

PATTERNS OF SPIRITUAL INVOLVEMENTS OF WOMEN IN ANKARA

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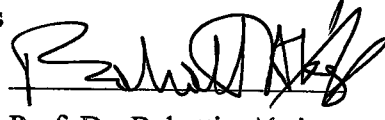
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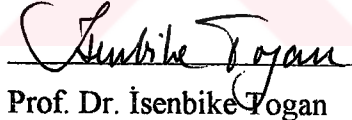
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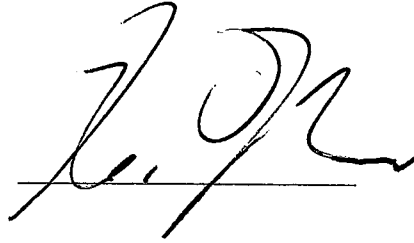


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## ABSTRACT

### PATTERNS OF SPIRITUAL INVOLVEMENTS OF WOMEN IN ANKARA

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The present study contemplates on different ways of being Muslim for women living in the secular capital of the Turkish Republic, Ankara. The varied Muslim identity that reflects on the religious spaces in Islam is explored through the mosques and *türbes*. As long as women's place is the main issue, the main spatial subject is the *türbe*, the saintly tomb and not the mosque where women's attendance is less compared to men. The spirituality that is experienced in the saintly tombs is one of the instances that release the tension of the dichotomies women have lived through in the 75 years' history of the Turkish Republic. In the interviews the female "children of the Republic" demonstrate us how to be pioneer laicists while conserving a Muslim identity.

Historical and ethnographic method reveals the patterns that reflect religion in Turkey in women's lives throughout history. An interdisciplinary as well as a critical approach is made use of under the umbrella of the social sciences. In order not to keep a common understanding, I have kept the life stories of the saints and the women who attend the tombs of these saints central to the narrative in drawings a framework of female spirituality in the sacred-secular capital of Turkish Republic.

Keywords: Women, Islam, Saintly Tomb, Secular Republic

## ÖZ

### ANKARALI KADINLAR, TÜRBELER VE ORTAYA ÇIKAN ÖRÜNTÜLER

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Bu çalışma, Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin laik başkenti Ankara'da yaşayan kadınların farklı Müslüman kimlikleri üzerine eğiliyor. İslamı yaşamanın farklı yolları dini mekanlara da yansıyor. Temel dini mekanlar olan türbe ve camiilerden türbeler kadınların çoğunlukta olarak ziyaret ettikleri yerler olmaları itibarıyla çalışmanın merkezi eksenine oturuyor. Burada, türbelerde tecrübe edilirken evlerde bağımsız şekilde olduğundan daha görünür olan dini ruh halinin, Cumhuriyetin 75 yıllık tarihinde yaşanan ikiliklerin yarattığı gerilimlerin çözülmesindeki etkisi de tartışılıyor. Bu tarihi hayatlarıyla bütünleştirmiş Cumhuriyet Çocukları olan bayanlarla yapılan görüşmeler, nasıl aynı zamanda hem laiklikte öncü hem de Müslüman olunabileceğini gösteriyor.

Kadınların hayatına tekabül ettiği şekliyle Türkiye tarihinde oluşan dini yaşamı yansıtan örüntüler, tarihi ve etnografik metodlar kullanılarak ortaya çıkarıldı. Sosyal bilimler ve kadın çalışmaları şemsiyesi altında disiplinlerarası ve eleştirel bir yaklaşım geliştirildi. Bu arada ortak bir paydadan kopmamak ve kaybolmamak için de, evliyaların ve bu evliyalara ziyaret eden kadınların hayat hikayeleri, anlatının merkezine yerleştirildi. Böylece, kutsal-laik bir başkentte kadınların örgütlenmeden oluşturdukları dini örüntülerin değişik açılardan dile getirilmesi mümkün oldu. Bu çalışma, bu anlamda, benzer çalışmalar için de bir çerçeve niteliğindedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kadın, İslam, Türbe, Din, Laiklik



To Töre



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have grown up during this study like an adolescent who gets ten centimetres longer in several months. This process was only possible with the help of some alliances, none of which lacked the trait of love. The wise supervising of İsenbike Togan that helped me carry my own life to academic knowledge and academic knowledge to my life, made me constitute a space where I can express myself more than ever. Without the support of Belma T. and Bahattin Akşit, who are remarkable academicians as well as open-hearted parents, I wouldn't find the needed time nor the peace of mind necessary to realise all these. The sincere remarks and comfort that my uncle and aunt provided is only comparable to that of my close friends like Hale and Murat who were always with me. I acknowledge my cousins Pınar and Aydın for being so kind and my sister for making me learn how to cope with troubles in life like herself!

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## I. INTRODUCTION

In 1913, just on the verge of the First World war...the youth of the time began more or less to comprehend the reasons for the decline of the Ottoman government, which were also bringing the country to the brink of destruction. One of these was the unfair treatment of Anadolu. For centuries, all interest was directed and all resources used on İstanbul. The government authorities and businessman saw Anadolu only as the storeroom of food and soldiers while the idealist youth perceived Anadolu as a dark and mysterious place of *evliya*, which was best loved, caressed and pitied from a distance.<sup>1</sup>

Thus wrote Reşat Nuri Güntekin to describe the situation before the process of change began. This situation had been going on for decades. William Francis Ainsworth wrote about the “unfairly treated” Anadolu in his diary in 1840<sup>2</sup>. He wrote that even in the metropolitan town of Ankara, the streets were narrow and irregular like the rest of the Anatolian cities. Ainsworth’s repetition of the condition of the streets all along the big cities of Black Sea and Central Anatolia explains why the broad Atatürk Boulevard was built cutting across the capital of the new Republic, Ankara. It was a signifier of the new order of things. Even the type of the road, boulevard/*bulvar* recalls modernity. The nation was rebuilt with boulevards in the cities and with state buildings that contrasted with the “poor and unsubstantial” houses. Tombs of the *evliya*, the saints, were an important part of the *old* means and ways and they had to be regulated to fit to our “new life”.

-This is our future, this is our new life

Says an old man to a young girl in a film about the new republic<sup>3</sup>. Orhan Pamuk reflects the extent and the ordinary aspects of this life in his book “New Life”<sup>4</sup>. He goes around and about the cities of Anatolia, contemplating on *new life* while the steppes of Anatolia pass by his bus. “What is life? A time! What is time? A crash. What is a crash? A life, a new life.” Thus he unites death with a new life. The saintly

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<sup>1</sup> Cited from Reşat Nuri Güntekin in Erol, Sibel; “Güntekin's Çalığışu: A search for Personal and National Identity”, *Bulletin of Turkish Studies Research Association*, Vol 1, 1993

<sup>2</sup> Ainsworth, William Francis: *Daily life in the big Cities of Black Sea, Central Anatolia and Constantinopl*, United Kingdom: 1843.

<sup>3</sup> Yukeviç, Sergei; *Türkiye'nin Kalbi Ankara*, A Russian film done to understand and document the New Republic of Turkey.

<sup>4</sup> Pamuk, Orhan; *Yeni Hayat*, İstanbul: İletişim yayınları, 1994.



tombs/*türbes*. Most of these *türbes* are from the Seljuks but they were built on the sites of the temples of the Frigians and other undiscovered and unexcavated layers of earth. These layers denote temples and tombs from the many cultures that have been in Ankara until at least two thousand years. These sacred spaces do not only remain within the citadel, for example the mausoleum of the founder of the republic; Atatürk is built on a hill that used to be a Frigian place of worship. This mausoleum which is a signifier<sup>7</sup> of secularity is at the same time a sacred construction that combines the sacred aspects of the ancient and “modern” cultures.

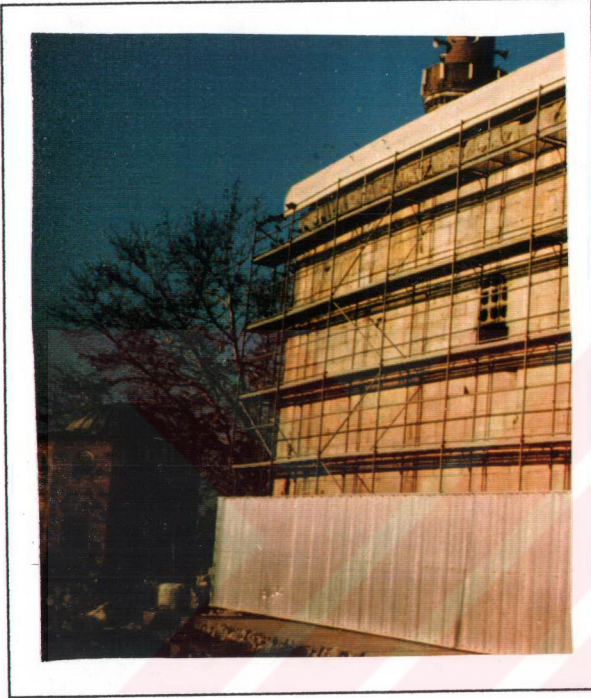


Figure 1

Augustus Temple-Hacı Bayram

The name of the city of Ankara is said to come from a Goddess situated on the hill where there is

the mosque of Hacı Bayram today<sup>8</sup>. Ankara is not the only place where we encounter such a feminine aspect as to the name or the origin of the city. Middle Anatolia, the region within which Ankara is found, there are other sites such as Çatalhöyük the famous ancient city where the houses were built on top of each other<sup>9</sup>. These houses were places to live, but living was done on top of the ancestors’

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<sup>7</sup> Or “the signifier of the signifier of the...”

<sup>8</sup> Umar, Bilge: *Türkiyede Tarihi yerler*, İstanbul: İnkılap yayınları, 1993

<sup>9</sup> There are at least 12 layers that James Mellaart has found. Ian Hodder who is the main coordinator of the excavations for the last decades tells that there are at least 3000 houses. It shows that this practice went on for thousands of years.



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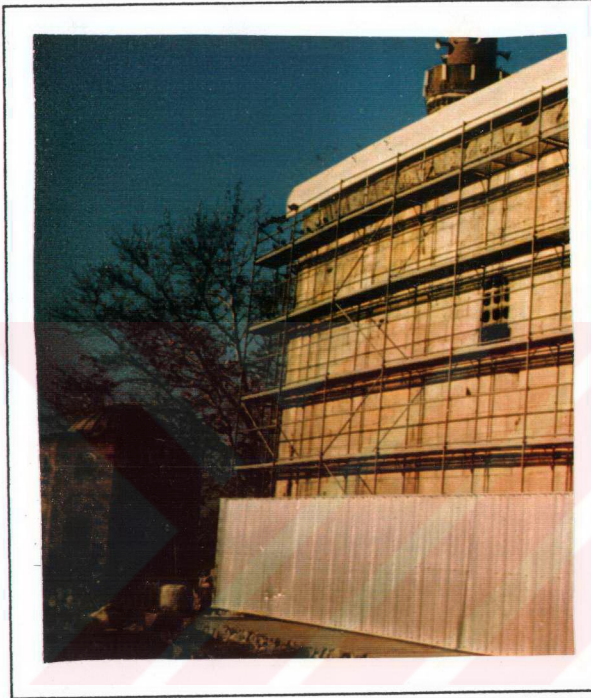


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bones that were systematically buried under the houses<sup>10</sup>. The religious reliefs are also found within the houses. Houses were designed by their dwellers as their temples as well. The small clay figurines of fat women are the most distinguishing characteristic part of these *temples*. There are lots of these figurines in Çatalhöyük. They are giving birth, they control animals, and they weave<sup>11</sup>.

Similar clay figurines were found in Ankara as well, for example one that is exhibited in the museum of Anatolian Civilisations was found in Bahçelievler on the street of Taşkent<sup>12</sup> where there is a Registration Office for Compulsory Military Service today. While Çatalhöyük and the housing it demonstrates feed the “myth of matriarchy”, a military office feeds the myth of patriarchy. When Çatalhöyük was first discovered and excavated by James Mellaart it became a popular notion to conceive the place as matriarchal. Nevertheless, Ian Hodder questioned his ways and means and concentrated more on the material findings in Çatalhöyük than their connotations. On the other hand, some connotations are critical. For example, *fertility* is the key factor in the design of the material things such as the houses and the objects found in them<sup>13</sup>. The Goddess figurines are typical objects to be found in the dwellings. According to White<sup>14</sup>, the Cult of the Goddess prevailed before the Hittites in some places. Ankara was probably one of these places, with the knowledge about its name and existence of *culture* before the Hittites. Hittites probably had changed the situation in Ankara in terms of *power*, but it seems that

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<sup>10</sup> This burial was done in a way that women’s bodies are at the centre while the bodies of men and children were by the sides. This is one factor that led James Mellaart to think that Çatalhöyük was matriarchal. It probably has female-centred aspects, but as long as there is no hierarchical structure found in Çatalhöyük, matri-archy is out of question.

<sup>11</sup> Todd, Ian A.; *Çatalhöyük in Perspective*, Menlo Park, California: Cummings Publishing Company, 1976.

<sup>12</sup> Akvardar, Nalan; *Women in the Ancient World*, seminar given on November 1996 from her masters thesis submitted to the Social Sciences Institute of METU

<sup>13</sup> Gimbutas, Marija Alseikaite; *Civilisation of the Goddess: The World of old Europe*, San Fransisco: Harper S F Publishers, 1991

<sup>14</sup> White, Orion F.; “The Return of the Goddess: Implications for Public Administrative Practice” A paper presented at the 1990 Public Administration Conference, L.A., California April 1990

there is something that has never changed until the republic: The part of the city that is visited for purposes of *worship*.

The hill of popular worship that has been mentioned in the previous paragraph must be evaluated in the following context: The old-city of Ankara is like a pit where there are two hills on the sides. The bigger hill is where the citadel is and the smaller is where different kinds of *temples* for different religions are situated. (Part A for more information) Thanks to the science of archaeology and the *archaeology of knowledge*, the concept of the undifferentiatedness of the temple-grave-housing is made visible with the example of Çatalhöyük. This undifferentiated condition of life and death is a life-style there. Still, there are similar types of structures accommodating living and dead people. The relationship between the living and the dead is a reflection of the world as a unity in the *türbe*. There is a grave, a place to worship for the visitors and regeneration of life through the wishes of these visitors and a house for the families taking care of these saintly tombs in the *türbe*. These three conditions are hard to find together but there are other forms for them too<sup>15</sup>. So that, the *türbe* which is not a typically Islamic way of worship as we shall see later in this introduction, is an important part of the living Islam in Ankara, in Turkey and this is especially true for women.

In other words, the *türbe* becomes the Islamic form of space where life and death are not differentiated. There are a number of *türbes* in the towns and villages of Ankara and all of them have stories about their *owners*. Ironically, the saint to whom the

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<sup>15</sup> For example, there is one house where people live with tombs in their gardens, in the Ayaş district of Ankara. The tombs belong to another family unrelated to the current one but the current inhabitants wish the tombs were their relatives' tombs. Also, the film *Ayna* by Erden Kral mentions a life with a corpse underneath the floor of a house. On the other hand this film is related to murder, not mysticism. There is a novel about a more *mystic* kind of relationship experienced in İstanbul: The owner of the marble-castle (symbolising the grave). A young man from an old family of İstanbul goes bankrupt and decides to move to their family-cemetery. There are poor Bektashi's living, drinking and composing poems of folk religion there.

Ulunay, Refi' Cevat; *Mermer köşkün sahibi*, İstanbul: Arba Yayınları. 2<sup>nd</sup> print 1995



tomb *belongs* has no belongings. S/he is dispossessed<sup>16</sup>. The only possession of a saint is the stories that are told about him/her. However, these stories are mixed with *myth* and myth has to be dealt with. We may take the saints' lives as an example for dealing with myths that are both right and wrong. Still, whether the stories point to real facts in saints' lives or not, they have their *real* reflections in the lives of women. We don't know much about the ordinary aspects of saints' lives but we only know the miraculous parts of these lives, the mythical parts. We know that they led unusual lives, miraculously unusual. We also guess from the examples around us that most of the miracles attributed to them can be well made up: There is a Turkish saying about these miracles *Şeyh uçmassa müridi uçurur!* Even if the sheik doesn't fly, his/her disciple will make him/her fly.

Although the mission of a historian may be to pick out the "real" life story of the saint, s/he has to be aware that these stories themselves deserve attention. When we are talking about saints and their mausoleums we are talking about what is called "folk religion" and the stories about the saints are the creation of the *folk* that is being talked about in the phrase. These stories are creations and channels to express a collective consciousness. That is, these stories are invented by a collective to express their selves as a unity in the person of a saint. Nezihe Araz's and Hikmet Tanyu's works constitute a medium for exploring this topic more in depth. What I have concentrated on while pursuing undifferentiated structuring of life and death within the *türbe*, my ulterior motive was to find means through which women expressed their spirituality. So I looked for women's existence in the lives of saints, in hagiography. I saw that the saints who were women were less in numbers that is in fact not surprising. However I didn't want to accept it as a natural fact so I began to look for the reasons behind this.

These examples lie in historical patterns. Hagiographies talk about the lives of individual religious people. On the other hand, when I searched for a collective religion of men and women, I had to go as far as 9000 years. Çatalhöyük was an

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<sup>16</sup> *The Possessed* is the famous book of Tolstoy denoting people who are possessed by demons, *The Dispossessed* is the name of the book of Ursula K. LeGuin, a famous science fiction writer. Her title denotes people who are free of demons, and at the same time people who do not possess anything.

example of an urban settlement where women expressed themselves. Many of the art works<sup>17</sup> that make up the inner structure of the houses-temples-tombs are results of the collective work of men and women. The lack of hierarchy may have been one of the counterparts of this collectivity.

*Hierarchy* is an important keyword in understanding hagiography as well as stories related to saints' in today's world. In *The Seed and the Soil* Carol Delaney<sup>18</sup> says that everybody takes permission from somebody else to do things in Turkey. This is true for the bureaucratic level as well as the standard interpersonal relationships and is an form of hierarchy. Nevertheless, not only in Turkey, but also elsewhere, women's existence is an important part of the problematic created by the hardship of collective existence under hierarchy. The periods when we encounter saints in greater numbers are related to Christianity in the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>19</sup> and the early Muslims in the same period and after. These two religions treated saints in a similar way but they didn't provide an unoppressive ground for the feminine gender. Women's sainthood is a matter of existence by passing through two obstacles: the oppression of hierarchical structures from which also men have to pass and patriarchal structures that are created in parallel to hierarchy. Spirituality has been a tool for passing through these dangerous stages. Nevertheless, spirituality is a part of religion and religion is held in the hands of power-holders most of the times.

*Existence* is Mohamed's principle (Eliade, 1985). However, what we understand from existence belongs to modern terminology today. It is the *to-be* in "to be or not to be" and *being* in "being and nothingness". In Islam, belief is developed by its practice, the *namaz*/ ritual worship-prayer. People become actively involved with religion when they perform the *namaz*. Existence is achieved through this

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<sup>17</sup> The first person to excavate Çatalhöyük was James Mellaart, he dug the east hill. Now, his student Ian Hodder is working on the west hill. Hodder denounces Mellaart of his work, but Mellaart's work is more reflective than that of Hodder. Still, Hodder focuses more objectively on those works.

Hodder, Ian: *Seminar on Çatalhöyük*, İstanbul: Aksanat Kültür Merkezi, 5.3.1998

<sup>18</sup> Delaney, Carol; *The Seed and the Soil: Gender and Cosmology in Turkish Village Society*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1991.

<sup>19</sup> Eliade, Mircea; *A History of religious Ideas, Volume 3: From Muhammad to the Age of Reforms*, Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1985

involvement. Similarly, the saints are in a parallel to their involvement with God. The miracles are either attributed to a saint as a result of his/her extraordinary involvement with things that people can not easily define. Or saints perform miracles as a result of their involvement with the *unknown*. But as I have tried to describe with the example of two stages, in order for women to exist as a saint<sup>20</sup>, she must be even more extraordinary than a he-saint that is a saint because he was extraordinary.

The people create the sainthood of the saints even if the authorities of religion and/or state may not approve this situation<sup>21</sup>. The oppressing machine oppresses not only women but also men. Recalling Deleuze and Guattari's *A Thousand Plateaus*, Julian Baldick describes this oppressing machine as "machines of state, of Islamic law, of armies and guilds, of the philosophers with their astronomy and medicine"<sup>22</sup>

Although the practice of Islamic law/*sheria* is oppressing, Islamic spirituality, which is known as the Sufism of the dervishes, seems to ignore it and the realisation of this fact can be liberating. Rabiātü'l Adevviye, the early woman saint in Islam is famous in her carrying water in one hand and fire in the other. She said that water is to put off the fires in hell and fire is to burn the heaven because they obstruct people in their love of God that has to be pure<sup>23</sup>. Spirituality can thus be a line-of-flight from the oppressing-machine in Deleuzian terminology in a way that leaves no authority. Rabia is told to be a celibate. On the other side of the coin (if we take Islam and Christianity as the two sides of a coin)<sup>24</sup>, we see that the early Christian young girls and boys were seeing the institution of marriage as a burden that took them in and

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<sup>20</sup> Of course "existence" is modern terminology and it wasn't possible to talk about the existence of neither women nor man, an argument to be developed soon. Still, I believe that we can talk of relative existences of men and women where, I repeat, women have to prove more to be inasmuch as her relative!

<sup>21</sup> See the story of such a creation in chapter II, *the headscarf as a tool* section.

<sup>22</sup> Baldick, Julian: *An Introduction to Sufism*, London: IB Tauris and Co., 1983

<sup>23</sup> Doğrul, Ömer Rıza; *Hazret-I Rabiātü'l Adevviye*, İstanbul: Eser neşriyat, 1986 (p.189)

<sup>24</sup> We can do this when we conceive of the world as a coin and think of the sides as majorities!

did not leave out. They were resisting it by remaining virgins and devoting themselves to religious practise<sup>25</sup> and the love of God.

Spirituality can be a means for being oneself despite the society/ the tradition/ the law-maker/ or the machine as described above. Or, when Islam is concerned, we can say that, spirituality which is a condition of exercising religion, is also a way of being, despite the religion. This situation is best illustrated by the description of *Rabia* by the words of an Arabic poet, al-Mutanabbi:

If all the women were like the one we have mentioned  
Then women would be preferred to men  
For the feminine gender is no shame for the sun  
Nor is the masculine gender an honour for the crescent moon.

Here, we see again the popular-feminist notion that illuminates a common woman's position: "in order to be better than a man, a woman has to prove extraordinary". On the other hand, even this may be shifted to the advantage of the "masculine gender" by regarding women who have attained extraordinary spirituality as *men*. The Anatolian poet Ahmedi who lived in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries mentions in his work that if a woman is generous, wise and religious she is considered a man<sup>26</sup>.

Most of the she-saints' stories tell us that they led peaceful lives (like *Rabia* and *Karyađdı*) in contrast to the manliness of the warriors of Islam like *Battal Gazi* and his father *Hüseyin Gazi*<sup>27</sup>. I haven't come across any woman saint who was also a warrior, like *Jean d'Arc*, in my research. On the other hand the only living saint that I have met with in *Ankara* is the leader of her own *Alevi* community<sup>28</sup>. Here, I consider

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<sup>25</sup>In *Castelli, Elizabeth*; " 'I will make Mary male': Pieties of body and gender transformation of Christian women in late antiquity", *Bodyguards*, Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (eds.), New York, London: Routledge, 1991.

