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# Hubyar

PETER ANDREWS\* and HIDIR TEMEL

**ABSTRACT** *This major ethnographic essay offers a pioneering systematic survey of the Hubyar, one of the largest Alevi groups in Turkey. It is written from the point of view of the history and customs of its hereditary religious family, using material which was obtained by Temel, a member of the leading family, and analysed and written down by Andrews. It covers its history, distribution, ceremonies, dress and villages of its followers, along with a note of the changing situation today. As such, it would appear to be the first essay on the Hubyar, who have received scant mention in the literature now more than a century old, on the Alevis of Anatolia.*

## Introduction

Hubyar is one of the most widespread *ocak* among the Alevi in Turkey. This term is not easily translated into English, though its fundamental meaning is hearth, or the family around that hearth. In the sense of a large family, it is used for subdivisions, that is communities, among the Alevi, for example among the Bektaşî. Historically it was used, too, for the divisions of the Janissaries. At a deeper level of meaning it refers, in the sense of a cooking hearth, to the ‘cooking’ of individuals, that is to their attaining spiritual maturity.

Hubyar followers are found primarily in Tokat (86 villages) and Sivas (31), but also in Amasya (18), Yozgat (14), Çorum (10), Samsun (4), Erzurum (3), and as far west as İzmit and Manisa (where they occupy one village each), to a total of about 170 villages, and, since the internal migration of the last fifty years, in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir (see the list below, and Andrews ii, pp. 41–53). Some of these villages are wholly Hubyar, and others only partly so; in others still there is a mixture of Alevis from different *ocaks*. In other villages still, some or all the population have recently become Sunni, and some, too, have been wholly deserted. There are also communities in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland: in Vienna there is a Hubyar association, the Avrupa Hubyarlılar Birliği, founded in 2004. There are now, in 2010, about 350,000 Hubyar in all, that is to say they are numerous in comparison to other Alevi *ocaklar*.

As in other Alevi groups, outsiders cannot become members of it, with the exception of women marrying Hubyar men, who are integrated. By contrast, Hubyar women who marry outside the community cease to be members. The leading family lives during the summer in the village of Hubyar on the mountain, with only a few, at present four, followers. In the winter this is deserted. The villagers all have houses in İstanbul nowadays, so it cannot be said to have a permanent population. The complete population should be more than 5000, but in

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the present conditions, the headman (*muhtar*) can only count on 150 people when submitting a census for the elections. This village is known among community members as Tekke Köyü, and is the highest on the mountain. Sixteen other hamlets (*mezraa*) are found lower down the slopes. So far as can be established from existing documents, the leadership has remained in the same family since its arrival in the district in the sixteenth century. The mountain peak (2641 m) was formerly in Sivas province, but the boundary has now been changed (1990) by negotiation with a minister to bring it just within the confines of Tokat: similar shifts have occurred historically in the Ottoman sancaks. Now all the main functions of the Hubyar centre can be carried out in the one province. It is said that nine holy men, *evliya*, are buried on the peak, but there are no graves to be seen – only improbable heaps of stones. Midway between the summit and Tekeli Yaylası (2200 m), however, is the grave of Hubyar's wife, Gönül Ana, which really does exist. The two mausolea of the main shrine, known locally as *Tekke*, are close together: the larger, that of Hubyar, is octagonal with a roof at about 45° rising to a crescent finial, while the other is square in plan with a conical roof rising at only 30°. Both are now plain on the outside; inside the cenotaph is covered with the green cloth usual in Turkey.

### Origins

The name Hubyar has two components, both derived from Persian: *hub* meaning 'good' and *yar* meaning friend, 'lover'. The Hubyar themselves understand this as meaning 'true friend': there is also a story in circulation that Hacı Bektaş embraced one of the leaders saying '*hubyarımsın*', 'you are my true friend'. Although, as the Hubyar already existed before Hacı Bektaş, this is doubtful, the name is plainly to be understood in a Sufi sense. It also designates the founder of the *ocak*.

Although the Hubyar do not refer to themselves as Türkmen, they do consider themselves as having emerged from the Türkmen, and they speak a Turkish which contains words that are apparently Türkmen. There is among them a group named Cenikler ~ Canikler, which is said to have come from the shores of the Black Sea, and is possibly of Çepni Türkmen origin.

The community refer to themselves as *kızılbaş*, that is to say they could be associated with the Safavid movement in Iran. Most of the prayers offered by the Hubyar *dede* are indeed derived from Hatayi (Hatā'ī), the Safavid poet-king Šāh Ismā'īl (1501–24). The Persian origin of the name Hubyar also suggests a connection.

Undocumented traditions among the community associate the origins of the community with both Aḥmad Yasavī and Hacı Bektaş. It is sometimes claimed that Yasavī himself was identical with Hubyar, but this seems not to be so: this claim leads to Hubyar sometimes being called Ahmed at a popular level. Instead it appears that an earlier Hubyar existed in the thirteenth century, as an earlier representative of the family before it was attested by decrees. A genealogy of AD 1346 mentions a Hubyar without giving a locality. A *cemaat-i Hubyar* (as *Hubyarlu* or *Hubyarlı*) is also listed for Turgud Kazası in Karaman in the *sancak* of Konya for the thirteenth century (Türkay, *op. cit.*, p. 424). In the absence of other attested Hubyar families, it is likely that the later-documented family is the continuation of the former. An Alevi-Bektaşî hymn (*nefes*), found in the albums (*cönk*) of certain archives, refers to the arrival of a Hubyar with 30,000 men (*otuz*

*bin er ile geldi Hubuyar*): this is evidently figurative, but does imply a considerable following.

When referring to Hubyar's sons and grandsons, the documents use the titles *derviş* and *seyid*, or else *zaviyedar*, that is keepers of the religious foundation.

According to Halis Cinlioğlu, it is recorded in the court registers of Amasya (*şeriye sicilleri Amasya*) that, following the rebellion of Baba Zünnun of 1517, later the Celali rebellion<sup>1</sup>, his son Halil in 1525 had an adviser in the person of Hubyar in Kazova, between Amasya and Tokat. There are still traces of Hubyar's presence in Kazova: he is said to have lived at Erkilet, now (as Pazar) a sub-provincial capital of Tokat. There is also a vineyard by the name of Hubyarın Bağı in the middle of the town. Kazova is the locality in which the significant rebellion of Baba İlyas and Baba İshak had taken place in 1241.

In the view of Hıdır Temel (b. 1962), based on more than a decade of research into the family, the Hubyar came originally from Khorassan, migrating to Teke Eli in the region of Antalya (Lycia). There, among other things, the present costume of the Alevi Tahtacı closely resembles that of the Hubyar. Here one may note that Sümer (*op cit.* 1980, p. 668) refers to the possibility that the names Karaman and Teke (the old name for the Antalya region) may derive from the Karaman plain and the Teke in Khorassan, and demonstrate a relationship between the Salır and Teke peoples of the Türkmén there. From thence the Hubyar appear to have moved to Tokat at the beginning of the fifteenth century, where the mountain central to their activities is called Tekeli Dağı, establishing a continuity of toponym. At this stage they were probably still pastoral nomads, like their Türkmén forebears. In 1455, during the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, a certain Musa is referred to in the first census and tax register (*Kariye-i Değeryer*) for the district of *Teke*, whose sons were at that time alive as Mesud and Mustafa; their progeny continued in 1485 (*Kariye-i Değeryer*) as Yar Ahmed veled-i Mustafa, and his son again is given in 1520 (also *Kariye-i Değeryer*) as Hubyar veled-i Yar Ahmed.

### *The Locality, the Shrine and its Founders*

Thus the Hubyar seem to have lived on Tekeli Dağı from 1455 onwards. The spot known as Gürgen Çukuru (Hornbeam Hollow) became the site of the present village of Hubyar, formerly called Tekke Köyü (and still called Tekke by adherents). This mountain (2641 m) is paired with another to the west in Sivas, Yıldız Dağı, the two being the highest peaks in the region. It is known that Pir Sultan Abdal lived on Yıldız Dağı (2552 m), so the juxtaposition of the two is taken as representing the respect and love the two religious leaders had for one another.

Only Turkish is spoken in the area, with the exception of two villages (Ali Hoca in Zile and one in Hafik, Sivas) which speak Kurdish: these, however, were established less than a hundred years ago. The Kurds in Hafik, İmralı and Zara (Sivas), though not Hubyar followers, frequently come to visit the *Tekke* in the summer, and show great respect for it. Other villages in Hafik such as Beydili, Düğer, Eymir, Karlı, Tokuş, carry Türkmén clan names: of these Beydili and

<sup>1</sup> From the date and the locality, this might well be the rebellion of 1519 in Bozok, now Tokat, but the rebellion of Baba Zünnun took place in Mersin and 1525, with a further rebellion of Kalender Çelebi in 1528 near Ankara and Kırşehir. Celal, the leader in 1519, was an Alevi preacher.

Eymir are names known both in Khorassan and in Azerbaijan. The Beydili preponderate among the Hubyar of Tokat and Sivas. The Hubyar villages are documented from the fifteenth century onwards, showing that by then the followers had begun to settle.<sup>2</sup> Until 1980, every village had its own summer pasture, *yayla*, and its members went up there with their small flocks for the summer months, some living in huts and others in tents. This transhumance has now been largely abandoned.

The centre of the Hubyar *ocak* is still on the mountain, Tekeli Dağ, in Almus sub-province of Tokat province. Here *Teke*, which refers either to the Türkmen tribe or to a billy-goat, should not be confused with *Tekke*, meaning a dervish monastery, though the two, with the same pronunciation, associate well together. A document exists which shows that a Şeyh (Shaikh) Hubyar died in AD 1582. From Cinlioğlu's work it appears that he lived from 1490 to 1582. His son Mustafa became şeyh of the *zaviye* – a synonym for *teke*. Another document from AH 970/AD 1562–3 shows that permission was given by the Ottoman administration for the continuance of the *ocak* in the district.

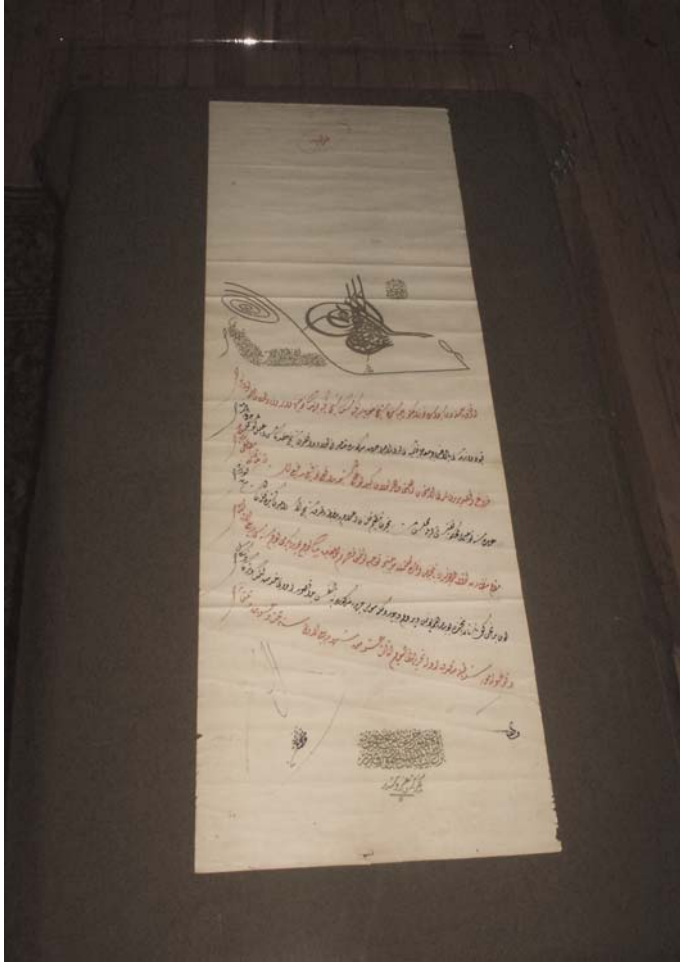


Ferman issued to the Hubyar Şeyhs by Ahmet III in Rebiülahir 1026/April 1617.

Several documents from 1600 refer to permission given for the construction of a religious centre, *zaviye*, in 1544. That is to say the *zaviye* was founded in the lifetime of Şeyh Hubyar. He was buried in the customary way near the *zaviye*, and his tomb was later rebuilt as a mausoleum, *türbe*, of which the foundations have

<sup>2</sup> In Anatolia by 1520/30 the proportion of nomads to the total population appears to have been 18%: K. Kreiser, *Der osmanische Staat 1300–1922* (München, 2001), p. 66.

survived to this day, although the building was destroyed in *ca.* 1936. This was after the law of 1925 banning the use of buildings by the orders of dervishes and similar groups, together with the mausolea associated with them, and abolishing the office of *türbedar*, or keeper. The *türbe* was recently rebuilt (1955), as part of the *tekke*, or religious foundation. Nothing remains of the original *zaviye*, as its foundations lie beneath the new *tekke*. In 1984 the buildings were repaired. Şeyh Mehmet Temel was responsible both for the rebuilding and the repair.



Ferman issued to the Hubyar Şeyhs by Abdülhamit in Rebiülevvel 1323/May 1905 concerning the transfer of the office of şeyh and sufi from Hıdır Şeyh, who was then ill and elderly, to his son Mustafa.

The last *şeyh* to be appointed by royal decree (*ferman*) was Mustafa, who died in 1927; he was also known as *Şeyh Sufî*, and the Ottoman administration referred to him as this (*cf.* Huart (*loc cit.*)). His son was Mehmet Temel (d. 1985), who rebuilt the *tekke*. Huart's article in the German edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam mentions a *tekke* in a wild district near Sivas as led by the *Şeyh* of Hubyar, as one of the two principle Alevi patriarchs. He does not name the other, though he

does refer later to *tekkes* in Sevici, Pir-Sultan-i Yalıncağ and Hacı Bektaş. It appears that he derived this information from the article written in 1904 by Grenard (*op. cit.* p.518), who is more circumstantial in saying that the *Şeyh* 'lives in a pretty miserable tekke built on a wild site dominated by a torrent forming an tributary of the Tokat river, some 55 km north-east of Sivas'. At that time (1904) the annual subvention provided the *şeyh* by the Ottomans had already been suppressed, though he still held their decree. The present leader is Mustafa Temel, who continues to maintain the Tekke and improve it, though he does not assume the title of *şeyh*.

Although the Hubyar centre is in Almus, there are few Hubyar followers (*talep*) who live in the immediate area. Most come from Zile, Turhal, both in Tokat province, and Hafik in Sivas, that is to the west and south of the *tekke*. The people living in the area itself may be Alevi of different *ocak*, such as Ali Baba, Pir Sultan, Kul Hümmet and Bektaş: these amount to 20–25% of the population. In Zile about 50% of the population is Alevi, but in Turhal and Hafik only 30–35% (for detailed listings see Andrews, 2002). For Turkey, with the exception of Tunceli/Dersim, this proportion of Alevi is higher than average.

The centre on Tekeli Dağı is for this reason frequented by *dedes* more than the general Alevi population, and is seen generally as a place of pilgrimage visited once a year, in summer when the road is open, and after the harvest when ready money is available for buying an animal for sacrifice. In the last six years (since 2004) the number of sacrifices offered has risen appreciably. As organised by the Educational Trust (*Hubyar Eğitim Vakfı*) and the Villages Community Centre (*Hubyar Köy Derneği*), the last Sunday in July is appointed for the memorial ceremony, *Hubyar anma töreni*, and sacrifice: announcements are made on local TV. Up to 20,000 people attend on this day (as in 2009), as the biggest festival in Tokat. They refer to this as going to Hubyar. Previously people might come only once in a lifetime, depending on their means, but increasing prosperity and the general ownership of cars have made the pilgrimage more accessible. In those days the effort to get to Tekke Köyü was considerable, and once there, people would often combine the festival with a visit to the mountain peak to view the sunrise. This was a very old custom, and required that the viewer go there with a clean heart, that is a clear conscience: it is still followed by some. The peak can be visited on any summer's day. The Alevi who attend are also not only Hubyar, but may come from many other regions of Turkey, such as Manisa, Erzurum, Samsun or Çorum. In all some 90% of the pilgrims are Hubyar. Besides the Alevi, Sunni Muslims also attend, especially infertile women, and show great respect for the tomb. Up to a quarter of the crowd may be non-Alevi. Most people come for the day only, and are gone by nightfall, though a few may stay overnight. The animals sacrificed (*kurban*) are usually brought by the pilgrims, though some are sold by local traders on the spot. The day is an occasion for general enjoyment, and people celebrate it by dancing the *halay* in lines, shoulder to shoulder (men do not dance alone, though women may), and sing local songs, *türkü*, together. These are not, however, part of the ceremony. On the last two occasions forty hearths have been lit, and forty rams slaughtered, forty being a generally auspicious number. The money for sacrifices may be pooled, some in an organised way. To sacrifice an animal is held to remove evil, and generally bring good fortune, but not in the specific sense of fertility for the coming year, as sometimes claimed. A sacrifice is offered up to higher entities in general, God, Ali, and Hubyar. In this respect it is

distinct from an *adak*, which is an offering made as a bargain for the achievement of some particular wish, such as a son returning unhurt from his military service. The Temel family work from dawn to midnight during this period to ensure the welfare of the pilgrims.

