

ANATOLIAN SUFISM: HĀCİ BAYRAM VELİ

Before 1429, Mehmed Yazıcıoğlu came face to face with Hacı Bayram Velî of Ankara, who would profoundly change his life and leave an indelible stamp on his own biography and that of his brother. The Yazıcıoğlu implied that this meeting offered each of them the profoundest illumination. Mehmed said that he considered him 'the sultan of *shaykhs* and the seal of the *shaykhs* – the moon Hacı Bayram, pole of the world, the *shaykh* of the world, its king-Hacı-Bayram'. Ahmed introduced him as 'sultan of the *shaykhs*, threshold of thresholds, pole of the truth-seekers, the most perfect of the proximate ones, guide to the people, Hacı Bayram'. It seems impossible to overstate the centrality of this Sufi *shaykh* to the lives of both Yazıcıoğlu brothers. To set the brothers' first meeting with their teacher in the context it deserves, one must first locate Hacı Bayram's life within late-fourteenth- and early-fifteenth-century Anatolia.

Hacı Bayram Velî of Ankara was the most renowned mystical figure of Anatolia during his lifetime. Around such a figure biographical information tends to proliferate and grow unreliable, as later writers levy the saint's prestige in the service of contemporary concerns. Accordingly, many of his putative associations, such as the story of his friendship with the poet Eşrefoğlu Rumi of İznik, seem to be based only on much later sources of dubious reliability.⁵⁶ Yet, all these hagiographical sources preserve a core story.⁵⁷ According to common narrative elements shared by several sources, Hacı Bayram was born around 1350 in the town of Şolfaşl (*Dhū al-faḍl*) near Ankara. His Sufi teacher was Ḥamīdu'd-dīn Aksarayī, a student of Khvāje 'Alī Ardabīlī, grandson of Şafī al-dīn Ardabīlī, the founder of the Şafavī Sufi order that would become so important to global history over the following centuries. Of south-central Anatolian origin, Ḥamīdu'd-dīn studied in Ardabil in Azerbaijan, then ruled by Tīmūr, in a pattern also shared by the founders of the Ḥalvetī order. The *Mir'ātü'l-ısq* refers to Ḥamīdu'd-dīn's migration from Ardabil with the phrase 'in the time of Khvāje 'Alī Ardabīlī, the secret of love', revealed by the Prophet first to 'Alī, 'flew [from Iran] to Rum' in his person.⁵⁸ Ḥamīdu'd-dīn is said to have gone to Bursa and there to have given a sermon at the opening ceremony of Bursa's Ulu Cami in 1399, on the seven ways of understanding the *Şurat al-Fātiha*, which impressed Molla Fenarī.⁵⁹ In that city he became known as Şomuncu Baba, the 'Loaf-making father', for the bakery he operated there. Leaving Bursa for reasons attributed to Tīmūr's invasion – or more likely, considering the direction of travel, because of possible competition with the Naqshbandī-aligned Sufi leader of the city, Emir Sulṭān Buḥārī – Şomuncu Baba spent time in a certain village in the

Çukurova region of southern Anatolia near Sis and Adana, called Nebî Süfî, where Hacı Bayram met him around 1402, addressing him as 'my sultan'.

Hacı Bayram himself had spent the previous years as a teacher in the Melike Hatun Medrese in Ankara; the *Semerāt* asserts that he then rose to serve as *qapucubaşı*, a high courtly rank, for Sultan Bāyezīd I – but this assertion is not upheld by any other evidence. Similarly dubious is the claim, advanced by both Michel Balivet and Fuat Bayramoğlu, that the elderly-Muslim *müderriş* who encountered the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos in Ankara in 1391 and is immortalised in his record of their lengthy mutual debate, the *Dialogues with a Persian*, was Hacı Bayram himself.⁶⁰ Both scholars accepted Manuel's claim that his Turkish interlocutor was 'the most famous scholar of the land' and 'acquainted with the sultan' and concluded from this that he could be none other than the famous saint before his Sufi initiation. However, Palaiologos' *müderriş* mentioned having recently arrived from Babylon – in Manuel's archaicising idiom, this could mean Baghdad, Tabriz, or Cairo – and that he was already an old man. In 1391, Hacı Bayram was neither old, nor had he come from abroad.

After Şomuncu Baba gave Hacı Bayram the red *tāc* of his own parent order, the Şafaviyya, they travelled together to Syria and the Hijaz, performing the Hajj jointly, before Şomuncu Baba sent Hacı Bayram to Ankara to continue his mission. According to the *Mir'ātü'l-ısq*, Bayram asked Ḥamīdu'd-dīn: 'But how shall I earn my keep there? I know no arts. What should I do?' Ḥamīdu'd-dīn told him to raise crops, particularly legumes.⁶¹ By the time Şomuncu Baba died around 1412 in Aksaray, Hacı Bayram's community had grown to a significant size and had sponsored the construction of a major mosque-*zāviye* complex for his followers in Ankara. This mosque-*zāviye*, which still stands today, shares its site with the remains of the Roman Temple of Augustus, constructed in 25 BC to celebrate the emperor's conquest of Galatia; throughout the pre-Christian Roman period, the temple had served as focus of the imperial cult. Hacı Bayram Velî's own foundation, by contrast, seems to have evoked the *aḥī* history of Ankara, alongside the resistance to the imperial cult of Murād II.⁶² According to the *Semerāt*, Hacı Bayram had even spent a period in spiritual retreat alongside Şeyḫ Bedre'd-dīn Simavī. Having grown alarmed at the growing following of a Sufi in an independent city outside his central lands, Murād summoned him to Edirne in 825/1422 by sending, according to this text, a *subaşı* to retrieve him. In the *Semerāt*'s telling, by the time they had crossed into Rumeli, the *subaşı* had become Hacı Bayram's disciple, and when they reached Edirne, the sultan, seeing

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HACI BAYRAM VELÎ (1430) (080077)

Gökhan Coşgun^(*)

"Anadolu'nun İlk Dinî Musiki Bestekârı."

