

**THE ROLE OF THE MEMORIAL CEREMONIES OF HACI BEKTAŞ  
VELİ IN CONSTRUCTION THE ALEVİ-BEKTAŞI IDENTITY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE ROLE OF THE MEMORIAL CEREMONIES OF HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ IN CONSTRUCTION THE ALEVİ-BEKTAŞİ IDENTITY**

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The aim of this thesis is to explore how the Alevi-Bektaşî identity is constructed through the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli on collective and individual level by different actors from the state agents to the Alevi-Bektaşîs who participate in the ceremonies. In this regard, it is important to examine this ceremony with its history and its dynamics such as the political, the religious, the social and the cultural aspects through which different actors participate in identity construction process.

For this purpose a qualitative study, using in-depth interviews with 32 persons who participated in the ceremony from Hacıbektaş and different regions in Turkey and abroad have been conducted in the 2004 memorial ceremony of Hacı Bektaş Veli. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and the transcribed texts were used for discourse analysis. During the interviews the political opinion, the opinion about the state policies towards the Alevi-Bektaşî community and the opinion about the statesmen's and politician's interest in the ceremonies were

inquired. Moreover during the ceremonies the religious practices, the social and cultural practices were inquired.

During the ceremony, Hacібektaş becomes a political field, at which from the statesmen to the Alevi-Bektaşis different actors struggle for the formation of the Alevi-Bektaşі identity. During this multivoiced and active meaning creation process, the symbols and signs about Alevism-Bektaşism are used by different actors who have also different ideological aims to form the Alevi-Bektaşі identity in order to constitute hegemony over the Alevi-Bektaşі community. Thus, in spite of this struggle for a univoiced definition of the Alevi-Bektaşі identity, which bases on the eclectic, disjointed and uncritical conception of the world of the Alevi-Bektaşis, through the ceremonies, the Alevi-Bektaşis get a position at this political field. Hacібektaş has been a belief center of the Alevi-Bektaşі community for many centuries. Although the religious aspect is not recognized by the actors of political field, during the ceremonies the Alevi-Bektaşis perform their religious ceremonies and visit the holy places. The religious aspect of the ceremonies strengthens belonging to a community and the Alevi-Bektaşі identity. The social aspect of the ceremony provides the Alevi-Bektaşis to meet and socialize people from different regions. With the cultural aspect of the ceremonies, the Alevi-Bektaşі people share and improve opinion about their identity.

**Keywords:** The Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art, Alevi-Bektaşі, identity formation, hegemony, multivoiced.

## ÖZ

### **HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ ANMA TÖRENLERİNİN ALEVİ-BEKTAŞI KİMLİĞİNİN KURULUŞUNDAKİ ROLÜ**

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Bu tezin amacı, Alevi Bektaşî kimliğinin Hacı Bektaş Veli Anma Törenleri ve Kültür ve Sanat Etkinlikleri aracılığıyla etkinliğe katılan farklı aktörler tarafından kolektif ve bireysel düzeyde nasıl kurulduğunu araştırmaktır. Bu bakımdan, değişik aktörlerin Alevi-Bektaşî kimliğini kurma sürecinde yer almak için katıldığı bu etkinliklerin tarihini ve politik, dinsel, kültürel ve sosyal bakımdan iç dinamiklerini incelemek önemlidir.

Bu amaçla, 2004 etkinliklerinde Hacıbektaş'ta yaşayan ya da başka bölgelerden etkinliğe katılmak amacıyla Hacıbektaş'a gelen çoğu Alevi-Bektaşî 32 kişiyle derinlemesine görüşme yöntemi ile niteliksel çalışma yürütülmüştür. Tüm görüşmeler kaydedilmiş, çözümlenmiş ve çözümlenen metinler söylem analizi için kullanılmıştır. Görüşmeler esnasında katılımcıların politik görüşü, devletin Alevi politikaları hakkında görüşü, devlet yetkililerinin, politikacıların etkinliğe katılımı hakkındaki görüşü ve Alevi-Bektaşî örgütleriyle ilişkileri hakkında bilgi edinilmiştir. Ayrıca etkinlik boyunca gerçekleştirdikleri dinsel, kültürel ve sosyal etkinlikler hakkında bilgi edinilmiştir.

Etkinlikler boyunca Hacıbektaş devlet adamlarından Alevi-Bektaşilere pek çok aktörün Alevi-Bektaşî kurma mücadelesine katıldığı bir politik alan haline gelir. Bu çok sesli ve aktif anlamlandırma sürecinde değişik ideolojik görüşlere sahip aktörler Alevilik-Bektaşiliğe ait sembolleri kullanarak Alevi-Bektaşî topluluğu üzerinde hegemonya kurma çabasındadırlar. Alevi-Bektaşilerin dünyayı kavrayışlarındaki eklektiklik, parçalılık ve eleştirel olamama üzerinden yükselen ve Alevi-Bektaşî kimliğini tanımlanmasını tek sesli hale getirme çabasındaki bu mücadeleye rağmen Alevi-Bektaşiler, Hacı Bektaş Veli Anma Törenleri aracılığıyla bu etkinliğin sağladığı politik alanda kendilerine bir duruş edinirler. Hacıbektaş yüzyıllardır Alevi-Bektaşî topluluğunun inanç merkezidir. Politik alanda Alevi-Bektaşiliğin inanç yönü görmezden gelinse de etkinlikler boyunca Alevi-Bektaşiler dini ritüellerini yerine getirir, kutsal kabul ettikleri mekanları ziyaret ederler. Etkinliğin dinsel yönü aidiyet duygusunu ve Alevi-Bektaşî kimliğini güçlendirmektedir. Etkinliğin sosyal yönü Alevi-Bektaşilere değişik bölgelerden insanlarla karşılaşma, tanışma ve sosyalleşme olanağı sağlamaktadır. Kültürel etkinlikler Alevi-Bektaşilerin kendi kimlikleri hakkındaki fikirleri paylaşmalarını ve bu fikirleri geliştirmelerini sağlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hacı Bektaş Veli Anma Törenleri ve Kültür ve Sanat Etkinlikleri, Alevi-Bektaş, kimlik kuruluşu, hegemonya, çokseslilik.

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## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The festival has been organised in Hacibektaş town in the name of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the patron saint of the Alevi-Bektaşis from August 16 to 18, since 1964. That is, the memorial ceremony of Hacı Bektaş Veli is the oldest and largest public event when compared with the other festivals known as Alevi. During three days, Hacibektaş turns into a place where Alevis and Bektaşis from different areas in Turkey and living abroad come together to socialise, increase the feeling to belong to a community, visit holy places and make their religious rituals. On the other hand, it is difficult to define this event, in which political, religious, social, cultural and economic aspects are intertwined. Moreover, it seems to be more complicated than an annual festival if we are taking into consideration that from the beginning up to now, the ceremonies can be seen as a reflection of the economic, political and cultural transformation in Turkey. Related with the conjuncture of Turkey, the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli provide state agents, politicians, media, intellectuals, left groups, the Alevi-Bektaşî associations, the Alevi-Bektaşis and the other actors participating in the festival a field in which they struggle for the construction of the Alevi-Bektaşî identity through signs and symbols. Hacı Bektaş Veli, besides being the patron saint, through this festival becomes an important sign for the Alevi-Bektaşî identity. Namely, the festival provides a field to struggle for hegemony and counter-hegemony processes over the Alevi-Bektaşî community. Hence, the purpose of

this thesis is to examine how the Alevi-Bektaşî identity is constructed through the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli on collective and individual level by different actors from the state agents to the Alevi-Bektaşîs who participate in the ceremonies.

According to the qualitative approach, in the 2004 ceremony participant observation was performed. In-depth interview carried out with 32 persons; most of them were Alevi-Bektaşîs who were from Hacıbektaş and from different areas. The interviews were conducted on private houses, on cafes, on the Çelebi's houses and on the square and on streets of Hacıbektaş. Besides the in-depth interviews, booklets and the news about the ceremonies from different newspapers were used in order to get information about the history and political aspect of the ceremonies.

It is crucial to mention about the process of the study. Performing an observation in the ceremony provided me to observe myself like my "objects" and challenged my comprehension of the study. According to Bourdieu, reflexivity save us some illusions making us discover social in individual; impersonal which hide in confidence and universal, which sink into the deepest of the personal.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the process, I planned to make a research about Alevi-Bektaşîs and conduct interviews with them. With the "Alevi Revival" different actors have taken part in this process. Except from the Alevi-Bektaşî people, other actors have discussed their opinions about this matter in public. My aim was to examine Alevi-Bektaşî people's comprehension of this process. When my supervisor advised me to make a study about the memorial ceremonies of Hacıbektaş, I confronted with the first and most important difficulty in this study. That is making a research about Hacıbektaş as being a person from Hacıbektaş. I have not lived in Hacıbektaş but I often visit there because some of my relatives live in Hacıbektaş. Moreover, I have often participated in the ceremonies from my childhood up to now. As a person who experiences this festival a common part of her visit to Hacıbektaş, it was hard for me to understand these ceremonies as a

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<sup>1</sup> Bourdieu, P.& Waquant, L.J.D. (2003). *Düşünsel Bir Antropoloji İçin Cevaplar* (p.40). İstanbul: İletişim Yay.

research “object.” Atay mentions about the advantages and disadvantages of a perspective of being native and a perspective of being foreigner in an anthropological field research. Although a native researcher is able to comprehend different faces of the culture and does not challenge with the difficulties result from the language, the foreigner researcher is able to notice behaviours and manners of the members of a culture more carefully and sensitively because for him/her everything is new<sup>2</sup>. As a native researcher, I thought that I have sufficient information about the ceremonies although I was unaware of the importance of Hacібektaş and the ceremonies. Before going to Hacібektaş, I could get rather detailed information about the ceremonies from Markussen’s thesis conducted about Alevism Bektāşism in 2000 and Massicard’s article *Alevism as a Productive Misunderstanding the Hacібektaş Festival* (2003) but it was insufficient for me. I could get an important article for my study by Norton (1983) *Bektashis in Turkey* after finishing my fieldwork in Hacібektaş. With the help of my readings about Alevism-Bektāşism and my personal experiences about the ceremonies, I conducted the unstructured questions and in order to restrict the interview, I gathered the questions under four headlines, the politic, religious, cultural and social aspects of the ceremonies. In order to find out my interviewees’ comprehension of the political aspect of the ceremony and their position in the political field, their political opinion, their opinion about the relation between the state and the Alevi-Bektāşis, their opinion about the politician’s interest in the ceremony and their relations with the Alevi-Bektāşi associations would be asked. Related with the religious aspect of the ceremony, the questions about their religious performances in their daily life and also in Hacібektaş during the ceremonies would be asked. Their participation in the cultural activities of ceremony, their social activities during the festival and their opinion about the ceremony would be asked.

I was very worried and anxious when I went to Hacібektaş about two weeks before the ceremonies. I was inexperienced to conduct an interview and most of my anxiety arised from there. I was afraid of being unable to control the process

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<sup>2</sup> Atay, T. (1996). *Bati’da Bir Nakşi Cemaati Şeyh Nazım Kıbrisi Örneği* (p.362). İstanbul: İletişim Yay.

of conservation with my interviewees and also, I was afraid of being unsuccessful control my feelings during the interview. There was also “ethical” concern in my mind, although I have not any religious belief I feel belonging to Alevi Bektaşî people emotionally but they were my “research objects” at the same time. I had to ballast my feelings and my research. At the beginning, in Hacібektaş everything seemed me acquaintance, people were everywhere, they were on the streets of Hacібektaş, on the visiting sites. The voices of people, the voices of busses, cars, the announcements of the municipality and the Alevi-Bektaşî songs and *deyişs* confused each other. I was astonished when I heard the disagreement between the mayor and the ABF. I had to make some alterations in my research plan and in my questions and I realized that the changing plans in my study interested me more than this situation.

About two days before the ceremony, I began to conduct the interviews and I continued to perform it after the end of the ceremony. During these times I wandered on the streets and went in crowded places. Especially I went to the visiting sites. I tried to speak as many as people I could. I participated in the activities of the ceremony to which I accustomed. For the first time I realized the social dimension of the ceremonies. Previously I suffered from crowded during the ceremonies but I comprehended the dynamic, meaningful and dialogic characteristic of the social dimension of the ceremonies. Moreover for the first time in my life, I went to the houses of the Çelebis and it was a shock for me, because these houses did not resemble what I thought about them, what I heard and knew about them. People from different regions lived in these houses together like a huge family and the “*efendis*” were the respected and old members of the family regardless of their age or gender. As I observed, the visitors used these houses as their own houses. Moreover, there were some people who were chosen among the visitors by the owner of the houses to organize the daily life in the houses during the ceremony. Firstly, I went one of the houses of the Çelebis whose owner is an old widow woman called “*ana*” and nobody asked me who I was and why I came there. When I met “*ana*,” I kissed her hand and asked for permission to conduct interviews in her house. She behaved me kindly and gave some advice about my study. She was an impressive woman, not because of her

appearance, she looked like an ordinary old woman in Hacібektaş but she had an aura, which affected me, and although I have not any religious belief without thinking, I respected her. When I met the *postnişin* Veliyettin Ulusoy, my impression about him was similar.

I had three gatekeepers; one of them was my aunt, who knows many of the inhabitants of Hacібektaş and helped me very much. I wanted their help because I guessed that my interviewees accepted me as a stranger because of my appearance but no one accepted me as a stranger when I said them I was from Hacібektaş. Being a native researcher provided me easiness during my interviews. Many of them said that they felt proud of me because one of them made a research about them. No one rejected my offer to make an interview. They trusted me and helped me to connect with other people. My anxiety about conducting an interview became less when I realized that confronting with an inexperienced researcher, they felt relaxed and comfort. There was only one problem during the interviews, they were afraid of being unable to give information but when I explained them I wanted to talk about their ideas, feelings and practices, they relaxed. Moreover, being native researcher provided me to understand their language, terminology and conceptualizing. But I have prejudices about belief and my prejudices turned me into a stranger against them. First, confronting with believing people was unbelievable for me because I did not accept Alevism-Bektaşism as a way of belief. I have not known any Alevi-Bektaş person who has such a belief. In order to understand their belief, I participated in a *cem* ritual for the first time. I felt very uncomfortable because I did not know how to behave there. Some parts of the ritual were very impressive for me, I sometimes felt fear or admiration but it was impossible for me to understand their belief. What they made cry or made them be overexcited or such a collective state of mind made me confused. My effort to understand their belief caused for me a confrontation with my prejudices. By this way, I understood how I internalized the leftist's comprehension of religion in 1970s, with the effect of my family. Moreover, I understood that I could not comprehend the importance of Hacібektaş for Alevi-Bektaşis ruling out the belief dimension of Alevism-Bektaşism.

At the beginning of the research, I wanted to examine the ceremony with relating it to the “Alevi Revival”. When I ended my fieldwork, I was aware of the centrality of Hacıbektaş for Alevi-Bektaşis for centuries and I decided to enlarge my study accepting the ceremonies as a part of this long history of the *dergah*. Because the ceremonies are large field for making a research, my study is only a part of it although it tried to enclose all aspect of the ceremonies.

This thesis includes six chapters. The first chapter is introduction. The second chapter is about the historical evaluation of the Bektaşî order. In this chapter, the early and late writings about Hacı Bektaş Veli and the history of the Bektaşî order till the constitution of Republic will be elaborated. Hacı Bektaş Veli is a sign or symbol of the struggle for the meaning and formation of the Alevi-Bektaşî identity in the studies about Alevism-Bektaşism as well. With the help of studies of the Turkish Nationalists, he is presented as a “great Turkish thinker or *mutasavvıf* who Turkified Anatolia” and regardless its anachronism, this approach is widely accepted. In this direction the Bektaşî order is presented in a similar way without regarding the transformation in the order from the beginning up to now.

It is almost impossible to give coherent information about Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Bektaşî order without knowing Ottoman Turkish and making an archival research, although it is known that throughout history, the books about Bektaşism and the Bektaşî order were severely destroyed. That is, for a person who does not know Ottoman Turkish it is very hard to study the history of the order with the reference of the studies conducted before. For this reason in this study it will be aimed at pointing out how the knowledge about Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Bektaşî order is constructed rather than pretending to answer who Hacı Bektaş Veli is and what the Bektaşî order is.

In the third chapter Alevi-Bektaşis’ changing conditions with the Republic and the Alevi-Bektaşî identity formation until mid-1960s will be mentioned. Moreover, in this study the process of the reopening the *dergah* as a museum after its abolition with constitution of Republic will be examined. The opening date of the *dergah* as museum is the beginning of the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli as well.



Hacıbektaş has never lost its importance as a center of belief but since that date, August 16, 1964 it has become important in the political sense as well.

The fourth chapter is about the history of the memorial ceremonies. The ceremonies will be outlined in different periods related with the changing characteristics of it. First period is from the beginning of the ceremonies namely from 1964 till 1975. In 1975 besides its feature, the ceremony's name changed, from that time on it was called as festival and it was turned into a cultural activity rather than an annual ceremony. After the military take-over in 1980, the festival turned into a ceremony and since 1983 it has been organized by the municipality unlike the ceremonies, which were arranged by the Tourism Association before the military take-over. Moreover, in 1989 it was organized by the Ministry of Culture and claimed as an international ceremony. After the Sivas event, in 1994 with the participation of President Demirel, the ceremonies has turned into a public event, also has turned into an arena for the political struggle especially during the election periods. Thus, the official part of the ceremonies which includes the opening ceremony and cultural activities from 1964 to 2004, with the help of the in-depth-interviews, news from the different newspapers about the memorial ceremonies and booklets will be elaborated. Moreover, in this chapter the events which shaped the economic, social and political life in Turkey whose reflection can clearly be seen in the festival and the identity formation process of the Alevi-Bektaşis will be pointed out.

The fifth chapter will be a general evaluation of the ceremonies in a theoretical frame. In this thesis it is claimed that the identity formation process through the memorial ceremonies is a dynamic and multivoiced process which can be understood with the concept of hegemony. According to Gramsci, hegemony means ideological, cultural and moral leadership over subordinated group but it is a dynamic process and presupposes taking into consideration the interest and tendencies subordinated group.<sup>3</sup> As Eagleton mentioned hegemony includes

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<sup>3</sup> The state includes the political and civil society, which are intertwined. On the other hand Gramsci makes a methodological distinction between political society, the site of coercion, dictatorship, domination and civil society the site of consent on which the dominant class organizes its hegemony and on which opposition parties and movements build their social power.

ideology but it cannot be reduced to ideology. Hegemony may take political form rather than economic forms<sup>4</sup> and also hegemony affects every aspect of social life and thought<sup>5</sup>. Similarly, for Williams hegemony is

Not only the articulate upper level of ideology, nor are its forms of control only those ordinarily seen as manipulation or indoctrination. It is the whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living: our lived system of meanings and values-constitutive and constituting-which as they experienced and practices appear as reciprocally conforming<sup>6</sup>.

The concepts of counter-hegemony and alternative hegemony should be added to the concept of hegemony because hegemony is not singular and its internal structures are complex. That is, it has continually to be renewed, recreated and defended against the pressures that are continually resisted, limited and challenged too<sup>7</sup>. These hegemonic processes base on the eclectic, disjointed and uncritical conception of the world of personality. Gramsci, for whom subjectivity is always the product of social activity, talks about a spontaneous philosophy, which is proper to everybody. This philosophy includes language, common sense, good sense and also folklore, namely beliefs, superstitions, opinions, way of seeing things and acting<sup>8</sup>.

Common sense is not a single unique conception, identical in time and space. It is the folklore of philosophy, and like folklore, it takes countless different forms. Its most fundamental characteristic is that it is a conception which even in the brain of the one individual, is fragmentary, incoherent and in consequential, in conformity with the social and cultural position of masses whose philosophy it is<sup>9</sup>.

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Gramsci, A. (2000) *The Gramsci Reader Selected Writings 1916-1935*. Forgas, D. (Ed.). New York: New York University Press.

<sup>4</sup> Eagleton, T. (1991). *Ideology. An Introduction* (p.112). London&New York: Verso.

<sup>5</sup> Hall, S.&Lumley,B.&McLennan,G. (1997). "Politics and Ideology: Gramsci" In Centre For Contemporary Cultural Studies, *On Ideology* (p.49) London: Hutchinson.

<sup>6</sup> Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and Literature* (p.110). London&New York:Oxford University Press.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid*, p.122

<sup>8</sup> Gramsci, A. (2000) *The Gramsci Reader Selected Writings 1916-1935* (p.325). Forgas,D.(Ed.). New York: New York University Press.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid*, p.343

The eclectic, disjointed and uncritical conception of the world of the personality, which is under submission and intellectual subordination, consists:

Stone age elements and principles of a more advanced science, prejudices from all past phases of history at the local level and institutions of a future philosophy which will be that of a human race united the world<sup>10</sup>.

On the other hand, in this struggle for the hegemony over the Alevi-Bektaşî identity on account of being the owner of Hacıbektaş as a place, the Alevi-Bektaşîs can use strategy against other agents of these hegemonic processes. According to Certeau, one of the logic of action, strategy necessitates a place, an instantaneous configuration of position. Strategy is the calculation of power relationship, which becomes possible as a subject with will and power can be isolated. Strategies are a specific type of knowledge one sustained and determined by power to provide oneself with one's own place. It provides capitalise acquired advantages, prepare future expansions and give certain independence to the variability of circumstances<sup>11</sup>.

In the theoretical frame which outlined above, conducted interviews with the Alevi-Bektaşîs will be evaluated in order to examine their comprehension of the ceremonies and their position in the struggle for the hegemony over the Alevi Bektaşî identity formation.

The sixth and last chapter is about the conclusion of the thesis.

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid*, p. 326

<sup>11</sup> Certeau de, M. (1988) *The Practice of Everyday Life* (pp.35-36). Berkeley, Los Angeles&London: University of California Press.

## CHAPTER II

### THE HISTORICAL EVALUATION OF THE BEKTAŞI ORDER

#### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, it is focused on that how the knowledge about Hacı Bektaş Veli and about the Bektaşî order have been constructed. In order to restrict the study, only the history of the order until its closing down in 1925 will be elaborated.

The writings about Hacı Bektaş Veli can be separated into two periods. The first period includes the writings that mention about Hacı Bektaş Veli till the 20.cc. The second period includes the studies about Hacı Bektaş Veli and the order, which began with the researches done by the CUP in the early 20.cc and which is still continuing.

When focused on the early writings, it can be seen that Hacı Bektaş Veli left no writings<sup>12</sup> but one of his disciples probably Uzun Firdevsi wrote at the late 15.cc or the early 16.cc a hagiography, *Vilayetname* about him (Gölpınarlı, 1995: xxiv-xxv). Moreover, Hacı Bektaş Veli is mentioned in *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri* written by Eflaki in the 14.cc; in *Menakıbü'l-Kudsiyye* written by Elvan Çelebi in the 14.cc; in *History of Osmanoğulları* written by Aşık Paşazade in the 15.cc and in *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnameleri* written by Evliya Çelebi in the 17cc.

*Vilayetname* is the most detailed source about Hacı Bektaş Veli as a transformation of oral tradition into writing but this knowledge signifies a construction of Hacı Bektaş Veli as a saint rather than who he is. As Delooz argues:

A saint's reputation for holiness is socially generated. Most saints are the real persons and the shared experiences; faith and religious doctrines are recorded during the saint's lifetime by the collective memory. After holy person dies with the help of his/her selectively perceived actions his or her community redefine and transform the recollection of the saint. According to the expectations of the saint's audience the image of the saint is being continually remodelled (cited in Cornell J. Vincent, 1998: pxxx).

According to Ocak (1997), the saints of the legends are real and holy persons; they are not made-up to have fun or to explain things and natural events. Legends are written while these saints are alive or they are written after death of these saints. They have short and simple expressions and the basic aim of their writing is to train disciples of the saints and to get integrity of order. Also other aim is, with the help of these legends, to provide an acceptance by the orthodox religion's *ulema* that are not to think much of the sheikhs and orders. It is benefited from oral tradition, from written sources and from other legends while the legend is being written. The most of the Muslim belief elements which are based on *Kitab-ı Mukaddes* and which are repeated in *Koran*, folk traditions, epic and mythological elements, beliefs belonging to pre-Islam are patterns that are seen in legends.

The early writings about Hacı Bektaş Veli are used as the main sources by the authors of the late writings. However the usage of these sources are mainly arbitrary. Selective materials are accepted as part of the reality while others are ignored. It is necessary to mention that it is impossible to construct a transparent relation between the reality, which is on the text indicated, and the text, no matter how the text is documentary or objective. A documentary or literary text is a system, which is constructed considering the functional rules of the conditions of production, the schemes of perception and some other categories. The documentary materials of the history are not independent from the expectations and forms in their creators' mind. Moreover, documentary materials of the history

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<sup>12</sup>There is a book, *Makalat* attributed to Hacı Bektaş Veli. It is claimed that this book, which can be accepted like an introduction to Sufism was written by Hacı Bektaş Veli in Arabic and translated by Said Emre on 14.cc in Turkish. See *Makalat Ayyıldız yay.* Ankara

follow the procedure of production shaped by the spelling rules of the text on which the materials are written (Chartier, 1998:55-56).

As it will be mentioned in this chapter, the effect of the researches conducted by CUP can be seen on the late studies. It can be seen especially on the studies of Köprülü who is affected by the Turkist current, which claims that there should be a form of Islam particular to Turks that is purified from the effects of Arab and Persia. This current accepts Alevi and the Bektaşî order as the representatives of this form (Ocak, 1999:194). Hence, the construction of Hacı Bektaş Veli's "historical identity" will be elaborated in order to make a reference to the fourth and fifth chapters, in which Hacı Bektaş Veli's construction as a "symbol" in the struggle of hegemony over the Alevi-Bektaşî community will be pointed out.

Following these studies, the history of the Bektaşî order from its beginning to its abolition in 1925 will be studied. While explaining transformation in the order, the ascribed roles of Hacı Bektaş Veli, Abdal Musa and Balım Sultan in the order will be focused. Furthermore, striking events such as the Kalender Çelebi revolt, separation of the order into *Dedegan* and *Babagan* branches and abolition of the order in 1826 will be stressed in order point out changed relations in the order and the tension between the Ottoman administration and the order. Lastly, the role of the order during National Struggle and the process from the constitution of the Republic till the abolition of dergah will be mentioned.

## **2.2. Hacı Bektaş Veli**

### **2.2.1. The Early Writings about Hacı Bektaş Veli**

According to Eflaki (2001), Hacı Bektaş Veli was one of the main caliphs of Baba Resul.<sup>13</sup> Hacı Bektaş had a heart that was full of skills and bright but he did not respect outside appearance and thus he did not agree with Muslim canonical laws

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<sup>13</sup> Baba Resul is one of the leaders of the Babailer revolt. The Babailer revolt occurred on 13.cc in Anatolia with the leadership of Baba İlyas (Baba Resul) and Baba İshak also with the participating of a wide milieu consisted of the peasants, nomads, townsmen many of whom had a heterodox religious belief.

and did not perform the ritual prayers. Hacı Bektaş Veli is mentioned by Elvan Çelebi (1995) but there is no detailed knowledge about Hacı Bektaş Veli in his book called *Menakibü'l Kudsiyye*. Aşık Paşazade, one of the descents of Baba İlyas says in the *History of Osmanoğulları* that Hacı Bektaş Veli and his brother Menteş came from Horasan and went to Sivas and then they visited Baba İlyas. Having visited Baba İlyas, Hacı Bektaş Veli and Menteş went to Kırşehir and then to Kayseri. Menteş was killed in Sivas and Hacı Bektaş Veli went from Kayseri to Karahöyük<sup>14</sup>. According to Aşıkpaşazade, there were four groups of people who came to Rum when Hacı Bektaş went to Rum (Anatolia). These were *Gaziyan-ı Rum*, *Ahiyan-ı Rum*, *Abdalan-ı Rum* and *Bacıyan-ı Rum*. Hacı Bektaş Veli chose the *Bacıyan-ı Rum*; he made Hatun Ana who was a member of *Bacıyan-ı Rum* his daughter. He performed his miracles and mysteries to her; also he handed over them to her. He was a dervish obsessed by divine love far from being sheikh or being disciple. After his death, Hatun Ana made a tomb for him. Abdal Musa, a dervish and sympathizer of Hatun Ana, came to the tomb and by the time of Orhan Gazi he fought by the armies of him (Aşık Paşazade, 2003:298).

Although Aşık Paşazade states that there was no relation between Hacı Bektaş Veli and Ottoman sultans (ibid, p.298), Evliya Çelebi, who wrote *Seyahatnameler* in the 17.cc, regards Hacı Bektaş Veli had an important role in the foundation of the Ottoman State. To Evliya Çelebi, Hacı Bektaş Veli was a person who was indifferent to world. He even did not accept the sultanate remaining from his father. Hacı Bektaş Veli worshiped and he became esoteric knowledge. Among the saints of Horasan, he showed the signs of miracle and received from his spiritual teacher, Ahmet Yesevi a headgear, *kubbe elif tac*; a dervish cloak, *hurka*; a prayer rug, *seccade*; a tablecloth, *sofra* and a sign, *alem*.<sup>15</sup> At the time of Orhan Bey, Ahmed Yesevi sent Hacı Bektaş Veli with his three hundred poor people to Anatolia in order to become a Rum conqueror together with Orhan Bey. Hacı Bektaş Veli and Orhan Bey conquered Bursa (Evliya Çelebi, 1996: 33).

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<sup>14</sup>Sulucakarahöyük is the previous name of Hacıbektaş.

According to Evliya Çelebi, Hacı Bektaş Veli gave orderliness to the Ottoman State (Evliya Çelebi, 1999: 23).

Gölpınarlı argues that Uzun Firdevsi wrote *Vilayetname*. The name of Balım Sultan was not mentioned. It shows that *Vilayetname* was written before Balım Sultan and also events in *Vilayetname* signifies that the Bektaşî tradition was founded and developed at that time. When the book was written, II. Beyazıd was *sultan*. So *Vilayetname* should have been written between 1481 and 1501 (ibid, p.xxix).

*Vilayetname* starts with explaining that Hacı Bektaş Veli is a *seyyid* belonging to İmam Musa Kazım lineage. His father Sultan İbrahim Al-Sani commends Hacı Bektaş Veli to Sheikh Lokman Perende, one of the caliphs of Hacı Ahmed Yesevi, in order to teach Hacı Bektaş.<sup>16</sup> Hacı Bektaş's forefather Mustafa Muhammed gives him external knowledge, while the other forefather Murtaza Ali gives him the internal knowledge. Having performed miracles, he takes the names of Hünkâr and of Hacı. He gains the Horasan saints' admittance when he says that he is the secret of Ali and shows his green mole in his palm and his mole on forehead, which of them Ali has too and performs the ritual prayers on sesame leaf. Meanwhile, his father dies and he does not accept the sultan position, which is inherited his father, and he devotes himself to worship.

There is also a heroic story in *Vilayetname*. Hacı Bektaş Veli fights with Bedehşan infidels, gets them to be Muslim and rescues Kutbeddin Haydar who is captured by Bedehşan infidels while fighting with them. Kutbettin Haydar is son of Hoca Ahmet Yesevi who is the governor of Horasan.

There is a headgear, *kubbe elif tac*; a dervish cloak, *hurka*; a prayer rug, *seccade*; a tablecloth, *sofra* and a sign, *alem* which are transferred by God to Muhammed,

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<sup>15</sup> There is a concordance between the information, which was given by Evliya Çelebi and the events, which are mentioned in *Vilayetname*. It seems possible that Evliya Çelebi would have read *Vilayetname*.

<sup>16</sup> Gölpınarlı thinks that the effort to make a lineage between Hacı Bektaş Veli and Ali and the effort to show Hacı Bektaş as *seyyid* can be related with the tradition at that time. Moreover Ahmet Yesevi who died about 1167 and Lokman Perende about whom almost nothing known added to the Bektaşî tradition because of their fame at that time (Gölpınarlı Abdülbaki, 1995:100-103).



from Muhammed to Murtaza Ali, from Ali to İmam Hasan and by this way İmam Rıza get them and he gives them in Hacı Ahmed Yesevi. Hacı Bektaş Veli goes to Ahmed Yesevi's *tekke*; he takes the signs that cannot be taken by other caliphs. Ahmet Yesevi shaves Hacı Hünkar and gives him permission, then sends him to Sulucakarahöyük as a head of the Rum Abdals. Hacı Bektaş Veli passes through Kurdistan before going to Rum and he adopts a son from a tribe in Kurdistan, then he goes to Necef and Medine and performs miracles there. He sets out through Rum and goes firstly Elbistan, then Kayseri. The watchman of the Rum saints is Karaca Ahmed. When Hacı Bektaş Veli comes closer to Rum, he greets to Rum saints. At the same time the greeting comes across with Fatma Bacı, in response she accepts his greetings. The saints are afraid of him. They think that Hacı Bektaş Veli will make Rum peoples his disciples so the saints want to prevent Hacı Bektaş Veli from entering to Rum and they close the roads of him. Hünkar -Hacı Bektaş Veli- arrives to Karacahöyük as a pigeon shape, whereas Hacı Doğrul, one of the Rum saints goes to Hünkar's beside as taking shape of a falcon. On the other hand, Hünkar catches the falcon and tightens it in the shape of human being, then he preponderates to Hacı Doğrul and Hünkar gets himself to be accepted by Rum saints. When Hacı Bektaş Veli comes Sulucakarahöyük and settles down to İdris and his wife, Kadıncık (Kutlu Melek)'s house, there are seven house in there.

The events in *Vilayetname* continue in tension between Hacı Bektaş and people in Sulucakarahöyük and surrounding. He rewards people, who believe in his miracles and he persuades people who do not believe in him as punishing. Although Saru İsmail who is the brother of İdris does not want to accept Hacı Bektaş Veli, at the end he believes in Hacı Bektaş Veli's miracles.

*Kızılca halvet*, the first building in the *dergah* is built. Many sympathiser and disciples from different areas come to Hacı Bektaş Veli. Hacı Bektaş Veli shaves his disciples' hair, eyebrow and moustache. Moreover, he gives to his caliphs *sofra*, a tablecloth; *çerağ*, a torch; *alem*, a sign and *seccade*, a prayer rug. He climbs with his *abdals* to Hırka Mountain and makes a fire there around which he whirls *semah*.

The adventures of caliphs such as Kara Donlu Can Baba and Sarı Saltuk are mentioned in the other chapters of *Vilayetname*. In addition, the adventures of Hacı Bektaş Veli with Mevlana, Seyyid Mahmud-ı Hayrani, Ahi Evren, Yunus Emre and like other important persons' adventures with him in this period are also mentioned in it. His miracles go on. In this respect, he meets with Hızır and invisible saints, he rescues a ship, which will be sunk and he also makes a death child to bring to life.

In *Vilayetname*, the Çelebis are mentioned. Kadıncık Ana spends all property for Hacı Bektaş Veli in the sense that she welcomes Hacı Bektaş's guests and lays the tables for them. Because of her devotion and respect to him, Kadıncık Ana drinks water of his ritual ablution and the water with him washes his hands. When Hacı Bektaş Veli performs an ablution, his nose bleeds and Kadıncık Ana drinks it. This situation arouses a future estimation to Hacı Bektaş Veli. He says to Kadıncık Ana that they will have two sons, these sons will cost to their country, seventy years old persons of their country will kiss their seven years old son's hand, and he also says that if the world is gone bad, they will not see any trouble. Kadıncık Ana have three children and one of them dies.

There are some disciples who stay with Hacı Bektaş and serve him besides some disciples who go to different areas after being initiated into the order. Hünkar gives some of them the degree of caliph and send them to obtain sympathisers and disciples in other regions. Hacı Bektaş Veli has got thirty-six thousands caliphs and thirty-six hundred caliphs among them serve to Hünkar. When Hünkar dies, their caliphs go to the region where Hünkar indicated before his dead. Before the death of Hacı Bektaş, he says this to his caliph of Saru İsmail that one grey rider will come and wash him, he will also make coffin to bury him. Hacı Bektaş mentions that they should not talk to grey rider but they should help him. He says to console Saru İsmail that "we do not die but change form". He also says that son of Kadıncık Ana, Hızır Lale will take over his position. When Hacı Bektaş dies, grey rider comes; he washes his death body and buries him. Saru İsmail opens the cover to learn who grey rider is, but he is Hacı Bektaş Veli himself.

During the period of Hünkar, the *sultan* was Gazi Murad, who makes Hacı Bektaş's tomb after his death. Sultan Bayezid makes the tomb covered with lead (Gölpınarlı, 1995).

### 2.2.2. The Late Writings about Hacı Bektaş Veli

According to Köprülü, Hacı Bektaş Veli is the most famous successors of the Babai who spread Anatolia in between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> century. He is considered the leader of Bektaşî order which had almost no difference from the Haydari-Kalenderi orders<sup>17</sup> (Köprülü, 1993). Following Aşık Paşazade, Köprülü mentions that Hacı Bektaş Veli settled in Anatolia before Ottomans. He was a dervish obsessed by divine love but he did not set up a dervish order because of the fact that his character was not appropriate to do that. The Bektaşî Order had been formed in the 16.cc and it acquired Hacı Bektaş Veli, whose epics were formed among people since the 14.cc, as its patron saint. Separating Hacı Bektaş from the Bektaşî Order, Köprülü tries to find a relation between Hacı Bektaş Veli and Ahmet Yesevi. His argument about construction a relation between them based on *Vilayetname*, also on *Evliya Çelebi Seyehatnamesi* and on *Kühnü'l Ahbar* written in the 17.cc. They implied Hacı Bektaş as a caliph of Yesevi. He points out *Vilayetname* as a source in which the most detailed knowledge about Ahmed Yesevi and his legendary can be found. He suggests that before founding of the Ottoman State, many Yesevi dervishes came to Anatolia. By means of Yesevi dervishes and travellers who fled to Anatolia because of Cengiz invasion, Yesevi epic spread among people. Because of the fact that there are limited documents indicating to the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the written feature of Yesevi epic is seen at the Bektaşî order in the sixteenth century. Since Bektaşîs took traditions among people and made a connection between these traditions and Hacı Bektaş, so did they with the traditions from Ahmed Yesevi. The relation between Hacı Bektaş and Yesevi was constructed as it has been mentioned above

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<sup>17</sup> According to Köprülü, the fundamental principle of Kalenderism is to be free from worldly bonds and relations. The Kalenderis shave their hair, beard, eyebrows, and they are free from religious obligations. Phanteistic beliefs, transmigration of souls, antinomianism are the part of their belief. Haydariyya is the branch of Kalenderism. Both of them had extremist Shi'i doctrines and batni (esoteric) ideas (Köprülü, 1993).

or Hacı Bektaş Beli was precisely a Yesevi disciple. Köprülü suggests that on the basis of this assignment whether each of the possibility is correct or not, there is no relation between the Bektaşî order and Yesevîlik owing to the fact that the Bektaşî sect was not founded by Hacı Bektaş. There is no relation between Yesevîlik and the Bektaşî order apart from both sects using Turkish in rituals. While Ahmed Yesevi is an orthodox Muslim, the Bektaşî order have been accused of being heretic since it was established (Köprülü, 2003).

Unlike Köprülü, Gölpınarlı (1997) argues that Hacı Bektaş Veli, who regrouped the numbers of Babai dervish after the Babai rebellion, formed the origin of the Bektaşî order. Aşık Paşazade presents Hacı Bektaş as a dervish who possessed with divine love. He differs himself from the Bektaşîs owing to the relation between Hacı Bektaş and Baba İlyas, the ancestor of Aşık Paşazade. Aşık Paşazade, who accepted an orthodox Islam, did not want to construct a relation between his ancestor Baba İlyas and the Bektaşîs through Hacı Bektaş (Gölpınarlı, 1997:265). In a parallel line, Köprülü assumes Hacı Bektaş as a dervish possessed with divine love and separates his link with the Bektaşî Order in the sense that his aim could keep far away Yesevi from the Bektaşî Order, which is assumed as heretic. According to Gölpınarlı, Ahmed Yesevi was mentioned in *Vilayetname* owing to his fame, but there was no possibility of meeting Hacı Bektaş with Ahmed Yesevi (Gölpınarlı, 1992:107). Before *Vilayetname*, other sources related to Hacı Bektaş mention him as the disciple of Baba İlyas and they do not give any clues about the relation between Hacı Bektaş and Yesevi. Hence, this situation enforces the possibility of mentioning Yesevi in *Vilayetname* because of his fame.

For Melikoff, Hacı Bektaş is referred to a popular saint by the Bektaşîs and the Alevis. "Coming from Khorassan" is a cliché often used in ancient chronicles and hagiographies and mainly refers to the idea migration (Melikoff, 2003:1). She accepts Hacı Bektaş Veli as the main representative of Yesevi, also even the disciple of him (Melikoff, 2004:35). Not taking the contradictions in her claim into consideration, Melikoff (2004) argues that Hacı Bektaş Veli was the disciple of Baba İlyas, the leader of Babai revolt during the years 1239-1240. Whereas Hacı Bektaş Veli stayed out of the rebellion and he appeared again after the death

of Sultan II. Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev, by the time the events calmed down. Following Aşık Paşazade and Köprülü, she claims that he did not found the Bektaşî order. Moreover, he did not have any disciples. After saying that, she says that he made the order ready but he did not turn the order into an institution. His effects on the people were so strong that it provided Hacı Bektaş to gain respect of people and people had conserved this respect during the centuries. After his death, the disciples of him (although she says that he has no disciples), especially one of them, a woman maintained his uninstituted and unwritten knowledge and spread his memory among the people. With the efforts of Abdal Musa, the order was founded in the name of Hacı Bektaş Veli. Like Köprülü, Melikoff argues that the cult of Hacı Bektaş became established in the 14.cc. She argues that both Hacı Bektaş Veli and Ottomans was in the same social environment. They came from the same *boy* tribe called *Kayı*. Before having accepted the Sünni Islam, similar to the other Turcoman tribes Ottomans adopted as a kind of heterodox Islam. Ottoman sultans regarded Hacı Bektaş as the saint of the Janissary Hearth in the 14.cc, so Hacı Bektaş's fame spread after his death.

Ocak asserts that Hacı Bektaş Veli might have come to Anatolia in the 13.cc as a Yesevi or Haydari dervish. There cannot be a connection between Yesevi and Hacı Bektaş due to the chronological reason that Yesevi died more than a hundred years before Hacı Bektaş. On the other hand, the abundance of the Yesevi legends in *Vilayetname* indicates the possibility of the relation among them; also it indicates the popularity of Ahmet Yesevi (Ocak, 1996:178). In Anatolia, Hacı Bektaş Veli might have initiated in Vefai order which is similar to Yesevi and Haydari order and which was presented by Dede Garkın and his caliph Baba İlyas. Like Köprülü and Melikoff, following Aşık Paşazade, Ocak claims that Hacı Bektaş Veli was the caliph of Baba İlyas but he did not revolt, he settled down in Sulucakarahöyük. His brother revolted and was killed near Sivas.<sup>18</sup> Having been a spiritual guide in his community in Sulucakarahöyük, Hacı Bektaş got in touch with the Christians and Mongol invaders and he made them propaganda of a

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<sup>18</sup> Although Menteş is mentioned only by Aşık Paşazade, Ocak seems to be sure of Menteş's being.

heterodox, an extatique and a syncretic kind of Islam. While he was living, his cult came out among the Haydari dervishes and spread (Ocak, 1999).

### **2.2.3. Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Janissary Corps**

The Janissary corps was probably formed in the reign of Sultan Murad I (1362-1389), after the conquest of Edirne, owing to the growing demand of a regular corps. As in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* mentioned, the connection of the Janissary Hearth with Hacı Bektaş Veli is a baseless claim. Due to the success of the Abdals of Rum in the conquests at the reign of Osman and Orhan, Rum Abdals' connection with Hacı Bektaş Veli was related with the Janissary corps (İslam Ansiklopedisi, 1986:286-287). Similarly, Ocak argues that the Ottoman sultans, who knew Hacı Bektaş Veli through the ghazis of Ottoman, recognized Hacı Bektaş as the saint of the Janissary hearth due to his influential cult (Ocak, 1999:167).

On the other hand, Gölpınarlı argues that the *börk*, the tall felt cap of the Janissaries resembles to the cap symbolises Futuwa<sup>19</sup>. That time, on which the Futuwa was widespread, with the belief that all art and occupation had a saint, Hacı Bektaş Veli was recognized as the saint of the Janissary hearth (Gölpınarlı, 1995:127-128).

Hence, the connection between the Janissaries and Hacı Bektaş also between the Janissaries and the Bektaşis is not clear and the arguments about this theme are only assumptions.

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<sup>19</sup> The tradition of the warriors and the tradition of the Sufis united in the brotherhood of Futuwa. The Futuwa gained an important formal identity due to the formation at the reign Abbasid caliph Nasr. The Mongol invasion weakened the Futuwa organisations but they could live for a long time. Futuwa developed in Anatolia in a different way. It was transformed into an institution of an Akhi which organised the artisans in the cities and which contacted with the peasants in the village (Korkmaz, 2003:148).

### 2.3. The Bektāṣi Order

Following Aṣık Paṣazade, Köprülü (2003), Melikoff (2004) and Ocak (1999) do not accept Hacı Bektaş Veli as the founder of the Bektāṣi order. According to them, the order took its shape in the 14.cc and the cult of Hacı Bektaş Veli was spread at that time. In the 16.cc Balım Sultan gave the order's definite form and institutionalised it.