On the way to and from the ceremonial site many of the pilgrims stop at the mausoleum, and pay their respects first by kissing the threshold or the doorpost, then by entering the low doorway, and circling the tomb three times anti-clockwise, bending to kiss all four corners each time, starting at the foot. Some pray, and others plead for help with some urgent matter that worries them, such as infertility. Some go out of the room backwards. Sunnis, too, come to the mausoleum to beg for help against sickness or childlessness. There is a spring called Sersem Suyu: people go there to drink in the hope that it will bring them children: if they find an insect in the water they have scooped up, they count it as an auspicious sign, and swallow it. This appears to be the spring referred to by Karaman (p. 222) as Asapınar on Tekeli Dağı. Not far away again is a pine tree, planted on the site of another which was burnt at the time the *tekke* was destroyed. They tie sticks to its branches to represent cradles, or a tuft of their hair, or a scrap of their clothing, all to invoke the auspicious influence of Hubyar. Such behaviour at sacred sites is typical not only of Turkey, but of the whole extent of Central Asia.

There are, besides, a few places of pilgrimage in Tokat which are not directly connected to the Hubyar: Keçeci Baba, Kul-Himmet, Kesikbaş, and Melik Gazi. In Sivas there are also Ali Baba and Pir Sultan in Banaz. Of these Keçeci Baba, Kul-Himmet, Ali Baba and Pir Sultan were founded at the same time as Hubyar in the sixteenth century. Ali Baba and Hubyar are said to have been spiritual brothers (*müşahip kardeşler*). The Keçeci, Ali Baba and Hubyar are both the most numerous in the region and closest to one another in values.

### Leadership

Although the designation is unusual among Alevi, the leading representative (*post-nişin*) of the Hubyar is known as a *şeyh*. This term was used for Mehmet Temel, and later even for his son Mustafa, even though the latter is not active in this capacity.

When the Hubyar take an oath outside the immediate community, they use either of two names, Şeyh Hıdır or Şeyh Mehmet. This indicates the current importance given these two individuals. Hıdır (d. 1905) was Mustafa's father. Both are buried next to the Tekke. Within the community, however, oaths are taken in the name of Hubyar. The name Hubyar is not usual amongst the community, as it is considered too sacred.

In about 1600 a dispute over the leadership arose, which is partly documented. The succession of *post-nişin* within the *ocak* is customarily from father to elder son, as among descendants of religious figures elsewhere in Turkey and the Middle East. Only if there were no male issue would it pass to the last incumbent's brother or his children, but this has not occurred within the Hubyar dynasty. The legendary claim that one line (*sülale*) only has provided the *post-nişin* is supported by the existing documents. In this case there were three sons, of whom the youngest, called Hüseyin Abdal, succeeded as *post-nişin*. His mausoleum (*türbe*) is located close by the main one, and his son is buried with him inside. The present *post-nişin*



are descended from him. The two other brothers are buried elsewhere: it is not known what happened to them. The succession from Hubyar himself had been through his son Mustafa to his grandson Derdiyar. Mustafa's other son Buynad, went to Balkh and Bukhara, and was not heard from again. It was Derdiyar who had the three sons concerned in the dispute: Kenan, Ali and Hüseyin. Kenan and Ali at first made common cause and drove Hüseyin from the village. Only after eighteen years, when his four sons had grown, did he come back, and Kenan and Ali were expelled in turn. There are now six clans in the family, of which two, the Kenanlı and Mehdili, are named after Kenan and Ali, while the descendants of Hüseyin's four sons, Himmet, Mustafa, Behzat and Hasan are known as Himmet Abdallı, Mustafa Abdallı, Behzat Abdallı and Hasan Abdallı respectively. The rift between the two groups still continues, and at present has given rise to a number of lawsuits. During his exile, Hüseyin Abdal lived in Karabalçık village in Sivas, where his house continued to be respected through the centuries, and has now been replaced by a meeting house, *cem evi*. It is told, though there are no documents to support this, that his son Hasan went to Dersim, and on his return to Hubyar village eighteen years later, brought forty tentholds with him. It was with the help of these forty that he drove out Kenan and Ali, and brought back his father from Karabalçık. It is he who is buried with his father in the smaller mausoleum. Some of the Hasan Abdallı must be made up of descendants of those who came from Dersim. Despite the help he had given his father, Hasan did not become *post-nişin*. Instead it was, as usual, his eldest brother Himmet who succeeded, and then his son Mahmud beg.



Hubyar women, showing traditional dress

Amongst the Hubyar the most striking community is the Sıraç, whose costume, customs and methods of worship differ from those of the others. The dress of their women is white instead of the usual Hubyar red. In the sub-province of Zile the Sıraç are referred to as *aşiret*. The Sıraç are a distinct tribe who, although they are connected with the Hubyar, have their own *dedes*, whom they call *baba*. For this reason the Hubyar are now divided into two groups, the *dedeciler* and the *babacılar*. This rift emerged in *ca.* 1850. There was a teacher named Bektaş Sofu, who lived in Çayır Köyü, in Zile, and educated Veli Baba from Acısu Köyü. Veli Baba, opposing the incumbent *post-nişin*, and wishing to provide better leadership, began to gather followers to his side. From that time there were two centres of Hubyar activity: Acısu and the Tekke. At some point Veli Baba was expelled to Raqqa in Syria: this is referred to by Şapolyo. On his death, his wife Anşa bacı took over the *ocak* against the usual custom of male succession. Her followers are to this day known as Anşa bacılı. Her sons and sons in law form the succession of Babacı *dedes* who came to dominate and now lead the Sıraç. These are very conservative, more so than the main Hubyar. Until forty years ago (*ca.* 1970) the two factions, Babacı and Dedeci, did not attend each other's meetings. The schism was so strong that if two brothers belonged to opposing factions, they could not agree, and marriage across the divide did not occur. This disagreement has now been resolved. It may be supposed that Veli Baba was a Sıraç leader, and so able to gather a following. He was also known as Davulcu Veli, 'the Drummer'. Nevertheless, no woman has ever become *post-nişin*, and despite the schism, that office has remained at the Tekke.

Thus the younger dispute no longer exists, but the older still causes problems. The functions of the *dede* among the Hubyar are fulfilled by the *baba* at Acısu: hierarchically there is no difference between them.

The Nalcı, who form another grouping of Alevi Türkmen, appear to live entirely in Ordu province, over the Pontic Mountains to the north-east. They, too, may be a branch of the Hubyar. There are also Kurds in the area who have been assimilated to the Hubyar: a Kürt Köyü in Amasya is visited by a Hubyar *dede*. In Ordu and Gümüşhane, both relatively close to Tokat, the Güvenç Abdal *ocak* is also close to the Hubyar in its customs, *semah* and *cem* ceremony. Further details of both Sıraç and Nalcı are given in appendices below.

The *post-nişin* at any time is referred to as *şeyh*, and stands at the top of the hierarchy in Hubyar. All mature men of the leading family in the village are known as *dede* (from the age of about twenty onwards), with the obligation to serve, and all women as *ana*: all its inhabitants are considered as being of Hubyar descent, although in fact it is known from Ottoman records that there was some influx from outside: those who came in have been assimilated. At the time the *zaviye* was founded, 1544 (according to the document of 1562), Hubyar came to the site with three followers, *talip*: Cafer and his two sons. With time these must have become *dede*. At present although there are many *dede*, probably in the thousands (the village population is reckoned as 5000), not all have followers: those who do are relatively few, that is less than fifty. In Acısu, by contrast, not all men are counted *baba*, but only those directly descended from Veli Baba. There are very few of them – only four or five.

The body of followers, *Hubyar talipler*, are assigned to different *dede*, generally by descent in their clans, *kabile*, though the numbers of followers for the various active *dede* are not the same, some having many more than others. These *kabile*

are lines of descent of nine or ten generations, within which endogamy can take place, down to parallel first-cousin marriages. There is a tradition that in the past the *dede* divided the followers amongst them. However, this may not have been the case; rather the followings may have arisen through contact. This is suggested by the fact that whole villages are not allotted to particular *dedes*, but families within villages can be loyal to different *dedes*. Certainly some *dede* have a better reputation, and are considered more effective than others. Formerly, while they still toured their villages regularly, *dedes* were supported by contributions in kind, but this is no longer practised. For their judgements in the *görgü cem* the fact that they lived not in the village concerned, but came from elsewhere, guaranteed some neutrality. The *şeyh*, though, stands apart from this division, and considers all Hubyar as his *talip*. In Ottoman times the *şeyh* was not only a spiritual, but also a temporal authority, with political functions: this situation continued until the 1970s. Then, in the general disturbance of established authority throughout Europe, the Hubyar leadership lost its political authority, and in principle retained only the spiritual, though in reality this aspect, too, has become largely ineffective. The *şeyh*'s function can thus be considered that of teacher, *mürşid*. In general any *ocak* is related spiritually to another, which can supervise its spiritual function, so that a chain of dependence is set up at the same level, returning ultimately to its starting point, horizontally. The single Hubyar *ocak* was dependent in this sense on the Üryan Hızır (*üryan* meaning naked), though the practical link has now been severed, and has been absent for two or three centuries, even if it is still recognised on both sides. The Üryan Hızır are found in Maraş, Adıyaman, Erzurum, Malatya, Çorum, Erzincan and Tokat, with their centre at Zeve (now Dorutay) in Pertek sub-province of Tunceli, where the mausoleum of Üryan Hızır is sited. To fill the resulting gap, the Hubyar now supervise one another, each *kabile* (clan) being responsible for another, in a continuing fixed relationship. Thus the system of mutual responsibility between *ocaklar* is now reflected at a smaller scale within the Hubyar *ocak*. The followers may thus say '*Benim ocak dedem Göferlioğlugil*' using the suffix *gil* as equivalent to *kabile*. For the Hubyar, then, a solution has been found within their communal life.

*Dede* and *şeyh* are just as subject to the rules of the community as anyone else, and, precisely because they exercise authority, are expected to lead exemplary lives.

Hubyar *dedes* are not confined to Tekkeli village: they are found in at least ten others, such as those in Hafik and Zile. Nevertheless the Hubyar are typical of Central Anatolia, and occur rarely in the west or east. An exception is Yatağan Köyü in Akhisar, Manisa, although no *dede* lives there, and Bayraktar Köyü in İzmit. This diffusion can be explained by the difficult conditions in the region of Hubyar itself, where subsistence agriculture has been precarious: *dede* have from time to time migrated to groups of followers elsewhere. Tokat as a whole is fertile, offering other opportunities. The present family of *post-nişin*, the Temeller, from the nineteenth century follows the line Temel, Hüseyin, Hıdır, Mustafa, Mehmet, Mustafa with the heir apparent as Hıdır. Temel, of course, had other sons, and they their descendants, also within the *kabile*.

### Assemblies

The character of a given Alevi *ocak* shows the influence of its founders. For example one may be affected by Melami, another by Hurufi beliefs. In the case of

the Hubyar, it is the Abdal who have affected it. In their assemblies (*cem*) the Turkish poetry of Hatayi, Pir Sultan Abdal and Kul Himmət plays a prominent part. It can therefore be assumed that the Safavids influenced them from Iran.

No assembly can take place without the presence of a *dede* or *pir*, as the deputy of Ali. His experience of the world, formerly gained by tours among the villages of his circle, is brought out in his address to the congregation, when he can use the current problems of the community to illustrate the teachings, but equally draw on the traditions of renowned Alevi to meet the situation. His aim is to maintain the loving spirit of the community, *muhabbet*.

Worship takes place primarily in the meeting house, *cem evi*. Prayers may be said at home where more than one person is present, as at meals, but not by individuals when alone. Should more than one *dede* be present, prayer meetings are conducted by the *dede* highest in the hierarchy. If they are of the same rank, then it is the eldest who presides. After the role of the *dede*, the most important is that of the *zakir*, a musician playing the long-necked lute, *saz* (*bağlama*), typical of the Alevi, and responsible for reciting a litany in praise of God from memory. There may be more than one *zakir* present at an assembly, when they will perform either by turns or together. It is also typical of Hubyar meetings that a violinist, *kemançı*, may be among the musicians, though this is not so among other Alevi; this must be a development of the nineteenth century. This Western violin is played upright, resting on the knee, like a viol, but also like the *kemençe* typical of the Black Sea region. As the Çepni Türkmən live near the Black Sea coast, it may be due through them to Cenik influence.

*Cem* are normally held on Thursday evenings in winter, that is to say in Middle Eastern reckoning, on the eve of Friday (days being reckoned from sunset to sunset). Besides these, special meetings can be held by day. The most meetings are held in February, which is known as Hızır ay, the month of the enigmatic figure Hızır (Hidr), also known as Hidirellez. Hızır is equated with the prophet Elias, and is believed to have eternal life. Among some Alevi *ocaklar* three days in February are set aside for fasting; the Hubyar fast then for seven days, and celebrate a Bayram when they are over. February is for this reason a very lively month, enjoyed by the community. These fast days follow the settling of disputes in a session known as *görgü*, which, formerly, all had to attend, though attendance has declined over the last thirty years. The actual date of this fast is not fixed, and may differ among Hubyar communities, but in any event is held in February. From November onwards the *dede* tour their villages, so as to preside over the necessary *görgü* courts before February arrives.

Special assemblies are named after the procedures that typify them: otherwise there is no difference between one assembly and another. The most important of these special meetings are the *görgü cemi* and *Hidirellez Cemi*, as mentioned. The duration of the *görgü* depends upon the size of the village and the number of disputes to be settled: it may be only for two, but in some cases for seven days. Once disputes are settled, and if necessary grave offences punished by expulsion from the community (*düşkün olmak*), all must forget their differences and be reconciled: an assembly of unity, *birlik cemi*, is then held, with an appropriate sacrifice paid for by the community as a whole. Contributions for this must be paid by every family, except, of course, any who have been expelled. Finally all present drink a sip or two of *rıza suyu*, 'the water of consent', which has previously been blessed by the *dede* with a special prayer, and offered in the names of Hasan and

Hüseyin, the grandchildren of the Prophet. Those who still harbour ill-will may not drink it. Through this procedure of public confession, belief acquires a social dimension: it can only take place where community feeling and unity of purpose prevail, and it is designed to eliminate conflict.

Generally a single ram is offered, while in a large village several may be brought. The animal is always male. Very rarely goats may be offered. Cocks are not offered at normal assemblies, though they can be taken during the pilgrimage to the Tekke.

The festival, *Hidirellez Bayram*, is held after this. Another festival assembly, *Bayram cemi*, is held on the same day, according to the shifting lunar calendar, as the Sunni Muslim *Kurban Bayramı*, and, though Sunnis may not attend the assembly itself, can be celebrated together with Sunnis with the usual exchange of good wishes. The Hubyar use the hegira calendar to determine the month of Muharrem and for *Kurban Bayram*, but otherwise use the solar calendar. Another assembly is held on the day of *Aşüre*, the last day of the Muharrem fast, the twelfth day of the month, in memory of the murder of Hüseyin and his family, but also of the Twelve Imams. No animal is sacrificed for this, but the special porage of many kinds of grain, is eaten as elsewhere in Turkey. *Abdal Musa Cemi* is held in springtime, when everyone, including even those who have been expelled, attends. On this occasion it is a billy goat, in particular, which is sacrificed.

The Hubyar should fast much as other Alevi, but not for the whole of Ramazan like the Sunni. They used to fast for three days on the occasion of Meded-Mürvet (*mürüvvet*), for seven days at Hidirellez, for the first twelve days of the month of Muharrem, and on forty-eight Thursdays: taken as a whole, this in fact means that they fast every Thursday in the year. Now, Meded-Mürvet is no longer observed, and the Thursday fast has also been abandoned, so it is only Hidirellez and Muharrem, as mentioned above, which remain. Meded-Mürvet is a compound term derived from Arabic, with *meded* meaning ‘help, assistance’, and *mürüvet* ‘heroism, manly behaviour, humanity’ (Ayverdi 2006): it is said that this was held in honour of Hızır ~ Hıdır. Hidirellez is a joyful occasion, in contrast to the melancholy of Muharrem. Hidirellez, however, emerges as the more important occasion, as the person of Hıdır recurs repeatedly in Hubyar usage. The former observation of a Thursday fast shows that for the Alevi that day was auspicious.

Assemblies are also held for betrothals and funerals, though these are not confused with the Thursday *cem*. For betrothals a *nişan cemi* is presided over by a *dede*, who confirms the engagement of a couple, and the celebration that follows. Whereas the Thursday *cem* requires twelve rites (*hizmet*), only one is observed for a betrothal, so that it is correspondingly shorter. A requiem assembly, *lokma cemi* (lit. mouthful assembly), is held either forty days after a funeral, like the Sunni *mevlut*, or whenever one of the community wishes to commemorate a member of the family who has died, or even out of charity unconnected with a death. There can be no ritual dance, *semah*, at such a *lokma cem*.

