

THE KIZILBAŞ SECT AND ITS RELATIONSHIP
TO THE OTTOMAN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

BY

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Ainsworth: Travels: W. F. Ainsworth, Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia (2 vols., London, 1842).
- Ainsworth: Notes: W. F. Ainsworth, "Notes on a Journey from Kaişariyah by Malatiyah to Bir or Birehjik, in May and June, 1849," JRGS X (1840), 275-330.
- Altinay: Aşiretler: Ahmet Refik Altinay, Anadoluda Türk Aşiretleri (Istanbul, 1931).
- Altinay: Bektaşilik: Onaltinci Asirda Bektaşilik ve Rafizilik (Istanbul, 1932).
- Arnakis: Akhis: G. G. Arnakis, "Futuwwa traditions in the Ottoman Empire: Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes, and Craftsmen," Journal of the Near Eastern Studies, XII (1953), 231-47.
- Benekay: Alevi: Yahya Benekay, Yaşayan Alevilik: Kizilbaşlar arasında (Istanbul, 1967).
- Beşikci: Doğu Anadolu: İsmail Beşikci, Doğu Anadolu'nun Düzeni: Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Etnik Temeller (Ankara, 1969).
- Birge: Bektashi: John K. Birge, The Bektashi Order of Dervishes (London, 1965).
- Brant: Journey in 1835: J. Brant, "Journey through a Part of Armenia and Asia Minor in the Year 1835," JRGS, VI (1836), 187-223.
- Brant: Journey in 1838: J. Brant, "Notes of a Journey through a Part of Kurdistan in the summer of 1838," JRGS, X (1840), 341-432.
- Brockelmann: History: Carl Brockelmann, History of Islamic Peoples, trans. Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann (New York, 1947).
- BSA: Annals of the British School in Athens.
- BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of African and Oriental Studies.
- Burckhardt: Syria: J. L. Burckhardt, Travels in Syria and Holy Land (London, 1822).

- Cuinet: Turquie: Vital Cuinet, La Turquie D'Asie. Geographie Administrative. Statistique Descriptive et Raisonnée de Chaque Province de L'Asie Mineur (4 vols., Paris, 1892).
- Crowfoot: Kizilbash: J. W. Crowfoot, "Survivals among the Kappodokian Kizilbash (Bektash)," JRAI, XXX (1900), 305-320.
- Driver: Kurdish: G. R. Driver, "Studies in Kurdish History," BSOAS, II (1922), 491-511.
- EI¹: Encyclopedia of Islam, 1st. ed.
- EI²: Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd. ed.
- Erdentuğ: Sûn: Nermin Erdentuğ, Sûn Köyü'nün Etnolojik Tetkiki (Ankara, 1959).
- Eröz: Kürtler: Mehmet Eröz, Kürtlerin Menşei ve Türkmenlerin Kürtleşmesi (Istanbul, 1966).
- Firat: Varto: Mehmet Şerif Firat, Doğu Illeri ve Varto Tarihi (Ankara, 1961).
- GJ: The Geographical Journal.
- Gökalp: Aşiret: Ziya Gökalp, Kürt Aşiretleri Hakkında Sosyolojik Tetkikler
- Gölpınarlı: Futuvvet: Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, "Les Organization de la Futuvvet dans les Pays Musulman et Turc et ses Origines," Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economique. University of Istanbul, II (1949-50), 5-49.
- Grenard: Kyzyl-bâchs: M. F. Grenard, "Une Secte Religieuse D'Asie Mineure. Les Kyzyl-bâchs," Journal Asiatique, III (1904), 511-22.
- Hammer: Histoire: Joseph Hammer-Purgstall, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman depuis Son Origines jusqu'a Nos jours, 18 vols., Paris, 1835-43.
- Hasluck: Christianity: F. W. Hasluck, Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, ed. Margaret M. Hasluck (2 vols., Oxford, 1929).
- IA: İslam Ansiklopedisi.
- JRAI: The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

- JRGS: The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
- Kinneir: Journey: John McDonald Kinneir, Journey Through Asia Minor, Armenia, Kurdistan in the Years of 1813-1814 (London, 1818).
- Köprülü: İslamiyet: Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, "Anadoluda İslamiyet," Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası (1338/1922), nos. 3-6.
- Köprülü: Mutasavvıflar: Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar (Ankara, 1966).
- Köprülü: Origines: Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, "Les Origines du Bektachisme essai sur le developpement historique de heterodoxie Musulmane en Asie Mineur," Actes du Congrès International d'Histoire de Religions, tenu à Paris en Octobre 1923, Vol. II (1925), 391-411.
- Layard: Discoveries: A. H. Layard, Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert (New York, 1853).
- Molyneux-Seel: Dersim: L. Molyneux-Seel, "A Journey into Dersim," GJ, XLIV (1914), 49-68.
- Naşit Hakki: Dersim: Naşit Hakki, Derebeyi ve Dersim (Ankara, 1932).
- Orhonlu: İskan: Cengiz Orhonlu, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Aşiretleri İskan Teşebbüsü (İstanbul, 1963).
- Özkök: Dersim: Burhan Özkök, Osmanlı Devrinde Dersim İsyanları (İstanbul, 1937).
- Poujoulat: Voyage: M. Baptistin Poujoulat, Voyage dans L'Asie Mineure en Mesopotamie à Palmyre en Syrie, en Palestine, et en Egypte (2 vols., Paris, 1840).
- Soane: Mesopotamia: E. B. Soane, To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise; with Historical Notices of the Kurdish Tribes and the Chaldeans of Kurdistan (Boston, n.d.).
- Sykes: Kurdish Tribes: Mark Sykes, "The Kurdish Tribes of the Ottoman Empire," JRAI, XXXVIII (1908), 451-86.

- Şapolyo: Mezhepler: Enver B. Şapolyo, Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi (Istanbul, 1964).
- Taylor: Deyrsim: J. G. Taylor, "Journal of a Tour in Kurdistan and Upper Mesopotamia with Notes of Researches in Deyrsim Dagh, in 1866," JRGS, XXXVIII (1868), 281-361.
- Trowbridge: Alevis: S. Van Trowbridge, "The Alevis or Deifiers of Ali," Harvard Theological Review, II (1909), 540-53.
- Yalman: Mystic: Nur Yalman, "Islamic reform and mystic tradition in eastern Turkey," Archives Européen de Sociologie, X (1969), 41-60.

INTRODUCTION

The historical development and the religious organization of the Kizilbaş group in Anatolia is a subject which justifies extensive research not only from a historical point of view but also from the point of view of the ideological and social development of modern Turkey. The Kizilbaş in Turkey constitute possibly one-fifth of the total population and are as a religious sect a significant social, political and ideological force.

The purpose of this thesis is to provide a general survey of the relations of the Kizilbaş groups in Anatolia with the Ottoman central government and the evolution of these relations in response to the policies undertaken by the Ottoman State either directly towards the Kizilbaş or other groups. However, this work does not pretend to be an exhaustive study of any specific aspect of these relations nor does it concentrate on any particular time period but rather it aims at presenting an overall pattern of development.

The first chapter sets forth an historical background of the Bektāşī movement as part of Sufism which played a crucial role in the social and the political life of the Türkmen tribes in Anatolia both during Selçuk State and in early Ottoman history. The Bektāşī movement was based largely on the Türkmen sufi teachers or babas and their followers, the Türkmen tribes. An attempt is made to view both the incorporation of diverse urban and rural groups into this movement of Türkmen babas and the emergence in a new form of these groups as a reaction to various developments within the Ottoman State.

The second chapter examines the emergence of the Kizilbaş movement of the Türkmen tribes in the sixteenth century. This was essentially a protest movement against Ottoman administration and its efforts to create a centralized and bureaucratic state. The process through which the Kizilbaş movement declined as a result of Ottoman policy and Kizilbaş religious ideology ceased to be an expression of Türkmen social and political protest will also be studied in this chapter.

The third chapter contains a brief survey of the Kizilbaş groups in Central and Eastern Anatolia in the Ottoman State in the nineteenth century and examines their emergence as part of the general trend towards local autonomy. This chapter also includes a study of the processes through which religious ideology became identified with political allegiance especially between 1876 and 1925.

The Kizilbaş belief system and religious organization, although not of pivotal importance to this work, has to be dealt with somewhat not only to determine the position of the Kizilbaş within the Ottoman social and political framework but also to point out the forms and arguments used by them in their protest movement towards central government.

The Kizilbaş struggle against the Ottoman government revolved around the twin concepts of religious orthodoxy and heterodoxy. The Kizilbaş belief system is strongly imbued with elements of Turco-Mongol Shamanism of Central Asia, the local traditions of Anatolia, and most significantly with Shi'a tenets. A brief review of the basic tenets of the Kizilbaş sect will reveal the highly syncretic

nature of the Kizilbaş creed as well as its points of departure from Sunni orthodoxy.

The central features of Sunni Islam in terms of ritual are:

- a) the pronouncement of the oneness of God and of the role of Muhammad as His Prophet (Shahada)
- b) prayer five times a day (namaz)
- c) fasting through the month of Ramazan
- d) pilgrimage to Mecca (hac)
- e) alms to the poor (zekat)

The Kizilbaş either reject or alter these features in the following manner:

- a) The standard pronouncement is altered: and Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of Muhammad, is given recognition.
- b) Prayer five times a day is not observed or is modified according to Kizilbaş beliefs and ritual.¹
The central Kizilbaş ritual is the rite of integration (ayin-i cem) performed in the presence of their religious teachers (dedes).
- c) The fast through the month of Ramazan is not observed. In its place the Kizilbaş fast 12 days in the month of Moharram in the memory of the Twelve Imams (teachers).
- d) Kizilbaş do not visit Mecca for pilgrimage; they have their own places of pilgrimage, which are usually the tombs (türbes)

¹Kizilbaş in the Sün village of Elazig (Harput) performed the namaz forming a circle as opposed to the Sunni way of praying in rows (Nermin Erdentuğ, Sün Köyü'nün Etnolojik Tetkiki (Ankara, 1951: hereafter cited as Erdentuğ: Sün), p. 43). For the Kizilbaş variations on the call to prayer see Yahya Benekay, Yaşayan Alevilik: Kizilbaşlar arasinda (Istanbul, 1967: hereafter cited as Benekay: Alevi), pp. 31-32. According to a number of sources, the Kizilbaş do not observe ablution (Nur Yalman, "Islamic reform and mystic tradition in eastern Turkey," Archives Européen de Sociologie, X (1969: hereafter cited as Yalman: Mystic), 52-53); M. F. Grenard, "Une Secte Religieuse D'Asie Mineure. Les Kyzyl-bâchs," Journal Asiatique, III (1904: hereafter cited as Grenard: Kyzyl-bâchs), p. 512. Erdentuğ, however, states that the Kizilbaş in the Sün village performed ablution (Erdentuğ: Sün, p. 44). Also most Kizilbaş communities do not have mosques (Yalman: Mystic, p. 50; Erdentuğ: Sün, p. 44; Grenard: Kyzyl-bâchs, p. 512).