As mentioned before, for Melikoff Abdal Musa was the disciple of Kadıncık Ana. He conserved the memory of Hacı Bektaş Veli and founded a group of dervishes in the name of Hacı Bektaş. The Bektāṣi order arose in 14.cc, and at the beginning, it was an obedient means of the Ottoman sultans. With the help of the study of Barkan<sup>20</sup>, Melikoff points out that Abdal Musa and “the group of dervishes founded by him” as the colonist dervishes who took part with Osman in the conquest of Bursa (Melikoff, 2004).

Similarly, Ocak (1999) argues that Abdal Musa collected and spread the legends about Hacı Bektaş. Hacı Bektaş was a quiet person and he was not well known among people while he was alive. It is not clear why there were legends about a person who was not well known and how and why Abdal Musa collected and spread these legends. Nevertheless, according to Ocak, Abdal Musa is the person who gave a life to Hacı Bektaş again, having presented him at the Ottoman Principality and at the regions of West and Middle Anatolia. Abdal Musa is the creator of the mythological personality of Hacı Bektaş Veli (Ocak, 1999:165).

On the other hand, in *Vilayetname* Abdal Musa is not mentioned. While attributing to Abdal Musa such an important role of the foundation of the order,

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<sup>20</sup>According to Barkan, at the time of the growth of the Ottoman Empire there were the dervish groups who settled in the conquered lands. They settled especially critical places like the roads, which used for communication with the approval and demand of the administration. A nobility was given to these sheikhs, *dedes* or the leaders of the *boy* and it was told them that they were coming from Horasan. The new owners of these lands turned into farmer and breeder while they were defending these regions. They were exempted from tax. While agriculturing and helping the passenger they took part in conquests. If the regions, on which these heterodox dervishes settled, were the Christian's regions, these regions turned into a centre of colonisation and spreading Islam (Barkan cited in Melikoff, 2004:139-140).

Köprülü, Melikoff and Ocak do not take this case into consideration. When examined *the Vilayetname of Abdal Musa* which was written after the 15.cc and copied out by Veli Baba in 17.cc, it starts with Hacı Bektaş's notifying Abdal Musa's birth in Genceli after his death that points out a kind of metempsychosis. In *the Vilayetname of Abdal Musa*, one passage mentions about three trusts, which Abdal Musa left in the *dergah* after the death of Hünkar. Abdal Musa wanted his dervishes to get and bring these three trusts, one of them was *sarı alem*, a yellow sign, the other one was *mermer çerağ*, a marble torch and the last one was *yeşil ferman* and a green firman. These trusts were delivered by Kızıl Deli Sultan to Abdal Musa (Güzel, 1999). In *Vilayetname of Hacı Bektaş Veli* it is mentioned that Hacı Bektaş Veli sends his caliphs to different areas by giving them a tablecloth, a sign, a torch and a prayer rug. Namely, Abdal Musa can be thought as a caliph of the order rather than "the creator of the mythological personality of Hacı Bektaş Veli."

As Birge says, the *Vilayetname* gives some clues about the ritualistic side of the early Bektaşî order before Balım Sultan. The sentence "the rites whatever they were, were observed" indicates that some form of secret ritual used. Women performed the ritual as well as men, the obedience of saint was important. The terms like *dem*, *semah*, *telkin*, *muhip*, *Elifi tac*, *Hüseyni tac*, *çırağ*, *çırağ uyandırmak* are the parts of the Bektaşî ritual and tradition. It is not possible to prove all that originated with Hacı Bektaş himself but it is possible that rituals begin with him and the fundamental ideas by 1400 were a part of the whole order (Birge, 1965:49-50).

### 2.3.1. "The Second Pir" Balım Sultan

According to Çelebi Cemalettin Efendi, Hacı Bektaş Veli died in 1337. He gives the names of the *postnişins* of the order until Balım Sultan: Seyit Ali Sultan (Timurtaş), Seyit Ali Sultan's sons Rasul Bali and Mürsel Bali. After Mürsel Bali, his son Balım Sultan became *postnişin* (Birdoğan, 1996). Ulusoy argues that the only child of Hacı Bektaş Veli and Fatma Nuriye (Kadıncık Ana) was Seyyid Ali Sultan (he was also known as Timurtaş, Hızır Lale and in Rumelia as Kızıl Deli).



Seyyid Ali Sultan was by Orhan Gazi's son Süleyman Paşa during the Ottomans conquest of Rumelia. He founded the dervish lodge known as Seyit Ali Sultan Dergah in Dimetoka. While one of his sons, Rasul Bali was performing duties as *postnişin* in Hacıbektaş *Dergah* (dervish convent); his other son Mürsel Bali stayed in the dervish lodge in Dimetoka. After the death of Rasul Bali, he became *postnişin* at the *Pir Dergah* (the dervish convent in Hacıbektaş). From that time the Çelebis, the children of Hacı Bektaş and Kadıncık Ana separated in two branches as *Mürselli kolu* and *Hüdadadlı kolu*. Although Mürsel lineage became *postnişin*, the others whose lineage came from Hüdadad Çelebi could not become *postnişin* and also they could not manage the foundation of Hacı Bektaş Veli. After Mürsel Bali, his sons Balım Sultan and Kalender Çelebi became *postnişin* (Ulusoy, 1986). The others, who accept Hacı Bektaş as an unmarried person, give the names of the *postnişins* until Balım Sultan so: Sarı İsmail Sultan, Hızır Lale Bali Sultan, Mürsel Bali Sultan, Yusuf Bali Sultan, Resul Bali Sultan and Balım Sultan (Yüksel, 2002:217; Noyan, 1995: 51).

According to Trimingham, the organisation of the Bektaşî order did not develop until the 15<sup>th</sup>cc. During the 15.cc the Bektaşî order was developing into a comprehensive organisation and probably the first leader of the organisation was Balım Sultan (Trimingham, 1998:81-82). For Ocak, at the beginning of the 16.cc, Balım Sultan departed from the Haydari order and with the supports of the Ottoman administration he founded the Bektaşî order in the name of Hacı Bektaş Veli (Ocak, 1999:167).

The response to the question, Balım Sultan was not clear. As mentioned before according to the Çelebis, he came from the lineage of Hacı Bektaş Veli. On the other hand, others who accept Hacı Bektaş Veli was unmarried reject such a relation between them. Birge (1965) tells a story of Balım Sultan that was given him by Niyazi Dede of Albania in 1933.

There was in the region of Dimotika when Seyit Ali Sultan entered the country a Bulgarian king whose daughter made a prayer rug and hung it on the wall remarking to her mother that she should marry whoever prayed on it. Seyit Ali Sultan and Mürsel Baba visited the home, and without asking permission took down the rug and prayed upon it. Since they were both old men such as the girl would not care to marry, the Bulgarian princess lifted up the rug, both men fell off. Seyit Ali Sultan remarked that this act showed abnormal

strength, a strength, which really came not from her but from a Balım Sultan who would be born from her. Asking for honey, Mürsel Baba dipped his finger in it and put his finger in it and put his finger in the princess' mouth. The girl, still a virgin, became pregnant, and Balım, whose name is derived from bal, honey, was born. On the death of the children's mother he was taken to Seyit Ali Sultan's tekke at Sofular. Until he was eighteen he lived in a room said to be still known as "the school-room of Balım Sultan (Birge, 1965:56).

Baha Said argues that Beyazıt II attracted to the Seyit Ali Sultan Tekke. At that time, Hızır Bali was the *postnişin* of that tekke. After Şah İsmail announced his independence in Tebriz<sup>21</sup> and raided into Diyarbakır and Musul, as a measure Beyazıt sent Balım Sultan to *Pir Evi* as *postnişin*. The use of twelve candles in the service, wearing the *palihenk*, the ritual of Twelve Imams, being *mücerred* were new practices which were brought to the order by Balım Sultan (Baha Said, 2000:227-228).

Similarly for Melikoff, Beyazıt II sent Balım Sultan from Seyyid Ali Sultan Tekke where he was *postnişin* to *Pir Evi*, the dervish convent in Hacıbektaş as *postnişin*. The reason why Beyazıt II sent him to Hacıbektaş is explained by Melikoff as Beyazıt II's effort to ballast against the movements of Turcoman who had relations with Safavids. Melikoff argues that Balım Sultan claimed that he came from the lineage of Hacı Bektaş Veli because of the anxiety of being legitimate (Melikoff, 2004).

Moreover, Faruqhi says that due to Şah İsmail's effect on Turcoman tribes, Bayezid II should have aimed to find mediators in order to attract these tribes and he chose the Bektāşis as the mediator. However, it was a risky choice in the point

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<sup>21</sup> The Safavid dynasty was named after its ancestor Safi ad-Din (1232-4) who was a Sunni mystic and saint. The Sufi order grew up around him in Ardabil and at the time of Junaid the nature of order's Sufism changed adopting the heterodox teachings. (1447) Junaid and his son Haydar, the father of Ismail made active propaganda in Asia Minor and Persia with the help of their deputies. The order found following among the heterodox tribes of the central and the southwestern Anatolia. It claimed that the followers of the Safavid sheikhs came to be known as Kızılbaş because of the red headgear some of the converted Turkish tribes wore. Ismail was very young when his father Haydar died. Ismail was taken to Gilan. While he was living in Gilan (1494-1499), he was in contact with his followers in Anatolia. The disciples and the Sufis visited him from all sides, especially from districts of Rum, Karacadağ and Ahar. He left Gilan and went to Anatolia, to Erzincan in order to collect royal troops around him. With the army about 7000-8000 armed disciples from diverse parts of Anatolia, among whom there were mainly Turkish nomads, Turkicised peasantry and a few Kurdish groups, İsmail conquest Shirvan and Azarbaijan. Then he had crowned himself shah (1501). Also Şah Kulu Revolt occurred at the time of Bayezid II in the province of Teke around Antalya. The leader of the revolt was the son of a disciple of Ismail's father Haydar, called himself Şah Kulu. At the end of the revolt the rebellious, Tekeliler whose

of view of Ottoman Empire when thought that the Bektaşis already adopted these heretic beliefs. Thus, the main dergah in Hacibektaş might have closed down by the Ottoman administration for a time. Faruqî adds that in 1577, when the troops of Düzme Şah İsmail went towards Kırşehir, in Hacibektaş sheep were sacrificed because of delight. Many of the prosecuted communities that had heretic beliefs, by the end of 16.cc or at the beginning of 17.cc dissolved in the Bektaşî order. At that time, the Bektaşis had connection with Janissaries but except the dervish lodges in İstanbul and Kahire the others had no relations with Janissaries (Faruqî, 2003).

The relation between the *postnişins* of Hacibektaş dergah as the trustees of the foundation of Hacı Bektaş Veli and Ottoman administrators was inevitable. However, accepting Balım Sultan as the supporter of the Twelve Imams belief as a measure of Şah İsmail's effect on Turcomans seems to be baseless. The Twelve Imams belief were widespread among the heretic groups in Anatolia since 13.cc<sup>22</sup> and the Bektaşis would have accepted this belief for a long time before Balım Sultan became *postnişin* at the *dergah*. Moreover, the relation between the Bektaşis and the prosecuted Hurufis escaping to Anatolia and to Rumelia after Fazlullah<sup>23</sup> and other Hurufis were killed can give the clues about the connection with the Bektaşis and other 'heretic' groups.

### 2.3.2. The Revolt of Kalender Çelebi

After Balım Sultan's death, Kalender Çelebi became *postnişin*. At the reign of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman in the province of Karamania, there occurred a rebellion

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number were about 15.000 migrated to Iran (Sümer, 1999; Bruinessen, 1992:138-140; Birge, 1965:65-68; Savory, 1987:84-86).

<sup>22</sup> According to Sümer in 1309-1310 it is known that the Monghol ruler of Persia, Olcaytu threw off Sunnism and embraced Twelve Imam Shi'ism. In the provinces of Mongol Empire including Anatolia khutbaas read in the name of Twelve Imams and Ali was described as valiyyullah on the coins. It gained sympathy among the heterodox groups in Anatolia (Sümer, 1999:210).

<sup>23</sup> Fazlullah, the founder of Hurufi belief, spread it in Azerbaijani and Persia. Owing to his inspirations, which were disrespectful to canonical law of Islam, he arrested and killed. His book, Cavidan-Name explained the main line of the Hurufi belief. Fazlullah thought a cabalistic system of belief in numbers and their relations with letters as ultimate elements of the world that accepted as the supreme manifestation of God (Gölpınarlı, 1997:147; Korkmaz, 2003:203).

under the leadership of Kalender Çelebi in 1527. According to Ulusoy, the reason of the revolt was economic and the other reasons were prosecutions and executions of Kızılbaş during the reign of Yavuz Selim<sup>24</sup> (Ulusoy, 1986). Birge argues that the reason of the revolt was obscure. As the Turkish historian claims in 1526-1527 Kalender gathered twenty to thirty thousand dervishes, *abdals*, *kalenders* and others around him. Local authorities were insufficient for the revolt. Vezir İbrahim as the head of an army of three thousand Janisaries and two thousand *sipahis* marched against Kalender and people around him. The rebels near Elbistan were defeated by Vezir İbrahim (Birge, 1965:69-70). As Birge's claim, Hasluck points out that there is no connection between the Janissaries and the Bektaşis. The reason is that the Janissaries got to fight against the Bektaşis. Birge explains this situation as the Janissaries was kept unaware of the nature of fight (ibid, p.69). Kalender Çelebi's revolt cannot be thought apart from the revolt of Şah Kulu, the revolts of Nur Ali Halife and of Şah Veli b. Celal.<sup>25</sup> The similarity of the region between the revolt in the leadership of İsmail's Nur Ali Kahlifa, Şah Veli b. Celal and Kalender Çelebi's revolt is an important point. About ten years after the war of Çaldıran, this kind of revolt at the similar region points out the possibility of the relation between İsmail (he died in 1524), his son Shah Tahmasp and the main *tekke* in Hacıbektaş.

### 2.3.3. After the Revolt of Kalender Çelebi

Ulusoy states that while Balım Sultan was alive, there were no *dedebaba* and celibate dervish in the order. The claim that Hacı Bektaş Veli was celibate and the

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<sup>24</sup> When Selim I ascended the throne in 1512 it is said that he got prepared a list of Kızılbaşs about 40.000 many of whom executed or sentenced imprisonment. İsmail sent Nur Ali Khalifa Rumlu to Anatolia for the purpose of gathering together to devoted Sufis. When Khalifa reached to Kara Hisar, the Sufis of Rum and the murids from the region Sivas, Amasya, Tokat, Çorum joined him with their families. They revolted and were victorious against the Ottoman army. In 1514 on the field of Chaldıran the campaign between the Safavids and the Ottomans resulted in a victory of Selim against Şah İsmail. Birge (1965:66) adds that Şah İsmail defeated at the battle against Selim but Şah İsmail was a poet. His teachings spread out of the realm of the physical force; his nefes'es under the pen-name Hatayi are still influential among the Kızılbaşs and the Bektaşis(Sümer,1999:34-36; Birge,1965:66; Savory,1987:82-83).

<sup>25</sup> Due to the effects of the Şah Veli b. Celal's revolt, all movements that weakened the authority of Ottoman Empire were called as Celali in the 16. cc and in the first ten years of the 17.cc.

positions of being *dedebaba*<sup>26</sup> and of being celibate dervish in the order suggested after the death of Balım Sultan, in the chaos which the revolt of Kalender Çelebi brought about. However, this claim and the new positions in the order were wanted to connect with Balım Sultan. First *dedebaba* was Sersem Ali who was sent from İstanbul, 36 years after the death of Balım Sultan (Ulusoy, 1986:74). According to Noyan, after Balım Sultan, Hacı İskender Dede and Emir Kasım Dede became *postnişin*. Noyan does not mention about the revolt of Kalender Çelebi. He argues that Hudadad, the grandchild of Resul Bali killed Kalender Çelebi. Thereupon Kalender Çelebi's follower killed Hudadad. Because of the fact that there was not present a *postnişin* in *Pir Evi* about 34-35 years. Then one of the caliphs of Balım Sultan, Sersem Ali Baba became *dedebaba* of the *Pir Evi* between 1551 and 1570 (Noyan, 1995:51).

As mentioned before, Faruqi says that the dervish convent of Hacibektaş might have been closed down by the Ottoman administration for a time (Faruqi, 2003:187). Similarly, Melikoff states that dating from Selim I., the sultans had stopped to give donation to the *tekke*. Furthermore, Selim I. had the *tekke* closed down until the *tekke* reopened in 1551 (Melikoff, 2004:213). 1551 was the year when Sersem Ali Baba became *postnişin* in main *tekke*. Moreover, 1551 was the year when the order was separated as the *dedegan* and the *babagan* branch. There came to be at Hacibektaş *tekke* two leaders. Both of the branches accept Hacı Bektaş Veli as the patron saint but the difference based on accepting Hacı Bektaş Veli as celibate. The Çelebis, the *Dedegan* branch that claims being descendants from Hacı Bektaş, are recognised by the Alevi-Bektaşis as their spiritual authority. The babas, the *Babagan* branch, some of which are celibate, assert that Hacı Bektaş was celibate and had no children except from the children of way.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The highest position of the hierarchy in the Bektaşî order.

<sup>27</sup> It is necessary to mention about *dedelik* in order to understand the difference between the *Dedegan* Branch and the *Babagan* Branch. The *dede* is the spiritual chief among the Alevis. His followers are called as *talip*. All Alevi *dedes* affiliated with an *ocak* (hearth) and they must be *seyyid* that is their family genealogies must go back to Hz. Ali. *Mürşid*, *Pir* and *Rehber* are the three tiered hierarchies in *dedelik*. The *Pir* is the descendant of Muhammed-Ali and he is the senior figure. The *Mürşid* is depicted abstractly and *Rehber* is more specific. The *Rehber* is the assistant and representative of *Pir*. He shows *talip* the road to light. In some regions *Mürşid* and *Pir* change

### 2.3.4. The Abolition of the Janissaries and the Bektāşi Order

When Mahmud II came to the throne in 1808, he decided to form a regular army to restore the central authority besides a series of reforms of the state. The announcement of the new army led the Janissaries revolt. At the end of the battle between the Janissaries and the army of Mahmut II, about four thousand Janissaries were killed and many of them were executed in various cities of the Empire (Birge, 1965:76; Ahmad, 2000:25).

The destruction the Janissary army affected the tekkes of the Bektāşi order. All the Bektāşis in İstanbul and other places were investigated and were punished because of the accusation as the source of mischief and depravity. The books in *tekkes* were confiscated and the leaders among the Bektāşis were killed and sent into exile. Many of the Bektāşi *tekkes* were demolished or were turned into mosques, medreses or schools. A mosque built in the main tekke in Hacıbektāş and a Nakshibendi sheikh was sent to there for the purpose of Nakshibendi teaching (Birge, 1965:77; Küçük.H, 2002:35-36).

Mehmet Hamdullah Çelebi who was the *postnişin* of the *Dedegan* branch was exiled to Amasya. He was charged with corruption. Sivashlı Mehmed Nebi Dedebaba was not exiled but the Nakshibendi Sheikh, Kayserili Mehmed Said Efendi were sent as the supervisor of the *dergah* (Küçük.H, 2002:37). According to Ulusoy, Mehmet Hamdullah Çelebi's brother Veliyettin Çelebi died in 1828 one year after his becoming *postnişin*. Mehmet Hamdullah Çelebi, who was in

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places. The Ocakzade dedes can be classified in two groups, the independent ocakzade dedes and the dedes following the Çelebis of Hacı Bektāş. There are also some groups who are directly affiliated with the Çelebis. Unlike the Dedegan branch, baba is the important figure in the Babagan Branch of the Bektāşi Order and his genealogy is not important and every person can be a Bektāşi with the help of a mürşid although one become an Alevi if he/she born an Alevi. In Bektāşi belief the person who is attracted by and feels loyalty to the Bektāşi practice and principle but has not taken the initiation is called aşık. Being aşık is the first degree in Bektāşism. Aşık is candidate of the Bektāşi membership. In Bektāşism second degree is being muhip. Muhip is the person who has taken initiation, taken his nasip by the ceremony İkrar Ayini. Muhip can take part the formal ceremonies of order. Third degree is being dervish. A dervish may wear the official tac, headpiece of the order. He may be celibate or married. The fourth degree is being Baba. Like Derviş, Baba may be celibate or married. Some of the duties of Baba are marriage and funeral ceremonies, organising the necessary relief among the members. Being Halife can be thought not a degree but a rank. He/she ordains Babas and supervises all the work of the order in his district. The Dedebaba is the person who at the top of the order (Ulusoy, 1986:255; Birdoğan: 1995:147-148; Gölpınarlı, 1992:88; Birge, 1965).

exile, did not have a son and son of Veliyettin Çelebi, Ali Celalettin Çelebi held the warrant of the trustee of the foundation in 1846 and held the share as being descendant of Hacı Bektaş Veli in 1848 (Ulusoy, 1986:97).

### **2.3.5. After the Abolition of the Bektaşî Order**

Birge claims that how they did is unknown but twenty-three years after the abolition of the Bektaşî order, the order has been established again. The order was not only widespread but also had influence in the high places. By the year 1869, the Bektaşîs felt assured that in the government; they would assert when they need it. At that time, books about the Bektaş were printed like *Divan of Eşrefoğlu*, *Divan of Nesimi*, *Cavidan* (Birge, 1965:79-80).

According to Melikoff, after the abolition of the Janissaries and the Bektaşî *tekkes*, the non-conformist Bektaşîs became freethinkers and became progressivist in the 20<sup>th</sup> cc. They often became Freemasons and joined the Young Turks (Melikoff, 2003:7). As Küçük says, after the Balkan War the Turkist idea replaced with idea of Ottomanism and some of the Bektaşîs took place among the Turkists (Küçük.M, 2002:901).

The period after 1908 was vital for instituting the Turkish national consciousness. The history and traditions of Anatolia were rediscovered and also they were invented. Turkishness was defined in contrast to the rest of the Islamic world, making the emphasis on secularism (Ahmad, 2000:78). At the reign of the Young Turks, the Committee for Unity and Progress (CUP) idealized the Alevis as “true Turks”, preserving national Turkish culture and religion against foreign (Arabic) influences (Kehl-Bodrogi, 2003:56). According to Küçük, besides the separatist movement<sup>28</sup> of Albanian Bektaşîs, the interest of Western orientalis in non-Muslim minorities and in Alevis necessitated the Committee for Unity and Progress to tend the Alevi communities in Anatolia. For CUP, investigating Alevis in their ethnic and in cultural dimension and discovering their quality of

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<sup>28</sup> Before the Committee for Unity and Progress (CUP) tended to Alevis in Anatolia, the Bektaşîs took part among the opponent intellectuals in the cities like Salonika and got acquainted with the idea of nationalism (Küçük.M, 2002:901).

being Turk were vital against the orientalist's assertion about accepting Alevi as the relatives of Greeks of Anatolia and against their assertion to see in Alevi belief the origins of Christianity. Under Baha Said's leadership, *Türk Ocağı* and *Türk Cemiyeti* made researches on the Alevi groups in Anatolia. Under the effect of Pan-Turanism, Baha Said presented Alevi as the communities that preserved their language and ethnic properties more than other tribes having migrated from Central Asia. For him "Alevi are the most ethicist and the purest Turks" due to their Turkish hymns and prayers which they perform during the *cem* rituals. Moreover, he thought that the *dedes* in the Alevi community and the *kam*, shaman in the Asiatic shamanist tribes are performing the same religious leadership roles (Küçük.M, 2002:902). According to Baha Said:

The first and only genius person is Hacı Bektaş Veli who succeeded in reconciling Turk's primitive religion and Maniheism to Islam. The Bektaşis and Kızılbaş accepted the old Turk's religion, its tradition of hearth, its music and its conversation and its characteristics like to show respect to women also to give to women freedom. Moreover the Bektaşis and the Kızılbaş keeps all of them living (Baha Said, 2000:87).

For Baha Said, throughout the history of Ottoman, the goal of the Alevi was to preserve "Turk's language and Turk's blood". Although sultans, ministers and high officials "came into existence from seventy-two and half nation", Alevi succeeded in remaining Turk. Because they preserved the pre-Islamic Turk customs, they were blamed as heretics. Küçük argues that Baha Said's research was not known among Alevi and it is not known in Hacıbektaş although the main *tekke* had more relationship with the administration rather than others. On account of the fact that Alevi did not become aware of CUP's discovery about their being "pure Turk". For Küçük, the most concrete result of this research was Enver Paşa's and Talat Paşa's visit to Cemallettin Çelebi in Hacıbektaş (Küçük.M, 2002:902-903).

During the World War I, Ahmet Cemalettin Çelebi met Talat and Enver Paşa and he joined war on the East front with a volunteer force, *Mücahidin Alayları*. When Russia ended the war on all fronts, he returned to Hacıbektaş (Ulusoy, 1986:100). As Dersimi mentioned, Dersim tribes did not accept Talat Paşa's and Enver

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Paşa's call for joining the war against Russia. Thereupon in 1915, Cemalettin Efendi went to Dersim with his volunteer force in order to persuade the tribes of Koçgiri and Dersim to join war. They did not accept his call too. As Dersimi argues before returning to Hacıbektaş, Çelebi Efendi told him that he was pleased with Dersim tribes because they did not join war (cited in Birdoğan, 1996:11-18).

### 2.3.6 The Bektâşi Order during the National Struggle

During the National Struggle years, Mustafa Kemal wrote letters to some *şeyh* also visited them (Küçük.H, 2002:121). On December 1919, he visited the heads of the two branches of the order, Çelebi Cemallettin Efendi and Salih Niyazi Baba in Hacıbektaş. As Küçük mentions, in September 1919, both the nationalists and anti-nationalists visited Hacıbektaş. At the beginning of the National Movement, the support of Çelebi was crucial due to the plan to make congress in Sivas where a large number of Alevis, who were bound to Çelebi, lived (Küçük.H, 2002:157-158). Cemalettin Efendi, who is said to be deeply impressed by Mustafa Kemal, ensured his and his adherents' support for the national issue. The Alevis associated with Çelebi appeared to have followed Çelebi's appeal to support Mustafa Kemal however, some Kurdish Alevi tribes refused co-operation. During the independence war, the Koçkiri tribe claimed their autonomy from Ankara on the ground of their Kurdishness. It remained a local affair and suppressed (Kehl-Bodrogi, 2003:59). As the head of *Babagan* Branch of dergah, Salih Niyazi Baba supported the national struggle.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> With the help of a letter, which was written by Mustafa Kemal to Salih Niyazi Baba, Küçük concludes that Salih Niyazi Baba and Mustafa Kemal had good relations. She also gives fragments from Kansu about the visit of Hacıbektaş: "On our way to Ankara we visited Hacıbektaş to get their support. We could not neglect the 'Alevi-Bektâşi population whose number was in the millions. Cemalettin Çelebi and Salih Baba were their meşayih during that time. There was a conflict between the Çelebi and the baba concerning some financial matters. Reconciling between them would increase the support we may expect from them. ... Salih Baba came out to meet us in the farm. He was a week person, bearded, of medium height, smiling and elegant. First, we had our meal; afterwards, we headed for Hacıbektaş. I invited Salih Baba into my car. Rauf bey was also with me. We talked about Freemasonry. When we arrived in Hacıbektaş, he bade us farewell and went to dergah.

We went the room of Cemalettin Çelebi. The room was decorated rather simple. Cemalettin Çelebi was a man of medium height, plump and black bearded. He was dressed in a green turban and black robe. ...After we rested, a table with alcohol was set. Cemalettin Çelebi did not drink because of his ill health. He was gave us his word to support the National Forces and informed us of his support for the Republic. However, Atatürk did not discuss this subject, as he believed that it

In the first Turkish National Assembly there were three members in order to gain recognition of the Bektaşis and of the Alevis. These were Cemalettin Çelebi for Kırşehir, Hüseyin Mazlum (Bababalım) for Denizli, Ahmed Nüzhet for Ergani. There were also Alevi members at the TBMM (T.G.N.A.) from Dersim, from Erzincan and from Kars who were full of respect to Cemalettin Çelebi as the spiritual leader. Cemalettin Çelebi was elected to the Second Vice Presidency of the TBMM (T.G.N.A.) but he could not attend the meetings because of his illness and he died in 1922 (Küçük.H, 2002:166-167).

### **2.3.7. The Period of Turkish Republic and Closing down the Bektaşî Tekkes**

In the debate of “westernisation” Mustafa Kemal and his circle were the radical wing of the Young Turks and they believed in the popularised version of nineteenth century European positivism. They thought modernisation with secularism and they did not accept religion as the dominant factor for the basis of a nation-state (Zürcher, 2001). The declaration of the Republic and the new constitution; the abolition of the sultanate and caliphate- *Diyanet İşleri Reisliği* replaced caliphate- and the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* Law were the reforms, which aimed at secularizing the state. Moreover, there were reforms whose goal was secularization in the field of religious symbols such as wearing hat instead of *fes* (Zürcher, 2004:272-273). On the other hand, in the Kemalist sense, secularism did not mean separation of the state and religion. Religious belief, religious ritual and administration of religious institutions were attached to Directorate of Religious Affairs subordinated to the Prime Minister’s Office in order to control the orthodox Islam. Like Ottoman’s ignoring the heterodox minorities’ religious distinctness so did the Kemalists (Kehl-Bodrogi, 2003:63-64).

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was not the right time to talk about it. Cemalettin Çelebi was in favour of the Republic. Especially Salih Baba was a freethinking man and open-minded.

On the following day, we had a lunch given by Salih Baba. There was a table with forks and spoons set in the modern manner. Afterwards, we visited the dergah and the tomb. There was silence and good order everywhere. During that day we tried to reconcile between the Çelebi and the baba. As a result of our talks, the tension reduced to the extent that a certain degree of reconciliation seemed possible...” (cited from Küçük.H, 2002:162-164).

Due to the monopolisation of power and political legitimacy, the aim of the Kemalists in the mid-1920s was the establishment of a strong nation-state; in the late 1920s and 1930s with the cultural transformation, westernisation of Turkish society was put in an appearance. In February 1925, Şeyh Sait rebellion broke out among the Kurdish tribes in the southeast of the country which had dual nature both nationalist and religious. The rebellion was suppressed, the adaptation of the Law on the Maintenance of Order gave the government the authority of dictatorial powers. The religious activities which were outside the control of the Directorate of Religious Affairs were suppressed (Zürcher, 2001).

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 1925, Law no. 677 about closing all *tekkes* and *zaviyes* was passed by the Grand National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey. It was forbidden for such functions to be performed as had formerly gone with such titles as *şeyh*, *baba*, *seyit*, *mürşid*, *dede*, *çelebi* and *halife*. Penalties of not less than three months in prison and not less than fifty liras fine were specified for any whom ventured to violate this law. A later law was passed requiring that all articles within the *tekkes*, candles, swords, wall pictures, begging bowls, musical instruments, etc., should be held for the use of the Ethnographical Museum (Birge, 1965:84).

## CHAPTER 3

### FROM DERGAH TO MUSEUM: THE MAIN TEKKE OF HACIBEKTAŞ

#### 3.1. Introduction

The main *tekke* of Hacibektaş is the centre of the Alevi-Bektaşî belief for centuries and it has never lost its importance. In order to understand its continuous changing form, in this chapter the process which began with the abolition of the order in 1925 and which ended with reopening *dergah* as a museum will be elaborated. Before examining effects of the abolition of the *dergah* especially on the town, Hacibektaş, it will be focused on the organization in the order before the abolition. That is, it will be mentioned about the relation between the members of *dedegan* and *babagan* branch and about their relation with the Nakshi sheikh who was appointed since 1826. With the help of in-depth interviews, the events after abolition of the *dergah*, how the members of *dedegan* and *babagan* branches coped with the new conditions and their changed relations will be elaborated.

Moreover, with the establishment of Republic, related with the economic, political and cultural transformation in this period, changed condition of Alevi-Bektaşîs, alteration in their community till 1960s will be examined. At this period connected with the state's discourse about Alevism-Bektaşîsm, Alevi-Bektaşî identity began to form and in the early 1960s, Alevis began to claim their identity in public. This identity formation process reflected to the centre of Alevism-

Bektaşism and opening the *dergah* as museum. Celebrating this opening date as a memorial ceremony caused to begin a new period for Alevi-Bektaşis and the town. In this chapter, the conditions of Alevi-Bektaşis and Hacıbektaş before 1964, namely before the memorial ceremonies will be examined.

### 3.2. The Tekke of Hacıbektaş

The *dergah* was a place where Bektaşî dervishes and babas lived and performed their daily and religious duties. It consists of three courtyards that stand in line from west to east.

When the tekke served as the home of Bektaşîs, their daily life and religious duties were distinguished by ranks. ... It was a purely hierarchic system where the position of chief within one yard secured entrance to the next. The physical movement to inner centre of the convent symbolised a spiritual journey towards the divine source of life (Markussen, 2000:64).

There were a bakery, *Ekmek Evi* and a stable, *At Evi* in the first yard. Also on the east side of the yard, there was a fountain, which is still remain unlike *At Evi* and *Ekmek Evi*. On top of the fountain, there is a star with six points called *Mühür-Süleyman*.<sup>30</sup> The door of the second courtyard is *Üçler Kapısı*. In the second courtyard, in *Dergah avlusu* there is a pool on the east and at the right of the pool there is a fountain, which is called *Aslanlı Çeşme*. On the right side of the second courtyard, there is a kitchen, *Aş Evi* and a mosque. Mahmut II had this mosque built in 1825 with the abolition of the order. On the left side there are *Mihman Evi*, home for guests; *Meydan Evi*, home for religious ceremonies and *Kiler Evi*, a larder side by side. The door of the third courtyard is called *Altılar Kapısı*. The third courtyard contains the *Pir Evi* (the mausoleum of Hacı Bektaş Veli), the mausoleum of Balım Sultan and the tombs of the *babas* and dervishes of the order. Also the tombs of the Çelebis are in the *Pir Evi*.

Before the abolition of the *dergah*, there were eight babas in *tekke*. Each baba was responsible for the building or vineyards. They were called as *Kiler Evi Babası*, *Aş Evi Babası*, *Ekmek Evi Babası*, *Mihman Evi Babası*, *At Evi Babası*, *Han Bağı*

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<sup>30</sup>The Museum Catalogue, Hacıbektaş Culture and Tourism Association, 1999.

*Babası, Balım Evi Babası* (Birge, 1965:82). The *Baba* of *Kilerevi* was the *dedebaba*. He appointed the *babas* to other branches and led the *Ayin-i Cem*. The *Çelebis* could not participate in their affairs. When the *Çelebi* gave permission to dervishes in order to be *baba*, it was the exceptional case. In the *Babagan* branch, most of the *babas* were Albanian. The *Bektaşis* in İstanbul and other cities were bound to the *babas* in *Hacıbektaş* (Küçük.H, 2002:136-137).

The relation between the *Çelebis* and *babas* was not clear. A *Çelebi* as a descent of *Hacı Bektaş* was recognised as the rightful head of the order by some *Bektaşis* and *Kızılbaş* tribes throughout the country. The others who had the belief that *Hacı Bektaş* had no descendants accepted as the head of the order *Dedebaba*. When Mahout II sent the *Nakşibendi* sheikh to the *dergah*, besides the conflict between the *babas* and the *Çelebis* there were a conflict between the *Nakşi* sheikh and *babas* too. The *Nakşi* sheikh was perceived by *babas* as coordinator of their relation with the state (Küçük.H, 2002:149).

*Müdafaa*, which was written by *Çelebi Cemalettin Efendi*, indicates the conflict between the *Çelebis* and the *babas* clearly. *Çelebi Cemalettin Efendi* tried to prove his position as the sheikh of the *tekke* and of the foundation with help of the firmans of sultan, of trial writs and of the warrants sent by Ottoman administration. According to him, calibate *babas* did not have any formal authority. Until *Türabi Baba*,<sup>31</sup> other *babas* had performed their informal and religious duties but when *Turabi Baba* became *dedebaba*, they began to violate the authority of the descents of *Hacı Bektaş Veli*. On the other hand, the authority to appoint to *postnişin* belonged to him as the descents of the *Mürselli* Branch of *Hacı Bektaş*. Also he said that the income of the foundation of the *Hacıbektaş Tekke* was appropriated for trustee, for worker, for providing the foods of the *tekke* and visitors, for the reparation of the mausoleum and the *dergah* and for the *Çelebis* as the children of *Hünkar*. The *Çelebis* who had 14 houses in *Hacıbektaş* were tax-free from all the lands in *Hacıbektaş* and all the harvests on the regions of *Kütüklü*, *Hasanlarbaşı*, *Sadıktepesi*, *Delikengel*, *Kesecik* (Birdoğan, 1996).

### 3.2.1. The Dede Bağı and the Han Bağı

The Dedebağı is on the north side of the town; also the Hanbağı is on the south side. Before the abolition of the *dergah*, the fruits and vegetables were produced for the *dergah* in the Dedebağı and in the Hanbağı. When the *dergah* was closed down, Evkaf *İdaresi* sold them and now the Dedebağı and the Hanbağı are properties of the municipality. In order to enter the inner hearths of the *dergah*, dervishes had to serve in these vineyards. There are tombs of the dervishes who served in these vineyards (Sümer: 272; Gürses, 1964).

### 3.2.2. The Bektaş Efendi Mausoleum

The Bektaş Baba Mausoleum is at the north of the *dergah*. It is written on the epitaph that is on the wall of the mausoleum that “This mausoleum was built in 1603 in the name of Şeyh Bektaş who is the son of Mahmut, the descents of Hacı Bektaş Veli.” Nothing is known about Bektaş Efendi but rumours say that Şeyh Bektaş was executed in İstanbul and he got his cutting head and returned to Hacıbektaş. Thereupon the mausoleum was built (Gürses, 1964:94-95).

### 3.2.3. The Balım Evi (The House of Kadıncık Ana)

The *Balım Evi* is on the foot of the Karahöyük hill. This house is mentioned in *Vilayetname* as the house of İdris Hoca and Kadıncık Ana. The *Balım Evi* was the hearth of the celibate dervishes. When the property of the *dergah* was sold, an inhabitant of Hacıbektaş bought and protected it against ruination. This house was restored by the General Directorate of Vakıflar (ibid, p.92-93).

### 3.2.4. The Çilehane

The Çilehane, which is called the Arafat Mountain, is on the east side of the town. The *babas* of the *dergah* built there as a visiting side. They built a fountain for the *Zemzem* spring and they made a garden around it. When the *dergah* was closed down, this garden was sold by the *Evkaf Dairesi* and it turned an infertile hill. The

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<sup>31</sup> Yanbolulu Hacı Ali Türabi Baba became dedebaba at the Hacıbektaş tekke in 1849 and

Çilehane (*Delikli Taş*) is upstairs of the *Zemzem* fountain. According to *Vilayetname*, Hacı Bektaş Veli went into retreat in the *Delikli Taş*, a hollow among the big rocks. There is a big hole on the hollow. People believe that the sinless people can pass through this hole (ibid, p.82-83).

### 3.3. Closing Down the Tekke of Hacıbektaş

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of November 1925, Law no. 677 was passed by the Grand National Assembly of the Republic of Turkey. According to Gürses, the governor of the township and the gendarme commander invited Salih Niyazi Dede Baba to the second courtyard and told him that the *babas* and the dervishes of the *dergah* had to take their Bektaşî clothes off and stop the Bektaşî rituals. The Bektaşîs obeyed these commands and left the *dergah*. Having left the *dergah*, it was pillaged. Thereupon as a measure the doors of the rooms in the *dergah* locked and the dervishes got to guard the rooms. On the other hand, many of the objects got lost (Gürses, 1964:45-46).

Ali Sümer (70, M, old director of museum, Hacıbektaş) who is a *halife baba* of the order and who was the director of the museum from 1964 to 1987 argues that there was degeneration in the order. Atatürk<sup>32</sup> did not want to differentiate the Bektaşî order from other ones, so he had the *dergah* closed down. Because throughout history the Bektaşîs had been suppressed, no one could dare to oppose. In 1925 dervishes left the *dergah*. After that hurriedly a commission was assembled in Kırşehir in order to get and sell the objects of the *dergah*. Ali Sümer (70, M, old director of museum, Hacıbektaş)<sup>33</sup> adds that:

There was such booty. At that time historians came to Hacıbektaş from Ankara. Fortunately they wrote for example there are such things in Aşevi. I used their writings while decorating the museum. Of course during this booty there was not an inventory, not a minute. Guys said that the manuscripts putting three sacks sent to Ankara. Twenty bale carpets were sent and such sloppy things. It is clear that guys kept the most beautiful

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performed his duty until death in 1868(Yüksel, 2002).

<sup>32</sup> Sümer claims that Atatürk was the member of Bektaşî order.

<sup>33</sup> The interviewees' age, gender, occupation and hometown are written beside their names in parentheses.



carpets and instead of them, they put sloppy ones. Now we see the footnotes of the books that refer to private libraries, we understand that these books have never been sold. They put the *dergah*'s books on their own libraries. Carpets and rugs were sent to Turk Islam's place where I don not know. I went to İstanbul, no one of the carpets remained. A law was passed in 1934, carpets were sent to big mosques. Apart from the stolen ones, 1083 sorts of objects remained. When I was the director of the museum I collected all of them and put in the museum. There was a huge loss in 1925. The objects, which I exhibited, were unimportant ones.

*Böyle bir yağma var. O ara Ankara'dan tarihçiler geliyor. Allahtan onlar yazmışlar, ben dekor yaparken çok faydalandım, mesela diyor ki aşevinde şu var... Tabii bu yağmalama sırasında güzel bir tutanak yok, envanter yok. Mesela adam diyor ki üç çuval yazma kitap Ankara'ya gönderildi diyor. Yirmi balya diyor halı kilim gönderildi, böyle uyduruk şeyler. Tabii adamlar ne yapıyor, en güzel halıları alıyorlar, adet tutsun diye yerine uyduruk halıları koyuyorlar. Şimdi görüyoruz kitapların dip notlarında özel kütüphane diye, bakıyoruz kitap satılmamış ki, uyanık adam koyuyor kendi kütüphanesine. Halı kilim şeye gitmiş, Türk İslam ne bileyim neyi, İstanbul'a gittim yok, bir tane kilim kalmamış. Sonra bir yasa çıkmış 1934'de, halılar ulu camilere gönderilmiş. Bir tane bulamadık yani. Orda çalınanın dışında 1083 kalem eşya kalmıştı. Ben müdür olunca, yasa da çıktı, onları getirdim, yerinde sergiledim işte. 1925'de epey kayıp verildi. Belki bu benim bulduğum, derlediklerim yüzeysel şeyler.*

According to the law 677 when the dervish lodges and tombs were closed down, Koşay was appointed as the director of Ancient Monuments in Educational Service. Koşay mentions that:

It was necessary to take an action in order to preserve the works in Hacıbektaş. When Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Ressam Şerafettin, the inspector of the directorship of Vakıflar Directorship and me went to Hacıbektaş, the *dergah* was turned into a school of agriculture. The local commission that was assembled after the abolition of the *dergah*, took the objects from some of the rooms. Some of the objects gave in the General Directorship of Vakıflar. 979 works, which were decided to exhibit, sent to the store in the Castle of Ankara. I get them as a director when the museum of Etnografya constituted. I tried to collect the other works buying them, which were seized by the persons. The general director of libraries H.F. Turgal classified and settled the books about *tasavvuf* that I made gathered from the dervish rooms. Among them there was the *Otman Baba Menakibi* too (Sümer: 264-265).

The *postnişin* of the *Dedegan* branch, Veliyettin Ulusoy (62, M, retired) says that his family supported the passed law about closing down the dervish lodges and tombs:

The support of this law resulted from the false people who settled down the *dergah*. At that time the *dergah* was under the foundation governing, so security forces did not allow to enter there. Therefore, thieves and illegal people refuge to the *dergah*. Moreover, my family supported this law because they were the supporters of Atatürk's revolutions. The *dergah* stood for along time closed. Then, at the period of the Demokrat Party, my family had great influence on the opening of the *dergah* as museum. That time there were deputies like Yusuf Ulusoy, also my uncle was the chairman of the Hacıbektaş Tourism Presentation Association, they worked hard and the museum was opened.

*Sebebi de layık olmayan insanların orada oturması. O zamanki yasalara göre kolluk kuvvetlerinin giremediği bir vakıf idaresi olduğu için hırsızların, kanun kaçaklarının sığındığı bir yer olmuş. Bu açıdan, bizimkiler de bunlardan kurtulmak için ve Atatürk*

*devrimlerinin destekçisi oldukları için yasayı gönülden desteklemişler. Dergah uzun süre kapalı kaldı ve sonra müze olarak açılmasında, Demokrat parti dönemi, yine bizim ailenin etkisi oldu. O dönem milletvekilleri vardı Yusuf Ulusoy olsun, yine milletvekili olmayan Hacıbektaş Turizm Tanıtma Derneği başkanı amcam Ali Celalettin Ulusoy olsun, bu yolda epey emek harcadılar ve müze olarak açıldı.*

When the *dergah* was closed down, the head of the *Dedegan* branch was Veliyeddin Çelebi and the head of the *Babagan* branch was Salih Niyazi Dedebaba. After closing down the tekke, Salih Niyazi Dedebaba went to Ankara and he tried to use the Anadolu Otel at Ulus as a *dergah*. In 1930, he left Ankara and went to Tirana, Albania with some other *mücerret babas* (Küçük.H, 2002:240-241). Before going to Albania, Salih Niyazi Dedebaba left the trusts of the order to Ali Naci Baykal Dedebaba. For this reason Ali Naci Baykal became *dedebaba* while others were becoming halife. Ali Naci Baba left the position of *dedebaba* to Bedri Noyan. According to the election which was held after the death of Bedri Noyan, some of the Bektaşis accept Mustafa Eke Baba as *dedebaba* also some of them accept Haydar Ercan Baba as *dedebaba* (Aydın, 2002:340; Yüksel, 2002:219).