<sup>26</sup> *Togan, İsenbike*; "Ottoman Women and the State: A relationship as an indicator of societal change", Working paper, Center for the Study of Islamic Societies and Civilisations, St. Louis: Washington University, 1997.

<sup>27</sup> *Gazi* means martyr. See IV/B/1 for more information

<sup>28</sup> She calls herself the only living saint in the world. But in a very near district, *Şereflikoçhisar*, lives another person who calls himself a saint, *Mehmet Baba* (Father Mehmet). He is out of my scope now but interesting to note with his male and fatherly identity. The translation of the female saint in

being a leader as a clear declaration of passing through the two stages of oppression: patriarchy and hierarchy. It is at the same time, a rebuilding of hierarchy. Because in the new order of things of this community, the Alevi's are the best people and the Arabs, the orthodox Muslims, the Jews, the Armenians are all seen inferiors<sup>29</sup>.

Many of the *türbes* belong to warriors or leading men. It is interesting that *Mother Love* continues this tradition by building her new complex on the site of a holy warrior of Battal Gazi, the most popular warrior saint who struggled to spread Islam. Therefore, as a woman, *Mother Love* takes over the power of warriors and she acts like a leader<sup>30</sup>. When power becomes the issue, the *humanism* of the saint becomes questionable. Because embracing all human beings can not be compatible with killing them or others. However, the humanism of Islam has two dimensions. God is both *Rahman* and *Rahim*. *Rahman* means that God conceives all humans but *Rahim* means that the God will only show special treat to the believers on the day of the apocalypse. This is the reason for both why *cihad* / war for spreading of religion is an important part of the religious tradition and why there are so many warrior saints.

Killing would not be the characteristic of an ideal person in our age. On the other hand, there were many saints in Anatolia who did *cihad* with “wooden swords”. They told that they used these swords not to conquer cities with bloodshed but to conquer hearts with love<sup>31</sup>. Whether they use iron or wooden swords, the saints used them in different contexts than our age. This is why it is not easy for us to picture a saint with all his/her good and bad sides. It seems that our expectations from a saint determine him/her to be *good* in our standards. This is mostly because religious culture paints the picture of the saint as merely good. Yet a fair relativism would require us to know that there is no “pure good” like there is no “true religion”.

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Ankara is *Mother Love* and I will call her thus from now on. It is both because of the meaning of her name and for reasons of privacy.

<sup>29</sup> Also, *Mother Love* said that the blood of menstruation is dirty and manifested that one of her listeners was dirty in this way in an insulting manner.

<sup>30</sup> A point which is most criticised in women who take place in hierarchical structures.

<sup>31</sup> Çamuroğlu, Reha: *Dönüyordu*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992



Lallah's story is such an example. Lalla Mimunah (*Mimunah* means a believer in the unity of God, in Islam<sup>32</sup>) the 14<sup>th</sup> cc. Kashmiri women mystic was a poor and ignorant woman<sup>33</sup>. Much of what is known about her has been suppressed over the years by dominant notions of what is proper and modest for women<sup>34</sup>. What the history writers hid was that she danced naked through the streets of Kashmir, improvising songs to God until she died in her eighties. Her sainthood began after an experience of enlightenment in her youth. This enlightening moment was practiced by an episode of "walking on the water". People realised that she was doing so when she began to run after a ship that left. The ship carried a man who promised to teach Lalla the true versions of the verses of the Koran that are told during the daily ritual (*namaz*). She did not know the "true" version of the prayers but her prayer "Mimunah knows her God, and God knows Muminah" resulted in an experience of a miraculous state of mind that made her walk on water.

A person whom we know as a saint today and idealise in the standard definitions of sainthood may have passed all her/his life living as a nude. This is an example to why there is no pure good. In addition to that, her absent knowledge of religion doesn't prevent her from experiencing a unity with God and performing a normally unperformable act. This is why there is not a single true version of religion that can be defended by a single authority that *knows*. Individual and ignorant people can achieve such states too.

Whatever their life stories, what seems to be the most profound characteristic of being a saint is this experience that they have tried to express with their poems. Sainthood is the process of daring to *experience* the unaccepted or the unpronounced as daily life. The ordinary aspects of life is lives together with her/his experience of unity with God. This is why it is more comprehensible for a saint to have led a non orthodox life. This argument is better pictured in Rabia's words:

In love, nothing exists between breast and Breast.  
Speech is born out of longing,

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<sup>32</sup> see II/A/2

<sup>33</sup> Schimmel, Annemarie; "Sufilikte Dişil Unsurlar/ Female Elements in Sufism" Appendix 2 to *Tasavvufun Boyutları*, İstanbul: Adam Yayınları, 1982

<sup>34</sup> Mayhom; *Naked Song: Lalla*, New York: Threshold Books 1992

True description from the real taste.  
The one who tastes, knows;  
the one who explains, lies.  
How can you describe the true form of Something  
In whose presence you are blotted out?  
And in whose being you still exist?  
And who lives as a sign for your journey?<sup>35</sup>

According to Schimmel (1982, p 363), Rabia is the first “real” Muslim saint<sup>36</sup> and her name stands for the untransferrable state of mind that is experienced through the momentary union with God. Theorising about this was left to Dhû'l-Nûn, an Egyptian Sufi master who lived in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. He was the first to clearly distinguish between *ma'rifa* experience of God and *i'lm*, discursive knowledge of God. (Eliade, 1985, p.125) Ibn Arabi explains the irrationality of this experience with the following words:

Knowledge of mystical states can be obtained solely by experience; human reason cannot define it, nor arrive at it by deduction.<sup>37</sup>

With the untransferrable experience they live and express with their miracles, the saints are out of the discourse of the authority of the power holders who define the religion of the *ignorant* as heresy. Nevertheless, there are occasions where *folk* and the mainstream are united. One such occasion belongs to Augustine who was “the great theologian and prestigious critic of heresies and schisms” in the 5<sup>th</sup> century (Eliade, 1985, p.46). For a long time, he was against the *Cult of the Saints*, which is the Christian version of Sufism and did not approve the miracles performed by them. Nevertheless, after he saw some miraculous cures, he changed his mind and began to carefully record the miracles in his *City of God*<sup>38</sup>.

A more contemporary example of providing a ground for the meeting of Saints and Scholars, is Terry Eagleton<sup>39</sup>. He provides us with a hypothetical dialogue between

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<sup>35</sup> Upton, Charles; *Excerpts from “Doorkeeper of the Heart” Versions of Rabi'a*, Published by Threshold Books, [http://www. Islamic calligraphy](http://www.islamiccalligraphy.com)

<sup>36</sup> The spiritual ancestors of Sufism are firstly the barber who lived at Mohammads house, Salman al-Farisi, secondly first of the “ascetic-mystics” Hasan al-Basri, and thirdly Ibrahim ibn Adham. (Eliade, 1985, p 122-3) Eliade than talks of Rabia and his words don't falsify Schimmel's.

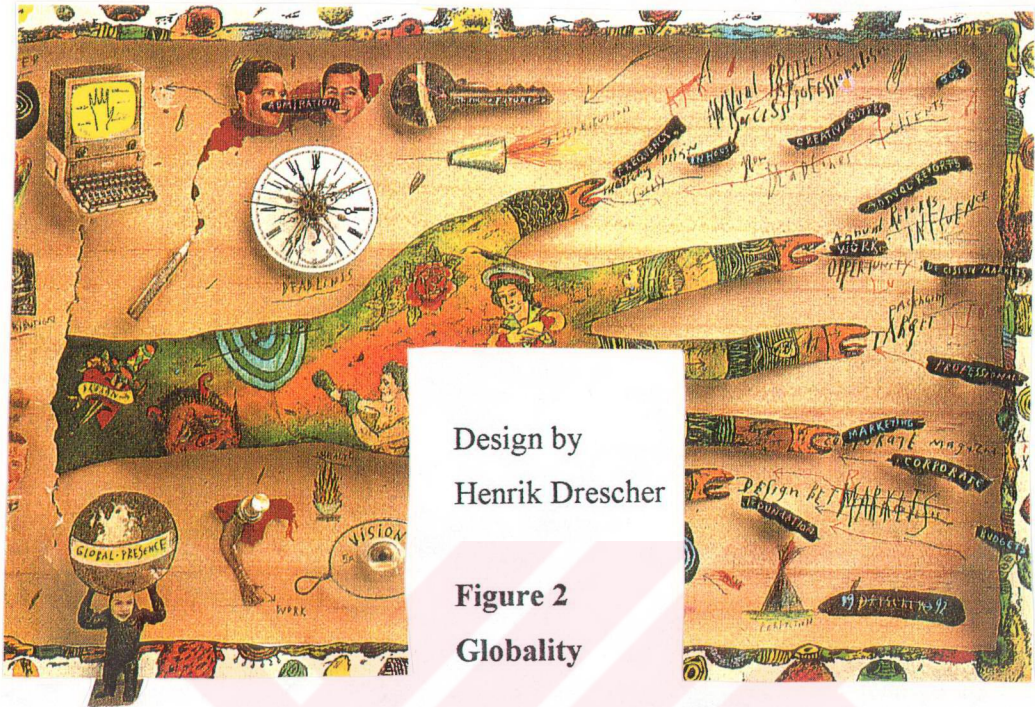
<sup>37</sup> Cited from *The Bezels of Wisdom* in Ibid. p.139

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p 50-51

<sup>39</sup> Eagleton, Terry; *Saints and Scholars*, Verso, 1987



led to globality. Globality is the trend that makes us aware that we are a part of the world. The world is even *bigger* than a village as well as a state or a nation.



How big the world is doesn't matter when local practices are taken into account in their own contexts. This is the other side of the coin stamped by postmodernity. *Mother Love's* community is such an example. One can observe how music is a part of the governing of her community. Her command is similar to the usage of music as proposed by Aristotle<sup>43</sup>. In addition to that, although in the description of Dostoyevsky the gender of the good person is clearly male, this situation also changes and a woman religious leader becomes the ideal person for an Alevi group in a big city.

Given the example of a living woman saint in this global context, it is apt to talk about good women as saints throughout history. This is to be done with an effort to compensate women's negligence in the process of writing and reading history. This line of thought will lead us to individual saintly women disconnected from the religious society and connected to the society by other means than religion after the

<sup>43</sup> Depew, David J.; "Politics, Music and Contemplation in Aristotle's Ideal State" *A Companion to Aristotle's Politics*, David Keyt and Fred Miller Jr. (eds.), Oxford, Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991

republic. Their “goodness” and “individuality” had begun to be shaped by national and global forces with the Republic. These forces are the trends in women’s rights, in religion or secular politics.

I have told that although the word *saint* is ungendered, there are approaches of many different people throughout history that in order to be a true saint, one has to be a true man and these are interchangeable at times. What brings women’s sainthood a different dimension lies in the word *experience* that is gendered female in Arabic that is the language of the more known part of Islamic mysticism.

*Sufism* is inseparable from the Christian saints’ practices in many ways. Christianity has experienced the tension between the *Cult of Saints* and mainstream religion as I have described with the episode between Augustine and the saints’ miracles from Eliade in page 11. A tension between the mainstream and folk religion being present, women’s sainthood experience is even tenser because the role of a saint is attributed to men. The present study brings partial solutions to the problem by giving examples of saints and perceptions of spiritualities of women in Ankara. For a better view, one has to get an idea about who a saint is, or what a *good-man* is. When we look at history-books we see that they mention a *saint* they mean a male-saint primarily. In order to understand sainthood one has to imagine the saint as a genderless creature who has been shaped throughout history by male attributions. In *The Way of the Sufi*<sup>44</sup>, *The Eye of the Hearth*<sup>45</sup> and for Rabia as a model for women saints in *The Life and Work of Rabia and Other Women Mystics in Islam*<sup>46</sup> a saint is pictured as unworldly and genderless. S/he is a continuous line in all religions and sometimes a healer whether s/he is living or dead.

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<sup>44</sup> Shah, Idries, *The Way of the Sufi*, NY, NZ: Penguin Press, 1968, reprint 1987, especially the section on “Sufism and Islam”, a short interview with Mohammed Ali El-Misri (Pp 309-312)

<sup>45</sup> Öztürk, Yaşar Nuri; *The eye of the hearth: An introduction to Sufism and the Tariqats of Anatolia and the Balkans*, Trans.: Richard Blakney, Redhouse Press: Istanbul, 1988.

<sup>46</sup> Smith; Margaret; RABI'A: *The Life and Work of Rabi'a and Other Women Mystics in Islam*, *Oneworld*, 1985.



I'm not used to talk to feminine or masculine words because Turkish and English, the two languages that I think in do not provide me with such a basis. But two points about ungendered Turkish and gendered Arabic has to be made in studying the spiritual place of women in Turkey as a Muslim country.

The first point is about the gender-of-the-saint. Turkish is more ungendered than English and so that one is able to talk naturally without denoting gender. Nevertheless, the social roles determine the usage of language. When I want to signify a police who is usually a male, but if she is female, I have to say that she is a *women police* and not merely a police, as it would do for the male police<sup>47</sup>. What is the situation for the saint? In order to get an answer to this question, I felt I had to pose it as a question to people and hear them speak of saints and see whether they would refer to them as male or female, or without gender. Nevertheless, it seemed that female saints were female saints and male saints were male saints and usually all saints were merely saints. Only saints whose names were ambiguous in terms of gender like *Tezveren*-without a calling at the end like *Sultan*<sup>48</sup> or *Hatun*<sup>49</sup> and the action, ie. "giving-it-quickly" without attributing to whom, remained in between. Some people conceived him/her as *Tezveren Dede* (Grandfather) some as *Tezveren Hatun*. But the final answer to the question came from a living woman saint herself. *Mother Love* told in her "sermon" to her community that human beings, irrespective to their being saints or not, did not have gender before God. She added that the fact that she was in a woman's body did not take from or add anything to her saintly personality. The answer to the question was that what makes the woman-saint gendered is her perception of oneself and the visitors own perceptions about her/him. This theme can be followed in part IV as well as history and myth about mainly female saints in Ankara. It was a relief for me to see that saints were gendered as to their names, so that a women-saint was not a very valid category.

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<sup>47</sup> Braun, Friederike; "Prototype theory and Covert Gender in Turkish", Kiel University, 1996.

<sup>48</sup> A name given to people from the family of the Ottoman ruler and a word used to denote high respect.

<sup>49</sup> An old-Turkish word used to denote womanhood. It is said to have a meaning "queen" in Eyuboğlu, Selahattin: *Türk Dilinin Etimolojisi Sözlüğü*, İstanbul: İnkilap Yayınları, 1990.

The second point relates to the fact that *marifa*, which is the Arabic word for experience which is the keyword for spirituality, is feminine. This provides ground for thought even for minds that are not used to think in gendered words. Mother Theresa, the most popular living spiritual women until her death in the autumn of 1997, told that washing the dishes could be a spiritual involvement. This example which directs us to housework also shows us one of the reasons of women being more devoted believers than men. It is not easy to catch a spiritual state of mind during housework that has to be repeated everyday and that doesn't give any concrete feedback. But at the same time, it is so similar to Buddhist exercise of stamping the running water 1001 times<sup>50</sup>. For example women were fasting and performing ritual prayers (*manaz*) more often than men in Turkey according to Schimmel (1982, p 367). Here, it is necessary to say that *Namaz* is profoundly the experience of Islam, which is a repeated unity with God.<sup>51</sup>

This is how women realise the good characteristics that are attributed to men (as listed by Ahmedi previously) by means of spirituality. In addition to what women believers do today, when we look at history we see that many woman saints cut all of their ties with life. They remain hungry, sleepless, desireless. Usually the spiritual awakenings are achieved after such phases of leaving the body deprived of its needs. On the other hand, Islam is a religion that makes one aware of his/her bodily needs. So that, at this point it is possible to put spirituality on the opposite side of scripturalism. Nevertheless, doing these in the name of God by the means of belief in the other world, *ahiret*, frees one from thisworldly conceptions such as pain or hunger. And when there is a real shortage of food or water or love, belief can make one live very long as if it there was no problem. Another way of feeling "no problem" may be attained by the use of alcohol and drugs. Yet it is obvious that the latter is *maddi* (physical) while the former is *manevi* (spiritual). Here, the material and immediate means to get away from one's problems may result in even more problems. Getting rid of them by means of believing in a greater power may result in the realisation of the relative unimportance of these problems, seeing oneself so small, and ones problems even more trivial.

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<sup>50</sup> Abramovich, Marina: *Cleaning the House*, New York: Art And Design Monograph, 1997

<sup>51</sup> And also a spatialisation of belief as argued in Part III

When telling us about her adventures in the bars and cafe's of Paris in: *When the Things of the Spirit Come First* Simone de Beauvoir explains her encounter with alcohol as "another kind of spirituality". The storybook consists of five stories of five women. One is Marguerite's story, which is her own, as she indicates in the introduction she wrote 30 years later. Marguerite begins to go to bars and gets drunk as if it was her duty and seizes spirituality after she meets a young and handsome surrealist at her very young age. She says that "I went there (a bar) as once I had gone to mass, with the same ardour, and I had scarcely changed my God –the jazz moved me as deeply as the great voice of the organ in earlier days. Ever since Denis (the handsome young surrealist loser looking for money to live for nothing) had told me that piece about sin being the space yawning wide for God, vice had given me the same ecstatic feeling that I had felt as a child before the real presence of the Holy sacrament."<sup>52</sup> Her description of her encounters creates another ground for women's spirituality by complete submission to the external forces. However, she exercises this submission in the bars and when she is drunk, ending up in dangerous situations. So that she is not late to realise that this doctrine isn't approved by the man who taught it (Denis), because it is "unsuitable for girls". It seems that Denis is a freak in his manners but not in his thoughts.

This quotation from de Beauvoir presents a ground discussion concerning the nature of "saintliness". The two-tiered understanding of history deals with sainthood as a matter of folk religion. As an indispensable part of the folk traditions of all religions<sup>53</sup>, sainthood can be considered the intersection point of humanism and different perceptions of holy books<sup>54</sup>. Still, what is "the philosophers astronomy and medicine" that I have mentioned as a part of the oppressing-machine is similar to a "saints projection and healing" too. S/he may or not may not make projections for the

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<sup>52</sup> Beauvoir, Simone de: *When the Things of the Spirit Come First: Five early Tales*, Trans: Patrick O'Brian, London: Fontana Paperbacks, 1982 (p.173)

<sup>53</sup> Where the religions without books automatically become "folk"!

<sup>54</sup> The opposite positioning of humanist and religious philosophy is from [Kurtz, Paul; *Forbidden Fruit: the Ethics of Humanism*, New York: Prometheus Books, (original 1925), 1988].

future or heal within a hierarchical structure, but her/his function is standing against the oppressing machine by the community that is formed around her/him.

Despite all these situations complying with the spirituality of women, the problem of daily life for a saint becomes more problematical when the saint is a woman. And the saint represents the peak of spirituality so that the problems for a woman saint constitute the peak point of women's daily life problems with religion. "Ascetism" is an important part of the mysticism that is apprehended by Christianity or Buddhism or most of the Sufi practices of Islam. Ascetism stands for getting rid of one's bodily calls and there are examples of many male and female saints who have done so. Nevertheless, the body's sexual wants are at the beginning of the list to be commanded. Unfortunately, *women* are identified with sexuality in the terminology of religions. For example, in the Turkish translation of the Koran<sup>55</sup>, one of the conditions of loss of *abdest* (ablution before the daily prayer) is "getting close to women" which is absolutely unfit for women themselves. Islam is the religion which is most related with the governing of the body. Getting rid of one's bodily calls is made available for all of the Muslims certain times of the year (the three holy months the most important of which is the Ramadan) and not for some Muslims most of the times.

I tried to explore the differences attributed to a woman saint, or how women perceive themselves and their own spirituality through the interviews that I made with various women. The picture that could have been painted after these interviews could have been very negative or positive. A woman said that women are more available for evil because they are ignorant (Int.2). Another proved that there was a really graceful way of being a woman, being religious and being modern at the same time (Int.1). Womanhood apparently has not made spirituality easier until now, but what is good is that being a woman also hasn't prevented spirituality despite all the obstacles before it. Such obstacles can be evaluated from the point-of-view of a Sufi, *Kaygusuz Abdal*; and the hardship being a woman can be followed in his poems. During his inscription where he talks about the phases that he has gone through (*Budala-name/ Fool-letter*) as thing, as animal, as human, as king as slave he never becomes a



woman although he comes out of mothers wombs, get fed by mothers or his mother becomes his girl.<sup>56</sup>

While the male gender of a saint shapes his genderlessness, in order to think about a woman saint, one has to add womanly characteristics to her. For example *Rabia Adeviyye* who is the most famous Muslim woman saint is said to be crying all the time and *Karyağdı Sultan* who is the most popular woman saint in Ankara was and still conceived as a bride primarily. So that, the books and stories make one think that only by an apprehension of her ideal womanly characteristics<sup>57</sup>, one can picture a woman-saint better.

This is where working not only with books (his-tory) but also with human-beings (ethnography) becomes important. A living women saint in Ankara, when asked about her being a women saint, tells that being a woman doesn't matter before God either in daily life or sainthood. "This is why" she says "I am in a woman's body and am proud of it"<sup>58</sup>. She has not a peculiar womanly characteristic despite her body: She has got firm features on her face without makeup and her every act underlines the authority she displays upon a hierarchical structure.

She says that she is the only declared living saint in the world and she is a woman who is at the same time a genderless saint to whom people from different places come pay their respect.

She, her young volunteers who work with her, her visitors and the people living in the district of her foundation declare the uniqueness of her sainthood. Rais Tchaqmaqzade<sup>59</sup> says that the Sufis who are publicly known, ie declared, are those

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<sup>55</sup> *Kur'an-ı Kerim ve Türkçe Meali*, Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, 1984.