In principle, assemblies are held in a meeting house, *cem evi*, maintained for the purpose, but should there be none in the village, they take place in the house of a respected member of the community, for example in the house of a *dede*. No special arrangement of space is required for this. Over the last twenty years it has become customary to build new meeting houses; before that, there were none in towns. For both towns and villages, there is now an attempt to have meeting

houses recognised officially by parliament as places of worship, but this has not yet been achieved. If the Department of Religious Affairs were to be involved, this would require a clause in the Turkish constitution which does not at present exist; such religious communities were banned in 1925. On 11 January 2010 the Prime Minister announced, however, that in future meeting houses shall be recognised as *ibadet-hane*, places of worship. Meeting houses are distinguished only by their size, allowing a larger number of people to gather. They are preferably square in plan, or at least rectangular, built of wood, and therefore have roofs supported by timber columns, generally four, which are taken to represent the four gates, *dört kapı*. The main room is approached through a closed porch, and there should be an adjacent kitchen for cooking sacrificed animals. Both may be in a single range along the entrance side of the building. In the main space there should be a shelf where ritual vessels can be kept, with a rod, *tarik*, housed in a green cloth case. This rod was used in the *ikrar* ritual, when those initiated were to pass under it. It was used until about thirty years ago, but is now found rarely. The term *tarik* apparently referred to the 'Way' or path which followers were to take after initiation. There was also a very large flatwoven *kilim*, that could be used as a prayer rug during the *mi'raclama* ceremony.



Hubyar Semah

The *semah*, or ritual dances, performed at the *cem* are held to liberate the participants from their sins, so as to achieve direct communion with God.

### Ceremony

A *cem*, as with other Alevi *ocaks*, requires twelve obligatory *hizmet*, i.e. duty officers, of whom among the Hubyar eight are men. These have already been

described in general works on the Alevi, but can be listed in brief as follows. In order of importance:

1. a. *Pir*. Religious chief. Here the presence of a *dede* is essential, as it represents the holiest aspect of the ceremony, at which the Imam Hüseyin is considered to be present.
1. b. *Rehber*. A spiritual guide. He is responsible for preparing followers to enter the way. The Hubyar differ from other Alevis in that this duty falls to the *dede* family. That is, the *dedeler* to whom followers have been allotted take on this duty too. There is no necessary difference, then, between the *dede* who officiates at a *cem* and the *rehber* of that community.
2. *Zakir*. Cantor who recites the liturgy and hymns. The hymns are referred to not as *nefes* (as with the Bektaşî) but as *deyiş*, and the liturgy as *duvazimam* (from Persian *duvazdah imam*), in which the names of all twelve imams must occur. He normally plays a *saz*.
3. *Gözcü*. During the ceremony he keeps order and discipline, especially silence, and directs the proceedings. He carries a long wand, *tarık*, as a rod of office.
4. *Seccadeci (Meydancı)*. Equivalent to a verger, a woman responsible for preparing the room and equipment, and for spreading the large *kilim* (called *seccade*) ready for worship.
5. *Süpürgeci . . . faraş*: A woman responsible for sweeping the floor in an act of symbolic purification.
6. *Saki*. Who dispenses water for drinking. Although among other Alevis the *saki* also dispenses alcohol, known as *dem* (a drop), this is not the custom among the Hubyar, who do not use alcohol in the assembly at all.
7. *İbrikçi*. A woman who dispenses water for ceremonial ablutions, from a swan-spouted metal ewer with a corresponding wash-basin.
8. *Kurbancı* or *laub*. He prepares the sacrifice and kills it. He is also responsible, as *Lokmacı (Sofracı)*, for gathering together and distributing individual contributions of food, such as fruit and bread, and also for distributing meat from any sacrifice. He is also known as the cook, *aşçı*. He may, too, take the role of the *definci* (No.13 below).
9. *Pervazcı*. A woman who turns alone in a dance.
10. *Bekçi*. Who is responsible for security of the assembly while the ceremony is performed, and for excluding strangers or those who have been expelled (*düşkünler*). Formerly he also refused admittance to anyone without a head covering.
11. *Çırağcı*. Responsible for providing, lighting and extinguishing torches (of pinewood), which when lit are called *nur-i daim*, 'eternal light'.
12. *Peyik*. An announcer, who lets the community know when an assembly will be held.
13. *Definci*: a man responsible for burying the bones left from a sacrifice. He may be the cook, *laub*.

The order in which these are listed varies. Alevi believe that these duties were performed by the first of the faithful, the Kırklar, including the Prophet Muhammad and Ali. These duty officers, *hizmetliler*, are appointed not according to their descent, but according to their capabilities and good character. In general they continue in a particular capacity until they die or are too old to carry out their duties any more. Later, they may be replaced by one of their children, or by

someone else entirely. In some areas they are known as *sofu*. Among the Hubyar, the roles of *süpürgeci*, *meydancı* (*seccadeci*), *ibrikçi* and *pervazcı* are taken by women, mostly young and unmarried, who are known as *bacı*; sometimes the roles of *ibrikçi* and *süpürgeci* are performed by one woman.

There is nothing compulsory about these duties. Some thirty years ago, followers used to bring their children to the şeyh's family and leave them there to serve for one, two, or three years. Families who had few children, or no sons, would go to the Tekke and pray, promising that if a child were to be born, they would give him to do service. In such cases, then, the child would be given later. Although this custom is no longer observed, followers busy with the work of the Tekke can be relied on to come at any time, and may be called when they are needed. Some might stay for a long time. For example Yayla abla, who was brought to help in bringing up Hıdır Temel, left the house as a bride: she came to regard the family as her own. At present a young girl helps his mother, and men may come as required. There are old people, too, who come and stay a long time at the Tekke, both serving and praying there. Cuma, from Karakaya Köyü in Tokat, who was known as Fındıklı or Cumuh, in spite of being very old cleaned the Tekke every day, then ate and generally, as he felt inclined, slept in the Tekke: very few could do this, as they were usually too afraid. He died in the 1980s.

All those present at an assembly, men, women and children, are referred to as *can* 'soul, life', and any differences between them are regarded as irrelevant.

Once the meeting house has been prepared for an assembly, and the congregation summoned by the *peyik* is present, word is sent to the presiding *dede*, who lives locally, or may be a visitor. As he enters, everyone stands. He then sits in the principal place, *baş köşe*, either opposite the door or, if there is a fireplace, next to that. The *kible* plays no role here. Once he has settled, he bids the congregation sit as well with a short prayer, *destur*, 'permission'. Should anyone enter after the *dede*, they must go to the centre and obtain his *destur* before taking their place. The congregation sits in a square formation with rounded corners, the *dede* being in the middle of one side, and the senior people on either side of him. No one sits behind them. Generally the heads of families sit in the front (innermost) row of the square, but this applies to mature men only. Women, including wives, widows and brides, sit behind (outside) this row of men, and young people take their place against the three remaining walls. Because children attend assemblies from ten years old, they learn the proceedings by heart without much trouble. As assemblies are still officially forbidden, the *bekçi* are chosen as reliable men who can protect the meeting, remaining outside to keep watch.

The *gözcü*, holding a long, thin hazel staff, then tells the *dede* that the ceremony can begin, and obtains a blessing, *niyaz*, from the *dede*, bowing before him with his right big toe over the left. He retires backwards, so as not to turn his back on the *dede*, and calls '*marifete hu*', whereupon the men squat on their knees, with their hands on their thighs, and the women stand with their hands crossed over their breast, the right hand outside.

The *süpürgeci* then comes, obtains a blessing in the same way, with her broom (*süpürge*) under her left arm; she, too, crosses her toes in the same gesture, and retires backwards, as do all who are blessed. She then performs a ritual cleansing of the floor, *meydan*, working systematically across from the side to the *dede*'s left to his right, then returning to repeat this, crossing the whole width again and again



until she has reached the side opposite the *dede*; she finally obtains his blessing once more, as do all who follow her.

The *çirağcı* also comes forward, lights the torch, and holding it between his palms in front of him, obtains a blessing. He then puts the torch in its place beside the hearth, though nowadays a candle may be substituted. As it represents the light of Ali, and the continuance of both the teaching and the community, its presence throughout the ceremony is essential: collections made for it are called *çirağlık*.

The *ibrikci* then advances, bows with the ewer in her right hand, the basin in her left, and a towel tucked into her sash to the right, obtaining his blessing. She kneels to pour a few drops of water on the *dede*'s hands, catching it in the basin in the usual way, which she then empties somewhere where the spilt water will not be trodden upon. After this she kneels in front of each man in the front row in turn, working round the circle in an anti-clockwise direction, to allow them to wash symbolically in the same way.

The *seccadeci* brings the prayer rug, *seccade*, and obtains a blessing while holding it on her outstretched arms, after which she kisses it and spreads it over the floor, covering perhaps a third of the area, usually with some help, and retires.

The *dede* recites the long evening prayer, *ağşam duası*. When this is done the *zakir* recites the *duvazımam* at least three times. Its length and character depend upon the capability of the cantor. When he has finished, he begins to recite the *mirac*, a very long hymn by Hatayi, recounting the Prophet's night journey to the heavens and his speech with God. As he intones it, everyone present moves to represent the actions described, girding the waist, standing or sitting, and so on. Later in the story, the Prophet visits the Forty (*Kırklar*), and after an exchange of greetings finds they are performing a *semah*. Three of the women come to the *seccade*, and kissing the right front corner (i.e. to the *dede*'s left, toward the centre of the room), move counter-clockwise around the rug in front of the *dede*, lightly clapping their hands. When the account mentions the Prophet joining the Forty, one of the men joins them, clapping in the same way: thus the women represent the Forty, and the man the Prophet. Towards the end, they all line up to kneel in front of the *dede*, still on the rug, and receive his blessing. They stand, walk backward and, still in line, take hold of the rug to lift it off the floor, bow while holding it out, and receive a further blessing. They then roll it and put it away. This *kırklar semahu* is the most important part of the ceremony.

The *gözcü* again tells the congregation to sit comfortably, so that the men squatting on their knees may now sit cross-legged. Anyone wishing to leave bows and kisses his own right hand before moving. The *dede* then starts to speak, telling stories of dervishes, legends from the past, and accounts of the Prophet, his disciples, and especially of Ali and the Twelve Imams. He may give examples from everyday life. Members of the congregation may take part in this *muhabbet*, but speaking always to the assembly as a whole, not as individual to individual, and their contributions are infrequent. The length of this phase is variable, from half an hour to an hour, depending on the inclination of the *dede*; only if a sacrificed animal is being cooked, the *muhabbet* will be timed to end when the meat is ready.

The *semah*, or danced phase of the ceremony, begins and ends with a *baş semah*, a main *semah*. Among the Hubyar all *semah* are performed by three men and three women forming a circle with the sexes alternating. The *baş semahlar* frame an *erenler semahu* and a *gönüller semahu*, differentiated according to those who take part. The *erenler semahu* (ritual dance of the enlightened) is performed if a *dede* is present and takes part, when he will be joined by the senior members; during it the

congregation shows respect as described, the men squatting on their knees and the women standing. The *gönüller semahı* (ritual dance of the hearts), which should follow it, is danced by anyone from the congregation, and people may watch it in a more relaxed position. Finally the descent in age is completed with dancing by the youngest members and children who are learning the *semah*. The Hubyar enjoy the *semah*, and perform it with great zest. Their form of the *semah* is very different from that of other Alevis, but is considered by present researchers to be perhaps the most authentic form to have survived. Here women turn about their own axis as well as moving in a circle anti-clockwise around the floor. Men, however, only move in the same direction around the room, and do not turn. For this reason the women's movement is called *dönme*, 'turn', and the men's *sarma*, 'wrap'. Each of the three sections of the *semah* is identical, and comprises the four phases just described. First there is the *ağrlama* ('to be heavy'), performed rather slowly, mainly with swaying arm movements by both men and women, which ends with the dancers bowing to the centre of their circle, *niyaz vermek (selamlama)*, 'salutation to a superior'. It is followed by an intermediate section, *yeldirme* ('to turn more quickly'), growing quicker, and a final, fast *çarh* ('wheel'), where the dancers first circle, and then, as the music accelerates, men raise their right arms and then their left, circling them backwards alternately, raising their knees rhythmically at the same time to step backwards, in somewhat abrupt movements, while the women turn and raise their arms only to shoulder level in a smoother, more gentle forward action. Alevi in general see the *semah* as reflecting the movement of the universe.

When the *semah* is over, the *gözcü* again calls '*marifete hu*', and the *pervaz* ('soaring') begins. This, too, is a kind of dance, but it is performed by a single woman, usually an unmarried girl. The *zakir* plays a hymn by Hatayi: again there is a slow introductory phase, followed by a *çarh* in which she turns quickly on her own axis with her forearms raised on either side of her head, the palms open. As her turning ends, she kneels to the *dede*, and squats on her knees. The *gözcü* joins her, and sits by her side in the same way, meanwhile the *zakir* continues to play and sing hymns. Finally, when the music stops, the two stand to bow to the *dede*, and receive a blessing. The girl then goes to the *zakir*, they stand to bow to the *dede* together, and he too receives a blessing, though with different words, after which they both retire to sit down.

Next, the *saki* comes carrying a large bowl of water, bows to the *dede*, and receives his blessing; the *saki* kneels on her right knee to offer him the bowl, and the *dede* drinks one gulp of water, which is then considered sacred. She then proceeds anti-clockwise around the circle, offering the bowl to each senior participant in turn, each taking only one gulp from it. Should any of the women or perhaps sick children then wish to drink, she offers it to them too. She then sprinkles water over the congregation part by part, dipping her fingers into the water and flinging drops outward while calling loudly on Imam Hasan and Şah Hüseyin and those who died at Kerbala.

Though the Hubyar do not drink any alcohol (*dem ... dolu*) during their assemblies, they may drink during less formal assemblies, *muhabbet sofralar*, though on the condition of praying as they do so, invoking the names of saints or holy men, as in '*Hızır dolusu olsun*', 'may this sip be Hızır's', or of God's love '*Allah aşkına*'.

If there is something to be eaten, either food that has been contributed or from a sacrifice, a large cloth, *sofra*, is spread on the floor from the *dede*'s position towards the centre, and the whole congregation comes to sit in rows facing one another along its four sides. The *kurbanacı (laub)* then comes with the food, and

distributes it. The *dede* recites grace, *lokma duası*. No one eats until everyone has been served, but all wait in silence. After the meal, the *dede* again recites grace, and everything is gathered up before he blesses the *laub* for his services. The same person may be responsible, as *definci*, for burying the remnants of the sacrifice, mainly bones, in a place where they will neither be trodden on nor found by dogs, as they are considered blessed. The *süpürgeci* appears again and sweeps the floor in the same way as before, signifying an imposition of secrecy on the whole proceedings (*sırlama*). The *çerağcı* comes to the floor, removes the torch from its place, receives his blessing while holding it between his hands, and then blows it out. Extinguishing of the torch, *çerağı söndürmek*, represents departure from the hidden world. It does not result in darkness in the room, as there are other lamps to light it. Lastly the *peyik* comes to receive a blessing for his services, as do the *bekci* who come in from the outside, and the *gözcü* once more. The *dede* recites a last prayer for everyone present, those sitting and standing, the *oturan-duran duası*. With that the *dede* thanks them for coming, reminds them not to discuss the meeting with outsiders, and to behave well towards one another; they disperse.

Should an animal be sacrificed for the occasion, this is done at the very beginning of the ceremony, so that the animal can be prepared and cooked while the ceremony is going on, and be ready in time for the meal. In this case, after the preliminary blessings, and once the *dede* has recited the evening prayer, *akşam duası*, the animal is brought into the room, and while someone holds it, he blesses it with a *kurban duası*. The animal is released on the floor, though surrounded by the circle of senior men, and the *zakir* sings three passages explaining the need for sacrifice. It is then taken outside and slaughtered in the usual Muslim way. It is skinned, gutted and cooked at once.

The ceremony takes at least three hours, though if a sacrifice is made in this way, it may take five.

In these proceedings the Hubyar differ from other Alevis in having the twelve duty-officers receive blessings from the *dede*: in other *ocaklar* it is the officers themselves who recite the appropriate prayers. Although passages from Alevi literature are sung throughout the *cem*, the Koran is not recited except at funerals.

After the death of a follower, the funeral is held at his or her home. The procedure of washing, carrying and burying the corpse follows the same pattern as at Sunni funerals, and among the Hubyar there is no *cem* for the occasion. The grave is also hollowed out for the corpse on one side, as it often is for Sunnis. These rites are performed by a *hoca*, who prays for the deceased as a slave of the holy family, *Ehl-i Beyt bendesi*, descended from the Imam Cafer. For the Babacılar (Sıraç) the custom is different, peculiar to themselves: it is possible that these have conserved the original Hubyar form. Among all the Alevis in Turkey the similarity of their burial rites to those of the Sunnis is striking, and give rise to the question of whether these have replaced the original customs, as they seem out of character, as if forced. The reason for such a change lies in the founding of villages in the eighteenth century, as the Türkmen settled, when they negotiated with the Ottoman government through a *kahya* (fulfilling the functions of the present headman, *muhtar*) and a religious teacher, *hoca*. For the Hubyar, the *tekke* and its leaders already existed, so a third officer, the *şeyh* was appointed by royal decree (*ferman*). In order to prevent Sunni *hocas* from interfering in funerals, the Hubyar trained their own *hocalar*, responsible only for burials, and these in turn trained pupils from surrounding villages. For example an Ahmet Hoca was active in Öküzlü

village (Tokat/Reşadiye) who trained his last pupils from 1955 to 1956. He used to stay for two or three years at a time in the house of a prosperous villager, where he was paid in kind (animals or grain) for training children. Among the *post-nişin* family of *şeyhs*, however, this was unnecessary, as some were trained in dervish *tekkes*, and another went to Bokhara. Şeyh Mustafa Sofu (d. 1921) attended a theological college (*medrese*) in Tokat. His son Bektaş qualified there too. To resolve any uncertainty, the Alevi Federation has recently taken on the duty of formulating a new procedure, but in doing so has had a twofold difficulty: no records from the past are available, and the congregations see no need for change. It is said that a long time ago a corpse was buried with a quilt and mattress (*yorgan-döşek*), as though in bed, and that the corpse was carried to the grave to the sounds of a *saz*. This latter is still done in some Alevi communities. In Dersim, for instance, the prepared corpse is carried to the centre of the assembly room, where the congregation make a circle around it to sing a dirge.

