

**THE EFFECTS OF THE ABOLITION ON THE BEKTASHI  
ORDER**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY**

**BY**

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**IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
IN  
THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

**SEPTEMBER 2012**

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

### THE EFFECTS OF THE ABOLITION ON THE BEKTASHI ORDER

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September 2012, 75 pages

The abolition of the Bektashi Order in 1826 was a turning point for Bektashism. Although the Order was abolished, Bektashism continued to exist clandestinely. The reasons of the abolition are explained extensively by the chroniclers which gave official reasons of the abolition. One of the reasons is that Bektashism was abolished due to its connection with the Janissary Corps. Following the abolition Bektashism was subjected to severe control of the Ottoman Empire. Initially, some Bektashi disciples were exiled, and others were executed in Istanbul. The Bektashi *tekkes* were destroyed and their *waqf* revenues were confiscated. Thus, the structure of the Bektashi Order changed after the abolition without ceasing.

Moreover, it is known that the Bektashi tradition in the nineteenth century declined. As a result of the abolition, the unity within the Order ended, and the leadership struggle within Bektashism between the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* became apparent. In this sense, from this struggle within the Order arose issues, such as lineage claims, the representation problem and *waqf* administration. In the historical context the Ottoman Empire was interested more in the *Çelebi* branch. On the contrary, the *Babagân* branch did not have any official relation with the Ottoman Empire. Therefore the *Çelebi* branch

played an important role in comparison with the *Babagân* branch. In this thesis, I analyze the discussions inside the Order resulting from the abolition on Bektashism, which were voiced by the main branches of the Bektashi Order at the end of the nineteenth century.

Key words: Abolition, Bektashism, Bektashi Order, *Çelebi*, *Babagân*.

## ÖZ

### KAPATILMANIN BEKTAŞI TARİKATI ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİLERİ

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Eylül 2012, 75 sayfa

Bektaşî Tarikatı'nın 1826'da ilgası Bektaşîlik için bir dönüm noktasıdır. Bektaşîlik Tarikatı kapatılmasına rağmen, Bektaşîlik gizlice var olmaya devam etti. Tarikatın kapatılma sebepleri kapatılmanın resmi sebeplerini veren vakanüvîsler tarafından geniş olarak anlatıldı. Bu sebeplerden birisi Bektaşîliğin Yeniçeri Ordusu ile olan ilişkisidir. Bu anlamda tarikat devletin sıkı kontrolüne maruz kalır. Öncelikle, bazı Bektaşî müritleri sürgüne gönderilir, ve bazıları İstanbul'da idam edilir. Bektaşî tekkeleri de yıktırılır, ve tekkelerin vakıf gelirleri müsadere edilir. Böylece, ilgadan sonra Bektaşîliğin yapısı durmaksızın değişir.

Dahası Bektaşî geleneğinin on dokuzuncu yüzyılda düşüşe geçtiği bilinmektedir. Kapatılmanın sonucu olarak, tarikat içindeki birlik sona erer ve Bektaşîlik içinde *Çelebi* ve *Babagân* kolları arasındaki liderlik mücadelesi görünür olur. Bu anlamda, tarikat içindeki bu mücadele soya dayalı iddialar, temsiliyet sorunu ve vakıf yönetimi hakkı gibi tarikat içinde tartışılan konulara sebep olur. Tarihsel bağlamda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu *Çelebi* kolu ile daha ilgilidir. Diğer taraftan, *Babagân* kolunun Osmanlı devleti ile resmi hiçbir bağı yoktur. Bu sebeple *Çelebi* kolu *Babagân* koluna kıyasla daha önemli bir role sahiptir. Bu tezde, tarihsel bir olayın analizinden hareketle, ondokuzuncu

yüzyıl sonunda, Bektaşiliğin ilgasının bir sonucu olarak, Bektaşî tarikatının ana kolları tarafından dillendirilen tarikat içindeki Bektaşilik üzerine yapılan tartışmalar incelenmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: ilga, Bektaşilik, Bektaşî Tarikatı, *Çelebi*, *Babagân*.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many people helped me and contributed to this study. Before all, I would like to express my gratitude to my advisor, Nesim Şeker. I would also like to thank my co-advisor Rıza Yıldırım. This study would not have been possible without their guidance, critics and encouragement.

I would also like to thank the thesis committee members, Selçuk Dursun, Mustafa Şen and Ş. Akile Zorlu Durukan for their careful readings and comments which helped to improve this thesis.

Moreover, during this hard period, my friends from history department around me with their endless encouragement. I would like to express my gratitude to them. I am especially grateful to Figen Uzar Özdemir who did proof readings for me and critiques; and to Nimetullah Yaşar whose support is undeniable. He always came in time of need like a '*Hızır*'. Also, Sibel Doğan, my dear friend, was with me in every moment I needed her.

I would also like to express my deep gratitude to Meriç, my love, for his confidence in me with proof readings, constant critiques in this study. You made the life bearable to me. You, as always, are my succor and my strength, and were always in my mind, heart while I was reading and writing.

My special thanks in gratitude go to my dear big family, Nurten, Havva, Serap, Ahmet Tugay and Kemal İmren, who devoted their lives to me, for their limitless love, support and encouragement which I have tried to be worthy of.



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BOA : Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi  
EI<sup>2</sup> : Encyclopaedia of Islam  
İA : İslam Ansiklopedisi  
IJMES : International Journal of Middle East Studies  
OTAM : Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmaları Merkezi  
TDVİA : Türkiye Diyânet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi

## CHAPTER 1

### INRODUCTION

The Bektashi Order has been one of the oldest and largest extant religious orders originating in Anatolia. It had a wide influence within the Ottoman Empire, and was the official Order of the Janissary Corps. In this respect the image of the Bektashis during the nineteenth century deserves scholarly attention. The Order was not immune from the social and political changes that the Ottoman Empire underwent during the nineteenth century. One of the key events in the transformation of the Order in the nineteenth century was the abolition of the Janissary Corps and the prohibition of the Order. Following the suppression of the Janissaries on June 15, 1826, the Bektashi Order was abolished on July 8, 1826.

After the abolition, Bektashism was identified by the Ottoman Empire as ‘dissident’ and the Order went from being officially recognized to a clandestine organization. This brought about a social and political change of climate for the Order. This thesis will elaborate on this theme, and try to explain the effects of 1826 upon the Bektashi Order and examine the changes within the Bektashi Order after 1826. After the first quarter of the nineteenth century since the Bektashi Order existed clandestinely there was no longer a clear-cut definition for the Bektashi followers. Being Bektashi at the beginning of the nineteenth century was completely different from what it came to mean at the end of the century. Due to the complicated and uncertain meaning of the word, it is not a simple matter to summarize the content and boundaries of the term.<sup>1</sup> Due to these complications, it is necessary to evaluate how the Bektashis themselves described their inner structure to gain a better understanding of the Order.

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<sup>1</sup> Rıza Yıldırım provides detailed information on how to resolve the terminology problem by focusing on the question of who is called Bektashi. Rıza Yıldırım, "Bektaşî Kime Derler?: 'Bektaşî' Kavramının Kapsamı ve Sınırları Üzerine Tarihsel bir Analiz Denemesi", *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi*, No.55 (2010), pp. 23-58.

Research into the history of the order will eventually reveal a two-fold struggle within Bektashism dating back to the sixteenth century. This divide within the order concerning its structural unity as well as its dogma is of utmost importance in understanding the historical inner development of the Order. By examining the Order from this aspect, the study also aims to examine the history of Bektashism in respect of this divided structure that became apparent by the end of the nineteenth century and shows that the bonds that held the Order together were decomposing after the abolition.

The primary sources for conducting this research are increasing everyday as new materials become available in the form of catalogued archival documents, and reprints of the historical materials. Regarding the aim and the scope of the study, the use of primary sources is limited to four treatises; *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd fî Def'i'l Mefâsîd*<sup>2</sup> [translated as The Real Bektashim], two volumes *Bektâşî Sırrî*<sup>3</sup> [the Bektashi Secret], and *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm Risâleye Müdâfa'â* [The Defense against the Bektashi Secret]. These documents give detailed accounts of the debated issues, concerning lineage claims, the representation problem and rights of the *waqf* administration, within the Order throughout the nineteenth century.

Sûfîsm had a profound influence in the spread of Islam throughout the world from India to Spain and the Ottoman lands were no exception. Taking into consideration the Sûfî's social, political and religious importance within the Ottoman society as well as the intelligentsia, it is important to briefly review the situation for the Sûfî orders in the Ottoman Empire, one of which was Bektashism. In the second chapter of this thesis the Sûfî Orders in the

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<sup>2</sup> The first treatise titled *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd fî Def'i'l Mefâsîd*, was written by Ahmet Rifat Efendi, and this treatise was published in 1293 (1876). Birge mentions *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd fî Def'i'l Mefâsîd* was printed at the expense of the mother of Abdülaziz. John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, (London: Luzac & Co, 1937), pp. 80-1.

<sup>3</sup> Following Ahmet Rifat's book, the first volume of *Bektâşî Sırrî* [The Bektashi Secret] treatise was written by Ahmet Rıfîkî, was published in 1325 (1907-8). Then, Ahmet Rıfîkî published the second volume in 1328 (1910-1), after of which the second volume of *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Cemaleddin Çelebi published *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm Risâleye Müdâfa'â* [The Defense against the Bektashi Secret] in 1328 (1910-1). Ahmed Rıfîkî published his *Bektâşî Sırrî'nin Müdâfa'âsına Mukâbele* [Response to the Defense to the Bektashi Secret]. These treatises are in a single binding located at the Süleymaniye Manuscript Library. Ibid.

Ottoman Empire are described with special emphasis on Bektashism. Due to the role of Bektashism in the foundation of the Janissary Corps, Bektashism gained importance as an Order. It was not only important in its role of forming a military order for the Janissaries as in the Christian Templars, or the Hospitallers in Europe, the Bektashi order was still a Sûfî order and had other social and political roles and associations within Ottoman society. Although the Order derived much of its power and influence from its association with the military, the Order also spread into many parts of civilian Ottoman society. The political role of Bektashism and its alternative unifying religious characteristics enhanced its value within the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the Bektashi Order was the only non-Sunnî order which was officially recognized by the state after the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> It is assumed that on the eve of *Tanzimat*, the abolition of the Bektashi Order was the most important event in the history of the Sûfî Orders in the Ottoman Empire.

A brief description of the orders within Ottoman society with whom the Bektashis shared their sphere of influence would be useful for a better understanding of the issue. Also a historical background to the development of the Bektashi Order within the Ottoman society and its spread into the layers of different classes is deemed necessary. The second chapter of this thesis also gives the historical background to the reflections on the abolition of the Bektashi Order. By the abolition in 1826, the Bektashi Order had lost its earlier prestige within the Ottoman Empire since its practices which were deemed heretical by the state. Yet, Bektashism continued to exist clandestinely. Another important issue is to consider why the state suddenly decided that the Bektashi Order was heretical. In order to find the answer to this question, it is essential to examine the developments in this time period during which the order turned from official to clandestine. Studies undertaken so far on this topic have mainly revealed the state perception of the issue with reference to the chronicles; *Üss-i Zafer*, *Târih-i Cevdet*, *Târih-i Lütî*. However unfortunately, this approach only reveals the state ideology of the time and does not shed light

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<sup>4</sup> Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Bektaşilik", *TDVİA*, Vol. 5, (Istanbul, 1992), p. 373.

on other aspects of the issue such as the self-perception of the Bektashis as well as their responses and views to the political developments that forced them into secrecy after the abolition of the Janissary Corps. In this respect, the analysis of four treatises will allow a view of the non-state perspective for the subject as well. In this sense, it examines the situation when the Bektashi *tekkes* started to function again without legal restrictions.

The inner structure of the Bektashi Order can also reveal the reactions of the Order to the developments as well as the reasons behind certain perceptions of Bektashi Order by the state. As in the case of any order, or rather any organization, it would be erroneous to assume that the Bektashi Order was a monolithic structure without any divisions and factions. In fact there was a well-known division which had historical, political and traditional roots within the Order. The third chapter is about the division within the Bektashi Order into two branches: the *Çelebi* and *Babagân*. What is known for certain is that, according to the traditional knowledge, the *Çelebi* and *Babagân* branches date back to the sixteenth century. The tension between these two branches accelerated as a result of the abolition of the Order in 1826. The four treatises which form the core of this thesis give an insight into the struggle, the discourses of the branches and the change in the balance of power within the Order. In order to reveal the discourses of the branches, I have tried to evaluate further how these groups construct their legitimization discourses and in ways in which they utilize it.

Also in the third chapter, I will explore these discourses by explaining the issue of leadership in the main *tekke* where the struggle occurred. Thus, it will become possible to understand how the leadership bases were constructed concerning the claims of the right to the *waqf* administration (*tevliyet*) and lineage. I will also mention an important practice of the leadership example which was the visits of the *Çelebi* branch to Istanbul. This was the pinnacle in the struggle of the leadership between the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* branches. The thesis will end with the conclusion chapter which will cover a general analysis of the thesis with some additional comments.

In order to understand the Bektashi point of view from within; it is necessary to observe the Bektashi literature on the issues concerned. Since this thesis is not a mere analysis and a repetition of the studies done so far based merely on the state archives and thus the state perception of the Bektashi Order, the examination of the Bektashi literature of the time gains importance for the core of this study. It would be beneficial give a brief summary of the Bektashis' literary activities, and present an overview of their standing within the tradition and the history of Bektashism. The suppression that the Bektashis had undergone in 1826 was decreased with the beginning of the reign of Abdülaziz (r. 1861-76). As a result, many authors found suitable ground for their thoughts on Bektashism.<sup>5</sup> Considering the four works to be investigated here, *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd fî Def'i'l Mefâsîd* became a model for the succeeding three treatises.<sup>6</sup> Following Ahmet Rifat's book, two volumes of *Bektâşî Sırrî*<sup>7</sup> treatise, written by Ahmet Rıfkî. More specifically, Ahmet Rifat Efendi's treatise is important because it gives information about the origins of Bektashism. Cemaleddin Çelebi Efendi, who was a descendant of Hacı Bektaş Veli, wrote a challenging treatise against *Bektâşî Sırrî*, titled as *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm Risâleye Müdâfa'â*. The above-mentioned treatises showed the internal debates about Bektashism itself, and so, I will try to understand how they locate themselves within the Bektashi history.

Furthermore, the previous literature on the issue which has been so far can also not be ignored since these studies are also important as guidance in addition to the primary sources by giving new insights and suggestions to the

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<sup>5</sup> Birge introduced the books published between 1867 and 1911 in his important monograph, Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, pp. 78- 81.

<sup>6</sup> Ahmet Rifat Efendi worked in the Ministry of Treasury (Maliye Nezâreti). He died in 1876. Also, he spoke Arabic and Persian languages. Ahmet Rifat Efendi, *Gerçek Bektaşilik: Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd fî Def'i'l Mefâsîd*, transcribed by Salih Çift, (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2007), p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> In his treatises, Ahmed Rıfkî was interested chiefly in creeds, faith and history of the Order. When Ahmed Rıfkî began to be interested in Bektashism is not known. There is an article about Ahmed Rıfkî's literary activities. According to the author of this article, Ahmed Rıfkî became a Bektashi *Baba*, which is an important office within the Bektashi Order. Hayriye Topçuoğlu, "Bektaşî Ahmet Rıfkî, Hayatı ve Eserleri", *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi*, No. 19, (2001), pp. 112-5.

issue. There are several comparative studies, which the author of this thesis got inspired. These are the secondary sources which make clear historical framework of the issue; they are used to analyze the issue comprehensively. As a major source John Kingsley Birge's monograph *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, which was published in 1937, is still an authoritative book as a beginning to the Bektashi studies.<sup>8</sup> One of the secondary sources is Suraiya Faroqhi's study titled *Der Bektaschi-Orden in Anatolien* which was published in 1981, and then it was translated into Turkish *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik* [Bektashism in Anatolia]. Faroqhi's book draws a general picture of the Bektashi *zaviyes* in Anatolia between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Faroqhi encompasses the development of the Bektashi Order between the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Faroqhi, also, attempts to open the events between 1826 and 1835 by the analysis of the different aspects. In the light of this analysis, Faroqhi calls attention to unknown reactions of the sheiks against the abolition.<sup>9</sup> In addition to Faroqhi's prominent book, she has an important article titled "The *Tekke* of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities" published in 1976. It is mainly about the functioning of *tekke* of Hacı Bektaş.<sup>10</sup> In addition, A. Yılmaz Soyzer's book *19. Yüzyılda Bektaşilik* [the Bektashi Order in 19<sup>th</sup> Century] is a book which influenced my study.<sup>11</sup> Soyzer carefully examines the Bektashi Order during the nineteenth century with regards its structure, history. He used archival documents to show the relations of the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* branches as an important dimension of the issue.

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<sup>8</sup> The work presents the perspective of the *Babagân* branch. Yıldırım in his article, "Bektaşî Kime Derler?", calls attention to this significant point. In preface part of Birge's book, there were the names of helpers. To illustrate, Salih Niyazi *Baba* was one of them, and was the last *Babagân* representative after 1925. See, Yıldırım, "Bektaşî Kime Derler?...", p. 26; Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, pp. 11-2.

<sup>9</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, translated by Nasuh Barın, (İstanbul: Simurg Yayınevi, 2003), p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "The *Tekke* of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities", *IJMES*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (April, 1976), pp. 183- 208.

<sup>11</sup> A. Yılmaz Soyzer, *19. Yüzyılda Bektaşilik*, (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 2005).



Moreover, there are three theses which focus on the abolition of the Bektashi Order and the policy of the Ottoman Empire. One of them is a master thesis, *Yeniçeri Ocağının İlgasından Sonra Bektaşî Tarikatı* [Bektashi Order after the Abolition of the Janissary Corps]<sup>12</sup> written by Mesut Ayar in 1998. Ayar focuses on only the abolition decision, and analyses both the reasons and the results of the decision upon the Bektashi Order.

The second study is Fahri Maden's unpublished Ph.D dissertation, *Bektaşî Tekkelerinin Kapatılması (1826) ve Bektaşîliğin Yasaklı Yılları* [Closing Down of the Bektashi Lodges (1826) and Forbidden Years of Bektashism]<sup>13</sup>. This study focuses on the abolition process based on archival documents, and gives detailed information about the measures which were taken by the Ottoman Empire in particular against Bektashism. The author extensively analyzes the forbidden years of the Order by pointing out how the Order became active although it was forbidden.

In addition, there is another Ph.D dissertation by Muharrem Varol entitled *Bektaşîliğin İlgası Sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Tarikat Politikaları (1826-66)* [The Tariqat Policies of the Ottoman State after the Abolition of the Bektashi Order (1826- 66)]<sup>14</sup> draws attention to the general picture of the Ottoman State's policies towards the Sufî Orders after the abolition of the Bektashi Order. Particularly, the modernization and centralization process of the Empire accelerated the systemization of the Orders officially starting with the foundation of The Imperial Ministry of Endowments (Evkâf Ministry). Then, the Council of Sheiks (Meclis- i Meşâyih), which was founded in 1866, made all the *tekkes* dependent on the authority of this council. All of these intensive studies draw attention to the abolition of the Bektashi Order and its effects on Bektashism.