After abolition of the *dergah*, Hacıbektaş lost in practice its centrality of the order for the *Babagan* branch.<sup>34</sup> The Çelebis already lived outside the *dergah*. They have continued to live in Hacıbektaş and also their contact with their *talips* and the *dedes* of *ocaks* affiliated with the Çelebis have gone on. Veliyettin Ulusoy (62, M, retired) tells that before the *dergah* opened as museum, people came to their (Çelebi's) houses:

We have always guests. When the *dergah* was closed, many of them came in autumn and in winter; they sacrificed in our houses. Because the *dergah* was closed they went there secretly.

*Misafirlerimiz hep olurdu. Yoğunluk daha çok sonbahar ve kış aylarında olurdu. Misafirler gelirlerdi, kurban keserlerdi evlerimizde. Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin külliyesine gizlice giderlerdi, o zaman kapalı olduğu için.*

While explaining the reason why the tekke was closed down, Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacıbektaş) expresses common view of the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş:

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<sup>34</sup> After abolition of the *dergah* some of the dervishes continued to live in Hacıbektaş. My grandmother tells about her grandmother's second husband who was a dervish of the order.

These places turned into homes, which caused harm in the society. Not only the dergah but also all dervish lodges caused harm. I talked to people who lived at this period. None of them felt disturbed from closing down the *dergah*. Before 60s the *dergah* was a neglected place. Why it was neglected, because all useful objects of the dergah were carried to Ankara. The *dergah* was a place in ruins. I remember, when I was a child, we came here, we played and ate mulberries of the tree in front of the Balım Sultan tomb. A new era began with the Democrat Party government in 50s. Any longer religion, sect and orders became more and more important. The government made the tombs, therefore the *dergah* was restored. The objects sent to Ankara came to the dergah again. I know the years in 50s, few people visited here.

*Artık bu tür şeyler topluma zarar veren yuvalar haline gelmiş. Yani miskin insanların, tembel, toplumu aldatan insanların yuvalandığı, insanlara güzellikleri değil, kötülükleri aşılayan bir yer haline gelmiş. Sadece burası değil, bütün tekkeler. O dönemde yaşayan insanlarla ben çok konuştum. Buranın kapatılmasından rahatsızlık duyan birine rastlamadım. 1960'dan önce burası çok bakımsızdı. Neden bakımsızdı, kapatılmasının ardından işe yarar malzemeler de götürülmüş Ankara'ya. Bura virane gibi bir yer. Yani ben çocukluğumda hatırlıyorum da gelip burda oynardık, dut yerdik. 1950'lerde Demokrat Parti iktidarından sonra yeni bir dönem başladı. Artık din, mezhep tarikat ön plana çıkmaya başladı. Bu tür yerler restore edilmeye başladı. Ankara'ya götürülen malzemeler tekrar getirildi. Ben 50'li yıllarda biliyorum buraya çok az insan gelirdi.*

The general director of the Old Works and Museums in the Ministry of Public Education, Mehmet Önder says that the members of the Demokrat Party intended to open some of the closed dergahs to visit. Among others, Hacı Bektaş Veli's tomb was in the list.

Hacı Bektaş Veli's tomb which was the under the management of the *Vakıflar İdaresi*, was left in its fate. There were roof slopes and the valuable ornaments with pen on the walls of tomb were pleading.[...] A report about restoration of the Hacı Bektaş *Dergah* was made by Halim Baki Kunter, the member of the management of the General Directorship of Vakıflar, by Ali Sami Ülgen, the chief architect of Vakıflar and by Mahmut Akok, the expert in the General Directorship of Old Works and Museums. [...] After 1960, the activities about restoration of the *dergah* gained speed. [...] The restoration finished at the end of 1963. In order to open the *dergah* as museum, it was necessary to give right to employ of the dergah to the General Directorship of the Old Works and Museums in the Ministry of Public Education, remaining the ownership of *dergah* in the *Vakıflar İdaresi*. [...] The objects of the *dergah* stood in the Ankara Etnografya Museum. At first, I got the committee under the leadership of Mahmut Akok to select the objects of *dergah* and to send them to Hacıbektaş. Then I got sent the books to Hacıbektaş, which were appropriated by the Ankara Umumi Library having taken from Hacıbektaş. Meanwhile many people presented to the *dergah* carpets, chandeliers, signbroads and other objects related with the Bektaşî order. I appointed the staff of the museum. I appointed Ali Sümer, a hard-working young man who was fond of Hacı Bektaş Veli as the director of museum. Mahmut Akok had the shopwindows decorated and began to exhibit the objects in these. In a few months the museum was ready to open. With the suggestion of Prof. Ragıp Üner the museum would open to visit in August 16, 1964 (Önder, 1994:36).

On 16<sup>th</sup> August 1964, the main dergah was opened as the museum under the name of the *Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli Müzesi* to the visitors.

### 3.4. The Turkish Republic and the Alevi-Bektaşî Identity

Before the constitution of Republic, apart from the ones in Hacıbektaş, who had connection with the central government, most of the Alevis lived into remote and small communities. Ottoman rulers and the *ulema* accepted Alevis and Bektaşîs as infidels and heretics. Especially during the 16.cc Alevis suffered severe prosecutions. They developed independent theological reasoning and a specific system of communal religious institutions and self-sufficient communities. With the Republic, the basic principles of Kemalism, secularism and nation provided them equality with the Sunni majority. The country-wide scale changes and reforms linking villages to cities resulted in an opening to the outside for the Alevis, who lived in isolated villages (Shankland, 2003:24; Bozkurt, 2003:92). However, the Republic did not recognize the Alevis. Especially in the 1930s and the early 1940s, because of the more aggressive and militant version of secularism, the Alevi dedes were arrested and charged with illegal religious and superstitious activities (Kehl-Bodrogi, 2003:63-64).

The Dersim rebellion was the part of the Kemalist's efforts to constitute a nation-state through assimilation and repression the identities that did not fit the definition of their nation. When the Republic was constituted, some of the tribes opposed to the Republican government's modernisation measures like building road, bridges, schools, military and police posts due to the fear of the lost of their independence although some of them cooperated with the government forces. In 1936, the region was brought under military rule for the purpose of civilisation and pacification (ibid, p.65-66). The Dersim rebellion of 1937-38 was suppressed with great excess of violence, resulting in the massacre of at least 10 per cent of the population. Mass deportations contributed to the relatively successful assimilation of the Dersimis and their integration into the public life of Turkey. In spite of the memory of 1937-38, many educated Dersimis felt closer to the secular Kemalist reformers (Bruinessen, 1997). Dersim rebellion was suppressed in 1938 and Dersim was bound to the Turkish Republic as the province of Tunceli. As a result of the state's suppressing policies, *dedes* and chiefs of the tribes lost their

affect on the people of Dersim. While the *cem* rituals were becoming infrequent, *musahiplik* was over (Bumke, 1997:134-135).

As Küçük argues the Republic did not call Alevis as Alevis but it called them as Turks. The researches about Alevis and Bektâşis were started by the CUP and the researches of Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Yusuf Ziya Yörükan, Fuat Köprülü and Ahmet Refik followed them. The Kemalists accepted Alevis as the authentic representatives of the nationality and invited them to the benefactions of the administrative center. The Kemalists appreciated their being “Turk” but in accordance with the national unity they had to undress their beliefs. That is, the Alevi beliefs and rituals were not approved by the regime. For Küçük, Alevis adopted nationalism as a mean in order to bring the Alevi existence into the light. In spite of the regional resistance, many Alevis received the invite of the centre positively. Following ten years of the Republic, the Alevis could take place on the ranks of the state as being teacher, soldier, engineer and public prosecutor (Küçük.M, 2002:903).

After World War II, the period of multiparty regime has begun owing to the discontent of people and of the bourgeoisie, owing to the destroyed relation with Soviet Union and the desire to be close to America. Against the DP İnönü liberalised the party and the regime. Although secularism was one of the characteristics of the Kemalist regime, he decided to restore religious instructions in schools (Ahmad, 2002). In the first years of Republic, Alevis seemed to be persuaded to the suggestions of government but they largely supported DP against the single party policies (Küçük.M, 2002:904). The Democrat Party won the elections in 1950. On the other hand, during the ten years of the Democrat Party rule, the development of democratic practice got worse than the single party rule. Besides anti-democratic laws passed by the Assembly, Menderes used populist policies and exploited religion for political ends. The prohibition of the call to prayer in Arabic was removed. The education of religion was expanded and the schools of İmam Hatip and mosques multiplied. Admitting the support of the Nurcus they supplied the legitimization of such religious organizations (Ahmad, 2000; Zürcher, 2004). At these years Alevis, who stood out of the relation

between DP and the orders, were able to print the traditional texts like *Buyruk* and *Hüsniye* in Latin alphabet that formerly could only be read by *dedes* who knew the old writing (Küçük.M, 2002:905).

Owing to the relation between DP and the Sunni conservatives, Alevis directed towards CHP. With the help of the published journals and books after the coup d'état in 1960, the opinions of the researchers like Köprülü, Barkan and Eröz about the national content of Alevism were acknowledged by many of Alevis. These opinions became popular among Alevis. Alevis wanted to learn why the national state did not recognize them despite of the fact that they preserved the nation of Turk at the time of Ottoman Empire and they supported the foundation of the national state also they have been performing the rituals in Turkish<sup>35</sup>(Küçük.M, 2002:905).

In 1963, the coalition government of İsmet İnönü presented a law to the National Assembly about the organization of the Religious Affairs, which proposed the Department of Religious Sects on the structure of the Religious Affairs Department. Thereupon the rightist press attacked to Alevis and to İnönü. Against these attacks the university students in Ankara declared an announcement, which printed on *Akşam* and on the other newspapers. This announcement was the first one to have been written in the name of Alevis in order to react to one event. In 1966, when the chairman of the DİB, İbrahim Elmalı's speech indicated Alevis as target two announcement followed the first one (Şener&İlknur, 1995:82).

The first Alevi-Bektaşî association under the name of the Hacı Bektaş Tourism and Presentation Association was organized in 1963, in Ankara. In the same year, under the leadership of Celalettin Ulusoy, the Hacı Bektaş Culture and Development Association and the Poets Association were established. In 1963, Hacı Bektaş Tourism and Presentation Association organized a *cem* ritual in Ankara Büyük Sinema (Ankara Big Cinema); they also organized a panel entitled

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<sup>35</sup> Cemal Özbey's book published in 1963 can be read as the example of the "popular opinions about the national content of Alevism." Özbey, C. (Avukat) (1963). *Alevilik Üzerine Tartışmalar*. Ankara:Emek Basımevi

as Secularism and Democracy at the same place. In 1966, the Union Party (Birlik Partisi) was established<sup>36</sup> (Kaleli, 2000).

According to Dumont, the matter of Alevi became a current issue in 1960s because by these years the political conditions fit this kind of a situation. The socio-economic events began at the late 1950s, such as the industrial advance, urbanization, population increase, media, and migration from rural areas to big cities and to abroad have affected the political division and the emergence of various social, ethnic and religious forces. The Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli in 1964 was the first sign of the coalescence of Alevis. In 1966, the other sign was the journal called Cem, whose claim was the protection of the Kemalist tradition and Alevism. In the same year, the Union Party (Birlik Partisi) was established. However, in 1960s the general public opinion about being Alevi was equal with being leftist and being communist (Dumont, 1997:144-145).

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<sup>36</sup> The rumour that AP got Union Party established in order to prevent the probable votes of TİP or of CHP became widespread. The Union Party participated in 1969 elections and 8 deputies of Union Party were elected. When 5 deputies of UP participated in AP, the interest in UP decreased. In 1973 elections General President of the UP, Mustafa Timisi was elected from Sivas. In 1977 elections there were not any deputies from UP. After the military take-over in 1980 the party was closed down (Kaleli, 2000).

## CHAPTER 4

### THE HISTORY OF THE MEMORIAL CEREMONIES OF HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ AND THE ACTIVITIES OF CULTURE AND ART

#### 4.1. Introduction

The memorial ceremony began with reopening of the *dergah* as museum in 1964 and it has continued since that date without being interrupted. On the other hand, from 1964 to 2004 there have been many changes in its form and its feature. In other words, during these forty years through the ceremonies, economic, social, political and cultural transformations in Turkey, changing definitions and relations of actors who have been participating in the ceremonies will be elaborated. Above all, the identity formation process of Alevi-Bektaşis and the place of the ceremonies in this process will be the focus of this chapter.

Although the ceremonies include religious and social aspects too, in order to frame this chapter, it will be especially concentrated on the official part of the ceremonies. That is, the part of the ceremonies which have organized and continued with a programme. The ceremonies will be studied in different periods, each period refers to changing conditions of Turkey and changing characteristics of the ceremonies and of the Alevi-Bektaşis identity. On the other hand, each period will be examined taking into consideration the Alevi-Bektaşis' relation with the state, with other actors and with themselves. From beginning to 2004, the



Alevi-Bektaşî identity formation and struggle for hegemony through the signs and symbols, particularly construction Hacı Bektaş Veli as a sign by antagonist actors who have different ideology and different discourses about Alevism-Bektaşism will be pointed out. In order to be able to point out this dynamic and multivoiced process, in-depth interviews, the news from different newspapers and booklets about the ceremonies will be used.

#### 4.2. The Ceremonies from 1964 to 1974

After a closure of almost 39 years, the tekke was opened as a museum on 16<sup>th</sup> August 1964. From that time on, the annual Bektaşî celebrations were held at Hacıbektaş in mid-August, in this way they have the opportunity to make themselves acceptable to the authorities and general public. Following the Mevlevî<sup>37</sup> example, the festival was promoted as a tourist attraction and Hacı Bektaş Veli was portrayed as the great Turkish philosopher (Norton, 1983:80).

Ali Sümer (70, M, old director of museum, Hacıbektaş) explains why the museum was opened on 16<sup>th</sup> August and why the memorial ceremonies have performed at that date:

Having collecting the objects, we decided to organize an opening ceremony, a memorial ceremony. A committee was arranged. It was calculated that the opening ceremony came across on Sunday and in a hot air. In hot air people could sleep in their cars or could sleep in the open air. There is not a relation between the opening date of museum and the death or the birthday of Hacı Bektaş Veli. First in 1964, we decided to open the museum on Sunday because on Sundays people could easily come to Hacıbektaş. Secondly it was the time, when home product vegetables and fruits were growth; people would eat them. For these reasons we balanced the opening ceremony on 16<sup>th</sup> August.

*Eşyaları topladıktan sonra dedik ki bir açılış yapalım, anma töreni yapalım. Komiteler komisyonlar kuruldu. Önce Pazar gününe gelmesi, bir de sıcak bir iklime denk gelmesi hesap edildi. Sıcak iklimde halk işte arabasında yatabilir, açıkta yatabilir. 1964'te ilk, Hacı Bektaş'ın ne doğumuyla ne ölümüyle ilgili değil, halk kalabalık olsun diye pazara denk getirelim dedik. İkincisi burda yerli üzüm, salatalık, domates, salatalık falan çıkar, halk yer diye. O nedenle biz açılış törenini 16 Ağustos'a denk getirdik.*

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<sup>37</sup> Since 1953 for the benefit of visitors the Mevlevîs had been allowed an annual whirl in public in Konya (Norton, 1983).

The general director of the Old Works and Museums, Mehmet Önder says that he asked to the Minister of the Public Education Dr. İbrahim Öktem whether he would open the museum or he would not:

He responded so: “You will open the museum. I will send the councillor Nuri Kodamanoğlu to Hacібektaş, if it is necessary he will speak at the ceremony. Let see what you can do, do not give an opportunity to an event. We do not open a Bektaşі dergah, we open a museum. As you know, after opening the museum visits will not be free.” The Minister told so, but in Hacібektaş and in Turkey, there were a group of people some of whom accepted themselves as the descents of Hacı Bektaş Veli or some of whom declared themselves as the Bektaşі *babas* because their forefather were Bektaşі sheikh of the Bektaşі lodges. However, Hacı Bektaş Veli did not marry, also he had no children. The Bektaşі order was established long time after the death of Hacı Bektaş Veli. The Bektaşі order was not important. The important things were Hacı Bektaş Veli’s historical identity as a Turkish thinker and *mutasavvıf* and also his loftiness and his utility to the Turkish thought. We introduced Mevlana to the world with his similar characteristics to Hacı Bektaş Veli. The Mevlevi order, which was established after the death of Mevlana, was only a field of our research.

One day before the opening ceremony, I came to Hacібektaş. I met there with the Mayor and the Head Official of Hacібektaş. We looked over the ceremony’s programme. We decided to open the museum in August 16, 1964 at 14.00 o’clock with an opening ceremony on the Municipality Square. Because there was not any hotel in the town, they had me as a guest in the lodging of the Ziraat Bank. I could not sleep that night. The noises of the trucks, of the buses, of the coaches and of the oxcarts began in the middle of the night. Hundreds of, thousands of people invaded in Hacібektaş. And all the while the Çelebis in Hacібektaş sent news to all around: “On 16<sup>th</sup> August our forefather Hacı Bektaş Veli’s tomb and the dergah will be opened. We invite everybody to *lokma* in our houses.” Bringing their gift people run to Hacібektaş. In the morning the director of museum came and said that: “Sir, at least about fifteen thousand of people came from the villages and cities. They arrive at the door of the Museum. I am in a great difficulty.” At once I called the Head Official of Hacібektaş. One squad of gendarme guarded the door of the Museum. It was almost impossible to make an opening ceremony; also it was impossible to give a speech at the ceremony. [...] If the crowd have entered in the Museum, the Museum would have been destroyed. Desperately the help of the Governorship of Kayseri was demanded. About one hundred soldiers were sent to Hacібektaş. They surrounded the museum. As from midday under the supervision of gendarme people visited the Museum in rank order. The crowd continued during the day. If these measures had not taken the crowd would run over each other also they would disturb the objects and the building of Museum. The following day, the number of the visitors decreased. That day visitors paid money in order to enter the museum (Önder, 1994:39).

As Önder remembered a great number of people participated in the opening ceremony of the Museum, they were people who wanted to visit their *dergah*.

According to Ali Sümer (70, M, old director of museum, Hacібektaş):

There were lots of people, why there were lots of people because for a very long time Alevism Bektaşism had been suppressed. Until that time there was not such a ceremony, such a feeling, such a being hungry, and such happiness supposing that they would attain to their beloved. On the other hand, our general director did not let us open the Museum saying that the president; the Minister of Culture would open the Museum. There was a mass; the Museum opened with a crowding.

*Çoktu, neden çoktu, yıllardır Alevilik Bektaşilik sindirilmiş, böyle bir tören olmamış, böyle bir acıkma, bir sevinç sanki sevgiliye kavuşulacak. Yalnız orda bizim genel müdürdü üç gün açtırmadı bize, işte Reisicumhur, Başbakan, Kültür Bakanı açacak diye. Birikim çok oldu, izdahamla açılış yapıldı.*

Minister of Justice Sedat Çumralı and Minister of Tourism Ali İhsan Gögüş participated in the opening ceremony. The Minister of State and Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Kemal Satır sent message:

Opening the great Turkish thinker Hacı Bektaş's tomb as a museum to the utility of our nation and of the world, we arrive at one of our aim [...] (cited in Sariaslan, 1992).

The Minister of Tourism gave a speech at the ceremony:

Hacı Bektaş Veli, this sublime person took an important part in the Turkish history, especially he took part in Anatolian Turk's famous and honoured pages of history. We feel proud of turning his holy working place, at where he throughout the centuries guided people and served the state with his spiritual being and personal working, in to a museum as a monument from which the generations of today and of tomorrow will benefit. [...] Turk-Ottomans profited by Hacı Bektaş's spiritual support while founding the Turk unity in Anatolia; expanding Empire's land to the Tuna river and the Atlantic Ocean and turning the Black Sea into a Turk lake. The Bektaşî order became the official culture of the Janissary corps and the Bektaşî babas battled with Ottoman soldiers shoulder to shoulder. [...] With God's mercy, we commemorate him in his own hearth, in his marquee and in his museum. [...] Today, with the Museum of Hacı Bektaş Veli a diamond is added to the wealth of tourism (cited in Sariaslan, 1992).

Norton claims that in contrast to Hasluck's observation that the Bektaşî sect is identified with no nation or race, Hacı Bektaş Veli was portrayed as having been sent from Horasan with a divine message for Turks, as a Turkish pioneer in Anatolia, as a Turkish liberator. Articles in the national press emphasised the Turkishness of the Order, its association with the Janissary Corps and its contributions to Turkish language and literature (ibid, p.80).

The Hacı Bektaş Veli Tourism and Presentation Association had role both in opening the dergah as museum and in the organization of the opening day as a ceremony. According to Ali Sümer (70, M, old director of museum, Hacıbektaş):

The Hacı Bektaş Tourism Association got 50.000 *lira* from the budget. Poets came to the ceremony. There were their eating and drinking expenses. There were donations too. We established committees among us. Some of them dealt with entertaining the guests, other ones dealt with accommodation. We were inexperienced, we said that where the people accommodated. The municipality helped us. We constituted an office. We made statistics about the houses in the town. We asked how many guests you could entertain. For example, you came and said that we were five persons, so we looked at the list and sent you to the home in which five persons could be entertained. We thought to get money for accommodation. When we got five liras, four liras for host and one lira for the committee.

The inhabitants of Hacibektaş objected to this idea. They said that guest was Ali, guest was Allah, and guest was Muhammed. This was an unwelcome innovation. In the organization committee, there was the association and besides there were the Union of Driver, the Municipality and the Head Official of Hacibektaş too. The chairman of the committee was the Governor. He presented the programme to the Ministry, when they did not accept the programme they did not provide the money. For this reason, we changed the name of *semah*. They did not accept the name of *semah* at the programme. They said that, remove the *semah* from the programme, otherwise we would not allow you to organize the ceremony. We wrote the *semah* as folk dancing of Hacibektaş, the programme was accepted like that.

*Hacı Bektaş Turizm derneğine bütçeden 50.000 lira çıkıyordu. Ozanlar falan geliyordu, onların yeme içme masrafları vardı, bir de bağışlar oluyordu tabii. Kendi aramızda komiteler kuruyorduk. Bir kısım misafir ağırlamaya bakıyordu, bir kısım konaklamaya. İlk, acemilik ya, nerde kalacak insanlar dedik. Belediye yardımcı oluyordu. Bir büro kurduk. Evlerde istatistik yaptık. Dedik kaç kişi alabilirsiniz? Mesela siz geliyorsunuz biz beş kişi kalacağız diyosunuz, biz listeye bakıp beş kişi alabilecek bir eve sizi gönderiyoruz. Gelenlerden konaklama için para almayı düşündük. Beş liraysa dördü ev sahibine biri komiteye. Hacibektaşlılar karşı çıktılar. Misafir Ali'dir, Allah'tır, Muhammed'dir. Eski köye yeni adet mi getirdiniz diye. Komite deyince dernek var ama Şoförler Birliğidir, belediyedir, kaymakamlıktır, onlar da var. Esas komite başkanı valiydi. Programı bakanlığa sunuyordu, kabul edilmezse para vermiyorlardı. O yüzden biz semahın ismini değiştirdik. Semah lafını programda kabul etmediler. Kaldırın yoksa yaptırılmayız dediler. Biz de Hacibektaş folkloru yazdık, o şekilde kabul edildi.*

Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacibektaş) remembers the festival organized in 1964 well:

At the beginning of these ceremonies, religion did not accent so much. It was being celebrated like *Cumhuriyet Bayramı*, like 23 Nisan. All around were displayed with flags. The Turkish flags and the pictures of Atatürk were all around. Eight or ten drummer drummed like so (he laughs), while drumming they walked around the shopping district. The main things of the ceremonies at that time were the Antep folk dancing group, Karadeniz folk dancing group, Kılıç-Kalkan dancing group from Bursa. The band of Mehter for example. This pomp continued till 70s. At those years, it could be little mentioned about Bektaşism and *semah*. There was a fear of mentioning about Bektaşism and *semah*, accepting these were related with divisiveness, related with this and that. For example, for the first time the Karacaahmet Association performed *semah* in Hacibektaş. There were *semah* of *Kıraç*, *semah* of *Turnalar*. We looked at them in amazement; we saw *semah* for the first time. Aşık Daimi organized that. These *semahs* took place at the programme as folk dancing. The Head Official of Hacibektaş and the Governor had so much control on the ceremony, they accepted to use the name of *semah* objectionable.

*Bu törenler başta din ağırlıklı değildi. Bir Cumhuriyet bayramı, 23 Nisan gibi kutlanıyordu. Her taraf bayraklarla donatılmıştı. Her tarafta Türk bayrağı, Atatürk resmi vardı. Sekiz on tane davulcu davul çalıyordu böyle. (gülüyor) yürüyerek çarşı pazar dolaşıyorlar. Antep Folklor ekibi, Karadeniz oyunları ekibi, Bursa'dan kılıç kalkan ekibi, bunlar o zamanki törenlerin baş şeyiydi. Mehter takımı mesela. Bu tantana 70'lere kadar devam etti. O yıllarda bu törenlerde Bektaşilikten, semahtan çok az söz edilebilirdi yani. Bir korku vardı o zaman, bölücülüğe giriyor, şuna giriyor, buna giriyor diye. Mesela buraya ilk semahı Karacaahmet derneği getirmişti. Kıraç semahı, Turnalar semahı diye bir semah vardı. İlk defa görüyorduk, biz burda ilk defa görüyoruz, hayretle bakıyorduk. Aşık Daimi diye bir sanatçı vardı, o örgütliyordu bu işi. O semahlar da semah değil, folklor adı altında programa konuluyordu. Valinin kaymakamın denetimi çok fazlaydı, semah adının yazılması bile sakıncalı görünüyordu.*

From beginning to the military take-over in 1980, the ceremonies were organized with the active participation of the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş. Ayfer (48, F, retired, Hacıbektaş) tells that:

In the first years, the ceremony was the event, which changed the life in Hacıbektaş. People did cleaning for the ceremonies like they did in spring. The districts were done cleaning; the houses were whitewashed. Walking around the streets, the staffs of the municipality controlled whether the streets were done cleaning and the homes were whitewashed or were not. At the beginning of the festival, when I was a child, different from today, everything did not related with money. Everybody knew each other. In a little town everybody knew who had how many rooms in his/her house, how many guest they could entertain. The committee said that you would entertain two guests or tree guests. The money was not demanded from the guests.

*İlk yıllarda Hacıbektaş'ın hayatını değiştiren bir şeydi. Nasıl insanlar bahar temizliği yaparsa şenlik temizlikleri yapılırdı. Mahalleler temizlenir, evler badana edilirdi. Belediye'de çalışanlar sokaklarda dolaşıp evlerin badanalanıp badanalanmadığını, sokakların temizliğini kontrol ederdi. Şenliklerin ilk başladığı yıllarda daha ben çocuktum, her şey böyle paraya dökülmemişti. Herkes birbirini tanırdu. Küçük bir kasaba, herkesin evinin kaç odası olduğu, ne kadar misafir kabul edileceği herkes tarafından bilinirdi. Komitelerde çalışanlar size üç misafir yazdım, iki misafir yazdım derdi, gelen misafirlere para talep edilmezdi.*

### 4.3. The Ceremonies from 1975 to 1980

After the military invention in 12 March 1971, the repression of left increased. The youth organisations of the Nationalist Party, the Idealist Hearts were encouraged by the state against the leftist. The Turanist tendency of the Turkist nationalists, which took part in the politics as a legal party since 1965, did not interest in the “shamanist essence” of Alevis that was discovered by them at the time of CUP. They doubted Alevis’ Muslim being and they did not want any connection with them.<sup>38</sup> The Middle Asia was stressed by the Alevi authors on the topic of the roots of their beliefs but this stress had no relation with Turanism, it aimed at the functionality directed to the inner nationalism (Küçük.M, 2002:906).

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<sup>38</sup> The fascist and religious extreme right provoked the conservative Muslims to attack against the Alevis on the mixed regions. In April 1978, in Malatya, fascists and radical İslamist killed eight Alevi and attacked many houses and workplaces. In September 1978, the rumour that Alevis had bombed a mosque and killed 300 people was spread in Sivas by the MHP activist. At 19 December 1978, MHP held a meeting in Kahramanmaraş and during the meeting a bomb exploded. Ülkücüs first attacked the party building of CHP and on 23 and on 24 December 1978 they attacked in Kahramanmaraş killing 111 people, most of them were Alevis and wounding more than 1000 people and destroying 552 houses and 289 workplaces. On 2, 4 and 30 June 1980, Ülkücüs killed several people in Çorum. In Çorum, between 2 July and 7 July they killed 51

At these years, the radical left considered Alevi their natural ally and they defined the Alevi rebellions of the past as the proto-communist movements (Bruniessen, 1996). Most of the young Alevi reinterpreted their religious heritage in terms of historical materialism as accepting Alevism a revolutionary ideology and a practised communism. The Alevi *dedes* were blamed by revolutionary minded Alevi youth, as being ignorant man telling fantastic stories and being feudal because they collect *hakkullah* from their *talips* (Vorhoff, 2003a). Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacibektaş) mentions about their attitude against the Çelebis:

There were people who visited the Çelebis; it was impossible to hinder them. However, at that time I met people from outside the town who reacted against this group. There were many people who said that I would not go there any longer, they were liar, faker. People who came from Tokat, from Merzifon, from Amasya... At that time not only we did something in this matter, but also the other young people did something. For example, university students, people from that region went to the villages and asked why they gave something to the dedes. On the other hand, today there are not such people. There was a common effort to the enlightenment in Turkey.

*Çelebilere giden insanlar vardı, bunu engellemenin imkanı yok. Ama o dönemlerde dışarıdan gelen insanlardan o gruba tepkisi olanlara da rastladım. Artık ben gitmem oraya, yalan onlar, sahtekar diyenler çoktu. Tokat'tan, Merzifon'dan, Amasya'dan gelenler... Ki o zamanın gençleri de bu konuda bir şeyler yapıyordu, sadece biz değil. Mesela üniversite öğrencileri, o yörenin insanları köylere gidip dedelere niye bir şeyler veriyorsunuz diyordu. Ama şimdi yok böyle insanlar. Türkiye genelinde bir aydınlanma çabası vardı.*

According to Norton, while the Right had been exploiting the Sunni sentiment for a long time for the political purposes, in the 1960s their opponents began to seek the Alevi and the Bektaşî votes. The lion and twelve stars (symbolising Ali and the Twelve Imams) was used as the party emblem by the Birlik Partisi founded in 1966 but this party was unsuccessful in using of the Bektaşî<sup>39</sup> network. The mildly left-of-centre Republican People's party and the more left-wing organisations made efforts to gain the support of the Bektaşîs. By the mid-1970s as a result of these efforts the nature of the annual festival changed. The cautious organising committee, most of its members were the religious Bektaşîs, who steeped in the

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people wounding more than 200 people (Bruinessen, 1996; Kaleli, 2000:102; Jongerden, 2003: 83-84).

<sup>39</sup> Norton uses the term Bektaşî for both the Dedegan branch and the Babagan branch. On the other hand the term Bektaşî cannot be blanket term for the people there were Alevi too.

Bektaşî legends, had been voted out by young men calling for political activism (ibid, p.81-82).

Halil Salmanlı (52, M, Lawyer, Hacібektaş) argues about their bother about the ceremonies:

There were not any activities of theatre or any seminar or any panel. There was nothing. There was not any discussion about Hacібektaş's ideas, about what he said or where his greatness came. We were discontented with deceiving people; we decided to explain people the truth of this matter.

*Ne tiyatroy etkinliđi vardı, ne seminer, panel vardı. Hiçbir şey yoktu. Hacібektaş ne demiş, veliliđi nerden gelir, ululuđu nerden gelir, hiç tartışma yapılmazdı. İnsanların aldatılmasından çok tedirgin oluyorduk, insanlara işin doğrusunu anlatalım dedik.*

Similarly Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacібektaş) explains why they decided to organize the ceremonies:

I was a teacher in this town in 70s. We regarded ourselves as progressivists, were we, I don't know. We were disturbed to the manner of the ceremonies. We said that we ought to organize the ceremonies better, we ought to transform it into a ceremony that sent better messages to the community. We decided to be affiliated with the association and to obtain the administration of it, thus we could organize the ceremony. We obtained the administration of the association in 1974. The Mayor of that time could not win. Dede Aslan, he was from the Adalet Party. Since you won you would continue said he. For the first time in 1975, we organized the ceremony.

*70'li yıllarda burda öğretmenlik yapıyorum, kendimizi ilerici sayıyoruz da ne derece ilericiyiz bilemiyorum. Törenlerin şeklinden rahatsız olmaya başladık biz. Dedik, bunu daha iyi yapmamız gerekir, topluma daha iyi mesajlar veren bir etkinlik haline dönüştürmemiz gerekir. Ne yapalım dedik, bu derneđe üye olalım, derneđin yönetimini ele geçirip biz yapalım dedik. Aday olduk. 1974 yılında derneđin yönetimini ele geçirdik. O dönemin belediye başkanı kazanamadı. Adalet partisindendi, Dede Aslan. Madem siz kazandınız devam edin dedi. İlk defa 75 yılında etkinlikleri biz düzenledik.*

In 1974, administration of the Tourism Association changed and this change reflected to the ceremonies between 1975 and 1980. They altered the name of the ceremonies: The Activities of Culture and Art of Hacібektaş- The Festival of Hacібektaş. They also dropped the Janissary bands, away from religion and tourism they invited left-wing writers, singers and composers (Norton, 1983:82).

Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacібektaş) mentions about the cultural activities of the festival at those years:

The cultural activities have begun first in our time. For instance, we invited the authors at that time to Hacібektaş; we arranged panels, lectures. They were the years in which Fakir

Baykurt, Aziz Nesin, Yaşar Kemal and the professors from the universities came to Hacibektaş. Do you know people had never seen those before?

*İlk kültür etkinlikleri bizim zamanımızda başladı. Mesela o dönemin yazar çizerlerini Hacibektaş'a getirdik, paneller konferanslar düzenledik. Fakir Baykurt, Aziz Nesin, Yaşar Kemal, üniversitelerden profesörlerin geldiği yıllar oldu. Bunları vatandaş hiç görmemişti biliyor musun?*

Ayfer (48, F, retired, Hacibektaş) says that:

The leftist poets and groups came to Hacibektaş that's all. Already the people of Hacibektaş, young people of Hacibektaş are inclined to the left. For this reason, the leftist artists and authors came to Hacibektaş, the panels, entertainments were arranged with them.

*Sol içerikli türküler söyleyen gruplar, ozanlar geliyordu o kadar. Etkinlikler, söyleşiler yapılırken sol düşünceyi savunan insanlar, zaten Hacibektaş'ta yapı itibarıyla sola yakındır, gençleri sola yakındır, o yüzden sol görüşlü sanatçılar, yazarlar geliyordu, onlarla söyleşiler yapılıyor, eğlenceler düzenleniyordu.*

According to Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacibektaş), there was an intensive interest in the festival, in the years in which even the people who were not leftist interested in the left. The state's attitude against the festival was one of the biggest problems:

The state did not help us but we got much money from the activities, from the tickets and from the donations. In addition there was an excitement, we wanted to do something. Feeling this excitement was too important, people of Hacibektaş, youth of Hacibektaş began to claim to this activity. Everybody worked; they did not demand to fee; they stood sleepless; they entertained guests, showed them around, in short there was a unity. There was such solidarity. Our difficulty was the state's merciless reaction against this solidarity. The solidarity in Hacibektaş bothered the official head of Hacibektaş, the Governor and the government in Ankara. Everything had been performed in order to hinder this ceremony. Those institutions, which were supposed to help, made an effort to violate this solidarity with his police and gendarme. The unity in here frustrated their effort. The most successful times of the ceremonies were the period at which the oppression of the state was so much. This continued until the military take-over in 1980.

*Devlet hiç yardım etmiyordu ama etkinliklerden, o biletlerden, bağışlardan bayağı para alıyorduk. Bir de heyecan vardı, bir şeyler ortaya koyalım. O heyecanı duymak çok önemli. Hacibektaş insanları, Hacibektaş gençliği bu işe sahip çıkmaya başlamıştı. Herkes görev alıyor, ücret istemiyor, uykusuz kalıyor, evine misafir götürüyor, onu gezdiriyor, birlik var yani. Böyle bir dayanışma var. Sıkıntımız şundandı, o dayanışmaya devletin tepkisi çok acımasız oldu. Buradaki dayanışma kaymakamı, valiliği, Ankara'daki hükümeti rahatsız etti. Bu törenin engellenmesi için her şey yapıldı. Yardım etmesi gereken o kurumlar, polisiyle, jandarmasıyla burdaki dayanışmayı bozmak için çok çaba harcadılar. Burdaki birliktelik onların çabalarını boşa çıkardı. Hacibektaş törenlerinin en başarılı olduğu dönem devlet baskısının en yoğun olduğu dönemler oldu. 80 ihtilaline kadar geldi bu.*

About 300-400 young people took part in the organization in the town and the population of the town was about 6.000 persons. As Ayfer (48, F, retired, Hacibektaş) explains:



We voluntarily performed duty in the ceremonies when we were young girls. The visitors were astonished at saying bravo, all the time their girls had been performing duty in the ceremonies, and they were showing us the places.

*Biz genç kız olduğumuz yıllarda gönüllü görev alırdık. Gelen ziyaretçiler hep hayret emişlerdi, bravo bunlara, hep kızları görevli olarak çalışıyor, yer gösteriyor diye.*

Adnan Binyazar who participated in the festival in 1976 wrote in Varlık journal his impressions about the festival:

On surroundings there are security forces whose numbers are almost nearly to the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş. The radio-sets, the commando clothes and weapons are confused each other. They did not allow some artists to sing. During the three days, the people of town lived in tension. Whereas everybody, the state, governments, security forces, intellectuals and thinkers should have supported the people of Hacıbektaş. They do not claim to stone and soil or to a touristic beauty. They try to refresh humanity thought which have risen in Anatolia. One comprehends there being people and living his/her own worth of thought. One appreciates there where the Turkish culture arises from and thinks that through what kind of beginning we should settle our culture. [...] The melodies from everywhere come to one's ears. There are all the melodies, which announce their humanity. [...] You can live the friendship between the deer and lion, between life and truth, between sense and ballad (cited in Sariaslan, 1992:167).

According to Norton, in 1977 when Demirel's right-wing coalition was in power, the festival committee complained that their plans had been frustrated. The performance of the play 'Pir Sultan Abdal' was banned (Norton, 1983:82). Halil Salmanlı (52, M, Lawyer, Hacıbektaş), whose role in the play was Pir Sultan Abdal, mentions how they performed this play:

For the first time, we arranged a theatre activity, the play of Pir Sultan Abdal. People did not know what the theatre was. We asked for permission in order to play during the festival, head office of district did not allow. At that time playing Pir Sultan was very objectionable. Pir Sultan was important for us in two aspects. He is an important person in the Alevi Bektaşî culture. And also Pir Sultan is a person who rose against injustice and was executed owing to his expressions about injustice. He did not give his beliefs up while walking to the gallows. They did not allow us, this time we rehearsed the play in August 15. Not rehearsing but playing was banned. Also we rehearsed the play at the area behind the *Tekke*, where the play would be performed. This area could cover about 2000 persons and the area was full of people. About 500-600 of them were police of course. We did not sell tickets or we did not play. We rehearsed and the spectators excessively came and watched the rehearsal.

*İlk defa 1977'de bir tiyatro etkinliği, Pir Sultan Abdal oyununu hazırladık. İnsanlar tiyatroyu ne olduğunu bilmiyordu. Şenlik sırasında oynayabilmek için izin istedik, kaymakamlık izin vermedi. O dönemde Pir Sultan'ı oynamak falan çok sakıncalıydı. Pir Sultan bizim için iki yönden önemliydi. Alevi Bektaşî kültüründe önemli biridir o. Bir de Pir Sultan haksızlığa baş kaldıran ve haksızlığı dile getirmesi nedeniyle idama giderken bile inancından vazgeçemeyen, kendi ayağıyla idam sehpasına yürüyen biri. İzin verilmedi, bu sefer de biz 15 Ağustos'ta prova yaptık. Prova yapmak değil, oynamak yasaktı ama biz gösterinin yapılacağı yerde, Tekkenin arkasındaki yerde yaptık provayı. O alan yaklaşık 2000 kişi alıyordu ve alan doluydu, bunların 500-600 tanesi polisti tabii. Ne bilet sattık, ne oyun oynadık. Biz prova yaptık, izleyenler öylesine, izlemeye gelmişti.*

In 1977, at the festival some *ozans* were not allowed and some speakers felt unconfident to express their political views. The school buildings made previously available for the visitors for eating and sleeping but that year these buildings were used as the accommodation for the troops (ibid, p.82).

The festival was organized from August 16 to 20 for five days in 1978. Under a left-of-centre government, it was thought that only as many extra police were sufficient for the festival. The performance of Pir Sultan Abdal was allowed and choice of *ozan* and their sing was not restricted. Prime Minister Ecevit was expected to lay the foundation stone of a covered sports hall. He did not come but sent his Ministers (ibid, p.82).

In 1979, the festival continued five days. Salim Alpaslan mentions about his disappointment about the festival on the *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper. He says that they heard about the problems of applying the programme and the problems of accommodation (cited in Sariaslan, 1992:176-177). According to him:

The placard such as “End to the distinction between the Alevi and the Sünni!” “Our invitation is to peace and to fraternity!” are hanged all visible places of Hacıbektaş. [...] We are pleased to participate in a festival in fraternity. On the other hand, it can be seen the other placards. For instance “This is a memorial ceremony not a festival”. I wonder if the difference between them is so important? We hear of that a group who rejected the collaboration offer of the organizers wrote this placard (ibid, p.177).

In 1980 the festival continued five days like the previous year. The artists, groups of folk dancing and the academians participated in the festival. Owing to the festival the security forces came to Hacıbektaş from Kırşehir and Nevşehir and they checked identity cards and determined the names of the participants at the entrance of the town. The deputies of CHP from Eskişehir, Ankara, Sivas and Nevşehir came to Hacıbektaş in order to watch the festival. Among the visitors there were the Mayor of Ankara, Ali Dinçer and the Ambassador of Yugoslavia, Ramazan Varanjini. Bülent Ecevit, the General President of CHP, and Mustafa Timisi, the General President of TBP sent congratulation messages to the opening ceremony. While reading the messages from President Süleyman Demirel and

from the Governor of Nevşehir Ali Fevzi Ünal, the audience demonstrated in opposition.<sup>40</sup>

According to Norton, Hacı Bektaş Veli was portrayed as one who opposed the corrupting Persian and Arab ideas that the Seljuk rulers in 13<sup>th</sup> cc Anatolia had adopted. Connected with the conditions of Turkey in 70s, he was shown as the opponent of Western Capitalism and of American imperialist ambitions in Turkey. The Bektaşis who conditioned to see themselves as victims of oppression and injustice assented to be observers of political scene no more. Some of them saw the Bektaşism as a means of securing change. Their fervour and single-mindedness were sometimes counterproductive and mostly brought them into conflict with authorities, the religious Bektaşis and several local communities (Norton, 1983:81-82).

According to Halil Salmanlı (52, M, Lawyer, Hacıbektaş):

They had learnt in here the thought of Hacı Bektaş Veli beyond the sayings of the ignorant *dedes* in their villages or of the ones who claimed that they know this matter. There were universal thoughts, he said that educate your women; do not blame 72 nations. It is always tried to impose something about Hacı Bektaş Veli. He is imposed as the person who spread being Turk in Anatolia. You cannot find anything about being Turk in his thought, what he said is to love human being. He mentioned about love of human being and God, his sainthood is here.

*Burada o üç günde kendi köyünde cahil dedenin ya da bu işi bildiğini iddia edenlerin anlattıklarının ötesinde Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin düşüncelerini öğrenirlerdi. Evrensel düşünceler vardı, kadınlarınızı okutunuz diyordu; 72 milleti ayıplamayın diyordu. Hacı Bektaş Veli'yle ilgili durmadan bir şey empoze edilmeye çalışılır. Hacı Bektaş Anadolu'da Türklüğü yayan kişi olarak empoze edilir. Hacı Bektaş'ta Türklük üzerine hiçbir şey bulamazsınız, söylediği insanı sevmektir. Tanrı ve insan sevgisinden bahseder, veliliği burada.*

On the other hand, Hacı Bektaş Veli's being Turk had accented from the beginning of ceremonies till 1970s. During 1970s this accent continued with a different content. This was the new radical nationalism against the right, which monopolised the nationalism and used the Islamism as counter-force due to the separation between the pro-American right and anti-American left.

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<sup>40</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 18.08. 1980

There are some passages from Sarıaslan and Gülvahaboğlu, which show the construction of Hacı Bektaş Veli as a sign at that period:

Hacı Bektaş was one of the folk leaders at the days having collaborated with Mongol occupier and Arab ideologues to their self-interests and their future the Selçuk rulers suppressed and exploited the Turkish people. He was the populist and peaceful thinker who rose against the regime under which people were suppressed and exploited (Sarıaslan, 1992:4).

