

LEGITIMATION FUNCTION OF THE MYSTICAL ORDERS IN THE TURKISH HISTORY

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One of change-related feature of religious groups is that they are microcosms of political participation. Throughout history, members of religious groups, often got a "first taste" of political agency through the polity of their religious group, rather than their state⁽¹⁾.

Despite its apolitical objectives, sufism was regarded from the outset as politically suspect (because of its potential for charismatic leadership) with political authorities who sometimes used sufi organizations for their own goals or regard them (often with cause) as object to use by the others⁽²⁾.

"The Sultan, in any hour of danger, is bound to appeal, through the sheikh-ul- Islam, and his army of ulema, imams, mollas, softas and dervishes, to the faithful at large, and command them in the name of Allah and his prophet to rise and fight for the sacred standard. The Sultan was the shadow of God"⁽³⁾.

Legitimation, support, breaking of opposition or mediating between the public and the political power, or opposition to it, mobilization of public mind are among the manifold functions of the sufi orders in the Turkish history⁽⁴⁾.

Here we will treat only with one of these functions, legitimation as below :

Legitimation is any form of socially established explanation that is given to justify a course of action. It includes any explanation of social practices. They are expressed in a variety of forms: Myths, legends, proverbs, and history are all invoked to justify certain social arrangements⁽⁵⁾.

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- (1) Mc Guire Meredith, Religion in Social Context, Belmont, California, 1992, p. 230.
- (2) Richard Davey, Sultan and his subjects, London, 1907, p. 37.
- (3) Dale Eickelman, The Middle East, New Jersey, 1981, p. 223.

From the Turkish history, we can take these examples for the legitimization role of the meshayikh:

1. At the time of accession of the sultan to the throne, the meshayikh were the first ones who were invited to the celebrations held for this occasion. They were also the only ones who dared not to come if they think that this reign would not continue long : This was the case at the throne sitting of Sultan Selim (1512- 1520): When he came to Istanbul, he invited all meshayikh to the palace. Only Seyyid Vilayet Shaikh Hüseyinî (d. 929/1522) dared not to come. When it is asked "why, " he replied : "The reign of this new sultan will only be short-lived"⁽⁶⁾.

2. The custom of girding of the sultan by a shaikh can be seen as another form of legitimization: This was a very important ceremony: without it, the sultan was being not regarded as accessed to the throne. This resembles

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About Dervishes- state- politics see:

C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka in the later part of the 19th century: Daily life, customs and learning: the muslims of the East- Indian archipelago. tr. by. J. H. Monahan, Leiden, 1931

S. Faroqhi, XVI-XVII. Yuzyillarda Orta Anadolu'da Şeyh Aileleri, in: Ankara, 8-10. VI. 1973, Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri (Symposium over Turkish "İktisat Tarihi"), referate: Metinler, Tartismalar, Ankara, 1975. pp. 196-226.

van Martin Bruinessen: The First Influential Naqshibandi Shaiks in Kurdistan: The Urmawi Branch (17 th Century), in: Table ronde sur les Naqshibendis(Bericht), TSMMP, 4. 1985. 35- 38. MESA, 19. 2. 1985. 287-288: Se'veres, 2- 4 May 1985.

Nathalie Clayer, Les ordes mytiques musulman et l' informatique, in: TSMMP, 7. 1987. 35-43

Uwe Halbach, "Heiliger Krieg" gegen den Zarismus, Zur verbinding von sufismus und Djhad im antikolonialen islamischen widestand gegen ru Blad im 19. hundert, in: die Musime in dr Sowjetunion und Jugoslawien. Identitat, Politik, widerstandd.

Andreas Kappeler_Gerhard Simon_ Georg Brunner ed. Koln, 1989, pp213-234.

Jo-Ann Gross, Multiple roles and perceptions of a Sufi shaikh: Statements of political and religious authority, in: Naqshbandis. Chementent et situation actuele d'unorde mystique musulman (Historical developments and present situation of a muslim mystical order. Actes la table ronde Se'veres. Gaborieau, Marc- Popovic. Alexander- Zarcone Thierry, ed. Istanbul Paris, 1990: ISIS (Varia Turcica, XVIII), pp109- 123

Hamid Algar, political Roles and Perceptions of Naqshbandi History, in: Naqshbandis. Chementent et situation actuele d'unorde mystique musulman (Historical developments and present situation of a muslim mystical order. Actes la table ronde Se'veres. Gaborieau, Marc- Popovic. Alexander- Zarcone Thierry, (ed). Istanbul Paris, 1990: ISIS (Varia Turcica, XVIII), pp 123-153

Alexander Popovic: les Ordes Mystiques musulmans dans les Balkans `a l e'poque post Ottomane, in: Anatolia Moderna- Yeni anadolu, v. II, Derviches cimeticie' res ottomans, Paris, 1991, 221-226.

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For sources see: Meredith, Ibid, p. 29.

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J. V. Hammer, Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi, (tr. Mehmed Ata), IV, Istanbul, 1329, p. 93.

the "crownment" of the Byzantium emperors⁽⁷⁾.

The origin of this tradition is not known. The discussions of historians such as Riko and Guinet about this subject had no base⁽⁸⁾. But according to some historians, the origin of this custom goes back to the period of the Prophet: according to them, the Prophet's girding his sword to Halid b. Velid⁽⁹⁾ could be taken as example. There were swords of Caliph Ömer, Osman Gazi and Sultan Yavuz to gird⁽¹⁰⁾. According to Neşri, when Shaikh Edebalı (d. 726/ 1326)⁽¹¹⁾ interpreted the dream of Ottman Ghazi⁽¹²⁾, he (Ottman Ghazi) bestowed to Turgud (Turvud- Aşıkpaşazade), a disciple of him, a village (maybe "villages") and as a certificate of this assignment, a wooden sword and a metal drinking pot⁽¹³⁾ were presented to him; since he (Turgud) was illiterate⁽¹⁴⁾: Therefore, the assignment of a sword was used to mean "giving a certificate".

We have also a Bektashi tradition, which describes Hacı Bektaş girding a wooden sword to one of his disciples⁽¹⁵⁾.

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- (7) Yılmaz Öztuna, *Büyük Türkiye Tarihi*, VIII, İstanbul, 1978, p. 62.
- (8) İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, Ankara, 1945, TTK; p. 189.
- (9) The famous commandant companion of the Prophet Muhammed, "Halid b. Velid" was betitled as "Seyfullah" (Sword of Allah" (see: Mustafa Fayda, Halid b. Velid, in: IA (TDV), XV (1997), p. 289-92).
- (10) See for sources: Uzunçarşılı, *Ibid*, p. 193; Öztuna, *Ibid*, VIII, 96.
- (11) First Ottoman judge and famous sufi. Born in Karaman. Studied religious sciences from famous scholars of his time, such as Necmeddin az- Zahidi (in Karaman) and Sadreddin Süleyman b. Ebu'l-iz (in Damascus). After he came back to his country, he inclined to Sufism: so he found a zaviya in Bilecik. He was loyal to the Order of "Vefaiye" which related to Ebu'l- Vefa al- Bağdadî (d. 501/ 1107). He was at the same time shaikh of Ahkis (See for further: Kamil Şahin, Edebalı, in: IA (TDV), X (1994), 393-94; Mehmet Tahir Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, (Ed. A. F. Yavuz- İsmail Özen), İstanbul, 1971, 211; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara, 1082, I, 520, 530, etc.)
- (12) In which he saw a moon came out of his (Shaikh Edebalı's) bosom, entered to his bosom, than a tree appear on his bosom: it became larger and larger: rivers stream under it and everybody does his own job with this water. . . etc. Edebalı interpret the moon as his daughter who will be married to him (Ottoman Bey) and the tree as a great state which will be grow from this marriage (Among the various versions, see: Lütfi Paşa, *Tavarikh-i Al-i Osman*, İstanbul, 1341, I, p. 20-21)
- (13) Neşri, *Tarih -i Neşri*, v. 26 a (*Kitab-ı Cihannüma- Neşri Tarihi*, Ed. : Faik Reşit Ünat- M. A. Köymen, TTK, Ankara, 1949, p. 82).
- (14) However, according to Barkan, the reason was: At that time the Sultan had not yet obtain the authority of assign a monogram. and a sword was the most impressing material (Ö. L. Barkan, *İstila Devrinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler*, VD, II (1974), pp. 279-304: 288).