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<sup>12</sup> This thesis was published in 2009, see Mesut Ayar, *Bektaşilikte Son Nefes: Yeniçeriliğin Kaldırılmasından Sonra Bektaşilik*, (İstanbul: Giza, 2009).

<sup>13</sup> Fahri Maden, *Bektaşî Tekkelerinin Kapatılması (1826) ve Bektaşîliğin Yasaklı Yılları*, Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi, 2010).

<sup>14</sup> Muharrem Varol, *Bektaşîliğin İlgası Sonrasında Osmanlı Devleti'nin Tarikat Politikaları (1826-66)*, Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2011).

The Bektashi Order is not important only in terms of its relationship with the Janissary corps. This order was one of the largest orders who penetrated deep into the Ottoman society. To sum up, throughout the different chapters of the thesis, the analysis of the Bektashism in the nineteenth century begins with the abolition of the Bektashi Order. This thesis begins with the abolition of the Janissary Corps and the loss of the Bektashi Order's political power as a result of this. The developments taking place after the abolition are important in reflecting the power as well as the weaknesses of the order in diffusing within the Ottoman society. The Bektashi literature which is taken at the center of this research is crucial in revealing the Bektashi points of view rather than the standing of the state.

## CHAPTER 2

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BEKTASHI ORDER

#### 2.1 The Religious Orders in the Ottoman Empire

Since the thirteenth century, there were Sûfî doctrines and religious orders in Anatolia. According to İnalçık, it is possible to divide the religious orders in the Ottoman Empire into two groups. The first group had *tekkes* that were supported by the income of the *waqfs* founded by the sultans or notable people. The Orders in the first group, such as the Mevlevî<sup>15</sup>, the Naqshibandî<sup>16</sup>, the Khalvetî<sup>17</sup>, had a well-defined organization and fixed rites and ceremonies. Additionally, these sects generally dwelled in the cities, and the members were from upper classes as well. The second group was composed of the secret orders known as the Malâmî or the Malâmatî<sup>18</sup> groups in general. The remarkable feature of this group is that they did not establish any relation with the state, and they were even against the authority of the state.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Mevlevî Order was organized in the fourteenth century. Further, the Order split into two branches; one group adopted Sunnî doctrines and the other had heterodox tendency under name of Şemsîism. Also, the Order advanced during the seventeenth century, and after this century Mevlevî Order was one of the respectable Sufî groups. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler (15.-17. Yüzyıllar)*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2003), p. 129 ff. In this sense, Trimmingham describes Mevlevî Order as “an aristocratic, intellectual, and cultural fraternity, finding a following and patronage among the classes corresponding to these terms.” See, J. Spencer Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 74.

<sup>16</sup> For more details see, Butrus Abu- Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2001).

<sup>17</sup> For detailed information see, Frederick De Jong, “Khalwatiyya”, *EF<sup>2</sup>*, Vol. IV., (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), pp. 991-3.

<sup>18</sup> The Malâmatîyya is the name of general Islamic mystical tradition. It first emerged in Iran in the 3<sup>th</sup> (9<sup>th</sup>) century. The term is used in the Ottoman Empire for a heretical offshoot of the Bayrâmiyya. Moreover, the Malâmatîyya appeared as a sect in Anatolia in the first quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> (16<sup>th</sup>) century. For more information and discussions, see Frederick De Jong (et al.), “Malâmatîyya”, *EF<sup>2</sup>*, Vol. VI, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), pp. 223- 228.

<sup>19</sup> Halil İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, translated by Norman Itzkowitz and Colin Imber, (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 190-1.

It is worth mentioning that there were the Bayrâmî, the Hurûfî and the Bektashi orders which had been established in the fifteenth century and which belonged to the above-mentioned second group. These orders had similar features with regards to rites, practices and their secrecy. Bayramî Order was established in the beginning of the fifteenth century by Hacı Bayram Veli (d. 1430). After the death of the founder the Order split into two branches, and one group adopted the Sunnî Islam following the lead of Akşemseddin. The other group adopted the Melâmî doctrines. As a result of the Melâmî tendency, the second branch was always treated with caution by the Ottoman Empire.<sup>20</sup> Also, Hurûfî Order which was established in Persia in the fourteenth century began to be widespread in Rumeli and Anatolia at the beginning of the fifteenth century. However, its expansion into the Ottoman lands encountered many difficulties. The severe pressure on the Hurûfîs continued increasingly until the sixteenth century. Later, Hurûfî practices entered into Bektashism, and its influence became evident in Bektashi thought.<sup>21</sup>

The last and the most influential one of these was Bektashism. As a matter of fact, the Bektashi Order spread for the first time among the Turkmen groups, and Bektashism included the elements of the other Orders known as the Kalenderî, and the Khaydarî. It is known that Bektashism had a considerable influence on the spread of Islam among the Christian population in Rumeli as a result of its tolerance and eclectic structure.<sup>22</sup>

The changing relations of the Bektashi Order with the Ottoman State are noteworthy at this point. The Order became affiliated with the Janissary Corps by the fifteenth century. After the sixteenth century, Bektashi *babas* began to hold a permanent representative position that is named as the 94<sup>th</sup> Regiment

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<sup>20</sup> In the sixteenth century, because of the second branch Bayramî Order turned to be Melâmîsm. Because of this feature of Bayramî Order, Ocak points out that Bayramîsm was the most important and wide base social movement which objected to the Empire and its official ideology. Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar...*, p. 125.

<sup>21</sup> İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire...*, p. 191-3.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 205. On the Alevi religious traditions in the Balkans, and both on the differences and similarities in Islamic and Christian heterodox cosmogonic, see Yuri Stoyanov, "Islamic and Christian Heterodox Water Cosmogonies from the Ottoman Period: Parallels and Contrasts", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (February, 2001), pp. 19-33.

[Orta] in the Corps. As a result of this relation, the Order became important.<sup>23</sup> The affiliation of the Order with the Corps meant the connection of the Order with the Ottoman administration through the Corps. An important consequence of this relation is that the Bektashis did not charge as a result of their doctrines and innovations. However, the attitude of the State changed gradually, and the Bektashi Order fell with the Corps in 1826.<sup>24</sup> In other words, that was a collapse of an alliance.

Another point that is worth mentioning in this connection is that the Sultans intervened to the internal affairs of the Order beginning with Balım Sultan. Ocak stresses that Balım Sultan was appointed by Bayezid II (r. 1481-12) in 1501 to the main *tekke*.<sup>25</sup> To put it differently, the Order was founded officially in the sixteenth century under the Ottomans' protection. Moreover, Ocak adds that until its abolition, Bektashism supported the Ottoman central administration almost throughout its whole history.<sup>26</sup> Due to these characteristics of Bektashism, as Barnes explains, "Bektashism represented a unique case."<sup>27</sup> As indicated, the Bektashi Order had become a part of Ottoman society over time.

As Ocak states the Bektashi Order was also integrated with Qızılbaş groups. Moreover, the tendency of Shî'îte was observed in Anatolia at the end of the fifteenth century, and it has been known that the Safevid propaganda was the most fervent promoter of such a tendency.<sup>28</sup> As far as it is known, Qızılbaş groups were adhered to Safiyüddîn Erdebilî's Order which included Shî'îte

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<sup>23</sup> İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire...*, p. 194.

<sup>24</sup> Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders...*, p. 81.

<sup>25</sup> Balım Sultan came from the *Kızıldeli Sultan Tekke* in Dimetoka. Kızıl Deli was an important Bektashi center in the Balkans. After the abolition, Kızıl Deli *tekke* turned over to Naqshibandi sheikh. Irène Mélikoff, *Hacı Bektaş Efsaneden Gerçeğe*, (İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Yayınları, 1998), pp. 203-211.

<sup>26</sup> Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Din ve Düşünce", in *Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyeti Tarihi*, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.), Vol. II, (İstanbul: İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 1998), p. 136.

<sup>27</sup> John Robert Barnes, "The Dervish Orders in the Ottoman Empire", in *The Dervish Lodge*, Raymond Lifchez (ed.), (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> Ocak, "Din ve Düşünce", p. 115.

elements.<sup>29</sup> In the sixteenth century, the Ottomans had to struggle against the Qızılbaş groups, and this brought about an understanding of ‘intolerable’ Sunnî Islam within the Ottoman Empire. In the light of this policy, the Qızılbaş turned out to be much more secretive. During this century, as a consequence of the effects of the Safavid dynasty on the Qızılbaş groups, they remained as a problem for the Ottoman Empire. The complete dissolution of the Qızılbaş with the Empire remains important, and thus the position of ‘narrow Sunnî Islam’ in the Empire became stronger.<sup>30</sup> As a result of the Safavid propaganda, the Qızılbaş groups separated from the Sunnî ideology of the administration. During this period the Bektashi Order provided the integration of the Qızılbaş groups into the Ottoman policy.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, in the political climate of the nineteenth century, it is a cliché to begin a discourse on the Janissary Corps with the case of the Auspicious Event (*Vak'a-i Hayriyye*) (the event which led to the abolishment of the Janissary Troops) in 1826. Characteristically, the main aim of the reforms during the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1808-39) was to strengthen the state control over both military sphere and the society. In both fields the Bektashi Order was affected. After the destruction of the Corps, the Order was abolished. In this frame, as in other Sûfî Orders, while Bektashism suffered from the reforms relating to the *tekkes*, Bektashism was also directly affected from the military reforms due to its connection with the Corps.

It must be emphasized that, although historians sometimes exaggerate the connection between the Order and the Janissary troops, actually the Janissaries provided political domain for the Order. However, Faroqhi, contrary to the general exaggeration of this relation, argues that, although the Bektashi Order

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<sup>29</sup> In 1551, there was an uprising which was led by Shah Kulu. It is worth mentioning that Shah Kulu was a disciple of Shah İsmail. An important link between the uprising and the Qızılbaş groups was the support of the second for the first. See, İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire...*, pp. 202-3.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p. 191.

<sup>31</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, “Conflict, Accomodation and long- term Survival. The Bektashi Order and the Ottoman State (Sixteenth-seventeenth centuries)” in *Bektachiyya: Études sur L'ordre Mystique des Bektachis et les Groupes Relevant de Hadji Bektach*, Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein (eds.), (İstanbul: Isis, 1995), pp. 171- 184.

was in a relationship with the Janissaries in Istanbul and in some other major cities, the Order did not have such a unique political role. Moreover, it is not possible to say that there was an impactful connection between the Order and the troops in the rural areas.<sup>32</sup>

After the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire became the defender of the Sunnî Islam, and acted against Shî'îte beliefs. Shah Ismail and his followers were officially named as heretics (*zındık*) who had to be punished.<sup>33</sup> Following that, the Ottoman administration was bound by the Sunnî Islam, and as a result, this situation affected the administration's attitude towards Bektashism during the nineteenth century. Seen from that angle, as the sixteenth century was marked by the discourses of being heretic, during the banishment of Bektashism the *ulemâ* of the capital stressed that the Bektashis had heretical teachings.<sup>34</sup> As a matter of fact, this characteristic of Bektashism remains unquestioned in the following years as well. As a consequence, Bektashism adopted a new attitude, and remained in secrecy in terms of religious practices. And, certainly, secrecy became a characteristic of Bektashism, and gained importance than in the previous years. After 1826, the Order continued to survive clandestinely.

## 2.2 Reflections of the Abolition on the Bektashi Order

To see how Bektashism developed after 1826, it will be beneficial to analyze the third period of Bektashism in detail.<sup>35</sup> The abolishment of the

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<sup>32</sup> Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, pp. 160-1.

<sup>33</sup> For more information about the sunnî theory, its effects on the Ottomans, and how the official ideology of the Ottomans was produced, see Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar...*; Markus Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy: Competing Claims for Authority and Legitimacy in the Ottoman- Safavid Conflict", in *Legitimizing the Order: the Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (eds.), (Lieden and Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 151-173.

<sup>34</sup> Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, p. 77. Also, the reasons of the abolition will be mentioned in detail in the next part.

<sup>35</sup> On the periodization issue, see "The Historical Origins of the Emergence of the Branches" part in the third chapter. According to the periodization of Rıza Yıldırım, the third

Bektashi Order in 1826 was undoubtedly the end of the ‘classical’ structure of Bektashism. It is known that the Janissary Corps had traditionally been associated with the Bektashi Order.<sup>36</sup> In the studies of the Bektashism, it has become common to see the connection of the Order with the Corps as a result of the abolition. Indeed, the destruction of the Janissary Corps, and the execution of some of its members caused the Bektashis to be politically isolated.<sup>37</sup>

How the experience of the banishment is interpreted in the secondary sources needs to be mentioned. Cemal Kafadar is a historian who contributed to the literature on the Janissary troops with his thesis on *Yeniçeri-Esnaflı Relations: Solidarity and Conflict*, points out that the abolishment of the Order in 1826 brought an end to the coexistence of the Order and the Corps. In this respect, he analyzes the 1826 Event as a permanent separation of the Janissary Corps and the Order. A significant point is that the Janissary Corps had ‘a strong tradition of alliances with other segments of the society’ and the affiliation between the Janissaries and the Bektashi Order was one of them. It is significant to note that ‘the real conflict’ between the Ottoman state and the Corps was a socio-political conflict rather than a cultural one.<sup>38</sup>

Suraiya Faroqhi is the next historian who gives important accounts about Bektashism in her book *Anadolu’da Bektaşilik*. Faroqhi presents an account that is different from the main stream. She draws our attention to the dependence of the Order through the Corps that connected the Order with the Ottoman Empire. This dependency became apparent in 1826. In 1826, the sheikhs of Hacı Bektaş did not know how to separate themselves from the

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period is between 1826 and 1925 when the *tekkes* and *zaviyes* were closed by the Republic. See, Yıldırım, “Bektaş Kime Derler?...”, p. 27.

<sup>36</sup> İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire...*, p. 194; Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, pp. 46, 74-5; Mélikoff, *Efsaneden Gerçeğe*, pp.134-146.

<sup>37</sup> Faroqhi, *Anadolu’da Bektaşilik*, p. 181. In the following pages Faroqhi emphasizes that the relation between the Corps and that the Bektashis was exaggerated. It seems that there was not much connection between the Bektashi *zaviyes* except for Istanbul and Cairo. Ibid, p. 188.

<sup>38</sup> Cemal Kafadar, *Yeniçeri- Esnaflı Relations: Solidarity and Conflict*, Unpublished M. A. Thesis, (Montreal: McGill University, 1982), pp. 117-8.



destruction of Janissary troops. During the abolishment process of the Order, the Bektashis proved to be passive to resist. They did not even participate in the struggle of Janissaries. However, for Faroqhi, this passive attitude of the Bektashi leaders was beneficial for the Order itself. After 1850, the Order did not take the attention of the Ottomans on themselves and therefore the Bektashis started to be active again.<sup>39</sup>

Faroqhi points out that the relation between the Bektashi Order and the Janissary Corps had been intense in the capital, and so it was easy to catch the attention of the Sultan and his servants.<sup>40</sup> When the policy directed towards the Bektashis was examined closely, it can be seen that the main accusations were concentrated around the discussion arguing that they were infidels [mülhid]<sup>41</sup>. How can the infidel be defined? In the literature of the Ottoman Empire, it is used to express the opposition to sunnî orthodoxy (*Ehl-i Sünnet*), which is orthodox Islam or disbelief in general.<sup>42</sup> While defining the concept, it is necessary to draw the limits of the concept. In that process, it is certain that there had to be a legal charge in order to label someone or a group as an infidel or unbeliever. Then, this needed to be confirmed in the court by ones who are publicly known as reliable. Faroqhi draws our attention to the charges, and lists some of these accusations:

The decisive offense is to revile the first three caliphates. Other offenses are; not to go to the Friday prayer, the book and order symbols coming from Persia, the ceremonies are done together with both men and women, and the praying with music.<sup>43</sup>

However, what is clear, from the detailed inquiry that was taken in front of the *Shaykh al-Islâm*, is that the officials could not get any evidence which

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<sup>39</sup> Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, p. 45.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, p. 190.

<sup>41</sup> On the historical background of *Zendeka-zındık* and *İhad-Mülhid*, see Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ...*, pp. 1- 58.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, p. 84.

would prove the infidelity of the Bektashis. This claim was one of the accusations directed against the disciples in order to suppress them.

Within this framework, Ahmet Rıfkî, in the second volume of his book *Bektâşî Sırrî*, discusses the measures taken by the center; the exiles of the Bektashis, the destruction of the *tekkes* and the confiscation of their properties. In terms of showing his discontent, additionally, he asks “There was no sign of being infidel. Moreover, it was decided that the Bektashis were *ehl-i sünnet ve'l cemaat*. Why were all above-mentioned steps practiced towards the Order?”<sup>44</sup> According to the author, Mahmut II was the main source of all the exile, disaster and destruction. He also describes the Sultan himself, who was provoked by his officials.<sup>45</sup>

On July 8, 1826, there was a meeting in the Imperial Palace.<sup>46</sup> At the end of this meeting, the *firmân* of abolition was issued, and thus all the corrupted Bektashi *tekkes* were to be abolished. On July 10<sup>47</sup>, Kıncı *Baba*, İstanbul Ağasızade Ahmed Efendi and Salih *Baba* were executed since they were known to be famous infidels.<sup>48</sup> They were identified as Bektashi, and they were accused of not fasting and not performing *namaz*. They were even claimed to have cursed the four successors.<sup>49</sup> The others were exiled to the *‘ulemâ*

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<sup>44</sup> Ahmed Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, Dersaadet: Bekir Efendi Matba’ası, 1325 (1907-8), pp. 67-8. A significant part of his thoughts is as follows: “Bütün e’âl ve icrâtı istibdâd ile, zulm ile idare olunan o zaman- ı zulmetin işlerinde kânûn ve mantık aramak boşadır. Yalnız hükmi-i şer’î lahak olan mesâ’ilede hak ve hakikat var. Sırf kendi keyfi uğruna bir çok adem öldüren Topkapu Sarayı’ nın içindeki cellad çeşmesini insan kellesiyle donatan; eski ekâbirin mahkeme-i rûz-ı cezadaki hallerine Allah acısın...” Ibid, p. 68, fn. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p. 93: “ağlab ihtimalata göre nihayet derce taassub ve cehl ashâbından olan birkaç mabeynci yahud nedim; padişahî iğfal ve beктаşilere karşı olan bağz ve hiddetini tahrik eylemişlerdir ki: Sultan Mahmud gibi zeki ve ‘akil, müdbir ve fikir-i cedid sahibi bir padişahın böyle tezvîrat-ı gazezkarane, iğfalat ha’ inaneye duçar olması şayan-ı te’essüf ve telhifdir.” Ibid, pp. 92-3.

