

است که نمودار شیوهٔ دلنشین و طبع روان او در شاعری است (ص ۲۱۶).

سام میرزا و آذر بیگدلی به زمان مرگ ابدال اشاره‌ای ندارند، اما برخی از تذکره‌نویسان مرگ وی را در قندهار و در حملهٔ سام میرزا به این شهر می‌دانند (اوحدی، به نقل از مترجم مجالس النفاث، ۱۱۳؛ صبا، ۴۹؛ لکهنوی، ۱۹). از آنجا که این واقعه در ۹۴۲ق / ۱۵۳۵م روی داده است (علامی، ۱۳۵/۱)، مرگ ابدال می‌بایست در این سال بوده باشد. صبا (همانجا) و ایمان (ص ۴۹) واقعهٔ مذکور را در ۹۳۰ق ثبت کرده‌اند، اما سخن ایشان با توجه به گفتهٔ ابوالفضل علامی (همانجا) و نیز با توجه به اینکه در این تاریخ سام میرزا فقط ۷ سال داشته، مردود است. لکهنوی (همانجا) مزار ابدال را در قندهار می‌داند.

مأخذ: آذر بیگدلی، لطفعلی، آتشکدهٔ آذر، به کوشش جعفر شهیدی، تهران، ۱۳۳۷ش؛ اوحدی بلیانی، محمدبن معین‌الدین، عرفات‌العاشقین، نسخهٔ خطی کتابخانهٔ ملی ملک، شم ۲۸۸۷؛ ایمان، رحم علیخان، منتخب‌اللطایف، به کوشش محمد رضا جلالی نائینی و امیر حسین عابدی، تهران، ۱۳۴۹ش؛ سام میرزا، تحفهٔ سامی، به کوشش همایون‌فرخ، تهران، ۱۳۴۷ش؛ صبا، محمدبن محمد، روز روشن، به کوشش رکن‌زادهٔ آدمیت، تهران، ۱۳۴۳ش؛ علامی، ابوالفضل، اکبرنامه، به کوشش آغا احمد علی و مولوی عبدالرحیم کلکته، ۱۸۷۷م؛ لکهنوی، آفتاب رای، ریاض‌العارفین، به کوشش حسام‌الدین راشدی، پاکستان، ۱۳۹۶ق / ۱۹۷۷م.

ابدال، جمع **بدل** یا **بدل** به معنای جانشین و نیز به معنای کریم و شریف. این اسم بر جمعی از بندگان خاص خدا اطلاق می‌شود که در میان اولیا دارای مرتبتی مخصوص بوده‌اند. تعداد ابدال ثابت و معین است و هرگاه عمر یکی از آنان به پایان رسد، فرد دیگری از طبقهٔ فروتر اولیا جایگزین او می‌گردد. دربارهٔ وجه تسمیهٔ این گروه به ابدال اختلاف است. به موجب برخی از روایات شیعه، اینان از آن رو که جانشینان انبیا شمرده می‌شوند، ابدال نامیده شده‌اند (قمی، ۶۴/۱). بعضی گفته‌اند که چون تعداد ابدال ثابت است و به محض درگذشت یکی از آنان، فرد دیگری جانشین او می‌گردد، چنین نامیده شده‌اند (آملی، ۲۷۶؛ ابن اثیر، ۱۰۷/۱). گاه نیز گفته شده است که چون آنان می‌توانند به هنگام ضرورت صورتی مثالی و یا شخصی روحانی را به عنوان بدل به جای بگذارند و جایگاه خود را ترک کنند، ابدال خوانده شده‌اند (آملی، ۲۷۶؛ ابن عربی، ۷/۲). ابن عربی تبدیل صفات مذمومه به صفات محموده را که از خصوصیات ابدال است به عنوان یکی از وجوه تسمیهٔ آنان ذکر می‌کند (۱۶۰/۱). اصطلاح ابدال عمدتاً در میان عرفا و صوفیه کاربرد داشته است، اما همواره مستند به روایاتی بوده که در این زمینه نقل شده است. ابن خلدون بر این اعتقاد است که پیدایش اعتقاد به قطب و ابدال در میان صوفیه، از اعتقاد شیعیان به امام و نقیبان نشأت یافته است (۶۳۱/۱). در میان صوفیان قلمرو امپراتوری عثمانی لفظ ابدال و **بدلاء** (جمع بدیل) به درویشان نیز اطلاق شده و به دنبال انحطاط طریقه‌های صوفیانه در آن سرزمین، این دو کلمه در زبان

ابدال، تخلص دو شاعر پارسی‌گوی در سده‌های ۹ و ۱۰ق / ۱۵ و ۱۶م. از آنان تاکنون دیوانی به دست نیامده است، اما اشعارشان به طور پراکنده در تذکره‌ها ثبت است.

۱. ابدال بلخی: اصل او از بلخ بود. در روزگار سلطان یعقوب ترکمان (آق‌قویونلو) در آذربایجان به خدمت او رسید. پس از مرگ سلطان یعقوب (۸۹۶ق / ۱۴۹۰م) به اصفهان رفت و به خدمت شاه اسماعیل اول درآمد (آذر بیگدلی، ۳۰۶). از سال مرگ ابدال بلخی اطلاع درستی در دست نیست، اما چنین به نظر می‌رسد که وی در ۹۳۰ق / ۱۵۲۳م در گذشته باشد. ایمان (ص ۴۹) و صبا (ص ۴۹) از روی اشتباه این سال را زمان مرگ ابدال اصفهانی پنداشته‌اند. صبا (صص ۱۲، ۴۹) زندگینامهٔ ابدال اصفهانی و بلخی را با هم خلط کرده است. به گفتهٔ آذر بیگدلی (همانجا) اشعار او از هزل و طنز خالی نبوده است.

۲. ابدال اصفهانی: اصل وی از اصفهان بود و در این شهر به عطاری اشتغال داشت. وی از همنشینان سام میرزا صفوی (۹۲۳ - ۹۷۵ق / ۱۵۱۷ - ۱۵۶۷م) به شمار می‌رفت و سام میرزا پاره‌ای از احوالات وی را از قول خود او در تحفهٔ سامی نقل کرده است. ابدال به سبب دلباختگی و تحول روحی کسب و کار را برهم زد و روشی قلندرانه در پیش گرفت. ۳ سال در اصفهان و ۵ سال در تبریز بدین روش به سر برد، ولی سرانجام توبه کرد و تا پایان عمر به عبادت مشغول شد (سام میرزا، ۲۱۲ - ۲۱۴؛ آذر بیگدلی، ۱۷۳). سام میرزا اشعاری از او، از جمله دو بیت از چکامه‌ای که وی در جواب قصیده‌ای از کاتبی در مدح علی‌بن ابی‌طالب (ع) سروده، نقل کرده

MADE YAYINLANDIKTAN
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- Abdal

از پیغمبر نقل می‌کند که گفت: در امت من همیشه ۴۰ کس بر خُلق ابراهیم (ع) باشند و اینان **بدلا** هستند، و ۷ کس بر خلق موسی (ع) باشند و ایشان اوتادند، و ۳ کس بر خلق عیسی (ع) باشند و ایشان خلفایند، و یک کس بر خلق من باشد و او قطب است (ص ۳۳). سید محمد گیسو دراز در مکتوب پانزدهم از مکتوبات موسوم به «بحرالمعانی» روایتی را نقل می‌کند که به موجب آن لفظ ابدال به جمیع اولیایی که در طبقات ششگانه قرار دارند، اطلاق شده است و ترتیب و تعداد و خصوصیات آنان بدین قرار است: ۱. یک نفر که قلب او مانند قلب اسرافیل است؛ ۲. سه نفر که قلبهایشان مثل قلب میکائیل است؛ ۳. شش نفر که قلبهایشان مثل قلب جبرئیل است؛ ۴. هفت نفر که قلبهایشان مثل قلب ابراهیم (ع) است؛ ۵. چهل نفر که قلبهایشان مثل قلب موسی (ع) است؛ ۶. سیصد نفر که قلبهایشان همچون قلب آدم (ع) است. هرگاه یکی از ابدال طبقهٔ بالاتر وفات کند، یکی از ابدال طبقهٔ فروتر جایگزین او می‌گردد، و اگر از ۳۰۰ ابدال یک نفر درگذرد، یکی از مسلمانان جانشین او می‌شود، و خداوند به وسیلهٔ این ابدال بلا را از این امت دفع می‌کند (نیز نک: هروری، ۱۴ - ۱۵). برحسب روایتی از طریق اهل سنت، وصول به مرتبهٔ ابدال نه بر اثر کثرت نماز و روزه، بلکه به واسطهٔ غنای نفس و سلامت صدر و خیرخواهی برای مسلمانان

07 ARALIK 2001

İSAM Kütüphanesine hediye edilmiştir.

