[423]Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesimī Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi* 119.

The Shah who amazes and bewilders me
Is the Shah who tours the recesses of my heart.

You have scorned me, cast me into the world,
You are the Shah who has caused my eyes to weep bitterly.

He who conquered the entire world,
Is the Shah who created Yezīd's people and Muslims both.

He who became a nightingale and wandered the rose garden
Is the Shah who caused my bitter weeping outside.

In his heart, Manṣūr cries out "I am the Truth,"
Yet the Shah crucifies Manṣūr.

The Shah, with Yezīd's hand,
Sacrifices Ḥasan and Ḥüseyn in Karbelā'.

He who rescued Joseph from the well of calamity,
Is the Shah who made him Sultan in the land of Egypt.

In his eye the only thing shining is the sun,
He made a rose bed out of the gardens of the world.

To the faces of the blameless his face is the sun,
Yet the Shah conceals the sun.

From the hand of the brave lion in Daşt-ı Arzan,[425]
The Shah protects Selmān Fārsī.[426]

Ḥaṭā'ī desires longing from you,
Again, the Shah keeps the records on Judgment Day.[427]

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[424]On the image of the sovereign as symbol for the divine, See Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* 91-101.

[425]Daşt-i Arzan, the birthplace of Salmān Fārsī according to some legendary accounts. See Sayyed 'Alī Āl-e Dāwūd, "Dašt-e Aržan," *Encyclopaedia Iranica.*

[426]A loyal companion of 'Alī's, Salmān Fārsī was a Persian convert to Islam and remains a figure of devotion for Iranian Shī'īs. The legend and significance of Salmān Fārsī became integral to the Alevi-Bektashi poetic and ritual tradition as well.

[427]Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 444-445; Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī* #204; See appendix B: 10.

Kathleen Burrill mentions the specific references to Nesīmī in Shah Ismail's poetry to further demonstrate the link between these two poets of the southern Turkish idiom.[428] However, it must be understood that references to Nesīmī are not found in Shah Ismail's older *dīvāns*, thus calling their authenticity into question. The following poem in the syllabic meter bearing Ḥaṭāʾī's *maḫlaṣ* contains a specific reference to Nesīmī and even alludes to his gruesome means of execution:

The cup we drank,
Is the cup of the *eren*,[429]
What has entered and gone in the sea,
is the ship of the *eren*.

A great city's *bedestan*,[430]
A garden of red flowers,
Those drunkards with bloodshot eyes
Are the protectors of my *pir* Ali.

He who says thus,
Who takes council from *eren*,
Who comes donning a green banner,
Is my *pir* Ali himself.

Shah Hatayi, behold the grace of God,
Put the rope on the neck of Mansur,
Nesimî became *Hak* with *Hak*,
He is that flayed flesh of his.[431]

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[428]Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesīmī Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi* 84.

[429]An honorific designation for one who has achieved a degree of spiritual accomplishment in the ranks of the *ṭarīqat*.

[430]The inner-most chamber of a bazaar in which the most precious and valuable goods, usually jewels, are stored and sold.

[431]Pertev Naili Boratav, ed., *İzahlı Halk Şiiri Antolojisi* (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1943) 72. See Appendix B: 11.

According to Burrill, the comparison of Shah Ismail to Nesīmī can only be taken to a point. The stark contrast between the two is in that Shah Ismail's expressions of self-exaltation constitute "the words of a warrior-poet pressing his divine rights as king, not those of the intoxicated mystic treading the road to martyrdom at Aleppo."[432] Shah Ismail's expressions of apotheosis are "more insistent, more unmistakably personal than are Nesīmī's."[433] If there were any doubting Ḫaṭā'ī's identity in the temporal world:

Know for certain that Ḫaṭā'ī is of divine nature [*ḫüdāyīdür* Ḫaṭā'ī]
That he is related to Muḥammad Muṣṭafā.

He is issued from Ṣafī, he is the scion of Cunayd (and) Ḥayder,
He is related to 'Alī Mürtażā.[434]

Shah Ismail's worldly success fortifies the resistance to viewing his self-glorifying poetry from a mystical or otherwise other-worldly perspective. Practitioners of *shaṭḥ* are scorned, persecuted and flayed, but rarely, if ever, are they crowned Shah. Glorified rather than rejected by his society, and in contrast to the fate of the most well-know *shaṭḥ* practitioners, Shah Ismail's poetry is seen as a literal reflection of his personal beliefs as well as those of his followers.

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[432]Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesīmī Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi* 84.

[433]Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesīmī Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi* 82.

[434]Minorsky's translation, Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1043, corresponding with *beyt*s 1 and 2 in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* #24.

In the secondary literature on Shah Ismail's poetry, it has been repeatedly emphasized that only the Paris *dīvān* contains substantial references to Shah Ismail's extraordinary beliefs in his existential identity. This section has refined this assertion by emphasizing that while not to the extent as seen the Paris *dīvān*, these expressions are included other sources as well. The following poem is replete with *shaṭḥiyyāt*, both through classical examples and in the poet's own expression. This composition is unique, however, because it is not included in the Paris *dīvān*. Rather, it is found in the Tashkent *dīvān* as well as in the Ali Emîrî collection of Alevi-Bektashi religious verse:

Before there was earth, before there was sky, since the beginning of time I was existent.
For years I was a compass, encircling your incomparable gem.

I rendered the gem like water, it permeated the world end to end,
I veiled the sky, the earth and the throne of God from the beloved.

At one time, with Ḥüseyn, the accusers flayed my skin,
At one time I wore Manṣūr's clothes, I declared *enā'l-ḥakk* in the gallows.[435]

I wore the garments of man, so that no one knew my secret,
I was in that house of God since the beginning of time.

I came to 18,000 revolving worlds,
And I was a commander, a commander with God.

From His world, I knew His secret and He knew mine,
I stoked the fires of hell under the sea.

I am Ḥaṭā'ī, I know *ḥakk* as *ḥakk*,
And I was present thus at the beginning of creation.[436]

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[435]This *beyt* refers to al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj.

CONCLUSION

Ḥaṭā'ī's dominant mystical orientation is not without precedent in the poetic forms common to *dīvān* literature. However, Ḥaṭā'ī's approach to the *ġazel* form is unconventional in many instances. These compositions stand out from the most common ethereal *ġazel* scenes in their militaristic orientation and violent imagery. Ḥaṭā'ī also defies classical *ġazel* paradigms by expressing a union of the lover with the beloved, rather than a struggle on behalf of the lover to achieve this elusive goal. Works displaying this unique dramatic paradigm have been viewed primarily from the perspective of their external effects on Shah Ismail's followers rather than internal strategy. Thus their claims are taken literally, limited to this small window of historical circumstance. Further ventures into Shah Ismail's *dīvān* must take into account a wider accommodation of these verses, beyond the literal truth, beyond cynically-motivated delusions of grandeur extending to the reception of this poetry beyond the battlefield.

In any future critical edition of Shah Ismail's *dīvān*, the Paris manuscript can no longer serve as the sole basis. In addition to the Tashkent and Sackler Gallery manuscripts, which pre-date that of Paris, manuscripts of later origin should also be consulted. An inclusive approach to Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry would give further insight into the accommodation of Shah Ismail's expressions of self-glory beyond his lifetime and into the post-messianic phase of his cult.

Undoubtedly, the self-glorifying aspects of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* will continue to occupy those interested in the means by which the Safavids gained power. However,

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[436]Translated from Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 372-373; Also included in Ergun, ed.,

Ḥaṭā'ī's persona in Alevi-Bektashi tradition lies beyond the *dīvāns* and beyond self-glory. A transformation of Shah Ismail's image also emerged from the remnant of the Qizilbash in Ottoman territory, not as a vehicle of propaganda but a means by which to express a piety and purpose beyond the battlefield.

Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri 154 (from Ali Emîrî #631). See Appendix B: 12.

CHAPTER V

ḤAṬĀʾĪ IN THE

ALEVI-BEKTASHI TRADITION

Contemporaneously with Vladimir Minorsky's discovery of the historical Shah

Ismail as revealed in the Paris *dīvān*, John Kingsley Birge, in his study of the Bektashi

order, drew attention a distinct poetic persona, also known by the name Ḥaṭāʾī, but

whose works remained relevant in a pious and liturgical context. As Birge explains,

Shah Ismail composed "Turkish religious verse of a quantity and character to make him

for over 400 years one of the most influential personages among both the Bektashis and

the Kizilbash."[437] Furthermore, Birge granted Shah Ismail's *dīvān* scant significance in

the context of the Alevi-Bektashi tradition, being among the first to note the

discrepancy between the poetry of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* and the poetry attributed to Shah

Ismail by the Alevi-Bektashi:

> To-day there is preserved a *Divan of Hatayı*, but far more important than that rare
> collection are the scattered *nefes*es found in practically every collection of Bektashi
> or Kizilbash verse. . . . Even if all the poems bearing his name are not authentic, the

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[437]Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 66.

very fact that imitators have used his name to gain favour for their own songs is a testimony to his influence. In Bektashi history he must be considered one of the most influential teachers and propagators of doctrine the order has ever had.[438]

Shah Ismail's works that Birge describes as "scattered *nefes*es" stand apart from the works of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* in both form and content. The term *nefes* (lit., breath) is the most common term applied to compositions associated with Alevi-Bektashi beliefs and ritual practice. Like the *ilāhī*, its counterpart in Sunni *tarīqats*, the *nefes* signifies a context for the poetry rather than any formal literary structure.[439] In this sense, *nefes* is a generic term for an Alevi-Bektashi poem. But the *nefes* is a diverse category, varied by formal structure and further classified by the specific strategy adopted; for example, the veneration of the Twelve *imāms* (*düvāz imām*) and commemoration of Karbalā' (*mersiye*) are among the most common of these specific *nefes*.

As Birge suggested, in this context, much of the poetry designated as *nefes* which bears the *mahlas* Ḥatāʾī is of dubious authenticity. The fact that Ḥatāʾī's *mahlas* has remained relevant since Shah Ismail's death exacerbates the problem of extracting Shah Ismail's authentic poetry from the vast quantity which Birge mentions. In this way, among those in search of the historical Shah Ismail, the determination of his authentic poetry has become a matter of debate. As will be shown, literary historians dismiss a large portion of the poetry attributed to Shah Ismail as inauthentic for several, mainly stylistic, reasons. However, the great extent of this poetry as well as its place in

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[438]Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 68-69.

[439]On the typology of the *ilāhī*, see Walter Feldman, "Mysticism, Didacticism and Authority in the Liturgical Poetry of the Halvetî Dervishes of Istanbul," *Edebiyat* 4 (1993): 243-265.

the Alevi-Bektashi tradition has not been given adequate attention. This chapter will first frame the problem of authenticity presented by the Ḥaṭā'ī of the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. By moving beyond the debate of "genuine" and "pseudo" Ḥaṭā'ī, we will also explore the *nefes* attributed to Shah Ismail and how these works can be seen in relation to Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry. In this discussion, we will present the *nefes* attributed to Shah Ismail contained the *Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār*,[440] as it is one of the earliest manuscripts containing Ḥaṭā'ī's extra-*dīvān* poetry.

PSEUDO-ḤAṬĀ'Ī, STYLE AND CATEGORY

In the Alevi-Bektashi tradition, the legacy of Shah Ismail's poetic persona, Ḥaṭā'ī, eclipses the Shah Ismail of historical record. While acknowledging Ḥaṭā'ī's identity to be that of the historical Shah Ismail, modern and contemporary Alevi writers nevertheless draw a distinction between the Safavid king and holy poet. In his comprehensive anthology of Ḥaṭā'ī's poetry, İbrahim Arslanoğlu observes that in modern Turkey, Shah Ismail's military campaigns are forgotten, but his words are remembered.[441] Viewed from this perspective, the question as to which poems are authentic is secondary if not irrelevant. Anthologies published in Turkey which feature Ḥaṭā'ī's works attest to this inclusiveness. With the exception of Arslanoğlu's anthology, these collections contain little critical analysis of authorship.

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[440] *Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār*, ms., Mevlânâ Müzesi, 1172.

[441] Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 15.

The vast scope of poetry attributed to Shah Ismail is reflected by the host of explanations accounting for the meaning of his *nom de plume*. According one widely-accepted explanation, Shah Ismail derived the name "Khaṭā'ī" from the medieval Persian placename for China, "Khaṭā(y)."[442] Among the Alevi-Bektashi, however, the association of Shah Ismail's *maḫlaṣ* with the concept of "error" is more pervasive, deriving from the Turkish "*ḫaṭa.*"

Elaborate speculation on the significance of the latter poetic identity abound, tracing the conception of the pen-name back to an incident which occurred during Shah Ismail's visit to Ḥusayn's shrine in Karbalā'. As the story goes, while in the vicinity of Ḥusayn's tomb, Ismail came upon the tomb of al-Ḥurr, a former partisan of the Umayyad Yazīd, who had eventually turned his loyalties to Ḥusayn. After his death, al-Ḥurr was interred with Ḥusayn's kerchief because his wound miraculously continued to pour blood. In any event, Ismail ordered al-Ḥurr's tomb to be relocated. However, upon opening the tomb, Ismail witnessed the gravity of his error by the renewed flow of blood from al-Ḥurr's wound.[443]

Whatever the significance given to his pen name, it has been widely acknowledged for some time that poets continued to compose under the *maḫlaṣ* Ḫaṭā'ī long after Shah Ismail's death in a poetic tradition spanning centuries. Writing in 1914,

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[442]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il I" 60. See also Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1028. Arslanoğlu relates a tradition in which Shah Ismail styled his pen name to mimic the name of 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī (d. 1501), as he was an admirer of this Chaghatay poet. Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 14.

[443]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 14-15. For similar accounts see Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 68; Aubin, "L'avènement des Safavides reconsidéré" 38. According to another explanation, the name Ḫaṭā'i derives from a particular textile from India in which different fabrics are interwoven, reflective of Shah Ismail's synthesis of disparate systems

Rıza Tevfik, a pioneer of Bektashi literary studies, judged the language of a particular work bearing the *mahlas* of Hatā'ī to be of Istanbul Turkish, written by a contemporary.[444] Fuad Köprülü likens the proliferation of Hatā'ī to the works attributed to Yūnus Emre and Ahmed Yesevī, in whose names poetry was also produced centuries after their deaths.[445] Additions to a historical poet's body of works post-mortem is part of the phenomenon of the oral transmission of mystical-religious poetry, widely employed for liturgical use. According to Annemarie Schimmel, this is a common characteristic associated with Anatolian mystical poets whose body of works include "additions from later poets, and many of them reflect rather a whole tradition-- that of poems sung in the tekkes, the centers of Sufi life-- than the original work of a single poet."[446]

Beyond the exclusion of these works from Shah Ismail's recognized *dīvāns*, modern literary criticism has also established principles guiding the authentication of works attributed to Shah Ismail. Historical-literary criticism of pre-modern Western Turkish literature has traditionally adhered the division of poetry into classes termed "*dīvān*," "*tekke*," and "folk." Although the terminology of these categories vary-- for example, the terms "court," "mystical-religious" and "secular folk" are alternatively employed-- the categories themselves are generally upheld.[447] These categories

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of belief. See A. Celâlettin Ulusoy, ed., *Yedi Ulu'lar: Nesimî, Hatayî Fuzulî, Yeminî, Viranî, Pîr Sultan Abdal, Kul Himmet* (Ankara: Ajans-Türk Matbaacılık Sanayii, 1989) 31.

[444]Tevfik, "Gizli Fakat Ruhlu, Canlı bir Edebiyat" 82.

[445]Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar* 301.

[446]Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* 330.

[447]See Gönül Alpaytekin, "'Othmānlı. III: Literature," *Encylopaedia of Islam*, New Edition; Ahmet T. Karamustafa, "Muslim Literature in Persian and Turkish," *The Muslim Almanac: A Reference Work on the History, Faith, Culture and Peoples of Islam*, ed. Azim A. Nanji (Detroit: Gale Research, 1996) 349-

outline a graduating body of low and high literature; indeed some refer to the styles along the lines of their "learned" and "unlearned" authors, a distinction which in any case is always implied.[448]

The category of *dīvān* poetry is typically contextualized within urban elite society. The transmission of this poetry was initially through Persian, the language of this urban elite. As Western Turkish developed as a literary language in its own right, poets adopted Persian models with little alteration creating *dīvān* poetry in Turkish. Once adapted to Turkish, this style of poetry preserved its Persian foundation in form and content. Turkish *dīvān* poetry employed classical formal structures such as the *ġazel, ḳaṣīde, mesnevī* and *rubāʿī*[449]-- forms which are all composed according to the classical *ʿarūż* meter, based on the regular patterning of long and short syllables.[450] Classifying Turkish poetry as a branch of Persian poetry, E. J. W. Gibb divides the

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350; Fahir İz, "Turkish Literature," *The Further Islamic Lands, Islamic Society and Civilization*, vol. 2 of the *Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978) 688.

[448]Cemal Kurnaz, "A View on Turkish Literature of the Ottoman Period in Terms of Commons of Folk and Divan Literatures," *Culture and Arts*, vol. 4 of *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, 4 vols. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000) 176.

[449]On the *ġazel*, see chapter IV. The Turkish *ḳaṣīde* (Arabic: *qaṣīda*) is usually longer in length than the *ġazel*, ranging from 14-100 *beyts* and is composed of several fixed episodes. It is a poem composed for the purpose of praise, taking as its object both sacred and profane subjects, including a mortal patron, God, the Prophet or ʿAlī. Andrews, *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* 146-147. Unlike lyric poems such as the *ġazel* and *ḳaṣīde*, the *mesnevī* (Arabic: *mathnawī*) is classified as a narrative or epic poem. The *mesnevī* form is generally associated with romantic and heroic subjects, but especially in the Sufi tradition, the *mesnevī* has been a vehicle for the theoretic exposition of mystical thought, as in the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī-- the primary example of this type of *mesnevī*. Ḫaṭāʾī's *mesnevī* known as the *Naṣīhatnāme* is similarly didactic. On the *mesnevī* in Turkish see Victoria Rowe Holbrook, *The Unreadable Shores of Love: Turkish Modernity and Mystic Romance* (Austin: University of Texas, 1994) 8-9. The *rubāʿī* is a quatrain stanzaic form, in which four-half lines compose a single free-standing poem. Other stanzaic forms include the *murabbaʿ* which employs quatrains in the stanzas, and the *müseddes* which employs six-line stanzas. Shah Ismail's Paris *dīvān*, beyond the dominant *ḳaṣīde-ġazel* stanzaic forms, includes one *murabbaʿ*, one *müseddes* and three *mesnevīs* in addition to the single poem in the syllabic meter. The Tashkent *dīvān* also includes a selection of *rubāʿī* which the Paris *dīvān* omits.

[450]On the treatment of *ʿarūż* prosody in Turkish, see Andrews, *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* 14-45.

stages in the development of Turkish poetry based on how closely the imitation to Persian poetry was achieved.[451] Following Gibb, traditional literary criticism considers Turkish *dīvān* poetry, which reached its apogee in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to be "Persianate in imagery if not Persian in language."[452] The works contained in Ḥaṭā'ī's *dīvāns* are thus seen within the perimeters of this category: "Most of [Ḥaṭā'ī's] *ghazels*. . . are indistinguishable in conventional imagery and vocabulary from other contemporary Persianate poetry."[453]

However, the majority of the works bearing the *maḫlaṣ* of Ḥaṭā'ī within the Alevi-Bektashi context must also be categorized beyond *dīvān* literature extending to the categories of *tekke* and folk poetry. "*Tekke*" poetry is sometimes referred to as "popular mystical" poetry as opposed to the "high" mystical poetry in which the forms and prosody conform to classical *dīvān* poetry. However, *tekke* poetry frequently conforms to folk poetry in formal structure and its employment of the prosody in the syllabic meter, which is based on the number of syllables in a line. Often these two categories are merged, as in the "religious poetry in the folk idiom" of Schimmel's study.[454] The classification of *tekke* poetry also indicates a context within the dervish lodge, or *tekke*. According to William Hickman, in distinction to "high Persianized urban poetry" *tekke* poetry refers neither to a societal class nor a formal literary genre. Hickman describes the category in terms of dervish sectarianism, as "instructional and confessional, didactic and devotional. . . . Rarely without a message, tekke poetry is

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[451]E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, ed. Edward G. Browne, 6 vols. (London: Luzac, 1902-1909) 2: xxxiv.

[452]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il I" 37.

[453]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il I" 37.

sometimes and undisguised partisan call to follow the way of a particular Sufi master."[455]

The pioneering scholars in the field of pre-modern Turkish literature presented criticisms of both *tekke* and *dīvān* poetry for their perceived literary shortcomings. According to Alessio Bombaci, *tekke* poetry is a genre of cultural interest yet "low artistic quality."[456] Conversely, Turkish literary scholars during the early Republican period criticized *dīvān* poets for what they perceived as their slavish imitation of Persian and Arabic models. So regarded, Turkish *dīvān* poetry generated little interest if not disparagement among Turkish literary scholars, whose primary task was the reconstruction of the development of Turkish "national" literature.[457] In this way, literary innovation as well as the true voice of the Turkish character were located in poetry composed according the simpler folk styles in the syllabic meter. Tracing the style back to the influential central Asian mystic, Aḥmed Yesevī (d.1166), this category of poetry achieved its height of expression in Yūnus Emre (d.1321). While Western literary historians such as Bombaci and Gibb dismissed this popular "lowbrow" poetic style, the Turkish literary establishment led by Fuad Köprülü valued this poetry as the unadulterated expressions of the Turkish people. As Köprülü articulates this approach of historical literary criticism in discussing the early development of mystical poetry in Western Turkish:

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[454]Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* 148.

[455]William Hickman, "An Allegorical Poem of a Tekke Poet," *Dervish Lodge: Architecture, art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) 203-204.

[456]Bombaci, "The Turkic Literatures: Introductory Notes on the History and Style" 2: lviii

[457]See Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* 14-16.

These [initial] poets composed their works in the 'arūd metre and in imitation of the Persian mystics. But the mystic movement in Asia Minor was not confined to producing works of no originality. It also created a new kind of poetry, which was purely Turkish and original, in the language of the people, in syllabic metre and in forms suitable for a popular literature. [Aḥmed] Yesewî and his pupils had a great influence on the genesis of this last poetry. Yunus Emre was the greatest representative of this genre. . . . His art is essentially one of the people, i. e., it is Turkish.[458]

More recent scholarship, however, has noted both the limitations and unfortunate consequences in the field of Turkish literary studies resulting from these traditional literary constructs. As Walter Andrews and Victoria Rowe Holbrook have shown through their respective studies, Turkish dîvān poetry has become unjustly under-valued.[459] To balance the bias impressed upon this paradigm, Andrews, in collaboration with Irene Markoff, have demonstrated the pervasiveness of traditional high literary culture beyond the isolated court scene (and its poets) into Ottoman-Turkish society generally.[460] These studies evidence a re-evaluation of traditional literary paradigms in favor of approaching pre-modern Turkish poetry in terms of commonalties of content rather than contrast of style to the enrichment of the analysis of poetry in all categories, whether "dîvān" or "folk."[461]

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[458]Köprülü, "Turks: III. Ottoman Turkish."

[459]Rowe Holbrook, *The Unreadable Shores of Love: Turkish Modernity and Mystic Romance* 23; Victoria Rowe Holbrook, "A Technology of Reference: *Divan* and Anti-*Divan* in the Reception of a Turkish Poet," *Edebiyat* 4 (1993): 49-61; Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry.*

[460]See Walter G. Andrews and Irene Markoff, "Poetry, the Arts, and Group Ethos in the Ideology of the Ottoman Empire," *Edebiyat* 1 (1987): 28-70.

[461]See Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* 176-183.

Still others, as far back as Köprülü, have noted the flexibility of pre-modern Turkish poets in their application of disparate styles as well as the common themes and imagery among the various categories.[462] Some of the most celebrated poets demonstrate the inflexibility of traditional literary paradigms when applied stringently. Although hailed as the most towering example of a mystical-folk poet, Yūnus Emre, for example, also composed in the high style of *dīvān* poetry.[463] Other poets are also classified and anthologized within more than one "mutually antagonistic categories of literary production."[464] Poets such as such as Nesīmī (d. 1418) and Fużūlī (d. 1556), while associated with the *dīvān* tradition, are also a part of the *tekke*-- and in this case heterodox *tekke* tradition. Nesīmī and Fużūlī, along with Ḥaṭāʾī, are considered to be among the "the seven exalted bards" (*yedi ulu ozan*) of Alevi-Bektashi literature.[465]

As explained earlier, Turkish *dīvān* poetry consists of poetic forms in *'arūż* meter-- a quantitative poetic meter which is based on set patterns of short and long syllables. Much of the *tekke* and all folk poetic forms are composed according to the syllabic meter (*hece vezni*), which is considered to be the original, pre-Islamic system of poetic meter in Turkish.[466] This is a relatively simple form of composition in which the lines of the poem conform to a certain number of syllables. However, prosody alone

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[462]Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* 151, 168; Köprülü, "Turks: III. Ottoman Turkish"; Kurnaz, "A View on Turkish Literature of the Ottoman Period in Terms of Commons of Folk and Divan Literatures" 191.

[463]Talât Halman, "Yunus Emre's Humanism," *Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry*, ed. Talât Halman (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1981) 6; Annemarie Schimmel, "Yunus Emre," *Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry* 63.

[464]Rowe Holbrook, "A Technology of Reference: *Divan* and Anti-*Divan* in the Reception of a Turkish Poet" 50.

[465]For a comparison see, Ulusoy, ed., *Yedi Ulu'lar: Nesimî, Hatayî Fuzulî, Yeminî, Viranî, Pîr Sultan Abdal, Kul Himmet.*

is not an absolute standard by which to judge the authenticity of works attributed to Shah Ismail. Not only was it common practice to compose works according to both systems of meter, but suspect works attributed to Shah Ismail that are not included in older versions of his *dīvān* also extend to include *'arūż* poetry in classical forms as well.[467]

The question as to which poems may be presumed to be the authentic works of Shah Ismail has generated several opinions. The partisans of these views have intimate knowledge of the body of works in question, as they have all collected, anthologized and published Ḥaṭā'ī's works in some way. Sadeddin Nüzhet Ergun examined the question of Shah Ismail's authentic works at length in the first major collection of Ḥaṭā'ī which he edited.[468] As noted previously, Ergun had assembled his collection from various Istanbul manuscripts of mixed contents rather than from a *dīvān*. And indeed most of the works in this collection are independent of Shah Ismail's *dīvāns*. It is of Ergun's opinion, however, that very few of the poems circulating in Turkey, including those in syllabic meter (*hece vezni*), are of suspect authenticity. While acknowledging the existence of pseudo-Ḥaṭā'ī, Ergun is nevertheless skeptical of its ubiquity. Indeed, in Ergun's estimation, the use of syllabic meter distinguishes Shah Ismail from other Azeri poets. Unlike his contemporaries who only composed in *'arūż* meter, Shah Ismail also composed in the "popular" poetic form of *hece vezni*. Ergun, like other modern Turkish

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[466]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1020.

[467]In fact, syllabic poems in the folk styles are also attributed to other "classical" poets, Nesīmī especially. Their works are also met with the problem of authentication in much the same way as Ḥaṭā'ī's. See Burrill, *The Quatrains of Nesīmī Fourteenth-Century Turkic Hurufi. With Annotated Translations of the Turkic and Persian Quatrains from the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa MS 33*.

[468]Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri*.

literary scholars, gives special significance to compositions in the syllabic meter. These works constitute, according to Ergun, Shah Ismail's most original contributions.[469] Ergun also rejects the contention that those poems with specifically Bektashi references are spurious.[470] He stands against the dismissal of works such as following, which makes frequent appearance in modern anthologies, and would be seen as blatant example of a later creation of a "lesser poet" from the Bektashi milieu:

Day and night I long for your apparition,
Enter my dream one night, Hacı Bektaş,
I am a sinner, draped with sin,
I have dragged myself to the gallows, interrogate me Hacı Bektaş.

What is the cure for the pain of this pathetic creature?
The heart's wound has opened anew,
The cure for his pain does not heal,
This is your servant, embrace him, Hacı Bektaş.

The tip of my wound is the cure of my pain,
There are four groups among the saved,[471]
The belt on your waist and the crown on your head
Are the lights gleaning on your face Hacı Bektaş.

Sometimes you become the clouds and ascend to the sky,
Sometimes you become the rain and fall to the ground,
Are you the moon? Are you the sun? You are born of blood,
Softly blows the wind, Hacı Bektaş.

Wretched Hatayi supplicates,
he exalted *pir* does not separate the flock,
This is Judgment Day, I seek you,
You are the intercessor before Muhammed, Hacı Bektaş.[472]

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[469]Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 25.

[470]Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 18-19.

[471]According to Gölpınarlı, ed., *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 70, this line refers to the *ahî* (a member of a guild fraternity) *ġāzî*, *abdāl* (category of anti-nomian dervish) and *bacı* (female associates of a dervish order). On Shah Ismail's use of these "social forces" of Saljūq Anatolia in his poetry, see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* 176.

To further ground the works attributed to Ḥaṭāʾī in their historical context, Ergun suggests that the use of syllabic meter was a sort of artistic concession made by Shah Ismail in order to propagate Safavid dogma in Anatolia. Ergun takes Minorsky's logic further-- whereas Minorsky attributes Shah Ismail's choice of Turkish to considerations of efficient propaganda, Ergun contends that the poetic style was as important as language in the dissemination of propaganda during Ismail's lifetime.[473] Others have also echoed this notion that specifically the popular syllabic style of poetry was employed to win Safavid adherents and to rally them in battle.[474] Potential Safavid partisans, it would seem, were not receptive to the classical style of 'arūż poetry which constituted Shah Ismail's dīvān. However, this scenario is problematic if one confines Ḥaṭāʾī's genuine works to a particular dīvān. As shown in the previous chapter, the alternative view holds that the classical ġazel constituted the principle poetic form of Safavid propaganda during Shah Ismail's lifetime.[475]

The anthology assembled by Azizaga Memedov which is based on the Tashkent manuscript of Shah Ismail's dīvān, is another important collection weighing in on this issue.[476] While making a convincing argument for the early date of the Tashkent

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[472]This version is translated from Gölpınarlı, ed., *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 69-70. For Turkish text and other references, see Appendix C: 1.

[473]Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 25.

[474]Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* 138; Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 18-19; Irène Mélikoff, *Hadji Bektach, un mythe et ses avatars: genèse et évolution du soufisme populaire en Turquie* 226.

[475]Thackston, "The *Diwan* of Khata'i: Pictures for the Poetry of Shah Isma'il I" 37; Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, ed., *Tekke Şiiri Antolojisi Türk Edebiyatında Dinî ve Tasavvufî Şiirler* (Ankara: Buluş Kitabevi, 1955) 173.

[476]Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari.*

dīvān, Memedov does not regard this *dīvān* as exclusively authentic, but insists that Hatā'i was also a major composer in the syllabic meter. The contents of the publication reflect Memedov's inclusive approach as it features works beyond the Tashkent *dīvān* proper, many of which are in the syllabic meter. Memedov reconciles this disparity of styles by suggesting that Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry was assembled for the court elite, while his poetry in the folk style, accompanied by music, spread among the masses.[477] Shah Ismail's accommodation of the simpler folk style is echoed by other scholars of Azeri literature, citing Shah Ismail as the first poet of note to reflect the language of the common people.[478]

Mention should also be made of recent published collections of Hatā'i's poetry in Turkey given new impetus by the "Alevi revival" of recent years which has witnessed the great proliferation of literature on the religious foundations of Alevi identity. These recent collections, like Ergun's publication, are assembled from domestic sources of Hatā'i's poetry rather from the *dīvāns* located outside Turkey which are listed in the previous chapter. As one would expect, these collections are inclusive in their presentation of works attributed to Shah Ismail, for it is Hatā'i's place within the Alevi-Bektashi tradition which is their primary concern. Hatā'i's disparity of styles is seen in terms of two voices within one poet, rather than in terms of "genuine" and "pseudo" Hatā'i. Nejat Birdoğan's recent anthology includes both 'arūz and syllabic forms, without regard as to what the editor considers to be authentic.[479] İsmail Özmen, in his comprehensive anthology of Alevi-Bektashi poetry, casts Shah Ismail as a classical

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[477]Memedov, "Şah İsmail Hatainin Edebi Tesiri" 306.

