DERGÂH-I ABDAL MUSA:

A HETERODOX DERVISH *TEKKE* BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE PEOPLE

A Master's Thesis

by

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

August 2009

To my parents…

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The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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in

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BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

DERGÂH-I ABDAL MUSA:

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Kaşoturacak, Gizem

M.A., Department of History

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç

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This thesis attempts to propose a hypothetical explanation to the reason of the noteworthy transformation in the relations between the heterodox *tekke*s and the Ottoman State. Since the foundation of the *uc beylik* at the fourteenth century, these relations were already based on the mutual interests; however after the appearance of new actors and threats their nature changed significantly.

The present study tries to understand especially the period of transformations in the relations between the Ottomans and the heterodox Kalenderî dervishes happened after the appearance of the *Safavî* State hence late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. It focuses on the idea that following the success of the *Safavî* propaganda the Ottomans needed an intermediary agent to reach out the heterodox Turcomans and they found it in the dervish *tekke*s. The regulations in the *tekke* of

Hadji Bektash and its reflections on the other Kalenderî *tekke*s are therefore very important to analyze in details.

These transformations will be analyzed through Abdal Musa *Tekke* of Elmalı, Antalya. Abdal Musa appeared as a Kalenderî dervish transformed into a Bektashi sheikh and his *tekke* was connected directly to the central Hadji Bektash *Tekke* is one of the significant examples of this State policy against the Turcoman tribes and their heterodox dervishes.

Keywords: Abdal Musa, *Tekke*/waqf system, Dervish, Bektashîyya, Kalenderîyya, *Menâkıbnâme, Safavî* propaganda.

ÖZET

DERGÂH-I ABDAL MUSA:

DEVLET VE HALK ARASINDA BİR HETERODOKS *TEKKE*

Kaşoturacak, Gizem

Yüksek lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç

Ağustos 2009

Bu tez çalışması Osmanlı Devleti ile heterodoks derviş *tekke*leri arasındaki ilişkide gözlenen radikal değişimi açıklamaya yönelik bir hipotez oluşturmayı amaçlamaktadır. Osmanlı uç beyliğinin kuruluş aşaması olan ondördüncü yüzyıldan itibaren bu ilişkinin temeli karşılıklı çıkara dayanıyordu. Fakat yeni aktörlerin ve tehditlerin devreye girmesi ile beraber ilişkilerin doğası dikkat çekecek şekilde değişti.

Bu çalışma özellikle Safavî Devleti'nin ortaya çıkışını takiben gözlenen Osmanlılar ve heterodoks Kalenderî dervişler arasındaki ilişkilerdeki dönüşüm dönemini yani geç onbeşinci erken onaltıncı yüzyıla yoğunlaşmaktadır. Safavî da'vet'inin başarısı üzerine Osmanlıların heterodoks Türkmenlere ulaşabilmek için aracı bir ajana duydukları ihtiyaç ve bunu derviş *tekke*lerinde bulması fikri çalışmanın temel çıkış noktasıdır. Hacı Bektaş *Tekke*'sinde yapılan düzenlemeler ve

bunların diğer Kalenderî *tekke*leri üzerine yansıması bu konuyu derinlemesine analiz edebilmek için oldukça önemlidir.

Bu dönüşümler Elmalı, Antalya bulunan Abdal Musa *Tekke*si üzerinden incelenecektir. Kalenderî bir derviş olarak ortaya çıkan Abdal Musa'nın bir Bektaşi Şeyhine dönüşümü ve *tekke*sinin doğrudan merkezî Hacı Bektaş *tekke*sine bağlanması heterodoks Türkmen kabilelerine onların bağlı olduğu heterodoks dervişlere yönelik bu Devlet politikasının belirgin bir örneğidir.

Keywords: Abdal Musa, *Tekke*/vakıf sistemi, Derviş, Bektaşilik, Kalenderîlik, Menâkıbnâme, Safavî propagandası.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The *tekke*s, the places where the *abdal*s[1] were settled, prayed and disseminate their religious beliefs, were indeed more than just sacred buildings for the followers of the dervish. Firstly, they were the center for the economical activities of the surrounding settlement areas. Secondly they were centers supplying services for the *travelers*and the traders and the settlers of the area. Finally they were also political agents that played important roles between the people and the state.

The relations between the heterodox *tekke*s and the Ottoman State passed through several stages. This passage affected mostly the political role played by the *tekke*s. They were in alliance with the emerging Ottoman State during the period when the raids and the conquests against the non-Muslim lands were intensive. However, after the institutionalization and the centralization process of the state reached some success under the reign of Mehmed II, the religious role of the *tekke*s became more important than all the others. The accord between the Ottoman rulers and the sheikh continued to be effective even if it changed the nature.

[1] The most comprehensive study on the word *Abdal* is still the Mehmed Fuad Köprülü's article entitled "Abdal" published in the Encyclopedia of Turkish popular literature. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, "Abdal", in *Türk Halk Edebiyâtı Ansiklopedisi: Ortaçağ ve Yeniçağ Türklerinin Halk Kültürü Üzerine Coğrafya, Etnoğrafya, Etnoloji, Tarih ve Edebiyat Lugâtı*, No. 1, (İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Basımevi,1935), 23-45. Also see Süleyman Uludağ and Orhan F. Köprülü "Abdal", in *DİA,* Vol.1, 59-62, Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr "L'Étrange Destin d'un Mot, Le Problème *Abdal* Vu à Travers Les Registres Ottomans", *Turcica*, 1977, 39-58, and H. J. Kissling, "Abdal", in *EI²,* 94-95.

The relationship between the Islamic States and the religious personages has always been a crucial point to study. The dervishes and the institutions founded by them; the *tekke*s and their role within the society have been subject to several studies by researchers specialized in different social sciences. For that matter; the historians among all are the ones who specialized on the matter the most. Several aspects of these religious institutions are studied by them. Nevertheless it cannot be argued that not every aspect of this topic is well analyzed. Even there are still some aspects waiting to come under the sunlight.

The preliminary studies in the field of history started with the questioning the religious functions of such institutions. The origins and the development of these dervish orders are the first points to examine. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü is the scholar who made the pioneering efforts on this subject. His eminent *chef d'œvre* entitled *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*[2], he tries to analyze the lives of Ahmed Yesevî and Yunus Emre. This analysis also gives ideas about the early phases of Islam and leading figures that shaped this conception of Islam. In this study, Köprülü suggested that these orders were all Sunnite in origin. Frederick W. Hasluck[3] on the other hand tries to prove that the traces of local religions, mainly of the Christianity existed in the early Islam that was disseminated in Anatolia. This preliminary theory of syncretism opened the way for others. Irène Mélikoff and her student Ahmet Yaşar Ocak developed these ideas with several studies. While Mélikoff mainly insisted on the influence of Shamanism, the oldest belief of Turcomans, Ocak developed a different point of view. He not only states that the belief systems like Buddhism, Mazdeism, and Bogomilism affected Islam but also he insists on the *Safavi* influence

[2] Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar,* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1993).
[3] Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929).

especially after the fifteenth century. On the other hand, Ahmed T. Karamustafa and Devin DeWeese made further contributions to the debate on the origins of the heterodox dervishes. Their theory is closer to the thesis of Köprülü explained in the *İlk Mutasavvıflar,* that the Yeseviyye, the root of these heterodox dervish movements was Sunnite in origin.

The sudies on the religious structure of these *tekke*s can also be grouped as the studies concerning the *menâkıbnâmes* as historical sources. Köprülü is also one of the first historians who appreciated the value of *velâyetnâmes* as a historical source. In his famous article *"Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları"*[4] Köprülü drew attention to the historical information in *velâyetnâmes* that would shed light especially on popular Sufi orders. John K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*[5] is another study focusing on a *velâyetnâme*s. He tried to analyze the *Velâyetnâme*-i Hadji Bektash and construct his life story. Here he did not utilize other archival sources than the *velâyetnâme* and he also did not try to extend his analysis to the history of the environment that the sheikh lived in. Rıza Yıldırım's study entitled "*Seyyit Ali Sultan ve Velâyetnâmesi*[6], is actually a revised version of his M.A. Thesis on the *menâkıbnâme*s and their usage as historical sources. In both his studies Yıldırım tries to display the value of these texts for a historian.

Then the social and economic missions of these *tekke*s are analysed deeply by the scholars. Ömer Lütfi Barkan opened a new era with his article on the colonizing dervishes[7]. This study proved that these institutions played a crucial role in the population process of the newly conquered lands and Islamization of this population.

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[4] Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, "Anadolu Selçukluları Tarihinin Yerli Kaynakları" , *Belleten, 27* (1943), pp. 421-425.
[5] John K. Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes,* (London: Luzac& Co. ,1937).
[6] Rıza Yıldırım, *Seyyit Ali Sultan ve Velâyetnâmesi,* (Ankara: TTK yayınları, 2007).
[7] Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler I, İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Turk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler", *Vakıflar Dergisi,* Vol. 11, 1942, 279-353.

Suraiya Faroqhi followed Barkan's example on a smaller scale. The monographies on the Bektashî *tekke*s for which she consulted several types of archival sources showed the grandeur and importance of such *tekke*s for the general economic structure of the Empire[8].

The present study aims to analyze the political aspect of the missions of these *tekke*s which is up to day the least analyzed aspect of these *tekke*s. Abdal Musa[9] *tekke* is chosen as the case study to be able to follow up the transformation in the political role of the heterodox dervishes.

Abdal Musa is considered as one of the most important saints of the Bektashi Order. He held the eleventh of twelve *post*s, which is *ayakçı postu.*[10] He is a saint who has been reminded as "*Anadolu'nun gözcüsü Abdal Musa Sultan*" (the watchman of Anatolia, *Sultan* Abdal Musa) in the Bektashi literature. *Alevi society* even today shows great respect to him. Thus the relationship between the State and Abdal Musa and the transformation in it is very important to analyze as Abdal Musa is one of the leading figure in the heterodox movement in Anatolia.

The present study tries to understand the transformation process of the religious character of an independent *abdal tekke* situated in Antalya towards a Bektashî *tekke* and on the political character of this *tekke* from an independent heterodox *tekke* to an important political actor of a centralistic order. Thus, the

[8] Suraiya Faroqhi has several studies conserning these dervish *tekke*s. For instance, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, (İstanbul: Simurg Yay., 2006), "The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1976, 183-208, "The life story of an urban saint in the Ottoman Empire: Piri Baba of Merzifon", *Tarih Dergisi,* XXXII, 1979, 653-678.

[9] There are a number of studies on the life and deeds of Abdal Musa; the most detailed of them is the article "Abdal Musa" by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, part of which was published in *Türk Halk Edebiyatı Ansiklopedisi* but it was completed and published by Orhan F. Köprülü in *Türk Yurdu,* 1973. Also see, Orhan F. Köprülü, "Abdal Musa" *DİA*, Vol. 1, 64-65, Abdurrahman Güzel, *Abdal Mûsâ Velâyetnâmesi,* (Ankara: TTK yayınları, 1999) and several others published by amateur researchers about the life of Abdal Musa based on legends and Bektashi sources; for instance, Bedri Noyan Dede Baba, *Abdal Musa Sultan ve Hayatı*, (Ankara, 1974).

[10] *Ayakçı Postu* is one of the twelve positions of the *ayin-i* Djem held by the leading figures of Islam. The holder of this *post* is responsable for responding all the needs appeared before and during the *ayin.*

foundation of Bektashiyya; the connection of independent heterodox *tekke*s to the central Hadji Bektash *tekke* and the role of the state in this process are followed through the developments in this *tekke*.

The second chapter concerns the personality of Abdal Musa. His life story, why and how he is an important figure in the religious history of Anatolia is going to be argued. The main source is going to be his *menâkıbnâme.* A very detailed examination of the *menâkıb*s will be pursued to be able to understand how far his legendary fame was effective in determining his historical figure.

Third chapter is going to be a more analytical chapter that concerns the data collected from the previous one. It mainly analyses the place of Abdal Musa in the religious history of Anatolia. The early phases of Islam in Anatolia, the religious character of Abdal Musa will be first analyzed. The aim is to understand how the religious character of this dervish changed from a Kalender to a Bektashî dervish.

The fourth chapter is another descriptive chapter concerning the economical aspect of the *tekke*. The purpose of this chapter is to reveal the importance of the Abdal Musa *tekke* for the economic and social life of the surrounding area. Its richness and effectiveness will also be questioned.

The final chapter is about combining the data collected in the previous chapters and finding an answer to the original question of this study: how did the State use the heterodox *tekke*s as an agent in his fight with its heterodox subjects and the external enemies. The contribution of the state in the process of foundation of Bektashîyya in the sixteenth century and in the connection of several local heterodox *tekke*s to it is going to be questioned. This transformation in the State's attitude towards the heterodox *tekke*s is going to be analyzed through the changes in the religious personality of Abdal Musa and the transformations in his *tekke*.

CHAPTER II

THE LIFE STORY OF ABDAL MUSA

Abdal Musa is one of the most important figures in the tradition of the Bektashi order[11]. He played a very crucial role in the process of spreading the fame and tenets of Hadji Bektash Velî in Anatolia. Even today, he is respected by all the followers of Alevism and Bektashîyya; and commemorated by regular events held around his tomb and *tekke* in Antalya. He was called *Pir-i Sani*[12] by his followers during his lifetime as evident in the Ottoman State documents and today he is also referred with the same name. His *tekke* is in Elmalı, Antalya and it is still one of the four leading *tekke*s of Bektashiyya. The remnants are the Hadji Bektash[13] in Kırşehir, Seyyid Ali Sultan[14] in Rumelia, and Piri Baba[15] in Merzifon.

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[11] For further information on Bektashiyya see, R. Tschudi, "Bektashiyya" in *EI²,* Vol. 1, 1161-1163. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Bektaşilik",in *DİA,* Vol. 4, Also, Suraiya Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, (İstanbul: Simurg Yay., 2006). Ali Yılmaz, Mehmet Akkuş, Ali Öztürk eds., *Hünkar Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli: Makalat*,; (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yay., 2007). Also see, Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, ed., *Menâkıb-ı Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli : Vilâyet-nâme*, (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1990). Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Alevi Bektaşi İnançlarının İslam Öncesi Temelleri: Bektaşi menâkıbnâmelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri*, (İstanbul: İletişim, 2000).

[12] *Pir-i Sâni* meaning the second sheikh of the order is used by several different parties of the society. He was called *Pir-i Sâni* on the epigrapf of Lütfi Baba Tekkesi, another Bektashi tekke belonged to one of his followers near Finike; also in an Ottoman document dated 1847, BOA, AMD, Dv, 536, and even today by his followers in the Tekke Köy as it is seen during the interview with Hüseyin Eriş Halife-Baba, dated 09.05. 2009.

[13] Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1976, 183-208.

[14] For further information see Rıza Yıldırım, *Seyyid Ali Sultan ve Tekkesi*, (Ankara: TTK yayınları, 2007).

[15] Suraiya Faroqhi "The life story of an urban saint in the Ottoman Empire: Piri Baba of Merzifon", *Tarih Dergisi,* XXXII, 1979, 653-678.

According to Orhan Fuad Köprülü, the significance and prosperity attained by this *tekke* stem from the legendary fame of Abdal Musa.[16] It should be emphasized that not only was he one of the important sheiks of the order, but also a well-known dervish within the area around his *tekke*. In this context, analyzing the life of this holy figure is very important in order to understand the religious situation in Anatolia during his life time which overlapped with the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. The topic is equally important since such an analysis sheds light to the relationship between the heterodox beliefs of the century.

No information about Abdal Musa can be gathered from the sources that were written during his lifetime; however a *menâkıbnâme*[17] written in his name and copied in different time periods exists and can be used. This *menâkıbnâme* is our basic source for getting information on the life of this saint. Also known as the *Velâyetnâme-i Abdal Musa*[18], this document has two different versions within our reach. The first version is the one prepared and published by Saadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, in 1930 in the *Encyclopedia of Turkish Poets.*[19] Ergun claims that the original copy was given him by a person named Naci Kum in Isparta. The second one is the copy of Abdurrahman Güzel which he prepared as a book, published by the Turkish Historical Society entitled *Abdal Musa Velâyetnâmesi*[20]. He claims that his original copy was rewritten by a certain Veli Dede in 1630-31/1040. However, analyzing language patterns he also points out that this script might have been copied from an

[16] Orhan F. Köprülü, "Abdal Musa Tekkesi", *DİA,* Vol. 1, 65.
[17] Originated from Arabic root, *nekabe* menkıbe; means in the dicitonary a beatiful deed or behavior to be praised. Sufistic meaning is the short texts telling about the miracolous specialties of the Sufis. The plural form of menkıbe; menâkıb was used since the third century of Muslim Calendar for the parts devoted to the honors of Ashab in the hadith books. Following the spread of mysticism it is also used to express the wisdom and model behaviors of the sofîs. A very detailed study on this is Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Menâkıbnâmeler, Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım*, (Ankara: TTK yayınları, 1997). For the meaning of the term in kelâm see Haşim Şahin, "Menâkıbnâme", *DİA*, Vol. 31, 112-114.
[18] Haşim Şahin, "Menâkıbnâme", 113.
[19] Saadeddin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Şairleri Cilt. 1,* (İstanbul: Bozkurt Basımevi, 1936).
[20] Güzel, *Abdal Mûsâ Velâyetnâmesi*.

original copy prepared in the fifteenth century. When analyzed deeper, it is clear that these two copies have no big difference from each other except the usage of a number of different words with the same or similar meanings and the differentiation of the spelling of some words. Relying on the language similarities of the scripts it can be claimed that the copy used by Ergun was prepared at the same century.

The *menâkıbnâme* gives us a great variety of information about the legendary life of Abdal Musa as well as some tips about his historical life, even though it is the shortest text among all the Bektashî *menâkıbnâmes*.[21] Lately, this kind of hagiographic scripts is used more often to gather historical data about the time periods both when they were prepared and when the mentioned events happened. The first attempt in the field is the book entitled *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes* written by John K. Birge, in 1937. In this study, Birge uses *Velâyetnâme-i Hadji Bektash* and departing from the legends about the sheikh, he tries to reach the realities of his lifetime and makes some assumptions about Hadji Bektash. A similar and more organized work in this field is the article written by Ahmet Yaşar Ocak entitled *"Emirci Sultan ve Zâviyesi"*. Here, Ocak tries to give background information about the *tekke* and the founder dervish using the *menâkıbnâme* along with other archival sources to extract historical knowledge from the legends. As a matter of fact he brings a new dimension to *tekke* studies, dervishes and their relations with the surrounding area.[22] The *menâkıbnâme*s are now used not only for collecting data about the legends and the life of the mentioned dervish but also about the environment he lived in. One of the most recent studies in this field is an M.A. thesis written by Rıza Yıldırım in Bilkent University on Seyyit Ali Sultan and Abdal Musa and the utilization of the *menâkıbnâme*s as historical sources. In this study,

[21] Yağmur Say, *Anadolu Alevilerinin tarihi*, (İstanbul: Su Yayınevi, 2007), 50.
[22] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Emirci Sultan ve Zaviyesi", Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi, IX (1978), pp:130-208.

Yıldırım compares different versions of *menâkıbnâmes* and inquires after the life story of dervishes and the social conditions in which they supposedly lived; as could other historians do with such sources. Thus, we see that *menâkıbnâme*s are not only used for the inquiry after the life of the saints but they also give us the opportunity to gather precious information on the period and the region that the saint lived in.

The present chapter concerning the life story of Abdal Musa will be based mainly on *Menâkıbnâme-i Abdal Musa* as the principal source. The difference of this study from the research conducted by aforementioned historians is that; it will also make references to the *menâkıbnâme* of his disciple Kaygusuz Abdal,[23] which contains as many precious data on the deeds of Abdal Musa as his own. This chapter aims to examine the life and deeds of this dervish with reference to the social and political conditions that he lived in. Basing mainly on the *menâkıb*s of Abdal Musa and on some chronicles[24]; first the legendary personality of this holy man as it was spread in tradition will be revealed, then the *menkıbe*s will be analyzed to find out their significance and meaning for his followers. The final step of the examination of the *menâkıbnâme* will concern the historical data that was extracted from the sources about both the life of this dervish and also the circumstances that shaped his life and the society that he lived in.

2.1 The Legendary Abdal Musa

The legendary side of the dervishes is generally the most known and shared among the people. The communities, who lived around the tombs of these holy men and

[23] Abdurrahman Güzel, *Kaygusuz Abdal Menakıbnamesi,* (Ankara: TTK yayınları, 1999).
[24] Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i âl-i Osman,*(İstanbul: Maarif Kitabhânesi, 1326).

followed their cult and belief system, would generally tell the strangers the short stories proving the superiority and holiness of the dervish.[25] Some of the stories are kept in written form and in the case of Abdal Musa a *menâkıbnâme* was compiled. In the two *menâkıbnâmes*, which are the principal sources for analyzing the life-story of the dervish; a lot of *kerâmets*[26] attributed to Abdal Musa are illustrated. Generally, similar historical data may be extracted from both texts but there are also a number of different stories about his deeds.