### Beliefs

When addressing their followers, *dedes* frequently refer to a triad of precepts: *Yol Ali'nin*, 'The way is Ali's'; *Post İmam Hüseyin'in* 'The seat is Imam Hüseyin's'; *Dar Mansur'un* 'The floor is Mansur's'. It is plain from this that the Hubyar see their approach to God as having been defined by Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammed. The *post* mentioned to here is the sheepskin on which the *şeyh* of a Sufi order customarily sits during a ceremony as a mark of his position, but it is here understood in a figurative sense as symbolising the presence and direction of the Imam Hüseyin, the son of Ali. The *dar* here is an area in the middle of the meeting-house floor, and the Mansur is Manşür al-Ḥallāğ (AD 858–913) who was martyred for his Sufi beliefs after refusing to renounce them; this area, then, symbolises the condition of truth as indispensable for the congregation, and truth as unity with God, *vahdet ül-vücut*. This truth can only be perceived if religion is concerned with the inner reality, *batini*, rather than the outward observance, *zahiri*, typical of Sunni practice: the distinction is essential to the Alevi.

An Alevi *ocak* is conceived of as representing the influence of

1. Its founder, in this case Hubyar.
2. The founder's teacher or close associate, in this case Hacı Bektaş, who is acknowledged by most other *ocaklar* as a leader or the inspiration of their orders.
3. The *erenler* and *evliyalar*, the enlightened and the saints.
4. *Oniki İmamlar*: the twelve Imams of the Shii and Alevi confession.
5. *Ehl-i Beyt*: the nuclear family of the Prophet, comprising his daughter Fatima, his son-in-law Ali, and their sons Hasan and Hüseyin.
6. *Hak-Muhammed-Ali*: the triad of the Truth (meaning God, the Prophet and his son-in-law Ali. *Hak* 'The Truth' is here taken as synonymous with God).
7. *Kırklar*: 'The Forty': the community who, in Alevi belief, were present before the creation, and will remain after its dissolution, who founded the world, and performed the ceremony, *cem*, on which Alevi practice is based. They are eternal and universal, without beginning or end: *ezeli ebedi*. The Prophet Muhammed joined them later. They are called the *güruh-u naci*, 'the congregation of the redeemed'.

The Hubyar also refer frequently to Hızır, the deathless equivalent of Elias, but always in the combination Hızır-Hubyar, establishing them as equal in status. They often call, for example, *Hızır-Hubyar dedem yardımcımız olsun*: 'May Hızır-Hubyar *dede* be our help!'

All prayers are formulated in terms of one or another, or several of these eight entities.

Alevi in general follow formulations of creed known as *Buyruk*, and the Hubyar claim to follow the *Buyruk* of Imam Cafer, though in fact there is none. Really this is the Şeyh Safi Buyruğu formulated in Turkish during the sixteenth century by Şah İsmail-i Safevi under his pen-name of Hatayi. This was available primarily in manuscript, but has now been printed and is the most widespread catechism among the Alevi community at large. This is the principal book of the Hubyar. It refers to the *dört kapı, kırk makam*, 'The four gates and the forty laws'. Each gate thus has ten rules. These four gates, in ascending order of importance and attainment, are *şeriat, tarikat, marifet* and *hakikat*: 'doctrine, the Way, spiritual knowledge and Truth'. Truth is understood as unification with God, the Absolute. According to Alevi belief the soul of anyone who ascends through these degrees and reaches Truth will arrive in the company of the Kırklar. For this reason they practise the assembly, *cem*, and in the course of its ritual attempt to reach Truth step by step through their spiritual effort, *çaba*. Phrased differently, the gate of doctrine concerns the *alem-i nasut*, the world of human nature; the gate of the Way concerns the *alem-i ceberut*, the world of archetypes; the gate of spiritual knowledge concerns the *alem-i melekut*, the world of arcane knowledge, and the gate of Truth concerns the *alem-i lahut*, the world of the reality of God.<sup>3</sup> These can be conceived as a triangle, with the broad base of the *şeriat* culminating in the Truth at the apex, surmounted by the perfected man.

In principle an Alevi should be schooled first in doctrine, *şeriat*, and then pass through an initiation, *ikrar*, so that he may move on to the next stage of *tarikat*. Subsequently he should achieve the transition to the stage of *marifet* by accepting the demands of mutual responsibility, *müsahtiplik*. Both these transitions have now been abandoned throughout the Alevi community to the point where almost no one proceeds beyond the stage of *tarikat*, and people claim to be Alevi as from birth, without ever having passed the *ikrar*. The beliefs are referred to as *tekke öğretisi* 'the Tekke teaching', referring to the tomb complex of Hubyar.

Besides the practice of ritual, Alevi are required to follow a social code of morality, *ahlak*, which governs their relations with one another in everyday life. This is often reduced to the formula '*eline, diline, beline sahip olmak*', 'to govern one's hand, one's tongue, and one's loins', which, of course, implies not being covetous, not speaking evil, and not being promiscuous.

This code is governed by a special meeting, *görgü cemi*, held once a year, in which disputes within the community are settled by the *dede* responsible for that community, or even the *şeyh* himself. Generally it is the *dede* who deal with the congregations, and the *şeyh* who deals with the *dede*, but among the Hubyar the *şeyh* may intervene directly, especially with difficult individuals for whom greater authority is needed. As usual the *görgü cem* is held in the evening, but if the village is a large one, it may begin in the daytime so as to enable the *dede* to

<sup>3</sup> In the diagram given by Haas 1987 the world of the reality of God is given as *dahut*: this should read *lahut*.

assess the inhabitants as quickly as practicable. The whole community is obliged to attend the *görgü* in complete families. Twelve senior or respected members of the community, *onikiler*, are chosen as a jury, and are replaced as necessary. Each family head is responsible for his family, so that, for example, if a son errs, his father is held to be responsible as well. In the course of the *görgü cem*, families are asked one by one about their conduct, especially their observance of religion, and are expected to give a truthful account of it, in the spirit of Mansur. The *dede* then asks the others present if the family has given a true account of itself. If anyone has a complaint against it, he or she is to bring it forward. In a society where everyone knows everything about everyone else, nothing can be hidden.

The *dede* or *şeyh*, with the help of the jury, and from time to time the whole community, judges offences, and attempts to reconcile the parties. Where appropriate, in minor cases he demands compensation from the offender, who is entitled to defend himself. So, for instance, the death of a sheep could be made good. In major ones, such as continuous trouble-making in the community, he may punish the culprit after consultation with the congregation: he may impose a fine, or an obligation to work for the community, or demand a sacrifice. In the gravest cases, the *dede* expels the offender, *düşkün bırakmak*. This expulsion can only be decided in the presence of the community. It can be imposed for one to seven years; if it is for life, it is known as *yol düşkünlüğü* or *yoldan atılmak*, and amounts to expulsion from the entire Alevi confession. Thus to separate from a wife may earn expulsion for seven years. Divorce without due cause is unacceptable, and may result in expulsion for life. Other conduct leading to expulsion includes murder, adultery, rape, incest or denial of the Alevi Way.

Although the punishment for various faults is laid down in the *Buyruk*, the *dede*'s assessment of the particular circumstances may overrule it. People who are expelled are not only excluded from the *cem*, but are ostracised by the community too, and can obtain no help from others. Formerly, when villages were more isolated, this expulsion was traumatic, and could place the offender in a hopeless, even fatal situation. Nowadays, with the possibility of migration to the cities, it is less so.

Those, on the other hand, who are approved by the *görgü cem* may thereafter take part in other assemblies for that year, until the next examination. Someone who has been expelled may apply in advance for readmission after the required sentence by visiting a meeting during the daytime while the *dede* is staying in the village for the subsequent *görgü* meeting. Since *görgü* sessions are held annually, the shortest term of expulsion is for a year. Minor infringements of behaviour may be considered and settled at daytime meetings in the house where he is staying.

Mutual responsibility was previously formalised among the Hubyar, as among other Alevis, in *müsahtiplik*: this was very important for the community, but for the last century has not been practised generally. Aged *dede* who still remember the system say that its demands on the individuals involved were very strict, and for that reason particularly hard to maintain. There are still a very few who practise it, and attempts are now being made to revive it in the wider community. As the Hubyar see the world, the earth is mutually responsible with the sky (*yer/gök*), Adam with Gabriel (*Adem/Cebrail*), Ali with Muhammed, the moon with the sun (*ay/gün*), and this world with the next (*dünya/ahiret*). These relationships can even

be combined, as in the phrase ‘Ay Ali’dir, Gün Muhammed’, ‘Ali is the moon, and Muhammed the sun’. According to the *Buyruk*, *müsahtiplik* is compulsory. As a saying puts it, *ağır lokma yenmez* ‘a heavy mouthful can’t be eaten’: the cosmic implications of this obligation make it truly difficult, and it is now thought that it is better not to attempt what may result in failure, *olmadan olmaması daha iyi*. Those who really wish to enter into it may apply, *aklı kesen buyursun*, and those who do so are respected for what is essentially a good though onerous decision.

*Müsahtiplik* was associated with marriage: after marriage, and when fully mature (at 30–35 years, for example), two couples would decide to accept responsibility for one another. There was no age limit for entering into this. The decision required knowing the other couple well, that is for at least a year, and they should be of roughly the same age. A *dede* and his wife, however, could not become *müsahtip* with any pair who were his followers, but only with another marriage at the *dede* level. The two couples would approach a *dede* when he was in the village, and ask to become responsible: he would note this, but require them to wait for a year at least. If after this they were still sure of their intention, they would call the *dede*, who would organise a special *müsahtiplik cemi* for them and any other couple in the same position at that time. Although detailed written descriptions of this *cem* can be found, and they are described in the *Buyruk*, they have not been witnessed in recent memory, and must remain outside the scope of this study. It was characteristic that those present were those only who were already *müsahtip*, and that the ceremony was irreversible. A sacrifice was made for each four people involved. Such mutual responsibility involved help in work as well as in life generally, and if one of the ‘brothers’ should die, the other would become responsible for supporting his wife and children.

The transition of *ikrar* is also irreversible. A person born into the Alevi community is assumed to be Alevi, but on reaching the age of responsibility, he is expected to confirm a wish to follow the Alevi way. Only men are expected to take this confirmation, as when a woman marries under the guidance of a *dede*, she confirms her status in the community to her husband. The act of marriage is thus a confirmation, and for this reason divorce is unacceptable, as it would result in repudiating this confirmation. Only under very grave circumstances can a marriage be dissolved. These include unfaithfulness, but in that case the offender will be excluded (*düşkün*) from the community anyway. Marriage is monogamous, though if it proves childless, the husband may, with his wife’s agreement, take a second wife.

The Hubyar, too, accept that one is a member of the community from birth, *ikrarlı doğan ikrarlı olur* and is in that sense already confirmed (*ikrarlıyız*): this status is retained so long as it remains unspoiled. As to marriage, the Hubyar are endogamous, though they are allowed to take a wife from another Alevi *ocak*, when she will be accepted as a member of her husband’s *ocak* instead of her own. *Dede* families may only marry someone from another *dede* family, as is the case with other Alevis. Thus they tend to marry within the same village, from among those who have migrated elsewhere from it, or into a *dede* family from a different *ocak*. Thus the present şeyh, Mustafa Temel, took a wife from the Eraslan *ocak* from Bedohdun (or Bedahtum, now Güneykaya) in Sivas, Yıldızeli sub-province. Such marital transfers, though, can be difficult for the bride involved, who may even be ostracised by members of her new village. The resultant inbreeding

has produced undesirable results, with similarity of disposition, behaviour, and even mood.

The whole family is thus *ikrarlı*. For this reason children are required to attend the *görgü cemi* together with their parents. For someone who has not spoiled his condition, a new *ikrar* is considered unnecessary (*gerekmez*). Should it for other reasons be necessary, this involves both acceptance, *kabul*, and ratification, *tasdik*. The person to be initiated is called a ‘sacrifice’, *kurban*, implying a willingness to die on that Way. He is prepared for it by a mature initiate acting as a ‘guide’, *rehber*. This guide should explain the Way and its difficulties, warning the candidate that, if he is incapable of overcoming the difficulties, he should not attempt an irreversible process. Here it is said ‘*Bu yol, ateşten gömlektir, giyilmez; demirden leblebidir yenilmez*’, ‘This way is a shirt of fire which cannot be worn; it is a roasted chickpea which cannot be eaten’. The applicant is trained for about a year.

The Hubyar, like other Alevi, concur with Sunnis in six basic principles of religion:

1. Belief in a single, almighty, omnipresent God.
2. Belief in the holy books as the revelation from God.
3. Belief in God’s angels.
4. Belief in God’s prophets.
5. Belief in the Last Judgement and the resurrection of the dead.
6. Belief in fate, *kader*.

To these, though, the Alevi add their own theological and moral principles:

They follow traditional customs: visiting and venerating holy places, trees etc. They honour and love the fourth Caliph Ali and his successors (*teveli*), but hate those who reject them (*teberra*); they maintain and propagate the cult of the Imams. They observe the same virtues as recognised by other great religions: moderation, zeal, love of one’s neighbour, justice, mutual respect, brotherhood and unity of the community.

However, of the five pillars of Sunni Islam, they accept only the declaration of faith, *şahadet*, in the same terms. For prayer (*namaz*), fasting (*oruç*), obligatory almsgiving (*zekat*) and the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hac*) they have their own institutions, interpreted independently.

### Pilgrimage

Places considered sacred by other Alevi are also recognised by the Hubyar, but their own shrine at Tekkeli takes precedence over all others: this comprises the two mausolea of Hubyar, where Hubyar himself is housed alone in the larger, and his descendants Hüseyin Abdal with his son Hasan Abdal in the smaller. These are not spoken of as *türbe*, the normal Turkish for mausoleum, but as *tekke*, a dervish monastery, always in the form Hubyar Tekkesi. This draws on a recollection of the monastery, *zaviye*, which once existed on the site, as attested from 1544 in Ottoman documents. It is known from a document dated 1616 that there were then five named dervishes on the site, and the *ferman* of Şa’ban 1056/September 1646 mentions eight individuals as being *tekke-neşin*, that is residents at the Tekke, without giving their names. There may have been as many as thirty at the peak of



the Tekke's development. Some villages in the area are populated largely by Alevis from other *ocaklar* than the Hubyar; when asked if they recognise the Hubyar, the older inhabitants remember that long ago Hubyar dervishes used to visit them, showing that the Tekke was active in this way. We do not know at what time this monastery ceased to function, as we have no documents for the period after 1800. It is possible, however, that it became ineffective prior to the schism which led to the separation of the *dedeci* and the *babaci*, which may well have resulted from its decline. It is said that there were frequent disputes in the Tekke, a major one of them occurring in 1600, and another about 1850. It is said that it then remained without a *şeyh* until the appointment of Hıdır *şeyh* in 1870, which is documented: he attempted to re-establish a *tekke* in the building. His tomb lies behind the mausolea in a graveyard reserved for the *şeyhler*. The large house belonging to the Temel family served also as a *cem evi*; the dervishes generally came from their own houses in the village, and those from outside were few. It seems that once houses were established there, and children learned from the proximity of their fathers and from regular attendance at the *cem* there, a separate dervish training was no longer pursued, and there may have been no further need for it. The entire *tekke* was demolished in 1936, that is to say the two mausolea. Even so, the influence of the Republican ethos was hardly felt at Tekke Köyü until *ca.* 1950.

Since the rebuilding of the mausolea in 1955, many Hubyar have emigrated to İstanbul or Europe. Nowadays some thirty households are to be found in summer, primarily of retired people. The present *post-nişin* lives there in summer. In winter only three followers remain there: the *tekke* has lost its purpose. Nevertheless, the first duty of a Hubyar follower is to bring an animal to the mausolea and sacrifice it. During the summer months, hundreds come there to do this, gathering in the open air. According to Alevi custom, once an animal has been sacrificed, it must be consumed on the spot. Prospective offerers therefore invite their relations and neighbours, arriving in a minibus, and proffer the meat, too, to the inhabitants of Tekkeli. The sacrifice itself depends on the prosperity of the family making it. If it cannot afford a ram, it may offer a cock, preferably a white one, instead; a cock is known as Cebrail (Gabriel), a name which seems to connect with Yezidi ideas. More prosperous people may, very rarely, offer a male calf (*tosun*).