[478]Caferoğlu, "Âdharî: ii. Literature."

Azeri poet, as well as a *tekke* poet with his style in the syllabic meter. The poetry in

'*arūż* meter does not necessarily represent the more authentic works of Shah Ismail, but

rather the poet's classical poetic "voice."[480] Asım Bezirci similarly sees two poetic

voices within Shah Ismail, the one of '*arūż* and the one of simpler forms, however, he

locates the "original" voice in the works expressed in the simple folk style.[481]

Turkhan Gandgei stands opposed to these inclusive views at the other end of the

spectrum regarding pseudo- Hatā'i, and became the foremost advocate for an exclusive

view of Shah Ismail's Paris *dīvān*. Gandgei traces the proliferation of pseudo- Hatā'i to

an early date-- as far back as the mission of the Venetian Michele Membré to the

Safavid court of Shāh Tahmāsp during the years 1539-1452.[482]   In describing a

Qizilbash wedding, Membré relates that songs sung "in praise of the Shah" are

attributed to Shah Ismail and are themselves designated as "Khatā'ı."[483]

Gandgei, and those sharing his high estimation of the Paris *dīvān*, regard any

compositions beyond this *dīvān* as suspect. As Gandgei also bases his discernment on

prosody, he maintains that pseudo- Hatā'i poetry arose in the style of syllabic meter.

However, as Minorsky first discovered, an anomalous feature of the Paris *dīvān* is the

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[479]Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai.*

[480]İsmail Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi*, 5 vols. (Ankara: Saypa Yayınları, 1995) 2: 135-136.

[481]Asım Bezirci, ed., *Türk Halk Şiiri: Tarihçesi, Kaynakları Şairleri ve Seçme Şiirleri* (İstanbul: Say Yayınları, 1993) 119.

[482]Gandgei, "Ismā'īl I: 2. His Poetry."

[483]Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)* 42.

inclusion of the following poem, which is the only poem of the Paris *dīvān* in the

syllabic meter:[484]

Say Allah Allah *ġāzīs*!
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!
Come across to meet me,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

I am the bird of paradise,
I am a commander over legions of soldiers,
I am the comrade of the Sufis,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

In whatever soil you plant me I grow,
Wherever you call me, I arrive,
I take the hands of the Sufis,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

I was in the gallows with Manṣūr,[485]
I was in the fires with Ḫalīl,[486]
I was with Moses on Sinai,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

From the eve come forth,
Celebrate the New Year, reach the Shah,
Prostrate yourselves, *ġāzīs*,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

With a red crown and a gray horse,
With the fearsome soldiers of the Prophet's family,
With the appearance of the Prophet Joseph,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

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[484]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1020.

[485]Referring to Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj.

[486]The "fire" refers to the casting of Abraham (Ḫalīl) in a pit of fire at the hands of Namrūd, identified as the sovereign persecutor of Abraham in the Qurʾān. Miraculously, the fire had no physical effect on him. Gölpınarlı, ed., *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 94.

I am Ḥaṭā'ī, on the red horse,
I am as sweet as his words of sugar,
I am with 'Alī Mürtażā,
Say I am the Shah, ġāzīs![487]

Rather than this allowing for the possibility of other authentic works in the syllabic meter, Gandgei instead cites the inclusion of the above composition as evidence for the exclusion of all other poems in the syllabic meter from the body of Shah Ismail's authentic works.[488] That is, because the Paris dīvān does indeed contain a poem of the hece vezni, those outside the Paris dīvān are suspect. In Gandgei's view, the common characterization of Ḥaṭā'i as "the most didactic poet of Alavi-Bektashi literature who composed his poems mainly in syllabic metre" is based on false assumptions and dubious texts.[489]

Conversely, Gölpıarlı, by retaining the possibility that the poetry in the syllabic meter is rightfully attributed, suggests a scenario for the transmission and proliferation of this poetry in a style beyond the classical poetic idiom:

[Shah Ismail's] poetry which is recited according to the hece vezni in particular was transmitted orally. Although its [original] dialect and form became lost, his poetry was always preserved. In addition, this poetry had the capability of becoming widespread-- in Azerbayjan and within the Ehl-i Hak and the Ali-Allahi sects-- doubtless asserting themselves in spite of the expounders of Imâmî doctrine. This poetry spread as far as Ottoman territory among the Alevi-Bektashi, from mouth to mouth, from folk collection to folk collection, it has come down to the present day as a heritage. During this time, the manner of recitation, and even some words became lost from this poetry and poems that were not Hatayi's also became integrated. In fact, Alevis treat the mahlas of Hatayi with such exception and it has

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[487]Gandjei, ed., Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī #20. Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1043; See Appendix C: 2.

[488]Gandjei, "Pseudo-Khaṭā'i " 265.

[489]Gandjei, "Pseudo-Khaṭā'ī" 265.

become so universal that whenever a poet recites a poem, he is asked, "Who is this poem's Hatayi?" And during [their] assemblies, whenever a poem is recited bearing the *mahlas* of Hatayi the women stand and the men kneel. Of course, this custom is reserved particularly for poems which recall the twelve Imams, but it is also a custom for every poem of Hatayi's.[490]

Like Gandgei, Arslanoğlu also takes an exclusive stance on Ḥaṭā'i's genuine works, however, he confines these compositions to the Tashkent *dīvān*. And because the poem in the syllabic meter of the Paris *dīvān* cited above is absent in the Tashkent *dīvān*, he regards any syllabic poetry attributed to Ḥaṭā'i as suspect.[491] At the same time, Arslanoğlu gives utmost significance to Ḥaṭā'i's extra-*dīvān* corpus, recognizing the fact that in Turkey Ḥaṭā'i signifies the *mahlas* more than the historical sovereign. Arslanoğlu terms pseudo- Ḥaṭā'i "Anadolu Hatayîleri" which he characterizes as a tradition in its own right.[492] Arslanoğlu's collection reflects this principle as it includes the most comprehensive assembly of pseudo-Ḥaṭā'i to date, presented in addition to the contents of his Tashkent *dīvān*.

Approaching the corpus attributed to Shah Ismail in terms of a "Ḥaṭā'i tradition" is also seen among scholars of other pre-modern Turkish poets in order to move beyond an impasse in establishing a body of genuine works, which is an insoluble problem in many if not all cases. The works attributed to Yūnus Emre, for example, are seen as a "collective poetic entity" or a as poetic tradition which constitutes his body of works as they proliferated.[493] In the same way we will leave aside a definitive judgment

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[490]Gölpınarlı, ed., *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 17-18.

[491]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* vii.

[492]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 335.

[493]Halman, "Yunus Emre's Humanism" 10.

regarding the body of Shah Ismail's authentic works, and turn now to the collective

production of works attributed to Ḥaṭā'i beginning with those selections included in an

early manuscript version of the *Buyruḳ*.

THE *BUYRUḲ*

The characterization of Shah Ismail as a didactic poet, one who is instrumental

in the exposition of Alevi-Bektashi beliefs and practice, is partially rooted in the

association of his poetry with a text which is generally known by Alevis as the *Buyruḳ*.

Literally meaning "order" or "command," the title *Buyruḳ* actually applies to a body of

similar texts of which there are numerous versions. Variously described as a sacred

book, a catechism, or a book of collected sayings, these texts present aspects of Alevi

religious beliefs, ethics, as well as ritual procedure. Versions of the *Buyruḳ* also contain

poetic selections attributed Ḥaṭā'i as well as other Alevi-Bektashi poets in the

heterodox *tekke* tradition, such as Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl and Ḳūl Himmet.[494] Recent

anthropological field studies have emphasized the continued relevance of the *Buyruḳ*

among various Alevi communities in Turkey and the Balkans.[495] Traditionally-- as is

the case with other aspects of Alevi religious life-- the hereditary communal leadership

with which most Alevi communities are affiliated maintained exclusive access to these

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[494]See glossary, "*yedi ulu ozan.*"

[495]Shankland, *The Alevis in Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition* 98-99; Kehl-Bodrogi, "The Significance of *musahiplik* among the Alevis" 120; David Shankland, "Alevi and Sunni in Rural Anatolia: Diverse Paths of Change," *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*, ed. Paul Sterling (Huntingdon: Eothen Press, 1993) 54-55; Ragnar Naess, "Being an Alevi Muslim in South-western Anatolia and in Norway: The Impact of Migration on a Heterodox Community," *The New Islamic*

texts.[496] However, the *Buyruk* can no longer be accurately described as a "secret" text.

In fact, the first *Buyruk* was published in 1958.[497] Since then, other published versions

have followed. Unfortunately, these popular editions rarely cite their primary sources,

many being compilations of several variant texts.[498]

As such a central text among Alevis, the *Buyruk* has not been given due

academic attention. The origin, transmission, variants, indeed the precise role of the

Buyruk and similar catechismal texts present the most glaring lacuna in Alevi studies

and Islamic heterodox studies generally. The role of the *Buyruk* within the Bektashi

order also remains a problem to be addressed. Further investigation into these aspects

surrounding the *Buyruk* texts would serve not only to advance our knowledge of the

beliefs and practices of Turkish and Balkan Alevi communities, but also of other related

'Ali-centered sects, such as the Shabak, a community which also employs a version of

the *Buyruk* likely derived from the same source as the Alevi *Buyruk*, specifically the

family of texts which are attributed to Shaykh Ṣafi.[499]

Presence in Western Europe, ed. Tomas Gerholm and Yngve Georg Lithman (London: Mansell Publishing, 1988) 178; Mélikoff, "Le problème Ḳızılbaş" 63.

[496]Kehl-Bodrogi, "The Significance of *musahiplik* among the Alevis" 120; David Shankland, "Alevi and Sunni in Rural Anatolia: Diverse Paths of Change," *Culture and Economy: Changes in Turkish Villages*, ed. Paul Sterling (Huntingdon: Eothen Press, 1993) 54-55; David Shankland, *The Alevis in Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition* 98-99.

[497]Sefer Aytekin, ed., *Buyruk* (Ankara: Emek Basım Yayınevi, 1958).

[498]Hasan Ayyıldız, ed., *Buyruk: İmamı Cafer Buyruğu: Hakiki Din Yolu* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Yayınları, n. d.); Fuat Bozkurt, ed., *Buyruk* (İstanbul: Anadolu Matbaası, 1982); Adil Ali Atalay Vaktidolu, ed., *İmam Cafer-i Sadık Buyruğu* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 1993); Mehmet Yaman, ed., *Erdebilli Şeyh Safi ve Buyruğu* (İstanbul: Ufuk Matbaası, 1994). I thank Ayfer Karakaya-Stump for clarifying this matter.

[499]A version of the *Buyruk* known among the Shabak which closely resembles the *Şeyh Safi Buyruğu* of Anatolian Alevis is published in Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, *al-Shabak, min firaq al-ghulāt fī al-'Irāq* (Baghdad: Matbaʻat al-Maʻarif, 1954) 145-191; See also van Bruinessen, "Shabak." The catechisms of the Nuṣayrī 'Alawīs also share stylistic similarities with the aforementioned *Buyruk* texts. See Olsson, "Epilogue: The Scripturalization of Ali-Oriented Religions" 200.

This brings us to the problem of variation among *Buyruḳ* texts. Two main

traditions of *Buyruḳ* texts have been identified among Turkish Alevis.[500] The first of

these, known as the *İmām Caʿfer Buyruğu*, is attributed to the sixth Shīʿi *imām*, Jaʿfar

al-Ṣādiq (d. 765), as its title claims.[501] It is the other *Buyruḳ* tradition, however,

which concerns us more directly, as this version of the *Buyruḳ* is directly associated

with the Safavid order. Known as the *Şeyḫ Ṣafī Buyruğu*, this work is traditionally

attributed to Shaykh Ṣafī (d. 1334), the founder of the Safavid order.[502] What is likely

a symbolic attribution nevertheless supports Anke Otter-Beaujean's research which

traces the origins of these texts to the period of active Safavid propaganda in Ottoman

Anatolia during the first half of the sixteenth century. The seizure of contraband texts

from Safavid partisans is mentioned in the *Mühimme Defterleri* as well as in other

Ottoman documents concerning heretics.[503]

However, belief in Shah Ismail's authorship of the work remains in currency

despite the dismissal of these claims by both Köprülü and Gölpınarlı decades ago.[504]

And as intriguing as these attributions of authorship may be, they cannot be evidenced.

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[500]Anke Otter-Beaujean, "Tahtacıların Kutsal Kitabı-- Buyruk Hakkında Birkaç Not," *Akdeniz Yöresi Türk Toplulukları Sosyo-Kültürel Yapısı (Tahtacılar) Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1995) 7.

[501]The first publication of the *İmam Cafer Buyruğu*, edited by Sefer Aytekin is based mainly on a manuscript particular to the Tahtacı community. In discussions of the *Buyruḳ*, Aytekin's version is generally cited.

[502]The version of the *Şeyḫ Ṣafī Buyruğu* has also been published, most recently by Mehmet Yaman: *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç-İbâdet ve Ahlâk İlkeleri* (Mannheim: Mannheim AKM Dedeler Kurulu, 2000).

[503]Otter-Beaujean, "Tahtacıların Kutsal Kitabı-- Buyruk Hakkında Birkaç Not," 2; Saim Savaş, "Les menées Safavides en Anatolie au XVIe siècle et les mesures prises a leur encontre par l'état Ottoman," *Anatolia Moderna, Yeni Anadolu* (IX) (Paris: Institute Français d'études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 2000) 49; Colin H. Imber, "The Persecution of the Ottoman Shīʿites According to the Mühimme Defterleri, 1565-1585" 256.

The attribution of the *Buyruk* to authoritative religious figures-- whether to Ja'far al-Sādiq, Shaykh Safi or Shah Ismail-- appears to be derived from popular conceptions based on the authority cited in the texts themselves, which introduce thematic concepts by such phrases as, "Şeyḫ Safi commands that. . ." (*Şeyḫ Safi buyurur ki . . .*). Similarly, the attribution of the *Buyruk* to Shah Ismail likely derives from the inclusion of his poetry to various extents in versions of the of the text based on the authority of Shaykh Safi.

The *nefes* attributed to Shah Ismail which are contained a manuscript version of the *Şeyḫ Safi Buyruğu* housed at the Mevlânâ Museum will be examined here. According to Gölpınarlı, although the manuscript dates from the reign of Shāh 'Abbās (r. 1587-1629), he attributes the work is to one Bisātī from the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp (r. 1524-1576), based on a similar manuscript in his private collection.[505] The full title of the manuscript is the *Menākıb ül-Esrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār* ("Narrative of the Mysteries of the Joy of the Liberated") and it is among the few versions of an unpublished *Buyruk* in a collection which allows public access.[506] The relatively early date of this particular manuscript notwithstanding, caution should be used in citing any given version as authoritative. In her research on the *İmām Ca'fer Buyruğu*, Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, noting that the text bears many group-specific features, warns about drawing

[504]Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı'nda İlk Mutasavvıflar* 241; Without definitively attributing the work to Shah Ismail, Irène Mélikoff maintains that the work dates from his lifetime. Mélikoff, "Le problème Kızılbaş" 63. See also Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 144.

[505]See Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ Müzesi Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1972) 3: 431. The inscription at the end of the manuscript, however, is dated afer 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.). *Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrar*, ms., Mevlânâ Müzesi, 1172, folio 84.

[506]*Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrar*, ms., Mevlânâ Müzesi, 1172. A version of the *Şeyḫ Safi Buyruğu* (entitled *Menākıb-ı Şeyḫ Safi*) dating from the nineteenth century is also located in Berlin: *Menākıb-ı*

general conclusions from this and similar *Buyruk* texts regarding beliefs and practice without confirmation in a specific context.[507] It must also be remembered that the numerous manuscripts existing in private collections are employed for pious use, and those in possession of libraries are relatively rare.

Thus, conclusions regarding the relevance of the *Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Ahrār* to Alevi beliefs and practice will similarly await further research. However, the early date of the manuscript as well its inclusion of works attributed to Hatā'i present an opportunity to examine the development of Shah Ismail's poetic persona in the Qizilbash tradition subsequent to his death. The compositions themselves-- in terms of their language, content and above all, their placement in this influential pious text-- can be seen to represent two of the earliest examples of the Hatā'i tradition as it formed a permanent part of Qizilbash-Bektashi literature and religiosity.

The two poems attributed to Hatā'i appear at the end of the manuscript alongside poems attributed to Nesīmī and Pīr Sultān Abdāl (two each), as well as one attributed to Kaygusuz Abdāl.[508] Both of Hatā'ī's compositions employ *'arūż* prosody as opposed to *hece vezni* which is the meter most commonly associated with the later Hatā'ī tradition. Although the stanzaic structure of the first composition examined here is irregular and possibly one or more lines are missing.[509] The works lack, however, orthographic features characteristic of the Azeri dialect seen in the early *dīvāns* of the

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Şeyḫ Safī, ms., Staatsbibliothek, MS Or. Quart 2134. However, this version does not include selections of poetry.

[507]Kehl-Bodrogi, "The Significance of *musahiplik* among the Alevis" 135.

[508]See glossary, "*yedi ulu ozan.*"

[509]Thus, the irregularity of the stanzaic structure in the first poem renders it impossible to establish the prosody in conventional couplets.

Sackler Gallery, Tashkent and Paris. In the first poem presented below, Ḥaṭā'i uses

verse to express the central significance of 'Alī and the origin of elements associated

with him through a sweeping narrative style:

Ever since his place of manifestation,[510]
The Sultan of my heart is 'Alī.

'Alī is the dot (of the *bā*)
Within the gate of the *bismillāh.*[511]

That 'Alī cast one glance
Upon 18,000 worlds.

He descended and he traveled
The lands of Rūm, Syria and the Berbers.

The renown of *lā fatā* descended upon him,[512]
God called him "my lion."

The soldiers bewail with hatred,
But to him, Ḥayber is trifle.[513]

That Shah of the saints
Empowered Gabriel with articulation.

At that moment, Gabriel arrived,
Bringing that sword of crimson.

That sword was split into four segments,
And the Beloved beheld one of these.

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[510]Because of the irregularity of the couplets in the original, I have arranged the stanzaic structure this translation in couplets based on the caesuras in the text.

[511]"By the name of God."

[512]Referring to the phrase, "*Lā fatā illā 'Alī,*" ("There is no youth like 'Alī"). With its connotations of honor and bravery, this phrase served to emphasize 'Alī as an exemplar among Islamic guilds and similar fraternal organizations.

[513]This *beyt* recalls the battle of Khaybar, an oasis located outside Madina inhabited by Jewish tribes. During this battle, 'Alī displayed his remarkable bravery, and his performance in this battle made him the "exemplar of heroes." See C. E. Bosworth, "Khaybar," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition.

Calling, "God is great,"
The point of the sword was unsheathed before His Presence.

Every segment was rendered a person,
By the Eternal One.

They descended from His Power,
Every segment is serving the Divine Truth.

One of those segments become Fāṭima,[514]
One became Düldül.[515]

One of them became the sword Zülfikār,
And one became 'Alī's Ḳamber.[516]

I am Şāh Ḥaṭā'i, of all I am
The leader of the destitute.[517]

The supremacy of 'Alī expressed in this poem does not alone determine

the work to be a later attribution. In fact, similar compositions expressing the centrality

of 'Alī are found throughout Shah Ismail's *dīvāns*. Certainly, in Shah Ismail's *dīvān*

poetry, parallels are constructed between the poet and 'Alī, elevating the poet to 'Alī's

level of metaphysical status. However, as stressed previously, the self-glorifying aspect

of Shah Ismail's poetry, although distinct, is by no means dominant, taking the contents

of his *dīvāns* as a whole. As Charles Rieu first characterized the contents of the British

Museum's manuscript of Shah Ismail's *dīvān*, "The poems are partly erotic, partly

religious. Invocations to, and praises of, 'Ali and the other Imāms are of frequent

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[514]The Prophet's daughter and 'Alī's wife.

[515]The name of the Prophet's mule which was given to 'Alī as a gift. According to tradition, 'Alī rode Düldül during the battles of the Camel and Şiffīn.

[516]A manumitted slave of 'Alī's, as a generic term, *ḳamber* can mean any faithful servant or companion.

[517]*Menāḳıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrar* ms., folios 83-84. See Appendix C: 3.

occurrence."[518] Poems such as the following, taken as an example from the Paris *dīvān*,

adopt a strategy of singular worship, similar to that of the *Menāḳıb*. Here, the poet's

relationship to 'Alī is cast as one of subordination, of master and disciple:

My saint, my body, my soul is 'Alī.
The blood flowing in my veins is 'Ali.

I have no use for a *dīvān* or manuscripts,
The manuscript of my *dīvān* is 'Ali.

I am a drop of water next to him,
My ocean is 'Ali.

My bewildered Jacob in the world,
My Joseph of Canaan is 'Ali.

Oh Ḥaṭā'i, this word is the word of 'Ali,
My master in this word is 'Ali.[519]

In the tradition of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry, the *Menāḳıb*'s composition goes

beyond conventional poetic expressions of pious veneration. Rather, 'Ali is placed at

the center of the poet's cosmology, integral to the inception of creation and present

throughout human history. Yet significantly, the panegyric of the *Menāḳıb* remains

confined to this strategy, without venturing into the poet's historic identity or shared

essence with 'Ali, as in other compositions cited from Shah Ismail's *dīvān* to illustrate

the belief in Shah Ismail as a manifestation of the divine. Here, the centrality of 'Ali is

disengaged from the historical identity of the author who expresses it. As one of only

two selections attributed to Shah Ismail featured in the *Menāḳıb* manuscript, the

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[518]Rieu, ed., *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* 205-206.

composition re-directs Shah Ismail's mission to encompass transhistorical concerns of the community by establishing the supremacy of 'Alī apart from implications this may have for the author and his historical sovereignty.

The second composition attributed to Ḥaṭā'ī in the *Menāḳıb* manuscript adopts an entirely different approach, further distancing itself from the historical Shah Ismail. While the above composition narrates the origin of 'Alī's earthly manifestation and elements associated with him, this composition provides directed practical instruction on ritual procedure. Through each succeeding couplet, the poet systematically outlines twelve discrete episodes (termed the "*erkān*," and translated here as "rite") of a particular ritual. Unlike Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry in which the "*erkān* of the path" is declared as martyrdom on the battlefield, beyond the pen-name, this composition shares little in common with the historical mission of its claimed author. The ritual described here is possibly one of initiation. Or perhaps it describes general procedures leading up to a more specific ritual of the *ṭarīqat*. In any event, all of the rites enumerated in the work focus on an individual: an adept standing in the central ritual space, the *dār*.

Let us tell of God's generosity, Oh brother take heed!
Whose ears grasp this speech are the people of knowledge.

Arriving from the gate to the source is a brother,
Upon arrival, my heart unfolds twelve rites.

Affirm by God,[520] put your face to the earth,
That is the first rite, Oh Shah of Compassion!

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[519]Gandjei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḥaṭā'ī* #22. See Appendix C: 4.
[520]Literally, "Say, 'Eyvallāh.'"

The second is to bow at the threshold, and the third,
One must enter with the right foot.

Stand in the *dār*, receive blessings of grace,
The people of faith reach this state of wealth.

They offer you prayers during the fifth rite,
Sincerely asking for grace, prostrate your soul.

Reaching the assembly with love is sufficient for the sixth rite,
In this assembly a cure is found for all misery.

The seventh *erkān* of the *tarīkat*
Is requesting that the wheel of anguish not hinder spiritual progress.

The eighth is completing your supplication (*temennā*),
The ninth is standing steadfast in the *dār*.

They offer prayers during the tenth rite,
Again, for the sake of grace, prostrate your soul.

During the eleventh rite, you are given a place,
Do not wander about, but pass directly before the gaze of the *er*.[521]

During the twelfth rite, copiously bow on your knees,
You carry the way of this conduct to the young and old.

I am Ḥaṭāʾī, present for those who can achieve,
May the blessings come from God in abundance.[522]

This, the second poem attributed to Ḥaṭāʾī in the *Menāḳıb* takes ritual

procedure as its central theme. Given the climate of secrecy under which Qizilbash rites

were conducted in both the Ottoman and Safavid empires during the production of this

manuscript, it is clear that the poet is addressing a fellow adept on the path of the

tarīqat, using terms and images that would be understood only by a spiritual and

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[521]"One who attains"; in this context, *er* likely refers to the superior members of the *tarīkat*..

[522]*Menāḳıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrar*, ms., folios 80-81. See Appendix C: 5.

communal intimate. Like the *Menāḳıb* text itself, this composition is intended for those with an insider's knowledge and access to the beliefs and ritual conduct of the community. Unlike Shah Ismail's *dīvān* compositions expressive of a "belligerent spirit," this is not a composition intent to win over converts or overwhelm enemies, but to further guide those on a path that they have already chosen.

These compositions can be seen to represent a departure from the historic and personal concerns of Ḥaṭā'ī's *dīvān* poetry. Both compositions relay a tone of historical transcendence. In this regard, what is intriguing about the *Menāḳıb*'s panegyric to 'Alī is the scenario of primordial creation it introduces: the angel Gabriel procures a sword of crimson which serves as a vehicle through which figures of 'Alid veneration emanate. Miraculously splitting into four parts, the sword generates three living creatures (Fāṭima, Düldül and Ḳamber) as well as one inanimate object, 'Alī's sword Ẕülfiḳār. A potent symbol of 'Alid loyalty and militancy, Ẕülfiḳār, like the sword of its primogeniture, is an inanimate object endowed with human qualities-- a personality and purpose. The description of the mythic origins and primordial sacred history is characteristic of the Ḥaṭā'ī poetic tradition as it developed among the Alevi-Bektashi. The following chapter will examine further Ḥaṭā'ī's poetic treatment of mythic narrative in the ritual context.

In contrast to certain oft-cited examples of Shah Ismail's *dīvān*, the *Menāḳıb*'s compositions make no allusions to the poet's significance beyond select qualities in the signature couplets. There, Ḥaṭā'ī identifies himself as a spiritual leader and a guide-- "of the destitute," and for "those who can achieve." No longer the supreme leader of a legion of *ġāzīs*, by the time of the *Menāḳıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār*, the didactic *pīr*

had replaced the militaristic demagogue. Moreover, the "people of knowledge" are no longer identified as *ġāzīs*, but as those whose ears grasp the knowledge of the rites. The poems selected for the *Menākıb* indicate that a new vision of Shah Ismail's mission had evolved from which additional attributions to the corpus of Ḥatā'ī also conform.

CONCLUSION

The variety of stylistic features present among the works attributed to Ḥatā'i has led to disagreement regarding the extent of the proliferation of these works by later poets writing in Shah Ismail's name. Like other pre-modern authors of Turkish mystical poetry, the production of Ḥatā'i 's literary corpus is certainly not confined to Shah Ismail's lifetime. At the same time, later attributions such as the mythic poem cited above from the *Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār* retain features of Ḥatā'i 's *dīvān* poetry. The poet's devotion to 'Alī constitutes a prominent feature of Ḥatā'i 's *dīvān* poetry, and in Ḥatā'i's *Menākıb* panegyric, this "exaggerated" devotion remains intact, with the poet imagining 'Alī as the "Shah of my heart." More characteristic of the subsequent Ḥatā'i tradition, however, is the significance of 'Alī expressed through a narrative myth of creation revealing the manifestation of 'Alī on earth as well as the miraculous origins of Fāṭima, Düldül, Ḳamber and Ẕülfiḳār. The second poem cited from the *Menākıb* is also characteristic of the later Ḥatā'i tradition, with its adoption of a strategy which is explicitly liturgical, addressing with intimacy members of the community for whom both the composition and the *Menākıb* were intended.

The significance of the poetry attributed to Shah Ismail within the *Buyruk* texts has been central to the notion of Ḥaṭā'i as a didactic poet in the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. The *Buyruk* texts serve as catechisms, and Ḥaṭā'i's poetry selected for these texts is similarly instructive. From the works attributed to Shah Ismail in the *Menākıb*, we can discern the central strategies of the Ḥaṭā'i tradition already in evidence at this stage in the development of Qizilbash beliefs and ritual practice. Ḥaṭā'i's use of poetry to recount mythic narratives as well as to expound upon ritual procedure are two strategies which characterize this emerging poetic tradition. In the future, these seventeenth-century attributions contained in *Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār* should be complemented by further research on other *Buyruk* manuscripts, many of which still remain in private collections and active use.

CHAPTER VI

THE RITUAL CONTEXT OF THE ḤAṬĀ'Ī TRADITION

In recent discussions of Alevi ritual, Shah Ismail is granted a pre-eminent place. The contemporary Alevi author Cemal Şener goes so far as to cite Ḥaṭā'i's poems (*nefes*) as the "foundation" of Alevi rituals.[523]   Shah Ismail himself is credited for the structure and arrangement Alevi rituals by others.[524] It is frequently maintained that the Safavid *shaykhs*, from the time of Junayd, oriented the beliefs and piety of the Safavid order to accommodate the pre-existing heterodox practices of their followers.[525] In this way, it is suggested that the origins of Qizilbash ritual date back to pre-Islamic religious forms prevalent among their followers.   Stressing this pre-Islamic origin of Qizilbash religiosity, contemporary Alevi authors see the incorporation of ancient elements in present ritual forms, recalling a tenuous Central Asian shamanism, the ancestral religion of the Oğuz Turkish tribes.[526]   It is speculated that Shah Ismail's development of Qizilbash ritual was achieved through an incorporation of pre-existent traditions, hence the notion of Shah Ismail's "renewal" of archaic forms. This view of Shah Ismail's central role in the formation of Qizilbash ritual is not confined to popular Alevi writings, but is also current among scholars of Anatolian

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[523]Cemal Şener, forward to İsmail Onarlı, *Şah İsmail Biyografi* (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 2000) 8.

[524]Yürür, "*Mi'raçlama* in the Liturgy of the Alevi of Turkey: A Structural and Gnostic Analysis" 12.

[525]See for example, Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia" 238.

heterodoxy. Irène Mélikoff, for example, traces the "crystallization" of the main Alevi ritual, the *'ayīn-i cem'* (hereafter: *ayin-i cem*), to Shah Ismail's time.[527]   As Ahmet Yaşar Ocak poses this theory:

> It must not be forgotten that all of these rituals practiced today [among Alevis] derive their actual forms from Şah İsmail Hatâyî who renewed and reformed these rituals. His great contribution in the creation of these rituals is, without a doubt, an extremely interesting phenomenon from the perspective of Turkish religious history. He composed *nefes* for recitation during the *Ayin-i Cem* which are still recited under the name *Şah Hatâyî nefesi*.[528]

From these assessments, Shah Ismail's association with ritual constitutes an essential aspect of Shah Ismail's role in the Alevi-Bektashi tradition as a whole. The premise for this connection is based on the content and structure of the rituals as well as historical evidence. The following chapter will present both aspects of this connection: the historical accounts which establish Shah Ismail's early connection to Qizilbash ritual, as well as the poetry attributed to Shah Ismail as it is employed in Alevi ritual. The historical sources that attest to the inclusion of Shah Ismail in early forms of Qizilbash ritual give only limited descriptions of his role in this context. Here, it will be shown that the understanding of Shah Ismail as the architect of Qizilbash ritual also hinges on the large corpus of liturgical poetry attributed to Hatā'i, featured in ritual forms that have continued to the present day. In examining Hatā'i's compositions as

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[526]Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* 19; Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 144.

[527]Mélikoff, *Hadji Bektach, un mythe et ses avatars: genèse et évolution du soufisme populaire en Turquie* 195. See also Yürür, "*Mi'raçlama* in the Liturgy of the Alevi of Turkey: A Structural and Gnostic Analysis" 12.

[528]Ocak, "Un aperçu général sur l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Turquie" 201.

they occur in ritual contexts, a variety of sources are referred to, most of which are limited to the Alevi ritual cycle. These include anthologies of Alevi-Bektashi poets and manuals detailing the procedures of Alevi rituals which provide the ritual context of Ḥaṭā'i's poetry.[529]

HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO SHAH ISMAIL IN QIZILBASH RITUAL

Even if one is liberal in attributing genuine authorship to the works of Ḥaṭā'i as they appear in a ritual context (most, though not all of which have come down to us in *hece vezni,* or the syllabic meter), immense difficulties are faced in determining the genesis and development of particular ritual forms. This is especially true in the case of the Qizilbash. The secrecy under which the Qizilbash conducted their ritual life is as well-known as the origins of these rites are obscure. Rituals of the Bektashi order were also conducted in strict privacy. This custom which precluded Bektashi rites from outside observation is contrast to other dervish orders of the Ottoman Empire, most notably the Mevlevis, who for centuries conducted their characteristic *semah* in public performances for the Ottoman Sultans and visitors from Europe who left numerous descriptions of these performances. Despite the generally recognized convergence of the Qizilbash with the Bektashi order in the sixteenth century, the development of their respective rituals is a question which cannot be addressed with precision due in part to the circumstances under which heterodox ritual life was conducted until recently.

