

Dream Motif in Turkish Folk Stories and Shamanistic Initiation

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Some Turkish folk stories (*Halk Hikayesi*),¹ especially those revolving around the biography of an *Âşık* (Turkish Bard) start with a dream motif complex. The following is a representative sample:

“Kurbani (the hero of the story) is beaten again by his older brother and sent to fetch more wine. He reaches *Viranşehir*, a city, and figures out that he has passed the city when his gray horse stops at *Sekerbulak* fountain, near the grave of the Three Holy Ones (*Üçler Mezarı*). He gets off and drinks some water, has an ablution, performs two *rikat*'s of *namaz*,² and falls asleep while praying: “O my God! Free me from the hand of this crazy brother.” Holy men and saints (*Pirler ve Erenler*) gather around him while he is sleeping. A gentle voice reaches his ears whispering “Open your eyes Kurbani, and see the wonders of this world.” Kurbani opens his eyes and sees three Dervishes leading forty others who all have green heads and faces illuminated by a holy light. The Forty Holy Ones (*Kırklar*) say to each other, “Let us offer him forty cups of wine (*dolu*), one from each of us!” Their leader objects and says: “The right number for this young boy is three, he cannot come to life again if we give him forty cups of *dolu*.” They fill

1. Cf. for Turkish Stories, (*Halk Hikayesi*) Başgöz, İlhan, Turkish Folk Stories about the lives of Minstrels, *Journal of American Folklore*, 65, (1952), No. 238.

Eberhard, Wolfram, *Minstrel Tales from Southeastern Turkey*, Berkeley, 1955.

Boratav, Pertev, *Türk Halk Hikayeleri ve Halk Hikâyeciliği*, Ankara, 1946.

2. Daily religious performance of Islam.

the cup, and offer it to Kurbanî saying, "Take this, boy! It is the wine of love (*aşk şarabı*)." Kurbanî grasps the handle of the cup and wants to drink it. But when he is about to drink it he is told, "Pay first the cost of the *dolu*, and drink it later; do you know for whose love this cup is?" Kurbanî replies, "No." "This is for the love of God, who created the 18,000 worlds." Kurbanî says, "I am ready to pay the price," and empties the cup in the name of God. The 366 veins in his body start burning and the 248 bones shivering. "I am burning, father," he says. They offer a second cup of *dolu* to Kurbanî and say, "You will be refreshed when you drink the second one." Kurbanî asks, "For whose love is this, father?" "This is for the love of the 124,000 prophets; the 313 prophets (*Mürselin*); for the prophet Mahommed; for the Twelve Imams (*On İki İmam*); the Seventeen *Kemberbest*;³ the Three Ones; the Five Ones; the Seven Ones, and for the love of the Invisible Saints (*Gaip erenleri*)." Kurbanî empties the second cup and feels wonderfully refreshed. They bring a big mirror (*endâm aynası*) and say to Kurbanî, "Take the curtain away from your eyes (*gafler perdesini gözlerinden aç*) and see the real world." They show the world to Kurbanî as if it were on a plate. Kurbanî sees strange cities, houses and all the human beings who had lived before. The holy persons say, "Look, boy, and choose." Kurbanî sees a big palace and a beautiful maiden in the garden. The girl is also looking at him. One of the *Pirs* holds one hand of the girl; the second *Pir* holds the other and puts a love potion into the hand of the girl; whereupon she offers it to Kurbanî and says, "Take it, *Âşık Kurbanî*; you will become a minstrel, (*Âşık*). I am the sister of *Ziyat Khan*, the Khan of *Gence*. You will face many great dangers searching for me. However, finally, you will be mine, I will be yours." Kurbanî takes the wine (*aşk Dolusu*) from her hand and drinks it. The *Pirs* say, "This is your punishment; you must bear it. We will help you whenever you are in trouble." Kurbanî opens his eyes while he is trying to embrace the maiden. He understands that it has all been a dream and that he has been trying to embrace a tombstone instead of the maiden. He falls to the ground and faints when he learns reality. Blood and froth pour from his mouth and nose. He remains there for six nights and days. Seeing Kurbanî in a dream, a

3. The seventeen persons who were initiated first to the Tarikat (Religious Order) by Ali the Chalif.

pregnant woman informs his father of what has befallen the boy, and thus Kurbanı is brought home. His mother sings and plays a musical instrument (*saz*) lamenting the state of her son. Kurbanı opens his eyes when the strains of the *saz* reach his ears, he takes the instrument from the hand of his mother and starts to play it; to improvise poems, and to sing, using his revealed name."⁴