<sup>56</sup> *Gölpınarlı, Abdülbaki: (Arranger) Kaygusuz Abdal/Hatayi Kul Himmeti*, Hayatı, Sanatı, Eserleri (Life, Art and Work), Türk Klasikleri: 20, İstanbul: Varlık Yayınevi (Pp. 56-58)

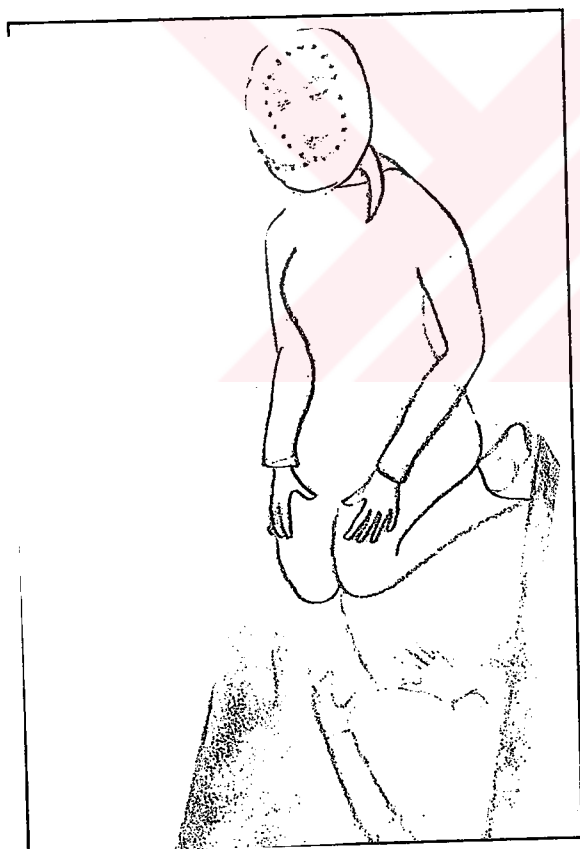
<sup>57</sup> *Cooper, Kate; The Virgin and the Bride: Idealised Womanhood in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996

<sup>58</sup> She made this statement during our visit to the discussion sessions she holds with her community on the night of 11.12.1997. The details of this can be found in IV/A/1

<sup>59</sup> in Shah 1968, p. 312

who couldn't keep out of prominence. He says that it is better for a saint to keep his/her sainthood to him/herself. This means that the saints we know of constitute the top of an iceberg while the studies done within this framework are even more peculiar. Male saints are more in number, and women saints are either less or more unvisible. As a result it can be said that the she-saints also remain under the water but what constitutes the bottom of the iceberg is women's individual spiritualities. "The bottom", at least I hope, doesn't correspond to a part of a hierarchy-of-belief. What makes the women constitute the "bottom" of the iceberg (which remains under the water) is their number and similarity of situation.

I have pictured women who are the theme of this study as a collective but also as exercising individual spirituality. But they do not have faces, who are *they*? Are they only the women who wear headscarves in daily life? Does their spirituality come from their daily prayer and/or from their prayers for the dead?



One of the discussion points of the present study is the symbolisation of the headscarf as an indicator of spirituality. (See the introduction of chapter II) Headscarf is something that women of Anatolia and Mesopotamia have worn as priestesses since 3000 years. Women are seen wearing it irrespective whether they deserve their local religions, whether they are priestesses of temples of the Gods or whether they are Christian nuns in a church<sup>60</sup> in this region. Which means that the kind of spirituality that is achieved by the headscarf can be conceptualised as a coherent line in

<sup>60</sup> *Shepsut, Asia; Journey of the Priestess, The Aquarian Press, San Francisco, California 1993*

history. So that one can form a parallelism between Christian and Muslim ways of patterns of spiritual involvement; for example both the Catholic women and the Muslim women cover their heads in the house of God and they both visit saints. Still, this conceptualisation does not necessarily mean that visiting saints or covering heads is a replica of Christian ways. Today's situation, ie, the time and place (*chronotope*) of the spirituality of women, in Ankara for the present research is not necessarily a unilinear continuation of historical patterns.

The treatment of the saints is an important distinguisher between "folk-religion" and "scriptural-religion". This may vary according to gender, or to religion. For example the saints are incorporated into Christian religious institutions while they are left out of the mosque in Islam<sup>61</sup>. Or, women visit the *türbes* more and men less in the Turkish Islam. Still, none of these differences change the fact that the saints are valued in daily life and spirituality.

The objects that we find in a *türbe* are items that contribute to the articulation of the visitors and the saints. I will talk about the role of some objects in evaluating how Islamic perceptions differ due to the uninstitutionalised position of the *türbes* in chapter V<sup>62</sup>. The objects that are being talked about are the objects which one can see nearby or inside most *türbes* in Turkey: candles or sugar cubes or pieces of fabric cloth. The *türbe* visit is a continuous habit in Anatolia and it is not always considered a major part of religion in Turkey. There are only a few studies about the *türbes*.

The visits to the *türbes* are paid with the desire of getting well, getting married, and having children. The objects are tools of wishes that link the wishing people to life through these actions: Regeneration of Life (III/B). What is ironic for the saint is her/his being in the other world and this world at the same time, and fulfilling thisworldly wishes by the power s/he takes from the other world. When s/he is dead, s/he completely becomes a part of the other world and people continue to pray for

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<sup>61</sup> But *türbes* can be found within the garden of the mosque like in the oldest mosques of Ankara such as Ahi Şerafettin.

<sup>62</sup> Chapter V *Objects of Desire*, and the introduction of Chapter II that takes the head scarf as both an object and a tool towards spirituality

attainments in this world through the personality of the saint from the other world. In modern city life, death is not a part of life.<sup>63</sup> Progress is valued and there is no time to turn back. Ankara is a modern city, which is re-built to comply with western standards. Nevertheless, the core of it, the old-city remained untouched for protection of multiple cultures built on top of each other.<sup>64</sup> Among these, the *türbes* constitute an important place and a ground for the city dwellers to continue to have connections with the dead.

The notion of “cemetery” leaves death outside the city or the village with well-determined borders. The practice of placing the cemetery out of the city has and had its practice in different parts of the world. On the other hand, the example of Çatalhöyük<sup>65</sup> shows us that people used to live together with their dead in the same house. Nevertheless, “the city” has no definite borders and it expands to the cemetery ground. Some of the tombs in this cemetery remain while most of them leave their place to houses, state buildings or schools. And a new cemetery is built outside the new borders of the city. The remaining tombs have the function of representing history within a modern context<sup>66</sup>. The *türbe* helps to the “deconstruction of the very idea of ‘historical time’ and notions of linear causation”<sup>67</sup> when we come by one while we perform our daily travelling within the city. Our memory entangled with the problems of daily life elapses a second and our mothers’ and grandmothers’ memories come into light. A woman, who becomes an ‘ideal’ part of modern life, remembers of her mother visiting the *türbe* for example. Many women in Turkey

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<sup>63</sup> This notion is a synthesis of postmodern theorists on the concept of time (like Bauman) and Mircea Eliade. When time is unilinear, like that in *progress*, it furthers one-dimensionally and creates the one-dimensional man of Herbert Marcuse. Unilinear time is mounted as against the cyclical time or the pilgrims’ progress (Marx, Karl; *Capital*, Vol. III, International Publishers, 1967) which reflects the rhythm of daily life.

<sup>64</sup> See (I/A/1) for further information

<sup>65</sup> see p.1-2

<sup>66</sup> Like the museums. See *Theorising Museums: Representing identity and diversity in a Changing World* Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (eds.), Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996

<sup>67</sup> Urry, John: “How societies remember the past” in *Theorising Museums: Representing identity and diversity in a Changing World* Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (eds.), Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996 (p.489)

have cut off some of their ties with Islam due to the changes in the application of Islam by the state<sup>68</sup>. Their ties with the mosque are not regular as it would “require” if they were a part of a Muslim community. That is, if they have any ties. Yet they continue to visit the *türbes* where they find three places in one. These places are; a tomb for the deceased person who is a friend-of-God, a place to pray, and a place to regenerate life with wishes.

Here I talk about the exploration of patterns of spiritual involvement as it can be observed, ie, patterns of spiritual involvement within the context of the *türbe*. The psychological dimension of the behaviour patterns would have also been an interesting topic to pursue. Nevertheless, this would require a new research. Yet this doesn't mean that it wouldn't help when necessary. Alternative medicine is the main area that deals with the healing function of the saints. One of the keywords that this science uses is *engram*<sup>69</sup>, a kind of emotional memory that functions in shaping our daily life. Engrams may continue to stimulate us where we have learned to remain silent, such as our belief patterns.

Another link to the title of the research appears here. It is because the word *pattern* recalls psychology in the way that it deals with patterns of human behaviour. So that here, a short description as to patterns is needed: Psychology talks about behaviour whereas sociology talks about action. Nevertheless, these are generally so entangled that only people from the respective fields would want to distinguish them. The field of Gender and Women's Studies give its theoreticians a chance to move between fields as well as between the subject-object definitions. Still, my research moves mainly with a sociological understanding of the word *pattern*, ie, pattern as action.

I have gathered patterns under three headings: The first is *visiting patterns* the second is *belief patterns* and the third is *identity patterns*. As long as the whole of the study

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<sup>68</sup> Appendix, The fourth interview

<sup>69</sup> Engram: a mental recording of time of physical pain and unconsciousness. It must by definition have impact or injury as part of its content. Engrams are a complete recording, down to the last accurate detail, of every perception present in a moment of partial or full uncounsciousness. (Hubbard, 1995, p.1, footnote2)



deals with these three patterns, the last chapter before the conclusion part is reserved for packing the issues most related with patterns. These are most repeated aspects of religious involvements like visiting the dead and praying for the dead. In this respect, I can conclude the discussion of *engram* by saying that remembering our past, and our mothers' past of belief by stopping while we are going past a *türbe* is where a *belief pattern* begins to act in us. When this makes us recall a part of our identity, we continue the pattern of visit that our mother left when she was dead. As a result, the connection with the dead is reformed.

I don't choose to label these patterns as folk or scriptural, and the urban context wouldn't let me do so because they are mixed very intensely in that context. Still, some information concerning the scriptural dimension of the patterns concerning the tombs will complement the discussion. Praying for the dead is being counselled by the scriptural religion, ie, the Koran and the hadith tradition. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that *the tombstone* was not a part of the bedoin Arab culture that Islam was born into. The nomadic context of life prevented Arabs from having a habit of building tombs for their dead. On the other hand, the Turks did so although they were nomadic too. But the holy Koran came to the Arabs, and parallel to the Arab culture, it tells people to merely cover their dead anonymously in earth so that wild animals wouldn't disturb him/her.

Nevertheless, Islam as a whole was shaped by other cultures as well. Visiting the dead is a part of the Turkish culture and the *Turkish Islam*. The Abbasid's built the first *türbe* after meeting with the Turks (more information in III/B/1). Visiting the dead is also a part of the Anatolian tradition from Çatalhöyük till Byzantium of respecting the dead. Visiting the saints had been the motive of travelling through the earth in the past in both Christianity and Islam. The *Koran* advises the believers to travel the earth to see God's miracles in their hearths (xxii 46/xxix 20-2) as well as the bad endings reserved for the evildoers (vi 11/ xxvii 69/ xlvii 10) or deniers<sup>70</sup>. So that, if one is not able to fulfil the material obligations of Islam like performing the daily prayers, then s/he is advised to travel, where during the travels, the daily prayers are arranged accordingly. The popular *türbe* that is parallel to the function of

“root temple” in China (refer to VII/A), combines both patterns in one place by causing people to come from different places. This is pilgrimage for the Christians but it is visit for the Turks. This pattern is placed in Julie Marcus’s schema in the introduction of Part III.

Turkey is full of holy-visiting places for the Christians as well as the for the Muslims. And Istanbul is a perfect signifier of both a cosmopolitan city and a multi-pilgrimage site. This feature of İstanbul is being discovered and rediscovered by the westerners that come by. John Freely is one of them. He is a New Yorker who has left the city to live in İstanbul since 1960<sup>71</sup>. He guided a tour named *Women’s Presence in İstanbul Through Time and Space* that was organised by the Women’s Library and Information Centre Foundation in İstanbul. In this tour and the publication concerning the tour from the Woman’s Library, he introduces women’s spaces as an ongoing story regardless of religion or sect. Women’s spaces come together in telling women’s story no matter if they be the bust of Halide Edip<sup>72</sup>, the *Türbe* of Nakşidil<sup>73</sup>, or the Church of St. Mary of the Mongols<sup>74</sup>. Ankara doesn’t provide us with a similar story line for the moment.

*Ankara: Guide Touristique* by Ernest Mamboury, which is a detailed exploration of Ankara with respect to old *Kadı Sicili*’s (Court Records) as well as Turkish and foreign records, doesn’t talk about a single women’s *türbe* among the mosques and *türbes* that are introduced within. On the other hand, Tanyu in his book about the votive offering places in Ankara and its villages (Tanyu, 1967/8) talks about all such places. So that, the installation of such a story-line described above becomes possible.

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<sup>70</sup> “It was not God who wronged them, but they wronged their own souls.” xxx. 9/XL. 21, 82

<sup>71</sup> Neyzi, Leyla; “İrlandalı Evliya Çelebi”, *Gazete Pazar* 19 Ekim 1997

<sup>72</sup> She is the infamous writer who worked for the gaining of women’s rights and other aspects of the republic. More information about her activities can be found in III/A/1

<sup>73</sup> From the excerpt of the guide: wife of Abdülhamit I and mother of Mahmut II...her türbe is altogether a very original and entertaining building.

<sup>74</sup> Built around 1282 by the Princess Maria Palaeologina, daughter of Michael VIII Palaelologus.

Patterns of Spiritual Involvement of Women in Ankara installs a religious story line for women. Different people have done similar contemplations recently about Ankara from within. A film recalls *montage* more than a research paper. Perhaps this is why both of these studies are cinematic. The first filmic study belongs to Akin Atauz<sup>75</sup> and is a scenario that reflects Ankara as a continuous story of different cities with different religions. The long history of Ankara gives us the sacred side of Ankara where the hill on which the mosque and *türbe* of Hacı Bayram sits have always been the sacred hill of the city. This is developed in the next section, I/A/1.

The other cinematic study is a short film. In *Ankara*, realised in 1995, Aras Özgün and Ersan Ocağ are talking about the modernised face of Ankara<sup>76</sup> and having a look at the history of the republic with an eye that escapes inside. They explore the roots of this modernisation process. They take the train station as a gate towards the history of the recent republic. The train station is more intimate than the new tall building with mirrors as its windows by the *Kızılay boulevard*, the present centre of Ankara. Nevertheless, the train station is the first step towards such a building. When passing through books that talk about the history of Ankara like *Once upon A Time in Ankara* by the greater City Municipality or the older books like *Ankara by Photos*, it is impossible to come by a *türbe* or a *camii* as a part of the older Ankara, but only to older monuments like the Column of Julien or the Augustus Temple. The common characteristic of the three works cited in this paragraph is that all take Ankara as a city founded by and for the republic. This is the secular side of Ankara.

In the next section, I combined the sacred and secular sides of the city to use them together for the rest of the study. An example to a sacred-secular approach can be given from the film that is cited in the above paragraph: *An-kara* describes the process of building-of-a-nation with an exemplary main city. In this city, what is *miraculous* is the number and shape of the new buildings that came up in short times and what is saintly is the power to realise this.

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<sup>75</sup> Atauz, Akin; "Ankadın", A scenario with mention from Documentary Film Scenario Competition by the Ministry of Culture, Ankara: April 1993, Mimeo.

<sup>76</sup> Otonomedy; "Ankara", in *Birikim* no:86/87, Pp.126-8, 1996,



## A. Ankara the Sacred-Secular Capital of the Republic of Turkey

Carol Delaney reflects on the basis of the works of Bernard Lewis and Binnaz Toprak that the distinction between *sacred* and *secular* is not a viable one in Islam<sup>77</sup>. Nevertheless, this doesn't change the fact that they are categories that are used and are applicable to situations that do not merely identified with Islam such as the Turkish culture. Zeki Velidi Togan expresses this with the following words: "The Turks never accepted the theocratical state ideal of the Near East."<sup>78</sup> In the process of living Islam with regulated *sheria*, the Mecelle rule was the tool in the Ottoman Empire. The practices of the Turkish Republic are in this line too. The republic is a western notion that is realised with a Muslim population. Ankara describes Atatürk as an unpronounced saint who performed miracles that effected a collective consciousness and not mere individuals. And this is why the in-depth interview as a qualitative research method is used to talk from the mouths of the collective-conscience of women as regards spirituality<sup>79</sup>.

"A walk on the Atatürk Boulevard from Ulus to Çankaya is like moving ahead in the history of the republic.... The direction of the city and the walk being the same" (Otonomedy, 96)

Ankara, the capital of the republic is a city where all the roads direct one to state buildings. There are many big and embroidered gates of directorates, hidden between the apartments. Yet, nobody uses these gates, the entrances are at the back and both the members of the directorates and the visitors use these doors. Then come the unpenetratable gardens of the embassies. They are situated on both sides of the main boulevard of Ankara, the *Atatürk Boulevard* that leads us to *Çankaya*, where the head of the state is accommodated. So that, you can walk through the boulevard, see the horizon with geographical outlines of hills and mountains at both ends. One of the ends is the mountain named after *Hüseyin Gazi*, who is also a saint with a lodge on

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<sup>77</sup> Delaney, Carol; "The hajj: sacred and secular" American Ethnologist, Vol 17, No3, 1990

<sup>78</sup> Togan, A. Zeki Velidi; *Kur'an ve Türkler: İslam Şarkı ile Garp arasındaki ilmi işbirliği/ The Qur'an and the Turks*, İstanbul: Kayı Yayınları:3, 1971.

<sup>79</sup> More information in I/B

top of that mountain. While you are walking, you can't stop by except at some specific apartments and banks because there is not one cafe, or restaurant or similar public spaces like a museum or a mausoleum. The other end of the road is in *Ulus*, the region of old-city of Ankara where we can see most of the mosques and *türbes*. Together with Atatürk's mausoleum that makes a similar effect to a much newer centre, Bahçelievler<sup>80</sup>, Ankara as a whole is the signifier of the sacred-secular-state.

Ankara is not the only city that combines the sacred and the secular. There are also other examples of Muslim blends of the sacred and the secular. For example Mernissi relates such an occasion by talking about a women religious leader who lived in the 15<sup>th</sup> cc. Yemen. Yemen had an Islam that carefully distinguished between spiritual and secular (or more precisely military) power then, another contrary example to Delaney's reflection. The religious leader was a Yemeni Queen, the daughter of Imam al-Zayd al-Nasri Din Allah. She was a military leader at the same time, a Zaydi chieftain by the title Sharifa Fatima<sup>81</sup>. Zöhre Ana<sup>82</sup> has a similar situation: she represents the sacred and defends the secular that she sees in the saintly personality of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the saviour and founder of the republic of which Ankara is the signifier.

So that living in Ankara means living a dilemma in everyday life. The women of Ankara who looked as if they had left their religiosity behind together with their headscarves at the beginning of the Republic and took both back recently (some as Islamists, some because of their old ages), are the signifiers of this dilemma. This can be openly seen in some women (App. Interview 2) while some women only cover while making their prayers (App. Int.1, Interview3). *Mother Love* is a saint in the way that she both lives the life we live and exist on the "other side" at the same time. In addition to that, she is completely religious and completely secular and presents a *Turkish* model to sainthood. In addition to these syntheses of opposite conditions,

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<sup>80</sup> Literally houses-with-gardens, once a suburb, this district has now become another centre to the city

<sup>81</sup> Mernissi Fatima; *Women and Islam: An Historical and Theological Enquiry*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991

She relates from Qa'iq Al-Yaman of Al-Damdi in the 20<sup>th</sup> page of her book.

<sup>82</sup> A living saint in Ankara who is described in chapter IV section A/1

she is also both open to people from different religions and sects and yet closed too. What makes her closed is the way that she preserves her identity as an *Alevi*-girl who, due to Atatürk's struggles<sup>83</sup>, attained a right to *be* in a country with a *Sunni* majority.

Although *Mother Love* doesn't identify herself with Ankara she is a part of the migrant Alevi culture that is being reconstructed in this big city. Similar to the saint, this city is both open and closed. It is open as a capital city, yet its social life and economic dynamics are dominantly closed. I am an *Ankaralı* (coming from-belonging to Ankara) in the way that I was born and brought up there and my matri-lineal lineage had been living there for the last century. I have heard many people telling that Ankara is a closed city. It has stopped growing by population until the 80's, but it continues to accept an annual total of 130.000 migrants<sup>84</sup>. It is closed when the social and cultural activities are concerned<sup>85</sup>, "the centre does not act as a magnet by night or by day as the citizens of Ankara prefer to live at home" (Ortaylı, 1995, p.156). When compared to İstanbul, she is like a gate towards Anatolia. May be being closed is her way to maintain as a model city with its Republican state buildings and wide roads.

This situation is true for the museums; they are state buildings and they well reflect the sacred tones interwoven with secular columns. When one enters the Ethnography Museum, which is aside the citadel, it is like entering into another world. A few people go around the remains of history. The building is high and comfortable; there are places to rest. There are photographs showing how Atatürk's deceased body remained in the Ethnography Museum until the construction of Anıtkabir was completed. The compactness of history is presented in a cool way that is typical of a

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<sup>83</sup>She is the personified state of a collective consciousness of the migrant Alevi society in a city, but she is one. Similarly, she attributes the personality of Atatürk a power that nothing would be possible without him. This dilemma of writing or living history by attributing everything to one person will be developed in IV A.

<sup>84</sup> Ortaylı, İlber; "The Anatomy of the last capital City" in Atlas, No:25, April 1995

<sup>85</sup> Halil Nalçaoğlu's presentation about *Ankara as a closed-city* in the 5<sup>th</sup> National Social Sciences Congress that was held between 12-14 November in 1997 in METU Ankara, on Thursday 12<sup>nd</sup> of November at 13:30.

museum that is a state entity. This compactness gives you a freedom in a sense, a freedom which is impossible to find in a societal framework as opposed to a statist one: one is able to take notes and has access to knowledge without any intruding gaze. On the other hand, you are not free to see what you want to see in a museum. Even if what is put to museums are not a part of history of important men, in a short period, you understand that your relative freedom inside the museum is constructed in spite of the other historical places, such as the lodges. The main reason for shutting them may be political, still, now, some of the lodges are protected while the others are left to decay. These matters of choice are again related with issues of otherness in the way that getting away from tradition may occur in a natural way or in an induced way where there are culture building processes in a country.

Constituting a place of access to some information, museums are also a cite for escaping from too much information, a crisis of temporality showing itself as an "extraordinarily changing present". For example, in Ankara, museums are mostly located in *Ulus* (the name of a district. It can be translated as "Nation") region. Ulus is the old centre of Ankara in its compact history. For most people who live in other places of the city, there is little difference between the museums and Ulus itself. It is like the exhibition of the still-used tools (like *kirkit* to make carpets) and Hellenic remains in the city museum. Similarly, lodges are connected to museums and they sometimes function in the same way that a museum functions. It is as common to see groups of women (covered with a headscarf or uncovered) going around in a museum, smelling a rose in the well-kept garden of it, or meditating in front of an object in the museum. Maybe this is why the women who attend religious spaces cannot be differentiated as religious or secular ones. My surprise as to the high proportionality of secular-looking women to attend the *türbes* was only a reflection of a former understanding (or not understanding) of religion in general and Islam in particular<sup>86</sup>.

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<sup>86</sup> My identity as a "republican girl" is not inseparable from this understanding. It has proved useful in having an eye for the "unities" that would seem as dichotomies to a westerners or a westernised easterners eye!

Ankara doesn't seem to have any specific difference as regards women's religious spaces especially when compared to İstanbul, which is very rich in sources of spirituality. Still, Ankara well represents the average-Anatolian-city that is never devoid of plenty of religious spaces that belong to different times throughout history. This means that the city of Ankara is already a *signifier* of something else, “the average Anatolian city”. I tried to re-represent the city as a medium of spirituality. It is difficult to be ideally objective in this representation. Because trying to be objective without including yourself is problematical. People are not comfortable when they are asked questions about their religion. Turkey is a country where the religion of the Muslim majority is regulated by a secular state. On the birth certificates that the citizens of Turkey have to carry with them all their lives, religion is indicated as “Islam” when a baby is born. Through this study, I learned about what is to be a Muslim and how varied the Muslim identity is. One of these variations central to the present study consists of the stories of old, laicist women (Appendix) who live alone and whose Muslim identity is not evident. Scientific methods of social science, such as the in-depth interview helped me to picture this identity pattern. In the interview, people were not “objects of research” for me. Listening to those women was like editing an unpublished book, which was written by someone who would not normally write one. This situation is not an exception for studies of *women*. This is why oral histories reflected in the interviews and throughout the narration of my *türbe* visits have been one of the main tools for me pursuing untold stories.