Hacı Bektaş had a great practice although he did not have a great theory. His practice and the revolution, which he materialized in the field of thought, opened the bright road to the new phases, the revolution, and the alteration for the Turkish community. This road was a world-view, which lead to grow up of the revolutionist, and populist poets and activists. As required the epoch he did not isolate the religion from his thought. However, he broke the chains of the religion and channelled his secular and liberated thought. The people called as Alevi, as Babai-Bektaşî, are the proletarian and villager people. Their contradiction with the exploiter class is actually the way of production. This contradiction is in their material environment. On the other hand, this struggle is reflected to the outside as religion-belief-sect fight. With a national comprehension he had a practice against the caliphate, against *şeriat*, against aristocracy and bourgeoisie also he had a practice which took side with proletarian, with villagers and producers. He was a creator and an uniting person (Gülvahaboğlu).

At that period Hacı Bektaş Veli was drawn as a peaceful and populist thinker, as a revolutionist, a folk leader against the colonists and against the regime under which people were suppressed. Also he was drawn as a humanist who did not pay regard to discrimination of religion, language, nation and gender.

Norton claims that the politicisation of the celebration offended and saddened most of the religious Bektaşîs. They avoided involvement in politics and they paid their respects to the important babas, meet in private sacrifice and feast, talked about their beliefs and traditions. They practised their traditions by doing rounds of pilgrimage at Hacıbektaş. There are revered sites in and around Hacıbektaş like the tekke, the horse-rock, the vineyard, the five stones, the Kadıncık Evi, the Mount Arafat, the Zemzem Fountain and the Çilehane. The crowd included both devout Bektaşîs and ordinary festival visitors in holiday mood gone to these sites. There were no fixed order to visit these sites and not every devotee gone to every site. But almost everyone went to the tekke (Norton: 1983:83).

According to Veliyettin Ulusoy (62, M, retired):

There was participation when the leftist thought was dominant. Of course in Alevism-Bektaşîsm the tendency to the left is more. It was easier in this respect but the villagers coming here did not adopt this. They wanted to live here what they had been living in their

villages. They could not experience it but they saw the singers who sang *deyiş* and played *saz* and who were mentioned in radio or television. They watched and listened them in a pleasure and participated in their concerts. Many of them wanted to experience some things, which were related with their belief. They could not. Therefore, they got their needs in our houses, in the Ulusoy's houses. They performed in there *cem*; they have been still performing *cem* in our houses.

*Sol düşüncenin hakim olduğu katılımlar oldu. Tabii Alevilik-Bektaşilikte sol taraf biraz fazladır, sosyal yapı biraz ağırlıktadır. O yönden de kolay oldu ama esas buraya gelen köylüler bunu pek benimsemediler. Bunlar köylerinde yaşadıklarını burda da yaşamak istediler. Burda bunu göremediler ancak şunu gördüler, deyiş söyleyen, saz çalan, adı televizyonlarda, radyolarda geçen sanatçıları gördüler. Onları zevkle izlediler, gecelerine katıldılar. Pek çoğu inançlarıyla ilgili bir şeyi görmek istediler, bunu yaşamak istediler. Onu göremediler. Bu sefer bu ihtiyacı bizim evlerde karşılamaya başladılar. Ulusoyların evlerinde. Orda cemler yaptılar, hala da yapıyor.*

The military take-over in September 12, 1980 brought in the era of oppression, which have taken a long time. The political parties, trade unions and associations were closed down. Many of the administrators of them were arrested and judged by the martial law. Hacı Bektaş Veli Culture and Tourism Association was closed down with the charge of establishing a secret organization. Its administrators were arrested and the judgements began in the Kayseri Martial Law Commandership. Among the administrators of the association there were people who were not Alevi. The administrator of the association were judged by the claim of establishing a secret organization, propagandizing of communism and being divisiveness on account of publicizing the thought of Hacı Bektaş Veli (Şener&İlknur, 1995:47). According to Osman Çoban:

At the investigation phase of the Hacıbektaş' gathered trial, 300 persons were interrogated in the town with 6.000 inhabitants. Nearly 70 persons were arrested, ten of the people were tortured. It was sued for 120 persons. [...] In the indictment whose page number was nearly 300, the ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli took an important part. [...] At the end of the 1983, when the trial of Hacıbektaş neared to the end, in the prison all accused of the trial witnessed that a colonel on the television explained how the communists would divide Turkey drawing a line between Fatsa, Hacıbektaş, Adana and mentioning Hacıbektaş again and again. After twenty days of this television programme at the judgement, trial punished 25 persons. [...] The people from Hacıbektaş and I paid as the expression of the torturer "the price for serving the Kızılbaş" (cited in Şener&İlknur, 1995:150-151).

Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacıbektaş) says that:

When the military take over in 1980 occurred, it was put an end to the festival. The Tourism Association was accepted as the source of this becoming conscious in Hacıbektaş, which organised young people, the people of Hacıbektaş and Alevis. All the young people who worked in the ceremonies and all the member of the association were gathered and arrested. Some of them were tortured and imprisoned. The conscious people in Hacıbektaş were dispersed. Many of them left Hacıbektaş. This conscious, excited people who wanted take shape to this town and their organisations were dispersed. Their excitement was tore

down. In Hacibektaş this very young people suffered and this suffering daunted them. Our people, who were described as good people by us, did not properly protect this people. Everybody withdrew into his or her own corner.

*80 ihtilali geldiği zaman bu işe son verildi. Hacibektaş'taki bu bilinçlenmenin kaynağı olarak Turizm Derneği görüldü. Gençleri, Hacibektaş halkını, Alevileri örgütleyen... Bu dernekle ilgili törenlerde çalışan, derneğe üye olan en kadar genç varsa hepsini toplayıp götürdüler. Kimisi işkence gördü, cezaevine girdi. Hacibektaş'daki bilinçli kesim dağıtıldı. Çoğu Hacibektaş'ı terk etti. Hacibektaş'taki o bilinçli, o heyecanlı, buraya şekil vermek, burayı bir yere getirmek isteyen o insanlar ve onların örgütleri dağıtıldı. İçlerindeki o heyecan sökülüp atıldı. Hacibektaş'ta o gencecik çocuklar çok mağdur oldular ve o mağduriyet insanları sindirdi. İyi dediğimiz vatandaşlarımız o insanlara gereği kadar sahip çıkmadılar, herkes kendi köşesine çekildi.*

#### **4.4. The Ceremonies after the Military Coup in 1980**

The military coup in 1980 halted political activity in Turkey also the Tourism Association was closed down. In 1981 the festival was under the firm control of the *kaymakam* (district Governor) and planned as a tourist attraction. Also the activities of the religious Bektaşis continued in private (Norton, 1983:85). The name of the festival was turned into the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacibektaş. In 1984, being assisted by the state, the municipality assumed the responsibility of the festival organisation. Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacibektaş) tells about at those years:

They could not dare to abolish the festival entirely but till 1984 the festival was organized by Governorship and the Head Official of Hacibektaş. They saw that it could not continue in this way, in 1984 they turned over the organization to the municipality. From the beginning I have been against to municipality's undertaking of the organisation. Because the municipality is an official institution in a sense, though it is said that municipality is a local government but it is official namely it connects with the state.

*Şenlikleri tamamen kaldırmaya da cesaret edemediler ama 1984'e kadar şenlikleri valilik ve kaymakamlık düzenledi, baktılar bu iş olmuyor, 1984 yılında bu törenlerin düzenlenmesini belediyeye verdiler. Ben başından beri bu işi belediyenin düzenlemesine karşıyım. Çünkü belediye de bir yerde resmi kurum, ne kadar yerel yönetim dense de resmi yani, devlete bağlı bir şey.*

Similarly Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacibektaş) says that:

After 1980 Head Official of Hacibektaş took the organization of festival. The festival was not fruitful, participation was insufficient, and the social setting was cold.

*Seksenden sonra şenliği kaymakamlık devraldı. Verimli değildi, katılım azdı, ortam soğuktu.*

In the 16.09.1984 dated *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper, in his article, Nafiz Ünlüyurt mentions about the effort that aimed to separate the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş from the festival. For him, the festival was turned into a one, which was organized through commands and directions away from the support and excitement of inhabitants of Hacıbektaş.<sup>41</sup>

Dating from the military take-over in 1980, the ceremonies continued with highly interest and participation of the Alevi-Bektaşis but without attracting attention of press and politicians, except from the social democrats until 1989. Except from the news in the *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper, the ceremonies generally did not take part in other newspaper and media. During these years the ceremony began with an official ceremony at which the mayor, the Governor and the Head Official of Hacıbektaş gave speeches. It continued with semah performances, concerts and speeches.

Ali Koçak (director of the editorial office of Alev pub.) who participated in the ceremonies for the first time in 1987 tells about the ceremonies at those years.

In 1987 when I came to Hacıbektaş, the Alevi-Bektaş community were not organized. Namely, without having a democratic mass organization, people who affiliated with the *dergah* were coming from different areas owing to their belief. At that time the *dergahs* like Şahkulu, Karacaahmet brought people to Hacıbektaş. And also there were people who developed a passion to this matter. They brought here people. We rent bus, beside ours we brought here two or three buses. It continued till 1990s.

*1987 yılında geldiğimde Alevi-Bektaş toplumu örgütlü bir toplum değildi. Yani demokratik kitle örgütleri olmayan, inançsal boyutuyla dergaha bağlı çeşitli bölgelerden gelen insanlar vardı. O dönem İstanbul'dan Şahkulu, Karacaahmet gibi dergahların buraya getirdiği insanlar vardı. Bir de merak edip de bu işin içine giren insanlar buraya insan getiriyordu. Biz kendimize otobüs tutuyorduk, ek olarak da iki üç otobüs doldurmuş oluyorduk. Bu doksanlı yıllara kadar sürdü.*

#### **4.4.1. The Alevi Revival**

In 1980s the interest of Alevism increased while in 1970s majority of its members were socialist. Çamuroğlu points out the urbanisation as the sociological factor of the rediscovery of the Alevi community. The fundamental changes in the structure of community through urbanisation, the increase of the educated Alevis and the

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<sup>41</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 16.08. 1984

emergence of an Alevi bourgeoisie created a new social stratification (Çamuroğlu, 2003:79). Similar to Çamuroğlu, Vorhoff mentions about a new Alevi elite arose in the 1980s. Some of the Alevis, who had some academic and higher education, had to resign from political activism and entered culturalistic politics after the 1980 military take-over. Also there was some Alevis from the first generation of the Alevi migrants who became businessmen and industrialist and were ready to support the revival of Alevism (Vorhoff, 2003b: 34).

For Çamuroğlu, the collapse of the socialist block in Eastern Europe is one of the political reason of the rediscovery of Alevism. Socialism lost its importance for the young and middle generations of the Alevis. They redefined themselves as Alevi discovering Alevism as an ideology which is more egalitarian and libertarian than socialism and returned Alevism with the introduction of modern terms and methods into it (Çamuroğlu, 2003:80). Vorhoff points out the ethnic and nationalist movements include the rhetoric of cultural self-determination, national autonomy and recollection of tradition arised parallel with the collapse of the socialist rule. With the influence of this factor the Alevis reexamined their cultural heritage rather than socialist ideologies (Vorhoff, 2003a: 96). It is necessary to take into consideration that the tendency from socialism to Alevism has relation with the suppression of the left especially after the military take-over in 1980.

Çamuroğlu points out the rise of the Islamic fundamentalism another political reason of the Alevi rediscovery. He argues that the most important motive for the establishment and expansion of the Alevi organisations especially after the massacre of Sivas in 1993 is the deep-rooted and historical inheritance fear of the Islamic fundamentalism (Çamuroğlu, 2003:80). As Vorhoff says, the Alevis felt that after the coup the Turkish-Islamic synthesis as the state policy aimed assimilating them. The religious instruction was made mandatory; mosques built even in the Alevi villages. Islam became more noticeable in everyday and political life (Vorhoff, 2003a: 96). Bruinessen stresses on the imposition of Sunni Islam by the state as major factor of the Alevi revival and adds that with the ban on associations relaxed in 1989 associations formed by the Alevis all over the



country (Bruinessen, 1996). Early 1990, some of the Alevi joined with secularist journalists, intellectuals against the rise and radicalisation of the Political Islam and the Turkish-Islamists' power to control of government departments. They wrote an Alevi Manifesto, revised version of which published in the *Cumhuriyet* and in the other liberal newspapers. As Vorhoff says:

For the first time in the history of Turkish Republic, the Alevi declared themselves openly not only as a political force, but also as a religious community claiming the right of self-determination and official recognition (Vorhoff, 2003b: 31).

Çamuroğlu claims the Kurdish problem as the other political factor of the Alevi revival. Against Islamism the Alevi tend toward the expression their Alevi identity in political terms. Considering the important parts of the Alevi being Kurd, they saw Kurdish nationalist tensions affected their community and they chose stress unity, their identity and affiliation as Alevi (Çamuroğlu, 2003:80). Due to the growing influence of the PKK among Turkey's Kurds and by the late 1980s among the Alevi Kurds, the state tried to use religion and the Alevism among the Kurdish nationalist movement. The directorate of Religious Affairs and other representatives of the new Turkish-Islamist unitarianism tried to win the Alevi and they insisted that the Alevism is a kind of Turkish Islam (Vorhoff, 2003a: 96; Bruinessen 1996).

Dating from the end of the 1980s, at the period called the Alevi revival, organization movements have gained speed under three different structure (associations, foundations and *dergahs*). During the centuries orally transmitted, secret and locally Alevism turned especially in 1980s into a written form and it was discussed in the public.<sup>42</sup> Into this transformation people who were not dedes or descents of dedes had an important role rather than the people who were accepted as religious authority. The revival of the traditional Alevi culture, religious practises and social institutions followed the interest of Alevism. At this period while Bektaşism stood in the background, Alevism came in the foreground. The Bektaşi *tekkes* and the Alevi-Bektaşi holy men's graves had to be restored; *ayin-i cem* could be held in the assembly houses which were built by the Alevi foundations. While being in an orally transmitted form, Alevism contained many

contradictions and variety in it due to its heterogeneous characteristic. But during the effort to turn Alevism into a written form it was exposed to different definitions and interpretations. The definition of Alevism was debated and is still debated through the media, associations, public conferences and mass publications that lead to the process of the re-interpretation of history and tradition. According to their different ideological positions, different Alevisms were presented by spokesmen such as the Kemalists, the Turkists, the traditionalists, the modernists, Anatolian patriot, the Marxists, the religionists, the atheists. To stress on democracy, secularism, education and so-called modernity united many Alevi spokesmen and authors (Vorhoff, 2003a).

As Çamuroğlu argues, some of the members of the traditional religious elite describe Alevism as the “real Islam”. According to them, because Ali, the central figures of the Alevi religious teaching fulfilled five *farzs* in Islam, the Alevi should do these five *farzs* too. This kind of definition brings them closer to the orthodox understanding of Islam and a choice between the Sunni and Shi’i part of Islam. Alevism is also defined as “secular belief” by an important group of the new so-called modern circles, for them Alevism is an etho-political entity lying outside the religious contexts. The third group stays equal distance from Alevism as a secular belief and real Islam and defends keeping authentic features of Alevism including its heterodox and syncretistic structure (Çamuroğlu, 2003:81-82).

#### **4.4.2. The Ceremonies from 1989 to 1992**

Nejat Birdoğan wrote on August 16 1989 dated *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper that all the Alevis and the Bektaşis in Turkey slightly remember the past through their sacrifice, *lokma*, *dem*, *deyiş* and *semah* every years between the days August 16 to 18.<sup>43</sup> 1989 was the year when the Ministers of the state and functionaries remembered Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Alevi-Bektaşis.

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<sup>42</sup> It is necessary keep in mind that in 1960s there were some published books about Alevism.

<sup>43</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 16.08. 1989

For the first time in 1989, when the right wing, pro-religious Motherland Party founded by the late President Özal were in power, the government decided to take notice officially of the festival. According to Shankland, in the Turkish context a government's decision to acknowledge a folk festival was an innovation<sup>44</sup>(Shankland, 2003:158). For Shankland, one of the reasons why the ANAP government intervened the festival breaking fifty years officially ignoring the Alevis is to seek votes for the next general election. The end of the 1980s the Alevi "revival" was becoming hard to ignore. The administrators might have felt the necessity to close supervision due to Hacıbektaş's sensitiveness and importance and the growing festival. The moderates in the ANAP may have felt that the Alevi way of life should be accepted as a part of modern Turkey without remaining in left-wing movements. The radical part of the ANAP government seeking a public recognition of religion may have felt that emphasising the Islamic basis of the Alevi tradition would be a way to welcome them in to the Turk-Islam synthesis (ibid, p.159).

The official programme of the festival began with the speeches of Mayor Ali Eđer. The Governor of Nevşehir and the Head Official of Hacıbektaş, the Minister for Culture Namık Kemal Zeybek, of Erdal İnönü, the leader of the SHP and of a spokesman for the DYP. According to Shankland, the speeches were as is normal such settings. İnönü gave a conventional speech, he emphasised the Alevis' acceptance of Atatürk's effort to set up the Republic; their important place in a secular Republic and the worth their humanism to the democracy. The Minister for Culture said that Alevis had been instrumental in creating the glorious success of the Ottoman Empire through the Janissaries. Also he said that the government intended to set up a permanent semah group at Hacıbektaş and to build a mosque. Later a debate between the representatives of the Alevi community and a Sunni teacher at a Theological Faculty held in the presence of the Minister of Culture. The works published by the government explaining the history and philosophy of Hacı Bektaş Veli were handed out to the audience. During the debate the Alevi

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<sup>44</sup> It was Bülent Ecevit (CHP) who first acknowledged this festival in 1978 as the Prime Minister and sent his Ministers to the festival.

representatives told the Minister if the government wanted to help the Alevis they, could leave Hacібektaş town alone. The Alevis were very angry at the idea of having a new mosque and at the idea of semah being used as tourist attraction. Outside the town the popular minstrel had arranged a large unofficial concert and the attendance of the concert was more than the official events (ibid, p.158).

There was an important message in Namık Kemal Zeybek's speech that was overlooked by Shankland.

Our nation's key person is Ahmet Yesevi and Hacı Bektaş Veli came to this country as a torch. First of all, our people should know Yesevi and Hacı Bektaş Veli, then they should be acknowledged to the world. Today if there is an existence of Turk, it is thanks to them. We will organize the next year's ceremony as international; do you agree with it? The Culture Ministry is at yours service.<sup>45</sup>

The policies of the state on Alevism and Bektaşism after the military take-over in 1980 adjusted to the policies of Ülkücüs on Alevism and the Bektaşism.<sup>46</sup> Alevism and Bektaşism reduced to the mission of conquering to Anatolia and spreading Islam on it. As Minister of Culture Zeybek's approach to the festival was a part of the effort to integrate Alevism into Ülkücü policies attaching to Alevis a national and historical mission of transforming Anatolia into the homeland of Turks and preserving the Islam of Turk (Bora and Can, 1999:486-488).

According to the information given by Mayor Ali Eđer, in the 1989 ceremony 85-thousand visitors attended to the ceremony. In 1990 it was excepted 100 thousand visitors.

In this little town there are totally four hotels. These will have been reserved before one-month of the ceremonies. The people of Hacібektaş put the visitors up in their houses. Others accommodate in the hotels of surrounding cities that cannot find place in cars, in houses or in tents for accommodation. For such a little town's municipality it is impossible to be sufficient against so many demand. The staff and means of the municipality are limited. Except from the covered sports hall built in 1978 there is almost any investment of the state in the town. People of the town are very kindly. The social setting is very comfortable. During the year visitors from different areas of Turkey and Europe are coming

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<sup>45</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 17.08. 1989

<sup>46</sup> The Religious Affair's chief inspector Abdülkadir Sezgin, who has a great influence on the state's policies on religion especially on Alevism Bektaşism, defines Bektaşism as an Turkist even a nationalist order also he identifies Alevism with Bektaşism. (Bora&Can,1999:488)

to Hacibektaş. However, between the days August 16 to 18 this little town there are almost floods of people. [...] People of town behave the visitors in a respectful and tolerant way. You can go to a pub for men with your girlfriend or wife. There is not any reaction or an unquietly gaze. It is impossible not to be surprised.<sup>47</sup>

As Masicard claims, in 1990 the political influence on the events reached a turning point when the Minister of Culture undertook the festival's organisation and transformed it into an international one (Masicard, 2003:127). The Hacı Bektaş Culture and Art House protested the Ministry of Culture's taking on the organization of the ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli:

Hacı Bektaş' tradition, based on the affection of human being cannot be given in the government, in last ten years whose performances about human rights are clear. Hacı Bektaş' tradition, culture and comprehension of life cannot be turned into the shows for money by the crier of the international festival.<sup>48</sup>

In 1990 it was arranged an alternative festival in Dedebağ in order to protest against the intervention of the Ministry of Culture to the festival. Most of the visitors attended to the alternative festival. Uğur (38, M, civil servant, Hacibektaş) explains how they organized the alternative ceremony:

We would organise an alternative festival in 1990 but we did not announce it until the last minutes. We were entrusted with the duties of the municipality's organisation, the employee of bazaar, the employee of the covered sports hall; about 300 persons were of us. [...] We were prepared, arranged the singers. Among the singers there was Arif Sağ, members of the group Yorum, Belkis Akkale. The festival was in Dedebağ. In August 15 we rehearsed in the covered sports hall and we read there our announcement. [...] They got cut our power; we brought generator. The relation with other organization was not like today, the İşçi Party, Dev-Sol, Halkevleri. We told all people that they might bring their productions like theatre, semah; we told them that there would not be censorship. We printed a journal and published the announcements, which criticized not only the Ministry of Culture and its mentality but also the institution of *dedelik*, on it. The young ones' approach was very positive but the old ones were very conservative, they were faithful to the *dedes*. Many people attended to the alternative festival. The others could not sell 300 tickets in the covered sports hall for the three days.

*1990'da alternatif şenlik yapacaktık ama son ana kadar ilan etmedik. Belediyenin organizasyonunda tüm görevleri de biz almıştık, çarşı görevlisi, kapalı spor salonu görevlisi, üç yüze yakın görevli bizim elemanlarımızdı. ... Hazırlandık, sanatçıları ayarladık. Arif Sağ, Yorum'un elemanları vardı, Belkis Akkale... Dedebağında oldu. 15 Ağustos'ta kapalı spor salonunda prova yapıyorduk, orda bir bildiri okuduk... Elektriklerimizi kestiler, jeneratör getirdik. Şimdiki gibi değildi, diğer örgütlerle ilişki, İşçi Partisi, işte Dev-Sol, Halkevleri. Tüm insanlara dedik, ürünlerinizi getirin, hiçbir sansür olmayacak. İşte semahıydı, tiyatrosuydu. Bir gazete çıkardık ve bildirileri de yayınladık. İşte sadece Kültür bakanlığını ve bu zihniyeti değil dedelik kurumunu da eleştiren..*

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<sup>47</sup> <http://www.karacaahmet.com> accessed 03.2005

<sup>48</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 16.08. 1990

*Gençlerler çok olumluymdu ama yaşlılar çok tutucuydu bağlılar dedelerine. Alternatif şenliğe çok kişi katıldı. Onlarsa kapalı spor salonunun içinde üç günde üç yüz tane bilet bile satamadılar.*

The General President of SHP Erdal İnönü, the general secretary of SHP Deniz Baykal, in the name of DYP Esat Kıratlıođlu and the Minister of Culture from ANAP Namık Kemal Zeybek attended to the ceremony organized by the Culture of Ministry. İnönü mentioned about the treat of şeriat in his speech. Zeybek promised establishing a regular group of *semah* and a Bektaşî music group in order to attract the tourists. Esat Kıratlıođlu mentioned that the countenance of the people who do harm to national existence is the biggest danger in the way of Hacı Bektaş Veli. The Governor of Nevşehir and the Head Official of Hacıbektaş stated in their speeches in accordance with the Turk-Islam synthesis that Hacı Bektaş Veli was the great thinker who served the Turkish culture making the Turk-Islam synthesis and spreading it in Anatolia. Due to the ceremony Demirel sent a message to the Governor of Nevşehir and Turgut Özal sent message too.<sup>49</sup>

In the first day, after the opening ceremony the festival continued with the exhibitions of photograph about the works of Turk architecture and exhibition of the books about Hacı Bektaş Veli chosen from the collection of the National Library. A panel was organized under the title of “Hacı Bektaş Veli.”<sup>50</sup> The evening programme in the sports hall, which continued the other two days as well, included the concert of Zülfü Livaneli, chorus and *deyişs* from the folk poets and performances of *semah*. There were also movies, projections and theatre plays.

In 1991 the ceremony was quiet when compared with the previous year. In 1992, the Minister of the state and Deputy Prime Minister Erdal İnönü, the Minister of Culture Fikri Sağlar and the Ministers of Tourism, of Justice, of Industry and Trade attended to the festival. İnönü gave a speech and said that Hacı Bektaş Veli was their model, who made the lion and deer live together and who stressed that all people can live together. He added that Alevis and Bektaşîs suffered very

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<sup>49</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 16.08. 1990

<sup>50</sup> The speakers of the panel were from Yugoslavia Nimetullah Hafız, from China Enver Baytur, Elita Alnaçık, Nezihe Aras, Hayrani Altıntaş, Cemal Şener and Rıza Zelyut.

much in the past and they would not allow coming back of these suffering days.<sup>51</sup> Besides the increasingly interest of the politicians in the festival, the Alevi associations have been increasingly active in the festival. Coming together they presented a proclamation to the attention of the government. On the proclamation it was stated that the Directorate of Religious Affairs's structure and functions unsettled the community. They demanded that secularization in education, abolition of the compulsory lesson of religion and sorting the distorted expressions and knowledge about Alevism out textbooks.<sup>52</sup>

The ceremony began with the opening speeches and the activities continued in different centres of the town. There were panels under the title of "Democracy, Secularism and Alevism"<sup>53</sup>; "The Alevi Bektaşî Tradition and Culture"<sup>54</sup>. A lecture was given by Vecihi Timuroğlu about Alevi-Bektaşî culture. Activities contained in exhibitions of photograph and picture, concerts, performances of *semah* and the play of Pir Sultan.<sup>55</sup>

#### **4.4.3. The Sivas Events in 1993 and the Gazi Neighbourhood Events in 1995 and the Ceremonies from 1993 to 1995**

The Pir Sultan Abdal association in July 1993 organized a culture festival. Many authors and artists were invited; one of them was Aziz Nesin who had earlier year announced that he would translate Rushdie's Satanic Verses. The Right-wing radical Islamist protested the festival. After their ritual worship in Friday, they attacked the Madımak Hotel where the participants of the festival were staying. They set fire to the hotel in which thirty-seven people died due to this fire and

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<sup>51</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 17.08. 1992

<sup>52</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 17.08. 1992

<sup>53</sup> The speakers were: Sednik Paşaeve, Vecihi Timuroğlu, İzzettin Doğan, Atila Erdem, Rüşti Şardağ, Nejat Birdoğan

<sup>54</sup> The speakers were: Mesut Baş, Şahap Demirer, Cemal Şener, Ali Sümer, İsmail Elçioğlu, Hasan Meşeli

<sup>55</sup> The programme of the III. International Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Festival in 1992.

many of them were injured. The primary target was Aziz Nesin and mostly Alevi intellectuals and artists. Pir Sultan symbolises the rebellious and leftist tradition of the Alevism and his statue was the symbolic target. The civil and central authorities and local police performed almost nothing to protect them against the attackers (Kaleli, 2000:103; Bruinessen, 1996).

Owing to the events in Sivas, the ceremony of Hacı Bektaş in 1993 was not so crowded when compared with the previous years but the participants were vigorous. According to Veliyettin Ulusoy (62, M, retired):

The memorial ceremony after July 2 was very nice. Many of the participants were young people but it was very nice because young people lived their emotions intensively. The number of people was few but the quality of the ceremony was high. Except from that year other ceremonies were similar.

*2 Temmuz'dan sonraki ilk anma törenleri çok güzel geçti. Daha çok genç ağırlıktıydı benim gözlemlediğim kadarıyla fakat çok güzel geçti çünkü gençler yoğun yaşadılar duygularını. Katılım azdı, sayı olarak azdı fakat kalite yüksekti. Onun dışındaki törenler hep birbirine benziyordu.*

In and out of the town were controlled by the security forces and also polices on the building roofs attracted attention. The audience hooted the speech of İnönü in the opening ceremony. İnönü said that he attended to the ceremony in order to commemorate Hacı Bektaş Veli and he mentioned about Hacı Bektaş Veli's crucial role in settling the thoughts of love of human being, peace, fraternity and friendship. Moreover, he said that the Republic of Turkey had been walking on the road opened by Hacı Bektaş Veli without making concessions to secularism. His speech was interrupted by audience who was shouting slogans like "It will be accounted for Sivas", "The Murderer State". After the speeches the singers and groups of semah performed a parade. Raising their saz singer protested the massacre of Sivas.<sup>56</sup>

On the programme of activity concerts, performances of semah, exhibitions of photograph, of book and cartoon, projection of film, theatre and symposiums took

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<sup>56</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 17.08. 1993



place.<sup>57</sup> The topic of the symposiums was “Alevism-Bektaşism and Democracy”<sup>58</sup>.

For the first time in 1994, a Turkish President, Süleyman Demirel attended to the event and Hacibektaş became more and more a place for political bargaining, offering promises, making demands (Massicard, 2003:127). Besides President Demirel, the General President of SHP and Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın, the General President of CHP Deniz Baykal, the Ministers of the state Esat Kıratlıoğlu and Önay Alpago, the Minister of Culture Timuçin Savaş and the members of central executive council of SHP took part in the ceremony.<sup>59</sup>

At the opening ceremony Demirel gave a speech:

I censure the events in Sivas in hatred. The persons who committed murder, who massacred would be punished by the judgement, by judicial system of the country. Do not lose your belief in it. If we lose our belief in it, let taking part in this festival we could not wander even on the streets. Continue to believe in the state. If you lose your belief there will be chaos, disorder. Trusting on law, you demand your right. Do not tend to separate and to take your own law. This will be against the philosophy of Hacı Bektaş Veli.<sup>60</sup>

In the opening ceremony for the first time, the award of peace was given to journalist-author Lütfi Kaleli who was rescued from the fire of Madımak Hotel. He claimed that he accepted the reward as the expression of respect to the memory of the martyrs of Sivas. He accused the politicians of transforming the Hacibektaş festival into a political show.<sup>61</sup>

According to Poulton who attended to the festival in 1994, the events in Sivas were never far from people’s minds. There were cassettes of songs accompanied by saz about the outrage, and T-shirts with inscriptions about the “immortal martyrs of democracy.” At Çilehane on a hill there is a huge statue of two

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<sup>57</sup> The programme of the IV. International Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 1993

<sup>58</sup> The speakers were: Atilla Özkırımlı, Konur Ertop, Battal Pehlivan, Cafer Özerkoç, İsmet Zeki Eyüpoğlu, Öner Yağcı, Cemal Şener, Ahmet Aydemir Dr Yaşar Yılmaz, Yusuf Ziya Bahadınlı, Reha Çamuroğlu, İlhan Cem Erseven, Ali Balkız, Nejat Birdoğan and Nezihe Aras.

<sup>59</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper, The *Hürriyet* Newspaper, The *Zaman* Newspaper 16 .08. 1994

<sup>60</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 17.08. 1994

*bağlama* players, called *Ozanlar*, dedicated to the Sivas dead. Petitions about the lack of will by the authorities to prosecute those responsible for the attack circulated in the town freely. The copies of the statement in the name of seventeen the Alevi organisations were widely distributed. The sign “We have not forgotten Sivas” read in the main square of the town (Poulton, 1997:257).

In the 1994, the panels took part in the activities under the title of “Democracy and Secularism in the Alevi-Bektaşî Thought”<sup>62</sup>; “The Alevi-Bektaşî Thought in Yesterday and in Today”<sup>63</sup> and “Women’s Place on the Alevi-Bektaşî Thought.”<sup>64</sup> Further in the activity programme there were concerts, semah performances, theatre and the exhibition of picture.<sup>65</sup>

In the evening of 12 March 1995, unknown gunmen riddled five tea-houses with bullets killing Halil Dede and wounding some people in the Gazi neighbourhood where most of the population are the Alevis and the Kurds. The people of Gazi neighbourhood protest the attack on the streets directed their anger against a nearby police station, which is known for practising torture and that night police shot one demonstrator. The rioting continued and spread to the Ümraniye neighbourhood. The police who went out of control shot into the crowds, at the end of the events 17 persons were killed (Kaleli, 2000.103; Bruinessen, 1996).

In the year 1995, when the Gazi Events occurred, the committee of organization did not allow the representatives of political parties to give speech claiming that the opening ceremony was turning into a place of meeting and show of the political parties. President Demirel, the representative of Prime Minister Hikmet Çetin and the Minister of Culture İsmail Cem gave speeches at the opening ceremony. Demirel told that:

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<sup>61</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 17.08. 1994

<sup>62</sup> The speakers were: İsmail Cem, Rıza Zelyut, Attila Erden, İlhan Başgöz, Yaşar Yılmaz

<sup>63</sup> The speakers were: Aziz Yalçın, Cemal Şener, Reha Çamuroğlu, Hıdır Temel, Sülayman Cem

<sup>64</sup> The speakers were: Lütfi Kaleli, Nejat Birdoğan, Fatma Gök, Yeşim Müderrisoğlu and Atilla Erden

My fellow-citizens, I address to you. Peace will be in your heart. Tear the hatred, enmity and being suppressed in the past, from your hearts. Instead of them put peace and tolerance back. Left this square with full of affection. We believe in same God, we become martyr on the same bulwark, did not we? The Republic of Turkey is the state of law. Should we destroy the state that was established by sublime Atatürk because of the lack of it? [...] If there is a harm it will not live unpunished. Believe this and do not be an instrument to harm. Long lives the state of the Republic of Turkey, long lives Turkish nation, all together like fist.<sup>66</sup>

Mayor Özcivan charged politicians with discrimination about religion and sect and with the radical religious persons who were taken on the permanent staff. He demanded participation of the politicians in the ceremony without self-interest. After rejecting the existence of the Alevi for long years, the politicians paid attention to the Alevi due to the calculation of votes. He argued that the Alevi were ready to provide the unity. He asked that if the Alevi were the first class citizens while supporting the Sunni people why this support was grudged from the Alevi. He demanded in the name of Alevi abolition of the obligatory religious lesson, giving up the support to the Religious Affairs and beware of the double standard in the institutions of education and the state.<sup>67</sup>

There were the panels under the title “Tolerance and Hacı Bektaş Veli”<sup>68</sup> and “The Folk Movements in Anatolia and Their Reflections to the Present.”<sup>69</sup> Moreover, the exhibition of picture, projection of light and sound, concerts, semah performances and theatres of “Can Şenliği Oyuncuları” and “Ankara Devlet Tiyatrosu” took part in the activity programme.<sup>70</sup>

#### **4.4.4. The Alevi-Bektaş Associations in Turkey and in Europe**

In 1960s the Alevi-Bektaş associations were created both in Europe (Germany) and in Turkey simultaneously. Similarly in Turkey, in Germany these

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<sup>65</sup>The programme of the V. International of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 1994

<sup>66</sup>The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 17.08. 1995

<sup>67</sup>The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 17.08. 1995

<sup>68</sup>The speakers were: Toktamış Ateş, Irene Melikoff, İsmet Zeki Eyüpoğlu, Fevzi Halıcı and Lütüfi Doğan.

<sup>69</sup>The speakers were: Şaheser Özkaya, Reha Çamuroğlu, Nejat Birdoğan and Atilla Özkırımlı.

<sup>70</sup>The programme of the VI. International Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 1995

associations were named Hacı Bektaş Veli, Pir Sultan Abdal, Abdal Musa and the epithet Alevi was not used. In 1960s, in order to organize the Alevi workers Türk Amaleler Birliği (Turkish Workers Union) was founded. Later its name was changed into the Yurtseverler Birliği (Union of the Patriots) and it functioned like a branch of the Union Party. In 1989 the Hamburg Alevi Kültür Grubu (HAKG, Alevi Cultural Group of Hamburg) was the first association who used the name Alevi. In the late 1980s, in Turkey the Alevi associations were formed, having related with the organization movements in Europe (Şahin, 2002:132; Kaleli, 2000:135).

The HAGK organised an Alevi Kültür Haftası (Alevi Cultural Week) and in June 1990 and changed its name to the Alevi Kültür Merkezi (Alevi Cultural Centre). The process of creation of the Alevi Associations led to the Alevi Cemaatleri Federasyonu (AACF, Federation of Alevi Assemblies in Germany) in 1991, becoming the Almanya Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (Federation of Alevi Unions in Germany) a year later (Rigoni, 2003:163).

In Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s associations were constituted. Majority of them contained in their names the name of Hacı Bektaş Veli. They were closed down by the military take-over in 1980. In the late 1980s the Alevi associations were constituted again by the Alevis who took part before 1980 in the leftist movements. The events in Sivas in 1993 and in Gazi in 1995 radicalised the Alevi revival and many Alevi associations and their sections were opened after these events. In 1991 constituted associations of Hacı Bektaş Veli Culture and Presentation; in 1994 constituted Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Culture Foundation and Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Associations, constituted in 1989 as Banaz Village association, have many sections in Turkey. The Cem Foundation and the Ehlibeyt Foundation are widespread in Turkey. In 1995 constituted Cem Foundation which becomes integrated with İzzettin Doğan, is close to the Turk-Islamist approach. In 1996, under the leadership of Fermani Altun constituted Ehlibeyt Foundation is close to Iran Shiism and the Caferi sect. During this period besides the associations and foundations whose administrative centers are in Ankara and in

İstanbul, many associations of villages and of towns were constituted too (Şahin, 2002:132; Kaleli, 2000).

In Europe in the midst of 1990s the Alevi migrants tried to organize themselves beyond the national boundaries in order to create an Alevi lobby and unify the migrants all over the Europe. The AACF changed in 1994 its name into the Avrupa Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (Federation of Alevi Unions in Europe), which includes 140 Alevi associations from Germany, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland and United-Kingdom. In 1997 the Avrupa Alevi Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Alevi in Europe) was created in order to bring each national federation together (Rigoni, 2003:164). Moreover, in Germany, the Avrupa Alevi Akademisi (Alevi Academy in Europe), the Alevi Bektaşî Enstitüsü (Institute of Alevi Bektaşî) and the Alevi Yol and Erkan Enstitüsü (Institute of Alevi Manner and Essentials) were created in order to provide knowledge about the field of Alevism. After the Sivas events, the idea of putting the associations in Turkey and in Europe together under a structure became a current issue. In 1994, under the leadership of the Avrupa Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (Federation of Alevi Union in Europe), the Alevi Bektaşî Temsilciler Meclisi (Assembly of Representatives of Alevi Bektaşî) was founded. ABTM dissolved in 1995 due to the uncompromising political issues. The Alevis decided to participate in the 1995 December elections under the name of Democratic Peace Movement with independent candidates. In spite of the resignation of candidates, the leader of the movement, Ali Haydar Veziroğlu decided to constitute a party. In 1996 the Peace Party was founded. Because of its rejection of the Directorate of Religious Affairs in its programme, it was closed by the Constitutional Court<sup>71</sup> (Şahin, 2002:136).

In 1998, ABTM got into action in order to constitute the Confederation of Alevi in the World and the first congress was organized in Hacıbektaş. They read an announcement at the opening ceremony, in which the President and the Prime Minister participated. In 2000, it was named the Alevi Bektaşî Organization

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<sup>71</sup> They participated in 1999 elections as the Peace Party and owing to the Party's failure it was closed. (Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2003:76)

Union. This association which was named in 2002 the Alevi Bektaşî Federation still continues its activities (Şahin, 2002:136).

Ahmet Koçak tells that in 1990s, the accelerated organizing process of the Alevi Bektaşî community reflected in the festival of Hacібektaş:

In the beginning, the people who pursued scientific goals constituted the organizations and aimed to spread the Alevi-Bektaşî culture. But the later process was opposite to the previous process. After the Sivas massacre, a reactionist organization and a potential was created. The sections of the associations began to increase from five to forty, to fifty, to hundred. This reactionist organization's reflection in Hacібektaş caused to bring the ideological dimension forward. In the process from 1987 up to now, as I observed first organization of the associations and later, reactionist organization of them canalized people inwardly. In the later process when the associations did not perform their functions, people began to come to here with their means and independent from the associations.

*İlk zamanlardaki örgütlülük daha çok bilimsel kaygılar güden insanların oluşturduğu, Alevi-Bektaşî inancının, kültürünün yaygınlaştırılmasını amaçlayan örgütlülük. Ama daha sonraki süreç tam tersine oldu, Sivas kırımı, Sivas kırımının ardından tepkisel örgütlenme ve potansiyel yaratıldı. Dernek şubeleri üçlerden beşlerden kırklara, ellilere, yüzlere çıkmaya başladı. Tepkisel örgütlenmenin buraya (Hacібektaş'a) yansımaları için ideolojik boyutunu daha fazla ön plana çıkarmaya başladı. 87'den bugüne gözlemediğim süreçte derneklerin ilk örgütlenmeleri ve sonraki tepkisel örgütlenmeleri burdaki insanları içten içe kanalize ediyordu. Daha sonraki süreçte derneklerin içinin boşalmasıyla buraya gelişlerde, insanlar derneklerden bağımsız, kendi olanaklarıyla gelmeye başladılar.*

#### **4.4.5. The Ceremonies from 1996 to 2004**

In June 30, 1996 the government of the Refah-Yol was constituted and attendance of the Minister of Culture İsmail Kahraman from RP to the festival provoked the Alevi-Bektaşîs. The general chairman of the AABF made a statement and said that they did not want to the attendance of RP, which had the effort to constitute a state that is racist and an upholder of the religious law. Also he said that they did not want the attendance of other representatives of the political parties who used the Alevis to make show.<sup>72</sup>

President Demirel, the Minister of Internal Affairs Mehmet Ağar, the Minister of Culture İsmail Kahraman, the Ministers of the state Namık Kemal Zeybek, Ufuk Söylemez and the General President of CHP Deniz Baykal attended to the ceremony. At the ceremony about 500 thousand people participated in the festival

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<sup>72</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 16.08.1996

also there were many security forces.<sup>73</sup> Kahraman's speech was interrupted and hooted by the audience.<sup>74</sup> At the opening ceremony, İsmet Zeki Eyüpoğlu was rewarded with the Peace and Friendship reward of Hacı Bektaş Veli.

In the activities of the year 1996 there were panels under the topic of "the Democracy and the Secularism"<sup>75</sup> and "The Place of the *Dedelik* Institution in the Alevi-Bektaş Thought."<sup>76</sup> As usual there were *semah* performances, concerts, exhibitions of cartoon and picture, projections of films and theatre.<sup>77</sup>

The writer of the *Hürriyet* Newspaper, Solak, who said that in the previous year with the attendance of Demirel to the ceremony, ceremony got more meaningful, surprised by the protest against the Minister of Culture:

Something, which is unpredictable, occurred. In front of the sublime Pir Hacı Bektaş who is the symbol of tolerance and affection of human being, the Minister of Culture İsmail Kahraman was hooted. For a moment, few young people supposing that we saw them in the events of the Gazi and in the events of May 1 shouted slogans even against President Demirel. It was unseemly.<sup>78</sup>

The article of Çölaşan in the August 16, 1996 dated *Hürriyet* was compatible with the approach of the state to the Alevis after 1980. He wrote that they were proud of millions of Alevi citizens who are dauntless advocate of the secularism, of the modernity and of the Kemalism also who are against to all kind of fanaticism, bigotry and darkness. According to him, the traders of religion and the traders of the Kurdism were embarrassed by Alevis. Although it was impossible for the

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<sup>73</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 17.08.1996

<sup>74</sup> The *Hürriyet* Newspaper 17.08.1996

<sup>75</sup> The speakers of the panel were: Yaşar Nuri Öztürk, the General President of DİSK Rıdvan Budak, Ataol Behramoğlu and İlhan Selçuk.

<sup>76</sup> The speakers of the panel were Hüseyin Gazi Metin, Hıdır Temel, Aziz Yalçın and Şahin Ulusoy.

<sup>77</sup> The programme of the 33 th National and VII. International Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 1996

<sup>78</sup> The *Hürriyet* Newspaper 17.08.1996

religious groups to leak among the Alevis, the other groups who wanted to take the Alevis for their service to divide Turkey failed and were disappointed.<sup>79</sup>

According to Şahin, the memorial ceremony in 1997 was the example of the state's perception of the Alevi citizens. Connected with process after the decisions declared in the assembly of MGK in February 28, the ANAP-DSP coalition government occupied Hacibektaş. Normally in the programme the other activities followed the opening ceremony but that year the speeches of the statesmen continued two days. In the first day Demirel gave a speech and the second day having passed the law of obligatory education for 8 years through the National Assembly Ecevit and Yılmaz came to Hacibektaş and they gave speeches (Şahin, 2002). According to Küçük, owing to the debates of the education for 8 years and the religious service in Turkish, it was stressed that Alevis as being modernist and Kemalist took side with secularists against the bigoted Sünnis. In accordance with political conjuncture, this discourse, whose production is contributed by the ruler of the state, is a widespread opinion among the Alevis. Moreover, this discourse is stressed by the Alevis who want to be visible in the public (Küçük.M, 2002:907).

Prime Minister Yılmaz and Deputy Prime Minister Ecevit were welcomed with the slogan "Turkey is secular and will remain forever secular". Yılmaz gave a speech and said happy irony of fate about the coincidence with the dates of the ceremony and of passing the law through assembly. He claimed that they would do Hacibektaş the centre of Alevism of Anatolia, of Caucasia and of the Balkans. He also added "The descendants of Hacı Bektaş, we want to present a gift to Hacı Bektaş and to people who love him. This present is 8 yearly continuous education".<sup>80</sup> Ecevit said that the Alevis were the guarantee of the national unity, of the democracy and the secularism. He added that how mosques were our, cemevis were our too; it was necessary to reconcile Şah İsmail and Yavuz.<sup>81</sup> In 1997 for the first time at the opening ceremony a representative of the Alevi Associations gave a speech. Furthermore, the Peace and Friendship award was

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<sup>79</sup> The *Hürriyet* Newspaper 16.08.1996

<sup>80</sup> The *Hürriyet* Newspaper 18.08.1997



given to Aşık Mahsuni. Moreover, the General President of HADEP Murat Bozlak and the General President of ÖDP Ufuk Uras participated in the ceremony.