The expected appearance of Abdal Musa is declared in his *menâkıbnâme* by the following words:

> "One day while Hadji Bektash-ı Horasâni was sitting in his *hayat*[27], he declared that: Ô my dervishes rising like a young moon in Genceli[28], making himself called Abdal Musa; whoever wants to find me should go and find me in him. When Hadji Bektash died; Abdal Musa made his appearance. Seyyid Abdal Musa, son of Seyyid Hasan Gazi became an orphan."[29]

The first of the legends that were attributed to him recites the story in which he finds a cauldron full of gold in the construction area of his *tekke.* He also finds the real owners of the gold by pointing their exact place. When this gold was discovered, he turned to his dervishes and said: "This stuff has its owner. We cannot touch it, as it is blood and pus to us. Near the sea there is a heretic ship. The owners of this asset

[25] During the field study in Tekke köy the villagers told me several stories that were not included in the menâkıbnâme.
[26] Kerâmet is the ability of realizing miracles shown by the dervishes. For further information on the term, Süleyman Uludağ and Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, "Kerâmet", *DİA,* Vol. 25, 265-268.
[27] In this context the word *Hayat* can be taken both as life and garden.
[28] Abdurrahman Güzel, explains in *Abdal Mûsâ Velâyetnâmesi*, 133, that today Genceli is a ruins area three hours away from Tekke Köy where the *tekke* of Abdal Musa stands. However, the field study between May 7-9, 2009 showed that the villagers believe that Genceli was actually an ancient city very close to the *Tekke*. It cannot be reached as it was covered by the mountain that followed Abdal Musa in his expedition against Teke Beği and today it is known as T(d)ur Dağı.
[29] Güzel, *Abdal Mûsâ Velâyetnâmesi*, 162.

are on that ship. Go and tell them to come to collect it and leave."[30] According to *menâkıbnâme,* these "heretics" while on the road, were thinking that if this man was a real saint he should prepare wine and pork before they got there. Abdal Musa heard this request beforehand and sent his *abdal*s out for hunting and prepared the food that these people wanted before they got there. This foresight made the non-Muslim right holders believe in his sainthood because now they could see that Abdal Musa was the real man. These people could not set sail without leaving the cauldron to Abdal Musa as they decided to give him at least the cauldron before they got on to their ship. Only then they could move on their way.

In the *Menâkıbnâme-i Abdal Musa*, the anger and the march of Bey of Teke[31] against Abdal Musa and his followers is linked to this story of cauldron full of gold. Bey got angry because this treasure was given to the heretics without the consent of the Bey of Islam and without reserving his share of the treasure. He decided to teach a lesson to this dervish who underestimated the *Padishah of Islam*. First of all, he sent hundreds of his men to catch Abdal Musa and bring him to his presence; however, upon seeing the *kerâmet*s of this saint, these *kul*s decided to join the *tekke*. At the end his vizier came and behaved disrespectfully in front of Abdal Musa and he fell from his horse and died in pain; drifted by the horse. In the *Menâkıbnâme-i* Kaygusuz Abdal, this person is Kulağılı İsa[32] -who was a very famous and strong warrior of that time but not the vizier. Moreover, in the *Menâkıbnâme-i* Kaygusuz, the reason why Bey of Teke marched upon Abdal Musa and his followers is that,

[30] *"Bu malın sahibi vardur. Biz dokunmayuz bize kan ve irindür. Denizin kıyısında bir kâfir gemisi vardır. Bu malın sahipleri ondadır. Gidün söylen gelip alıp gitsünler."*
[31] We do not have any exact data about who was the Teke *Bey*i at that time however the information closest to the truth can be found in Şehabeddin Tekindağ, "Teke-eli ve Teke oğulları", *İ.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü, Dergisi*, Vol. 7/8, 1976-77, 54-94.
[32] Güzel, *Kaygusuz Abdal Menâkıbnâmesi*, 9.

Bey of Ala'iyye[33] asked for Teke Bey's assistance for this heretic dervish who was keeping his son. Also in this second *Menâkıbnâme,* there is no mention of the hundreds of men who decided to stay with Abdal Musa and became dervishes.

He convinced the people who were in denial of his sainthood to believe in him by showing the *kerâmet*s. Abdal Musa walked over the fire set up by the people living around his *tekke* together with the Bey of Teke and called all his followers to join him in his march. Even the mountain and the stones joined him in this rebellion. At the end they put up with the fire by turning *semah*[34]. Following this action even the hostile Bey of Teke started to believe in him and asked for his forgiveness. However, Abdal Musa did not forgive him and told him to abandon his presence.

Following these events, Abdal Musa saw the soul of the Bey of Teke in a black monster and decided to kill him because his extermination was necessary to prevent him from harming the others. This story takes place in both *menâkıbnâme*s. There is only a difference regarding the dervish who was assigned to kill the monster. According to the Abdal Musa *Menâkıbnâme* the dervish is Kara Abdal whereas in the Kaygusuz *Menâkıbnâme* he is Baltası Gedik.[35] Following the killing of the monster, the Bey of Teke also died and when his son Halil Bey heard the story

[33] We do not have a lot of information on the Ala'iyye *Bey*i at that time; however, Muhtar Yahya Dağlı, in his study entitled *Bektaşi Tomarı,* explains that in the administrative organization at that time (at the final period of Seljukids) Ala'iyye *Bey*s were subordinated to the Teke *Bey*i known also as *Emirü's-sevâhil*. In fact, the fact that Alaiyye *Bey*i askes for the help of Teke *Bey*i, explains the hierarchical relations between these two. Muhtar Yahya Dağlı, *Bektaşi Tomarı,*

[34] *Semah*; is the ceremonial dance practiced at the end of ayin-i Djem by Alevis and Bektashis. One of the trace of the shamanism on the Alevi-Bektashi belief is praying by dancing. For further information; Françoise Arnaud-Demir, "Le Syncretisme Alevi Bektachi Dans Les Chants Accompagnant La Danse Rituelle, *Semah*" in *Syncretismes et Heresies Dans L'orient Seldjoukide et Ottoman (XIVe-XVIIIe siecle), Actes du Colloque du College de France, Octobre 2001,* dir. Gilles Veinstein, (Paris: Peeters, 2005). Also same author, "Semah Bir Oyun mudur? Şamanizm, Tasavvuf ve Canlandırma Işığında Alevi-Bektaşilerde Dinsel Dansın Adı", *Folklor/Edebiyat,* Ekim 2004. Fuat Bozkurt, *Semahlar (Alevilerin dinsel oyunları),* Cem Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1990.

[35] Güzel, *Abdal Mûsâ Velâyetnâmesi*, 36. It is declared in this book that there is a small *zâviye* at the end of the way of old Korkudeli, built in the name of Baltasi Gedik, Evliya Çelebi also confirms this information in his *Seyâhatnâme* .

he decided to become one of the followers of Abdal Musa and told the dervish that he would be his father from that time on.

Abdal Musa showed a lot of *kerâmets* like turning wine into honey, praying for a horse to get pregnant, pulling a tree so that it stretches, making water spring whenever and wherever it is needed, feeding thousands with a meal cooked in a tiny cauldron, and making fountains pour in honey and butter instead of water and many other similar kind of *kerâmets* in order to make daily life easier for the ordinary people.[36] Being the answer to the daily problems of the society is actually a common point for several dervishes of early phases of Turkish Islam. It is important for them to attract as many people as they can, through answering their needs.

The legends attributed to him thus draw a legendary personality around the dervish that helped his disciples to disseminate his cult among the ordinary people. These people were indeed in quest of such a figure that could save them from the "evil rulers" of the earthly life. Actually, these stories have a deeper meaning. Generally, they were selected and disseminated following a conscious process that would give enormous fame and acceptance to the dervish and his order.

2.2 Analyzing the *Menkıbe*s

Rum abdalları gelür "Ali dost" deyü
Hırka giyer, aba deyü post deyü
Hastaları gelür derman isteyü
Sağlar gelür pirim Abdal Musa'ya[37]

[36] For further information about the *menâkıbnâme*s see Ocak, *Menâkıbnâmeler.*
[37] The Abdals of Rum come calling upon Ali,
They wear the cowl, the cloak, the rug.
Those who are ill, come to them for healing
The sound ones go to my master, Abdal Musa.

The *menâkıbnâme*s can be defined as the written exemplars of the legends about the *Abdalân-ı Rum*[38] floating among the Turcomans. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak emphasizes that the *menâkıbnâme*s have simple and short scripts. They are designed to show people that their beliefs could be victorious against the official religion and their wishes could come true in a place like the one shown in the text.[39] In this context, it is obvious that the main aim of writing such kind of texts is to reach as many people as possible and to make the dervish in whose name the *menâkıbnâme* is written known by crowds. Moreover, this is an open effort of propaganda for making him embraced by many, and providing that he and his order is accepted. For a fast and easy dispersal of his ideas, a simple and clear style of narrative is preferred and the *kerâmet*s which answer the needs and demands of the society are connected to these dervishes.

Actually the *kerâmet*s attributed to Abdal Musa, are generally the ones encountered generally in the old Turcoman legends. When the Turcoman shamans of Central Asia are analyzed, it is seen that their life style is very close to the fourteenth century Anatolian Turkish dervish image: "giving news from the future, changing climate, preventing disasters or sending these to his hostiles, making the sick better, flying and not burning in the fire".[40] Turcoman shamans are still very popular among the nomadic Turcoman tribes that recently arrived in Anatolia and became Muslim. However, although they kept their popularity, they now started to lose their identity as shamans while gaining a new one; Anatolian *Abdals*. Within this environment, a heterodox dervish trying to found a *tekke* and spread his faith must know not only the abilities and the particularities of these shamans but also the connection between

[38] One of the four leading groups in anatolia during the foundation poeriod of the Ottoman State; that was listed by Aşıkpaşazâde. The others being; Ahiyân-ı Rum, Bâcıyân-ı Rum and Gâziyân-ı Rum. Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevârih.*
[39] Ocak, *Menâkıbnâmeler,* 33.
[40] *Ibid,* 11.

these holy men and the people. It is very important for them to find out more about the shamans so that according to the information they collected they could develop shamanic abilities or pretend as if they already had them.

The first *menkıbe* attributed to him is extracted from the sentences that announce his appearance. It is announced before his birth that there would be a sacred birth, in a determined place and the newly born would follow a certain religious order. Since generally the births of prophets or the major leading figures of the religion are announced beforehand, it is obvious that the purpose is to emphasize the sanctity of the still to be born.

Foreseeing what would happen next is another ability of Abdal Musa; he predicted the soldiers and the Iranian dervishes who would visit the *tekke.* Fortelling is a very common ability among the dervishes. This ability keeps the *Abdal* and his dervishes prepared for the upcoming events and the unexpected visitors. This way, dervish turns into an indispensable personality for the security of the society. He not only keeps them safe from the hostiles and the soldiers but he also give them an opportunity to be prepared for the guests and eliminate the possibility of being embarrassed in front of visitors. These two actually shows the main missions of such lodges within the society. They should keep their followers and the lifestyle safe and untouched while assuring that the travelers are attended carefully.

Knowing what the other people would feel and behaving accordingly; is another *kerâmet* very common among the dervishes trying to develop strict bounds with the society by showing extraordinary skills. For instance, Abdal Musa feels when his dervishes start to wonder about his background and tells the following poem designed to explain his origins:

Kim ne bilür bizi biz ne soydanuz
Ne bir zerre oddan ne hod sudanuz

Bizim husûsumuz ma'rifet söyler
Biz Horasan mülkindeki boydanuz

Yedi deniz bizüm keşkülümüzde
Hacım umman oldı biz o göldenüz

Hızır İlyas bizüm yoldaşımızdur
Ne zerrece günden ne hod aydanuz

Yedi tamu bize nevbahâr oldı
Sekiz uçmak içindeki köydenüz

Bizüm zahmımuza merhem bulunmaz
Biz kudret okuna gizli yaydanuz

Mûsâ Tur'da durub münâcât eyler
Neslimüz sorarsan asl-ı Hû'danuz[41]

Ali oldum adım oldı bahâne
Güvercin donunda geldüm bu hâne

Abdal Musa oldum geldim cihâne
Ârif anlar biz nice sırdanuz

Similarly, he gained respect even in the eyes of the non-Muslims through sensing the wishes of the people who came to collect their cauldron full of gold and getting the food prepared ahead of their arrival. Thus, he used this ability not only for helping his followers, but also for convincing those who are against him. As a matter of fact, this is the most efficient and widespread way of influencing people surrounding a "*velî*". Showing the fact that he has a lot of abilities different from the ordinary people, is crucial to make the community understand this reality and recognize his superiority.

On the other hand, the conversion of a heretic is another feature expected by

[41] Abdurrahman Güzel transcripted this word as Hoy with a fault of reading because it is clearly seen in the original text at the end of his book that the word is Hû. Thanks to Y. Hakan Erdem who kindly took my attention to the subject and saved me from making a huge mistake. However, this word was transcripted as Hoy by Saadeddin Nüzhet Ergun too. As we do not have the chance to examine this later copy; we are going to base our study on the original text at the end of the *Menâkıbnâme* publication. As it is possible that this word was written as Hoy in this second copy we will also try to analyse the text as it was transcripted by these two scholars.

the people from the dervishes and that could be found in Abdal Musa. At this point, the role ghazi-dervishes played during the foundation period of the Ottoman Empire must be remembered. Dervishes who joined the conquests in the very first fronts also worked for population of the regions where their *tekke*s were built. Through their *tekke*s and the economic activities, these ghazi-dervishes attracted the new population to the area and contributed to the Islamization process of this newly settled population.[42]

The motif of escaping from the fire, rooted in Prophet Abraham's salvation from the fire, survived in many other similar legends of religious characters.[43] For instance, according to the references made by Ocak from İbn-i Battuta's voyages; Battuta saw some *Kalenderî* dervishes who were not influenced from the fire although they were turning *semah* in the fire while they were in trance.[44] Abdal Musa showed this ability in two different situations. Firstly, he put out the fire prepared for his burning by turning a *semah* with his followers. Secondly, he stirred the fire by using his bare hands and yet he was not burned. This interesting legend is suited to Abdal Musa for reemphasizing that he is superior to the ordinary people and chosen by God, like a prophet.

Making fountains to pour in butter and honey and turning wine into honey and such kind of answers to the daily problems are the benefits that people are expecting from this kind of *velî.* Through these conducts the dervish not only attracts more followers but he also shows the divine power within him. When his dervishes wished the butter and honey continue to pour in; he insisted on the necessity of its

[42] The first and the the most intense work on the activities of Ghazi dersvishes is Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri",

[43] For the detailes of the story of İbrahim Peygamber see Ömer Faruk Harman and Mustafa Uzun, "İbrahim", *DİA*, Vol. 21, 266-273.

[44] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Marjinal Sûfîlik: Kalenderiler (XIV.-XVII Yüzyıllar),* (Ankara: TTK yayınları, 1999), 52-53.

ending by declaring that "It is very easy for us (to keep it pouring in honey and butter) however, men from *mirî* environment would come and try to take the control over it. There would be a lot of conflict and these men would not leave it to the poor."[45] Here it is evident that, this ability was used to help the poor and to support their daily life. The continuation of this kind of help was also evaded for the same purpose. The nomadic Turcoman never getting along with the central authority, expected from the dervish, who is clearly superior to them, to show some wisdom and ability in order to keep them away from the "State". Abdal Musa has shown a lot of similar abilities to protect his followers and to acquire new ones. Besides, it is highly probable that, the writers of the *menâkıbnâme* especially wished to emphasize this particular feature.

Rejecting to take the treasure which was not a part of his property but was exposed to him and giving these treasures away to the poor are also seen in many other *abdal menâkıbnâme*s. Abdal Musa neither takes a cauldron full of gold, nor allows it to be taken by anyone who does not have the right. Similarly, when the gold that *Acem* dervish tried to hide was found out and given to him, he was told to use it for feeding the poor and never received any portion of it for the *tekke*'s property. Thus, the dervish figure who asks nothing for himself and settles with the minimum and who heartens his community as much as he can; came into being in the personality of Abdal Musa. He tries to gain more support by protecting the poor from theft and cruelty. From an evaluation of the economic and social conditions of the nomads living in Teke region, where Abdal Musa lived, it is possible to observe that *miri* tax became a burden to those who are not used to such kinds of payment. It is normal for a dervish who wishes to connect the majority of the population to his

[45] Güzel, *Kaygusuz Abdal Menâkıbnâmesi*, 99.

tekke and his order, to find solutions to their economic problems.

To move inanimate things and dominate them, to stretch the wood out, to stop the mountain that was following him, to make the stones move are the *kerâmet*s connected to the old shamanic beliefs based upon the domination over the nature. The legend that the mountain and the rocks also started to follow him when he asked for his lovers to follow him in his march against Teke Bey also takes its origins from a shamanic belief. As the mountains and the heights were important environmental factors for the followers of this religion[46], obviously the reason behind telling this story is to show that even this holy and superior thing obeys this dervish. These acts are also necessary for emphasizing the superiority of the dervish over ordinary people and also other dervishes.

Finally, Abdal Musa also has the *kerâmet* of changing *don*[47] as we could learn from *Menâkıbnâme-i* Kaygusuz Abdal. According to this, one day, Gaybî, the son of Bey of Ala'iyye goes hunting. He hits a deer that he sees in the mountain with an arrow but the deer escapes from him. At the end of the chase, Gaybî sees it enter the *tekke* and claims it from the dervishes of *tekke.* However, he receives a negative answer: no one has seen a deer entering the *tekke.* Finally, this dispute takes so long that Abdal Musa calls Gaybî and asks him if he can recognize the arrow that he threw to the deer. When he receives a positive answer, he holds up his arm and shows the arrow. Gaybî then understands that the deer that he hit was Abdal Musa and he decides to bind himself to the *tekke*. Changing *don* is a common specialty among many Turcoman *Babas*. For instance, Hadji Bektash becomes a pigeon while

[46] Abdülkadir İnan, *Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm-Materyaller ve Araştırmalar,* (Ankara: TTK yayınları 1995), 48-49.

[47] Changing *don* (*Don değiştirme*), It is a gift endowed to *velî*s in Alevi-Bektashi beliefs; they can wrap into another humanbeing or animals. It generally happens after death and it is a kind of reincarnation called *devriye* but it is also believed that holly people like Hadji Bektash were able to change *don* and turn into different animals while he was alive. For further information on this subject see Salahaddin Bekki, "Türk Halk Anlatılarında Ölüm Ruhu Motifi", *Çukurova Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası.*

Geyikli Baba becomes a deer. It appears to be common for those who call themselves *Horasan Erenleri*. It is not surprising that this is also derived from another shamanic belief called *arvak*.[48]

As it is clear, these *menâkıb*s are generally common features of the warrior-dervishes whose main consideration is to open new areas to settlement and spread the new religion. They are also generally meant to solve the daily problems of the people who had the potential of becoming the disciples of the new order. It must be added that these *menâkıb*s also furnish the historical data about the dervish and the society that he lived in.

2.3 The Historical Figure of Abdal Musa

Unfortunately, we are not able to reach accurate data regarding birth and death dates of Abdal Musa; however, according to the salutation in the *Menâkıbnâme*, it can be deducted that, he did not appear as a saint until after the death of Hadji Bektash (around 1270). The chronicler Aşıkpaşazâde noted that Abdal Musa came to the *tekke* of Hadji Bektash after the death of the sheikh and stayed there for a while.[49]

The second historical data about Abdal Musa was put into words by Aşıkpaşazâde again, stating that he was among the dervishes who fought with Orhan Bey during the conquest of Bursa.[50] In this context, it should be accepted that he was born either in the late thirteenth century or right at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

[48] İnan, *Tarihte ve Bugün Şamanizm-Materyaller ve Araştırmalar,* 82-83.
[49] Aşıkpaşazade, *Tevarih,* 203.
[50] *Ibid*, 205.

Another source that can be consulted in order to estimate his lifetime is Kaygusuz Abdal *Menâkıbnâme*. According to this text, Gaybî served in the *tekke* of Abdal Musa for forty years, and then he took his *icâzetnâme*[51] and went off to Egypt. He must have made his pilgrimage in the year 1397-1398/800 as it can be understood from the expression[52] *"İmdi bu derviş dahi Muhammed Mustafa'nın sekiz yüz yılında geldi"*[53] in *Dilgûşa*, which is one of the books that Kaygusuz Abdal's poems were gathered in. Moreover, according to the copy of Abdurrahman Güzel, after having made his pilgrimage and visiting Medina, Kaygusuz Abdal came back to his sheikh through Syria and met Abdal Musa again after several decades of separation. This meeting and Abdal Musa's welcoming of Kaygusuz and his entourage is described in detail in the *Menâkıbnâme-i* Kaygusuz.[54]

According to the dates aforementioned we can draw up the following conclusions: Abdal Musa lived longer than an average person. No matter how strong this possibility is in the legend, it is not that strong in reality. One of the most important features attributed to the sheikhs by their followers is that they live abnormally long lives, which is a feature that makes them superior to ordinary people, proving that they are chosen by God. However, it is quite difficult to accept this in reality. The second possibility is that Abdal Musa was quite young when he attended the conquest of Bursa and this is an acceptable overture. Accordingly, the birth of Abdal Musa may be accepted as the beginning of the fourteenth century and his death, late in this century.