Abdalın

T.C.
SAKARYA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

MADDE KATIMI İNDİRİLMİŞ
SONRA GELİŞTİRİLMİŞ

OSMANLI DEVLETİNİN KURULUŞ DÖNEMİNDE ABDALÂN-I RUM (1300-1400)

10 52

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	78556
Tas. No:	956.071 SAH.0

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

HAŞİM ŞAHİN

Enstitü Anabilim Dalı : TARİH

Enstitü Bilim Dalı : ORTAÇAĞ TARİHİ

Tez Danışmanı : Yrd. Doç. Dr. Mustafa DEMİR

NİSAN - 2001

البَدَلُ ABDAL

* الابدالُ الأربعمونَ الذين هم في

الشَّامِ -

حم - أول ص ١١٢

* يوجد ثلاثون من الابدالِ و

أُمَّةُ النَّبِيِّ ص -

حم - خامس ص ٣٢٢

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN 03 EKİM 1996

WENSINCK AREN JEAN, MİFTAHU KÜNUZÜ's-SÜNNE,

Trc: ABDÜLBAKİ MUHAMMED FUAD, BEYRUT 1983. ss . 96 DIA DM NO: 04160.

KISALTMALAR:

بخ= صحيح البخاري، مس= صحيح مسلم، بد= سنن أبي داود، تر= سنن الترمذي، نس= سنن النسائي، مج= سنن ابن ماجه، مي= سنن
الدارمي، ما= موطأ مالك، ز= مسند زيد بن علي، عد= طبقات ابن سعد، حم= مسند احمد بن حنبل، ط= مسند الطيالسي، هش= سيرة ابن
هشام، قد= مغازي الواقدي

Il se trouve maintenant partiellement réhabilité par les études linguistiques. Abū Dulaf, qui fut envoyé vers la Chine en 331/942 par les Sāmānī, traversa divers pays turcs pour arriver, avant d'atteindre le Tibet, à la contrée des Bağraç. Ces Turcs, vêtus de feutres, imberbes, mais pourvus de moustaches, bons cavaliers et guerriers, étaient gouvernés par une dynastie 'alide issue d'un fils de Yaḥya b. Zayd. Ils conservaient un Coran illuminé où se trouvaient aussi des élégies sur le martyr de Zayd b. 'Alī. Ils voyaient en Zayd le roi des Arabes et en 'Alī une incarnation de la Divinité. Ils priaient les paumes ouvertes, invoquant le ciel d'où 'Alī était descendu et où il était retourné. Ainsi, peut-être, 'Alī se trouvait confondu avec Tengri, le dieu céleste turc.

Certains²² virent dans le nom Bağraç un dérivé du titre «Buğra» de la dynastie qui se nommait elle-même «Hākānī Türk» (les Karahanides des historiens modernes) et conclurent que ceux-ci auraient pu avoir été manichéens et par la suite musulmans de confession šī'ī. A l'appui de cette dernière supposition on invoque aussi une affiliation, de nature miraculeuse, de la dynastie à 'Alī et à ses descendants dans les «Tedhkir» (Mémorial) d'ailleurs très tardifs du Turkestan oriental. Mais certains ont aussi remarqué que le Hākānī Satuk Buğra Han, qui adhéra le premier à l'Islam au début du IV^e/X^e siècle, avait aidé les Sāmānī à réprimer l'Alawī Laylā b. Nu'mān, en 308/920. La connaissance plus poussée des textes des Hākānīs et de l'architecture de l'époque montre aussi que, quoique révérent les 'Alides et élevant pour eux des monuments funéraires, les Hākānīs étaient des Sunnīs. On peut ajouter que Kāšgar était, avant l'Islam, surtout un centre bouddhique et que la littérature des Hākānīs reflète presque uniquement des reminiscences du Burkan (Buddha).

II. LES PREMIERS ABDĀL ET DERVİŞ TURCS

Le terme *abdāl*²³ qui devait par la suite s'étendre aux ordres hétérodoxes, se présente encore avec une signification orthodoxe dans

²² Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān*, XIV-XXII, énumère la littérature en question, citant J. Marquart, dans *Sitzungber. d. Preussischen Akad. d. Wiss.*, (1912), 494. V. aussi Blochet, 44 et M. F. Grenard, «La Légende de Satok Bughra Khan et l'histoire», *Journal Asiatique*, (Paris, Janv. Févr. 1900). Évocations bouddhiques : V. Yūsuf Hāṣṣ Hādjb, *Kitadğu-bilig*, éd. Arat (Istanbul, 1947), couplets 3563, 4336-40. Les monuments : Esin, *History...*, 190 et pl. CXV.

²³ Yūsuf, c. 3563.

On the other hand, his *marthiya* (elegy) on the death of Qays b. 'Āṣim al-Tamīmī (d. 20/640) received great praise from al-Aṣma'ī as one of the most passionate and affecting of Arabic elegies (Abū al-Faraj, 21/28–30; al-'Abbāsī, 1/102). In addition, the beauty and elegance achieved in certain of his poems did not escape the notice of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, the Umayyad caliph. 'Abda wrote poems in most of the literary genres, including the panegyric, descriptive and elegiac, although he avoids *hijā'* (satire), apparently in order to observe proper moral standards (Abū al-Faraj, 21/29; Yāqūt, 3/276).

Although very few in number, 'Abda's poems provide a faithful reflection of the poet's environment. In his lines, the themes of the abandoned encampment of the beloved, horses with fine short hair (*ājrad*), jinns and fairies etc., are repeated time and again (see Abū 'Ubayda, 1/655, 3/1142; Ibn Qutayba, 171).

The motifs of mourning the dead and drinking parties appear so frequently in his poetry that it often seems to be nothing but a roll-call of wine, the tavern, cup-bearer, wine-seller, the unopened vat of wine or the sound of cockcrow at dawn and the dancing of the troubadours, all portrayed in typical pre-Islamic fashion. Nevertheless, his works are full of aphoristic verse (al-Bahbūī, 419; Blachère, 259), and subsequently incorporated Islamic vocabulary (al-Marzūqī, 2/790). So far no one has attempted to investigate the issue of authenticity. However, given his relatively pure pre-Islamic vocabulary and the fact that he was an unknown poet who stood apart from tribal conflicts, it is reasonable to assume that major pre-Islamic motifs are preserved unimpaired in his works. In fact, there are some lines whose authenticity is questionable, since they are suggestive of the *Mu'allaqāt* (the seven pre-Islamic *qasīdas*), which are considered to be poetic masterpieces. These lines contain the same similes and themes as the *Mu'allaqāt*, with

some words transposed (see Ibn Qutayba, 171; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, 1/402, 655, 3/790).

The poet's *Dīwān* had evidently been collated prior to the 4th/10th century, since in 330/942 a copy of it was taken to al-Andalus by Abū 'Alī al-Qālī, who read it with Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Niṭawayh. The poems which have survived were published by Yaḥyā al-Jubūrī under the title *Shi'r 'Abda b. al-Ṭabīb* (Beirut, 1971).

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EZZAT MOLLA-EBRAHIMI
TR. HASSAN LAHOUTI

Abdāl, the plural of *badal* or *bidl* meaning 'substitute' or 'successor', which can also mean 'generous' (*karīm*) and 'noble' (*sharīf*). This name is given to a group of God's servants who, amongst the *awliyā'* ('friends of God', saints), have attained a special spiritual station. The term attained particular importance in Sufi literature. The *abdāl* are deemed to comprise a group

was permissible only under a righteous leader of the Muslim theocracy. Thus such activities were unlawful in their own time, and a person should acquire only what was absolutely necessary for survival (*qūt*). The manner of acquisition apparently was not dealt with by the 'Abdakites. The sources do not specify that 'Abdak practiced vegetarianism and hoped for the imminent coming of the Mahdī (as indicated in Massignon, *Essai*, p. 61), but such beliefs follow from his line of thought.