Especially after the process of February 28, the statesmen's approach to the Alevis as the stronghold of secularism and their attendance to the ceremonies provoked the Islamist. According to the writer of the *Türkiye* Newspaper, Kabaklı, Hacı Bektaş was sent to Anatolia by his Pir Ahmet Yesevi in order to gain a victory in the name of being Turk and being Islam. Before being sent to Anatolia he showed sublime miracles and paid attention to the national and religious triumphs. He settled in Karahöyük in the purpose of reinforce the raider soldiers. He adds that:

It is tried to be dressed the spiritual persons, who rehabilitated, united and sublimated our nation, towards enmity, hatred and even divisiveness by the authorities who took place in the government. The responsible persons passed the taboo of "continuous" by trick and violence through the Assembly without knowing its reality and damage. Their exploitation of religion and sect at the town of Hacıbektaş carries the troubles which get our nation to set on fire. It is the propaganda of hostility to make our distinguished Alevi brothers believe the negative efforts, which tends to blunt the İmam-Hatips as the "gift of Hacı Bektaş Veli."<sup>82</sup>

In 1997 festival, there were panels under the title of "Alevism-Bektaşism and Modernity"<sup>83</sup> and under title of "The Role of the Alevi-Bektaş Community in the Independence War and in the Declaration of the Republic."<sup>84</sup> In addition in the programme the exhibition of books and photograph, theatre, performances of semah and concerts took place.<sup>85</sup>

During the opening ceremony in 1998, Mayor Özcivan gave a speech and said that they did not want to transform the memorial ceremonies into political arena and they would not allow the persons who perform a political show. He

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<sup>81</sup>The *Milliyet* Newspaper 18.08.1997

<sup>82</sup>The *Türkiye* Newspaper 23.08.1997

<sup>83</sup>The speakers were: Cem Özdemir, Altan Gökalp and Fikri Sağlar.

<sup>84</sup> The speakers were: Baki Öz, Çetin Yetkin and Ünsal Yavuz.

<sup>85</sup>The programme of the 34th National VIII International Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 1997

mentioned about the problems of the town and demanded financial support. At the opening ceremony Gülşen Erenler Çakar read the proclamation in the name of the Alevi Bektaşî Associations:

I present this speech in the name of Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Derneği (the Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Association), Hacı Bektaş Veli Anadolu Kültür Vakfı (the Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Culture Foundation), Hacı Bektaş Veli Kültür ve Tanıtma Derneği (the Hacı Bektaş Veli Culture and Presentation Association), Hacıbektaş Derneği (the Hacıbektaş Association), Karacaahmet Vakfı (the Karacaahmet Foundation), Kartal Cemevi, Gazi Cemevi, Tunceli Dayanışma ve Kültür Vakfı (the Solidarity and Culture Foundation of Tunceli), Aşık Veysel Kültür Derneği (Aşık Veysel Culture Association), Kızılırmak Köy Dernekleri (the Village Associations of Kızılırmak), Avrupa Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (the Federation of Alevi Unions in Europe), Avusturya Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu, Fransa Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (the Federation of Alevi Unions in France), Hollanda Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (the Federation of Alevi Unions in Netherlands), İngiltere Alevi Kültür Merkezi (Alevi Culture center in England), Balkan Alevi Birlikleri Federasyonu (the Federation of Alevi Union in Balkan) and Avrupa Alevi Akademisi (the Alevi Academy in Europe). [...] We ask for the abolition of the 82 constitution and the law of the September 12 which are the products of the oppressive mentality and instead of it we ask for a new, democratic and liberalistic constitution should be prepared and should be brought into force. We ask for the abolition of the obstacles to organization and to thought and we ask for protecting and keeping our economically, political, social, cultural and religious identity. [...] We ask for the revealing and punishing the secret accusers of the Maraş, Çorum ve Gazi Events in case these events do not occur once again. We ask for the abolition of the Religious Affairs, which is unfit to the secular and democratic structure of the state. [...] We ask for giving up to built mosques in the Alevi villages and instead of it being sensitive of the necessities of these villages like library, road, village clinics and fountain. We ask for giving end to the broadcasting on television and radio, which address only one sect's belief. We ask for giving end to broadcasting on the education books and on the media including insults and mistakes about Alevism and about the past worth of it. [...] We ask for immediately purifying the staff of the state from the people who are racist and an upholder of the religious law. We ask for ending the conflict which has been continuing on one of the region of our country for many long years with pain and tears and which causes to deeply social destruction. We ask for ending to discharging from the villages, obligatory migrations, unidentified murders and the violation of the human rights. We ask for providing our peoples coming back to their villages, preventing unjust treatments and stopping the economic and social instability between the regions. We ask for being aware of Anatolia's being like a mosaic of cultures, beliefs and languages to end the ethnic and religious domination and to applicate the modernist and democratic citizen rights for all people of this country in a wide sense. [...] We ask for giving up the policies of assimilation and denial against us. We are the Alevis, we ask for recognizing by the law; we ask for our names. We knows that Hacı Bektaş Veli whose door today we come and whose home today we are host was the defender of our demands and at present he is the witness of our demands.<sup>86</sup>

Having been read the proclamation of the Alevi-Bektaşî associations, Deniz Baykal and Mesut Yılmaz gave speeches. Yılmaz gave a speech about the abuse of the religion and also the religion exploiters; he defined the people of Anatolia as the Turkish Muslim. During his speech he often said Hacı Bayram instead of

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<sup>86</sup> *Hacıbektaş 1998* (a published book by the Municipality of Hacıbektaş and the Press and Publication Commission of the Committee of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli )

Hacı Bektaş. Similar to his speeches in the previous years, the accents of Demirel's speech were the Turkey as the state of law and the Alevis as the first class citizens.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, at the opening ceremony Doğan Taşdelen received the Friendship and Peace Award. The General President of ÖDP Ufuk Uras, the president of Türk-İş Bayram Meral and the deputy chairmen of Galatasaray Adnan Polat took part in the ceremony. The opening ceremony was broadcasted by TRT 1.

On the *Akşam* Newspaper Rıza Zelyut argued that the Memorial Ceremonies turned into a stage at which different political opinion struggle for domination. For him from HADEP to İP, everybody came to Hacıbektaş in order to get something. On the other hand, ten thousands of people coming to Hacıbektaş in order to commemorate Hacı Bektaş Veli were not aware of this political war:

One day before I saw people queued in order to visit the sarcophagus of Pir Hacı Bektaş. These are the sincerely believed Alevis... Many of them were poor... They lied down on the streets and cooked on there in dust. The municipality of Hacıbektaş struggles to make the visitor comfortable but its means are insufficient...The state's financial support is equal to the price of a jeep...<sup>88</sup>

As Ümit Sariaslan wrote on the *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper, before the September 12 the state treated as an enemy of the festival but after that date the state had begun to treat as the owner of it. Since the September 12, the festival had been celebrated at the state's layer and having been named as international one; the festival turns into an internal podium. Moreover, the festival had turned into a political show at which the active participation of people was limited only being spectators.<sup>89</sup>

Especially after February 28, the interest of religious press in the festivals continued. The writer of the *Yeni Şafak* Newspaper, Abdülhamit Küheylan mentioned that the participation of the statesmen in the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli, who symbolizes Alevism, was a political manoeuvre and a

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<sup>87</sup> *Hacıbektaş 1998* (a published book by the Municipality of Hacıbektaş and the Press and Publication Commission of the Committee of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli )

<sup>88</sup> The *Akşam* Newspaper 18.08.1998

double standard.<sup>90</sup> According to Fehmi Kuru, the Alevis were neglected by the right parties accepting them as the source of the votes of the left. Since receiving the signal of the Alevi's breaking up the left, they have begun to perform symbolic behaviours for the Alevis. The case of the ceremony in Hacibektaş showed that while performing an image as dealing with the Alevis, the Head Official of the state and politicians aimed to use the Alevis against the rising piety. The Alevis should not allow to be used by the trades of the right and the left.<sup>91</sup>

In the programme there were panels under the title "Religion and the State"<sup>92</sup> and "the Alevism-Bektaşism under the Conditions of Urban"<sup>93</sup> and the concerts, semah performances, conservation, theatre and exhibitions of picture and photograph.<sup>94</sup>

At the opening ceremony in 1999, Mayor Özcivan gave a speech whose content was similar to the previous years. He mentioned about the Alevis' disturbance about the budget of the Religious Affairs and also the financial sufferings of the town Hacibektaş. Different from the previous years, he demanded to turn the museum of Hacibektaş over the municipality. Ali Doğan who gave a speech in the name of the Representatives Assembly of Alevi-Bektaş. He informed that the federations, the associations and the foundations got together and established the Representatives Assembly of Alevi-Bektaş. Their first general meeting was between 12-13 August 1999 in Hacibektaş. Moreover, he said that the *dergah* was not a museum or an official office, on the contrary the *dergah* was a holy place for the Alevi-Bektaşis. The speeches of President Demirel and of the other representatives of the political parties were like a repetition of the previous years.

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<sup>89</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 15.08 1998

<sup>90</sup> The *Yeni Şafak* Newspaper 20.08.1998

<sup>91</sup> The *Zaman* Newspaper 18.08.1998

<sup>92</sup> The speakers were: Şakir Keçeli, Erdoğan Aydın, Atilla Erden and Nazan Kuloğlu.

<sup>93</sup> The speakers were: Nejat Birdoğan, Hüsni İyidoğan, Ali Balkız and Hasan Kıyafet

At the opening ceremony the Peace and Friendship award was given to Irene Melikoff.<sup>95</sup>

The Foundation Ehli-beyt commemorated Hacı Bektaş Veli in İstanbul at Holiday Inn Crown Plaza through an alternative meeting. The Mayor of İstanbul Ali Müfit Görtuna, the deputy of FP Abdülkadir Aksu, and the old Ministers Ali Talip Özdemir and Namık Kemal Zeybek attended to this meeting. According to Fermani Altun, the political groups had been presented Hacı Bektaş Veli incorrect for years and these groups used the spiritual leaders like Hacı Bektaş Veli and Pir Sultan Abdal in order to keep their old and useless ideologies alive.<sup>96</sup>

Due to the earthquake of the Marmara region in August 17 and 18, the activities of the ceremony were annulled. In the first day programme, there were panels of whose topics were “Alevism Bektaşism in the International Standpoint”<sup>97</sup> and “The Politics and Humour,”<sup>98</sup> moreover, concerts, semah performances, exhibitions of picture and photograph, theatre.<sup>99</sup>

In 2000, the opening ceremony began in tension. At the opening ceremony Mayor Özcivan said that:

...On the other hand, like a religious state on which the Sünni belief is dominated, Turkey do not give other beliefs and cultures to the right to live; we are charged with divisiveness or being sectarian. The Alevi-Bektaş community has not any problem with the Republic and with the state. The problem is the mentality, which wants to politicize the beliefs. The problem is the mentality, which discriminates against people owing to their beliefs, race and gender, also the problem is the mentality, which does not recognize the other beliefs and cultures and does not accept the different. In this respect I want to underline this sentence: if saying ‘I am a Alevi’ is banned and a penal prosecution is started, you cannot

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<sup>94</sup> The programme of the 35<sup>th</sup> National IX. International Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 1998

<sup>95</sup> *Hacıbektaş 1999* (a published book by the Municipality of Hacıbektaş and the Press and Publication Comission of the Comitee of the Memorail Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli )

<sup>96</sup> The *Hürriyet* Newspaper 17.08.1999

<sup>97</sup> The speakers were: Irene Melikoff, Cristina Kiel, Heiden Trumann, Frederic De Jong.

<sup>98</sup> The speakers were: Mustafa Balbay, Metin Peker and Musa Ağacık.

<sup>99</sup> The programme of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 1999

charge us with discrimination or sectarianism. We are both suppressed and murdered, what's more we are accused of sectarianism.<sup>100</sup>

In the name of the Alevi-Bektaşî Associations Union, Ali Balkız said that they who invited Alevis to the racist, nationalist, chauvinist comprehension also to being an upholder of the religious law made a mistake forgetting what they did in the past to the Alevis. He expressed their demands like the abolition of the obligatory religious lectures; taking the management and the maintenance of the Hacibektaş museum over the Hacibektaş Municipality. He stressed that the definitions like "Alevi" and "Alevi culture" which took place on the names of Alevi Bektaşî associations, Alevi foundations and on their regulations should not be a reason for suing or closing the associations. Then, the General President of CHP, Altan Öymen gave a speech and similar to previous year he mentioned about the restructuring of the Religious Affairs. After him the Minister of Tourism Erkan Mumcu, the Minister of Agriculture Hüsnü Yusuf Gökalp and the Minister of Culture İstemihan Talay gave speeches. Prof. Dr. İlhan Başgöz got the Friendship and Peace Award of Hacı Bektaş Veli.<sup>101</sup> Süleyman Demirel and President Necdet Sezer sent messages. On his message, Sezer defined Hacı Bektaş as the prophet of tolerance and peace.<sup>102</sup>

On the news of the *Akit* Newspaper dated 16.08.2000, the target was Ecevit besides the Alevi-Bektaşîs:

It is come out that Prime Minister Ecevit has not received any of the unnumerous invitation of Ehli Beyt Foundation although he has been going to Hacibektaş. At Hacibektaş on the contrary to the mission of Hacı Bektaş Veli's excellency, drinking alcohol, singing and dancing a festival has been arranged by the sectarian and atheist institutions introducing Hacibektaş as an alternative pilgrimage place to Kaaba. The chairman of the Ehlibeyt Foundation Fermani Altun wanted an explanation of his justification, having been invited all the memorial programmes organized by the Ehli Beyt Foundation why Prime Minister Ecevit did not attend to the international programme although he went to Hacibektaş at where atheism and divisiveness propagandized.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> *Hacibektaş 2000* (a published book by the Municipality of Hacibektaş and the Press and Publication Comission of the Comitee of the Memorail Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli )

<sup>101</sup> *Hacibektaş 2000* (a published book by the Municipality of Hacibektaş and the Press and Publication Comission of the Comitee of the Memorail Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli )

<sup>102</sup> The *Hürriyet* Newspaper 17.08.2000

<sup>103</sup> The *Akit* Newspaper 16.08.2000

Musa Ağacık who wrote on the *Star* Newspaper stated that although the attendance to the festival was few, the number of police and soldier were almost doubled when compared with the previous year:

Rather than helping people during the activities, on the pretext of the 'identity control' the security forces kept people waiting under the sun on the entrance and exist of the town. While some of the plain-clothes policemen as a representative of the Religious Affairs were giving a fetwa about drinking; some of the policemen who belong to *Çevik Kuvvet* and *Özel Harekat* coming from Ankara were busy with smashing young people's head who handed out the announcement about the F type prison.<sup>104</sup>

The programme of 2000 included the panels under the topic of "The Sources of Culture and Belief which feed Alevism-Bektaşism,"<sup>105</sup> "Woman Against the Religious Law in Turkey"<sup>106</sup> and "The Rise of the Radical Islam."<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, theatre, concerts, exhibitions of picture and photograph, conservation, the semah performances took part on the programme.<sup>108</sup>

In 2001, the President Necdet Sezer, the chairman of the TBMM Ömer İzgi, the Minister of Culture İstemihan Talay, the Ministers of the state Yılmaz Karakoyunlu and Ramazan Mirzaoğlu, the General President of CHP Deniz Baykal and some of the deputies attended to the opening ceremony. Ecevit and the other deputies of DSP came to Hacıbektaş one day before the ceremony and opened the Culture Centre. At the opening ceremony, in his speech Özcivan complained about the discrimination against Alevi and he complained about the politicians who had given promises every year but did not keep their words. After the speeches of the Head Official and the Governor, Turgut Öker gave a speech in the name of Alevi-Bektaş Associations Union and similar to the previous speeches of the representatives of the Alevi-Bektaş associations, he mentioned about their demands. Sezer defined Hacı Bektaş Veli as one of the pioneer of the

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<sup>104</sup> The *Star* Newspaper 28.08.2000

<sup>105</sup> The speakers were: Irene Melikoff, İlhan Başgöz, Ali Yıldırım and Alemdar Yalçın.

<sup>106</sup> The speakers were: İlknur Kalkan, Seyhan Erdoğan, Şükren Soner and Erendüz Atasü.

<sup>107</sup> The speakers were: Anıl Çeçen, Erdoğan Aydın and Şakir Keçeli.

<sup>108</sup> The Programme of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 2000

universal thought that advised to live in peace and the affection of human and nature.<sup>109</sup> At the opening ceremony Reha Çamuroğlu got the Friendship and Peace Award.

The religious newspapers reacted against the attendance of Sezer to the Memorial Ceremony in Hacıbektaş:

Ecevit run to Hacıbektaş and today Sezer is going to there due to order's -which is under the auspices of the state- invitation to Hacıbektaş. Is it an abuse of Hacıbektaş? ... Only for the sake of secularism, the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, who invited people to God, to order and to the religious law, turned into hatred of 'order and the religious law' by few ignorant and provocateur people. Only for the sake of secularism the state supports this ignorance.<sup>110</sup>

If dear Sezer were sincerely about his idea, which he declared 6 months before, apart from visiting the tomb of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, he would demand the abolition of the tomb. Apart from abolition of the dergah he would have stopped restoration of the *külliye*. If he did nothing, at least he would quit the trillions, which flew from the state's cash box to this *külliye*. [...] Why does not he visit the tomb of Esat Coşan Hocaefendi, well why does not he come to the tomb of Mehmet Zahid Kotku hocaefendi? Does Turkey consist of Hacıbektaş?<sup>111</sup>

In 2001, participation of the visitors was less than the former years. According to the news on the *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper, reasons of decrease in participation of ceremony was related by some people with economic crisis, with the transformation of the ceremony into a festival or with the invitation to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan coming to Hacıbektaş. In the first day of the ceremony, some people reacted against Mayor Özcivan owing to his invitation Erdoğan to Hacıbektaş. Some of them reacted against Baykal because he blamed İnönü from the massacre of Sivas. Moreover, some of them reacted against the committee thinking that they chose wrong person for the friendship and peace award. On the other hand, in the third day the agenda of the participants was changed owing to the statement one of the inspector of the Religious Affairs, Abdülkadir Sezgin on a newspaper. He claimed the desire of Alevis about great Alevistan and their

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<sup>109</sup> *Hacıbektaş 2001* (a published book by the Municipality of Hacıbektaş and the Press and Publication Commission of the Committee of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli )

<sup>110</sup> The *Akit* Newspaper 16.08.2001

<sup>111</sup> The *Akit* Newspaper 16.08.2001



preparation about a distinct flag and a distinct land from Turkey. For him Alevis were the biggest threat after PKK.<sup>112</sup>

Like the former years in the programme of the activities there were panels under the title of “The European Union and Turkey (the Alevis)”<sup>113</sup> and “The Historical Process of Alevism-Bektaşism”<sup>114</sup> In the programme concerts, exhibitions, conservation, theatre, semah performances took place.<sup>115</sup>

Because the ceremony of 2002 came across the date before the elections, the ceremony was the focus of the interest of the politicians. Related with the elections, the agenda was Derviş’s separation from YTP. At the opening ceremony Mayor Özcivan stressed that the Alevis expected an equality of secularism, democracy, religious education and belief. He demanded a financial support to the town, he demanded to be taken the museum over the Municipality and to be established a university in the town. Atilla Erden who spoke in the name of the Alevi-Bektaş Associations Union announced that they established the Federation of Alevi-Bektaş Associations Union. Then he mentioned about their demand that was similar to the previous years. Mesut Yılmaz, Devlet Bahçeli, Süleyman Demirel and President Necdet Sezer did not attend to the opening ceremony but sent messages. Deniz Baykal, the Minister of the Working and Social Security Nejat Arseven, the Minister of the state Ramazan Mirzaoğlu and the Minister of Culture Suat Çağlayan gave speeches. ÖDP and HADEP participated to the ceremony. Further İlhan Selçuk got the Friendship and Peace Award.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> The *Cumhuriyet* Newspaper 21.08.2001

<sup>113</sup> The speakers were: Zülfü Livaneli, Ozan Ceyhun, and Faruk Şen, Ali Nejat Ölçen, Aşkım Bozkurt, Regina Schmid-Zadel.

<sup>114</sup> The speakers were: Faik Bulut, Sadık Göksu, Fuat Bozkurt, Reha Çamuroğlu, Esat Korkmaz, Baki Öz.

<sup>115</sup> The programme of the Memorial Cremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 2001

<sup>116</sup> *Hacıbektaş 2002* (a published book by the Municipality of Hacıbektaş and the Press and Publication Comission of the Comitee of the Memorail Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli )

The President of SP Kutan and the President of AKP Erdoğan attended to the alternative memorial ceremony organized by the Ehl-i Beyt Foundation in İstanbul. At the meeting Erdoğan gave a speech and said that they followed the memorial ceremonies in Hacibektaş from afar because the ceremony at Hacibektaş was included different ideological comprehension.<sup>117</sup>

The programme of the 2002 activities consisted of concerts, conservation, exhibitions, theatre, semah performances, a slide projection and panels.<sup>118</sup> The panels were under the title of “The Historical and Social Dimensions of Alevism-Bektaşism”<sup>119</sup> and “The Role of the Civil Society Associations in the Organization of the Society.”<sup>120</sup> The third day activities were cancelled owing to a traffic accident, which occurred while a group of visitors were returning to Adana.

In 2003 opening ceremony, Mayor Özcivan announced that the president of Gazi University Rıza Ayhan opened the high school of Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli which connected with Gazi University. Atilla Erden, who gave a speech in the name of the Alevi Bektaşî Federation, said that the discharge of the murderers of Sivas in the extension of the law of “Topluma Kazandırma” injured the Alevis. At the end of his speech, he said that we were glad when the politicians began to solve our problems instead of attending to the ceremony and performing show. President Ahmet Necdet Sezer, the Minister of Culture and Tourism Erkan Mumcu and Deniz Baykal gave speeches. Arif Sağ got the Friendship and Peace Award.<sup>121</sup>

The *Anadoluda Vakit* Newspaper announced the news of the ceremonies as the ceremony began with a scandal announcement:

The ceremony at which President Sezer and the leader of CHP Deniz Baykal were present began with an announcement: “a moment of silence to show respect to the martyrs of

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<sup>117</sup> The *Akşam* Newspaper 17.08.2002

<sup>118</sup> The programme of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 2002

<sup>119</sup> The speakers were: Atilla Erden, Esat Korkmaz and Ayhan Yalçınkaya.

<sup>120</sup> The speakers were: Turgut Öker, Aşur Gürgen and Mustafa Selmapakoğlu.

<sup>121</sup> *Hacibektaş 2003* (a published book by the Municipality of Hacibektaş and the Press and Publication Commission of the Committee of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli )

revolution". The protocol consisting of Sezer, Baykal and the other statesmen halted a moment of silence to show respect to the martyrs of revolution.<sup>122</sup>

Again on the same newspaper it was written that although the central office declared a circular about not hanging party flags at Hacibektaş, the flags of CHP adorned the square of Hacibektaş. In the meantime the flags of DEHAP hanged too and the publications of the radical leftist organizations were present at the stalls on the area of the ceremony.<sup>123</sup>

At this year's ceremony, at which provocation staged, although it was not mentioned about the terrorists who were executed through the law of "topluma kazandırma", the speeches were given about not excusing the convicts of Sivas, who judged and who were punished death sentence as the result of the denunciations of the newspapers.<sup>124</sup>

On the programme of activities in 2003, there was conservation about "The War and the Environment"<sup>125</sup> and about "The Violence and Alevism."<sup>126</sup> Further the panels were about "Secularism and the Religious Affairs in the point of view of the Alevi-Bektaşis"<sup>127</sup> and "The Belief and Capital."<sup>128</sup> Moreover, the exhibitions, concerts, theatre, performances of *semah* took place in the programme.<sup>129</sup>

Mustafa Özcivan, who was elected as the Mayor of Hacibektaş in 1994 and performed his duty till 2004, explained that in this period they arranged the memorial ceremonies under the leadership of the Municipality. Moreover, the persons who were selected from Hacibektaş and the civil society associations participated and supported the organization of the ceremonies:

We arranged the meetings in February, that is six month before the ceremony and during these six-month we were meeting in order to frame the organization of activities. We prepared the regulations of the festival and of the Peace and Friendship Award; also we

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<sup>122</sup> The *Anadoluda Vakit* Newspaper 17.08.2003

<sup>123</sup> The *Anadoluda Vakit* Newspaper 17.08.2003

<sup>124</sup> The *Anadoluda Vakit* Newspaper 17.08.2003

<sup>125</sup> The speakers were: Ali Naki Selmapakoğlu, Tayfun Talipoğlu, Muhittin Koroğlu.

<sup>126</sup> The speakers were: Miyase İlknur, Veliyettin Ulusoy and Hıdır Temel.

<sup>127</sup> The speakers were: Atilla Erden, Erdoğan Aydın, Şükrü Günbulut and Rıza Zelyut.

<sup>128</sup> The speakers were: Yakup Kepenek, Faik Bulut, Cüneyt Akalın and Engin Polat

<sup>129</sup> The programme of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art in 2003

prepared specification about the competition of poetry and story. In the last ten-year we had made the festival in the rule. We announced the meeting date to the Alevi Associations. In two periods, the first period's meetings were between February and the end of the March; the second period's meetings were between July and August. At the first period we made decisions and at the second we realized them taking all of the suggestions and projects and demands of the Alevi associations in Turkey into consideration. For instance, what kind of a panel could we arranged or whom we would invite to the panels as speakers. That is, we chose the best suggestion among the others. Our method for the award of the Peace and Friendship was so, the institutions and persons presented us a report which explained the reason why they chose this person, such as he or she served the national or international culture of the Alevis or supported peace of the World. For example, we selected five persons among ten persons and sent them to the selection committee.

The financial support of the Ministry of Culture was little but the presentation fund of the Premiership' support was in large amount. Last year we got 150 milliard of them. Actually as an activity to which about 500 thousand of persons attend and also to which the statesmen attend, this money is not a large amount. Financial support to this town is not so much; we tried to collect donation in front of the Municipality. The Municipality serves them; it supports them water, cleaning and other infrastructure, on account of if they subscribe, they will subscribe to the municipality. Apart from this, several times the Hacı Bektaş Anatolia Culture Foundation gave money and other associations gave as well. Except from this, we got the money from the night programme tickets and from the rent of the *çadırkent* but they financed only themselves. I did not interest in the economical dimension of the ceremonies of Hacıbektaş, rather I am interested in the cultural dimension, and I thought giving people something.

*Etkinliklere altı ay kala yani Şubat ayında toplantılara başlayıp, altı ay boyunca toplantılar yaparak oluştururduk ana çerçeveyi. Şenlik tüzüğü, barış ve dostluk ödülüyle ilgili tüzük ve şiir ve öykü yarışmalarıyla ilgili şartnameler hazırladık. Son on yıl içinde bir kurula, çerçeveye bağladık ve Türkiye'de bulunan Alevilerin örgütlü kurumlarına haber yollayıp toplantı tarihlerini bildiriyorduk. İki dönem halinde, birinci dönem toplantıları Şubatla Mayıs sonu, ikinci dönem Haziran'la Ağustos arası. Birinci dönemde kararlar alıyorduk, ikinci dönemde onu hayata geçiriyorduk. Ve Türkiye'deki tüm Alevi örgütlerinin fikirlerini, onların projelerini öğrenip, onların talep ve önerileriyle oluşturuyorduk. Örneğin nasıl bir panel düzenleyelim, kimleri çağıralım. Yani önerilerin en iyisini en güzelini çıkarıyorduk. Dostluk ve barış ödülü için hazırladığımız yöntem şuydu, bize kurum ve kişiler gerekçe raporu sunuyorlardı, ulusal ya da uluslar arası Alevi kültürüne hizmet vermiş, Türkiye barışına katkı sağlamış kişi diye. Mesela on tane geliyordu biz onları beşe indiriyorduk ve seçici kurula gönderiyorduk.*

*Kültür Bakanlığının para bakımından çok az bir katkısı oluyordu ama asıl büyük katkı Başbakanlık Tanıtma Fonunun. Geçen yıl (2003) 150 milyar almıştık. Aslında 500 bin kişinin katıldığı, devletin geldiği bir etkinliğe 150 milyar çok büyük bir para değil. Buraya ekonomik anlamda çok büyük destek yok, ziyaretçilerden belediyenin önünde bağış toplamaya çalışıyorduk. Belediye veriyor onlara hizmetini, temizliğini, suyunu, her türlü alt yapısını belediye yapıyor, dolayısıyla bağış yapacaklarsa belediyeye olmalı. Onun haricinde işte birkaç defa Hacı Bektaş Anadolu Kültür Vakfı var, onlar bir miktar verdi, demokratik kitle örgütleri, vakıflar... Bunun haricinde işte, gece program biletleri, çadırkenti kiralayıp alığımız paralar ama onlar kendini finanse ediyordu. Ben Hacıbektaş törenlerinin ekonomik boyutuna bakmadım daha çok kültürel boyutunu, insanlara bir şey verme boyutunu düşündüm.*

The speaker list of the 2004 opening ceremony was composed of the Governor, the Head Official of Hacıbektaş, the Mayor of Hacıbektaş and the Minister of the Culture. When compared with the previous years the participant of visitors, of the

statesmen and of the politicians decreased in the 2004 ceremonies. The reason of the decreased interest in the ceremony especially in the opening ceremony was the disagreement between the new, independent Mayor Ali Rıza Selmanpakoğlu who was elected in the 2004 elections and the Alevi Bektaşî Federation, protesting the Mayor did not attend to the ceremony. The reasons of this protest were not allowing the Alevi-Bektaşî Associations to take part in the organization of the memorial ceremony and not allowing them to speak at the opening ceremony.<sup>130</sup> The general chairman of the Alevi Bektaşî Federation Ali Doğan, in his announcement claimed that the reactionary forces tried to pacificize the ABBF:

For many years in the August 16-17-18, the festival and culture programme had been organized collectively by the Municipality of Hacıbektaş and the Associations of Alevi Bektaşî. This year, suddenly the Mayor and a committee that was selected by the Mayor organized the ceremony. None of the Alevi-Bektaşî Associations was accepted at the works of the organization. In addition to this situation, hindering the representative of the Federation to give a speech at the opening ceremony, for many years of which turned into a traditional one, our legal rights which we got them enduring much of the sufferings tried to be pacificized. This manner is an obstacle of the advance of our country's democratic and cultural structure in contemporary dimensions.<sup>131</sup>

Moreover, according to Mehmet Ali Çankaya, who is the chairman of the Confederation of Alevi Unions in Europe, at the opening ceremony a speech of representative of the Alevi-Bektaşî Associations was hindered because the government did not want Alevis to express their demands related with EU.<sup>132</sup>

The Mayor of the Hacıbektaş made a statement and said that they came together with the Alevi-Bektaşî Associations and the Pir Sultan Abdal Associations in

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<sup>130</sup>The participants of this protest were: The Federation of Alevi Bektaşî Associations Union in Turkey, the Confederation of Alevi Unions in Europe, 73 section which connected with the central office of Hacı Bektaş Veli Culture and Presentation Associations, 41 sections connected with the central office of the Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Culture Foundation, the Establishing the *Cemevis* Association in Ankara, Hubyar Sultan Alevi Culture Association, Yunus Emre Association in Kayseri, Hacı Bektaş Veli Social Assistance Association, the Federation of Alevi Unions in Germany, the Federation of Alevi Unions in France, the Federation of Alevi Unions in Switzerland, the Federation of Alevi Unions in Austria, the Federation of Alevi Unions in Denmark, the Federation of Alevi Unions in Sweden, the Federation of Alevi Unions in England, the Federation of Alevi Unions in Netherlands, the central office of Aydos Foundation, Kızılırmak Village Associations, Varto Association, Tunceliler Association in Ankara, Arif Sağ, Belkıs Akkale, Erdal Erzincan, Tolga Sağ, Kıvırcık Ali, Arzu, Grup Kızılırmak, Grup Çığ, İsmail Kaya.

<sup>131</sup> The announcement to the public opinion Ali Doğan <http://f27.parsimony.net/forum> accessed 10.2004

<sup>132</sup> <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com> accessed 10.2004

order to organize the ceremony in 10 and in 24 April. On the 17.07.2004-dated meeting the ABF and the directors of Pir Sultan Abdal asked for giving a speech at the opening ceremony as the representative of the Alevi-Bektaşis. Other associations objected to this demand and stated that their representatives should have given speech; otherwise no one should give speeches except from the Mayor. The regulation committee evaluated this situation and decided to get the Mayor of Hacıbektaş Ali Rıza Selmanpakoğlu to give a speech at the opening ceremony.<sup>133</sup>

The Minister of Culture Erkan Mumcu, the Governor Alaattin Turhan, Mayor Ali Rıza Selmanpakoğlu and Cafer Gök who got the Friendship and Peace Award of Hacı Bektaş Veli gave speeches at the opening ceremony. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan did not attend to the ceremony and so did Deniz Baykal because he was not allowed to give a speech at the ceremony. The President Ahmet Necdet Sezer did not participate in the ceremony but sent a message. Moreover, the Mayor of Şişli Mustafa Sarıgül took part in the ceremony bringing tents, drinking water and benches to Hacıbektaş. In his speech Erkan Mumcu defined Hacı Bektaş Veli as the commander (*başbuğ*) of Anatolian dervishes and saints. He congratulated the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş for their selection of the new Mayor “who knows how to cooperate with the state and does it as required.” Also he added that it would begin to work on the architecture plan of museum and its restoration. Mayor Ali Rıza Selmanpakoğlu asked for arresting the murderers of Sivas who escaped to abroad and abolishing the obligatory religious instruction. He also demanded grant for Hacıbektaş. The opening ceremony took place under strict security measures although there were a few audiences and many of the visitors disinterested in the opening ceremony.

During these three days the conditions of life was getting hard not only for visitors but also the people of Hacıbektaş due to the problems of water, cleanliness and accommodation at the town, since the infrastructure is insufficient for the growing population in these days. In the previous years the problem of the accommodation

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<sup>133</sup> <http://www.hacibektas.com/boykot.htm> accessed 10.2004

could be partly solved by pitching tents sent by Kızılay near the Çilehane. On the other hand, at the ceremony in 2004 the directors of Kızılay, who are appointed by the government of AKP, did not send tents bringing forward the probability of an earthquake and abrasion of the tents.

The programme of the activities in the sport hall and on the square had a hitch due to the protest of the many of the singers, whose names appeared in the programme. But still the concerts, semah performances, theatre, exhibitions and lecture whose title was “The Future of Cyprus” and other lecture “ The Enlightenment and Alevism” in which İlhan Selçuk was speaker and took part in the activities. There were also panels “Hacı Bektaş Veli and our Republic in the Process of the Enlightenment”<sup>134</sup> and “The Place of the Art in the period of Atatürk.”

The Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art took part on the newspapers with the disagreement between the Mayor and the ABF and their protest; with tents which were not sent by Kızılay and with the show performed by Sarıgül in Hacıbektaş. After the process of February 28, as usual the Islamist press mentioned about the ceremony as stressing that Bektaşism is an order. This means that participating in such a ceremony was a double standard of the defenders of secularism.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> The speakers were: Mürsel Öztürk, Alemdar Yalçın, Ünsal Yavuz and Esat Korkmaz.

<sup>135</sup> The *Zaman* Newspaper 17.08.2004

## CHAPTER 5

### THE MEMORIAL CEREMONIES OF HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ AND THE ACTIVITIES CULTURE AND ART AS A FIELD OF STRUGGLE FOR THE ALEVİ-BEKTAŞI IDENTITY FORMATION

#### 5.1. Introduction

The Memorial Ceremony of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art is “one of the largest and oldest events in Turkey” (Massicard, 2003:128) when compared to the other festivals known to be Alevi. According to Smith, (1972) annual festivals to a patron saint are the most significant festivals in many villages, towns and even nations. These festivals tend to become a civic occasion besides being a religious one. A festival is the mediator for the members of a community in order to come together, interact and identify each other. Also a festival is a main device for promoting social cohesion, for integrating individuals into a society and maintaining them through shared, recurrent and reinforcing performance. During the three days from 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> August, Hacıbektaş turns into a place where the Alevi and the Bektaşis from different areas come together, socialize, increase the feeling to belong to a community. However, the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli seem more complicated than Smith’s stress on the annual festivals as the device of social cohesion when taking the Alevi-Bektaşis “distinctive past and present social existence” (Markussen, 2000:45) into



consideration. As Massicard (2003), Markussen (2000) and Şahin (2002) mention, the Memorial Ceremony of Hacı Bektaş Veli is the central public event through which the Alevi-Bektaşî identity is constructed on collective and individual level by different actors from the state agents to the Alevi-Bektaşîs who participate in the festival. When the memorial ceremonies are accepted as a site where Alevi-Bektaşî identity is constructed, it is crucial to stress that identity is always in the process of formation, it is never completed (Hall, 1993b: 47). Identities are fragmented and fractured, they are multiply constructed across different, intersecting and antagonistic discourses, practices and positions (Hall, 1997:3).

Massicard claims the difficulty of defining the nature of the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and whether it is a religious event, a touristic one, a political one or a folkloric one (Massicard, 2003:129). The memorial ceremony is an event with multiple meanings that include religious, political, cultural and touristic characteristics. In this chapter, the identity construction through the festival of Hacıbektaş will be elaborated with the help of the in-depth interviews and observations in the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli in 2004. In order to frame the study an arbitrary categorization about the ceremony's aspects such as political, religious, social, cultural and economic which are actually intertwined and cannot be easily separated from each other.

## **5.2. The Political Aspect of the Ceremonies**

From its beginning up to now the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli have provided the statesmen, the politicians, media, intellectuals, the leftists, the Alevi-Bektaşîs and their associations and also other actors participating in the ceremonies, a field on which they have been struggling for the meaning of Alevism-Bektaşîsm through the signs and symbols. As Cohen argues that symbols, which give the capacity to produce meaning, creates a sense of identity and a sense of difference from others (Cohen, 2000). Following Voloshinov (1973) for whom the ideological means the process of the production of meanings through signs and also for whom ideology is the dimension of social experience

(Williams, 1977:70), the festival provides an arena for the social multiaccentuality of the ideological signs. Sign keeps its vitality, dynamism and capacity of development due to the intersecting of accents. On the other hand, ruling class tries to make the ideological sign uniaccentual giving a supraclass and an eternal character to it and also extinguishing the struggle between social value judgements occurs in it (Voloshinov, 1973).

From 1964 up to now during the ceremonies the state's policies toward the Alevi-Bektaşis has changed but the effort to make the struggle for meaning of Alevism-Bektaşism uniaccentual has not changed. As mentioned in the previous chapters (chapter one and two) researches about Alevism-Bektaşism and the efforts to define them can be related with the emergence of Turkish Nationalism. Having ignored their religious belief and their heterogeneousness, the Alevis and the Bektaşis were accepted as "true Turks" who preserve "the Turkish tradition." This kind of an approach to the Alevis and Bektaşis was the part of the national identity construction that needs to a relation with a past. Moreover, as Hobsbawm mentions

Inevitably the nationalist version of history consist of anachronism, omission, decontextualization and, in extreme cases, lies, to a lesser extent this is true of all forms of identity history, old or new (Hobsbawm, 1997:270).

The studies about the Alevis and the Bektaşis that were based on this approach had continued after the establishment of the Turkish Republic and also they formed the groundwork of the state's discourse about Alevism and Bektaşism. Moreover, even today many of the alternative approaches of Alevism-Bektaşism base on this approach.

In the early 1960s, the Alevi-Bektaşis began to organize by founding associations; printing publications about Alevism Bektaşism and using the name of Alevi which was signed in declarations, arranging night programmes and lectures. The organization of the ceremonies in 1964 can be related with the socio-economic events in the late 1950s and the social conditions after military take-over in 1960, which provided a partially freedom. The opening ceremony was arranged like a national holiday and the visitors could enter in the museum in the rank order and

under the soldiers' watching. While ignoring that the Alevi-Bektaşis from different regions came to Hacibektaş in order to visit the dergah and their *Pir*, the statesmen opened the museum as tourist attraction stressing Hacı Bektaş Veli's "historical identity as the Turkish thinker and the *mutasavvif* who served for Turkish thought." Isolating Hacı Bektaş Veli from the Alevi-Bektaşî belief and presenting him as the Turkish thinker was the effort to make Alevism-Bektaşism uniaxential. On the other hand, after a long period of suppression and prohibition, both opening the dergah as museum and arranging a memorial ceremony can be accepted as a hegemonic process of the state over the Alevi-Bektaşî community who became more active in the last years.

In 1970s the Alevis were mentioned with the left. Also the hegemonic process of the state at the ceremonies created its counter in this years. In 1975, the alteration of the administration of the Tourism Association was resulted in making alteration to the content of the ceremonies. They turned the name of Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli into the Festival of Hacibektaş.<sup>136</sup> At this period, they made a cultural activity and removed the touristic attraction and the national holiday style. Between 1975-1980, the festival turned into an activity to which the leftist academicians, authors and artist attended and in its programme concerts, conservation and theatre took place. As it was widespread in the left, dedes were charged with being reactionary and the religious aspect of Alevism-Bektaşism was ignored. The Turkishness of Hacı Bektaş Veli was again accented but it was accented in a different content, he was presented also a revolutionist, a populist and pacifist leader who participated in the revolt of Babailer and who made an effort to enlightenment to the suppressed and exploited people of Anatolia. Much of the accessible and influential work of the counter-hegemony is historical. In a particular culture, certain meanings and practices are selected and are related with present while other meanings and practices are neglected. This selective tradition is the part of the hegemonic process. The version of the past, which is reductive and selective interpretation, is used to ratify the present and to point out directions

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<sup>136</sup>Although after the military take-over in 1980 the festival's name was turned into the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Activities of Culture and Art, it is striking that still many of the people have been called it as festival.

for the future (Williams, 1977:117-118). It was drawn an analogy between the conditions of Turkey and the conditions of the period when Hacı Bektaş Veli lived. As Eagleton mentioned that “any counterhegemony must carry its political campaign into hitherto neglected realm of values and customs, speech habits and ritual practices” (Eagleton, 1991:114). However, this selective tradition displeased the religious Alevi and Bektaşî whose beliefs were ignored and were even obstructed. The state’s reaction against this counter-hegemony was coercion. While the festivals were arranged under the strict control and prohibitions of the state, there were great numbers of security forces nearly as the number of the visitors.

Together with the military take-over in 1980 coercion covered all aspects of life. The civil society was destroyed; also besides others the Tourism Association were closed down. Under the name of the Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the festival had been organized till 1984 under the leadership of the Head Official of Hacıbektaş. In 1984, the Municipality of Hacıbektaş took the organization of the ceremonies over and till 1989 the ceremonies had been organized with the participation of the mainly leftist authors, academicians and artists without attracting more attention. According to Markussen (2000), the ceremonies have changed character during the years but the most striking change was the governmental interference for the first time in 1990.<sup>137</sup> She claims that the government decided to officially take notice with the Alevi community after fifty years ignoring them and arranged an official program for the ceremonies. The government’s interest in this event can be related with the process of revitalisation of the Alevi identity by the associations started in the 1980s. Because of the importance of the ceremonies for the Alevi-Bektaşî community during which cultural and political elements of the Alevi identity stressed, the Turkish state takes part in it in order to join the process redefining the Alevi identity and also control the Alevi forces. The recognition of the Alevi community as an important political group attracts other politicians who need to gain votes. Similar to

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<sup>137</sup> However, the Minister for Culture Namık Kemal Zeybek attended to the ceremonies for the first time in 1989.

Markussen, Şahin (2002) says that in 1990 the state began to improve the policies toward Alevis taking over the organization of the ceremonies under the pretext of transforming it into international one.

It is correct that for the first time in 1990, the state took part in the organization of the festival directly but before 1990 the festival was already arranged under the knowledge and under the control of the state and the governments at those times. Moreover, there have always been politicians who are interested in the festival. As an example, at the festival in 1980 the deputies of CHP from Eskişehir, Ankara, Sivas and Nevşehir were present also Bülent Ecevit and Prime Minister Demirel sent messages to Hacıbektaş. Needless to say, the conditions in 1990's were different but this does not mean the state improved policies toward Alevi-Bektaşis for the first time in 1990s or it recognized the Alevi-Bektaşis community.

After the military take-over in 1980 there has been a transformation in the economic, political and cultural fields in Turkey. In 1980s Turkey has been significantly affected by the forces of globalization such as increasing transnationalization of markets, the growth of global media and communications. During 1980s, ethnic differences, social and cultural divisions have become apparent in Turkish life (Robins, 1997:72). Hall (1993) argues that, global and local are two faces of globalization:

The emergence of new subjects, new genders, new ethnicity, new regions, new communities, hitherto excluded from the major forms of cultural representation, unable to locate themselves except as decentered or subaltern, have acquired through struggle, sometimes in very marginalized ways, the means to speak to themselves for the first time. And the discourses of the dominant regimes, have been certainly threatened by this decentered cultural empowerment of the marginal and the local (Hall, 1993a: 34).