- of the renowned religious teachers (pirs).²
- e) In regards to alms, there does not appear to be an essential difference between the Kizilbaş and the Sunni. The dede helps the poor of the Kizilbaş community out of the gifts (dues) which he receives from the community.³

A very fundamental difference between the Kizilbaş and the Sunni communities is in the sphere of religious law. The Shari'at, based on the Qu'ran and the interpretations of the Islamic scholars, forms the basis of the Sunni community and regulates its social and religious life. The Kizilbaş, although they recognize and pay respect to the Qu'ran, are not under the jurisdiction of the Shari'at. Most Kizilbaş in Anatolia accept the commandments (Buyruk) of Cafer Sadik, the Sixth Imam.⁴ The dedes (religious teachers) regulate the social and religious life of the Kizilbaş community in accordance with these commandments. Hence, in matters of marriage and inheritance, the Kizilbaş community differs considerably from the Sunni community. In contrast to the precepts of the Shari'at, the Kizilbaş are strictly monogamous and under very rare circumstances a man is allowed to have more than one wife.⁵ Divorce is not permitted except in cases

²Other than the traditional Shia pilgrimages in Kerbela, Necef, Bagdat, Meshed (A. Gölpinarli, "Kizilbaş," IA, VI², 795), the Kizilbaş visit the tombs of the saints which are located in all parts of Anatolia (see above n. 15, p. 7).

³Erdentuğ: Sün, pp. 47-48.

⁴Imam Cafer's Buyruk is available in the modern Turkish edition (Buyruk, ed. Sefer Aytekin (Ankara, 1958)). This edition is based on the version used in the Izmir area. However, sections are also included from the versions used in districts of Maraş, Gümüşhaci köy, Malatya, and Hacı Bektaş.

⁵Only in a case when the women cannot bear children or are not able to have a son, polygamy is practiced (Erdentuğ: Sün, p. 26).

which meet the dedes approval.⁶ In the sphere of inheritance, unlike orthodox Islam, no inheritance rights are recognized for women.⁷

The most far-reaching distinction of the Kizilbaş from the Sunni Muslim groups is their religious organization. This organization centers around the person of dede or seyit, who invariably comes from a holy lineage.

Each Kizilbaş community is attached to a dede and an ocak, which is the seat of the dede and the administrative unit in the Kizilbaş religious organization. The dede performs the religious ceremony and renders justice in the Kizilbaş community. He has the right to excommunicate members of the community for misdeeds. He is also entitled to forgive the excommunicated after a certain period of time has elapsed and atonement is made.⁸ The dede's services are remunerated by the gifts (hakullah or çiraklık) of his followers.⁹

⁶ According to Nur Yalman, in the Kizilbaş village of Çiplaklar near Elbistan divorce was not permitted under any circumstances and "questions of honor" was dispatched according to "its own special rules." (Yalman: Mystic, p. 50.) Erdentuđ states that divorce was permissible in Sñn in cases when the woman committed adultery (Erdentuđ: Sñn, p. 35).

⁷ Yalman: Mystic, p. 50; Erdentuđ: Sñn, p. 24.

⁸ Erdentuđ: Sñn, p. 43; Şapolyo: Mezhepler, pp. 268-69.

⁹ This gift is considered as being given to Ali. The meaning of çiraklık is explained in the following way: "Dede will light a çira (wooden piece) and show the way to heaven to those who gave him the gifts" (Erdentuđ: Sñn, p. 42).

In the Kizilbaş administrative hierarchy of Eastern Anatolia¹⁰ the local ocaks come under the control of the regional ocaks, which are the seats of Murşids or sheyhs. These Murşids or sheyhs have large areas under their patronage and are powerful. The sheyh of Hubyar,¹¹ the seyit of Dersim,¹² and the Murşids in the Sivas-Erzincan-Malatya region¹³ are such religious teachers. In the late nineteenth century a number of Kizilbaş communities in central Anatolia came under the administrative sphere of the Bektaşî tarikât.¹⁴ Also,

¹⁰The information on the religious hierarchy of the Kizilbaş in Eastern Anatolia is based on Yalman: Mystic, pp. 49-58.

¹¹According to Grenard, the Sheyh of Hubyar was one of the two patriarchs of the Kizilbaş (the other is unspecified). He was recognized by the Ottoman government as any other Muslim sheyh and held an imperial edict. However, his annual subsidy was suppressed (Grenard: Kyzyl-bâchs, p. 519). In one of the reports submitted to Abdulhamid on the Kizilbaş of Central Anatolia (see above, p. 55) it is stated that the community of Hubyar which was also called Beydili and Saraç was formerly attached to the tekke of Hubyar. Since 5 to 10 years this community attached itself to the ocak of Davulcu Veli Dede in a village of Zile (Şapolyo: Mezhepler, p. 2881).

¹²On the religious organization of the Dersim Kizilbaş see below Appendix III.

¹³See below, Appendix II. A number of the Kizilbaş villages in Sivas were attached to the Hınıs ocak. Each village had its own seyit and called its religious ritual culvand (Şapolyo: Mezhepler, 279).

¹⁴In the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, the Çelebi of the Bektaşî tarikât attempted to extend the administrative influence of the Hacı Bektaş tekke in Kirsehir over the Kizilbaş communities in Anatolia (see above pp. 59-60). The representatives of the Çelebi visited the Kizilbaş villages at regular intervals. They gave instructions and received contributions (John K. Birge, The Bektashi Order of Dervishes (London, 1965: hereafter cited as Birge: Bektashi), p. 82; Enver B. Şapolyo, Mezhepler ve Tarikatler Tarihi (Istanbul, 1964: hereafter cited as Şapolyo: Mezhepler), p. 268). However, the sphere of administrative influence

the Kizilbaş in Central and Eastern Anatolia pay respect to and visit, as places of pilgrimage, the tombs of pirs (literally "elders"), which in some instances are also ocaks.¹⁵

Lastly, an almost universal index, which is associated with the Kizilbaş at the peasant and tribal level, are the busy overflowing moustaches of the males. It symbolizes secrecy and is associated with the long history of persecution by the largely Sunni organization of the Ottomans. Furthermore, the secrecy underlines the concept of the believer turned inward (batin), and not the mere outward (zahir) compliance of the believer with certain prescribed ritual formulas, a characteristic, attributed by them to Sunni orthodoxy. This concept

of the Çelebi appear to have been limited to a number of Kizilbaş communities in the vilayets of Ankara and Sivas, which are in the vicinity of the Hacı Bektaş tekke. Hurdenbeli community in the Ankara-Yozgat was such a community (Şapolyo: Mezhepler, p. 281). Among the Kizilbaş in Central Anatolia a distinction is made between those who adhere to the Hacı Bektaş tekke and those who remain loyal to the local ocaks. The former are called dönük (converts) and the latter are known as purut (A. Gölpinarlı, "Kizilbaş," IA, VI², 790). A majority of the Kizilbaş paid respect to Hacı Bektaş as a pir and to the Çelebi, who claimed descent from him. To them, particularly to those in Eastern Anatolia, Hacı Bektaş tekke was an ocak, which, though it was well known, was not of higher standing than their own (Nur Yalman, "Islamic Reform and Mystic Tradition in Eastern Anatolia," Archives Européennes de Sociologie, X (1969: hereafter cited as Yalman: Mystic), p. 57)).

¹⁵The places of pilgrimage were in some instances also Bektaşî tekkes or ocaks. The following were the sanctuaries frequented by the Kizilbaş of Central and Central-Eastern Anatolia: Akhi Eren (in Kirsehir: tekke), Alçoban (in Kirsehir: tomb), Andihar tekke (in Divriği-Sivas), Banun Sultan (in Kirsehir), Emrem Yunus Sultan (near Beybazar in Ankara: tomb), Gazi Şehit Mustafa (Sivas), Hacı Bektaş tekke, Hasan Dede (Keskin-Kirsehir: ocak and tomb), Haydar Sultan Ankara: ocak and tomb), Hızır Abdad (Kemaliye-Erzincan: tomb), Hâseyin Gazi (Ankara: tekke), Kargin Dede (Ankara: tomb), Koçu Baba (Kalecik-Kirsehir: tekke and tomb), Koyun Baba (Osmancik-Corum), Mamasun tekke (near Nersehir), Masumlar tekke (Sivas: tomb and tekke), Mehmet Dede tekke (Osmancik-Corum), Mehmet Şah Dede (Çankiri), Patuk Sultan (Kirsehir: tomb), Nuridden Baba (Nevşehir: tekke and tomb),

of secrecy finds its theoretical counterpart in the doctrine of takiye (dissimulation of belief) which the Kizilbaş practice in times of danger.¹⁶

Finally, it should be noted that many of the problems which have been touched upon in this study need further research especially on a local basis. In fact one of the major problems encountered by this writer in preparing this thesis was the lack of data on the local religious organizations of the Kizilbaş and their integration with the social and political institutions. Although there is significant evidence which suggests that the Kizilbaş religious organization was an integral part of the local autonomous units in the nineteenth century, it is far from being conclusive. The monographs by Nur Yalman and Nermin Erdentug based on anthropological researches in the Kizilbaş villages of Eastern Anatolia are pioneering works in the study of the integration of the Kizilbaş religious organizations with the local social and political organization. Further information on this problem is provided by Naşit Hakki about the religious and social organization in the Dersim mountains and Burhan Özkök, who based his work on the

Nusreddin tekke (or Kirklar tekke) (Zile-Sivas), Pamuk Baba (Osmancik: tomb and tekke), Pehlül Semekandı (Karahisar: tomb), Piri Dede (Merzi-fon-Amasya: tekke), Piri Baba (Amasya: tekke and tomb), Seydim Sultan (Çorum), Şamaspur tekke (Alacaköy-Ankara: tomb). The above information is based on the following sources: F. W. Hasluck, "Ambiguous Sanctuaries and Bektashi Propaganda," Annals of the British School at Athens (BSA) (1911), 102-106; F. W. Hasluck, "Geographical Distribution of the Bektashi," BSA (1914-1916), 86-91, 95-97; Şapolyo: Mezhepler, pp. 278-92, 323-24.