Bibliography: Primary sources: Moḥāsebi, *Ketāb al-makāseb wa'l-wara' wa'l-šobha*, Ms. Carullah 1101, fol. 43b, lines 5ff. Malaṭī, *Tanbīh wa'l-radd 'alā ahl al-ahwā' wa'l-beda'*, ed. J. Dederig, Leipzig, 1936, p. 73.7ff. L. Massignon, *Recueil de textes inédits*, Paris, 1929, p. 11. Other literature: Massignon, *Essai*, p. 113. J. van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Hārīt al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn, 1961, p. 104. B. Reinert, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul*, Berlin, 1968, p. 188.

(B. REINERT)

ABDĀL (sing. *badal*/*hadīl*, pl. *abdāl*/*bodalā'*), an Arabic technical term designating one of the categories of *awliā'* ("friends of God," Muslim saints). According to classical Sufi theory, as formulated in the 4th/10th century, a fixed number of *abdāl*/*awliā'* are chosen by God and, by their presence, preserve universal equilibrium, especially during periods between prophets. They transmit *baraka* "blessing" and are considered able to perform *karāmāt* "charismata" but not *mo'jezāt* "miracles", which are the prerogatives of *anbiā'* "prophets". Like the prophets, on Judgment Day they will perform the function of *šafā'a* "intercession" on behalf of the human race. The origin and early development of this doctrine in medieval Islamic society poses a complex problem.

Badal "substitute" has been translated by L. Massignon as "substituted" saint or one "appointed as an apostle" (*La Passion d'al-Ḥoṣayn-ibn-Manšour al-Ḥallāj*, new ed., Paris, 1975, I, pp. 27, 249). It is not a Koranic term, at least not in its specifically mystical sense. Yet it appears in the unexpurgated corpus of 2nd/8th century traditions cited in the 3rd/9th century collections of Hadith, lexicography, and *adab* (q.v.) literature. The Mu'tazilite Jāḥeẓ (d. 258/860) is one of the earliest to mention the term *abdāl*, in his *Ketāb al-tarbī' wa'l-tadwīr* (ed. C. Pellat, Damascus, 1955, p. 28). According to this passage, the *abdāl*, whose number is not specified, were connected with a specific place: either Palestine (Baysān) or the region of Mount Lebanon (al-'Arj). Jāḥeẓ's rhetorical style permits the interpretation that reference was being made to *mawālī*, such as Salmān and Belāl, connected with a "Šāḥeb Anṭākīya," possibly the Christian saint Agabus (Lat. Agapius of Antioch; see *Tarbī'*, index, p. 5). Such pre-mystic, and even pre-Sunnite, evidence suggests for the theory of the *abdāl* a non-Muslim source (probably Christian, e.g., Origenism and Messalianism; see M. Molé, *Les Mystiques musulmanes*, Paris, 1965, p. 9).

An indication of the importance of traditions of Christian origin is also found in the *Ketāb al-zohd* of the 3rd/9th century author, Ebn Qotayba ('*Oyūn al-akbār*, Cairo, 1964, II, p. 261). Nor should the possibility of Manichean influence be excluded. (See Molé, op. cit., p. 8, for instance, on the repeated appearance of the term *šeddīq* in relation to the theory of the *awliā'*.) However, since the *Tarbī'* is essentially directed against Shi'ites of the Rāfeẓī persuasion (Pellat, intro., pp. xv-xvi), it can be concluded that Jāḥeẓ was attacking, not non-Muslims, but certain of his co-religionists. These were Shi'ites who, in his time, had begun to use the doctrine of the *abdāl* in a Muslim context (especially Shi'ites of the sort branded as *ḡolāt*; cf. L. Massignon, op. cit. I, p. 245). It was at this same time, according to *Lesān al-'arab* (Būlāq, 1300-08, XIII, pp. 50-52), that the Kufan lexicographer, Ebn al-Sekkī (d. 244/853), whose Shi'ite affinities are well-known (*EL*² III, pp. 940-41), defined the term *badal*. Finally, it seems that the early use of the *abdāl* doctrine by certain Shi'ite elements can be confirmed by its prominent place in the Isma'ili compendium of the Eḡvān al-šafā'. These texts were collected over a period of almost 100 years, from the second half of the 3rd/9th century (Y. Marquet, "Imamat, resurrection et hierarchie selon des Ikhwan as-Safa," *REI* 30, 1962, p. 61). In the *Rasā'el eḡvān al-šafā'* (I, pp. 376-77; Marquet, op. cit., p. 119), the institution of *abdāl*/*awliā'* is openly presented as a pre-Islamic tradition that continued under Islam. The *abdāl* are said to be four, chosen by God from the forty *šāleḥūn* who, in every age, follow the "Abrahamic" religion and automatically succeed one another.

From the second half of the 3rd/9th century, the theory of the *abdāl*/*awliā'* seems to have progressively infiltrated that segment of the Sunnite community which inclined toward mystical expression. Its chronology and geographic extent are still unclear but often coincide with the influence of Isma'ilism, Qarmatism, and sects of *ḡolāt* Shi'ism. Concerning the Iraqi school of mysticism, we know of the case of Ḥālīlāj (late 3rd/9th cent.), who was supposed to have claimed the law of *moṭā'a* (Eṣṭaḡrī, pp. 148-149), i.e., of the chief of the *abdāl*/*awliā'* of his time. Massignon (*Passion* I, p. 249) thinks that the Shi'ite/Isma'ili affinities are clear. At the same time, in Khorasan, Ḥākem Termeḡī (d. first quarter of the 4th/10th century) handled the question of the *abdāl*/*awliā'* from a perspective similar to that of the Eḡvān al-šafā' (his dependence on Iraqi Sufism is open to conjecture). His purpose, it appears, was openly anti-Isma'ili, since the *awliā' al-zūr* at whose door he lays blame are the Isma'ilis. The terms which Termeḡī used to define the status of the *awliā'* are often very similar to those found in Isma'ili texts, such as those of the Eḡvān al-šafā'. A detailed comparative study would be of great value. For example, instead of the seven *abdāl* posited by the Isma'ilis, Termeḡī counts four, but agrees that they are chosen from forty *awliā'*/*šeddīqūn*. He also affirms their connection with the

اباحیه - اباحتی

دهند. احياء العلوم، طبع مصر، ج ۱، ص ۳۹.

برای اطلاع از اصول اباحتیه، جمع: اللع، طبع لیدن ص ۴۳۱ - ۴۲۶، ۴۳۰ - ۴۲۴، فضائل الانام من رسائل حجة الاسلام، طبع طهران، ص ۷۲، تبصرة العلوم، طبع طهران، ص ۱۳۲، ۱۳۰، تلبیس ابلیس، طبع مصر، ص ۳۷۰ - ۳۶۳

فتاوی ابن تیمیّه، طبع ریاض، ج ۱۰، ص ۲۸، ۴۳، ۶۱، ۴۸۴، ۴۸۵، ج ۱۱، ص ۴۶، ۴۹، ۵۳، ۱۷۲، ۱۹۲، ۲۴۴، ۲۴۶، ۲۶۲، ۴۰۱، ۴۰۳، ۴۰۵، ۴۱۴، ۴۱۸، ۴۲۰، ۴۲۲، ۵۱۰، ۵۳۹، ۵۴۰، ۶۰۳.

برای علی حریری، مناقب افلاکی، طبع انقره، ص ۶۴۱، فوات الوفيات، طبع بولاق، ج ۲، ص ۵۷ - ۵۳، برای عبد الحق بن سبعین، فوات الوفيات، ج ۱، ص ۳۱۷ - ۳۱۵، نفخ الطیب، طبع بولاق، ج ۱، ص ۴۲۷ - ۴۲۱، که در آنجا تاریخ وفاتش نهم شوال ۶۵۹ قید شده است بر خلاف روایت ابن الکتیبی در فوات الوفيات.