<sup>46</sup> BOA, *Cevdet ,Adliye*, nr. 1734, cited in Hür Mahmud Yücer, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf [19. Yüzyıl]*, (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003), p. 467.

<sup>47</sup> Mahmud II issued a *firmân* on July 10, 1826 which approved the verdict of the meeting. BOA, *Hatt- ı Hümayûn*, no. 17351, cited in İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapıkulu Ocakları*, Vol. I, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943), pp. 566.

<sup>48</sup> Ahmed Cevdet, *Târih-i Cevdet*, Vol. 12, Dersaadet: Matba’a-i Osmaniye, 1301 (1883-4), p. 211. The related archival documents are used in a separate study: Soyger, *19. Yüzyılda Bektaşîlik*, p. 60.

<sup>49</sup> Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtı’ndan...*, p. 568.

stronghold cities. The inhabitants of the defined *tekkes* were arrested in groups, and then put into *Darbhâne* prison. The *Shaykh al-Islâm* wanted them to reveal their faith. At the end of this inquiry, some of them defined themselves to be *ehl- i sünnet*, and so concealed their faith i.e. dissimulation (*takiyye*). The author refers to the issue specifically as a coercion to deter the Bektashis from “*rafz u ilhad*”. It will be useful to list the names of *babas* and bear in mind where they were exiled. The nineteenth-century Ottoman scholar and historiographer Es’ad Efendi<sup>50</sup> lists the names of *babas* and their *tekkes* with the places of exile.<sup>51</sup>

1) Mahmud *Baba*, who resided in Şehitlik *tekke*, was exiled to Kayseri together with seven people.

2) Both Ahmed *Baba* resided in Öküz Limanı, and Hüseyin *Baba*, who resided in the *tekke* of Mehmed *Baba*, in Yedikule, Kazlıçeşme, were exiled to Hadım accompanied by two assistants accompanying them.

3) İbrahim *Baba*, who was known as the representative of Hacı Bektaş, of Karaağaç *tekke*<sup>52</sup> with his six disciples, Mustafa *Baba* of Bademli *tekke* in Sütlüce, and Mustafa *Baba* with three Bektashis of Karyağdı *Baba tekke* were exiled to Birgi.

4) Yusuf *Baba* who was a visitor in the *tekke* of Karaağaç was exiled to Amasya.

5) Ayntâbî Mustafâ *Baba* who was a visitor in Karaağaç was exiled to Güzelhisar.

6) Mehmed *Baba* who was the brother of Kıncı *Baba*, the other Mehmed *Baba* from Tâhir *Baba tekke* and the last Mehmed *Baba* from Merdivenliköy

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<sup>50</sup> Es’ad Efendi became historian in 1825. That is to say, he was the official chronicler of the time. Es’ad Efendi’s description of the Bektashi Order reflects the Ottoman State’s official view.

<sup>51</sup> Es’ad Efendi, *Üss-i Zafer (Yeniçeriliğin Kaldırılmasına Dair)*, transcribed by Mehmet Arslan, (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2005), p. 176.

<sup>52</sup> Throughout İstanbul Bektashi *tekkes*, the *tekke* Karaağaç had a significant place. The oldest *baba* in İstanbul became the *postnişin*, who was from the *tekke* of Karaağaç. In addition, he performed the task of the representation of Hacı Bektâş Velî in İstanbul. Bedri Noyan Dedebara, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektaşilik ve Alevilik*, Vol. I, (İstanbul: Ardıç Yayınları, 1998), p. 155.

*tekke* with his four disciples, and Mustafa *Baba* from *Mürüvvet Baba tekke* were all exiled to Tîre.<sup>53</sup>

Based on this information given above, it should be asked why these cities were chosen as places for the exiles. Es'ad Efendi explains that these cities were the strongholds of the *ulemâ*.<sup>54</sup>

The task of religious affairs in the open Bektashi *tekkes* was left to the sheikhs of the other Orders, especially Naqshibandî sheikhs.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, after the suppression, most of the *tekkes* and disciples were expected to integrate into the Naqshibandî Order. This was the first transformation of Bektashism in terms of leadership affairs in the Order. Taking into consideration that the nature of the Order changed after the abolition, Rıfkî notices another point; “the name of ‘Bektashi’ and ‘Bektashism’ started not to be heard in any part of the country.”<sup>56</sup>

Furthermore, the Bektashi *awqaf* were confiscated by the state.<sup>57</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi points out a new angle to consider the dynamics behind the abolition, stating that the underlying reason is the confiscation of the Bektashi *waqf* revenues. On this issue, economic aspect of the abolition is worth mentioning with regards to the Bektashi *tekkes*. As Faroqhi underlines it, the military reforms were a financial burden for the State. In this respect, one of the ways of boosting the tax revenues is the confiscation or the sale of the *waqf* properties. The first victims of this policy were the properties of the Bektashi

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<sup>53</sup> Es'ad Efendi, *Üss-i Zafer*, pp. 176-7.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, p. 175.

<sup>55</sup> İlber Ortaylı, “The Policy of the Sublime-Porte towards Naqshbandîs and Other *Tarîqas* during the Tanzimat Period”, in *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia: Change and Continuity*, Elisabeth Özdalga (ed.), (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1999), p. 71. In this respect, Ocak recalls the fact that when the propaganda of Safevîd began in Anatolia, Naqshibandî sheikhs endeavored in order to prevent the spread of Safevîd. Therefore, Naqshibandî sheikhs preserved closer relations with the State both in the periods of Yavuz Sultan Selim (r. 1512-20) and Kanuni Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-66). Moreover, during the seventeenth century the Mujaddidi and Khâlidîyya branches of Naqshibandî gained popularity in the Ottoman Empire. Ocak, “Din ve Düşünce”, p. 134.

<sup>56</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrı*, Vol. II, pp. 113-4.

<sup>57</sup> John Robert Barnes explains this confiscation process by its stages, for detailed information; see the chapter “Government Takeover of Bektaşî Property and That of All Dervish Orders” in *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire*, (Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1987), pp. 87-101.

*awqaf*.<sup>58</sup> As a result, the *waqf* properties were expropriated. Es'ad Efendi made clear expropriation process and his solution will be quoted from Barnes:

Confiscation of Bektaşî landed evkaf was justified on the grounds that acquiring lands which were arâzî- i mîrîye state lands by a temlik grant and converting them into evkaf was invalid, since mîrî lands could never be private property or vakıf; therefore, because the temlik been valid, since it was granted to heretics (ehl- i bida), the vakıf created was invalid, and could thus be legally annulled.<sup>59</sup>

Additionally, as Faroqhi stated, in order to obtain religious sanction for the takeover of the Bektashi property, Mahmud II issued *firmâns* which provided legitimization for the confiscations.

By 1826, Hamdullah Çelebi was the *seccâdenişîn*<sup>60</sup> in the main *tekke*. As a result of the abolition, he was exiled to Amasya two years later and he died there. Regarding the exile, Rıfkî underlines that “Mehmed Hamdullah Çelebi Efendi did not praise and, because of his set of mischief and provocative actions he was exiled to Amasya”<sup>61</sup> with a *firmân* dated on December 12, 1827. He was not only exiled, but more importantly the task of *meşîhat* was taken away from him as well.<sup>62</sup> It raises a significant question about the interval of time between the abolition and the exile of Hamdullah Çelebi. Also, it is reasonable to assume that sheikh of the main *tekke* had superior position rather as a representative of the Order compared to the other's leaders. On the other hand, although it seems that the *Çelebi* branch was abolished officially by the Ottomans in 1826, those who were exiled were the *babas*, who had previously lived in the *tekkes* located in Istanbul, namely: Mahmud *Baba*<sup>63</sup> in Rumeli

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<sup>58</sup> Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşîlik*, p. 190-1.

<sup>59</sup> Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious...*, p. 89

<sup>60</sup> *Seccâdenişîn*: a religious leader or chief in a congregation of fraternity. J. W. Redhouse, *Lexicon*, (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1974), p. 1041.

<sup>61</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol.II, p. 20; In the following pages, Rıfkî defines the exile as “dergâh- ı şerifin umur- u dahiliye ve hariciyesini ihlal etmek töhmetiyle”. Ibid, p. 114.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Rıfkî points out that Mahmud *Baba* had to stay in Kayseri, known as the center of *ulemâ*, for a long time. Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, p. 69

Hisarı, Ahmed *Baba* in Öküzlimanı, Hüseyin *Baba* in Yedikule, his representative İbrahim *Baba* in Karaağaç, Mustafa *Baba* in Sütlüce, Mustafa *Baba* in Karyağdı, both Yusuf and ‘Ayntabi *Babas* in Çamlıca and Merdivenli, Mehmed *Babas* and Mustafa *Baba* in Üsküdar.<sup>64</sup>

The Bektashi *tekkes* were evacuated, and then they were demolished. Following these events, on July 26, 1826 the Ottoman government appointed special officials both in Anatolia and Rumeli to implement the given order about the Bektashi *tekkes*.<sup>65</sup>

Another important point revealed by the chronicles in this chaotic milieu was the accusations about being ‘Bektashi’. Allegedly, being Bektashi came to be the only reason for an exile. Bektashism acquired bad reputation after the abolition. According to Soyoyer, especially these accusations were widespread especially among the bureaucratic circles. The intellectuals, who were to be suppressed by the rivals, were exiled as they were alleged to have connection with the Order.<sup>66</sup> In order to understand how the procedure ran, some of the exile examples should be given. Şânizade Ataullah Efendi<sup>67</sup> was one of these intellectuals and was suspected of being close to the Bektashis. As a result of this accusation, he was also exiled to Tîre. Also, İsmail Ferrûh Efendi and Melek Paşazâde Abdülkadir Bey were exiled. Lütfi gives the example of Abdulkadir Bey, and then Lütfi describes him as “He told tales against the Bektashis”.<sup>68</sup> At this point, Ahmed Rıfkî, who was a follower of *Babagân* branch, argues that these people did not have any connection with Bektashism.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid, p. 65.

<sup>65</sup> Ahmed Cevdet, *Târih-i Cevdet*, p. 211; Lütfi Efendi, *Târih-i Lütfi*, Vol. I, İstanbul: Matba’-a-i Amire, 1290 (1873-4), p. 150; for archival documents on this topic, see Soyoyer, *19. Yüzyılda Bektaşılık*, p. 61.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid, p. 61.

<sup>67</sup> “Şânizâde ile berâber İsmail Ferrûh Efendi ve Melek Paşazâde Abdülkadir Bey bir günde yalılarında kaldırılarak Üsküdar tarafına geçirilip orada mübâşirlere terfikan birer mahalle ney ü teb’id kıldılar.” Lütfi Efendi, *Târih-i Lütfi*, p. 169. Within this framework, he made renewals in education, medicine and science. Ortaylı points out that he was accused of being Bektashi and was exiled from Istanbul. İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (İstanbul: Alkım, 2005), p.134

<sup>68</sup> Lütfi Efendi, *Târih-i Lütfi*, p. 169.

Şirvânî Fatih Efendi, who was a witness of the destruction of the Janissary Corps, describes the events in the first part of his book, *Gülzâr-ı Fütûhât*. Şirvânî identified the Bektashis as groups of infidels (*gürûh-ı mekrûh*, *gürûh-ı melâhide*).<sup>69</sup> He took our attention to, *Shaykh al-Islâm Kâdızâdeli Tahir Efendi*.<sup>70</sup> At this point, Kâdızâdeli could be under the influence of the historical tradition tracing back to the seventeenth century. However, Ahmed Lütî Efendi, who was a chronicler, claims that Kâdızâdeli Tahir Efendi did not approve the cruel measures that the Bektashis had been subjected to.<sup>71</sup> Two accusations of Şirvânî should be pointed out here. First, he claimed that the Bektashis had friendly relations with the Greeks in the rebellion of Mora which broke out on February 12, 1821. In this sense, the Bektashis suggested the Greeks to act together. Furthermore, Şirvânî asserts that the Bektashis were ready to act against that of the Sunnî Islam (*ehl-i sünnet ve'l cemâat*) on the eve of war with Iran.<sup>72</sup>

İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı gave the full text of the *hatt-ı hümayûn* about the abolition.<sup>73</sup> In Üsküdar, Eyüp and Boğaziçi, and their vicinities there were kinds of people who were described as heretics. He further states that these infidels dwelled in these places. Another point about the *tekkes* of the Order is

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<sup>69</sup> Şirvânî Fatih Efendi, *Gülzâr-ı Fütûhât (Bir Görgü Tanığının Kalemîyle Yeniçeri Ocağı'nın Kaldırılışı)*, transcribed by Mehmet Ali Beyhan, (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2001), p. 81. We also learn from Şirvânî's book that Bektashis claimed that they had own secrets (*esrâr*). He continues by describing their secret in a criticizing sound. Ibid, p. 81.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, p. 20. As İnalçık shows, it is necessary to look at the issue in a more general historical context. Kâdızâde (d. 1635) was a student of Mehmed of Birgi (1522-73). Mehmed of Birgi was against the scholastic theologians and the mystics. On the other hand, he served as high-ranking *ulemâ* for the Ottomans. Kâdızâde had a group which was named *fakîs* these maintained the issue. Their common feature is that they opposed mysticism and any esoteric interpretation. The logic behind them is that they accepted the strict traditionalism of the *hanbalîtes*. For more detailed information, see İnalçık, *The Ottoman Empire...*, pp. 179- 185.

<sup>71</sup> "Fukarâyı Bektaşîyye haklarında bâlâda muharrer mu'âmelât-ı şiddetkârâneye Şeyhülislam Kâdızâde Tâhir Efendi'nin derûnî re'yi olmadığı ba'zı evrâkdan fehm olunmuşdur." Lütî Efendi, *Târih-i Lütî*, p. 170.

<sup>72</sup> Uzunçarşılı explains the real intention of these accusations as such: "these kinds of discourses showed the propagandas that were made against the Bektashis." Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatı'ndan...*, p. 70. It should be noted that Rıfkî accused the *Çelebi* branch because of their connection with Safavids. In this context, supporting Iranians towards the Ottomans could still be effective in the accusations issued in the nineteenth century.

<sup>73</sup> BOA, *Hatt-ı Hümayûn*, no. 17351, cited in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatı'ndan...*, pp. 566.

that the *tekkes* that were not older than sixty years would be demolished. In addition to this, the old *tekkes* would be returned to madrasa (*medrese*). Furthermore, the infidels would be punished both in Anatolia and Rumeli.<sup>74</sup>

From the viewpoint of the Ottoman government, so-called Bektashi Mischief (*Bektaşî fesâdı*) was the important issue that was emphasized in the chronicles.<sup>75</sup> Ostensibly, the so-called Bektashi mischief was in İstanbul. At this point, Lütfî gives a *hatt-ı hümayûn* that gave information about the mischief of Bektashism. This document clearly shows that the mentioned mischief had to be completely cleared through Sunnî orthodoxy.

Rıfkî cited several parts of the events from the chronicles; *Târih-i Cevdet* and *Târih-i Lütfî*. It appears that Rıfkî does not accept of the ‘definite’ relation between the Janissaries and the Bektashis as it is written by Ahmed Cevdet and Lütfî Efendi. It is clear that he questions the statements of the chroniclers, and harshly criticizes their comments. In addition, Rıfkî claims that “the two chroniclers confused Bektashism with the Janissaries anyhow.”<sup>76</sup> Moreover, Ahmed Lütfî Efendi states that the Janissary Corps were named as a group of Bektashism (*tâife-i Bektaşîyye*). If the name of the Bektashis had continued to exist, it would seem that the Corps would not have been eliminated totally. On the other hand, Rıfkî asks “why were not just the Janissaries who had connection with Bektashism punished?” It was not fair to punish the fervent Bektashis who were living their simple life in their *tekkes*. Cemal Kafadar also indicates the point that Rıfkî mentions in his article:

Here, we certainly have to put aside the inherited notion of automatic connection between the Janissary corps and the Bektashi Order. There are numerous cases of individuals from the corps affiliated with other unorthodox movements.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> It should be mentioned that the names of the officials were given: “Esbak Cebecibaşı Ali Ağa and Çerkeşli Mehmed Efendi from the *‘ulemâ* were appointed for the Anatolian *tekkes* and disciples. Ali Bey and Pırlepeli Ahmed Efendi were appointed to Rumeli.” Ibid, p. 572.

<sup>75</sup> Lütfî Efendi, *Târih-i Lütfî*, p. 170; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilatı'ndan...*, pp. 566-75.

<sup>76</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektaşî Sırrı*, Vol. II, p. 57.

<sup>77</sup> Cemal Kafadar, “The Janissaries and Other Riffraff of Ottoman İstanbul: Rebels without a cause?”, in *Identity and Identity Formation in the Ottoman World*, Baki Tezcan and Karl K. Barbir (eds.), (Madison: Wisconsin, 2007), pp. 125-6.



Furthermore, Kafadar presents a crucial critique about the relation of the Corps and the Order, with regards to the Corps's relation with other orders, both orthodox and unorthodox. In fact, he adds that "the issue of relations with the Bektashi Order remains vexing."<sup>78</sup>

Ottoman chronicles show that the Bektashis were affiliated with the Corps. However, the apparent official reason was their heretical beliefs because they were unbelievers. As a matter of fact, in the aftermath of the abolition, the Bektashi Order was presented as a problem for the Ottoman State in the historiography. After this heavy strike, Bektashism could not recover.

In respect to reflections of the abolition, from quite a different angle, in his comprehensive study of Bektashism during the nineteenth century, Soyoyer, introduces a new concept that of 'Secret of Bektashism' (*Bektâşî Sırrî*).<sup>79</sup> Soyoyer's view is helpful in determining that the initial effect of the abolition was to force Bektashism into a period of secrecy. This secrecy, both inside and outside the Order, was a continuous process reflected in the nature of the beliefs and practices of Bektashism after 1826.

To sum up, as a result of the abolition, the unity in the Order was ended, and the legitimacy struggle of the branches; the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân*, became apparent. Cemaleddin Çelebi's reference to the abolition shows a prominent point. Parallel to this, Çelebi puts a strong emphasis on the attitude of the central authority towards the *Çelebi* branch, and adds that "Even more interestingly, when we analyze the edict of 1826, it will be obvious that there were not any operations performed towards the *Çelebis*."<sup>80</sup> This competitive nature of the branches will be discussed in the third chapter.

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid, p. 126.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p. 75.

<sup>80</sup> Cemaleddin Çelebi, *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm Risâleye Müdâfa'â*, İstanbul: Manzûme-i Efkâr Matba'âsı, 1328 (1910-1), p. 11.