¹⁶ On the practice of takiya among the Kizilbaş in Anatolia see Grenard: Kyzyl-bâchs, 513-14.

military reports in the campaigns in Dersim, as well as by Mehmet Şerif Fırat on the local history of Varto. However, most of these works deal with the situation in the twentieth century.

The information on the relations of the Ottoman central government with the Kizilbas groups is largely based on the Ottoman official documents. Despite their anti-Kizilbaş prejudice, these sources still provide invaluable information on the position of the Kizilbaş groups in Anatolia vis-a-vis the Ottoman State.

On the religious background and the religious ideology of the Kizilbaş, the literature is rather impressive, though not always well organized and analytical. The studies of Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, Abdalbaki Gölpinarlı, and John K. Birge's work on the Bektaşî tarikât are among the best studies on this aspect of the subject.

Finally, some of the most valuable information on the Kizilbaş is provided by European travelers, consuls and missionaries. The accounts of the travellers often reflect their fascination with the religious belief system and the customs of the Kizilbaş, which contain points of resemblance to Christianity. However, the more perceptive travellers, especially the consuls and the missionaries, provide the researcher with invaluable information not only on the religious belief system of the Kizilbaş, but on their social and political organizations.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE BEKTAŞI MOVEMENT

The origins of the Bektaşî movement in Anatolia can be traced back to the Sufi movement among the Türkmen tribes in Transoxania, Horasan and to the religio-social movement of Baba⁸ Ishak in the Selçuk state of Anatolia. It is only within the context of these Türkmen-based movements that the origins and the later developments of the Bektaşî movement can be understood.

As early as the ninth and tenth centuries, Sufi-teachers (i.e. babas) were numerous among the Türkmen tribes of Transoxania and Horasan.¹ These babas preached Islam in the simple language and the literary forms of the Türkmen and were identified, in the minds of the tribesmen, with the priest-poet-magician (kam-ozan) figure of their naturalistic religion, Shamanism.² Hence, in the teachings of the babas the Islamic creeds came to co-exist with the forms and the beliefs of the old tribal religion. Ahmet Yesevi (1103-1166),³

¹For the Sufi movement among the Türkmen tribes in this early period see: Mehmet Fuad Köprülü's Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavviflar (Ankara, 1966: hereafter cited as Köprülü: Mutasavviflar), pp. 7-20 and his article, "Les Origines du Bektachisme essai sur le developpement historique de heterodoxie Musulamane en Asie Mineur," Acte du Congrès International d'histoire de religions, tenu à Paris en Octobre 1923, Vol. II (1925: hereafter cited as Köprülü: Origines), 391-411.

²For the influence of Shamanism on the Sufi brotherhoods see Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, Influence du Chamanism Turco-Mongol sur les Ordres Musulmans (Istanbul, 1929).

³Köprülü: Mutasavviflar, 21-153; "Ahmed Yesewi," Encyclopedia of Islam, 1st ed., I (hereafter cited as EI¹); Fahir Iz, "Ahmad Yasawi," Encyclopedia of Islam, 2nd ed., I (hereafter cited as EI²).

the great sufi who figures greatly in the Türkmen legends of Central Asia and Anatolia, organized the sufi movement of the Türkmen babas and transformed it into a sufi brotherhood, i.e. the Yesevi tarikât (mystic brotherhood).

Among the Türkmen tribes of Horasan and Transoxania who had accepted Islam and had preserved Shamanistic elements under an Islamic veneer, batini-Shi'i (heterodox) currents had found a significant following as early as the tenth century.⁴ At the time of the migration of the Türkmen tribes into the central lands of Islam, beginning in the tenth century, the shi'i-batini currents in this area had taken the form of a religio-social, political movement, i.e. the Karmatian movement.⁵ Within the Abbasid State, due to inequitable economic growth, social discontent was rampant largely among the lower urban classes and the conquered peoples. The Karmatian movement emerged as the spokesman of these discontented social elements. It was

⁴Köprülü:Origines, pp. 396, 398. As early as the eighth century there were religio-social movements among the Türkmen tribes of Central Asia, e.g. Mobayyide sect (708) and the Rafi been Leith uprising in 807. In the tenth century, Bogratchs, who manifested the extremist tendencies such as substituting Ali for Gök Tanri.

⁵Some basic works on the Karmatian movement are: Claude Cahen, "Fiscalite, Propriete, Antagonisme Socieux en Haute Mesopotamie au Temps des Premiers Abbasids d'Aprés Denys de Tell Makre," Arabica, I (1954), 136-152; W. Ivanow, "Ismailies and Qarmatians," Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVI (1940), 43-85; Louis Massignon, "Karmatians," Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam and his article "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Qarmate," in A Volume of Oriental Studies to G. E. Browne, eds. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson (Cambridge, England, 1922), pp. 329-338; S. M. Stern, "Ismailis and Qarmatians," L'Elaboration de L'Islam (Paris, 1961), pp. 99-108.

characterized by heterodox, syncretic, interconfessional religious tenets and a revolutionary and egalitarian social philosophy in contrast to the Sunni (orthodox), bureaucratic, centralized Abbasid state. Given their ethnic-tradition bound form of Islam, the "tribal" social-economic structure, and the influence of the heterodox Kalenderi and Haydari babas⁶ among them, the Türkmens tribes were no doubt affected by the trend of the Shi'i-batini movement in the central Islamic lands directed against the centralized, bureaucratic Sunni (orthodox) state. Their opposition to the Selçuk state of Anatolia and later the Ottoman state, both of which originated among the Türkmens, was expressed in terms of heterodox movements, after these states developed into defenders of Sunni orthodoxy which came to represent also the prevailing social order.

When the Selçuk state of Anatolia reached the peak of its development in the first half of the 13th century, it had consolidated its political rule in Anatolia, developed a central bureaucratic government, and achieved a cultural flowering under Persian influence. Religiously, the Selçuks of Anatolia were Sunni Muslim and based their authority largely on the urban Sunni population. This period was also one of extensive migration of Türkmens tribes, whom the Mongols

⁶ Kalenderiye and Haydariye are branches of the Abdalan (wandering babas) movement, which appeared among the Türkmens tribes in various regions under different influences. According to M. F. Köprülü, they had their origins in the Melametiye brotherhood of Horasan, which was excommunicated by orthodox theologians as well as by certain mystics on grounds of scandalous customs and indifference to religious dogma (Köprülü: Origines, p. 398). On the Melametiye see Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, Melamilik ve Melamiler (Istanbul, 1931).

had driven from Central Asia, Horasan, the Türkistan into Anatolia. The Türkmens were "tribal" in their socio-economic structure; in their religion they had preserved the pre-Islamic Turkish customs within an Islamic context and manifested heretical shi'a tendencies. Especially influential among them were the Türkmens, babas, who were the followers of Ahmet Yesevi and/or the members of Kalenderi sect. Hence, in the rural and frontier areas of the Selçuk state, the Türkmens tribes and babas became a formidable force with which the Selçuks had to contend.

The Selçuks of Anatolia, on one hand, had great respect for the religious teachers of the Sufi brotherhoods⁷ and seem to have granted official recognition to some of the Türkmens babas.⁸ On the other hand, they attempted to break the solidarity of the Türkmens tribes by dividing the large tribal units and settling them in areas apart from each other.⁹ This policy met with the strong opposition of the Türkmens. Hence, the interests of the centralized bureaucratic

⁷M. F. Köprülü, "Anadoluda İslamiyet," Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuası (1338/1922: hereafter cited as Köprülü: İslamiyet) no. 3, p. 191; no. 4, pp. 292-3. For a detailed study of the question of religious ideology in the Selçuk State see Köprülü: İslamiyet, nos. 3, 4, 5, 6.

⁸Mehmet Şerif Fırat in Doğu İlleri ve Varto Tarihi (Ankara, 1961), pp. 61-62, cites a chart of tribal ancestry (silsile seçeresi), which was found in Varto and which appears to be in his possession. This document contains a list of twelve Türkmens tribes, who came from Horasan to the Erzinean district, and the name of their babas. The Selçuk Sultan, Alaeddin Keykubat (1219-1236) has assembled the chiefs of the tribes and the babas and demanded miracles from the latter. Upon the performance of the miracles, Alaeddin put his stamp on the above mentioned silsile and acknowledged these babas as the religious guide (murşid or pir) of these twelve Türkmens tribes.

⁹Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, Osmanlı Devletinin Kuruluşu (Ankara, 1959), pp. 25-33.

Selçuk State, ideologically Sunni, conflicted with those of the heterodox Türkmen tribes. The first major expression of this conflict was the revolt of Baba Ishak.

In 1239 Baba Ishak, a Türkmen baba, led a revolt of Türkmen tribes and babas against the Selçuk State. Baba İshak's revolt spread into the regions of Maraş, Malatya, Tokat, Amasya, and appears to have been suppressed with considerable difficulty.¹⁰

The Bektaşî movement can be viewed as direct successor to the movement of the Türkmen babas that was dramatically expressed in the Baba Ishak Revolt. Hacı Bektaş (died prior to 1295), who later became the patron saint of the Bektaşî movement, was a halife (representative) of Baba Ishak.¹¹ He came to Anatolia from Horasan in the thirteenth century and settled in a village in the neighborhood of Kirsehir, the village was later named after him. As the Saint of the times, he gained a large following among the Türkmen tribes and among the frontier-warriors (gazis) in Western Anatolia and the Balkans. Before he died, Hacı Bektaş sent forth his halifes (representatives) into the Balkans, to the Mediterranean coast, the Southwestern corner of Anatolia, and into the towns of Konya and Kütahya, where they propagated his teachings.¹²

¹⁰Baba Ishak's revolt and movement is described in Claude Cahen, "Babai," EI²; Köprülü: İslamiyet, no. 4, pp. 302-5; Köprülü: Mutasavviflar, pp. 177-180; Cevat Hakki Tarım, Tarihte Kirşehri-Gülşehri ve Babailer-Ahiler-Bektaşiler (Istanbul, 1948), pp. 21-32.

¹¹M. F. Köprülü, "Bektaş, Hacı Bektaş Veli," İslam Ansiklopedisi, II (hereafter cited as IA), 461.

¹²The above cited information on the life of Hacı Bektaş is based on John K. Birge's account in The Bektashi Order of Dervishes (London, 1965: hereafter cited as Birge: Bektashi), pp. 33-51.

The phenomenal spread of Bektaşism in Anatolia and the Balkans, both in the lifetime of Hacı Bektaş and later, can be explained within the context of two historical developments: (1) the political, social and religious conditions in Anatolia in the second half of the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries; (2) the consolidation of Ottoman rule in Anatolia and the reaction of the Türkmen tribes and sufi babas to Ottoman rule.