«شرح، ج ۲، ص ۶۴۷ - ۶۴۳»

زنان جنس مباحی که از آن سوی وجود است نی اباحتی و گنج حشیشی و مزاجی ج ۶، ب ۲۷۱۷۶ «دیوان، ج ۷، ص ۵۲۰»

اباحتی کسی که معتقد به وجود حلال و حرام نباشد و ارتکاب محرمات را مباح و روا شمارد و این کلمه صیغه نسبت است بر طریق معمول نزد قداما که حذف تاء مصدری و نظایر آن را از آخر کلمات عربی در موقع نسب ضرور شمرده اند مانند: هزیمتی در گفته عنصری:

کسی که زنده بمانده است از آن هزیمتیان اگر چه تنش درست است هست چون بیمار و دولتی در شعر خاقانی:

گر به قبولی که هست دولتیان خرمند ما به قبولی که نیست از همه خرم نریم و «ملامتی» در تعبیر صوفیه هم از این قبیل است.

و «اباحت» عبارت است از نداشتن اعتقاد به وجود تکلیف و روا داشتن ارتکاب محرمات و در کتب ملل و نحل

اباحتی: نسبت است به «اباحت» که کلمه عربی است بنا بر معمول پارسی زبانان در



مباحی - ابدال

خرم دینان و بعضی از طوائف را که به دروغ نام صوفی بر خود نهاده بودند از این دسته شمرده اند و مؤلف تبصرة العوام مجوس و فلاسفه را نیز بدین عقیده متهم ساخته است.

و اباحتیه (چنانکه در کشف اصطلاحات الفنون آمده) هی فرقه من المتصوفة المبطله قالوا لیس قدرة لنا علی الاجتناب عن المعاصی ولا علی الاتیان بالمأمورات و لیس لاحد فی هذا العالم ملک رقیه ولا ملک ید. رجوع کنید به: الفرق بین الفرق تألیف عبدالقاهر بغدادی، طبع مصر، ص ۲۵۱، نقد العلم والعلما، معروف به تلبیس ابلیس، تألیف ابو الفرج عبد الرحمن بن جوزی، طبع مصر، ص ۳۶۳، تبصرة العوام، طبع طهران ۱۳۱۳، ص ۱۶، کشف اصطلاحات الفنون، طبع آستانه ۱۳۱۷، ص ۱۲۷.

«بهاء، ج ۲، ص ۲۰۵»

مباحی:

آنکه قائل به رفع حکم حرمت است و همه چیز را در خور ارتکاب می شمارد. جمعی که خود را به صوفیان منتسب می شمرده اند و قائل به رفع حکم حرمت بوده اند و آنان را «اباحی» و «اباحتی»

و «صوفیه اباحتیه» نیز گویند.

زهد از تو مباحی شد تسبیح صراحی شد جان را که فلاحی شد با رطل گران کرده ج ۵، ب ۲۱۶۳۹

امروز سماع است و شراب است و صراحی یک ساقی بدست یکی جمع مباحی ج ۶، ب ۲۷۱۷۵

روحی است مباحی که از آن روح چشید است کوروح قدیمی و کجارجوح ریاحی ج ۶، ب ۲۷۱۷۷

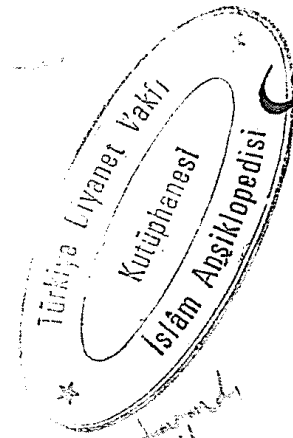
بردار صراحی را بگذار صلاحی را آن جام مباحی را در کش که بیاسایی ج ۵، ب ۲۷۲۸۲

و ممکن است که در این بیت به معنی مباح از جهت حکم شرعی فرض شود. «دیوان، ج ۷، ص ۴۲۷»

نیز: مناقب، ص ۳۰۰، ذیل کلمه مباحیان

ابدال:

گروهی از مردان حق که صفات زشت بشری را به اوصاف نیک الهی بدل کرده اند و عدد ایشان بنا بر مشهور هفت و بر قول دیگر چهل و به گفته بعضی نود و یا چهار صد و چهار است و هفت تن و چهل تن در تعبیرات صوفیه اشاره بدین معنی است و از روایتی منسوب به ابو سعید چنان معلوم می شود که ابدال کسانی



سِت رسائل من التراث العربي الاسلامي

مجموعة تشمل على :

- ١ - فيضة النفحات في مسألة الصفات : للعيدروسى .
- ٢ - لطائف الجود في مسألة وحدة الوجود : للعيدروسى .
- ٣ - حلية الأبدال وما يظهر عنها من المعارف والأحوال : لابن عربى .
- ٤ - سراج القلوب : لأحد الأشعرى .
- ٥ - المدخل الصغير إلى علم الطب : لأبى بكر الرازى .
- ٦ - أخلاق الطبيب لأبى بكر الرازى .

تقديم وتحقيق

الدكتور عبد اللطيف محمد السيد
كلية دارالعلوم - جامعة القاهرة

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ملزم الطبع والنشر



مكتبة النهضة المصرية
لأصحابها حسن محمد وأولاده
٥ شارع عبد السلام بالقاهرة

حلية الأبدال

وما يظهر عنها من المعارف والأحوال

تأليف

محي الدين بن عربى

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Ansiklopedisi
Kütüphanesi

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TÜRKİYE'DE MARJİNAL BİR GRUP OLARAK ABDALLAR

Doç. Dr. Ejder OKUMUŞ*

Özet / Abstract:

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'de yaşayan Abdalların kendilerine özgü sosyal, kültürel, ekonomik ve dinsel özellikleri marjinallikleri bağlamında, K. Maraş, Nurdagi ve Diyarbakır örneğinde kendileriyle yapılan bir takım görüşmeler (görüşme tekniği) ve yazılı metinler (dökümantasyon tekniği) çerçevesinde ele alınmaya ve anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Abdal, marjinallik, din, değişim, dindarlıkta canlanma

ABDALS AS A MARGINAL GRUP IN THE TURKEY

This study aims to investigate the specific social, cultural, economic and religious characteristics of Abdals who live in Turkey in the context of their marginalities, and in the samples of Kahramanmaras, Nurdagi and Diyarbakır with the techniques of interview and documentation.

Key words: Abdal, marginality, religion, change, increasing in religiosity

Kul Himmet üstâdım ummâna dâlam
Gidenler gelmedi bir haber âlam
Abdal oldum şal giyindim bir zaman
Bir dost bulamadım gün akşam oldu
Kul Himmet

Su dîbinde mâhi ile sahralarda âhû ile
Abdal olup yâ-hû ile çağırayım
Mevlâm seni
Yunus Emre

GİRİŞ

Abdallara, Türkiye'nin çeşitli yerlerinde farklı isimler verilmektedir. Diyarbakır'da *aşık*, *mitrip* vb., Urfa ve Adıyaman'da *gevende* veya *govende*, Gaziantep ve K. Maraş'ta *abdal*, *kirve* vb. Veya değişik yerlerde *Carcar*, *Teber*, *Tencilî*, *Fakcılar*, *Begdili* vs. bu cümleden olarak zikredilebilir.

Türkiye'de yaşayan Abdalların genel olarak hayatlarına bakıldığında, sosyal, kül-

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limited to those who are found worthy, or who have been humble enough to admit their unworthiness in advance.

B. Authors Responsible for
Certain Famous *Aḥādīth Qudsiyya*

Abū Dharr: “*man taqarrab . . . shibran . . . dhīrā^can . . .*” (Muḥāsibī, *Ri^cāya*, 12a, attributes it to Ibn Musayyab); * Ḥanbal V, 153; Nabḥānī, *Jāmi^c*, no. 30).

Ka^b: “*anā jalīs man dhakarani*” and the *ḥadīth al-jumjuma* (according to *Hilya*, s.v.).