Among the numerous sufi leaders, it was the most influential one that performed this service. It was mostly the Mawlawis⁽¹⁶⁾. The Mawlawis obtained a position of influence in the state of balancing the Bektashis and their Janissary acolytes⁽¹⁷⁾. Eyüp was the place of ceremony⁽¹⁸⁾. We observe that at a time of conflict between them and the State, they used to abstain from this service: For instance, Abdulhalim Çelebi (1874-1925) the postnishin of the Dergah of Mevlana, had abstained⁽¹⁹⁾ from girding a sword to Sultan Reşad (1909-1918); it was Shaikh Sanusi(d. 1352/1933)⁽²⁰⁾, who did this in place of him⁽²¹⁾. Shaikh Sanusi did also the girding of Vahiduddin the last Sultan⁽²²⁾. Talat Bey, Enver, and Mustafa Kemal Pashas-at that time, mihamandar of the Sultan-, were present at the ceremony⁽²³⁾.

3. In many cases, religious orders either participated social change or gave active support to reform movements⁽²⁴⁾: The meshayik were open to reformative acts. This could be explained as a reflection of their latitude to all culture and religions. For example: Şeyh Galip (d. 1213/ 1798) -the Shaikh

(15) A. Gölpınarlı (ed), *Vilayetname*, Ist. , 1958, p. 83.

(16) İsmail Hakkı Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, IV, İstanbul, 1961, p. 444; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevilik*, pp. 275- 76.

(17) The two important dervish orders in the Ottoman Empire the Bektashi's and Mawlawi's, respectively found support in military and the civil officials. The latter one was supported by the Sultans to counter balance the growing threat to their power, of Janissary-Bektashi corporation. After the dissolution of the Bektashism, the inclination towards the Mewlawism was increased): Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, v. I, part: II (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), p. 191.

See also Baha Said, *Bektaşiler*, in: TY, nr. 26, February 1927, pp. 128-159: 145; Hasluck, *Bektaşilik Tetkikleri*, (tr. Ragıp Hulusi), Ist. 1028, p. 129-134; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, İstanbul, 1953, p. 271-72; İdem, *Tasavvuf*, p. 163; Lewis, *Emergence*, 407; The inclination of Mahmud II to the Mewlawi's - after the banning of the Bektashism, confirms this claim: see. : BOA, Hatt-ı Hümayun of Mahmut II, 31664-65, 1768(A), 31768(B). There was a rivalry between Mewlawi's and Türcoman Bektashi Babas. See: Eflaki, Şemsuddin Ahmad, (Ed. Tahsin Yazıcı) *Menakibu'l-Arifin*, I, Ankara, 1976, p. 381; Köprülü, *İslamiyet*, DFEFM, nr. 5, pp. 385-420: 388; İdem, *Bektaşiliğin Menşeleri*, in: *Türk Yurdu*, II, pp. 121-140: 133; Ziya Bey, *Bektaşilik*, in: *Yeni Gün*, 18 February 1931, 4 March 1931; Birge, *The Bektashi Order*, p. 33; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevilik*, p. 269-70, 293, 297-98; Me_likoff, I. , *Les Babas' turcomans contemporains de Mevlana*, In: *Konya 15-17. IX. 1973*, *Uluslararası Mevlana semineri Bildirileri*, Mehmet Önder (ed.), Ankara, 1973.

(18) *Uzunçarşılı*, *Ibid*, p. 190.

(19) There was kinship between the family of Sultan and the Mawlawis. So, they were expected to be Mawlawi. And this was the case for years. However, this time Sultan Abdulhamit II entered to the order of Shadhiliyya. This caused conflict between he and Abdulhalim Çelebi (see for sources: Ahmet Atalay, *Milli Mücadelede Konya Kuvay-ı Milliyecileri*, I, Konya, 1997, 1995, p. 142).

of Mevlevihane of Galata⁽²⁵⁾ gave open support to the renewings of Sultan Selim III (1789- 1807)⁽²⁶⁾.

Another example is the case of Sultan Mahmud II (1784-1839)⁽²⁷⁾: When he brought his portrait from the West, it was a shaikh who had done the opening: Among his renewings in the order of the civil service and the armed forces, was the hanging of the portrait of the Sultan on the walls of the official bureaus. The use of pictures of the lively beings in anywhere was forbidden by Islam according to some scholars and not accepted by the people. Therefore, Sultan Mahmud II must be careful: To the ostentatious ceremony he arranged at the Barracks of Selimiye for this occasion in 1250/1834, he invited some meshayikh who will do the opening of the

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- (20) Shaikh Ahmad al- Sanusi. A prominent figure of the Sanusi movement bodied in form of sufi order in Libia known for its contestant nature against the colonist motions. Founded by Muhammad al- Sanusi (1791-1855). It emphasized a simple, prufied form of Islam and established zawayas across the Sahara as centres of evangelism, education, and agricultural activity among the superficially Islamized people there. After 1911, it was spearhead of resistance in Libya to Italians, and after the World War II, its leader Sayyid Idris became King of Libya, reigning until 1970 (el-Senusi, in: IA(MEB), X(1993), pp. 500-501; John R. Hinnells (ed), *The Penguin Dictionary of Religion*, Great Britain, 1984, pp. 285-86; Fazlurrahman, *Islam*, (tr. Mehmet Dağ-M. S. Aydın)-Ankara-1992- 2 nd Impression, pp. 288-92)
- Shaikh Ahmad al- Sanusi was the leader of this movement between 1902-1932. He had fulfilled numerous rolles in the National Struggle. For his biography and activities, see: Mısıroğlu, *KSSM*, pp. 318-37; Aydemir, *Tek*, I, 166 ff. ; Aykut, Said, *Seyyid Ahmed eş- Şerif es-Senusi*, in: *Allah Dostları*, IX (İst. , 1996, pp. 382-84).
- (21) Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Görüp İştiklerim*, Ankara, TTK, 1949, p. 160; Uzunçarşılı, Saray, 192; Hüsametdin Ertürk, *İki Devrin Perde Arkası*, (Ed. S. N. Tansu), İstanbul, 1964, p. 182: The other Çelebi, *Veled Çelebi*, was an unionist and therefore, the Sultan had no problem with the all Mawlawî Order: He presented great amounts of money to this Order (see: İhsan Süreyya Sırma, *Bir Garip Tarih*, İstanbul, 1993, pp. 31-32).
- (22) Mehmed VI Vahiduddin (1861- 1929). Ruled between 1918- 1922 (IA (MEB), VII (1993), 561-66). .
- (23) Hüsametdin Ertürk, *İki Devrin Perde Arkası*, İst. , 1964, p. 182.
- (24) S. N. Eisenstadt, *Religiousrganization and Political Progress in Centraalized Empires*, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 21 may 1962, 279-283- Binnaz Toprak, *Islam and Political Development in Turkey*, Leiden, 1981. p 10).
- (25) For his biography, see: Bursalı, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, I, 134.
- (26) We must point out that while he was supporting the Sultan, other Mawlawis were critisizing him for thia act (See: Şeyh Galip, *Şerh-i Cezire-i Mesnevi*, (Ed. Turgut Karabey and others, Erzurum, 1996, p. 3)
- (27) Thirtieth Ottoman Sultan. Ruled from 1808 to 1839. He dissolved the Janissaries (and consequently, the Bektashis) and launched a series of Westernizing reforms in all branches of the administration. His reign was disastrous politically, but prosperous in reforms (E. Z. Karal, *Mahmud II*, in: IA (MEB), VII (1993) pp. 165-170).