The first historical development which was to forge the Bektaşî movement occurred in the second half of the thirteenth up to the last quarter of the fourteenth century, that is during the period when the Ottomans asserted their authority. At that time the political situation in Anatolia was characterized by political disintegration and the dislocation of the political power from the center to the frontier zone. The Selçuk State of Anatolia, unable to resist Mongol attacks, had become, by 1248, a vassal of the Il-khanids (the Western flank of the Mongols). By 1300, due to the laxness of Mongol control, the Türkmen rulers set up independent principalities in various parts of Anatolia.

The principality of Osman, later known as the Ottoman State, was one of these principalities established (1299) in the Northwestern corner of Anatolia, in the frontier zone between the ever-weakening Byzantine State and these Türkmen states. At its inception the Ottoman principality had the character of a free zone, not a well-defined state. It offered a refuge for such diverse elements as the Türkmen

tribesmen, Kalenderi, Hayderi, and Bektaşî babas, the members of akhi brotherhoods,¹³ and adventurers. These groups sought booty, an outlet for their religious zeal to spread Islam, and adventure. Throughout the fourteenth century these elements, nominally under the leadership of the Sons of Osman, made excursions into Byzantine territory in Anatolia and the Balkans.

In this period two important social-religious factors were at work in the frontier zone:¹⁴ (a) the Gazi-babas (warrior-babas), and (b) the Akhi brotherhoods (brotherhoods of craftsmen).

The Gazi-babas were the wandering Kalenderi, Hayderi, and Bektaşî babas. They accompanied the gazi-warriors, who were inspired by a militant impulse to conquer the world in the name of Islam and a certain zeal for booty. They spread in the "infidel" lands a sufi form of Islam, highly tinged with unorthodox tenets. Their teachings were flexible and were able to incorporate the indigenous beliefs and the customs of the local population; hence they played an important role in the Islamization of the newly conquered territories.

The Akhi brotherhoods, mainly recruited among the craftsmen, played a crucial part in the social, political, and religious life

¹³See below p. 16-17.

¹⁴Aşıkpaşazade, the Ottoman historian of the fifteenth century, divides the Erens (warrior-dervishes) of Anatolia into four parts: (1) Ahiyan-i Rum (craftsmen of Anatolia), (2) Bacıyan-i Rum (women's organization of Anatolia), (3) Gaziyan-i Rum (warriors of Anatolia), (4) Abdalan-i Rum (abdals or babas of Anatolia) (Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, "Les Organization de la Futuvvet dans les Pays Musulmans et Turc et ses Origines," Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques. University of Istanbul, II (1949-50: Gölpınarlı: Futuvvet), 20-21). In this paper the term Gazi-baba will be used for the Abdalan-i Rum of Aşıkpaşazade.

of Anatolia in this period of disintegration. Politically, they acted as a check to the absolutist local military rulers. They cooperated in the government of the Turkish principalities and established their political rule in Ankara (until 1361). By means of the craft guilds, and by their futuwwa traditions, the Akhi brotherhoods maintained the integrity of the Turkish towns and organized the urban life in the conquered Byzantine towns. Religiously, they practiced a free form of Islam in accordance with the traditions of Central Asia and tinged with Shi'a tenets and sufism. They were in close contact with the wandering babas from Central Asia, Horasan, and Turkestan, who had visited their zaviyes (convents). The Akhi brotherhoods were, in fact, the urban gazis.¹⁵

In this period the Bektaşi babas were part of the general movement of the Türkmen babas, who spread a heterodox form of Islam in

¹⁵ Akhi brotherhoods in Anatolia in the fourteenth century seem to be a product of the fusion of the futuwwa ideals (i.e. groups of young men bound by an ethical code of duties and elaborate ceremonial) and Islamic guild organization. Fourteenth century Moroccan traveler, Ibn Battuta gives an interesting account of the Anatolian Akhis. A good English translation of Ibn Battuta's account is by H. A. R. Gibb (Ibn Battuta--Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325-1354 (London, 1929)). The above cited information on Akhis is based on Gölpinarli: Futuwwet, pp. 5-49, and G. G. Arnakis, "Futuwwa Traditions in the Ottoman Empire: Akhis, Bektashi Dervishes, and Craftsmen," Journal of the Near Eastern Studies, XII (1953: hereafter cited as Arnakis: Akhis), 232-47. Other important secondary works on Akhis are: Claude Cahen, "Mouvement et Organization Populaires dans les Ville de l'Asie Musulmane au Moyen Age: Milices et Association de Foutouwwa," Recueil de la Societé Jean Bodin, VII, 273ff; V. Gorlevsky, "Les Corps de Metier en Turquie," Revue d'Etudes Islamique (1934), 79-87; Louis Massignon, "La Futuwwa ou Pacte d'Honneur Artisanal entre les Travailleurs Musulmans au Moyen Age," La Nouvelle Klio, IV, 171-197.

the ever-expanding frontier and who were in close contact with the Akhi brotherhoods--the urban counterpart of the Shi'a tinged sufi movement.

The second historical turning-point for the Bektaşi movement occurred in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. At that time the Ottoman principality began to consolidate its rule in Anatolia and in the Balkans. It began to lose its unique position as a frontier state and to develop into a centralized Sunni State on the model of the Selçuk State of Anatolia. Such a change in the nature of the Ottoman State was bound to arouse discontent among its followers, the akhis, the heterodox Türkmen tribes, and babas. The Akhi State of Ankara was annexed by the Ottomans in 1361. Dissatisfied with Ottoman rule in the reign of Beyazid I (1389-1402), the Akhis rebelled and constituted a republic with socialistic tendencies.¹⁶ A large number of the Türkmen elements expressed their dissatisfaction with the Ottomans by defecting to the Mongol army at the battle of Ankara (1402) between the Ottomans and the Mongols. The Ottoman defeat by Timur (died 1405), the Mongol ruler, was followed by civil war (1403-1421) among the sons of Beyazid I (1389-1402). The Türkmen tribes and sufi babas congregated around Sheyh Bedreddin of Simavna.¹⁷ Sheyh Bedreddin preached a doctrine of heterodox Sufism with communalistic undercurrents. He had given his support to Musa, brother of Mehmet I, whose rule was contested by his brothers. In 1416 the

¹⁶ Arnakis: Akhis, p. 236.

¹⁷ Carl Brockelmann, History of the Islamic Peoples, trans. Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann (New York, 1947: hereafter cited as Brockelmann: History), pp. 272-75.

Türkmén and Sufi elements revolted in support of Musa under the leadership of Bedreddin.¹⁸

Following the suppression of the Sheyh Bedreddin revolt, his followers, the Türkmén tribes, Türkmén babas,¹⁹ and the "converted" Christian masses²⁰ in Anatolia and the Balkans as well as the akhis²¹

¹⁸H. J. Kissling, "Badr al-Din B. Kadi Simavna," EI², I, 869. Bedreddin was an eminent Islamic jurist and a sufi. He was born in 1358 in Simavna near Edirne and was the son of Judge Gazi Israel, who was one of the gazis of his time and who traced his origin to the Selçuks. Bedreddin studied Islamic law, mathematics, and astronomy in Bursa and he visited Cairo and Tebriz. In Anatolia he gained the sympathy of the Türkmén princes of Karaman (in Konya) and Germiyan (in Kütahya). In 1410 he was made the kazasker (chief judge) of the Ottoman Prince Musa. But after Mehmet I's victory over his brother Musa, Bedreddin was dismissed and was banished to Iznik (Nicea, a town on the northwestern Anatolia). In 1416, Bedreddin became the ideological leader of heterodox sufi-Türkmén movement and revolt against Ottoman rule (Ibid.).

¹⁹Among the Türkméns, who participated in Bedreddin movements, were the followers of Baba Ishak (see above p. 14). They had escaped from Selçuk persecution to Dobruca (in today's Rumelia) (Köprülü: Origines, pp. 404-05).

²⁰Bedreddin's movement had attracted many Christians as it preached freedom and equality and "showed closer affinity to Christianity than to Islam" (Arnakis: Akhis, p. 245).

²¹The Akhi State of Ankara collapsed when Sheyh Bedreddin was captured and executed. The political decline of the Akhis, accompanied by a conflict between secular tendencies and religious ideals, resulted in the division of Akhis into two categories. First group was the practical Akhis, who formed the crafts guilds. The second group was the spiritually oriented Akhis, who was the exponent of a religious syncretism of Christian, Central Asian elements, strongly tinged with Shiism. Both groups gradually absorbed by the Bektaşî (Arnakis: Akhis, p. 236, 241-247).

gradually merged with the Bektaşî and formed what the present writer will call the Bektaşî movement. Hence the Bektaşî acquired a highly syncretic creed consisting of a "conglomeration of Islamic esoterism, indigenous beliefs of Anatolia and Central Asia, with infiltration of Christian charisma and sufi philosophy."²² The crystallization of these diverse components, which also represented diverse social groups, was inevitable. The result was the Kizilbaş movement of the Türkmen tribes and babas and the Bektaşî tarikât of the urban centers. To understand this development which took place in the late 15th and the 16th centuries, a brief outline of the relation of the Bektaşîs to the Ottoman State is essential.

The relation of the Bektaşîs to the Ottomans in this period must be seen in their relation to the Ottoman infantry corps, the Janissaries, and to Balim Sultan and the formation of the Bektaşî tarikât.

The beginnings of the Bektaşî relationship with the Janissaries, established in the late part of Orhan's reign (1326-1362) and organized under Murat I (1362-1389), seems to be a puzzle impossible to solve.²³ The legendary account that Hacı Bektaş (who died prior to 1295), at the time of Osman I (1299-1326), gave the Janissaries their head-dress and blessed them, does not stand historical verification and seems to have originated at a later period, probably the

²²Köprülü: Origines, p. 400.

²³For the accounts of the fifteenth century Ottoman historians on the establishment of the Janissaries and their initial relation to the Bektaşîs see Birge: Bektashi, pp. 45-48.

first half of the 15th century.²⁴ What is historically significant is that this legend was added at a late date (probably in the last decades of the 14th century) to the book of the story of Hacı Bektaş (Vilayetname of Hacı Bektaş) which had its origin prior to 1408, and it was well-known by 1500.²⁵ Hence, it can be argued that there was an attempt on the part of Bektaşis to prove their connection to the house of Osman vis-a-vis the Janissaries. That the Ottoman State reinforced such an attempt becomes clear in the light of the historical development of the Janissary-Bektaşî relations.