This sacrifice is not exclusive. Hubyar are permitted to make sacrifices at other Alevi *ocaklar*, and particularly at Hacı Bektaş Veli. Their second most frequented shrine in Tokat is Keçeci Baba and Kat (Gad ~ Kad) Baba in Kazova. Besides these every village has its own shrine, *ziyaret yeri*, the tomb of someone who attained a reputation for enlightenment and sanctity, or else holy springs, *kudsi sular*. At the beginning of spring an entire village will go out, usually to a spinney, and offer a sacrifice there. Such sacrifices have a joyful character, like a picnic.

### Sacred and Taboo

Pigs are abhorred by the Hubyar to the point that people do not even pronounce their name (*domuz*), but call them *kara hayvan*, 'the black animal' (pigs in Turkey, which are generally wild, are black). Another euphemism is for the bear, *ayı*, which is called *eli büyük* (big hands), though it is not disliked to the same extent. All Alevis, and indeed Shiites in general, hate hares, *tavşan*, although no explanation seems to be available: it is said that hares have the characteristics of many animals, the whiskers of a cat, the ears of a donkey, and so on, with a

similarity to pigs. It is claimed that, of the twelve animals representing the months in the Central Asian calendar, six are close to man, and six harmful, of which the hare is one. Horses are much loved, and dogs too. The ox, *öküz*, is associated with Pir Sultan Abdal, in whose poems it is mentioned. There is also a legend that the world is carried by a yellow ox.

As to plants, harmal (Syrian rue), *yüzerlik* (*üzerlik*) or rue, *sedef otu*, are valued as effective against the evil eye, *nazar*, especially when burnt and inhaled, though *yüzerlik* is also made into circular or net-like talismans which are hung in the house.

Thursdays are generally thought of as auspicious, whereas Tuesdays are thought to be inauspicious for making journeys. Besides the Hıdırrellez and Kurban Bayram days mentioned above, the spring festival, known as *Sultan Nevruz* is important as the day on which Ali is believed to have been born. On that day, fixed as 21 March, a *cem* is held, with the same procedure as the Thursday *cem*, but, like the *Bayram Cemi*, in the daytime rather than the evening. The two Bayramlar, though, are more lively than Nevruz. Hubyar do make a sacrifice on Nevruz, but do not celebrate a special meal like the Iranians; they used, however, to jump over a fire in the same way.

## Bards

Prayers composed principally by Hatayi, Pir Sultan Abdal and Kul Hümmet play a major role in the *cem* ceremony. Besides these poems by Virani and Derviş Ali of the seventeenth century, Kul Budala, and Teslim Abdal are currently used in worship. Of these Derviş Ali is said to have been a Hubyar. Their names are customarily included in the final verse of a piece, often as a pen-name, *mahlas*, as in the case of Hatayi. Again, Abdal Dedem is cited, with the reputation of being a Hubyar, but it is not known who he was: some claim that he was Hubyar himself. Hüseyin Abdal, Hubyar's grandson, is also well-known, with Kul Hıdır and Hıdır Şeyh (d. 1905). Nowadays the hymns of Aşık Veysel (d. 1973) are very popular. All of these, of course, were or are Alevis. In principle the work of any Alevi poet (*ozan*) can be sung in a *cem*, regardless of his *ocak*. While the writers mentioned above were all men, the work of women can also be used. The verse is usually in syllabic metre (*hece vezni*) mostly of eleven syllables in four lines (*kita*).

## Costume

Though people today dress like others in Turkey, in a fully Westernised manner, some thirty years ago costume was more rural. Men wore loose jodhpurs (*ingiliz pantolon* ~ *şalvar*) made locally, with puttees (*dolak*) and laced moccasins (*çarık*). The shirt (*göynek* ~ *işlik*) had a short standing collar, and was off-white, like the socks (*çorap*) knitted by the women. A sash (*kuşak*) was also worn, but long ago. Only jackets, generally dark, and flat caps were bought from elsewhere. The effect was subdued. The red felt cap, of which some examples survive, is no longer worn (see illustration).

Women, in contrast, were highly colourful, and remain so. Their knitted stockings are coloured, with similar moccasins. The main garment is a long red shift (*üç peş* ~ *üç etek*) reaching to below the knee, with two skirt-flaps in front and one at the back. It is worn with an inner shift (*iç göynek*) over red baggy trousers (*tuman*), and a heavily-embroidered apron, (*öynük*) in front, which is

sometimes still worked by the women themselves in closely adjacent diagonal rows of coloured flowers springing upwards on either side of a central vertical, like the branches of an evergreen. Nowadays aprons are often bought ready-decorated with machine-stitching in rectangular panels, gold on a dark ground. The whole is held together with a sash (*kuşak*). The jacket (*cepken*) of striped brocade or velvet is long-sleeved and, again, heavily embroidered on both body and sleeves. It remains open in front, showing the white shirt. At the back, an elaborate set of tassels (*püşkiil*) with rows of white beads hang from the waist to behind the knee at the back, though much shorter in front. Similar tassels are worn in the hair. A white headcloth (*çit*) knotted loosely under the chin is worn over a pointed *fes* that slopes backward. Women wear this costume now at *cem* and festivals, but it was formerly used daily. Nowadays, even in the villages, it is being replaced by easier, simpler clothes, so is kept for special occasions.

A white shift seen at Şenköy (Zarzara) in 1999, had the lower part of the skirt entirely covered with an elaborate pattern of rectangles in madder and indigo embroidery, to about 50 cm above the hem. There were six rectangles in the height, and three in the width across the front, with others on either side. Each of these was defined by right angles of concentric lines in alternating colours, forming squares, one at each corner, and two joined at the top centre. These left a rectangular area of white at the centre bottom within each main rectangle, decorated by two diagonal lines of small squares, one madder and one indigo, rising on either side of the centre line to the corners of the area. The centre line of each vertical set of rectangles was picked out in a double check of indigo and white. The borders were of zigzags of small squares in sequences of the two colours. The general effect was therefore of superimposed tree motifs within the heavy rectangular framing. The pattern was known as *sülüük boynuzu*, ‘leech horns’, the borders as *çitirik*, ‘complex’, and the straight lines simply as *su*, ‘border’.

Another, old apron pattern on a dark red woollen ground, *şal*, had two vertical rows of four squares each, outlined with small triangles of embroidery in indigo, with diagonals of triangles in indigo, yellow or light green. The rows were divided by two rows of closely spaced motifs like cranked fish hooks in indigo, known as *söğüt yaprağı*, ‘willow leaves’. Further single lines of these hooks formed vertical inner borders. At the bottom of the apron was a distinct broad panel formed of four square spirals in indigo set side by side, and divided from the upper part by a line of yellow triangles. Outer borders at the sides and bottom were again of indigo triangles. The whole was set off with sequins sewn on the points of the triangles. Formerly woollen apron strings, *öynük bağ*, were tablet woven, *çarpana*, in a pattern of elongated lozenges set tip to tip, flanked by similar lozenges on either side in the reentrants, madder red on a white ground. They were about 3 cm wide.

A sash in the same village about 45 cm broad was of three kinds of handwoven silk in narrow vertical stripes (i.e. across the width), one black and white, one golden yellow and black, and another red and black: these were in six alternating lengths of about 80 cm each, sewn end to end, flanked by the red material at the ends. A bias binding in black and white ran along the top edge, and 50 cm fringe yarns of the self colour hung from the bottom, where a row of brightly coloured pompons decorated the edge. The seams between the different widths of silk were hidden with tufts in similar colours. Its ties were of a round plait in spiralling red and black, with a single large tassel at the end, one magenta and the other blue,

trimmed with collars of small white beads. The material appeared to be the Gaziantep silk common in Turkey.

A new example of a sash tie, belonging to Döndü Demirağ was a round plait in cochineal red, with a collar of small white beads in rings around the surviving end, to a length of 20 cm. At either end of this collar hung a pendant of three cords, each with seven collars of white beads set in adjacent vertical rows of five or six, with a single large blue bead between each collar. At the bottom of each cord a larger collar was made up of eight white beads, below which was a tassel of either indigo or madder yarns, alternating on the two cords, and a fringe of single beads on each yarn at the very bottom. A separate, old sash tie was generically similar, though at the ends of a tablet-woven band. Its ends were finished with a collar of successive woollen chevrons in white, indigo and madder rows. From its lower edge emerged four cords, each with three collars of five to six small white beads in vertical rows as before, alternating with single, polygonal, bright blue beads and large white rings. The whole was finished with woollen tassels in scarlet, grey, scarlet and indigo, or scarlet, indigo, orange and indigo. This was said to have belonged to the first wife of the grandfather of the present owner, Güler Üçar, and should thus have been some 90 years old at the time.

Edging lace, *oya*, was made in the village by Muazzez Yılmaz in models called *ateş böceği* 'fire fly', *çatık kaş* 'beetle brows' in yellow, mauve and green, and *cem* 'assembly' in green and cream; she also made white needle lace as *papatya* 'daisy', and *uğur böceği* 'ladybird' (some of these we bought). It may be noted that the old men's caps illustrated, with their plethora of small white stitches, and one cap laid out in gores, resemble Türkmen work from Khurasan, especially the Teke work called *aq qayma* (see Andrews 1976, fig. 8). The caps are of course red, as appropriate to Kızılbaş.



Hubyar caps: note they have a distinctive red colour (for a full colour image of the caps please check the online version of this article).

Sıraç costume for women differs in that the outer shift is white with a great deal of embroidery in red, dark blue, and green. Men and boys wear a fes-like cap (*bere*) of thick white cloth entirely hidden beneath embroidery.

## Miracles

Karaman (*op cit.* p. 220) has pointed out that, in the absence of any reliable personal information about Hubyar, one can only resort to popular stories (*rivayetler*) about him. These are, of course, subject to addition and subtraction over the centuries, in fact to the embroidery characteristic of Middle Eastern narratives. His appearances in poems have the same character. All that can be said with certainty is that his power to work miracles figures very strongly.

The miracles attributed to Hubyar are accepted by other Alevi *ocaklar*, just as their miracles are accepted by the Hubyar. Hubyar's life is believed frequently to have been miraculous, but his best known miracles are the following.

1. Entering a burning furnace and emerging from it with a flower in his hand and ice in his beard. There are several versions of this story.
2. Causing water to emerge with his staff (*asa*). There are two places today which are held to be due to his intervention: one is in Kazova, called Hubyarın Kuyusu, and the other near the summit of Tekkeli Dağ (in contrast to the usual emergence of springs lower down a slope), called Asa Pınarı.
3. The feeding of ninety thousand soldiers from one small cooking pot. A cooking pot (*kazan*) is still kept which is supposed to be the one used. Sometimes the number is given as forty thousand.
4. Drinking poison and discharging it from his fingertips.
5. Stopping the flow of water in a river.
6. Splitting a great rock with a wooden sword.
7. Passing a test of his powers (*sinav*) by washing a corpse: when asked whether he could wash a corpse he took a living man for a demonstration, but when a preference for a real corpse was expressed, he killed the man with one breath.

Similar miracles are recounted for other Alevi teachers. Besides these, a variety of lesser miracles are attributed to minor, local figures, mostly from the nineteenth century: Hıdır Şeyh, Küçük Derviş, Tatlı Derviş, Kütük Baba, and Destan Baba. Veli Baba is also held to have performed miracles among the Babacılar.

Of Hubyar's miracles, the sixth is described as follows:

There is a split rock outside the Hubyar mausoleum, which pilgrims still visit. It is told that when Hubyar Derviş was on his way to İstanbul, he struck it with the wooden sword that was in his hand, but did not cut it. He tried again, but once more failed. 'What fault have I committed?' he asked himself. It occurred to him that he had left without the approval of his wife Gönül Ana, and when cross with her. He returned to the village, made his peace with her, and set off again. As he passed the stone he drew his sword and split it with one blow. (Tatar, *op cit.*, p. 104b, citing an account given by Kiraz Akyürek)

The first can be given in four versions to illustrate the level of variation in such legends:

- a. There was an Ottoman Padişah who did not believe that Hubyar Sultan possessed any special powers. His men showed him an oven in front of them and said 'If you enter this and do not burn, the ruler will issue a decree for you'. Hubyar Sultan entered the oven, which was fired for seven days and seven nights. When they opened the oven, the soldiers found Hubyar Sultan

with ice in his beard, and a child sitting in his lap with a bunch of flowers in its hand. When they asked the child where it had been, it said ‘We were in a very cold *yayla* on Tekkeli Dağı’. The Padişah, ashamed of his disbelief, offered riches to Hubyar Sultan, but he would accept nothing. ‘Just let me go to the nine sacred tombs on Tekkeli’. (*Ibid.* a,b)

- b. When Sultan Murat was on his way for the Baghdad campaign, he passed through this region. Hubyar Sultan offered the Sultan hospitality. The Sultan replied ‘You are poor. How can you sustain this army?’. Hubyar Sultan exercised his powers and filled the army to its satisfaction. Once the campaign was over, as Sultan Murat was returning to İstanbul, he sent two Tatars to call Hubyar there. Before they arrived, Hubyar set out. When he met the Tatars, he told them to turn back, as he was Hubyar, but they did not believe him. The Tatars were turned to stone in their disbelief. In İstanbul they again said ‘If you are a dervish, perform a miracle’. They put him in a boat and took him to one of the islands. As the boat returned, Hubyar came walking over the sea. Calling him a magician, they threw him into an oven. When they opened it, they found that his beard had frozen. On that the Sultan said ‘Name what you wish’. Hubyar said that he wanted no worldly property. When the Sultan insisted, ‘My lord, be so good as to allow me Gürgençukuru as though it were a simple soup (*herlelik*)’. The Sultan decreed that the place should be assigned to Hubyar. (Karaman, pp. 220–1, citing a report by Ruşen Zeki, who visited the village on 27 June 1927).

Karaman also records that Zeki saw a ferman dated 990/1582 there: he points out that the Padişah at that time was Murad IIIrd (1574–95), but that the recapture of Baghdad (1638) was achieved by Murad IVth (1623–40): it seems that memories have been telescoped. The first Baghdad campaign of 1534 is too early to be relevant here.

- c. Hubyar’s miracles had been spoken of. He was called to İstanbul. Water was warmed for him and they told him to enter an oven with a closed mouth, to see what happened. Hubyar entered it. A little while later they opened its mouth, and found that Hubyar was sitting inside, quite healthy, with a green flower in his hand. (Karaman, pp. 221–2, citing Atasoy, Ali Rıza, *Tokat Reşadiye İlçesi halk kitabı*, İstanbul 1950, p. 669)

### *Recent Developments*

The homeland of the Hubyar has suffered, like everywhere else in rural Turkey, from the internal migration after 1950 to the great cities, especially İstanbul, and further to Europe, notably Germany and Austria. The Alevi at Hubyar were among the first to move, as their land was generally poor and unable to sustain an adequate standard of life. As with other groups, those who moved early established homes in a particular quarter, which then served as a magnet to attract those who came afterwards. Nevertheless, the move has resulted in the inhabitants losing contact not only with their soil, but with clan, family, and customs. It took them only one day, perhaps, to leave, but in sixty years they have not succeeded in making themselves at home elsewhere. They may have moved physically, yet their souls have remained behind. With their migration, they have changed their identities, at least in part.

In their new homelands they have become workers, civil servants, or merchants, and the centre of their interests has changed. The reciprocal responsibility which was so prominent in village life has faded. Without any grasp of the new situation, they assumed they could live in the cities. After the 1960s and in the 1970s the place of ethnic identity was taken by ideology, either right or left, as with other Alevis. By then beliefs had been very much weakened. With the military putsch of 12 September 1980 the situation became even more confused.

Villagers settled in the towns began to found village societies. Thus in 1967 a Hubyar Köyü Derneği was established in İstanbul, and many other villages or groups followed suit. There are now more than a hundred like it for the Hubyar alone. Of all the migrants, 80% went to İstanbul, then, in order, to İzmir and Ankara, and thence to the cities of Europe. Now there are Hubyar villages in the home provinces which lie entirely deserted. Yet those who have retired from active work now return to their villages and re-establish themselves there for the summer months, some having houses built for them; in winter they return to the city. This is true of Tekke Köyü itself. If temporary returns of this kind satisfy the elderly, they have little appeal for the young. Meanwhile those of the younger Hubyar who have remained at home show less loyalty and community spirit than existed formerly, and even tenants do not observe obligations as before.

The first generation of communities in the cities established meetings for worship through village societies, and brought in *dedes* to supervise them from time to time. Subsequent generations had little interest in these, and became preoccupied with politics instead. After 1990 meeting houses were built in İstanbul, and the Hubyar, like other Alevis, go to these regularly. Some Hubyar villagers go only to their own meeting house, after securing a *dede's* attention. Unlike attendance in villages, which was compulsory, it can be seen that only a small proportion of the community is present at these *cem*, perhaps 35% at most. Now, however, young people can be seen among the congregations: their attitude has changed. Beyond religious cooperation, people also meet for recreation. All activities are arranged under the aegis of the village society. About eighty Hubyar village societies support the annual memorial ceremony at Hubyar itself, even if it is a thousand kilometres away: they come and go by coachloads.