picture and do the praying: It was Shaikh of Hazret-i Hüdayi who prayed and it was the Shaikh of Sünbülüye⁽²⁸⁾, famous Yunus Efendi who said "Amen" to this praying among the artillery drills. The picture sent to the Bab-ı Ali was opened also by a shaikh: The Shaikh of Sa'diyya⁽²⁹⁾, Hasırcızade Süleyman Sırrı Efendi⁽³⁰⁾.

4. The Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki)'s using the name "Mawlawi" for his army⁽³¹⁾, and appointing to the leadership of Samatya branch "Naili Efendi" (d. 1324/1908)⁽³²⁾, the Shaikh of Ağaçkakan Badawî⁽³³⁾ Tekke, who was known for his close friendship to Ahmet Muhtar⁽³⁴⁾ (the owner of Muhibban which had Bektashi tendencies), was another example of legitimation : This had helped them to become acceptable to the Mawlawî, Badawî or Bektashi communities. There were other members of CUP who were affiliated to the orders of Khalwatiyya, Sünbülüyya, Ushshakiyya, . . . etc. ⁽³⁵⁾.

During the years of National struggle of Turkey, the mystical orders

(28) A branch of Khalwatiyya, found by Sünbül Efendi (1475-1529) (See: Bursalı, Osmanlı Müellifleri, I, 179-80).

(29) An order founded by Shaikh Sadettin Djabawî al-Shaibanî (d. 701 /1301). It spreaded in Egypt widely. In İstanbul there were 23 Sa'di tekkes. The use of snakes during the "dhikir" ceremony is among its distinctive features (see, E. B. Şapolyo, *Mezhebler ve Tarikatler Tarihi*, İst. , 1964, 202-203)

(30) However, as a reverse reaction, this religious ceremony caused more hatred of the people: After the reign of Mahmud II, the pictures are taken away from their place. But after the invention of the picture, this customs is easily accepted; because it 's done without an religious ceremony (Ahmed Lütfi, *Tarih-i Lütfi*, Der Saadet, Mahmud Bey Press, 1302, v. 5, pp. 50-52)

(31) Muhammed Salahuddin, *Bildiklerim*, Mısır, 1918, p. 193; A. Gölpinarlı, *Mevlanadan Sonra Mevlevilik*, İst. , 1953, p. 259.

(32) *Muhibban*, nr. 1, 22 August 1325, p. 1.

Due to his membership to the CUP, he exiled to Humus. After he returned from his exile from Tripoli, he tried to found a society named "Cemiyet-i Sufiyye-i İttihadiyye" (The Society of United Sufis). Nevertheless, he could not. His goal was to show that the tekkes were not leper- houses and the sufis were not the movable statues, drawing the sufis in the social and political activities. His funeral was done by CUP (See: *Muhibban*, nr. 1, 22 August 1325, p. 1; See also: E. B. Şapolyo, *Ziya Gökalp*, İstanbul, 1943 (Güven Printinghouse), p. 51, 53; Von Klaus Kreiser, *Derwischscheiche Als Publizisten: Ein Blick in Die Türkische Religiöse Presse Zwischen 1908 und 1925*, in: ZDMG Supplement, VI, 1985 (vom 21. Bis 25, Marz 1983, Tübingen) pp. 333-341; 337; M. Ş. Hanioglu, *Bir Siyasi Örgüt Olarak Osmanlı İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Jöntürkdük I*, 1889- 1902, İstanbul, 1985, p. 120-21).

(33) Badawiyya is an order related to Ahmed al-Badawî (d. 675/ 1276). It can be handled as a branch of Rifaiyya or Shadhiliya. (See further: Mustafa Kara, *Bedeviyye*, in: İA (TDV), İstanbul, II (1992), 318-19.

(34) Mustafa Kara, *Tekkeler ve Zaviyeler*, İst. , 1990, p. 280, 284, 285.

(35) Hanioglu, *Ibid*, p. 121.

went on fulfilling this function. Both the Istanbul government and the Nationalists, even rebels made use of their contacts with meshayikh to legitimize their actions. The favor of a shaikh to someone or some thing, was enough to legitimate it from religious aspect in the eyes of the people. Here we will give some examples:

a. Among the delegates invited to the Representative Committee, there was shaikh: Fevzi Efendi (Baysoy) (d. 1924) from Erzincan. Fevzi Efendi sided with Mustafa Kemal saying that the Padhishah is a slave at the hand of the enemy⁽³⁶⁾. He was also among the MP s of the first Assembly.

b. Presentation of the meshayikh in the First Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) must be seen as an act to legitimize the TGNA. We know that from totally 403 MPs, 232 of the MPs⁽³⁷⁾ were elected by the local branches of the Defense of Rights movement; the others were already MP in the Medjlis-i Mebusan: after the occupation of Istanbul on 16 March 1920, they were asked to come Ankara. Some of them had managed to come, some not⁽³⁸⁾.

The first Assembly was a proclamation of a new government, formally recognizing the authority of the Sultan-Caliph, but declaring the whole legislation done by the Istanbul Government officially void. To legitimize this new initiation, it was necessary to gain approval of prominent religious men (ulema-meshayikh) by providing their presence in it. "Türk Parlamento Tarihi" gives the number of the meshayikh in the TGNA as "seven"⁽³⁹⁾. However, together with Nüzhet (Saraçoğlu) Bey and Yahya Galip (Kargı) Bey, whose religious status not expressed in this work, this number rises to nine⁽⁴⁰⁾:

1-Şemseddin Efendi (Bayramoğlu) (1883-1945), the shaikh of Hacı Bayram⁽⁴¹⁾, MP of Ankara: He was son of Tayyib Baba, the Shaikh of Hacı Bayram.

2- Servet Efendi (Akdağ) (1880-1962), the Naqshi Shaikh. MP of Bursa: He was born in 1880/1296 in Kastamonu-Tosya.

(36) Askerî Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi, nr. 77 and 79, document nrs. 1696, 1739. However, he couldn't take part in all gatherings of the Committee. He could come only to the Congress of Sivas (See: Nutuk, I, 67).

(37) Fahri Çoker- A Group of Researchers, Türk Parlamento Tarihi, Ankara, 1995, III, 1010

(38) See: Çoker, Ibid, , III, 9- 14.

(39) Çoker, Ibid, III, p. 1011, 1012.

3- Hüseyin Mazlum Efendi (Bababalım)(1859-1945) A Bektashi Shaikh. MP of Denizli. He was the shaikh of "Kazak Abdal" in Denizli-Çukur.