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[529]For specifically Bektashi ritual accounts see Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 175-201.

After the campaigns of active persecution of the Qizilbash on the part of the Ottomans subsided in the seventeenth century, the stigma attached to Qizilbash religiosity, which had facilitated this repression, remained. The active participation of women in formal services was a distinct and incriminating feature of Qizilbash religious practice. According to an imperial command dated 1581 which is included in a *Mühimme Defter*, the criterion for identifying suspected heretics cites the following: "They assemble at night, bringing wives and daughters to their assemblies, where they have disposal of one another's wives and daughters."[530] In Ottoman territory, the Qizilbash became known as *mum söndüren*, "candle snuffers," an epitaph alluding to the point in their rituals in which, it was widely believed, a candle was ceremoniously extinguished signifying the commencement of ritual orgies. This particular libel attached to the Qizilbash, a common accusation against various heretical groups, was not confined to Ottoman territory, but also became widespread in Safavid Persia, where the Qizilbash also came to be commonly known as "candle-snuffers" (*chirāgh-kushān*).[531] According to Morton, Qizilbash rituals were regarded with this kind of suspicion at least as far back as Shāh Ṭahmāsp.[532] Seventeenth-century European visitors to Safavid Persia, scandalized by these rumored activities of the Qizilbash, attest to this perception among governing elites, resulting sporadic persecution.[533]

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[530]Imber, "The Persecution of the Ottoman Shī'ites According to the Mühimme Defterleri, 1565-1585" 261.

[531]Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbash Ritual in Safavid Persia" 237-238.

[532]Morton quotes from Shāh Ṭahmᵢsp's memoir in this regard; "Some men of the Sārlū who are known for *iḥājd* and *zandaqa*. . . do not withhold their wives from each other. . . ." It is not certain however, that this was a direct reference to the Qizilbash. Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia" 239.

[533]Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia" 238-240.

By the time of Evliyā Çelebi's writing in the seventeenth century, the association

of Qizilbash religiosity with sexual licentiousness was well entrenched in the popular

imagination, irrespective of the borders separating Ottoman and Safavid territory.

Despite the tendency of the renowned traveler to relay local lore with credulity, Evliyā

Çelebi displays an almost anachronistic skepticism regarding the ritual orgies of the

mum söndüren.

> People say that in Persia there are still those who do it. . . . But the people of this
> world are slanderers and libelers and cavilers. It is also reported about the province
> of Sivas . . . that they extinguish the candle and that everyone embraces another
> man's wife and lies with her in a corner-- God forbid! This humble slave has
> traversed those regions [often] . . . and I never observed anything like that. Again,
> these officious people claim that there are shah-lovers and candle-extinguishers and
> men and women who wear the shah's diadem in Rumeli, in the province of Silistra,
> in the districts of Deli Orman and Qara Su, and in the Dobrudja. As God is my
> witness, I have sojourned in those countries perhaps fifty times, and have carried out
> offices there, and I never observed any such illegitimate activities-- although, to be
> sure, there are those who fail to pray, or who run after singing girls.[534]

The *Mühimme Defterleri* (Registry of Important Affairs) has played a major role

in re-constructing the persecution of the Qizilbash under Ottoman authority during the

second half of the sixteenth century.[535]   In these registers, specific indications of

suspect religious loyalty are identified, including non-conformity to outward forms of

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[534]From an unpublished section of the *Seyāḥatname,* as quoted in Robert Dankoff, "An Unpublished Account of *mum söndermek* of Evliya Chelebi," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groups relevant de Hadji Bektach* 73.

[535]The following studies make extensive use of the *Mühimme Defterleri* in this respect: Refik, *Onaltıncı Asırda Rāfizîlik ve Bektāşilik;* Hanna Sohrweide, "Der Seig Der Ṣafawiden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert," *Der Islam* 41 (1965): 95-223; Imber, "The Persecution of the Ottoman Shī'ites According to the Mühimme Defterleri, 1565-1585" 245-273; Faroqhi, "Conflict, Accommodation and Long-Term Survival: The Bektashi Order and the Ottoman State (Sixteenth-Seventeenth Centuries)" 171-184; Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash 'Heresy' and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century" 1-15.

Sunni piety such as attending communal prayers and fasting, disparagement of the first three Caliphs and communication with Safavid officials.[536]   Although the documents of this collection shed light on the extent of the persecution of the Qizilbash and other groups, predictably the *Mühimme Defterleri* provide little in the way of content or form of Qizilbash religious practice.

Reliable source material documenting Qizilbash practice untainted by these prevailing perceptions is rare before the twentieth century.   In this respect, one of the most significant historical accounts is that of Michel Membré, who witnessed Qizilbash rituals conducted in Safavid Persia during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp.[537]   A Venetian agent assigned with the mission of fostering Safavid military cooperation against the Ottomans, Membré stayed with high-ranking Qizilbash officials in Tabriz during the winter of 1540-1541.   One of his hosts, Shāhqulī Khalīfa, served to direct operations of the Safavid order among the Anatolian Qizilbash.[538]   Fortunately, Membré recorded his observations of Qizilbash life, providing a historical glimpse into their distinct ritual form.[539]

Most importantly for our purposes is the mention of compositions attributed to Shah Ismail and their integration within the ceremonies Membré witnessed.   This is in

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[536]Zarinbarf-Shahr, "Qizilbash 'Heresy' and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century" 12.

[537]Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia" 225.

[538]Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia" 228.

[539]First published in Italian: Michele Membré, *Relazione di Persia (1542). Ms. inedito dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia*, ed. Giogio R. Cordona (Napoli: Istituto universitario orientale, 1969); translated to English by A. H. Morton, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993).

fact the earliest known account attesting to the inclusion of Shah Ismail's poetry in

Qizilbash ritual. As Membré describes the services:

> I have often been at their weddings, during which, the first thing that they do when they gather, they all sit in rows in a room, from one end to the other, seated on fine carpets, and they begin to praise God and then Shāh Ṭahmāsp. The *khalīfa* begins first; so all are singing '*Lā ilāh illā Allāh*,' and they go on with that phrase alone for a whole hour; then they begin to sing certain songs in praise of the Shah, composed by Shāh Ismāʿīl and the said Ṭahmjsp . . . that is *khaṭāʾī*, and after that is done, there sits one with a tambour, and he begins to call very loudly the names of all who are there, one by one; and then each one whose name he calls says "*Shāh bāsh*," that is "The Shah is head", and all of them give to the one who calls the name, money, depending on how much courtesy each one wishes to show.[540]

Membré's intriguing reference to the "songs" composed by Shah Ismail raises the

unanswered question as to which of his compositions were used in these rituals. Given

the details Membré provides of their context, these compositions likely employed a

religious strategy, as they occur during the ritual course following an episode of

zikir.[541] During this episode, the assembly repetitively articulates the phrase, "There is

no God but God." Later during the course of the ceremony, songs of an ideological-

political strategy are also mentioned, containing specific reference to the Ottomans--

"and how the Shah is to go into the lands of Ottomans, and how he will make war and

many other lovely things." However, Membré does not attribute authorship to these

compositions. Membré also briefly describes an episode of *semah*. "Then they all

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[540]Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)* 42.

[541]Arabic: *dhikr*. Literally, "mentioning" this refers to the repetitive recitation of a litany. Traditionally, the litany includes the Qurʾānic names of God.

dance, in twos, threes and fours, men in one room and women in another. . . ." The dance

episode is then followed by a communal meal, bringing the ritual to completion.[542]

Although Membré designates these events as "weddings" (*nozze*), Morton notes

the conspicuous absence of either a bride or groom and speculates that these ceremonies

served as rites of "confession and absolution," and may be connected to matrimony in

some way.[543] Fundamental to this assessment is Membré's description of an episode of

the ritual which involves striking the congregants once with a wooden stick-- referred to

as the *chūb-i tarīq* (the stick of the path, or order), an episode in which Membré

curiously participates: "and the villain . . . gave me a blow which still hurts."[544]

Morton takes this ritual beating episode as a point of comparison with modern rituals

performed Anatolian Alevis and Iraqi Shabak.[545] In the Alevi case, a stick serves as a

liturgical object during the ritual establishing kinship (*musahiplik*), although the

striking gesture is symbolic, signifying the closure of the ceremony rather than

submission to penitence, as it is suggested in other accounts, including Membré's.[546]

The next mention of Shah Ismail in the context of Qizilbash ritual occurs in an

Ottoman source dated almost a century later. It is a summarized account of confessions

which took place in 1619 (A. H. 1028) under the authority of Çeşmi Efendi, a high-

ranking judge appointed by ʿOsmān II for the purpose of conducting investigation into

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[542] Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)* 43.

[543] Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia" 229.

[544] Membré, *Mission to the Lord Sophy of Persia (1539-1542)* 43.

[545] Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia" 235-237.

[546] For this episode in modern accounts of the *musahip* ritual see: Mélikoff, "Recherche sur une coutume des Alevis: musâhip, '*frère de l'au-delà*'" 81; Gökalp, *Têtes rouges et bouches noires: une confrérie tribale de l'Ouest Anatolien* 209-210.

the activity of the capital's heretics (*mülḥid*).[547] Presenting the accused from a condemnatory point of view, this document shares the ideological orientation of the *Mühimme Defterleri*. Although the document associates the confessors with Ḥurūfism, they are organized in conformity with what we know of classical Qizilbash hierarchy: they hail Shāh 'Abbās as their *mürşid*, with whom they maintain communication through *ḫalīfe*.[548] In contrast to the documents of the *Mühimme Defterleri*, this account describes the form of Qizilbash ritual during this time, providing structural details:

> On the night of Friday, men and women gather, and that is the night on which they consummate their acts of corruption and depravation. In this reunion, the *rehbers*[549] make their *ṭālibs*[550] lie on the ground and with a long polished stick he administers them twelve blows. . . .[551]

This description recalls the ritual beating with the *chūb-i ṭarīq* of Membré's Tabriz account decades earlier. In this case, however, the number of strikes administered to the penitents is the twelve, as opposed to the single strike of Membré's

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[547]On this source see Danon, "Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans (1619)" 280-293; Minorsky, "Shaikh Bālī-Efendi on the Ṣafavids" 448-450; The document published by Andreas Tietze is also related to Çeşmi Efendi's interrogations, and in this document the execution of the accused is reported: Andreas Tietze, "A Document on the Persecution of Sectarians in Early Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groups relevant de Hadji Bektach* 165-170.

[548]On the penetration of Ḥurūfism in Anatolia during this time see Hamid Algar, "The Ḥurūfī Influence on Bektashism," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groups relevant de Hadji Bektach* 39-53; Mélikoff, "Le problème Bektaşi-Alévi: quelques dernieres considérations" 10-11.

[549]Literally, "guides," in the ritual context, the *rehber* serves as an officiator during initiation; in the hierarchy described in this document, the *rehber* is subordinated to the *ḫalīfe*.

[550](Arabic: *ṭālib*): from "seeking, striving,"; a student; member of a dervish order.

[551]Danon, "Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans (1619)" 286-287.

description, which corresponds with the letter *alif*.[552]   As the document further describes the content of the ritual:

> They have many prayers [*du'ā*], in praise of the wayward [*gümrāh*] Shah-- May God of the Most High destroy them!-- During which they cite the words of Shah Ismail, Ḥaṭā'ī, which they call *ma'nī*. If one of them sleeps or converses with another, the watcher, which they call *gözcü* informs the assistants of they who are not listening to the *ma'nī* and they make them pay a fine.[553]

This document refers to the "words" of Shah Ismail by the term *manī*: ". . . ve Şāh İsmā'īl Ḥaṭā'īnīñ sözleri okunurken ki oña ma'nī derler."[554]   According to Minorsky, this reference to *ma'nī* could be taken in the sense of *ma'nā* (lit., meaning or spiritual reality), that is, a "(saying full of) meaning," indicating a further derivative of *ma'nā*, the independent quatrain common in Turkish folk poetry, the *manī*.[555]   In this case, the use of *mani* would be similar to Membré's Shah Ismail's "songs" (Italian: *canzone*[556]).   In fact, the *mani* stanzaic form is common in Alevi-Bektashi poetry, a small corpus of which are also attributed to Ḥaṭā'i.[557]

The Ottoman document on heretical activity reveals that the "words" of Shah Ismail continued to serve as an integral element of Qizilbash ritual, similar to the rituals of the Safavid Qizilbash Membré described several decades before.   As mentioned in the previous chapter, Turkhan Gandgei takes Membré's reference to the "songs"

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[552]Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia" 229.

[553]Danon, "Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans (1619)" 293.

[554]Danon, "Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans (1619)" 293.

[555]Minorsky "Shaikh Bālī-Efendi on the Ṣafavids" 449.

[556]Michele Membré, *Relazione de Persia (1542)* 48.

attributed to Shah Ismail as evidence for the early proliferation of pseudo-Ḥaṭā'i. However, as Membré does not cite any specific examples, their authenticity is impossible to ascertain. In neither account are specific examples cited, nor, for that matter, are these segments explicitly identified as poetry. Rather, in both sources these "words" and "songs" are mentioned in connection with praise (sitāyiš)[558] of the "Shah." The author of the Ottoman account locates the identity of the Shah within the Safavid house, condemning him as heretical or astray (gümrāh). This position of the "Shah" in the ritual suggests that the Shah served as both the object and vehicle of veneration. In discussing the content of modern Alevi ritual, Mélikoff notes the ambiguity of the term "Shah" in both its historical and present usage:

> The hyperdulia of Shah Ismail whose extraordinary personality, as well as his physical beauty assimilated the sovereign with the Şah-i Merdan, the pre-eternal Ali who has become God manifest. This confusion between the spiritual Shah and the temporal Shah is still perceptible in the ayin-i cem of the Alevis. . . .[559]

As it will be shown, Ḥaṭā'i's poetry as it has developed for liturgical use is quite dissimilar to the poetry that is cited as evidence of the historical belief in his divinity both in form and content. The image of the Shah Ismail as a god and savior possibly retained currency in the ritual recorded by Membré, however, this image did not survive. As will be shown, rather than serving as means to commemorate the poet himself-- that is, the temporal Shah as seen in the Paris dīvān and elsewhere, Ḥaṭā'i's poetry developed

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[557]For selections of mani attributed to ‚aṭ¡'£ see Gölpınarlı, ed., Alevi-Bektaşi Nefesleri 266; Özmen, ed., Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi 2: 215-216.

[558]Danon, "Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans (1619)" 293.

to serve primarily in the commemoration of other figures and events of Qizilbash-Alevi

sacred history.

THE RITUAL CYCLE

Until the second half of the last century, Alevi-Bektashi rituals were closed to

outside observation, with few exceptions. It was equally exceptional for musical-poetic

forms employed in these rituals to be performed in public. In one of the earliest studies

of Alevi music, Eugene Borrel, writing in 1947, noted that this music was exclusively

performed for ritual (*cem*) and it deemed a grave transgression to perform sacred poetry

outside the privacy of a ritual context.[560]   Irene Markoff traces the subsequent

"demystification" of Alevi religiosity through the growing appreciation of Alevi-

Bektashi poetic and musical forms by a general audience as an important part of Turkish

national folk culture.[561]   Initially, however, Alevi musicians avoided compositions

with sectarian themes for performance or broadcast, while the "truly sacred repertoire"

including such forms as the *düvāz imām* (commemoration of the Twelve *imāms*) and the

mersiye (lament for the tragedy of Karbalā') remained confined to private ritual.[562]

Until the last decades of the twentieth century, reference the "secret culture" and "secret

[559]Mélikoff, "Le problème bektaşi-alévi: quelques dernieres considérations" 21; See also Mélikoff, "The Worship of Shah Isma'il in Turkey in Past and Present Time" 68.

[560]Eugene Borrel, "Les poètes kizil bach et leur musique," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 15 (1947): 178.

[561]Irene Markoff, "The Role of Expressive Culture in the Demystification of a Secret Sect of Islam: the Case of the Alevis of Turkey," *The World of Music* 28 (1986): 42-56.

[562]Markoff, "The Role of Expressive Culture in the Demystification of a Secret Sect of Islam: the Case of the Alevis of Turkey" 49.

rites" of Alevis were common.[563] Gradually, however, the proscription against the performance of sacred musical poetry lifted. An import factor in this process in Turkey was the creation of the Hacı Bektaş Cultural Festival held annually in the village of Hacı Bektaş, since the early 1960s. During this festival, the first public performances of Alevi *semah* and other music formerly confined to the privacy of inner-communal activities took place.[564]

As aspects of Alevi life became more accessible, academic attention increased in the form of ethnographic studies.[565] Studies of this type, mainly conducted at the village level, continue to appear, bringing to light important aspects of the social and religious life of various Turkish Alevi communities.[566] However, anthropologists have often found their research limited in some basic of Alevi religious life. The reason for this is not so much, as had been the case in the past, due to a customary secrecy, but

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[563]Early studies of Alevism published in Turkey reflect their former secretiveness: Rıza Tevfik, "Gizli Fakat Ruhlu, Canlı bir Edebiyat," ("A Secret, but Spiritual and Lively Literature") *Peyâm-ı Edebî*, 1914; rpt. in *Rıza Tevfik'in Tekke ve Halk Edebiyatı İle İligili Makaleleri*, ed. Abdullah Uçman (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982); Vahid Lütfi Salcı, *Gizli Türk Halk Musikisi ve Türk Musikisinde Meseleleri (On Secret Turkish Folk Music and Turkish Music)* (İstanbul: Numune Matbaası, 1940).

[564]Markoff, "The Role of Expressive Culture in the Demystification of a Secret Sect of Islam" 51; On the history and devotional aspects of the Hacı Bektaş festival see John David Norton, "The Development of the Annual Festival at Hacıbektaş, 1964-1985," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groups relevant de Hadji Bektach* 191-200.

[565]The earliest ethnographic research on Anatolian Alevis, collected from travelers and missionaries, is compiled in Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans* 1: 139-166. On missionary literature concerning the Qizilbash, see Karakaya-Stump, "Alevilik Hakkındaki 19. Yüzyıl Misyoner Kayıtlarına Eleştirel bir Bakış ve Ali Gako'nun Öyküsü" 301-324. For early Turkish ethnography, see the collected works of Yusuf Ziya Yörükân, *Anadolu'da Aleviler ve Tahtacılar*, ed. Turhan Yörükân (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1998).

[566]The following studies were conducted before wide-spread media exposure of Alevism developed in Turkey: Elbistan Nur Yalman, "Islamic Reform and the Mystic Tradition in Eastern Turkey," *Archives européennes de sociologie* 10 (1969): 41-60; Reidar Gronhaug, *Micro-Macro Relations: Social Organization in Antalya, Southern Turkey: Part II: Tahtacılar. Macro-Factors in the Life of a "Marginal" Sub-Population* (Bergen: University of Bergen, 1974); Gökalp, *Têtes rouges et bouches noires: une confrérie tribale de l'Ouest Anatolien*; Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, *Die Kızılbaş/Aleviten. Untersuchungen über eine esoterische Glaubensgemeinschaft in Anatolien* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1988).

rather due to the discontinuation of traditional religious practices. Ragnar Naess and

Thomas McElwain both describe a breakdown of traditional Alevi religious life in their

respective case studies, especially where ritual is concerned.[567] McElwain's study of

an Alevi village in Gaziantep draws attention to the fact that a formal *ayn-i cem* had not

been performed for several years, and hence the *tekke* of the village is no longer in

use.[568] The causes cited for this breakdown range from the weakening of the

institution of hereditary religious authority,[569] to leftist political ideologies of Alevis

themselves[570] and an "unfavorable social climate in general."[571] One of the most

frequently cited factors in the discontinuation of traditional Alevi religiosity is the

accelerated migration of Alevis from rural areas to urban centers in Turkey and abroad

during the second half of the twentieth century. Shankland's study is particularly

illustrative as he compares patterns of urban migration between Alevi and Sunni

villages. In his area of investigation, he found that Alevi villages all suffered population

depletion, whereas the Sunni villages had actually grown in recent decades, some

considerably.[572] These circumstances and other socio-political factors have led some to

question Alevism's survival as a religious system, predicting its transformation into a

secular identification along cultural lines. According to Shankland, participation in the

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[567]Thomas McElwain, "Rites of Sacrifice in a Turkish Alevi Village," *The Problem of Ritual, Based on Papers Read at the Symposium on Religious Rites held at Abo Finland on the 13th-16th of August 1991*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck (Stockholm: Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History, 1993) 131-168; Naess, "Being an Alevi Muslim in South-western Anatolia and in Norway: The Impact of Migration on a Heterodox Community" 174-195.

[568]Thomas McElwain, "Rites of Sacrifice in a Turkish Alevi Village" 138.

[569]Shankland, "Alevi and Sunni in Rural Anatolia: Diverse Paths of Change" 60.

[570]Naess, "Being an Alevi Muslim in South-western Anatolia and in Norway: The Impact of Migration on a Heterodox Community" 182.

[571]McElwain, "Rites of Sacrifice in a Turkish Alevi Village" 139.

modernization of the Turkish state would necessarily require Alevis' "relinquishing literal belief in their myths, rituals and ideals. . . ."[573] However, as is usually the case where human subjects are involved, the future is not so easily predictable, and religious behavior is not composed solely of factors subject to the principles of social science.

While often manifesting itself in terms of national and identity politics, the recent "Alevi Revival" also has implications for traditional religious practice. Growing interest in traditional Alevi ritual and belief is witnessed through the immense amount of devotional literature appearing every year in Turkey since the late 1980s.[574] In urban areas, traditional assembly places (*tekke*) and shrines (*türbe*), which had been former possessions of the Bektashi order have been reclaimed and restored for their intended use, while new assembly places for religious services (*cem evi*) are also under construction.[575] Shankland's most recent study gives much needed attention to the effect of the current "Alevi Revival" on religious practice in a rural area.[576] Whether seen as a "breakdown" or "revival," or both, major transformations have taken place among Alevis in recent decades. As Tord Olsson observes, "Religion does not wither away or disappear under the conditions of modernization, but as a rule it is profoundly

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[572]Shankland, "Alevi and Sunni in Rural Anatolia: Diverse Paths of Change" 47.

[573]Shankland, "Alevi and Sunni in Rural Anatolia: Diverse Paths of Change" 47.

[574]For extensive bibliographies of recent literature on Alevism printed in Turkish, see Ali Yaman, *Alevilik-Bektaşilik Bibliyografyası* (Mannheim: Alevi-Bektaşi Kültür Enstitüsü, 1998); Vorhoff, "Academic and Journalistic Publications on the Alevi and Bektashi of Turkey" 23-50.

[575]On the recent re-construction of a Bektashi *tekke* see Jean Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Thierry Zarcone, eds., "Le *tekke* Bektachi de Merdivenköy," *Anatolia Moderna, Yeni Anadolu, II: Derviches et Cimetières Ottomans* (Paris: Institute Français d'études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 1991) 29-136.

[576]Shankland, *The Alevis in Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition* 146-147. On the revival among the Alevi diaspora in Germany see Ruth Mandel, "The Alevi-Bektashi Identity in a Foreign Context: The Example of Berlin," *Bektachiyya: Études sur l'ordre mystique des Bektachis et les groups relevant de Hadji Bektach* 431.

transformed."[577] The long-term implications for Alevi religious practice, of course, remain to be seen.

The ethnographic case studies cited above emphasize the difficulty in establishing a standard ritual cycle for Anatolian Alevis, especially during this period of rapid social transformation. Variation in ritual practice can be seen on one level, between Alevi and Bektashi and furthermore among the various Alevi communities.[578] This diversity is also evident in comparison with the ritual paradigms set forth in manuals describing ritual procedure as well as those presented in various *Buyruk* texts. Some of these descriptions, which are quite detailed, would only accurately apply to a specific community.

As a case in point is the liturgical use of alcohol, so fascinating to the early missionaries and ethnographers as evidence of the "cryto-Christian" identity of the Alevi-Bektashi. The presence of alcohol in the ritual context has indeed contributed to the notoriety surrounding Alevi-Bektashi ritual practice; a recent edition of the Redhouse dictionary proposes "drunken orgy" as a translation for the main ritual of the Alevi-Bektashi, the *ayin-i cem*.[579] Although Alevis generally do not prohibit the consumption of alcohol like orthodox Muslims, uniformity in its ritual role is not in evidence. In Gökalp's study of the Çepni Alevi, for example, *rakı* (a liquor flavored

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[577]Olsson, "Epilogue: The Scripturalization of Ali-Oriented Religions" 199.

[578]Mélikoff, *Hadji Bektach, un mythe et ses avatars: Genèse et évolution du soufisme populaire en Turquie* 208.

[579]"Cem," *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*, 1987 ed.

with aniseed) is consumed during the interrogation ritual (*sorgu ayini*), whereas other communities disapprove of alcohol consumption during the ritual proper.[580]

In all communities, however, formal rituals must be held under the direction of the hereditary communal leaders who are descendent from a Holy Lineage (*ocak*). These representatives are referred to as *dede, pir* or *mürşid*, according to local adaptation. While many of these lineages are subordinated to the Çelebi branch of the Bektashi order, others are what has been termed "independent" *ocaks* without formal ties to the order's main branch in the village of Hacı Bektaş.[581] In this way, the diversity of ritual practice is contingent upon the varying customs of the *ocak* to which a particular community is attached.[582] Similarly, ritual practices as they have developed over time have also been taken into account. In this respect, specific Alevi communities, such as the Çepni, the Tahtacı and certain Bulgarian Alevi communities have been variously cited as representative of previous stages in the development of Qizilbash practice and beliefs.[583] Franz Babinger first suggested this approach when he identified the

[580]Mélikoff confines ritual alcohol use to Balkan Alevis, those of Northwest Anatolia and the Mediterranean regions. See Mélikoff, "Recherche sur une coutume des Alevis: musâhip, '*frère de l'au-delà*" 75-76; For further references to the use of alcohol in ritual, see Gökalp, *Têtes rouges et bouches noires: une confrérie tribale de l'Ouest Anatolien* 205, 213-214; Naess, "Being an Alevi Muslim in South-western Anatolia and in Norway: The Impact of Migration on a Heterodox Community" 180.

[581]Ali Yaman, *Alevilikte Dedeler, Ocaklar* (İstanbul: Ufuk Matbaacılık, 1998) 80-81.

[582]Examples of Alevi lineage-hierarchical systems are found in Naess, "Being an Alevi Muslim in South-western Anatolia and in Norway: The Impact of Migration on a Heterodox Community" 180; Shankland, "Alevi and Sunni in Rural Anatolia: Diverse Paths of Change" 53-54; See also Nur Yalman, "Islamic Reform and the Mystic Tradition in Eastern Turkey" 53-54 for the hierarchical organization of a Kurdish Alevi village which does not appear to have a formal connection with the Çelebi Bektashis.

[583]Naess, "Being an Alevi Muslim in South-western Anatolia and in Norway: The Impact of Migration on a Heterodox Community" 182; de Jong, "Problems Concerning the Origins of the Qızılbāş in Bulgaria: Remnants of the Şafaviyya?" 214.

Bulgarian Qizilbash as the direct descendants of the Safavid Qizilbash.[584] Both of these

avenues of inquiry into the diversity of religious practice, whether along lines of

hierarchical lineage or historical evolution, require more comparative research.

Keeping the diversity of Alevi communities in mind, the following is not

intended to suggest a uniform model of ritual practice. However, a context for Ḥaṭā'i's

liturgical corpus of poetry is necessary. The context provided here will necessarily be a

general one. Although the similarities in ritual with the Bektashi order have been

noted,[585] the following description is drawn from sources dealing specifically with the

ritual cycle of Alevi communities.

Formal rituals, (referred to as *ayin* or *cem*)[586] may in part be categorized as rites

of passage, from introducing young members into the ritual tradition, to offering prayers

for the well-being of the deceased.[587] The *ikrar cemi* is the rite of initiation which all

Alevis, men and women, undertake at a certain age before participation in the main

ritual, the *ayin-i cem*.[588] Closely associated with the initiation (*ikrar*), is the ritual

performed to establish the social institution of *musahiplik*, often translated in this

context as "fictive kinship." The objective of this ritual is to bind together two men (or

[584]Franz Babinger, "Der Islam in Kleinasien. Neue Wege der Islam-forschung," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlädischen Gesellschaft* 76 (1922): 140.

[585]Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 211. De Jong notes that the liturgy of the Babagan or celibate branch of the Bektashis differs considerably for that of Alevis. Most Alevi communities are affiliated with the Çelebi branch of the Bektashi order. On the bilateral structure of the Bektashi order see de Jong, "The Iconography of Bektashism. A Survey of the Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects and Pictorial Art" 16; Faroqhi, "The Bektashis. A report on Current Research" 15-18.

[586]That is, *āyīn* (ceremony, ritual) and *cem'*(gathering, assembly).

[587]On funerary rituals see Shankland *The Alevis of Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition* 113-114.

[588]For a description of an initiation ritual see Irène Mélikoff, "Un Islam en marge de l'Islam: l'Alevisme," *Conférence donnée à la société Ernest Renan, Collège de France, 24 Octobre 1998*, rpt. in *Au banquet de*

two married couples) in effect creating fraternal ties with sacred significance. Although not a practice in the Bektashi order, *musahiplik* is widespread among Alevis and has received some amount of academic attention.[589] Passage through the ritual establishing *musahiplik* may be obligatory in theory, nevertheless, several recent studies report that this institution is unknown among younger generations.[590] Again, both the ritual of this institution and its social customs vary. The Tahtacı, for example, establish *musahiplik* among married couples-- a "unifying of four souls"-- as opposed to two men, as is the case in other descriptions. According to tradition, the Prophet Muḥammad first inaugurated this institution placing 'Alī in the role of his *musahip*.[591]

The *sorgu ayini* (ritual of interrogation), aims to address and rectify inner-communal transgressions and disputes. Traditionally, the *dede*, or other designated leader of a Holy Lineage, wielded authority to administer punishment to guilty parties. A form of excommunication, or communal shunning, referred to as *düşkünlük* (the state of being fallen) is cited as the most severe.[592] If a dispute cannot be settled, the involved parties may be barred from participation in the *ayin-i cem* and other religious and communal activities.

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quarant: exploration au coeur du Bektachisme-Alevisme 18-19; Eugene Borrel, "Les poètes kizil bach et leur musique" 178-180.

[589]Mélikoff, "Recherche sur une coutume des Alevis: musâhip, '*frère de l'au-delà*" 75-84; Kehl-Bodrogi, "The Significance of *musahiplik* among the Alevis" 119-137. For historical accounts of this ritual see Danon, "Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans (1619)" 266; and references in Morton, "The *chūb-i tarīq* and Qizilbāsh Ritual in Safavid Persia" 236.

[590]McElwain, "Rites of Sacrifice in a Turkish Alevi Village" 134; Naess, "Being an Alevi Muslim in South-western Anatolia and in Norway: The Impact of Migration on a Heterodox Community" 182.

[591]Kehl-Bodrogi, "The Significance of *musahiplik* among the Alevis" 122.

[592]For examples of disputes brought to this ritual see Shankland, "Alevi and Sunni in Rural Anatolia: Diverse Paths of Change" 57-58.