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[51] *Icâzetnâme,* means here a diplome prepared by the sheikh for one of his dervishes to show his competence and ability about the religion and the order that they both are following. This was also kind of a permission paper for the dervish to leave the main *tekke* and to found his own to raise more dervishes in another place.
[52] Güzel, *Kaygusuz Abdal Menâkıbnâmesi*, 21, and 100
[53] "Now, this dervish came in the eight hundreth year of Muhammad Mustafa".
[54] Aşıkpaşazâde, *Tevârih,* 11 and 130.

Two different arguments regarding the place of birth of Abdal Musa may be put forward: First; there is a strong possibility that the place of birth of Abdal Musa is Genceli as explained at the beginning of his *menâkıbnâme.* Second is the possibility that takes place at the end of his *menâkıbnâme* and claimed to be explained in his poem, he was born in Hoy in the North-West of Iran, and then he emigrated to Anatolia.

This assumption is arguable if the transliteration of both Abdurrahman Güzel and Saadeddin Nüzhet Ergun are taken into consideration. However, when the original facsimile text at the end of Güzel's book is analyzed it is seen that the verse ends as *"...asl-ı Hû'danuz*" but not as *"...asl-ı Hoy'danuz*." We did not get a chance to take a look at the original text used by Ergun but still one must keep in mind that he also read that word as Hoy. If both of these scholars' readings are taken as reliable then we reach two different hypotheses about the birth place of Abdal Musa. First of all, it can be assumed that he was born in Hoy but appeares as a saint in Genceli. This means that although he was actually born in Hoy, him appearing as a saint, in other words "his second birth" takes place in Genceli. Or his family takes its origins from Hoy, yet left this place before Abdal Musa was born and migrated to Anatolia and his actual birth took place in Genceli, where his "second birth," i.e. his mystic birth as a holy man took place as well.

However, if the original text and our reading of it is to be taken as more reliable, then his birth place should exactly be Genceli and he must be emphasizing his heterodox origins while he refers to be coming from the divine essence. He clearly suggests that he was a part of God and/or he was the shade of God on earth. Unfortunately, it is quite difficult to come up with accurate information regarding his exact birth place.

It is understood from the same poem that, his origins were in Horasan. This is probably an expression of a spiritual commitment because Horasan was an important place for the heterodox beliefs and their followers. Therefore like many other Turcoman *Baba*s, he tried to connect his origins to the saints of Horasan. This connection is not because he actually emigrated from that region, but the road he followed arises from the *Melâmeti* way that based on the ecstasy and divine love.[55] In his *menâkıbnâme* while admitting a new dervish into his *tekke* he shaves the new comer as *çehardarb*[56] and his style of dressing make people think that his origins was lying in Kalenderîyya.

There are two explanations for the question of who his family members are. The first one is formed basing on the epigraphy on the gate of *tekke* of Abdal Musa. On this epigraphy, the names of those lying inside the *tekke* are written. The names of Abdal Musa, his father Hasan Gâzi, his mother Ümmü Gülsüm, his sister Zeyneb, his follower Kaygusuz Abdal and other three dervishes are written here.[57] However, this tablet was placed by the *tekke* sheikh of that period, when the lodge was being repaired in the nineteenth century. The extent to which it accurately reflects the reality is open to question. On the other hand, Abdurrahman Güzel formed the following family without showing any sources: His father Hasan Gazi, his mother Ana Sultan and his sister Hüsniye Bacı.[58]

Aşıkpaşazâde considers Abdal Musa as one of the dervishes who fought with Orhan Gazi. The fact that there is a tomb called Abdal Musa in Bursa today could be considered as an evidence for this statement to be in accordance with the truth. It is

[55] Ocak, *Kalenderiler,* 82.
[56] A special type of shaving one's hair, eyebrows, moustache and beard.
[57] Tekindağ, *Teke-eli ve Teke oğulları*, 7.
[58] Güzel, *Abdal Mûsâ* Velâyetnâmesi, 44.

recorded in Taşköprüzade's *Şakayık* and Evliya Çelebi's *Seyâhatnâme* that in Bursa, many tombs, dervish monasteries and lodges in several locations which were founded in the name of Abdal Musa were present. But in public opinion these are only "*makam*s". According to a widespread application of Bektashiyya, many tombs of a *Baba* were being built, in order to have the fame of the father to be spread, and these tombs were called *makam*. This way, when the body of the dervish was buried in some *tekke,* the followers living close to the other *tekke*s could visit those places and show their respect.

Another evidence that Abdal Musa had been to Bursa for a while is his close relationship with Geyikli Baba.[59] According to a myth; Abdal Musa sent Geyikli Baba a flame surrounding cotton in a box; and the former sent him deer milk in a bucket. As soon as he received this present, Abdal Musa accepted the superiority of Geyikli Baba over himself, because, according to him, influencing living creatures is more difficult and thus superior to any impact on the non-living things.

He might have been to Bursa for a while, but later on, he migrated to a region out of Ottoman control where nomadic Turcoman tribes were settled. As they were recently introduced to Islam they were open and ready to accept the beliefs and teachings of Abdal Musa. One of the places that he passed through and possibly stayed for a while is Denizli, because in an epigraph dated 811/1409, which is on the right wall of a *tekke* in Denizli and estimated to belong to a decayed *tekke*, the name of Eş-Şeyh Mustafa Abdal Musa is seen.[60]

The summary of the passage relating to Ghazi Umur Beg can also give certain historical evidence about the route that he followed. According to the *menâkıbnâme,* Abdal Musa came to a coastal region with his disciples and told them that a group of

[59] Mecdi, *Şakayık Tercümesi*, 33-34.
[60] Köprülü, *Abdal Musa*, 202-203.

ghazi would come soon and that they should cook a meal for them. They prepared a cauldron of meal and, soon after, forty thousand ghazis appeared from the sea. First, the ghazis were astonished about the amount of meal and said it was not enough; however, when they started to eat they saw that the amount of food did not change and remained the same. Then their leader Ghazi Umur Bey approached Abdal Musa, asking him to accept them as his disciples. Abdal Musa, consequently, put a red hat (*kızıl börk*) on his head and gave him the title of "ghazi". If Abdal Musa really met Umur Bey, he must have passed through western coast before 1348, the year of the death of Umur Bey. If so, he must have reached Teke region around the middle of fourteenth century.

His meeting with Umur Ghazi, the Bey of Aydınoğulları who engaged in vigorous naval expeditions in Aegean Sea in the first half of the fourteenth century also could shed light on the relationship between *Gâziyân-ı Rum* and *Abdalân-ı Rum*. They were in a friendly relationship more than a conflict as both sides benefited from this alliance.

Abdal Musa eventually reached a place where the Turcoman tribes were convened. That is also where the esoteric beliefs were pretty common. There are also several speculations regarding the reasons of this migration. The documents imply that Orhan Gazi was often inspecting the heterodox dervish cliques and he was casting away anyone from the surroundings of Bursa, in case he would find them trying to spread their unethical beliefs or behavior amongst public.[61] It is highly probable that this was also the case with Abdal Musa. Even though the *Bey* acknowledged his efficacy in the conquests, he would not let him stay amongst public any longer and had him banished. Then Abdal Musa moved to a largely

[61] Ocak, *Kalenderiler,* 119.

Turcoman area called Teke, which was back then religiously more liberal. Another possibility is that Abdal Musa wandered around as an explorer and moved from place to place in order to effuse his beliefs, since he was a caliph of his order. Finally, as an option which can totally contradict with the first possibility, but still cannot be overseen, is Orhan Bey to have sent this very useful dervish to these places, which he had not conquered yet, to have him make propaganda in these places.

When we evaluate Abdal Musa according to the classification of saints in Ocak's detailed study regarding the *menâkıbnâme*s, the conclusions that we come to are as follows. First of all, he is a general saint because his fame was not only confined to the region he was in, but also to the whole Anatolia and the Balkans. Even today, people from a wide range of regions commemorate him with respect and consider him as one of their sages. Secondly, he is a real saint because we have evidence that he actually lived, such as his grave and his personal belongings and a strong verbal tradition that tells stories regarding his life. He is a saint of village and tribe because he did not address to high Islam such as the city saints and mostly he affected the migrants that were open to heterodox beliefs. After all, his lodge was built in a rural area, not a big city, and the people around him were the Turcoman tribes who were newly transiting from nomadic life and strongly committed to their past. Lastly, he is a Ghazi-warrior saint because there is evidence that he took place in the conquest of Bursa. When evaluated according to these criteria, the reason why his being Ghazi was dominant is that, his features of being a missionary saint and a sage were remained in the background.

As it is seen above, from a hagiographic text it is possible to extract a number of historical information. The legends could be interpreted in a way that could explain the historical facts. Also the other sources could be used in two different

ways in this quest; first to verify the stories told within the *menâkıbnâme* and second to support the data extracted from such texts. As a result of the quest of historical facts concerning Abdal Musa, it is obvious that this holy figure was actually a part of the religious history of Anatolia.

This chapter was planned to use the *menâkıbnâme*s as historical sources; and to create the profile of Abdal Musa as a legendary and historical figure. Firstly the evident meaning of the stories were handled and the image of a holy religious figure appeared at an era of political instability was drawn. The legendary portrait of Abdal Musa is proven to be compatible with the requests of the ordinary people newly arrived in Anatolia and newly became Muslims (i.e. Turcomans settled in Teke region). Secondly, the short stories that were included in the *menâkıbnâme* were analyzed and their hidden meanings are quested. Passing through these stages, finally the historical figure of the dervish is displayed by utilizing a number of other sources that include historical data about the time period when this dervish supposedly lived.

CHAPTER III

ABDAL MUSA AND ISLAM IN ANATOLIA; THIRTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The introduction of Islam to the Anatolian lands started with the Arab raids around the tenth century. Two centuries after; this new religion found a new spreading wave with the Turcomans who had been settling around the area. As the mainstream of this diffusion was generally controlled by Sufi dervishes, it was not a strictly controlled Islam by the official clergymen. It was more of a religious belief open to accept the popular beliefs to cohabit with its main rules. For instance this new interpretation of the religion gave the opportunity to bypass the main necessities of the religious exercises for the new believers by telling that working is as good as praying five times a day, and one can worship while working. On the other hand it also made it possible for the strict followers of the religion to accept the beliefs which were not part of the main rules of Islam. For instance, a kind of praying with dances and music was adopted not only by people but also the dervishes who were responsible of the dissemination of the religion.

In the Christian East where this new religion was attracting new followers, the actual nature and status of Islam was not at all clear in the eyes of autochthones.[62] Thus, their attitude towards these new comers was vague and changeable in this early

[62] Elizabeth Key Fowden, "Sharing Holy Places", *Common Knowledge,* No: 8/1; 131, 124-146.

period of Islam's appearance on their lands. In such an atmosphere, the true religion with its definite rules and the different versions made based on different interpretations and applications were not that different for the contemporary Christians, the target audience of the propagandists. That is why, starting from the thirteenth century, the Sufi Islam with all its sects and orders were easily gaining supporters among these people while the orthodox Islam was being embraced in Anatolia as well.

This new interpretation of Islam in fact was not peculiar to Anatolia. Sufism was born in the chaotic atmosphere of the spreading the religion to wider lands, which was aggravated by the political, cultural and socio-economic problems of daily life. The main resource of the idea was Maveraünnehir and Horasan where old Iranian mystic beliefs were still influential. It can be deduced that this new belief system had started hundreds of years before Islam entered Anatolia.

The first appearance of Sufism was based on the idea that, one can reach God by other ways than living under the control of the repressive Caliphs. With time these ways diversified. The tariqas are separated into two main groups; as the Ascetic and Melâmi tariqas. [63] First group composed of the tariqas chose to worship silently with resignation; separated from the society by their walls. However as they were generally gathered around the city center, they played important roles in the social and politic developments of the epoch. Mevlevîyye must be the most famous one among these. Second group is composed of the tariqas that turned their back to the world and the facilities offered by it. They travelled half crazy with the divine love and half-naked, generally spending their whole life wandering around, singing and dancing the whole day. Although, these were not directly the follower of nor

[63] For further information see Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *100 soruda Tasavvuf,* and *Melametîler ve Melametîlik.*

bounded to, the Islamic rules or any other religion for that matter, they reflected several ancient beliefs to their own system of belief.

Accordingly, "the Turcomans, coming to the south slowly, met various belief systems like Buddhism, Mazdeism ve Maniheism on their way to *Maveraünnehir* and Iran.[64] However, still the oldest and the most primitive beliefs and religious traditions were widespread and more applicable among the Turcomans. Thus, the oldest religious traditions carried all the way from Central Asia to Anatolia were combined with the new ones that the nomads met on their journey and Islam was added as the latest ingredient.[65] This combination created a *sui generis* religion peculiar to these people in this geography.

This new belief was accepted as heresy and criticized heavily by strict followers of High Islam which encounters the strict rules of Koran, Hadith and Sunna as Islam was once accepted as heresy by Christians and the Jews. Heresy was always interpreted as God's punishment for the untrue believers.[66]

Religious beliefs are one of the most important factors that shape human identity. It is thus obvious that people cannot accept a sudden change in their religious beliefs and applications easily. That is why Turcomans managed to insert a lot of elements from their old beliefs to their new religion. Finally, it is possible to see their old tribal traditions in every aspect of their interpretation of Islam. For instance, old Turkic *Kâm-ozan*s can be traced in the popular *velî*s; namely the Turcoman *Baba*s.[67] These wise men of their tribes rendered some basic tenets of

[64] Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*, (Ankara: Akçağ yayınları, 2005) Haz. Metin Ergen, 141.
[65] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak " Un aperçu Général Sur l'Hétérodoxie Musulmane en Turquie: Réflexions Sur les Origines et Les Caractéristiques du Kizilbachisme (Alévisme) dans La Perspective de l'Histoire." (195-204) in *Syncretistic Religious Communities In the Near East, Collected Papers of the Symposium, Berlin 1995*, ed. by K. Kehl Bodrogi, B.Kellner-Heinkele, A.Otter-Beaujean, (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 197-198.
[66] Fowden, "Sharing Holy Places", 131.
[67] Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet,* 19.

Islam available and intelligible to their common folk in their own language. The continuation of the old beliefs could reach to the point that Islam becomes a mere *vernis* on top of the religious combination. It was in deed, these *baba*s who gave a successful Islamic coloring to the ancestral religious practices of the nomads.[68] Thus, it is obvious that the Turcomans who had just met the new religion would prefer their kâm's teachings than the complex advices of the *fıkıh 'ulemâ*.[69]

This chapter does not allege to give a full and complete examination of the early Islam in Anatolia. However, a summary of the religious structure between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century will be offered. As for the real aim it is to place Abdal Musa within Anatolian Islam, as a holy figure. For that matter, first his religious personality will be analyzed in details and finally his place in this particular belief system will be drawn.

3.1 Islam in Anatolia

The religious structure and politics of the Seljuk that affected whole Anatolia during the thirteenth century thus it has attracted the attention of many researchers. The scholarly debate between Mehmed Fuad Köprülü and Franz Babinger during the 1930s is a good example of that curiosity. In his article entitled "Islam in Anatolia" [70] Babinger suggested, depending on some evidence that he did not define clearly, that

[68] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *A Study on Pre-Islamic Survivals in a Turkish-Islamic Text: The Vilayetname*, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Mc Gill University, 1981.
[69] Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet,* 140.
[70] Franz Babinger and Fuad Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslâmiyet,* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003), Haz. Mehmet Kanar, 17.

Seljuks were connected to the Shiite sect. He even uses the term *Alevi*[71] for this state. On the other hand, Fuad Köprülü, in his response articles,[72] again not basing on defined and clear proofs argued that Seljuks were conservative and Sunni-hanefite. According to him, the *beylik*s and petty principalities founded in Anatolia following the Seljuks were all Sunnites and this is a proof that their predecessor (i.e. the Seljuks) were Sunnite too.

Even though Babinger and Köprülü defined the State and its population as Sunnite or Shiite departing from the beliefs of ruling elite, it must be emphasized that the belief of sultans do not always define the belief of the people. This is because at that time there was no necessity for the people to follow the rulers' religious beliefs. Thus, even though the religion of the ruling elite and the dynasty was Sunnite, it cannot be the proof to the fact that the religious beliefs of the rulers were effective on all the subjects. Unification in the ideology and in the religious beliefs requires a great talent of controlling and creating the central authority. However this was not the case for each and every one of the medieval states. Therefore, the argumentation over the religion of Seljuk State cannot give a definite idea over the religious structure of Anatolian people. The political identities of the states of that era were far away from the unification of ethnicity, religion and language between the rulers and the people. People coming from various origins were living on the same lands under the control of the same state. The basic thought holding them together as a political unity, at that time was not just the ideology. It was more important that the State could assure the justice, order and the safety for the people living on the lands. As compensation, the state needed to collect taxes. As long as it obtained the money, state did not intervene in the daily lives of people. This way, the tacit accord between

[71] Franz Babinger and Fuad Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslâmiyet,* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003), Haz. Mehmet Kanar, 13-14.
[72] Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet,* 132.

the ruler and the subjects continued to exist. To be able to construct and protect the *Nizâm-ı Â'lem*, state could gain the support of the people as long as it stayed loyal to this contract. That is how the state continued to exist without losing the order.

*Bâtıni dâi*s reflected the essence of their propaganda as simple principles only about the practice of the religion. This was in fact very compatible with the primitive nomadic life and Turcoman traditions. It is obvious that the strict rules and prohibitions and necessities of Islam that array all aspects of daily life were not very suitable for the Turcomans who had a natural life. For instance, the feasts with alcohol and women attending are now restricted due to the rules of Sharia[73] or fasting; *namaz* and hadj which are not suitable to the nomadic life were important obligations of Islam. Thus, these were aggravating the cleavage between the Turcomans and Islam.

During the thirteenth century diverse dervish groups and the religious orders appeared in Anatolia. "The first orders of Islam that originated from Iran, Khorasan and Iraq were nearly all represented in Anatolia. In addition to them several local orders gained many supporters as well."[74] Sufism created two main *école*s: Iraqi *école* based on the ascetism and Khorasan-Melâmi *école* based on the divine love and *cezbe*.[75] Both of these resources fed the Sufism in Anatolia.

Those who embrace the divine love and leaving the society appeared with a new piety. This movement rejected joining the society and its reproduction, thus they did not get married or seek jobs. They were defied even the established rules of the society. They would travel either naked or with weird clothes, shave all the hair on their body and use drugs.[76] The *abdal*s and the dervishes following this way were

[73] Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet,* 141.
[74] Resul Ay, *Anadolu'da Derviş ve Toplum 13-15. Yüzyıllar*, (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008), 6.
[75] Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler,* 121-123.
[76] Bektachiyya, Alexandre Popovic, Gilles Veinstein, ed.s, 1995, 64.

indeed the ones who were spreading the propaganda of Islam in the newly conquered Anatolia.

*Abdal*s and dervishes started to disseminate Islam with a specific interpretation. These propagandas were primarily directed to the Turcoman tribes that they were travelling with, but as time passed; it started to be effective over the settled people around an area; especially when these dervishes decided to settle down in the aforementioned place. These dervishes were opening their settlement areas to new comers through the waqf-*tekke* organization. They were also contributing to the agricultural production. Along with these colonization efforts sometimes they went as far as to lead uprisings against their sponsor states. "…these *baba*s spreading the *Batınî* ideas and Shiite beliefs under the names of *Haydarî* and *Kalenderî* under the masque of apparent mysticism; provoked the first religious-political movement in Anatolia that was known as *Babaî kıyamı*." [77]

This movement started by the sheikh and disciples of one of these rich *zâviye*s, spread to the majority of Anatolia in a very short time and turned into a total revolt. "It is known that the sultans in the Anatolian Seljuk Empire were respecting the sheiks as all the other medieval Islam sultans. They were building *tekke*s and consigning them certain waqfs in the newly conquered lands."[78] Still, these dervishes coming all the way from Central Asia about whom we do not have much evidence[79] were playing the leadership position in this social rebellion.

It is beyond the scope of this study to analyze the *Babaî* revolt in detail. However, to summarize this is an opposition movement started by the Turcomans who were not happy with the Seljuk Sultan, *Keyhüsrev II* and his policies. Because

[77] Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*, 36.
[78] *Ibid,* 25.
[79] Ahmet T. Karamustafa "Yesevîlik, Melâmetîlik, Kalenderîlik, Vefâ'îlik ve Anadolu Tasavvufunun Kökenleri Sorunu", (61-88) in *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler*, Haz. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, (Ankara: TTK yayınları, 2005), 79.

the Sultan could neither answer the socio-economic problems of the society nor fix the fact that these people were isolated by the other components of the society because of their heterodox beliefs. The revolt was started under the leadership of the Turcoman *Baba*s and spread to whole Anatolia. In the process following the revolt the leaders, (i.e. *Baba*s) and a lot of dervishes following their example became mobile and spread the Shiite doctrine and *Bâtınî* ideas among the Turcomans under the cover of Sufism. Chronicler Aşıkpaşazâde, counts four different groups in Anatolia during this era, one of them being *Abdalân-ı Rum*. Among this group, there were "*Kalenderî, Vefaî and Haydarî*" [80] dervishes who were spreading the ideas of Baba İlyas. In this context, a *Vefaî* dervish, Hadji Bektash is one of the most important examples. Hadji Bektash was a disciple of Baba İlyas. He fled the mutiny following the revolt and settled down to Sulucakaraöyük where he founded his *tekke*. In the following decades he and his line became Bektashî dervishes.