Ḥudhayfa: “*yād Allah ma^c* (var: *‘alā*) *al-jamā^ca*” (Ḥanbal, I, 406; taken up by Ibn ‘Iyād, according to Malaṭī, 143; Ibn Baṭṭa ‘Ukbarī, *Sharḥ wa ibāna*); and the *ḥadīth al-ibtīlā* (Cf. *Passion*, Fr 3:127 n 2/Eng 3:115 n 123; Mut-taqī, *Kanz*, V, 164; attributed by Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mawḍū‘āt*, to Yamān ibn ‘Adī).

Ibn Mas‘ūd: “*tūbā liman lam yushghil qalbahu bimā tarā ‘aynāhu . . .*” (Muḥāsibī, *Ri^cāya*, 15a; later attributed to Jesus; cf. Asin, *Logia*, no 20).

Ḥasan Baṣrī: “*man ‘ashiqani ‘ashiqtuhu . . .*” (according to ‘Abd al-Wāḥid ibn Zayd; ap. *Hilya*, s.v.; included⁹⁴ by Ibn Sīnā in his *‘Ishq*); “*tarīḥ midād al-‘ulamā ‘alā dam al-shuhadā*” (Manjanīqī, ap. Suyūṭī, *La‘ālī*,⁹⁵ s.v.; then admitted as a *ḥadīth* via Ibn ‘Umar, according to Küürküt, *Ḥarīmī*; cf. Ḥasan’s pronouncement to the contrary, in Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn*, II, 295); “*yā muqallib al-qulūb, thabbit . . .*” (according to Ibn Sa‘d, IV, 128; Ibn ‘Iyād made it a *ḥadīth*, according to the *Hilya*); “*Khayr al-umūr ausatuhā*” (*‘Iqd*, I, 250, according to Goldziher, *RHR*, XVIII, 193).

Yazīd Raqqāshī: *ḥadīth ghibṭat al-mutaḥabbīn* (Makkī, *Qūt*, I, 222; compare Nabḥānī, *Jāmi^c*, no. 31).

Ibrahim ibn Adham: “*Kuntu sam‘ahu wa baṣarahu*” (according to Muḥāsibī, *Mahabba* [see herein, ch 5 n 72], cf. Makkī, *Qūt*, II, 67; accepted by Bukhārī); “*al-‘arif fārighan . . .*” (Id.; cf. *Passion*, Fr 3:15/Eng 3:8).

Fuḍayl ibn ‘Iyād (cf. *supra*): “*udhkurūni adhkurukum*” (according to the London Or ms: 8049, f. 30b).

Aḥmad Jawbiyārī: “*uṭlubū al-‘ilm, walaw bi’l-Ṣīn*” (accepted by Ibn Karrām; Dhahabī, *I‘tidāl*, s.v.).

Yahyā ibn Mu‘adh Rāzī: “*man ‘arafa nafsahu, faqad ‘arafa Rabbahu*” (according to Suyūṭī, *La‘ālī*, s.v.; Ibn ‘Arabī, *Muḥādarāt*, II, 369).

Sahl Tustarī: “*mā min āya . . . illā walahā arba‘ ma‘ānī*” (according to Tustarī, *Tafsīr*, 3, 6; accepted by Ghazālī, *Ladunniyya*, 16).

Muḥammad ibn Yūnus Kadīmī (d. 286, at 100 years of age): “*uṭlubū’l-hawā’ij*

* “*rauyya Abū Hurayra . . .*” Smith’s ed., p. 20.

94. *Talbis*, 181. Saṭī extracts a portion “of one of the revealed books” (*Qush.*, III, 165).

95. Suyūṭī, *Durar*, 199; Ghazālī, *Iḥyā*, I, 6.

‘*ind ḥisān al-wujūh*” (accepted by Sulamī, Ibn Sīnā [*‘Ishq*]; cf. Dhahabī, *I‘tidāl*, s.v.).

C. Initiatory *Isnād*, al-Khiḍr, the *Abdāl*

The deception of false attributions was perhaps excusable in mystics who had no civic heroism from which to benefit, but who nevertheless wished, under borrowed names, to initiate their contemporaries into the experiences of their spiritual lives. Unfortunately, the practice spread to areas in which authenticity was fundamental. One such problem, hotly debated, especially from the fifth/eleventh century onward, was initiatory *isnād*, the “chain of mystical supports” attaching orders, link by link, to the most venerated saints, the Companions, and the Prophet.

Muḥāsibī’s works (*Naṣā’ih*) prove that, in the third/ninth century, the question of initiatory *isnād* was not yet being raised, and, as a correlative,⁹⁶ that the taking of a special habit (*khirqā, shuhra bi libās*) was no more than a voluntary act of certain individuals. The institution of collective hermitages, as at ‘Abbādān, and the writing of manuals for the communal life, came long before the solemn affiliation of orders and the ritual wearing of habits.

In the fourth/tenth century, Ja‘far Khuldī gave⁹⁷ the first known initiatory *isnād*, a sort of written *sama^c*. He declared that the *tābi‘ūn* (among others Anas ibn Mālik, d. 91), through Ḥasan Baṣrī (d. 110), Farqad Sinjī (d. 131), Ma‘rūf (d. 200), and Sarī (d. 253), had transmitted the mystical doctrine to Junayd (d. 298), Khuldī’s teacher.

Shortly thereafter, Daqqāq gave Qushayrī⁹⁸ the following genealogy for what he more explicitly called his “*akhdh al-tarīq*” (initiation): (1) the *tābi‘ūn*, (2) Dāwūd Ṭā’ī, (3) Ma‘rūf, (4) Sarī, (5) Junayd, (6) Shiblī, (7) Naṣrābādhi.

In the following century, at the time of the foundation of the great orders, this chain was prettified, as ludicrous details were added to the rare, confirmed facts about the orders’ origins. Here is the chain in its traditional form:⁹⁹ (1) ‘Alī, (2) Ḥasan Baṣrī, (3) Ḥabīb ‘Ajāmī, (4) Dāwūd Ṭā’ī, (5) Ma‘rūf, (6) Sarī, (7) Junayd, (8) Abū ‘Alī Rūdhbārī (d. 322), (9) either Abū ‘Alī Kātib (d. 340) or Zajjājī, (d. 348), (10) Abū ‘Uthmān Maghribī (d. 373), (11) Abū’l-Qāsim Gurgānī (d. 469).¹⁰⁰

This *isnād* of the *khirqā* was soon criticized. Step 1–2 is false: Ḥasan and ‘Alī never met¹⁰¹ (Ibn Dihya, Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Dhahabī). Step 3–4 is false: Ḥa-

96. Muḥāsibī, *Masā’il*, 237–44.

97. *Fihrist*, 183.

98. *Qush.*, *Risāla*, 158; the same, ed. Anṣārī, III, 245; IV, 36.

99. ‘Alī Burhānī, *Zahra*, in fine; Ibn abī Uṣaybi‘a, *‘Uyūn*, II, 250.

100. Cf. rem. of Jāmī, 347.

101. This work, ch. 4, sec. 3.

CÖNKLERDEN GÜN IŞIĞINA: ABDAL MAHLASLI HALK ŞAİRLERİ*

Yard. Doç. Dr. Doğan Kaya

“Abdal” kelimesi Arapça “bedel”, “bedil” sözlerinin çokluk şeklidir. “Bedel”in anlamı; “bir şeyi karşılık olarak başka bir şeyin yerine koymak, değiştirmek” tir. Aslında Arap gramerine göre bu kelimenin “budala” olması gerekir. Abdal, “abit, zahit, münzevi” anlamlarına gelir (Köprülü, 1989; 367). Abdal sözü, tasavvufta ise, ulu zatlardan birisinin ölmesinden sonra, tanrı tarafından onun yerine geçirilen bir bölük insana verilen isim anlamında kullanılmıştır (Gölpınarlı, 1977, 5). XII. ve XIV. yüzyıllarda “derviş”, XV. yüzyılda ise “divane, meczup” sözleri Abdal kelimesiyle bir tutulmuştur.