The increasing ethnic and the nationalist movements in the world after the collapse of the Socialist Block, the increasing Islamist movements, the Kurdish Issue, repression of the left by the military take-over in Turkey has also affected the Alevi-Bektaşis community. Considering the structural alterations in the community and the rising “the Alevi elites” (Vorhoff, 2003b), the reflection of this process on the Alevi-Bektaşis is being redefined the Alevi-Bektaşis identity through the cultural identity policies. There are at least two ways to conceive the cultural identity, one of them is essentialist, and the other is historical. For the

essentialist way, the cultural identity is an accomplished fact and constituted essence that is shared experience of oneness providing a stable set of meanings, codes and frames independent from the superficial differences and historical changes of the people. The historical way accepts the cultural identity as something, which is produced, always in process and is never completed (Larrain, 1994; Hall, 1997). In the discussions about the Alevi-Bektaşî identity, this two ways of conception take part although the essentialist is widely accepted.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, as Larrain accents there are always several version of what constitutes the contents of a cultural identity because the cultural identities are constituted both historically and around the interest and world views of some classes and groups in society by a variety of cultural institutions (Larrain, 1994:164).

In 1989, the participation of the statesmen in the ceremonies and dating from 1990 the state's taking part in the organization are the signs of the state's hegemonic process over the Alevi-Bektaşî community who has been representing themselves as a political actor against the state. As Markussen (2000) says, while taking part in the festivals of Hacibektaş, where the Alevi-Bektaşî identity is represented, the state has taken part in the process of formation the Alevi-Bektaşî identity. After all Hacibektaş is the centre of the Alevi-Bektaşî belief and the festival provides the most convenient place and time for the meeting of the statesmen and the Alevi-Bektaşî community. As Şahin (2002) mentions, the attitude of the representatives of the state that participates in the festival and the attitude of the Religious Affairs toward Alevi-Bektaşîs has not been identical. Şahin explains this situation as the state's being heterogeneous, that is, the state includes different actors and fractions that follow distinct targets and ideologies. Also it is necessary to add to the Sivas and Gazi Events as the state's different attitudes against the Alevi-Bektaşî community. Nevertheless, the neutrality of the state is the part of the hegemonic project also as Massicard says Hacibektaş is an occasion where the image of an inclusive and tolerant state is created (Massicard, 2003:137). The armour of coercion protects state's hegemony but at the ceremonies the

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<sup>138</sup> As an example of the discussions about the Alevi identity see Çamuroğlu Reha (2003). "Alevi Revivalism in Turkey" in T.Olsson, E. Özdalga, C. Raudvere (Eds.). *Alevi Identity İstanbul: Swedish Research Institute in İstanbul Transactions Vol.8.*

oppression or the coercion is not brought forward. On the contrary, at the ceremonies what is brought forward by the state is the effort to include in and to attach Alevism-Bektaşism to the part of the state. That is, through consent to turn the multiaccentuality of the political and cultural process at the festival into an uniaccentual one. Following the Turk-Islam synthesis, which has been accepted by the state as a state policy after September 12, Hacı Bektaş Veli is represented by the statesmen as a product of being Turk and being Muslim. He is the *pir* of the Horasan saints, who rescued Anatolia under the influence of Arabic culture and who Turkified Anatolia. Similarly, Alevi-Bektaşis are presented as the people who Turkified Anatolia and protected the Islam. Namık Kemal Zeybek's speech in 1989 at the opening ceremony and his stress on the connection with Ahmet Yesevi and Hacı Bektaş Veli was striking, when thinking that Turkey's strategic significance has become apparent in the Middle Asia, the Middle East, the Balkans since 1989. Zeybek stressed that:

Our nation's key person is Ahmet Yesevi and Hacı Bektaş Veli came to this country as a torch. ...Today if there is an existence of Turk, it is thanks to them.<sup>139</sup>

Similar to the counter-hegemony in 1970s, which was made an analogy between the time at when Hacı Bektaş lived and time of 1970s; so were done after 1989 in the state's hegemony. The Head Official of Hacıbektaş, Recep Yüksel's speech at the opening ceremony in 2001 was a striking example of this analogy:

In the painful, difficult and miserable time, societies try to find solution and create their leaders. In the 13.cc, on Anatolia, on which countless suns rise and sink; on which all kind of wind blew from all sides; on which the troops, who had desire to conquer there, arrived all land. At that time the Turkish people, whose peace was destroyed, who fell in chaos, did not stay in such a situation and proper to their past, solidity and fame presented many of his children from their essence to their world and to civilization. I incline in the presence of such a sublime persons with respect, through whom our being Turk and our humanity become concrete, like Hacı Bektaş Veli who is the great thought person, who is the reliable guide. Also I incline in the presence of the memory of the sublime Atatürk with respect who arose from our essence in the another miserable time of Anatolian Turk.

The Sivas event occurred at the time when the state announced Alevi-Bektaşis as the alliance against the Kurdish Issue and the increasing Islamist movements. Also it was the time when one of the partner of the coalition government was SHP (when thought as an extension of CHP) which had an older and stronger tie with

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the Alevi-Bektaşis rather than other political parties. The Sivas Event speeded the organization process of the Alevi-Bektaşis up and moreover in 1994, as the President of Turkish Republic Demirel attended to the ceremony. For Şahin (2002), Demirel's attendance to the ceremony as a President was the most important public event through which Alevi-Bektaşis were officially recognized. According to Şahin, the interest of the Turkish State in Alevi-Bektaşis can be explained with the aim of the state to use the Alevi-Bektaşis against the increasing Islamist movements and against the Kurdish issue, which questions the Turkish identity and its legitimacy. Moreover, it should be added that the dominant discourse about defining identity and culture as a human right affected the state. Taking this discourse into consideration and behaving in this direction is natural for the Turkish State because it aims at being a member of the EU, which imposes this discourse on others.

Following the Turk-Islam synthesis, Demirel gave speeches in this direction. In the speech he gave in 1994 in accordance with the selective tradition, he used the sayings being ascribed to Hacı Bektaş Veli like "Do not hurt anyone even you are hurt", "Do not forget that your enemy is also a human being". Isolating these sayings from the Alevi-Bektaşis belief and tradition, this accented tolerance turned in Demirel's speech into a passivity and a docility. One year later, the Gazi Event occurred. After these events in his speeches Demirel stressed the citizenship of Alevi-Bektaşis. His words pointed out the mentality that still accepts Alevi-Bektaşis as a potential danger against the state. As Demirel said at the opening ceremony in 1994: "Do not tend to separate and to take your own law. This will be against the philosophy of Hacı Bektaş Veli."

Until 1989, the festival was an event at which the leftist thought prevailed and only the social democrats participated as a representative of political parties. From dating 1989 with the intervention of the state to the festival organization, representatives of other political parties on the government joined in participants. Also from dating 1994, the events turned into a public event to which besides representatives of all political parties, all kind of political groups and the media

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<sup>139</sup>The Cumhuriyet Newspaper 17.08.1989



attended to the ceremonies. The memorial ceremonies turned into a political field on which political promises were made in order to gain votes, on which the political issues have been discussed and also protested and the demands were declared. In Bourdieu's sense it turned into a political field on which all participants believe the game they are playing. Similar to the Gramscian concept of hegemony, Bourdieu (1991) mentions the concept of symbolic power. Symbolic power is an invisible power, which is misrecognised or recognised as legitimate. That is to say, in order to exercise the power through symbolic exchange, it is necessary to base on a foundation of shared belief, the legitimacy of power. The field of politics, the sphere of institutionalized political power, political parties, electoral policies are related to the symbolic power. The political field is the site in which agents form and transform their visions of the world itself. Through the production of slogans, programmes and commentaries they try to construct and impose particular vision of the social world by representation and also they seek to mobilize the support upon which their power depends. Although at the opening ceremony all of the political groups and parties did not take part, all of them took part in the politic field due to the festival of Hacıbektaş. Especially after the process of February 28, the Islamist press gave a large place to the ceremonies. They react against the politicians who present the Alevi-Bektaşis as the defender of secularism and they present Hacı Bektaş Veli as a Sunni *mutasavvıf* who served to spread the Islam in Anatolia. Moreover, considering the effort of the state to ally with the Alevis against the Kurds, HADEP takes part in the ceremonies at which speeches with the accents of Turkish-Islam synthesis and Turkish nationalism again and again given by the statesmen. From ÖDP to radical leftist groups take part in the political field. The left always takes part in the ceremonies but especially after 1989, their effect gradually decreased. Unlike in 1960s and 1970s the Alevi-Bektaşî identity and the left do not overlap.<sup>140</sup> The

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<sup>140</sup> In 2004 festival one of the interviewee Aynur (29, F, unemployed, Malatya) who comes for the first time to Hacıbektaş mentions about her disappointment: I thought that I will meet a place where people from different areas of Turkey come and become friendly at once and also a morale formed by Hacı Bektaş Veli's watchword of do not hurt, even you are hurt but the morale and humane sharing is almost absent. It is a little sad and troublesome because we thought that people of here are as their way of life more openly and not closed to the world, life but unfortunately the conditions bring people at this point. There is a system, which dissolves them, which swears at their culture and tries to reconcile the people. The Alevis try to rise through the mentality of this

leftist are unable to struggle for a counter-hegemony <sup>141</sup> and give its place to the Alevi-Bektaş Associations.

Because the hegemony as a process cannot be singular, it is not amazing that the Alevi-Bektaş associations have constituted an alternative hegemony against the state's hegemony in the festivals especially since 1992. It was in 1992 when the associations presented a declaration to the government. The Alevi-Bektaş Associations besides taking their members to the festival and taking part in the organization of festival, from 1997 to 2003 they took part in the opening ceremony as a spokesman in the name of Alevi-Bektaş community.

As mentioned before the associations differ in the identity formation. Old Mayor Mustafa Özcivan explains why ABF took part in the organisation of the ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli while others (Cem Foundation, Ehlibeyt Foundation) were being excluded:

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system, excuse my expression but their manner is some reconciliatory. .. The affection of human being is on the ground of Alevism; also the affection of human being is on the ground of leftist, on account of they attract each other do not push. However there is an alienation from each other because during the four years in the prisons there is a resistance of fast for death, there are F type cells in the prisons. To object it is not necessary to have an ideology, it is necessary to be a human. Absolving the sensitive ones many of the Alevi's attitude about this matter is not claiming this matter and speak referring to the states mentality or the headlines of the press.

*Türkiye'nin bir çok yerinden insanların geldiği, birbiriyle kaynaştığı Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin incinsen de incitme şiarının oluşturduğu maneviyatla karşılaşacağımı düşünüyordum ama manevi paylaşımlar, insani paylaşımlar yok denecek kadar az. Biraz üzücü ve sıkıntı yaratıyor çünkü buranın insanların yaşam biçimi olarak daha açık, dünyaya, hayata kapalı olmayan insanlar olduğunu düşünüyorduk ama koşullar bu noktaya getirmiş maalesef. Onları dağıtan, kültürlerine küfreden, insanları uzlaşturmaya çalışan bir sistem var. Aleviler o sistemin zihniyetiyle tekrar doğrulmaya çalışıyorlar, tabirimi mazur görün ama biraz uzlaşmacı bir tavırları var. ... Aleviliğin temelinde insan sevgisi var, solcuların temelinde de insan sevgisi var, dolayısıyla birbirlerini çekerler, itmezler. Ama artık bir uzaklaşma söz konusu, çünkü dört yıldır hapisanelerde ölüm orucu direnişi var, F tipleri var. Buna karşı çıkmak için ideoloji sahibi olmak gerekmiyor, insan olmak gerekiyor. Duyarlı olanları tenzih ediyorum, Alevilerin bu konudaki tavrı sahip çıkmamak, devlet ağzıyla, basın manşetiyle konuşmak.*

<sup>141</sup> According to Uğur (38, M, civil servant, Hacıbektaş), one of the reason why the leftist organizations are marginal in Hacıbektaş is, they try to claim here without production. There is not a relation based on the confidence in here, reconstruction of the relation of confidence is only possible through production.

*Örgütlerin bugün burada marjinal olma sebeplerinden biri de bu zaten, üretmeden sahiplenmeye çalışıyorlar. Güven ilişkisi kalmamış, güven ilişkisinin yeniden yaratılması da somut üretim üzerinden olur.*

In Turkey there are three kind of comprehension of being an Alevi, namely three distinct Alevi organization. First of them is an approach which is toward the Shiism of Iran. The Ehlibeyt Foundation whose leader is Fermani Altun. It is a comprehension that is diametrically opposed to Anatolian Alevism. Second of them is under the leadership of the Cem Foundation. This comprehension aims at marketing the Alevis to the right. This is the line of İzzettin Doğan performing dedelik he tries to perform the role of Fethullah Gülen. He is the Fethullah of the Alevis. This friend has a desire to transform the Alevis into a community and being their leader. So he can guide them as if he want. Our Anatolian Alevism, the comprehension of the Hacı Bektaş is close to the third comprehension of Alevism. The associations like Hacı Bektaş Associations, Pir Sultan Associations, Hacı Bektaş Veli Anatolia Culture Foundation, Karacaahmet Sultan Association and there is an upper administration constituted by all these foundations and associations. ABF, the Alevi-Bektaşî Federation, before they were ABKB, later they turned into federation with the change of the law. In my opinion ABF is the closest organization to our worldview and comprehension of Alevism. In the past we were in relation with them; we shared our thoughts; we discussed but we came to an agreement. Dating from 1997, we made one representative of the associations give a speech at the opening ceremony in front of the state and the governments in order to bring the Alevi Associations, which are the part of the civil society, in legitimacy at the square of Hacıbektaş. It was the sign of organization of the Alevi community, which were for many long years suppressed, also it was the sign of being the Alevi Associations one spoken to the Alevis and their problems. We made it until 2003.

*Türkiye’de üç çeşit Alevi anlayışı var, üç gruba ayrılmış Alevi örgütlenmesi diyelim, birincisi İran Şiiliğine yönelik bir anlayış, Ehlibeyt vakfı var, Fermani Altun, genellikle Aleviliği İran Şiiliğine yönlendirmek, oraya asimile etmek, Alevi şeriatı uygulamak çizgisinde bir şeydir bu, Anadolu Aleviliğiyle taban tabana zıt bir anlayış, tamamen seni İran’a yönlendiriyor, mollalaştırıyor. İkinci bir anlayış Cem vakfını önderliğinde Alevileri gene sağa pazarlama niyetinde olan bir Alevi anlayışı, o da dedelik yaparak bugün bir nevi Fethullah Gülen rolüne soyunan İzzettin Doğan’ın çizgisi. O da Alevi Fethullah’ı, bu arkadaşımız Alevileri cemaatleştirip Alevin başına geçip istediği gibi yönlendirme sevdasında olan bir arkadaşımız. Bir de üçüncü çizgi vardır, üçüncü çizgi de diğer kalan Alevi örgütleridir bizim Anadolu Aleviliği, Hacı Bektaş anlayışı o çizgiye en yakın. Bunlar genellikle Hacı Bektaş Dernekleri, Pir Sultan Dernekleri Hacı Bektaş Veli Anadolu Kültür Vakfı, Karaca Ahmet Sultan Derneği, buna benzer tüm Türkiye’deki işte vakıf ve dernekler bunların oluşturduğu bir üst yönetim vardır, ABF Alevi Bektaşî Federasyonu, önce ABKB’ydi, Alevi Bektaşî Kuruluşları Birliği, sonra bu federasyona dönüştü yasa değişikliğiyle, bana göre en yakın örgütlenme biçimi buydu, biz bunlarla geçmişte ilişki içerisinde olduk, düşüncelerimizi paylaştık, tartıştık hatta o noktada karşılıklı restleştik tartıştık ama uzlaştık ve geldiğimiz noktada doğru bir şey yaptık o da şuydu, Alevi toplumunun Alevi sivil toplumu konumundaki Alevi örgütlerinin Hacıbektaş meydanında meşruiyetini kazandırmak devletin karşısında, hükümetlerin karşısında Alevilerin örgütlülüğü adına konuşma yapmak. 97’den beri bir kişiyi konuşturduk. Bu yüzyıllardır ezilen Alevi toplumunu örgütlendiğini, sivil toplum örgütlerinin kurulduğunu artık Alevi sorunlarını ve Alevilerle ilgili muhatap konumuna gelindiğinin göstergesiydi. Bunu 2003’e kadar yaptık.*

In 2004 the new Mayor did not allow the ABF to give a speech at the opening ceremony and the disagreement between the Mayor and the ABF ended with the protest of the ABF, so they did not take part in the ceremony. Under the leadership of the new Mayor of Hacıbektaş, a new period of the ceremonies has begun.

It is crucial that the Alevi-Bektaşî people do not consist of a homogeneous community. Besides the variety in the manner of Alevism-Bektaşîsm, they show distinctions in economic, social and cultural sense. The Alevi-Bektaşîs who includes the multiaccentuality in it, participate in the festival coming from different regions, cities, villages of Turkey and even from abroad where they live as immigrants, also they take part in the ideological battlefield at the ceremonies. Furthermore, each of them is the subject who is not independent from structure or who is completely constructed by the structure. As Certeau mentions each individual is a locus in which a contradictory and an incoherent plurality of relational determinations interact (Certeau, 1988:xv).

Although the struggle over hegemony bases on the Alevi-Bektaşîs eclectic, disjoined and uncritical conceptions of the world as subordinated agents, through the festival, Hacibektaş provides them a place on which they are able to become a position against the state agents, politicians and others struggling for hegemony. During three days, Hacibektaş is the place where they come from different areas and meet across their Alevi-Bektaşî identity, that is Hacibektaş is the place of their own. Related with the strategy definition of Certeau (1988), Hacibektaş, as a place of the Alevi-Bektaşîs gives them an opportunity to use strategy against the agents who struggle for hegemony over them. During the identity formation process and the struggle of hegemony over them, using strategy they can calculate power relationship and get different positions in order to provide some advantages.

In-depth interviews made in 2004, in order to find out their comprehension of the political aspect of the ceremony and their position in the political field; their political opinion; their opinion about the relation between the state and the Alevi-Bektaşîs; their opinion about the politician's interest in the ceremony and their relations with the Alevi-Bektaşî associations were asked. Except the interviewees who do not have any political opinion, others state that they are leftist or social democrat. Ayfer (48, F, retired, Hacibektaş) says that:

I am a socialist.

*Sosyalistim.*

Ümmühan (57, F, housewife, Hacıbektaş) tells that:

We are leftist. I vote the left.

*Biz solcuyuk, sola oy veriyom.*

Similarly Eylem (20, F, student, Malatya) tells that:

Like many Alevi people I define myself as a leftist.

*Bir çok Alevi insan gibi kendimi solcu olarak tanımlıyorum.*

While the interviewees in the middle age or aged were talking about their political opinion, some of the young interviewees said that they are leftist although they have no idea about it. Özlem (18, F, housewife, Tokat) says hesitantly:

What can I say, I am leftist.

*Ben ne diyebilirim, solcuyum.*

Before answering the question about her political opinion, Neslihan (18, F, unemployed, Elbistan) wants to hear the choices and among them, then she choose that:

Yes... I say I am leftist

*Yaa...solcu derim*

Bozarıslan (2003:11) criticises the postulate presenting Alevism as democratic and leftist in its essence and says it is impossible to imagine that the borders of the Alevi villages and suburban areas are free from the power relations and mechanism of subordination and domination existing in Turkey. Needless to say, the tendency of the Alevi-Bektaşis to the left cannot be related with the essence of the Alevism. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that in the incoherent and contradictory consciousness of subordinated the meaning of “left” cannot be fit the “left” from socialism to social democracy which is constituted in a coherent and critical way. On the other hand, there are some important points, which can be helpful to understand this tendency. One of them is the relation with CHP and the Alevi-Bektaşis especially by the ends of 1950s, CHP’s discourse about the Alevi-

Bektaşis as the stronghold of the laicism against the Islamic movements.<sup>142</sup>

According to Sefer (71, M, retired worker, Malatya):

We support the left. No radical left or no radical right but we support the left. It is because we are the supporters of CHP.

Solu destekleriz tabii. Aşırı sağmış, solmuş yok ama solu destekliyoruz. Biraz da CHP'li olduğumuz için temelden destekliyoruz yani.

Hamdi Ateş (54, M, retired worker, Tokat) argues that:

I am a social democrat. There are a bit lie in the politics but human is real; it is impossible not to tell lie. You cannot be honest while you are making policy. The neighbourhood is disordered, our culture is little but if you a social democrat, you consider human as human.

*Ben sosyal demokratım. Siyasette biraz yalan vardır ama insanı gerçektir, yalan söylemezsen olmaz. Doğru siyaset yapılmaz. Çevre bozuk, kültürümüz az ama tabii demokratsan insanı insan gibi görürsün.*

Similar them Abdullah (32, M, scrap dealer, Gaziantep) defines himself as a social democrat:

We are supporters of CHP. You know Deniz Baykal. We are supporters of CHP.

*CHPciyiz. Deniz Baykal var ya, CHPciyiz.*

Seher (42, F, housewife, Kocaeli) gives a definition about the social democracy:

I am a social democrat. In social democracy as I understood there are no class, level of incomes are close, there is not an abyss among them; everybody regard each other. But the social democracy in Turkey is not these.

*Ben sosyal demokratım. Benim anladığım sosyal demokraside sınıflar yok, ne bileyim gelir düzeyi birbirine yakın, uçurum yok arada, herkes birbirini gözetir ama Türkiye'deki sosyal demokrasi bu değil.*

The other point is, the mentioned postulate that the democratic essence of Alevism can be related with the counter-hegemony of the left over the Alevi-Bektaşis before the military coup in 1980. While explaining why he defines himself as leftist, Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacıbektaş) gives clues about mentality of the leftist in 1970s:

I am leftist. I say it so, there is something coming from the structure of our families. Democrat, modern, revolutionist. Why it is so, because Alevis have been oppressed, it comes from history. Today when you look at the oppressed people, they are leftist but when you look at the government they are people who adopt the capitalist, imperialist thought.

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<sup>142</sup> This discourse becomes widespread especially after the process of February 28.

For this reason we are in opposition. Being leftist is written on our forehead, but we should practice being leftist.

*Solcu. Şöyle söyleyim, genelde bizim alevi yapıdan gelen bir şey de var. Demokrat, çağdaş, devrimci. Neden böyle oluyor, çünkü Alevilerde ta tarihten gelen bir ezilmişlik var. Bugün ezilmiş insanlara baktığın zaman solcu, iktidarlara baktığın zaman kapitalist, emperyalist düşünceyi benimseyenler. Bu yüzden hep muhalefette kalıyoruz. Solculuk alnımıza yazılmış, ama bu solculuğu pratiğe de dökmek gerekiyor.*

Many of the interviewees are displeased at the state's policies toward Alevi-Bektaşis, also they are displeased at the interest of the statesmen and the interest of the politician in the festival of Hacıbektaş. This discontentment is the part of the distrust of the state and the politicians. Besides, the absence of the concrete outcomes of the statesmen's and the politician's promises is also an important reason of this discontentment. Neslihan (18, F, unemployed, Elbistan) shows her distrust of the state clearly:

Actually the state's point of view about the Alevis is not good. This government's point of view seems not good.

*Ya aslında iyi değil devletin Alevilere falan bakış açısı. Bu gelenlerin, başlarındakilerin falan da iyi gözüküyor.*

Ümmühan (57, F, housewife, Hacıbektaş) says that:

The state does not recognize Alevis. It kills Alevis. We become poor, an orphan.

*Devlet Alevileri hiç tanımyo, canını alıyo Alevilerin. Biz garip oluyoh, öksüz oluyoh.*

Hamdi Ateş (54, M, retired worker, Tokat) complains about the state policies and the politicians:

Hacı Bektaş Veli said that wherever is the science find and do it. The reason of coming together here is to get knowledge, manage our Turkey in a best way and being useful for our country, for our family, for our village and for our city. Namely finding out the culture, our state should help us. You see the Tourism Ministry comes here and gets the collected money. However, there are outgoing of here too, but must work about it. This year Kızılay did not give tent. Now the guests coming here, world of people will come here, what will do, when it rains... there are babies, patients, and people what will do with them. For three days it will necessary, it gives tents, gets the kitchens prepared. Then we pray for our state, we give our vote them. The politicians come to gain votes; they do their best to be seen as pleasant. However, the Alevis are credulous people. They come here needing the votes of the Alevis. They come for their self-interest; we are against this.

*Hacı Bektaş Veli hazretleri demiş ki, ilim nerdeyse, bul ilmini yap demiş. Buraya toplaştıktan maksat ilim sahibi olma, Türkiyemizi güzel yönetme, Türkiye'ye, vatanına, annene, babana, köyüne, şehrine faydalı olmak. Yani kültür öğrenmek, devletimizin bize yardımcı olması lazım. İşte buranın Turizm bakanlığı geliyo, buradaki biriken parayı alıp gidiyo. Ama buranın da masrafları var, biraz ona çalışması lazım. Gızılay çadır da*

*vermemiş bu sene. Şimdi bu gelen misafirler, dünyalar buraya yığılacak, nerde kalır, ne yapar, yağmur yağarsa.. Bebeği var, hastası var, bunları ne yapar vatandaş. Üç gün için bura lazım oluyo, çadır versin, mutfaklar hazırlatsın. Devletimize dua edelim, oy verelim. Politikacılar oy için gelir, şirin görünmek için ellerinden geleni yapıp gidiyorlar. Ama Alevi toplumu biraz saf insandır. Alevi toplumunun oyuna muhtacız diye geliyo. Bunlar çıkar için geliyo, biz buna karşıyız.*

İpek Büyükkorkmaz (60, F, housewife, Isparta) who is an *aşık*, expresses her distrust to the politicians with a *deyiş*:

Now my girl, I stand by the truth, I have no relation with politicians or politics. Sometimes when I become enthusiastic I tell that the rich passes through the assembly, the poor cuts his/her shroud, helpless people migrate from east to west. Sometimes I tell and cry.

*Şimdi kızım, ben doğrunun yanındayım, siyasiyene falan ilgim yok. Bazan coşunca derim yani zengin olan meclisten geçiyo, garip olan kefenini biçiyo, çaresizler doğudan batıya göçüyo, bazan ağlarım söylerim yani.*

According to Özlem (18, F, housewife, Tokat):

They make difficulties to the Alevis. In order not to be discriminated, in order to live like sisters and brothers, we try to attune to them.

*Alevilere biraz zorluk koşuyolar. Hiç ayırdımcılık olmasın diye, bir kardeş gibi yaşayalım diye, uyum sağlamaya bakıyoruz.*

Seher (42, F, housewife, Kocaeli) complains about the Religious Affairs and the religion instruction in schools. Moreover, she explains the reason why the politicians attend to the ceremonies:

The state has no relation with the Alevis. Of course teaching what Kuran-Kerim includes is important but the Religious Affairs does not act in accordance with its goal. It does not represent me, it does not represent my Alevi identity. My three children go to school. However, in the school when Hz. Ömer, Osman are given in three page of the book, Hz. Ali is given in a one paragraph. My reaction is against this. It is clear that the politicians come here hunting the votes. Because they can meet such a crowd of people just in the election times, and at such memorial ceremonies, festivals.

*Devletin Alevilerle hiçbir ilişkisi yok. Diyanet, tabii ki Kuran-ı Kerim'de ne diyorsa onu öğretmek önemli ama amacına uygun hareket etmiyor. Beni temsil etmiyor, yani benim Alevi kimliğimi temsil etmiyor. Benim üç çocuğum da okula gidiyor. Ama okulda benim çocuğuma Hz. Ömer, Osman üç sayfa anlatılıyorsa Hz. Ali bir paragraf anlatılıyor. Tepkim buna. Politikacılar buraya açık ve net oy avcılığına geliyorlar. Çünkü bu kadar büyük bir kalabalığı seçim zamanlarında buluyorlar bir de böyle anma etkinliklerinde, festivallerde bulabiliyorlar.*

Like Seher (42, F, housewife, Kocaeli), Eylem (20, F, student, Malatya) talks about religious instructions in schools:

There is not a lesson for the Alevis at the schools. They are exposed to the education given by the Sünnis. Especially the AKP government does not show tolerance to it.



*Aleviler için okullarda ders yok, Sünniler tarafından verilen eğitime maruz kalmak zorundalar. Özellikle AKP hükümeti buna çok hoşgörü göstermez herhalde.*

Bektaş (22, M, student, Tunceli) says that:

CHP and other political parties use the Alevis, they want to gain votes from the Alevis. These are bad things.

*CHP'nin ve diğer partilerin Alevileri kullanması gibi bir durum var, Alevileri kullanıp kendilerine oy çıkarmak istiyorlar. Bunlar kötü şeyler.*

Sefer's (71, M, retired worker, Malatya) accentuation about the role of Alevis in constructing the Republic refers to the widespread discourse of the Alevis against the state since 1960s up to now, although the demands of Alevis have changed through the years. He says that:

We are the people of this country, we pay taxes, why the state does not recognize our right? What's that to me, he/she goes to church, he/she goes to mosque, I go to cemevi. We are the people who rescue this nation, Atatürk came to Hacıbektaş, we are the salvation of this country. The money collected here can support the world but the state gets it for itself. The money of the town should stay in here, there is no hotel in the town, there is no that, there is no this.

*Biz bu memleketin insanlarıyız, biz vergi veriyoruz, niye bizim hakkımızı tanımazın? Bana ne, o kilisesine gider, o camisine gider, ben cem evine giderim. Kurtuluş savaşında bu milleti kurtaran biziz, Hacıbektaş'a gelmişti Atatürk, bu memleketin kurtuluşu biziz. Buraya gelen para dünyayı besler ama devlet kendisine alıyor. Buranın parası burada kalsın, oteli yok, şuyu yok, buyu yok.*

Similar to the other interviewees Chairman of the Alevi Academy in Europe, Mustafa Düzgün is disturbed from the politicians, furthermore, he thinks that the interference of the state to the ceremonies is contrary to laicism:

Now, if there is secularism in question, why should the Culture of Ministry, the Head Official of Hacıbektaş and the Governor organize the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli? When the state intervenes to the institutions of religion -in everywhere it is same- there become a corruption. The memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli should leave to the people. To do this, it is necessary to remove all prohibitions from people's will. Then the law of the Tekke and Zaviye should be changed. This enthusiasm living at Hacıbektaş, which thousand of people join, is in essence a visit of a museum. Is there such a comedy in the world, are we commemorating Hacı Bektaş Veli or the museum, or the opening of the museum? This is only deceiving us.

The mayors elected from a party, though this one is independent, tomorrow he will participate in a party. All the mayors work for his party. Last year, this square was a meeting square of CHP. We can be from any party but we cannot connect the comprehension, the belief of Hacı Bektaş Veli with any party. We should take here out being a meeting square because people queue in the two sites to visit their Pir, the underside of the queue the politicians sermonize. It is not correct, it is necessary to be respectful of the thousands of people.

*Şimdi eğer laiklik söz konusu olsa Kültür bakanlığı veya burdaki kaymakam veya devlet valisi Hacı Bektaş Veli'yi anma törenini niye düzenlesin? Devlet el attığı zaman, her tarafta da öyle devlet din kurumlarına müdahale ettiyse orada sürekli bozulma olur. Hacı Bektaş Veli'yi anma törenleri Alevi halkına bırakılmalıdır. Bunu yaparken de halkın iradesinin şimdiye kadar üzerindeki yasakların kaldırılması lazımdır, ondan sonra Tekkeler ve Zaviyeler Kanunu'nun değiştirilmesi lazım. Hacıbektaş'ta binlerce insanın katıldığı bu heyecan aslında özünde bir müze ziyaretidir, ziyarete açılmasıdır. Şimdi dünyada böyle komedi olur mu; şimdi biz Hacı Bektaş Veli'yi mi anıyoruz yoksa müzeyi mi, müzenin açılışını mı? Kendimizi kandırmaktan başka bir şey değil.*

*Belediye başkanları belli partilerden seçiliyor, gerçi bu bağımsız, yarın başka bir partiye girebilir. Seçilen her belediye başkanı kendi partisinin borazancılığını yapıyor, şu gördüğünüz meydan geçen sene, daha önceki sene CHP'nin miting alanıydı. Biz herhangi bir partiden olabiliriz ama Hacı Bektaş anlayışını, inancını şu veya bu partiyle birleştiremeyiz. Buranın miting alanı olmaktan çıkması gerekir çünkü millet iki taraftan kuyruğa giriyor, piri ziyarete gidiyor, alt tarafında da siyasi nutuklar atılıyor. Bu doğru değil, binlerce insana saygılı olmak lazım.*

For Veliyettin Ulusoy (62, M, retired) who is the *postnişin* of the Alevi-Bektaşis, the visitors coming to the houses of the Çelebis do not like political aspect of the ceremonies. For him:

Because the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli are organized by the municipality, there is always politics in these ceremonies. The speeches given by the politicians at the opening ceremony is disapproved. I know many of my guests, a ninety- percent of them participate in nothing. They do not participate in the night programmes and in the panels. Some of the guests participate in them but many of them cannot find what they are looking for, for this reason they stay in here. Our guests want to confirm there their ideas. For instance, if I give a speech there, they will be happy. Even this year giving a speech was offered me, but the Mayor rejected it. My guests become happy when something which they know are told there. They want to continue their traditional relation; they go away when it is politicized.

*Hacı Bektaş Veli'yi anma etkinlikleri belediye etkinliği olduğu için yine siyaset var. Siyasetçilerin konuşması, açılışlarda konuşması hiç tasvip görmüyor. Hatta pek çok misafirimi tanıyorum, benim misafirlerimin yüzde sekseni doksanı da hiçbir şeye katılmıyor. Ne gecelere katılıyorlar, ne de panellere gidip dinliyorlar, bir kısmı gidiyor ama büyük bir kısmı aradığını bulamıyor, o yüzden burada kalıyorlar. Bize gelenler kafalarındakinin orda teyit edilmesini istiyorlar. Mesela ben orda bir konuşma yapsam çok mutlu olacaklar. Hatta bu sene teklif de yapıldı ama başkan kabul etmedi. Bildikleri şeyleri bile orda biri söylediği zaman ondan sonsuz mutluluk duyuyorlar. Geleneksel aidiyetlerini devam ettirmek istiyorlar, siyasileştikçe ondan uzaklaşmaya başlıyorlar.*

One of the visitors of the Çelebis, Mustafa Sezer (73, M, farmer, Sivas) who is a *dede* says that:

I reject organization of the municipality. Actually it should not be in responsibility of the state. I do not like the politicians coming here.

*Ben belediyenin yaptıklarını kabul etmiyorum. Aslında devletin elinde olmaması lazım. Gelen politikacılar hoşuma gitmiyo.*

The other visitor Hamdi Ateş (54, M, retired worker, Tokat) says that:

I do not have time to participate in organization of the municipality. I serve here. The world bases on the belief, one that does not have belief also does not have faith. For this reason, I do not come here for the state, for the municipality.

*Belediyenin düzenlediğine pek zamanım olmuyo. Ben burda hizmet ediyorum. Dünya inanç üzerine yaşar, inancı olmayanın imanı olmaz. Bunun için ben devletlere, belediyelere gelmiyorum.*

According to the editorial office director of Alev Yayınları, Ahmet Koçak:

Now, the statesmen come here and promise that we bring here this service, we bring here such and such. [...] Every year, since seventeen years I have heard those. Since seventeen years they haven't driven any nail here. What they did is obvious, they got a Culture Center built and they have already appropriated these. They opened a university, through this university, through this Culture Center they try to spread their ideology.

*Şimdi devletin erkani buraya gelip, biz şu hizmeti getireceğiz bunu getireceğiz. [...] Her sene, on yedi yıldır ben bunu duyuyorum. On yedi yıldır hiçbir çivi çaktıkları yok. Yaptıkları belli, kültür merkezi bunları da zaten yapıp üzerine kendileri konuyor. Bir üniversite açıyorlar o üniversite o kültür merkezine kendi ideolojisini burda yaygınlaştırmaya çalışıyor.*

Unlike other interviewees some of them, Abdullah (32, M, scrap dealer, Gaziantep) shows contentment about the attendance of the politicians to the festival:

I think about the politicians well, we listen for their speeches, we like them.

*Politikacılar için iyi düşünüyorum, konuşmalarını dinliyoruz, seviyoruz.*

Fadime (47, F, housewife, Erzincan) complains about the dullness of the opening ceremony in 2004 festival:

They gave speeches about Alevism. Mustafa Sarıgül came, we watched him. Later he gave a speech. I want that he will be the Prime Minister, he will clarify people, and he is an intellectual person. Our Turkey's Prime Minister might have come, the President might have come, the opening ceremony was dull, and there were fairly few persons.

*Konuşmalar yaptılar Aleviler hakkında. Mustafa Sarıgül geldi, onu izledik. Konuştu sonradan. Ben isterim o başbakan olsun, insanları aydınlatсын, aydın insan. Bir Türkiyemizim başbakanı gelebilirdi, cumhurbaşkanı gelebilirdi, sönüktü, pek kimse yoktu.*

Sefer (71, M, retired worker, Malatya), who complains about the state, claiming that the state does not recognize rights of Alevis mentions about the dullness of the opening ceremony:

This year it is dull. The number of people is not so much and also there is dullness. There are not any ministers, any deputies. They did not allow Sarıgül to give speech. Erkan Mumcu came and promised one or two things. Yet I believe that he will keep his words. He is an honest person, I like him; he already said that I become inhabitant of Hacıbektaş.

*Bu sene sönük. Hem halk az, hem de bi sönüklük var. Bakanlar yok, milletvekili yok, bu Sarıgül'ü konuşurmudılar. Erkan Mumcu geldi konuştu, bir iki bir şeyler söz verdi. Fakat bensözünü tutacağına inanıyorum, dürüst adam, seviyorum onu, zaten ben Hacıbektaşlı oldum dedi.*

With the effect of the protest of ABF in 2004 ceremonies, many of the interviewees participating in the festival have no relations with the Alevi-Bektaş associations. Few of them go to dergahs and associations and participate in *cem*s but they do not take part in the organisation.

Hamdi Ateş (54, M, retired worker, Tokat) says that:

I am going to the associations but I do not have any relation with them. Because in İstanbul every regions have a distinct *cem*, such as Şahkulu, Karacaahmet, Yeni Bosna, Cem Foundation, Garip Dede. Their *semahs* are different, but I respect them. The root is one.

*Gidiyorum ama onların bi ilişkim yok. Çünkü İstanbul'da her yörenin cemi, Şahkulu'nun yöresi ayrı, Karacaahmet'in ayrı, efendime söyleyim Yenibosna'nın, Cem Vakfı'nın, Garip Dede'ninki ayrı. Samahlarında, kırklar samahında biraz bunların yöresi farklı olduğundan, saygım var. Kökü bir yani.*

Sefer (71, M, retired worker, Malatya) who is a returnee immigrant, lives both in Germany and İstanbul. He says that:

In Germany many of the associations were opened. There are the Hacı Bektaş Associations, the Pir Sultan Associations, we are going to there, *cem* is being performed there. For example, many books about Alevism is being printed there. In İstanbul, I am going to Garip Dede, it is near to my home. Last year we went to Şahkulu, there was our sacrifice. Sometimes I go to Karacaahmet.

*Almanya'da çok böyle dernekler açıldı. Hacı Bektaş Dernekleri var, Pir Sultan dernekleri, oralara gidiyoruz, cem oluyor. Çok kitaplar basılıyor mesela Alevilik üzerine. İstanbul'da Garip Dede'ye gidip geliyorum, yakın bana. Geçen sene Şahkulu'nda kurbanımız vardı, gittik. Karacaahmet'e gidiyorum bazen.*

According to Abdullah (32, M, scrap dealer, Gaziantep):

In Gaziantep there is an association of Hacı Bektaş Veli. We go there. People are playing *saz*, there are *aşiks*, we are going to there and listening them.

*Hacı Bektaş Veli Derneği var Gaziantep'te. Oraya takılıyoruz. Orda sazlar falan çalınıyor, aşıklar var, gidip dinliyoruz.*

Many of the interviewees had no idea about the disagreement between the new Mayor of Hacıbektaş and ABF. Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacıbektaş) who was the Mayor between 1976-1980 complains about both the Mayor and ABF:

In my opinion, the Alevi associations fared useful works. There were some things of which we disapproved and some people told wrong things but I always support to be organized.

As I see, today the Alevi associations have a power. Namely, they become a constrain element in Turkey. I cannot think the people of Hacibektaş apart from these associations. Now, here I listen the speech of the general (the mayor), he accused the associations, I find it very wrong. However, I say it too, I do not want that the associations take control of the ceremonies of Hacibektaş. The people of Hacibektaş should organize the ceremonies. These associations might come here, they should come but if they say that we organize these ceremonies, it will be wrong. On the other hand, it is also wrong not to recognize these associations. They serve us in the sense of culture and thought, they express our problems. Not to recognize them is useless.

*Alevi örgütleri bence yararlı çalışmalar yaptı. Beğenmediğimiz şeyler olmuştur, bir takım insanlar yanlış şeyler söylemiştir ama ben örgütlülüğü her zaman desteklerim. Bugün Alevi örgütleri benim gördüğüm kadarıyla belli bir güç odağı olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Yani bir baskı unsuru olarak vardır Türkiye’de. Ben Hacibektaş toplumunu, insanını o örgütlerden ayrı göremem. Şimdi burada paşanın konuşmasını dinledim, örgütleri suçlayıcı bir takım ithamlarda bulundu, ben onu son derece yanlış görüyorum. Ama şunu da söyleyim, ben Alevi örgütlerin Hacibektaş törenlerinin iplerini ellerine almalarını istemiyorum. Törenler Hacibektaş insanının yapacağı bir şeydir. O örgütler buraya gelebilir, gelmeleri de gerekir ama bu törenleri biz yapacağız derlerse yanlış olur. Ama o dernekleri yok saymak da çok yanlış birşeydir. Kültür olarak, düşünce olarak bize hizmet ediyorlar, sorunlarımızı dile getiriyorlar, onları yok saymak bir fayda getirmez.*

In the struggle for hegemony, the effort to give a meaning to Hacı Bektaş Veli as an ideological sign is diversified by different actors participating to the festival. In 1964, in the state’s hegemonic project Hacı Bektaş Veli was presented as a Turkish thinker and *mutasavvıf* who served the Turkish thought; with the effect of the counter-hegemony of the left this discourse was modified. That is, in 1970s again stressing his being Turk, Hacı Bektaş Veli was presented as a revolutionary leader who took part in the Babailer revolt and who rescued the exploited people of Anatolia from oppression. Since 1989 up to now, he has been presented as a great Turk who was sent by Yesevi to Anatolia in 13.cc in order to Turkify Anatolia and protect Islam. As mentioned above, the multiaccentuality of Hacı Bektaş Veli as a sign can be seen in the Alevi-Bektaşis’ thoughts. For the *postnişin* Veliyettin Ulusoy (62, M, retired), it is a mistake to present Hacı Bektaş Veli as an uniaccentual sign:

I describe Hacı Bektaş Veli as how he is in my mind but in reality he is different from my definition. In his thought he did not pay regard to race and gender. We can see it in his life, in his words and on the way constituted by him. Before coming here, he passed through a Kurdish tribe. He connected first them. He spoke Turkish because he addressed the Turks, so when he addressed the Turks he should speak Turkish. The wandering minstrel and bards who were brought up in this society expressed him very nicely in Turkish. He was Turk but when one of who talks about him, as he was such and such a Turk and brings his being Turk foreground, I think he/she degrades Hacı Bektaş Veli. Hacı Bektaş Veli’s thought is universal, namely his thought is for all people. In addition, when you dress him as a religious functionary, you again degrade him. He was really a social leader. Namely, having worked he got the product, unlike others who suddenly created some things out of

nothing. It was same in mining so. Near to here there is a Tuz village, called Balım salt. It is said that Hacı Bektaş Veli found out it. For instance, the apiculture, the agriculture he attached importance to these. For instance, there as a tomb called Arcı Baba in here. He attached importance to these, not only he attached importance to religion but also the social structure. Even a bit he disregarded the religious law. He did not care to pray, fast due to this reason they complained about him. He is such a person. When we try such a person to mould he does not fit into a mould.

*Hacı Bektaş Veli benim kafamda nasılsa öyle tarif ediyorum ama gerçekte Hacı Bektaş Veli bu tariften çok daha farklı birisi. Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin düşüncesinde bu Türk'tü, bu Araptı bilmem neydi değil, ırk ve cinsiyet ayrımı gözetmemiş zaten, onun yaşamında, sözlerinde, kurduğu yolda bunun izlerini görüyoruz. Buraya gelirken bir Kürt kabilesinin içinden geçmiş, ilk defa onları bağlamış. Türkçe konuşmuş çünkü Türklere hitap etmiş, Türklere hitap edince de Türkçe konuşacak. Toplumdan yetişen aşıklar, ozanlar da Türkçe onu çok güzel ifade etmişler. Tabii Türklükle ilişkisi var ama birileri çıkıp derse öyle Türktü böyle Türktü, o kısmını öne çıkarırsa bence Hacı Bektaş Veli'yi küçültüyor. Hacı Bektaş Veli gerçekten evrensel yani tüm insanlar için onun düşüncesi. Bir de Hacı Bektaş Veli'ye sadece bir din adamı elbisesi giydirdiğinizde yine küçültüyorsunuz onu, o gerçekten bir sosyal lider. Yani üretimde bile bir iş gördükten sonra sonuç almış, öbürleri gibi birdenbire bilmem ne meydana getirmemiş. Madencilikte de öyle. Tuz köyü var buraya yakın, Balım Tuzu derlerdi ona. Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin bu madeni bulduğu söylenirdi. Mesela arıcılık, tarım bunlara önem vermiş, mesela Arıcibaba diye bir türbe var burada. Bunlara da önem vermiş, sosyal yapıya da önem vermiş, sırf din değil. Hatta şeriatı biraz geriye atmış, Hacı Bektaş Veli pek aldırış etmiyormuş namaz kılmaya, oruç tutmaya, bunu şikayet etmişler. İşte böyle birisi. Böyle birini kalıba koyarsak sığmıyor, sığmaz.*

For Hamdi Ateş (54, M, retired worker, Tokat), the Alevi-Bektaşî identity becomes concrete through Hacı Bektaş Veli:

The issue is the lion and the gazelle by it. Hacı Bektaş Veli got them together. His philosophy is to unite people, to purify them from malice and to get them to live together. His importance is here, namely we are Alevis, we have a right, and we live in Turkey too. For saying that we have such a community.