Until their abolition in 1826, Hacı Bektaş was the patron saint of the Janissaries corps, who were sometimes called Hacı Bektaş oğulları (the sons of Hacı Bektaş). In becoming enrolled into the Janissary corps, each soldier gave a vow of faithfulness to the way of Hacı Bektaş. Bektaşî babas accompanied the Janissary troops, acting as their religious teachers. An official representative (vekil) of Hacı Bektaş lived in the barracks of the 94th orta (regiment). The head of the Bektaşî tarikat, on being appointed to his post, is said to have come to Istanbul, where his headgear (tac) was put on his head by the Commander-in-Chief (aga) of the Janissaries.²⁶

During the reign of Beyazid II (1481-1512), the influence among the Türkmen tribes in Anatolia of the halifes (representatives) of the Safavi state in Azerbaijan and Iran seems to have increased at the expense of the Bektaşî babas. In the opening years of the 16th

²⁴M. F. Köprülü, "Bektaş. Hacı Bektaş Veli," IA, II, 461.

²⁵Birge: Bektashi, p. 46.

²⁶The information in this paragraph is based on Birge: Bektashi, pp. 74-75.

century Ismail Safavi (1501-1524) assumed the leadership of the Sufi tarikat (brotherhood) of Ardabil and founded the Safavi State based on the support of the Trkmen followers of his tarikat, i.e. the Kizilbař. In Anatolia, among the Trkmen elements who were discontented with the Ottoman policies of taxation and conquest, the Safavi emissaries preached the heterodox tenets of the Ardabil tarikat and paved the way for Safavi rule. (The relations of Anatolian Trkmen to the Safavi State will be discussed in Chapter II.) On the level of religious ideology, Beyazid II attempted to counteract the influence of the Safavi representatives in Anatolia by the organization of the Bektaři movement on a stricter basis.

Around 1500 Balim Sultan, appointed by Beyazid II,²⁷ under instructions to organize the Bektaři movement, came to the leadership of the Hacı Bektař tekke (lodge) in the Hacı Bektař village in Kirřehir. Though no critical study has been made of the life of Balim Sultan, traditions and accounts trace his origin to Dimetoka (a town south of Edirne), where he was the head (post-niřin) of the Bektaři tekke. They also attribute a Christian mother to Balim.²⁸

Balim, who is often called Second Patron (Piri Sani) of the Bektařis, took steps in the direction of organizing the Bektaři movement into a tarikat. He established the celibate Babaĝan branch of Bektaři babas, formalized the Bektaři ritual, and organized tekkes

²⁷ Beyazid II was born in Dimetoka and was much attached to the Bektaři tekke of Seyit Ali Sultan in his birthplace (Ibid., p. 57).

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 56-57.

in or near other towns.²⁹ The new version of the Bektaşî creed which Balim introduced had strong affinity to Christian doctrine of miraculous birth³⁰ and the Christian tradition of celibacy.

It can be argued that Balim's "reforms" were largely directed to the new converts to Islam from Christianity, especially in the Balkans, and to the Bektaşî tekkes in the urban centers. The resultant Bektaşî tarikat was increasingly identified with the Janissary corps. The heterodox Türkmens, "tribal" and village groups, were left out of Balim's highly organized and formalized scheme. These Türkmens were also alienated from the Ottoman state because of the Ottoman policies of taxation and conquest. The result was the Kizilbaş movement--a development which will be discussed in Chapter II.

Hence, the Bektaşî movement crystallized into the Bektaşî tarikat and Kizilbaş movement. The rift within the Bektaşî movement was, to some degree, reflected in the existence of two administrative groups at the central tekke in the Hacı Bektaş village in Kirşehir. The celibate Babagan branch represented the Janissaries, the urban and the Balkan Bektaşîs.³¹ The Çelebi branch, which claimed descent from

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ For the legends of the miraculous birth of Hacı Bektaş' children see Ibid., p. 38.

³¹ The Dede was the head of the Babagan branch. He was surrounded by eight celibate babas, who formed with him the Executive Council. The Dede appointed the halifes (representatives), who in turn appointed the babas in tekkes under the control of the Babagan branch. Each year before the month of Muharrem representatives of the Executive Council visited all the Bektaşî tekkes, in order to gather from each tekke a financial report, a record of new dervishes, and dues for the central tekke. The central tekke, in addition to the dues from the subordinate tekkes, received the revenue from the villages which

Haci Bektaş represented a limited portion of the Türkmen elements ("tribal" and village), especially those in the districts of Sivas and Kirsehir, in the vicinity of the central Haci Bektaş tekke.³²

It is important to note, however, that the rift between the Bektaşî tarikât and the Kizilbaş movement crystallized only gradually. At the time of the severe Ottoman persecution of Kizilbaş, in the closing years of the 15th and the first two decades of the 16th centuries, the Bektaşî tekkes were unharmed.³³ With due respect to Janissaries and Balim Sultan, the Ottoman government kept Bektaşî tekkes separate from the Kizilbaş movement. However, in 1526 after Balim's death, Kalender, a claimant to the leadership of the central Haci Bektaş tekke, attempted to reunite the Bektaşî tekkes and the Kizilbaş movement. He assumed the leadership of a Türkmen revolt (1526).³⁴ Upon the suppression of the revolt, the Bektaşî tekkes were brought under the close scrutiny of the Ottoman authorities.³⁵ Their followers were reprimanded for their anti-Sunni, anti-Shari'at sentiments, and even

belonged to it. (However, this revenue was divided between the Babagan and the Çelebi branches.) (Ibid., pp. 82-83.)

³²For the relationship between the Çelebi branch and the Kizilbaş see below pp. 59-60.

³³Some of these tekkes were that of Sari Saltik in Dobruca, Haci Bektaş near Kirşehir, Seydi Gazi in Kütahya (Ahmet Refik Altınay, Onaltıncı Asırda Bektaşîlik ve Rafizîlik (Istanbul, 1932: hereafter cited as Altınay: Bektaşîlik), p. 7. Altınay also states that the babas of Haci Bektaş tekke lived in luxury in Istanbul and in their villages around Kirşehir (Ibid.).

³⁴See below p. 34.

³⁵Bektaşî tekkes were investigated (Altınay: Bektaşîlik, p. 19, Document 12.

the musical gatherings of the Bektaşis were frowned upon.³⁶ Until the mid-16th century, the Babağan branch remained without a head. In 1551 Sersem Ali Baba of the Dimetoka tekke was sent to the Hacı Bektaş tekke as the head of the Babağan branch.³⁷

To sum up, the thirteenth and a large part of the fourteenth centuries, Bektaşism was part of the general movement of the Türkmen Babas, which originated in Central Asia, Horasan, Türkistan, and which culminated in the Baba Ishak movement of the Selçuk State of Anatolia. The fifteenth century marked the beginning of the merging of all heterodox sufi elements with the Bektaşis. Also, in this period a rapprochement occurred between the Bektaş babas and the Ottoman State vis-a-vis the Janissary Corps. Hence, Bektaşism emerged in the Ottoman State as the heterodox sufi movement par excellence, the Bektaş movement. The Bektaş movement in the 16th century gradually crystallized into 2 parts: (1) Bektaş tarikāt, which was associated with the urban centers, the Janissaries, and was prominent in the Balkans; and (2) Kizilbaş movement of the Türkmen tribes, which were opposed to the Ottoman State and were essentially Anatolian.

³⁶ Altınay: Bektaşilik, p. 20, Doc. 17; p. 16, Doc. 7; p. 22, Doc. 19; p. 22, Doc. 19; p. 15, Doc. 5.

³⁷ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, "Kizilbaş," IA, VI², 794.

CHAPTER II

THE KIZILBAŞ MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON THE OTTOMAN STATE

The second half of the fifteenth century witnessed an expansion of Ottoman authority in Anatolia. The Ottomans attempted to incorporate both the independent Türkmen principalities* and the rebellious tribes into the Ottoman fold. In the reign of Mehmet II (1451-1481) the Ottomans defeated the Türkmen principalities of Isfandiyaroglu in Sinop (1461), Karamanoglu in Konya (1464), and Akkoyunlu in Eastern Anatolia (1473), and subdued the Zulkadiroglu dynasty in Elbistan and Maraş.¹ The rebellious Türkmen tribes in Central Anatolia and Cilicia² were severely persecuted,³ taxed,⁴ transplanted and their

¹"Muhammed II," EI¹, III, 659. In 1480, Mehmet II intervened in the dynastic disputes of the Zulkadiroglu dynasty. He installed Ala-da-Dawlah as the ruler and took the latter's daughter as wife for his son Beyazid (Carl Brockelmann, History of the Islamic Peoples, trans. Joel Carmichael and Moshe Perlmann (New York, 1947: hereafter cited as Brockelmann: History), p. 288.)

²The classical term for lack of a modern equivalent is used. Cilicia includes both the plain formed by Seyhan and Ceyhan Rivers (the Çukurova) and the arc of the Taurus mountains which surround it (See Map IID).

³The Türkmen tribes of Varsak and Turgut in Cilicia and Taurus mountains are exterminated (J. Hammer-Purgstall, Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman depuis Son Origines jusqu'a Nos Jours (18 vols., Paris, 1835-43: hereafter cited as Hammer: Histoire), III, 119-121, 137-38); for the persecution of the Türkmen tribes, who sided with Uzun Hasan, the ruler of Akkoyunlu see Ibid., III, 160-67.

⁴Specific evidence on the taxes imposed on the Türkmen tribes in this period is scanty. However, certain facts indicate that Türkmen were displeased with Ottoman taxation. The Türkmen tribes in Armenia asked Cem, Mehmet II's son and claimant to the Ottoman throne, to be freed of taxes (Ibid., III, 347). Also, the Türkmen towns of Eregli and Laranda in Karaman declared their proper as waqf (pious endowment), most probably to avoid taxation (Ibid., III, 137-38).

villages depopulated.⁵

However, Trkmen unrest continued in these areas in the reign of Beyazid II (1481-1512).⁶ The Trkmen tribes in Central and Eastern Anatolia as well as the Trkmen principality of Ramazanoglu in Cilicia supported Cem, who asserted his right to the Ottoman throne against his brother, Beyazid.⁷ A considerable number of Trkmen tribes from Tekke (in Southwestern Anatolia) and Diyarbakir migrated to Iran.⁸ Beyazid II, while conceding to some of the demands of the Cilician Trkmen,⁹ attempted to stop the migration of the Trkmen to Iran by transferring and settling the remaining tribes in the newly conquered areas of Koron and in the Morea.¹⁰

The Trkmen unrest in Anatolia in the late fifteenth century coincided with the rise of the Trkmen-based Safavi State in Azerbaijan and Iran, and its penetration into Eastern Anatolia.