Oral history is and acceleratingly becoming a bigger part of social science. On the other hand, when one tries to narrate what s/he sees as an experience of life with the help of social sciences but tries not to be entangled in the discourse of these sciences, the boundaries begin to blur. What is good is that I am not the only one to go through this problem. Ideological interpretation of actual events have been and continue to be a problem of science where; “...science is just one perspective among many”<sup>87</sup>. Feyerabend deals with this problem in his books one of which is *Against Method*.

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<sup>87</sup> Klessert, Antony and Shirley Powell, 1993, A Perspective on Ethics and Reburial Contraversy. American Antiquity 58 no.2: 348-354.



Another dimension of this problem concerning doing science comes from the word *subjectivity*. The classical objectivist approaches to science and social science in particular were 'turned upside down' by the realisation of Eurocentric attitude intervenen in them. This realisation which is known at its best with the name of Samir Amin and explained by the world-system theory of Immanuel Wallerstein<sup>88</sup> brought insight to post-modern theories of science. These became the main part of a process that relates to both feminist and "eastern" theory making: The subject studying itself.

In this respect, I didn't differentiate myself from the *subjects* of this study, ie, *Ankaralı* women. My declared relation with the place, belonging to a city that the subjects of the study belonged to turned out to be a useful thing as regards my raw material: "narration". Being an *Ankaralı* is an important advantage for sorting out the details of the narration. Nevertheless, in this process what can be called "an objective awareness" helped me to go through the narrations and actions of different women impartially.

It becomes easier to picture what I am talking about with an instant from my trips during my research: I have begun to go around in the citadel where one can find tombs, old mosques and squatter houses. The residents of the squatter houses come from the villages of Ankara and other parts of Turkey too. Especially during the sacrifice feast, many young men who live in these houses were idle and this showed itself in their gathering in groups. This was an unfortunate condition for a young woman going around alone. Yet it was good to know that their intrusions won't be more than words. And these words were interesting rather than hurting. The first remark was about my "alien" position. They said, "The other's girl (*elin kızı*) has come to go around freely in our district", meaning that they are the protectors of their district and I am an intruder. This is an insult to me and to themselves also, because they would be doing something about it if they were in their own villages. The

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<sup>88</sup> Amin, Samir; *Unequal Development : An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*; translated by Brian Pearce, New York : Monthly Review Press, 1976.  
Wallerstein, Immanuel; *Processes of the World-System* / edited by Terence K. Hopkins, Beverly Hills,: SAGE Publications, c1980.

“Turkish Village” consists of close family ties where nearly everybody is each other’s relative. Therefore, a stranger both doesn’t belong to the village and the big family so that s/he is out of the inner social control so that s/he has to be taken care of by different means of socialisation.

This otherness that is attributed to a *stranger* in an attitude that would fit a village in a big city opens up a much deeper discussion of *otherness*. A good example occurs when we think of the Turkish migrants in European countries, and more than that, the aggressive attitudes of the Europeans toward migrants. Nobody is inherent to the place s/he now lives, so that everyone is an alien. This is true for the Europeans as well, they are aliens to the lands that they are living on, but the third-world immigrants are more alien than they are. The same is true when we go back to the citadel of Ankara; the people now living there had arrived as old as twenty years ago. They are trying to feel at home by acting as if they own the district. Now, I am the other, then, somebody else. And I am the other looking at the otherness of others. This pattern of otherness is important to understand when one is dealing with the concepts of multi-culturalism and spirituality in an urban context. One immediately perceives that Ankara is multi-cultural phenomena when s/he enters into the district of old-city to look for the spiritual connections with the history of the city.

Another remark that came from these young men was about Xeyna the Warrior Princess. One of the boys in a group commented aloudly to his mate: "Hey look at her.... she could have been Xeyna, we better not touch her". And they laughed. In Turkey, this serial is being showed from 1996 until now (1998). Together with Hercule, another serial parallel to the events in Xeyna (they sometimes act together) which doesn't have any particular time or place. They are mythological. It seems that a woman who can beat men can be an effective instrument of protection for lonely women. What's more, Xeyna is as much a role model as Tansu Çiller, whose existance being a role model for women and young girls who are conceiving their womanhood in Turkey for fulfilling important positions in state structure was also an expensive experience for Turkey.

Nevertheless, past experiences are good for constituting the future, and to see more women in politics or in army may result in more women acting in *public space*. Because watching either films or realities that merely include men is no good for many women. Two things gave me motivated me in my efforts to picture women in the past of Ankara that would coincide with Turkish and/or world history. My wonder for the unclear parts of the history of Ankara, together with an urge to perceive today as it is.

The resulting motivation helped me to go through the concepts of: gender, spirituality and power. These are very wide concepts to go through. This is why I've got two focal points in dealing with them; space and time. The particular place of exploration is "religious spaces". The first chapter of this study consists of an exploration of the importance of religious spaces in Islam, and the second chapter questions women's place in them. The dominant Islamic form of architecture is the mosque and women's place in it will be explored in the first part of the third chapter and the saintly tomb will be introduced with details as another spatial form of spirituality that gives women a space to perform their rituals out-of-the-house. The fourth chapter will highlight the spirituality that is lived in the saintly tombs in Ankara, underlining women's spaces. The fifth chapter will provide us with a connection with both positive and negative attributions to spiritual and secular behaviour of women living in Ankara, leading to the sixth chapter where this behaviour will be evaluated. The seventh chapter is a description of spirituality in Ankara today in the light of historical and spatial knowledge that brought me to that chapter. The eighth and last chapter will be an overlook of the patterns that became visible in the process of writing this study down.

The introduction section could have ended here as I have described what I've done in this study in a way that will give the reader a compact view about the whole of the study. On the other hand, introducing Ankara as well as methods for dealing with the experience of spirituality in Ankara as an unexplored subject, deserves prior attention to understand the dynamics of the study.

## 1. Brief History of Ankara

Ankara, the collage of many cultures and religions, has a long history. The following are the main cultures that reigned in Ankara, shortly. The Hittites (20-8<sup>th</sup> cc. BC), Phrigians (8-7<sup>th</sup> cc. BC), Lidians and Galatians Meds and Persians (until 333 BC), Hellenistic existence (until 2<sup>nd</sup> cc. BC). After Roman and Byzantine existences until 620, Persian Sasani rule begins. During this period, an Arabic intervention happens in 653-4. Turkish existence begins with 1071 Malazgirt war with its ups and downs. The Seljukhides, Danishmends and Ilkhanid's reign between 1127 and 1354 and then, the Ottoman reign begins. Finally, the Turkish republic (1923) begins to "have" Ankara.<sup>89</sup>

I concentrated mainly on the Republican Era while doing the study that led to this work. Nevertheless, I have never ceased to remember that Ankara is inseparable from its long history. Although the historicist view will tell us that Ankara, the city, has been "conquered" by different cultures and nations at different times, this long duration talks about the same city no matter who "has" it. As long as *spirituality* is the main theme here, when we go in line of religious-spaces we see that people from all the religions of the book were found in Ankara in the 19<sup>th</sup> cc. (1 to 21 non-Muslim's)<sup>90</sup>

Perceiving Ankara from the spiritual angle is a uniting way as opposed to a modernist angle. The reason is that the hill of Hacı Bayram had always been a religious space, and even the name of Ankara comes from that name where the *Luf* people of the Frigians used to worship their moon Goddess *Ankaura* (Umar, 1993).

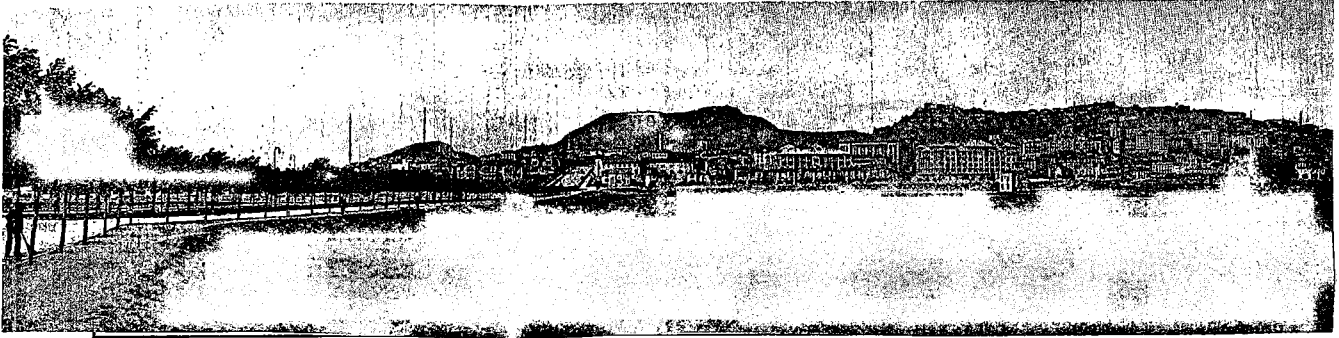
This spiritual *perception* is shaped by the graves that are the best indicators of spirituality and the other world in different cultures through history. On the other hand, most graveyards have continuously changing components. Tanyu (1968, p.54) relates from Mübarek Galip's *Kabristanlar-Mescitler-Camiiler* (Graveyards-Small

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<sup>89</sup> Tanyu 1968, Ortaylı 1995, Ana Britannica.

<sup>90</sup> Tanyu paraphrases from Şemsettin Sami in 1968, p.51+ footnote

Mosques and Mosques, ) dated 1341 that, most cemeteries were removed during the nation-building-process. The reason was that the roads that passed through whatever came their way are an important part of the general outlook of the city. Ankara signifies the whole of the process and its price had to be paid. So that “many visiting places (*ziyaretgâh*), or graves and trees where people tied pieces of cloth, beside bigger and more important graves in the old cemetery by the region *Hamamönü*, the Ethnography Museum and the *Türk-Ocağı* (Turkish Association) were abolished to be replaced by new buildings, houses, associations, schools.” (Tanyu, 1968, p. 54)



*Panorama d'Ankara depuis la Gare, from Mamboury*

Figure 4

There are three ramparts around the old-city. The first one from inside is the most preserved one. There is a small part left from the second one that is left from the Romans. This remaining part is seen from the hill of Hacı Bayram. The third is the Byzantine wall from which there are no remains.<sup>91</sup>

Last but not least, it is important to note that most people who have lived in Ankara is known as “conservative”. This is how Ortaylı describes the present dwellers, Karaosmaoğlu the dwellers by the Republic, and Der Spiegel<sup>92</sup> the Kelts who lived in the fourth century B.C. All of these sources say that the natives of Ankara (although who is the native changes in centuries) were very good in crafts whether they were Kelt’s or the brotherhoods (Ahi) of the Ottoman Empire.

## **2. Significance of Migration for Ankara**

<sup>91</sup> Eyice, Semavi; “Ankara’nın Eski Bir Resmi”, *Atatürk Konferansları*, IV, 1972

<sup>92</sup> in an article translated by Alev Kırım from Der Spiegel “Ankara’yı kuran Keltler barbarlıktan Üstün Irka terfi etti”, *Der Spiegel* 31/97



The natives of Ankara changed, but it changed slowly. This was until the 1970's. Now, people from eastern parts of Turkey live within the remains of the citadel in squatter houses. People like the big eyed couple from Erzurum who take care of the *Kırkızlar* graveyard. (IV/A/2) Their geese go around on the stony hills. There is a similar layout with Altındağ, one of the important squatter house districts of Ankara.



Now children of the migrant families go around the whirling narrow roads of the citadel. They are the new-phenomena that Sevgi Soysal, an *Ankaralı* describes thus:

There was no central heating then. So no apartment caretakers, neither their children. Children were living in similar houses, had similar pocket money's... Wasn't there *Alındağ* then? It wasn't easy to see villagers, or children of the gypsies. Migration to Ankara didn't begin then. There was the government in Ankara. It was forbidden for the villagers to pass by the Boulevard. (Cited in Atauz 1993, p.12)

This Boulevard is the Atatürk Boulevard that has been described in the introduction. The boulevard gives the history of

the republic by a walk from one end to the other. Nevertheless, it became no more possible to ban the road to *villagers* who were not the minority any more. Migration was the only uncalculated thing during the public improvements in Ankara and the construction of the whole Republic. So that the old-city of Ankara that was left to future excavations was filled by the migrant villagers. Atatürk tried to empty old-Ankara and leave it free for future excavation projects. This intention of Atatürk could not be realised as planned. Similarly, Atatürk tried to clear religion from the *tekke*'s and *zaviye*'s by a law in 1925. Nevertheless, this radical break from the most

visible aspects of Islam in Anatolia wasn't accepted by all Turkish citizens.<sup>93</sup> It was no chance that Ankara was the city that was most regulated according to this law.

Yet, migration changed the controlled condition of Ankara. On the other hand, the quotation from Güntekin in the beginning of introduction shows that as a compound part of Anatolia Ankara was one of the places where there was a "dark" aspect of religion before the Republic. Ankara is famous for her extremely conservative people of they had to change radically after the Republic. This process is wonderfully reflected in Karaosmanoğlu's Ankara (193-1991). The natives of Ankara changed, and the ones who changed moved from old-Ankara to a new district, Yenisehir. Dilek Güngen described it from her life story: her father's mother was more conservative and she remained in the old-city while her "bohemian" mother's mother was among the changing and consequently moving dwellers of Ankara.

While these re-mobilisations were happening in Ankara, the villagers' position was changing too, at least in the words of Atatürk. He was saying that the villagers were the masters of the nation: "*Köylü milletin efendisidir*". But they were apparently not a part of the "image" of the republic. However, as I have told, the balances began to change with migration, who was to control the accelerating amounts of *them* in the boulevard?

In addition to that, Ankara had become a university town where the multi-cultural structure of the universities both deepens and resolves the crisis. The deepening is signified by the repeating student marches in the centre that oppose *fee-paying education*, which will make the universities cease to be spaces for the clash and synthesis of different cultures within a nation. On the other hand, the latter, the resolving process is a more long-term one that is not independent from the former: Children who don't have similar pocket moneys take part in the capital of knowledge. Young people who think differently about religion due to the situation described above fight with each other and watch themselves from the television sitting side by side in the dormitory canteen of METU. This happens at the night of a

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<sup>93</sup> Mardin, Şerif, *Türkiye'de Din ve Siyaset*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991. P 30-31

hot day when “the Islamist students and the students from the Kemalist group called the *Thought in line with Atatürk* clashed”.

Similar clashes happen within the selves of persons. In Ankara, there are women who try both to comply with Atatürk’s reforms and the requirements of Islam by themselves. Some have given up most of the Islamic principles and given themselves to working. Some have returned to these principles in their old ages (int.2). Some have never given up (interview 1) both. Some reinvent Islam in reaction to their overworking parents<sup>94</sup>. But it seems that all go to saints’ tombs once, twice or all their lives wishing what is good for themselves and their children in shelter of the saints’ personality even if they are themselves *bad*. When they migrate, they adopt to the saints of the new city.

### **3. Secularisation as Regulation of Religion**

The internal unity of the women that I had interviewed was fascinating in combining Islam and laicism in different ways. Oral history proved that these internal processes are closely related to national processes where the political regulations concerning religion directly effect peoples’ lives. For example, in my second interview Ms. H. narrated her inner processes were interwoven with her experiences when she witnessed how the minorities left her town. A nation was being formed from a multi-ethnic empire and being a Turk was to be the mere identity. Some political regulations were brought after the foundation of the republic. This process affected all the people’s lives. The nation building process separated Ms. H. from the Greeks in her town but the ideals of the same process gave her grounds to become independent as a woman.

In this part, I will deal with the religious regulations as an introduction to women’s relation with the saintly tombs. Hikmet Tanyu, while introducing his book on the votive offering places in and around Ankara<sup>95</sup>, makes us recall that the *türbes* were

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<sup>94</sup> Acar, Feride: "Women and Islam in Turkey", *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader*, Şirin Tekeli (Ed.), Zed Books Ltd., London & New Jersey, 1991, 1995.

<sup>95</sup> Tanyu, Hikmet: *Ankara ve Çevresinde Adak ve Adak Yerleri*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1967/8



closed on the date 30.11.1925 with the code 677 (until they were opened in 1950's). This is a major sign among other rules and regulations that mark the end of an era where people wished their wishes from the friend of God<sup>96</sup> instead of trying to be friends of God by themselves. Its long name is "The Law as to the Banning of the *Tekke*'s, *Zaviye*'s (Lodges) and saintly tombs and the lifting up of the statutes of the carers of the saintly tombs (*türbedar*)"<sup>97</sup>.

This code and the other rules and regulations like the banning of the lodges cause obstructions to the worship of the people. These obstructions between people and their religion show themselves in the prudence of the republican people in 1967 (Tanyu p.24). On the other hand Tanyu also underlines the fact that this code that is the most concrete state of the rules and regulations regulating "the religious" doesn't limit or ban the visits or votive offerings to the saints. (Tanyu, 1967, p.25) It seems that in Turkey, people didn't change how they acted according to the saint with the regulations. They continued their previous practices. In parallel to that, self-appointed caretakers began to take care of the saintly tombs. For example, Tanyu is talking about a self-appointed old woman that takes care of the tomb of Karyağdı Sultan.

The saintly tombs were opened to visit 25 years later on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March, 1950 after the proposal of the days prime minister Şemsettin Günaltay. After this opening, many of the old buildings that were left to decay for twenty-five years underwent restoration (Kara, 1990, p 345-7). It seems that in this process, the state realised the lack of permanent caretakers and appointed officials instead of the self-appointed people. Of course this resulted in the carers being *men* instead of *women* who were there before.

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<sup>96</sup> Friend of God is the meaning of the word *walayyat* from which the word *evliya/saint* comes from (Eliade, 1985, p.127) There is an important place of this word in the life and philosophy of Islam in Anatolia. This is why the Ottoman State also regulated the *velis* by controlling them in every way. [Mardin, Şerif. Bediüzzaman Said Nursi Olayı: Modern Türkiye'de din ve Toplumsal Değişim, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları 1992.]

<sup>97</sup> Kara, Mustafa: *Din, Hayat, Sanat açısından Tekke ve Zaviyeler*, İstanbul: Dergah yayınları Tarih Dizisi, 1990, p328

Having a look at a similar country that didn't undergo a ban can better demonstrate what these laws positively prevented. In Morocco in 1939, one fifth of the adult male population were a member of one of the 23 leading Sufi-orders and in 1971, 92 percent of the population were connected to either of these sects or to the cults of individual saints<sup>98</sup>. Despite the banning on the lodges and the *zawiye*'s, there are still many Sufi orders in Turkey especially in the east. Even the previous prime minister and president Turgut Özal, who made capitalism rivet and who is adored by the majority of the population by that rivet, announced that he belonged to one in the late 1980's. Many people think that this announcement caused the second revival of Islam in Turkey (app, interview 2) after the first one in 1950's. This thought reflects the naivety of some of the people who cut their ties with religious establishments in parallel to the laws in Turkey, as to religion. Even in the universities that gave western education, such dimensions of Islam remained unstudied sociologically until Şerif Mardin did so.

It seems that the western-minded citizens of the Turkish republic choose to remain ignorant towards religion in some ways for a long period. The westerners romanticising about folk Islam were on one side of Islamic studies and the scientific approaches of the Westernised easterners on the other. The approach of Clifford Geertz or Ernest Gellner to Sufi orders in different countries are much more romantic than, say the approach of Mardin or Aijaz Ahmed who made studies on Islam<sup>99</sup>. *Sufism* is a romantic keyword, which recalls heterodoxy. Nevertheless, when we see it as a folk religion directed by a particular *sheyk* or *hodja* and shaped according to the thoughts of this person, it can be more orthodox than scriptural Islam. Even a saint as the highest state of spirituality, may cause strife not mainly against other religions but do so within Islam. The community that a saint directs may be directed against other sects and this is as much romantic as the nation-state after the Reich.

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<sup>98</sup> Dwyer, Daisy Hilse; "Women, Sufism, and decision making in Moroccan Islam" in *Women in the Muslim World*, Nikki Keddie Lois Beck (eds) *Women in the Muslim World*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978

<sup>99</sup> The studies of these social scientists can be scanned from the **References** part.



Here, a saint can be described as a person experiencing the continuity of life and death and knowing religion from the hearth. There is an example of such a saint in the narrative section (IV). She is a nationalist and this doesn't leave any romanticism when one doesn't belong to her community or one isn't a westerner who doesn't understand this nationalism and extol her. The community of this saint is Alevi and is against the current ways and means of the Sunnis although she accepts Sunnis to her presence. In this way, the current conflict between Alevi and Sunni is regenerated and resolved within the saint's powerful personality. When scriptural religion is not the primary source of a religious life, like it is in the case of the community of *Mother Love*, the orthodoxy that comes from the dominance of the Sunnis in Turkey is usually broken. A uniform knowledge of Islam that is approved by the authorities is not a part of *Mother Love*'s teachings. Nevertheless, she is really very conservative in what she thinks true religion is<sup>100</sup>. Which means that a heterodox attitude that has the spirit to non-comply written religion may be as conservative and closed to new ideas as an orthodox attitude towards religion in its own means and ways.

In the Ottoman Empire there had been orders that were principally heterodox. The Bektaşî tariqat is one of them, a tariqat which goes back to Hacı Bektash. It is known for giving women a relative measure of equality, it supported the nationalist forces and by 1923 Çelebi Veliyiddun Efendi declared this by a letter to all "sincere friends and esteemed descendants of Hacı Bektaş of Anatolia", telling that Mustafa Kemal Paşa is the only one to save the nation. Still, although some Bektaşî's thought that there was no need for *tariqats* after the banning of them in November 1925, many Bektaşîs were saddened by the situation. So that it had become one of the secret organizations. (Öztürk, 1988, p.82-3)

This confused situation is due to the state's inconsistent politics as to the regulation of religion. "The paradoxes of the Turkish pattern of modernisation is that the state thereby lost control over and understanding of religion at the precise historical moment that it unwittingly helped to endow it with greater and more profound social

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<sup>100</sup> For example she says that Mevlana isn't a saint because he had a teacher.

significance.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, the position held against the headscarf is inconsistent, too. On the one hand, many people believe that there are even laws against the wearing of headscarves of students and state officials, on the other hand, there is no such thing.<sup>102</sup> There are regulations parallel to meetings like the ones held in 1987 by university professors. (ibid p.44-45) As a result of this meeting, bans on headscarf were brought by certain universities. Both the welfare Party and the Motherland Party worked against this. (Ibid p.46-6) But it seems that the application of the regulations concerning the headgear in the universities were problematical even if the parties could not succeed in lifting the bans.