*Burdaki mesela aslanın yanındaki bir ceylan. Bunu birleştirmiş Hacı Bektaş Veli Hazretleri. Felsefesi insanları birleştirmek, kötülüklerden arındırmak, insanları toplu halde yaşatmaktır felsefesi. Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin önemi burda, yani Aleviyiz, bizim de bir hakkımız, biz de bi Türkiye'de yaşıyoruz. Bizim de böyle bi toplumumuz var yani demek için.*

Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacıbektaş) expresses the counter-hegemonic discourse about Hacı Bektaş Veli in 1970s:

They accept Hacı Bektaş Veli as the leader of Anatolian Alevism. There are two sides, one of them is the sympathy of the liberalistic democrats, and these are in the minority. There are also superstitions, such as when I come to Hacı Bektaş my patient child will be recovered, my child will get a job, will get married, will study; I don't know, there are such things. Many of the visitors come here in this goal. I wish they wouldn't come here with such things, I wish they would come here to feel this life, this atmosphere. However, unfortunately we see people coming here, they kiss the stone, kiss the soil, they beg, they beg to the tree. These should disturb persons who we call modern. In addition there are people who accept Hacı Bektaş Veli as one of the liberalistic symbol of Anatolia, among them there are people who are not Alevi. They come to here to breathe the atmosphere of being modern, democrat. At the period, at which Hacı Bektaş Veli lived, the state's

suppression was so much in Anatolia. Like today people are poor, unemployed. There was reaction against the state's suppression. Alevi, who were in the minority, took much of this reaction on. Some sources say that Hacı Bektaş took part in the Babailer revolt. There are people many of whom study about his being a saint but a few of them rack their brains about the role of him in the Babailer revolt. His participation in the revolt attracted the poor people. Many of Anatolian Alevi are already poor. The sympathy of him comes from this reason. Namely, he was the leader against the suppression and oppression of the state. The source of the people's love to him is from there.

*Hacı Bektaş Veli'yi Anadolu Aleviliğinin önderi olarak görüyorlar. Bunun iki yanı var, bir özgürlükçü demokratların sempatisi var ki bunlar azınlıkta, bir de hurafeler var. İşte Hacı Bektaş'a gelirsem eğer çocuğu hastaysa çocuğumun hastalığı iyi olur, Hacı Bektaş'a gidersem oğlum işe girer, kızım işe girer, evlenir, okur yazar, ne bileyim bu şeyler var işte. Buraya gelenlerin çoğunluğu bu amaçla geliyor. Keşke böyle şeylerle gelmeseler de buraya, o yaşantıyı o havayı hissetmek için gelseler. Ama maalesef gelenleri de görüyoruz, taş öpenler, toprak öpenler, yalvaranlar, yakaranlar, ağaca yalvaranlar. Bunların çağdaş diyeceğimiz insanı rahatsız etmesi gerekir. Bir de Hacı Bektaş'ı Anadolu'nun özgürlükçü simgelerinden olarak görenler var, Alevi olmayanlar da var onun içinde. Çağdaş olmanın, demokrat olmanın havasını teneffüs edelim. Hacı Bektaş'ın yaşadığı dönem Anadolu'da devlet baskısının en fazla olduğu döneme rastlıyor, yani millet aç susuz şimdi olduğu gibi, işsiz güçsüz. Baskının olduğu yıllarda devlete karşı tepki var, bunu da daha çok Anadolu'da azınlıkta olan Alevi toplumu üstlenmiş. Bazı kaynaklar Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin Babailer isyanının içinde olduğunu söylüyor. Babailer isyanında Hacı Bektaş'ın rolü üzerine kafa yoran insan sayısı az, evliyalık konusunda çalışan çok. İsyanın içinde olması yoksul insanlar arasında Hacı Bektaş'a karşı bir sempati doğurmuştu yani. Anadolu Aleviliği içinde olan insanların büyük çoğunluğu yoksul zaten. O sempati ordan geliyor. Yani devletin baskısına, o zulme karşı öncülük yapan insanlardan birisi. Sevginin kaynağı ordan.*

Aynur (29, F, unemployed, Malatya) is one of them who regards Hacı Bektaş Veli as "a liberalistic sign of Anatolia":

For me Hacı Bektaş Veli signifies being human being, claiming the standard of judgement, honour, the country; protecting the traditions, living in this direction, a conscious position.

*Hacı Bektaş Veli bana şöyle bir şey ifade ediyor, insan olmanın, değer yargularının, onur, ülkenin sahip çıkmak, geleneklerini, göreneklerini korumak, o doğrultuda yaşamak, bilinçli bir duruş.*

Some of the visitors who wrote on the notebook called *imza defteri* in cemevi in Beştaşlar address Hacı Bektaş Veli as revolutionary person:

Ernesto Che, Hacı Bektaş Veli! We who carry the fire of being revolutionary after Deniz Gezmiş always, till we die, continue our contest (unsigned).

*Deniz Gezmiş'ten sonra devrimciliğin en büyük ateşini taşıyan bizler, her zaman, ölene dek bu mücadelemize devam edeceğiz (imza yok).*

In here I walk on your (Hacı Bektaş Veli) and on Hazreti Ali's way also I track of being revolutionary (İnsaf).<sup>143</sup>

<sup>143</sup> cited from Başgöz, İ. Cemevinde Bir Defter <http://www.alevi.com/tr/oegreti/makaleler> accessed 07.2004

*Burada senin (Hacı Bektaş Veli) ve Hazreti Ali'nin yolunda ve devrimciliğin izinde yürüyorum (İnsaf).*

The discourse about Alevi-Bektaş as the stronghold of secularism and the Kemalism reflects itself in the construction Hacı Bektaş Veli as a sign that can be seen on the writings on the *imza defteri*:

I say that, Hacı Bektaş Veli is the greatest philosopher. Mustafa Kemal and the principles of Atatürk follow him. These couple will be present since the Turkish Republic is present (Alişan).

*Ben derim ki, Hacı Bektaş Veli en büyük felsefecidir. Devamı Mustafa Kemal ve Atatürk ilkeleridir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti var oldukça bu ikili de var olacaktır (Alişan).*

Şah-ı Evliya I believe in you. Mustafa Kemal is your brother (Dürdane).

*Şah-ı Evliya sana inandım, Mustafa Kemal de senin kardeşin (Dürdane).*

We follow Hacı Bektaş Veli and Ata (İbrahim, Asiye).

*Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin ve Ata'nın izindeyiz (İbrahim, Asiye).*

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Şah-ı Merdan Ali, Hünkar Hacı Bektaş Veli, our saint Sultan Abdal and Ehl-i Beyt (unsigned).

*Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Şah-ı Merdan Ali, Hünkar Hacı Bektaş Veli. Pirimiz Pir Sultan Abdal ve*

*Ehl-i Beyt (imza yok).*

Dear Hacı Bektaş Veli and Hazreti Ali! I love both of you so much. I love both of you as much as I love Atatürk. I miss both of you so much like I do Atatürk. I am an Alevi Turk child (unsigned).

*Hacı Bektaş Veli ve Hazreti Ali! Sizi çok seviyorum. Atatürk kadar seviyorum. Atatürk gibi sizi de çok özliyorum. Ben Alevi Türk çocuğuyum (imza yok).<sup>144</sup>*

Ali Bektaş's (59, M, retired, Sivas) thoughts adjust to the state's discourse about Hacı Bektaş Veli:

Alevism is special to Anatolia and Hacı Bektaş Veli laid its foundation. He organized, institutionalized; also against the Arab reaction, he Turkified Anatolian Alevism. He did not found the Bektaş order; the form of the Bektaş order belong to Balım Sultan who brought up in Dimetoka two hundred year after Hacı Bektaş Veli. The Horasan saints and Hacı Bektaş Veli took lessons from the children of Ehl-i Beyt and become friendly at them in Hoca Ahmet Yesevi's dervish content.

*Anadolu'ya özgüdür Alevilik ve temellerini huzurunda bulunduğumuz Hünkar Hacı Bektaş Veli atmıştır. Örgütlemiştir, bir kurum haline getirmiştir bir de Arap gericiliğine karşı*

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<sup>144</sup> cited from Başgöz, İ. Cemevinde Bir Defter <http://www.alevi.com/tr/oegreti/makaleler> accessed 07.2004



*Anadolu Aleviliğini Türkleştirmiş. Hacı Bektaş Veli'de Bektaşilik diye bir tarikat kurmamıştır, Bektaşiliğin şekli şemali ondan iki yüz yıl sonra Dimetoka'da yetişmiş olan Balım Sultan'ın düşünce biçimidir. Horasan erenlerinin başta Hacı Bektaş Veli ve onun gibi düşünen Hoca Ahmet Yesevi dergahında Ehlibeytin çocuklarından ders almış, onlarla kaynaşmış.*

One of the interviewee Sefer (71, M, retired worker, Malatya) says that:

He is the child of the prophet, the son of the Twelve İmam, *sultan* of the all saints. Mevlana had a teacher for example, he was Şems Tebrizi and his teacher was Ahmet Yesevi. They added these lands to Islam; they were assigned to here in order to spread Islam.

*Peygamber evladı bu, on iki imamın oğlu, dünya evliyanın padişahı. Mevlana'nın hocası vardır mesela Şems Tebrizi, bunun hocası Şah Ahmet Yesevi'dir. Bu toprakları İslama katan bunlardır, bunlar İslamiyeti yaymak için buralara tayin oldular.*

Some of the Alevi-Bektaşis who wrote their opinions and feelings on the *imza defteri* address Hacı Bektaş Veli as the 'great Turk-Islam thinker' or 'Turkish thinker' and at the same time as a humanist.<sup>145</sup>

For some of the people who are not Alevi-Bektaşî, Hacı Bektaş Veli is a Sunni religious man. Baytekin (43, M, farmer, Eskişehir) who came to Hacıbektaş at the time of festival in order to sell clothes tells that:

He has no relation with Alevism; he is the man of God.

*Onun Alevilikle hiçbir ilgisi yok o bir Allah adamı.*

Or like in the example of Sabiha (54, F, housewife, Osmaniye), without making a stress on his being a Sunni or an Alevi, they adopt Hacı Bektaş Veli as a saint:

They became saints; thus at their time they did something, namely we are attached them.

*Erişmişler, zamanında demek ki bişeyler yapmışlar, başımız yani bağlı.*

### **5.3. The Religious Aspect of the Ceremonies**

The religious aspect of Alevism-Bektaşism is an important dimension of the memorial ceremony but in the struggle for the Alevi-Bektaşî identity formation it is ignored. Pretending not to see Alevi-Bektaşî belief and its multiaccentuality, the state's Alevism-Bektaşism discourse is based on the Turkish nationalism.

Besides, in 1970s the counter-hegemony of the left defined belief dimension of Alevism-Bektaşism as reaction and through the selective tradition cultural dimension of Alevism was stressed. During the process called “Alevi revival” the Alevi-Bektaş Associations that have different interests and world-views have made an effort to define Alevism through their perspectives. As Hall (1997) argues, identities are constituted within representation that relates to the invention of tradition as much as tradition itself. According to Mustafa Düzgün, the Chairman of the Alevi Academy in Europe:

We try to perceive Alevism as it is. Some friends, who have not any relation with this matter, try to form it like creating a new religion or a political ideology. We have no relation with them. We do not approve it; it is not scientific. Alevism is a belief and it is also a rich literature, a deep *tasavvuf* and philosophy that is established on this belief. We accept, as it is, we try to comprehend and transfer it.

*Biz akademi olarak Alevilik nasılsa öyle algılamaya çalışıyoruz. Konuyla bağı olmayan bazı arkadaşların yeni bir din oluşturuyormuş gibi ya da siyasi bir ideoloji oluşturuyormuş gibi onunla oynayıp ona şekil vermeye çalışmaları bizim dışımızda bir olay. Biz tasvip etmiyoruz, kabul de etmiyoruz, bilimsel değil. Alevilik bir inanç ve bu inanç üzerine kurulmuş zengin bir edebiyat, derin bir tasavvuf ve felsefe. Biz Alevilik nasılsa onu öyle görüyoruz, kavramaya ve aktarmaya çalışıyoruz.*

In order to figure out the reflection of the struggle for defining the Alevi-Bektaş identity in the context of belief, the question about the definition of Alevism-Bektaşism was asked. Many interviewees respond to this question explaining their rituals like *cem*, *kurban* or their affection to Hacı Bektaş Veli, Ali and Ehlibeyt. Moreover, many of them respond this question stressing their pride on being an Alevi. Few of them are aware of the efforts to define Alevism-Bektaşism. Among them there are some that accept Alevism as the essence of Islam. According to Fuat Doğan (60, M, counsellor, Hacıbektaş):

It is a way of life. It is the essence of Islam. It is the whole of the Islam, which kept on during the life of Hz. Muhammed and till his death. The belief of Islam was changed after his death. Necessarily a belief turns into a way of life. And at the same time it is a way of life, we can say that too.

*İnanç biçimi. Alevilik bir inanç biçimi, İslam'ın özü. Hazreti Muhammed'in sağlığındaki ve ölümüne kadar devam eden İslam inancının bütünü, Alevilik o. İslam inancı ondan sonraki süreçte değiştirilmiş, farklılaştırılmış. Mutlaka ki bir inanç süreç içinde toplumu kendi içine aldıktan sonra onun yaşam biçimi olur. Ve aynı zamanda da bir yaşam biçimi, öyle de diyebiliriz yani.*

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<sup>145</sup> cited from İlhan Başgöz Cemevinde Bir Defter <http://www.alevi.com/tr/oegreti/makaleler> accessed 07.2004

Some of them define Alevism in Islam like Seher (42, F, housewife, Kocaeli), at the same time she defines Alevism as a way of life:

If there are branches of Islam, it is a branch. Namely, it is a way of life. For me it is a way of life.

*Müslümanlık içerisinde kollar varsa, o da bir kol. Yani yaşam biçimi. Benim için bi yaşam biçimi.*

Or some of them argues that Alevism-Bektaşism is a way of life especially who does not want to contact their Alevi-Bektaş identity with religion. According to Ayfer (48, F, retired, Hacibektaş):

In my opinion it is a nice way of life. It is a way of life, through which people behave each other kindly and respectfully. I don't want to think about the religious dimension of this matter; also I don't perceive it so.

*Bence güzel bir yaşam biçimi, insanların birbirine sevgi ve saygıyla yaklaştığı bir yaşam biçimi. Ben için dinsel boyutunu pek düşünmek da istemiyorum, öyle de algılamıyorum.*

Similarly, Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacibektaş) says that:

For me Alevism-Bektaşism is a way of life.

*Bana göre Alevilik-Bektaşilik bir yaşam biçimidir.*

Unlike Ayfer (48, F, retired, Hacibektaş) and Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacibektaş), Hüseyin (64, M, self-employed, Tunceli) does not separate belief dimension of Alevism from the definition of Alevism as a way of life. For him:

For me, Alevism is a way of life. There are elements that we believe in the way of life as being an Alevi. First of all we love Ali, after him the saints already follow him, the Twelve Imams follow, the Ehlibeyt follow, you see, they follow in rank.

*Alevilik bence bir yaşam biçimi. Alevi olarak yaşam biçimi içinde inandığımız öğeler var, bunların başında Ali sevdalıyız, efendim ondan sonra veliler geliyor zaten, On İki İmam geliyor, Ehlibeyt geliyor, sırayla gidiyor işte bunlar.*

Or Alevism is defined as a world-view like Suzan (18, F, student, İstanbul) does:

For me it is not a religious matter, a philosophy. Perceiving the life, such a thing, it is not a religious matter.

*Dinsel bir şey değil bence, felsefe. İnsanın yaşama bakışı, öyle bir şey, dinsel değil.*

Also it defined as a culture. For Eylem (20, F, student, Malatya) Alevism can be defined as both a culture and a sect:

I accept it as a culture. I think they are a sect, who are not much religious and who are open to critic. I like this aspect of them. They are not bigoted and conservative. They are the mass who gives a modern education.

*Bir kültür olarak görüyorum ben. Çok da dine bağlı olmadıklarını, eleştiriye açık bir mezhep olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bu bakımdan da seviyorum. Bağnaz değiller, tutucu değiller, her zaman yeniliğe açık, çağdaş, modern eğitimi veren bir kitle.*

The heterogeneous character of Alevism-Bektaşism can be seen clearly, when the interviewees from different areas mention about their manner to the religious rituals. On the other hand, performing and perceiving the religious ceremonies in different ways do not bother people as many of them say that they have respect to the other forms of performing the religious ceremonies. For example, while İpek Büyükkorkmaz (60, F, housewife, Isparta) who comes from Isparta is saying there is not *musahiplik* in their rituals, Hamdi Ateş (54, M, retired worker, Tokat) who came from Tokat and now lives in İstanbul says that:

Musahiplik is present. In our *cems* person who has not *musahip* cannot confess his/her sins, he/she cannot take part the twelve service in the *cem* rituals, *musahip* is a condition for us.

*Musahiplik var. Bizde musahipsiz olanın darı çekilmez, on iki hizmette eli olmaz, illaki musahip şart bizde.*

Hüseyin (64, M, self-employed, Tunceli), who comes from Tunceli and lives in İstanbul and Neslihan (18, F, unemployed, Elbistan) who comes from Elbistan and lives in Ankara say that they and their family members have not a *musahip* although *musahiplik* is a part of their rituals. Seher (42, F, housewife, Kocaeli), who is from Kocaeli, says that she fasts and performs the ritual prayers, *namaz*. Unlike her, many of the interviewees emphasize that different from Sunni people, who perform the ritual prayers five time in a day, Alevi perform their ritual *cem* and also their fast called *Muharrem* is different from fast in the *Ramazan*. Moreover, some of the interviewees tell that they do not perform any religious ritual. One important point is that some of the interviewees like Sefer (71, M, retired worker, Malatya), Abdullah (32, M, scrap dealer, Gaziantep), Fadime (47, F, housewife, Erzincan), Hamdi Ateş (54, M, retired worker, Tokat), who live in the big cities like Ankara, İstanbul, Gaziantep say that living in a city does not negatively affect performing their rituals. With the “Alevi revival”, opened *dergahs* and *cemevis* should be influential performing the rituals in the big cities easily.

As mentioned in the chapter one and the chapter two, independent from the discourses of Alevism and the hegemonic processes over it, the characteristic of Hacibektaş has been the centre of the Alevi-Bektaşî belief through the centuries. Changing its form through history, still the traditional relation between the Çelebis, the descents of Hacı Bektaş Veli and their *talips* lives. During the ceremonies in the houses of the Çelebis this traditional relationship becomes concrete. The hosts arrange these houses as convenient places for the visitors. From beginning of summer to the end of autumn, visit of the *talips* has continued but most of the visitors have paid a visit at the time of ceremonies. During the three days of ceremonies, people from different regions of Turkey, even from the abroad<sup>146</sup> live together in these houses, they prepare meals and eat collectively. Besides the daily life routine, as the part of their religious beliefs, they sacrifice and perform *cems* in these houses. As observed in the 2004 ceremony, it is striking that the visitors in these houses behave like they are in their own houses. That is during these three days their way of life seems like a commune rather than a visit. According to postnişin of the Alevi-Bektaşîs, Veliyettin Ulusoy (62, M, retired):

When the schools are closed, almost every day our visitors come. We have always the visitors but at these times (during the ceremonies) they increase in numbers. In three days, even since one week, here is very busy. People from the Çelebi branch and the talips whose ocak's are affiliated with us come here. There are people from the others; as well I have Sünni visitors among the visitors from Urfa. They came from all regions of Turkey. Many of my visitors are from Urfa, from Düzce, from Tokat. They come from metropolis, from İstanbul, from Ankara besides they come from Europe. A little before an important surgeon came here. There are graduate people, teachers, and lawyers. However, most of the visitors are the peasants. Our family has relation with them. Persons, who come to one of the Ulusoy's house, go to other houses too. One who becomes sincere with one of the owners of home, stays there but visits the other Ulusoy's.

They perform here the cem rituals. The *aşıks* sing, they listen. The *cem* rituals are made by the *dedes*. Each of the groups has its own *dede*, has its own *aşık*. We only sit there and talk in *muhabbet*s. Saying *muhabbet* I mean conversation. When a visitor has a patient relative, or one says to him/her bring from there *lokma*, a food. No matter what the food is, the important thing is *lokma*. They also want something to wear. There is such a belief, when there is a patient, they make the patient dressed; this is a belief. The coming visitor consult us. This can be problems between the couples or can be problems in the family. For instance, they are in hesitance; they consult us these. They discuss about a topic, their time pass so. They visit the dergah, the Çilehane, the Beştaşlar.

*Okullar tatil oldu mu bizim hemen her gün misafirlerimiz olur. Misafirlerimiz hep olmuştur ama işte bu dönemlerde (etkinlikler sırasında) çok yoğun geliyorlar. Üç günün içinde çok,*

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<sup>146</sup> In the 2004 ceremonies, in one of the houses of the Çelebis there were people from Syria.

*hatta bir haftadan beri yoğun buralar. Çelebi kolundan, onu benimsemiş olanlar gelir genelde bize, bir de buraya bağlı dedelerin ocaklarının talipleri gelir. Ötekilerden de gelen olur, hatta Sünni misafirlerim var benim Urfa'dan gelenlerin arasında. Türkiye'nin her tarafından geliyorlar. Benim misafirlerimin çoğu Urfa, Düzceli, Tokatlı. Metropollerden geliyorlar, İstanbul, Ankara hatta Avrupa'dan geliyorlar. Biraz evvel yüksek ihtisasta genel cerrah olan ve Türkiyenin sayılı cerrahlarından biri geldi. Üniversite mezunu da geliyor, öğretmenler vardır, hakimler vardır, avukatlar. Ama tabii yoğun olarak köylüler geliyor. Aile ilişkimiz onlarıdır. Bir Ulusoy'un evine gelen diğerlerine de gider. Biriyle fazla samimidir orda kalır, ama öbürlerini de ziyarete gider. Burada cem yapıyorlar. Aşıklar söylüyor, onlar dinliyor. Cemleri dedeler yapar. Her grubun kendi dedesi olur, aşığı olur. Biz sadece orada otururuz, muhabbet açıldığında konuşuruz. Muhabbet dediğim karşılıklı konuşma. Hastası oluyor, ya da birisi diyor ki oradan lokma, yiyecek bir şey getir. Bu yiyeceğin ne olduğunun önemi yok, önemli olan lokmadır, bir de giyecek bir şeyler isterler. Öyle bir inanç vardır, birisi hasta olur, o giyeceği ona giydirirler, bir itikattir bu. Gelen misafirler fikir danışır. Bu, eşler arasında ayrılmalar olur, aile içi problemleri danışırlar. Mesela tereddüttedirler, şunu mu yapsak iyi, bunu mu yapsak iyi, bunları danışırlar. Bir konu üzerine tartışıyorlar, böyle zaman geçiriyorlar. Dergaha ziyarete gidiyorlar, Çilehane'ye gidiyorlar, Beştaşlara gidiyorlar.*

Hamdi Ateş (54, M, retired worker, Tokat), a visitor in one of the house of the Çelebis<sup>147</sup> says that:

For twenty years, I have been coming to the Hacıbektaş festival. Moreover, I come here at other times. We talk to people from different regions, we mutually forgive all that has been unjustly done and go from here. In here I have served to the children of the Hacı Bektaş Veli for a week, one-week after I have gone. If I have or my children have a vow, for God's sake I sacrifice for kith and kin, I get eaten and drunk; then I go.

*Ben yirmi senedir Hacıbektaş şenliklerine gelirim, sahir zamanda da gelirim. Çeşitli yöreden insanlarla konuşuruz, sohbet ederiz, helallaşır gideriz burdan. Bir hafta hizmet ederim burda bu Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin evlatlarına, bir hafta sonra giderim. Adaklarım olursa çoluğun çocuğun, burda Allah rızası için gonusomşuya bir gurban keserim, yedirir, içirir, giderim.*

Mustafa Sezer (73, M, farmer, Sivas) is the *dede* of a group who visit the Çelebis. He shows his permission being a *dede*, which was given to him in 1967 by the Çelebis. During the interview, he responds the questions of other visitors who hear of that he is a *dede*. The questions are mainly about decisions of their personal life; he gives advice to them or some of them want to learn about the basic principles of Alevism. His responses are not liked some of the audience; also some people among them whisper that he is an ignorant man. He says about his visiting the house of the Çelebis:

I came here since 1967. Now the sacrifice is abolished, now they are coming to visit our master Hacı Bektaş Veli. All we pay a humble respect to him; it is useless when you do not

<sup>147</sup> The owner of this house is an old widow woman called "ana" who lives in the house with her son, her daughter-in-law, her daughter and son-in-law. Most of the Çelebis get married to a member of their large family, the Çelebis but there are also exceptions like the daughter of this house whose husband is not a member of the Çelebis.

resent. [...] I come here and visit the visiting sites and return. For most with my masters, with all people in here my relation is respectfully.

*67'den beri geliyom. Şimdi gurbanlar guzular galktı, şimdi ziyarete geliyorlar Hacı Bektaş Veli efendimize. Hepimiz yüz sürüyoruz, tövbe etmedikten sonra boştur. ... Burda ziyaret yerlerine geliyom, geziyom, gidiyom. Başta efendim olmak üzere burdaki ilişkilerim sevgili, saygılı.*

It is mentioned that in Hacıbektaş there are some houses of the Bektaşî Babas but it was not possible to meet them in 2004 festival. According to Markussen, the Bektaşî rituals are conducted with only invited and initiated members of the dervish order in private houses and the rituals led by the leaders of the *dergahs* (Markussen, 2000:3).

Furthermore, some *dergahs* like Şahkulu, Karacaahmet Sultan and associations such as the Garip Dede Association<sup>148</sup> come to Hacıbektaş with their members and perform their rituals independent. There are also many Alevi-Bektaşîs who do not have any connection with an association or do not maintain traditional relationship with an *ocak* or a *dergah* come to Hacıbektaş.

People participating in the ceremonies from different areas and with different purposes meet at the visiting sites in Hacıbektaş. Not only the Alevi-Bektaşîs but also the Sünni people are visiting there. Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacıbektaş), who sells touristic things in a shop opposite to the dergah, finds an opportunity to make observations about the visitors. He says that there are many Sünni people visiting the dergah, they attach more importance to such tombs than the Alevis. On the other hand, on the visiting sites both the Alevi-Bektaşîs and the Sünnis join in performing some similar rituals which consist of popular beliefs and practices. The feature of this rituals such as make a wish; to tie some cloths on the trees; to the bushes; to pile stones on top of each other in order to understand whether their wish will come true; to eat soil which is accepted as holy or to drink holy water in order to recover can be accepted as the motives of folk religion. Fadime (47, F, housewife, Erzincan) describes what she done in the visiting sites:

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<sup>148</sup> There is a house in Hacıbektaş that belongs to the Garip Dede Association and some interviewees came to Hacıbektaş in 2004 ceremony with a tour organized by the Garip Dede Association.

We went to Hacı Bektaş, to the Beştaşlar, to the Çilehane. I made a wish and stuck the stones up each other, two or three of the stones stuck up. We went to the visiting place and got soil. It is said that it is good for worry, people eat it when they are worried. We have known that since the childhood. We shook the mulberry tree but any of the mulberries did not fall. We embraced the stone for three times, God, Muhammed, Ali. At the Beştaş we stuck up the stones, as well there was a thing, threw stones against the *Kadı*. I drank the zemzem water; I will bring it my relatives too.

*Hacı Bektaş'a gittik, Beştaşlara gittik, Çilehane'ye gittik. Dilek tuttum, taşları yapıştırdım, iki üç tanesi tuttu. Ziyaretlere gittik, toprağını aldık. Çok iyi geliyormuş sıkıntıya, insanlar sıkıldıkça ağzına atıyormuş. Bizler küçük yaştan beri biliyoruz bunu. Balım Sultan'ın önündeki dut ağacını salladık ama dut düşmedi. Taşa sarıldık üç defa, Allah, Muhammed, Ali. Beştaşlarda da taş yapıştırdık, orda bir de şey varmış, kadıyı taşladık. Çilehanede zemzem suyundan içtim, akrabalara da götüreceğim, iki bidon aldım.*

Abdullah (32, M, scrap dealer, Gaziantep) believes that a sinful person cannot pass through the *delikli taş* in Çilehane.

*Delikli taş* is so small. For example, a fat woman, whose weight is hundred fifty, two hundred kilograms can pass through it. There are people who cannot pass through it. Yes, I am an eye. Our relative, he is an Alevi too. He said that I passed it through but he could not pass. He was slight.

*Delikli taş şu kadar ufaktır. Mesela şişman, yüz elli, iki yüz kiloluk hanım geçebiliyor. Kalanlar da var. He, kendi gözümlle gördüm. Bizim akraba var, o da Alevidir, geçirim dedi, geçemedi. Zayıftı.*

One of the interviewee, Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacıbektaş) thinks that performing such rituals is a mistake:

There is no use kissing the ground and praying. Understanding Hacı Bektaş Veli is performing his philosophy. Everybody finds someone to adore. With adoring, the problems are not solved. The dimension of belief is more dangerous. There is a remark of Marx, “religion is the opium of masses”. You see this is enforced in our country.

*Yer öperek, dua ederek olmaz, bugün Hacı Bektaş Veli'yi anlamak onun felsefesini uygulamaktır. Herkes birilerini bulmuş ona tapıyor. Tapmakla bir şey çözümlenmez. İnanç boyutu daha tehlikeli. Marx'ın bir sözü vardır, din halkın afyonudur diye, işte ülkemizde bu uygulanıyor.*

Like Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacıbektaş), Lütlü Kaleli (author) says that:

Now they tie cloths, cloths do damage on the trees. There is not a relation with this and belief, it is a superstition. They killed the tree, if the cloths had a utility, the tree would not die. He/she will pass through the stone, when he/she is fat, he/she cannot pass trough it or his/her foot slides because this stone becomes like soap. We are against superstition. We are saying that Alevism is rational, we do not bring science which address the reason foreword, we hope for help from the superstition; this is the reaction.

*Şimdi çaput bağlıyorlar, yahu çaput ağacın doğal yapısını bozuyor, inancın orda bir ilgisi yok, hurafedir. Ağacı kurutmuşlar, çaputun faydası olsa ağaç kurumaz. Bilmem taştan çıkacakmış, şikoysa çıkamıyor ya da ayağı kayıyor, sabun gibi olmuş o taş. Biz huarafeye*



*karşıyız. Alevilik aklidir diyoruz, akla hitap eden bilimi öne almıyoruz, hurafeden medet umuyoruz, bu gericilik.*

However, the performances on folk religion are only a part of the rituals of Alevi-Bektaşis. Besides these rituals, for Alevi-Bektaşis accept to visit these sites as making a pilgrimage. Especially in the Beştaşlar, in the Çilehane and in the Dedebağı, they sacrifice sheep, prepare common meals and share it. In the Beştaşlar there is a *cemevi* in order to perform cem. There are not strict rules for people to obey during their visit at this site. On the other hand Ali Bektaş (59, M, retired, Sivas), a *dede* argues that the visit of Hacı Bektaş Veli should not be the same as the visit of the ordinary historical sites:

How people enter a house of God more serious and more modest, we should enter it more modest than them. For instance, you will enter the place where the mausoleum of Hacı Bektaş Veli is, first it should be supplicated the door. The door, the doorstep is very holy in our philosophy. There is a way of greeting called four doors greeting. Namely when you go on a visit, you say hello, they say to you welcome. When you are guest of Hacı Bektaş Veli, you should visit him as greeting him and as praying him according to your heart's desire whatever you want. You go out but not turn back him and show respect to him. The visit should be performed so. If any thing called sin is accepted, visiting indifferently is a sin. When it will not be accepted so, you will be come only for wandering. Wandering the Efes ruins and wandering the Hacı Bektaş Külliye are distinct things. We do not go on visit with our appearance; we do it with our heart. For this reason, you can enter the tomb wearing a short, it is not a problem. Alevism do not pay regard to the form, it pay regard to the heart. In here there should not be such rules, sanctions.

*Nasıl insanlar bir ibadethaneye daha ciddi ve mazlum giriyorlarsa biz daha da mazlum girmek zorundayız. Örneğin Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin mozolesinin olduğu yere giriyorsunuz, kapıya bir niyaz edilir, kapı, eşik çok kutsaldır bizim felsefemizde. Orada dört kapı selamı dediğimiz bir selam olayı vardır, yani bir misafirlğe gittiğimiz zaman bir merhaba diyorsunuz, onlar da size hoş geldin diyorlar, Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin konuğuysanız sizi konuk ediyorsa orada da selam vererek gönlünden nasıl geçiyorsa, ne şekilde olursa olsun duanı yaparak ama ona sırtını dönmeden geri geri çıkıp ona saygıyı göstererek ziyaretini yaparsın, bu ziyaretlerin böyle olması gerekir. Günah diye bir şey kabul ediliyorsa, lakayt bir şekilde ziyaret etmek günah, zaten kabul olmaz, o zaman sen sadece geziye gelmiş olursun. Efes harabelerini gezmekle Hacı Bektaş Külliyesini gezmek farklı şeylerdir. Biz ziyaretlerimizi bedenimizle görüntümüzle yapmayız, ziyaretimiz kalbimizle olur, gönlümüzle olur, onun için türbeye girerken şortla bile girebilirsin, hiç problem değil. Çünkü Alevilik şekle bakmaz, yüreğe bakar. Burda böyle bir takım kurallar, yaptırımlar olmaz.*

Few of the interviewees who accept the dergah as a museum feel almost nothing like Eylem (20, F, student, Malatya):

To tell the truth I felt nothing. There are tombs and objects. There are not the writings to explain what the objects are, I cannot get knowledge about them. If there were a guide...

*Açıkcası bir şey hissetmedim. Mezarlar var, içerde eşyalar var. Eşyaların tam olarak ne olduğunu açıklayan yazılar yok, bilgilenemedim. Rehber olsaydı...*

Suzan (18, F, student, İstanbul) describes the museum as so:

It seems to me rather remaining from the Stone Ages, huge huge cauldrons.

*Bana daha çok taş devrinden kalma gibi geldi koca koca kazanlar.*

For most of the people, the museum is still a *dergah* and mostly they mention their visit to museum as getting to Hacı Bektaş Veli, “*Hacı Bektaş Veli’ye gitmek*”. Moreover, many Alevi-Bektaşis regardless of its being museum, give donations like money or carpet to the directorship of museum not knowing the fact that their donations are appropriated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

In spite of the ignorance of the belief dimension of Alevism-Bektaşism in the struggle of the Alevi-Bektaş identity formation, during the ceremonies the fountainhead, “*serçeşme*” of Alevism-Bektaşism swarm with people who get to Hacı Bektaş Veli.

#### **5.4. The Social Aspect of the Ceremonies**

Aytekin (35, M, peddler, Konya) says that:

Because we are dispersed now, some of us meet in İstanbul, some of us is in Konya, in Akşehir. Namely we meet here. All we are meeting here, our greatest goal is that, namely facing each other. Alevism arises from this.

*Şimdi biz dağınık olduğumuz için kimimiz İstanbul’da, kimimiz Konya’da, Akşehir’de burda buluşuyoruz yani. Hepimiz burda buluşuyoruz, en büyük amacımız da bu yani birbirimizi görmek. Alevilik burdan kaynaklanıyor işte.*

According to Abdullah (32, M, scrap dealer, Gaziantep):

Other Alevis come here too. How many Alevis is present all of them come here.

*Diğer Aleviler de buraya geliyor. Ne kadar Alevi varsa hepsi buraya gelir.*

During the ceremonies Alevi-Bektaşis from different areas meet; share the feelings belonging to a community. As Markussen (2000) says, visiting town during the ceremonies is the opportunity for socialization between the members of community who live far from each other and who can see each other once a year.

The meeting under Alevi-Bektaşî identity creates dynamic process in creating and sharing meaning through symbols and signs. As Voloshinov says meaning is realised only in the process of active, responsive understanding between speakers (Voloshinov, 1973:102). During the festival people share their world-views and ideas, which include all aspects of life from daily life to religion. As Fadime (47, F, housewife, Erzincan) tells:

There are friends of us, we get information from them; we pray; then we talk about Alevism. We become friends and give and take our telephone numbers. We get knowledge about Hacı Bektaş Veli in here and when we return home we explain these knowledge at there.

*Arkadaşlarımız var, bilgiler alıyoruz, oturup dualar ediyoruz, ondan sonra Alevilikle ilgili konuşuyoruz, bilgileniyoruz, arkadaşlar ediniyoruz, telefonlar alıyoruz. Gelip Hacı Bektaş hakkında bilgiler alıp, orda bilgileri aktarıyoruz.*

Sefer (71, M, retired worker, Malatya) says that:

Our relation with the other visitors is good. Wherever we meet, we are greeting. About Hacıbektaş, about neglect and cleanness of the tomb, about water. Money should be allocated from the Religious Affairs, *dede* should be put in salary, *hoca* is put in salary why *dede* is not put in salary? I met people from Muş; they came from Erzurum. I met people from Diyarbakır, from Antep, from Urfa, from Trakya.

*Diğer ziyaretçilerle ilişkimiz çok iyi. Nerde görsek merabalaşıyoruz, tokalaşıyoruz. İşte yine Hacıbektaş hakkında, türbenin bakımsızlığı hakkında temizliği hakkında su hakkında .Diyarbakır'dan bize pay ayrılmalı, dede aylığı bağlansın, niye hoca aylığı bağlanıyor da dede bağlanmasın? Muş'lularla karşılaştım, Erzurum'dan geliyorlardı. Diyarbakır'la karşılaştım, Antep'le karşılaştım, Urfa'yla karşılaştım, Trakyalı'yla karşılaştım.*

In addition, as being Alevi-Bektaşî, Hacıbektaş provides them a field of their own, on which they can state their identity. As one of the interviewee, İpek Büyükkorkmaz stresses:

Now, my girl, going to festivals as Alevis, publicizing themselves. In the past it was not present, one month before our dedes, our one's organized a festival.

*Şimdi kızım, şenliklere bir Alevinin gitmesi, kendini tanıtması. Eskiden olmuyodu, bizim dedemgillerin, bizim de vardı bundan bir ay evveli.*

It is an important point that many of the interviewees mention about their feeling being comfortable in Hacıbektaş during these three days. As Eylem (20, F, student, Malatya) says:

I find it acquaintance, its people, its culture, the Alevi people of course. Because I grew up in the Alevi culture, I do not suffer the difficulties of being a stranger. We come here just but here is one of us.

*Tanıdık geliyor, insanları, kültürü, Alevi insanları tabii. Ben de Alevi kültüründe yetiştiğim için yabancılık çekmedim. Çok yeni oldu zaten ama, bizden.*

Bourdieu's term habitus can help to explain the acquaintanceship of people in Hacıbektaş although they do not know each other. The habitus is a set of dispositions and these internalised dispositions generate meaningful practices, perceptions, and behaviours without being consciously governed by any rule (Bourdieu, 1991). The habitus is not only a structuring structure, it is structured structure, the perception of the social world is itself the product of the internalization of the division into social classes (Bourdieu, 1984:170). Neslihan (18, F, unemployed, Elbistan) explains the reason why she is participating in festivals and mentions about the shared dispositions. She mentions about being with the people who have same habitus:

We come here even the ceremonies are not held. But the ceremonies smarten here. It is really nicely to talk to people from different regions and we talk the same language. Here is really a modern place. You can have a good time, you can talk, and people to whom you talk can understand you. People in here can understand me, you see with the Çilehane and with the tomb; you can be at ease.

*Anna etkinliklerinin dışında da geliyoruz ama etkinlik güzelliğe güzellik katıyor. Çünkü bir çok yerden, bir çok şehirden aynı dili konuşan bir sürü insanla beraber olmak, gerçekten güzel oluyor. İşte gerçekten çağdaş bir yer yani. Eğlenebiliyosun, konuşabiliyosun, karşıdaki insan seni anlayabiliyo. Buranın insanı da anlayabiliyo işte, Çilehanesi, Türbesi her şekilde kendini rahat hissediyorsun.*

Özlem (18, F, housewife, Tokat) thinks of the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş with affection:

When I come here, the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş are like my sister and brother. The young ones and the old ones, I want to embrace all of them.

*Hacıbektaşlılarla buraya geldiğimde kardeşten farkım yok. Büyüğüm olsun küçüğüm olsun onlara sarılmak, kucaklaşmak içimden gelir yani. Çünkü hepimiz onun yolundayız.*

On the other hand, shared "habitus" does not create such affection for all people. As Bourdieu mentions, the same habitus might create different, even opposite practices due to the different stimulus and the structure of the field (Bourdieu, 2003:126). Some of the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş feel disturbed to crowds, to dirtiness and the mentality of visitors. As Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacıbektaş) says:

In the last years, I do not see the conscious people are coming to Hacibektaş, they escape from here. Everybody says that we will come, but they do not come. However, there are some of the people who are not disturbed, when you mention about the saint, namely he/she is satisfied. However, the conscious people feel uncomfortable. The person, who can consider and see, is very disturbed due to the changes in Hacibektaş.

*Son yıllarda Hacibektaş'a bilinçli insanların geldiğini görmüyorum, kaçıyorlar. Herkes gelirim diyor ama gelmiyor. Ama rahatsız olmayan bir kesim de var, evliya dersin, adam memnun yani, ama bilinçli kesimde bir rahatsızlık var. Düşünen insan, gören insan Hacibektaş'taki gelişmelerden bayağı rahatsız.*

Suzan (18, F, student, İstanbul), who lives in Germany and who comes to Hacibektaş in order to visit her relatives says that:

I scarcely go out during the ceremonies because it is very crowded. Actually the inhabitants of Hacibektaş do not go out, the visitors always go out. I don't know why these people come here, if I had not a place for accommodation, I would not come.

*Pek dışarı çıkmıyorum şenlik zamanında, çok kalabalık oluyo, aslında buranın yerlileri hiç çıkmıyor dışarıya, hep ziyaretçiler çıkıyor. Bu insanların niye buraya geldiğini bilmiyorum, benim yatacak yerim olmasa ben gelmezdim.*

There are also visitors who are angry with the inhabitants of Hacibektaş like Feyzullah Oruç (62, M, retired worker, Kocaeli):

The only reason why we get together here is Hacı Bektaş Veli's teaching, his value, what he did, that's all. Otherwise, nobody comes here for the people of Hacibektaş. People come here only for his tolerance. They go to expense, they suffer pain for Hacı Bektaş Veli, not the people of the town. If my money unnecessarily goes the people of the town I will sadden but if my money is used for the Hacı Bektaş Veli festival and for his tomb, I will give up my money to him.

*Buraya toplanmanın yegane sebebi Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin şeysi, öğretisi, değeri, neler yapmış, bu. Yoksa buranın halkının has yüzüne hayran değil buraya gelen kimse. Sırf onun şeyine geliyor, hoşgörüsüne, buna geliyor halk. Bu masrafı bu eziyeti onun için yapıyor, buranın halkı için değil. Eğer buranın halkına fuzuli param giderse ben üzülürüm ama param bu Hacı Bektaş Veli şenliklerine veya onun ortamına harcanırsa helal hoş olsun.*

Like Feyzullah Oruç (62, M, retired worker, Kocaeli), Fadime (47, F, housewife, Erzincan) complains about the inhabitants of Hacibektaş too:

All that is trade, there is nothing about usefulness for people.

*Hep ticaret, insana hayır olarak bir şey yok.*

And Sefer (71, M, retired worker, Malatya) says that:

I am not pleased with the people of the town. The people of Abdal Musa are better than the inhabitants of Hacibektaş are. They are friendly. We do not wait benefit from anyone but we wait friendliness.

*Ben de bu halktan memnun değilim. Abdal Musa'nın halkı burdan iyi. İnsana daha yakın. Biz kimseden menfaat beklemiyoruz lakin biraz yakınlık.*

Furthermore, there are people participating in the festival in order to live something which are excluded in their habitus as extravagance as Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacібektaş) explains:

The Sünnis living in the near cities like Kırşehir, Nevşehir, Kayseri participate in the ceremonies too. There is almost no one that participates in the ceremonies from distant areas. Others, who participate in the ceremonies, come here for a change. During the ceremony, people really drink so much but we do not see any event related with alcohol. We step in drinking people, in the middle of the garage he prepared like a binge he said that friend we came here to live our freedom. He is correct but there is a limit of this.