The *ayin-i cem*, translated as the "rite of union" or "ritual of community," is a complex ritual, lasting several hours. In many rural areas, this ritual is held infrequently, perhaps once a year, when the *dede* visits the communities under his hierarchical jurisdiction. In these cases, the rituals cited above (initiation, kinship and interrogation) are held in conjunction with the *ayin-i cem*, therefore, the ritual may last several days.[593] The *ayin-i cem* itself involves a specific sequence of episodes including prayer (*gülbank*), recitation of specific Qur'ānic verses, and the singing of poetry. Similar to practice common in dervish orders, the *ayin-i cem* includes a form of *zikir* as well as the ritual dancing known as *semah*. A variety of poetic forms are employed during specific segments throughout the *ayin-i cem*, to which we shall return. During the ritual course of the *ayin-i cem*, an animal sacrifice is presented, prepared and consumed as part of a communal meal following the ritual.[594]

The ritual sacrifice of an animal constitutes an important part of the formal rituals mentioned above, however additional sacrifices are also held throughout the calendar year to commemorate annual feasts such as Kurban Bayramı, Nevruz, the completion of the Muharrem fast, and the feast of Hızır.[595] Ritual sacrifices are also conducted during pilgrimages to local shrines (*ziyaret*). Although these occasions include features of formal rituals such as the performance of sacred music, a *dede* from a

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[593]Mélikoff, "Un Islam en marge de l'Islam: l'Alevisme" 19-20. In Shankland's case study the rituals of interrogation are held a season in advance of the *ayin-i cem*. Shankland, "Alevi and Sunni in Rural Anatolia: Diverse Paths of Change" 56-57.

[594]Mélikoff, "Un Islam en marge de l'Islam: l'Alevisme" 20.

[595]The ten-day fast undertaken during the month of Muḥarram commemorates the tragedy of Karbalā'. On the Alevi liturgical calendar, see Irène Mélikoff, "Notes sur les coutumes des Alevis: a propos de quelques fêtes d'Anatolie centrale," *Quand le crible etait dans la paille: hommage a Pertev Naili Boratav*, ed. Rémy Dor and Michele Nicolas (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1978) 273-278.

Holy Lineage is not required as in the case of the *ayin-i cem* and other formal rituals.[596]

A significant finding of McElwain's research is the growing importance of ritual sacrifices during visits to local shrines. In this particular case, the resident *dede* of the village had years before become a statistic of urban migration, subsequently bringing to an end rituals requiring the direction of a *dede* or other recognized communal leader. As a result, McElwain saw the occasions of animal sacrifice as the main form of communal religion in the village of his case study.[597]

A useful description provided by Evan Zuesse describes ritual action as, "stylized symbolic bodily actions that are centered on cosmic structure and/or sacred presences."[598] In Alevi rituals, both sacred presences and cosmic structures are recalled through poetry and song. The repertoire of Alevi ritual music is devotional, centering on figures of Alevi sacred history, bringing the "sacred presences" to the assembly. At the same time, these compositions recall events of a mythic history, expressing the origin of "cosmic structures," including that responsible for the origin of the ritual itself.

Ritual actions also extend to other facets of social activity in Alevi communities. During his fieldwork, Shankland noted the inclusion, even predominance, of ritual elements beyond the formal, "serious" ritual settings of the *ayin-i cem* and the rite of interrogation.[599] During wedding celebrations, for example, music used in rituals is commonly performed. This music conveys the origin of cosmic structures and serves to venerate the sacred presences on which formal rituals are centered. However, the

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[596]McElwain, "Rites of Sacrifice in a Turkish Alevi Village" 139.
[597]McElwain, "Rites of Sacrifice in a Turkish Alevi Village" 139.
[598]Evan Zuesse, "Ritual," *Encyclopedia of Religion.*

academic relegation of these ritual actions to the sphere of "sacred" time and space is a

artificial paradigm when applied to Alevis due to the pervasiveness of music, even

sacred music, in Alevi culture.

It is important to understand that Alevi poetry in the context of communal

gatherings, whether formal rituals or otherwise, is ideally performed as music as

opposed to outright recitation. The poetry is arranged to music and sung to the

accompaniment of a type of lute, called the *baḡlama* or *saz*, an instrument with sacred

connotations.[600] Included as a suspect characteristic in the *Mühimme Defterleri*, music

remains a characteristic element of Qizilbash ritual and culture after several

centuries.[601] Musicians perform their work as a sacred function in the context of

formal ritual and by extension during informal gatherings and public performances. The

degree of continuity of the sacred repertoire of Alevi musicians is attested to by an ethic

which values the preservation of the repertoire over innovation.[602]

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[599]David Shankland, *The Alevis in Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition* 141-142.

[600]Regarding the symbolic significance of this instrument, see Irene Markoff, "The Role of Expressive Culture in the Demystification of a Secret Sect of Islam: the Case of the Alevis of Turkey" 102.

[601]Zarinebaf-Shahr, "Qizilbash 'Heresy' and Rebellion in Ottoman Anatolia During the Sixteenth Century" 12.

[602]Irene Markoff, "Music, Saints and Ritual: Samāʿ and the Alevis of Turkey," *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam* 104

THE POETRY OF SHAH ISMAIL IN THE RITUAL CONTEXT[603]

Hey *erenler*! Hey *gaziler*!
He who comes is Murteza Ali.
He who strikes Yezid with his *batin*[604] sword
Is Murteza Ali.

He descended below,
Sending his supplications to God,
He who eats a single grape with the Forty
Is Murteza Ali.

He gave his voice to the crane,
The *imams* mourn for him.
He who led his own camel
Is Murteza Ali.

Bringing food from the hereafter,
The lover suffers for him.
He who swallows Muhammed's ring
Is Murteza Ali.

The apple is the fruit of Paradise,
My face turns yellow, do not fade,
I am Hatayi, do not be heedless,
He who comes is Murteza Ali.[605]

In addition to the poet's *maḫlaṣ* revealed in the last stanza, the composition

above holds several features in common with Ḫaṭā'i's *dīvān* poetry. These include the

marriage of martial and mystical archetypes (*ġāzī / eren*), the image of 'Alī as an

omnipresent entity, and the vengeful reference to the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd (d. 683).

At the same time, this composition contains other features distinct from Ḫaṭā'ī's *dīvān*

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[603]The Turkish versions of all of the poems translated in this section appear, in their entirety, in
Appendix D.

[604](*Bāṭin*): interior, hidden, esoteric.

poetry, beyond the syllabic prosody. These images are more akin to themes found throughout poetry of the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. The images of the swallowing of Muḥammad's ring and "The Forty," for example, refer to the Alevi-Bektashi cycle of the Prophet's ascension to heaven (mi'rāc), a sacred event which although mentioned in Shah Ismail's dīvān, is only fully elaborated the nefes attributed to him. The crane stands as the central image in the Alevi ritual "dance of the cranes" (turnalar semahı), as the crane is also a symbol of 'Alī. "He who led his own camel" recalls the tradition in which 'Alī, despite his physical death, guided his camel through his own funeral procession. This particular tradition, according to Frederick de Jong, was transmitted exclusively through Alevi-Bektashi poetry (nefes).[606]

Due to the immense amount of poetry attributed to Ḥaṭāʾī found both in Alevi-Bektashi manuscript collections of poetry, as well as numerous anthologies, necessarily only a selection will be presented here. These selections have been chosen to represent Ḥaṭāʾī's thematic range in the ritual context. Unlike classical Islamicate poetry, Alevi-Bektashi poetry is not categorized according to structural composition and may conform to both classical and folk prosodies and various rhyme schema; it is the composition's

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[605]Arslanoğlu, ed., Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri 522-523. See appendix D: 1 for additional references for this composition.

[606]De Jong, "The Iconography of Bektashism. A Survey of the Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects and Pictorial Art" 16; Birge, The Bektashi Order of Dervishes 139. This tradition can also be traced to the Turkish versions of the Abū Muslimnāme-- an epic tradition narrating the exploits of Abū Muslim (d. 755) which was also employed by the Safavids in the Anatolia to propagate their ethos in connection with 'Alid loyalty. On the Safavids' use of this epic in Anatolia see Irène Mélikoff, Abu Muslim: Le "Porte Hache" de Khorasan dans la tradition epique Turco-Iranienne (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962) 91; Babayan, Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran 138-139.

content that dictates its category and ritual application.[607] This selection includes examples representing the major poetic forms (referred to generally as *nefes* or *deyiş*, according to regional usage[608]) that are featured in Alevi rituals. They include: the *düvāz imām* (commemorating the twelve *imāms*), *mersiye* (lament for the tragedy of Karbalā'), *mi'rāçlama* (verse narrative of the Alevi-Bektashi version of the Prophet Muḥammad's ascension to heaven [*mi'rāc*, Arabic: *mi'rāj*]) and *semah* ([Arabic: *samā'*] poetry employed specifically during the ritual dance).

An additional category of ritual poetry pertains more directly to the form and meaning of the ritual itself. These compositions serve to address the sacred themes of a particular ritual or specific episodes integrated within the ritual structure.[609] As seen in the previous chapter, an early contribution of the Ḥaṭā'i tradition to this particular strategy is included in the *Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār* which outlines twelve discrete rites (*erkān*) of what is possibly a ritual of initiation dating from the seventeenth century.

This latter category also includes compositions dedicated to the significance of the "Twelve Services" (*on iki hizmet*). Throughout the course of the *ayin-i cem*, various functionaries assist the *dede* and designated hierarchs by the execution of practical ceremonial tasks-- from lighting the sacred candle to commence the ritual, to preparing the sacrifice to be served for the communal meal following the ritual proper. Together,

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[607]As is the case of the *ilāhī*, the term applied to poetry particular to Sunni *tarīqats*. See Feldman, "Mysticism, Didacticism and Authority in the Liturgical Poetry of the Halvetî Dervishes of Istanbul" 243, 245-246.

[608]Melih Duygulu, ed., *Alevî-Bektaşî Müziğinde Deyişler* (İstanbul: M. Duygulu, 1997) 8-11.

these officiators, including the *dede*, are referred to as the "Twelve Services" (*oniki hizmet*). Although the tasks and nomenclature for these services vary, theoretically they number twelve. Each of these twelve symbolizes a figure of 'Alid sacred history. The role of the *ferraş* (sometimes referred to as *süpürgeci*, or "sweeper"), whose task it is to sweep the central ritual space (*meydan*) represents 'Ali's loyal Persian companion, Salmān Fārsī, according to some accounts.[610] According to other paradigms, Salmān Fārsī's role is that of the *ibrikçi* or water-carrier, who assists the congregation in ritual washing (*abdest*).[611] In the following composition attributed to Ḥaṭā'i, Salmān Fārsī stands as the model of emulation for two of the *hizmet*:

The water carrier (*ibrikçi*) is a man who
Distinguishes discipline from mysteries.
Not everyone can realize this service,
He must be a Selman who has abandoned himself.

On this path a *saki*[612] is benefic,
Like Selman Pak[613] he will know truth.
In his duty may he be present and eternal,
May he serve the poor and sumptuous alike.[614]

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[609]For this classification of ritual compositions see Gölpınarlı, ed., *Alevî-Bektaşî Nefesleri* 161 and Mélikoff, *Hadji Bektach, un mythe et ses avatars: Genèse et évolution du soufisme populaire en Turquie* 241

[610]Mélikoff, "La cérémonie du *ayn-i djem* (Anatolie centrale)" 68; Gökalp, *Têtes rouges et bouches noires: une confrérie tribale de l'Ouest Anatolien* 210-211.

[611]Markoff, "Music, Saints and Ritual: Samā' and the Alevis of Turkey" 100; Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 179-180. According to Birge's sources, these ritual functionaries were instituted by 'Ali among his children. For other paradigms of the *oniki hizmet* see A. Celâlettin Ulusoy, *Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş Veli ve Alevî-Bektaşî Yolu* (Hacıbektaş: n. p., 1986) 264; Gökalp, *Têtes rouges et bouches noires: une confrérie tribale de l'Ouest Anatolien* 210; Gölpınarlı, "Kızıl-Baş," *İslâm Anskiklopedisi.*

[612]As the "cup-bearer," the *saki* serves water to the assembly as a symbolic tribute to Ḥusayn's suffering at Karbalā'. In some accounts the *ibrikçi* and the *saki hizmet*s are combined.

[613]"Selman the Pure," an honorific title of Salmān Fārsī's.

In the ritual setting, Ḥaṭāʾī's poetry is fundamentally connected to the commemoration of "sacred presences," serving to express the veneration of a myriad of figures. For example, poems dedicated to the twelve *imāms*, referred to as *düvāz imām* or *düvāzdeh imām*, constitute a considerable portion of Ḥaṭāʾī's liturgical corpus. Generally, *düvāz imām nefes* provide few details pertaining to each individual *imām*; their veneration is achieved collectively through the mention of their names in rapid succession, usually within the space of a few stanzas. As in other forms of liturgical poetry, *düvāz imām* compositions provide a vehicle through which the veneration of the women associated with the *ehl-i beyt* is also expressed. Fatma/Fatıma (Fāṭima, Muḥammad's daughter and ʿAlī's wife) and Hadice (Khadi.ja, Muḥammad's first wife, and mother of Fāṭima) are the most frequently mentioned of these women. *Düvāz imām* compositions frequently serve practical purposes beyond the primary purpose of veneration, explicitly referring to the ritual episode at hand. The following *düvāz imām*, for example, is performed in connection with the ritual sacrifice:[615]

To reach the mystery of the Creator intelligence will not suffice,
To Muhammed-Ali we offer this sacrifice,
For the light of God's power, may I be a sacrifice,
To Hasan, Hüseyin we offer this sacrifice.

I was in the grasp of İmam Zeynel,
I was an intimate (*dost*) of Muhammed Bâkır,

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[614]Ömer Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* (Adana: Gözde Yayınevi, 1996) 21. See Appendix D: 2.

[615]As in Yaman's description, Mehmet Yaman, *Alevilikte Cem: İnanç, İbadet, Erkân* (İstanbul: Ufuk Reklamcılık ve Matbaacılık, 1998) 44-45.

I was seated on Câ'fer-i Sâdık's *post*,[616]
To Musa Kazım and Rıza we offer this sacrifice.

I was in the light of Muhammed Takî,
I was in Aliyyü-n Nakî's mystery,
I was in the abode of Hasanü-l Asker,
To Muhammed Mehdi we offer this sacrifice.

Those bound to the *Şah-i Merdan*[617] are the saved of Noah's people,
The frontiers of this path bound to truth,
A yearly sacrifice is the debt of the seeker (*tâlib*),
To Muhammed Mustafa we offer this sacrifice

Those reaching the truth, traversing the path,
They spread celestial garments to the highest heavens,
They see the face of Muhammed-Ali,
To the path of the *eren* we offer this sacrifice.

I am Şah Hatayi, does each soul know?
The great men walk towards the sacrifice,
Its claws are the beads of the rosary (*tesbih*), its blood is coral,
To the Twelve *imams* we offer this sacrifice.[618]

The use of the first person in this *düvāz imām* should not detract from the collective function in the ritual. When performed in the context of ritual, the poet (and by extension, the musician performing the poetry) expresses his art on behalf of the assembly, rendering the *nefes* an articulated act of collective belief and worship. In this way, poetry brings the assembly together in much the same way as prayer. Hatā'i's liturgical works often pivot on phrases such as "I have erred" (*hata ettim*), drawing on the pervasive understanding of Hatā'i as "one with fault." The collective admission of

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[616]A sheepskin used to mark the place of the *dede* and other hierarchs in the ritual space. Traditionally, the number of *posts* is twelve, representing the presence of other saints and holy figures. See Markoff, "Music, Saints and Ritual: Samā' and the Alevis of Turkey" 100; Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 178-189.

[617]"The Shah of brave men"; an epitaph for 'Alî.

sin and vow to repent is a ritual episode referred to as *tövbe* (Arabic: *tawba*).[619]

Ḥaṭā'i's articulations of culpability are appropriate for ritual occasions in which

forgiveness is sought, either collectively or on the behalf of the deceased. The funerary

rites of Alevi communities, referred to as *dar çekme* would constitute such an occasion.

As Shankland notes, the designation of this ritual as *dar çekme* ("enduring the gallows")

connotes divine judgment, as it is believed that the dead are held accountable for their

sins.[620]   Ḥaṭā'i's poetry which takes penitence as its point of departure frequently

appears in the form of the *düvāz imām*, but also takes the form of a general eulogy, as in

the following, where the sacred presences range from ante-Muḥammadan prophets to

charismatic Anatolian luminaries associated with the early Bektashi order:

Morning has come, the joyous day is born,
I have erred (*hata ettim*), forgive my sin.
Light pours onto what He has bestowed,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For the rain that falls, the wind that blows,
For the path that leads straight to the *dergah*.[621]
For Hacı Bektaş Veli, in the land of Rum,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For the eighty-thousand *eren* of Rum,
For the ninety-thousand *pir* of Horasan.
For the light of Huseyin and Hasan,

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[618]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 476-477. See Appendix D: 3. See also "*imām*" in the Glossary.

[619]For repentance as a separate ritual in the Bektashi context see Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 170-171.

[620]Shankland, *The Alevis of Turkey* 219; For a description of the *dar çekme* ritual see Yaman, *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç-İbâdet ve Ahlâk İlkeleri* 200-203; On the employment of ‚aṭi'£ in the funerary rituals of the Tahtacı, see Fuat Bozkurt, "State-Community Relations in the Restructuring of Alevism," *Alevi Identity: Cultural, Religious and Social Perspectives* 90.

[621]A dervish assembly place, or sanctuary.

I have erred, forgive my sin.

For Hüseyin Gazi, for the true *er*,
For the earth you contemplated, then created.
For those guiding from the torturous state,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

Without a guide and a *baba*,[622] a *talib* cannot be,
Is chaff separated from wheat without wind and *yaba*?[623]
A creature cannot be without sin, nor sin without repentance (*tövbe*),
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For the tears of the Prophet Job,
That fall and burrow through stone,
For the sacred head of the Prophet Joseph,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For what you gave to Moses on Sinai,
For the trumpet of Judgment Day you gave to Jesus.
For the light of the sun and the moon,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For all the flowers sown,
For the Twelve pure innocents.[624]
You are the Possessor, for the abundance you hold,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

Hatayi calls out, *enelhak*,
You are distant from the unbelieving.
You are the Possessor, I am not apart from you,
I have erred, forgive my sin.[625]

In addition to the veneration of saints and prophets, Haṭā'i's poetry in the ritual

context also serves to commemorate events of sacred history and myth. The

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[622]Literally, father; a hierarch of the order.

[623]A two-pronged fork used to separate wheat.

[624]*Maṣūm-ı pāk* is the epitaph given to the children of the twelve *imjms* who were martyred during childhood; the number cited however is generally fourteen. For their identities see Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 147-148.

[625]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 341-342. See Appendix D: 4.

performance of these poetic forms are integral to the structure of the *ayin-i cem*. The

mersiye, for example, is the general term for an elegy or lamentation. The most

common *mersiye* in Alevi-Bektashi poetry pertains to the martyrdom of Ḥusayn, the

second Shī'ī *imām*, during the battle of Karbalā' in 680. The massacre of Ḥusayn, his

family and supporters under the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd, as the most important event in

Shī'ī history generally, commands a central place in the Alevi-Bektashi memory as

well.[626] A *mersiye* dedicated to the tragedy of Karbalā', such as the following, is

performed during the closing episode of the *ayin-i cem*.[627] Although the poem refers to

a historic event, it is an event in which the ultimate outcome lies in the future, on the

Day of Judgment:

Today, the day of mourning has come,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.
Your pain has pierced my heart,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

Let us go to Kerbela,
Let us heal the pained heart,
Let us cry, burning,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

Kerbela, a distant destiny,
My heart is in grief,
Was it Yezid who destroyed you?
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

In the city of Kufa there was war,

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[626]Although formal commemorations of Ḥusayn's martyrdom among Alevis, however, differ considerably from commemorations as they developed among *imāmī* Shī'īs. See Metin And, "The Muharram Observances in Anatolian Turkey," *Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran*, ed. Peter J. Chelkowski (New York: New York University Press, 1979) 243-252.

[627]As in Yaman's description in *Alevilikte Cem: İnanç, İbadet, Erkân* 74-75.

The believers filled Baghdad,
Retaliation awaits Judgment Day,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

The clover is planted in Kerbela,
Its long length, its thin seed,
I am Şah Hatayi,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.[628]

An additional poetic form of this narrative type, the *mi'râçlama*, relates the Prophet Muḥammad's ascension to heaven (*mi'âc*). The version of the Prophet's ascension relayed in the Alevi-Bektashi tradition, however, is unique. It diverges considerably from the Ibn Isḥāq's well-known version of the Prophet's night journey and ascension, as well as from versions of the event narrated in other Sufi and Shī'i sources.[629] As Ahmet Yürür's study of the *mi'râçlama* has shown, although the form is also attributed to other Alevi-Bektashi poets, versions of the *mi'râçlama* attributed toḤatā'i, (arranged according to both *'arūż* and *hece vezni* meter) predominate in the ritual context.[630]

The ascension of the Prophet Muḥammad, as narrated in Alevi-Bektashi *mi'râçlama* and elsewhere,[631] is regarded as the "prototype" for the *ayin-i cem* as a

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[628]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 517-518. See Appendix D: 8.

[629]See Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* 159-175 for other elaborations of this event.

[630]Yürür, "*Mi'râçlama* in the "Liturgy of the Alevis of Turkey: A Structural and Gnostic Analysis" 3, 14-15.

[631]A version of the *mi'râc* is narrated in Aytekin, ed., *Buyruk* 7; for other summaries and interpretations of the *mi'râc* see de Jong, "The Iconography of Bektashism. A Survey of the Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects and Pictorial Art" 8; Mélikoff, "Le probļeme bektaşi-alévi: quelques derņieres considérations" 28; Gölpınarlı, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Nefesleri* 128; Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 137-138.

whole.[632]   The ritual parallels are specifically drawn from an episode during the ascension of Muḥammad when he is led to the "Assembly of the Forty" (*kırklar meclisi*) in heaven, also referred to as the "Agape of the Forty" (*kırklar sofrası / kırklar sohbeti*). Events narrated in the *mi'rāc* simultaneously pivot around 'Alī's manifestation to the Prophet in various guises.   At the beginning of the Prophet's journey, 'Alī appears to him as a hostile lion guarding the door of the celestial *dergah* (dervish sanctuary) where the Forty are assembled:

He reached the door of the *dergah* and saw a lion sleeping there,
The lion immediately broke out in a fierce attack.

The Mystery of Creation said to him, do not be afraid, my dear,
Place your ring in his mouth, as he wants a sign from you.

He placed the ring in his mouth and the lion became calm,
Muhammed was given passage and the lion went into concealment.[633]

The identities of all the forty individuals present at this assembly are not known as various constellations of "the Forty" constitute a pervasive feature of Anatolian saint devotion.[634]   Some of the central figures mentioned the Alevi-Bektashi *mi'āc* narratives include the angel Gabriel, 'Alī, Fāṭima and other members of the Prophet's family.   Salmān Fārsī is also prominent in the assembly, as shown in the following verses which describe Muḥammad's struggle to understand this gathering of the Forty:

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[632]Mélikoff, "La cérémonie au *ayn-i djem* (Anatolie centrale)" 65.

[633]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 432-434. See Appendix D: 5.

[634]See Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans* 2: 391-402 on the significance of "The Forty" in Christian and Muslim piety.

They call you the Forty,
Why, then is one missing?
Selman has gone to beg for alms,
He is the one missing from among us.

Selman returned from begging for alms,
Enunciating *hu* he entered the assembly,[635]
Muhammed became intoxicated,
His crown falling from his head.[636]

The preceding verses allude to the culmination of this heavenly gathering during which a single grape is crushed, miraculously producing juice from which all of the assembly partakes, achieving a state of intoxication. Following this, the Prophet, together with the assembly of the Forty, proceed to perform an ecstatic dance referred to in this context as the *semah*. In the following *mi'râçlama*, this episode unfolds as follows:

He [Muhammed] reached the *sohbet* of the Forty, was seated and became calm,
The gathering prostrated before God's commander.

From the Divine came a hand, crushing (a grape) into *şerbet*,[637]
Muhammed saw his ring (on the hand) and was astonished.

Selman was there, saying "Şeydullah,"[638]
Selman filled his cup with a single grape.

From that cup each of them drank and filled with wonder,
The faithful Muslims, stripped and burning, began the *semah*.

Everyone fluttering their hands they called Allah, Allah,
Muhammed entered the *semah* with the Forty.

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[635]*Hū* (Literally, "He"); In this context, the Arabic third-person singular pronoun refers to God. The articulation of *hu* is employed as a salutation and close to prayers and other liturgical segments.

[636]Yaman, *Alevilikte Cem: İnanç, İbadet, Erkân* 64.

[637]Literally, a drink; any beverage in the ritual or sacred context.

[638]Literally, "something for God"; customarily said when begging for alms.

The Prophet's ascension and subsequent participation in the "Agape of the Forty" results in an epiphany in which he realizes 'Ali's divine essence.[639] As shown in the denouement of the above *mi'āçlama*, upon returning from his ascension, the Prophet shares this realization with 'Ali himself:

The worship ended, the great ones (*erkan*) took their place,
They sent Muhammed away to remember the happiness there.

Muhammed returned home, he called upon Ali-Hakk,
He said, place my ring before me, truthful Mürteza.

You are the first, you are the last, the master of the saints,
Everyone is your follower, he said, Oh Shah of the saints!

I am Can Hatayi, aware of what is beyond this secret,
Let these words of truth convince the corrupted souls.[640]

As the ritual structure of the *ayin-i cem* reflects the "cosmic structure" of the *mi'rāc*, the events narrated in the *mi'rāçlama* are emulated in the ritual by order of procedure: during the course of the *ayin-i cem* the performance of the *mi'rāçlama* leads directly into the performance of the *semah*. The following *semah* attributed to Haṭā'i is an example of the most common version of the *semah*, the "*semah* of the Forty."[641] This *semah* further recalls the events of the Prophet's *mi'rāc*, with explicit reference to the gathering of the Forty:

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[639]Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* 138; De Jong, "The Iconography of Bektashism. A Survey of the Themes and Symbolism in Clerical Costume, Liturgical Objects and Pictorial Art" 8.

[640]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 432-434. See Appendix D: 5.

[641]Markoff, "Music, Saints and Ritual: Samā' and the Alevis of Turkey" 106.

I reached the *meydan*[642] of the Forty,
Come here, they said.
I greeted them with honor,
Enter the *meydan* they said.

The Forty stood in one place,
Sit, they said, they gave me a place.
They set a table before me,
Extend your hand to the *lokma* they said.

The hearts of the Forty are transparent,
The heart of the believer is strength.
You have come from the source,
Tell us who you are, they said.

Enter the *semah*, dance together,
May your heart be a mirror.
Remain in the cauldron boiling forty years,
This flesh is still raw, they said.

What you have seen with your eye,
Do not express by words.
Then, together with us,
You will also be a guest, they said.

Do not fall into the world's excess,
Supplicate in the presence of *Hakk.*
In the water of Kevser,[643]
Dip your finger, they said.

I am Şah Hatayi, what is your state?
Give thanks to God, raise your hand.
Cut your tongue away from slander,
Show justice to everyone, they said.[644]

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[642]The central ritual space.

[643]A fountain in Paradise.

[644]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 520-521. See Appendix D: 6.

The *semah* is a poetic-musical form in which regional variation is especially marked. The following *semah*, the *turnalar semahı* (*semah* of the cranes), refers to the crane whose movement is seen as the model of the dance form itself.[645] A pervasive image in Turkish folk literature generally, in Alevi-Bektashi literature, the crane (*turna*) symbolizes 'Ali, and at the same time is seen as a manifestation of God.[646]

While coming forth from the lands of Yemen,
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?
While turning the *semah* in the face of the wind,
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?

My Shah, knocking down the fortress of Hayber,
How many Yezids are destroyed while they watch!
Muhammed, at that moment ascending to the *mirac*,
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?

He who has seen the tracks of the fish in the sea,
Knelt and kissed the dust of the tomb,
He heard Ali's excited cry,
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?

Turning the *semah* in the face of the wind,
The Forty, drinking from the wine,
Scattering the sustenance of Muhammed's rose,
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?

Is Shah Hatayi worth as a beggar?
My tongue lavishly recalls the Lord,
The Twelve *imams*, descendants of the fathers,
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?[647]

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[645]Mélikoff, "L'ordre des Bektachis et les groupes relevant de Hadji Bektach. Survol du problème" 5.

[646]Mélikoff, "La cérémonie au *ayn-i djem* (Anatolie centrale)" 65.

[647]Ömer Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 149. See Appendix D: 7.

Both the *mi'râçlama* and *semah* forms attributed to Ḥaṭāʾi serve to narrate and commemorate a specific myth of origin. This myth surrounding the Prophet's ascension to the gathering of "The Forty," which is so central to the structure of the *ayin-i cem*, is at the same time reflective of the origin of the ritual itself. The use of Ḥaṭāʾi's poetry in the ritual context to relate this sacred myth recalls the placement of his panegyric to ʿAlī in the *Menāḳıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār*. In that influential pious text, Ḥaṭāʾi is called upon to relay a myth in which ʿAlī's slave, wife, sword and mule miraculously emanate from Gabriel's sword to serve "Divine Truth" on earth. In the ritual context, Ḥaṭāʾi's poetic expression is employed similarly to relay an event which is seen as the origin of the ritual life of the community.

In contrast to Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry, the liturgical poetry attributed to Ḥaṭāʾi provides little reminiscence of Shah Ismail's former glory. As shown in the selections above, Ḥaṭāʾi's liturgical role as the expounder of sacred events leaves little room to expound upon the poet's personal significance. While in the Ḥaṭāʾi tradition, references to a mystical union frequently recall the ecstatic utterances (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) of Ḥaṭāʾi's *dīvān* poetry through the phrase, "I am the Divine Truth,"-- the usage of this phrase conforms more to Ernst's characterization of later *shaṭḥ* expressionism as a "conventional rhetorical device."[648] In other words, the poet's state is not the central concern of Ḥaṭāʾi's *nefes* as it is in many of his *dīvān* poems. Rather, in the Ḥaṭāʾi tradition, expressions of *shaṭḥ* reflect a spirit of historical transcendence, where the mystical union is achieved collectively by the assembly in the ritual setting.

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[648]Carl Ernst, *Words of Ecstasy in Sufism* 6.

In the ritual context, Shah Ismail's historical identity is almost completely relegated to the background. However, as Irène Mélikoff insists, this was not always the case. Shah Ismail was at one time imbued with the same charisma, if not more, accorded other figures in immortalized in his *nefes* which are performed in rituals. Mélikoff observes the historic fusion of the temporal and spiritual Shah most in evidence during the episode of the *ayin-i cem* in which the *tevhid* (Arabic: *tawḥīd*) is recited. According to Mélikoff, "The [*tevhid*] prayer is perceived as an invocation to the spiritual Shah, Ali, Shah-i Merdan. But during the lifetime of Shah Isma'il, the secular Shah was perceived as being one with the spiritual Shah."[649] Now commonly known as the *illallah* genre, the form is derived from the audible *zikir* of classic Sufi practice:[650]

"Hakk" there is no God but God,
There is no Shah but God,
There is no God but God,
Ali is the master, the beautiful Shah,
Yes, by God, my Shah, yes, by God.[651]

In Alevi liturgy, this or other similar *tevhid* litanies are articulated during stanzaic intervals of an appropriate *nefes*-- during a *düvāz imām* or *mersiye*, for example.[652] In the ritual context, the *nefes* chosen to be integrated with the *tevhid* may be attributed to Ḥaṭā'i, though not necessarily. However, Ḥaṭā'i's association with the

[649]Mélikoff, "The Worship of Shah Isma'il in Turkey in Past and Present Time" 68.
[650]I thank Irene Markoff for clarifying this.
[651]"Hakk la illahi ill'Allah/ İll'allah şah ill'Allah/ La illahi ill'Allah/ Ali Murşid güzel şah/ Eyvallah şahım eyvallah!" Quoted from Mélikoff, *Hadji Bektach: un mythe et ses avatars* 205.

form is demonstrated by the following *nefes* dedicated to the significance of this ritual

episode. Here, Ḥaṭā'i repeatedly emphasizes that Shaykh˘ af£ instituted the practice of

tevhid recitation. In this way, the *tevhid* is traced to the poet's Sufi lineage rather than

to his identity as the historical Shah:

First, God's name is recited,
Tevhid was the pinnacle of worship.
This has been with us from (the time) of my *pir*, Şeyh Safi,
The source of the Sufi brothers is *tevhid*.

Whoever does not honor Şeyh Safi's command
Shall fatigue on this path, never reaching the goal.
Other peoples do not respect him,
Of all worship, *tevhid* is the pinnacle.

With *tevhid*, work with out end is completed,
With *tevhid*, the world becomes balanced,
With *tevhid*, the *talib* reaches *Hakk*,
Tevhid is the cure for the agony that had none.