4- Fevzi Efendi (1864- 1924), the Naqshi Shaikh. MP of Erzincan.

5- Abdullah (Sabri) Efendi (Aytaç) (1870- 1950), MP of Bolu. He was a Khalwatî shaikh and a müftü.

6- Ahmet Cemaleddin Çelebi Efendi (1864- 1922), MP of Kırşehir

7- Nüzhet Efendi (Saraçoğlu) (1861-1946), A Bektashi Baba. , MP of Ergani,

8- Abdulhalim Çelebi (1874- 1925): A Mawlawi Shaikh. MP of Konya.

9- Yahya Galip Bey (Kargı) (1824- 1942)(MP of Kırşehir), was related to the Dergah of Ümmî Sinan and was a shaikh candidate or, even shaikh of this dergâh before the abolishment of the orders.

The meshayikh in the TGNA, besides the other councils and task in the assembly, were charged in the "Şeriyeye ve İrşad" (Canonical Law and Guidance) councils.

It is possible that there were other shaiks or caliphs⁽⁴²⁾ among the MPs of the I th TGNA, about whose religious status we have not any or much knowledge. But it is certain that, in a society that had no civil organization other than the mystical orders, the number of persons bound to an order, could be high: Fevzi Pasha (Çakmak) (d. 1950), MP of Kozan⁽⁴³⁾ Hasan Basri (Çantay) (d. 1964), MP of Karesi (Balıkesir)⁽⁴⁴⁾ and, Mehmet Akif (Ersoy) (d. 1936), MP of Burdur⁽⁴⁵⁾, were the prominent MPs among the many who had

(40) Tunaya states that there were "ten" meshayikh at the First TGNA without mentioning their name (See, his: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisinin Hukuku ve Siyasi Karakteri, in: İÜHFĐ (İst. Ün. Hukuk Fak. Dergisi), XXIII, İst. 1958, pp. 227-47: 251; İdem, Ideological Character of the 1924 Constitution, in: Annales de la Faculte de D'roit d'Istanbul, nr. 15 (1960), pp. 99-135).

According to my research, there were certain other MPs' with the titre "Şeyh: Shaikh", but, it is not meant the meaning we are looking for. For instance, Mehmet Tefik Afendi (MP of Kangın) was a "Kürsü Şeyhi" (shaikh who preach at important mosques) (Çoker, İbid, III, 551); but this was a scholarly titre (See, M. Z. Pakalın, Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Sözlüğü, II, 345). There were others known with this titre, such as Seyfi Efendi (Mp of Kütahya) (" Şeyh Seyfi Efendi": Çoker, İbid, III, 706).

In the work of Nevin Korucuoğlu (Veled Çelebi İzbudak, Ankara, 1994: The Ministry of Culture), Veled Çelebi (The postnishin of Mevlana Dergâh in Konya) is presented as MP of Kastamonu from the I th term (see, pages, 19, 50, 55), But his parliament-life begins with the II nd term.

(41) The main tekke of Bayramiyye which related to Hacı Bayram-ı Veli (d. 833/1430) (See: Nihat Azamat, Hacı Bayram-ı Veli, in: İA(TDV), XIV (1996), p. 442-447.

(42) Representator of a shaikh in a place.

sufistic inclinations.

It is also said that famous Kâzım Karabekir (1882-1948) was an adherent of the Naqshibandi Order. However, I could not find anything about his sufistic inclination in any written sources.

The MPs of the First TGNA who were belong to the rank of ulema and meshayikh, had gathered at the home of Tayyib Efendi, the Shaikh of Hacı Bayram (father of Şemseddin Efendi -Bayramoğlu-) to discuss the matter of informing the opening of TGNA to the Sultan under the presidency of Abdulhalim Çelebi⁽⁴⁶⁾. They came to the conclusion of noticing him; howeverbut the speech of (Marshal) Fevzi (Çakmak) Pasha in the TGNA (in the meeting on 27. 04 1336) who emphasised the idea that the Sultan and Istanbul under the occupation of enemy and have nothing to do to liberate the Country,

(43) Marshal Fevzi Çakmak (1856-1950), was a famous Turkish soldier and statesman: He was graduated from the military academy in 1898. Had a purely military career in the Ottoman Army, ending the war as full general. He left Istanbul after the invasion. His speech over the case in Istanbul and the captivity of the Sultan at the hand of the adversaries, had strengthen the solidarity among the MP's of First TGNA belong to the rank of ulema and meshayikh and their loyalty to it He was also a member of the First TGNA as Minister of War and Chief of the General Staff (CGS) of the nationalists and CGS of the republic later, till his retirement in 1944.

He joined to the DP opposition, which he left in 1948, but remained as honorary president until his death. He preferred military service to politics.

He had been published his lectures at the Academy of War in "Garbî Rumeli'nin Suret-i Ziyai ve Balkan Harbinde Garb Cephesi Harekâtı" (Istanbul, 1927) and his observations at the Eastern Front in his work "Büyük Harpte Şark Cephesi Harekâtı" (Ankara, 1936). He had also unpublished memoirs by his family (Ayfer Özçelik, Fevzi Çakmak, IA (TDV)- VIII (1993), p. 190- 192; Çoker, TPT, III, pp. 686-89. See also: Zürcher, Turkey, 352). He was rewarded with an Independence Medal (green -red) for his services during the Struggle(See: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 22 November 1339/1923, p. 1)

He had got his first Sufism education from his grandfather Hacı Bekir Efendi (Özçelik, Çakmak Fevzi, in: IA (DIB), VIII (1993), pp. 190-92: 190.

In a letter he had written to his daughter, we can see his opinions over certain sufistic matters (The questions such as "what is sufism?", "what is pantheism?" are handled in this letter: Mareşal Fevzi Çakmak ve İslam Dini Hakkında Mektubu, in: (Yeni) Tarih Dünyası, nr. 1, 15 April 1950, pp. 3-4, 42.).

(44) He was bound to Abdulaziz Mecdi (Tolun) (d. 1941) a Qadiri shaikh. He was among the attendants of the Dergâh of Taceddin (See: İz, İbid, pp. 124-25, 161-62). His famous work, Turkish translation of Qoran, "Kur'an-ı Hakim ve Meal-i Kerim, İstanbul, 1974 - F. P. in 1952) is full of sufistic commentaries in the footnotes. For his biography, see: Emin Işık, Çantay Hasan Basri, in: IA (TDV), VIII (1993), pp. 218-19; Çoker, , İbid, III, 593-94.

(45) As we have mentioned before, he was among the attendants of the Dergâh of Taceddin. He wrote his famous "İstiklal Marşı- Independence March" at this dergâh.

(46) Şapolyo, Kemal Atatürk, pp. 391-92; Avcıoğlu, MKT, III, 1046

made them cease this idea⁽⁴⁷⁾.

All members of the First TGNA were rewarded with an Independence Medal. This was passed to those who died before the time of reward or those, whose membership in the Assembly was annulled⁽⁴⁸⁾.

c. Among the legitimation functions of the meshayikh, we see Shaikh al- Sanusi (d. 1352/1933)'s activities who had send a declaration to the newspapers stressing the legality of TGNA according Islam and that the opposite perceptions will cause to harm to the Islam⁽⁴⁹⁾. He also sent a telegram congratulating the opening of the II nd term TGNA⁽⁵⁰⁾.

d. From the other side, the Sultan sought alliance with Hocas and shaikhs by "Hamidiye Alayları"⁽⁵¹⁾ in 1336/1920 against the National Congress⁽⁵²⁾.

e. We see also the rebellious Ahmed Anzavur who was an anti- Anatolian Nationalist, had used the same tactic: he established an order named "Tarikat-ı Ahmediyye" and called simple- hearted people to join it⁽⁵³⁾.