Hayatı

Oğuz Türklerinden olan ve Anadolu'da doğup neşvünema bulan Bayramiyye tarikatının kurucusu ve piri Hacı Bayram Velî, 14. Yüzyılın ilk yarısında Ankara'nın Solfasl (Zü fazl) köyünde dünyaya gelmiştir. Asıl adı Numan'dır. Hocası ve şeyhi Somuncu Baba olarak tanınan Hamîdüddin Aksarâyî'ye (1412) intisabından sonra ismi Hacı Bayram olmuştur. Babasının adı Koyunluca Ahmed, dedesinin adı ise Mahmud'dur. Doğum tarihi kesin olarak bilinmemekle birlikte kaynaklarda 1339-1350 yılları arasında zikredilmektedir. Annesi hakkında mezarı dışında bir bilgi bulunmamaktadır. Anadolu'nun merkezinde dünyaya gelen Hacı Bayram'ın ilk eğitimiyle ilgili bilgiler yok denecek kadar azdır. İlk eğitimini Şeyh İzzettin'den aldığı bildirilse de tarihi kronoloji açısından bu pek mümkün görülmemektedir. Eğitimi hakkında bilgiler sınırlı olsa da sohbetlerinde Fahreddin Irakî'nin (1289) Leme'ât adlı kitabını okuması ve açıklaması onun iyi derecede Arapça, Farsça bildiğine delildir. Kaynaklarda onun hem müspet hem de dinî ilimlerde mahir olduğu bildirilmektedir.

Hacı Bayram Velî eğitimini tamamladıktan sonra Ankara'da bulunan Kara Medrese'de müderrislik yapmaya başlamıştır. Bir rivayete göre şeyhi Somuncu Baba Kayseri'de ikamet ederken halifesi olan Şücaeddîn-i Karamânî'yi Ankara'ya gönderir. Şeyh Karamânî Ankara'da medresede müderrislik yapan Hacı Bayram Velî'yi bulur ve Somuncu Baba'nın kendisini çağırıldığını söyler. Hacı Bayram Velî bu daveti kabul eder ve Kayseri'ye

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Hacı Bayram-ı Veli (080077)

Hacı Bayram-ı Veli (Ḥāccī Bayrām-ı Velī) (749?-833/1348?-1430) was the founder of the (Bayrāmī) *tarika* (*ṭarīqa*, lit., “way,” i.e., Ṣūfī order), which inspired the later (Melāmī) order (formed shortly after Hacı Bayram’s death, and whose members have worn since the origin the normal clothes of their day, and are followers of the doctrine of the “oneness of being” (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) going back to the teachings of the famous mystic of Andalusian origin Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 638/1240 in Damascus)). There are no extant sources from his period that refer to him, and what is known is based on sometimes conflicting sources of various types from the tenth/sixteenth century, most of Melami origin. Using these, a number of works, some scholarly and some popular, have been published about his life and his order, with the oldest being those of Bursa Mehmed Tahir (Mehmed Tahir, 1278/1861–1925) and Mehmet Ali Ayni (Mehmed ‘Alī ‘Aynī, 1286/1869–1945) and the most recent that of Edhem Cebecioğlu.

Hacı Bayram’s name, accompanied by laudatory *laqabs* (nicknames), appears as Hacı Bayram b. Ahmed b. Mahmud

(Ḥāccī Bayrām b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd) in the witness section of two *vakfiyes* (*waqfiyya*, endowment deed), one dated 831/1428 and the other 832/1428–9 (Mehmed Tahir, *Ḥāccī Bayrām-ı Velī*, 6; Bayramoğlu, 1:12; Erdoğan, 10; Azamat, 14:442–7). Contrary to the legendary accounts in the *menakabnames* (*menāqibnāmes*, hagiographies), these two records provide historical evidence of his existence. He was born in the village of Zülfazl (Dhū l-Faḍl, today’s Solfasol) on the banks of the Çubuk river in Ankara (Lāmi‘ī, 684; Mecdī, 77; Kefevī, 437; Sarı ‘Abdullāh, 233; Evliya Çelebi, 2:28). Early historical sources provide no information about his date of birth, while later ones give a variety of different dates, including 740/1339–40, 749/1348, and 758/1357. His father’s name is also found in the above-mentioned *vakfiyes*, listed as Koyunlu (Qoyunlu, or Koyunluca/Qoyunluca) Ahmed (Aḥmed) (ḥaqqī, 73). There is no information about Hacı Bayram’s family, and his actual name was Numan (Nu‘mān) (al-‘Askarī, 202; Bursa, ‘Oṭmānī *mu‘ellifleri*, 56; Hocazāde Aḥmed Munīb, 68).

Hacı Bayram reportedly had a good and thorough childhood education, was “skilled in the rational sciences and the