### 2.3 The Re-opening of the Bektashi *Tekkes*

During the reign of Mahmud II (r.1808-39), which marked the strengthening of state control over the orders, there appeared major changes for the religious orders. Before Mahmud II, the *tekkes* were essentially autonomous, and if there was no problem the state did not intervene in the internal affairs of the *tekkes*. However, the changes began with a *firmân* dated 1811. According to this *firmân*, the central *tekke* of the given order should be determined in accordance with the place where the founder saint was buried. This would help the central *tekke* control all internal affairs. Furthermore, the sheikh appointments, either because of death or departure, would be decided by the central *tekke* and even for ordinary appointments it was compulsory to consult to the *Shaykh al-Islâm*. Therefore, under these newly introduced measures, the administration of the *tekkes* was restricted by the *Shaykh al-Islâm*; on the other hand, the *waqfs* of the *tekkes* were attached to the ministry.

One of the most prominent features of this edict was that the *waqfs* of the *tekkes* were to be controlled by the Directorate of Imperial Foundations (*Evkâf-ı Hümâyûn Nezâreti*) Mahmud II initiated reforms concerning military, education, and social and cultural arenas. Even at this early stage, the Sultan created a new Directorate (later Ministry) of *Evkâf*. Ostensibly, Mahmud II aimed at centralizing the collection and expenses of *waqf* revenues. His actions were an example of the directing *waqf* revenues for the purpose of the state and laid the basis for the policies of his successors. Finally, in order to prevent unauthorized sheikh appointments, proof of capacity and eligibility was necessary in all appointments.<sup>81</sup> The Empire, thereby, had interposed in some

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<sup>81</sup> BOA, *Cevdet Evkâf*, No. 11874 cited in İrfan Gündüz, *Osmanlılarda Devlet-Tekke Münasebetleri*, (İstanbul: Seha Neşriyat, 1989), pp. 191-2; Mustafa Kara, “Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar: Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar”, *Tanzimat’tan Cumhuriyet’e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Murat Belge and Fahri Aral (eds.), Vol. IV, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), p. 982.; Mustafa Kara, *Metinlerle Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar*, (İstanbul: Sır Yayıncılık, 2004).

of the traditional practices of the Orders partly incorporating their administration into the state.<sup>82</sup>

Another *firmân* was issued by Mahmud II in 1836 and included seven important points. One was on the clothing of the members of the Orders. It stated that each member of an Order should wear its particular uniform. A second point was that dervishes were required to carry documentary identification relating to their Orders showing the seal and signature of his sheikh. The third point in the *firmân* concerned the appointment of qualified dervishes. It stated that the certifications (*icazetnâme*) should not be given to unqualified dervishes, and the opinions of several sheikhs, not just one, should be sought. Fourth, in the appointments of the sheikhs, whether the candidate was a member of the Order or not, should be considered, and the fifth point dealt with the issue of the appointment of a single person to multiple positions. It states that the same person should not be assigned to more than one position. The sixth item in the *firmân* stipulated that belonging of the *tekkes* such as flags, banners and musical instruments must not be taken out of the *tekkes*. Finally, the participation of the members of the Orders in the religious practices was limited in that the person, who does not participate in canonical worship, cannot participate in these religious practices and ceremonies. As indicated by these reforms, this bureaucratic control over orders led to the end of their traditional organization.<sup>83</sup>

In 1863 the foundation planning of the Council of Sheikhs (*Meclis-i Meşâyih*) began, and three years later its foundation was completed by the efforts of *Shaykh al-Islâm* Refik Efendi. This foundation was connected to the *Shaykh al-Islâm*. Furthermore, the *Meclis-i Meşâyih* would undertake the administration of all the orders and their *tekkes* and thus would keep the *tekkes*

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<sup>82</sup> Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 92- 4. Further, Lewis evaluates the *waqfs* policy of Mahmud II. He concludes that Mahmud II's attempt was not completely successful.

<sup>83</sup> Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun...*, p. 136.

under close surveillance.<sup>84</sup> This had an impact on the authority of the sheikhs by limiting their autonomy.<sup>85</sup>

In his comprehensive study of the orders during the *Tanzimat* period İlber Ortaylı, revealed the Ottomans' shifting attitudes towards the Orders.<sup>86</sup> Unlike during the reign Mahmud II, the bureaucrats of the *Tanzimat* left dealing with the Bektashis and the Malâmîs. In the course of time, the two Orders were re-integrated into society. However, in general, these Orders developed a mechanism that was composed of surveillance, control and limitation practiced over all the Orders. Ortaylı takes this further stating that the: "The *tekke* needed the state; the state became the protector and the guardian."<sup>87</sup> Thus, the State would control the Orders. Furthermore, during the *Tanzimat* Era the government seized the revenues of the dervishes and so, in terms of financial resources they turned out to be the dependents of the State because the dervishes became salaried officials.<sup>88</sup>

What comes to mind at this point is the question of when the Bektashi *tekkes* started to function again without legal restrictions. It is obvious that during the reign neither of Mahmud II, neither Istanbul nor in other regions of the Ottoman Empire Bektashi *tekkes* were reopened. However, after Mahmud II's death in 1839, by the efforts of both Halil Revnâki *Baba* and Ahmed *Baba*, the *tekke* in Merdivenköy was reopened and this was followed by the reopening of other *tekkes*.<sup>89</sup>

Following this change in the political situation and a less hostile environment a while later some of the exiled Bektashis were allowed to return.

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid, pp. 287-292.

<sup>85</sup> Thierry Zarcone, "Shaykh Succession in Turkish Sufi Lineages (19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Conflicts, Reforms and Transmission of Spiritual Enlightenment", *Asian and African Area Studies*, Vol.7, No.1 (Sep. 2007), p. 23.

<sup>86</sup> İlber Ortaylı, "Tarikatlar ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Yönetimi", *OTAM*, Vol. 6. Ankara, (1995), p. 285.

<sup>87</sup> "Tekke devlete yamandı, devlet tekkenin gözeticisi ve hami oldu." Ibid, p. 285.

<sup>88</sup> Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious...*, p. 97.

<sup>89</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrı*, Vol. II., p. 115.

One such example was Hamdullah Çelebi who had been exiled in 1826.<sup>90</sup> He wrote a petition to the central administration in 1840 requesting permission to return to his hometown. At the time that the petition was written, the ruling sultan was Abdülmecit (r. 1839-61). Although the state approved his return, Hamdullah Çelebi did not claim to recover his *meşihat* rights.<sup>91</sup> Thus, it can be seen from this example, that the state was ready to forgive the Bektashis by the end of the first half of the nineteenth century now that the Order was under state control and had close relations with the state. All these were a result of the domestication of the orders by the state through economic and political means such as making them salaried officers of the state rather than economically independent institutions.

For a while, the state favored the Naqshibandî Order over the Bektashis and the Naqshibandî sheikhs were appointed to the Bektashi *tekkes*. However, gradually this changed and the Bektashis were able to reclaim their *tekkes* from the Naqshibandî sheikhs. It may be argued that while the power of the Naqshibandî sheikhs decreased gradually, that of the Bektashi leaders rose concurrently by 1848. On the other hand, the Naqshibandî sheikh Mehmed Nuri Efendi was staying in the main *tekke* as the representative of the state. By 1848, the Naqshibandî sheikh Mehmed Nuri Efendi had to depart from the main *tekke*. The basic reason for his action related to the distribution of the *waqf* revenues. Soyger reveals some of the crucial results of this dichotomy between the Bektashis and Naqshibandî sheikhs. Formerly, the sheikhs appointed by the state could not enter the main *tekke* after the Mehmed Nuri Efendi event. They stayed somewhere in the same city and continued to be paid a salary. As a result of a dispute over the division of revenues in the main *tekke*, Mehmed Nuri Efendi had to escape from the *tekke* and wrote his complaints about the problem within the main *tekke* when he came back to Istanbul. After this the Naqshibandî sheikhs could not enter the main *tekke*. And they resided in the remotest corner of the city. On the other hand,

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<sup>90</sup> Soyger, *19. Yüzyılda Bektaşılık*, p. 76, fn. 176.

<sup>91</sup> Soyger shows archival documents and gives their numbers. *Ibid*, p. 76.

Cemaleddin Çelebi drew attention to this issue by interpreting the meaning of Naqshibandî Sheikh's attitude. He asserts in his book that the state did not confiscate the Çelebi's traditional right to the *tekke* income and *waqf* revenues. In his treatise Cemaleddin Çelebi mentions an edict dating back to 1848-9 which included the redistribution of *waqf* revenues. The main problem was the Naqshibandî Sheikh Mehmed Nuri Efendi's desire to establish control over the *waqf* revenues.<sup>92</sup>

There is another point to be mentioned in terms of the changing perception towards Bektashism and showing their closeness to the state. As indicated in the second chapter, the Bektashi Order was hidden by the abolition; however, the Order resumed continuing as 'semi-hidden' and 'semi-free' with the encouragement of the bureaucrats. This led to the emergence of the new social milieu of 'Istanbul Bektashism' which then made a significant historical contribution to the Bektashi Order. It could be also noted that the Istanbul Bektashism with the bureaucrats' support became more active than both Anatolia and Rumeli Bektashism after 1826.<sup>93</sup> On this point, the bureaucrats and intellectuals were attracted by the politeness [edeb] and aesthetic character of the Order. Soyzer explains this rising interest as tolerance toward life.<sup>94</sup>

Moreover, Rıfkî gives information on the same issue. According to Rıfkî, Abdülmecid was known for his affiliation to Bektashism. Mahmud *Baba*, one of the exiled *babas* and the father of Nafi'a *Baba*, was a popular figure in Şehitlik *tekke*. After Abdülmecid's accession to the throne, Mahmud *Baba* returned to Istanbul and started to practice Bektashi rites. It can be argued that such reconciliation leads us to believe that the Bektashis began to become involved in social life.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Çelebi, *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm...*, pp. 13-4.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, p. 22, fn. 19.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, p. 36.

<sup>95</sup> In this frame, Rıfkî claims that Lütfî Efendi, a chronicler, was a member of the *tekke* of Şehitlik. Ibid, p. 125.

In the same issue, Mélikoff, a French scholar who conducted research about Bektashism, claims that the Bektashis proceeded to hold power because they owed much to the support of the high-ranking officials.<sup>96</sup> She also emphasizes that many of the sultans were known to be Bektashis. Indeed Abdülaziz<sup>97</sup> (r. 1861-76) was one of those who adored the Order, although, it is claimed, he was not conventionally enrolled in the Order. An example of this interaction is that Turâbî *Baba* wrote an encomium for Abdülaziz and this encomium was the first example in the Bektashi literature.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Irène Mélikoff, *Uyur İdik Uyardılar: Alevîlik ve Bektaşîlik Araştırmaları*, (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1993), p. 234.

<sup>97</sup> Köprülü states that the Order reemerged in the era of Abdülaziz. M. Fuad Köprülü, "Bektaş", *İA*, Vol. 2, (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1986), p.461.

<sup>98</sup> Kara, *Metinlerle Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf...*, pp. 281-2.

**CHAPTER 3**  
**THE RE- EMERGENCE OF THE ÇELEBÎ AND THE BABAGÂN**  
**BRANCHES IN THE BEKTASHI ORDER**

**3.1 The Historical Origins of the Emergence of the Branches**

A revival in the literature of Bektashism was experienced from the end of the nineteenth century onwards. As a matter of fact the renewal of the Order began in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>99</sup> At the end of the nineteenth century, the accusations about the integration of Hurûfî elements into Bektashism were particularly important. A strong criticism of the Bektashis' Hurûfî character became on the critical genre with Hoca Harputlu İshak Efendi.<sup>100</sup> The accusations of being Hurûfî was because of Hoca İshak Efendi's book, *Kâşifu'l Esrâr ve Dâfiu'l Eşrâr* [Discoverer of Secrets and Rejector of Evils], which was published in 1873. In the beginning, publications were against Bektashism in general.

Over the course of time, the gradual debate whether Bektashism had Hurufî elements or not turned into a mutual opposition on several claims. Hoca İshak Efendi proposed counter arguments and explanations in this issue. As a response to İshak Efendi's book, Ahmet Rifat Efendi wrote *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd fî Def'i'l Mefâsîd*<sup>101</sup> in 1876. Ahmet Rifat devotedly defended Bektashism against any critics particularly the ones of Hoca İshak Efendi. Indeed, *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd fî Def'i'l Mefâsîd* became a model for the succeeding books.<sup>102</sup> Ahmet Rifat presented the Bektashis Order as a Sunnî Order. He gives information

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<sup>99</sup> R. Tschudi, "Bektâşhiyya", *El<sup>2</sup>*, Vol. I, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), p. 1162

<sup>100</sup> Birge explains the writing style of İshak Efendi with his emphasis on "the violent attack on the Bektashis". Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, p. 80.

<sup>101</sup> Even before *Bektâşî Sırrî*, *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd fî Def'i'l Mefâsîd* was written as the earliest book opposes to *Kâşifu'l Esrâr ve Dâfiu'l Eşrâr* Ahmed Rıfîkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. I, Dersaadet: Bekir Efendi Matba'ası, 1325 (1907-8), p. 138.

<sup>102</sup> Rifat Efendi, *Gerçek Bektaşilik...*, p. 27.



about the origins of Bektashism and explains the general Sûfî religious practices in his book. He describes the Bektashis in two groups: the contemporary ones and those who had lived in previous periods. The former group is very close to Sunnî orthodoxy understanding. And the latter focused on the esoteric sense of truth (*bâtin*) rather than the outward meaning (*zâhir*) of the truth.<sup>103</sup> Regarding the representation issue of the Order, both groups asserted that they solely had the right of its representation as they viewed themselves the only ‘real’ Bektashis. Ahmet Rifat, though, does not refrain from expressing the latter group as “non-Bektashis”.

He states that “Noktavîs<sup>104</sup>, Hurûfîs<sup>105</sup> and others who deny *sherî’a* were the main reason of decay and degeneration in Bektashism. In the following pages, Ahmet Rifat argues that Hurûfîs are separate from the Bektashis, and also Hurûfîs are heretics (*melahide*).<sup>106</sup> All in all, concerning the affiliation of Bektashism with Hurûfîsm takes an unfavorable meaning, and Hurûfîsm became a way of reprobation for Bektashis during the last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>107</sup>

Rifat’s book attracted my attention, since this book marks the beginning of ‘positive’ trend towards Bektashism after the abolition. The way of

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<sup>103</sup> Ignác Goldzier, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 223.

<sup>104</sup> Noktavîsm and Hurûfîsm are used to reflect the Sunnî biases towards the Bektashi Order. Fatih Usluer clarifies the issue as: “Noktavîlik was influenced by the Hurûfîs, and further it took its origin from the latter.” He adds that the starting point of the Noktavî philosophy is accurately “the beginning of everything is point.” Fatih Usluer, *Hurufilik: İlk Elden Kaynaklarla Doğuşundan İtibaren*, (İstanbul: Kabcacı, 2009), pp. 109, 180.

<sup>105</sup> It is required to be analyzed how were the image of the Hurufis? Usluer summarizes concisely. The belief and interpretation of the Hurûfîs were not well- received, and so many of the people criticized highly severe. The other claims are that they were heretics, materialist, atheist, and they were esoteric. As a matter of fact, they were out of orthodox Islam. Ibid, p. 180.

<sup>106</sup> Rifat Efendi, *Gerçek Bektaşilik...*, pp . 271-8. Moreover, Rifat claims that both Bektashism and Hurûfîsm have different chains (*silsile*).

<sup>107</sup> This situation brings us to the question of when Bektashism started to differentiate itself from Hurûfîsm. Hamid Algar replies to this question, and states that after Hurûfîs’ suppression in Iran, the Bektashi Order provided hospitality. See, Hamid Algar, “The Hurûfî Influence on Bektashism”, in *Bektachiyya: Études sur L’ordre Mystique des Bektachis et les Groupes Relevant de Hadji Bektach*, Alexandre Popovic and Gilles Veinstein (eds.), (İstanbul: Isis, 1995), p. 51.

representing the Bektashis had a considerable impact on the general public. It appears that Ahmet Rifat Efendi was a Bektashi disciple. Interestingly enough, the author did not mention the abolition of the Order. Further, what is apparent in this book is that the audience of the author was not Bektashis. Rifat attempted to prove throughout his treatise that Bektashism was an ‘orthodox’ order which did not have any connection with a heretical group i.e. Hurûfism.

Moreover, Rifat explains the inner structure of the Order by dividing Bektashis into two groups; the celibate dervishes (*mücerred*) and the married ones (*müteehhil*). He states that “The celibacy was not just being unmarried and it meant the abandonment of one’s life to God”.<sup>108</sup> Rifat also underlines that Hacı Bektaş was a celibate as well. He reminds us that celibate *baba* (father)<sup>109</sup> was residing in the *tekke* of Hacı Bektâş Velî. Rifat does not mention the struggle of leadership in the Order. It seems that this struggle became visible and debatable with the book of *Bektâşî Sırrî* in the following years.

In the following decades, an important set of treatises were written by the Bektashi disciples. One of them was *Bektâşî Sırrî* by Ahmet Rıfkî. It consists of three volumes. Its first volume was published under the influence of *Mir’âtü’l Mekâsıd fî Def’i’l Mefâsid*. He points out in his first volume of *Bektâşî Sırrî* that *Kâşifu’l Esrâr ve Dâfiu’l Eşrâr* was a book which threw the seeds of strife and discord into the public. Rıfkî strongly criticizes the author of the book, Hoca İshak Efendi. Moreover, the orthodox *‘ulemâ* writer Harputlu Hoca İshak was in a hostile manner towards the Bektashi Order in his book.<sup>110</sup> Rıfkî puts a strong emphasis on the fact that the doctrines of Hurûfî practices did not enter into Bektashism in the post-abolition period.<sup>111</sup> Disproving of the relation between Hurûfîs and Bektashis in such a way was noticed by the reader throughout the first volume of *Bektâşî Sırrî*. Yet, this issue is overemphasized

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<sup>108</sup> Rifat Efendi, *Gerçek Bektaşilik...*, p. 310.

<sup>109</sup> “Mücerred takımı âsitâne-i Hazret-i Pîr’de ve mahall-i sâirede kâin tekâyâ-yı cesîmede hücrenişîn olan yani ihtiyâr-ı uzlet eden fukârâdır ki asıl ikrâr bend-i dervîş-i fakîr bunlara denir.” Ibid, p. 309.

<sup>110</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. I, p. 57.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid, p. 78.

throughout the book. It seems that the İshak Efendi's accusations might have led the author to write the first volume. That is to say, this treatise was a Bektashi response to *Kâşifu'l Esrâr*'s claims about whether Bektashism had Hurûfî elements, or not, at the end of the nineteenth century. Rıfkî rejects the accusations clearly.

Ahmet Rıfkî's importance within the Bektashi tradition rests on his profound knowledge about the Order. Rıfkî talks about the disciples of the Order, and in the introduction part of the book, he asserts that the Bektashi Order was an Order which had many *tekkes* and thousands of followers almost in every city. In the beginning, the treatise starts with the lineage issue of Bektashism. The author frequently mentions the representative right of the *Babagân* branch.