Communities which initially were capable of performing a *semah* only at weddings are now starting to undertake full *cem* ceremonies. They are even organising funerals from the meeting houses, and some 95% of these end in the village itself. The difference in living conditions in the cities, and the difference in relationship between *dede* and *talip* are such that it is impossible to reproduce a village *cem* there. The individualism typical of city behaviour is incompatible with the former values, and militates against proper participation in a *cem*. Further, the lack of official recognition for Alevis, their presence as small minorities in a mass of Sunnis, and even the everyday awareness of a Sunni public opinion, makes their position even weaker. This situation, affecting all Alevi migrants, holds of course for the Hubyar, too. It remains to be seen whether Hubyar identity survives in an urban or foreign context.

Practically, religious learning is very formal. Teachers learn either from their fathers, or from books such as the *Makalat* and the *Velayetname*, both claimed to be written by Hacı Bektaş (though actually later) and the *Buyruk*. The third and fourth *kapı*, 'gates' are now absent, and in some rural areas only the second, *tarikât*, is observed, as the first, *şeriat*, is forgotten: given the different interpretation Alevis put on it, Sunni understanding is no help. Teaching is now by

word of mouth. The hymns, *nefes*, have become the most important part of Alevi teaching, and are learned by almost everyone in the community. The belief that God can only be reached through love is still widespread, however, and teaching must be conducted in that spirit.

One thing is certain. If the Hubyar manage to preserve their beliefs, the society will still not be the same as it was formerly. The form it takes is still evolving.

The Department of Religious Affairs, *Diyanet İşleri*, has no jurisdiction over Alevi affairs at present, as their activities are still, in principle, banned under the legislation of 1925. Until this ban is repealed, the Government department responsible is the Devlet Bakanlığı. It is this which is concerned with the Hubyar, too. The Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, appears (in newspaper headlines on 11 January 2010) to have taken a first step in this direction by announcing that Alevi meeting houses shall in future be recognised as places of worship. The Diyanet İşleri has also been busy publishing Alevi texts, commendably without succumbing to the temptation to edit them.

### Hubyar in Europe

The proportion of Alevi migrants to Europe appears to be higher than that in the Turkish population itself. This has resulted, as mentioned, from the inadequate conditions in which many Alevi lived at home. After the initial migrations in 1960, a renewed demand for labour in 1970 resulted in a general influx of families with their associates, with the approval of European governments, notably the West German one, and the formation of centres of Alevi population (*Ballungszentren*). The Hubyar from Hafik thus came in large numbers to Bremen, Bremerhaven, Hamburg and Kiel, following a pattern of connection with shipbuilding which had already been established in İstanbul at Taşkızak tershane. Those from Hubyar village itself went to Duisburg and Vienna, where there are now 140 and 150 households, respectively. Those from Tokuş Köyü in Sivas have gone to the neighbourhood of Zürich (*ca.* 150 households), where they have founded their own association, Tokuşlular Derneği. Other such societies are at Hamburg (Çakmaklılar Derneği) and Vienna (Hubyarlılar Derneği). In France Hubyar from Yozgat are to be found in large concentrations at Metz and Lyons and their environs. There are many, too, in Berlin, though they have no specific society there: instead there is a Tokatlular Derneği for population from the province, where the Alevi find a place. Hubyar, in fact, are scattered everywhere on the Continent where Turks are present. There are also some in London and America.

From 1993 onwards, following the infamous mass-murder of Alevi in Sivas, Alevi societies were founded all over Europe, together with a union, Aleviler Cemiyetlerin Birliği, which in time became the Alevi Federasyonu. There had been relatively few societies before then. There are now similar Alevi federations in nine European countries. These societies are led, not by *dedes*, but by elected people; such choice, however, is strongly affected by the area of origin of the candidates. The merit and capability of the candidates plays only a secondary role. Hubyar attend these associations: there is, in any case, no distinction of *ocaklar* within them. As in Turkey, the *semah* plays a role in association meetings, and as the Hubyar *semah* is popular, it is often performed on important occasions. The associations provide an opportunity to make contact with people from Hubyar villages whose emigration has not otherwise been noticed. The emigration continues to this day.



In Germany, the Federation has won an important right to provide Alevi religious instruction in state schools, after a legal assessment which proceeded province by province from 1995 to 2006. In practice, however, it is difficult for the Alevi to conform with the new requirements when there is an insufficient number of qualified teachers capable of doing this in the German language. A body of religious teaching which has developed over a thousand years is not easily translated into the terminology of a different religious culture.

The popularity of the Hubyar *semah* in itself (see Edelmann) raises the question of whether, of the complete *cem* ceremony, the *semah* alone will survive. This remains to be seen. Possibly the meeting houses which have been established in Europe will survive as centres of belief, rather like those of the Society of Friends in England.

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## Appendices

### 1. The Sıraç

During a survey for the Ministry of Education (Maarif Vekaleti) in 1943, Halil Bedi Yönetken was able to obtain details of the Sıraç *semah*, which he published almost twenty years later. This account is translated directly from his article, with a few comments, and here and there some adjustment to the sequence, since the original text appears to be of scarcely edited notes: care has been taken not to alter his intended sense. Much of it corresponds closely to the account of the Hubyar given above, but there are some significant differences. These Sıraç were concentrated in Zile sub-province, in the villages of Kervansaray, Büyük Bultu, Küçük Bultu, Bacul, Kelit, Geyran, Karşı Pınar, Acı Pınar, Yenihan and Silis, with a branch, Anaca ~ Ança Aysa bacı. They were connected with the Hubyar at Tozanlı (Tozanlıfındıcak in Tokat: Reşadiye: Merkez ?). Sıraç was a tribal name, and the people called themselves ‘the tribe’, *aşiret*: they were of entirely Turkish descent, some claiming they had come from China or Tibet, presumably intending Central Asia. They were recognised by other Alevi villagers as particularly zealous, *taasup*. Members of the Anaca branch regarded Ali as God, and Muhammad as his *vezir*.

Among their peculiarities was a special gesture of greeting, which is not explained. Like the Türkmen, but also like many dervishes, they would not step on a threshold. There was no theft among them, nor were they hostile to anyone. They did, though, curse Muaviye (Mu<sup>c</sup>āwiya, the first of the Umayyads), and when angry with someone, called him ‘damned Muaviye’ or ‘infidel Muaviye’ (*melun, kafir*); they referred to Sunnis as Yezid (after Mu<sup>c</sup>āwiya’s son). They drank *rakı* and wine. They were particularly fond of horses, in memory of Ali, and thought indigence impossible where a horse was kept. They called a donkey *gölük*, and a bear *eli büyük*, ‘big hands’.

A *semah* is also known as *zema*, *zamah* or *zamak*, consisting of an *ağırlama* and, without a break, a *yeldirme*. The assembly was called *cem* or *ayin-i cem*, directed by a *dede*, with the help of a *saz*-player, *aşık*, or in some places *zakir*, and a master-of-ceremonies, *gözcü baba*; the hymns sung were *nefes*, and the discourse given by the *dede*, *nutk-u mürşit*. For the Sıraç, there were twelve services, *hizmet*, of which the *semah* was the last. First the *Miraçlama* was performed, when the eldest two women and two men, barefoot, their heads uncovered, with napkins tied at their waists, calling ‘*Hü, hü meydan’ı Ali’dir*’, ‘Hü, hü, the floor is Ali’s’, danced an *ağırlama*; they bowed to the *dede*, the *dede* prayed for them, they kissed his knee, and with his permission sat in their places. Between times, the *dede* gave advice not to offend anyone’s rights, not to speak behind anyone’s back, and to pay one’s debts. They prostrated themselves, heads down, calling out ‘*Allah Allah*’ together. The *gözcü baba*, from a lineage of *gözcü*, came to the floor, and called the young people in the congregation to the *semah*. They danced the *gönüller semahı*, spinning like the Mevlevi; they, too, bowed to the *dede*. Finally they ate, received the *dede*’s blessing, rose and kissed his knee, and withdrawing backward went out without treading on the threshold, to return home. The fourth service of the ceremony was the draught, *dem*, of *rakı* or wine from a pitcher or bottle. The sixth was music, where the *aşık* placed his *saz* on his breast, saying ‘*Gerçeğe hü*’, ‘Hü to the Truth’, and prostrating himself over the *dede*’s knee, received his prayer.

Apart from this, in the *Kırklar semahı*, the *Gönüller*, the young people’s *semah*, is danced, with two men and two women opposite one another, turning like

the Mevelevi. If the *gözcü* touched someone on the head with his long stick, that person was to stand and dance the *semah*.

The Alevi of Silis, who spoke of a *zemah*, again danced an *ağırlama* and a *yeldirme*. Their *aşık* played a *çöğür*, and there might be two instruments, one a violin, the other a *saz*. The *aşık* might have an understudy, too. There might even be three musicians, one playing the violin, one the *bağlama* (*saz*), and one the *çöğür*. The men were in the front row, and the women behind, sitting on their knees. They called their assemblies ‘congregations’, *cemiyet*. They spoke of *demeler*, *deyişler*, *güzellemeler* and *koşmalar* (utterances in verse forms). A woman kissed a man’s hand to invite him to the *semah*, when two to ten people might dance at one time. They played and danced to Hatai, Yemini, Nesimi, Sadık, Noksani, Katibi and Verani. When the ceremony came to the stage of the *semah*, the *gözlekçi* used his staff to pick out three men and three women. They performed the *Arguvan*, *Kırklar*, *Kırat*, and *Gönüller zemah*. The *Kırklar* was danced by the elders and masters.

The measures used in the rhythmic–melodic combination (*usul*) of a *semah* were double-beat, but might especially be 9 beats, *vuruş*, of 5 + 4, 5 beats of 2 + 3, and 7 beats of 3 + 4. In the *Arguvan semahı* heard, the *ağırlama* was of 5 beats, and the *yeldirme* of 2. In the *Gönüller semahı*, the *ağırlama* was of 9, and the *yeldirme* of 5; in the *Kırat*, the *yeldirme* was of 2 beats.

The term *pervaz* was also used by the *Sıraç*, and those who performed it were *pervazcı*. In some areas the *yeldirme* was danced to *Koroğlu* (a popular folk epic), as it was very popular among the *Sıraç* and recited by them.

## 2. The Nalcı

Yönetken first came across the Nalcı in 1943 in Ordu province, in the sub-province of Ünye, where they inhabited such villages as Gölceğiz and its environs, Fartil, Akçav, Üç Pınar, Sarı Halil, Dallık, Deniz Bükü and Göbü. It was said that a caravan of 400,000 people came from the east to Iran, where they became Alevi, but after interfering with government affairs, were expelled; they settled first around Trabzon, then Gümüşhane, and worked at smithing and making horseshoes (*nal*). When the Ottoman government made various heavy demands from them, they left that region and came to the area surrounding Ordu and Giresun, where they settled, and pursued the same occupations. They were very zealous Alevis, and everything about them was secret, but this fanaticism was gradually being broken down. They called the Sunnis *Türk*, and themselves Nalcı. They did not intermarry with Sunnis. They would not eat anything bitter, and they had such things as peppers, onions and leaks planted by the Sunnis.

*Nalcı* is thus a craft name rather than the name of an *ocak*, parallel to craft names assigned to other Alevi groups, such as the *Tahtacı* (of the *Yanyatır Ocağı*). A Nalcı who formerly led the Alevi Kültür Merkezi at Heilbronn in Germany claimed that the Nalcı were formerly *Hubyar*, and that he had heard from elders that they were known as belonging to that *ocak*. He said, too, that their *semah* and worship in the *cem* resemble the *Hubyar* equivalents. In general Alevis who had been under Safavid rule underwent changes as they split up and moved away. It is possible that as newcomers to the Pontic area this group had become assimilated to the *ocak* most prevalent not far from their new quarters, for adaptations of this kind were not uncommon. There was in fact a *Hubyarlılar Mahallesi* in the Black Sea region which could have influenced them.

According to Yönetken, in their *semah*, which they called *semak*, they called the assembly *cem*, their leader *dede*, their musicians *aşık*, and the master of ceremonies *gözcü* (as before). They recited the Dövaz iman (misprint for Dövaz İmam?) and their *semah* again consisted of an *ağırlama* and a *yeldirme*; they also spoke of the *Kırklar semahı* as the *ağır semak*.

The thirty-five villages around Karakuş in Ünye, referred to their communities as *gavum* ~ *kavım*. The villagers were generally poor, but paid their debts, and theft was unknown among them. The only difficulties that might arise among them were due to love. They spoke a clear, good Turkish. Their women did not avoid men, but avoided Sunnis.

During the *semah*, known as *zamak*, they too danced an *ağırlama* and a *yeldirme*, but called the latter *çarh*: this was the essential element of the *semah*. The terms *dede*, *aşık*, *gözlekçi* were the same. Women and men sat opposite one another in the assembly: when the *gözlekçi* stretched out his staff to anyone, he or she was to rise for the *semah*. Those entering the room would tread on their left foot with the big toe of the right, and bow to the *dede*. The *dede* said ‘May God grant wishes and entreaties, and be manifest for those who are troubled’, ‘*Allah nazlar niyazlar kabul ola, dert çeken didar göre*’, and they kissed his hand. When the *semah* was over, the room was swept a last time, to purify it from the sins which have been left there.

They danced a *semah* called *alaçam*, in which the woman span rapidly, and the man escorted her, without turning, but moving his hands, arms and feet to suit the music. Ten to twelve couples, a man and a woman, performed the *semah*, the women coming in their cleanest clothes and best shoes, as though for Bayram prayers. The women danced spinning like tops, their heads tilted back, the plaits of their hair undone, hanging loosely with sequins and coins at its ends. It was as though they were old shamans or *bakşis*, or performing the *kiyam zikir* done while turning and turning. The *gözcü* always picked out couples who liked one another, and both man and woman enjoyed themselves rather in a worldly, physical way than religiously or mystically.

A third *ocak* was that of the Güvenç Abdal widespread in Ordu and Gümüşhane provinces.

3. *Sıraç Village Lists*

<b>Village: new name</b>	<b>Village: old name</b>	<b>Province</b>	<b>Sub-province</b>	<b>Source</b>
Bebekderesi		Tokat	Artova: Merkez	B
İncetenli	Mertekli	Tokat	Artova: Merkez	B
Poyrazlar	Poyrazalan	Tokat	Artova: Merkez	B
Karagözgöllüalan		Tokat	Artova: Sulusaray	B
Seküce	Sekücek	Tokat	Artova: Sulusaray	B
Çaylı		Tokat	Turhal: Merkez	B
Ormanözü	Kelit (ovacığı)	Tokat	Turhal: Merkez	Y
Yeniceler	Geyran	Tokat	Turhal: Merkez	Y
Yenisu	Serpin	Tokat	Turhal: Merkez	B
Dereçaylı		Tokat	Turhal: Pazar	B
Tepeçaylı		Tokat	Turhal: Pazar	B
Çayır Köyü		Tokat	Zile: Merkez	T
Kervansaray	Kervansaray	Tokat	Zile: Merkez	Y
Yaylayolu	Bacul	Tokat	Zile: Merkez	Y
Çamdere	Mancı	Tokat	Zile: Boztepe	B
Gölcük		Tokat	Zile: Boztepe	B
Güzelbeyli	Silis	Tokat	Zile: Boztepe	Y
Kuruçay		Tokat	Zile: Boztepe	B
Üçkaya		Tokat	Zile: Boztepe	B
Yaylakent	Gedirik	Tokat	Zile: Boztepe	B
Acıpınar	Acıpınar	Tokat	Zile: Iğdır	Y
Acısu		Tokat	Zile: Iğdır	YT
Alihoca		Tokat	Zile: Iğdır	B
İmirdolu	Emirdolu	Tokat	Zile: Iğdır	B
Karacaören	Karacaveran	Tokat	Zile: Iğdır	B
Karşıpınar	Karşı Pınar	Tokat	Zile: Iğdır	Y
Kuzalan		Tokat	Zile: Iğdır	B
Uzunköy	Büyük/Küçükbuldu	Tokat	Zile: Iğdır	Y
	Yeni Han*	Tokat	Zile:	Y
Çürük		Yozgat	Çekerek: Merkez	B
Demircialan		Yozgat	Çekerek: Merkez	B
İkizce	Ekizce	Yozgat	Çekerek: Merkez	B
Ortaoba		Yozgat	Çekerek: Merkez	B
Sarıköy		Yozgat	Çekerek: Merkez	B
Yukarıoba	Ölününözü	Yozgat	Çekerek: Merkez	B
Kızılcakişla		Yozgat	Çekerek: Aydıncık	B
Yavuşan	Yavasa	Yozgat	Çekerek: Kadışehri	B
Veliöldüğü		Yozgat	Sorgun: Eymir	B

\*Untraced in *Genel nüfus sayımı* 1975 and *Köylerimiz* 1981.

Sources: Y = Yönetken 1962; T = H. Temel; B. Benninghaus in Andrews 2002.

For geographical coordinates see Andrews, *op cit.* 2002, vol. 1, pp. 286–7.