> "These Sufis named *Baba* or *Ata* started to settle down with the Turcomans back then, started to work with a sanctity coming from the ancient *Ozan*s and *Kâm*s. Their weird clothes, widely known *kerâmet*s and *meczûb* lifestyle were all a continuation of the memory of *kâm*s covered under an Islamic style, they were inspiring a Sufi belief to the people."[81]

Among the Turcomans, starting from the seventh century continued until the tenth century, due violent religious fights and the unprompted developments, a lot of diverse sects and orders appeared.[82]

Another important factor in the religious history of these centuries was conversion. Turkic and Muslim raids and the migration waves augmented the Muslim population living in this geography by bringing masses to these lands; it also

[80] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Bektaşilik", *DİA*, Vol. 5, (373-379), 373.
[81] Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*, 141.
[82] Mehmed Fuat Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar,* (Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1993), 110-111.

managed to affect other people to become Muslim. This process of evolution and change coincided with political and economic problems. Since the conversions happened without a high authority's control, ancient Christian beliefs and legends even praying places were used to familiarize the Christians to Islam.

It is probable that these movements helped increasing the Muslim population but a reverse effect is also possible. So, nomadic Turcomans met Islam very lately and preferred their old traditions to this new religion's rules. They could not be attracted easily to settlement. Fuad Köprülü[83] argues that, nomadic Turcomans were separated from the lifestyle of the settled people because of their tribal lifestyle. According to him; "Turks who did not change their old lifestyle were foreign to the Christian and Armenian effects." However, this situation was not effective among the Turcomans who were newly settled and accostumed to the big cities, because

> "…city population having better life and livelihood conditions; were generally educated in a long madrasah education. They were seeing the Christianity lower to the Islamic civilization both physically and morally, thus they were less affected from it." [84]

Köprülü restricts the effects of Christianity on the Muslim population only to architectural and artistic material elements.

However, it must be always kept in mind that;

> "It is not possible to determine to what degree the Anatolian autochthones people changed their religion. First, it is certain that Christianity inherited from their ancestors was not left aside easily. It is also possible that it continued to exist in the areas where Islam was disseminating. In fact it can be concluded that this secret continuity created this weird beliefs." [85]

Köprülü also suggests that;

[83] Fuat Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında ilk Mutasavvıflar*, 190.
[84] Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet*, 143.
[85] Babinger and Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet,* 16.

> "…although early Ottoman Sultans were mere illiterate Turcoman leaders who could not understand the tools of belief, they somehow managed to establish equilibrium within the society. They were trying to attract more Turcoman Babas while using the help and support of the *Ahî*s and *Fakî*s of the town." [86]

This shows that the first beys were not only using the *abdal*s-the replacements of old *kâm*s who had emergent effects on nomadic rural people but also the religious and social leaders of urban people. This way the distance between these two religious poles and the ruling class was kept the same and a specific balance was also respected. First Sultans always tried to keep both sides under control by staying neutral in this contest concerning the control over the dissemination of Islam, and keeping a certain friendship and also certain incertitude against the both sides. To achieve this they had to decide when and to whom they would stay closer or more distant.

To sum up, if strictly ruled Islam did enter the areas where Islam was the new religion it could create bigger problems. On the one hand it would create a negative reaction from the part of the autochthones who were not comfortable with the competing new religion. On the other hand, this would distance the Turcomans away from their new religion. That is why between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, under the tolerance of the both the political leaders and the eminent religious leaders there was a kind of transitory form of Islam in Anatolia. In such a religious system, a holy figure like Abdal Musa plays crucial roles since his own religious identity effects the belief system and indirectly the religion among the ordinary people.

[86] Köprülü, *Anadolu'da İslamiyet,* 70.

3.2. The religious identity of Abdal Musa

It is possible to deduct some information about the religious practices of Abdal Musa and the belief system that he was trying to disseminate from the *menâkıb*s told in the *Menâkıbnâme-i Abdal Musa*. For instance, it is not clearly written in the *Menâkıbnâme* if Abdal Musa was praying daily as an ascetic dervish would do. In fact, no other source concerning the life of Abdal Musa, includes a similar information that verifies it. Neither can other dervishes looking like him and living under the similar life conditions defined as practicing Muslims. In the same way, Alevi-Bektashis today, following the cult of Abdal Musa are not strictly bound to the formal rules of the religion and always stay behind in the practice of these rules.

According to other evidence obtained from *Menâkıbnâme-i* Abdal Musa, it is clear that he played a role in the conversion process of the autochthones; like all other dervishes who were responsible of inviting every non-Muslim to Islam. He indeed fulfilled this mission. According to Ali Kocababa[87], one of the Bektashi *Baba*s living in *Tekke* köy today, after the conquest of Bursa, Abdal Musa asked the permission of Orhan *Bey* and moved towards an area where no Muslim was living to spread God's will. Antalya, especially around Elmalı, was back then a place where the cult and the belief of Monastery of Saint Nicholas was very effective. That is why this place was chosen by Abdal Musa as his final destination. This is how he showed that he was a good believer and *kul* and fulfilling every duty that an obedient Muslim should fulfill.

[87] Interview with Ali Kocababa, 07.05.2009, Antalya, Tekke köy.

On the other hand, he and his followers were all shaved *çehardarb* like *Kalenderî*s and their clothes were also those of a *Kalenderî* dervish. Moreover, he and his followers all turned a *semâh* when they encountered anything that threatened them or when they had something to celebrate. The very word *semâh* is derived form sam'a which refers in Sufism to listening to music, singing, chanting and measured recitation designed to bring about religious emotion and ecstasy (wajd).[88] That is what sheds light on the *cezbeci* character of his beliefs that alienates from the ascetic orders. One may claim his direct connection to the Yesevîyya under this evidence.

If we combine this with his connection with Hadji Bektash during and after his lifetime we reach to the conclusion that he was a *Vefaî*[89] sheikh. As Ahmet Yaşar Ocak puts it, "Abdal Musa who served in one of the most important positions during the early period of Bektashîyye and all the other dervishes known as *abdal*s lived during the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries were in fact *Kalenderî* or *Haydarî* dervishes."[90] The reason lying behind this will be examined in further details in the following chapters. For instance, it suffices here to mention that this different interpretation was part of a conscious process.

Many dervishes like Abdal Musa were raised in Hadji Bektash *Tekke* and came to Ottoman *Beylik* for joining the holy war and departed from there to further south as well as to the Balkans to spread the Bektashi cult without actually naming it.[91] This way, the dervishes connected to Hadji Bektash went all over Anatolia and spread the fame of their Sheiks. These spread words and beliefs cannot be the

[88] D. B. Macdonald, "Sam'a" EI[1], s.v.
[89] Vefâiyya is an order founded by Ebu'l Vefâ Haydari in the Melâmi branch of Sofism. It was spread not only in Anatolia but also around the Horasân area.
[90] Ocak, "Bektaşilik", 374.
[91] *Ibid,* 373.

Bektashiyye today known and taught. Ahmet T. Karamustafa[92] suggests that as proof for the assumption that this cult spread by Abdal Musa was the real Bektashiyye is generally the same for the majority of researchers; the history of the relationship between the Janissaries and Bektashis. However, the existence of this relationship cannot be proved from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards when supposedly Bektashiyya and Janissary armies were both founded. The oldest data showing this connection dates back to 1473; when a janissary informed Sultan Mehmed II about it, and the repression of this story in a sixteenth century chronicle. Along with this, the connection in terms of emotions between the janissaries and Bektashis cannot be the proof of a direct janissary connection to Bektashiyya. Hadji Bektash, lived in the thirteenth century with his historical and religious figures but his life, does not prove that he founded the tariqa by himself.

On the other hand, according to Ocak, Abdal Musa was the most important agent that spread the ideas of Hadji Bektash in Anatolia. It is known that he directly communicated with the Janissaries and fought alongside with them. Furthermore, the *Menâkıbnâme* tells that he joined this war as soon as he left the Hadji Bektash *Tekke*. So it is not very interesting that he is the dervish who spread the propaganda of the Bektashi cult among the janissaries.

In some other source, Abdal Musa was a holy figure that appeared to have all the basic features of a dervish that would answer the basic needs in terms of religion. He was not following the strict rules of the religion, but rather re-interpreting them as his sheikh Hadji Bektash had done. According to Eflâki's description of Hadji Bektash, he was not respecting the rules of clothing and following the Shari'a as he

[92] Ahmet T. Karamustafa "Kalenderis Abdals, Hayderis: The Formation of the Bektaşiye in the Sixteenth Century", in *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Time,* Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar eds., 121-129.

was not praying regularly.[93] Thus the religious personality of his disciple, Abdal Musa was open to certain interventions coming from different parties including the political authorities.

3.3 Abdal Musa within Kalenderîyya and Bektashîyya

Kalenderîyya is one of the mystic movements that appeared in Iranian lands. It can be defined as neglecting life and every earthly thing. It was brought in to Anatolia and spread among the people by a number of dervishes who were outside the social and political order by their clothes and their approach to the Islamic rules. The very word Kalenderî is derived from the Sanskrit word *Kalandara* that means lawless, disordered and order breaker.[94]

In fact the name Kalenderîyya is not only the name of an institutionalized Sufi movement that has only one homogeneous character. [95] There were several heterodox groups following basically the divine rules of the Melâmiyye and having several common main points but still different from each other.[96] This new dervish movement called Kalenderîyya was directly related to the Melâmiyya and Indo-Iranian mysticism. It entered Anatolia after the thirteenth century under several different names determined according to the leading sheikhs' names and reputations such as; Kalenderîyya, Haydarîyya, Yesevîyya and Cavlakîyya. In the following centuries it also generated several genuine mystic movements.[97] Even today, we can

[93] Ahmet Eflaki, *Âriflerin Menkıbeleri,* Vol. I, Çev. Tahsin Yazıcı, (İstanbul: MEB yayınları, 1964), 481.
[94] Ocak, *Kalenderiler,* 6.
[95] Yağmur Say, *Seyyid Battal Gazi ve Külliyesi*, (İstanbul: Su Yayınevi, 2006), 154.
[96] Ocak, *Kalenderiler,* 5.
[97] Bektachiyya, Alexandre Popovic, Gilles Veinstein, ed.s, 1995, p:79.

encounter its traces in both in opinion and application. The Kalenderîyya also has a narrower meaning which is the name of an order organized by Cemâleddin Sâvi around the tenth century. In this study the wider meaning of the term that enclosed several big and little heterodox movements altogether is chosen.

When closely analyzed the relationship between the Bektashîs and Kalenderîs as Ocak[98] also claims rightfully, Bektashîyya is not a sect influenced by the Kalenderîyya but a branch of it. Hadji Bektash himself was addressed as *Kalender* shah in the inscriptions of the *tekke* of Hadji Bektash.[99] Thus, the famous Bektashi dervishes of today, even Hadji Bektash himself were in fact Kalenderîs.

The question around the foundation of the Bektashî tariqa still preoccupies the thoughts and the studies of the researchers. Hadji Bektash was defined as a *meczup* who cannot found a tariqa even a *tekke* by Aşıkpaşazâde. If this assumption is true and he did not actually found his *tekke* which one of his followers composed the cult of Hadji Bektash and made it known throughout Anatolia is another question to analyze deeply. The only thing known about these questions is that Bektashiyya with its identity known today was founded by Balım Sultan (d. 922/1517) who was brought by Bayezid II to Kırşehir as the Sheikh of Hadji Bektash *Tekke*. He was taken away from the Seyyit Ali Sultan *Tekke* in Dimetoka where he was born and became the most eminent sheikh of the *tekke* and made the most eminent sheikh within Bektashiyya. "The problem is to find out, with Balım Sultan becoming the head of the Hadji Bektash *Tekke*, to what degree and in what ways the *Kalenderî* order was affected and manipulated."[100] It can be said that, it is the outcome of the reforms of Balım Sultan that Bektashiyya was totally separated from Kalenderîyye and appeared as a sect with its own rules and organization. Through its new style of

[98] Ocak, *Kalenderiler,* 210.
[99] Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, "Yunus Emre Hayatı", 6-8.
[100] Ocak, "Bektaşilik", 374.

prayer and beliefs, it made its peace with the state and appeared to be controlled from a center that was connected directly to the State. The most important fact is that a very widespread provincial organization of *tekke*s with Hadji Bektash *Tekke* at the center was founded. This was a way of organizing the Hadji Bektash *Tekke* like all the other ascetic *tekke*s with a central *tekke* and several local *tekke*s connected to that one; in a hierarchical order.

The Bektashi sheikhs going to the local *tekke*s were now appointed from only one center, Hadji Bektash *Tekke*. They were taking their *icaza* from the Sheikh in Kırşehir and approval of the State. This was a way of constructing and maintaining the official control over the little local *tekkes.* That would supposedly open the door to the total control of Bektashi tariqa.

It is widely accepted that it was in the sixteenth century that the Shiite influences over the *abdal*s' beliefs started; however one can also suggest that it actually began around the midst of the fifteenth century. However, it is definitely true that the most important *Batınî* effect that is Hurufîyya started to be a part of the beliefs of *abdal*s in the sixteenth century after the arrival of the caliph of Fazlullah-ı Esterâbâdî, Aliyü'l A'la to Anatolia and to the *Tekke* of Hadji Bektash.[101]

On the other hand, "in some of the *Rum abdal*s' *menâkıbnâmes* even after the Shiite influences were detected, the fire cult and other natural cults are seen. These *abdal*s were expelled by the Ottoman Sultans because of these beliefs indeed."[102] This shows that, *abdal*s were under the *Batınî* influence coming from other areas and also they were keeping their non-orthodox beliefs that they inherited from their ancestors.

[101] Yağmur Say, *Anadolu Alevilerinin Tarihi,* (İstanbul: Su Yayınevi, 2007), 64.
[102] Ocak, "Bektaşilik", 374-75.

It is obvious that Bektashiyye was not organized as a tariqa with all its rules and praying styles during the lifetime of Hadji Bektash and it is not clear if that happened during the lifetime of Abdal Musa. However it is unavoidable to realize that Abdal Musa was made a part of this tariqa for his connection with Hadji Bektash. Firstly, he was accepted as the most important propagandist of the Hadji Bektash cult. Secondly, at that period, Abdal Musa *Tekke* was the richest and the most important of all the dervish *tekke*s under the influence of dervishes following the example of Hadji Bektash. In fact Abdal Musa was apparently a *Kalenderî* dervish as it was seen from his clothes and *çehardarb* shaving. However; he is seen as a Bektashi dervish in all the documents that survive to this day. The impression gained is that, with the time he and the cult around him made Bektashî by a State interference. As Hadji Bektash was a real and not a fictitious personage who made a lasting impression on his fellow-Turcomans; it is, therefore, hard to deny that he had a considerable number of followers upon his death.[103] That is possibly one of the reasons why the State tried to create a direct relationship between the Bektashis and these wandering *Kalenderî* dervishes.

The reason of this interference can be explained by several other different ways. However the most important among them must be the appearance of Safavi threat and the fact that its propaganda[104] was achieving its goals among the Anatolian Turcomans. It is known today that the ceremonies, the rites and the rules of Tariqa-i Bektashiyya overlap with this process at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The

[103] G. G. Arnakis, "Futuwwa Traditions in the Ottoman Empire Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes, and Craftsmen", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Oct. 1953, (232-247), 242.

[104] This propaganda was basically proposing that the Shahs were the descendants of the Prophet and they were sent by God to protect and save the Turcomans against the Ottomans. The usage of Turkis as the propaganda language and the similarity between the religious beliefs are the strongest points of this propaganda effort. Ocak "Un aperçu Général Sur l'Hétérodoxie Musulmane en turquie: réflexions Sur les Origines et Les Caractéristiques du Kizilbachisme (Alévisme) dans La Perspective de l'Histoire.", 200.

migration movement of the heterodox Turcomans to the State-*Tekke* of Shah Ismail was a huge threat for the economy and social harmony of the Ottoman Empire. He was speaking in Turkish and he had the claim of being Sayyid; the descendant of the prophet and having a great respect against their syncretic beliefs, that is why the Turcomans were feeling closer to him and to his State more than the unreachable Sultan in Istanbul.

Until this time the relationship between Abdal Musa and Hadji Bektash was a mere relation of Sheikh and disciple and not a hierarchical one. It is true that in the *Menâkıbnâme*, Abdal Musa was born as a follower of Hadji Bektash in none of the sources; he was defined as a Bektashi dervish or sheik. It is also said that he was educated in the Hadji Bektash *Tekke* of Kırşehir; however, it is not clear if he needed and took an *icâza* from this *tekke* to be able to start his journey towards the Ottoman *Beylik,* where the ghaza was held, that would eventually end in Antalya. This information does not exist in any other sources and its existence in the chronicle of Aşıkpaşazâde does not prove the authenticity of the information. Even the reason why this is planted in the *Menâkıbnâme* could be that the manuscript of the *Menâkıbnâme* that was obtained by the researchers was composed around the sixteenth century. This is when the state interference to the Hadji Bektash *Tekke* and Bektashi cult started, so this information could easily be inserted in the *Menâkıbnâme* by the State officers. This could also be explained by the fact that it is a part of the process of making Abdal Musa one of the greatest sheikhs of the Bektashi order.

It must be emphasized once more that, Abdal Musa was a very strong and important religious figure in the complex religious history of Anatolia. The State's attitude and interference against his religious identity is not an extraordinary attempt

as it needed allies from the religious spheres who were closer to the people for better application of economic and social policies.

To conclude, it is logical that it is a new interpretation of a religion that is applied in a region passing through numerous transitions. This was the case for Islam in Anatolia between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. This transitional Islam needed strong holy figures to keep the balance between the State and the people. Thus, the Ottoman State, since its foundation tried to maintain its alliance with the dervishes to be able to keep the nomadic and semi-nomadic Turcoman subjects under central authority. In this effort, the positions of Abdal Musa and his *tekke* which was one of the biggest heterodox *tekke*s founded among the Turcomans, were very crucial. It was indispensable that Abdal Musa and his followers were on the side of the State in its collision with the interior and exterior opponents. Bounding Abdal Musa to a centralistic sect is one step in this quest and the other would be strengthening the *tekke*; by donating the revenues of some immovable and several waqfs. That is the reason why the following chapter is dedicated to examine the developments concerning this *Tekke* throughout the period that it existed.

CHAPTER IV

TEKKE-İ ABDAL MUSA AND ITS WAQFS

Meydanında dara durmuş gerçekler
Çalınırdı koç kurbanlara bıçaklar
Döğülür kudüm, açılır sancaklar
Tuğlar gelir Pirim Abdal Musa'ya[105]

Our subject matter, the *tekke* of Abdal Musa Sultan is now in *Tekke* Village in Elmalı, Antalya. However according to the documents found in BOA, it is understood that at the end of the seventeenth century there is another *tekke* with the same name known as Abdal Musa *Zaviyesi*[106] in the village called Sart in *Nahiye-i* Palamut of the *Sancak-ı* Mağnisa,. Furthermore, in her unpublished graduation thesis on the abolishment of the Bektashi *tekkes* in the Ottoman Empire Süheyla Bilge Kurtulmuş claimed that there is another Abdal Musa *tekke* in the county of Ayazmend in livâ-i Kütahya.[107] On the other hand, as it is seen on studies of Abdal Musa's biography that there are some *türbe*s known with the name "Abdal Musa" in Bursa now. Musa Seyirci also talks about another tomb known as tomb of Abdal Musa in Tokat. The information collected from the local people shows that this tomb is a sacred place for the people and they go there to sacrifice animals in return for

[105] *Gerçek*s were praying in his *meydân*
The rams were being sacrificed
The drum was played and the banners were opened
The tails go to my master, Abdal Musa.
[106] BOA, CEV 20471, 1172.
[107] Süheyla Bilge Kurtulmuş, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bektaşi Tekkelerinin Kapatılması*, İ.Ü basılmamış bitirme tezi, 1975, 3.

their demands from this holy man. It is situated ten km. away from Zile in the village of Emirveren/Emirören.[108] Although there is no clear evidence that survives to this day, it is highly possible that one of these *türbe*s might be a *tekke* in the past. All these *tekkes* and *türbes* mentioned above must have been either subjected to Abdal Musa *tekke* or founded in the name of Abdal Musa as *makam*s[109] because Abdal Musa *tekke* is shown on the records by the Ottoman administration as located in *kaza*-i Elmalu in the Sanjak of Teke, *Vilayet*-i Anatolia.[110]

The foundation date of the *tekke* is not accurately known but it can be said that this *tekke* was founded when Abdal Musa was still alive since there is a great possibility that Abdal Musa was buried in his *tekke* where he had lived. One of the tombs inside the building belongs to Abdal Musa and the rest belongs to people accepted as his family. Also it is unknown whether the existing *tekke* is the one mentioned in Abdal Musa *Menâkıbnâme* or not. As it is understood from the previous chapters, Abdal Musa spent most of his life in the fourteenth century and came to Antalya after the conquest of Bursa. In this sense, the *tekke* must be built in the middle of the fourteenth century. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak states that *tekke*-i Hadji Bektash and other leading Bektashi *tekke*s such as Kızıldeli, Akyazılı and Abdal Musa emerged as waqf establishments earlier than the foundation of a regular political and social order. During the periods of Seljuks and Beyliks, they were officially registered.[111] It is already known that before the Ottoman invasion of the region, under the reign of *Tekeoğulları* the *tekke* existed. From the collection of documents extant, it is seen that the *tekke* continued to survive for centuries.[112] Among these documents, there is correspondence between the centre and the *tekke*

[108] Musa Seyirci, *Abdal Musa Sultan,* (İstanbul: Der yayınları, 1999), 32.
[109] For further information on *makam* See above.
[110] *Teke sancağına tâ'bi Elmalu kazasında vâki Abdal Musa Zâviyesi,* BOA, Ev.d. 10848, 1254.
[111] Ocak, *Bektaşilik*, 377.
[112] TT No:14, 256, 169. ve MAD. 9771, 8252, and EVd 10848, CEV 14143 etc.

and adjustment demands on waqfs of the *tekke* also several inventories of regional land surveys.