As a response to *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Ahmed Cemaleddin Çelebi published his *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm Risâleye Müdâfa'â*. At the beginning of this treatise, he declares that he was a descendant of Hacı Bektâş Velî. Çelebi gives answers to all the accusations of Rıfkî directed towards the *Çelebi* branch. Although both Rıfkî and Çelebi claim to be objective at the beginning of their treatises, it seems that these were written from the point of view of the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* branches that they belonged.

Further, while trying to understand the main concern of the described books, I am aware that each author reflects his own group identity. Besides, each author expresses his criticism beyond the lines. Thus, one should remember that the sources mentioned above need careful attention. In fact, they must be interpreted with care. Moreover, without doubt these treatises provide ample information on inner structure of Bektashism.

Studying the Bektashi Order in the nineteenth century inevitably necessitates a mention of the periodization of the history of the Order. John Kingsley Birge wrote a comprehensive monograph on the Bektashi Order in 1837, which is *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*. In this book, he gives information about the history, doctrines and rites of the Order. Birge examines the history of the Order in three periods. The first period extends from the founding of the Order in about 1250 until the time of Balım Sultan in the first

decade of 1500. The second period begins with Balım Sultan and ends in 1826. The last period is between 1826 and 1925.<sup>112</sup> On the other hand, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, an eminent scholar specializing on the history of heterodox orders in Anatolia, considers the history of the Bektashi Order in two periods. The first period extends from the thirteenth to the end of the fifteenth century; and the second period begins the beginning of the sixteenth century and it continues until the present day. Ocak defines the second period as the formative period of what is actually known as Bektashism.<sup>113</sup> Another important periodization has been done by Rıza Yıldırım. He divides the history of Bektashism into four periods. The first period began with the birth of the Order and lasted until the sixteenth century. The time period from the sixteenth century to the abolition of the Order in 1826 was the second period. The third period is between 1826 and 1925 when the lodges (*tekke* and *zaviye*) were closed by the Republican Government. Finally, the fourth period starts in 1925 and it is still in progress.<sup>114</sup> His periodization seems to be applicable to the present study since the branches constructed their in the third period.

After the periodization issue, it is time to touch upon the re-emergence of the Order. Therefore how the representation problem within the Order emerged will be analyzed in detail. It is known that Hacı Bektâş Velî<sup>115</sup> is the eponymous founder of Bektashism, which emerged in the thirteenth century. Rıza Yıldırım reveals that the formation process of the Bektashi Order occurred in a period extending from Hacı Bektâş Velî's time to Balım Sultan over two hundred years.<sup>116</sup> One of the most noteworthy features of the Bektashi

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<sup>112</sup> For more detailed information see, Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, pp. 22- 86.

<sup>113</sup> Ocak, "Bektaşilik", p. 373.

<sup>114</sup> Yıldırım, "Bektaşî Kime Derler?... ", p. 27.

<sup>115</sup> Bektashism emerged from the tradition of Hacı Bektâş-ı Velî (d. 1271 (669) [?]). In regard to his historic identity and his life before coming to Anatolia, there is just one source, *Vilâyetnâme*, which informs us about the epical information on the saint. Concerning the scarcity of sources, it is not possible to give precise information about him. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Hacı Bektâş-ı Velî", *TDVİA*, Vol: 14, (İstanbul, 1996), pp. 455-8.

<sup>116</sup> Rıza Yıldırım, "Muhabbeten Tarikata: 'Bektaşî' Tarikatı'nın Oluşum Sürecinde Kızıldeli'nin Rolü", *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Dergisi*, No. 53 (2010), p. 154.

tradition is the duality in the representation of Bektashism. After the abolition of the Order, the internal conflict within the traditional Bektashism became more visible. The traditional head of the Order had been the *Çelebi* branch. On the other hand, the *Babagân* branch was instituted by Balım Sultan who founded the practice of celibacy.<sup>117</sup>

The conflict concerning the representation of the Order was between the *Çelebi* branch, who regarded themselves as the descendants of Hacı Bektâş Velî, and the *Babagân* branch, who claimed that Hacı Bektâş Velî was a celibate<sup>118</sup>, and thus he could not have biological children. Whether Hacı Bektâş was celibate or not begins to be seen as an important issue, and has been debated from the nineteenth century onwards. It would be interesting to look at this controversial issue as it may provide clues for understanding the roots of *Çelebi-Baba* struggle. The internal debate on the consanguinity was a part of an ongoing tradition and had crucial importance for authority and power relations within the *tekke* of Hacı Bektâş Velî (the main *tekke*). If we look at the wider picture, the abolition was a threshold for the leaders of the branches in terms of representation, legitimacy and finance of the main *tekke* (i.e. the *waqf* revenues). It appears that it was from 1826 onwards, when the relations between the two branches of the Order started to deteriorate, that led to internal struggle on the legitimacy and the revenues of the main *tekke*.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> It is generally accepted that Balım Sultan regulated, and put into a form the Order once again in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, pp. 56- 8; Mélikoff, *Efsaneden Gerçeğe*, pp. 203-11; Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Balım Sultan", *TDVİA*, Vol. 5, (İstanbul, 1992), pp. 17- 8. Moreover, Mélikoff reminds us that there is not any critical study with regard to Balım Sultan and the tradition and the writings of J. F. Birge inform us about him as well.

<sup>118</sup> Whether Hacı Bektâş Velî was married or not is a debatable issue. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak argues that according to *Velâyetnâme* (the book of sainthood), which gave detail accounts about the life of Hacı Bektâş Velî, the Saint was celibate, and there is not any old source that makes mention of the Saint's marriage. See, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Marjinal Süfîlik: Kalenderîler (XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllar)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999), pp. 199-205.

<sup>119</sup> Noyan, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşîlik...*, p. 318. The author was a *Dedebaba* of the Bektashis between 1960 and 1997. The other book of Noyan *Bektâşîlik Alevîlik Nedir?* was first published in 1985 and gave the history of the Bektashism. Then, Noyan's multi-volume book *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşîlik ve Alevîlik* is published after his death.

In this respect, one of the key questions is who was officially recognized by the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman administration recognized the descendants of Hacı Bektâş Velî (i.e. the *Çelebis*) as head and the representative of the Order since earlier periods. Thereby, the main *tekke* became official center of the Order starting from the sixteenth century. Rıza Yıldırım, relying on *Otman Baba Velâyetnâmesi* written in 1483 and Aşıkpaşazâde, points out that the *Çelebis* were the legal inheritors since the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>120</sup>

The internal division related to the Order's representation was accelerated after the abolition, since a change in hierarchy structure of the Order became obvious after 1826. One should keep in mind that the *Çelebi* office was banned in 1826. On the contrary, the *Dedebaba* office continued in its occupation maintaining the social statue of the branch. Then, the *Çelebi* branch made use of their genealogical lineage (*silsile*) to enhance the prestige of the family. Thereby, the *Çelebi* branch maintained its privileges to take *waqf* shares. That is to say, they tended to refer their own construction regarding Hacı Bektâş Velî's identity. This criterion was of great importance with respect to keeping entitlement of *mutawallî* office (The manager- trustee). Therefore, being a descendant of Hacı Bektâş Velî was necessary to be granted the office.

Based on the information given above, it can be argued that Bektashism was an Order whose divided structure was preserved from the sixteenth century onwards.<sup>121</sup> This characteristic of the Order aroused curiosity about who was the head of Bektashism. In the next part of the thesis, this issue will be examined.

### 3.2 The Head of the Bektashi Order

The emergence of the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* branches is alleged to have begun with Balım Sultan and continued to the present. The

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<sup>120</sup> Yıldırım, "Muhabbeten Tarikata: 'Bektaşî'...", p. 29.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid, p. 32.

representatives of both branches were situated in the main *tekke*. It should be noted that the *Çelebi* branch traced back their lineage to the married Hacı Bektâş Velî (i.e. *Beloğlu*), hence, the *Çelebis* adopted lineage-based claim. On the other hand, the *Babagân* branch was based on the spiritual child, the child of the Path (*Yoloğlu*), discourse.

In order to follow the shifting structure of Bektashism, the internal debates should be considered. The dual structure of the Order, according to Birge, goes to the sixteenth century. The Bektashi tradition accepts that the Order had been reorganized by Balım Sultan who had been known as the second founder of the Order. Birge emphasizes the importance of Balım Sultan because with the new organization, the Order began a more systemized ritual in the *tekkes* in or near towns.<sup>122</sup> It has to be remembered that the sultan Beyazıt II appointed Balım Sultan to the main *tekke* for administration of the Order, and then, he located the latter there until his death in 1516-7.

The question is what brought the Ottoman Empire to control such an Order as a measure in the sixteenth century. It is difficult to give an exact answer, however, from a broader perspective Barnes points out that Bayezıt II appointed Balım Sultan to organize the Order. He adds:

The appointment of this rival sheikh, who was given the name of Dede Baba rather than the traditional name of *Çelebi*, was not welcomed by the eastern Anatolian counterpart [that is, Alevi Turkoman tribal and village groups] of the order. Among the other innovations introduced into the order to ensure Ottoman control was the practice of celibacy- a direct challenge to the order's hereditary right of succession.<sup>123</sup>

As it is not possible to analyze every period of the Bektashi Order in this study, it will be useful to look more closely at some of the developments related to the second founder. During his time, the issue of celibacy was added

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<sup>122</sup> Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, p. 58.

<sup>123</sup> Barnes, "The Dervish Orders...", p. 36.

to the rituals.<sup>124</sup> According to the *Çelebis*, on the other hand, celibacy started with Sersem Ali *Baba* (d. 1552).<sup>125</sup>

Birge emphasizes the rival nature of the two branches.<sup>126</sup> In order to understand the underlying conflict for the leadership just outlined above, we should take into consideration what has been the main peculiarity of the succession process. As Ahmed Rıfkî has pointed out, the lineage is not significant in the Bektashi Order; in other words, with his wording “a spiritual child was more respected than a descendant one.”<sup>127</sup> This might be related with the idea of preserving the mystical structure of their rituals.

Ahmet Rifat Efendi discusses that there was not any descendant of Hacı Bektâş Velî, although he used the name *Çelebi*. To illustrate, a Bektashi *baba* did not certify the one who came from his own lineage. The certification (*icâzetnâme*) had to be confirmed by another *baba*.<sup>128</sup> It should be noted that Rifat read *Vilâyetnâme* (the book of sainthood), and obtained his knowledge about the lineage issue. According to the legend, one day, Hacı Bektâş Velî’s nose blood dripped in ablution water and Kadıncık Ana (known as Kutlu Melek), the wife of İdris Hoca, could not find anywhere to pour the water. As a result, she drank the ablution water. Later, as a miracle of Hacı Bektâş Velî, Kadıncık Ana gave birth to three children. In this miracle, the Saint told Kadıncık Ana: “My hope is that your lineage would be alive, and your children would be the keeper of safety in my land.”<sup>129</sup> The names of the children were Habib Sultan, Mahmud and Hızır Bali. Habib and Mahmud died earlier. Hızır Bali (Hızır Lale) became the *postnişin* in the main *tekke*. Therefore, the lineage went on with Hızır Bali. (See appendix 1)

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<sup>124</sup> Köprülü, “Bektaş”, p.462.

<sup>125</sup> A. Celalettin Ulusoy, *Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş Veli ve Alevî- Bektaşî Yolu*, (Ankara: Akademi Matbaası, 1980), p. 83.

<sup>126</sup> Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, p. 82.

<sup>127</sup> “Belden gelen evlada rağbet yokdur, yoldan gelen evlad erbab-i tarikatça makbuldür.” A. Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrı*, Vol. I, p. 23.

<sup>128</sup> Rifat Efendi, *Gerçek Bektaşilik...*, p. 308.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid*, p. 308



In this section of the book, apart from the Balım Sultan's lineage chain, Rifat gives the succession sequence after Balım Sultan who was sitting at the *post* with the title of celibate father<sup>130</sup>. Sersem Ali *Baba* came to the *post* after Balım Sultan as it is shown by Rifat in *Bektâşî Sırrî*. (See, appendix 2)

Comparing the two tables, there is a confusing and an unclear point. The reason why the *post* had been vacant for 36 years after the death of Balım Sultan remains to be answered. Ahmet Rifat Efendi argues in his *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd fî Def'i'l Mefâsîd* that the vacancy occurred due to the internal struggle which was within the *Çelebi* branch.<sup>131</sup> For that reason, the celibacy *post* stayed without the *Babagân* representative. Rifat indicates the *Çelebi* lineage in the appendix 3.

There is another version of the lineage narrative represented by Ahmed Rıfkî. Ahmed Rıfkî states that Hacı Bektâş Velî arrived at *Suluca Kara Höyük* and started to live with İdris Hoca and his wife Kadıncık Ana (known as Kutlu Melek). İdris Hoca was one of the children of Yunus Mukrî<sup>132</sup>. This couple served to the patron saint. İdris Hoca and Kadıncık Ana could not have a child. As a result of Hacı Bektâş Velî's miracle, they had three children. Hızır Bali could survive while the two others died. When Hacı Bektâş Velî learned it and he said to them that "My homeland's keepers will come from your descent, and they will be of you."<sup>133</sup> With this breath (*nefes*) Hızır Bali became the spiritual child of the Saint and thus his legitimate authority derived from the linkage between Hacı Bektâş Velî and Hızır Bali (see appendix 4). Rıfkî argues that Hacı Bektâş Velî died unmarried and remained celibate. He puts the beginning of the lineage of Balım Sultan, who was a breath son of Hacı Bektâş Velî back

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid, pp. 312-3.

<sup>131</sup> He adds that there was an intervention from the outside Ibid, p. 313; Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, p. 17.

<sup>132</sup> Sulucakarahöyük was given as *yurtluk* to Yunus Mukrî by Sultan Aladdin-i Selçukî. Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>133</sup> "Yurdum bekçisi senden gelecek ve senden olacak". Ibid, p. 10.

to the sixteenth century.<sup>134</sup> In the light of the celibacy discussion, both Rifat and A. Rıfki had similar narratives.<sup>135</sup>

According to the above set of arguments, an alternative version of legitimization of the leadership was constructed in the third book, *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm Risâleye Müdâfa'â*. In contrast to Rifat's and Rıfki's treatises mentioned above, Cemaleddin Çelebi Efendi had a different stand. For him Hacı Bektaş Veli was married. Cemaleddin Çelebi argues that Kadıncık Ana (named as Fatma Nuriye, notice the different naming) was not İdris Hoca's wife as stated in the first two volumes of *Bektâşî Sırrî*. On the contrary, Kadıncık Ana was Hacı Bektaş Veli's wife and she had a son, Seyyid Ali (Timurtaş), from him. İdris Hoca was her father. Following their chain, Seyyid Ali had two children; Resul and Mürsel.<sup>136</sup> As it is obviously put forward by the author, Mürsel Sultan was not Yusuf Bali Sultan's son. (Look at appendix 5)

Both the titles of the *Çelebi* and *Babagân* were used in the treatises in the issue of representation to show group identity. In addition to these two titles, there was a clear subdivision inside the *Çelebi* branch. Being aware of this subdivision, the historical background of the issue should also be mentioned, since this separation caused new problems for the *Çelebis*. After the death of Balım Sultan in 1516-7, there appeared a dispute over the *post* between Hüdadađ Çelebi, the son of Mahmud Çelebi (grandchild of Resul Bali), and Kalender Çelebi. As a result, Hüdadađ Çelebi killed Kalender Çelebi. Then the followers of Kalender Çelebi killed Hüdadađ Çelebi.<sup>137</sup> This resulted in vacancy in the *post* for thirty-four or thirty-six years.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, this event means an internal rivalry inside the *Çelebis*. Thereafter, the *Çelebis*, who were

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid, pp. 10, 11, 15. According to Noyan, if the patron saint got married, there must have been a tomb of his wife. Noyan, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşilik...*, p. 24.

<sup>135</sup> Noyan points out the superiority of the *babas* in hierarchy in the main *tekke* in several studies. He draws our attention to the struggles in times between two branches. To him, the *Çelebi* branch was the main reason of the problems. Their concern was obviously to preserve their own benefits and so, the authority of the *Babagân* in the main *tekke* was not for their interests as the *Çelebis*. Ibid, p. 128.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>137</sup> Rıfki, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, p. 17.

<sup>138</sup> The author gives exact number thirty-six in the following pages. Ibid, p. 28.

from the chain of Mürsel Bali (*Mürselli*), succeeded to the *post*. On the other hand, the other group, whose genealogical lineage came from Hüdadađ Çelebi (*Hüdadađlı*), could not become *postnişin*- the office of *meşihat*. As a result, they could not manage the foundation of Hacı Bektaş Veli (i.e. mutawallî).<sup>139</sup>

At the end, in 1551, Sersem Ali *Baba*<sup>140</sup> succeeded to the celibate *post*.<sup>141</sup> He actively participated in the administration and the religious education of the *tekke* inhabitants.<sup>142</sup> Moreover, Noyan adds details about these vacant years. According to him, Hacı İskender Dede and Emir Kasım became the *postnişin* after Balım Sultan. He adds that after this chaos, parallel to Rıfkî's account, Sersem Ali Baba, one of the successors of Balım Sultan, became the *postnişin* with the title of *dedebaba* between 1551 and 1570.<sup>143</sup>

Following these discussions, the question of how the chain continued after Balım Sultan has appeared to be answered. Once this is understood, it will be easier to give a meaning to the claims of the branches. Rıfkî gives the *Babagân* names of the *postnişin* names of the *Babagân* branch after Balım Sultan. He points out that the chain of the spiritual child ended up after the second founder (i.e. Balım Sultan) because he did not get married, and so he died celibate.<sup>144</sup> In other words, neither the chain of Hacı Bektâş Velî nor Balım Sultan was succeeded for the *Babagân*. In their formulation, therefore, the blood-based claims of the *Çelebis* were baseless. In this sense, as a historical fact, they were just spiritual children under the most favorable

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<sup>139</sup> Ulusoy, *Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş...*, pp. 70-1. Ulusoy claims that the separation of *Hüdadađ* and *Mürselli* existed only in terms of the right for being *postnişin*. In addition to this, all the *Çelebis* received their parts from the *waqf* revenues.

<sup>140</sup> The author states that Sersem Ali Baba has been the descendant of the second founder. Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrı*, Vol. II, p. 18.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid*, p. 18.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*, p. 29.

<sup>143</sup> Bedri Noyan (Dedebaba), *Bektaşılık Alevîlik Nedir*, (İstanbul: Ant/ Can, 1995), p. 51.

<sup>144</sup> There is another treatise *Tarikat-i Aliyye-i Bektâşîyye* written in 1921-2 by Şeyh Baba Mehmed Süreyya. He asserted that "My master saint (*Pirim*) got married and his lineage continued. And, his wife was Fâtıma Nûriye known as Kutlu Melek, Kadıncık Ana." He adds, "The meaning of the celibacy does not mean only being unmarried, on the contrary, it means to abandon all interest of everything for the sake of God." Şeyh Baba Mehmed Süreyya, *Tarikat-i Aliyye-i Bektâşîyye*, transcribed by Ahmet Gürtaş, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), p. 14.

conditions.<sup>145</sup> Further, Rıfkî gave the list of celibate *babas* after the death of Balım Sultan.<sup>146</sup> (See, appendix 6).