The above dream is a common pattern of a dream motif complex in Turkish folk stories. In these stories such a dream takes place when the hero is at the age of puberty. *Âşık İlyas* states that he has his first nocturnal emission six months after the dream.⁵ In these stories, the dream always comes after a moral or physical ordeal; it is induced by the desperation and disappointment of the heroes. *Âşık Emrah's* father hits him so hard across the mouth that it starts to bleed.⁶ Dede Kasım becomes exhausted after a hard day of plowing. Losing all his physical strength, he sits down and sleeps.⁷ Karacoglan breaks an old woman's water jug, and she curses him.⁸ *Âşık Garip* loses all the wealth inherited from his father and fails to find a job.⁹ Abbas of Tufargan gets very excited and feels sorry when he visit his father's grave.¹⁰ Nuri of Tokat receives a blow on his back and rolls down from a mountain.¹¹ If the dream does not follow such an ordeal, it comes after the hero prays to God to free him from his trouble. In most instances the dream takes place at a holy site. Graves and fountains are two of the most common settings for the dream. Emrah of Erciř has such a dream while sleeping by the graves near a fountain or in a cemetery. Abbas of Tufargan sleeps on his father's tombstone and Kurbanı has a similar dream while sleeping on the tomb of the Three

4. The story of Kurbanı; recorded from *Âşık Müdami*, The Archives for Turkish Folklore (ATF), University of Indiana, Uralic-Altai Department. Call No. B.2.2.

5. Kazmaz, Süleyman, *Çıldırli Âşık İlyas Anlatıyor*, Ankara, 1946.

6. The story of *Âşık Emrah*, ATF. B.2.1.

7. The story of Dede Kasım, unpublished text, in the private library of Mr. Boratav.

8. The story of Karacoglan and Ismikân Sultan, Radloff Proben, VII, pp. 297-333, Petersburg, 1896.

9. The story of *Âşık Garip*, ATF. B.2.4.

10. The story of Tufarganlı Abbas, unpublished manuscript in the private library of Mr. Boratav.

11. (Onay), Ahmet Talat, *Âşık Tokatlı Nuri*, Çankırı, 1933, p. 14.

Holy Ones next to a fountain. Summani sees a maiden in a dream, under the shade of a martyr's tombstone. *Âşık İlyas* visits a holy site and has the dream while he is returning. In some stories holy places turn into holy times. *Âşık Garip*¹² and *Âşık İhsani*¹³ have their dreams on a kadir night.

In the dream a holy person or persons offer a cup of wine (*Aşk badesi, dolu*) to the hero or sometimes have a maiden offer it. These persons are *Hızır İlyas*, The Three Holy Ones (*Üçler*), The Forty Holy Ones (*Kırklar*), The leader of the Forty Holy Ones, *Piri Mугan*; three dervishes, a *Pir*, the Caliph *Ali*, or just an old man or woman. Despite the variety of the holy persons, their role is always the same:

They offer one or three cups of wine (*dolu*) to the hero or to the heroine, or they have them offer it to each other;

They introduce a beautiful maiden to the hero and give him her name and her whereabouts;

They predict the future of their love;

They give a pseudonym to the hero to use in his poetry;

They offer their services whenever the hero or heroine needs them.

After the hero has had the love potion from the hand of a holy man, a flame of fire consumes his body. He faints and falls, blood and froth issue from his mouth. He remains three, six, or seven days in this state. Afterwards an aged lady comes to the hero. Only she understands his trouble, while everyone else thinks that he has gone mad. She brings a *saz*, and plucks the strings.

12. *Aşık Garip, ibid.*

13. *Aşık İhsani ve Güllüşah*, Ankara, Resimli Posta Printing office, no date, but appeared in 1950's, p. 9.

The story of *İhsani* is the only one which breaks the dream motif pattern. He reports his dream:

"I was eleven years old; I found myself in a rose garden on a holy night (*Kadir Gecesi*) and saw a cloud of steam rising from among the roses. The cloud separated into two portions, and a beautiful maiden emerged. We glared at each other for a while, and when she addressed me by my name, I called her *Güllüşah*. My body sweated a great deal, blood and froth came from my mouth. I became mute and was unable to speak."

The hero opens his eyes upon hearing the strains of the instrument. He takes it and begins to improvise poetry, to play the *saz* and to sing, using his revealed name. Thus he becomes a poet inspired by a cup of wine (*badeli âşık*), a poet inspired by God (*hak âşığı*).

The dream motif complex which contains the above elements occurs only in Turkish *hikayes* collected from oral tradition. Some European and Asian folk tales and medieval romances have the love portion motif, while others have the motif of falling in love through a dream, but these themes are never connected to the poetical ability of the hero. This fact leads one to search for the origin of the motif complex in the cultural background of the Turkish people.

The dream motif complex in Turkish folk stories provides a valuable case to illustrate how a ceremonial rite—a shamanistic initiation rite—turns into a fiction motif through long social and historical development. There is a striking resemblance between the initiation of a candidate into a shamanistic profession and the dream motif complex which initiates the candidate into the new life of an artist and lover.