Şair *Vahidî*, 1522’de tamamladığı *Hace-i Cihan ve Netice-i Can* adlı eserinde Rum abdallarından söz ederken onların özelliklerini şöyle sıralar: “... sırtlarında yalnız bir tennure, adeta çıplak denecek şekilde, daima yalın ayak ve başları açık gezerlerdi. Bellerine yün örgü bir kuşak, omuzlarında Ebû Müslim nacağı, ellerinde baba Şüca çomağı, kuşaklarına asılı -kav, çakmak ve esrar taşımağa mahsus- iki cür’adan, tahtadan gayet büyük ve saplarına, aşık kemiği asılı bir sarı kaşık ve bir keşkül vardı. Vücutlarında yanık yerleri, dövme Zülfikar resimleri veya Ali’nin ismi, bâzûlarında yılan şekilleri bulunurdu. Elllerinde def, kudüm, boynuz gibi musiki aletleri bulunurdu ve zikir esnasında yahut yürürken bunları çalarlardı... Bunlar Adem’in sünnetine uyarak çıplak gezerler, esrar yerler, sakallarını, saçlarını, bıyıklarını tıraş ederlerdi. Muharrem’de Kerbelâ şehitlerinin matemini tutarlar, bıçakla vücutlarına yaralar açarlar, sonra büyük bir aşure ziyafeti yaparlardı.” (Köprülü, 1989; 374-375)

Aşık Veysel Kültür Derneği, Halk Kültürümüzde Sivas’ın Yeri Sempozyumu, Ankara, 24 Mart 2002.

سفر اترك طالب و زنجب اولار والشام
دسارن قالات قهر سوز ازال نه سوز
حرا القن التوب
الهدى بك من جمال الدنيا والخلق والتعلق على خير خلقه
مخبر وآله اجمعين انا بكتابك ما ادا العاكبر بدله
ود ذر هاشق وسير عارف يدر وفيال نادى ذرى يدر يدر
عقله صغفر خير لودر وعقله عاشر بر كبرى يدر لودر
عقله عاشر انان كرى ● طر عهشدر دينا ده و اخوتى و اعشار
لكر اكر قرى ياخذدر باشه او قيوب هعناش ذرى ويرس يدر
قهر رنكدر ذرى رنكدر انما نمن زهرى نا و انكدر حق استوعقل انكدر
يا حهشدر عقل كى ذرى رنكدر انما نمن زهرى نا و انكدر حق استوعقل انكدر
ويو عقله عاشر برنسه كى بعشدر بله عاشر عاشر يدر بر
بلى كى برنسه كى بعشدر بله عاشر عاشر يدر بر
صنح ستار و او بل ستور كى برنسه كى بعشدر بله عاشر
اكر بى بك يول هوى او ذر سسما ناك كى اكر بى بك يول هوى او ذر
انقى بلى برنسا او ناز بو عقله عاشر كى ذرى رنكدر عاشر

16

كندر و كسى نيز كالرك سى ذرى قهر هاشق انكدر و كى سوز نوز
خبر آل و انكدر كور سى كى يدر نوز نطق ال و يدو عقله عاشر هوش
چو ديو هيدى يد عاشر قهر منزه يدر يدر يدر يدر سوز كور نادر
يو عقله عاشر حاوى اولون بيلوك كى بو كاهن عاشر الطير يدر يدر
منطق الطير بلكه بر بار بار سى كى كرك ياخوتى عاشر سى اندك بو عقل
كوك كورنى اجيب عاشر بيلوك كى بلكه يدر يو عقله عاشر عاشر
ظاهر عاشر انكدر سوز باقر عاشر خبير بو عقله عاشر ذرى الله
بى بك سوز انكدر سوز كوكله بر ذوى سى عاشر كوكله
كاهن عاشر عاشر صغفر عاشر اكر اكر سوز يدر و انكدر كى
بى بك و كلسه عاشر سى اكر اكر بر ساهت دا نا عاشر صغفر
اكر بو مست اقر بى بك اكر ذرى ياخشه عاشر و ياخشه عاشر
بلكه قول انكدر و اقر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر
كوكله و كوكله و كوكله و كوكله و كوكله و كوكله و كوكله
چو عقله عاشر برنسه قانن اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر
اكر ياخشه كى يدر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر اكر
يو عقله عاشر سوز سوز بو عقله عاشر بو عقله عاشر بو عقله
عقله عاشر بو عقله كلسه بو عقله عاشر بو عقله عاشر بو عقله

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TÜRK DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI MAKALELERİ

Sayı: 2 (Sivas 2003) s. 121-144.

O. 2481

2 MART 2003

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN SONRA GÖLEN OKUYAN

Louis Massignon kendisine özgü o müthiş önsezisiyle Gazi Osman'ın adını, tıpkı Bayezid gibi, bir "Bektaşî ermişi"ne borçlu olabileceğini kestirmişti. Ne yazık ki bu varsayım hiçbir zaman kanıtlanamamıştır.

Bununla birlikte Hacı Bektaş'ın yanında Şeyh Edebalî'nin de anılması ve eski Osmanlı vakayinamelerinin tanıklığı, ilk Bektaşîleri, Osmanlı sultanlarından gelen bir inisiyatif sayesinde, henüz iyi özümsememiş bir Müslümanlığı uygulayan ve Türkmen aşiretlerinin eski inançlarına yakın halk kitlelerini, devletin bayrağı altında toplamakla görevli bir araç olarak görme olanağı veriyor bize. Osmanlı sultanlarının hizmetindeki Bektaşîler önceleri, kolonizatör dervişler zamanında Ahmed Yesevî'nin ve Balkanlar'da Sarı Saltuk Dede'nin yaptığı gibi İslam dininin ve Türk kültürünün öğreticileri ve yayıcıları olmuşlardır.

Ama bu kolonizatör ve öğretici rolün kurbanları olan, yabancı sapkınlıkların etkisinde kalan ve özellikle çok kalabalık oldukları Balkan bölgelerinde Hıristiyanlarla sürekli ilişki içinde bulunan Bektaşîler, yüzyıllar içinde açıkça heterodoks, ama liberal, dinler üstü, tutuculuktan uzak kalmışlar ve hatta kimi zaman da devrimci olmuşlardır.

Editor. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou

Osmanlı Beyliği 1300-1389

Istanbul - 1991, s. 159-172.

DN: 55088

OSMANLI BEYLİĞİ TOPRAKLARINDAKİ SUFİ ÇEVRELER VE ABDALAN-I RUM SORUNU (1300-1389)

AHMET YAŞAR OCAK

A. GİRİŞ

Osmanlı Beyliği'nin kuruluşunda tarikatların rolü Joseph von Hammer'den bu yana, araştırmacıların gözünde Osmanlı tarihinin en ilginç ve en büyüleyici konularından biri olmuştur. Ama bu konuyu derinlemesine inceleyen, bu yıl yirmi beşinci ölüm yıldönümünde andığımız merhum Fuad Köprülü olmuştur. Bu konuyu ele aldığı dört temel yapıtı kronolojik olarak şöyle sıralanır: *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*,¹ "Anadolu'da İslamiyet",² "Abdal"³ makaleleri ve *Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman*.⁴

Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı ve Ö. Lütfi Barkan, daha sonra Halil İnalcık, Irène Mélikoff gibi öteki bilim insanları ve araştırmacılar bu konuya zengin ve ilginç katkılar getirmişlerdir.⁵ Bununla birlikte biz, bu konuda aydınlatılması gereken bazı durumlar ve çözülmesi gereken bazı sorunlar olduğunu sanıyoruz.

- 1 Köprülü, *İlk Mutasavvıflar*.
- 2 Köprülü, "Anadolu'da İslamiyet", *Darülfünun Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 4-6 (1338-1340/1922-1924).
- 3 Krş., "Abdal", *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, 1. fasikül, İstanbul, 1935.
- 4 Köprülü, *Les Origines*.
- 5 Krş. örn. Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf*, İstanbul, 1961; Barkan, "İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler", *VD*, II, 1942, s. 279-253; İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age: 1300-1600*, Londra, 1973, s. 186-202; Mélikoff, "Un Ordre de derviches colonisateurs: Les Bektachis", *Mémorial Ömer Lütfi Barkan*, Paris, 1980, s. 149-157.

populaires professant un Islam encore mal assimilé et proche des anciennes croyances des tribus turkmènes. Au service des sultans ottomans, les Bektachis firent, dans un premier temps, figure de derviches colonisateurs, éducateurs et propagateurs de la religion islamique et de la culture turque, comme le fut, en son temps, Ahmed Yesevi, et comme le fut, dans les Balkans, Sari Saktuk Dede.