One of the key themes of Balım Sultan's time was the *waqfs* of the *tekke* of Hacı Bektâş. In this respect, it will be useful to look briefly at the status of the Bektashi *waqfs*. Ocak emphasizes that the newly initiated organization under Balım Sultan, attached all the *waqfs* of the other Bektashi *tekkes* to the main *tekke*. Further, the main *tekke* was the center of *dedebaba* office whose head was of the *Babagân* branch. This office decided the appointments of the other *tekkes*' sheikhs and *mutawallî* (the manager-trustee).<sup>147</sup> The manager-trustee was a person who dealt with the expenses and the officials of the *tekke*.<sup>148</sup> Also, he was responsible for the internal affairs and the regulation of the *tekkes*. In return for his services, he received a fee. The *waqf*'s *mutawallî*, managing *waqf* properties, had the highest position which was confirmed by the Ottoman State. This position allowed the sheikhs' superiority over the *babas* as the State did not intervene in the internal affairs of the Order. Parallel to this, in Ahmet Rıfkî's book, it is claimed that the rising tension between the two branches was based on the personal interests for holding the possession of *waqf* revenues.<sup>149</sup>

The lack of consensus over leadership reflects the divergence in the Bektashi Order. Ahmed Cemaleddin Çelebi Efendi<sup>150</sup> claimed to be a descendant of the patron Saint. Owing to their blood affinity, the *Çelebis* were accepted as "the appropriate head" of the Bektashi Order by some Bektashis.

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<sup>145</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, p.15, 16.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid, pp. 115-125.

<sup>147</sup> Ocak, "Bektaşilik", p. 377.

<sup>148</sup> Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Türkiye'de Vakıf Müessesesi: Bir Sosyal Tarih İncelemesi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2003), p. 181.

<sup>149</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, p. 13.

<sup>150</sup> Veliyettin Ulusoy, who is the last representative of the *Çelebi*, notes as follows "When Ahmet Cemaleddin Efendi (1862- 1921) became the *postnişin*, he was eighteen years old. He was an active and a popular person. Despite his young age, he was educated by private teachers who were chosen by his father Feyzullah Çelebi. He wrote a book named *Müdâfa'â*. After him, his brother Veliyeddin Çelebi (1867- 1940) succeeded to the *postnişin* rank and became *mutawallî*. Veliyettin Ulusoy, *Serçeşme Yazıları*, (İstanbul: Alev Yay., 2009), pp. 18-24.

On the hand, in Rıfkî's books, it has been shown that the *Çelebi* were always making systematic propagation in order to negotiate with the center. It is noteworthy that Rıfkî is an adherent member of the *Babagân* branch. This is very observable through his writings. In contrast to his claim, Rıfkî emphasizes that "even if there was a chain relationship, this must be an invocation relationship (*nusbet- i dua 'ye*)".<sup>151</sup> What is particularly important in the context of the mentioned struggle is that Noyan's words have a critical tone for the *Çelebi* branch. He says that the claim of being a descendant of Hacı Bektâş Velî is faithless and baseless; in other words, it lacks a legitimate base. He adds that "those people identifying themselves as '*Çelebi*' do not say "we are Bektashis" indeed."<sup>152</sup>

### 3.3 The Visits of the *Çelebi* Branch to Istanbul

For a better understanding of the struggle between the *Çelebi* and *Babagân* groups, another issue should be analyzed. What I am going to mention briefly in the following pages is the visits of the *Çelebi* branch to Istanbul, because both Ahmet Rıfkî and Cemaleddin Çelebi's books covered detailed descriptions of the visits. Comparing their claims, I would lift the lid and penetrate into the tensions between the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* branches in another area of debate aroused in the nineteenth century.

Rıfkî contends that Çelebi Feyzullah Efendi came to İstanbul in 1761-2, and he declared himself "the sultan of mysticism" (batın padişahı). This action resulted in his persecution by a *fatwa*. Rıfkî emphasizes the fact that why *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsıd fî def'i'l Mefâsıd* named Feyzullah Çelebi 'martyr' does not have a clear explanation.<sup>153</sup> On the other hand, Cemaleddin Çelebi asserts that Rıfkî gave misleading information about the date and Feyzullah Efendi's aim

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<sup>151</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrı*, Vol. II, p. 25.

<sup>152</sup> Noyan, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşilik...*, p. 319.

<sup>153</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrı*, Vol. II, pp. 30-1; Rifat, *Gerçek Bektâşilik...*, p. 307.

behind his visit to Istanbul. Actual date of his visit was in 1759-60.<sup>154</sup> Feyzullah Efendi died while he was a visitor in Merdivenköy *tekke* near Üsküdar. As a result, the office of *seccâdenişîn* remained without a leader. In addition to this, Cemaleddin Çelebi made clear that owing to lineage-based succession tradition, Bektâş Çelebi -son of Feyzullah Çelebi- would succeed to the *post* by an edict referring to the succession.<sup>155</sup>

Based on Cemaleddin Çelebi's treatise, there was another Feyzullah Çelebi: Martry (*Şehid*) Feyzullah Çelebi. He was born in 1742-3 and became *mutawallî* in 1803-4.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, he did not visit Istanbul and above mentioned Feyzullah Çelebi visited Istanbul. *Şehid* Feyzullah Efendi was murdered brutally by slayers at his home. His murderers were captured by officer Kapucubaşı. Then, they were executed.<sup>157</sup> The third Feyzullah Çelebi, who died in 1878-9, was Cemaleddin Çelebi's father. Furthermore, Irène Mélikoff calls attention to the last Feyzullah Efendi's relation with the *Babagân* branch. Çelebi Feyzullah Efendi appears to have remarkably good affairs with Mehmed Hilmi Dedebara, who was the *postnişîn* in the *tekke* of Merdivenköy Şah Kulu Sultan in 1869.<sup>158</sup> Additionally, Mehmed Ali Hilmî Dedebara has been the most famous *dedebaba* of the *Babagân* branch in the nineteenth century.<sup>159</sup>

Furthermore, Rıfkî goes on to relate another instance of a visitor. In the following years, Ahmed Cemaleddin Efendi came to Istanbul. He attempted to persuade the people that he was a descendant of Hacı Bektâş Velî. During his visit, he met with the Grand Vizier. This negotiation with the Vizier took place

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<sup>154</sup> Kocadağ calls attention to the fact that Hacı Feyzullah Çelebi died in 1761. He visited the *tekke* of Şahkulu Sultan and stayed there for a while. The Çelebi died in this *tekke*. The tomb of Hacı Feyzullah was in the first island and third sequence in the graveyard of Şahkulu *tekke*. Burhan Kocadağ, *Şahkulu Sultan Dergâhı ve İstanbul Tekkeleri*, (İstanbul: Can Yayınları, 1998), p. 44.

<sup>155</sup> Çelebi, *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm...*, p. 69.

<sup>156</sup> In *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsîd* Rifat gives basically the same information about the beginning of Şehid Feyzullah Efendi's *mutawallî* years in 1803-4. See, Rifat, *Gerçek Bektaşilik...*, p. 307.

<sup>157</sup> Çelebi, *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm...*, pp. 45, 70, 71.

<sup>158</sup> Mélikoff, *Uyur İdik Uyardılar...*, p. 239.

<sup>159</sup> Müfid Yüksel, *Bektaşilik ve Mehmed Ali Hilmi Dedebara*, (İstanbul: Bakış Yayınevi, 2002), p. 11.

in newspapers of the time. The crucial point about the visit; however, is the question of why he recalled lineage claims. Initially, Cemaleddin Çelebi's focus was on the disciples of the Order. For Rifat, this visit led to a trouble between disciples. Although there was no such a name, Cemaleddin Çelebi attempted claiming to be a *Çelebi*.<sup>160</sup> Particularly, another purpose of the *Çelebi* was to destroy the ascendancy of the *Babagân* branch. Çelebi acted politically in order to reverse the public opinion in favor of him. In other words, the 'positive' propaganda of the *Çelebi* summoned the curiosity of the people who was unrelated to the Order and increased *Çelebis'* popularity in Istanbul.

Further, the main purpose of the *Çelebi* was to increase his *waqf* income, and even to grasp all the revenues of the main *tekke*.<sup>161</sup> This means to cease the revenues of the *dervishes* staying in the main *tekke*. On the contrary, Cemaleddin Çelebi explains his main aim behind his visit to Istanbul as follows: "I did not have any service to handle. My main purpose was to congratulate the Sultan for the declaration of the constitution."<sup>162</sup>

A closer look at the given information above gives us important clues that may enhance our understanding of Bektashi tradition in general and the struggle of the branches in particular. To begin with, the question of "What is the origin of Istanbul visits in Bektashi tradition?" needs to be answered. It should be remembered that one of the Hacı Bektaş *babas* used to occupy a military post. He was a representative of Hacı Bektâş Velî in the 94<sup>th</sup> Regiment (Orta). When the *baba* (means *Dedebaba*), the head master of the Order in the main *tekke*, passed away, the new *baba* used to visit the Regiment in Istanbul. Then, a ceremonial procession was held regularly on this visit. In the order of ceremony, at first, the *baba* visited the *Ağa* of Janissaries to be crowned by him. After that symbolic ceremony, the Grand Vizier was to be visited in order to wear a robe. Lastly, until his return to the main *tekke*, he would stay in the

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<sup>160</sup> Rifkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, pp. 30-2.

<sup>161</sup> The income distribution of the main *tekke* will be analysed in the next part.

<sup>162</sup> Çelebi, *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm...*, p. 20.

Janissary Corps.<sup>163</sup> Here, this visiting tradition was to evolve into a new form. Thus, the *Çelebi* visits to İstanbul became rather meaningful to understand. However, this detail shows us that considering the celibate nature of the Janissaries, the Corps seems much closer to the *Babagân* branch rather than the *Çelebis*. On the other hand, at this point, Noyan points out that the head *postnişin* whose title was Hacı Bektâş delegate in Istanbul resided in the *tekke* of Karaağaç. Therefore, during the traditional Janissary ceremony, the *postnişin* of Karaağaç would represent the Order.<sup>164</sup>

### 3.4 The Main *Tekke* of Bektashism: The *Tekke* of Hacı Bektâş

To understand the full story of the abolition, the fate of the Bektashi *tekkes* should be underlined. As already stated the names of the demolished *tekkes* are Rumeli Hisarı, Öküz Limanı, Kara Ağaç, Yedikule, Sütluce, Eyüp, Üsküdar, Merdiven Köy and Çamlıca.<sup>165</sup> As a result of the destruction of the *tekkes*, the dervishes were sent into exile; all the books in the *tekkes* were seized. Furthermore, the revenues of the *tekkes* were confiscated. From Bektashi point of view, these issues were the most important outcomes of the destruction.<sup>166</sup>

The *tekkes* had considerably extended. Although the main *tekke* remained distant from the others e.g. the *Tekke* of Bektashis (Horasanoğlu Ali *Baba*) in Crete, Kasr-i Ayn in Cairo and Karaca Ahmed Sultan in Skopje, Okçu *Baba* in Manisa), it controlled all the appointments.<sup>167</sup> The Ottoman Empire recognized the superiority of the main *tekke*. However, Noyan notes that there were local

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<sup>163</sup> Es'ad Efendi, *Üss- i Zafer*, İstanbul: Süleyman Efendi Matba'ası, 1243 (1827-8), p. 203; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtı'ndan...*, p. 150. Additionally, Faroqhi reminds us that there was a tradition of gift giving by the Janissaries to their patron Saint, Hacı Bektâş Veli. The most popular of these gifts was "the so-called Black Kettle". Faroqhi, "The *Tekke* of Hacı Bektâş: ...", p. 194.

<sup>164</sup> Noyan, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşilik...*, p. 155.

<sup>165</sup> Birge, *The Bektashi Order...*, p. 77.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid*, p. 77.

<sup>167</sup> Soyzer, *19. Yüzyılda Bektaşılık*, pp. 43-4.



*tekkes* which had limited appointment rights. Their names were Kaygusuz in Egypt; Kızıldeli Sultan in Dimetoka; Abdal Musa Sultan in Elmalı and Kerbela in Iraq.<sup>168</sup>

It has been assumed that the main *tekke* was not as active as it had been in the sixteenth century. The stagnant status lasted until the second half of the eighteenth century. Historians are deprived of records for that period. Afterwards, the documents reappeared after 1750s. Interestingly, these documents were sent from the main *tekke* to the State including the problems of sheikhs who were residing in the main *tekke*. For instance, there were petitions concerning economic and political situation of the *Çelebi* family. The *seccâdenişîn* sheikh Feyzullah wrote petitions, voicing some problems on the payments, tax exemptions or privileges.<sup>169</sup> Then, *seccâdenişîn* sheikh Abdullatif, one of his successors, wrote a petition related to the main *tekke*'s privileged status.<sup>170</sup>

Another important topic to consider here is the income of the main *tekke*. It is known that the government distributed the incomes to four main parts after the abolition. The total amount of the main *tekke*'s was 2800 *qurush*. The Naqshibandî sheikh took 4/ 15. The dervishes residing (i.e. *Babagân* disciples) in the main *tekke* received the same portion as well. 4/ 15 of the annual incomes had been reserved for the maintenance and repairs of the main *tekke*. What remains was for the *Çelebi* who were *postnişîn* in the *tekke*.<sup>171</sup> Additionally, it is worth noting that Naqshibandî candidate sheikh Ebubekir Efendi wanted to learn the revenues of the main *tekke*.<sup>172</sup> More specifically, as it is mentioned, both the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* branches had their own parts.

As the treatises reveal, the administration in the *tekke* of Hacı Bektâş was divided between the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* branches. While the latter was

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<sup>168</sup> Noyan, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşilik...*, p. 318.

<sup>169</sup> There were petitions dating from 1154 (1741-2), 1165 (1751-2), 1173 (1759-60), 1143 (1730-1). Cited in Faroqhi, "The *Tekke* of Hacı Bektâş: ...", pp. 195-6.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 195-7.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid*, p. 175-6.

<sup>172</sup> Instead of Sheikh Ebubekir Efendi, Sheikh Mehmed Efendi was appointed to the main *tekke*. For more detail, see Soyger, *19. Yüzyılda Bektâşilik*, p. 77.

performing religious practices obtained through spiritual heritage, the former controlled the *waqf* revenues. The first group followed the principle of hereditary succession (*evladiyet*), a general characteristic of the Sûfî Orders. In contrast, the second group adhered to the succession obtained through discipleship. That was based on learning in the way.<sup>173</sup>

Moreover, Cemaledin Çelebi complained about some cases which he did not possess *waqf* administration rights (*tevlîyet hakkı*). As before, in accordance with the terms of the foundation (*waqfiyye*), the administration rights belonged to the descendant of the Saint.<sup>174</sup> Çelebi indicated different *firmâns* at this point to answer Ahmet Rıfkî's claims. Furthermore, he goes on to show how his genealogical lineage was functioned by the certificates (i.e. *icâzetnâmes* and *hilâfetnâmes*) in the hands of Bektashi *Babas* and *dedegân*.<sup>175</sup>

The *waqf* belonging to the Bektashi Order was a special *waqf* (*müstesna vâkıf*). It was one of the saint *waqfs* (*Aizze-i münîfe*). A point needs to be stressed here. These *waqfs* were administered by *mutawallîs*. Ottoman administration did not intervene in their financial and administrative affairs. However, all the revenues of the *waqfs* were controlled by the Imperial Ministry of Endowments (*Evkâf Nezâreti*) in 1826.<sup>176</sup>

To understand why both Rıfkî and Çelebi used the certificates written by the Bektashis, I would like to look at their functions. The question to be asked at this point is “why were these documents written?” To begin with, *icâzetnâme* means a certificate of approval. In this frame, the certificates were written for two purposes. The first group was to certify the dervishes' promotion as *baba* and successor in the hierarchy of the Order. The second one, on the other hand, sought same purpose, but this time was given to Qızılbaş *dedes*. His article also delineates the hierarchical order in the

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<sup>173</sup> Zarccone, “Shaykh succession in...”, pp. 18-26.

<sup>174</sup> Çelebi, *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm...*, p. 22.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid*, p. 31.

<sup>176</sup> Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious...*, pp: 109-1; Ahmet Akgündüz, *İslâm Hukukunda ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakıf Müessesesi*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), pp: 454-7.

documents. In fact, that illustrates representational matters between the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* branches. Yıldırım examines six certifications written in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. According to these documents, until 1826 both branches lived in harmony. Moreover, as a center for approval the main *tekke* remained superior authority up until 1925.<sup>177</sup>

At that point, it may be useful to look at how the hierarchy was organized in the Order. Literally, *postnişîn* was the head *baba* of the main *tekke* and occupied, symbolically, a seat on an animal skin. Also, *Baba* was the sheikh claiming to be real representative of Bektashism. At the same time he was, named as a child of spiritual path.<sup>178</sup> *Dedebaba* (grandfather father) was principally regarded as the highest point in the spiritual hierarchy of the Order. He was the leader of all the Bektashis and occupying the *postnişîn* rank.<sup>179</sup> *Dedebaba* represented Hacı Bektâş Velî. He was responsible for all spiritual services. His lifelong religious status could not be inherited. After the death of *dedebaba*, his position was replaced by one of the successors<sup>180</sup>, who was supposed to be the most morally respectable, admirable and informed *babas*. The *dedebabas* were followed by the successors, *babas*, and the dervishes respectively in that sequence. Holding a position at the head of the dervishes, *babas* received the post of *türbedâr* in Hacı Bektâş. (Look at appendix 7)

In addition to this hierarchical relation, *dedebaba* writes a certificate, a diploma testifying the position of the successor.<sup>181</sup> This process became a part of the tradition with Balım Sultan. Obviously, if there was no proper candidate after the deaths of *dedebabas* due to their celibacy, the successor would be chosen from the main *tekke*. Also, if there was not any suitable person who would substitute for the office, one of the *babas* in the rural *tekkes* was elected.

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<sup>177</sup> Yıldırım, “Bektaşî Kime Derler?...”, pp. 39-43. For instance, there was a certificate dated 1870. This document also showed the superiority of the main *tekke* about the appointments. Sheikh Feyzullah Çelebi appointed Dervish Hasib Baba as the *postnişîn* to the *tekke* of Karaağaç, means that this traditional practice was still applicable after the abolition. See, Mélikoff, *Uyur İdik Uyardılar...*, p. 234.

<sup>178</sup> Süleyman Uludağ, *Tasavvuf Terimleri Sözlüğü*, (İstanbul: Kabcı, 2001), p. 62.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid, p. 101.

<sup>180</sup> A rank below the *dedebaba*.