There were three ways of becoming a shaman among Turco-Mongols. The first was by spontaneous vocation (the call or election), the second by hereditary transmission of the shamanic profession, and the third by personal request. But by whatever method he may have been designated, a shaman was recognized as such only after having received two kinds of instruction. The first was ecstatic (dreams, visions, trances). The second was traditional (shamanistic techniques, names and functions of the spirits, mythology etc.) This two-fold instruction, imparted by the spirits and the older master shamans, constituted initiation. Sometimes initiation was public and included a rich and varied ritual. However, the lack of a ritual of this sort in no way implied the lack of an initiation. It was perfectly possible for the initiation to be performed in the candidate's dreams or ecstatic experiences. The general pattern of such initiations was as follows:

A youth is called to be a shaman by the souls of dead shamans or by spirits. The youth goes through a psychological crisis, becomes absent minded, seeks solitude, sings in his sleep, and easily loses consciousness. His soul is carried away from his body during sleep to meet celestial spirits, demigods, or gods. The soul is instructed by these spirits or gods. He learns

shamanistic treatment, technique and the culture of his new future life.¹⁴

This magical travel and instruction comprised the initiation of a shaman. Being struck by lightning, falling from a high tree, being beaten or having extreme fatigue may also have led to becoming a shaman. Australians who wished to become medicine-men, lay and slept by tombs.¹⁵ The Siberian shaman may remain in ecstasy for three or seven days without eating or drinking. The mystical numbers three and seven have an important role in shamanism.¹⁶ Among the Yakuts the novice hid in a forest, threw himself into water and fire, and cut himself. After ten or more days he returned to his village blood-stained and babbling incoherently.¹⁷ In shamanistic dreams the novice may also lose blood and receive new blood in exchange. The Asian shamans conceived of their magico-religious power as a 'burning' and expressed it in terms connected with heat. At the end of their ecstatic travels, Samoyed shamans experienced the presence of the Supreme Lord, who showed them the tree from which their tambour should be made. This tambour, which has many purposes in shamanism, could also be used to awaken a shaman from his ecstatic state. If the shaman remained in a state of ecstasy after administration of the treatment to a patient in a 'healing' ritual, his tambour was brought and beaten three times. When the shaman heard the instrument he snapped out of his trance and opened his eyes.¹⁸ Among various Tunguz groups the shamans used mirrors to seek out the spirits residing in the world.¹⁹

The initiation rite of a shaman; the mystico-religious power provided by the gods or spirits, which open the way to a new life through a dream, and most of the elements connected to the shamanistic life; inner burning, remaining in the state of ecstasy, losing blood, the role of a musical instrument; the fatigue; and the beating leading to the initiation of a shaman are almost identical to the dream motif complex in the Turkish folk stories. The three stages of a shamanistic initiation ceremony:

14. Eliade, Mirçae, *Shamanism, Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, Boelingers Series LXXVI, New York, 1964, pp. 111-143.

15. Eliade, *ibid.*, p. 45.

16. Eliade, *ibid.*, p. 278.

17. Eliade, *ibid.*, pp. 35-37.

18. Eliade, *ibid.*, p. 203.

19. Eliade, *ibid.*, p. 154.

the ordeal; the symbolic death of the previous personality; and the start of a new life as a different person, also fit the general pattern of the dream motif complex. One more argument which unquestionably links the rite to the dream motif complex can be cited. This is the appearance of female spirits in the magical travel of a shaman. These female spirits can be considered the prototypes of the maidens in the dream motif. A Goldi shaman described his relation to the protective female spirit, 'Ayami', as follows:

"Once I was asleep on my sick-bed, when a spirit approached me. It was a very beautiful woman. Her figure was very slight. Her face and attire were quite as those of one of our Gold women. She said, 'I am the *Ayami* of your ancestors, the Shamans. I taught them shamaning. Now I am going to teach you. You are become a shaman. I love you, I have no husband now, you will be my husband, I shall be a wife unto you. I shall give you assistant spirits. You are to heal with their aid, and I shall teach you and help you myself. Food will come for us from the people.' She has been coming to me ever since, and I sleep with her as with my own wife."²⁰

Every Teleut shaman has a heavenly spouse who lives in the seventh celestial sphere. They meet during his ecstatic travels and she invites him to eat with her.²¹ Sternberg considers that the primary element in shamanism is sexual emotion.

The sex element in the dream motif is also evident. Dreams take place in these stories to those at the age of puberty. The hero always tried to embrace the maiden, sometimes kissing her. The dream induces love between the heroes and the heroines.