Özdalga narrates us the story of a young woman who struggled for her headscarf, and who got disappointed because of the dilemmas concerning the unlawfulness of the lawmen when there was a hot issue. In the Law Faculty, her professors who have to be the “ideal” representatives of law didn’t act parallel to the law in their fight against the headscarf. (Ibid p.54) Both the religion and the state bring rules and regulations and it becomes “a difficult situation to be squeezed between these totally incompatible alternatives.” (Ibid. p.56)

The laws as to both religion and women in Turkey are not alike any other country where nearly all of the citizens are Muslims. The reason is that unlike the other Islamic countries, Turkey is not conducted by religious law and this is why the rules concerning women’s acts are alike in any European country (which means they can be bad and good alike). This is why, for example in an article named “Women and Law Reform in Contemporary Islam”<sup>103</sup> Turkey is has been left outside of consideration.

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<sup>101</sup> Gilsonan, Michael: *Recognizing Islam: An Anthropologist’s Introduction*, London, Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984.

<sup>102</sup> Özdalga, Elisabeth; *The Veiling Issue, Official Secularism and Popular Islam in Modern Turkey*, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1998.

<sup>103</sup> Coulson, Noel and Doreen Hinchcliffe: “Women and Law Reform in Contemporary Islam” in Nikki Keddie, Lois Beck (eds) *Women in the Muslim World*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978 (P. 47-8)

As a result, it can be said that religion was veiled while the women were unveiled in the sense that veil signifies the capacities of religion or *women*. “Before the veil was actively discouraged by Atatürk, women in the countryside didn’t wear the veil because they couldn’t work on the fields with their veil on<sup>104</sup>”. So that when religion “came back” with the 1950’s, the resisting force before them was to be women who were happy with being unveiled (the interviews made by various women, see appendix). Nevertheless, this encounter was and is still not parallel to the argument that women who resist to religion don’t have *iman*<sup>105</sup> and that they are disconnected from religion as they were disconnected with their headscarves. It is true that the formal and informal rules and regulations concerning religion disconnected the women citizens (who really have to do so with the city, and Ankara in the present research) from the mosques and from their headscarf as well. But although some of the *türbes* were closed and reopened during the period between the foundation of the republic (1923) and the first revival of Islam in 1950’s, women’s relation with the *türbes* weren’t interfered. This relationship continued from where they left, in form of the habits of their mothers and their mothers’ mothers.

“Even urban re-development activities which have non-economic, material conditions and practices as their dominant motivation are ultimately structured by economic forces.”<sup>106</sup> In this respect, ultimately economic forces that take place in the state structures structure vitalisation and marginalisation processes concerning

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<sup>104</sup> Coşar, F.M: “Women in Turkish Society” in *Women in the Muslim World*, Nikki Keddie Lois Beck (eds) *Women in the Muslim World*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978

<sup>105</sup> It is the word for *faith* in English and not *spirituality*. But I think that the Turkish of *spirituality*, *ruhaniyet* is used for the Christians and not Islamic forms of spirituality. This requires more focusing and doesn’t change the development of my argument but I wanted to open a window for that here. But a quotation from Ernest Stromberg (els@darkwing.uoregon.edu) in the postcolonial discussion list on 21 Apr 1998 is very enlightening on how religious terms are not interchangeable between cultures: “A few years ago there was a law suit filed in California seeking to stop the US Forest service from building a road through a Native American sacred site. The suit was rejected by the supreme court, primarily on the grounds that religious freedom, as religion is defined in this country, did not recognize natural place specific traditions. So, to put this reductively, there was no translation. The concepts of spirituality/religion could not be translated across cultures.”

<sup>106</sup> Beauregard, Robert A; “Structure, Agency, and Urban Redevelopment” *Cities in Transformation: Class, Capital and the State*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984 (p.62)

the religious spaces. The centre, which used to be the place where the crowds live, (Ulus/old-city of Ankara) was shifted to the new centre that was created by the state, Kızılay. Nevertheless, this took time and the first banks and government institutions were built in Ulus too<sup>107</sup>. In time these buildings ceased to be the central government agencies. The *türbes* that remained in the centre were marginalised even more radically. However, the reason for the shift was to excavate the place and it couldn't be realised due to economical inefficiency of state budget for such projects.

The most Ankara related regulation is the one concerning the ban on the old-city of Ankara. Old-Ankara was left more or less untouched by the republic because the archaeological layout of multiple cultures that were introduced in the previous section (I/A/1) throughout history was to be protected. For that, building new residences to that part was banned and the dwellers of this part were tried to be slided to the *Yenişehir/New-City* region. This ban is also related closely to religious spaces of both Islam and other cultures (Hittite, Phrigan etc.) Atatürk had planned to turn the old-city into a big park that would display the archaeology of the old cultures. It was a very big project and couldn't be taken in the first order at the beginning of the republic. I have sent e-mails to different organizations related to the city of Ankara or the environment of Ankara about the present situation of the project but none replied. It seems that Tanpınar's following words are true: "it can be said that Ankara had gone out of the independence war by burning all its past" (1994). It can be said from the same point that all these isolations are a matter of political power "which is incarnated in an apparatus rather than being embodied in persons."<sup>108</sup> A project that has very long-term goals must be supported by the state. On the other hand, the institutionalisation of the idea of such a project is not very possible. If such projects had been parts of people's lives more, then achieving the ends would have been easier.

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<sup>107</sup> The architecture of these buildings deserve special attention, which Murat Güvenç, a professor in City planning Department of METU gives.

<sup>108</sup> Sayer, Derek ; *Capitalism and Modernity: An Excursus on Marx and Weber*, London: Routledge, 1991 (p.78)

An example of a person who has an internalised goal regarding the place is Raci Bademli. He is an old *Ankaralı* and is achieving projects regarding old-Ankara. His most well-known execution is the redevelopment of the area that surround the mosque and *türbe* of Hacı Bayram. In this, he was most criticised because his team cut off everything around to emphasise the mosque and the space. On the other hand, this activity is very close to what was planned during the shift of the city in 1930's. The burnt past was to be excavated and emphasised by such projects.

A similar process of excavation can happen in the realm of knowledge. People's ideas concerning the day and their part were similarly slid and burnt during changes in ideology and state. Which means that some relics could be similarly excavated. This is why talking to old women who have experienced the birth of the Republic when they were children was so fascinating. And this is why new connections similar to these interviews will constitute the line of continuation of my study.

## **B. Method**

The story line that was basically formed with interviews fed from:

- individual and group discussions with
  - old women who have experienced the birth of the Republic (documented)
  - women who attend the *türbes* as they do so (spontaneous, undocumented)
- about what they want to tell about their own spirituality
- the stories about the saints that were visited
- my adventures in the institutions that are related with the preservation and/or isolation of religious spaces
- and, as my supervisor İsenbike Togan says; what happens to me while I was planning otherwise

And this constitutes the method section.

The special relation of women to religion is an unexplored subject in Turkey. In order for me to (think I can) explore such habits of women in Ankara, Turkey as an *Ankaralı*, two processes were necessary. One was unveiling of orientalism and the falling of western science as an unshakeable objectivity. This, I owe to my Political



Science education in METU which lay the readings of Edward Said and Samir Amin<sup>109</sup> before me for a beginning. In addition to that, my short experience in the Department of Philosophy in the same university where the eastern tradition of science shines in the name of *İmam Ghazali* and western science interrogated with Feyerabend<sup>110</sup> helped me to question automatically accepted notions of western science. The other process that helped me turn a subjectivity into objectivity was the feminist studies approach to (social and positive) science. Apart from being one-sided, the Department of Women's Studies in METU helped me see that what have always been a subject of science (the third world) and life (women) could study *herself*.

This section tries to illustrate the process of my study as to the methods I have used by going through existent resources and personal experience. These led to multiple maps in my mind regarding the votive offering places and their usage by women in an urban context. I have tried to reflect them in chapter 8 as *patterns*. Stories of personal experiences of women and my observations and dialogues in religious spaces constituted the bigger portion of these patterns. My prior experience in focus groups and in-depth interviews in a research that I have conducted with my colleague for Unicef for health issues and realisation of a part of another research for ILO in child-labor helped me in my dialogues about private lives of people<sup>111</sup>.

In addition to this information, I observed the long duration concerning the history of Ankara from the results of excavations in the citadel and around as we have seen in the short history section (I.A.1). A more short span excavation is possible in people's minds. This is what I have tried to do while studying spirituality. I have also designed a project for exploring more by talking to other old people who are hard to get in touch with because their public encounters are lessened due to their old age. The present study initiated the communication processes for this project. I have

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<sup>109</sup> Special thanks to Biray Kırılı

<sup>110</sup> Special thanks to Ahmet İnam

<sup>111</sup> Jewkes, Rachel. "Meanings of Community" *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol 43, No.4, Pp 55-563  
Debus, Mary. Et.al. *Methodological Review: A Handbook for Excellence in Focus Group Research*,  
Washington DC: Academy for educational Development, 1991

formed bonds with the women with whom I talked with, and they promised to talk to the few friends that they have got. The telephone traffic is still going on, and the second encounters even unfold more interesting memories about the Republic, about the headscarf, about a woman's work and about life in Ankara.

## 1. Exploring the City

The core idea that led to the development of the research was an ethnography of Ankara, the city that I was born in, to see what older people see there, to perceive it as other women through history have perceived it. Before I had begun research and started to pursue the subject, I perceived Ankara as a forest which was able to hide the elephants that Timur had brought with his battalion to defeat Yıldırım Beyazıt in the War of Ankara. This occurred during the *War of Ankara* in 1402. When one uses the words *history* and *Ankara*, this war seems to be the only reference that almost all primary school graduates know in Turkey.

The other image that is about the history of Ankara is a more subjective story. The black and white photographs that remain from my grandmother and her family tell stories of Ankara as an open space full of orchards. These photographs talk about tough-looking moustached Muslim men and their obese wives who smile while the photograph is being taken, but whose stories are about work and organisation of daily life.

Although the first picture of Ankara as an imaginary forest is out of the scope for now, the second picture of the people from Ankara that reflects the process of change after Ankara became a republic relates and reflects the scope of the present research. Y.K.Karaosmanoğlu (1991) as well as Samet Ağaoğlu<sup>112</sup> talk about similar pictures from their minds, the vineyards and orchards out of the centre of Ankara, in Çankaya, in Keçiören. The best description of this city can be found in the interviews that are done with women of Ankara<sup>113</sup>. These descriptions reflect the organisation of the old-city and the sliding of the city from the old centre to the new-city. This shift can be compared to the shift from empire to republic, a process which affected

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<sup>112</sup> Ağaoğlu, Samet: *Babamın Arkadaşları*, İstanbul: Nebioğlu Yayınevi, No Date.

<sup>113</sup> The whole of the interview is App.1

peoples relationship with Islam as well as effecting the relationship with the state (both were tried to be made more direct).

In the introduction section, I said that what constitutes the bottom of the iceberg as to Islam is women's spirituality. Because the bottom means the farthest point from the top of the iceberg, which is at the same time seen from outside. Nevertheless, this comparison shouldn't indicate a hierarchy. What it indicates is a functioning mechanism where the top is seen and the bottom remains unseen, however it is the bottom that makes it flow. This study is an attempt to discover that unseen part, however it is only a modest attempt which tries to develop a method from the approaches of ethnographer-theorists like Carol Delaney<sup>114</sup> and Lila Abu Lughod<sup>115</sup>, that would fit a study of a city specifically on the subject of religion. This process would be impossible without the aiding, unique and well-grounded approaches of İsenbike Togan<sup>116</sup>.

## 2. History and Social-Science

Gerda Lerner says in her *The Creation of Patriarchy*<sup>117</sup> that "the theoretical hypotheses I offer for Western Civilisation will need to be tested in and compared with other cultures for their general applicability". This was one of my beginning points to have questions concerning the relationship of spirituality with women. The researchers that I have talked about in the previous part created a field for me to study women's spirituality between history and social science. In addition to this, a surprising saint taught me that this doesn't mean that a researcher of the women saints doesn't have to concentrate on a supposed past period to understand about

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<sup>114</sup> Delaney, Carol; *The Seed and the Soil: Symbols of Precreation-Creation of a World* (an example from Turkey), Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1991.

<sup>115</sup> Abu-Lughod, Lila. *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and poetry in a Bedouin Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Abu-Lughod, Lila. "Can there be a feminist ethnography ?" in *Women and Performance* , 1990, 5:1, pp.7-27

<sup>116</sup> Togan Arıcanlı, İsenbike. "Women in Religious Literature: Two Cases from Anatolia and Eastern Turkestan (Present Xinjiang, PRC)", A Research Proposal Presented to Comparative Studies of Muslim Societies Social Science Research Council, Tufts University, December 1988.

<sup>117</sup> Lerner, Gerda; *The Creation of Patriarchy*, Oxford University Press,, New York, Oxford, 1986.

women saints. What was surprising about the saint was her being alive. And what her presence taught to me was that I could be a social scientist in and about history. The initial question of concentrating on a particular period would be the right position to take if one was to make a historical study. A part of my study is historical and history is the most important dimension of my thesis together with spirituality. Nevertheless, history is made use of to enlighten a long durée<sup>118</sup> map of the bottom of the iceberg described above.

So that, in exploring the *patterns of spiritual involvement* a map of this spirituality should be the guide. This is vindicated by the qualitative part of my research that had two dimensions. Firstly, to get a view of the map of visiting patterns of *türbes* as regards women and secondly, to understand about the spirituality that was marked by the shift from empire to republic. This was done through interviewing women over 80 who had lived in Ankara in this period. These women, who were chosen are mentally capable and lead individual spiritual lives with their Arabic and/or Turkish Koran's at hand and their visitations of their own relatives and saints' tombs. The saintly tombs, ie. *türbes* that I've studied were the most popular one's like Karyağdı and Hacı Bayram in this sense. Yet I've underlined the female side of the *türbes* so that the *türbes* of four female and two male saints were introduced in addition to the *foundation* of a living saint. I attended these religious spaces regularly to chat with other visitors.

In the beginning, I also wondered "the degree of religiosity" of the people that I was to talk to, nevertheless spirituality can not be categorised, not in a kind of study that I was doing. Tolmacheva writes about this difficulty of estimating a religiosity for other people, as well: "...Since Islam allows lapses of observation, the latent nature of Islamic belief and ritual in the Soviet environment has often misled observers into overestimating the degree of secularism modernisation has brought to Central

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<sup>118</sup> Duree's are concepts of Fernand Braudel. In *The Meditterenean* he describes the long 16<sup>th</sup> cc. But the long-duree is even longer than the 16<sup>th</sup> cc. for the Meditterenean. It is centuries' long.

Braudel, Fernand; *On History*, trans. by Sarah Matthews, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1980.

Asia."<sup>119</sup> A similar picture could have been drawn about Ankara where so many women seem to have no acts of ritual Islam. The great numbers of secular women attending lodges and saints' tombs in Ankara surprised me. This was a picture I was able to see only after the completion of my research. When one enters in the mosques or saintly tombs, one sees many women who define themselves as laicist. These women would not talk about their religious visits within their daily talk, but they are believers who exercise the five pillars of Islam.

This is why I had to depend on observations, interviews and personal experience of events as to the spirituality of women. This knowledge was not to be found anywhere else, not in books. And this is where, being a part of the subject of the study worked: being woman, being Muslim, living in the same city: *Ankara*.

Similar ethnographies have been done by various social scientists; researchers like Caroline Ramazanoğlu, Aynur İlyasoğlu, Nancy Tapper, Deniz Kandiyoti lay the way to feminist methodologies in Turkey. Carol Delaney has a different place but a similar insight, and her research on Turkey has given many students of social science different points of view that is easier to see when one looks from outside. Buchi Emecheta<sup>120</sup> is a theorist and an insider who looks in and who has part in the emergence of theories of eurocentrism that have been discussed in the introduction section as a new perspective to the objectivity/ subjectivity debate. Apart from the feminist researchers and theoreticians, two philosophers caused new perspectives to reproduce themselves in my mind. These are Foucault on the *Archeology of Knowledge* and Bourdieu on his *Theory of Practice*. Feminist usage of the theories of both of these theorists is not uncommon. For example Maude Frances's 1994 honours thesis at UWA (University of Western Australia) is entitled 'Women's bodies and habitus: dance and social trajectory', in which she argues that the adult-education of women whose bodies are already *crushed* (ie, *stooped* in the language of Bourdieu) is difficult.

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<sup>119</sup> Tolmacheva, Marina; "The Muslim Woman and Atheism in Soviet Central Asia", *Islamic Studies* 33, 2-3, Pp.183-201, 1994

<sup>120</sup> Haraway, Donna. "Reading Buchi Emecheta: Contests for Women's Experience in Women's Studies." *Inscriptions* 3-4 (1988): 107-24



Among these, I have emphasized Carol Delaney's and Lila Abu Lughod's works although they are westerners studying the east. Theirs is just another, careful point of view and not typically and specifically a westerners point of view in their studies. "Ethnography" is a method that gives importance to the local unique characteristics of places and people, without intrusions of "big thoughts" as to theory and colony making. The Vienna school's approach is similar. We can't make science when we don't know about what we are working on; or when we approach not to understand but to put the "object" of study to pre-scheduled schema's, or to make it a subject of our previous state of knowledge. Or when we accept a dimension of our subject of study without being aware of ideologies inherent in it. This is why different perspectives are very precious, but only when they concentrate on the details on what they are studying<sup>121</sup>.

I tried to concentrate on the women of Ankara and their spirituality. This is already a broad subject, so that I choose the saintly tombs in the urban centre as my field. I made an attempt to reflect some patterns concerning the spiritual existences of different kinds of women in the capital of a secular republic, ninety nine point five percent of the citizens of which are Muslims<sup>122</sup>. National as well as individual processes of pursuing the unity of Islam and laicism (the sacred and the profane) constitute the core of my research.

### **3. New Schemas**

The new schema is the republic for a religious society. It is a hard process to get used to. Nietzsche's phrase "trying to fix new things into old schemas" turns upside down in this process and old things had to find places in the new schemas that were brought by the republic. The place that reflects this process is the government institution as an outer determinator in this study. I have drawn the inner circle of what happened to people's religious actions and feelings around women.

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<sup>121</sup> For example unlike Gellner who is a theoretician of a wide scope but who leaves the reader without food on the half of the journey to ethnography.

<sup>122</sup> Birand, Mehmet Ali; "The minorities in Turkey" 32. *Gün/ 32<sup>nd</sup> Day* (popular news program), Show TV, 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1997

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<sup>122</sup> Birand, Mehmet Ali; "The minorities in Turkey" 32. *Gün/ 32<sup>nd</sup> Day* (popular news program), Show TV, 2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1997

tents) throughout history. When s/he takes out her/his notebook and begins to write, s/he sees that nobody is willing to interpellate<sup>125</sup> like it happens in the citadel.

There, one understands what is meant by westernisation and how miraculous the new government buildings built during the 1930's and onwards are. Nevertheless, these institutions, buildings don't always work in the way that was intended to be: nepotism as well as slowness are parts of these institutions in addition to their "directive" attitude towards the clients. This situation was already implied by the monumental structure of these buildings, a kind of structure that is attributed to the totalitarian regimes (where the German architects who are responsible from these buildings must not be overlooked). However, we can't say that nepotism or slowness is necessarily an evil, these are only current applications of traditional manners. Nepotism can be a good reference system within kinship structures and slowness an alternative (and a way of *carpe diem* – seizing the day) to the uncontrollable speed of *the modern meaning of tomorrow*. The Turkish way of playing with modernity from within, as a third worldian potential transformative agent, is not less meaningful than the post modernist motto "the modernist utopia is totalitarianism". In other words, the totalitarian looking architectural structures in the modern government buildings surround independent mechanisms in them. A government officer is always there with his/her personality that is not independent from his/her kins and also mood.

The government institution is another realm that has to be studied. This complex structure is especially an important part of Ankara that is a city where bureaucracy prevails. Still there are points where this bureaucracy is broken too. One of my first visits to the citadel of Ankara resulted in getting by a graveyard named *Kırkızlar*, where a young woman took care of the *türbe* instead of his husband who is a government official. Although the graveyard is closed by the state, this woman takes in people that she wants to. This gave me a chance to get closer to my intension which is learning about the *complex structures* of belief in *women* in general and helped me prevent feeling uncanny with being have to take permission from the

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<sup>125</sup> In an Althusserian way, in Turkey it is not uncommon to hear "hey you" kind of interventions when one is walking down the street, a man if you are a girl or by a police if you "look uncanny".

Remember the "Xeyna affair" part I/A!

government. Getting permission is a matter of a "closing and opening of doors before you" when getting permission is concerned and Turkish state has the power to do that on a bigger scale. Still, my second step was going to the General Directorate of Foundations (Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü) that was supposed to lead me to its open places and give permission for me to enter into some closed doors like *türbes* that visitors are not let in formally. As a result, the normal flow of events are usually better than trying to get permission from the institutions because if there is demand to visit a place, then this is realised. For example although the Kırkkızlar is shut off for visits, women continue to visit it. Another example is the story about the ghost of *Hacı Bayram* opening the doors of his *türbe* when they were closed in the 1940's. (Tanyu, 1967)

Similar stories are transferred through the dialogue which is both an important part of scientific method and which constitutes most of our social life. Quantitative or qualitative research methods are always desirable when one is studying within a scientific framework, a university. This is of course true for me. As I have told in the introduction of this section, my real reason for the usage of qualitative research methods lies in my perception of them as chances to get accurate sights of the collective-conscience of women as regards spirituality. The interviews taught a lot to me, they were transformative, and many people (especially women with "feminist consciousness") did their best to help me during the interviews and during the processes that led to the interviews. This proved that oral histories in favour of women are potential power areas that become very important after realising the situation. As a result, the study turned out to be a transformation process instead of a teleological one. I was transformed, freed from automatically taking place in one of the camps to the laicism debates and began to see the possible different synthesis that individual women do in their homes.

This was achieved through the narrations of women; therefore the narrative style which is no usual language for the writing down of a study became indispensable for mine. It mainly concentrates on the IVth chapter. Plus, the fact that a text, which is assumed to be "totally objective", can be Eurocentric or sexist between the lines has already been introduced to the academic world by theoreticians like Feyerabend. On

the other hand, undistorted narration which depends on the experience of the subject can be "objective" on the condition that "the self" is well defined as well as "the other". The subjectivity that is assumed to be carried into research through the gate that the narrative style opens can be "made visible" by first making clear. For this, first the details about the narrator should be clear (which can be found in I/A) and then the intended and resulting content of the narration. This is what I tried to do.

#### **4. Old Myths**

An Image: Today's situation where most religious orders that are reflected by the tools of the media to the people are not a way out of the daily chaos, but a way into monetary and sexual exploitation prove that rules and regulations were indispensable to religion. Nevertheless, there is something more into this situation than rule and regulation, which is an image that keeps people from talking about and thinking about most religious issues: the image of the mullahs hanging from the trees in Ankara in the past. A story that no one wants to talk about, an image no one wants to remember.

This case resembles the event described in *The Century-Long Solitude* by Gabriel Garcia Marquez.<sup>126</sup> This event describes the political genocide where all the people of a village were killed and transformed by a train. Two of the victims live through the event, turn back to their village, try to describe what they have lived, and find out that there is no one ear to listen to what they are going to tell them. Nobody wants to know about, or remember what happened. They don't.