The oldest archival record that is known today about the *Tekke* of Abdal Musa was published by Ahmet Refik:

> "The *Tekke* of Abdal Musa, which is one of the *tevabi'in* of Finike, is not found in the register (the land/tax survey held during the reign of Mehmed II). However, it has been endowment since the ancient days. At that time, the time of Mehmet II, with the approval of our *padişah,* Saki Mehmet was holding its belongings" [113]

Evliya Çelebi describes the *tekke* of Abdal Musa in his famous *Seyâhatnâme* as follows:

> Here is a village with one hundred household. The people of this village do not pay any taxes. But it is their job to repair the *tekke* and to meet the needs of dervishes living in that *tekke*. In the south wind of *tekke* there is the grave of Abdal Musa. He is from Khorasan and from *Fukara-i* Hadji Bektash. More than three hundred dervishes live in that *tekke*. They are *ehl-i sunnet*. There are forty dervishes serving in the kitchen of the *tekke*. There is a place to perform *namaz*, which is covered with a dome. There are always visitors here. The kitchen fire has been kept alive ever since the foundation of the *tekke*. There are more than ten thousand sheep, one thousand water buffalo, ten *katar* camels, seven *katar* mules, more than one thousand cows, seven mills, vineyards, gardens, and groves belonging to this *tekke*."[114]

As it is seen above, the earliest archival document on the *tekke* is *tapu-tahrir* register number 14 of BOA prepared under the reign of Mehmed II in 854/1450-1451. In this *defter*, the *tekke* and its waqfs are shown as donation from earlier times to sheikh Abdal Musa. It proves that before the Ottoman arrival to the region this *tekke* had existed and the Ottoman administration let the *tekke* keep its existing rights, as well. However, in the *defter*, there is no record about which order the *tekke* was founded on. For this reason, it is possible that *tekke* was founded as an

[113] Ahmet Refik, "Fatih Zamanında Teke İli", *TTEM*, 2(79), Istanbul, 1340, 73.
[114] Evliya Çelebi*, Seyâhatnâme*, *Vol. 9*, (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935), 274.

independent lodge of dervishes by a member of the *Abdalân-ı Rum* known as Abdal Musa. Starting from the sixteenth century, the *tekke* is mentioned in the state records as a Bektashi *tekke*. This could also reveal the state efforts of centralizing the heterodox Turcoman *tekke*s under the authority of the *Tekke* of Hadji Bektash due to Safavi threat at the beginning of the sixteenth century. When this threat first appeared, "Bayezid II enriched the waqfs of the Bektashi tariqa in order to strengthen Bektashiyya against this threat; attracting the nomadic and semi-nomadic Turcomans."[115] Also a reorganization of the heterodox *tekke*s all around the empire appeared as an important issue to solve. So, it is during this period that the position of the Abdal Musa *tekke* gained importance within Bektashi order.[116]

One of the Ottoman chroniclers summarizes the official view concerning such powerful and effective *tekke*s as follows:

> Hundreds of Sufis used to gather around the *hânikâh*s of some important sheikhs. If there was a problem in a country, they would recognize this as an opportunity and all dervishes, *mürîd*s and *muhîb*s were convened. Sometimes more than a thousand men were gathered to attack the central authority. The appearance of Kizilbash happened also in the same way. That is why a sultanic order was sent to the *kadi*s and every sheikh by which they were allowed to keep forty disciples at most."[117]

That was when the State recognized the possible danger that was about to flourish because of the fanatic followers that were ready to gather with a nod of their sheikhs in any of the movements against the central authority. However it was also in need of such institutions, as a *velî* tomb was a very effective way of raising the

[115] Ocak, *Bektaşilik,* 377.
[116] "*Cedd-i 'azizim Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî kaddese sırrıhu'l-celî hazretlerinin memâlik-i mahrûseti'l-mesâlikte vâki' taht-i nezâretinde olan zâviyelerden Teke sancağında Elmalu kazasına tâ'bi Tekye nâm karyede medfûn a'azz-i kirâmdan Abdal Musa kaddese sırrıhu'l-'âla",* BOA, CEv, 5664,1147
[117] Hırzü'l-Mülûk, Yaşar Yücel s:198 "Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtına Dair Kaynaklar, ttk Ankara, 1988.

control in the newly conquered cities.[118] For this reason it was not easy for the State to give up on these intermediary institutions.

According to the decision taken in the meeting of the Sunni sheikhs and high officials of the Ottoman Empire held in Istanbul in 1826 following the abolition of the Janissary Army, about the blasphemousness of Bektashis; the final decision was to abolish all corrupted Bektashi *tekke*s. Abdal Musa *tekke* was not one of the Bektashi *tekke*s that would be closed down according to this original decision.[119] It was not abolished or harmed because it did not suit the criteria determined for demolishing the Bektashi *tekke*s which consisted on being built earlier than eighty years. Instead, it was attempted to be given under the control of one of the major Sunni orders. In this way, it is observed that since the nineteenth century, this *tekke* was left to the Nakshibendî sheikhs.[120]

The *tekke* was repaired during the reign of Abdülmecid II and Bektashi resettlement was condoned day by day. The main development was during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Not only did he rejuvenate the *tekke* but he also condoned the Bektashi resettlement as well. It was closed for good with the Abolishment of Mausoleums and Dervish Lodges Law in 1935. Today, it still provides service as *Antalya Abdal Musa Kültür ve Tanıma Derneği*. As a matter of fact Djemevi[121] beside the *tekke* and Abdal Musa Memorial Day Festival activities express that like other similar *tekke*s of Sunni order, it is still open to worshippers.

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[118] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Vie Socio-Religiseuse Dans Les Villes Anatoliennes du XIIIe au XVIe Siècles (Un coup d'œil général allant des Seldjoukides aux Ottomans), in *Mélanges en l'honneur du Prof. Dr. Suraiya Faroqhi,* pp: 287- 316, Abdeljelil Temimi, ed., (Tunis: Publications de la Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l'Information, 2009), 310-311.

[119] For this meeting and abolishment of Janissary Corps see. Mehmed Esad Efendi,*Üss-i Zafer,* ve *Vak'a-nüvis Es'ad Efendi Tarihi, Bahir Efendi'nin zeyl ve ilâveleriyle,* (İstanbul: Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2000).

[120] "*Abdal Musa kuddıse sırrıhu'l- azizizin tarîk-i nakşibendiye zâviyesi olub*", BOA, CEV, 5988, 1261. For more information abotu the Nakshibendiyya see; Hamid Algar, "The Naqshbandī Order: A Preliminary Survey of Its History and Significance" *Studia Islamica*, No. 44, 1976, (123-1529).

[121] Djemevi is the place where djem rituals are performed as a Alevi-Bektashi prayer.

In the Ottoman Empire, there were efforts about supporting the continuity of religious institutions by providing them with waqfs. For that reason, as it was done for similar dervish *tekke*s, revenues from some villages, farms and fields were donated to Abdal Musa *tekke* in return for some services. Revenues donated were generally collected from the fields around *tekke*. Thanks to this process, *Tekke* Village was founded around the *tekke*. In addition to these revenues, resources of incomes from Kaş and Finike and some other villages were given to the *tekke*.

This chapter deals with the *tekke-i* Abdal Musa with all its aspects. Firstly, after analyzing the architectural properties of central buildings of the *tekke* and their purpose of structure, general conditions and the changes on them appeared in time are explained. Secondly, the economic activities of the *tekke* and its place within the economical structure of the surrounding society are questioned to reveal the importance and indispensability of such an organization for the State.

4.1 Architectural Features of the *Tekke*

The analysis of the architectural features of the *tekke* should begin with the analysis of the land on which the *tekke* was built. The theory of syncretism[122] that Frederick W. Hasluck proposes with showing many proofs in his masterpiece *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans*,[123] bases on the idea that Islam while entering Anatolia embraced several features of Christianity and became a syncretic religion. One of the

[122] According to this theory new beliefs trying to interpenetrate into recently conquered areas both add a new identity to their own beliefs and try to attract the followers of the old beliefs by melting the basic qualities of the old into their own beliefs. According to the followers of this theory Mélikoff and Ocak Bektaşilik is a type of sencretic belief which absorbs several beliefs starting from the antiquity.
[123] Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam Under the Sultans*, 128.

aspects of this syncretism is that, the building areas of many heterodox dervish *tekke*s on the Ottoman lands had already been accepted as sacred places by the Christian autochthones. Even, in many cases they were built upon sanctuaries of saints of earlier leading faiths.[124] The purpose in that preference was to show that their faith was open to local beliefs and also to have support of local people with adopting the popular characteristics of local saints to their beliefs. Irène Mélikoff argues that this character, which is seen especially in Bektashi *tekke*s, forms the syncretic structure of *tekke*s. Unfortunately in the case of Abdal Musa *tekke* it is difficult to prove such an argument since it is almost completely ruined and there has not been any excavation that may contribute to that theory.[125] Therefore it still remains obscure whether that land had been a holy place for local elements or not before the Abdal Musa *Tekke* was built.

It is neither certain when Abdal Musa was born and died nor possible to elucidate the date of foundation of the *tekke*. However, based on the studies of art historians it can be claimed that it was built as an example of elegantly designed Seljuk architecture.[126] This proves that it had been built before the Ottoman architectural style diffused into that region. Art historians show "transition from octagon dome to pyramidal roof as used in Tomb of Hacı Bektaş"[127] as another feature of Seljuk architecture. Though Evliya Çelebi in his Seyahâtnâme[128] mentions the magnificence of the *tekke* and its golden banner of which the glitter could be seen from a distance, it can be said that the material used in the construction of the

[124] One of the best examples for this condition is Hacı Bektaş who founded his *tekke* on the area of influence of Aziz Karalambos and who took several *menâkıb* from him. Irène Mélikoff, *Uyur idik Uyardılar*, (İstanbul: Phoenix Yayınları, 2004).
[125] İlhan Akçay, "Abdal Musa Tekkesi", in TTK VII. Türk Trih Kongresi, Kongreye Sunulan Metinler, (Ankara: TTK yayınları, 1976).
[126] *Ibid,* 363.
[127] *Ibid,* 363.
[128] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnâme Vol. 9*, (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1935).

building was a very enduring one because it still stands today quite chaste.[129] As can be observed today, even its inner design that does not contain much ornament also seems even quite simple. The *Ayniyat Defter*i[130] which was recorded just before sharing the same destiny with many other Bektashi *tekke*s whose activities were legally banned along with the abolishment of Janissary corps, tells us that its dome was covered with leaden that was quite precious and rare at that time.

The *tekke* developed with continuous erection of new buildings from the fourteenth to the twentieth century, proving that Abdal Musa gained increasing importance in the religious order.[131]

Estimated structures that are still standing or the ruins belonged to them can be detected in the complex are;

The tomb of Abdal Musa, in which there are graves of his sister Zeynep, his mother Ümmügülsüm, his father Hasan Gazi, his pupil Kaygusuz Abdal and an anonymous one,

The tomb of Budala Sultan,

An anonymous tomb,

The house of Dervishes and the *imaret* (kitchen) of the *tekke*, graveyard, a holy well and the ruins of guesthouse[132]

According to İlhan Akçay, working on the architecture of the *tekke,* the *tekke* with its three yards "is a splendid example of Turkish-style of *külliye*."[133] Since the third yard contains the most sacred places; the tombs, grave sections and the section where relics are preserved, it is the most important yard. The existence of other yards is estimated based solely on the ruins. As it can be understood while the original

[129] Akçay, *Abdal Musa Tekkesi,* 364.
[130] BOA, MM 9771.
[131] Akçay, *Abdal Musa Tekkesi,* 361.
[132] *Ibid,* 366.
[133] *Ibid*, 362.

structure of the *tekke* was quite big today it is ruined and some of its parts are spoiled.

The main building of the *tekke* is located in the main inner yard. It is called *hânikâh*[134] which is a common name used for dervish *tekke*s containing a kitchen, several accommodation units and places of worship. In the *hânikâh* of Abdal Musa in addition to a kitchen and a *namazgâh* (place of worship), there is a *mihmân evi*, a house where guests were accepted. The guests of a *tekke* could be customary people as dervishes who came for stopover and/or pray, as well as, the passengers and the travelers passing through the region. Due to the Ottoman regulation of *"âyende ve revendeye hizmet"* (service for travelers) that a *tekke* had to obey in return for some tax exemptions and their *waqf* revenue, *tekke* had to serve these people without taking anything in return for a certain time period.

One of the most important sections of the *hânikâh,* on the other hand, was the *meydan evi* (square house). That section was the place where the sheikh of the *tekke* lived and collective worships performed. Similar to the Hacı Bektaş *tekke* in Abdal Musa *tekke* there was not a mosque but a *namazgâh* existed. Moreover there was special bath of the *zaviye* as well. In addition, among the most important sections of the *tekke* there was quite a large kitchen. This section is quite rich in the sense of material, which shows the importance given to the accommodation of guests. Amongst the buildings of the *tekke* there were stables, barns, granaries and a coffee chamber. Lastly there was a sacred well, its water is believed rejuvenating and healing. Due to this belief throughout all over Anatolia many people were visiting the *tekke* for healing.

[134] For further information see Süleyman Uludağ and M. Baha Tanman, "*Hankâh*", *DİA,* Vol. 33, 443-453 ve J. Chabbi, "Khankâh", EI^2, Vol. 4, 1025.

Besides those, there were two rooms for teaching. According to Bektashi customs, the education of the disciples was not so different from that performed in other orders.[135] In this way of education, the main method of teaching and learning was listening and reciting the words of the sheikh and transferring them to the next generations. Another one was adopting the life style and devoting to worshiping and contemplation with direct involvement of the student in the daily life of the *tekke.*

The *tekke*, which was permanently abolished by Mahmud II after 1826 due to being a Bektashi *tekke*, as it is learned from the epigraph fixed on the right wall of its yard, was repaired and reopened during the reign of the Sultan Abdülaziz in 1874/1291. According to another epigraph on the walls of the *tekke,* it turned to its old glorious days after the last time it was repaired during the reign of Abdülhamid II. However, since the restoration was made by mainly timber; the restored sections could not survive until today.[136]

While narrating Evliya Çelebi the region contrary to his habits he did not copy the epigraph of the *tekke* but he copied that of Elmalı Ömer Paşa Mosque which was quite close to it. Most probably, that was because there was no epigraph on the *tekke* building in the seventeenth century when Evliya reached there.[137]

Elmalı district, where the *tekke* was located, lay quite close and equally distant to seaports of Antalya and Alanya. The commercial life was quite dynamic in those seaports, which connected all South Anatolia and inner Anatolia to the sea. This fact most probably contributed to the commercial operation of the *tekke* that had close connections with those regions. That operation might not be limited to hosting

[135] For detailed information about the traditional education system in Bektashiya see Osman Eğri, *Yaygın Din Eğitimi Açısından Bektaşilik*, (İstanbul: Horasan Yayınları, 2003).
[136] Akçay, *Abdal Musa Tekkesi*, 362.
[137] *Ibid,* 64.

merchants and other *travelers* in its guesthouses and *hanikâh*.[138] It is natural that the *tekke* was holding a special place in the dynamic commercial and economic life of the region. In order to understand the contribution of the *tekke* to the economic life, besides the important role it played in the social and religious life of the region, we need to take a close look at its waqfs and their development throughout the time.

4.2 The Economic Life in the Abdal Musa *Tekke*

Dervishes of Abdal Musa *Tekke*, as the most of the dervish *tekkes* in Anatolia and Rumelia, were supplying their needs through the waqfs of which incomes had been dedicated to them. Generally, people inside the *tekke* were responsible for the economic activities over the lands which were consecrated to the *tekke* and the management of these waqfs. For example, *mutevelli*s were collecting the incomes of the waqf and they reported only to the sheikh of the *tekke*.

According to Ocak, all the Bektashi *tekkes* in Anatolia and Rumelia, out of cities and towns, were actually economic corporations, to be correct; farms.[139] Moreover, *tekkes* owned land through *akarât* mechanism of the waqfs, gave loans in return for some benefits, or rented estate or *akar* that they own in the cities. This gave a place to the *tekkes* in the economic life which continues out of their own realm.[140]

Abdal Musa *tekke* had economic activities on the lands, agricultural fields and other *akarât* assigned to it as waqf incomes. Analyzing those activities, it is seen that

[138] *Ibid,* 370.
[139] Ocak, "Bektaşilik", *DİA,* Vol. 5, (373-379), 377.
[140] Faroqhi; *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, 87.

these were enlarged and diversified in time. For example, in addition to the agricultural fields, vineyards and gardens assigned to the *tekke*, it also had in large numbers of great and small cattle and a bakery in Elmalı of which income was assigned to it.[141]

It is also very important in observing the diversification and increase in incomes, the increase of the sources dealing with the future years of the *tekke*. It should be noted that there is not enough source on the condition of the *tekke* during the period when *Tekeoğulları* was reigning in the area before the Ottomans, and during the reign of Mehmed II it is only mentioned through an estate assigned to Abdal Musa. In the *tapu tahrir* register concerning Antalya and its provinces (no: 14, BOA) it is mentioned as "an old waqf which has estate in Elmalı and Kaş, in which dervishes live and that this waqf is confirmed by the Sultan"[142]. In a *defter* from the period of Murad III waqf estate is composed of the areas called "*zemîn*"[143] and the rights over the waters.

Total income of the *tekke* was low at the end of the sixteenth century. "Considering that Hadji Bektash *tekke* was gaining more than 100,000 *akçe* from the waqfs, the income of 5590 *akçe* of Abdal Musa *tekke* in the year of 1530-31 (937) is very small."[144] There might be many reasons for that. First of all, since the Hadji Bektash *tekke* was the center *tekke* of the Bektashiyya it is normal to have the largest income, secondly the income of 5590 *akçe* was gained from the waqf lands around the *tekke* and the waqfs of *tekke* which was far from it might not be added to the total income. It is known that the estate of *tekke* was not gathered in one place but spread through a large area.

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[141] *Ibid,* 101.
[142] *Ibid,* 103.
[143] The rights on the land; but not any other thing over the land; is called rights on the *zemîn*.
[144] Faroqhi; *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, 104.

In the nineteenth century, both the waqfs and the areas of influence of the *tekke* were extended. It can be followed from the *ayniyat defteri* prepared before the *tekke* was closed down. For instance "the number of buildings or pavement of the *tekke* alone could be a sign that the dervishes were living in relative wealth."[145] The lands assigned to *tekke* were large and the books in the *tekke* library and the equipment for daily use were also very rich. Moreover, the *tekke* was exporting the surplus of agricultural products coming from its waqfs and even gave loans to villagers.[146]

Following an analysis of the estate of the *tekke* it appears that the size of it was enough to give the *tekke* the potential for commercialization. It would not be acceptable to say that the dervishes of Abdal Musa *tekke* used all the products gained from 9.500 *dönüm* for their own needs. Actually those lands were given to *tekke* as waqfs not only to feed the dervishes but also to enable it maintain its existence and help the people with the surpluses.

The *ayniyat defter* which was prepared when the *tekke* was being closed, gives important information about the agricultural production gained from the waqf lands, possession of cattle, movable and immovable assets. For example "according to the report prepared after the Bektashi *tekkes* were closed, some parts of the 1502 kilograms of wheat were given to villagers as seed corn. 675 kilograms barley and 348 kilograms millet were added."[147] According to Suraiya Faroqhi's calculations, the regional amount is around nine kilograms and she supposes that if the production is taken as one to three, the total yearly production of *tekke* is approximately 4500 kilograms of wheat, 2000 kilograms of barley and 1000 kilograms of millet. Even if the half of it supposedly had been given to the sharecroppers, *tekke* still had around

[145] BOA, MM 9771, p: 61.
[146] Faroqhi; *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, 55-63.
[147] Faroqhi; *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik,* 95.