Nevertheless, during these years, the orders were in the throes of death: The great part of shaikhs were not spiritual leaders any more. Because, the succession was taking place usually genealogically or appointed by Medjlis-i Meshayikh, like any other appointment of an officer. They were far from Islamic knowledge, let alone from the main principles of their orders⁽⁵⁴⁾.

After the National Struggle, along with some reforms, secularizing in the religious affairs was inevitable⁽⁵⁵⁾.

The orders could be used again as a middle of legitimation for the

(47) I th Term Zabıt Ceridesi, I, 90- 91.

(48) II nd Term Zabıt Ceridesi, v. VII, 156-57 (meeting on 8. 3. 1340).

(49) Yenigün, 21 Kanun-i Sani (January), 1923, p. 3.

(50) II nd TZC, I, 71 (16. 8. 1339).

(51) Hamidiye Alayları (Regiments) were first established in 1896 to strengthen the power of the central authority in the Eastern Anatolia against the Armanians and the attacks of Russia. These light horsed forces were compounding from the people of eastern tribes. They were also used in the National Struggle in the so-called "defense of the Eastern Anatolia (Cazmi Eraslan, Hamidiye Alayları, in: İA (TDV), XVI (1997), pp. 462-64).

(52) Fırat, Doğu İlleri ve Varto Tarihi, Ank., 1981, p. 165.

(53) Ertürk, İbid, p. 427.

(54) For further explanation, see: C. S. Revnakoğlu, Tekkelerin Kuruluşu ve Çöküntü Sebepleri, in: Tarih Konuşuyor, nrs. 46, 47 (November, December 1967), pp. (respectively): 1341-44/ 3472-76

reforms⁽⁵⁶⁾ as they were used before; but the way of life they offer was very different from that secularization offers⁽⁵⁷⁾. Now, the secularism for Turkey means a "civil religion"⁽⁵⁸⁾.

(55) Secularism, which gradually emerged in the Ottoman empire as a practical necessity and condition for modernization, became one of the pillars of new regime. It was officially enshrined in the Constitution in 1937. The goal of the secularism of Turkey has twofold: to help create a modern national state without the bias of religion, i. e. to liberate the Turkish society from the hold of Islam; and to bring about a new type of free individual. it was a rationalist, scientific minded, anti-traditionalist, and anti-clericalist secularism (K. H. Karpat, *Turkeys Politics*, Princeton, 1959, p. 271).

The history of secularization movement in both Ottoman and Republican Turkey is, in sense the history of attempt to cope precisely with the problem of limiting Islam's influence in a predominantly Muslim society where the belief system consider it heretical to segregate the religious realm from the secular(Binnaz Toprak, *Islam and Politic Development in Turkey*, Leiden, 1981, p. 25). The secularists didn't oppose Islam as a faith, but condemned its dogmatism and supposedly inherent opposition to technical and social progress. They claimed that whenever hesitate appeared weak and the religious elements acquired some liberty of action, they turned to destroy the Republican regime, like in the Shaikh Sait's revolt and in the upheaval of Menemen in 1931 which was interpreted as, but not proved to be, the consequence of freedom granted through the establishment of the Liberal Party in 1930 (K, Karpat, *Turkeys Politics*, Princeton, pp. 137-169, 278).

(56) As they were ready to do it. For instance:

1. It was Saffet (Yetkin) a Khalwati Shaikh (and MP of Urfa) and his team under who Samih Rifat, a Bektashi and, MP of Biga, who proposed the abolishing of the Caliphate (see: II nd TZC, v. VII, 17, 27-69).

2. . Some prominent shaikhs (for instance: Postnishin of "Hazret-i Piri Mehmed Ata", Postnishin of Mawlawî Dergâh Tahir Çelebi, Postnishin of Şemsizade Ziyaeddin in Kastamonu had sent messages congratulating TGNA for the abolishment of the Caliphate and endorsing legality of this act and stressing that the Caliphate was serving as a tool for the personal desires and interests of the ignorant, tyrant Sultans, and therefore, it was carrying a harmful body: " Asırlardan beri hükümet ve milletın umur-u dahiliye ve siyasiyesine, cahilane, müstebidane müdahalat ile, memleketi felaketlere sevkeden, her türlü terakkiyata müsaid olan milleti, cehalet ve harabi ile inkiraza mahkum eyliyen Osmanlı hanedanının sırf menafi-i hasise ve redieleri uğruna alet-i şer olarak kullandıkları Hilafetin ilgasıyla, memlekette her an ikilik ihdasına çalışan ve milleti tekrar idare-i keyfiyelerine alarak kanını sülük gibi emmek ve saltanatlarını iade için düşmanlarla ittifak ve ittifak etmekten çekinmiyen bu hanedanın Yurdumuzdan ihracıyla, ifsadat ve ihanetlerine nihayet vermek üzere, başta, Dahî ve Halaskâr Reiscumhurumuzla ali meclisimizin ısdar buyurdıkları kanun - ki milletın arzusuna ve edille-i Şeriyyeye tamamiyle muvafıktır- bila tereddüt memleketimizin istiklal ve saadet-i ebediyyesi için tarihlerde altn yazılarla kaydedilecek inkılabat ve teceddüdat-ı kâmileyi kâfil bulunduğu, müstağni-i arzdir. Hilafet hiçbir vakit ayat-ı Kur'aniyye ve ehadis-i ehadis-i nebeviyye ile esasat-ı diniyyeden addedilmemiş ve Halik ile kullan arasında vasıtaya, şeriat- guray-ı (garray-ı: H. K.) Muhammediye ihtiyac ve lüzum göstermemiştir. (. . .) (II nd Term Zabıt Ceridesi, VII, 137). 3. Yahya Galip (Kargı), a Melami Shaikh and MP of Kırşehir, sided with the group defending the abolishment of the Caliphate (See, I th Term Zabıt Ceridesi, VII, p. 37).

4. Veled Çelebi was among the firsts who wore hat (Korucuoğlu, Veled Çelebi, p. 45).

(57) Cf. İsmail Kara, *Şeyh Efendinin Rüyasındaki Türkiye*, İstanbul, 1998, 2nd Ed. , p* 67.

The great secularizing reforms of 1924 were directed against the ulema who were thought that they would be the source of dangerous resistance movement. However, ulema, long accustomed to yielding to the authority, were unpracticed in opposing it: the ulema bound to the State, were rather yielding and tolerant⁽⁵⁹⁾, while the meshayikh were not. The rebellion of 1925, the Shaikh Sait Rebellion, seems to be a movement against secularizing reforms. On 29 June 1925 the "Independence Tribunal" in Diyarbakır, had sentenced the leaders of the rebellion to death. The same judgment ordered the closing of all dervish convents in the southeastern district. The Independence Tribunal of Ankara had been called attention of the government to this issue⁽⁶⁰⁾. After this warning, Mustafa Kemal had prepared more comprehensive attack on the orders: After his speech in Kastamonu, he returned to Ankara and after a meeting of the cabinet, he announced a series of new decrees. Following his path, Refik Bey (MP of Konya), made a bill of law which contains banning of the orders: tekkes, together with the medreses, mescids, boarding scholls. . . etc. , were to closed and their assets were to impounded and handed over to the Directory of Ewqaf. They would be registered for the title deed and changed into the schools if they were convenient to this purpose⁽⁶¹⁾. It would be confirmed to whom they were belong and to whom they will be inherited⁽⁶²⁾. In this way, the convents and sanctuaries were closed and their ceremonies prohibited.