*Mother Love* (IV/A/1) a woman saint in Ankara dares to remember an episode regarding the execution of some mullahs. She told an anecdote about it during a *muhabbet/* friendly conversation with the *Alevi* community that convenes at her foundation every Thursday. Her anecdote is about the mullahs of her own town, the town where she lived her childhood, Yozgat. She tells that in 1930's there were nine mullahs in Yozgat. They used to collect money from the people, cut the parts of the "guilty" bodies according to a supposed Sharia rule. During the process of rubbing

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<sup>126</sup> Bell-Vilada, Gene H.; "Banana Strike and Military Massacre: *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and What Happened in 1928", *Working Paper.*, Williams College, 1984



up Turkey from such mullahs, the founder of the Turkish republic, Atatürk came to Yozgat with his military force. They brought those mullahs before Atatürk. He asked them why they cut people's limbs and they answered that they did thus because their book (the Koran) ordered them to do so. Atatürk took the Koran from the hands of one of them and threw it to the floor. After this, he ordered them to step over it if they wanted their lives to be saved. Eight of the mullahs did so, and one remained. Atatürk asked him why he doesn't mash the book, didn't he want his life to be saved. The remaining mullah answered that whether he is killed he couldn't mash the book that he'd had faith in and lived all his life accordingly. As a result, Atatürk had all the other mullahs killed and kept the last mullah as the *müftü* /religious head of Yozgat.

The fact that the story belongs to *Mother Love* adds new dimensions to the concept of execution for the sake of a new and proper Republic. She says that she is a laicist and a genuine follower of Atatürk. She has gotten her own way of looking at history, through anecdotes. The mullahs were and still are the representatives of *orthodoxy* more than anything else. Only when they were killed, communities like that of *Mother Love* could exist and try to keep up with the laws of the Turkish Republic concerning religion. That this community is directed by a woman and consists of more women than men is another important point.

This study tries to pursue the reflections of what has happened throughout history concerning religion in Turkey in women's lives. And it is also a modest attempt towards making another reflection of how the powers of the sacred and the profane act within the context of Turkey, in a perspective concerning women. Nevertheless, *both* of these forces are shaped by myths, like the scriptural sacred stories. "History" of the Cosmos and of human society is a "sacred history", preserved and transmitted through myths<sup>127</sup>. So that a story doesn't cease to be shaped by myth from its being written down. This is why "oral history" is also an important part of the thesis (especially part IV). Oral history reflects myths and realities that shape the belief patterns. It is important to note that not every mythical structure is blurred, as long as there are lines that lead us to the sources. It may be wrong if the source can not be

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<sup>127</sup> Eliade, Mircea; *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*, trans.; Willard R. Trask, London: Arkana Press, 1989 –1954. (p. xii in the preface that Eliade had written in 1958)

defined, but how are we to give direct references to collective consciousness? On the contrary to the idea that myths are full of mistakes of perception, myths continue to help healing people. Sharing the same belief systems, a collective conscience helps the sick to get healed. The saints belong to and act with that collective conscience<sup>128</sup>. Oral histories are the best reflectors of such myths. This is why they are a step towards drawing a map of the collective conscience of different kinds of people.

The way that Şerif mardin uses “root paradigms” (Mardin, 1992, Pp. 12-19) is close to my usage of the patterns of the collective conscience. He says that these paradigms work by effecting the behaviour and timing of the people who have to act in stages where processes are not conditioned, defined or directed by manifest rules and traditions. In this study, these people who have to act within such an undefined process are the women in a big city, Ankara. The process is the patterns of religious activity in the short history of the laicist Republic of a religious society. The resulting maps are of course not the mere truths but they are the reflections of the patterns of outer determinators that diffuse in the inner circle of belief. This inner circle is formed and performed by women in this study.

### **C. Time Dimension**

The importance of 1997 within which the research for this study is realised, is not very special among the 90's. Yet this year has recorded many cases against Müslüm Gündüz and Ali Kalkanı, two sheikhs<sup>129</sup>, and the main male characters of a story that is about a young, educated, lower-class woman whose sexuality had been an appetiser to religious issues. This situation is due to the “blurred boundaries” of what is religious and what is not in Turkey, the reasons of which lie in the banning of the *tekke*'s and *zaviye*'s (religious spaces) in 30.11.1925 and the rules and regulations (code numbered 677) which regulate religious issues<sup>130</sup>.

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<sup>128</sup> Frank, Jerome & Julia Frank; *Persuasion and Healing: A comparative study of Psychotherapy*, Baltimore, London: The John Hopkins University Pres, 1991, p.44

<sup>129</sup> Throughout this thesis the word “sheik” will be used to indicate the leader of a *tarikât*, which is a religious sect that organises the lives of the disciples in every way.

<sup>130</sup> The introduction to this topic with more information was made in part I/A.

When it comes to the philosophical dimension of time and its relation with religion, the names of many philosophers like Bergson and Whitehead comes to ones mind. Nevertheless, as I don't have much *space* for the philosophical dimensions of time, I will only paraphrase a short philosophical notation from Norbert Elias, which evaluates another mega-philosopher Kant. Elias, in his essay on time "Über die Zeit-1985", says that time is neither an *a priori* characteristic of human personality like Kant proposes, and nor a trait that doesn't belong to humanity but to nature. It is only a synthesis production created by human beings (or should I say *man*) which can only be understood within certain social developments. There are basically two understandings of time: unilinear and circular. Unilinear time is a trait of the modernity project and is settled on *progress* while circular time is of good and bad, life and death etc. Everything is temporal.

The *türbes* history and the stories that make it up is the "time" dimension of "space" which is the *türbes* place within the town and its inner characteristics. Women and space are together in the *türbe*, but the stories also tell a lot about different kinds of being together: with God, with each other<sup>131</sup> etc. These unisons also happen temporally.

So that *time* doesn't work in a unilinear way as far as this thesis goes. Temporal determination is hard because the study is shaped by different pieces of time at which the religious spaces were built. It only exists for today, which is the time for the research. There is another thing about time that is important for this research: the myths. The more rational people consider the beliefs that shape what is called the Islamic spirituality of today's religious-women superstitious. I won't use the word *superstition* much because it has a negative connotation where the rational people see others' actions as irrational! Myths are working in the realm of the *türbe* in a dense way. These myths work for or against somebody according his/her awareness of them and may cause difficulties when you one is trying to conceive things according to a specific time and place. Still, time can function for solidifying some myths to some extent. For example, when we assume a period where there were many women

saints compared to the other periods, this gives us a ground to step on. Further discussion about this issue can be found in "The Female Saints in Ankara" section.

Faroqhi<sup>132</sup> describes the problem of time and relativity in dealing with mythical texts and personalities with the following words.

....All these studies are based upon the assumption that the narrators of legends (...) reflected conditions of life which were characteristic of their own age.

And in order to solve this problem of relativity of time in reflecting the days' events, I will talk about *the mythological time* as a postulation that is reviewed in Faroqi's article. This *mythological time* can not be measured in conventional units and it either precedes 'historical time' or else coexists with it on different planes. (Ibid.)



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<sup>131</sup> Kırkkızlar chapter IV/A/2

<sup>132</sup> Faroqhi, Suraiya; "The Life Story of an Urban Saint in the Ottoman Empire: Piri Baba of Merzifon" (p.655)

## II. WOMEN OF ANKARA AND THEIR SPIRITUALITY

Women of Ankara represent the women of Turkey as a model for two groups that I will mention as the “laicist Muslim” and the “perfect Muslim”. The common characteristic of these groups that can be found all over Turkey is that both groups pray for the dead. This is a result that I have got from the personal interviews with different women (Appendix) that I have tried to reflect throughout the study. The discussions in the in-depth interviews with these women are not only about common characteristics, but they are about living in Ankara and experiencing the birth and 75 years of the Republic in the context of Ankara.

Whenever the spirituality of women is concerned, a general judgement that brands all Islamic countries is that “women are hazily designated as the inculcators and defenders of Islam in the home”(Dwyer 1992, p.595). In the article that this quotation is from, Dwyer illustrates that it is not the case when particular kinds of Islam are concerned and gives the examples of the women Sufis in Moroccan Islam. In my research, a figure like *Mother Love* (IV/A/1) or the dead women saints themselves show how powerful women can be in drawing the lines of religious involvements. On the other hand, there are also women who live Islam independent from any particular sect, and they are a valuable source in new synthesis’ concerning Islam. The intimacy of the homes in which they live has become the protector of Islamic rituals of their mothers and their mothers’ mothers in the processes of modernisation that Turkey went through. The interviews that I have carried out with various *laicist Muslim* women show that in the secular capital of a Republic where Islam is the prevailing religion, women have preserved what is sacred in a secular attitude.

### **The Headscarf as a Tool Towards Spirituality**

The headscarf is both an object and a tool towards spirituality. Although not as focused as it will be in this part, the headscarf will be remembered in Chapter V among the objects of desire as well. This is why this is a key section of



understanding the headscarf not merely as a parcelling of women from the male gaze.

The headscarf is what distinguished the higher classes from the lower classes, and women who merely perform religious things from ordinary women throughout history<sup>133</sup>. Islam, which orders all the Muslim women to cover their heads make the Muslim women both “higher” from other women, and make them all priestesses at the same time.

In Turkish the word for priestess is not clear because in Islam there are no people that take on religion as an occupation. The word “hemşire” was used more to indicate a spirituality and a sisterhood. Nevertheless, as long as this word has been institutionalised within medical science to mean merely a nurse, its spirituality no more remains, at least in places that can make use of public or private medical institutions. The nurses cover their heads for reasons of hygien and the nurse’s headcover may not be regarded any different than “the stupid headscarf”<sup>134</sup> that Turkish women had begun to wear after the revival of Islam! Whether the headscarf is the habit of the priestesses, nuns or the health workers doesn’t differ in this context because the differentiation of these two is new phenomena.

Covering doesn’t only include the headscarf but also the *hat* as a solution that combines modernity/republic and tradition/religion. Many women began to wear hats and didn’t take them off from their heads for a long while. Some of those hats are still used by old women today. Although these hats are not as shapely as it was like in *the old days*, ie the establishment of the republic as described by Y.K. Karaosmanoğlu in his book *Ankara*, the ones that are being used today are a good combination of the religious headscarf and the modern-hat. They are soft but thick

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<sup>133</sup> *Çağlarboynu Anadolu'da Kadın: Anadolu kadınının 9000 yılı*, TC Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1993

<sup>134</sup> Shaw , Wendy: *Islamic Culture*, postcolonial list on the internet (postcolonial@jefferson.village.Virginia.EDU), Sat, 4 Oct 1997 (Also see the quotation on page 69.)

cotton hats that also resemble small *sariks*<sup>135</sup>, but nobody would be willing to accept this. There is an anecdote Lucy Garnett describes in *The Dervishes of Turkey*, which is a revision of her *Women in Modern Turkey* where she tells her memories while she travelled through Turkey. She found a *sarik*, tied it around her head, because she saw that all the women in the eastern regions had their heads covered. Nevertheless, her guide fiercely warned her to take that *sarik* off from her head by saying that people could forbear her not covering her head, but they wouldn't if she did so by covering her head with a status giving material which is reserved only for men.

One of the informants (App. Interview3) reminded that in the Catholic Church in England, women cover their heads with headscarves or they wear hats if they don't want to wear headscarves. A Christian maid begins to use a headscarf after she becomes a saint and rises from her seat in Pasolini's Italy<sup>136</sup>. The film *Northerners*<sup>137</sup> also show the spiritual usage of the headscarf in Europe, in a northern town. The film concentrates on a woman who has faith and who is forced to have sex with her husband continuously. When she refuses and fights against it, her husband accuses her by seducing him with her dresses that show her plump and round body. He tells that she is guilty for his aroused sexuality. As a result of this accusation, she begins to wear long sleeves and also not to eat anything. Days pass, she continues not to eat anything and women wearing headscarves begin to kneel and pray before her window. Their number increases day by day. Men begin to come there too, and one day the bishop comes to attest her sainthood.

In *The Deer Goddess of Ancient Siberia*<sup>138</sup>, a study in the ecology of belief structures of Siberian villages, the Mother Goddess figure that has many different shapes and

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<sup>135</sup> An accessory that is obtained by rolling white or green pieces of long cloth around a basic cap. It is used by men and not women. Nowadays the *sarik* is identified with conservative religionists and sympathizers of the sultanate regime.

<sup>136</sup> Pasolini, Pier Paolo. *Teorema*, producer Franco Rossellini, Kodak Eastmancolor, 35 mm, color, Roma: Aeos Film; 1968

<sup>137</sup> Warnerdam, Alex Van: *Northerners*, Netherlands:1992

<sup>138</sup> Jacobson, Esther: *The Deer Goddess of Ancient Siberia: A study in the Ecology of Belief*, Leiden, New York: E.J.Brill, 1993

resembles the cult of the mother goddess in Anatolia, wears a *headscarf*! “The seated woman wears a soft cowl which falls over her head to her shoulders.” (Ibid. p.78)

Still, the headscarf is not made use of merely as a tool towards spirituality. It provides that woman can be cut off from the consequences of their sexes without turning into males. The consequence of being gendered female has both the advantage and the disadvantage of attracting men. It seems that the Christian solutions of women were to turn into males (Castelli, 1991) by denying the “responsibilities” of marriage and bearing children that is attributed to women in the gendered division of labour. The uplift of the headscarf with the reforms of Atatürk created a dilemma in many women in this respect. This was an intrusion in the most visible sense. One of the informants was very religious but very modern at the same time. She had really short hair that looked modern but at the same time indicated a religiosity too. She kept reading the Koran in Turkish (for its meaning) and in Arabic (for the divine phonetics) every day.

Hers is an early solution to those migrant women who first cover their heads as is required by new trends in Islamic revivalism when they go to the big cities and then have to open their heads with the compulsions of school administration in the universities. One of those young women interviewed by Elisabeth Özdalga says that the first time she entered into a crowd bareheaded she felt tense. And she *had cut her hair very short in order to feel less sinful* as a consequence.

### **A. Muslim Women**

The situation where the society is gendered and the women who have Muslim identities and live in a laicist state ache more is reflected with tension in the episode where the young woman enters into a crowd bareheaded for the first time. The old woman from different parts of Turkey that I keep talking to all reflect that they didn't have to open their heads in any instance after the states conduct was Republic. The only ban was to *çarşaf*, the cloth they had worn on their headscarfs before. The coat that Muslim women wear today was brought by the agents of the republic as an alternative to the *çarşaf*. On the other hand, today, this coat and the headscarf is also

banned. The Islamic history is gendered, but the regulations to conduct the genderedness of this history are also gendered.

Let me explain what I mean by the “genderedness” of Islamic history: Mohamed’s knowledge is not independent from “history”. Still, this history consists of women as well as men. Nevertheless, Mohamed was a man, and his designation of life is from a man's point of view. He didn't claim vice versa.

Leaving the gendered attitude of the regulations against the headscarf aside (they can be found in Özdalga’s book that vividly reflects them), I want to connect this argument to the functioning of the dead saint in a gendered society. The dead saint is 'genderless', or at least his/her doings are turned into myths that stand out in daily life. The needs and doings of the daily life get invalid after death. The *true ways of living* become more important than the details of having different sexes from then on. On the other hand, the life stories of women saints give the figure of the “women saint” a high position, the highest position that a woman may attain (Smith, 1994, p.167). Fatma, the daughter of the prophet is one of them.

Therefore, an intermediary institution of the saint stands besides the prophet in presenting ideal life stories. The necessity or the legitimacy of this institution isn't argued in this study, yet, the role of the laws that ban or regulate religious spaces is. These regulations result in creating a private arena within people’s minds where beliefs reside. Dylan describes this space<sup>139</sup> as the “place within”. “That hollow place where martyrs weep and angels play with sin.” It must be indicated that there is always at least a sentence to be told about this space when any research concerning the religious spaces are concerned.

Knowing these, it was even a more wonderful experience to encounter narrations of various kinds of women. These narrations are very detailed and so deep that only (sometimes unrecorded) in-depth interviews can catch them. For example, hearing about saints’ getting into some women's dreams was very interesting. Even as interesting as hearing the content and details of these dreams. I was a seeker of the

door that led to the narration of these dreams, which are so intimate. The way of *misafirlik* (the process of being a visitor) is more effective than proper scientific investigation in some cases, especially in the *türbes*. Women opened their minds in issues which remained in the area of the *unknown* like dreams only in the talks within *misafirlik* and this is why I didn't record these talks but only took notes about them that will be reflected when necessary.

## 1. The Laicist Muslim

Wendy Shaw (1997) wrote on the subject islamic culture that

I think it's really inappropriate to judge Islam by considering the Taliban as the best examples. Consider instead Nusret Fatih Ali Khan, or Mevlana, or on a more mundane level many Muslim Turkish women I know who don't cover and who are very professional.

This part is about *that* kind of women.

"Thank God, we are secular" had been the way of understanding secularism when the Tappers made a study in a Turkish town the results of which reached to us in 1987<sup>140</sup>. Nevertheless, Ayşe Saktanber, as a result of her study<sup>141</sup> which will constitute the main reference of the next section on pure-Muslim-women, says that:

The parameters of secularisation in Turkey didn't become a question of social inquiry to explore secularisation as a living culture and tradition but only seen as something imposed upon society by the state and accepted as it was... (Ibid..)

In another article, under the concept of *mevlut* (birth of Prophet Mohammad), the Tapper's<sup>142</sup> establish the link between Islamic and Christian practices in the way they are experienced by women. Looking at Anatolia, we see that this link serves to contrast the manners of Byzantians and the Turks like it is in the following narrations:

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<sup>139</sup> Dylan, Bob; *Dirge*, Ram's Horn Music, 1973,1976

<sup>140</sup> Tapper, R and N. Tapper, "Thank God We're Secular!: Aspects of Fundamentalism in a Turkish Town", in L. Capan (ed.) *Aspects of Religious Fundamentalism*, London: MacMillan, 1987

<sup>141</sup> Saktanber, Ayşe; *Islamic revitalisation in Turkey: An urban model of a "counter-society"* A case study A Doctorate Thesis submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences, METU, September 1995

<sup>142</sup> Tapper, Nancy & Richard; "The Birth of the Prophet: Ritual and Gender in Turkish Islam", *Man* (N S) 22, 69-92, March 1987



1. To separate sexuality, Mohamed's birth is also described as parthenogenetic<sup>143</sup>, like that of Jesus. (p.85)
2. It both creates a contrast between the figures of Christ and Mohamed, and at the same time fosters an idealised construction of motherhood and of woman's spiritual nature not unlike aspects of the image of the Virgin Mary in Greek Orthodoxy.
3. In other cases like post birth&death rituals, Tapper's observe a contrast to the Orthodox Greeks' rites, which almost 'horrify' the townspeople. (p.85)

In their conclusion concentrating on the need for *Mevlut* to be taken more seriously by women, they point out to its importance as a secular 'pressure' on men who don't take it seriously because it is not scriptural. Men ignore death as a subject of women who are more related to the continuity of life and death. To explain this transfer mechanism they cite a point from Bloch. This citation enlightens the feminine ownership of the life cycle as described by Orion White previously in this study.

..there will as Hertz noted, always be a double aspect to funerals. One side will focus on pollution and sorrow, something which in the end has to be removed and another side will always assert the continuity of something else, a reassertion of the vanquishing and victorious order where authority has its legitimate place. This reassertion is what necessitates the negation of the processes of death (and therefore of birth) and the reaffirmation of the eternal order where birth and death are overcome by representing them as the same thing and where therefore everything is fixed for ever and ever. (Bloch 1982: 224)" cited in p.87

Samuel R Durrant wrote<sup>144</sup> on the subject of "Secular Islam" in the Postcolonial Discussion list in the internet. He says he came across it in the chapter on Salman Rushdie in Sara Suleri's *The Rhetoric of English India* (1992). According to Durrant, Suleri uses the term to indicate *the way in which one's thinking is still structured by a belief system that one is no longer able to believe in*. He says that one can talk of other secularism's then Christian kind of secularism which cried "free speech" for Rushdie if secularism is not something that can only follow on from the monotheistic religions of the Book. An example given to *other* secularisms was the Hindu secularism, a subject that is described very well by Feroza Jussawalla<sup>145</sup>:

In India, post independence, Prime Minister Nehru used the word secular not to mean separation of church and state but to mean beyond religious boundaries.— Secularism meant

<sup>143</sup> Without fertilisation.

<sup>144</sup> Durrant, Samuel: "Secular Islam", postcolonial@lists.village.virginia.edu, Sun Oct 05 1997

<sup>145</sup> (fjussawa@utep.edu) in postcolonial@jefferson.village.Virginia.EDU on Mon, 6 Oct 1997

including Hindus, Muslims etc. Nehru's secularism meant something specific-- what he called Hindu- Mussulman Bhai- bhai.

So that Turkish secularism is something else and something similar to this. Still, we know that it is much more nationalistic. Bassam Tibi<sup>146</sup> says that it is the model for the secularism of the other Muslim countries as well as the Koran itself and Farabi's works all of which approve that the state is something other than religion.

The laicist women that I have talked with during my study are in parallel with this explanation. In the light of this explanations regarding secularism and Turkish secularism, I want to draw the portrait of the *laicist Muslim woman*:

She sometimes uses the *tülbent* or the *yazma*, a thin headscarf widespreaads in the villages. She uses it when she reads the Koran or performs her *namaz* which she performs especially at the Night of Power of such special nights in Islam. It is no problem for her to cover or not to cover most of the times. She doesn't question this, this unproblematical attitude just happens. She conceives of Atatürk as another saint.

## **2. The Perfect Muslim: *Mümine, Ümmü***

I want to recall gendered state / gendered religion discussion that I have initiated in the introduction of this part, part A to understand how underrepresented are women and their Muslim identity . Women are not represented fully in the institutions representing religion in Turkey. A similar situation can be seen in the assembly where there are only few woman compared to hundreds of men. These cases resemble each other so that I can say that the secular organs of the state whether or not they represent religion, are similar in their gendered population.

This situation is true for folk religion concerning the few numbers of women saints. Generally, the saints belong to folk religion while institutions belong to scriptural religion. Nevertheless, even "the religious institution" is not same thing for all religions of the book. For example, a church is where religious people of both of the

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<sup>146</sup> Tibi, Bassam. "Avrupa ve İslamcılık Arasında Türkiye" *Konrad Adenauer Vakfı KAV Tartışma Forumu*, Ankara: Tübitak , 28 Nisan 1998

sexes can be found, so that, when the women-in-religious-spaces are considered, the nun figure comes to ones mind immediately. The same thing is true when we go back in history. We can talk about the priestesses of the temples, or Goddesses to whom the temples belong. However, in Islam there are neither priests nor nuns. But there are *imams* (men who perform the *namaz*/ritual prayer in the mosques) and *hatib*'s (preachers who can be both male and female). Nevertheless, this doesn't mean that women are far from religious performance. On the contrary, this paper recalls that in Turkey there are many women who are perfect-Muslims and priestesses of their own houses.

The *Ümmü* figure is the woman who can be found in a Sunni Muslim village with her headscarf properly tied and her manners complying with scriptural Islam. After "the revival of Islam" in the big cities, this figure became a part of the city life as well. Of course this meant enlargement of the borders of being an *Ümmü*, trying new things that complied to Islam as well, such as a work life in State or private jobs. However the headscarf didn't become to be used immediately. There are many women who were continuing to use it, especially older women and women who came from small towns to big cities<sup>147</sup>.