As has been seen, the initiatory dreams of Turco-Mongol shamans, and the elements surrounding the magico-religious life of shamans, must have been transformed into a fiction in Anatolia by the intermediary role of mysticism. It is known that the Turkish *Sufis*, who were half-poets and half-dervishes, brought their shamanistic culture into Anatolia. Their paganistic culture survived in Islam, especially by means of '*Batini*' orders—mystical brotherhoods.²²

The poetry of Anatolian *sufis* and their biographical legends

20. Eliade, *ibid.*, p. 72.

21. Eliade, *ibid.*, p. 72-73.

22. Köprülüzade M. Fuat, *Influence du chamanisme Turco-Mongol sur les ordre mystiques musulmanes*, Istanbul, 1929.

have, in fact, the two main elements of the dream motif complex. In their poetry they discover the divine secret of the world when they receive a cup of wine from the hand of a spiritual leader. The following are some selections from their works:

Çün ol badeden içtik, mest olduk hayran olduk.

Barak Baba.²³

(Because we drank from this wine, we became fascinated, and intoxicated.)

Muhabbet camın içeriz, mest olup serden geçeriz.²⁴

Dukakizade Ahmet.

(We drink the wine of love; we sacrifice our lives in fascination.)

Senin hüsnündür ey dilber bu aşk ehlin eden hayran,²⁵

Senin aşkm şarabıdır cigerleri eden büryan.

Ismail Maşuki (Oglan Seyh).

(O maiden! It is your beauty that fascinates lovers;
It is your wine of love that inflames hearts.)

İçmeyen vulsat şarabın yar elinden dembedem,

Benzer ol mahiye ki ummanı bilmez kandedir.²⁶

Sarban Ahmet.

(One who does not drink the wine of union continuously from the hand of his sweetheart,

Is like a fish in the sea, who does not know where the sea is.)

Dost elinden dolu içmiş deliyim,

Ustü kan köpüklü beşe seliyim.²⁷

Pir Sultan Abdal.

(I am mad with wine drunk from the hand of a friend,

I am a summer flood mixed with blood and foam.)

23. Gölpınarlı, Abdalbaki, *Yunus Emre hayati*, Istanbul, 1936, p. 204.

24. Gölpınarlı, Abdalbaki, *Vizeli Alaeddin (Kaygusuz)*, Istanbul, 1933, p. 75.

25. Gölpınarlı, Abdalbaki, *Melamilik ve Melamiler*, Istanbul, 1931, p. 52.

26. Gölpınarlı, *Melamilik*... p. 59.

27. Başgöz, İlhan, *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Antolojisi*, Istanbul, 1956, p. 35.

Çok meşayih sohbetin gördüm sözün guş eyledim,
Ellerinden hem muhabbet camını nuş eyledim.²⁸

Lamekani Hüseyin Efendi.

(I witnessed the talk of many sheiks, and listened to their words,
I drank also the wine of love from their hands.)

After receiving a cup of wine, the *Sufi* poets depict their situation in the following terms: "My heart is burning; my heart has melted, I am delirious, I have awakened from a blind sleep." These expressions refer to a kind of ecstasy which follows drinking a cup of holy wine from the hand of a spiritual leader, *pir*. To drink a cup of wine and fall into ecstasy, in the poetry, is a miniature form of the dream motif complex of folk stories. The name for a cup of wine, '*dolu*', '*şarabı aşk*', '*aşk badesi*', '*Camı muhabbet*', etc. and the name of the spiritual leader *Pir, Sah, Piri mugan, Ali, Seyh*, etc., are exactly the same in both poetry and folk stories.

The love potion motif which is a mere poetical image in the poetry of the Ottoman classical poets, becomes the description of an initiation rite in the poetry of Halveti, Melami, Alevi-Bektaşî poets. Kalender abdal narrates his initiation rite in verse, although the narration in poetical form is not common in Turkish folk poetry:

Dün gece seyrimde, seyrim içinde,
Hünkar Hacı Bektaş Veliyi gördüm.
Elif taş başında nikap yüzünde,
Aşh Imam nesli Veliyi gördüm.

Geçti seccadeye oturdu kendi,
Cemali nurundan çiraglar yandı
İşaret eyledi sâkiler sundu
Bize Hak'tan gelen doluyu gördüm.

İçtim ol doludan aklım yitirdim
Çıkardım kisbetim ikrar getirdim,
Menzli gösterdiler geçtim oturdum
Kement ile bağlî belini gördüm.

28. Gölpınarlı, Melamilik... p. 81.

Mürşit eteginden tutmuşum destim,
 Bu idi muradım erişti kastım
 Bilmem sarhoş muyum bilmem ki mestim
 Erenler verdigi dilimi gördüm.