4500 kilograms of cereals. "According to the official documents considering the total production of the towns in Antalya area was 2160[148] tons the incomes gained from the production of agricultural units spared for *tekke* were considerable."[149]

On the other hand, the income gained from the sale of small cattle before the *tekke* was closed amounted to 800 gurushes.[150] Again according to these documents the income gained from the sale of the books were 731 and the furnishings were 13850 gurush; at the same period *tekke* had various kinds of rations of which values was 27577 being held by the sharecroppers.[151]

In addition to the fields planted by the villagers and of which incomes were assigned to *tekke*, there were 850 *dönüm* fields to be planted by the dervishes serving in *tekke* and the products were directly sent to it.[152]

Besides these fields on which cereals were planted, *tekke* had fifty five *dönüm*s vineyards and gardens corresponding to five hectare. Thirty *dönüm*s of it were close to *tekke*. One *dönüm* was used as a kitchen, and another one was spared to plant vegetables. Vineyard was twenty two *dönüm*s and the tools which were written on the *ayniyat defteri* point that wine could be produced there. Among those tools were one grape-crushing tool, a ladle and a barrel.[153] There were also a lot of fruit trees assigned to *tekke*.

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[148] Antalya Registers of Kadi Courts Vol. 1, Vr. 39a in Faroqhi; *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, 95.
[149] Faroqhi; *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, 96.
[150] BOA, C.ML: 4125, and C. ML. 17497.
[151] *Hâcegân-ı Divân-ı Hümâyûndan Teke Sancağı mütesellîm-i sâbıkı Osman Efendi tarafından Abdal Musa zâviyesinin füruht olunan emvâl ve vârid olan defterin hülasâsı mefhûmunda Teke sancağında Elmalu kazasında kain Abdal Musa zaviyesinin emvâl ve eşya ve zehâ'ir ve hayvânatının füruhtuna ve zimemâtının tahsiline da'ir sâdır olan emr-i şerîf mûcebince livâ-i mezbur mütesellim-i sâbık-ı mümâileyh mâ'rifeti e ma'rifet-i şer'-i şerîf ile ve bi'l-cümle ma'rifetleriyle füruht olunarak hasıl olan esmeniyle tahsil olunan zimemâtı gayr-i ez mesârif altmış bu kadar bin guruşa bâliğ olduğu defter-i mezkurdan müstebân olmağın ,* BOA, C. ML. 17497. According to another document the revenue was *altmış iki bin yedi yüz elli sekiz buçuk guruş* BOA, C. ML. 4225.
[152] Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik,* 96.
[153] BOA, MM 9771, p: 58-59.

Compared to the agricultural activities, stockbreeding was undeveloped. Still great cattle and horses were fed to plough. Archival documents[154] mention the small cattle's incomes but the amount seems to be unimportant.

The production in *zaviye*s was intended to supply dervishes' own needs. However, it can be argued that *tekke*s were taking the surpluses to *akreb bazaar* i.e. the closest market. Major Bektasi *zaviye*s in Anatolia were founded in countryside but they were not very far from the cities and Abdal Musa *Tekke*si was not an exception to this tradition. It was founded in a village close to the town where the market was.[155] In this respect it can be said that *tekke* had a considerable influence over the market where the cereals, the main production of *tekke*, were commercialized.

Another important aspect is that Abdal Musa *Tekke* had two residential on the coast; one of them was Kafî Baba *tekke*si in Finike and the other was waqfs of immovable assets around Kaş. Although according to Ottoman regulations, sales were intended for domestic consumption; the *tekke* could export to Aegean and Ionia islands from the coastal areas, because these islands were chronic famine zones and took special permissions from the State to supply their needs, especially during wars, from the Southwestern Anatolia.[156]

Faroqhi claims that if one of the main missions of the dervishes is to integrate the direct producers to the Ottoman State this means that there is a parallel between them and the cities because the cities were the places where the intermediaries who were carrying the agricultural surplus from the surrounding agricultural areas to the Sultan and his officers were gathered.[157] Following the pattern proposed by Faroqhi,

[154] For example, BOA, C.ML., 17497, 1248 and BOA C. ML., 4125, 1247.
[155] Suraiya Faroqhi; *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik,* p: 64.
[156] *Ibid,* p: 95.
[157] Faroqhi *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, 86.

Abdal Musa *tekke* had also strict connections with the closest city centers, as it can be deduced from the information given above.

To use peasants as share-croppers by the method of *münasafa*[158] was not only an important branch of the economic activity, but also articulated the economic dimension into the mission of the *tekke* as being an intermediary agent between the state and people. According to this, while *tekke* supplied the villagers with agricultural equipments like plough and cattle, on the other hand the villagers supplied necessary human labor for the *tekke*. Therefore the maintenance of production and hereby the maintenance of the taxes collected by the state was realized. This cooperation was so frequently used by the *tekke* that a couple of times more than the equipment used in the *tekke* were loaned to the villagers.

There is also a list of the people who owed money to the *tekke* and whose number was more than a hundred and ten in *ayniyat defter*.[159] Since the list does not give any information about the interest rates, it is not definite whether the *tekke* charged interest for the loans or not, but it is probable. Considering the social situation of the debtors, they were mostly villagers.[160] It can be argued that the economic influence of *tekke* was limited to the countryside in which it was founded. It can also be concluded that besides the common villagers, people of better economic conditions also borrowed from *tekke*, since among the debtors there were people called sheikh, *çavuş, aga and kethüda.*

Unfortunately, it is impossible to follow the borrowed money by only depending on this *defter*. That is, since the *defter* does not include the aims why the

[158] The literary meaning of the word *münâsafa* is; to divide into two equal peaces. It is also a kind of mode of production peculiar to waqfs. For detailed information see. Nazif Öztürk *Türk Yenileşme Tarihi Çerçevesinde Vakıf Müessesesi*, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 1995).
[159] BOA, MM 9771, 58.
[160] Suraiya Faroqhi; *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*, 98.

debtors took loans, it is impossible to say whether they used the money for new investments or for their daily expenses.

It is worth analyzing the changes of Abdal Musa *tekke* after it was confiscated with the possessions inside and after the Bektashi order was banished. The information about the condition of Abdal Musa farm which was around *tekke* after a couple years from the confiscation is gained from a *defter* which has data about the building, goods and animals that were handed over their new owners.[161] According to it, there was not much left from the impressive variety of the old times. Some of the old guest rooms as *mihmanevi, hamam,* some of the *köşk*s, *kızsarayı,* barn and warehouses were destroyed, fifteen cereal warehouses were harmed because of the rains and roofs over most of the buildings were wrecked by the winds.[162]

However, according to a document [163] dated 1868 – 1869/1278 *zaviye* had a mosque and school and its *hanîkah* was again flourishing. This document weakens the idea that the first reparation after the confiscation was in 1882-1883/1291. Maybe, what is meant by the term first reparation was the reparation after it was reconstructed as a Bektasi *tekke*. It is known that since 1831-1832/1252 it has become a Nakshî *tekke*. [164] The construction of a mosque that was not there beforehand also points to the change. Another document dated 1856-1857/1273 informs that there is also a mill related to the *tekke* which is another example of the several changes that happened after the control over the *tekke* passed from the Bektashis to the Nakshîs.[165] It can be interpreted as a sign that *tekke* was growing rich.

[161] BOA, MM 8252.
[162] Suraiya Faroqhi; *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik,*109.
[163] BOA, A. MKT. MVL. 133/64, 1278.
[164] BOA, C.EV, 5988, 1252 ve BOA, C. EV, 6560, 1252.
[165] BOA, İ. MVL. 376/16503, 1273.

In the traditional Islamic states the *tekke*s were not only the shelter for the sheikh and his disciples but also the guesthouse for the *travelers* and the traders; and also an economic unity that contributed to the country's economy. These important buildings arrayed with immovable and movable waqf assets and incomes were the intermediary agents between the rulers and the subjects. That is why the *tekke* of Abdal Musa witnessed this many interventions coming directly from Istanbul. As it can be followed from the developments that the Abdal Musa *tekke* faced; it can be deduced that after changes in the state politics against the heterodox first and then against the Bektashîs occurred, the attitude against the heterodox *tekke*s changed as well. Abdal Musa and his *tekke* were also affected from these changes in the Ottoman state policies against the heterodox groups. The mission assigned to them and their place between the State and the people changed according to the changes of Ottoman view for the followers of such beliefs.

CHAPTER V

ABDAL MUSA *TEKKE* AS A STATE AGENT

"Don't you see," if someone owes his livelihood to a worldly ruler (dünya beyi) and somehow he disagrees with what he orders, they accuse him of rebellion; they throw him in a dungeon and kill him."

Vilâyetnâme-i Otman Baba[166]

Since its foundation the Ottoman state was in a strict relationship with the *tekke*s and the dervishes. During the first conquests of the *Beylik* these dervishes played a crucial role as Holy-warriors. However following the institutionalization process of the State they eluded their warrior abilities and tried to open the newly conquered lands to the settlement and spread their beliefs within the area. It is understood that Ottoman dervishes were effective in the populating of both Rumelia and Anatolia. This subject was further examined by Ömer Lütfi Barkan[167] and Cengiz Orhonlu[168] in their pioneering studies.

It is arguable that these dervishes were the non-orthodox religious leaders carrying the remaining of the pre-Islamic beliefs into Islam. As Ahmet Yaşar Ocak puts out; it is easily arguable that dervishes left the religious applications who were

[166] Halil İnalcık "Dervish and Sultan: An analysis of the Otman Baba Vilâyetnâmesi" in *Süleymân the Second and His Time*, Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar ed.s, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1993) (209-223), 214.
[167] Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskân ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler I, İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Turk Dervişleri ve Zâviyeler", *Vakıflar Dergisi,* Vol. 11, 1942, 279-353.
[168] Cengiz Orhonlu, *"Osmanlılar'da Derbend Teşkilâtı",* (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 1990).

directly opposing main Islamic beliefs. [169] As it is quoted from *Vilâyetnâme-i* Otman Baba, the dervishes who are in need of the State and its representative the Bey, at any time cannot and did not directly oppose the State and its agents.

The relationship between the State and the dervishes was indeed a relationship based on reciprocal interest. State was benefiting from the *Tekke*-Dervish institution as an intermediary agent; while the dervishes were gaining some benefits in means of security as they gained the State protection and of economy as they had the right of some tax exemptions and immunities. "Ottoman State concept and class system"[170] needed several intermediary institutions to assure the solidity of the social contract between the rulers and the subjects. These institutions were part of the ruling elite by some of their characteristics but for the other characteristics they were not different from the ordinary subjects. In that case, it is possible that the *tekke*s were the most important agent among all the intermediary institutions. As Suraiya Faroqhi also detected;

> Once a *zaviye* receive certain tax exemptions, mainly for themselves but in certain cases for the to be " no one's raiyet" which many of them were able to do. For such a claim, if accepted by the Ottoman central administration, meant that the *zâviyedâr* might be considered as part of the ruling group, even though often only as a marginal member. [171]

Halil Inalcık also states clearly, "the dervishes, preachers, and the men of religion in general assumed a legitimizing authority in the Islamic State." [172]

The state, now having a political authority, melded with the religion needed to continue its control over both of the areas. Following this necessity, it is not

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[169] *Ibid,* 18.
[170] Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-1600,* (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 71-76.
[171] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Sainthood as Means of Self-Defense in Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Anatolia", 198.
[172] İnalcık "Dervish and Sultan: An analysis of the Otman Baba Vilâyetnâmesi", 217.

surprising that the Sultans had to protect their posts by the support of religious legitimacy during the periods of political weaknesses. For instance, the religion centered ruling system of the central state of the eighteenth century was born from this need. [173] As a matter of fact, through the end of the rule of Bayezid II, when the exterior menace coming from the East was raising and the Imperial structures were still vague; a similar tendency had arisen.

Many contemporary sources show that *Kalenderî*s were not always in harmony with the political authorities of Anatolia.[174] On the other hand the State was not only dealing with these *Kalenderî* dervishes and their *tekke*s but also with the people who were close to them. Thus, to be able to prevent some harmful incidents from occuring due to these actors, the State made several alliances. For instance;

> "The State, made an alliance with the villagers who were the real income resource for the treasury, against the nomads to be able to protect the cultivated lands. This was the reason why the nomads became violent enemies of the centralistic State and its mainly Sunnite politics."[175]

In this environment of anarchy, the Ottoman State system was in search of solutions to assure its continuity. One of them was exiling the dervishes identified as out of tune away from the lands where these nomads were living. Another one was finding different agents who would make the state and the ruling elite closer to the ordinary people. It should be examined under these circumstances that the State's interest for the Bektashis increased.

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[173] Madeline C. Zilfi, "Sultan Süleyman and the Ottoman Religious Establishment", (109-120), in *Süleymân the Second and His Time,* Halil İnalcık, and Cemal Kafadar, ed.s (İstanbul: The Isis Press,1993), 109.

[174] AhmetYaşar Ocak, "Kalenderi Dervishes and Ottoman Administration From the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries", in *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam,* Grace Martin Smith, Ed., (Istanbul: the ISIS Press, 1993), pp: 239-255, 243.

[175] Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire, The Classical Age 1300-1600,* 195.

To be able to fulfill this task firstly the basic elements of the Ottoman *Raison d'Etat* will be analyzed and following this, the relationship between the *tekke*s and the State will be analyzed in details. As a remarkable example of the changes in this relationship the significant change in the situation of Abdal Musa *Tekke* will be examined for the role attributed to this *tekke* and its founder dervish.

5.1 The Ottoman system

The Ottoman Empire while constructing its ruling system was influenced from the political systems of anterior local principalities that were founded in Anatolia and those that Turcomans lived in. This way Ottoman administration mentality carried the traces of Central Asia, Iran, Seljuk and Byzantine administrative applications. They all surpassed the others at different areas. For instance, the Byzantine tradition shaped the institutional structure while Iranian tradition influenced the conventions of the State. Islamic tradition is indeed taken in consideration while organizing the relations between the rulers and subjects.

According to the Islamic theory, between the rulers and the subjects there is a mutual tacit agreement based on obedience and justice. *Ulu'l 'emr* taking his authority directly from God, cannot be questioned for any of his actions. When it comes to his duties, he should fulfill the justice for all his subjects. With the Ottoman terminology, *Re'aya ki emâneti Halik-i Kibriyâ* had to obey the *Ulu'l 'emr* because he is the representative of God on earth. On the other hand, he should look after the religious rules and he should rule with what is known by the people and avoid the unknown.

Ottoman social order was constructed on the basis of mutual social agreement and it gained a comportmentalist structure. People were organized under different groups according to a categorization based on several different criteria. For the continuity of this social agreement it is preferable that everybody stayed in their own group. Thus, knowing the groups that his subjects belonged to and getting in contact with them through their leaders were duties of the ruling elites. This would protect the central position of the state and the total control of the state.

According to this theory, especially during the classical age, i.e. between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century the basic concern of the State was to conserve the existing social and political structure as it is. Change is accepted as a revolution by its all means.

For instance, if the groups that are constructed according to economical criteria are analyzed closely, there are agricultural producers, craftsmen and merchants who were represented by timar holder, *yiğitbaşı-kethüda* and *reis* in front of the State. They were also distributing the regulations of the State through their group.

When the groups appeared according to the religious criteria are analyzed the religious men were the representatives of the groups. During the foundation era when the Sunni Islam was not accepted as the official religion of the Ottoman state; these religious leaders called as dervishes, *baba*s or *abdal*s were the only means of the State to reach out to the masses following these religious orders. State had an interest in maintaining a good relationship with all of these groups and their representatives.[176]

[176] These informations learnt during the Ottoman social and Economic History classes given by Prof. Dr. Özer Ergenç were further developed in the meetings between myself and my supervisor Prof. Ergenç.

State was always keeping in mind that it had to protect the *Nizâm-ı 'Âlem*. That is why it kept these dervishes and their followers under strict control. Thus, to complete the centralization of the state and make the *kul* and *timar* system work with full capacity; it started to create a central authority in the religious sphere too. However; the people and dervishes unwilling to turn their back to their old heretic beliefs started to feed a huge reaction against the State. As it tried to dissolve the *Ahi*s in the state mechanism it also tried to have *tekke*s and dervishes in this system and control them. In this period of instability, the *tekke*s that had already made their peace with the state were the main agent in the reassurance of the security and continuity in the villages. "As the persistence of Hacıbektaş as a settlement indicates, villages that contained the *türbe* and *zaviye* of a saint had a much better chance of survival than villages in which these elements of stability lacking." [177] State always emphasized this ability of the *tekke*s.

A far more important and radical precaution was another way of using people's religious sensibilities. Some Sultans like Murad I and Bayezid II, assumed the role of a *velî* in the popular imagination and their miracles were told in public.[178] This way, *velî*-Sultans were supported and followed by all the groups of the society. For instance, Süleyman the Lawgiver was defined as *"zâhirde ve bâtında anun hükmi revândur"*[179] by Peçevi, the historian.

However, the *Safavî*s in Iran secured a tremendous advantage over the Ottomans when Shah Ismail assumed the wilaya (*velâyet*), spiritual authority over the Turcomans living in the Ottoman Empire." [180] This propaganda was becoming

[177] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Sainthood as Means of Self-Sefense in Sevnteenth-Century Otrtoman Anatolia", (193-208), 193.
[178] Câm-ı Cem ayin 396
[179] "master of the manifest as well as of the unseen world."
[180] Halil İnalcık, "State, Sovereignity and Law during the Reign of Süleyman", *Süleymân the Second and His Time*, Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar ed.s, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), (59-93), 71.

especially effective, on the Turcomans with weak religious beliefs who were not capable of answering the demands of the Ottoman state system as its subjects. Thus, it started indeed harming the Ottoman social order and provoked a great depression period.

The first popular movements raised in the Central Anatolia caused by the unhappy subjects who were in conflict with the state policies and its local agents; were repressed easily. However, the appearance of the Safavi State in Iran and its propaganda missions in Anatolia made these uprisings more destructive and threatening for the State. There were in fact, other deeper reasons of the instability in Anatolia;

> In 1500 during the war with Venetians, people in Karaman were gathered around a claimant of the throne and rose against the Ottomans. This candidate was supported by the *Turgut* and *Varsak* tribes who also supported Cem in 1482-83. These people always denied to be submitted to the Ottoman Empire and stayed loyal to their local beys. The nomadic tribes were indeed reacting violently against the Ottoman financial policies. Finally the harmful effects of the policies of the reign of Mehmed II were still detectable. Some of the dervishes and timar holders supported the upheaval voluntarily and this upheaval could only be repressed in 1501 after Grand Vizier Mesih Pasha's direct involvement.[181]

With the beginning of this period Bayezid II took several precautions to make these dervishes became more controllable. Also the Kizilbashes were connected to these dervishes and thus controlled better. It is obvious that the *tekke*s and the dervishes who were getting along with both sides of the conflict acted as a bridge between the State and people. This solution gave the State an opportunity to control the people without direct use of violence.

[181] Nicolas Vatin," "L'ascension des Ottomans (1451-1512)", (81-116), in *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed.Robert Mantran, (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 96.