Another common name for women that denotes religiosity is *Mumine* or *Muminah*. Remember the example of Lallah Muminah, a saint who had her own prayer "Muminah knows her God and God knows Muminah". These women's names are traditionally used to define the religiosity of women. New trends in the practice of Islam result in the emphasised continuation of such names for the new-borns. The women who use the headscarf to denote religiosity and who resort to scriptural resources<sup>148</sup> for learning Islam refer to themselves as *conscious Muslim women* (Saktanber, 1995). On the other hand, I prefer to use these names instead because they include a greater part of history of Islamic practise.

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<sup>147</sup> This example was given in interview 4 (appendix).. She was talking about the older women of her family who witnessed the processes of the republic.

<sup>148</sup> Like Kara Davut, *Delail-I Hayrat Şerhi*, İstanbul: Çelik Yayınevi, 1975

In this part, the perfect Muslim women will be evaluated in the urban context and this is only possible with Ayşe Saktanber's work which was cited as a beginning in the previous Part 1 of the same chapter. Saktanber's fieldwork is done in "an urban complex located in a densely-populated outlying district in the north-west of Ankara" (Saktanber, 1995, p. 76). This region gains its religious reputation from "some of its more famous religious families, who come from a very well known branch of the Nakşibendi order, and other families who form the higher ranks of the Welfare party." (Ibid. p.77)

Wendy Shaw describes her view in the context of a debate concerning Islamic culture by giving examples from Turkey with the following words in the Postcolonial Discussion List on the Internet (1997):

What has struck me most about the recent growth of reactionary movements in Turkey is their use of fundamentalist Christian techniques on TV -- the types of sermons have shifted, and sound like translations of Jerry Falwell. No religions are as isolated or unitary as, for ideological reasons, they claim to be. ... In the context of Turkey, there are a lot of educated intellectuals who bash Islam wholesale, and I can only see it as an adoption of relatively simplistic colonialist attitudes in the face of very complex socioeconomicocultural problems. And I think that hatred-- which at times I have felt, and just wished that I could rip off those stupid head-scarves off those women's heads -- is very counterproductive on a political level within the country, because it fails to address issues very close to people's hearts.

This discourse doesn't belong to a westerner (names change), yet it is talking for the thoughts of the secular-Muslims described in the previous section. The headscarf means a voluntary slavery for these women who are the "diametrical opposite" of the emancipated position attained by women in western societies. Saktanber (1995, p.38) conceives this diametrical opposition as a part of an orientalist attitude. However, with the help of studies on the laicist Muslim women or Westernised women of Turkey, we can see that this kind of orientalism is internalised.

When one enters into the garden of these *voluntary slaves*<sup>149</sup>, like Ayşe Saktanber does, there are other dichotomies that these women are divided into. The basic one is Keeper-of-Islam versus Source-of-Fitna. While they make Islamic traditions go on as bearers of culture, they are also potential infidels who have to be kept under strict control (Ibid. p 38). The analogy concerning the second part of the dichotomy also

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<sup>149</sup> It is ironical that many young woman who *choose to cover* say (in various TV Programmes and daily talk) that the headscarf is indeed a tool of distinguishing between slave women and free/Muslim women. This point is also underlined by the woman profesor in Int.4 in App.

explains why laicist Muslim women see the covered women as voluntary slaves: Covering means that the woman herself accepts that she is a potential source of *fitna* and submits to the oppression of men.

However there is an alternative way of looking at this which makes women part of God rather than being only a continuous challenge to: This is the beauty of God (*cemal*) being represented in women. Elif Bilgin draws our attention to the beautiful face of God rather than the fearful face by *Deconstructing "Women in Islam" within the context of Bektashi and Mawlawi thought*<sup>150</sup>. It will be an as orthodox approach towards religion to evaluate the conscious Muslim woman only in the context of literal Islam. Bilgin makes us aware of the history of more mainstream heterodox traditions. In these traditions, women are viewed more positively than they are in Saktanber's study group, the more Orthodox Islamic groups.

A good synthesis of these two groups can be visualised by the life-story of a woman in Islam: Aisha Talha whose maternal aunt is Aisha, the wife of Mohammad. Ruth Roded describes her as having two faces: the sacred and the profane<sup>151</sup>. She was extremely beautiful and had several marital relations all of which included big amounts of money. She was proud of her looks and dressed beautifully resulting in many people coming and staring at her. Added to this, she was told to be bad-tempered. On the contrary to the view that what makes a woman a good Muslim is her invisibility and modesty in public and well-behaved in her house, she was an upstanding and reliable traditionist of the second generation according to the biography of Ibn Hajar cited in Roded.

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<sup>150</sup> Bilgin, Elif: by *Deconstructing "Women in Islam" within the context of Bektashi and Mawlawi thought* Master's thesis submitted to the Department of Gender and Woman's Studies in METU, June 1996.

<sup>151</sup> Roded, Ruth: *Women in Islamic Biographical Collections: From Ibn Sa'd to Who's Who*, Colarado, London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1994 Pp.50-53



## B. Prayer for the Dead and the Friends of God

In the introduction to *The Tibetan Book of the Dead: The Great Liberation Through Hearing in the Bardo*<sup>152</sup> written by Francesca Fremantle and Chogyam Trungpa<sup>153</sup>, it is told that the Muslim *El-Fatiha* stands for all the Tibetan or Egyptian rites and holy words concerning the treatment of the dead. The Muslim children are told that they better pray with El-fatiha while they are passing through cemeteries<sup>154</sup> Muslims pray the El-Fatiha when they perform their daily prayers, when they visit graves and anytime when they want to pray to God.

El-Fatiha:

In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

Praise be to God, The Cherisher and Sustainer of the Worlds;

Most Gracious, Most Merciful;

Master of the day of Judgement.

Only thee do we worship, And only thine aid we seek.

Show us the straight way,

The way of those on whom

Thou hast bestowed thy grace,

Those whose (portion)

Is not wrath,

And who go not astray.

El-Fatiha is the first surah of the holy Quran. Note that it directly talks about the Friends-of-God who belong to the straight way<sup>155</sup>.

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<sup>152</sup> **Guru Rinpoche** (according to Karma-Lingpa); *The Tibetan Book of the Dead: The Great Liberation Through Hearing in the Bardo*. Translated with commentary by Francesca Fremantle and Chogyam Trungpa. Boston and London: Shambhala Pocket Classics, 1992.

<sup>153</sup> There is a very good internet site of Virginia University library about the book of the dead as well: <http://www.lib.virginia.edu/exhibits/dead/>

<sup>154</sup> This is also a way of relieving the *angst* that is caused by the most uncanny space: the cemetery. (personal experience!)

<sup>155</sup> The Straight-Way is also the name of one of the political parties of Turkey, the symbol of which is the White-Horse. This party is the late version of the Democrat Party which was closed during the 27 May coup d'etat of 1960, where three primary men of the party were hanged. The Turkish

In the *Rabia* section of Nezihe Araz's book *The Woman Saints of Anatolia*, she tells us that a woman saw Rabia in her dream after her death. Rabia had a message for her. Rabia told her that<sup>156</sup> the *Fatiha*'s that she prayed for her came in silver envelopes to her in Heaven, and was the most valuable present for her<sup>157</sup>. This message shows that the *el-Fatiha* is a valid communication between the living and the dead. It continues to be so in the communications of people who visit the *türbes* and the dead who are lying there.

Ayaş, a province of Ankara that I have mentioned in *footnote 15* is a place where an interesting relationship with *el-fatiha* is lived. There is a house that faces a mosque that has the tombs of the founders of the mosque in it in a small room. It is not a part of conventional Islam and Islam in Turkey to have the tombs of ancestors in the mosques. Ayaş is interesting in that way because the Islam that is practiced there is conventional Islam. There used to be Islamic education and a big library there in the Ottoman times. There is a graveyard in the garden of the house that faces this mosque. The relatives of the people who lie in the graves say that they have built the tombs is a place near to a *türbe*/mosque for their dead relatives to get help from the *el-Fatiha*'s that are prayed for the appreciated founder of the mosque.

A living person goes to the *türbe* to seek "the way of those that God has bestowed his/her grace". The way of the saints is open to access in both worlds. The *türbe* symbolises this way. One worships and seeks for the aid of God, using the door opened by the *türbe* of a friend of God. It is even possible to place one's dead near a *türbe* so that s/he be nearer to that way through the prayers of the living!

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pronunciation of *democrat* resembles that of an iron-white-horse *demir-kar-at* and democracy entered to Turkey with that symbol and pronunciation!

<sup>156</sup> It is impossible not to use such sentences when talking about religious issues and people who are a result of the entangling between myth and actual life stories. This is the problem that is being described in the Method section (B/2)

<sup>157</sup> *Araz, Nezihe; Anadolu'da Kadın Evliyalar*, İstanbul: Atlas Yayınları, 1966

When we focus on the second group of religious spaces, we see the *türbe* as an inter-religious and inter-sect place which fulfils the functions of a temple, a tomb and a dwelling and which is an alternative religious space for women in Turkey. I have discussed *The Foundation of the living saint* together with the *türbe* because they both function in the same way: people (mostly women) come, make their wishes and leave. Then, they come back to pray to the saint if her/his wish is realised. Even in the example of *Mother Love* whom I have represented as principally and conservatively Alevi, the visitors of the foundation are from different sects.

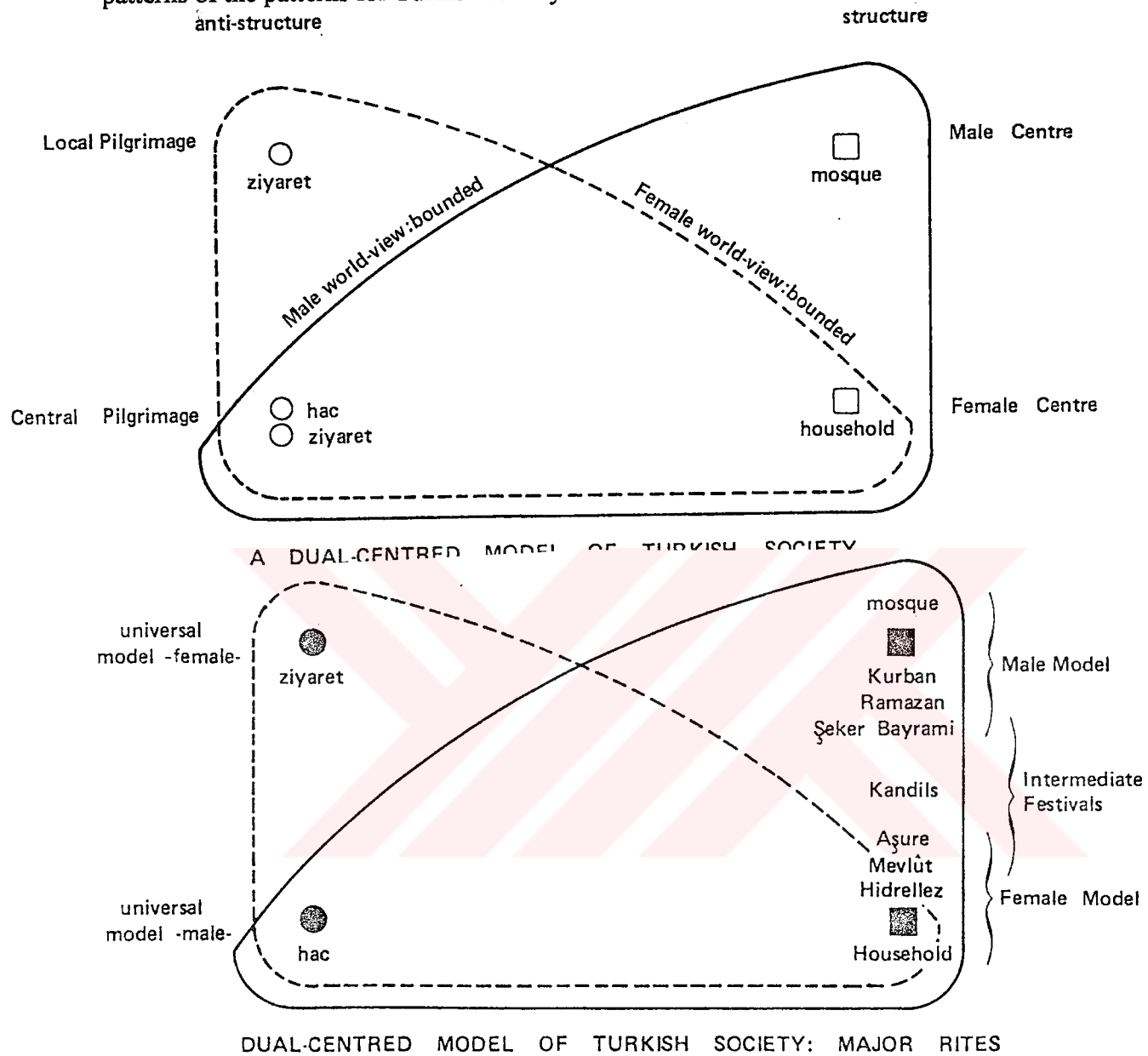
Another attribution to “place” has a more mystical dimension. Rais Tchaqmaqzade in Idries Shah’s *The Way of the Sufi* says that travelling to places where you don’t know the language or the conduct is of Lesser Understanding which is a small reflection of the Greater Understanding that defines the way of the Sufi. This is demonstrated in the following phrase from the piece that *Mother Love* has told for Kesikbaş (the text is in IV/1/A) “If you look for Mecca, Jerusalem /Then you have a place to idolatry” which talks about two cities and a notion: a place to worship God. *Hajj*, which is the equivalent of *pilgrimage* in Christian culture is only attributed to Mecca and Jerusalem in Islamic culture. The home of the Muslims is Mecca and the hajj means turning back home (Delaney, 90, p.515) On the other hand, pilgrimage means a voyage forward for the Christians (ibid). However these two comprehensions unite in one act: Christians go for pilgrimage to the tombs of the saints too.

Emily Olsen<sup>158</sup> also comprehends *türbe* visitation as a small-Hajj for the ones who haven’t got enough money to travel to Mecca. Apart from that, Olsen narrates that mostly women go to the shrines. They communicate with each other as well as the saint and God there. It is interesting to see that old women are the tolerant moderators of these shrines. Olsen also reflects that women worship God individually before or after daily prayers in the shrines in Bursa.

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<sup>158</sup> Olsen, Emily: “Of Türbe and Evliya: Saints and Shrines as Environment Facilitate Communication and Innovation” in *Structural Change in Turkish Society*, Mubeccel Kıray (ed.), Indiana: Indiana Univ.Pr., 1991.

Julie Marcus<sup>159</sup> schematised the visit and pilgrimage patterns as to men and women in her *A World of Difference*. The visiting of the *türbes* may be put into the “local-pilgrimage” part in the following schema which is very useful in seeing some patterns of the patterns for Turkish society.



The *türbe* stands in between (and sometimes out of) these dualities. Moving from this schema, Marcus shows us that *Misafirlik* (neighbour visits) is a female counterpart of the male *Muhabbet* (love-talk, that usually goes with the

<sup>159</sup> Marcus, Julie: *A World of Difference: Islam and Gender Hierarchy in Turkey*, London & New Jersey: Zed Books, 1992 (Pp. 164-5)

companionship of *rakı*, the Turkish alcoholic drink made of anise leaves). But the *türbe* stands out of these dualities of visitation and space (mosque-household). *Türbe* is also out of the public-private dichotomy when women are concerned. The *türbes* take the place of the mosques for women's religiosity at times, and also they are used for coming together as a house-of-the-holy.

Marcus gets close to a point where dichotomies come together when she is describing the pilgrimage to the Christian saints in and around Smyrna, especially the shrine of Mother Mary in Ephesus. In addition to Muslim saints to whom the *türbes* belong, there are many other Christian saints in Anatolian lands that remain within the Muslim territory of Turkey. Marcus concentrates on this point by saying "Just as for their Turkish sisters, pilgrimage plays a very important role in Mediterranean women's religiosity." (Ibid. p 166) It is no different for Christians or Muslims; men and women, the poor and the rich visit saints shrines and pray for their well-being there. On the other hand, the mosque is the more regular place of religious ritual.

There are combined models of using the mosque and the *türbe* as Olsen describes for Bursa and I have described for Ayaş. Similar to the practices in Bursa and as an alternative to having both the tomb and the mosque in the same place as in Ayaş, the mosque and the *türbe* of Hacı Bayram are side by side in the center of Ankara. Therefore the functions of worshipping God and coming together are performed in the mosque while wishing a good life and paying respect to saints are performed in the *türbe* within the context of the same visit to an area. This is why *Hacı Bayram* in Ankara and *Eyüp Sultan* in İstanbul are so popular places for visitation.

### **A. The Mosque: Coming Together**

After a short time it was popular in the west, the concept of "civil society" became a part of the daily political talk in Turkey. Even *Mother Love* the woman saint whose sainthood represents folk religion, which rests on non-scriptural knowledge talks about civil society as an important phenomena. Especially the non-fundamentalist



Islamists use the term frequently<sup>160</sup>. This is not unusual though: both *camii* and *cemevi* induces a place where people come together, and such a place can be a ground for civil society. Before making such projections, it is necessary to visualise the place of women within the *cemaat* (the community, the *Gemeinschaft*). In Turkey women don't use the *camii* as a place of gathering and the *Cemevi*, the place of gathering for the *Alevi*s, is dominated by men although women are more in numbers there than they are in the mosques.

Although the state supports mosque building in the villages including Alevi ones, it has only recently encouraged women's active participation in religious ritual at the mosques. This is a sign that shows how the place of women within religion is closely related with state politics. The following quotation especially describing the attitude of the newly founded Turkish Republic towards women and religion reflects this situation in a comparative attitude:

...reformers in India looked to Hindu women as a communal conscience, in Egypt to those within a reformed Islam and in Turkey to the women of a pre-Islamic past. In this way, the image of the 'modern' woman was supported by her newly found indigenous character as well.<sup>161</sup>

This situation is constantly changing within the last 75 years. The "revival of Islam" also effects the modern women's identity. There are many women with covered heads now. Most of these women define themselves as modern and Muslim at the same time.

### **1. Civil society**

In this section I will discuss "civil society" as a possible naming of life in the mosques. So far, I have conceptualised the *türbes* as alternative forms of spaces for women to come together with other Muslim women (whether laicist or "perfect") and with God. In both ways, there is parallelity with the mosques. On the other hand there is no "one body experience" in the *türbes* except special rituals (refer to *Hüseyin Gazi* section) but women feel free to talk with, touch and sometimes interrupt each other in the mosques. In the *türbe*, the saints' personality is "home",

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<sup>160</sup> The books of Ahmet Çiğdem and other books like *Civil Society and Women in Turkey* by Ömer Çaha that are published from Vadi Press in Ankara.

ie, a friend of God is a homely creature in the ocean of religion. On the other hand, this personality is less intermediary than an all-male mainstream that seems to be the gate between women and Islam, especially if s/he is dead. The Koran talks to men most of the time as the responsible party in the family. As a result men function as the religious agents of the family. Nevertheless through this gate of religious agency, men feel that they have the power to beat their wives because the Koran advises men to beat their wives lightly as a third precaution of taming them. But what actually happens is that men begin to beat their wives for anything, getting support from the words of the Koran. In addition to domestic violence, public marginalisation (of men of women and of women of themselves) takes place in the name of hadith where people talk about 1500 years before as if they have lived then.

In the show of *Ayşe Özgün* in *ATV* (16.12.97), the spectators who come there to participate in the discussion began to talk about women's place in the mosque: one of them said that in Mohamed's times women used to sit at the back of the mosque. Another said that this is also true for Christianity and it is even written in the Bible that women should sit at the back of the church. A last remark on this subject came from an old woman. She said that she heard an hadith where Mohamed said that "the people who sit in the front parts of the mosque are closer to God". This hadith had been interpreted in the book that she had read, in such a way that women became automatically more far from God than men whose *natural* sitting place was in front.

By this example, the category of *men* is added to the group of intermediaries between God and the believer. Zouhair Ghazzal quotes the extent of this group in French Christian comprehension in the Bourdieu Discussion List in the Internet in December 1995 from Pierre Bourdieu<sup>162</sup>. He says that the priestly class, the prophet, the

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<sup>161</sup> Baykan, Ayşegül: "The Turkish Woman: An Adventure in Feminist Historiography"

*Gender&History*, Vol.6 No:1, April 1994 Pp101-116

<sup>162</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre: "Une interpretation de la theorie de la religion selon Max Weber,"

*Archives Europeennes de la Sociologie*, 12(1971), 3-21

And Bourdieu, Pierre, "La sainte famille. L'episcopat francais dans le champ du pouvoir." in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* in 1982/44-45, pp. 2-53:

necessary because it seems that even educated women can be “cheated” –mostly sexually- within the unquestioned authority given to the *tariqat* leaders<sup>165</sup>.

During the tension between USA and Iraq in February 1998, the people of Iraq lived and prayed in the mosques. It was like a house for them. This shows how a religious space can be a means of solidarity.

These three non-mosque and one mosque related examples are all models for public discussion that unite different people in one of these conferences Tibi said that (Tibi, 1998) he sees the uniting part of Islam as a common point for all the Muslims practiced in different parts of the world. The mosque experience is and can be a means to live this uniting aspect. So, let's see how is the mosque experience for women in Turkey.

## 2. The Marginal Place of Women in the Main Religious Spaces in Turkey

It is also significant that mausoleums that deviate architecturally from usual types often belong to women. They sometimes have unusual deviations such as animal and human figures on their walls.<sup>166</sup>

When I had been to the *türbe* of Hüdavend Hatun in Niğde, I was unable to see the inner details because it wasn't possible to find a *türbedar*. Yet, the park around the *türbe* had its own *engravings*. There were covered women knitting, their children playing, there were lonely old retired men and there were some alcoholics<sup>167</sup> there. The alcoholics were the nearest group to the *türbe*. And because they were sitting by the *türbe* all the time, nobody else was able to get closer to the *türbe*. The marginal position of the *türbe* as to women and as to figures is an interesting determination by

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<sup>165</sup> The “Fadime Affair” is a good example. This event can be followed from the media during the summer of 1996. It comes and goes into the agenda since then.

<sup>166</sup> Bates, Ülkü Ülküsal; “An introduction to the study of the Anatolian *türbe* and its inscriptions as historical documents” İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1971

<sup>167</sup> Niğde city is an after-republic simulacra of Ankara: The names of the roads, and the public buildings that dominate the city which also have different kinds of Selçukid architecture in and out of the city. The human plexus of the city reminds any other *peripheral town* where everything depends on politics that depend on small benefits. Alcohol is an important problem in the city, a problem which makes certain streets unenterable. The important people of the public sector are mostly nicely-dressed alcoholics. An instance which reminds one of Atatürk's habits in the small scale.

Bates. When the alcoholics who don't leave the bank by the *türbe* are added to this dimension, marginalisation is completed in the *türbe* of Hüdavend Hatun.