<sup>181</sup> Noyan, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşilik...*, pp. 317-8.

It should be underlined that all this application was practiced according to the celibate branch of the Order.<sup>182</sup>

At this point, I would like to draw attention to the official use of the titles. There has been archival evidence which contributes to legally recognized title of the *Çelebi* branch related to the appointments. However, the treatises used in this study do not reveal any information about the date when the title of *dedebaba* was first officially used. In this part, I will focus on the period that the *dedebaba* title was used for the first time in the official documents. Regarding the first usage of the term *dedebaba*, Noyan asserts that this religious leadership began by Sersem Ali *Baba*, the dervish of Balım Sultan, with whom the *dedebaba* tradition actually began.<sup>183</sup>

Faroqhi, touching upon the same theme in an article titled “The *Tekke* of Hacı Bektaş”, states that “From the petition written by sheikh Abdullatif, it becomes clear that the *seccâdenişîn*s were in this period (1763-4), confirmed in office by a special *berât* of the Sultan.”<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, the *seccâdenişîn* sheikh Abdullatif, the *postnişîn* Ali Baba and another sheikh sent letters concerning their complaints about the reconstruction of the *tekke* buildings.<sup>185</sup> Faroqhi points out that Ali *Baba*’s document is the only instance in which the title *dedebaba* was used officially: “this is the only instance in which the title *dedebaba* was found mentioned in an official document.”<sup>186</sup>

Soyyer gives detailed information about the succession struggle after the death of Feyzullah *Çelebi* in 1878. Interestingly, his son Ahmed Cemaleddin *Çelebi* wrote a petition containing information about his father’s death. What is more, Ahmed Cemaleddin *Çelebi* intended to return his privileged status

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<sup>182</sup> Regarding the appointment tradition of the *Bâbâgân branch*, Rıfkî gives an example of Rumelihisarı Şehidlik *tekke*. When the *postnişîn* Mahmud *Baba* died, Nafi *Baba* succeeded him despite Mahmud *Baba*’s older son Ahmed *Baba*. In this sense, the main source of succession was spiritual lineage (*silsile-i maneviyye*) that was the chain of the Order. Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrı*, Vol. II, p. 25.

<sup>183</sup> Noyan notes that Balım Sultan was assigned by the Sultan and moved into new position as *Dedebaba* in the main *tekke*. See, Noyan, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşilik...*, p. 319.

<sup>184</sup> Faroqhi, “The *Tekke* of Hacı Bektaş: ...”, p. 197.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid*, p. 198.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid*, p. 198, fn. 4.

provided by the *meşihat* task. It is interesting to add that there was an additional document attached to his petition. In this document, the *Babagân* sheikhs supported Cemaleddin Efendi for his accession to the *post*. Meanwhile, the Bektashis residing in the main *tekke* demanded a representative who was to be chosen among them. At this time, the sheikhs were accepted by the Ottoman administration as the representatives of the Bektashism. However, the *Babagân* Bektashis demanded an approval of their title *dedebaba* by the state. In 1880 they attempted for the accession of Mehmed Ali Hilmi Dedebara to the *post*. However, the state did not approve of their demand and rejected the existence of a *dedebaba* title at all.<sup>187</sup>

Furthermore, it is worth bearing in mind who administered the *tekke* of Hacı Bektaş. Hereby, we could delineate the legitimacy discourses of two Bektashi branches more clearly. First of all, Suraiya Faroqhi puts forward that the sheikhs (i.e. the *Çelebis*) administered at least the central *tekke* in Hacı Bektâş during the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>188</sup> Parallel to this information, with regards to this privilege of the *Çelebi* branch in comparison with the *Babagân* branch, Faroqhi asserts that the oldest document was from 1610 which demonstrates the main *tekke* to have the right to appoint affiliated *tekke*'s sheikhs. Further, the sheikh of the main *tekke* sent a petition to the Ottoman administration for a selected candidate. Then, the Ottoman administration approved the selected one. It is likely that the authority of the *Çelebi* branch was officially recognized.<sup>189</sup> In other words, the *Çelebi* branch had a supreme position in the appointments because they were the administrators (*mütevelli*) of the main *tekke*. In addition, if we direct our attention to hierarchy in Bektashism, the *postnişîn* should be expected to be from one of the *Babagân* branch. However, this authority was given to an administrator who was out of the main *tekke* and had the title of *sheikh*.

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<sup>187</sup> Soyzer, *19. Yüzyılda Bektaşılık*, pp. 103-8.

<sup>188</sup> Faroqhi, "Conflict, Accomodation and long- term Survival...", p. 173.

<sup>189</sup> The sheikh defined a candidate, and the appointment of the candidate turned to become a privilege for the main *tekke*. Faroqhi points out that "as the text itself indicates, the *sheikhs* of Hacı Bektâş had actually exercised this privilege at an even earlier date." Faroqhi, "Conflict, Accomodation and long- term Survival...", p. 179.

Apparently, while the Ottomans were interested more in the *Çelebi* branch, they “all but completely ignored the unmarried *babas*”.<sup>190</sup> Additionally, Faroqhi confirms that the *mutawallî* played an important role in comparison with the *dedebabas*. Yet, concerning the administration of the *waqf*, the *dedebabas*' function remained obscure.<sup>191</sup> In addition, Yıldırım agrees with Faroqhi's postulation. He states that the *Çelebi* branch had more superior position thanks to the support of the Ottomans, even above the *dedebaba*.<sup>192</sup> Supporting both the two scholars' point, it is the *Çelebi*'s representation in the nineteenth century that was based on former practices.

Faroqhi reminds obvious influence of Bektashism on Qızılbaş groups.<sup>193</sup> In the sense of beliefs and rituals, both the Qızılbaş and the Bektashis could not have been much different. It is known that *dede* was the leader of Qızılbaş groups. The blood-based succession occupied an important position for them. Thus, it is not strange that the disciples of this group recognized the *Çelebi* branch which affirmed themselves as the descendants of Hacı Bektâş Velî. Yıldırım's thought seems to confirm that point. He has stated that in the history of Bektashism the most important growth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the connection between Qızılbaş groups and the *Çelebi* family. Yıldırım, at that point, draws our attention to another feature of the main *tekke*: its hierarchical statue. In other words, the *Çelebi* family placed in a position over all institutions with the title of *Serçeşme*.<sup>194</sup>

On the other hand, Soyzer states that “Until 1826 the year of the abolition of Bektashi *tekkes*, there was not any document in which *dedebaba* (as a single entity) title was written. In the archival documents the titles such as

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<sup>190</sup> Faroqhi, “The Bektashis A Report...”, p. 19.

<sup>191</sup> Faroqhi, “The *Tekke* of Hacı Bektâş: ...”, p.201.

<sup>192</sup> Yıldırım, “Bektâşi Kime Derler?...”, p. 35.

<sup>193</sup> Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektâşilik*, p. 63.

<sup>194</sup> Yıldırım asserts that in the eighteenth century in particular, the *tekke* of Hacı Bektâş was one of guide (*mürşîd*) subscription center for the Qızılbaş *dedes*. That means to the acceptance of spiritual authority of the main *tekke* by means of the *Çelebi* branch. Yıldırım, “Bektâşi Kime Derler?...”, pp. 36-8. Even today *Serçeşme*'s last *postnişin* is Veliyettin Ulusoy.

*sheikh*, *dede*, *baba*, and *abdal* were used separately.”<sup>195</sup> He continues as follows: “In 1298 (1880-1) the appointment of Mehmed Ali Hilmi Dede baba, the *sheikh* of the *tekke* of Şahkulu Sultan, to the main *tekke*, with the title of ‘*dedebaba*’ was not approved by the State, and it was stressed by the state that there was no such title.”<sup>196</sup>

In addition to the problem of Bektashi’s official recognition, there were also spatial differences between the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* branches. It is easy to see how their existence was reflected into the main *tekke*. When we look at the internal structure of the main *tekke*, the *tekke* of Hacı Bektâş, there were different parts such as the guest house (Mihman Evi) and the bread house (Ekmek Evi). Every part had its own representative, *baba*. For instance, the representative of this house was called the *baba* of guest house. Besides, at the disposal of the *babas* there were *dervishes*. They depended to *dedebaba* who was the *postnişin* in the main *tekke*.<sup>197</sup> On the other hand, it has already stated previous, the *Çelebi* branch resided outside of the main *tekke*.

Following the abolition of the Bektashi Order, the duality gained another dimension. By 1826, there were three representatives in the main *tekke*. The control of the main *tekke* passed from the Bektashis to the Naqshibandîs. It can be interpreted that this was a result of the increasing authority of the Naqshibandî<sup>198</sup> Order in the Ottoman Empire. Cemaleddin Efendi puts a strong emphasis on the authority of one sheikh and, so neither *dedebaba* nor other Naqshibandî sheikh could manage the main *tekke*. That is to say, the duality in the authority was not acceptable for the administration. That means violation of the *meşîhat* rights. He also draws attention to the succession. In 1871-2, the *meşîhat* passed to his father Mehmed Feyzullah Çelebi. After his father’s

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<sup>195</sup> Cited in A. Yılmaz Soyuer, “XVIII- XIX. Yüzyıllarda Bektaşılık- Devlet İlişkileri”, in *Araştırmalar- İnsan Bilimleri Araştırmaları*, Vol.1, No.1, (İstanbul: Fakülte Yayınevi, 1999), p. 77, fn. 7.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid*, p. 77, fn. 7.

<sup>197</sup> Baha Tanman, “Hacı Bektâş – ı Velî Külliyesi”, *TDVİA*, Vol.14, (İstanbul), 1996, pp. 459-71.

<sup>198</sup> In the struggle between the Janissaries and the Ottomans, there is no doubt that the Bektashis supported the Janissaries because of the accepted connection with the Corps, and therefore the Order encountered with the threat of abolition. *Ibid*, p. 58.

death, Cemaleddin Efendi was appointed for the *meşihat* officially in accordance with the terms of the foundation (*şart- ı waqf*). Hacı Hamza Efendi replaced the *meşihat* office after a *tezkire* written by the old Grand Vizier Halil Rıf'at Paşa. There was no other official who had an official charter and revenues apart from Hacı Hamza Efendi. For Cemaleddin Efendi, the Constitution period was different from the earlier period. In that point, he did not give detailed information as to why the Constitution period was different from the previous years. If the tension between the Ottomans and the Order is reviewed during the abolition years, Cemaleddin Efendi's expectation is understandable. He proceeded to write his expectation, and adds "the revenues of *waqf* should be given back to him".<sup>199</sup>

Moreover, during the abolition, the Naqshibandî Order was close to Sultan Mahmud II and Abdülmecid as well. As a result, the Order located itself very close to the state. Parallel to this connection, Abu-Manneh explains the abolishment of the Bektashi Order as a result of the 'change' in socio-religious trend over time and was the successful completion of the process. He continues as follows: "it would be suggested that the Ottoman Empire was under the impact of an orthodox trend of Sunnî orthodoxy which had spread from India into the Ottoman lands of Western Asia and Istanbul."<sup>200</sup> Abu-Manneh argues that "There emerged in the early 1820s an orthodox trend believing in the need to close ranks, in following the *sunna* strictly and in the supremacy of *shari'a* the rules of which high and low in the state should abide by."<sup>201</sup> According to him, an important factor in this process was the Greek Revolution. After the beginning of the Revolution, there was a series of declarations ordered to provide 'Islamic brotherhood'. Bektashis' tolerance lost its significance and turned out to be out of date.<sup>202</sup> Drawing a tighter connection between the difference of the Bektashism and Naqshibandî Order, Abu-Manneh's emphasis

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<sup>199</sup> Çelebi, *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm*..., pp. 22-3.

<sup>200</sup> Abu- Manneh, *Studies on Islam and*..., p. 59.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid*, p. 67.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid*.



on “further justification for the intolerant and stern attitude of the Naqshibandî-Mujaddidis”<sup>203</sup> is a new light to the change in trend.

Rüya Kılıç is another historian who wrote about the shifting Bektashi status from ‘legitimacy’ to ‘illegitimacy’. She evaluates the response of the Bektashis against the suppression of the Ottomans, and states that the Bektashis responded with turning inward and hid their religious identities. Actually, she draws our attention to groups within the Order, their legitimacy claims and how the center approached towards these relations. In addition, Kılıç looks into the relationship between the Naqshibandîs appointed by the center to the *tekke* of Hacı Bektâş and the residing Bektashis in the main *tekke*.<sup>204</sup>

It draws our attention to the effects of the policy of the Ottoman administration on officially closed the Order. Owing to the hierarchical tensions within the Order, the center should have controlled the Bektashis without much effort. This means that, the administration often considered conflicts in the Order. Because of this “flexible” policy, the control of the main *tekke* meant the control of the Bektashis. That was better than exerting pressure on the Bektashis and watching them closely. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire did not approve one of the Bektashi groups’ leader legally, despite the troubled conditions, and multiple applications made by the *çelebis* and *babas* to the center. It has been once claimed that the main *tekke* was the place where the dual representatives of the Bektashis struggled with Naqshibandî sheikhs.<sup>205</sup> Thus, this conflict was harsh in the struggle for legitimacy and power. That is why the Ottoman administration followed a more special strategy toward the main *tekke*.

Rıfkî’s apparent contempt for the lineage-based authority claims of the *Çelebi* branch is remarkable as informed before. He states that by the claim of

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<sup>203</sup> Abu- Manneh, “1826’da Nakşibendi Müceddidi ve Bektaşî Tarikatları”, trans. Ş. T. Buzpınar, *Tarihi ve Kültürel Boyutlarıyla Türkiye’de Aleviler Bektaşiler Nusayriler*, (İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 1999), s. 122. For the effects of Greek Revolution, see Soyzer, *19. Yüzyılda Bektaşîlik*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>204</sup> Rüya Kılıç, “Yenileşme Döneminde Meşrûiyetten Gayrimeşrûluğa Bektaşîlik: Otorite-İtaat-Mücadele”, *Türkiyat Araştırmaları*, No 2 (Spring, 2005), pp. 169- 185.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid*, p. 183.

being a descendant of Hacı Bektâş Velî, Mehmed Hamdullah Efendi, who was in the main *tekke*, was exiled to Merzifon by an edict dated on December 11, 1827. His *meşihat* right was taken away due to violation of both internal and external working order of the main *tekke*.<sup>206</sup> At this point, it seems that focus shifts from Bektashi rites to Naqshibandî rites did not pose the main problem for the branches. The internal struggle seems to have led to more trouble within the Order. Cemaleddin Çelebi asserts: “Hamdullah Efendi was exiled in 1827-8 due to his actions. In fact this cannot be ascribed to the whole *Çelebi* family and community.”<sup>207</sup> Also, it must be remembered that Hamdullah Efendi and some of his devoted dervishes were held in the main *tekke* in order to conduct Naqshibandî rites.<sup>208</sup> It should also be pointed out, after the death of Hamdullah Çelebi Efendi as a result of the decision of the abolition, the *seccâdenişîn* title and office disappeared. According to Rıfkî, the *Çelebi* branch had assumed the title of *seccâdenişîn* in 1688-9.<sup>209</sup> Veliyeddin Efendi, Hamdullah Çelebi’s brother, succeeded to the post with the *meşihat* right on the condition that he would perform the Naqshibandî procedure once a week.<sup>210</sup> In addition to this chronological succession, a new distinctive Bektashi identity had to be created after Hamdullah Çelebi due to the influence of Naqshibandî sheikhs.<sup>211</sup> By reminding us of the celibate dervishes’ devotedness in faith, the *Babagân* entered to the main *tekke* apparently with the title of *türbedâr* and in reality with the name of *dedebaba*. More than that, Rıfkî depicts the disciples of the *Babagân* branch as the real workers of the Order. After the exile of Hamdullah Efendi, Veliyeddin Efendi continued to hold the office of the *Çelebi*. It is interesting to note that on July 18, 1834, this office was taken away by an edict. In this edict, it is stated that “Hamdullah Efendi’s son and grandchildren would

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<sup>206</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, p. 114.

<sup>207</sup> Çelebi, *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm...*, p. 12

<sup>208</sup> “Tarîk- i Nakşibendi üzerine icrayı ayin etmek suretiyle, alıkoynulduğu anlaşılacaktır”. Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>209</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, p. 20.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid, p. 20.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid, pp. 20-1.

not enter into the main *tekke*.”<sup>212</sup> Following this event, Mehmed Sa’id Efendi, a Naqshi sheikh, succeeded to the office of *seccâdenişîn*.<sup>213</sup> From this point onward, it is possible to ask how a Naqshi sheikh could substitute the *Çelebi* office. Concerning the situation in the non-closed main *tekke*, the superiority of the officially appointed Naqshibendî sheikhs was explicitly seen. At the same time, Sivaslı Hacı Mehmed Nebi Dede**ba**ba<sup>214</sup> sat on the celibate *post*, engaged in religious practices and was not involved in such rites or ceremonies. Then, with the death of Mehmed Nebi Dede**ba**ba in 1834-5, Merzifonlu İbrahim Dede**ba**ba succeeded to the post.<sup>215</sup> It is difficult to determine what kind of negotiations went on in the main *tekke* before and after this succession.

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid, p. 114.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Sivaslı Mehmet Nebî Dede**ba**ba headed the Order between 1813 and 1834. Noyan, *Bütün Yönleriyle Bektâşilik...*, p. 322.

<sup>215</sup> Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II, pp. 20-1.

## CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSION

From its establishment in the thirteenth century the Bektashi Order had over several hundred years achieved a political, cultural and a social ascendancy which came to an end with its abolition in the nineteenth century. There were different reasons for this ascendancy not simply the association with the Janissary Corps.

Similarly, there were many reasons for the fall from Ottoman favor and the abolition of the order in 1826. The abolition of the Order was a milestone in the history of the Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire. However, there is no clear answer as to what happened to the Bektashis and their whole *tekkes* after the abolition.

It is known that the Bektashi tradition in the nineteenth century declined, and lost its former place in social realm until there was some sort of revival at the end of the nineteenth century. Bektashism witnessed crucial changes after the abolition not only limited to the decrease of the followers of the Order or the confiscation of the Order's properties and a decrease in the incomes of the *waqfs*. There were more fundamental changes within the Order; interesting conclusions can be drawn from both the four treatises, which formed the basis of the research in this thesis, and the secondary sources. In many respects, the publication of books has a special place in the cultural and intellectual history of Bektashism since it allowed the followers to articulate their views in the intellectual arena as well as demonstrating their reaction to the developments of the era concerning their order.

The political developments that took place after the sixteenth century and the hostile political climate between Iran and the Ottomans led to the state taking a negative approach towards the religious orders that it deemed had Shi'a tendencies and heretical activities. However, the underlying reason was political rather than religious. One result of this situation is that after the sixteenth century, the Sunnî orthodoxy was enhanced and the Ottoman Empire

established a Sunnî orthodox policy wherever it perceived that heretical characteristics had appeared. During the nineteenth century the importance of this policy was maintained. From this perspective Bektashism lost considerable prestige in the Empire due to its new ‘so-called’ heretic characteristics.