Without a guide, without a partner, without a cloak,
Turning against their vow, they burn without faith.
Soon with sincerity he calls out, with confidence,
Tevhid is the gift of Şeyh Safi.

I am Can Hatayi, *tevhid* is the ocean,
Who are those who do not perform *tevhid* to us?
It is the knowledge acquired from Şeyh Safi,
Tevhid is the rite of the Twelve *imams*.[653]

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[652]Yaman, *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç-İbâdet ve Ahlâk ᵒlkeleri* 233; Yaman, *Alevilikte Cem: İnanç, İbadet, Erkân* 74-75; Mélikoff, *Hadji Bektach, un mythe et ses avatars* 205.

[653]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 419. See Appendix D: 9.

CONCLUSION

It remains to be shown whether Qizilbash ritual derived from earlier Islamic influences, or even earlier, to pre-Islamic ritual forms as it has been suggested. It can be said with certainty, however, that communal ritual became edified an integral part of Qizilbash religious practice since its formation as a permanent sectarian community in the sixteenth century. Both Safavid and Ottoman sources attest to occasions of Qizilbash assemblies during which rituals were conducted at great risk to the participants. The limited number of historical sources that provide insight into the content of historical Qizilbash ritual also attest to a continuity of form and custom: the centrality of poetry set to music, ritual dancing, the participation of women and the institution of special officiators constitute basic features of Qizilbash ritual which have endured to the present day.

Historical evidence alone does not prove Shah Ismail's "invention" of Alevi rituals practiced today; how the poetry attributed to him contributes to the meaning of the ritual, however, can more clearly be shown. Shah Ismail's poetry, as seen through the range of its liturgical placement, continues to serve a pivotal ritual function by commemorating sacred presences and establishing cosmic structures as defined by Zuesse. As Mélikoff suggests, and as it is also suggested from Membré's account, it is likely Shah Ismail's poetry at one time served as the vehicle by which to express worship of the temporal Shah. Although, it is uncertain precisely when the worship of Shah Ismail was extracted from Qizilbash ritual, leaving room for the veneration of other "sacred presences" of Qizilbash-Bektashi devotion.

However, the transformation of Shah Ismail's poetry can be contextualized: that is, within the ritual life of the community and through a process of attribution. And it is within this context that Ḥaṭā'i's poetry extends the commemoration of sacred presences to include those gathered to formally commemorate these presences. In this way, the Ḥaṭā'i tradition elevates the ritual assembly itself as a reflection of the sacred archetypes, presences and cosmic structures at the core of Alevi-Bektashi beliefs:

I came upon a group they call the saved,
They had all joined hands,
Where is your station I asked,
They had reached the station of *hakıykat*.[654]

They possessed loads of rubies and pearls,
They had gathered them on scales,
They had planted affectionate speech in the lover's garden,
Learn the language of the garden keeper.

They had taken their milk from the reservoir of power,
They mixed their starter yeast from "The Forty,"
He who fasts and observes the duties
Is not a creature deserving of injustice.

I drank the lover's wine and became dust,
I put on the clothes of divine power and became pure,
I reached *Hakk* and became one,
I do not pay any mind to death.

Who drinks the *şerbet* from the lover is needy,
Who gives a sign to the Forty is wanting,
Shah Hatayi consents to his service,
May my Lord protect the believer.[655]

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[654](Arabic: *ḥaqīqat*): "Absolute Reality."

[655]Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 87-88. See Appendix D: 10.

And within the context of ritual performance, the poetry attributed to Ḥaṭāʾi's addresses a "people of purity" with a new significance. No longer understood as his precious ǧāzīs, as in his dīvān poetry, the audience of Shah Ismail's poetry has come to constitute a ritual "assembly of God" gathered in honor of the eternal, rather than the temporal, Shah. As seen in the last stanza of the following nefes, the poet's historical identity is secondary as his self-hood has been obliterated-- not within the triumph of mystical union-- but within the sacred identity of the community itself:

We are the slaves of İmam Cafer,
May our words be hidden,
We died before death,
May we unite with the beloved.

This is the beginning, this is the end,
Here is also love,
In every religion is infidelity,
Here infidelity becomes faith.

Here pride and conceit have no place,
Neither you nor I exist,
If you kill a man there is no blood,
Blood comes if you kill the nefes.

The servants of faith are gathered,
Affectionate speech uttered in the assembly,
The inquisition at the Last Judgment is conducted,
Here the exalted assembly is created.

The drink of purity is consumed,
Difficult questions discerned,
The guilty are left behind,
The enlightened are a treasure of blessings.

They discuss Ene'l-Hak,
Seek a remedy for your only pain.
Among the 366 crossroads,
The eighth bears the origin of faith.

I am Shah Hatayi, I am at the gate of the soul,
I am present in the assembly of God,
You are in you I am in me,
Neither you nor I exist.[656]

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[656]Yaman, ed., *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç-İbâdet ve Ahlâk İlkeleri* 96-97.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION: FROM SAINT TO SINNER

Historians locate the fall of Shah Ismail's "messianic pretensions" to the battlefield of Chaldiran, where Shah Ismail suffered a moral and military defeat against the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I in 1514. Despite this, Shah Ismail holds a permanent place of veneration among other figures of Alevi-Bektashi sacred history recalled through poetry, legend and folklore. Literature produced subsequent to Shah Ismail's death (both attributed to and inspired by him) achieved transcendence over his personal messianic significance, reeling from the debacle in 1514 and further squandered until his alcohol-related death in 1524. It has been suggested here that Shah Ismail's pious significance was preserved due to a transformation of his image from a divine king and demagogue to a didactic master. Just as the *dīvān* poetry of Shah Ismail shaped his image as the divine incarnate, the metamorphosis of his significance was accomplished through his extra-*dīvān* attributions. It was also suggested that the true demise of Shah Ismail's messianic pretensions lies within these literary and ritual contexts rather than within any historical event.

As Vladimir Minorsky first noted several decades earlier, later versions of Shah Ismail's *dīvān* were purged of certain images revealing beliefs held by the poet in his

divine essence.[657] From the following couplet (*beyt*) from the Paris *dīvān*, it is Shah

Ismail's image as a "saint" which is altered in subsequent versions of his *dīvān*:

My name is "the saint" Shah Ismail,
[*Menüm adum velī Şāh İsmāʿīldür*]
It is Ḥaṭāʾī, Ḥaṭāʾī, Ḥaṭāʾī,.
[*Ḥaṭāʾīdür, Ḥaṭāʾīdür Ḥaṭāʾī*][658]

The same lines as they appear in the Paris II and Leningrad *dīvīns* are as follows:

Although he has the name Shah Ismail,
[*Ve lākin adıyla Şāh İsmāʿīl*]
His pseudonym is Ḥaṭāʾī, Ḥaṭāʾī.
[*Taḫallusi Ḥaṭāʾīdür Ḥaṭāʾī*][659]

In this way, Shah Ismail's image as an individual in close proximity to the

divine-- literally, a "friend" of God-- is stricken from his poetic legacy. Blatant purges

of this type are less in evidence among Alevi-Bektashi sources, however, where Shah

Ismail's poetry became transformed through the prolific expansion and re-invention of

his poetic corpus. As an exception to this general phenomenon is a selection attributed

to Ḥaṭāʾī, featured in a recently published version of the *Şeyḫ Ṣafī Buyruğu*.[660] This

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[657]Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1026.

[658]Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḥaṭāʾī* #24, *beyt* 7.

[659]As cited in Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḥaṭāʾī* 28.

[660]Yaman, ed., *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç-İbâdet ve Ahlâk İlkeleri* 151.

composition also appears in the Tashkent version of Shah Ismail's *dīvān*, and this translation is from the latter:

My name is Ismail, I am the son of Hayder,
I am the most humble servant of 'Alī.

In the faith my character of Hüseyn,
I am the guide of the holy ones.

Show my *ġāzīs* respect,
In the abode of the heart I am one of them.

Do not deem me apart from them,
Be certain that I am their leader.

I am the *pīr* and the sovereign of this world,
I am Hatā'ī, an inferior (*kemter*) to the Shah.[661]

Appearing within a pious text, the *Buyruk*, Shah Ismail's historical identity is nevertheless recalled as the as one of the *ġāzīs*, as the "son of Hayder." However, within the text of the *Buyruk*, Shah Ismail's historical mission now seems a distant memory. This is in contrast to the "belligerent spirit" associated with Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry, wherein any allusions to his lineage or his *ġāzīs* are invariably accompanied by a call for a bloody revenge. What is unique about the work cited above from the *Buyruce*, is its extended version included in the Paris *dīvān*. Characteristic of the demagogue we know from history, in this version, the poet's violent language is reflective of his military mission while his existential identity is pantheistic and all-encompassing:

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[661] See Appendix E: 1.

My name is Shāh Ismāʿīl, I am God's mystery,
I am the leader of all these *gāzīs*.

My mother is Fāṭıma, my father is ʿAlī,
I am included among the Twelve *imāms*.

I avenged my forefathers' blood from Yezīd,
Know that my life is a sacrifice for Ḥayder.

I am the immortal Ḥızır, Jesus, Mary
And the Alexander of this age.

May Yezīd, the heathens and the damned
See that I am freed from the hypocrites' *kıble*.[662]

I posses prophethood, the mystery of saints,
I follow the footsteps of Muḥammed Muṣṭafā.

The point of my sword conquered the world,
I am ʿAlī Mürtaża's faithful servant (*kanber*).[663]

My great *Şeyḫ* is Ṣafī, my father is Ḥayder,
I am the true Cāʿfer[664] of the brave.

As Ḥüseyn, I curse Yezīd,
I am Ḥaṭāʾī, a slave of the Shah.[665]

These alternative versions of the same composition represent the
transformation of Shah Ismail's image within the later sectarian milieu. However, the
means by which this transformation was achieved did not merely consist of an alteration
of Shah Ismail's existent poetic works, as in the rare example above. Rather, the new
image emerged primarily through the expansion of his poetic corpus. Prolific and
dubious attributions to Shah Ismail, usually dismissed by historians as "pseudo-Ḥaṭāʾi"-

[662]Direction of prayer.
[663]*Kanber*: a variation of *kamber*.
[664]Referring to the sixth Shīʿī *imām*, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765).

- attest to the preservation of Shah Ismail's pious significance in the decades and centuries following his death through a process of pious invention. No longer a god or messiah, Shah Ismail's place became assured as a didactic *pīr*. As an result of this re-invention, Shah Ismail came to represent a mortal human, and significantly, one of marked fallibility, as evidenced by the meaning attached to his pen-name, Ḥaṭā'i, understood literally as "one with fault."

Shah Ismail presents historians with the fascinating story of a charismatic boy-king who established an enduring empire. This dissertation has sought to account for Shah Ismail's continued relevance within the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. While historians have endeavored to seek explanations for Shah Ismail's command of devotion and its role in the achievement of political power, his enduring place in the religiosity of the Alevi-Bektashi and other related communities is relegated to the footnotes. This study extended the scope of Shah Ismail's legacy to include his pious relevance, a legacy which outlasted both his lifetime and his empire.

Based on the assumption that the pious significance accorded Shah Ismail transformed from the messianic beliefs associated with his rise to power, I sought expressions of this transformation within the creativity of narrative and poetry. Ranging in form and styles, the literature selected for this thesis reveals the evolution of a self-professed manifestation of God to a culpable mortal, but one who nevertheless remains a source of illumination and therefore an object of veneration among the Alevi-Bektashi and related communities.

665See Appendix E: 2.

The image of Shah Ismail within the pious environment contrasts profoundly with the Shah Ismail of modern historical accounts. The historical background outlined in the second chapter showed how modern historiography views the career of Shah Ismail through what Weber identified as charisma: the belief that certain individuals are endowed with supernatural powers, serving as natural repositories of temporal authority. With the discovery of Shah Ismail's poetry as an important historical document, the literal interpretation of Shah Ismail as a mystical demagogue took definitive form.

It was further shown how charisma came to account for the beliefs held in Shah Ismail's authority and sanctity. From the Āqqūyūnlū historian Khunjī to the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire, Shah Ismail's command of both the temporal and spiritual realms of power was violently opposed. His spiritual source of authority, as the hereditary leader of an order of dervishes, drew ridicule and insult from his contemporaries. Unlike his baffled contemporaries, however, modern historians have successfully reconciled Shah Ismail's simultaneous command of temporal and spiritual authority through recourse to charisma. Moreover, the beliefs associated with Shah Ismail and his followers also derive from modern concepts of charisma, loaded with our modern associations of despotism and decadence. Characterized as regressive, pagan and fanatical, the beliefs of Shah Ismail and his followers have come to be seen as a predictable aesthetic of charismatic authority.[666] However, this reading of charismatic authority does not account for the continued relevance of Shah Ismail in the pious context. Rather, this relevance is found in literary sources which are based more on visions of events than the events themselves.

Turning from the Shah Ismail of the historical record, the third chapter presented accounts of what can be termed Shah Ismail's mythic biographies. By examining narratives of Shah Ismail outside (and often opposed to) the historical record, this chapter was intended to demonstrate the ability of narrative genres to transform a "historical" figure to reflect the concerns and ideals of the narrators and their audiences. Contemporary European observers provide us with the first contributions to the body of these legendary tales. Their accounts of Shah Ismail's childhood and political mission reveal Shah Ismail as a figure born of Christian redemptive hope, much like the Prester John legends prevalent among the Crusaders and their allies.[667] Later anonymous narratives from seventeenth-century Safavid Persia reveal Shah Ismail as a heroic figure, his role as a world-conqueror ordained by the Hidden Imām. Significantly, Shah Ismail is not confounded with the Hidden Imām in these narratives, but portrayed emphatically distinct as his representative. By the time of the proliferation of the "Anonymous Lives of Ismail" in Safavid Persia, the literal identification of the Shah with the Hidden Imım as expressed in Shah Ismail's *dîvjn* poetry was as heretical as it was irrelevant.

The Turkish folklore genre known as the *hikâye* was the primary focus of the third chapter, as the genre itself is one of the literary contributions of Anatolian heterodox culture. By presenting a structural account of the Shah Ismail *hikâye* from several versions, we see how both the conformity to and deviations from the *hikâye* structure tell us more of Shah Ismail's literary transformation. The *hikâye* accounts of Shah Ismail's childhood in hiding as well as his identity as a royal prince destined to

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[666]Anderson, *Language and Power* 89-90.
[667]Brummett, "The Myth of Shah Ismail Safavi" 338.

inherit his father's domain are indebted to historical memory. In this way, the *hikâye*'s

presentation of Shah Ismail's mission can also be seen as "fantasies evolved from items

in the existing literary record."[668]

However, it is Shah Ismail's embodiment of the *hikâye*'s ideal that truly

illustrates the transformative accomplishment of this traditional narrative. Seeking

neither a throne nor mystical union, Shah Ismail is portrayed simply a gifted *âşık* (lit.,

lover), in pursuit of a earthly, human beloved. Nor is this folk narrative the proper place

for the presentation of Ismail's sacred significance. Shorn of his motivation of sectarian

militancy to conform to the archetype of the genre, in the *hikâye*, Shah Ismail's talents

are poetic, musical, amorous. The fact that Shah Ismail drew the attention of the

purveyors of this genre is testimony of his transformation from a divine monarch.

However, within the Alevi-Bektashi tradition, Shah Ismail's sacred significance

is preserved primarily through religious poetic forms, referred to as *nefes*. Before

venturing into this central aspect of Shah Ismail's place within Alevi-Bektashi piety, I

examined the sources from which this sacred persona derived. The fourth chapter

explored what is generally acknowledged as the "authentic" works of Shah Ismail as

assembled in three of the earliest versions of his *dîvân* dating from the first half of the

sixteenth century: those of the Sackler Gallery, Tashkent and Paris.

This chapter refined assumptions dating back to Minorsky which relegate Shah

Ismail's poetic expressions of self-deification exclusively to the Paris version of his

dîvân. While the Paris *dîvân* does indeed feature most of the works revealing Shah

Ismail's exalted self-image, these strategies are also employed to a significant extent

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[668]Morton, "The Date and Attribution of the *Ross Anonymous*" 205.

within the other aforementioned *dīvāns* as well as in collections of Alevi-Bektashi verse assembled by Ergun containing later attributions to Ḫaṭā'i. The inclusion of these works in other sources suggests a reception and understanding beyond the limitations of Shah Ismail's political and historical circumstance. Thus, this chapter departs from most treatments of Shah Ismail's poetry by disengaging the self-image of the poet from the historical Safavid propaganda program.

I argued that Shah Ismail's identification with the divine as expressed in his *dīvān* poetry was not universally received as literal dogma, especially after his death as his poetry survived and proliferated. In the tradition of ecstatic mystical expression (*shaṭḥ*), Shah Ismail constructed a poetic union with the beloved carried throughout other sources of his poetry beyond the Paris *dīvān*. That the purge of Shah Ismail's "heretical" statements from his poetic corpus was not a complete success suggests such an understanding.

However, Shah Ismail's poetic legacy within the Alevi-Bektashi tradition consists of much more than a nuanced understanding of his expressions of mystical union. Shah Ismail's legacy in this tradition is based on new articulations of sacred concepts and communal concerns. Chapter Five examined the question of "pseudo-Ḫaṭā'i," that is, the poetry attributed to Shah Ismail in the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. Through the examination of early attributions to Shah Ismail included in a manuscript version of a pious text known by Alevis as the *Buyruk*, we see that Shah Ismail's poetic mission became transformed within the first century of his death. While the poetry cited in *Menākıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār* shares features with Shah Ismail's *dīvān* poetry, significantly, the identity of the poet is not the foremost concern. Instead, these

compositions forge new strategies in the expression of sacred concepts. Characteristic of the Alevi-Bektashi Ḥaṭāʾi tradition as a whole, these poetic compositions serve to explain a sacred myth as well as ritual procedure.

In the final chapter, Shah Ismail's *nefes* were presented through their intended ritual context. Shah Ismail is claimed by both contemporary Alevi authors as well as scholars of Islamic heterodoxy as the historic architect of Alevi ritual. At the same time, there has been no extended inquiry as to the basis or validity of these assumptions. This chapter sought to explore the foundation of Shah Ismail's contribution to ritual through both the historical accounts of Qizilbash ritual and the inclusion of Shah Ismail's poetry in present ritual forms. Throughout the main Alevi ritual, the *ayin-i cem*, poetry of particular strategies mark discrete episodes of the ritual. This chapter included examples of Shah Ismail's poetry representative of this range of liturgical function in order to show the contribution his poetry makes to the meaning of specific ritual episodes and to the ritual as a whole.

In its ritual context, the Ḥaṭāʾi tradition, as it formed over the centuries, serves as a means to edify central figures in Alevi-Bektashi piety-- from the Twelve *imāms* to Hacı Bektaş. It also serves to commemorate events of sacred history and myth. Moreover, Ḥaṭāʾi's poetry serves to express and commemorate the sanctity of the ritual gathering itself, suggesting that the ritual environment nurtured the expansion of Ḥaṭāʾi's literary attributions.

By bringing together narratives and poetry both attributed to and inspired by the figure of Shah Ismail, this study provides a basis for the significance of Shah Ismail within the Alevi-Bektashi tradition. Moreover, it shows the literary means by which his

significance was retained beyond his limited historical circumstance. But it is the countless "lesser poets" of the Alevi-Bektashi, the anonymous 'aşıks of the tradition, who deserve the credit for rescuing Shah Ismail from history and thereby pious irrelevance. Through their efforts, Shah Ismail's function as a spiritual master was retained, while his demagoguery was discarded and ultimately forgotten. Certainly, aspects of how a historical figure achieved transcendence remains obscure, both within this religious tradition and others. What is certain, however, is that in the Alevi-Bektashi tradition, it was a literary process that was accomplished to a great extent in Ḫaṭā'i's name:

Day and night Kerbela is my desire,
Let us encounter Imam Hüseyn's love.
Apart from my head, I have no fortune in my hand,
Let us give for it the love of °mam Hüseyn.

One of the Forty pushed at the door,
From him, all present became intoxicated.
Sarıkaya,[669] grove of the beautiful Shah,
Let us land there, for the love of Imam Hüseyn.

The *talib* carries his guide in his heart,
Bring to completion, provide what is lacking.
Bring the commended food to the *meydan*,
Let us eat for the love of Hüseyn.

How beautiful is the singing of the morning nightingales,
The people of God recite *mani*.
The roses of Erdebil have just blossomed,
Let us gather them for the love of Hüseyn.

The moats below the palace flow,
The wheels are turning, the *semah* was established.
The Forty divided a fresh grape into forty pieces,

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[669]Lit., "Yellow Rock," this is possibly a place-name.

Let us divide it for the love of Hüseyn.

I am Shah Hatayi affirming this path,
Saying, Muhammed-Ali sing together,
Saying, We are all servants to one vow,
Let us remain that way for the love of Hüseyn.[670]

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[670]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 457-458. See Appendix E: 3.

APPENDIX A

1. *Şah İsmail* (Istanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1943) 8-10.

8 *hece*[671]
Şah İsmail:
Melûl melûl bakan dilber,
Dutam bir yan ayrılık,
Yandı vücudum kül oldu,
Olam divane ayrılık!

Gülizar:
Bilmezdim seni ezeli,
Var yiğit git, ben seninim!
Döküldü bağın gazeli,
Var yiğit git, ben seninim!

Şah İsmail:
Şah İsmail geldi sana,
Güzel adın bildir bana,
Beni koyma yana yana,
Müşküldür bana ayrılık!

Gülizar:
Gülizardır senin yârin,
Sırrımda gördüm didarın,
Vallahi budur ikrarım,
Var yiğit git, ben seninim!

1 a.
Shah Ismail:
Mournfully the beloved looks,
Separation took hold of me,
My body burned, turned to ashes,
Separation will drive me insane!

Gülizar:

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[671]Each poem in the syllabic meter will be indicated with the number of syllables (*hece*) carried throughout the poem.

I didn't know you before,
Go now hero, but I am still yours,
The orchard's autumn leaves have shed,
Go now hero, but I am yours!

Shah Ismail:
Shah Ismail has come to you,
Reveal to me your beautiful name,
Do not let me leave burning with desire,
Separation is impossible for me!

Gülizar:
Gülizar is your lover,
I saw your face in my dream,
By God, this is my confirmation,
Go now hero, but I am still yours!

2. *Şah İsmail* (Istanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1943) 10-11.

8 *heceli*
Hey ağalar, hey gaziler,
Hem öptüm, hem helâllaştım,
Görün, nelerden ayrıldım!
Lebi şekerden ayrıldım!

Bir gün şad olup güleyim,
Felekten kâmım alayım,
Bir gece mihman olayım,
Gül yüzlü yârdan ayrıldım!

Şah İsmail eder dilek,
Beni hasret koma felek,
Servi boylu, huri melek,
Ben Gülizardan ayrıldım!

2 a.
Oh brothers! Defenders of the faith!
I have kissed her, we have absolved ourselves,
See from what I have departed,
I have departed from sweet lips!

One day may I be joyful, may I laugh,
May I attain my desire from the heavens,
One night may I be her guest,
I have departed from the rose-faced beloved.

Shah Ismail desires
That the heavens not permit this longing,
Houri angel, tall as a cypress,
I have parted from Gülizar!

3. *Şah İsmail* (Istanbul: Maarif Kitaphanesi, 1943) 47-50.
11 *heceli*
Arab Üzengi:
Gülizar uğruna, neler çekmedi,
Murada irmeli Şah İsmailim!
Güzelce bir düğün yaparak hemen,
El ele vermeli Şah İsmailim!

Gülperi:
Boş vakit geçmesin hazırlanalım,
Gülizar dediğin şâhımın dengi,
Zerdeye pilâva, hemen banalım,
Hasret sona ersin Arabüzengi!

Arab Üzengi:
Tereddüdü bırakmalı şehzadem,
Gülizarı sevindirmek gerektir.
Bir yasdığa baş koyarak ikiniz,
Murad alıp, murad vermek gerektir!

Gülperi:
Sana candan âşık olan şu kızı,
Uzak tutma koşup basdır bağrına!
Gülizarın ciğerinde var sızI,
Neler çekti sevgilisi uğruna!

Gülizar:
Gülperi ile nikâhınız benden evvel kıyıldı,
Benden evvel lâyıktır ki, gerdeğine o girsin.
İlk karındır, elbet onun üstün olur sevgisi,
Benden evvel isterim ki muradına o irsin!

Gülperi:
Arabüzengiyi başından atma,
Sana gücenirim ey Şah İsmail!
Bizi ondan üstün istemem tutma,
Sana gücenirim Şah İsmail!

Gülizar:
Üzengidir beni Hindden kurtaran,

O da elbet muradına ermeli!
Vefası çok bir yarindir, unutma,
O da Haktan nasibini almalı!

Şah İsmail:
Birbirinden gülzel üç sevgilim var,
Huyları da birbirinden güzeldir!
Kıskanmazlar, geçinirler gül gibi,
Huyları da birbirinden güzeldir!

Gülizarın cemalini görürüm,
Gülperinin ben yanına varırım,
Üzengiden saadete ererim,
Boyları da birbirinden güzeldir!

Bahtlı insan, benim gibi olmalı,
Allahından mükâfatı bulmalı,
İçi böyle ferah ile dolmalı,
Huyları da birbirinden güzeldir!

3 a.
Arab Üzengi:
How much you have suffered for Gülizar!
My Shah Ismail must attain his desire,
Celebrate a beautiful wedding immediately,
You must give each other your hands.

Gülperi:
You must not waste time, let's prepare,
The one you call Gülizar is my Shah's match,
Partake of the *zerde*[672] and the pilav right away,
Arab Üzengi, let the longing end.

Arab Üzengi
My prince must stop his indecision,
He must please Gülizar.
Both of you must place a pillow beneath your heads,
You must fulfill your desires.

Gülperi:
That girl who truly loves you,
Do not keep her distant, take refuge in her breast!
Gülizar's heart aches with pain,

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[672]A traditional wedding dish made of saffron and rice.

How much she suffered for her lover!

Gülizar:
The betrothal to Gülperi was made before me,
She is more deserving than I, may she enter the bridal chamber.
She is the first wife, surely her love is superior,
I wish that she attains her desire before me.

Gülperi:
Do not cast Arab Üzengi from your thoughts,
Then I would be offended Shah Ismail!
I don't want you to take us before her,
Then I would be offended Shah Ismail!

Gülizar:
It was Arab Üzengi who rescued me from India,
Surely she must attain her desire,
Don't forget she is your loyal beloved,
She must also receive her portion from God.

Shah Ismail:
I have three beautiful lovers,
Their natures are all beautiful!
Communing like roses, they do not envy,
Their natures are all beautiful!

I see the perfection of Gülizar,
That I reach the presence of Gülperi,
That I attain happiness from Arab Üzengi,
Their statures are all beautiful!

Fortunate men must be like me,
They receive find their reward from God,
They must be full of joy inside,
Their natures are all beautiful!

4. Tevfik, *Şah İsmail* 31.
11 *heceli*
Yüce dağ başında durdum huzura
Senden beklerim mevlâm sen imdad eyle
Lûtfun, inayetin bu mücrim kula
Aman Allah aman sen imdad eyle

Yerde insanı yarattın, havada kuşu
Hikmetinle Tur dağındaki taşı

Yarabbi sen kurtar yedi kardeşi
Aman Allah aman sen imdad eyle

Karşıda gözükür bir büyük ordu
Kalbimde duymadım bir zerre korku
Gitti Gülizarım boş kaldı yurdu
Aman Allah aman sen imdad eyle

Şah İsmail geldi girdi meydana
Sürer Kamertayı salar düşmana
Çalar zülfikarı boyasın kana
Aman Allah aman sen imdad eyle

4 a.
I stood at the top of a high mountain in your presence,
I wait for you, my Lord, help me,
Please, may your grace be with this sinner,
Lord have mercy, God help me!

Your created men on earth, birds in air,
In your wisdom, you created the stone tablets of Mount Sinai,
Oh Lord, rescue the seven brothers,
Lord have mercy, God help me!

Across from me I see a large army,
In my heart I feel not a trace of fear,
My Gülizar departed, her camp remains empty,
Lord have mercy, God help me!

Şah Ismail came, he entered the battlefield,
Advancing Kamertay, attacking the enemy,
Wielding *zülfikar*, may it be painted with blood,
Lord have mercy, God help me!

5. Tevfik, *Şah İsmail* 36-38.

11 *heceli*
Şah İsmail:
Kandehardan geldim murad almağa
Aman Arap gel sen incitme beni
Koyver ben gideyim kendi yoluma
Aman Arap gel sen incitme beni

Arap:
Seherde bir keklik düştü tuzağa

Yuvasın şaşırmış düşünür gider
Korkusundan dudakları çatlamış
Aklını şaşırmış titreyip gider

Şah İsmail:
Gelenden gidenden alırsın bacı
Öldürürüm Arap yoktur ilâcı
Yıkarım baışna sarayı, tacı
Kölen olam Arap incitme beni

Arap:
Çıkarım kayaya yüksek bakarım
Gelen düşmanları vurur yakarım
Tuna seli gibi kanlar saçarım
Kurtulan olursa baç verir gider

Şah İsmail:
Canım Arap düşme benim peşime
Değme şahin pençe vurmaz leşime
Şimdi nazar eyle tez savaşıma
Yalvarırım Arap incitme beni

Arap:
Çoğundan almışım bunca şikârı
Görürsün kelleden bunca hisarı
Şaşırma kendini titreme bari
Gelenler buraya baş verir gider

Şah İsmail:
Mızrakla kalkanı alsam elime
Kırklar ile Hızır evrat dilime
Mevlâm imdad eder Şah İsmaile
Mevlânın aşkına incitme beni

Arap:
Çocuksun, değilsin meydanın dengi
Korkudan uçtu bak yüzünün rengi
Hiç sen duymadın mı Arap Üzengi
Buraya gelenler can verir gider

5 a.
Shah Ismail:
I hail from Kandıhar in pursuit of my desire,
Have mercy, Arab. Come on, don't hurt me!
Allow me to go my own way,
Have mercy, Arab. Come on, don't hurt me!

Arab:
I see a partridge has fallen into a trap at dawn,
He lost his nest; confused, he moves on,
His lips split apart from fear,
Confused and quivering, he went.

Shah Ismail:
Sister, you take those who come and go,
I will kill you Arab, there is no cure for that,
First I will pull your castle down then your crown,
I beg you, Arab, don't hurt me.

Arab:
I climb the rock and look from up high,
I strike the enemies as they come, setting them on fire,
I spread blood like the floods of the Danube,
If they escape, it is by paying the toll.

Shah Ismail:
Dear Arab, do not pursue me,
The falcon's talon will not touch my corpse,
Now witness my struggle,
I beg you, Arab, don't hurt me.

Arab:
I have taken many so many victims like this,
You'll see this castle is built of sculls,
Do not be shocked and let yourself tremble,
Those who come depart by giving their head.

Shah Ismail:
If I rise, taking my lance in my hand,
Reciting the names of Hızır and "The Forty" on my tongue,
Then my Lord will come to the aid of Shah Ismail,
For the love of God, don't hurt me.

Arab:
You are a child, you won't make it on the battlefield,
You have gone wild with fear, look at the color of your face,
Have you never heard of Arab Üzengi?
Those who come here depart by giving their life.

APPENDIX B

1. Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 134-135.[673]

1 a.

Mefā'īlun mefā'īlun fe'ūlun[674]
Ezelden Şāh bizim sulṭānımızdırYānımızdır
Pirümüz mürşidümüz ḫānımızdır

Şeha ḳurbān getürdik biz bu cānı
Şehiñ sözi bizim īmānımızdır

Ḥasūda yoḳ durur yalançıya merg
Ki gerçek ṣoḥbeti bürhānımızdır

Şāhı ḥaḳḳ deyüben girdik bu yola
Ḥüseynīyüz bugün devrānımızdır

Biz imām ḳullarıyuz ṣādıḳāne
Şehīdlik ġazīlik nişānımızdır

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[673]See also Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* #103; Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1044.

[674]The patterns of ʿarūż prosody are indicated here according to the system employed in Andrews, *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* 19-30.

Yolumuz incedir inceden ince
Bu yolda bāş vermek erkānımızdır

Ḥaṭā'īyim mevāli sırr-ı Ḥayder
Şāhı ḥaḳḳ bilmiyen düşmānımızdır

1 b.
From the beginning of time the Shah is our Sultan,
Our *pīr*, our *mürşid*, our *ḫān*.