Ismail Safavi (1501-1524), the founder of the Safavi State, inherited the political legacy of the Trkmen principality of Akkoyunlu as well as the leadership of the Trkmen-based sufi tarikt of Ardabil

⁵For instance the Trkmen town of Aksaray in Karaman was depopulated and its population was transferred to Istanbul. The district of Aksaray in Istanbul dates back to this settlement (Ibid., III, 140).

⁶Ibid., IV, 17-29.

⁷Ibid., III, 185, 346-47.

⁸See below n. 16, p. 29.

⁹Hammer: Histoire, IV, 32.

¹⁰Ibid., IV, 92.

(in Azerbaijan). This tarikāt had increasingly been imbued with Shi'a ideas.¹¹

The years following the Akkoyunlu defeat by the Ottomans (1473) had witnessed a dynastic struggle for the Akkoyunlu heritage, which included the territories of Eastern Anatolia, Azerbaijan, and Iran as far as Horasan. One of the claimants to the Akkoyunlu heritage was Ismail's father, Haydar (died 1488). He was the Sheyh of the Ardabil tarikāt, and was both grandson and son-in-law of Uzun Hasan, the Akkoyunlu ruler. To assert his political claims, Haydar reorganized the Ardabil tarikāt and attempted to incorporate his followers, the Tūrkmen tribes,¹² into the framework of a religio-political

¹¹ Ismail's great grandfather sufi sheyh Ishak Safi-ad-din (d. 1334) was the founder of the sufi tarikāt of Ardabil. In this lifetime, Safi-ad-din gained great prestige with Rashid-ad-din, the Ilkhanid minister in Persia, but he confined his activities to the pursuit of saintly life. His grandson Hoca Ali (1392-1427) was so well known that Timur, the Mongol ruler, gave him and his descendants Ardabil and its district as pious endowment (wakf). Hoca Ali seems to have had a large following outside of Ardabil as far as Anatolia, to where he sent representatives (halifes). The Ardabil sheyhs, who "professed the Shiite faith with increasing vigor," were soon to involve themselves in temporal affairs and clash with secular rulers. Cunayd (d. 1460), Hoca Ali's son, was banished from the territory of the Karakoyunlu dynasty. After he wandered in Anatolia, Cunayd assembled his followers in Taurus mountain along the Gulf of Iskenderun (Alexandretta). Under threat of arrest by the Mamluk ruler Çakmak, he escaped to the eastern Black Sea coast. There he assembled his followers and initiated a holy war against the Greek Kingdom of Trabzon. After Mehmet II (1451-1481) had made the latter kingdom a tributary to the Ottoman State, Cunayd sought refuge in the Akkoyunlu State and married Uzun Hasan's daughter (Brockelmann: History, pp. 318-19). According to A. Gölpinarlı, in Anatolia Cunayd enlisted the support of the Tūrkmen tribes as well as the assistance of the sufi followers of Sheyh Bedreddin (see above p. 17-18 ("Kizilbaş," IA VI², 789).

¹² Tūrkmens, who were the descendents of the Anatolian Tūrkmens who were captured by Timur and were left behind for Hoca Ali, held a favored position in Haydar's entourage (Brockelmann: History, p. 319).

movement. He introduced among them the headgear of a red cap with twelve tassels in token of the twelve Shiite imams.¹³ Henceforth, the Trkmen followers of the Ardabil tarikt and later the Safavi State were called Kizilba (red head). Ismail, 12 years after Haydar's death, assumed his father's inheritance and, with the support of the Kizilba tribes established the Safavi State in the former Akkoyunlu lands.

In Anatolia, Ismail penetrated into the lands of Zulkadiroglu.¹⁴ The majority of Ismail's followers were Anatolian Trkmen tribes.¹⁵ In the reign of Beyazid II (1481-1512) a considerable portion of the Trkmen tribes in Tekke and Diyarbakir who migrated to Iran¹⁶ became some of the chief supporters of Ismail Safavi in the establishment of the Safavi State. Furthermore, as early as the first quarter of the 15th century the Sheyhs of the sufi tarikt of Ardabil appear to have had followers among the Anatolian Trkmens. The Ardabil

¹³ A. Glpinarli, "Kizilba," IA, VI², 789.

¹⁴ Ismail Safavi was dissatisfied with Zulkadiroglu ruler, Alada-dawla's refusal to give his daughter's hand to him. He subjected to his rule the fortresses of Harput and Amid in the Zulkadiroglu territory in 1507 (Hammer: Histoire, IV, 92).

¹⁵ These Trkmen tribes were: Ustaclu, Beharlu, amlu (Damascene), Tekelu (from Tekke, a district in Southwestern Anatolia), Zulkadir, Kaar, Avar ("Ismail I," EI, II, 544; "Safavid," EI, IV, 54).

¹⁶ The Trkmens of Tekke and Diyarbakir were adherents of Sheyh Sadreddin of Konya. Sheyh Sadreddin had fled to Iran and had given his allegiance to Ismail Safavi. Hence, the Trkmens in these regions, also, migrated to Iran and gathered around Ismail I in Gilan (Hammer: Histoire, IV, 91-92).

tarikāt sent representatives (halifes) to Anatolia.¹⁷

In the early years of its inception the Safavi State preserved the character of a Tūrkmēn-based Sufi movement. The relationship between Ismail and the Tūrkmēns was one of murid (seeker) and murşid (guide) of the Sufi tarikāt.¹⁸ Hence, the Anatolian Tūrkmēns, dissatisfied with the Ottoman persecution and its attempts at taxation and settlement, turned to Ismail not only as murşid-i kamil (the perfect guide), but also as the political leader of a state based on Tūrkmēn elements.

The political and religious affinity between the Anatolian Tūrkmēns and the Safavi State was further augmented by the rather extensive religio-political propaganda of the Safavi emissaries¹⁹ among the Tūrkmēn elements in Anatolia. However, though they are important factors, the political and religious relations of the Anatolian Tūrkmēns to the Safavi State have been over-emphasized

¹⁷ See above n. 11, p. 28. Also Sheyh Bedreddin of Simavna, in the course of his travels in Anatolia, met Hamid b. Musa al-Kaysari, "a member of the Safavid order" (H. J. Kissling, "Badr al-din B. Kadi Samavna," EL², I, 869).

¹⁸ For a discussion of the relationship between Ismail Safavi and the Kizilbaş (Tūrkmēns) see R. M. Savory, "Principle Offices of the Safavid State during the Reign of Ismail I, 907-930/1501-1524," Bulletin of the School of African and Oriental Studies (BSOAS), XXIII (1960), 91-92).

¹⁹ The Safavi emissaries, Hasan and Karabiyikoglu (later known as Şah kulu), lived in caves in Tekke district (in Southwestern Anatolia) for six or seven years and acquired a reputation for saintliness. The pious Ottoman Sultan Beyazid II (1481-1512) is said to have sent Hasan a yearly pension (F. W. Hasluck, Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, ed. Margaret M. Hasluck (2 vols., Oxford, 1929: hereafter cited as Hasluck: Christianity), I, 169). Also see below p. 32.

in the study of the Türkmén movement in the 16th century. This approach has stressed the political and religious aspects of the problem at hand. The Türkmén movement in Anatolia was thus seen as one more factor in the political and religious rivalry which existed between the Sunni Ottoman State and the Shii Safavi dominion.²⁰ However, such a treatment has neglected the social and economic aspects of the Türkmén movement vis-a-vis the Ottoman State and its policies. The present writer proposes to set forth the issue of the Türkmén movement in Anatolia in the 16th century as a movement that was essentially directed against the Ottoman policies of persecution, taxation, transplantation, and settlement. It was related to the Safavi State insofar as the latter was a Türkmén-based State, expounding Türkmén religio-social ideology, i.e. Kizilbaş ideology. The Anatolian Türkmén tribes in the 16th century expressed their social, economic, and political protest against the Ottoman State in the form of Kizilbaş ideology. Only in this capacity was the Anatolian Türkmén movement a Kizilbaş movement. It was not a fifth-column geared solely to the political interest of the Safavi State. Hence, the Anatolian Kizilbaş movement, though ideologically inspired by the Safavi emissaries, was not dependent upon the Safavi State; it did have its own dynamics within the Ottoman State.

²⁰ In 1502 Ismail Safavi introduced Shiism as state religion in the Safavi State (Brockelmann: History, p. 530). The Ottoman State during the reign of Selim I (1512-1520) met the Safavi challenge on the religious level by emphasizing its Sunni Islamic character. Selim I, after his victory over the Mamluks of Egypt, designated himself as the Caliph, the religious and the political head of all Sunni Muslims. He took charge of the holy hostages and the protection of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina (Ibid., p. 289).

The year 1509 witnessed the first major Türkmen uprising of the 16th century, in Anatolia. Karabiyikoglu, better known as Şah Kulu (slave of Şah, title of Ismail Safavi), declared himself as the representative (halife) of Ismail Safavi (1501-1524) and led a revolt of the Türkmen elements in the Tekke province (in Southwestern Anatolia).²¹ The revolt spread into the Türkmen-inhabited areas of Ankara (Beybazar as center), Sivas, Sarımsaklık (in Kayseri), Gökçay (the upper waters of the Seyhan River), Elbistan-Maraş district, the lands of the Zulkadiroglu principality.²² It is important to note, however, that Ismail Safavi was not pleased with the Türkmen rebellion in Anatolia.²³ The fact that Ismail punished the Tekke rebels for agitating under his banner, against the Ottoman State and the latter developments to be sketched below suggest that the Kızılbaş movement in Anatolia was not contingent upon the Safavi State, and had its own dynamics within the Ottoman State.

The Ottoman Government, weakened by the dynastic struggles²⁴ between the sons of Beyazid II (1481-1512), suppressed the Şahkulu revolt with difficulty. However, the wave of Türkmen uprisings in

²¹Hasluck: Christianity, I, 169-70; Ahmet Refik Altınay, Onaltıncı Asırda Bektaşilik ve Rafizilik (Istanbul, 1932: hereafter cited as Altınay: Bektaşilik), p. 8.

²²Hasluck: Christianity, I, 170-72.

²³Hammer: Histoire, IV, 114-15.

²⁴In the dynastic struggles between Beyazid's sons, Selim and Ahmet, Ismail Safavi and the Türkmen tribes supported Ahmet against Selim. Selim, as the governor of Trabzon, had ravaged the Türkmen in Northeastern Anatolia and he strongly opposed Ismail's penetration into Anatolia (Hammer: Histoire, IV, 94, 164).