Mais victimes de ce rôle de colonisateurs et d'éducateurs, et sous l'influence d'hérésies étrangères et des populations chrétiennes avec lesquelles ils seront continuellement en contact, surtout dans les régions balkaniques où ils furent très nombreux, les Bektachis devinrent, au cours des siècles, un ordre ouvertement hétérodoxe, mais aussi libéral, supra-confessionnel, non-conformiste et même parfois révolutionnaire.

MADE VATTMLANDIET
SONRA GELEN DÜĞÜNLEH

24 AGUSTOS 1994

Édit. Elizabeth Zachariadou, A Symposium
Held in Rethymno 11-13 January 1991. "The
Ottoman Emirate" (1300-1389). 1993 Rethymno
S. 145-158

LES MILIEUX SOUFIS DANS LES TERRITOIRES
DU BEYLICAT OTTOMAN ET LE PROBLEME
DES 'ABDALAN-I RUM' (1300-1389)

Ahmet Yaşar OCAK

a. Introduction

Le rôle des ordres mystiques dans la fondation du beylicat ottoman, fut, aux yeux des chercheurs, depuis Joseph von Hammer, l'un des sujets les plus intéressants et les plus fascinants de l'histoire ottomane. Mais ce fut surtout le regretté Fuat Köprülü, dont nous commémorons cette année le vingt cinquième anniversaire de la mort, qui l'a étudié à fond, notamment dans ses quatre ouvrages capitaux cités, par ordre chronologique, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*,¹ "Anadolu'da İslâmiyet",² l'article "Abdal",³ et *Les Origines de l'Empire Ottoman*.⁴

Des savants et des chercheurs postérieurs, tels que les regrettés Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı et Ö. Lûtfi Barkan, puis Halil İnalcık, Irène Mélikoff et quelques autres, y ont apporté des contributions riches et intéressantes.⁵ Mais pourtant, il nous semble que le sujet comprend encore certains aspects devant être éclaircis et certains problèmes devant être résolus.

Dans notre présent exposé, nous allons essayer, à notre tour, de faire certains analyses et interprétations. Mais avant d'aborder le sujet, il nous paraît nécessaire de réexaminer les sources et de réviser l'état actuel des nos recherches et de nos connaissances.

1. KÖPRÜLÜ, *İlk Mutasavvıflar*.
2. M.F. KÖPRÜLÜ, *Anadolu'da İslâmiyet, Dârülfünûm Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 4-6 (1338-1340/1922-1924).
3. IDEM, *Abdal, Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, 1^{er} fascicule, (Istanbul 1935).
4. KÖPRÜLÜ, *Les Origines*.
5. Cf., par ex., A. GÖLPINARLI, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf*, (Istanbul 1961); Ö. L. BARKAN, *İstîlâ devirlerinin kolonizatör Türk dervişleri ve zaviyeler*, VD, II (1942), 279-353; H. İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age: 1300-1600*, (London 1973) p. 186-202; IRÈNE MÉLIKOFF, *Un ordre de derviches colonisateurs: Les Bektachis, Mémorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, (Paris 1980) p. 149-157.

Lepanto. In many cases, however, the *Divân* issued no instructions for punishment, but merely ordered the authorities to imprison the accused if proven guilty and to await orders for further action. There is often no obvious reason why these cases differ from those where the punishment is specified.

The *Divân* kept the responsibility for sentencing and sometimes for punishing members of the 'askeri class. In 1572, the *sipâhi* Ahmed and his heretical associates were to be sent 'tied and bound' from Koyluhisar, to the capital¹⁶⁸. The *sipâhis* of Mosul, found guilty of heresy in 1575, 'were not punished since they were *sipâhis*, but imprisoned, and their case reported'. The *beylerbeyi* of Şehrizol then received the decree to send them escorted to the capital¹⁶⁹. In 1579, however, the *sipâhi* İbrâhim of Arukabad was to be executed in the district if found guilty of heresy¹⁷⁰. In the cases of the heretical *sancak beyis* of Darna¹⁷¹ and Yemen¹⁷², the *beylerbeyis* of Baghdad and Yemen received orders simply to imprison them and send a report, no doubt pending further instructions.

COLIN IMBER

STUDIES IN OTTOMAN HISTORY AND LAW

Istanbul, 1996, s. 129-144. DN: 40202.

HAZİRAN 1996
SONRA GELEN ÜRÜNLERİN

18 HAZİRAN 1996



¹⁶⁸MD 10.189.279.

¹⁶⁹MD 27.108.259.

¹⁷⁰MD 36.285.756.

¹⁷¹MD 36.55.141.

¹⁷²MD 40.301.693.

THE WANDERING DERVISHES

The dervishes who "wandered from land to land" and "begged from town to town" formed one of the strangest of the heterodox groups in the Islamic world. This paper concerns only their activities in Ottoman Anatolia in the 15th and 16th centuries, although they were found far beyond the bounds of this region, and much earlier than the 15th century. Their most common title was *Kalender*¹, but in Anatolia, where they were particularly numerous right down to the end of the 16th century and beyond, they appear under several different names.

In the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, *Kalender* appears as a general term for the mendicants, as well as for the members of a particular order (*tarikât*), the *Kalenderiyye*². In Anatolia the most common title for the mendicants was *Abdal*, and in fact the *Abdals* of Rum appear to have existed as an independent sect from the 14th³ at least until the 16th⁴ century. The dervishes called *Torlak* in the 15th and 16th centuries were evidently the same as the *Abdals*. The *Torlaquis* whom Spandugino described⁵ resemble the *Abdals* exactly and, furthermore, in a poem by the *Abdal* Kaygusuz (15th century), the poet's interlocuter addresses him as *Torlak*⁶, again suggesting that *Torlaks* and *Abdals* were the same. Another term for the mendicants was *Hayderi*⁷, after the Order founded by Kutb al-Din Haydar (d. 1221) in Khurasan. Kutb al-Din had permitted his followers to use hashish as a means to ecstasy⁸, and this became a

¹For discussions of the term, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd edition) "Kalandar", "Kalandariyya" (Tahsin Yazıcı); J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford (1971), 264ff.

²See 'Ali, Gelibolulu Mustafa, *Meva'id ün-nefa'is fi kava'id il-mecalis* (facsimile, Istanbul, 1965), 82; and especially Vahidi, *H'uce-yi cihan* (edited by Tahsin Yazıcı, in introduction to his edition of Khatib-i Farisi, *Menakib-i Cemal ed-Din Savi*, Ankara (1972) IXff.

³'Aşıkpaşazade (ed. 'Ali), *Tevarih-i al-i Osman*, (1332), 205.

⁴Vahidi, *loc. cit.*

⁵Theodore Spandouyn Cantacasin, *Petit Traicte de l'Origine des Turcqs* ed. E. Leroux, Paris, (1896), 219ff.

⁶A. Gölpınarlı, *Türk Tasavvuf Şiiri Antolojisi*, (1972), 187.

⁷'Ali, *op. cit.*, 82; *Oruç Beg tarihi* (ed. N. Atsız) 140.

⁸Makrizi, *Al-khitat al-makriziyya*, (Bulak 1910), vol. 3, 205-209; J. Spencer Trimingham, *op. cit.*, 39, 199, 267.

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Edit: Elizabeth Zachariadou, *The Ottoman Emirate 1300-1389: Halcyon Days in Crete I a Symposium Held in Rethymnon 11-13 January 1991*, Rethymnon 1993. pp.145-158 .ISAM 149337.

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2. M.F. KÖPRÜLÜ, Anadolu'da İslâmiyet, *Dârülfünûm Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 4-6 (1338-1340//1922-1924).

3. IDEM, Abdal, *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi*, 1^{er} fascicule, (Istanbul 1935).

4. KÖPRÜLÜ, *Les Origines*.

5. Cf., par ex., A. GÖLPINARLI, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf*, (Istanbul 1961); Ö. L. BARKAN, *İstîlâ devirlerinin kolonizatör Türk dervişleri ve zaviyeler*, VD, II (1942), 279-353; H. İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age: 1300-1600*, (London 1973) p. 186-202; IRÈNE MÉLIKOFF, Un ordre de derviches colonisateurs: Les Bektachis, *Mémorial Ömer Lütü Barkan*, (Paris 1980) p. 149-157.