We brought this life to the Shah as a sacrifice,
The word of the Shah is our faith.

Nothing is left for the envious, the deceitful receive death,
We are of Ḥüseyin, the epoch is ours today.

We are slaves of the *imāms* faithfully,
Martyrdom and holy war are our signs.

Our path is narrow, narrower than narrow,
Our rite on this path is relinquishing our heads.

I am Ḥaṭā'i, slave to the mystery of Ḥayder,
Our enemies are those who do not know the Shah as the Divine Truth.

2. Gandjei, *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʻil Ḫaṭāʾī* #105.[675]

2 a.

Mefʻūlu fāʻilātu mefāʻilu fāʻilun

Baġdāş ḳurub otursa nigārum fiġān ḳopar
Dursa otursa fitne-yi āḫir zemān ḳopar

Şirvān ḫalāyīḳi ḫāmū Tebrīze daşına
Mülk-i ʻAcem sorar ki ḳiyāmet ḫāçān ḳopar

Yëtdü gece tükenür ʻArabuñ kūyı meskeni
Baġdād içinde her nice kim Türkmān ḳopar

Çıḳsa sarāydan bu cihān varısın dutar
Bir mürşid-i ṭarīḳat pīr ü civān ḳopar

Görmişdi tā Ḫaṭāʾi ezelden yaḳın munı
Nūḥuñ ʻalāmeti gelür andan ṭūfān ḳopar

2 b.

If my love but sits, legs crossed, wailing is unleashed,
If he remains sitting, the End Times are unleashed.

If all the people of Shirvan move on Tebriz,
The dominion of Iran will ask when Judgment Day is unleashed.

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[675]See also Vladimir Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʻīl I" 1045-1046.

In seven nights, the dwellings of the Arab quarter are finished,
Oh how many Turkmen throughout Baghdad are unleashed!

If he emerges from the palace, he takes all that is in the world,
A master of the *tarīkat*, who is young and old, is unleashed.

From the beginning of time Ḥaṭā'i saw this as imminent,
Noah's sign comes as the floods are unleashed.

3. Gandjei, *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'il Ḥaṭā'i* #171.[676]

روان اولدوم روانه شیمدی کلدوم	منم که بو زمانه شیمدی کلدوم
هم خـانـدانـه شـیـمـدی کلدوم	عاشقم مست وحیران شاهه چون من
شکر کیم آستانه شیمدی کلدوم	شاهه مشتاق ایدوم غایتده بالله
چراغه یانـه یانـه شیمدی کلدوم	یزید و مشـرکـنونك کوکین کسرم
ساغینماکیل جهانه شیمدی کلدوم	ازلدن گلیشم شـاه امری ایـلن
ولیکـن بـو دکانـه شـیمدی کلدوم	هم اون ایكی شـاهـه ازلـدن
عالمه نـوح طوفانـه شیمدی کلدوم	سلیمـان خـاتمی موسـی عصـاسی
الومـده‌دور نـشـانـه شیمدی کلدوم	محمد معجـزی شـاه ذوالـفـقـاری
خطـایـی‌ام برهانـه شیمدی کلدوم	خـوارج اصلـیـنـی قویمن جهـانه

3 a.
Mefā'īlun mefā'īlun fe'ūlun
Menem ki bu zemāna şimdi geldüm
Revān oldum revāne şimdi geldüm

'Āşıḳım mest ü ḥayrān şāha çün men
Muḥibbim ḫānedāna şimdi geldüm

Şāha müştāḳ idüm ġāyetde billāh
Şükür kim āsitāna şimdi geldüm

Yezīd ü müşriküñ kökin keserim
Çerāġa yana yana şimdi geldüm

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[676]See also Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1046.

Ezelden gelmişim şāh emīr ilen
Saġınmagıl cihāna şimdi geldüm

Muḥibbim on iki şāha ezelden
Ve lākin bu dükkāna şimdi geldüm

Süleymān ḫatemi Mūsā ʿaşāsı
ʿĀleme Nūḥ ṭūfāna şimdi geldüm

Muḥammed muʿcizi şāh Zülfikārı
Elümdedür nişāna şimdi geldüm

Ḥavāric aṣlını ḳoyman cihāna
Ḥaṭāʾiyam bürhāna şimdi geldüm.

3 b.
To this epoch, I have now come,
As a spirit flowing, I have now come.

Intoxicated and amazed, I am in love with the Shah,
As a lover of the noble family, I have now come.

By God, I was desperate for the Shah,
Thank God, to the threshold I have now come.

I will slash Yezīd and the heathens at the root,
The torch burning, I have now come.

I have come from eternity by command of the Shah,
Do not fear, to the world I have now come.

From time immemorial I have been a lover of the Twelve Shahs,
And yet to this atelier I have now come.

As the ring of Solomon, the staff of Moses,
And the flood of Noah, I have now come.

With the miracle of Muḥammed, the Shah's sword Zülfıkār
As signs in my hand, I have now come.

Not permitting outsiders to root in the world,
I am Ḥaṭāʾi, as a testament I have now come.

4. Ergun, *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 144-145.[677]

Mefâ'îlun mefâ'îlun mefâ'îlun mefâ'îlun
Taâlâ şânuhu gel gör ki bir nûr-i Hudâ geldi
Cemî-i hatm-i enbiyâ Muhammed Mustafâ geldi

Sevindi cân-ı âşıklar açıldı baht-ı sâdıklar
Çağırdı rûh-i mü'minler safâ geldi safâ geldi

Safâ ehli zeminlerde zamanlarda mukaddemde
Feleklerden meleklerden hezâran merhabâ geldi

Feriştehler inüp gökten beşâret ehl-i irfâna
Havâric'e ecel yetti Yezid'lere belâ geldi

Azâzil aslı şeytandır yeter iğvâsına uyma
Öğüt tut Hak yolun gör gel imâm-ı rehnümâ geldi

İşitti mürşid-i kâmil kamu ehl-i imân oldu
Sevindi gaziler cümle ki hatm-ı enbiyâ geldi

Bahâdir gaziler koptu başında tâc-ı devlet var
Budur Mehdî zaman devri cihan nûr-i baka geldi

İmâm-ı Hayder oğluna dil ü candan rızâ verdik
Ki Ca'fer Mûsi-i Kâzım Ali Mûsâ Rızâ geldi

Halîlullah donum geymiş çağırmış adın İsmâîl
Ana kurban olun deyu çün Allah'tan nidâ geldi

Hak'a mazhardürür âdem sücûd et uyma İblîs'e
Ki âdem donuna girmiş Hudâ geldi Hudâ geldi

Dalâlet içre zulmette bitürmüştür çırağını
Gözün aç gör bu zulmetten ki din bedr-i dücâ geldi

Cihânı sihr ile Fir'avn özüne kani' etmişti
Buları yutmağa Mûsâ asâsı ejdehâ geldi

Özü Yâsin dili Tâhâ yanağı Kaf vel-Kur'an
Kaşı nun saçı Vel-leylü yüzü şems-i duhâ geldi

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[677]See also Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* #252; Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1048-1049.

Güzel şâhım Kamer mâhım muradgâhım gönül hâhım
Cemâli mazhar-Allahım güzîn-i evliyâ geldi

Hatâyî hastesin şâhın cemâli vaslın istersen
Revân-ı can satun algıl bu ilme can bahâ geldi.

4 a.
May his name be glorified, come see that the light of God has come,
Muhammed Mustafâ, the seal of all prophets has come.

The souls of the lovers are joyous, the destiny of the faithful is fulfilled,
The spirit of believers has called, purity has come! Purity has come!

In all times, in all lands, the people of purity are first,
From the heavens, from the angels, many greetings have come.

The angels have descended from the sky, announcing good news to the gnostics,
The hour of death to the outsiders and disaster to the Yezids have come.

Do not be tempted by Azâzil who is Satan in essence,
Heed council, come see the road of God, the guiding *imam* has come.

All the people of faith have heard that the guide of perfection has become manifest,
All of the *gazis* rejoice for the seal of the prophets has come.

The beautiful *gazis* are unleashed, on their heads is the crown of the dynasty,
This is the *mahdî*'s time, to the cyclical world the eternal light has come.

We have sanctioned the son of İmâm Hayder, heart and soul,
So that Ca'fer, Mûsi-i Kâzım and Ali Mûsâ Rızâ have come.

He has put on the clothes of Halîlullah, he is called İsmâîl,
Saying, sacrifice yourselves for him, for a proclamation from God has come.

A man remains the manifestation of God, prostrate and do not follow Satan,
He has put on the clothes of man, God has come.

Amidst corruption, your candle extinguished into darkness,
Open your eyes, see that like the moon in darkness, religion has come.

The Pharaoh has seduced the world with sorcery,
But Moses' staff, to devour like a dragon, has come.

He himself as *Yâsin*, his tongue as *Tâhâ*, his cheeks as *Kaf* and the *Kur'an*.
His eyebrows as *Nun* his hair as "The Night," his face as the midday sun, he has come.

My beautiful Shah, my moon, my place of desire, my heart's desire,
My perfected manifestation of God, the elect of saints has come.

Desperate Hatayî, unite with the beauty of the Shah if you so desire,
Sell your life and soul, as knowledge worth the soul has come.

5. Memedov, ed. *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 129-131.[678]

بو شاه پر کرم صاحب نظر در
ولایت در یقین نور بصر در

قوشانه غازیلر سیف و سلاحی
منافق جانه خوف و خطر در

یزید نک لشکری یوزمینک اولورسه
ولایت لشکریدن بیر بتر در

منافق لشکری بیر غازی کورسه
قوینکه قورد توخور آندن بتر در

اشارت قیلد وغنجه بر نظر شاه
اوینکنده شیر و مروان در بدر در

نشانی اول کرنش طلعتلو شاهنک
باشنده تاج و بلینده کمر در

اولرکیم جمل تندر سر قدرت
آنی عارف بیلور اینجه خبر در

جهانگیر غازیلر میدانه کیرسه
خوارجلر ایاغنده بای سر در

پر رحمت یغموری ایردی مننه
که هربیر غازینک یوزنامی وردر

یزیده زخم سیف و تیر و خنجر
باشندان کیمسین تیغ و تبر در

[678]See also Gandjei, ed., Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḫaṭāʾī* #7; Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1042; Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 171-172.

علی بحر حقیقت در یقین بیل
حیات جاودانی معتبر در

ولایت بحرینه یول بولیانلر
کوزی اعمی و احمق بیخبردد

نفس کوهر در آنی بیر بیلنلر
سوزین بیر سویلنلر کرچکاردد

قزل علم قزل ییراغ قزل تاج
کینه غازیلر اول کون حذردد

خطایی شاه یولنده جان فدا ادر
چه جای ملک و مال وسیم وزردد

5 a.

Mefā'īlun mefā'īlun fe'ūlun

Bu şāh-ı pür-kerem şāhib-i naẓardır
Velāyetdir yaḳın nūr-ı başardır

Ḳuşana ġāzīler seyf ü silāḥı
Münāfıḳ cānına ḫavf ü ḫaṭardır

Yezidiñ leşkeri yüz miñ olursa
Velāyet leşkerinden bir yeterdir

Münāfıḳ leşkeri bir ġāzi görse
Ḳoyun ki kürd tūḫūr andan beterdir

İşāret ḳılduġunca bir naẓar şāh
Öñünde Şemr ü Mervān derbederdir

Nişānı ol güneş ṭal'tlu şāhıñ
Bāşında tāc ü belinde kemerdir

Olar kim çihil tendir sırr-ı ḳudret
Anı 'ārif bilür ince ḫaberdir

Cihāngīr ġazīler meydāna girse
Ḥavāricler ayaġda pāy-i serdir

Çü raḥmet yaġmurı erdi zemīne
Ki her bir ġaziniñ yüz nāmı vardır

Yezide zaḥm-ı seyf ü tīr ü ḥacer
Başından gitmesin tīġ ü teberdir

'Alī baḥr-ı ḥaḳīḳatdır yaḳın bil
Ḥayāt-ı cāvidānı mu'teberdir

Velāyet baḥrine yol bulmıyanlar
Gözi 'amā vü aḥmaḳ bī-ḥaberdir

Nefs-i gevherdir anı bir bilenler
Sözin bir söyleyenler gerçek erdir

Ḳızıl 'alem ḳızıl bayraġ ḳızıl tāc
Giyinse ġazīler ol gün ḥazerdir

Ḥaṭā'ī şāh yolunda cān fedādır
Çe cāy-ı mülk ü māl ü sīm ü zerdir.

5 b.
The Shah filled with munificence is the master of beneficence,
His is sainthood and the light of the eye.

As the *ġazīs* gird their swords and arms,
Terror and fear grip the hypocrites' cores.

If Yezīd's legion be one hundred thousand,
But one from the legion of sainthood will suffice.

If the legion of hypocrites see but one *ġazī,*
Only to be a sheep in the wolf's grasp would be worse.

The Shah, signaling with a single glance,
Disperses before him Şemr and the Mervāns.[679]

On the sun-faced Shah are signs--

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[679]Şemr refers to Shamir, the Umayyad commander at the battle of Karbalā'. The "Mervāns" refers to
the Marwānid branch of the Umayyad dynasty.

The crown on his head and the belt on his waist.

That legion of many is the mystery of strength,
Who recognizes it posses special knowledge.
If the world-conquering *ġāzīs* enter the field,
The outsiders will be turned upside-down.

Just as the rain that has fallen to the ground,
So does every *ġāzī* have one-hundred names.

The sword, arrow and dagger strike Yezīd,
May the lance and ax fly over his head.

Know that 'Alī is the sea of truth,
He is eternal life, exalted.

Those who do not find the path in the sea of sainthood,
Their eyes are blind and foolish, deprived of the message.

They who know it as one possess a spirit of jewels,
They who utter the truth are the truly enlightened.

The day the *ġāzīs* wear their red crown,
With red flags and banners, is the day of warning.

Ḥaṭā'i sacrifices his soul on the path of the Shah,
There is no place for his possessions, wealth, silver or gold.

6. Gandjei, *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿil Ḫaṭāʾi* #187.

وجودوم شهرنده بولدوم در ایلن دردانه من
من آنی عرض ایتمنم هر جاهل نادانه من
کفر و ایمان سرّینی بیلدیمکه معنیده نه دور
یوزومی دوندرمیشم اندن برو رحمانه من
کور نیجه زاری ویرور اول لعنتی شیطان منکا
دون و کون لعنت اوخورمن لعنت شیطانه من
ویرسه ایدی کامومی اول شاه و سلطانوم منوم
جانومی قربان قیلاییم اول شه و سلطانه من
من خطایی چکمنم غم چونکه انا الحق دیدیم
کزمیشم حیدر تکی میدانه هو مردانه من

6 a.
fāʿilātun fāʿilātun fāʿilātun fāʿilun
Vücūdum şehrinde buldum dürr ilen dürdāne men
Men anı arż etmenim her cāhil nādāna men

Küfür vü īmān sırrını bildim ki maʿnīde nedür
Yüzümi döndürmişim andan berü raḥmāna men

Gör nice zārı virür ol laʿneti şeyṭān mana
Dün ü gün laʿnet oḫur men laʿnet şeyṭāna men

Verse idi kāmūmı ol şāh ü sulṭānum menüm
Cānumı ḳurbān ḳılayım ol şeh ü sulṭāna men

Men Ḫaṭāʾi çekmenim ġam çünki enāʾl-ḥaḳḳ dedim
Gezmişim Ḥayder teki meydāne hū merdāna men

6 b.
In town I found the crown of all pearls,
I do not reveal it to the ignorant and unknowing.

Of infidelity and faith I know the reality of their mystery,
If I turn my face to the Compassionate.

See how he strikes me with misery that accursed Satan,
Night and day I curse Satan.

If only he had granted what I desire that Sultan of mine,
Let me sacrifice my life for my Shah and Sultan.

I am Ḥaṭā'ī, I do not suffer for I have uttered *enā'l-ḥakk*
Like Ḥayder, I took the battlefield as a brave.

7. Gandjei, *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'il Ḥaṭā'i* #9.

يوزوم ‹نيـى و عقبيـده انكادور	منـوم شـاهـوم على مرتـضـى‹دور
خـوارج‹دور ايـكى كـوزى عمـادور	علينـى بيلـمـين ملعون منـافـق
آنى حق بيلـمين مينك كزخطادور	على‹دور شـاه مـردان شـيـر يزدان
مـوالى‹لـر كـوزبـنـه تـوتـيـادور	ايـامى تـوزبـنـه شـاهـوم علينـونك
مـحـد مـصـطـفـا صـاحـبـلـقـادور	على‹دور غازى‹لار شاه و شهنشـاه
علينـونك ايشيكينـده بيـر گدادور	خطايى جان و دلـدن شـاهـه قول‹دور

7 a.
Mefā'īlun mefā'īlun fe'ūlun
Menüm şāhum 'Alī Mürtażādur
Yüzüm dünyā vü 'uḳaḅda añadur

'Alīni bilmiyen mel'ūn münāfıḳ
Ḥavāricdür iki gözi 'amādur

'Alīdür şāh-ı merdān şīr-i Yezdān
Anı ḥakk bilmiyen miñ kez ḥaṭādur

Ayaġı tozına şāhum 'Alīnüñ
Mevālīler gözine tūtīyādur

'Alīdür ġāzīlar şāh ü şahanşāh
Muḥammed Muṣṭafā ṣāḥib-i liḳādur

Ḥaṭā'ī cān ü dilden şāha ḳuldur
'Alīnüñ eşikinde bir gedādur

7 b.

My Shah is 'Alī Mürtażā,
I (turn) my face to him in this world and the next.

Who does not know 'Alī is a damned hypocrite,
Whose two eyes cannot see are excluded.

'Alī is the Shah of brave men, the lion of God,
Those who do not realize he is God have erred a thousand fold.

The dust on my Shah 'Alī's feet
Is salve to the eyes of the disinherited.

'Alī is the *ġāzīs'* Shah of Shahs,
He possesses the qualities of Muhammed Muṣṭafā.

Body and soul Haṭā'ī is a slave of the Shah,
A beggar at Alī's threshold.

8. *Dīvān of Shah Ismāʿīl Ḫaṭāʾī*, ms., Sackler Gallery, s86.0060., transcription by Wheeler Thackston, #122.[680]

من اول مست لقایم كلدم ایدی

همیشه باخدایم كلدم ایمدی

جهان ایچنده بیر عاقل منی بیل

من اول صدق صفایم كلدم ایمدی

منی زنهارسن بیر غیر بیلمه

همان اول دلربایم كلدم ایدی

منافق جانه با حرب شمشیر

بوکین حقدن ملایم كلدم ایمدی

محبك جانته ای اهل دللر

بوکین بیر جان فدایم كلدم ایمدی

ز غیر حق منی بیگانه بیلكل

بحضرت آشنایم كلدم ایمدی

منی بیلكل همیشه واصل حق

ز غیر حق جدایم كلدم ایمدی

مغارب اهلیجون اوچ تلكدن

بیر هجین هبایم كلدم ایمدی

اوکش جنتلر ایچون جان المقلمن

خطایی جان فدایم كلدم ایمدی

---

8 a.
Mefāʿīlun mefāʿīlun feʿūlun
Men ol mest-i liḳāyım geldim imdi
Hemīşe bī-ḫüdāyım geldim imdi

Cihān içinde bir ʿaḳıl meni bil
Men ol ṣıdḳ-ı ṣafāyım geldim imdi

Meni zinhār sen bir ġayr bilme
Hemān ol dilrübāyım geldim imdi

Münāfıḳ cānına bī ḫarb-ı şimşīr

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[680]See also Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 489-490; Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḫaṭāʾī* #240.

Bugün ḥaḳḳdan melāyım geldim imdi

Muḥibbiñ cānına ey ehl-i diller
Bugün bir cān fedāyım geldim imdi

Zi-ġayr-ı ḥaḳḳ meni bīgāne bilgil
Bi-ḥażret āṣnāyım geldim imdi

Meni bilgil hemīṣe vü aṣl-ı ḥaḳḳ
Zi-ġayr-ı ḥaḳḳ cedāyım geldi imdi

Maġārıb ehlīçün evc-i felekden
Bu ma'cūn hebāyım geldim imdi

Okuṣ cānlār içün cān almaġā men
Ḥaṭā'ī cān fedāyım geldim imdi

8 b.
Drunk with the encounter, today I have come,
Always with God, here today I have come.

Know me as an intelligence on earth,
As reality and purity, I have come.

Beware of deeming me as a separate entity,
As the beloved I have now come.

Striking the souls of hypocrites with a sword,
Today as a penitent from God I have come.

Oh people of the heart, for the lover's sake,
Today as a sacrifice, I have come.

The stranger thinks I am apart from the Truth,
But by knowing His Presence I have come.

Know me always as the essence of God,
I am distinct from all that is not God.

From the summit of heaven for the people of the West,
As the dust of an intoxicant, I have come.

I take a life for the souls who praise,
As Ḥaṭā'ī, offering his life as a sacrifice, I have come.

9. Azizaga Memedov, ed. *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 408-409.[681]

9 a.

Mefāʿīlun mefāʿīlun feʿūlun

Bugün geldim cihāna serverim men
Yaḳın biliñ ki naḳd-ı Ḥayderim men

Ferīdūn, Ḫusrev Cemşīd ü Żöḥḥāk
Ki Rüstem-i Zālım ve İskenderim men

Enā'l-ḥaḳḳ sırrı üş göñlümde gizlü
Ki ḥaḳḳ-ı muṭlaḳım ḥaḳḳ söylerim men

Nişānımdır menim tāc-ı saʿādet
Süleymān parmaġında engüşterim men

Muḥammed nūrundan ʿAlī sırrından
Ḥaḳiḳat baḥrī içre gevherim men

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[681]See also Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḫaṭāʾī* #198; Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I" 1047.

Ḥaṭā'iyam şeha eksüklü ḳulum
Ḳapıñda bir kemīne kemterim men

9 b.
Today I have come to the world as a prince,
Know truly I sacrifice my soul for Ḥayder.

I am Ferīdūn, Ḥusrev, Cemşīd and Żöḥḥāk
I am Rüstem of Zāl and Alexander.

The mystery of *enā'l-ḥaḳḳ* is hidden here in my heart,
I am the Absolute Truth, what I say is Truth

My sign is my crown of happiness,
I am the ring on Solomon's finger.

Muḥammed is from the light, 'Alī is from the mystery,
I am the pearl in the sea of reality.

I am Ḥaṭā'ī, the Shah's imperfect slave,
At his gate, I am the least of his servants.

10. Azizaga Memedov, ed. *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 444-445.[682]

منی سرکشته حیران ایلین شاه
کونکل شهرنده سیران ایلین شاه

منی رسوا ایدوب سالدنک جهانه
دید منی زار و کریان ایلین شاه

مسخّر ایلین جمله جهانے
یزید قومین مسلمان ایلین شاه

اوزی بلبل اولوب کلزاده کزدی
منی داش خروده زار ایلین شاه

انالحق چاغرن منصور درلنده
ینه منصوری بردار ایلین شاه

حسن ایلن حسینی کربلاده
یزید الیله قربان ایلین شاه

چخارن یوسفی چاه بلادت
محن تغنده سلطان ایلین شاه

کونش تک ظاهر اولمیشدم درکوزنده
جهان باغین کلستان ایلین شاه

خطایی سیز یوزلره یوزی کنش در
ینه کونشنی نهان ایلین شاه

بدشت ارزنه سلمان غازیی
آلب اصلان الدن نوری شاه

خطایی سندن افغان ایده سیدر
حشر کورنده دیوان ایلین شاه

682See also Gandejei, ed., *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḫatāʾī* #204.

10 a.
mefā'īlun mefā'īlun fe'ūlun
Meni serkeşte ḥayrān eyleyen şāh
Göñül şehrinde seyrān eyleyen şāh

Meni rüsvā idüb saldıñ cihāna
Dīdemni zār ü giryān eyleyen şāh

Müsaḫḫar eyleyen cümle cihānı
Yezīd ḳavmīn Müsülmān eyleyen şāh

Özi bülbül olub gülzāra gezdi
Meni dāṣḫarūde zār eyleyen şāh

Enā'l-ḥaḳḳ çāġıran Manṣūr dilinde
Yine Manṣūrı berdār eyleyen şāh

Ḥasan ilen Ḥüseyni Kerbelāda
Yezīd eliyle ḳurbān eyleyen şāh

Çıḫaran Yūsufı çāh-ı belādan
Mıṣır taḫtında sulṭān eyleyen şāh

Güneş tek ẕāhir olmışdur gözünde
Cihān bāġın gülistān eyleyen şāh

Ḥaṭāsız yüzlere yüzi güneşdir
Yine güneşni pinhān eyleyen şāh

Ba-Daşt Arzana Selmān Fārsī
Ālb aṣlān elinden ḳurtan şāh

Ḥaṭā'ī senden afġān idesidir
Ḥaşr gününde dīvān eyleyen şāh.

10 b.
The Shah who amazes and bewilders me
Is the Shah who tours the recesses of my heart.

You have scorned me, cast me into the world,
You are the Shah who has caused my eyes to weep bitterly.

He who conquered the entire world,
Is the Shah who created both Yezīd's people and Muslims.

He who became a nightingale and wandered the rose garden
Is the Shah who caused my bitter weeping outside.

In his heart, Manṣūr cries out "I am the Truth,"
Yet the Shah crucifies Manṣūr.

The Shah, with Yezīd's hand,
Sacrifices Ḥasan and Ḥüseyn in Kerbelā'.

He who rescued Joseph from the well of calamity,
Is the Shah who made him Sultan in the land of Egypt.

In his eye the only thing shining is the sun,
He made a rose bed out of the gardens of the world.

To the faces of the blameless his face is the sun,
Yet the Shah conceals the sun.

From the hand of the brave lion in Daşt-ı Arzan,
The Shah protects Selmān Fārsī.

Ḥaṭā'ī desires your longing,
Again, the Shah keeps the records on Judgment Day.

11. Pertev Naili Boratav, *İzahlı Halk Şiiri Antolojisi* 72.

8 *heceli*
Bizim içtiğimiz dolu
Erenlerin dolusudur
Ummanlara dalıp giden
Erenlerin gemisidir

Ulu şarlar bedestanlar
Al çiçekli gülistanlar
Ala gözlü ol mestanlar
Pirim Ali korusudur

Kimdir bunu böyle diyen
Erlerden öğüt alan
Yeşil alem çekip gelen
Pirim Ali kendisidir

Şah Hatâyî Dîdâra bak
Mansur ipin boynuna tak
Nesimî oldu Hakla Hak

Ol yüzülen derisidir.

11 a.
The cup we drank,
Is the cup of the *eren*,
What has entered and gone in the sea,
is the ship of the *eren*.

A great city's *bedestan*,
A garden of red flowers,
Those drunkards with bloodshot eyes
Are the protectors of my *pir* Ali.

He who says thus,
Who takes council from *eren*,
Who comes donning a green banner,
Is my *pir* Ali himself.

Shah Hatayi, behold the grace of God,
Put the rope on the neck of Mansur,
Nesimî became *Hak* with *Hak*,
He is that flayed flesh of his.

12. Memedov, ed. *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 372-373.[683]

12 a.
Fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilun

Yer yoḫ iken gök yoḫ iken tā ezelden var idim
Gevheriñ yekdānesinden ileri pergār idim

Gevheri āb eyledim dutdı cihānı serbeser
Yeri göki 'arş ü kürsi yāradan settār idim

Kah Ḥüseynlen bile postumı şoydı ḳādīler
Kah o Manṣūr donuna girdim enā'l-ḥaḳḳ dār idim

Girdim ādam cismine kimse ne bilmez sırrımı

683See also Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 154-155.

Men o beytüllāh içinde tā ezelden var idim

On sekiz min 'āleme men gerdiş ile gelmişim
Ol sebebden Ḥaḳḳ ile serdār idim serdār idim

Dünyāsından men anıñ sırrın bilürdim ol menem
Deryānıñ altındaki sāc ḳızduran en-nār idim

Men Ḥaṭā'iyām ḥaḳḳı ḥaḳḳ tanımışım bī-gümān
Anıñçün evvel yaratdı men añā derkār idim

12 b.
Before there was earth, before there was sky, since the beginning of time I was.
For years I was a compass, encircling your incomparable gem.

I rendered the gem like water, it permeated the world end to end,
I veiled the sky, the earth and the throne of God from the beloved.

At one time, with Ḥüseyn, the *ḳadi*s flayed my skin,
At one time I wore Manṣūr's clothes, I declared *enā'l-ḥaḳḳ* in the gallows.

I wore the garments of man, so that no one knew my secret,
I was in that house of God since the beginning of time.

I came with revolving with 18,000 worlds,
And I was a commander, a commander with God.

From His world, I knew His secret and He knew mine,
Under the sea I stoked the fires of hell.

I am Ḥaṭā'i, I know *ḥaḳḳ* as *ḥaḳḳ*,
And I was present thus the beginning of creation.

APPENDIX C

1. Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 69-70.[684]

11 *heceli*
Gece gündüz hayâline dönerim
Bir gece rüyama gir Hacı Bektaş
Günahkârım günahımdan bezerim
Özüm dâra çektim sor Hacı Bektaş

Yandı bu garip kul nedir çaresi
Yine tazelendi yürek yâresi
Onulmaz dertlere derman olası
Bu senin bendindir sar Hacı Bektaş

Derdimin dermanı yaramın ucu
Dört güruh mevcuttur güruh-ı Nâcî
Belinde kemeri başında tacı
Yüzünde balkıyor nur Hacı Bektaş

Gâhi bulut olup göğe ağarsın
Gâhi yağmur olup yere yağarsın
Ay mısın gün müsün kandan doğarsın
Ilgıt ılgıt eser yel Hacı Bektaş

Derdimend Hatâyî eder niyâzı
Ulu pir katardan ayırmaz bizi
Bu mahşer günüdür isterim sizi
Muhammed önünde car Hacı Bektaş

1 a.
Day and night I long for your apparition,
Enter my dream one night, Hacı Bektaş,
I am a sinner, draped with sin,
I have dragged myself to the gallows, interrogate me Hacı Bektaş.

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[684]See also Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî. Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 437-438; Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hata* 96-97; Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 99-100; Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 155.

What is the cure for the pain of this pathetic creature?
The heart's wound has opened anew,
The cure for his pain does not heal,
This is your servant, embrace him, Hacı Bektaş.

The tip of my wound is the cure of my pain,
There are four groups among the saved,
The belt on your waist and the crown on your head
Are the lights gleaning on your face Hacı Bektaş.

Sometimes you become the clouds and ascend to the sky,
Sometimes you become the rain and fall to the ground,
Are you the moon? Are you the sun? You are born of blood,
Softly blows the wind, Hacı Bektaş.

Wretched Hatayi supplicates,
The exalted *pir* does not separate the flock,
This is Judgment Day, I seek you,
You are the intercessor before Muhammed, Hacı Bektaş.

2. Turkhan Gandjei, *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'il Ḥaṭā'i* #20.[685]

الله الله دينك غازىلر دين شاه منم
قارشو كلونك سجده قيلونك غازيلر دين شاه منم
اوچماغده طوطى قوشم اغير لشكر ار باشم
من صوفيلر يولداشم غازىلار دين شاهمنم
نه ييرده اكرسن بيترم خانده چاغيرسن يترم
صوفيلر الين دوترم غازىلار دين شاه منم
منصور ايله دارده ايديم خليل ايله نارده ايديم
موسى ايله طورده ايديم غازىلار دين شاه منم
ايسرادن پرى كلونك نوروز ايدينك شاهه يتونك
هى غازيلار سجده قيلونك غازىلار دين شاه منم
قرمزى تاجلو بوز آتلو اغير لشكرى هيبتلو
يوسف پيغامبر صفتلو غازىلار دين شاه منم
خطايىام ال آتلويم سوزى شكردن داتلويم
مرتضى على داتلويم غازىلار دين شاه منم

2 a.
8 *heceli*

Allāh Allāh deyiñ ġāz£ler
Ġāzīler deyin şāh menem
Ḳarşu gelüñ secde ḳıluñ
Ġāzīlar lar deyin şāh menem

Uçmaġda ṭūṭī ḳuşuyum
Aġır leşker er başıyım
Men ṣūfiler yoldaşıyım
Ġāzīlar deyin şāh menem

[685]See also Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1043; Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, ed., *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 93-94; Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, ed., *Alevî-Bektaşî Nefesleri* 89-90; Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 192; Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî. Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 403-404.