What made this crisis even worse was that it overlapped with the appearance of an unprecedented political power in Iran. Their Messianic teaching basing on the pre-Islamic traditions disseminated in Anatolia especially among the Turcomans living around Teke, Karaman and Taurus. Generally the uprisings against the central authority started in this area. The followers called "Kizilbash" were in fact the followers of a syncretism spread by Shah Ismail. In this syncretism, the local beliefs coming from pre-Islamic times, the ancient Shamanic beliefs of the steppes and other beliefs mixed together. On top of all a little Shiite influence was added. Nicolas Vatin defines these people as follows:

> "…these were madly connected to and followed the charming and attractive personality of Shah Ismail. In addition to the tax that they were paying to the Sultan, they were sending gifts and money voluntarily to the Shah. They were the backbone of the Shah's little but madly devoted army." [182]

The reason why these tribes were bounded and loyal to the Shah more than Sultan was more than their hatred against the Sultan and his servants; it was their love and admiration for the Shah and his legendary personality. He was a half-God; as he was speaking Anatolian nomads' language and founded the ideal Turkic state in Azerbaijan. According to nomads, this state was superior to "the Ottoman state that turned into a centralistic empire; for a century and a half it was disconnected from the environment that it was born; and became far from understanding their necessities. Urban elites or local rulers of devshirme origin were no more than pure strangers and Safavi ruling system was preferred." [183]

Along with its foundation and propaganda now Safavis started to attack the surrounding lands. These conquests made Ottomans concerned. Especially the

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[182] *Ibid,* 98.
[183] J. L. Bacqoué Grammon,"L'apogée de l'Empire Ottoman: les événements (1512-1606)", (139-158) in *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. Robert Mantran, (Paris: Fayard, 1989), 145-146.

entrance of Shah to Tabriz made the *Saray* worried. It had to take several precautions for protecting the order and for keeping its subjects away from the foreign intervention. For example,

> Firstly in 1502, there was a trend of arrests against those who were identified as Rafizî. Furthermore, a lot of people known to be Kizilbashes were expelled to Mora that was newly taken from the Venetians. To be able to cut the connection between the Safavis and the Anatolian supporters of the Shah, the Sultan closed the boundary in the summer of 1502. Kızılbashes were no more permitted to leave the country or to return to it. In fact this precaution was not effective at all, as trade karawans could enter and leave the country freely and shahs provocateurs continued to enter the country under the cover of tradesmen. [184]

The following step alienating the State and the Kızılbashes from each other was another upheaval started in 9 April 1511/10 *Muharrem* 917 after the retreat of the Shehzâde Korkut from Antalya. Known as *Şahkulu isyanı*, this movement was a threat against the continuity of the system and necessitated urgent precautions. On the other hand;

> The old representatives of the feudal tendencies in Anatolia, i.e. the remaining of the *beylik*s; Karaman, Dulkadir and Akkoyunlu, were always supporting the popular movements against the center while basing on the support of the Safavis and Mamluks. That is why to stop feudal developments in Anatolia and as S.J. Shaw stated "for the centralistic tendency started with Mehmed II to reach its peak, the Shah of Iran and the Sultan of Mamluks must have been defeated." [185]

Just after his ascension to the throne in 1512 Selim I decided to carry the precautions taken for the establishment of the order, further. He took a fatwa from the highest religious post of the Empire; Sheikhü'-l Islam, Sarı Görez. This fatwa was dishonoring Shah Ismail and his followers in front of the Islamic society. It

[184] Vatin, "L'ascension des Ottomans (1451-1512)" 102.
[185] Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Toplumsal Düzeni,* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2001), 151.

permit killing them all and making their women and children slaves. Thus, it was legitimizing the organization of an expedition against the Shah, another Muslim ruler.[186]

The long and exhausting wars between the Safavis and the Ottomans started this way and continued all along the sixteenth century. At the outcome of these wars an orthodox and even a narrow minded Sunni Islam became more eminent within the Ottoman Empire. Parallel to this, the state pressure over the society increased day after day and it pushed the Kizilbash to conceal them while practicing their religious beliefs. They were now far more disconnected from the Sunnite State. [187]

Sometimes the State was also sending some secret agents among the Kizilbash to break the walls of security around them and to be sure that there was no threat of conspiracy with the support of Iran. This agent would find the one who is directly in relation to Iran and report it to the center. At the end of this kind of process the guilty would be sentenced to death or sent to exile. "Documents found in the Ottoman archives show that the State was sometimes investigating the heterodox groups very closely and made searches in the dervish *tekke*s. For instance, the State forbids the *abdal*s and the *kalenderî*s to surround the villages and the cities since they were questioning the religion in every aspect by opening a sanjak and playing trumpet." [188]

It is understandable that the State tries to protect its social order founded on hundreds of years of tradition by taking several precautions. Especially with the Safavis threatening the territorial integrity and stealing the subjects was an unexpected development that could be very effective, so the radical solutions became regular during this period. The precautions filled with the political, social and

[186] J. L. Bacqoué Grammon, ,"L'apogée de l'Empire Ottoman: les événements (1512-1606)", 152.
[187] Halil İnalcık, "the classical age" 204
[188] *Ibid,* 204.

economical sanctions taken by the Ottomans; were accompanied by another agent-ally of the State: The dervish-*tekke* groups related to the State for centuries. The utilization and manipulation of this relationship to be able to reach out the Turcomans is a crucial point to analyze as it changed several dynamics within the State and the social system whose intact maintenance was very important for the State**.**

5.2 Relationship between the *Tekke* and the State

The defeat of Shah Ismail in *Çaldıran* in 1514 and the suppression of the popular movements supported by him all around Anatolia showed that the centralistic tendencies of the state became the winner in the contest of gaining the authority over the nomadic Turcomans and their religious institutions. After these developments the state certainly changed its attitude towards the *tekke*s and the dervishes. This change can be summarized as follows: during the foundation of the Ottoman Empire the sheikhs and the dervishes played a crucial role in the colonization process of the conquered lands. That is why until the reign of Selim I the Ottoman sultans were favoring a sheikh and his dervishes and donated him waqfs. Sympathy against their doctrines was eminent throughout all ruling elite including the sultan and his royal family. Yet, the uprisings started by the Kizilbashes in Anatolia turned this tendency upside down and created a lot of problems for the central powers. A crucial change in the attitude of the rulers against these religious groups and their representators was spotted. [189] Afterwards the *tekke*s especially the *Kalenderî tekke*s or the other

[189] Taner Timur, *Osmanlı Toplumsal Düzeni*, 153.

heterodox *tekke*s were to be controlled by the State agents. The state indeed benefited from different ways of control for this matter.

In fact the belief systems like *Kalenderîyya* were very elastic against the religious rules and closer to other religions that had loose rules; like Christianity than they were to Islam. However, the sultans were condoning them because they were accepted as a transitional form between the heretics living on the newly conquered lands and the new religion; Islam. Although there was a considerable State support for these dervishes, whenever these beliefs and their followers appeared behind several popular movements, it pushed the State to question these groups and to be rough against them.

According to Halil Inalcık, "what made the conflict particularly violent was that from the time of 'Osman Gazî, the Turcoman *Baba*s so powerful on the Ottoman frontier society, continued to claim to be the mentors of the sultans as before." [190] Believing in the esoteric Sufi theory or *velâyet*, *baba*s, the spiritual leaders of the Turcomans wanted to keep the sultans always under their own influence. The chief *baba*, called the "pole of the World" was believed to be God's absolute embodiment in the universe, or God's emissary for his *faible kul*s to remind them of the "right way". The *baba*s had the belief that they were indeed in control of all things and happenings in this world including the sultan and his deeds. It was thus obvious that, the followers of the *baba*s had a fanatic belief in all their claims, and had no allegiance to the Sultan.

> "*Baba*s depending on the popular support and divine right, did not hesitate to use all the symbols of sovereignty; the throne, crown, and scepter, as well as the royal titles of sultan, *hünkâr* and shah. He claimed that in all decisions, including the military and the political ones, the sultan should consult him and receive his permission. Otherwise a divine

[190] İnalcık, "Sultan and Dervish",

> punishment such as defeat, natural disasters, earthquakes, epidemics or famine would befall the land."[191]

Not only his immediate followers but also large masses of the ordinary people among the settled population believed and showed reverence to the *baba*s in their lifetime. When a *baba* died, a saint cult was generally formed around his tomb and a religious order was thus established. *Baba*s and the cult of saints founded around them had such a tremendous spiritual social force in the Ottoman society that the sultans felt compelled to share the general enthusiasm towards them. In fact, this attitude could be emanated from either pure piety or just political expediency.[192]

Following the tradition each sultan had his own favorite sheikh and maintained or appeared to maintain a close connection with him. He supported and enriched their *tekke*s by donating them several waqfs to assure that they would continue to exist. However those sheikhs who were accepting the sultan's favors came within the patrimonial control of the sultan. "The radical *Kalenderî baba*s, however, never accepted favors from the sultan and stayed with their Kizilbashes as militant leaders of their folk."[193]

That is the very reason why the relationship between the State and the *tekke*s started to change. According to the relationship based on the reciprocal interests founded in the earlier times; the *tekke*s were supposed to legitimize the conquests, state and the ruling class by directing the people in return for some immunities and exemptions coming from directly the State, whereas in this new system, the State either directly or indirectly tried to control each and every one of the *tekke*s.

This control was so indispensable for the state that it tried to apply several different ways to make it effective. First of all, it decided to implant its secret agents

[191] İnalcık "State, Sovereignity and Law during the Reign of Süleyman", 71.
[192] *Ibid,* 71.
[193] *Ibid,* 71.

within the *tekke*s disguised as dervishes. The Ottoman state actually wanted to gain the right to say the last word in the appointment of the sheikhs and the final destination of the dervishes after they left the main *hânikâh*; to disseminate their faith in the other regions by building their own *tekke*s. This would display its undisputable authority over these religious institutions.

The *Tekke*s on the other hand, were trying to keep the balance founded on that earlier agreement with the State in place, as they were afraid of the movements that devastated Anatolia and the feeling of insecurity created by some state officers.

The State in fact was applying other new methods that they never used before, to take the *tekke*s under its absolute control.

When the Shah's propaganda against the Ottoman Empire for strengthening his throne and spreading Shiite beliefs over the whole Anatolia intensified, first of all the eminence of the *'ulema* and *meşâyih* following *ehl-i Sunna* increased in the regard of the Ottoman Empire. Even, the introduction of the Nakshibendîyya, a hard core Sunni tariqa, became firmly established within the Empire because of these developments.[194]

A series of reforms started with the appointment of Balım Sultan as the head sheikh of the *Tekke* of Hadji Bektash, brought into the Bektashi faith some Shiite beliefs and practices. Some new rituals and ceremonies were created to separate and alienate the Bektashis from the other heterodox groups. For instance, the system of single *Baba*s/*mücerred babalık*, and the denial of the existence of Hacı Bektash's birth child were new to the faith. Balım Sultan was called in some sources as *Pir-i Sâni* however today Bektashis sees him as an educated agent of the Ottoman State

[194] İrfan Gündüz, *Osmanlılarda Devlet/Tekke Münasebetleri,* (İstanbul: Seha Neşriyat, 1989), 42.

violating their religion and do not respect him and the ceremonies or practices brought by him.[195]

İnalcık sees this situation, as the beginning of a more conservative even a Sharia minded Ottoman State.[196] The plans of Ebu's-Suud included the idea of constructing a mosque in every village in the Empire and observing the heretics as they would not attend the daily prayers in the mosques. He was accusing the heretical sects in the name of Sharia but in the end, this was alienating the Turcomans even more.

It is seen that even early Ottoman sultans did not leave these heterodox dervishes alone. For instance, Orhan Gazi was keeping an eye on the *Kalenderî*s all the time and sometimes expelled them from the society by using their non-Sunni beliefs and practices as an excuse. Several sources verify this application. Ocak argues that the settlement of Abdal Musa to Elmalı passing through Manisa and Denizli after leaving Bursa must also be connected to this application. [197]

In addition to that, at the beginning of the reign of Bayezid II (1481-1512) the dervishes faced an agreeable and understanding State policy. [198] However, they witnessed a total change in everything starting from the end of this era, and intensifying in the following Sultan's reign. In appearance the reason to that was an attempted assassination for Bayezid II in 1492 organized by a man known as a *meczûp haydârî* or *torlak* dervish on his way back from Albania.

[195]The interview with Hüseyin Eriş Halife Baba, 08-05-2009, Antalya
[196] İnalcık, "State, Sovereignity and Law during the Reign of Süleyman", 70.
[197]Ocak, "Kalenderi Dervishes and Ottoman Administration from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries", 247.
[198] Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi 1300-1600,* Vol.1, eds, Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, (İstanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2000), 54.

Ocak states that this attack can be either an assault by a *Kalenderî* or a political conspiracy aimed to destroy the *Kalenderî*s.[199] The relationship between the State and the *Kalenderî* dervishes at that era was very tense. Given the fact that these dervishes were the most disobedient among others; it becomes also possible that even the "State" itself could be the organizer of this conspiracy. Although Bayezid II was attacked by a dervish who calls himself as Mahdi; the Sultan survived the assault without any harm. This strengthens the suspects on the organizer of the assassination attempt.

On the other hand many *Kalenderî* dervishes were accused of being a part of this attack, and as a result they were exiled to Anatolia, far away from their followers and each other. This attempted assassination thus changed the destiny of the *Kalenderî*s. Before they were accepted as a part of the ruling elite in some circumstances like the leaders of all the other religious groups; but now they were expelled from the state system.

If it is examined from the point of view of the *Kalenderî*s, the most available source composed near that era was Otman Baba Velâyetnâmesi. However, it is useless for this quest because it stops telling the events when it came to the year 1478, when Otman Baba died. Nevertheless from another anonymous chronicle the development of the event can be followed. First of all, it is quite clear that the attempted assassination of Bayezid II was connected with the *abdal*s of Otman Baba. According to the chronicle;

> "Returning from his campaign in Albania, Bayezid II came over to monastery where he stayed a few days. The same day he set out from monastery; when he was crossing a stream, a cursed man of heresy and unbelief, clad in felt, maybe a *Haydarî* dervish with rings on his neck and ears, an uncircumcised infidel, attacked sultan to

[199] Ocak, "Kalenderi Dervishes and Ottoman Administration from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries", 249.

> kill him. Waiting for the sultan on his way, and thinking it was the right time to attack, he suddenly assaulted him. Shouting "I am the Mahdi (menem Mahdi)", and pulling a sword from inside his felt cloak, he rushed against the sultan. Those cowardly chaushes who were marching in front of the sultan dispersed when the dervish approached to attack him. At this moment Iskender Pasha, one of the sultan's viziers who happened to be there, rushed and struck the man with his mace so hard that he instantly rolled over his crushed head. Some brave men who were close hastened and tore the attacker into pieces with their swords." [200]

It is obvious that one of the reasons why the Ottoman policy against the *Kalenderî*s became more and more strict was the Shii-Safavi propaganda. As it is known, this propaganda started towards the end of the fifteenth century. For the *Kalenderî*s fleeing away from arrests and the exile policy of Bayezid II, the Shii propaganda was very charming. That is why exiling the *Kalenderî*s to Anatolia was not a well ended precaution[201] as this provoked more reaction that the State was trying to suppress by these precautions. That is when the *Kalenderî*s started a quick propaganda plan in Anatolia under Shi'i-*Safavî* effect.

At the sixteenth century the *Kalenderî*s had to deal with new accusations directed towards them. The classic accusations of *"ehl-i bid'at bî-mezheb Işıklar, ehl-i rafz, ehl-i ilhad, ta'ife-i Kalenderân-ı râfiziyân, ta'ife-i rafiziyye"* were being used since the reign of the Anatolian Seljuks. However, in this era they were not just accused of disobeying the Sha'ri'a rules and not praying properly and others like these. It was also claimed that they were criticizing and insulting the three Caliphs in public. These all proved the grandeur of the Safavi effect on them"[202]

[200] İnalcık, "Dervish and Sultan: An analysis of the Otman Baba Vilâyetnâmesi", 222.
[201] Ocak, "Kalenderi Dervishes and Ottoman Administration from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries", 250.
[202] *Ibid,* 250.

The following epoch under the next sultan -Süleyman the Lawgiver was the worst period for the life of the *Kalenderî*s. Because the pressure over them rose significantly during his reign because of the hostility between the Ottomans and Safavis Iran reached its climax.[203]

The most effected from this policy was the Seyyidgazi *tekke* in Seyyidgazi, Eskişehir. According to one of the contemporary sources, Aşık Çelebi, this *tekke* was defined as a crucial point in Anatolia because it was the *tekke* where "*işten kaçan ışık olmuş abdallar, annesi-babası tarafndan terk edilmiş battallar"* were gathered around. That is why, the decision of the rulers to clean this place from the *Kalenderîs* and its application by the qadi of Seyyidgazi, Mustafa b. Hasan, is understandable. After a while, this biggest *Kalenderî* center gained a new identity and became Bektashi *tekke*. [204]

In fact, one of the most important originating points of this thesis is to understand and examine this transformation from Kalenderîyya to Bektashiyya in all the *tekke*s like this one. The methodology to reveal this transformation is to follow the track on the changes happened around the Abdal Musa *Tekke.*

5.3 Ottoman State *versus* Abdal Musa

As Ahmet T. Karamustafa proved in his study [205] concerning the early Bektashîs, the important Bektashi *menâkıbnâme*s like *Velâyetnâme-i* Hadji Bektash

[203] *Ibid,* 251.
[204] Ocak, "Kalenderi Dervishes and Ottoman administration from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries", 252.
[205] Ahmet T. Karamustafa "Kalenderîs, Abdals, Hayderîs: The Formation of the Bektaşiye in the Sixteenth Century", in *Süleymân the Second and His Time*, Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar ed.s, (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), (129-121), 123.

and *Menâkıbnâme-i* Hadjim Sultan were generally composed in the sixteenth/tenth century and does not include much information about the early Bektashis. Furthermore, there are no known Bektashi poets from the earlier centuries than the sixteenth. Finally none of the *tekke*s that can be defined as Bektashi are seen in any of the sources dated before the fifteenth century.

The silence of the sources on this subject is a complex and important issue to examine closely. Why would this happen? There would be three basic answers basing on three different theories: 1) these sources were never composed at that time as there was not a sect named Bektashiyya, similar to today's sect with its faith, rituals or ceremonies before the sixteenth century. 2) They were "lost" as they were containing some information that was not compatible with the image of a Bektashi believer constructed by the help of the State. 3) A final answer free of conspiracy could be that these sources were literally lost during the centuries and the only copies of them made after the sixteenth century are available to the researchers.

The date of bringing Balım Sultan from the *zavîye* in Dimetoka to the *Dergâh*-ı Hadji Bektash in 1502 by a Sultanic order is the symbolic foundation date of the Bektashîyya.

It is certainly not a mere coincidence, according to the legend, in the early sixteenth century, Sultan Bayezid invited Balım Sultan, the Bektashi leader at the time, to be his guest, and the Sultan himself with high officials of the court joined the Bektashi order.[206] He also gave several orders for reparations of the *tekke* buildings and the augmentation of its waqfs.[207] In sum, it was this sheikh, considered as the second major leader in the history of the order that made determined efforts to

[206] Albert Doja, "Confraternal Religion: From Liberation Theology to Political Reversal", History and Anthropology, 2003 VOL. 14 (4), pp. 349–381 373-74

[207] Irène Mélikoff, "L'ordre des *Bektaşi*s et Les Groupes Relevant de Hacı Bektaş: Survol du Probléme pp: 5-10 "Sur Les Traces du Soufisme Turc: Recherches Sur l'Islam Populaire en Anatolie", ISIS, İstanbul, 1992

reform its organization and the application of its rituals, apparently because both had been surmounted by unorthodox practices and rituals.

> "…following this period, it is seen that the state protected and supported the Bektashîyya. Bektashîs were not the subjects of the investigation that the other *Kalenderî*s witnessed. For instance, the attempts made to take the Seyyidgazi *tekke* from the hands of the *Kalenderî*s was not the same for the dervishes of the Bektashi *tekke*s."[208]

This different attitude against these two *tekke*s and their dervishes that had similar religious traditions and beliefs is interesting enough to be examined in further detail.

The interpretation of Faroqhi of Mélikoff's theory suggests that Bektashîs were just trying to convince the Anatolian people to leave their ancient Shamanic beliefs. Thus, they were trying to bring these nomads and semi-nomads under the control of the Sunni Islam. As a result, Bektashiyya was originally a Sunni sect that became a heterodox sect as it was open to a lot of beliefs of these tribes.[209] Other researchers like Trimingham and Norris[210] claim that Bektashism, after the arrival and organizational efforts of Balım Sultan, in the peak of its heydays during the seventeenth century, was a Sunni order maintaining a strong central organization, with affiliated village groups limited to Anatolia and its European provinces.

On the other hand, İlker Evrim Binbaş develops another interpretation of Mélikoff's thesis on the subject. In his M. A. thesis, he proposes that, Melikoff suggested that Bektashiyya had these heterodox beliefs already when Balım Sultan

[208] İlker Evrim Binbaş, *Tasavvuf ve Musiki, Mevlevilik ve Bektaşilikte Sema,* Hacettepe Üniv. Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Basılmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, Haziran 1997, 29.
[209] Sainthood as Means of Self-Sefense in Seventeenth-Century Otrtoman Anatolia, Suraiya Faroqhi, pp:193-208, p:195
[210] Trimingham 1971: 80; Norris 1993: 89

arrived and it was supported more by the central authority to lessen the effect of the Safavi propaganda in Anatolia.[211]

It is not easy to accept that Mélikoff, who was always emphasizing the syncretic structure of the Bektashiyya proposed the idea that Bektashiyya was originally a Sunni sect that turned into a heterodox one to be able to help the State in its war of controlling the Turcomans. Contrary to Faroqhi's interpretation she mainly emphasized that Bektashiyya was a sect that combined the beliefs of firstly and the most importantly, the Chamanism, Buddhism, Manichaeism, Misdeems, Bogomils, Christianity and Islam altogether with a Shiite *varnish.* This combination feature was common in the majority of the religious orders born in the popular Islam.[212] She even defined the religion of the newly converted nomadic Turcomans as the "*Islam chamanisée*" [213] and claimed clearly that it was a syncretic religion.

Albert Doja carries this suggestion one step further and claims that Bektashîyya was in fact very unorthodox and regarded as a Shiite Order due to its reverence for the House of Ali. The fact that the Bektashis were rarely attacked on grounds of doctrine or innovations is directly related to their association with the Janissaries and the Ottoman authority.[214]

Another interesting argument between eminent scholars is about the formation of this association between the Ottoman State and the Bektashi and it can be summarized as follows:

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[211] "Tasavvuf ve Musiki, Mevlevilik ve Bektaşilikte Sema", İlker Evrim Binbaş, Hacettepe Üniv. Sosyal Blimler enstitüsü, basılmamış yüksek Lisans Tezi, Haziran 1997, Ankara, s:29.
[212] Irène Melikoff Au Banquet des Quarante, Isıs İstanbul 2001"entre chamanisme et soufisme: Hadji Bektach, Fondateur du Bektachisme au XIIIe siècle" pp:9-13
[213] Irène Melikoff Au Banquet des Quarante, Isıs İstanbul 2001 "DE l'Asie-Centrale A l'Anatolie du Dieu-ciel A l'homme Dieu" pp:87-95 S:87
[214] Albert Doja, "Confraternal Religion: From Liberation Theology to Political Reversal", History and Anthropology, 2003 VOL. 14 (4), pp. 349–381 373-74.