*Anma törenlerine Sünniler de geliyor yakın olan yerlerden, Uzak yerlerden pek gelen olmaz, onlar da bir değişiklik olsun diye. Bu törenlerde gerçekten çok fazla içki içilir ama içkiden dolayı törenlerde bir olay olduğunu göremiyoruz. İçki içenlere biz müdahale ediyoruz, garajın ortasına çilingir sofrası gibi kurmuş, ya arkadaş biz buraya özgürlüğümüzü yaşamaya geldik diyor. Doğru söylüyor ama bunun da bir ölçüsü var.*

As the previous Mayor Mustafa Özcivan claims, except some case like theft committed by the people coming outside Hacібektaş, there are not important criminal events in the ceremonies. However, for three or four years the increases of the gypsies coming to Hacібektaş in the ceremonies have bothered both the inhabitants of Hacібektaş and the other visitors. Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacібektaş) says that:

After 1980, the number of visitors has increased but this last two or three years their number decreased. One of the important reasons of it is economic difficulty. Besides, the groups who we call as swarthy citizen, these people are really causing decline in the number of coming people. What they do is very wrong. They commit a theft, they steal, and this hurts people.

*Seksenden sonra yıldan yıla bayağı artışlar oldu ama bu son iki üç sene de bir gerileme düşüş var. En büyük etkenlerden biri ekonomik sıkıntı. Onun yanında bizim esmer vatandaş dediğimiz gruplar var, bunlar gerçekten gelen ziyaretçileri azaltıyorlar. Yapmış oldukları şey çok yanlış. Hırsızlık yapıyorlar, çalıyorlar, bu da insanların canını yakıyor.*

Fadime (47, F, housewife, Erzincan) tells that:

Also the robbery has increased. People are hungry, you see a young woman with three or four children. When people become hungry, what will do, they steal, they steal compulsorily.

*Bir de hırsızlık çoğalmış. Aç insanlar, bakıyorsun bir tane genç kız elinde üç dört tane çocuk. Aç kalınca ne yapacak, hırsızlık yapacak, insan mecburen onu yapacak.*

Similarly Bektaş (22, M, student, Tunceli) says that:

People's coming here who we are called Çingen and the events are alienated me. There are stealing with snatching, robbery, fight, injuring, they happen in the last times frequently.

*Çingen diye tabir ettiğimiz insanların buraya gelmesi çok olayların olması beni soğuttu. Kapkaç oluyor, hırsızlık olayları, kavgalar, yaralanmalar, hepsi son zamanlarda daha çok olmaya başladı.*

Mustafa Özcivan complains about the security forces. For him, they do not help them to be able to cope with the gypsies. For him, the security forces' approach is a kind of intention to give a bad picture of Hacıbektaş to the outside:

There are people here from all regions, especially the nomadic people from Mersin, Adana, who we call swarthy citizen, give the town a bad image. We have not the chance to hinder these people coming here. They come, wander, due to the journey freedom they come to Hacıbektaş, pitch their tents on the streets. There is not an infrastructure, there is not a toilet, and there is not a canal. They are disturbed and they disturb the surroundings. Now when such people come, like a herd of grasshopper they plunder, they disturb the surroundings, that is dirtiness, a bad smell. We say that we carry or send away these people with the security forces. They never accede this. There are a lot of robbery events, which do not arise from the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş. The police know many of them but do not take them into custody. They steal all things in the poor people's pocket and these do not remain as good memories. We want that people who come to Hacıbektaş will be gifted. Though this results from the economic conditions and the substructure of the country.

*Her kesimden insan olduğu için, özellikle esmer vatandaş dediğimiz yani Adana, Mersin, göçer çadırcılar ilçeye hoş bir görüntü vermiyor. Buraya gelen bu insanları engelleme şansımız var mı, yok. Gelip gezer, seyahat özgürlüğünden dolayı Hacıbektaş'a da gelir, mahalle arasına çadır kurar, alt yapısı yok, tuvaleti yok, kanalı yok, doğru dürüst yaşayabilecek alt yapı olmayan yerlerde çirkin bir görüntüyle hem çevreyi rahatsız ederler hem de kendileri rahatsız olurlar. Şimdi o tür insanlar da geldiği zaman talan ediyorlar çekirge gibi, ortalığı rahatsız ediyorlar yani pislik, koku, çevreye zarar verme. Biz diyoruz ki güvenlik güçleriyle el ele verip bu insanları ya bir yere taşıyalım ya da uzaklaştıralım. Buna kesinlikle yanaşmıyorlar. Çok hırsızlık olayları olur törenlerde, Hacıbektaşlılardan kaynaklanmayan. Polis çoğunu biliyor onların, önceden göz altına almıyorlar, o insanların yoksulun fukaranın cebinde ne varsa alıp götürüyorlar, bunlar da pek hoş anılar olarak kalmıyor. Biz isteriz ki Hacıbektaş'a gelen insanlar daha düzeyli, seviyeli olsun, gerçi ülkenin ekonomik düzeyinden, alt yapısından kaynaklanan bir şey bu.*

Sabiha (54, F, housewife, Osmaniye) who comes from Osmaniye tells that she, her husband and their son come to the Hacıbektaş in order to tour and they will return to Osmaniye after finishing the ceremonies. Sabiha is a Gypsy woman who has a Sunni belief. They are sitting in the school garden and while making interview she prepares a meal with mutton that is sacrificed. She explains what they are doing in there:

We went to tomb, we made wish; got its water; we prayed and perform *namaz*, some of people perform *namaz*, some of them do not, we perform *namaz*. That's so, my girl. I did not talk to any one from here. I went to bazaar to buy a skirt, they treated me nicely, and the sellers are good people. Some five or six children of boys and girls perform *semah*; they

play tambourine with jingles and play saz. I said to my husband they made it like Hindus, like Hindus, it was wonderful.

*Türbeye gittik, dilek diledik; suyundan aldık; dua ettik; namaz kıldık; yani namazımızı da kıldık da kılan kılıyo kılmyan kılmyo biz kıldık. Böyle işte kızım. Burdan kimseyle konuşmadım, bi pazara gittim etek almaya kendime, iyi davrandılar, satıcılar da iyi. Semah yapıyolardı beş altı tane erkek çocuğu kız, def çalyolardı, saz çalyolardı. Ben de dedim beyime aynı Hint gibi yapmışlar dedim, Hintçiler gibi, çok güzel oluyo dedim.*

Sabiha and her husband are sitting on a very dirty place where their blanket, pillow and the leftovers are together. To the question -are they suffering from sleeping in the school garden and from being devoid of water- she responds that she is very pleased about being in Hacıbektaş because Osmaniye's air is too hot in these seasons. They can sleep in Hacıbektaş well and they feel that like they are camping in a plateau. Unlike Sabiha, Savaş (27, M, unemployed, Adana), a Gypsy man who comes with his relatives from Adana is very dissatisfied:

Our motorbike is stolen. Children are now hungry. The police did not allow us to eat something on the street, they asked that are we eating our meals in home in such a way. When compared with the previous years there is an enormous difference in this year here. In the past when we came here we can sleep wherever we want, our meal was prepared, we did not live any difficulty to find water. We have many troubles here in this year. This year wherever you go, you come across a security force, a guard, a watchman or a police. You have to pay wherever you go, we cannot go anywhere. You have to pay in order to enter Çilehane, you have to pay for four people one million, and they collect money for step.

*Motorumuz hırsızlandı. Çocuklar şuanda aç, ara yolda polis yemek yedirmedi, evinizde böyle mi yemek yiyosunuz diyo. Eskiyle arasında dağlar kadar fark var. Eskiden biz geldik miydi nere varsa yatağımızı atardık, yemeğimizi yaparlardı, su rahattı, çok sıkıldık bu sene biz. Semahlar dönülürdü, şimdi bi adım ileri gittin mi bi tene güvenlik var iki adım gittin mi orda goruma var üç adım ileri gittin mi bekçi var, polis var. Her taraf paralı olmuş, hiç bi yere girilmiyo. Çilehaneye dört kişi girdin mi bi milyon verecen adım atmaya para alıyorlar.*

Certeau's distinction between "place" and "space" might explain the situation between the Gypsies and the Alevi-Bektaşis. As mentioned before, place is an instantaneous configuration of positions which implies an indication of stability. Place is the order due to which elements are distributed in relationship of coexistence. In the place, each element situated in its own proper and distinct location (Certeau, 1988:117). Hacıbektaş means both for the inhabitants and the other Alevi-Bektaşis a place while it means for the gypsies a space. According to Certeau:

Space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the



operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. On this view, in relation to place, space is like the word when it is spoken, that is, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts. (Certeau, 1988: 117).

According to Certeau (1988) like strategy is related with place, tactic is related with space. Tactic is determined by the absence of power unlike strategy that organized by the postulation of power. Due to the lack of the place, tactic depends on time. It is watch for opportunities and manipulates events in order to turn them into opportunities. “Tactic is the art of the weak” (ibid, p. 37). The Gypsies use tactics in Hacibektaş, to sacrifice as a part of the Alevi-Bektaşî tradition turns for the Gypsies into an opportunity to become meat without paying it. Also, Hacibektaş provides them accommodation for running away the hot air like Sabiha and her family. The dirty streets and damaged surroundings mean not the same thing for the people who saw Hacibektaş as place or as space.

### **5.5. The Cultural<sup>109</sup> Aspect of the Ceremonies**

From the beginning up to now ceremonies provide a cultural field on which “organic intellectuals” and Alevi-Bektaşî community meet. Especially since 1975 the organizers of the festival have emphasized the cultural aspect of the festival. As Nafiz Ünlüyurt (63, M, retired, Hacibektaş) says, the organizers of the festival had aimed at using the traditional relation of the Alevi-Bektaşîs with Hacı Bektaş Veli as a means to increase visitors’ intellectual capacity. That was a war of position, the strategy of Gramscian notion of hegemony. They invited the leftist artists, authors and academicians to festival. Many of the people became aware of theatre when they played “Pir Sultan Abdal” in 1977. Up to now, the cultural aspect of the ceremonies have continued with concerts, theatres, films, exhibitions of photographs, of pictures and of statues, conversations with authors and panels about agenda of Turkey and aspects of the Alevism-Bektaşîsm with the participation of the academicians, authors and researchers.

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<sup>109</sup> In this title the concept culture is used harmonious with the name of the ceremonies, that is culture means here intellectual activities and art.

Ceremonies provide an opportunity for the Alevi-Bektaşis to live and to share their cultural features during three days. Furthermore, thinking about the economic and social conditions of inhabitants of this town and of the participants who devoid of attaining cultural products, the cultural activities take an important part in the ceremonies. Many people have opportunity to go theatre, to meet the authors, and to listen to the well-known folk singers only during the ceremonies. The panels, which take an important part to construct the Alevi-Bektaşî identity, provide a meeting for the Alevi-Bektaşî community and the “organic intellectuals”. As Özcivan explains the themes of the panels have been selected taking into consideration agenda of Turkey such as secularism, democracy and peace also they have connected with Hacı Bektaş Veli and Alevism.

Furthermore, some of the new singers can distinguish him or her through the ceremonies; also some of singers make their new album’s promotion in the ceremonies. As Mustafa Özcivan says:

Most of the participant artists applied to us. In a sense Hacıbektaş is a place for proving and distinguishing them. Ten thousands of people coming here buy their cassette and CD. We invited some of the artists. These are the important artists, who are Alevi and who serve Alevi culture. Arif Sağ, Musa Eroğlu, Sabahat Akkiraz... It is not necessary that all them are Alevi. Most of the groups are not Alevi for instance. We covered of their transport and accommodation expenses and entertained them as guests.

*Katılan sanatçıların çoğu kendisi müracaat ediyordu. Bir noktada Hacıbektaş kendilerini ispatlama, kendisini gösterme yeri oluyor. Buraya gelen on binlerce kişi onların kasetlerini, CD’lerini alıyor. Bazı sanatçıları biz davet ediyorduk. Bunlar Türkiye’nin önde gelen, Alevi kültürüne hizmeti olan Alevi kökenli sanatçılar. Arif Sağ, Musa Eroğlu, Sabahat Akkiraz... Hepsinin Alevi olması gerekmiyor, grupların çoğu Alevi değil mesela. Yol ve konaklama masraflarını karşılayarak onları konuk ediyorduk.*

The publishers exhibit their books majority of which are about Alevism-Bektaşism. Also the leftist groups exhibit their publications and contact with the community. Compared with festivals of early 90’s, the book exhibitions gives way to the bench on which the touristic things and souvenirs to be sold. According to Alev Publication’s director of the editorial office Ahmet Koçak:

We talked to the mayor, they put the book stalls such a bad place where people do not want to go or go at last of all other places; where they turn to center after the Culture Center. I get this years three author, Esat Korkmaz, Lütfi Kaleli, İsmail Kaygusuz. The given place was not suitable. However, but here, the exhibition of the Sivas photographs a tiny bit provides us to meet our authors and readers. We are absolutely dissatisfied about the sale of our books. We think that the Alevi-Bektaşî community through its thousand years tradition, have a tendency to being intellectual, to being progressivist and we think they are an

opponent wing. On the contrary, at these days, people who come here buy the souvenir. Every year, people come here, they might buy souvenirs but the souvenir does not contribute to the advance of people and of their children. Not only here, it goes for the conditions of our country. As a publishing house we live the troubles of struggling over remaining stand at these time, at when the degenerate culture ruins the people and brings up the characterless people. Our published book can not arrive at the reader. For this reason in here, and in other activities whose number is eight or nine and which arranged by the Alevi-Bektaşî community, the rulers should channel people to the books. Unfortunately, most of the Alevi-Bektaşî people is under the effect of popular culture.

*Belediye başkanıyla konuştuk kitap standlarını öyle kötü bir yere koymuşlar ki, insanların gitmek istemediği, belki de en son gittiği, Kültür merkezinden sonra merkeze döndüğü yer. Ben bu yıl üç tane yazarımızı getirdim Esat Korkmaz, Lütfi Kaleli, İsmail Kaygusuz. Verilen yer buna müsait değildi. Ama işte burası, Sivas fotoğraf sergisi bir nebze bunu yapmamıza el verdi okuyucularımızla buluştuk. Satış konusunda kesinlikle memnun değiliz, Alevi Bektaşî toplumunun bin yıllık geleneğiyle aydın olmaya, okumaya yazmaya, kendisinin dışında gelişen her şeye karşı ilerici bir yanı olduğunu, muhalif bir kanat olduğunu düşünüyoruz. Oysaki bu günlerde tam tersi buraya gelen insanlar hediyelik eşya alıyor. Her sene buraya geliyor insanlar, hediyelik eşya alınsın ama hediyelik eşya insanların ya da çocuklarının gelişimine katkıda bulunmuyor ki. Sadece burası değil, yaşadığımız ülke koşulları için geçerli, yoz kültürün insanları perişan ettiği, kimliksiz bir insan tiplemesi yetiştirdiği dönemde yayınevi olarak ayakta kalma çabasının sıkıntısını yaşıyoruz. Bizim çıkardığımız kitaplar okuyucusuna ulaşamıyor, o yüzden bu tür yerlere, burası olsun, Alevi Bektaşî toplumunun yapmış olduğu sende sekiz on tane etkinlik var, buraların yöneticilerin insanları kitaba yöneltmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Ne yazık ki Alevi Bektaşî toplumunun önemli bir kesimi popüler kültürün etkisine girmiştir.*

On the other hand, many of the interviewees say that they have many books and they read the books about Alevism but they do not read the journals about Alevism. İpek Büyükkorkmaz (60, F, housewife, Isparta) says that:

I am following the publications. I have many books. When I am alone, ten books will be like ten persons for me. If I like it, I read the book during the night.

*Ben yayınları takip ediyorum. Kitaplarım çoktur, yalnız başıma kaldığım zaman on tane kitap bana on kişidir. Hangisinde güzel bişi varsa zabahlara kadar devran gider.*

Especially old ones say that they read books about Alevism in their youth but now they cannot read. Hamdi Ateş (54, M, retired worker, Tokat) complains about his children, he says that they do not read book:

I inform my children about Alevism but they are not like me. I have all the books, about Alevism, about life but they do not read. I bring my ten years old grandchild up.

*Çocuklarıma bilgi veriyorum ama benim gibi değiller. Bende olmayan kitap yok, Alevilik üzerine, yaşam üzerine ama okumuyorlar. On yaşında bir torunum var, ben de onu yetiştiriyorum.*

Some of the young interviewees like Eylem (20, F, student, Malatya) say that they read books but they are not about Alevism. Also some of them claim they read about Alevism like Özlem (18, F, housewife, Tokat), Neslihan (18, F,

unemployed, Elbistan) and Bektaş (22, M, student, Tunceli) but they do not give any information about their readings. However, even if they read or not, their responses about reading book show that they attach importance to reading and to people who read book.

Some of the inhabitants of Hacibektaş complain that the visitors having become indifferent to the cultural activities. According to Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacibektaş):

In my opinion, the cultural aspect of the ceremonies should be more stressed. The visitors attach little importance to the cultural activity. For me, it shows their educational degree. Eating and drinking are a lot, but few people attend to the cultural activities. Cultural degeneration, naturally the Alevis have one share of it.

*Bana göre anma etkinliklerinde kültürel etkinlik daha ağırlıkta olmalı. Ama ziyaretçiler kültürel etkinliğe pek de önem vermiyorlar. Bu da bana göre onların eğitim seviyesini gösterir. Yeme içme bol ama kültürel etkinliğe çok az insan geliyor. Kültürel yozlaşma, Aleviler de haliyle nasibini alıyor.*

One of complainant is Ali Sümer (70, M, old director of museum, Hacibektaş), who is the *halife baba* in the Bektaşî order and the old director of museum:

I don't know whether it is due to the rarity of literate people among the Alevis or not, few of them attend to the panels. They interested in where the semah performance exist, where there is a sacrifice or performance of *cem*. They are not curious about what the professor are saying or are their speeches correct. Yesterday we attend to the panel with my wife, in the hall half of the coming people are the inhabitants of Hacibektaş. That is to say they are not interested in the cultural dimension. There is not a mass in here that tends to the scientific way. For instance, in my house there were twenty, thirty persons. Bedri Noyan came to here, Ali Ekber and others stayed in my home. Till the morning, there were conservation and chats. The researchers came here from America and such like. These people any longer come to Hacibektaş. They say that we could not find water, a place for sleeping. They do not take part in this uproar and they say I would come in Mai. For this reason, the ceremonies are left to the people of poor quality. The conscious people do not prefer to come here, they say that I would read the opening ceremony speeches on the newspapers. They say that I did not find pleasure in the religious service. What will happen, they can enter the tomb having waited three hours. They cannot find bread, water, there is no hotel, the accommodation is a problem. People remaining behind are poor on the cultural base, they aim to sell bracelet.

*Alevi kesminde bilmiyorum okur yazar azlığından mı, panellere falan fazla gidilmiyor. Nerde semah var, cem, kurban var oraya akın ediyor. Panellerde acaba profesörler ne diyor, doğru mu söylüyor diye merak etmiyor. Dün hanımla gittik, salona baktım gelenlerin yarısı Hacibektaşlı. Demek ki kültürel bazda ilgilenmiyorlar. Bilimsel yöne kayacak bir kitle yok burda. Mesela benim evimde yirmi otuz kişi olurdu. Bedri Noyan gelirdi, Ali Ekberler falan bizde kalırdı. Sabaha kadar sohbet muhabbet olurdu, araştırmacılar gelirdi Amerika'dan falan. Artık o insanlar gelmiyor, yatacak yer bulamıyorum, su bulamıyorum diyor. Bu hengameye girmiyor, mayıs ayında gelirim diyor. Onun için kalitesiz kişilere kalıyor tören. Bilinçli kişiler tercih etmiyor yani, iki konuşmayı da gazetelerden okurum mühim değil diyor. İbadet yönünden zevk almıyorum diyor. Ne olacak, üç saat bekleyecek*

*türbeye girecek, su bulamıyor, ekmek bulamıyor, kalacağı yer sıkıntı oluyor, otel yok. Geriye kalanlar kültürel bazda zayıf insanlar, iki tane yüzük bilezik satayım diyor.*

The decrease in attention to the cultural activities has become clear compared with the previous years. Many of the interviewees say that they only go to concerts. On the other hand, the visitors' tendency to the cultural activities which are related with their economic, educational and social conditions are not the same one another. Coming people's disinterest in panels, exhibitions, theatre and other activities during the festival is not amazing when thinking that these activities are not part of their daily life. Moreover, there are some visitors like Bektaş (22, M, student, Tunceli) who is bored with the similar activities:

When I came first in here, it was wonderful. That is, the festivals, the ceremonies were wonderful, everybody could live his/her freedom. It already begins to be banal, the capacity of the festival, the coming artists, everything begins to be banal. I slowly take a dislike to the festival.

*İlk geldiğimde çok hoştu. İşte şenlikler, törenler çok hoştu, herkes özgürlüğünü yaşayabiliyordu. Artık sıradan gelemeye başladı şenliklerin kapasitesi, sanatçıların gelmesi falan, hepsi de sıradan olmaya başladı. Yavaş yavaş soğumaya başladım gibi bir şey yani.*

Also as Veliyettin Ulusoy mentioned that some of the visitors of him do not take part in any activities organized by the municipality as a preference.

## **5.6. The Economic Aspect of the Ceremonies**

According to the census in 2000 in Hacibektaş and in its villages, 18.933 persons live in Hacibektaş. In the center of the district, there are 7.274 persons. The means of existence of the population are agriculture, breeding and the Hacibektaş (onyx) stone, which is used for the souvenir but the economy of the town is based on the agriculture. There are also many people from the town working abroad. Many of the people who live in the centre of the district have occupations like worker, civil servant, and trades. Hacibektaş takes place among the districts that are economically underdeveloped ones.<sup>149</sup> According to previous Mayor Özcivan:

In the past it was a more crowded, more nicely district. People lived their traditions. On the other hand, due to the effect of time of hard economic conditions and of trouble of the

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<sup>149</sup> T.C. Hacibektaş Kaymakamlığı Resmi internet sitesi <http://www.hacibektaş.gov.tr> accessed 25.01.2005

capitalist system, people migrated from the town. There are 90.000 recorded people on the state register of persons. Nearly 100.000 people but at present nearly in the centre of Hacibektaş and its town there are 20.000 people. That is, 80.000 people of Hacibektaş live outside the district. Of course it results from the unemployment, from troubles and from the education. The rate of being literate is about hundred percent in Hacibektaş. In here there is not field for work, there aren't fields for the economic yield. They have problems about the land, the land is barren, and it is not irrigated. People migrate compulsorily for job, for food, for education. People who migrated do not turn back again.

However, owing to the memorial ceremonies, Hacibektaş livens up in the economic sense. Apart from this, when the inhabitants of Hacibektaş who live outside the town turn here for the summer holiday, the liveliness in the economic and social sense is conspicuous. Here is a typical town, with its all aspects. For this reason, although it seems not distinct from the other towns, it differs from them with being a belief centre. In the mean of infrastructure it does not differ from the other towns. Namely, can you consider, in twelve months, more than one million people come here. The President, the Prime Minister came here once in a year. It may seem to be the most popular district but they only come and go. It is troublesome in this sense. During the three days of the ceremonies coming people are mostly in low or middle layer people, they are poor in economically. In general people are coming there from rural and their income is low. The economic input getting from this people is not favourable because people are poor. Do you know why the low and middle layer people come here at that time, because they watch theatre, in their life they have not gone to the theatre or they come in order to listen and see the artist who they like. Or they buy the souvenirs, and go. They live this three days with some little trade.

*Geçmişte daha kalabalık daha güzel, gelenekleriyle yaşayan bir ilçe ama çağın, ekonomik koşulların zorlamaları, kapitalist sistemin bir takım sıkıntılarıyla göç veren bir ilçe. Hacibektaş'ın nüfusuna kayıtlı yaklaşık 90.000 kişi varmış, 100.000 kişiye yakın ama şu anda Hacibektaş ilçesinde merkezde yaşayan, köyleriyle birlikte yaklaşık 20.000 kişi, yani 80.000 kişisi dışarda yaşayan bir ilçe. Tabii işsizlikten, sorundan, sıkıntudan, eğitimden kaynaklı. Hacibektaş'ta okuma oranı yüzde yüzlerde, dolayısıyla burda iş alanı, ekonomik anlamda getirisi olan alanlar yok. Toprak sorunları var, kıraç, sulanmayan topraklar. İnsanlar mecburen iş için, aş için, eğitim için zorunlu göçüyor. Bir göç eden de bir daha dönmüyor.*

*Anma etkinliklerinden dolayı Hacibektaş biraz ekonomik anlamda canlanıyor. Bunun haricinde de dışarda yaşayan Hacibektaşlılar yaz tatili için geldiği zaman biraz daha hareketlilik hem ekonomik anlamda hem de sosyal anlamda göze çarpıyor. Her anlamda tipik bir Anadolu kasabası, dolayısıyla diğer ilçelerden çok farklı değilmiş gibi görünse de inanç merkezi olmasından dolayı bir farklılığı var. Alt yapı anlamında da diğer ilçelerden farklı değil, yani düşünebiliyor musunuz, yılda bir milyonu aşkın insan geliyor on iki ay içerisinde. Buraya yılda bir kere cumhurbaşkanı geliyor, başbakan geliyor, belki Türkiye'nin en popüler ilçesi görüntü anlamında ama sadece gelip giderler, o anlamda biraz sıkıntılı. Törenlerin yapıldığı üç gün içinde gelenler genellikle orta veya alt tabaka insanları, ekonomik anlamda zayıf insanlar. Genelde kırsal kesimden gelen geliri düşük insanlar. Tabii o insanların bırakmış oldukları ekonomik anlamdaki girdi de öyle ahım şahım değil. Çünkü fakir insan. Bir de o fakir insan niçin o zaman geliyor biliyor musunuz, orta ve alt tabaka insanlar geliyor burda bir tiyatro izliyor, hiç ömründe tiyatroya gitmemiş ya da bir sevdiği sanatçıyı izlemek için geliyor ya da bir takım turistik eşyalar alıp gidiyor. Bir takım ufak alışverişlerle üç günü yaşıyor.*

For the town, whose population is economically poor and most of whose young population is unemployed, the memorial ceremonies mean an economic efficiency. One of the interviewee, Ümmühan (57, F, housewife, Hacibektaş) who is inhabitant of Hacibektaş says that the ceremonies are economic investment

of the town. From grocery to bakery, all of them benefit from the ceremonies in economic sense. On the other hand, the economic aspect of the ceremonies affects the relation between inhabitants and visitors in a negative way, especially when compared with the beginning of the ceremonies. Ayfer (48, F, retired, Hacibektaş), as an inhabitant of Hacibektaş remembers the festivals before the military coup and she is displeased with the changing relations between the inhabitants and visitors:

After a while, the population of Hacibektaş noticed that it could be a source of income and then all relations slowly became depraved. The visitors were accepted as the source of income and like selling the tourist something with excessive price, so were done in here. The rooms of the houses began to be rented out and then the entire houses were rented out. When people gave the visitors a glass of water, they began to think what he/she would give me as reciprocity. Because the coming people sacrificed, they began to consider that would they give meat us. The relations began to become depraved and the festival lost its pleasure.

*Bir müddet sonra halk bunu bir gelir kapısı olabileceğini fark etti ve ondan sonra bütün ilişkiler yavaş yavaş bozulmaya başladı. Gelenler gelir kapısı görülüp işte nasıl bazı şeyler turistlere fahiş fiyata satılırsa, aynı şeyler olmaya başladı. Evler oda oda kiraya verilmeye başlandı hatta evler kiralanmaya başladı. İnsanlar bir bardak su veriyorsa, acaba karşındaki bu bir bardak suyun karşılığında bana ne verecek diye düşünmeye başladı. Gelenler kurban kestikleri için bize de et verecekler mi diye düşünülmeğe başladı. İlişkilerde bozulma başladı ve eski tadı kalmadı.*

The confusion with the roles of the host and the trades, with the visitor and the customer increased the dissatisfaction of people. Many inhabitants, remembering the old times think that people who attend to ceremonies can still live in the difficult conditions. According to Ümmühan (57, F, housewife, Hacibektaş):

On the streets people become miserable. Therefore, they consent to everything because they come and lie down the ground. God gives them according to their heart's desire. He/she acquiesces of everything. Look, they have come to my house since 40 years. Now we become old, we cannot entertain any guest. My house was full of the guests. I said them, you became miserable. They said that we thought our comfort in our homes, we came here venturing everything. We would get together, we would stay together, we would chat, we came for these reasons they said. We did not come here to make ourselves comfortable, we came here for the love of Pir they said. My guests came here and they consented to everything.

*İnsanların sokakta perişanlıkları çok. Demek ki her şeye razı oluyor, geliyorlar ki o topraklarda yatıyorlar. Allah onların gönlüne göre versin. O her şeyi kabullenip geliyo. Bak benim evime 40 senedir gelirler, şimdi yaşlandık artık misafir alamıyok, eşiklerime kadar misafir dolardı, perişan oluyosunuz derdim, biz rahatlığı evde düşünürük, biz buraya her şeyi gözümüzün önüne koyup geliyoh derdi. Biz bir arada olalım, canlar bir arada kalalım, sohbet edelim onun için geliyoh derlerdi. Biz buraya rahat olmak için değil, pir aşkına geliyoh derlerdi. Gelirlerdi misafirlerim, her şeye de razı olurlardı.*

Naci Danacı (45, M, trades, Hacibektaş) says that:

In my opinion, the most important failure of the ceremonies is accommodation. When we solve the problem of accommodation, it will seem that the town's importance will increase also the winter tourism will increase. As a matter of the fact that people do not come here to enjoy. Although man becomes hungry in here he leaves here in peace. He does not expect a nice meal; he leaves here in peace. He listens to the music, there is also one thing among Alevi they accept visiting here all year as duty. Three times visiting here means for people making a pilgrimage. For this reason, he tries to complete it.

*Bana göre bu törenlerde en büyük eksiklik konaklama. Konaklama sorunun çözdüğümüz an buranın önemi daha çok artacak ve kış turizmi de artacak gibi. Bugün zaten buraya gelen insanlar eğlenmeye gelmiyorlar. Gelen adam burda aç da kalsa huzurlu rahat ayrılıyor. Çok iyi bir sofra beklemiyor, huzurlu ayrılıyor. Nedir işte müziği dinliyor, bir de şu var Alevi kesminde her sene gelip ziyaret etmeyi kendine borç biliyor. Üç kere gelen kendini hacca gitmiş olarak gördüğü için tamamlamaya çalışıyor.*

On the other hand, the visitors do not think like them. For many years the visitors have come to Hacibektaş, also they have lost their excitement of the first years. With the “Alevi Revival” they began to perform their religious duties in the big cities easily and also their expectations about the festival and Hacibektaş began to change. Today, some of the visitors look like a tourist who take part in the belief tourism rather than the visitors who consent to everything. Hence during the ceremony the visitors have to live in troublesome conditions and they become displeased due to the defects of organization and getting bad service against their expenses. According to Lütfi Kaleli :

I am the founder of the Karacaahmet Foundation and a member of board of trustees of Şahkulu. We bring here ten buses but we cannot please coming people. He/she stay a tent, there is not a hotel, there is not water, now coming people says that damn it, I would not come here once again. Now we have to scrutinize whether next year we will come or we won't. If today there are few visitors it is because having repented people do not come again and also they say to people who want to come here, do not go, you will be repent. It decreased the number of coming people; it loose its old excitement. First of all, it should be established an infrastructure of here. It should be provided the conditions of living like a citizen. It should be provided a good service for the coming people and it should be prevented going people another places. When you accept coming people as an exploited object for a week, honestly I will not be exploited once again. Thus, the trades have a responsibility. Now we can see here, baubles, necklace, I don't know what, are sold here, they do not have any value. Namely this is not a gift, gift should be a lasting thing, it should be beautiful that you save it at home at it should be valuable that you leave it your children.

*Buraya gelenler örneğin ben Karacaahmet'in vakıf kurucusuyum, Şahkulu'nun mütevelli heyet üyesiyim, on tane araba kaldırdık, gelen insanları memnun edemedik. Çadırda kalıyor perişan, otel yok, su yok, yok efendim, şimdi gelen lanet olsun bir daha gelmem diyor. Şimdi biz bunu bir kez daha gözden geçirmek zorunda kalıyoruz, gelelim mi gelecek yıl, gelmeyelim mi diye. Bugün az ziyaretçi oluyorsa gelip pişman olanın bir daha gelmemesi de var, gelecek insanlara da gitme ya, perişan oluyorsun demesi de var. Azaltıyor, eski heyecanı kalmıyor. Önce burada alt yapı oluşturulmalı, kentli gibi yaşamının koşulu sağlanmalı, gelenlere iyi hizmet sağlanmalı ve başka yere gitmeyi önlemeli. Buraya gelecek insana bir haftalık sömürecek nesne gibi bakarsan valla ben bir daha sömürülmem. Demek ki buradaki esnafın da bir sorumluluğu vardır. Burda işte görüyoruz incik boncuk, kolye satılıyor, bilmem ne satılıyor, hiçbir değeri yok. Yani şimdi*



*böyle hediye olmaz, hediye kalıcı bir şey olmalı, evinizde saklayabileceğiniz güzellikte, çocuğunuza bırakabileceğiniz, değeri olmalıdır.*

The Municipality tries to organize the festival with the money getting from the Presentation Fund which is given by Prime Minister's Office, getting from the donations and the money getting from the concerts in covered sport hall. As many of the interviewees complain, while the people of Hacibektaş and the visitors suffering from the conditions of daily life in Hacibektaş, the means of the Municipality are insufficient to put the hard conditions in order.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

In this thesis it is tried to point out how the Alevi-Bektaşî identity is constructed by different actors on collective and individual level through the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli.

Hacı Bektaş Veli is the patron saint of the Alevi-Bektaşîs. At the same time he is the most important sign in the Alevi-Bektaşî identity construction process. First of all, the historical evaluation of the Bektaşî order and the constructed historical identity of Hacı Bektaş Veli were elaborated in order to point out the relation between his “historical identity” and his being a “sign.” Hacı Bektaş Veli is mentioned in the early texts, which were written between 14.cc and 17.cc. These texts are not independent from their writers’ way of thinking and perceiving and the conditions and rules of producing a literary text in their times. Hacı Bektaş Veli is mentioned as a caliph of Baba Resul, one of the leaders of the Babailer revolt. Without being mentioned about Baba Resul, in *Vilayetname*, in the 16.cc and in *Evliya Çelebi Seyehatnameleri* in the 17.cc, Hacı Bektaş Veli is presented as a caliph of Ahmet Yesevi. It seems probable that Ahmet Yesevi was attached to *Vilayetname* because of his fame at that time in Anatolia. Besides *Vilayetname* the other early writings about Hacı Bektaş Veli are important sources but it is almost impossible to accept that they signify the identity of Hacı Bektaş Veli as a definite truth.

The first researches about Alevism and Bektaşism were done by the CUP, under the Panturkist and Turk Nationalist effect. During the nation constitution process, the Alevis and Bektaşis were accepted as true Turks, who preserved the Middle Asia traditions. Then, the studies about Alevism Bektaşism after the constitution of the Republic mostly based on these previous researches. Moreover, the authors of the late writings selected and used some of the early writings, like Aşık Paşazade's claims as a fixed reality. Hacı Bektaş Veli is mostly presented as a dervish obsessed with divine love and who did not participate in the Babailer revolt, also who did not found the Bektaşî order. While presenting him as a caliph of Baba Resul, his connection with Ahmet Yesevi was constituted too. For them, Bektaşî order was founded by Abdal Musa, then Balım Sultan gave the order a form. Generally without regarding the alteration of the order related with the conditions of those time and without regarding the Bektaşî belief and perception forms, the order is presented as a means of the state (also in similar way the state is regarded as static and independent from time). That is to say, this thesis aimed to indicate the discourse, which is based on the researches of the CUP, and improved by the later researches and accepted widely, especially by the state from the beginning of the Republic up to now.

After the establishment of Republic, at the time of single party rule, although the Alevis could take part in the all aspects of life like the Sunni people, their belief was not approved by the state and the Alevi dedes were charged. By the ends of 1950s with the effect of changing socio-economic conditions and DP's support to the Sünni orders, the Alevis began to claim their identity. After the military take-over in 1960 they began to organize associations which had connection with the associations organized by the Alevis lived abroad. These associations organized lectures about Alevism and they made announcements in the name of Alevi against the DİB and the rightist media. Also at that time many of the books about Alevism were published and the Alevi songs became widespread.

In 1964, the dergah was opened as museum and at that date, in August 16 the memorial ceremony was organized. Although it became present under the strict control of the state agents and security forces, it was the hegemonic project of the

state on the Alevi-Bektaşis who became awaking in the last years. Presenting Hacı Bektaş Veli as the Turkish thinker and also rejecting his religious aspect, the state aimed to constitute an ideological, cultural and moral leadership over Alevis with consent, unlike suppressing them like in the previous years the state did. It was also a project to turn the Alevi-Bektaşis' multivoiced characteristic into an unvoiced one. Due to the hegemony's plural and complex internal structures, it created counter-hegemony as well. During the 1970s, the Alevi-Bektaşis were mentioned with the left. The left created its counter-hegemony process at these years in the festival of Hacıbektaş. Presenting Hacı Bektaş Veli as a revolutionist leader, they tried to organize a cultural activity. On the other hand, like the state's hegemony they also ignored and hindered religious aspect of Alevism-Bektaşism. The state's reaction to this counter-hegemony was coercion. On the other hand, the ceremonies were the first public event of the Alevi-Bektaşis and at that time the ceremonies changed the life of the town and coming people, despite of the coercion of the state. The active participation of the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş in the festival continued till the military take-over in 1980.

From 1983 up to now the ceremony began to be organized by the municipality although before the military take-over the Tourism Association organized it. Till 1989 the festivals continued without attracting attention but with the active participation of the leftist also with the social democrats. After the military take-over, Turkey lived a radical change in all aspects of life. With the effect of the collapse of the socialist bloc the ethnic movements increased. Also with the effect of rising Islamic movements and Kurdish Issue, also for the oppression of left especially after September 12, with the help of political conjuncture, the Alevis began to rediscover their Alevi-Bektaş identity. During this process called the "Alevi Revival" besides the public discussions about Alevism-Bektaşism and publications about it, many of the associations and foundations were constituted both in Turkey and in Europe.

In 1989 Minister of Culture Namık Kemal Zeybek attended to the festival and from that time the festival was organised with the support of the Ministry of Culture as an international one. This was the sign of the state's new hegemonic

project. There are many reasons for such intervention of the state to the ceremonies. Besides the “Alevi revival” which could not be ignored by the state, at that time the state tried to ally with the Alevi-Bektaşis against the Kurdish issue. Also due to end of Cold War and the New World Order Turkey gained a strategic importance in Balkans, in Middle East and in Middle Asia. The reconstructed and stressed connection with Hacı Bektaş Veli and Ahmet Yesevi was like send compliments to Middle Asia. The state agents and the representatives of the government gave speeches at the ceremonies in accordance with the Turk-Islam synthesis, which was accepted after September 12 as a state ideology. That is, Hacı Bektaş Veli turned into a Turkish *mutasavvıf* who was sent by Ahmet Yesevi in Anatolia in order to Turkify Anatolia and preserve the Islam. The same role was given to the Alevi-Bektaşis as well. At the same time, the social democrats gave laicism messages on the opening ceremonies and they gave the Alevi-Bektaşis the mission to being stronghold of the secularism. As a part of the hegemony the state has showed as if it has a tolerance to the Alevi-Bektaşis. In spite of the Sivas and Gazi Events participating to the ceremony, President Demirel gave the speeches, which stressed the unity. With the participation of Demirel as a President to the ceremonies, the ceremonies turned into a political field on which from the leftist to the Islamist all political groups struggle for the Alevi Bektaşis identity formation. That is, the ceremonies of Hacıbektaş provides to the statesmen and politicians a place to meet the great number of Alevi-Bektaşis from different regions. During the struggle for the identity formation, the statesmen, the politicians and other political groups has tried to include and add the Alevi-Bektaşis to their ideology taking part of the identity formation process. That is to say, this political field on the ceremonies does not mean that the Alevi-Bektaşis are recognized with their multivoiced characteristic, on the contrary this has been the effort making this multivoice to an univoice. In these ceremonies especially after 1989 the left’s effect on the ceremonies decreased. The Alevi-Bektaşis associations have taken part in the ceremonies and have created an alternative-hegemony against the state’s hegemony over the Alevi-Bektaşis. From 1997 till 2004 the Alevi Bektaşis associations, excluding the Ehlibeyt Foundation, which organized the alternative ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş in İstanbul and the

Cem Foundation, gave speeches at the opening ceremonies as the representatives of the Alevi-Bektaşis in front of the statesmen and the politicians. Also they gave speeches and expressed their demands in the name of the Alevi-Bektaşis in front of the media, which have an interest in the ceremonies especially after 1994, when Demirel participated in the ceremony. In 2004 the new mayor excluded the ABF from the organization of the ceremony and as a result of the disagreement between the mayor and the ABF, the ABF protested the mayor and did not attend to the 2004 ceremony.

In this political field, the Alevi-Bektaşi people have taken place as well. As subordinated persons to be deprived of the conditions of a coherent and critical thinking, many of them have an incoherent and eclectic way of comprehension. On the other hand, despite their contradictory comprehension and subordination, being owner of a place -although they come from different regions they are owners of Hacibektaş rather than the statesmen and the politicians do- provide them a position in this struggle. On account of through this position they can calculate and can use strategy against them, that is they have power against them. At the beginning of the growing interest of the statesmen and the politicians of the ceremonies, people were pleased with this interest but because they could not see any outcome of this interest and they are now displeased with them. Many of the interviewees mentioned about their distrust of the state and the politicians. Due to the protest of the ABF, many of the interviewees came to Hacibektaş independent from the associations. Many of the interviewees have no connection with the associations; also many of them do not accept them as the representatives of the Alevi-Bektaşis.

Besides being a political field at where the relations between the state and the Alevi-Bektaşis become concrete, Hacibektaş is the centre of the belief as well. Many of the people from different regions come to visit their *Pir* and the holy places in Hacibektaş surrounding. Although they come in other times too, many of the Alevi-Bektaşis who affiliated with the Çelebis come especially during the ceremonies at the houses of the Çelebis. People in these houses seem like a big family who visit their old and respected relative. The visitors of the Çelebis

perform their the religious ceremonies like *cem*, sacrifice, *muhabbet* also they serve their *efendis* and many of the visitors ask them for advise about their problems. There are houses of the Bektaşî babas in Hacібektaş, but in the 2004 ceremonies except one of the interviewee I cannot meet any Bektaşîs. Moreover, some of the associations and dergah come to Hacібektaş with their members and perform the religious ceremonies independent from the other groups in Hacібektaş. There are also people who come to visit their *Pir* but who have no relation with associations and dergahs and also who are not affiliated with an *ocak*. Sünni people who accept Hacı Bektaş Veli as saint visit these places as well. In the holy places, like the tomb, the Çilehane, the Beştaşlar regardless being Sünni or Alevi people perform the pattern of folk religion like making wish, knotting the cloths on a tree. Furthermore, many of the Alevis accept visiting these places as making a pilgrimage, although visiting these sites have no rules like to go a pilgrimage to Mecca. The interviews show that the way of performing the religious ceremonies are not same for all regions. Performing and perceiving in different ways of the religious ceremonies do not bother people as many of them say that they have respect to the other forms of performing the ceremonies.

Through the ceremony people from different regions, also from abroad have a chance to meet and know each other. During the ceremony the visiting sites, the streets, the square at which the speeches are given and the activities are performed give people an opportunity to socialize. As Voloshinov (1973) argues, the active and responsive process of creating and sharing of the meaning occurs among the people. They share their ideas about all aspects life, also as some of the interviewees says they share their ideas about being an Alevi-Bektaşî. Moreover, some of the interviewees mention about their feeling being acquaintance with people in here, although they do not know many of them. This acquaintance signifies Bourdieu's (1984, 1991, 2003) term habitus, set of internalise dispositions, which generate meaningful practices, behaviour and perceptions. On the other hand, same habitus does not always create the same practices. That is, there are people who are unpleasant with each other in the social context of the ceremonies. Moreover, the gypsies coming to Hacібektaş during the ceremonies bother both the inhabitants and the Alevi-Bektaşî visitors of Hacібektaş. It is clear

that their discomfort mostly depends on the perceiving Hacібektaş as “place” or “space”. For many of the gypsies, Hacібektaş signifies a space on which they use tactics for their utility.

The cultural activities during the ceremony provides people to meet the important artist and folk singers of the Alevi-Bektaşі community, to participate the panels and conservation on which the issues about Alevism-Bektaşism and the agenda of Turkey is discussed by the “organic intellectuals” of community. During the cultural activities, there are also theatre performances, exhibitions of photographs, pictures and statues. The ceremony also provides for the singers and artists to distinguish her/himself and do promotion for their new albums. The books about Alevism Bektaşism are sold and the authors meet their readers. On the other hand, it can be observed that the interest in the cultural activities gets decreased when compared with previous years.

The memorial ceremony means for many of the inhabitant of Hacібektaş an economic activity. Hacібektaş is economically poor town and especially many of the young people suffer from unemployment. They hope to earn through the belief tourism. On the other hand, when thinking their relations with the visitors in the previous years, accepting the ceremony as a belief tourism results in a confusion of the roles between trades and host, guest and customer. Further the visitors suffer from the service and behaviours of the inhabitants of Hacібektaş.

Consequently, the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli supply a place where the effort to formation the identity of the Alevi-Bektaşis and the struggle for this process becomes concrete. The ceremonies, which began as hegemony project of the state over Alevi-Bektaşis, have created dynamic and multivoiced process despite the fact that the agents in the struggle for hegemony over the Alevi-Bektaşі identity have tried to turn this multivoiced process into a static and univocal one. As it can be seen clearly, although the dergah was officially closed - regarding the presence of the Çelebis as religious authority- through the memorial ceremonies, Hacібektaş continues to be a center of Alevism and Bektaşism with its multivoiced characteristic.



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