Kalender Abdal'im koymuşum seri
 Sükül kurban kestim gördüm didari
 Erenler serveri gerçekler eri
 Sultan Hacı Bektaş Veli'yi gördüm.²⁹

(Last night in my dream, I saw Hunkar Hacı Bektaş Veli.
 An 'elîfi taç' on his head, and veil over his face
 I saw Ali's and the Twelve Imams' predecessors.

He went to the prayer rug and sat there,
 The candles were lit from the divine light of his face,
 He ordered, and stewards offered wine.
 I saw the cup of wine descended from God.

I lost my mind as I drank the wine,
 I took off my clothes and took the vow.
 They showed the place, I went and sat down
 I saw his waist tied with a belt.

I grasp the skirt of 'mürşit'
 It was my wish, I attained it
 Am I delirious? Am I drunk? I do not know,
 I saw the food given us by 'erens'

I am Kalender Abdal, I dedicated my life in service
 I made a sacrifice and saw the face of my leader
 The master of spiritual leaders and the true believers,
 I saw Sultan Hacı Bektaş Veli.

This poem is a re-enactment of an Alevi Ritual, *Âyini Cem*.
 In this brotherhood the novice serves for some time under the
 supervision of a senior member of the brotherhood, and under-

29. The poem of Kalender Abdal was recorded in 1956 from Kamer Emir of Erzurum. Kamer Emir who is an Alevi Dede, played and sang this poem as a ritual semah, i.e. traditional dance which is performed in Alevi Ayini Cem ritual. ATF. E.5.

goes certain tests before he is initiated. In one of the ordeals, the novice is wrapped in a shroud like a corpse and instructed in the moral conduct that will be expected of him. Then he is led to a holy site with a cord around his neck, like a sacrificial animal. The holy site on which the rite takes place is called '*Mohammed Ali Meydani*' The Place of Mohammed and Ali the Caliph; or '*Dar-i Mansur*' the Place where Mansur was hanged. The novice here stands up in a supplicative position before the '*Mürşid*', the spiritual master of the order. A large wine jug is brought, and the steward offers a cup of wine to the '*Mürşid*', who takes a swallow and then offers the same cup to the novice. After the novice takes a swallow, the cup is offered to all the men and women participating in the ceremony. One of the traditional dances in the ceremony is called "the wine came", '*dem geldi semahı*'.³⁰

Among the Tahtaci Alevi the wine cup bearing the name '*dolu*' is offered by a lady steward, as it is offered by a maiden in the dream motif.³¹

The Alevi initiation rite, like all other initiation ceremonies, is the repetition and recapitulation of the first primordial model which Alevi believe occurred in the initiation of the Prophet Mohammed into the brotherhood by Ali. Alevi tradition keeps the memory as follows:

"One day the prophet Mohammed visited Fatima's home while an initiation ceremony was going on. Ali was initiating the Forty Holy Ones, offering each a cup of grape juice '*üzüm suyu*'. Mohammed knocked on the door, identifying himself as a prophet. They answered, 'There is no place for a prophet in this house', and refused to open the door. After waiting for a while and taking a message from Gabriel, Mohammed knocked again, identifying himself as a '*fakir*', poor man. They opened the door. Ali, who was the spiritual master of the ceremony, offered a cup of grape juice to Mohammed. Mohammed had already been given prophetic qualities and by drinking the juice he discovered the mystical meaning of the world."³²

There is no doubt that the origin of the poetical expression

30. Samancıgil, K., *Bektasilik Tarihi*, Istanbul, p. 55.

31. Yılmaz, Kemal, *Tahtacılarda Adet ve Gelenekler*, Ankara, 1948, pp. 28-30.

32. Gölpınarlı, Abdülbaki, *Yunus Emre Divanı II*, Istanbul, 1948, pp. 698-699.

comes from the above initiation rites. *Sufi* poets use "a cup of wine" given by the hand of a master as a device to rejuvenate their initiation rites. The same phenomenon, i.e. the reflection of initiation ceremonies in fiction, is also seen in the biographical legends of Turkish Sufis and poets:

"Mahdumkulu, the Turcoman poet, goes to Mecca in his dream, reaches the presence of the Prophet Mohammed. The Prophet prays for Mahdumkulu and hits him across the forehead as a result of which Mahdumkulu becomes a well known poet."³³

Hakim Süleyman Ata gains poetical ability after Hızır İlyas spits in his mouth. Hızır says to him, "Speak out and show your talent."³⁴

Kaygusuz Abdal serves his Master Abdal Musa for forty years and becomes a poet when he swallows a piece of paper written by his sheik, Abdal Musa.³⁵

Yunus Emre serves his sheik for forty years and begins to improvise poetry upon the words of Taptuk Emre, his sheik. Taptuk says to him: "It is time Yunus spoke up."³⁶

Seyh Semseddin Mardini sees the Prophet Mohammed in his dream. The prophet offers a piece of meat which causes his mystical awakening.³⁷