(58) Civil religion is "any set of beliefs and rituals, related to past, present and/or future of a people ('nation') which are understood in some transcendental fashion". The civil religion is the expression of the cohesion of the nation. It has its own believes, rituals, by which members commemorate significant national events and renew their commitment to their society. (See for sources: Meredith, *Ibid*, , p. 179).

(59) *Iz*, *Ibid*, p. 77.

(60) Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 4 September, 1341/1925, nr. 1519, p. 1-2.

(61) For instance, the Mewlawi Tekke and the Tekke of Shaikh Şaban Veli in Konya were converted to a school (Açıksöz, 11 Teşrin-i Sani (November), 1341/1925).

(62) "Evkaf idaresine devr edildiğinden bilcümle tekye ve medreseler, mescidler, kurrahaneler, talebe yurtları, , yatakhaneler, taamhaneler, bunların arsaları, vakf mebani ve vakf arsalarının Mearife tahsis edildiği, Dahiliye Vekaletinden bilumum vilayata iş'ar edilmiş, bunlar vilayetlarce devr alınarak idare-i hususiyelerin şahsiyet-i ma'neviyeleri namına tapuya kayd edilecektir. Bunların varidatı irad kayd olunacaktır. mektebe elverişli olanlar mekteb olarak istimal edilecektir. Aynı zamanda tekye ve medreselerin kime aid, hangi tarikate mensub olduğu, vefatından sonra kime intikal edeceği tahkik edilerek tesbit edilecektir" (Açıksöz, 30 August, 1341 (1925), nr. 1449, p. 2. For a good account about the developments over the issue, see: Son Saat 8 July, 1925/1341, nr. 108, p. 2- 27 July 1925/1341, nr. 127, p. 5- 9 September, 1925/1341, nr. 171, p. 1- 23 September, 1925/1341, nr. 185, p. 3 and 8 January, 1926/1342, nr. 260, p. 4.

Henceforth, Turkey, as a country on the way of civilization, was freed from : shaiks, dervishes, disciples, dedes, seyyids, Çelebis', Babas', emirs, nakibs, halifes, fortune tellers, magicians, dice-throwers and amulet sellers. All these titles which could be used only in primitive nations, were abolished, the books in these tekkes over-handed to the big libraries in the cities they were found⁽⁶³⁾.

Nevertheless, the last babas and shaiks continued to take their allowance till their death⁽⁶⁴⁾. For instance, from the minutes of the meeting on 10. 04. 1927, we learn that 18. 000 TL was paid for the members of the abolished tekkes and zaviyes from the budget of the Presidency of Religious Affairs (PRA)⁽⁶⁵⁾. Some of them had been appointed to certain religious positions in the official body of the PRA⁽⁶⁶⁾.

After the abolition, the newspapers published articles which stress that the tekkes were full of "bid'a"s (innovations) and they were already collapsed : they are not necessary anymore in the life of modern man or rather to say, even in the life of early Islam there were no place for tekkes and zaviyes⁽⁶⁷⁾.

For a time there was a hope that at least the Bektashism would be exempted from this prohibition. In addition, many thoughts that the Bektashism should be made the religion of the whole Turkish people due to its relation to the Turkish culture. Nevertheless, this did not occur: Their convents did not gain any exceptional favors. Their practices are also found "not tolerable in a modern country"⁽⁶⁸⁾.

After the closing down of the orders, the main dergah of Bektashis in Hacıbektaş, were turned into a "Model Agricultural School"⁽⁶⁹⁾. Some of the

(63) See: Ali Rıza Dönmez, Cumhuriyet Devrinde Vakıflar, Ankara, TİTE /Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü), 1991, Unpublished Dissertation.

(64) See: II nd Term Zabıt Ceridesi, v. XIX, pp. 282- 89 and Affix: 3-5; TBMM Kavanin Mecmuası (II nd Term), v. 4, Ankara, 1941- p. 21; Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kanunları, ed. F. Çoker-S. Kazancı- Faruk Kazancı, Ankara, 1975, p. 396; Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 4 September, 1341/1925, nr. 1519, p. 1-2.

(65) II nd Term Zabıt Ceridesi, v. 31, p. 41 (the total amount paid for the rest of the officers was 155. 814 TL)

(66) Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 4 September, 1341/1925, nr. 1519, p. 1-2

(67) For examples of such articles, see: Ahmed Ağaoglu, İnkılab Sahasında Yenibir Hamle Daha, in: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 23 September, 1341/1925, nr. 1537, p. 2; Şeyh Safvet (Yetkin), Tekyelerin Tarihi Durumları, in: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 24 September, 1341/1925, nr. 1538, p. 2

(68) See: Yakın Tarihimiz, II, 134.

(69) Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 29 September, 1341/1925, nr. 1543.

assets were carried to some rooms of the tekke itself, some were carried to the General Directory of Ewqaf. 979 pieces of assets were defined as proper for set at museum. They were set to the Museum of Ethnography in Hacı Bektaş⁽⁷⁰⁾.

The Bektashis of the time tried to console themselves with the compliance of the Bektashism with the reformes that Mustafa Kemal brought to the country. They said: 'after these reforms, there is no need anymore to the existance of dergahs. In addition, the sphere of personality and freedom, especially salvation from the power of the ulema, and the place of women in the new community, the family meetings were seen equal to the "ayin-i cem". . . etc and are praised highly and met with pleasure by the Bektashis⁽⁷¹⁾. The Bektashism was already described by Ali Nutki Baba (d. 1936) as an "upper class life established hundred years ago" : as it was not possible to live in such a way at that time, it was established by Hacı Bektaş Veli under the name of an order"⁽⁷²⁾.

(70) Z. H. Koşay, *Bektaşilik ve Hacı Bektaş Tekkesi*, Ankara, 1968 (Apart edition from "Türk Etnoğrafya Dergisi, 10 (1967, pp. 20-26) p. 19. .

(71) For instance see: Ziya Bey, *Bektaşilik*, in: *Yeni Gün*, 7 and 8 March, 1931, p. 9 (He says: "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunu sinesine gömen Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, -diğer tarikler gibi- Bektaşiliği de resmen ilga etmişti. Fakat Bektaşiler bundan müteessir olmak şöyle dursun, gayet memnun ve münbasitti. Çünkü Cumhuriyetin bugünkü gaye ve umdeleri, Bektaşiliğin amal ve efkâr-ı asliyesinin tahakkuk ve tecellisi demektir" (*Yeni Gün*, 7 March 1931, p. 9) and "Yukarıda saydığımız sebeblere binaen artık bütün siyasi emel ve gayelerinin tatmin edilmiş olduğunu gören Bektaşilik, -tarikatlerin ilgası üzerine- altı asırlık hayatını tarihini ve muhibblerinin sinesine gömerken, tamamen memnun ve müsterihtir. Çünkü, "Türk"lüğünü hissedenlere bütün manası ile benlik ve serbestlik temin eden "Cumhuriyet", en medeni inkılap düsturlarile, ictimai hayata da vasi bir hürriyet bahşetmişti.

(. . .)