MADDE 2 AYDINLANMISITAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

Abdal -010066

2007 1998

ABDAL, L'ÉTRANGE DESTIN D'UN MOT
 Le problème *abdal* vu à travers
 les registres ottomans

L _____ INTRODUCTION*
 e terme *abdal* a trouvé son entrée dans de nombreuses encyclopédies consacrées au monde musulman¹. Le lecteur est cependant déconcerté face à une juxtaposition de données qui ne lui permettent pas d'en faire une synthèse. C'est la nouvelle encyclopédie de l'Islam, ouvrage en turc, soutenu par un legs pieux des Affaires Religieuses et non achevé à ce jour, qui donne les informations les plus étendues. Le premier volume

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* Pour la transcription, nous avons eu recours à l'alphabet du turc moderne avec ajout de quelques signes diacritiques. La règle veut que seules les voyelles longues des mots d'origine persane ou arabe doivent être signalées. Nous avons cependant fait une exception pour les toponymes afin de signaler les voyelles effectivement écrites, qu'elles soient longues ou courtes. Le mot «carte» fait référence à la carte de Turquie au 200 000^e, Direction générale de la cartographie, Ankara, 1957, avec indication de la feuille. La liste des registres se trouve *in fine*. Pour un certain nombre de termes techniques et les questions liées au labour de la terre et à l'imposition, consulter la section IX-1 et la liste des correspondances au début de la section IX-2. Pour mener à bien cette étude qui nous a conduite de la région de Çorum jusqu'en Asie centrale, nous avons bénéficié de l'aide de nombreuses personnes qui nous ont fourni surtout des indications bibliographiques. Tous nos remerciements vont à Mmes Amina Abdrahman, Ayşe Kayapınar, Liying Kuo, Irène Mélikoff, Hedda Reindl-Kiel et MM. E. de la Vaissière, T. Moriyasu, A. Popović, S. Yerasimos et au regretté A. Tietze. Les cartes ont été dessinées par Elisabetta Borroméo. Que tous trouvent ici l'expression de notre reconnaissance.

¹ *Abdal*, dans *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, t. I, Leyde-Paris, 1960, p. 97-98. Article en deux parties par I. Goldziher (p. 97) et H.J. Kissling (p. 97-98). *Ebdal* dans *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, t. IV, Istanbul, 1945, p. 3-4 par I. Goldziher. L'article ne retient que le sens de soufi remplaçant.

أبدال Abdāl

es-Şairānī, el-Yavākīt, c. II, s. 82

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القول الدال على حياة الخضر ووجود الأبدال
نوح بن مصطفى الرومي (v. 1724, 248)

- Nuh b. Mustafa
- Hizir
- Abdal

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الخبر الدال على وجود القطب والأوتاد والنجباء والأبدال
لجلال الدين السيوطي؛ صححه وعلق عليه عبد الله محمد الصديق
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- Süyuti
- Abdal
- Ricala - Gayb
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أبدال Abdāl

es-Şairānī, el-Yavākīt, c. II, s. 78

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ABDAL

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to Islam and under the early caliphate. His fabulous wealth rivaled that of the Umayyad ʿUthmān and of Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh of the Banū Taym b. Murra. Like them, he became a great benefactor of the early Muslim community. Recognised as chief of the Banū Zuhra, he provided generously for the Zuhri emigrants in Medina. After the death of Muḥammad, he donated large sums of money to support the Prophet's widows, who were deprived of any inheritance from the Prophet by the legal judgment of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, based on the claim that the Prophet had stated that prophets do not have heirs.

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22 Ocak 2016

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GÖZLENDİĞİ DOKÜMAN

WILFERD MADELUNG

Abdalan-i Rum (Abdals of Rum), literature

Abdalan-i Rum (Abdālān-i Rūm, from the Tu. sing. *abdāl*) refers to “dervishes” coming from Rum, the former Roman territories of Anatolia. They are historical figures who lived from the seventh/thirteenth century until about the end of the ninth/fifteenth century. The **literature** about them is often legendary. Of the few of their literary works that have been pre-

served, most are posthumously recorded hagiographies or utterances only ascribed to individual figures. Much of this literature was apparently handed down orally for some time, raising serious concerns about the authenticity of many passages. The language consists of Old Western Oghuz varieties close to Ottoman; some texts contain shorter passages in Arabic and Persian.

The Abdalan-i Rum literature consists largely of hagiographies. These are usually called *vilāyetname* (*vilāyet-nāme*, “book of sainthood”), *menakab* (*menākāb*, “legends”), or *menakab-name* (*menākāb-nāme*, “book of legends”). Mostly in prose, sometimes in verse, and sometimes in a mixture, they give more or less legendary accounts of a saint's lives, journeys, and thoughts.

Probably the oldest relevant literary text, dating from the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century, is *Menāqibu'l-qudsiyye fī menāşibi'l-ünsiyye* (approximately, “Holy legends about esoteric ranks”; the original title has no definite articles before *menāqibu* and *menāşibi*) of Elvan Çelebi (Elvān Çelebi, d. after 760/1358–9). The work contains more than two thousand couplets (*beyt*), most of which follow the *mesnevi* (*mesnevi*) rhyme pattern (aa, bb, cc...). The work describes the saintly life of Baba İlyas, the leader of the Babai (Bābāʿī) revolt of 1240 and the great-grandfather of Elvan Çelebi. It also presents many details about the lives of the early Abdalan-i Rum. There is significantly more historical fact included in it than in most of the works discussed below, which are more legendary and fictional. The *Menāqibu'l-qudsiyye* established a religious framework that has shaped much of subsequent Abdalan-i Rum literature.

One of the oldest *vilāyetnames* (*vilāyet-nāmes*) that has come down to us is dedi-

On the identity of the Syrian *abdāl*

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Abstract

Scholarly discussion of the *abdāl* (substitutes) has been limited to their appearance as the members of a saintly hierarchy first alluded to by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. 295/905–300/910) and systematized by Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240). However, unlike the other members of this hierarchy, the *abdāl* are also known through the hadith, one of which is attributed to ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. This article explores this hitherto unstudied hadith material arguing that the concept originated in hadith circles with a specific purported context, the showdown between the Syrians and Iraqis at the Battle of Şiffin (37/657). A gradual loss of this context went hand-in-hand with the emergence of the mystical saintly *abdāl*. As monistic Sufism penetrated all elements of Mamluk society, the boundary between the *abdāl* of the traditionists and of the mystics became porous. This paper concludes with an examination of the ensuing debate on the authenticity of the concept.

Keywords: Sufism, Saints, Syria, Battle of Şiffin, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, Ibn ‘Arabī, Ibn Taymiyya

Introduction

Sometime in the ninth/fifteenth century, the prolific Mamluk scholar al-Suyūfī (d. 911/1505) felt compelled to compose a tract entitled *The Report Demonstrating the Existence of the Poles, the Substitutes and the Pegs*, having heard “that some ignoramuses deny what is well known through the authority of the saints about the existence of *al-abdāl* (substitutes) [...]”.¹ One surmises that these unnamed ignoramuses were the few scholars who, starting in the sixth/twelfth century, included traditions about the *abdāl* and other saints in their works on spurious and fabricated hadith. This attack on *abdāl* had culminated with Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), who disputed the existence of the saintly hierarchy on more than one occasion. In their defence of this Muslim saintly hierarchy, al-Suyūfī and other scholars consistently turned to the case of the *abdāl* as they were the only type of saint attested in a hadith.

For al-Suyūfī and his peers, *al-abdāl* (alternatively *budalā’*, sing. *badīl/badal*) of the hadith tradition were typically 40 saints associated with a place, Syria. In some circles, their disappearance was said to herald the end times as they were tasked with the protection of the world from calamity. Generally, the mystery behind their name, derived from the verb “to substitute”, was

¹ There are a number of editions of this treatise. I am using here the edition that appears in al-Suyūfī’s collection of fatwas, *al-Ḥāwī li-al-fatāwī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1983), 2: 241–55.

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