It is not possible, of course, to discover all the details of initiation ceremonies in legends. It is also wrong to suppose that all mystical brotherhoods in Anatolia have detailed and well-established rituals. An initiation ceremony may be as short as the above expression in legends. For example, Halveti and Melami orders have a lack of detailed public ceremonies. The initiation for them consists of a simple glance by the *Pir* into the hearts of novices. In Hamzavi orders there is no initiation ceremony at all. The reciprocal love between the novice, and the spiritual leader, is sufficient to initiate a candidate into the brotherhood.³⁸

The initiation rites in Alevi-Bektaşî orders and in other mystical brotherhoods played an important role in the trans-

33. (Boratav) Pertev Naili, *Köroğlu Destanı*, İstanbul, 1931, p. 81.

34. (Körprülü) M. Fuat, *İlk Mutasavvıflar*, İstanbul, 1928, pp. 99.

35. Dagi, Yahya Muhtar, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, İstanbul, 1941, p. 22.

36. Köprülü, *İlk mutasavvıflar*, p. 292.

37. Yazici, Tahsin, *Ariflerin Menkabeleri*, Ankara, 1948, p. 228.

38. Gölpınarlı, *Melamîlik*, pp. 192-194.

ference of many elements from Shamanistic ritual into the dream motif in Anatolia. This transformation must have taken place in the 16th century. It was at this time that the centralized Ottoman *Sunni* government became less tolerant toward the religious practices of the Batini orders, especially of Alevi-Bektasi *tarikats*. The political influences of Iran among Anatolian Siis, and the great drive against them by young Sultan Selim (1512-1520) made their religious practices very difficult to perform openly. This suppression helped the transformation of religious practice into fiction motifs. It was also at this time that a new type of poetry—the poetry of *Aşıks*, began to appear. The literature of old Ozans and the epic themes disappeared. Human love became the dominant theme in folk poetry. The development of the epic toward the modern novel—the creation of folk stories—also took place in this century. Eastern Anatolia, which has close geographic and cultural connections with Iran can be proposed as the area of this transformation.³⁹

In spite of the above explanation, the “cup of wine” in the dream motif complex requires further discussion. Having a cup of wine as a transmitter of the sacred knowledge is an essential element in folk stories. However, the Shamanistic initiations do not place emphasis on the role of the cup of wine. Sometimes it is completely omitted in Shamanistic ceremonies. There are references to eating and drinking between the shaman and his protective female spirit, but this drink is not a cup of wine which transmits the sacred knowledge of the shamanistic profession. Does the introduction of a “cup of wine” as a new element in Turkish folk stories belong to Mediterranean culture? Historical evidence inclines us to answer this question positively. Eliade maintains that to drink something in order to become ecstatic originated in Iran and related to the magico-religious life of Iranians. By the time of Zoroastrianism Iranians knew the technique of ecstasy induced by hemp smoke and by a mixture of wine.⁴⁰ In all Islamic mystical literature the origin of a cup of wine is attributed to Camshid, the Iranian legendary king, and the name given to a cup of wine is *Cami Cem* (the wine cup of Camshid). The drinking of wine at sacred feasts was a part of seasonal festivities and dramas in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and in Ancient Greece. Christianity keeps the tradition as part of initia-

39. Eberhard, *ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

40. Eliade, *ibid.*, p. 399.

tion ceremonies. In spite of the hostility of Islam toward wine, the role of a cup of wine continued under Islamic domination—it was sometimes substituted with a cup of sherbert or brine.⁴¹

The dream motif in the folk stories of Asian and Middle Eastern peoples substantiates our opinion. The earliest reference to “a cup of wine” in a story, is found in Anatolia in the story of Odatis and Zariadres,⁴² and belongs to Iranian culture. The dream motif in the literatures of the peoples other than Anatolia has no connection to “a cup of wine”. The wine motif disappears in the Arabic and Indian stories which have the dream motif, but seeing a maiden in a dream, and falling in love with her, is preserved.

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The transformation of an initiation rite into a fiction motif has been discussed by folklorists such as Paul Saintives,⁴³ Jean

41. For the role of a cup of wine or sherbet in the Middle East:
J. O. James, *The Ancient God*, Capricorn edition, New York, 1960,
pp. 65, 159, 254;

Weston, J. L. *From Ritual to Romance*, pp. 75-76, 166;
History of Herodotus, Book IV, p. 208.

A cup of sherbet as a substitute for wine in Turkish wedding ceremonies:

Barlas, Ugur, *Maras Düğünleri*, Istanbul, 1962, p. 14.

Barlas, Ugur, *Kayseri Düğünleri*, Istanbul, 1963.

Kalkanoglu, Mehmet, *Sarkışla Düğünleri*, Türk Folklor Arastirmalari,
66 (1955), p. 1054.