Halbuki, bütün dünyada "sosyete" denilen ve her medeni insan için bir hak ve ihtiyaç kabul edilen aile meclislerle, Bektaşilerin asırlardan beri devam eden "ayin-i cem" leri arasında ne fark vardı?" *Yeni Gün*, 8 March, 1931, p. 9 (I've made corrections on the spelling of some words-H. K.)

See also: Baltacıoğlu, İ. Hakki, *Hacıbeyzade Ahmet Muhtar Yeytaş İle Görüşüm*, in: *Yeni Adam*, nr, 467, 9 İlk Kanun (December), 1943, pp. 6-8: 8 ; Fikret Otyam, *Hu Dost*, Ankara, 1964, p. 65; Sertoğlu, *Bektaşilik*, p. 331

(72) This description is made during a meal given by Mustafa Kemal to Ali Nutki Baba (the so called hero of the novel of "Nur Baba") and Haydar Naki Baba. Yakub Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, the author of the novel, was invited to this meeting towards the end of the meeting.

After the abolishing of the orders Ali Nutki Baba was appointed to the governership (kaymakamlık) of "Mucur" as a console to his grief by the description in the aforementioned novel. See: *Yeni Tarih Dünyası*, Special number of Atatürk, II, ed. Niyazi Ahmet Banoğlu, İstanbul, 1954, p. 94-95.

Today, all türbe's that have historical value, are officially open : The Dergâh of Mevlana in Konya, Hacı Bektaş in Nevşehir- Hacı Bektaş, Yunus Emre in Karaman and Eskişehir are among these türbes. The other türbes are also open to the visit but they have no official chargers to watch them.

In place of the tekkes, new public places called "Halkevleri" (People's Homes') was been established. However, they were not in state of satisfying the spiritual need of ordinary people⁽⁷³⁾. Therefore, the mystical orders are shrouded in the Waqfs and other foundations. However, certain intellectuals are in the idea that there is no need for a tekke beyond the "heart".

For some great mystics, such as, Mevlana, Hacı Bektaş, Yunus Emre, Ahmed Yesevi, Shaikh Edebali, even Mehmet Zahid Kotku (the last Naqshi shaikh, died in 1980) anniversaries are held on the presence of high ranking officers.

Today, in spite of the prohibition, there are persons who use the titles "shaikh", "baba", "dede", etc. Nevertheless, they have been lost their legitimating function. The Bektashim has an exceptional case due to its accompany with the Alevism and so called Nationalism:

The Dergâh of Hacı Bektaş is reopened to the public visit - but only as a museum, recovering its assets from the Museum of Ethnography- by the decision of Ministry of Public Education dated 1. 3. 1960⁽⁷⁴⁾.

The Bektashis are now continuing building or renovating tekkes, held meetings and ceremonies under the leading of DedeBabas' and HalifeBabas' openly. There is a Bektashi tekke in America too⁽⁷⁵⁾.

They gave even announcements in occasion of the death of their Babas' in the newspapers.

But it must be stressed that while Mevlana and Yunus Emre are under the protection of the Right, the Bektashism which is totally under the shadow of Alevism, is supported by all high ranking bureaucrats and Marxists⁽⁷⁶⁾.

(73) See: Mehmet Doğan, *Batılılaşma İhaneti*, İstanbul, 1976, p. 23, Kara, *Tekke ve zaviyeler*, p. 339.

(74) T. C. Resmi Gazete, 5 May, 1960, nr. 10497, p. 1.

(75) See: Noyan, *Amerika'daki Bektaşî Tekyesi*, in: : *Archiev of Cemal Server Revnakoğlu*, B/25, 18 (a fragment from *Yeni Gazete*, p. 5); *Idem*, *Bektaşîlik*, p. 57-58; *Cemal Bayraktarı*, *The First American Bektashi Tekke*, in: *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, nr. 91, March 1985, pp. 21-24.

(76) Cf. A. Y. Ocak, *Türk Süfiliğine Bakışlar*, İst. , 1996, p. 111-12, 127.

Today, in place of "Bektashism" the phrases of "Alevism-Bektashism" (by the Alevi) or "Bektashism- Alevism (by the Bektashis) are in use. All former *dergâhs* of Bektahis are under the occupation of Alevi: Hacı Bektaş, Merdivenköy in Üsküdar, Abdal Musa at Elmalı-Antalya. . . etc⁽⁷⁷⁾.

Alevism- Bektashism is the most attractive field for researcher due to the close concern of the Government with the subject: because Bektashism is presented as a "Turkish Islam" as an alternative for the "Arab - Persian Islam"⁽⁷⁸⁾.

In 1998, Turkey was distracted with this item. The Prime Minister Mesut Yılmaz's words on the day annual festival held at Hacı Bektaş (16 August 1998) formed the most striking one when he said "there are someones who wants to stir up and cause turbidness in the clear water of Turkish-Islam. This attitude reflects a reactionary mentality mixed with the imported Arab- Persian one"⁽⁷⁹⁾.

It is known that the Bektashis were the most Turkish of all the dervish orders. In contrast to the Mawlawî Order, for example, the Bektashis clung to the Turkish language and Turkish forms in their literature, even in the period when cultural life of the Ottoman Empire was largely under the influence of Persian and Arabic culture⁽⁸⁰⁾.

However, we know that under the influence Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924)'s Sociology, Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, Baha Said, Hamdi Vehbi, Yusuf Ziya Yörükhan, advocated the cultural influence of the Bektashism over the Turkey.

(77) Cf. Faroqhi, The Bektashis (in: Bektachiyya, ed. A. Popovic-G. Veinstein, Ist. 1995, pp. 9-30: 18).

(78) Over the issue of nationalism and the Bektashism, see: Baha Said, Bektaşiler, in: Türk Yurdu, nr. 26, February 1927, p. 128- 150: 150- nr. 27, p. 207, 213; Idem, Tekke Aleviliği, TY, IV, nr. 21, September 1926, pp. 193-210; For other authors claiming the same, see: Ziya Bey, Bektaşilik, in: Yeni Gün, 1, 2, 17, 18, 25 February, 1 March 1931; ACSR, A/177, 84; Noyan, Bektaşilik-Alevilik Nedir, in: Yeni Gün, 10 July 1966, p. 5; Aksüt, Aynı, p. 391 (views of Veled Çelebi); Ali Sümer, Anadolu'da Türk Öncüsü, Hacı Bektaş Veli, Ankara, 1970;etc. And over the discussions today, see: Ocak, Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar, p. 201-202.

(79) 16 August, 1998, Hacı Bektaş (During the annual memorial held for Hacı Bektaş Veli). For the developments of the question, see: Nazlı Ilıcak, Millet'in Ak Oylan ve 28 Şubat, in: Yeni Şafak, 27 August, 1998, nr. 1363, p. 10; Düccane Cündioğlu, 1 Derste Kompozisyon Yazma Sanatı, in: Yeni Şafak, 10 September, 1998, nr. 1377, p. 13; . . . etc.

(80) Ramsaur, The Bektashi Dervishes, in *Muslim World*, XXXII, January, 1942, p. 7-14: 9; Mélikoff, Namık Kemal'in Bektaşiliği ve Masonluğu, in: *Ta To*, nr. 60, December 1988, p. 17-19: 18. See also: Ismail H. Baltacıoğlu, HacıBeyzade Ahmet Muhtar Yeytaş ile Görüşüm, in: *yeni Adam*, nr. 467, 9 İlk Kanun (December), 1943, pp. 6-8.