Anatolia did not stop. The year of Selim I's (1512-1520) accession to the Ottoman throne witnessed the Türkmen revolt of Nur Ali in Karahisar, Niksar, Amaşya districts.²⁵ The decade following Selim's military victory over the Safavi State (1514) was one of continual Türkmen unrest. There was the Türkmen uprising in Sivas,²⁶ and the revolt of Celal in Tokat (1518-1519).²⁷ The uprising led by Baba Zunun and Süglün Oğlu Koca was occasioned by the unjust taxation of the Türkmens in Bozok (Yozgat) district.²⁸ It triggered the revolts of Kara Isali tribe under Veli Halife, of Türkmen chiefs Domizoglan

²⁵ Altinay: Bektaşilik, p. 9. The Türkmen beheaded the Ottoman governor in Karahisar. According to Hammer, 20,000 Türkmens participated in this revolt (Hammer: Histoire, IV, 117-118).

²⁶ Kizilbaş poet Pir Sultan Abdal, who lived during the time of Tahmasp Safavi (1524-1576), had joined the Kizilbaş uprising in Sivas and was executed by Hızır Paşa, Ottoman commander who was sent to suppress the revolt (Ahmet Kabaklı, Türk Edebiyatı (3 vols., Istanbul, 1968), II, 210). Similarly, Kizilbaş poets, Kanberoglu and Deli Şükrü were executed by the Ottoman authorities (Mehmet Şerif Fırat, Doğu İlleri ve Varto Tarihi (Ankara, 1961: hereafter cited as Fırat: Varto), pp. 31-33).

²⁷ Altinay: Bektaşilik, p. 9. Altinay describes Celal as having disguised himself as a derviş. After Celal's revolt, all local uprisings against the Ottoman State acquired the general name of Celali.

²⁸ The governor of İçel, Ahmet Paşazade Mustafa had imposed unjust, heavy taxes on the Türkmen population of the area. An old Türkmen, Süglün Ağa complained when a heavy tax of 200 akçes was imposed on his land. The response of the governor was to cut the old Türkmen's beard. The Türkmens reacted by killing the governor, the judge, and the secretary of the judge. The Türkmen revolt followed under the leadership of Süglün Oğlu Koca (son of Süglün) and Baba Zunun (a religious teacher as is suggested by his name) (Altinay: Bektaşilik, p. 10; Hammer: Histoire, V, 93).

in Adana and Yenibey in Tarsus.²⁹ These Türkmen agitations culminated into the Kalender revolt (1526), led by a claimant to the leadership of the Hacı Bektaş tekke in Kirşehir.³⁰

The Ottoman government, unable to suppress the revolt militarily, conceded some of the Türkmen demands. It introduced milder taxes and administrative reform measures. The lands in the Karaman district in Central Anatolia were distributed among the Türkmen tribes as timars (quasi-feudal Ottoman administrative units).³¹ After the Türkmens were thus appeased, the revolt was suppressed.

Despite severe Ottoman persecution of the Türkmens at the time of Selim I and after the suppression of the Kalender revolt, as late as the last quarter of the 16th century, the Türkmens in the district of Malatya, Zile, Tokat, Bozok remained dissatisfied with Ottoman rule. That they expressed their discontent in terms of Kizilbaş ideology is shown by the continued presence of Safavi emissaries among them.³²

²⁹ Altınay: Bektaşilik, p. 10; Hammer: Histoire, V, 93.

³⁰ See above p. 24. The Türkmen tribes who gave their allegiance to Kalender were: Çiçekli, Akçakoyunlu, Masadlu, Bozoklu, Besatlu, Karacalu, Zulkadiroglu (Altınay: Bektaşilik, 11; Enver B. Şapolyo, Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi (Istanbul, 1964: hereafter cited as Şapolyo: Mezhepler), p. 334).

³¹ The Türkmen tribes of Besatlu, Karacalu, and Zulkadiroglu received the grants of Timar (Altınay: Bektaşilik, pp. 11-12). Also see p.

³² The influence of the Safavi emissaries among the Anatolian Türkmens in the period between 1558 and 1584 is well documented in Altınay: Bektaşilik, p. 57, Doc. 50; p. 39, Doc. 52; p. 40, Doc. 53; p. 37, Doc. 39; p. 29, Doc. 35; p. 35, Doc. 47; p. 28, Doc. 33. In 1578 an order was sent to the governor of Malatya for the extermination of those amongst the Türkmens of Izlu, Rişvan, Eskantu, Solaklu, Şeyh Huseyunlu, Soydanlu, Eginbuklu, Adaklu, Kalacaklu, Bezki, Cakalu,

After the 16th century, the Kizilbaş movement seems to have ceased to be an effective force in resisting Ottoman authority in Anatolia. The decline of the Kizilbaş within the Safavi State,³³ no doubt deprived the Anatolian Kizilbaş movement of its source of spiritual and political inspiration. However, within the Ottoman State the factors that laid the basis for the decline of the Kizilbaş movement in Anatolia were even more crucial. First, the Türkmen dynasties of Zulkadiroglu, and Ramazanoglu were subjected to Ottoman authority.³⁴

Mihmikan, Karasaz, Kömürlü tribes, who made gifts to a man named Shah Ismail (Ibid., p. 37, Doc. 50). The extermination of the Kizilbaş of Zile, Antikabad (in Tokat) and Bozok (Yozgat) was ordered for receiving Safavi emissaries (Ibid., p. 39, Doc. 52).

³³On the policy of the Safavi rulers to render themselves independent of Kizilbaş, both in the reign of Ismail I (1502-1524) and Tahmasp I (1523-1576) and on the replacement of the Shi'a tinged sufi ideology of the Ardabil tarikāt of Shi'a orthodoxy see the articles by R. M. Savory, "Principle Offices of the Safavid State during the reign of Ismail I, 907-930/1501-1524," BSOAS, XXIII (1960), 91-105, and "Principle Offices of the Safavid State during the Reign of Tahmasp I, 930-984/1524-1576," BSOAS, XXIV (1961), 65-85.

³⁴Selim I (1512-1520) was the grandson of Ala-ad-dawla, who was installed by Mehmet II as the ruler of the Zulkadiroglu dynasty (see above n. 1, p. 26). Despite Ala-ad-dawla's refusal to give his daughter's hand to Ismail Safavi, Selim I accused his grandfather of ambitious behaviour during the Ottoman campaign against Ismail Safavi. On his way back from Iran, Selim executed Ala-ad-dawla and installed Ali Bey, Ala-ad-dawla's nephew, as the ruler of Zulkadiroglu. It was only in the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566) that the Zulkadiroglu principality was incorporated into the Ottoman State (Brockelmann: History, p. 288). Also it is important to view Selim's action against Mamluks of Syria within the context of the Ottoman attempt to subject the Türkmen principalities of Zulkadiroglu and Ramazanoglu and the affiliated Türkmen tribes in Central and Southeastern Anatolia. These principalities and tribes had formed alliances with the Mamluks of Egypt and Syria, who also allied themselves with Ismail Safavi (Hammer: Histoire, IV, 17-29; Brockelmann: History, pp. 288-89).

Secondly, the Kizilbaş had been brought under effective control in the reigns of Selim I (1512-1520) and Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566).³⁵ Thirdly, the tribal social structure of the Türkmens was disrupted by Ottoman policies of segmentation, transplantation, and settlement, and they were consequently assimilated into the Kurdish tribal social structure. Finally the religious doctrine of the Kizilbaş movement was gradually separated from its social and economic aspects. The last two factors are crucial for the study of Kizilbaş in the 19th century and merit further discussion.

The Ottoman state, beginning in the early decades of the 16th century, seems to have embarked on a policy of forcible segmentation, transplantation, and in some instances settlement of the Türkmens tribes in Anatolia. In the later period many Türkmens tribes bearing

³⁵ Prior to his military expedition against Ismail Safavi, Selim I had tracked down, by means of a spy network, 40,000 Kizilbaş in Anatolia and exterminated them (Altınay: Bektaşilik, p. 9; "Selim I," ET, IV, 214). Ismail Beşikçi in Doğu Anadolunun Düzeni: Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Etnik Temeller (Ankara, 1969: hereafter cited as Beşikçi: Doğu Anadolu), pp. 170-72 cites the text of a fetva (religious edict) given by Molla Hamza, a respected religious teacher at the time of Selim I. This edict sanctioned the massacre of Kizilbaş in Anatolia on grounds of religious heterodoxy (the text of the fetva is quoted from Şehabettin Tekindag's "Yeni Kaynak ve Vesikaların Işığı altında Yauuz Sultan Selim in Iran Seferi," Tarih Dergisi, no. 22 (March, 1967), 55-6). Both Molla Hamza and Ibn-i Kemal, also a renowned religious scholar, saw the war against the Kizilbaş as a holy war (ihad) (Beşikçi: Doğu Anadolu, pp. 170-72).

Also, Selim, prior to his accession to the Ottoman throne, as the governor of Trabzon had ravaged the Türkmens in Northeastern and Central Anatolia in the district of Bayburd, Erzincan, Bozok, Kayseri, Sivas, Merzifon (Hammer: Histoire, IV, 201).

In the last quarter sixteenth century, punishments were extended to the Kizilbaş (Türkmens) of Amasya, Çorum, Turhal, Iskalip, Osmancik, Huseyinabad, Güles, Ortaprae, Inepazari, Mecidözü, Kazabad, Katar, Karahisar, Demirlü, Hausa (1583) (Altınay: Bektaşilik, p. 31, Doc. 39) and to the Kizilbaş of Kastamonu and Taşkoprü (Ibid., p. 29, Doc. 35).

the same tribal names were to be found dispersed throughout western, central, southwestern, southeastern, and eastern Anatolia.³⁶ This would suggest that a significant number of Türkmen tribes had been forced out of their habitats, split up, and transferred to various parts of the Ottoman state. Also, there is evidence which suggests that the Ottoman government in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries attempted to settle a number of Türkmen tribes.³⁷ Timar (quasi-feudal) lands in the Karaman district (in central Anatolia) were granted to the Turkmen tribes of Besatlu, Karacalu, and Zulkadiroglu, who participated in the Kalender revolt of 1526.³⁸

³⁶ Some of the Kurdicized Türkmen tribes, which were to be found in various parts of Central and Eastern Anatolia in the nineteenth century are: Bellikanli tribe, which was to be found in Varto (Mark Sykes, "The Kurdish Tribes of the Ottoman Empire," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (JRAI), XXXVIII (1908: hereafter cited as Sykes: Kurdish Tribes), 476) and in the Maraş valley (Ibid., p. 481). The divisions of Shadelri (Şadilli) tribe were in Varto (Ibid., p. 476), in Eleşgirt (in North-western part of Beyazid sancak) (Ibid., p. 478), and in the Erzincan district (Ibid., p. 479). Badeli (or Badilli) tribe, originally the Türkmen tribe of Beydili, was to be found in Eleşgirt (Ibid., p. 478), in Erzincan (Ibid., p. 479). A part of Badeli was settled in Yozgat and Urfa (Mehmet Eröz, Kürtlerin Menşei ve Türkmenlerin Kürtleşmesi (Istanbul, 1966: hereafter cited as Eröz: Kürtler), p. 6, quoted from Ziya Gökalp's Kürt Aşiretleri Hakkında Sosyolojik Tetkikler (hereafter cited as Gökalp: Aşiret). This work is in manuscript form at the Rıza Nur Library in Sınoğ. It has also been published as "Aşiretler Hakkında Sosyolojik Tetkikler," Doğru Mecmuası (1943), nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11).