A cup of sherbet which makes a woman pregnant causes a birth:

Gölpınarlı, Abdalbaki, *Haci Bektaş vilayetnamesi*, Istanbul, 1956,
p. 3.

A cup of sherbet given to a woman after giving birth to a child: in
child-birth: (Lohusa Serbeti,) *Türk Folklor Arastirmalari* 84 (1956),
p. 1339.

Ateş, Ahmet, *Süleyman Çelebi ve Melvid*, p. 96.

A cup of brine in Futuvva:

Gölpınarlı, Abdalbaki, *Burgazi ve Futuvvetnamesi*, p. 138.

Köprülü, M. Fuat, *Ilk Mutdsavvıflar*, p. 239.

A cup of flame:

Köprülü, *ibid.*, p. 44.

For the mystical interpretation of a cup of wine and a wine cup:

Levent, A. Sirri, *Divan Edebiyati*, Istanbul, 1943, p. 46.

42. Athenaeus, *The Dipnosophists or Banquet of the Learned*.
(Translated by C. D. Yonge), Vol. III, p. 919, c. 35.

43. Nourry, Émile, (pseud. P. Saintyves), *Les contes de Perrault*,
Paris, 1923.

de Vries,⁴⁴ Weston⁴⁵ and Eliade.⁴⁶ But the incidence of initiatory elements is so complete and convincing in the Turkish case that it encourages us to seek the origin of dream motives in the magico-religious life of Asian Shamanism. Is the dream motif in European and Asian folk literature derived from the Shamanistic initiation? The actual situation of our knowledge on European Shamanism does not permit us to discuss the European aspect of the problem. I can only make a reference to the theory which asserts that the origin of the European dream motif is Oriental. As to Asia, we have enough material either on shamanism or on the dream motif which enables us to establish a connection between the dream motif and Shamanistic initiation rites.

The dream motif in the literature of the Arabs, Persians, and Hindus has some elements which can also be found in the Shamanistic initiation. In the story of Usha and Anirudha,⁴⁷ in the story of King Vikramaditya,⁴⁸ in Kissai Lal ü Gevher,⁴⁹ in the story of Khamrab and Kala,⁵⁰ in the Masnavi of Yusuf and Zaliha,⁵¹ heroes and heroines see each other in a dream, they all have a protective figure, a magician, a dervish, a brahman, or a female ascetic. Their roles are similar to the protective spirits of shamans. With their help the heroes and heroines are brought together and marry each other. Types of ecstasy, which are an important element in Shamanism, also follow the dream in these stories—for example, losing the mind, attempting to burn themselves, undergoing different types of love sickness.

In an Arabic story—the story of Abunnazar,⁵² the dream motif has more shamanistic elements than other stories. Abunnazar, the hero of the story, loses his mind after seeing a maiden

44. Vries, Jan de, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1935, 2nd ed., 1956-1957.

45. Weston, J. W., *From Ritual to Romance*, New York, 1957.

46. Eliade, Mirçae, *Shamanism*.

47. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. III, p. 81.

48. Penzer, *ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 34.

49. Ajiz Mudammed, Kissai Lalü Gevher. Tassy, Garcin, *Hist. de Litt. Hindoue*, Paris, 1870, Second ed., p. 49.

50. Cuassin de Perceval, *Les Aventures de Kamrup and Kala*, *Journal Asiatique*, 15 (1835) p. 450.

51. Jami, *Kitabi Yasef and Züleyha* (Translated by Alexander Roger) London, 1892.

52. Basset, R., *Mille et une Contes, Recits et Legends Arabes*, Paris, 1924, pp. 126-138.

in his dreams; he begins to tremble, weep and lament, loses control of his senses and becomes mute. An old magician intervenes to find the maiden by means of a journey. While travelling the hero breaks off a tree branch, sits on it, and flies off. This flight on the branch of a tree is very common in Shamanism. Shamans make their celestial travels straddled upon a tree branch that represents a horse. Rene Basset relates the role of the magician in the story to the role of Hızır Ilyas in the Turkish folk stories.⁵³ It is not impossible that Hızır Ilyas in the Turkish folk stories assumes some of the roles of the protective spirit of Shamans.

The dream motif, even in the earliest reference, that is to say, in the story of Odatis, has been connected to the religious life of the barbarians. Chares of Mitylene says "The story of this love is often told by the barbarians who dwell in Asia Minor, and exceedingly admired. They have painted representations of the story in their temples, palaces, and also in their private houses."⁵⁴ If there was no connection between the story and the religious life of the barbarians why have they painted these representations in their temple?

The dream in folk stories of the Middle East and Asia, the kind of love sickness which follows it, the intervention of a protective person, are the elements which may be derived from Asian Shamanism. However, there is a social factor which exerts great influence on the survival of the paganistic culture in these stories. This is the opposition of Christianity and Islam to paganistic culture and practices.