According to Hasluck[215] the legend concerning the foundation of the Janissary Army by Sultan Orhan and its attachment to Hadji Bektash might have only been the "intrigues" of Bektashis aimed at appropriating the organization of Janissaries. While recognizing Hadji Bektash as their patron saint and the Order as their spiritual ally these soldiers tried to be a political ally for the Bektashi dervishes.[216]

In contrast to Hasluck, Irène Mélikoff maintains that to consider the attachment of the name of Hadji Bektash to the Janissary body as Bektashi "intrigues" is to seriously underestimate, at the time of heroic conquests, the importance of the Ottomans and the absolute power of their dynasty.[217]

Albert Doja claims that the main problem is not underestimating Ottoman power; however, it is important to analyze the conditions by which the "intrigues" were made possible in the shared political interest of both Bektashis and Ottomans.[218]

The present study suggests a theory based on a contradicting view of Hasluck and approaching more to Mélikoff's suggestion: The Ottoman State was trying to get closer to the Bektashi order rather than the Bektashîs trying to become an ally of the State. As its benefit lied in the fact that it had an ally against the heterodox nomadic tribes and the successful Safavi propaganda, the State tried to resurrect an organized and centralistic order whose beliefs had some heterodox and Shiite tendencies but not as much as the Safavîs.

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[215] 1929-482-493
[216] Albert Doja, "Confraternal Religion: From Liberation Theology to Political Reversal", History and Anthropology, 2003 VOL. 14 (4), pp. 349–381 373-74
[217] Mélikoff, 1998-93.
[218] Albert Doja, "Confraternal Religion: From Liberation Theology to Political Reversal", History and Anthropology, 2003 VOL. 14 (4), pp. 349–381 373-74

The detailed doctoral study[219] of Karamustafa on the Tahiti's *Netîce-i Cân* indicates that, Vâhidî's account on the Bektashis contained very important data. First of all, the important tools of the Bektashiyya were not mentioned in this study. For instance, even the names of the *çerağ, palheng, teslim taşı, mengûş, and teber*[220] were not mentioned. Furthermore, the fore leading fathers of Bektashiyya such as; Balım Sultan (1501-2-1516-17/ 907-922) Hatayi (Şah İsmail 1501-1524) Nesimî (1404-5 1417-18), Abdal Musa (c. fourteenth/eighth century) and Kaygusuz Abdal (the second half of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth century), were not mentioned in this account. However, these characters would play important roles within Bektashiyya. More than this, in none of the parties the triple of God-Mohammed-Ali, or four doors for *makam*s belief of the Bektashîs even twelve Imams or fourteen *mâsum-ı pak* are mentioned. Today, these beliefs are considered as inseparable from the Bektashi sect. If they existed back then they could not slipped the view of Vahidî. As the primordial result of this situation; Bektashiyya was not under a heavy Shiite influence at the time of its foundation. Secondly, it is also possible that the important figures of the Anatolian religious history were included in Bektashiyya during later periods.

This interpretation leads us to another problem. Why were these applications necessary? How come Abdal Musa was praised and rewarded by the Ottoman Sultans centuries after his lifetime while he was only allowed to found his *tekke*

[219] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Vahidi's Menakib-i Hvoca-i Cihan ve Netice-i Can: Critical Edition and Historical Analysis*, unpublished PhD Thesis, McGill University, 1987. See also Karamustafa, "Kalenderis, Abdals, Hayderis: The Formation of the Bektaşiye in the Sixteenth Century, Süleymân the Second and His Time, Halil İnalcık, Cemal Kafadar,The Isis Press, Istanbul, 1993, pp: 129-121, p:124.

[220] For the explanation of these Bektashî accessories apply to the glossary.

behind the city walls[221] when he was even part of the conquest of this city. What could lead the sultans towards this change of attitude?

Or else, was intensifying the policy of making people and State institutions more Sunnite[222] the only way of protection from the Safavi Propaganda, as Ocak suggests it? Or are there any other attempts to find other solutions in politically correct and peaceful manner?

Hypothetically it can be proposed that, Ottoman ruling system tried to reach out to people through a *tekke*-tariqa system which was controlled from the center and which was enriched with a Shiite covering against the Shiite propaganda of the East. This would prove us the influence of the *Tekke* of Hadji Bektash over other *Kalenderî*s and the transfer of a sheikh from the Balkans to organize its structure and *erkân*[223].

The same way, Abdal Musa was called in the early archival documents remained from the beyliks and early Ottomans as "*dervişândan Abdal Musa*"[224] Abdal Musa of dervishes. After the sixteenth century he was called as "*Hacı Bektaş'ın hulefasından, aziz, yüce Abdal Musa hazretleri*",[225] one of the Hulefa-i Hadji Bektash, Saint respectable Abdal Musa. This continued until the abolishment of the Bektashi *tekke*s by the State and the Nakshibendîyya settled there. Now it is only called *zavîye-i* Abdal Musa.[226] Ottoman diplomatic writing formulas were structured over the centuries and specialist *kâtip*s/clerks do not change the manners of address by chance. These manners show the importance gained or lost by Abdal Musa in front of the State in course of the centuries.

[221] Irène Beldiceanu, "Les débuts: Osman et Orkhan", (15-36), in *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed.Robert Mantran, (Paris: Fayard, 1989) 23.
[222] Ocak,"Kalenderi Dervishes and Ottoman administration from the fourteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries", 252.
[223] The main rules of conduction.
[224] Ahmet Refik, "Teke eli…" 65.
[225] Örneğin BOA, C.EV., 5664, 1147.
[226] Örneğin BOA C.ML. 4125, 1247. ve MAD.d. 8252, 1246

To sum up concretely, the Bektashis became an instrument of Ottoman propaganda against the external threats. Therefore the reason for the expansion of the Order in the Balkans, Albania and all over Anatolia is understandable. Abdal Musa being one of the leading figures in the Bektashi order was affected from the State politics as well. His legendary and historical personalities as well as his *tekke* all became the subject of this policy.

The relations between the religious and political institutions all along the Ottoman history are a crucial subject to analyze in details. These relations were open to any kind of influence and modifications according to the foreign and domestic policy of the State. For instance,

> "The existence of privileged links between Ottomans and Bektashis, as well as the presence of Bektashi dervishes at the sides of sultans at heroic times of conquest, gradually brought about the transformation of *ghazis* and warrior dervishes into colonizing dervishes, propagators of Islamic faith." [227]

This explains why the first Ottoman sultans conferred on them the responsibility of spreading Islam but more importantly for subjecting newly conquered lands totally to the Ottoman rule. This also explains why the latter Ottoman sultans conferred on them the responsibility for channeling and bringing back under governmental control the heterodox groupings that were proliferating in Anatolia at that time.

[227] Albert Doja, "Confraternal Religion: From Liberation Theology to Political Reversal", *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 14/4, 2003, pp. 349–381, 350.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Küll-i şey'in yerci'u ilâ aslihî[228]

The story of Abdal Musa and his *tekke* sets an excellent example to prove what is assumed at the beginning of this study: the transformations on the religious and social character of both the dervish and the *tekke* and the efforts of bounding them to a hierarchical order could well be designed directly by the State to create a new intermediary agent between itself and its unorthodox subjects. The religious personality of Abdal Musa going from Kalenderî to Bektashi and the connection of his *tekke* to the central Bektashi *tekke* of Kırşehir is indeed part of the process to find a peaceful and political solution to all sorts of harmful movements of the discontented subjects of the Sultan.

The appearance of an alternative Muslim State with the same legitimizing roots in the East of the Empire, the Safavis, aggravated the danger created by the unsatisfied subjects for the Ottomans. The Safavi *da'vet* started to attract more followers in Anatolia in the second half of the fifteenth century. This would end either with loss of several tax-paying subjects of huge lands in Anatolia where these people were settled, for the Ottoman Empire. To prevent what was coming, Sultan

[228] "Herşey aslına rücu' eder./Everything returns to its origins." Hünkar Hacı Bektaş-I Velî, *Makâlât* Haz. Ali Yılmaz, Mehmet Akkuş, Ali Öztürk, (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı), 2007,4-b, 55.

Bayezid II who was a caring and "soft" ruler tried to develop some policies which are not as harsh as his son's. The support for the Bektashi order and the augmentation of their waqfs accordingly, is one of the peaceful solutions developed in this period.

In this context, the *menâkıbnâme* appearing at the beginning of the sixteenth century supposedly the collection of the legends of the dervish spread orally is a crucial source to analyze. The State could well intervene in the content of this text.

The place of Abdal Musa in the religious structure of Anatolia during the early years of the Ottomans is another crucial part that could be played and manipulated by the State. He appears as a Kalenderî dervish in the early sources and from the habits and the clothes belonging to him. However, at the beginning of the sixteenth century while the connection between the Janissaries and Bektashiyya was proposed for the first time, his religious personality became clearly Bektashi.

His *tekke* on the other hand was also very important in this process. A part of the plan was the foundation of a centralistic order with the local and central *tekke*s. The economical importance of these institutions rose heavily.

Finally, the State had to revise its direct relations with the heterodox *tekke*s. The reparations and the increase of the waqfs are all done during this area. The choice of Balım Sultan who was directly related to Hadji Bektash who was supposedly coming from the Prophet's lineage was another effort. As being a sayyid was one of the most important assets of the shahs; the Ottomans wanted to place someone with the same claim at the head of the chief Bektashi *Tekke* which would be the religious center for the heterodox believers. The application of the *mücerred babalık* system is another factor

All in all one can say that Abdal Musa *tekke* was a successful example of the transformation in the interpretation of the Kalenderî *tekke*s and the relations between them and the State. However, after several centuries the reforms brought by Balım Sultan are rejected by many of the followers and the order stayed close to the Alevism. This brings us to the saying of Hadji Bektash quoted at the beginning of this chapter; does everything return to its origins?

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- Mektubi Kalemi, Divan (A. MKT. DV); 89/4

-Amedî Kalemi (A. AMD); 81/18

İrade Tasnifi

- İrade, Meclis-i Vala (İ. MVL); 376/16503,

Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler

-MAD.d 9771

-MAD. d 8252

Cevdet Tasnifi

-Cevdet Maliye (C.ML); 17497, 4125,

-Cevdet Evkâf (C.EV); 6560, 5988, 14143, 5664, 20471

Evkâf Defterleri

- Ev.d 16682

- Ev.d 10848

Tapu Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi

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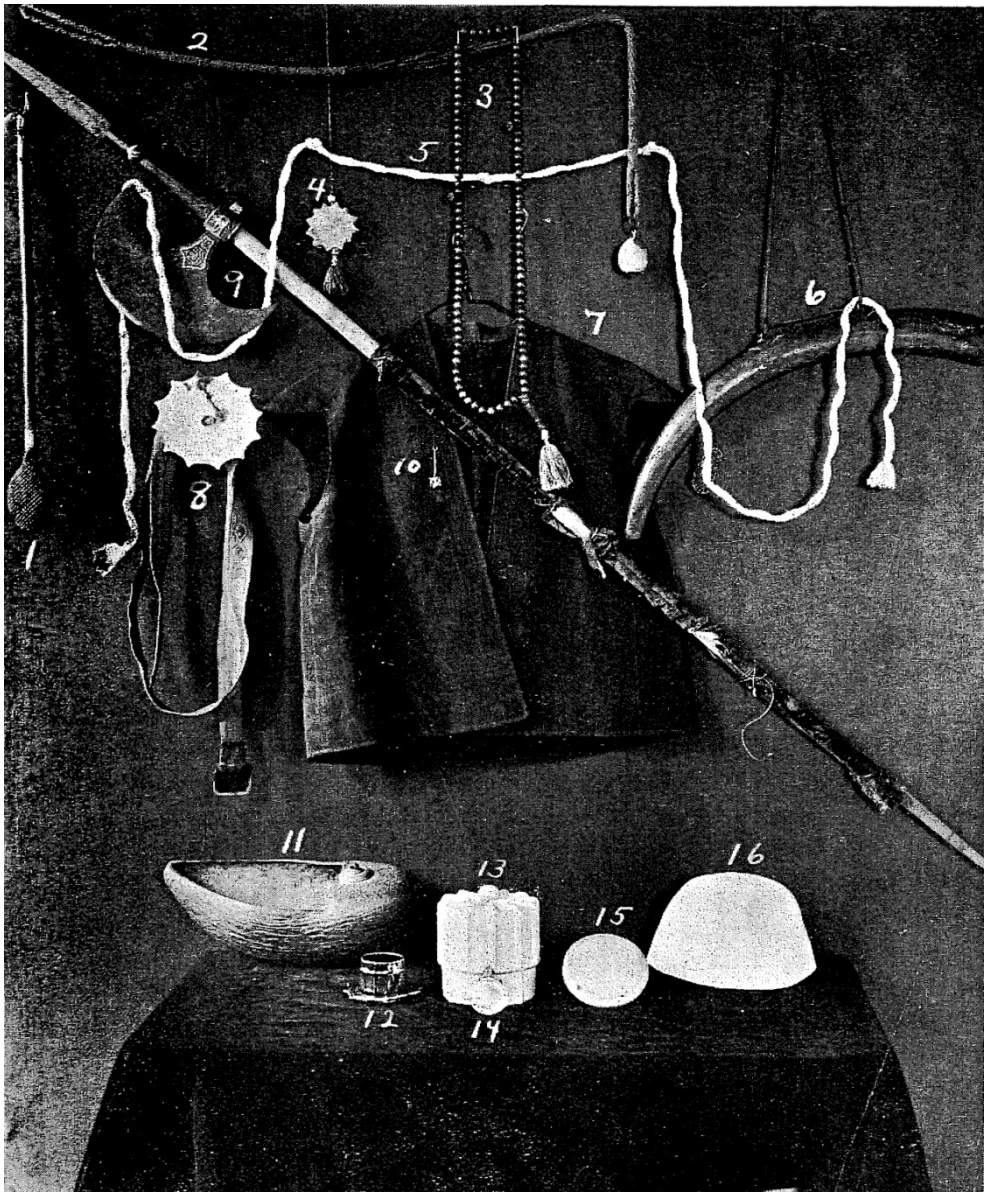
APPENDIX

GLOSSARY



Source: John K. Birge *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes,* (London: Luzac&Co., 1937)

ABDAL: A plural of both Arabic words *bedel* (change) and *bedîl* (who can replace the other). It refers to those who can change from a physical to a spiritual state. It is used for the dervishes who sacrificed himself to God and left all earthly pleasures.

AŞEVİ: One of the houses of the dervish *tekke*s where the food prepared and served both for the dervishes and also for the people who are in need of food. As it is one of the duties of the dervishes to help the poor; this part of the *tekke* was open to all. Literally kitchen.

ATA: One of the names given to the leading religious personage of a Turcoman tribe. It literally means the ancestor. This relates to one of the oldest beliefs of Turcomans concerning the cult of *Ata*s, which is basically respect in front of the ancestors.

AYAKÇI POSTU: The eleventh post of the twelve posts of a Bektashi Meydan. It is the post of Abdal Musa. This post's duty is answering all needs appeared during the ayin-i Djem. The missionary thus buys and protects the instruments necessary for the ceremony.

AYİN/AYİN-İ DJEM: The ritualistic ceremony held by the Bektashi and Alevis. Under the guidance of *Dede/Baba* and the followers convene and apply the necessary rituals. These rituals include the praying, singing and dancing altogether. It signifies generally to unify and to melt down in God's personality.

BABA: One of the names given to the religious leaders of the Turcoman tribes. Today, the religious leaders chosen by the followers of the Bektashi order are also called *Baba*. It is the first step of the religious leadership in Bektashiyya,

the others are; *Halife-Baba* (today there are twelve of them in Anatolia) and the *Dede-Baba* (he is unique and stays in the central *tekke* of Kırşehir)

BÖRK: A special headwear made of rug and used by the janissaries. The legend proposes a connection between Hadji Bektash and the janissaries through their *Ak-Börk* (white head wear), which was supposedly given by the Sheikh to the janissary regiments.

CAN: "Soul" is used especially of the disciple, *mürit,* the one who is taking his *nasip* in initiation. It may also refer to all dervishes. Today, every follower of Bektashiyya and Alevism that enters the *meydan evi* for the Ayin-i Djem is called *Can*. For the women another special term also exists; *Bacı*.

ÇEHARDARB: It literally means shaving four parts of one's head; the hair, the moustache, the beard and the eyebrows. This is an application of the extatic orders that deny the worldly wealth and beauties in the name of divine love.

ÇERAĞ/ÇIRAĞ: The special candle that is lit and put out during the *ayin-i* djem as a symbol of the awakened, enlightened soul. It signifies the *Nuru'llah (*The divine light) and it repercussions on the followers of the order. It is not only the candle used in the *ayin* but also the candle, which is in the home and the kitchen, and each night awakened as a symbol of the soul's experience of reality.

DEDE: The religious leaders of Alevi community. They gain the right to become the *dede* of a certain comunity by birth and not according to the merit or popular support. This is the main difference between them and the *Baba*s of Bektashis. Thus today there are several *dede* families in Anatolia to which all the Alevis are bounded.

DERGÂH: *Dergâh* is a Persian word meaning a door or a place to shelter. The dervish lodge containing a tomb, a *meydân evi,* an *aşev*i, and/or a *mihmanevi* and especially the *tekke*s of the leading figures of a sect are called *dergâh*. Such a place is Dergâh-ı Hadji Bektash.

DERVISH: The followers of an order; originated from Persian meaning poor or beggar. It is actually the second step in the hierarchical order of the sect. The line goes in Bektashiyya; the *muhibb*, the dervish, the *baba*, the *halife baba* and the *dede-baba*.

DON DEĞİŞTİRMEK: Alevi-Bektashi followers believe that changing don is a gift endowed to *velî*s so that they can wrap into another human being or any animal. It generally happens after death and it is a kind of reincarnation called *devriye* but it is also believed that holly personages like Hadji Bektash were able to change *don* and turn into different animals while they were alive.

ERKÂN: A plural of Arabic word "*rükn*", meaning direk sütun; is generally the name given to the ceremonies and rituals, which are observed among the esoteric sects. *Erkân* is a regulation *corpus* that a religious institution is based on and that keeps it alive.

HÂNİKÂH: It is a common name used for dervish *tekke*s containing a kitchen, several accommodation units and places of worship.

HİZMET: During the ayin-i Djem there are some missions to be done. These missions are done in remembrance of the *Kırklar Meclisi*, composed of the forty close people to the prophet.

HÜNKÂR: A title given to the Sultans in the Islamic States. Bektashîs uses this title for Hadji Bektash to underline the worldly power of their sheik Hadji Bektash-ı Velî.

IŞIK: *Işık* is one of the terms that Ottoman Administrators used for the people with the unorthodox beliefs.

İCÂZETNÂME: *İcâzetnâme,* means here a diploma prepared by the sheikh for one of his dervishes to show his competence and ability about the religion and the order that they both are following. This was also kind of a permission paper for the dervish to leave the main *tekke* and to found his own to raise more dervishes in another place.

KAM: The religious leader of the Turkic tribes, called also as shaman. It is a person who represents a mystic authority.

KERÂMET: The ability of the dervishes, which consists on realizing miracles. These miracles looked like the *mucîze*s of the prophets.

KIZLARODASI/KIZSARAYI: It is the building within a *hanikâh* where the female guests stayed at nights. It is a kind of *mihmân evi* but the only difference is sometimes this building is the permanent place of settlement for the female followers of the order.

MAKAM: According to a widespread application of Bektashiyya, many tombs of a Baba were being built; in order to have the fame of the father to be spread, and these tombs were called *makam*. This way, when the body of the dervish was buried in some *tekke*, the followers living close to the other *tekke*s could visit those places and show their respect.

MENGÛŞ: The horse-shaped earring worn by celibate Bektashi dervishes.

MEYDAN EVİ: The part of a *tekke* where the meetings between the sheiks and the dervishes and the educational and religious ceremonies were held called the *Meydan evi.*

MİHMÂNEVİ: The building within a Hanikâh that is reserved to the guests. As a part of their agreement with the State, the dervishes had to pay a mission to help and serve the passengers and the traders passing around their *tekke* as a place to stay and to eat.

ONİKİ POST: Twelve missions of the ayin-i Djem. Every *post* is linked to an important religious figure of the early phases of the spread of Islam.

PALHENG: The large twelve fluted stone worn at the belt.

PİR-İ SÂNİ: *Pir-i Sâni* means the second sheikh of the order. It is the sheik that had the second important post of the order.

POSTNİŞÎN: Literally, one who sits on the skin of an animal. In the religious orders it means that the Baba who is head of a *tekke* or a *dergâh*.

SEMÂH: is the ceremonial dance practiced at the end of ayin-i Djem by Alevis and Bektashis. One of the traces of the shamanism on the Alevi-Bektashi belief is praying by dancing.

SULTAN: Also a title given to the earthly rulers but Bektashis uses this title to several of their fore leading Babas.

TEBER: Is a tool of defense with long end. It was used for protection in travelling, but used in recent years only as adecoration evidently in memory of actual

weapons carried by the Bektashis on military campaigns in early Ottoman days.

TESLİM TAŞI: It is a stone with twelve corners that the Bektashi *baba*s wear. Balım Sultan supposedly introduced it to the order. Literally, the stone of surrender.

ZUHÛRA GELME: The word literally means to appear. In this context, it means to appear as a holy figure.

ZÜHTÇÜLÜK/ASCETISM: The mystic orders that believe in praying silently. They were generally organized in a closed manner. The dervishes do not confront with the ordinary people and spend their lives within the *Tekke*s by praying, thinking and mentioning God's names.