Ne yerde ekersen biterim
Ḫānda çaġırsan yeterim
Ṣūfiler elin dutarım
Ġāzīlar deyin şāh menem

Manṣūr ile dārda idim
Ḫalīl ile nārda idim
Mūsā ile Ṭūrda idim
Ġāzīlar deyin şāh menem

Eysırādan beri gelüñ
Nevrūz ediñ şāha yetüñ
Hey ġāzīlar secde ḳıluñ
Ġāzīlar deyin şāh menem

Ḳırmızı tāclu boz atlu
Aġır leşkeri hibetlü
Yūsuf Payġāmber ṣıfatlu
Ġāzīlar deyin şāh menem

Ḫaṭā'iyam al atluyum
Sözi şekerden dātluyum
Mürtażā 'Alī zātluyum
Ġāzīlar deyin şāh menem

2 b.
Say Allah Allah *ġāzīs*!
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!
Come across to meet me,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

I am the bird of paradise,
I am a commander over legions of soldiers,
I am the comrade of the Sufis,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

In whatever soil you plant me I grow,
Wherever you call me, I arrive,
I take the hands of the Sufis,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

I was in the gallows with Manṣūr,
I was in the fires with Ḫalīl,
I was with Moses on Sinai,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

From the eve come forth,
Celebrate the New Year, reach the Shah,
Prostrate yourselves, *ġāzīs*,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

With a red crown and a gray horse,
With the fearsome soldiers of the Prophet's family,
With the appearance of the Prophet Joseph,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

I am Ḥaṭāʾī, on the red horse,
I am as sweet as his words of sugar,
I am with ʿAlī Mürtażā,
Say I am the Shah, *ġāzīs*!

3. *Menāḳıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār*, ms., Mevlânâ Müzesi, 1172, folios 83-84.
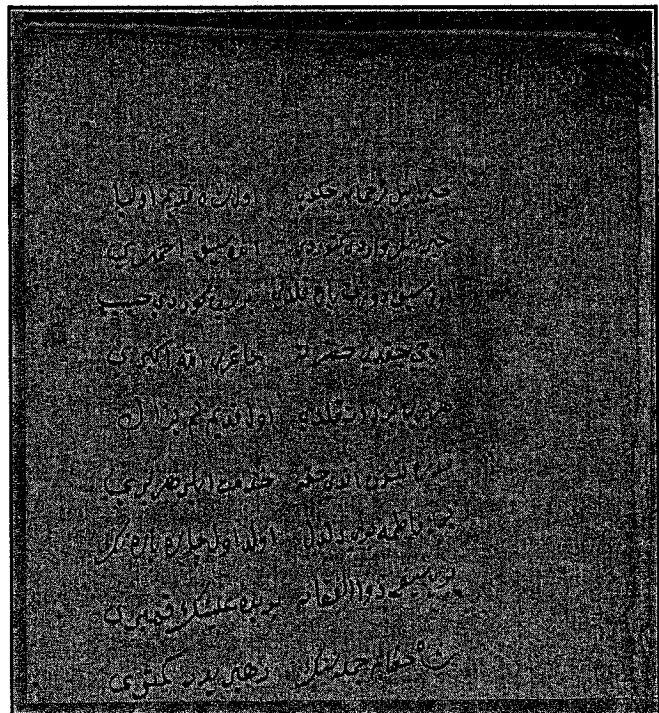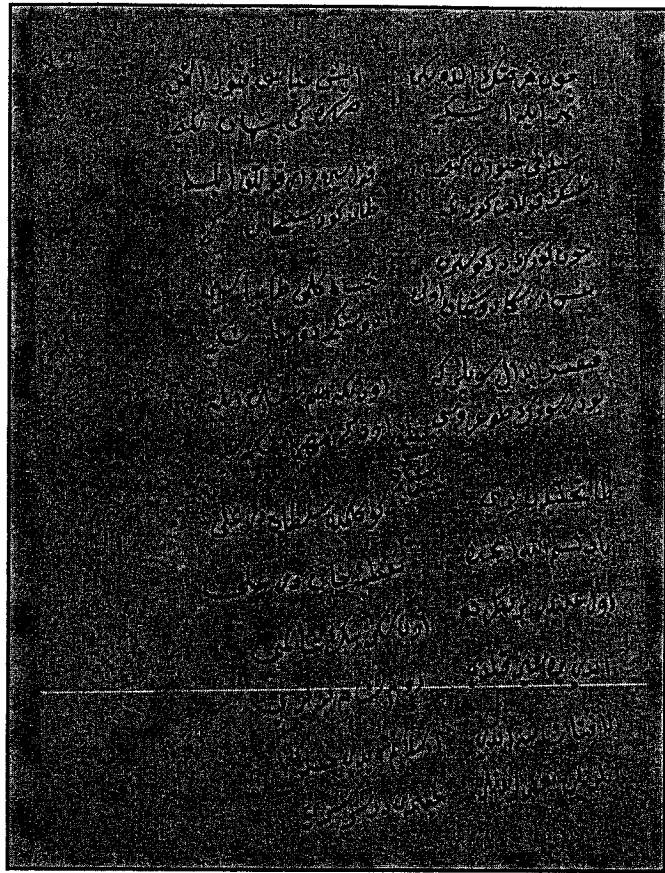
3 a.
Ṭā tecelliden yeri
Göñlümde sulṭāndır 'Alī

Bāb bismillāh içinde
Noḳṭa'ı-ı ḫān dır 'Alī

Ol 'Alīdir bir naẓarda
On sekiz biñ 'ālemi

İndi yere seyr ḳıldı
Rūm-u Şām-u Berberi

Lā fatā şānına indi
Arslınım dedi Ḫüdā

İnler yëller[686] buġz edtiler
Ḫayberidir serseri

Cebrā'īl tercümına çekdi
Ol şāh-ı ḳadīm-i evilīyā

Cebrā'īl vardı getürdi
Anda seyf-i aḥmeri

Ol seyf dört pāre ḳıldı
Birin gördi ḥabīb

Ucı çıḳdı ḥażrete
Çāġırır Allāhü ekberi

Her biri bir ẕāt ḳıldı
Ol ḳadim lemyezāl

Ḳudretinden indi ḥaḳḳa
Ḫiẕmet eyler her biri

Biri Fāṭıma biri Düldül
Oldu ol çare pareniñ

Biri seyf-i Ẕülfıḳar
Biride 'Alīniñ Ḳamberi

---

[686]This phrase could possibly be read as "*eller ile*" ("With their hands" or "With the tribes").

Şāh Ḥaṭā'īyim cümlesiniñ
Rehberidir kemteri

3 b.
Ever since his place of manifestation,
The sultan of my heart is 'Alī.

'Alī is the dot (of the *bā'*)
Within the gate of the *bismillāh*.

That 'Alī cast one glance
Upon 18,000 worlds.

He descended and he traveled
The lands of Rūm, Syria and the Berbers.

The renown of *lā fatā* descended upon him,
God called him "my lion."

The soldiers bewail with hatred,
But Ḥayber is trifle to him ['Alī].

That Shah of the saints
Empowered Gabriel with articulation.

At that moment, Gabriel arrived,
Bringing that sword of crimson.

That sword was split into four segments,
And the Beloved beheld one of these.

Calling, "God is great,"
The point of the sword was unsheathed before His Presence.

Every segment was rendered a person,
By the Eternal One.

They descended from His Power,
Every segment is serving the Divine Truth.

One of those segments become Fāṭima,
One became Düldül.

One of them became the sword Ẕülfiḳar,
And one became 'Alī's Ḳamber.

I am Ṣāh Ḥaṭāʔi, of all I am
The leader of the destitute.

4. Gandjei, *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'il Ḫaṭā'i* 22.

<div dir="rtl">

منم بیر تن ولی جانوم علی‌دور   دمارومده کزن قانوم علی‌دور

منکا بو دفتر و دیوان کرکمز   منوم دفترله دیوانوم علی‌دور

منم بیر قطره سو انونك یاننده   منوم دریای عمانوم علی‌دور

منم یعقوب سرگشته جهانده   منوم یوسف کنعانوم علی‌دور

بو سوز علی سوزی‌دور ای خطایی   منوم بو سوزده استادوم علی‌دور

</div>

4 a.

Mefā'īlun mefā'īlun fe'ūlun

Menem bīr ten veī cānum 'Aīīdür
Damārūmda gezen ḳanum 'Aīīdür

Mana bu defter ü dīvān gerekmez
Menüm defterle dīvānum 'Aīīdür

Menem bir ḳaṭra su anuñ yanında
Menüm deryā-yı 'ummānum 'Aīīdür

Menem Ya'ḳūb-ı sergeşte cihānda
Menüm Yūsuf-ı Ken'ānum 'Aīīdür

Bu söz 'Aīī sözidür ey Ḫaṭā'ī
Menüm bu sözde üstādum 'Aīīdür

4 b.

My saint, my body, my soul are 'Aīī,
The blood flowing in my veins is 'Aīī.

I have no use of a *dɛvʲn* or manuscripts,
My manuscript and *dɛvʲn* are 'Aīī.

I am a drop of water next to him,
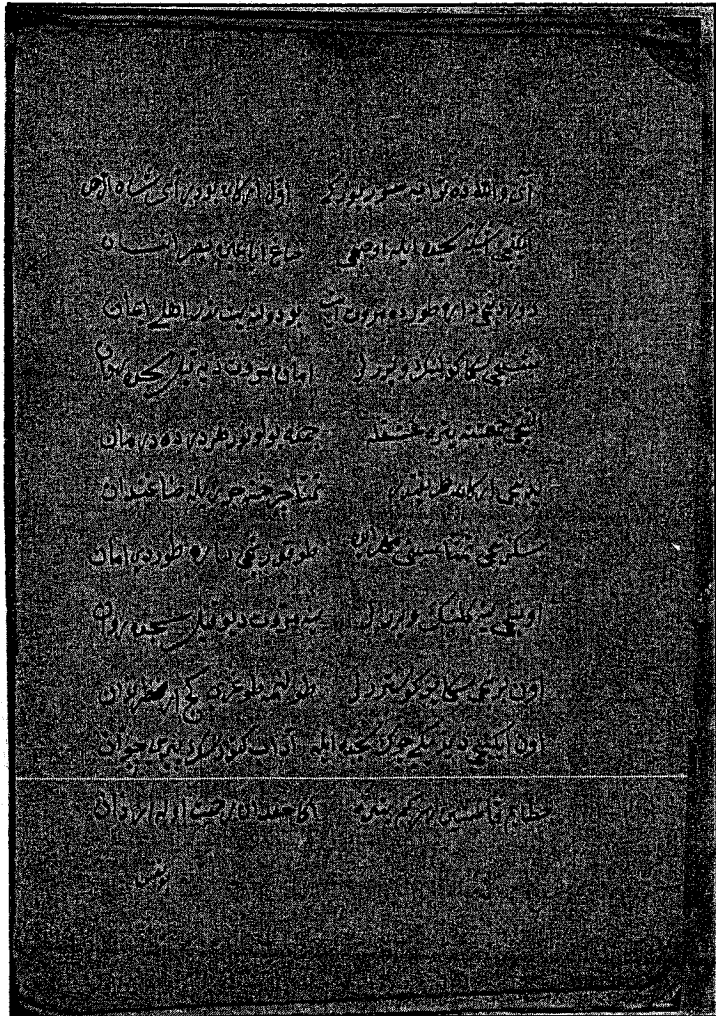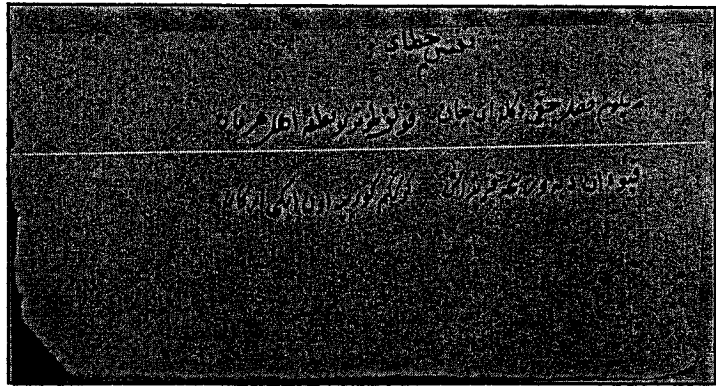My ocean is 'Aīī.

My wondering Jacob in the world,
My Joseph of Canaan is 'Aīī.

Oh Ḫaṭā'ī, this word is the word of 'Aīī,
My master in this word is 'Aīī.

5. *Menāḳıb ül-Asrār Behcet ül-Aḥrār*, ms., Mevlânâ Müzesi, 1172, folios 80-81.

5 a.

Mefā'īlun mefā'īlun fe'ūlun

Diyelüm fażl-ı Ḥaḳḳı diñle ey cān
Ḳūlaḳ ṭutar bu nuṭḳa ehl-i 'irfān

Ḳapudan dibe varınca ḳarındaş
Göñlüm görine on iki erkān

Eyvallāh de türāba sür yüzüñi
Evvel erkān budur ey şāh er-raḥman

İkinci eşike secde eyle üçüncü
Ṣāġ ayaġına baṣar insān

Dördünci dāra ṭūr de mürüvvet et
Bu devlete yetendir ehl-i īmān

Beşinci saña gülbank verirler
Amān mürüvvet diye ḳıl secde revān

Altıncı cem'iyyete yetere 'aşḳla
Cemde bulunur her derde dermān

Yedinci erkān ṭarīḳatdır
Temennā çarḫına cevrīle ḍaġından

Sekizinci temennāsını mühr eyle
Doḳuzuncı dāra ṭūr diye amān

Onuncı yine gülbank verirler
Yine mürüvvet deyü ḳıl secde revān

Onbirinci saña yer gösterirler
Dolunma doġri geç er naẓarından

Onikinci dizini çok secde eyle
Ādāb götürsiñ pīr-i çivān

Ḥaṭā'iyim ḳalmışın her kim yetere
Aña ḥaḳḳdān raḥmet ola erẓān

5 b.
Let us tell of God's generosity, oh brother take heed,
Whose ears grasp this speech are the people of knowledge.

Arriving from the gate to the source is a brother,
Upon arrival, my heart unfolds twelve rites.

Affirm by God, put your face to the earth,
That is the first rite, oh Shah of Compassion.

The second is to bow at the threshold, and the third,
One must enter with the right foot.

Stand in the *dār*, receive blessings of grace,
The people of faith reach this state of wealth.

They offer you prayers during the fifth rite,
Sincerely asking for grace, prostrate your soul.

Reaching the assembly with love is sufficient for the sixth rite,
In this assembly a cure is found for all misery.

The seventh *erkān* is the *tarīkat*
Request that the wheel of anguish not hinder spiritual progress.

The eighth is completing your supplication,
The ninth is standing steadfast in the gallows.

They offer prayers during the tenth rite,
Again, for the sake of grace, prostrate your soul.

During the eleventh rite, you are given a place,
Do not wander about, but pass directly before the gaze of the *er*.

During the twelfth rite, copiously bow on your knees,
You carry the way of this conduct to the young and old.

I am Ḥaṭāʾī, you are present for those who can achieve,
May the blessings come from God in abundance.

APPENDIX D

1. Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 522-523.[687]

8 *heceli*
Be erenler be gaziler
Gelen Murteza Ali'dir
Yezid'e bâtın kılıcın
Çalan Murteza Ali'dir

Alçağa indirmiş özünü
Eder Hakk'a niyazını
Kırklar ile bir üzümü
Yiyen Murteza Ali'dir

Turnaya vermiş sesini
İmamlar çeker yasını
Yine kendi devesini
Yeden Murteza Ali'dir

Getür ahret azığını
Âşık çeker yazığını
Muhammed'in yüzüğünü
Yudan Murteza Ali'dir

Cennetin yemişi elma
Sarar benzim sarar solma
Şah Hatayî'm gafil olma
Gelen Murteza Ali'dir

1 a.
Oh enlightened ones, Oh defenders of the faith!
He who comes is Murteza Ali.
He who strikes Yezid with the hidden sword

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[687]See also Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* 141; Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 112-113; Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 100.

Is Murteza Ali.

He descended below,
He supplicates to God.
He who eats a single grape with the Forty
Is Murteza Ali.

He gave his voice to the crane,
The *imams* mourn for him.
He who led his own camel
Is Murteza Ali.

Bringing sustenance of the hereafter,
The lover suffers his fate.
He who swallows Muhammed's ring
Is Murteza Ali.

The apple is the fruit of Paradise,
My face turns yellow, do not fade,
I am Hatayi, do not be heedless,
He who comes is Murteza Ali.

2.Ömer Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 21.[688]

11 *heceli*
Bu yolu doğruca süreyim dersen
Evvela bir piri hem piran gerek.
Hakkın didarını göreyim dersen,
Muhammed Ali'den bir burhan gerek.

Rehber olur doğru gösteren rahı,
Almayalar yola hiçbir kemrahı.
Cebrail sayılır peyk-i ilahi
Ayetli, suretli bir kuran gerek.

Bu yola yaramaz, cahil hem kaba,
Bu yola gerekir halis bir baba,
Soyu temiz olsun hem al-i aba
Gönlü alçak huyu sofiyan gerek.

Yola yarar gerek bir de kapacu,
Haksızlığı koyup hakka tapucu,

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[688]See also Yaman, *Alevilikte Cem: İnanç, İbadet, Erkân* 28-30.

Cemaatta koman mürai piçi,
Huyu haysiyyeti hem rıdvan gerek.

Bu yola yaramaz bigane kallaş,
İsterler meydanı yere bir ferraş
İçi temiz ola hem gözler iyaş
Gönlü vasi gözü rüşena gerek.

Bir hub delilci ister, ola yüzü ak
Oturan canlar uyara çırak
Gözü açık ola, kulakları sak,
Madara mundardır. Merdane gerek.

Burada her kimse gözcü olamaz,
Ham kimdir, has kimdir, herkes bilemez
Hatır için riya kabul eylemez.
O cemde hazreti Hızıran gerek.

Bu yola yarayan bir bacı ola
Fatma'dan urunmuş bir tacı olsa
Şefaatçı güruh-ı Naci ola
Ummügülsüm, Rukiye Şehriban gerek.

Bu manayı eyce gel eyle fikir,
Meydanı donata gerek bir zakir
Hizmetin bekleyip ederler zikir,
Siretle Cafer-i Sadıkan gerek.

İbrikçi ederler şöyle bir eri,
Fark eyleye edeb ile esrarı,
Bu hizmetin bilmez her birinin biri,
Terk ede benliği bir Selman gerek.

Erkanı çalmağa gerek bir kişi,
Nur ile ışıya hem içi dışı.
İncitmeye bir sofu bir kardaşı
Kamil-i mükerrem hem bir car gerek.

Bu yolda yaraşır gerek bir saki,
O da Salman'ı pak bilecek hakkı
Hizmetinde Ekaim ola hem de baki,
Hidem'ül fıkara fahiran gerek.

Bu yol bağlanmalı, nakibe, pire
Herkes rıza ala, dökme hatıra,
Verir ise cümle gönülden vere,

Lokması çok pişkin ehli nan gerek.

Bu rumuza namahramler eremez
Suret uğra bu meydana giremez
Bu yol bir eliftir eğri yaramaz
Hatayi der bir piri civan gerek.

2 a.
If you decide to traverse this path correctly,
Then the *pir* is necessary above all,
If you say, allow me to behold the face of God,
You must have proof from Muhammed-Ali.

The *rehber*,[689] showing the path correctly,
May he not allow the cumbersome upon it,
Cebrail, known as the messenger of God,
Must have a *Kuran* of verses and chapters.

This path is not for the ignorant and base,
A real *baba*[690] is required on this path,
May his lineage be pure, from the line of the Prophet,
His heart humble and his manner becoming of a Sufi.

Also a *kapacı*[691] is beneficial on this path,
Pushing aside injustice, an admirer of the just,
May he not place hypocrites in the assembly,
His character must be noble like Ridvan.[692]

This path does not suit the stranger or untrustworthy,
They desire for the floor of the *meydan* a *ferraş*,[693]
May his innermost being be clean, his eyes misty,
His heart should be open and his eyes luminous.

It is necessary for a graceful *delilçi*,[694] may his countenance be pure,
May he light the candle for the souls seated,
May his eyes be alert, his ears awake,
The petty are corrupt, the strong are required.

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[689]A guide.

[690]Literally, father; a senior member of the *tarîkat*.

[691]A doorman, guard.

[692]The name of the gate-keeper of Paradise.

[693]Literally, a sweeper; the sweeper of the central ritual space.

[694]He who lights and extinguishes the candle (*delil*).

Here, not anyone can be a *gözcü*,[695]
Not everyone can discern the immature from the worthy,
Hypocrisy is not accepted on account of influence,
Hızır is necessary in that *cem*.

On this path a *bacı*[696] is beneficial,
May she be wearing Fatma's crown,
May she be the intercessor for the saved,
One such as Ümmügülsüm, Rukiye, Şehriban is necessary.[697]

Come know this meaning internally,
The *meydan* must be adorned with a *zakir*,[698]
He waits to perform the *zikir*,[699]
His conduct is that of Cafer-i Sadık.

The *ibrikçi* is a man thus,
Discerning discipline from mysteries,
Not everyone can know this service,
He must be a Selman who has abandoned himself.

A person is needed to wield the *erkan*,[700]
Full of light, inside and out,
A mystic must not hurt a brother,
The most respected public crier is necessary.

On this path a *saki* is benific,
Like Salman Pak, he knows truth,
In his duty may he be present and eternal,
May he serve the poor and sumptuous alike.

This road must be bound to a leader, a *pir*,
May everyone receive their share, not only the influential,
If he gives, it all should be from the heart,
May the food be cooked, people need bread.

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[695]Literally, the watcher. The *gözcü* supervises the conduct of the assembly during the ritual.

[696]Literally, sister. A female member of the *tarīkat*.

[697]Referring to Umm al-Kulthūm, the daughter of 'Alī, Ruquyya, Husayn's daughter, and Shahrbānū, Husayn's wife.

[698]Lit., a sayer of *zikir*.

[699]The *zikir* (Arabic: *dhikr*): litany; in Alevi rituals, this can also refer to performance of music.

[700]In this context, the ritual stick.

The stranger cannot attain these signs,
Hypocrites cannot enter the *meydan*,
This road is straight as an *elif*,[701] it cannot bend,
Hatayi says a young *pir* is necessary.

3. Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 476-477.[702]

11 *heceli*
Akıl ermez Yaradan'ın sırrına
Muhammed Ali'ye indi bu kurban
Kurban olam kudretinin nuruna
Hasan Hüseyin'e indi bu kurban

Ol İmam Zeynel'in destinde idim
Muhammed Bâkır'ın dostunda idim
Câ'fer-i Sâdık'ın postunda idim
Musa Kâzım Rıza'ya indi bu kurban

Muhammed Takî'nin nurunda idim
Aliyyü-n Nakî'nin sırrında idim
Hasanü-l Asker'in darında idim
Muhammad Mehdi'ye indi bu kurban

Aslı Şâh-i Merdan gürûh-ı Naci
Hakikate bağlı bu yolun ucu
Senede bir kurban tâlibin borcu
Muhammed Mustafa'ya indi bu kurban

Tarikatten hakikate ereler
Cennet-i âlâya hulle sereler
Muhammed Ali'nin yüzün göreler
Erenler yoluna indi bu kurban

Şah Hatayî'm eydür bilir mi her can
Kurbanın üstüne yürüdü erkân
Tırnağı tesbihdir kanı da mercan
On iki imama indi bu kurban

3 a.

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[701]The first letter of the Arabic alphabet, represented by a straight, vertical line.
[702]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 476-477; Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 28; Yaman, *Alevilikte Cem: İnanç, İbadet, Erkân* 44-45.

To attain the mystery of the Creator intelligence will not suffice,
To Muhammed-Ali we offer this sacrifice,
For the light of God's power, may I be a sacrifice,
To Hasan, Hüseyin we offer this sacrifice.

I was in the grasp of İmam Zeynel,
I was an intimate of Muhammed Bâkır,
I was seated on Câ'fer-i Sâdık's *post*,
To Musa Kazım and Rıza we offer this sacrifice.

I was in the light of Muhammed Takî,
I was in Aliyyü-n Nakî's mystery,
I was in the abode of Hasanü-l Asker,
To Muhammed Mehdi we offer this sacrifice.

Those bound to the *Şah-i Merdan* are the saved of Noah's people,
The frontiers of this path are bound to truth,
A yearly sacrifice is the debt of the *tâlib*,
To Muhammed Mustafa we offer this sacrifice.

Those reaching the truth, traversing the path,
They spread celestial garments to the highest heavens.
They see the face of Muhammed-Ali,
To the path of the *eren* we offer this sacrifice

I am Şah Hatayi, does every soul know?
The great men march towards the sacrifice,
Its claws are the beads of *tesbih*, its blood is coral,
To the Twelve Imams we offer this sacrifice.

4. Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 341-342.[703]

11 *heceli*
Sabah oldu kutlu günler doğuyor
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla
İhsan ettiğine nurlar yağıyor
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla

Yağan yağmur içün esen yel içün
Dergahına varan doğru yol içün

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[703]Nejat Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* 42-43; Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 39-40; Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 165.

Urum'daki Hacı Bektaş Vel'içün
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla

Seksen bir Urum erenleri içün
Doksan bin Horasan pirleri içün
Hasan Hüseyin'in nurları içün
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla

Hüseyin Gazi'çün gerçek er içün
Nazar edüb yarattığın yer içün
Müşkilleri halleden rehber içün
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla

Talib olmaz irehbersiz babasız
Harman mı savrulur yelsiz yabasız
Kul hatasız olmaz hata tövbesiz
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla

Eyyüb Peygamber'in gözü yaşıyçün
Inüb inüb deldiceği taş içün
Yusuf Peygamber'in aziz başıyçün
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla

Musa'ya verdiğin Tur'un hakkiçün
°sa'ya verdiğin Surun hakkiçün
Ol Şems ü kamerin nurun hakkiçün
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla

Cümle biten çiçeklerin hakkiçün
On iki masum-i pâk'in hakkiçün
Sen ganisin ganiliğin hakkiçün
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla

Hatayî çağırır aman Enelhak
Münkir kullarından uzaksın uzak
Sen ganisin senden ayrı kimsem yok
Hatâ ettim günâhımı bağışla

4 a.
Morning has come, the joyous day is born,
I have erred, forgive my sin.
Light pours onto what He has bestowed,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For the rain that falls, the wind that blows,
For the path that leads straight to his sanctuary,
For Hacı Bektaş Veli, in the land of Rum,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For the eighty-one enlightened of Rum,
For the ninety-thousand *pir* of Horasan,
For the light of Hüseyin and Hasan,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For Hüseyin Gazi, for the true *er*,
For the earth You contemplated, then created.
For those guiding from the tortuous state,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

Without a guide or a *baba*, a *talib* cannot be,
Is wheat separated from the chaff without the wind and *yaba*?
A creature cannot be without sin, nor sin without repentance,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For the tears of the Prophet Job,
That fall and burrow through stone,
For the sacred head of the Prophet Joseph,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For the sake of the Torah you gave to Moses,
For the trumpet of Judgment Day you gave to Jesus,
For the light of the sun and the moon,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

For all the flowers sown,
For the Twelve Pure Innocents,
You are the Possessor, for the abundance you hold,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

Hatayi calls out, *enelhak*,
You are distant from the unbelieving,
You are the Possessor, I have nothing except You,
I have erred, forgive my sin.

5. Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah ᵒsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 432-434.[704]

Fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilātun fā'ilun
Geldi ol gece çağırdı yâ Muhammed Mustafa
Hak seni Mîrâç'a okur dâvete kadir Huda

Ol emânetim budur ki bir irehber dutasın
Kadimi erkâna yetüb târik-i mustâkime

Muhammed sükûta vardı yoktur andan bir aziz
Şimdi senden el dutâyım Hak buyurdu ve'd-duha

Habibullâh'ın belin bağladı âhir Cebrail
İki gönül bir edüben yürüdüler dergâha

Vardı dergâh kapusuna gördü bir arslan yatur
Arslan anda hamle kıldı başta koptu bir niza

Dedi ki sırr-ı kâinat korkma benim hâbibim
Hatemi ağzına ver ki senden ister nişane

Hatemin ağzına verdi arslanı kıldı sakin
Muhammed'e yol verildi arslan gitti nihane

Vardı Hakk'a dâ'va etti önce bunu söyledi
Ne güzel sırrın var imiş hayli cevrettin bana

O benim sırr-ı devletim sana tabi hayatı
Geldi eşiğe başeğdi kıble-i kıblegâha

Baktı bir bî-çâre derviş anı yutmak diledi
Ali bile olsa idi dayanamaz o cana

Doksan bin kelâm danıştı iki gönül dostuna
Tevhidi armağan etti yeryüzünde insana

Muhammed ayağa durdu ümmetini diledi
Ümmetini yarlıgadım dedi Perverdigâr'a

İndi türap etti yüzün Hakk'a teslim etti özün

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[704]Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 432-434; Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* 163-164; Yaman, *Alevilikte Cem: İnanç, İbadet, Erkân* 61-65

Hak tapşırıp salkım üzüm Hüseyn ile Hasan'a

EĞülüben secde kıldı hoş ol Züldan'ım dedi
Kalktı evine giderken yol uğrattı kırklara

Vardı kırklar sohbetine oturup oldu sakin
Cümlesi de secde etti Hazret-i Emrullaha

Kudretten bir el geldi ezdi şerbet eyledi
Hâtemin gördü Muhammed uğradı müşkül hala

Selman anda hazır idi şeydullah'ın dilinde
Bir üzüm tanesi doydu Selman da keşküllaha

O şerbetten biri içti cümlesi oldu hâyran
Mü'min müslim üryan büryan başladılar semaha

Cümlesi de el çırptılar dediler Allah Allah
Muhammed de bile girdi kırklar ile semaha

°badetler kadim oldu erkân yerini aldı
Muhammed'i gönderdiler hatırlar oldu safa

Evine gitti Muhammed Ali Hakk'ı dâvet etti
Hatemi önüne koydu dedi sadak Mürteza

Evveli sen âhiri sen evliyalar sahibi
Cümlesi de sana tâbi dedi Şah-ı Evliya

Can Hatayî'm vakıf oldu bu sırrın ötesine
Haklı sözü inandıra özü çürük ervaha

5 a.
He came on that night, he called, Oh! Muhammed Mustafa,
Almighty God summons you to the *mirac.*

This has been entrusted to me, so that you have a guide,
So that you reach the conduct of old by the right path.

Muhammed became silent, he had not a companion,[705]
Now let me take your hand God commanded swearing by the daylight

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[705]Alternatively, "There was no one as holy as he."

Then Gabriel girt the waist of the lover of God,
Uniting their hearts, they marched towards the *dergah.*

He reached the door of the *dergah* and saw a lion sleeping there,
The lion immediately broke out in a fierce attack.

That is my Mystery of Creation he said, do not be afraid my dear,
Give him your ring, for he desires a sign from you.

He placed the ring in lion's mouth and the lion became calm,
Muhammed was granted passage, and the lion went into concealment.

He reached God, he made his demands but first he said this,
That beautiful mystery of yours has hindered me.

That is my mystery of power, its life submits to you,
He came to the threshold, he bowed his head in the direction of the *kible.*

(The lion) saw a helpless dervish, he wished to devour,
Even Ali could not have withstood that (lion).

The two hearts discussed ninety-thousand words with the lover,
He bestowed the gift of *tevhid* to the people on earth.

Muhammed stood and advocated on behalf of his people,
I showed mercy to your people, He said to the protector.

He bowed his face down to the dust, he submitted to God himself,
God handed a cluster of grapes to Hüseyin and Hasan.

He bowed down, "Be in peace, Züldan'ım" he said,[706]
He rose and the road home led him to the "Forty."

He reached the *sohbet* of the Forty, was seated and became calm,
The gathering prostrated before God's commander.

From the Divine came a hand, crushing (a grape) into *şerbet,*
Muhammed saw his ring (on the hand) and was astonished.

Selman was present, saying "şeydullah."
Selman filled his cup with a single grape.