The two branches of the Bektashi Order were not competing with each other merely in the sphere of dogma; at the core of the competition was the legitimacy of the branches and the economic and political power brought by this legitimacy and recognition by the state. The roots of the legitimacy claims by the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân* Bektashis has been questioned in this thesis. The main *tekke* gained importance in terms of the *waqf* revenues. More importantly, for the first time, the confiscation of the *waqfs* was applied to the Bektashi Order. All the regulations demonstrate the fact that the state practiced the ‘applicable’ *waqf* policy on the Bektashi *waqfs*. Interestingly, the abolition meant the replacement of one Order by another; Bektashism was replaced by the Naqshibandî in the *tekkes*. The reasons for these changes and the choices of the Naqshibandî Order are complicated. However, the main reason for the choice of the Naqshibandîs was its political and ideological proximity to the centers of power since they had a larger following among the Ottoman intellectual elites.

An examination of the treatises examined in the thesis revealed certain facts concerning the structural changes and debates within the Bektashi Order. From the treatises, it can be seen that the last decades of the nineteenth century were important in Bektashi history. At this point, the issues addressed serve to guide the current developments in the Bektashism. First the study concentrated on the question of “who was represented the Order. This question was also the main concern of Rıfkî’s and Çelebi’s books. After the reading the four treatises, the identity of *Çelebi* and *Babagân* is revealed. In this study, great attention has been given to the legitimization discourses of the two branches. This has been drawn from careful and close reading of the books, to concentrate on both of these authors’ arguments, and to position their discourses within the general picture of the Order.

At first glance, it appeared that the information contained in those treatises was contradictory; though they show the internal relations of the Order. In this context, the intention has been to trace how the unity of the Order changed. The current challenging situation between two sides, presented by Cemaleddin Çelebi and Ahmed Rıfkî, present clues as to the shifting structure of the Order. Cemaleddin Çelebi presents his affiliation at the beginning of the treatise but Ahmed Rıfkî does not give any specific information with regard to his beliefs. However, it is obvious that Rıfkî was a fervent Bektashi disciple. Although both authors claim to be objective in the introduction part of their books, their discourse reveals serious accusations. On the other hand, Bektashism started to be active again during the nineteenth century in the public sphere. Throughout this thesis, the emphasis has been on the division –the *Çelebi* and the *Babagân*- within the Bektashism unfortunately, from the existing sources nothing specific is known about whose legitimacy claims were true. As it is analyzed in this study, their legitimacy claims are based on the lineage. The *Babagân* branch was against the Çelebi branch's adherence to historic claims tracing back to the sixteenth century. In this respect economic expectations of the Çelebi branch were against the *Babagân* branch. All these demonstrate that the unity within the Order collapsed in the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, the fact that the Order was no longer legally recognized was something that Bektashism could not wholly recover from. However, I claim that there was a Bektashi revival after the abolition, and entailed the Order being reorganized in a new structural body. Furthermore, there was an intellectual revival due to an increase in writing about the inner structure and precepts of the Bektashi Order. This thesis can lead to new studies which will attempt to read the Bektashi Order through Bektashis' writings in historical sequence.

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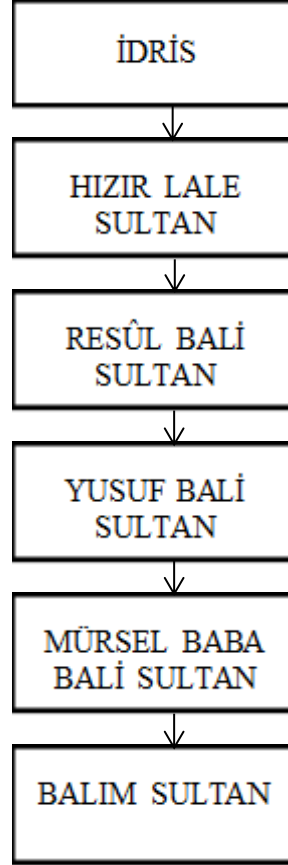
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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1

The *silsile* (genealogical lineage) of Balım Sultan according to *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsıd fî Def'il Mefâsıd*.



## APPENDIX 2

The succession of the *Babagân* branch according to *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsıd fî Def'il Mefâsid*.

Sersem Ali *Baba* (1550- 1<sup>216</sup>- d. 1569- 70)

Ak Abdullah *Baba* (977- d. 1005)

Kara Halil *Baba* (1005- d. 1038)

Dimetokalı Vahdetî *Baba* (1038- d. 1060)

Dimetokalı Seyyid Mustafa *Baba* (1060- d. 1086)

Birecikli Seyyid İbrahim Agâh *Baba* (1086- d. 1101)

Urfalı Seyyid Halil İbrahim *Baba* (1101- d. 1127)

Sirozlu Seyyid Hasan *Baba* (1127- d. 1149)

Kırımlı Hanzâde Muhammed Külhan *Baba* (1149- d. 1173)

Dimetokalı Seyyid Kara Ali *Baba* (1170- d. 1198)

Sinoplu Seyyid Hasan *Baba* (1198- d. 1205)

Horasanlı Muhammed Nuri *Baba* (1205- d. 1214)

Kalecikli Seyyid Halil Hâkî *Baba* (1214- d. 1229)

Sivaslı Nebî *Baba* (1229- d. 1250)

Merzifonlu İbrahim *Baba* (1250- d. 1251)

Vidinli Seyyid Mahmûd *Baba* (1251- d. 1263)

Sofyalı Saatçi Ali *Baba* (1263- d. 1265)

Çorumlu Seyyid Hasan *Baba* (1265- d. 1266)

Yanbolulu Tûrabî El-Hâc Ali *Baba* (1266- d. 1285)

Selanikli el-Hâc Hasan *Baba* (1285- d. 1291)

Konyalı Perîşan Hafız Ali *Baba* (1288 (1871- 72) - d.?)

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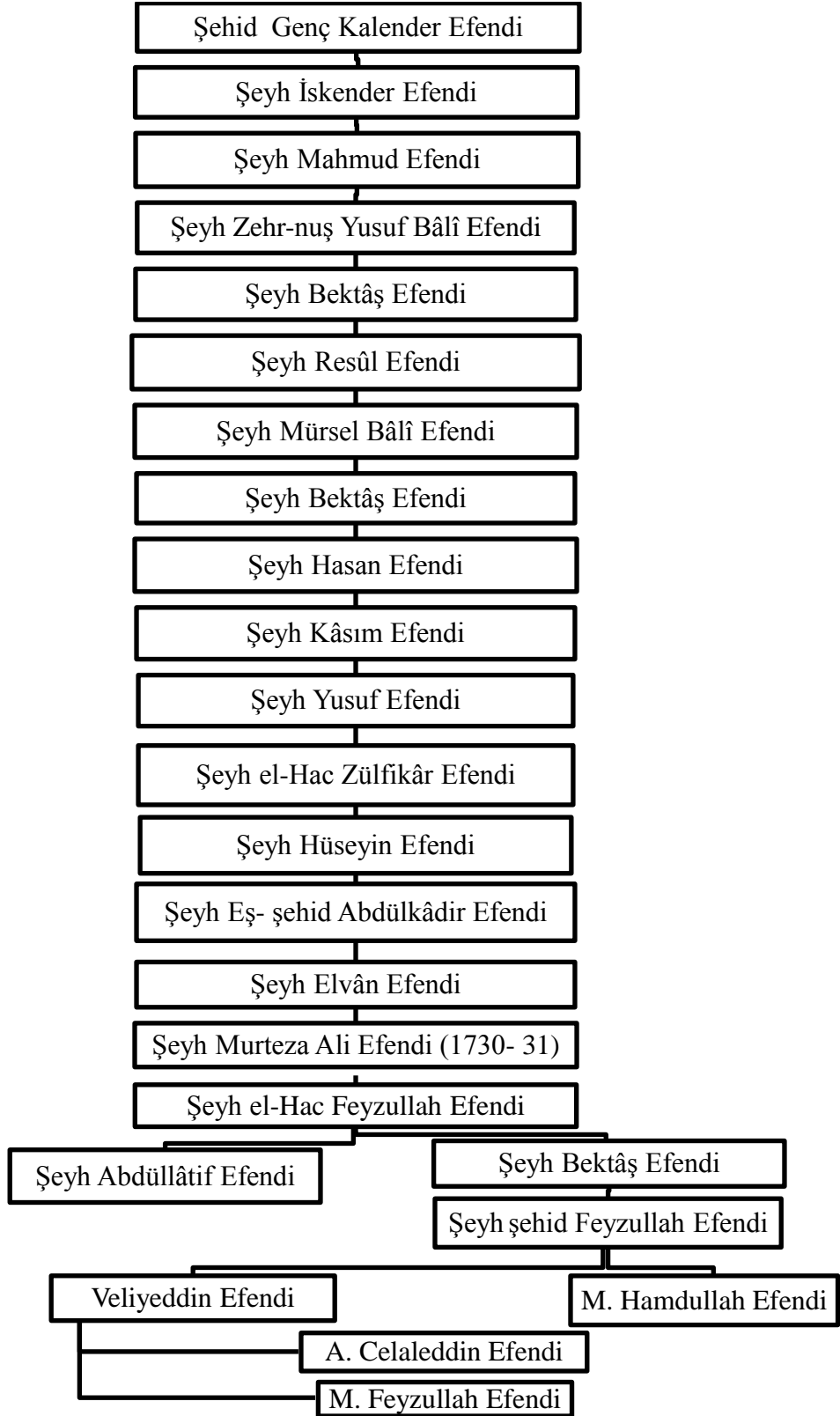
<sup>216</sup> Initial years are the period that *Babagân* branch had spent at the *post*.

### APPENDIX 3

The list of the *Çelebi* lineage according to *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsıd fî Def'il Mefâsid*.<sup>217</sup>

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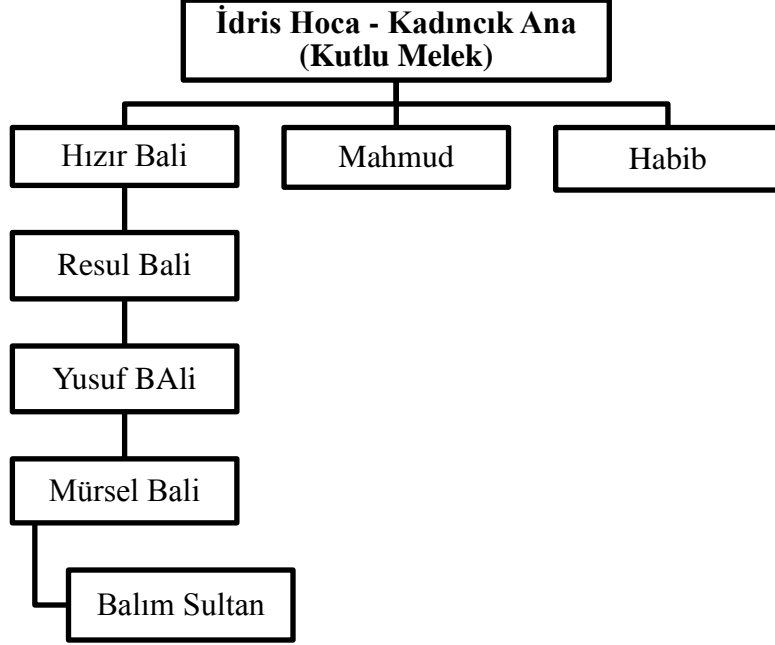
<sup>217</sup> Rif'at Efendi, *Mir'âtü'l Mekâsıd fî Def'il Mefâsid*, İstanbul, 1293 (1876-7), pp. 182-3.





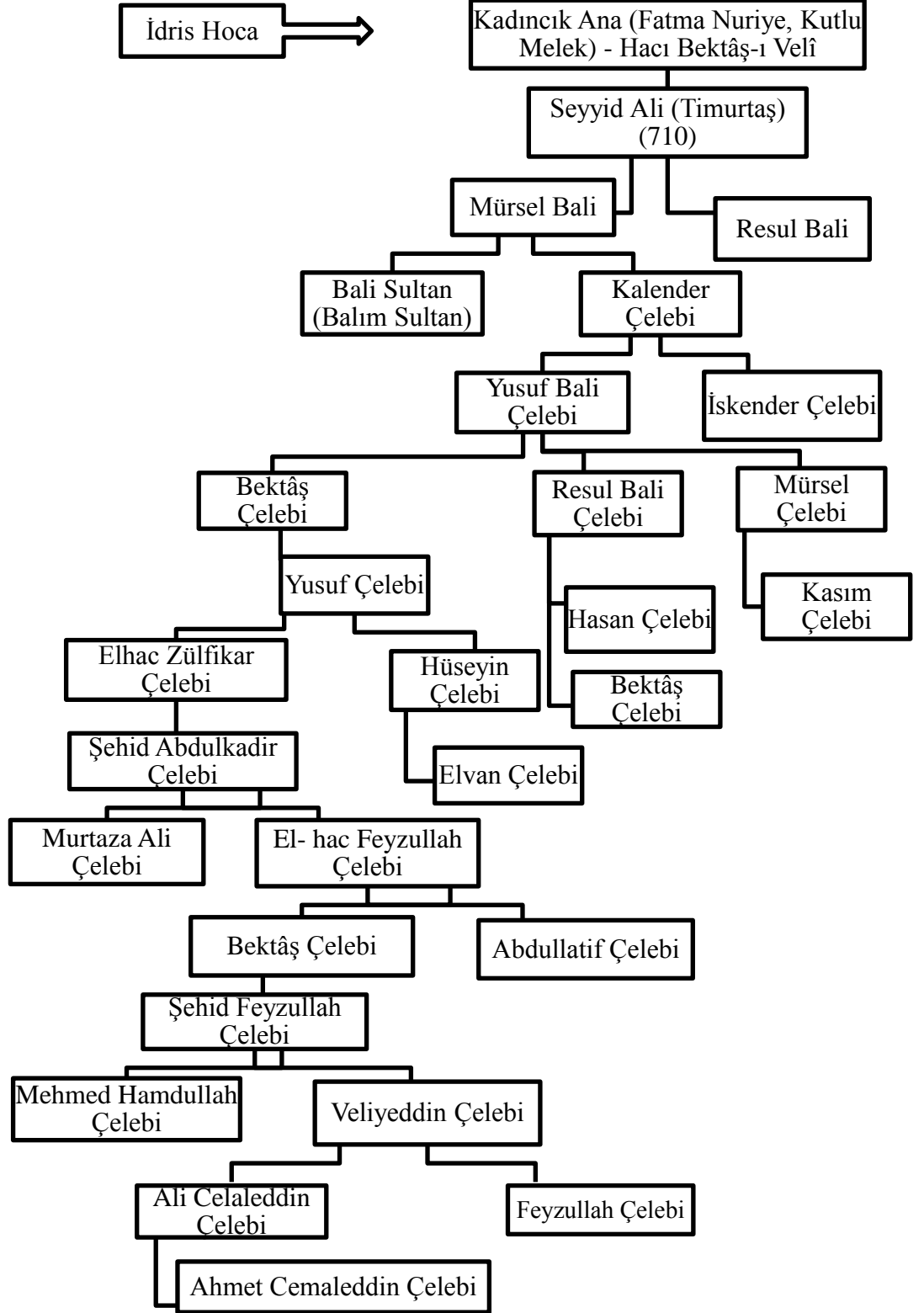
#### APPENDIX 4

The lineage of the *Babagân* branch according to the second volume of *Bektâşî Sırrî*.



## APPENDIX 5

The lineage of the *Çelebi* branch according to *Bektâşî Sırrî Nâm Risâleye Müdâfa'â*.



## APPENDIX 6

The succession list of celibate *babas* according to *Bektâşî Sırrî*.

- Serssem Ali Baba (1551-69<sup>218</sup> - d. 1570)  
Ak ‘Abdullah (1569-70 - d.1596-7)  
Kara Halil Baba (1596-7 - d. 1628-9)  
Dimetokalı Vahdeti Baba (1628-9 - d. 1650)  
Dimetokalı Es-seyyid Mustafa Baba (1650-75 - d. 1676)  
Pirecikli Esseyyid İbrahim Agâh Baba (1675-6 - d. 1689-90)  
Urfalı Esseyyid Halil İbrahim Baba (1689-90 - d. 1715)  
Sirozlu Seyyid Hasan Baba (1715-36 - d. 1737)  
Kırımlı Hanzade Mehmed Gülhan Baba (1736- 7 – d. 1759-60)  
Dimetokalı Seyyid Kara °Ali Baba (1729-60 - d. 1783-4)  
Sinoblu Seyyid Hasan Baba (1783-4 - d. 1790-1)  
Horasanlı Mehmed Nuri Baba (1790-1 – 1809-10)  
Kal°ecikli Seyyid Halil Haki Baba (1809-1810 – d. 1813-14)  
Sivaslı Mehmed Nebi Baba (1813-4 - d. 1834-5)  
Merzifonlu İbrahim Baba (1834-5 – d. 1835-6)  
Vidinli Seyyid Mahmud Baba (1835-6 – d. 1846-7)  
Sofyalı Saatçi Ali Baba (1846-7 - d. 1848-9)  
Çorumlu Seyyid Hasan Baba (1848-9 – d. 1849-50)  
Yanbolulu Tûrabi °Ali Baba<sup>219</sup> (1849-50 - d. 1868-9)  
Selanikli Hacı Hasan Baba (1868-9 - d. 1874-5)  
Konyalı Perişan Hafız °Ali Baba (1874-75 -?)

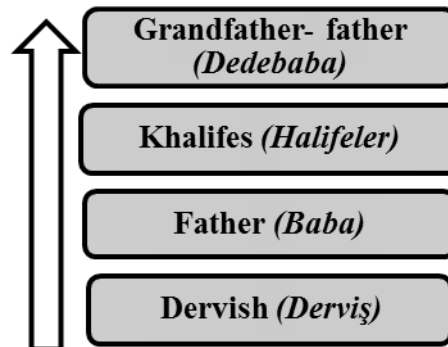
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<sup>218</sup> Initial years are the period that *Babagân* had spent at the *post*.

<sup>219</sup> He succeeded holding *dedebaba* status and he was one of the wisest and the most intelligent. He died in 1863-4. He left behind many dervishes and one of them was Mehmed Ali Hilmi Dede-baba. Rıfkî, *Bektâşî Sırrî*, Vol. II., pp. 121-2.

## APPENDIX 7

The hierarchy in the *Babagân* branch.



## APPENDIX 8



**METU  
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### TEZ FOTOKOPİ İZİN FORMU

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Soyadı : İMREN ÖZTÜRK  
Adı : SİBEL  
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**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : THE EFFECTS OF THE ABOLITION ON  
THE BEKTASHI ORDER

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınsın.
2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullanıcılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)
3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)

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