This was the view of all Turkist⁽⁸¹⁾. Today, Noyan, Ulusoy, İzzettin Doğan and other Bektashi- Alevi writers are being striving to make this theory as an accepted academical fact. Noyan, For instance, emphasizes that it was Hacı Bektaş Veli who strive to make Turkish people rise to its essential station with its tradition and art and who urged Karamanlı Mehmet Bey to make Turkish Language official language of the state⁽⁸²⁾.

We must admit that, the body of the Bektashism was appropriate to the propogation of "Turkish Islam": the Bektashis, as continuation of abdals, the disciples of Hoca Ahmed Yesevî, who came to Anatolia to prepare the ground to the spreading of Islam, brought Turkish customs and traditions related to their old Turkish religions with themselves. This paved way to "another practice of Islam" in Anatolia⁽⁸³⁾. There are many pre-Islamic motives in the Bektashi legend: Incarnation, metamorphosis, battle with dragons, levitation and reminiscences of fire cults all entered Bektashi legend through the agency of Turks who in the Central Asia had came across these different believes⁽⁸⁴⁾.

There are also strivings to present Mustafa Kemal as a leader bound or at least had sympathy to the Bektashi Order concluding from his lineage⁽⁸⁵⁾

- (81) Nearly the half of the publications over the Sufism between the years 1938-48 was about the Bektashism and Alevism (8 from 15) (Mustafa Kara, *Dini Hayat*, in: *Türkiye Kültür ve Sanat Yılığ*, 1988, Ankara, pp. 146-171).
- (82) Bedri Noyan, *Bektaşî- Alevi Konusunda Bir Gezinti*, in. *TY*, December 1994, 34-38: 37; *Idem*, *Bektaşîlik*, p. 84 ff. ; *Idem*, *BYBA*, p. 310, 352.
- (83) See: M. F. Köprülü and Prof. Dr. H. C. , *Influence Chamanisme Turco - Mongol*, Istanbul, 1929, 20 p. (tr. Yaşar Altan: *İslam Sufi Tarikatlerine Türk- Moğol Şamanlığının Tesiri*, in: *AÜİFD*, XVIII, 1970, p. 141-152; Abdulkadir İnan, *Eski Türk Dini Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1976: MEB (Passim); *Idem*, *Tarih'te ve Bugün Şamanizm*, Ankara, 1986: TTK (Passim); A. Y. Ocak, *Bektaşî Menkıbelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri*, Istanbul, 1983 (Passim); M. R. Ayas, *Türkiye'de İlk Tarikat Zümreleşmeleri Üzerine Din Sosyolojisi Açısından Bir Araştırma*, Ankara, 1991, Ankara Univ. Publ. (Passim).
- (84) For further, see: Ocak, *Bektaşî Menakıbnâmelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri*, Istanbul, 1982. However, in Ocak synthesis, the place of Shamanism that was adopted by only a limited number of pre-Islamic Turks, is played down. At the same time, he opposite the Turkish nationalists historiography, which in its most extreme manifestations declined to imagine that the medieval Turkish immigrants entered an unhabited country. He put his emphasis on the significance of Buddhism and Manicheism. This maybe interpreted as a sign of the willingness of certain present-day scholars to come to terms with the fact that Ottoman culture possessed links to both east and West. Thus, Ocak's work forms part of a trend, recognizable in the historiography of the last decade, to view the work of "classical" nationalist historians, such as Köprülü in historical perspective (See: Faroqhi, *The Bektashis*, in *Bektachiyya*, pp. 9-28: 26)
- (85) For his lineage, see: Burhan Göksel, *Atatürk'ün Soykütüğü Üzerine*, Ankara, 1994: A Publication of Ministry of Culture (Passim).

and his attitudes⁽⁸⁶⁾. Even his visit to Hacı Bektaş was perceived from this instance. But we have no concrete evidence over his being Bektashi, or joining to their meetings, except what Kinross says: "In his youth nevertheless he had himself attended a Bektashi gathering in Salonika"⁽⁸⁷⁾.

Bektashi's love of Atatürk is always stressed in the works of today's Bektashis⁽⁸⁸⁾.

But, it is more likely to the truth that Mustafa Kemal gave his favor to the Mawlawism, an upper class mystic order, rather than the Bektashism which was a simple and popular order : To Mustafa Kemal, it was the Mawlawism which can represent the Turkish Islam and, Mevlana was a great reformist: to get closer to the God in whirling, is an expression of Turkish genius, if we can rely on the words of Münir Hayri Egeli⁽⁸⁹⁾. He used to visit the Mevlevihane in Salonika in his childhood together with his mother. He had written to the Special Notebook of the Dergah during his visit on 20 March 1923: "Konya is the heart of the jight, which is being lasting for ages. It is one of the main sources of the Turkish civilization". During the same visit, , he was invited by Abdulhalim Çelebi to the meal at the Dergâh and he accepted the offer. After the meal, he had said: "Mevlana is a great man, great"⁽⁹⁰⁾. He visited the Dergâh in 1931 (after the banning of the orders) and wrote down to the notebook : " I have been delighted from the composition and order, which remarks a outcome of a knowledge"⁽⁹¹⁾.

Furthermore, in a way the possession of the Dergâh of Hacı Bektaş were protected less than the Mawlawi Dergâh: For, while the latter (The

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- (86) See: Öztürk, Tarihi Boyunca Bektaşilik, Ist. 1990, p. 201 (quoted from: Sabine Dirks, *İslam et Jeunesse en Turque d'aujourd'hui*, unpublished Dissertation, Paris, 1977); Baki Öz, *Kurtuluş savaşında Alevi- Bektaşiler*, Ist. 1989, 4-11. 39.
- (87) Lord Kinross, *Atatürk, the Rebirth of a Nation*, London, 1966, p. 411 (footnote).
- (88) For instance, see: Noyan, *Bektaşilik*, p. 96-105; Öz, p. 38 ff. For a total account of the case (together with the Alevi), see: DreBlér, Markus, *Die Civil Religion der Türkei und Mustafa Kemal in der Religiösen Vorstellungswelt der Alevieten*, Marburg, 1997 (Magisterarbeit im Fachgebiet Religionswissenschaft).
- (89) Münir Hayri Egeli, *Atatürk'ten Bilinmeyen Hatıralar*, Istanbul, 1959, 2 nd ed. , p. 70-71.
- (90) Mehmet Önder, *Mevlana Müzesinden Notlar*, in: TY, July 1964 (Special Number of *Mevlana*), pp. 67-68: 68; İsmail Habib Sevük also quoted Mustafa Kemal 's praise about Mevlana, after his return from a meal at Mevlevihane (See: Abdurrahman Dilipak, *Bir Başka Açıdan Atatürk*, 3 rd ed. , Istanbul, Beyan Publ. , p. 267).
- (91) A copy of this writing is hanged on the wall of the Museum Directorate. The original writings of him are not available, as they were burnt during a fire while they have been at the house of the Museum Director in 1950 'ies.

Mawlawi Dergâh in Konya) was transformed into a museum right away, the first was given over to miscellaneous uses (its turning into a model agricultural school is meant-H. K.) , which consequently causes damage to the building⁽⁹²⁾.

All these mean that although they are officially closed, the roles and functions of the mystical orders in Turkish community are not over yet. But, the function of legitimation seems to be passed only for Mawlawism -for legitimation of the ideoloji of humanism and secularism- and Bektashism (/Alevism).

(92) Faroqhi, *The Bektashis*, in: *Bektachiyya*, pp. 9-28: 22.