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[706]In another version of this composition, the term is *sultānim* ("my Sultan"). See Yörükân, *Anadolu'da Alevîler ve Tahtacılar* 62-63. "Züldan" may reflect a dialectal variation.

From that cup each of them drank and filled with wonder,
The faithful Muslims, stripped and burning, began the *semah.*

Everyone fluttering their hands they called Allah! Allah!
Muhammed entered the *semah* with the Forty.

The worship ended, the great men took their place,
They sent Muhammed away to remember the happiness there.

Muhammed returned home, he called upon Ali-Hakk,
He said, place my ring before me truthful Mürteza.

You are the first, you are the last, the master of the saints,
Everyone is your follower, he said, Oh! Shah of the saints.

I am Can Hatayi, aware of what is beyond this secret,
Let the words of truth convince the corrupted souls.

6. Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 520-521.[707]

8 *heceli*
Kırklar meydanına vardım
Gel berü ey can dediler
İzzet ile selam verdim
Gir işte meydan dediler

Kırklar bir yerde durdular
Otur deyü yer verdiler
Önüme sofra serdiler
Lokmaya sun can dediler

Kırkların kalbi durudur
Mü'min gönlünün eridir
Gelişin kanden beridir
Söyle kimsin sen dediler

Gir semaa bile oyna
Kalbin olsun bir ayine

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[707]See also Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah °smail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 127; Gölpınarlı, ed., *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 76-78; Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 162; Gölpınarlı, ed., *Alevî-Bektâşî Nefesleri* 133-134; Bezirci, ed., *Türk Halk Şiiri: Tarihçesi, Kaynakları Şairleri ve Seçme Şiirleri* 122; Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 28; Mehmet Yaman, *Alevilikte Cem: İnanç, İbadet, Erkân* 85.

Kırk yıl kazanda dur kayna
Daha çiğ bu ten dediler

Gördüğünü gözün ile
Beyan etme sözün ile
Onda sonra bizim ile
Olasın mihman dediler

Düşme dünya kesretine
Tâlib ol Hak hazretine
Âb-ı Kevser şerbetine
Parmağını sun dediler

Şah Hatayî'm nedir halin
Hakk'a şükret kaldır elin
Gıybetten kesedur dilin
Her kula yeksan dediler

6 a.
I reached the *meydan* of the Forty,
Come here, they said.
I greeted them with honor,
Enter the *meydan* they said.

The Forty stood in one place,
Sit, they said, they gave me a place,
They set a table before me,
Extend your hand to the *lokma* they said.

The hearts of the Forty are transparent,
The heart of the believer is strength,
You have come from the source,
Tell us who you are, they said.

Enter the *semah*, may we dance together,
May your heart be a mirror,
In the cauldron remain boiling forty years,
This flesh is still raw, they said.

What you have seen with your eye,
Do not express in words,
Then, together with us,
You also will be a guest, they said.

Do not fall into the world's excess,
Supplicate before the presence of God,

In the water of Kevser,
Dip your finger, they said.

I am Şah Hatayi, what is your state?
Give thanks to God, raise your hand,
Cut your tongue away from slander,
Show justice to everyone, they said.

7. Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 149.

11 *heceli*
Yemen ellerinden beri gelirken
Turnalar Ali'mi görmediniz mi?
 Havanın yüzünde semah dönerken
Turnalar Ali'mi görmediniz mi?

Şahım Hayber kalasını yıkarken
Nice Yezit helak olur bakarken
Muhammed miraca ol dem çıkarken
Turnalar Ali'mi görmediniz mi?

Kim gördü deryada balık izini
Eğildi ol öptü kabrin tozunu
İşidin Ali'nin hop avazını
Turnalar Ali'mi görmediniz mi?

Havanın yüzünde semah dönerken
O kırklar şarabından içerken
Muhammed'in gül reyhanın saçarken
Turnalar Ali'mi görmediniz mi?

Şah Hatayi eder mi bir gedayı?
Dilim zekreyledi gani Mevlayı
On iki imam nasli Abayı
Turnalar Ali'mi görmediniz mi?

7 a.
While coming forth from the lands of Yemen
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?
While turning the *semah* in the face of the wind
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?

My Shah, knocking down the fortress of Hayber,
How many Yezids are destroyed while they watch!
Muhammed, at that moment ascending to the *mirac*,

Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?

Who has seen the tracks of the fish in the sea,
He knelt and kissed the dust of the tomb,
He heard Ali's excited cry,
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?

Turning the *semah* in the face of the wind,
The Forty, drinking from the wine,
Scattering the sustenance of Muhammad's rose,
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?

Is Shah Hatayi worth a beggar?
My tongue lavishly recalls the Lord,
The Twelve *imams*, descendants of the fathers,
Cranes, have you not seen my Ali?

8. Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 517-518.[708]

8 *heceli*
Bugün mâtem günü geldi
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin
Senin derdin bağrım deldi
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

Kerbelâ'ya uğrayalım
Dertli yürek dağlayalım
Yana yana ağlayalım
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

Kerbelâ bir uzak yazı
Vardır yüreğimde sızı
Yezidler mi kırdı sizi
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

Kûfe şehrinde cenk oldu
Mü'minler Bağdad'a doldu
Kısas kıyamete kaldı
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

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[708]See also Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* 135; Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 110-186; Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 120-121; Mehmet Yaman, *Alevilikte Cem: İnanç, İbadet, Erkân* 74-75.

Bizimle gelenler gelsün
Serini meydana koysun
Hüseyin'le şehid olsun
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

Kerbelâ'nın yazıları
Şehid düştü gaziler
Fatm'Ana'nın kuzuları
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

Esti deli poyraz esti
Kâfir Mervan bizi bastı
Hüseyn'in başını kesti
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

Kerbelâ'nın önü düzdür
Geceler bana gündüzdür
Şah Kerbelâ'da yalnızdır
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

Gökte yıldız paralandı
Şehriban Ana karalandı
İmam Hüseyin yaralandı
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

İmam Hüseyn attan düştü
Yezidler başına üştü
Atı Medine'ye kaçtı
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

Bir su verin masum cana
Yezit içti kana kana
Ah eyledi Fatma Ana
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

Kerbelâ'da biten yonca
Boyu uzun beli ince
Şah Hatayî'm kararınca
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin

8 a.
Today, the day of mourning has come,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.
Your pain has pierced my heart,

Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

Let us go to Kerbela,
Let us heal the wounded heart,
Let us cry, burning,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

Kerbela, a distant destiny,
My heart is in grief,
Was it Yezid who destroyed you?
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

In the city of Kufa there was war,
The believers filled Baghdad,
Retaliation awaits Judgment Day,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

May those who are with us come,
Let them put their heads in the battlefield,
May they be martyred with Hüseyin,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

Kerbela's destiny,
The *gazis* martyred
Are Mother Fatma's children,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

The violent north wind blew,
The infidel Mervan attacked suddenly,
He cut off the head of Hüseyin,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

The way to Kerbela is straight,
Night is day to me,
The Shah is alone in Kerbela,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

The stars shattered in the sky,
Şehriban Ana[709] turned dark,
İmam Hüseyin was wounded,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

İmam Hüseyin fell from the horse,

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[709]Referring to Ḥusayn's wife, Sharhbānū.

The Yezids flocked around,
His horse escaped to Medina,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

Give water to the innocent children,
Yezid drinks to his heart's content,
Mother Fatma wailed,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

The clover planted in Kerbela
is of long length and narrow seed,
I am Şah Hatayi, grieving,
Ah Hüseyin Şah Hüseyin.

9. Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 419.[710]

11 *heceli*
Evvel ol Allah'ın adı söylenür
Cümle ibadetin başıdır tevhid
Pirim şeyh Safi'den bize kalmıştır
Sofi kardeşlerin kânıdır tevhid

Her kim Şeyh Safi'nin emrini tutmaz
Yorulur bu yolda menzile gitmez
Gayrı millet ana itibar etmez
Cümle ibadetin başıdır tevhid

Tevhid ile bitmez işler bitmiştir
Tevhid ile dünya karar tutmuştur
Tevhid ile talib Hakk'a yetmiştir
Dermansız dertlerin dermanı tevhid

Mürebbisiz müsahibsiz damensiz
İkrarından dönen yanar imansız
Yakın ihlâs ile çağır gümansız
Şeyh Safi'nin armağanıdır tevhid

Can Hatayî'm tevhid derya denizdir
Tevhid etmeyenler bizim nemizdir

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[710]Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* 46; Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 43-44; Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 46-47; Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 167.

Pîrim Şeyh Safi'den sermayemizdir
On iki imamın erkânıdır tevhid.

9 a.
First God's name is recited
Tevhid was the pinnacle of worship,
This has been with us from (the time) of my pir, Şeyh Safi,
The source of the Sufi brothers is *tevhid*.

Whoever does not honor Şeyh Safi's command,
Shall fatigue on this path, never reaching the goal.
Other peoples do not respect him,
Of all worship, *tevhid* is the pinnacle.

With *tevhid*, work with out end is completed,
With *tevhid*, the world becomes balanced,
With *tevhid*, the *talib* reaches God,
Tevhid is the cure for the agony that had none.

Without a guide, without a partner, without a cloak,
Turning against their vow, they burn without faith,
Soon with sincerity he calls out, with confidence,
Tevhid is the gift of Şeyh Safi.

I am Can Hatayi, *tevhid* is the ocean,
Who are those who do not perform *tevhid* to us?
It is the knowledge acquired from Şeyh Safi,
Tevhid is the rite of the Twelve *imams*.

10. Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 87-88.[711]

11 *heceli*
Nâcî derler bir gürûha uğradım
Hep biri birinin almış elini
Mekânınız kanda dedim söyledim
Mekân tutmuş hakıykatin ilini

Yüklerin lâ'l ü gevherden tutmuşlar
Toplayuban bir mizanda çekmişler
Dost bahçesinde mahabbet ekmişler
Öğrenigör bağıbânın dilini

---

[711]Yaman, ed., *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç-İbâdet ve Ahlâk İlkeleri* 45; Özmen, *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 173.

Sütleri kudret gölünden alınmış
Tamızlığı o kırklardan çalınmış
Orucu tutulmuş farzı kılınmış
Hak etmemiş o kuluna zulumu

Aşkın şarabından içtim hâk oldum
Kudretten donumu giydim pâk oldum
Hem Hakk'a ulaştım men de Hak oldum
Anın içün îrâd etmem ölümü

Aşkın şerbetinden içen âildir
Kırklara nişan gösteren sâildir
Şah Hatâyî hismetine kaildir
Mevlâm esirgesin mü'min kulunu

10 a.
I came upon a group they call the saved,
They had all joined hands,
Where is your station I asked,
They had reached the station of *hakıykat*.

They possessed loads of rubies and pearls,
They had gathered them on scales,
They had planted affectionate speech in the lover's garden,
Learn the language of the garden keeper.

They had taken their milk from the reservoir of power,
They mixed their starter yeast from "The Forty,"
He who fasts and observes the duties
Is not a creature deserving of injustice.

I drank the lover's wine and became dust,
I put on the clothes of *Kudret* and became pure,
I reached *Hakk* and became one,
I do not pay any mind to death.

Who drinks the *şerbet* from the lover is needy,
Who gives a sign to the Forty is wanting,
Shah Hatayi consents to his service,
May my Lord protect the believer.

11. Yaman, ed., *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç-İbâdet ve Ahlâk İlkeleri* 96-97.[712]

8 *heceli*
İmam Câfer kullarıyuz
Sohbetimiz nihan olur
Ölmezden evvel ölmüşüz
Cana vaslolan can olur

Budur evvel, budur âhir
Bundadır muhabbet, mihir
Küfür her mezhebde küfür
Bunda küfür iman olur

Bunda kibirle kin olmaz
Hem sen olub hem ben omaz
Âdem öldürsen kan olmaz
Nefes öldürsen kan olur

İman kulları derilür
Erkânda sohbet sürülür
Mahşer sorgusu sorulur
Bunda âlî dîvan olur

Şerâben Tahûr içilür
Müşkil hallolur seçilür
Kan işleyenden geçilür
Erenler mürvet-kân olur

Sohbet ederler Ene'l-Hak
Tek derdine dermane bak
Üçyüz altmış altı uğrak
Sekizi asl-ı dîn olur

Şâh Hatayî'm der candayum
Hak dîvanında kevndeyüm
Sen sendesin men mendeyüm
Ne sen olur ne men olur

11 a.
We are the slaves of İmam Cafer,
May our words be hidden,

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[712]See also Gölpınarlı, ed., *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet* 83-84; Arslanoğlu, *Şah Ismail Hatayî. Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 413-414; Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* 144-145; Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 201; Ahmet Necdet, ed., *Tekke Şiiri Dinî ve Tasavvufî Şiirler Antolojisi* (İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1997) 248-249.

We died before death,
May we unite with the beloved.

This is the beginning, this is the end,
Here is also love,
In every religion is infidelity,
Here infidelity becomes faith.

Here pride and conceit have no place,
Neither you nor I exist,
If you kill a man there is no blood,
Blood comes if you kill the *nefes*.

The servants of faith are gathered,
Affectionate speech uttered in the assembly,
The inquisition at the Last Judgment is conducted,
Here the exalted assembly is created.

The drink of purity is consumed,
Difficult questions discerned,
The guilty are left behind,
The enlightened are a treasure of blessings.

They discuss *Ene'l-Hak*,
Seek a remedy for your only pain,
Among the 366 crossroads,
The eighth bears the origin of faith.

I am Shah Hatayi, I am at the gate of the soul,
I am present in the *divan* of God,
You are in you I am in me,
Neither you nor I exist.

APENDIX E

1. Memedov, ed., *Shah Ismaiyl Khatai: Asarlari* 1: 351.[713]

آدم اسمعیل ابن حیدریم
علی نک چاکری نک چاکر یم

حسینی مذهبم من دین ایچنده
موالی اولنک من رهبریم

منم غازیلر ومه حرمت ایلنک
کوٴنکل ایوندە اونلارنک بریم

منی انلاردن آیرو صانمنکزسیز
ولیکن انلارنک من سرور دیم

منم هم پیرو هم سلطان عالم
خطایی ام شاهنک بیر کمتریم

1 a.
Mefā'īlun mefā'īlun fe'ūlun
Adım İsmā'īl ibn-i Ḥayderiyim
'Alīnıñ çākeriñ çākeriyim

Ḥüseyinī meẕhebim men dīn içinde
Mevālī olanıñ men rehberiyim

Menim ġāzīlerüme ḥürmet eyleyiñ
Göñlü evinde onlarıñ biriyim

Meni onlardan ayru ṣanmañuz siz
Ve lākin anlarıñ men serveriyim

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[713]For similar versions of this poems see, Yaman, ed., *Buyruk: Alevî İnanç-İbâdet ve Ahlâk İlkeleri* 151; Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* 246; Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî. Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 84-85.

Menim hem pīr ü hem sulṭān-ı 'ālem
Ḫaṭā'iyam şāhıñ bir kemteriyim.

1 b.
My name is Ismail, I am the son of Ḥayder,
I am the most humble servant of 'Alī.

In the faith my character of Ḥüseyn,
I am the guide of the holy ones.

Show my *ġāzī*s respect,
In the abode of the heart I am one of them.

Do not deem me apart from them,
Be certain that I am their leader.

I am the *pīr* and the sovereign of this world,
I am Ḫaṭā'ī, a slave of the Shah.

2. Gandjei, *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismā'īl Ḫaṭā'ī* #16. [714]

بو جمـله غازىلرونك سرورىم	آدوم شاه اسمعيل حقونك سرىم
اون ايكى امامونك من داخ بيرىم	آنام دور فاطمـه آنام علـى دور
يقين بيلكيـل كه نقـد حيـدرىم	آتامونك قانينـى آلدوم يزيددن
زمانه اهلـينـونك اسكنـدرىم	خضر زنده ايله عيسـى مريم
منافق قبـله سنـدن من بَرىم	يزيد و مشرك و ملعونى كوركيم
محمد مصطفـانونك پـى روىم	نبـوت منـدهدور سر ولايـت
علـى مرتـضـانـونك قنبـرىم	جهانى تيغ ايله قيلدوم مسـخر
شجاعت اهلينونك حق جعفرىم	اولو بابام صفى آتـام حيـدر
خطايـى ام شاهونك بير چاكرىم	حسينـى ام يزيده لعنتوم وار

2 a.
Mefā'īlun mefā'īlun fe'ūlun
Adum Şāh Ismā'īl Ḥaḳḳuñ sırrıyım
Bu cümle ġāzīlerüñ serveriyim

Anamdur Fāṭima atam 'Alīdür

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[714] For Minorsky's translation see Minorsky, "The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl I" 1042-1043.

On iki imāmuñ men daḫ biriyim

Atamuñ ḳanımı aldum Yezīdden
Yaḳın bilgil ki naḳd-ı Ḥayderiyim

Ḫızır zinde ile 'Īsā Meryem
Zemāne ehlīnüñ İskenderiyim

Yezīd ü müşrik ü mel'ūnı gör kim
Münāfiḳ ḳiblesinden men beriyim

Nübüvvet mendedür sırr-ı velāyet
Muḥammed Muṣṭafānuñ peyreviyim

Cihānı tīğ ile ḳıldum müsaḫḫar
'Alī Mürtażānuñ ḳanberiyim

Ulu bābām Ṣafī atam Ḥayder
Şecā'at ehlīnün ḥaḳḳ Cā'feriyim

Ḥüseynīyam Yezīde la'netüm var
Ḥaṭā'īyam şāhuñ bir çākeriyim

2 b.
My name is Şāh Ismā'īl, I am God's mystery,
I am the leader of all these *ġāzī*s.

My mother is Fāṭıma, my father is 'Alī,
I am included among the Twelve *imām*s.

I avenged my forefathers' blood from Yezīd,
Know that my life is a sacrifice for Ḥayder.

I am the immortal Ḫıżır, Jesus, Mary
And the Alexander of this age

May Yezīd, the heathens and the damned
See that I am freed from the hypocrites' *ḳıble*.

I posses prophethood, the mystery of saints,
I follow the footsteps of Muḥammed Muṣṭafā.

The point of my sword conquered the world,
I am 'Alī Mürtażā's faithful servant.

My great *şeyḫ* is Ṣafī, my father is Ḥayder,

I am the true Ca'fer of the brave.

As Ḥüseyn, I curse Yezīd,
I am Ḫaṭā'ī, a slave of the Shah.

3. Arslanoğlu, ed., *Şah İsmail Hatayî: Divan, Dehnâme, Nasihatnâme ve Anadolu Hatayîleri* 457-458.[715]

11 *heceli*
Dünü günü arzumanım Kerbelâ
Varalım İmam Hüseyn aşkına
Serden gayrı sermayem yok elimde
Verelim İmam Hüseyn aşkına

Kapuya kakıttı kırkların birisi
Birinden mest oldu cümle varısı
Sarıkaya güzel şahın korusu
Konalım İmam Hüseyn aşkına

Talip rehberini çiğinde götür
Tamam eyle eksik yerlerin bitür
Rıza lokmasını meydana getür
Yiyelim İmam Hüseyn aşkına

Ne hoş öter seherin bülbülleri
Mani söyler Hak ehl'olan kulları
Taze açmış Erdebil'in gülleri
Derelim İmam Hüseyn aşkına

Sarayın altından akıyor arklar
Kuruldu semahlar dönüyor çarklar
Taze bir üzümü kırk bölen kırklar
Bölelim İmam Hüseyn aşkına

Şah Hatayî'm bu yola beli deyü
Çığrışurlar Muhammed Ali deyü
Cümlemiz bir ikrarın kulu deyü
Duralım İmam Hüseyn aşkına

3 a.
Day and night Kerbela is my desire,

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[715]Özmen, ed., *Alevi-Bektaşi Şiirleri Antolojisi* 2: 167; Birdoğan, ed., *Alevilerin Büyük Hükümdarı Şah İsmail Hatai* 46; Ergun, ed., *Hatayî Divanı: Şah İsmail-i Safevi, Hayatı ve Nefesleri* 41-42; Uluçay, ed., *Alevilikte Cem Nefesleri* 119.

Let us attain İmam Hüseyn's love,
Apart from my head life, I have no fortune in my hand,
Let us offer it for the love of İmam Hüseyn

One of the Forty pushed at the door,
From him, all present became intoxicated,
Sarıkaya, grove of the beautiful Shah,
Let us stay there, for the love of İmam Hüseyn.

The *talib* carries his guide in his heart,
Bring to completion what you lack,
Bring the commended *lokma* to the *meydan*,
Let us eat for the love of Hüseyn.

How beautiful is the singing of the morning nightingales,
The people of God recite *mani*,
The roses of Erdebil have just blossomed,
Let us gather them for the love of Hüseyn.

The moats below the palace flow,
The wheels are turning, the *semah* was established,
The Forty divided a fresh grape into forty pieces,
Let us divide for the love of Hüseyn.

I am Shah Hatayi affirming this path,
Saying, Muhammed-Ali sing together,
Saying, We are all servants to one vow,
Let us remain that way for the love of Hüseyn.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Alevi: (Arabic: 'Alawī) originally applied to descendants of the first Shī'ī *imām* 'Alī (d.661). The term was adopted by the modern sectarian descendants of the Qizilbash tribes who were affiliated with the Safavid order. In Turkey, "Alevi" is also used to designate Arabic-speaking Nuṣayrīs.

'arūz: classical Arabic-Persian poetic meter, based on set patterns of long and short syllables; prosody associated with classical *dīvān* poetry.

'āşık: literally, "lover"; in the Turkish folklore tradition, both the narrator and subject of romantic tales; musicians versed in the Alevi-Bektashi repertoire, also known as *ozan* ("bard").

āyin-i cem: translated as "ritual of union" or "rite of integration"; the central ritual of the Bektashis and Alevis, consisting of several discrete ritual episodes.

Bektashi: Sufi order of dervishes based on the teachings and cult of Hacı Bektaş Veli (d. circa 1270). The Shī'ī doctrine of the order, however, is not associated with Hacı Bektaş, but developed later. Re-organized and centralized in the early sixteenth century, Qizilbash tribes also began to converge with the order by the end this century. The order was officially abolished by the state in 1826 and again in 1925.

Buyruk: literally, "order, command"; designates a body of texts attributed to the authority of the sixth Shī'ī Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 765) and Shaykh Ṣafi al-Dīn (d.1334), the founder of the Safavid order. Traced to the first half of the sixteenth century, various versions of the *Buyruk* still serve as catechisms among Alevis today.

chilla: "forty"; traditionally, the number of days during which a meditative retreat is undertaken in Sufi pious discipline.

dār: the central space of Alevi-Bektashi ritual practice.

dar çekme: funeral ritual of Alevis.

dergah: a sanctuary; dervish assembly place; in *mi'rāçlama* narrative poems, designated as the location of the heavenly gathering of "The Forty."

dīvān: (Arabic: *dīwān*) in poetic usage, the authoritative collection of a single poet's major compositions alphabetically and according to poetic form; applied to the

category of classical poetry based on Persian and Arabic structural models and themes.

Düldül: the name of the Prophet's mule granted to 'Ali as a gift. According to tradition, 'Ali rode Düldül during the battles of the Camel and Şiffin (956, 957).

düvāz imām, düvazdeh imām: literally, the "Twelve *imāms,*" referring to the *nefes* (Alevi-Bektashi poem) dedicated to the veneration of the Twelve *imāms.*

ehl-i beyt: "People of the House"; in the Alevi-Bektashi tradition, also known as "The Five"; they include Muḥammad, 'Ali, Fāṭima, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

ena'l-ḥakk: "I am the Divine Truth"; phrase employed as a tribute to the *shaṭḥ* expression of al-Ḥallāj (executed in 922); phrase widely employed in mystical poetry to commemorate al-Ḥallāj and this famous expression to relay the profundity of the mystical experience.

er / eren: "He who attains"; one who achieves an elevated spiritual state; a brave man; a member of a dervish order.

erkān: used in reference to Alevi-Bektashi rites and rituals; a sacred stick used in rituals, traditionally as a symbol and instrument of penitence.

Fāṭima: the Prophet's daughter and 'Ali's wife.

ğazel: principle poetic form of classical Islamicate poetry. Based on the dramatic paradigm of a lover [the poet] in pursuit of an elusive beloved, the form is also employed to convey mystical themes.

ğāzī: (Arabic: *ghāzī*) holy warrior; one who fights for the cause of religion.

ghuluww: "Exaggeration"; term employed by Islamic heresiographers to designate those (*ghulāt*) who espouse a variety of "extreme" or "exaggerated" beliefs pertaining to divine incarnation, cyclical history and related concepts.

gülbank: "Call to prayer, prayer"; collective prayer in the Alevi-Bektashi ritual context.

hakıykat: (Arabic: *ḥaqīqat*) the ultimate station of reality on the spiritual path.

ḥakk: "Divine Truth, Divine Reality"; term commonly used for the divine in Sufism and Sufi poetry.

hece vezni: system of meter associated with Turkish folk poetry based on the set number of syllables in a line.

hikâye: "Minstrel tale"; term applied to a specific genre of Turkish folklore narratives which developed from the epic tradition in the fifteenth century.

Hızır: (Arabic: "Khiḍr") identified as the mysterious guide of Moses in the Qur'ān (18:65), Hızır is also prominent in Islamic piety as a saint who aids one in distress.

hizmet: "Service"; in the main Alevi-Bektashi ritual, the *ayin-i cem*, one who assists in the execution of ritual tasks; in this context, collectively referred to as the "Twelve Services" (*oniki hizmet*).

ikrar ayini, ikrar cemi: ritual of initiation traditionally performed by Alevis to consecrate initiates as full adult members of the community.

imām: "Prayer leader"; the line of descendants accepted as the legitimate successors of 'Ali in the Shī'ī tradition. The Alevi-Bektashi adhere to the *inthnā 'asharī* ("Twelver") line of *imāms*.

Ḳamber: a manumitted slave of 'Ali's, as a generic term, *ḳamber* can mean any faithful servant or companion.

Kırklar: "The Forty"; in Alevi-Bektashi versions of the Prophet's *mi'āc*, "The Forty" refers to the men and women gathered around 'Ali in heaven. This archetype of the *ayin-i cem* is also referred to as the "Assembly of the Forty" (*kırklar meclisi*), the "Agape of the Forty" (*kırklar sofrası, kırklar sohbeti*).

khalwa: (Turkish: *halvet*) meditative seclusion; a traditional practice of dervish orders, *khalwa* was undertaken periodically for a fixed period of time.

khurūj: "Emergence, coming out"; term used in Safavid narratives in reference to Shah Ismail's emergence from hiding and entry onto the political scene.

lokma: literally, a portion of food; used in reference to food in a ritual or sacred context.

mahdī: the messianic figure believed by Muslims to return to restore justice to the world and is associated with the end times. According to *imāmī* Shī'is, the twelfth *imām*, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who entered "major occultation" in 940, is expected to return as the eschatological *mahdī*.

mahlas: "Pen-name, pseudonym"; the *mahlas* is widely used in Islamicate poetry.

mani: Turkish folk song; an independent quatrain of Turkish folk and mystical-folk poetry.

ma'sūm-i pāk: "The pure innocents"; according to Shī'ī tradition, those children of the *imāms* martyred during childhood. They traditionally number fourteen.

menāḳıb, menāḳıbnāme: hagiography; pious narrative of the teachings and accomplishments of a saint; also known as *vilāyentāme*.

mersiye: general term for a lament or eulogy, in Alevi-Bektashi poetry, the *mersiye* most commonly serves as a lament for the tragedy of Karbalā' and is sung in the ritual context.

mesnevī: classical form of epic poetry associated with romantic and heroic subjects. In the Sufi tradition, the *mesnevī* serves as a forum for the theoretic exposition of mystical thought, as in the *mesnevī* attributed to ‚aṭ¡'£ known as the *Nasīḥatnāme* ("The Book of Council").

meydan: the central ritual space of a Bektashi *tekke* or Alevi *cem evi* ("house of the *cem*"); a place where ritual is performed. Also referred to as the "*Kırklar meydanı.*"

mi'rāçlama: narrative poem of the Alevi-Bektashi version of the Prophet Muḥammad's ascension to heaven [*mi'āc*, Arabic: *mi'rāj*] and participation in the "gathering of the Forty."

murīd: an adept; disciple of a spiritual leader; member of a dervish order.

murshid-i kāmil: "Spiritual master of perfection"; honorific title by which the Safavid *shaykhs* and Shah Ismail were known.

musahiplik: "Companionship, fictive kinship"; in traditional Alevi practice, a sacred, life-long bond established by ritual between two unrelated males, or two married couples.

nefes: literally, "Breath"; general term for a religious poem associated with Alevi-Bektashi beliefs and rituals. The term *deyiş* is also used in this general context.

niyaz: supplication; offering or supplication to a superior; a prayer.

ocak: literally, "The Hearth"; family lineages considered sacred by the Alevi-Bektashi. Reflective of the Sufi foundation of Alevism, the hierarchical representatives of the various *ocak* serve as religious and communal leaders and are referred to as *dede, pir* or *mürşid*, depending on regional usage.

pīr: "Spiritual guide, master"; in the historical sense, the founder of a particular Sufi order, or *ṭarīqat.*

post: an animal hide; animal hides are traditionally used to mark the designated ritual placements of leaders and assistants.

Qizilbash: (Ottoman: Ḳızılbāş) "Red Head"; originally a designation for the partisans of Shaykh Ḥaydar (d. 1488); remained a designation for the descendants of these

Safavid affiliates as they developed into a permanent sectarian community in the Ottoman Empire. Widely discard in favor of the term "Alevi" in the nineteenth century.

rehber. "Guide"; in the ritual context, the *rehber* serves as an officiator during initiation.

saz. twelve-stringed instrument similar to the lute, the central instrument in Alevi-Bektashi music. Also known as the *bağlama.*

semah. (Arabic: *samā*) in Sufi practice, music and ecstatic or devotional dancing. In the Alevi-Bektashi literary tradition, *semah* also refers to the *nefes* employed specifically during the ritual dance of the same name.

şerbet. a drink; any drink in the sacred or ritual context.

shaṭḥiyyāt. (sing., *shaṭḥ*) "Ecstatic utterances"; statements which are outwardly contradictory or blasphemous and understood to be a reflection of a mystic's union with the divine. Models for this form of ecstatic mystical expression include Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. circa 875),-- "Glory be to me" and especially Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (executed 922)-- "I am the Divine Truth."

sorgu ayini. "Ritual of Interrogation"; ritual traditionally performed by Alevis to address inner-communal disputes and transgressions.

tahallus. signature couplet; couplet in which the author's *mahlas* appears.

tāj. headdress worn by dervish orders; the red, twelve-gored headdress associated with the Safavids was known as the *tāj-i Ḥaydarī*, as its institution attributed to Shaykh Ḥaydar (d. 1488).

ṭālib. "One who seeks"; a dervish adept; member of a Sufi order.

tawba. (Turkish: *tövbe*) a ritualized act of declaring one's culpability and repentance.

tekke. dervish lodge in the Ottoman Empire; later applied to pre-modern Turkish poetry with a mystical orientation.

tevhid. (Arabic: *tawḥīd*) as a theological term, *tevhid* refers to the unity of the divine. In Alevi liturgy, the *tevhid* is a form of *zikr* during which the divine is expressed through the image of the "Shah." The poetic form of this ritual episode is also known as the *illallah* genre.

turna. the crane; in Alevi-Bektashi poetry and symbolism, the crane represents 'Alī.

yedi ulu ozan. "The Seven Exalted Bards"; in the Alevi-Bektashi literature, these are regarded as the major poets of the tradition. In addition to Ḥatā'ī (d. 1501), they

include: Nesīmī (executed 1418), Fużūlī (d. 1555), Yemīnī (alive 1519), Virānī (alive 1618), Pīr Sulṭān Abdāl (likely contemporary of Shāh Ṭahmāsp's reign [1524-1578], later executed), Ḳūl Himmet (d. later sixteenth century).

zikr. (Arabic: *dhikr*) "mentioning, remembering"; the ritualized and repetitive recitation of the names of God in Sufi practice. Alevi-Bektashi forms of *zikir* also feature 'Alī's names and epitaphs prominently as well.

ziyaret. (Arabic: *ziyārat*) literally, "visitation"; ritualized visit or pilgrimage to a shrine or other sacred place.

Zulfiḳār: (Arabic: Dhū'l-Faqār) the name of 'Alī's double-pointed sword.

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