## 4. Nalci Village Lists

Cevizdere	Denizbüküinalcı	Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Çatak		Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Denizbükü	Deniz Bükü	Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Erenyurt	Fartıl	Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Göbü	Göbüköy	Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Gölcüğeş	Gölceğiz	Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Gölevi		Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	B
Gürecili		Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	B
Gübüinalcı		Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Hızarbaşığünlük		Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	B
Hızarbaşıkumarlı		Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	B
Sarıhalil	Sarı Halil	Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Üçpınar	Üç Pınar	Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Akçay* (as Akçav)		Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Dallık* (Ballık ?)		Ordu	Ünye: Merkez	Y
Karakuş**		Ordu	Ünye: Akkuş	Y
35 villages in area				Y

\*Untraced in *Genel nüfus sayımı 1975* and *Köylerimiz 1981*.

\*\*Yönetken gives this Karakuş as in Ünye: the Karakuş mountains are now in Akkuş sub-province, as would be the village of Karakuş, some 5 kilometres south-west of Çayıralan on their northern slopes, which is no longer registered, though it appears on the Dietrich Reimer map of 1915 by R. Kiepert and O. Melching (1:400,000), Ünye. The names of these villages are at present unrecorded, but there are forty-three villages listed in the sub-province in the *Genel nüfus sayımı* of 1975.

Sources: Y = Yönetken 1962; B = Benninghaus in Andrews 2002.

For geographical coordinates see Andrews, *op.cit.* 2002, vol.1, pp.286-7.

## 5. Dialect Words (Other than Religious Terms)

*Ağa*: father

*dolak*: puttees.

*eli büyük*: bear

*eme ... bibi*: carpet.

*Emmi*: father's brother.

*Ede*: elder brother or (v.rarely) father.

*gölük*: donkey (Sıraç)

*göynek*: shirt.

*işlik*: shirt.

*kara hayvan*: pig.

*öynük*: women's decorative apron.

*tuman*: women's baggy trousers.

In some areas the people cannot pronounce *sh*.

## 6. Vocabulary of Alevi Terms

Turkish nouns are listed in the singular: for plurals add the suffix *-lar* or *-ler*.

Sources for particular definitions, as denoted by letters (A), (R), etc., are listed under the 'References for the Vocabularies'.

Words of Arabic origin are marked Ar., and those of Persian P, followed by the original form in that language. ar. marks words or phrases derived from Arabic forms, and p. derivatives of Persian. I. denotes Italian origin, and H. Indian. Otherwise words are Turkish, and are not particularly marked.

*Abdal Musa cemi*: a special assembly held in spring, which even the *düşkün* can attend.

*adak*: a votive offering made at a shrine, tree, or spring etc. for God or a holy person.

*ağirlama*: the first, slow section of a *semah*. (A) Services performed to honour or show courtesy to a guest. Synonym for *yörüük aksak*, a particular musical rhythm, used especially for welcoming a bride or bridegroom.

*ahiret* ... *ahret*: Ar. *āḥrat*: the world beyond the grave, the hereafter.

*ahlak*: Ar. *aḥlaq*: morals, ethics, 2. virtues, 3. good conduct.

*ağşam duası*: evening prayer: a long prayer recited by the *dede* before the *semah* begins in an assembly (*cf. dua*).

*alem-i ceberut*: Ar. *‘ālam*: world, *ğabarūt*: God’s majesty and dominion; the world of archetypes; (A) the world in which the power of God over all existence is manifest.

*alem-i lahut*: Ar. *‘ālam*: world, *lāhūt*: divinity; Ar. *‘alam*: world,; the world of the reality of God; (A) *Sufism*: the first and greatest world particular to God’s essence, where all the aspects (*sıfat ve isim*) of God are inherent, but not yet manifest, the world of the nature of God.

*alem-i melekut*: Ar. *‘ālam*: world, *malekūt*: God’s spiritual kingdom; the world of arcane knowledge; (A) *Sufism*: the world of angels, unlimited by time or place, not perceived by the five senses, the world of souls, divine power and immateriality.

*alem-i nasut*: Ar. *‘ālam*: world, *nāsūt*: humanity; the world of human nature, (A) *Sufism*: the visible world, the world of plurality.

*Alevi*: Ar. *‘alawī*: (A) follower of a Turkish interpretation of Islam based on beliefs and customs brought from central Asia and developed under the influence of Sufism from various movements in Anatolia, and consisting essentially in loyalty to *‘Alī* and the Ehl-i Beyt (*qq.v.*); and claiming *‘Alī* as the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad. See also *Kızılbaş*.

*Alevilik*: ar.: the practice of being an Alevi.

*asa*: Ar. *‘aṣā*: staff, stick, scepter.

*aşık*: Ar. *‘āşiq*: enamoured, enraptured; a minstrel, bard, usually singing poetry to the accompaniment of a *saz* or the equivalent.

*ay*: moon.

*ayin*: P. *āyīn*: (A) religious ceremony, a ceremony of worship peculiar to a sect or order.

*ayin-i cem*: P./Ar.: ceremony for worship at an Alevi assembly.

*aşçı*: cook: one of the duty officers at an assembly.

*Aşüre* (*lit. Aşura*): Ar. *‘Āşūrī*: 12th Muharrem; *cf.* (R): Isl. rel., name of the tenth day of Muharrem (*s.v.*).

*baba*: P. *bābā*: father. Elder of an Alevi *ocak* (*s.v.*), notably among the Babacı (*s.v.*).

*Babacı*: p.: the schismatic followers of Veli Baba from Acısu Köyü, who came to dominate the Sıraç (*s.v.*)

*bağlama*: a generic term for the long necked lute, synonym of *saz* (Sıraç of Silis).

- bakşı*: a Central Asian shaman among Turkic peoples.
- baş köşe*: lit. 'head corner', the place of honour in an assembly, taken by the presiding *dede*; it may be next to the fireplace.
- baş semah*: lit. 'head *semah*', the first and last of the four phases of any *semah* (s.v.).
- batini*: Ar. *bāṭinī*: (R) inner, interior, intrinsic, hidden, esoteric.
- bayram*: religious festival.
- bekçi*: watchman.
- birlik cemi*: assembly of unity; an assembly held after the *görgü cemi* to reaffirm the coherence of the community (cf. *cem*).
- Buyruk*: command, decree; a creed defining Alevi beliefs.
- Ca'fer*: Ar. *Ġa'far*: the sixth of the twelve Imams recognised by the Shiites and Alevi.
- Cebrail*: Ar. *Ġibrā'īl*: the Archangel Gabriel.
- Celali*: Ar. *Ġalālī*: a conspirator in an Ottoman rebellion, early seventeenth century
- cem*: Ar. *ġam*<sup>c</sup>: collection, assembly; an Alevi assembly for worship; (R) ecstatic state of mind in perceiving the unity of God (cf. *vahdet-i vücud*).
- cem evi*: ar.: the Alevi meeting house where the assembly, *cem* (q.v.) takes place. Distinct from a mosque.
- cemaat*: Ar. *ġamā'at*: (R) congregation, assembly; 2. religious community.
- cemiyet*: Ar *ġam'iyat*: 'congregation' for assembly (Sıraç of Silis).
- cönk*: (R): a codex in which the line of writing is parallel to the seam.
- çaba*: prov.: effort.
- çarh* (*yeldirme*): P. *çarh*: circular motion; the quicker final section of the three comprised in any *semah*.
- çırağ* ~ *çerağ*: P. *çerāğ*: torch of pine-wood used symbolically at a *cem* assembly.
- çırağcı*: duty officer responsible for the torch at a *cem* assembly.
- çırağı söndürme*: extinguishing of the torch, symbolising departure from the hidden world and a return to the ordinary world at the end of a *cem* assembly.
- çırağlık*: a collection made for the maintenance of the torch representing Alevism.
- çöğür*: an ancient stringed instrument like the *kopuz*, played with a plectrum (Sıraç of Silis).
- dar*: P. *dār*. Alevi meeting house floor; (R) Place in the centre of the hall of ceremonies in a convent of Bektashi dervishes . . . ; 2. P. *dār*. the door to the Way, v. *kapı*.
- dede*: the principal rank of religious instructor in an Alevi *ocak*.
- Dedeci*: the mainstream faction of the Hubyar, as opposed to the Babacı (s.v.) after the schism of ca. 1850.
- definci*: Ar. *defīn*: buried + agent suffix *-ci*; duty officer responsible for burying the bones from a sacrificed animal.
- dem*: P. *dam*: (R) 3 *poet*. 3. sip, draught; 4. *Bektaşî order* wine, rakı; a ceremonial sip of an alcoholic drink, taken in an Alevi meeting with a dedication; same as *dolu*.
- derviş*: P. *darvīš*: dervish, one who has renounced the world; a Sufi mystic; an Alevi.
- destur*: P. *dastūr*: 'permission' given by a *dede* to proceed with a ceremony.
- deyiş*: an Alevi hymn among the Hubyar; same as a *nefes* (s.v.) among the Bektaşî.
- dolu*: full, filled; same as *dem* in Alevi practice (s.v.); (R) 4. *archaic* cup.



- dönme*: ‘turn’; gyrating women’s dance in the *semah* (s.v.)
- dört kapı*: ‘the four gates’, *şeriat*, *tarikât*, *ma’rifet* and *hakikat*, (qq.v.) of the Way in mystical Islam.
- dua*: Ar. *du‘ā*: prayer.
- duvazımam* ... *düvazımam*, lit. *düvazdeh İmam*: P./Ar. *duvāzdah İmām*: the twelve Imams of the Shiites and Alevis, cf. *imām*.
- dünya*: Ar. *dunyā*: world, earth.
- düşkün*: fallen: being anathematised for an offence against the Alevi community.
- düşkün bırakmak*: to anathematise, expel from the Alevi community.
- düşkün olmak*: to be anathematised, expelled from the Alevi community.
- Ehl-i Beyt*: the immediate family of the Prophet Muhammad, including Ali and his sons.
- Ehl-i Beyt bendesi*: a slave, i.e. adherent of the Prophet’s family, especially a deceased Alevi.
- erenler*: (R) 1. those who have arrived at the divine truth; 2. mode of address among dervishes.
- erenler semahı*: the second of the four phases of any *semah* (s.v.).
- evliya*: Ar. *awliyā*, pl. of *walī*: (R) Muslim saint, saintlike person.
- ezeli ebedi*: Ar. *azalī* eternal; *abadī* eternal: (R) eternal in the past, eternal in the future.
- faras*: Ar. *farrāş*: a person who spreads carpets; (A) from ‘room servant’, dustpan; same as a *süpürgeci* (s.v.).
- ferman*: P. *farmān*: imperial edict, decree.
- gavum* ~ *kavım*: Ar. *qawm*: tribe, people; the community of Karakuş Nalcı.
- geçiş*: transition; the middle of the three sections of a *semah*.
- gil*: prov. suffix denoting family (cf. *kabile*).
- gök*: sky, firmament, Heaven.
- gönül*: (R) 1. heart, mind; 2. inclination, desire, willingness. (A) 2. *Sufism*: the place in a human being where God is manifest, the source of Sufi love. Hence *gönüller*: those dedicated to God.
- gönüller semahı*: the third of the four phases of any *semah* (s.v.).
- görgü*: a review of the spiritual wellbeing of the community. (R) 1. experience; 2. good manners, social education.
- görgü cemi*: an annual assembly presided over by a *dede* to review the spiritual wellbeing of the community; one of the most important Alevi rites.
- gözcü*: the equivalent of a verger at an Hubyar ceremony, keeping order and directing precedings: he carries the long staff, *asa* (s.v.). (A) 4. a person responsible in an Alevi assembly for ensuring nothing disturbs order, calm and customary behaviour.
- gözlekçi*: the same as *gözcü* among the Sıraç of Silis, and the Nalcı of Karakuş.
- gün*: day, sun.
- güruh-u naci*: P. *güruh*: group, gang, congregation, flock; Ar. *nāğī* = one who is saved. Hence the community of those who have attained enlightenment. Synonym for the *Kırklar* (s.v.).
- Hakikat*: Ar. *ḥaqīqat*: the truth, God, God as the total entity; the fourth *kapı* ‘gate’ of the Alevi Way, through which a person can grasp all its secrets and understand the meaning of life, becoming a perfected man under the guidance of a *pir* (s.v.), (R) 3. *myst.* spiritual vision of God by a believer; belief and confession of God’s unity.

*halay*: prov. (cf. lit. *alay*): folk dance performed while holding hands in a circle or part of a circle.

*Hatayi*: P. *Hatā'ī*: nom de plume of Šāh Ismā'īl-i Šafavī of Iran (1501–24).

*hece vezni*: Ar. *hiğā*, *waznī*: syllabic metre for Alevi poetry, mostly of eleven syllables.

*herlelik*: soup. (DS) p. 2346b *herle aşı*: Zile, Tokat: a flour soup fried in oil.

*Hıdırellez* ~ *Hıdrellez* ~ *Hızır İlyas*: (R) the fortieth day after the spring equinox (May 6th, popularly seen as the beginning of summer). (A) an annual holiday on 5<sup>th</sup> May peculiar to the people of Anatolia celebrated with great liveliness, like a feast day, with various entertainments.

*Hıdır* ~ *Hızır* ~ *Hızır*: Ar.: (R) legendary person who attained immortality by drinking the water of life. A figure who may appear miraculously when needed. Sometimes equated with Elias. (A) person regarded by some as a prophet, by others as a saint, believed to have attained immortality by drinking the water of life, representing fertility, who comes to the aid of believers in need.

*hizmet*: service, duty; one of twelve rites performed in an assembly. One of the twelve duty officers responsible for these.

*hoca*: P. *hväğa*: a teacher, a religious teacher.

*Hu* ~ Ar. *Hū*: God. A call to the Divine uttered by Alevis and dervishes during their rites. An abbreviation of the name Allah denoting God, called 'the exalted name' and 'the magnificent name'.

*Hü*: dialect variation of *Hu*.

*Hubyar anma töreni*: the annual ceremony commemorating Hubyar as the founder of the *ocak* (*s.v.*) held exclusively at the Tekke Yaylası in Tokat province.

*ibadethane*: Ar. *ibādat*, P. *hāne*: place of worship, as recognised officially.

*ibrikçi*: Ar. *ibrik*: one of the duty officers in an assembly responsible for carrying the water ewer, *ibrik*, with a handle and a long spout, for Muslim ablutions.

*ikrar*: Ar. *iqrār*: religious confirmation; (A) 4. declaration of adherence to the Way, and a bond of allegiance to a spiritual leader, *şeyh* or *dede* (*ss.v.*).

*ikrarlı doğan*: one who is confirmed by the fact of birth, with a corresponding allegiance.

*imam*: Ar. *imām*: imam, Muslim prayer leader.

*insan-ı kamil*: ar. *insān*: human being + *kāmil*: perfect; the perfected human being capable of attaining unity with God as a final stage of development through the four *kapı*, 'gates', of the Alevi Way. The Alevi believe that such a person can perform miracles.

*kabile*: Ar. *qabīla*: a tribe.

*kabul*: Ar. *qabūl*: personal acceptance of the need for confirmation, *ikrar* (*s.v.*).

*kader*: Ar. *qadar*: fate, preordainment by God.

*kapı*: one of the four 'gates', Ar. *bāb*, held by the Alevi to define the Way: *şeriat*, *tarikāt*, *marifet*, *hakikat* (*ss.v.*).

*kazan*: a cauldron, usually of copper and wider at the bottom than at the top, with a handle.

*kemançı*: P. *kemān*: fiddler.

*kemençe* ~ *kemançe*: p. *kemān*: small fiddle with three strings, typical of the Black Sea coast and Pontic mountains.

*kible*: Ar. *qibla*: the direction of Mecca faced by Muslims when saying prayers.

*Kırklar*: (A) forty enlightened people held to be the spiritual directors of the worlds.