³⁷ Possibly at the time of Selim I the Türkmen tribe of Karakeçi was transplanted from Western Anatolia and was settled on the slopes of Karacadağ (in the Diyarbakir district). For some years after its settlement Karakeçi was protected by the Ottoman Government (Sykes: Kurdish Tribes, n. 1, p. 472).

³⁸ Altınay: Bektaşılık, pp. 11-12.

Murat IV (1623-1640) ordered the settlement of the Türkmens of the Dersim and the Palamur mountains in the surrounding valleys of Erzincan, Bayburt (in Erzincan sancak), Sivas, Erzurum, and Varto (in Muş sancak, Bitlis vilayet).³⁹

For a significant number of the Türkmens a major consequence of the Ottoman policy of segmentation, transfer, and settlement was their assimilation into the Kurdish tribal structure and their adoption of the Kurdish dialect as their language. In order to understand the process of "Kurdicization" of the Türkmens, it is essential to review the Ottoman administrative organization in Eastern

³⁹Firat: Varto, pp. 79-80. According to Firat, Murad IV met the Kizilbaş tribal chiefs and ordered their settlement in the following areas:

1. Hidikanlı Kabile (tribe) (of Balaban aşiret) settled in Çicekli, Kalecik, Meydan, Basköy villages of Hınıs (tribal confederation).

2. Sisan Kabile (of Çarıklı aşiret) moved from Kirindere and settled in the Mirseyit, Mirgezer, Sağlam, Halefan and other villages of Hınıs.

3. Kaçer and Kasım kabiles (of Lolan aşiret) moved from Danzig area of Erzincan to Varto's Halefan, Sigir, Kegan villages and Karakoy's Selcuk, Dirban, Derarlık, Şeyh Pir, Iskender villages.

4. A part of Bulukan kabile settled in Hınıs' Karagac, Beyyurdu and other villages.

5. Cunan kabile (of Şahdili tribe) settled in Karlıova's Licik, Kayık, Akdas villages; Korto's Baskoy and Silikan villages. Another kabile of Şahdili settled in Hınıs' Saverdi, Kanav villages.

6. A part of Hormek aşiret settled in Balik, Hormak, Civarık villages of Nazniye.

Alıkan oymak of Hormek settled in Erzincan's Büyükkoy, Dalru, Savsek (in the bucak of Silepur).

Pircan kabile of Hormek settled in Tercan valley and in Varto's Rakasan, Tatan, Kuzik villages.

Zormamet kabile of Hormek in Badan and Civarık villages of Usturan (in Varto). Bali Kabile of Hormek in Kiriktas, Gürelik, Alacahan villages of Refahiye and Halitler, Gavuryurdu, Eskikonak of Kuruçay.

Karadavut kabile of Hormek in Ustukrar bucak.

Anatolia and Ottoman policy in regard to the Kurdish tribes in the 16th century.

Selim I had enlisted the support of a large majority of the Sunni Kurdish tribes in Eastern Anatolia against Ismail Safavi and his followers, the Kizilbaş (Türkmen) tribes.⁴⁰ After his military victory over Ismail Safavi, Selim I rewarded the loyalty of the Kurdish tribal chiefs by recognizing their autonomous rule in Eastern Anatolia.⁴¹ The hereditary rights of the major Kurdish chiefs over their territories were recognized.⁴² The rest of Eastern Anatolia was distributed

⁴⁰Historian Idris Bitlisi, who was influential in spreading the tenants of Sha'fi school (one of the four schools of Sunni Islam) among the Kurds in Eastern Anatolia, had enlisted the support of the Kurds for the Ottoman State. Also, the harsh policies of Ismail Safavi toward the Sunni Kurdish chiefs, when he penetrated into Eastern Anatolia had engendered fear among the Kurds. Ismail replaced the Kurdish chiefs by his Kizilbaş chiefs in important posts ("Kurds," EI, II, 1142).

⁴¹Şarafname of Şarafhan of Bitlis (1596) contains invaluable information on the rule of autonomous Kurdish chiefs and the Kurdish tribal organization prior to the Ottoman conquest and until 1596. This work has been published by Veliamov Zernov, Şarafname (2 vols., Petersburg, 1860-1862). A French translation is available (Cherefname ou Fastes de Nation Kurde, trans. F. Charnoy (Petersburg, 1868-1875) ("Kurds," EI, II, 1149).

Idris Bitlisi was appointed the commissioner for civil administration of the Kurdish provinces. He was given a blank firman (official edict) to allot lands to the Kurdish chiefs. The administrative division in the Diyarbakir province gave 11 sancaks (administrative units) to Turkish administrators, 8 to indigenous Kurdish chiefs, and 5 Kurdish dynasties were put on a hereditary basis. In the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), 37 sancaks under the rule of Kurdish chiefs were attached to the Van province (Ibid., p. 1143).

⁴²These territories were called Mir-i Miran and were Cizre, Genç, Bitlis, İmadiye, Mahmudiye, Hakkari, Egil, Palo. In the official edicts the tribal chiefs of Mir-i Miran were addressed as cenab (highness) (Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi (4 vols., Ankara, 1949), II, 272).

among the remaining loyal Kurdish tribal chiefs on a hereditary basis, under the administrative categories of yurtluk and ocaklik.⁴³ In return, the Kurdish tribal chiefs recognized Ottoman sovereignty, agreed to pay a set annual tax and/or furnish troops to the Ottoman State in time of war.⁴⁴

A large number of Türkmen tribes were transferred from Western and Central Anatolia to the newly conquered Kurdish provinces of Eastern Anatolia.⁴⁵ The Türkmen tribes, in the mountain strongholds of Dersim (in Mamurat-ul Aziz vilayet) and Karacadağ (to the west of the Diyarbakir sancak) seem to have been forced to migrate to the

⁴³The most important of the Yurtluk-Ocaklik were: Sokman, Kulp, Itak, Tercil, Mihrani, Çapakçur, Pertek, Cermik. Later the Çildir province was divided into 4 yurtluk-ocakliks. In addition, 400 tribal chiefs in Van, Diyarbakir and Şehri Zor were organized as Mir aşiret (tribal confederation). They were to contribute troops to the Ottoman army in return for hereditary rights over their territories (Ibid., II, 272-73).

⁴⁴Ibid., II, 272-73.

⁴⁵According to M. Ş. Firat, the Kurdish tribes of Hasanan, Sipkan, Haydaran, Zilan, Çekili, Milan, Berazan, Cibran were originally Türkmen and were transferred to Eastern Anatolia from Central and Southwestern (Tekke province) Anatolia (Firat: Varto, pp. 10, 77).

Also the Karakeçi tribe, which was originally a Türkmen tribe of the same name in Western Anatolia was settled on the slopes of Karacadağ (in Diyarbakir) (see above n. 36, p. 37). According to M. Sykes, the Karakeçi rapidly "intermarried with the local non-tribal Kurds of low origin, and being illiterate soon lost their language and became to all intents and purposes a Kurdish tribe (Sykes: Kurdish Tribes, n. 1, p. 472). Gökalp also states that the Karakeçi tribe was originally a Türkmen in Bursa (Northwestern Anatolia) and further cites the Turkish names of the Karakeçi cillage as proof of their Türkmen origin (Eröz: Kürtler, p. 6 based on Gökalp: Aşiret).

Similarly, a division of the Türkmen tribe of Döğür was Kurdicized (Eröz: Kürtler, p. 6).

Kurdish-dominated plains of Eastern Anatolia.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Kurdish tribes from Eastern Anatolia were allotted pasture-lands in Central Anatolia (e.g. Haymana district in the Ankara vilayet), and in the western flanks of the Salt Lake.⁴⁷ Hence, the favorable administrative policy of the Ottoman State toward the Kurdish tribes was coupled with the disruption of the Türkmen solidarity by tribal segmentation, and transplantation into predominantly Kurdish areas, and by the penetration of Kurdish elements into the traditionally Türkmen provinces of Central and Central-eastern Anatolia. The result was the assimilation of the Türkmen tribes into the Kurdish tribal social structure and adoption of the Kurdish dialects as their language.

The Türkmen tribes which were transplanted in the plains of Eastern Anatolia, e.g. Viransehir, Muş, Hınıs, Eleskirt, Patnos,

⁴⁶ According to the evidence of Mark Sykes, possibly at the time of Selim I, a number of tribes were forced to migrate from the Dersim mountains (Sykes: Kurdish Tribes, 468-69, 471-72) and from Karacadag (Ibid., p. 481-82). Sykes also relates the story of Kurdish Milli tribe, which was forced to migrate out of Dersim and settle in the surrounding area. The chief of Milli, Ibrahim Paşa, was held in great reverence among the Kizilbaş of Malatya, Dersim, and Erzincan (Ibid., p. 470).

The problem of "Kurdicization" of Türkmen tribes has not yet been subject of scholarly work. The Kurdish names of some of the tribes and their Kizilbaş religious tenets (classified as Shi'a) may indicate their Türkmen origin. See also Tables II and III.

⁴⁷ The Kurdish tribes of Haymana (in the province of Ankara) and those inhabiting the western flank of the Salt Lake in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries appear to be the descendants of the Kurdish tribes, which were transplanted from Eastern Anatolia in the sixteenth century. Tirikan, Zirikanlı, Atmanakın in the Ankara province were such tribes (Sykes: Kurdish Tribes, 482, 472). Vital Cuinet gives a list of these tribes and claims they were Sunni (La Turquie D'Asie Géographie Administrative: Statistique Descriptive et Raisonnée de Chaque Province de L'Asie-Mineure (4 vols., Paris, 1892: hereafter cited as Cuinet: Turquie), II, 252-253).