The professional artists who narrated such stories were constantly under attack by Islam and Christianity. The difficulties that troubadours had with the church in Europe are well known. The same is true for the Turkish bards (*âşık*). Their songs and musical instruments were considered proof of heresy by orthodox Moslems. For example, when *Âşık Dertli* (19th century) was threatened with having his instrument broken because it contained evil spirits, he defended it saying:

"Is it inside or outside
Where is the Satan

53. Basset, *ibid.*

54. Athenaeus, *Ibid.*, p. 919.

Is it on the edge or on the inlay
Where is the Satan in this instrument?

It does not object to your ablution
It does not object to your rituals
It does not take bribes like hodjas and kadis (judges)
Where is the Satan in this instrument?"⁵⁵

Bowra states in Heroic Poetry: "Christianity is not the only religion which sometimes causes inconvenience to its bards. Islam is capable of doing something of the same kind. The Uzbek bard, Fazil Yuldashev, was in the early years of this century summoned before the spiritual judge of his district, called Safar. Fazil began to sing Rustam, but was interrupted by Safar, who asked: 'Did Rustam live before the Prophet Mohammed or after?' Knowing that Rustam was a heathen, he forbade Fazil to sing his song. Later Fazil was again summoned and began to sing of Rustam, The judge stopped him and asked if he had forgotten that he was forbidden to sing of subject. When Fazil explained that this was another Rustam, the judge said: 'But this Rustam, of whom you sing, also lived before Mohammed and was a heathen'. Fazil replied that Rustam was a Mohammedan and a great warrior, the son of a sultan, and this satisfied the judge sufficiently to let him bid Fazil proceed."⁵⁶

For the same reason, Firdevsi,⁵⁷ who offered his book *Shahname* to a Muslim sultan, deleted the wine motif of the story of Zariadres and replaced it with a bunch of roses. All these stories which were printed or written in urban centers—which were also the centers of strong religious influence—omit the dream motif which has a close connection to the paganistic culture, or the details of the motif were changed to such a degree that one could not easily link them to the religious life of the Shaman. It is only the Turkish folk stories from the countryside which preserved the dream motif in its complete form. The detailed description of the dream motif of the same story disappears when the story is printed, for example, in Istanbul.

Ibn Hazm, the 10th century Muslim writer from Spain,

55. Boratav, P. N.—Firlati, H. V., *Halk Sïri Antolojisi*, Ankara, 1943, p. 161.

56. Bowra, C.M. *Heroic Poetry*, London 1964, p. 425.

57. Firdevsi, *Le Livre des Rois* (tr. Jules Mohl), Paris, 1876, *Histoire de Kitaboun, Fille du Kaiser*.

furnishes further evidence which indicates that the dream motif was considered proof of heresy. He writes to a friend who falls in love, seeing a maiden in his dreams: "To see a maiden in a dream, and to fall in love with her, is a great sin."⁵⁸ This accusation is, no doubt, directed to the connection of the dream motif to paganistic culture.

Scholars such as Rohde,⁵⁹ Radermacher,⁶⁰ Krappe,⁶¹ and Ruben⁶² maintain that the origin of the dream motif is oriental. Their arguments are based merely on the early existence of the motif in Asian folk literature. They fail to furnish further evidence to prove their theory, with the exception of W. Ruben who states that the motif may have originated from the primitive beliefs of some tribes in India. The girls of these said tribes believed that they would marry the men whom they saw in their dreams. The following morning they searched for these men of their dreams.⁶³

Our discussion establishing an organic link between the dream motif and the magico-religious life of the Turco-Mongol Shamans more thoroughly substantiates the origin theory of the dream motif.

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The involvement of sex, of dream and of religious life in the dream motif deserves also the attention of psychologists. However, the topic is beyond the scope of our present discussion.

58. Abu Muhammed Ali ibn Hazm el—Andalusi, *Tauq* (A.R. Nykl, *The Dove's Neck-Ring*), Paris, 1931, p. 27.

59. Rohde, Erwin, *Der Griechische Roman...*, Leipzig, 1914.

60. Radermacher, L., *Rhein...Museum fur philo.* LXXI.

61. Krappe, N. A. H., *Studies on the Seven Sagas of Rome*, *Archivum Romanicum* 19 (1935), p. 213.

Sur un épisode présumé historique de l'Orkneyinga Saga, *Revue des Questions Historique* 4 (1928), p. 346.

Ancient Conte Iberienne, *Revue Hispanique* 81 (1933), p. 346.

62. Ruben, W., *Roznihan ve Mahfiruza*, *Ülkü XVII* (1941), No. 484.

63. Ruben, *ibid.*