- Kırklar semahı*: name of a *semah* (s.v.) performed by three women, representing the Kırklar, and one man, representing the Prophet, as the most important part of the ceremonies at an Alevi assembly, at the end of the preliminaries, and before the general sequence of *semah*. This is only part of the *miraclama* (s.v.).
- kırk makam*: Ar. *maqām* (s.v.): the forty rules, ten to each ‘gate’, *kapı* (s.v.) observed by the Alevi, and defined by the *Buyruk* (s.v.).
- kita*: Ar. *qitʿa*: line in an Alevi poem, in a verse of four lines. (R) a strophe, piece of poetry of two or more couplets, complete in itself as to idea.
- kıyam*: Ar. *qiyām*: standing position in Muslim prayer sequence; (A) 5. to rise to one’s feet when resurrected after death.
- Kızılbaş*: an older name for Alevi (s.v.) and Shiites, derived from the red felt cap formerly worn by them.
- kilim*: flat woven rug in tapestry-weave.
- kudsi*: Ar. *qudsī*: blessed.
- kudsi sular*: ar. *qudsī* + *su*: holy waters.
- kurban*: Ar. *qūrbān*: sacrifice, sacrificial animal.
- Kurban Bayramı*: the Feast of Sacrifice; one of the two great feasts of the Muslim calendar, known outside Turkey as *ʿĪd-i Aẓḥā* (Eid al-Azha), beginning on the 10th of Zilhicce and lasting four days.
- kurbancı* ~ *laub*: also called *lokmacı* (*sofracı*): a duty officer in an Alevi assembly responsible for preparing animals for sacrifice and slaughtering them.
- kurban duası*: Ar. *qūrbān, duʿa* (ss.v.): a prayer recited by the *dede* to bless an animal to be sacrificed before it is slaughtered.
- laub*: (untraced): another name for the *kurbancı*, *aşçı* and, on occasion, *definci* (ss.v.).
- lokma cemi*: Ar. *luqma*: mouthful, *ğamʿ*: assembly: (lit. = mouthful assembly) requiem assembly, held after death to commemorate a person.
- lokmacı* (*sofracı*): Ar. *luqma*: mouthful + agent suffix *-cı*: duty officer at an assembly responsible for receiving and distributing offerings of food.
- lokma duası*: Ar. *luqma*: mouthful, *duʿā*: prayer: grace spoken by *dede* before a sacrificial meal is eaten. (U) *lokma*: according to Sufis, a blessed mouthful is a condition of obtaining inspiration. Without eating this inspiration coming from the angels cannot be distinguished from doubts coming from the devil.
- mahlas*: Ar. *maḥlaş*: pseudonym, pen-name.
- makam*: Ar. *maqām*: a law according to the *Buyruk*, one of forty; (R) 1.2 place, rank, station.
- Mansur*: Mansur al-Hallaç (Ar. Manşūr al-Ḥallāğ) a famous Muslim mystic, martyred in 309/913 at Baghdad: the prototype of the man intoxicated with the love of God to the point of total identification.
- maʿrifet*: Ar. *maʿrifat*: spiritual understanding, the third *kapı* ‘gate’ of the Alevi Way, based on mastery of the first two, and the means of saving a person from ignorance in preparation for the fourth, through the guidance of a *pir* (s.v.). (R) 1. skill, talent; 4. knowledge, spiritual knowledge; (A) in *Sufism*, 4. meditation on the truth of existences and the divine secrets, understanding the Way of revelation of mysteries and divine inspiration, knowing the truth, spiritual knowledge.
- maʿrifete Hu*: Alevi exclamation denoting approach to the divine.
- meded*: Ar. *madad*: (R) help, aid.

- Meded Mürvet* (lit. *Mürüvvet*): Ar: *madad, muru'at*: Alevi feast day held in honour of Hızır . . . Hıdır.; (R): 2. feast on some family occasion when the house is open to all comers (for a birth, a marriage, or a circumcision); *meded* (s.v.).
- medrese*: Ar. (R): Ott.hist., Muslim theological school, medresse.
- meydan*: Ar. *maydān*: open, broad space; (A) 5. in a *tekke* (s.v.), the place where the litany in praise of God, and ceremonies are performed, floor for religious dances.
- meydancı*: Ar. *maydān* + agent suffix *-cı*: duty officer in an assembly, the same as a *seccadeci* (s.v.), responsible for preparing the room and equipment at an Alevi assembly.
- mezraa*: Ar. *mazra*<sup>c</sup>: hamlet in arable land, too small to be counted as a village by the Turkish administration.
- mi'rac*: Ar. *mi*<sup>c</sup>*rāğ*: the Prophet Muhammad's night journey.
- mi'raclama*: see *Kırklar semahı*. Alevi dance celebrating the meeting of the Prophet with the Kırklar. Like other Muslims, the Alevi believe that the Prophet Muhammed travelled through the Heavens on a pilgrimage to God, but with the difference that he afterwards returned past the place where the Kırklar were, and entered among them. There he saw the true creators. The whole of the *mi'rac* is narrated in the cem as a musical offering, the Kırklar being only part of it.
- muhabbet*: Ar. *maḥabbat*: an informal Alevi assembly for discussion; the spirit of the loving society; (Ay) 1. love 3. friendship, relationship, 4. conversation.
- Muharrem*: Ar. *muharram*: (R): *Arabic lunar calendar*, name of the first month.
- muhtar*: Ar. *muhtār*: chosen: officially-recognised village headman.
- mürşid*: Ar *murşīd*: (R) 1. one who guides to the right road, 2. spiritual guide, spiritual teacher.
- mürüvvet*: Ar. *murū'at*:: (R) munificence, generosity, blessing. v. *meded*.
- musahip* . . . *musahib*: Ar. *muṣāḥib*: mutually responsible; two married couples who are mutually responsible for their actions; (A) 1. conversation partner, 3. one of two Alevi, who has become one of the community at the same time as the other and is considered his brother. v. *musahip*.
- müsahip kardeşler*: brothers or sisters who are mutually responsible, two married couples confirmed in this relationship. v. *musahip*.
- müsahiplik*: Ar. *muṣāḥib* (s.v.) + substantive suffix *-lik*: lifelong mutual responsibility of two married couples.
- müsahiplik cemi*: an assembly held for confirming the mutual responsibility of two married couples.
- nefes*: Ar *nafas*: breath; among the Bektaşî, a hymn used in the assembly and elsewhere. Cf. *deyiş* (s.v.).
- Nevruz*: P. *nau-rūz*: 'new day' new-year's day in the Persian calendar, at the spring equinox, also celebrated in rural Turkey. Among the Hubyar it falls on 21 March.
- nişan*: P. *nişān*: betrothal.
- nişan cemi*: P./Ar.: betrothal assembly;
- niyaz*: P. *niyāz*: a blessing obtained from a *dede* during a ceremony: (R) entreaty, supplication, prayer, 2. *myst. orders* salutation (of a dervish to his superior). Cf. *selamlama* (s.v.).
- niyaz vermek*: p.: salutation given a superior, a gesture at the end of the *ağırlama semah*.

*nur-ı da'im*: ar. *nūr*: light, *dā'im*: permanent: the eternal light symbolised by the torches in an Alevi assembly (v. *çerağ*).

*ocak*: 'hearth': a larger Alevi community, founded on the teaching of a particular *mürşid* (s.v.).

*Oniki Imamlar*: the Twelve Imams accepted by Shiites and Alevis as the rightful successors of the Prophet Muhammad, through the line of °Alī to al-Mahdī (d. ca. 264/878).

*onikiler*: the twelve, a jury of senior members of the community at a *görgü cem* (s.v.).

*oturan-duran*: the sitting and the standing: all those present at an Alevi assembly.

*oturan-duran duası*: the final prayer recited by the *dede* at a *cem* assembly, before the congregation disperses.

*ozan*: 1. a wandering minstrel singer; 2. *neol*. a poet.

*öğreti*: *neol.*: teaching, doctrine.

*pervaz*: P. *parvāz*: (St) flight, leaping, springing, glory, radiance . . . a certain stage or progress in the divine life; a part of a *cem* ceremony in which a girl dances alone, in the usual three sections. (R) 1. flight, a flying, soaring; 2. *myst.* the soaring of the spirit away from worldly trivialities.

*pervazcı*: p. *parvāz* 'flight etc.' + agent suffix *-cı*: a girl appointed to dance alone in an Alevi assembly.

*peyik*: P. *peyk*: (St) running footman, messenger;

*pir*. P. *pīr*: (St) an old man, a founder or chief of any religious body or sect; a senior teacher in the lineage capable of guiding followers through the third and fourth *kapı*, 'gates'.

*post*: P. *pūst*: skin, hide, undressed skin; a sheepskin used as a ceremonial seat, fleece upwards, for the *dede* or *şeyh* in Alevi and dervish ceremonies.

*post-nişin*: someone who sits on the *post*; an hereditary leader of a dervish or Alevi community.

*rehber*: P. *rāh*: road, *-bar*: bringing: road-guide; a senior spiritual guide, responsible for preparing novice followers to enter the Way, and specifically for guiding them through the first *kapı*, or 'gate' of *şeriat*.

*rivayet*: Ar. *rivāyat*: conveyance of news, words or events; story, account; (R) 1. narrative, tale, rumour, 2. tradition.

*rızâ suyu*: ar. *riżā'*: consent, acquiescence, approval + Tk. *su* = water: 'the water of consent', of which a sip or two is drunk by all who have participated in a *görgü cem* (s.v.).

*saki*: Ar. *sāqī*: (R) 1. *poet*. cupbearer, 2. distributor of water, 3. *myst.* spiritual teacher to a novice, God as the universal teacher; (A) 3. *Sufism* someone who awakes the love of God in a human being, offering the love of God in the heart.

*sancak*: a military standard; an Ottoman administrative division, subdivision of a province.

*sarma*: to wind, wrap around; the turning motion of a dancer in the Hubyar assembly.

*saz* (*bağlama*): a Turkish long-necked lute with three double strings, played with a plectrum.

*seccade*: Ar. *sağğāda* from *sağd*: prostration: a rug or mat used for saying the Muslim prayers.

- seccadeci (meydancı)*: ar. *sağğāda* + agent suffic *-cı*: duty officer at an Alevi assembly responsible for preparing the room and spreading the prayer rug; same as the *meydancı* (s.v.).
- sedefotu*: Ar. *sadab* + ot: *plant*: (R) rue, bot. *Ruta graveolens*, perennial evergreen shrub with medicinal properties, very bitter.
- selamlama*: ar. *salām*: salutation of peace + *lama*: agent infinitive: greeting; Alevi salutation to a superior during an assembly, cf. *niyaz* (s.v.).
- semah* ~ *samah*: Ar. *semā<sup>c</sup>*: a round dance performed by Sufis or Alevis in a religious service; cf. *sema*, Ar. *semā<sup>c</sup>*: a religious dance performed by Sufis, notably the Mevlevi, as their main ceremony, representing the movement of the planets. Also *semak*, *zamak*, *zumah*.
- semak*: (Nalcı) see *semah*.
- sinav*: neol.: examination.
- sırlama*: an imposition of secrecy on the congregation of a *cem* assembly.
- sofra*: Ar. *sufra* ~ *şufra* ~ *şufrā*: (A) a cloth, table, or tray on which food, drink, dishes and utensils are set, and around which people sit to eat.
- sofracı*: ar. *sufra* etc. + agent suffix *-cı*: another name for the duty officer called *lokmacı* (s.v.) responsible for food.
- sofu*: Ar. *şufī*: (A) a person who applies himself to religion, paying more attention to worship than to expounding or deliberating upon the demands and taboos of the shariat.
- sufi* ~ *sofi*: Ar. *şufī*: devotee; (A) 1. a person, dervish, who believes in Islamic mysticism (*tasavvuf*) and takes up a mystical view of life; 2. arch. *sofu* (s.v.).
- Sultan Nevruz*: Ar. *sultān*: ruler (honorific) + *nevruz* (s.v.); Alevi spring festival, the day on which Ali is believed to have been born. On that day, fixed as 21 March. Cf. *nevruz* (s.v.).
- sülale*: Ar. *sulāla*: lineage: the line of descent of the leaders of an Alevi *ocak* or a dervish order from its founder.
- süpürge*: broom, brush.
- süpürgeci* ~ *faraş* (s.v.): sweeper.
- şahadet* ~ *şehadet*: Ar. *şahādat*: the Muslim declaration of faith, first of the five Sunni pillars of Islam.
- şeriat*: Ar. *şari<sup>c</sup>at*: shariat, rightly-guided path; Muslim law; canonical obligations, the code of behaviour derived from the Qu'rān and traditions of the Prophet. The first of the four Alevi 'gates', *kapı . . . dar* (s.v.).
- şeyh*: Ar. *şayḥ*: elderly person; the leader of the Hubyar community; (A) someone who having entered a Sufi order and progressed through its contemplative life to completion, arrives at its head in the highest rank and accepts the duty of guiding dervishes; a perfected man who is given permission to guide followers in the Way.
- talib* ~ *talip*: Ar. *ṭālab*: to apply, strive to attain; aspirant follower of the Alevi Way.
- tarik*: (untraced): a 2 m long hazel wand carried by the *gözcü* in the *cem* assembly, used to pick out individuals, and keep order.
- tarik*: Ar. *ṭarīq*: road; the mystical Way; (R) 1. road, path, way; 3. method, manner; 5. order of dervishes.
- tarikāt*: Ar. *ṭarīqat*: road; for Alevis the kernel of belief; the second *kapı*, 'gate', of the way, through which only a *dede* can lead an Alevi. (R) 1. religious order, order of dervishes; 2. sect, hierarchy; mysticism; 4. way, path, road; (A) the Sufi Way of following a teacher, *mürşid* (s.v.), and improving one's moral behaviour

- by complying with specific conditions, and avoiding the bad, to arrive at the truth of integration, with the aim of reaching God.
- tasdik*: Ar. *taşdıq*: affirmation of the truth; ratification of an Alevi's application for confirmation, *ikrar* (s.v.).
- teberra*: Ar. *tabarrā*: withdrawing, standing aloof. To hate those who do ill and injustice to the Ehl-i Beyt (s.v.). The opposite of *tevella* (s.v.).
- tekke*: Ar. *takya*: dervish lodge; for the Hubyar the mausoleum of Şeyh Hubyar; same as *zaviye* (s.v.). (A) a place where Sufis live as required by the Way, and worship.
- tekke öğretisi*: ar.: doctrine of the Hubyar Tekke (v. *tekke*, *öğreti*).
- tevella* ... *teveli*: Ar. *tevalī*: loving the Ehl-i Beyt (s.v.) and Ali: the opposite of *teberra* (s.v.).
- türbe*: Ar. *turba*: tomb, grave, mausoleum.
- türbedar*: Ar. *turba* + P. *dār*: possessing: guardian of a mausoleum.
- türkü*: Turkish folk-song.
- üryan*: Ar. *uryān*: 1. naked, bare; 2. *fig.* free from defect.
- üzzerlik* (lit. *üzzerlik*): 'Syrian rue' (R) 1. harmal, bot. *Peganum harmala*, 2. harmal seeds (burned on charcoal as a fumigant against the evil eye and headaches).
- vahdet-i vücud*: Ar. *vaḥdat al-vuġūd*: as seen by Sufis, the total integration of the creation with the Creator; (R) monotheism.
- yayla*: high summer pasture used by nomads to graze their flocks.
- yeldirme* (*çarh*): causing to run about restlessly; the quicker final section of the three comprised in any *semah*.
- yer*: ground, place.
- yol*: road, the Way of the Alevi.
- yol düşkünlüğü* ... *yoldan atılmak*: being expelled from an Alevi *ocak*, lit. fallen from the Way, anathema.
- yorgan-döşek*: quilt and mattress, bedding.
- zâhiri*: Ar. *zâhiri*: external, outward; the outward observance of religion rejected by Alevi in favour of an inward, *batini*, approach (s.v.).
- zakir*: Ar. *ḏâkir*: one who recalls; an Alevi cantor; (R) 2. who tells, narrates, recites from memory, especially who recites the names and praises of God. (A) 2. someone in a *tekke* (s.v.) who in the course of a ceremony sings hymns.
- zaviye*: Ar. *zâviya*: (A) a religious and social foundation in the early years of Ottoman administration, generally placed on roads outside the centres of population, in passes, established for the propagation of faith and Sufism, and also for the security and stability of a district, to provide shelter for travellers and responsible for services such as providing food and drink, playing an important role in the Turkicisation of Anatolia.
- zamak*: (Nalcı of Karakuş) see *semah*.
- zemaḥ*: (Sıraç of Silis) see *semah*.
- zikir*, *zıkr*: Ar. *ḏıkr*: mentioning, repetition; repetition of the names of God or his praise; (R) 2. praising God with recitation of litanies ... dervish religious service.

### Clothing Vocabulary

- cepken*: short jacket with vents in the sleeves.
- çarık*: leather moccasins, laced on top.
- çarpana*: P.?: tablet weaving, formerly used to make sash bands.

*çorap*: Ar. ġurāb: woollen stockings

*çit*: *çīt* < H.: white headcloth for women, worn over the *fes*.

*dolak*: woollen puttees.

*fes*: a low, roughly cylindrical felt cap without a brim.

*göynek*: shirt, shift.

*ingiliz pantolon* . . . *şalvar*: P. *šālvār*: jodhpurs.

*iç göynek*: inner shift.

*işlik*: men's shirt.

*kuşak*: sash, cummerbund.

*öynük*: apron.

*öynük bağ*: apron tie, tablet-woven band with tassels at the ends.

*püskül*: I. *opuscolo*: tassel, worn at the waist and in the hair.

*şal*: P. *šāl* < H.: a handwoven woollen cloth used as the basis for an apron.

*tuman*: P. *tunbān*: wide trousers or drawers.

*üç peş* ~ *üç etek*: P. *peştamāl*: wrapped behind; long women's robe with vents extended up the sides, resulting in three flaps from the waist, two in front and one behind.

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### 7. Şeyhler of the Hubyar

Musa (mentioned 1455)

Mesud and Mustafa

Yar Ahmed veled-i Mustafa (recorded 1485)

Hubyar veled-i Yar Ahmed (1520), Şeyh Hubyar (died 1582) (lived ca. 1490-1582), married Gönül Ana

Mustafa

Derdiyar

Hüseyin Abdal

Himmet

Mahmud

Hüseyin

Hıdır Temel (died 1905), Şeyh

Mustafa (died 1927) = Şeyh Sufi, last *şeyh* by royal decree.

Mehmet Temel (died 1985)

Mustafa Temel (ca. 72 years old 2010)

Hıdır Temel (49 years old 2010)



8. *Locations for the Hubyar Mentioned in the Text*

Amasya  
Hafik  
Kazova  
Sivas  
Tekeli Dağı  
Teke eli  
Tekeli Yayla  
Tekke Köyü  
Tokat  
Yeşilırmak  
Yozgat  
Zile