*Türbes* can be considered as houses-of-the-holy where the dead-friends-of-God provide ways for people access to God even if they define themselves as *bad*. In my third interview (app.), my interviewee expressed this by saying that when they were little, they prayed to God, sheltering in the personality of the Saint, praying that the God would accept their wish in favour of the Saint even if they are bad-children! This situation was assorted and was applied to women with a public-discussion on the television which made women farther from God by placing them on the back of the mosque.

The current *müftü*/religious head of *Üsküdar* district of İstanbul, İhsan Özkeş talked during a discussion about the question if women are determined to sit at the back parts of the mosque<sup>168</sup>; and said that "Put aside women being at the back of the mosque, in some mosques there is even no place for women, they didn't think of it when building the mosque." In parallel to Özkeş's declaration, a *modern* young Turkish woman wrote about her adventures in the Kuzguncuk mosque in İstanbul. She goes to their local mosque and performs her *namaz* behind hundreds of men from different classes as the only woman there. As a result of this experience, she feels that the religious rituals are getting away from women. Then she writes "there was one common characteristic of all those from the lowest and highest ranks of the society. All were more privileged than woman in religious ritual"<sup>169</sup>.

On the other hand, it is not considered as a part of the Muslim culture in Ankara but the mosque can be "a place for refuge and rest for women". The story of a young

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<sup>168</sup> This discussion is held in a television program in ATV on 16.12.97. The program is organised by Ayşe Özgün. It is everyday at 11:00. There, more than 50 people come together and discuss touchy subjects such as religion and sexual choices with invited professionals or people who had unusual experiences.

<sup>169</sup> Özkaragöz, Aygül: "İbadetin Dayanılmaz Çekiciliği" *Radikal İki, Pazar Dergisi*, 25 Ocak 1998 (14-5)

slave girl who had a little tent for herself in the mosque in the time of Mohamed is told in an informative book about women and religion<sup>170</sup>.

The *türbe* seems to be a local solution to women who feel out of place from religion. On the contrary, they are so in it that they can see themselves as priestesses of their own houses. This theme is further developed in the next chapter. Yet, this section is reserved for the reasons of the exclusion of women from the mosque in some Muslim countries and not in others (like Chinese Muslims) and a pattern concerning this problematic.

The exclusion works in two ways when non-Arabic speaking Muslim countries are concerned. There are many women in Turkey who know how to read the Koran in Arabic, they say that they know Arabic, yet they don't understand what they read. This doesn't seem strange to them because they mostly think that "reading the Koran" which is a deed, is fulfilled by reading what is written. Still, as long as there are many Turkish translations of the Koran, these women have their Turkish copies also. Still, what is considered as sacred is not reading the Turkish translation but the Arabic itself. This strict line drawn by people between the meaning and the sacred nature of the holy book, results in similar daily life practices. For example, in a family, a young girl's grandmother is covering her head every time she reads the Koran, and says that it is an obligation to do so. On the other hand, this girl's parents are on the laicist side and covering-of-the-head is an ideological choice for them, and they say that it must not be done. Then, the resulting situation is that, this girl has to cover her head to read the Koran, but she can't because covering the head is *ideological*. So that reading the Koran is put somewhere away from her.<sup>171</sup>Of course

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<sup>170</sup> Siddiqui: Ali; *To the Muslim Women of Tomorrow*, Kingsville: American Society for Education and Religion, 1988

<sup>171</sup> In Woody Allen's "Alice", the orthodox catholic wife of the rich doctor tries to find her own way. She tries to write scenarios as a beginning, and goes to a producer that is a friend of her with stories like "now, there is this young women and her sister, they love each other deeply but they cease to be in touch one day". She is telling her own story. This is a similar case, and telling ones own story directly is not among the means of academic writing. Nevertheless, it also symbolises the stories of other young college graduate *Ankaralı* girls also! What should one do to put these stories into packages to make them less understandable?



this is an extreme example and people manage to find intermediary solutions to such dilemmas. My interviews with laicist Muslim woman reflect these solutions. But they are harder to find in one's young ages and this is why Yaşar Nuri Öztürk, who is trying to make scriptural Islam known by the masses by the means of popular culture is very popular among women, a lot of whom are young women. He is trying to tell that Koran can be read without covering one's head.

Whether women accept this as possible or not, a new difficulty emerges: the problem that the Holy Koran speaks to men most of the times like in the *Nisa/Women Surah* where there are directions for men what to do with women. I have met many independent minded women who gave up reading the Koran in that surah. Nevertheless, there are places where women feel that "sometimes Koran talks to women privately"<sup>172</sup>. Waddy sticks to this feeling and gives examples from such surah's in her book<sup>173</sup>. One of my interviewee's didn't want to read the Koran from the Turkish version (like many women over 50, she could read Arabic, but didn't understand it) not to blur her "nice thoughts about" what she is reading. This complies with the view of İsenbike Togan (personal communication) that there must be a reason why the Turks didn't learn Arabic or didn't use Turkish for Islam for the past thousand years.

On the other hand, Atatürk made the necessary ventures to make translations of the holy book. In addition to him Suavi and Ziya Gökalp worked for the presentation of Islam in Turkish at a bigger scale<sup>174</sup>. Still, it is a fallacy of history writing to conceptualise such changes by attributing them merely to important men. For example Yaşar Nuri Öztürk is so successful because there are lots of women who actively apply his teachings and translations of religious texts. Similarly, there were a lot of women who worked with Atatürk for their own rights, although it is "Atatürk give women their rights" according to history. As a result, *progress* concerning daily

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<sup>172</sup> Waddy, Charis: *Women in Muslim History*, London, New York: Longman Press, 1980

<sup>173</sup> Yet this doesn't change the fact that the book is generally "disinformative" where more information doesn't give us (at least me) a better view. She listens to stories, read books and reflect them romanticisingly.

<sup>174</sup> Akgün, Seçil: "Türkçe Ezan", *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Cilt XIII, Sayı 24, 1979-80

lives is a matter of societal accumulation as well as the important men as motivators of changing this accumulation into action. Akgün's paper renders from Saadettin Kaynak's (he is a well-known composer and reciter of Turkish Classical Music) memoirs that in the Ramadan feast of 1923, Atatürk made him call the daily prayer in Turkish. This was applied for a while with its ups and downs until 1950, when there was an absolute turning back to Arabic in daily prayers (ibid).

It is possible to talk about different practices as to different countries as well as that within the history of the same country. Hence, the subject of exclusion needs a detailed account of the Islamic practices as to space and women for different countries. Still, I think that the most important thing about different Islamic spatial practices as applies to this study which mainly concentrates on Ankara, can be where different practices unite. The American and/or Canadian practises where new cultures are emerging as revised versions of the old ones are good examples for the gathering of a variety of practices. The migrants live their cultures there together with other migrants' cultures as well as American or Canadian culture which is this *gathering*. This is a point where "orientalist" tendencies that emerge in the form of "eurocentrism" during the modernity process break down into pieces and "reform" again, much more literally than before. It is possible to get a picture of the daily lives of the Muslims in America, whose Muslim identity is a part of their daily lives but who don't lead Islamic Way of Lives as the neo-Islamists do in the third world countries. Information about what the Muslim Americans think about Islamic advises concerning dressing can be described as "liberal" (Y.Y.Haddad) whereas they give much more importance to the attendance to Islamic spaces, ie, mosques than the Turkish majority. The fact that both genders unite in attending most mosques in Canada and America effect the proportions. On the contrary, in Turkey even the mosque of *Ana Kadın*, which was established by a woman and the name of which means Mother-Woman has a marginal entrance door for women at the back of it. A door which is not used regularly, or not at all (as expressed by the guard and the imam of the mosque). The following is a picture of this marginal door.



Figure 7,  
Anakadin  
Mosque  
Women's  
entrance  
at the  
back

The same is true for the women's Entrance for the Mosque of Hacı Bayram. Women enter from the door at the back, not the front door but the door that faces the Augustus temple. And Carol Delaney's village speaks for even more marginalisation: "...these men can sit out their days with their friends, usually within the precincts of the village mosque, where women do not go." In this sentence Delaney is talking about men who had been to hajj while nothing changes in the lives of the women who have been to hajj, "whatever the rewards, they are invisible and internal". (Delaney, 1990 p.520)

In *The Veil and the Male Elite*, Fatma Mernissi says that during the times of Mohammad who "could be a lover and a leader hostile to all hierarchies" women "had their places as unquestioned partners in a revolution that made the mosque an open place and the household a temple of debate". These women used the mosque regularly like men. (Mernissi, 1991, p.11) As we know from the works and performances of Halide Edip Adivar and her friends, a similar process that includes urban women was gone through when the republic was established. Men and women were to be together in the assembly, in the school in more western forms of public spaces. For example, daughters of the rich families were located in modern schools and many women were motivated to struggle for their rights as a part of the process

of forming the Republic<sup>175</sup>. Although women took or *were given* (or, a small minority of women worked for and a majority of women took) many political rights parallel with European countries, women's presentation in the assembly is low when it is compared to other European countries. So this ideal is not completely achieved, with the Mosque ideal being left out long before. It is not a coincidence that feminist Muslim women struggle for both, although with different reasons!

Toward the end of the process of writing down the results of my research, something important happened concerning the marginal place of women in the practice of religion in Turkey. On 7.1.1997, the *müftü* of *Karşıyaka Camii* (one of the most popular mosques) in Smyrna/*İzmir*, the city of which Julie Marcus talks about in her book, invited the women to the funeral ritual prayer/worship (*namaz*). And women and men performed the ritual together side by side. The night of that day, the most popular channels were talking about the possibility of affirmation of such an act. Nearly every *müftü*, including the one in the highest rank affirmed that this was possible. Women were not let to participate in the funeral prayer/worship but they were called to perform it. The next day, many women in many big cities began to perform the prayer together with men and this was given under the name of "reform" in many channels<sup>176</sup>. Both the *müftü* of *Karşıyaka Camii* and the women who were the first performers of the prayer were introduced as pioneers.

One of the most important things to talk when the participation of women is concerned is the newly emerging Islamic ways and means in the non-Muslim developed countries. This is especially true for America and Canada where mosques are concepts of civil society where men and women come together like in the "old times", the time of Mohamed and the four caliphs: *Devri Saadet/ Durée of Happiness*. The immigrant Muslims from the east to the west are more scripturalist than the fundamentalist Muslims who are trying to bring forth the Sheria rules. Yet their scripturalism attitude towards religion is a matter of uniting in single practices, because people who came from different cultures there share the same mosque or cemevi. This kind of scripturalism is a phenomenon of civil society against the

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<sup>175</sup> See V/2 for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>176</sup> namely ATV, Channel D, Star TV



established W.A.S.P understanding of life and politics, it looks more like “Alevilik” in Turkey<sup>177</sup>. Although *Alevilik* is Shia, it represents the more heterodox Islam in Turkey, a majority of which is Sunni.

As an alternative to the mosques where women’s place is relatively marginal, in the Alevi Practices the *Cemevi*/House of Convention people come together as woman and men. This tradition has its roots. At the same time, there are roots for accusation too. Shah says that the followers of Hacı Bektash (died 1337) were and are still in some places regarded as immoral simply because of their practice of admitting women to their meetings. That nobody could, or would, understand them when they said that it was necessary to redress the social balance of a society based upon male supremacy. (Shah, 1968 p.32)

An example of such a community is the community of *Mother Love* where she is a leader and not an equal part of this community where men and woman are sitting in mixed company. Still, there is still a pattern of getting seated. This is a dispersed order for a stranger. It is obvious that the strangers who are coming for the first time sit close to the walls during the *Muhabbet*/love-talk (of *Mother Love* to her community). The real community sits according to their gender and the stove which is at the end of the large room that is closer to the small room of *Mother Love* and the kitchen. Women sit closer to the (non-burning) stove and the kitchen. Men sit closer to the Entrance door but are more mobile than women.

Still, although for example the followers of Hacı Bektaş, the heterodox dervishes are known to have included women in the rituals, not all the Sufi traditions are similar. Cemal Kafadar (1992) talks about *Leyla hanım*, a poet of the early 19<sup>th</sup> cc. who is reported to have shed bitter tears at the gate of the *semahane* (*sema* is the Alevi ritual dance). The place was then forbidden to female disciples. Leyla Hanım, was imploring God to explain why a small piece of flesh (the penis) was denied to her (Ibid. p 309) while crying. Now, things seem to turn vice versa; people gather

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<sup>177</sup> More information for both sides, i.e., the fundamentalists and immigrant Islam, there is a wonderful Bibliography by Haddad et.al; *The Contemporary Islamic Revival: A Critical Survey and Bibliography*, London: Greenwood Press, 1991.



religiously not in the *semahane* but private houses in the apartments in the urban context (Kafadar, 1992, Saktanber 1995)

## **B. The Türbe: A Passive Regeneration of Life**

Regeneration of life is one of the key concepts to the understanding of the relationship between women and religion. In the modern <sup>178</sup>times, the notion of unilinear time which points to the future and constant progress perceives “death” not as a part of life. On the other hand, the life cycle can be completed with the presence of death and life. The binary logic that the computers use, makes use of two numbers, zero and one. One stands for the line and zero stands for the circle. 1 means existence and 0, non-existence. 1 stands for the penis and 0 for the womb. According to Orion White (1990) Hittites were the first to give priority to progress and to life. Death became a source of fear in this context. The Indo-European warriors brought the sword and cut death away from life. (White, 1990, p.30) Women, who are also attributed with zero (womb) remain to be the connection with death. In Europe in the Middle Ages, the carnival was an area where life and death, laughter and whine, women and men were mixed. Michail Bakhtin<sup>179</sup>, a Russian theoretician all of whose works conceive dialogue, study the carnival from Rabelais<sup>180</sup> a French writer who lived and wrote about folk culture in the Middle Ages. A seizure of an image out of the coming together of these two people well represents the unision of the poles: A child being born from a dead woman. The regeneration of life is circular, whether it be zero or life and death being lived at the same time.

In Islam, the basic regeneration of life and connection with the other word is through *hajj* visit. This process is described by Carol Delaney ('90, p.515) in the following way:

...pilgrims touch or kiss the Black Stone nestled in the Ka'be and drink from the well of *zamzam* that sustained Hagar and İsmail in the desert..... The *hajj* to Mecca, whatever else it

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<sup>178</sup> Modern means of-tomorrow

<sup>179</sup> Bakhtin, Mikhail; *Rabelais and His World*, Indiana University Press, 1988

<sup>180</sup> Rabelais, Francois; *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Everyman's Library, No 181 Knopf, 1994

may be or do, is expected to be a unifying experience, one that integrates the pilgrim's present life with both past and the future.

So that it is regeneration and unification of life as well as the "other world". However, the Ka'ba visit doesn't contain any trace of "the wish". The regeneration of life as the *healing* power of the dead and the living saints is the reproduction of life through the wishes. The wishes that are made from the saints in Turkey usually concern health of the family members. Nevertheless the hajj visit is a more global thing than local visits of the saints. The quality of the wishes that are wished from God through the saint is local phenomena for Islam and may change from culture to culture.

The connection between healing and religion point out to a discussion of alternative medicine. However, it is the subject of a new research to be carried out in Ankara and one can refer to<sup>181</sup> Frank & Frank, 1991 or Robert E. Ornstein's books for a beginning. In addition to that, there are books written by mediatic *mediums* such as Mehmet Memiş<sup>182</sup> which provide a good material for seeing the reflections in the popular culture in Turkey. A short paper is written on *Bursa* (An old capital of the Ottoman Empire situated in the Marmara region of Turkey) being both a city of saints and a city of healing by a doctor Ayşegül Demirhan Erdemir<sup>183</sup>. Her explanation of the situation can be summarised as emphasising the importance of Bursa as an educational centre of the Ottoman Empire this education resulting in the bringing up of talented people, the existence of which affected the folk medicine.

Apart from the saints, other religious people in Turkey *heal* too. These are mostly *hodja*'s who are called *sheik*'s or dervishes when they become leaders of particular sects<sup>184</sup>. Orhan Öztürk's somewhat intolerant approach towards healing methods of these people are reflected in the following quotation:

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<sup>181</sup> The Deontology Department of Hacettepe University in Ankara concentrates on this issue with the piloting of Prof. Yaman Örs. My special thanks to Yasemin Oğuz from the same department.

<sup>182</sup> Memiş, Mehmet: *İlahi Sınav ve Kutsal Görev/ The Psalm Examination and The Holy Task*, İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 1995

<sup>183</sup> Erdemir, "Evliyalar Şehri Bursan'ın Türk Tıp Tarihindeki Yeri ve Tıbbi Folklorümüz Bakımından Önemi" Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, İstanbul 1994

<sup>184</sup> Öztürk, Orhan; "Folk Treatment and Mental Illness in Turkey",

The dogmatic interpretation and practice of the Moslem religion with its monocausalistic and fatalistic attribution of all power and will to one supreme force have played a significant role in the establishment and maintenance of this stable (rural) world... many primitive folk practices have continued with little or no change. Superstition, magic, and religion find common meeting ground in this rural community, and there is considerable evidence of religio-magical practices for therapeutic purposes. (Pp. 346-7)

It is a non-historical perspective to see these practices as a matter of folk *Islam* only. Similar practises, which were not a matter of “one supreme force” were performed by shamans as well. Öztürk does another kind of grouping in his article that is a collection of concepts regarding healing.

The other group of common treatment agents beside the hodja's are ocak (literally the hearth) and the Yatır (the laying one). The ocak may be a living specialised hodja, or it may be a tomb, a secret convent, a tree, a rock, a fountain, or any other place where magical influence is present to ward off evil and sickness... When it is a location, people simply come to pray and sacrifice an animal (according to Moslem religion) ... Sacrifice is also made when health is regained. In all conditions the meat is distributed to the poor... Many villages have their own *yatır*'s buried nearby where their “spiritually gifted” hodja's lay. “The villager believes that the buried hodja, who is *equivalent to a saint in this case*, has the power to cure illness” (Öztürk, p. 355).

Different ethnographical researches would give color to this general outlook. When I apply this picture to the present study, we see that in big cities like Ankara the dead *healers* are more popular than the living ones (except *Mother Love*). The tombs of well known saints like Hacı Bayram are preferred to local healers.

A last note about regeneration makes a connection between spirituality, gathering, baths and ablution. *Piri Baba*, a saint from Merzifon (Faroqhi, 1990) lived in a *hamam* in the city. He was present in both the women's and men's section of the *hamam*. He supervised women in matters of children and pregnancy. According to Faroqhi, “the visit of a saint to the women's bath also occurs in Byzantine hagiography” (Ibid. foot44 p.668). It seems that Faroqhi makes this contrast leaving aside women saints but they may be included. The interesting position of Karacabey comes from the *hamam* part of it. It had been said that the women's part of the *hamam* is not used because it was *uncanny*! Şükrü Dr. Şükrü Akkaya<sup>185</sup> had written the story about it in his travel notes from the Central-Anatolia region. One day a woman enters the women part of the Turkish bath early in the morning. There was

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<sup>185</sup> Akkaya, Şükrü M: *Orta Anadolu'da bir Dolaşma*, Ankara: Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbaası, 1934

sitting a small-eyed woman there<sup>186</sup>. She felt uncanny and left the place. The same thing is told to be happened in another *hamam* in Ankara. Both of the *hamam*'s women sections were closed as a result of this event. With this information at side, Faroqhi makes a the connection between the concepts that I have mentioned in the beginning of the paragraph as follows:

In the eyes of the local population, apparently the most important function of a saint was to be a miracle worker. Some of his marvellous feasts involved securing the basic necessities of survival, as when the saint kneaded bread out of stone, took care of pregnant women and concerned himself with the sex and names of unborn children (the reason for his being in the women's section of the *hamam*). The saint could also provide certain amenities of life, such as roast meat, grapes, and *halva*... (Faroqhi, p.675) he acts as a tutelary spirit to the *Eski Hamam* which at least according to Evliya Çelebi was supposed to have healing properties. (Ibid. p676)

Faroqhi doesn't talk about a woman saint in her article. So that it is not much possible to visualise what kind of a spirit is say, *Karyağdı Sultan*. Here I will only make clear that this saint is the closest example to the theme of life bearing death. She is a pregnant woman whose saintliness and death both come from the same wish. Snow. So that this "female generative spirit"<sup>187</sup> also becomes "a source of death", for herself.

### The *Türbe*

There are saintly tombs in many other cultures than Turco-Islamic ones. Yet the *türbe* is a product of Turkish culture in the Islamic framework. The first *türbe* is said to be built by the Abbasids after meeting with the Turks.<sup>188</sup> The article of Ülkü Ülküsal Bates more or less confirms this notion. (Bates, 1971) She tells that the most similar mausoleum form to the *türbe* was Iranian *Gonbadh* before the Abbasids (ibid, p.74). The word *kümbet* that is used to mean the dome in Turkish, comes from *Gonbadh* too<sup>189</sup>. The word *türbe* comes from *turbah/earth*, but it has lost its original meaning. The connection between death which is a turning back to earth, which is a

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<sup>186</sup> It really feels uncanny to think about this small-eyed-woman in the *hamam*. Not all the people I asked thought that it was uncanny, may be it is a result of a collective-conscious of people of Ankara.

<sup>187</sup> The words in quotations are taken from the description of the female spirits of Siberia by Jacobson on p.187

<sup>188</sup> I got this idea from Dilek Gürgen, an archaeologist from the University of Ankara who is now self employed.

<sup>189</sup> İsenbike Togan, personal communication.

mother of corps, remains tough. *Türbe*, becomes the spatialisation of death. And this spatialisation furthers in people's minds by the repeating visiting patterns.

*Türbe* is taken in the group of "the mapping of the abstract to the concrete by primitive thought" in Halil Berktaş's article concerning saints, relics, pilgrimage and tombs<sup>190</sup>. On the other hand, there is a reverse mapping too: for example Mecca and the Ka'be begin to exist in the "geography of the soul"<sup>191</sup> in the process of daily worship to God in Islam. What Niebuhr calls the "geography of the soul" is called *habitus* in Bourdieu's theory of practice<sup>192</sup>. *Habitus* refers to the space-like structures in one's mind, as a reflection of the mind to the surroundings and that of the surroundings to the mind.

In this sense, Ka'be begins to exist in the *habitus* of every Muslim who turn to the Ka'be while they perform their daily worship 5 times a day. Delaney says that the call to prayer (*ezan*) which calls the Muslims for their daily worship is inescapable even for a non-Muslim. Berktaş expresses this inescapable situation as a historical storyline.

He tries to use comparative history in understanding sacrifice, pilgrimage and relics in Islam and Christianity. The places that people once sacrificed animals to "evil" were attributed to Christian saints by the year 601. (Ibid. p.38) Similarly the Ka'be itself, is the concrete example of "Islam absorbing idolatry before overcoming it" (Ibid. p.42). The only idol left in the Ka'be is the Black Stone, the sybil, which is the same thing with Kybele in the Phrigeans<sup>193</sup>. The line that can be drawn by connecting to Kybele's name that denotes a continuation of the Magna Mater cult in Mesopotamia. The roots of this cult go back to Çatalhöyük (refer to introduction

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<sup>190</sup> Berktaş, Halil: "Azizler, Cismani Kalıntılar, Haclar, Yatırlar: Tektanrıçılık içinde özümsemiş Paganizm" *Eyüp: Dün Bugün Yarın Semineri*. İstanbul: TTK Yayınları, 1993 p.35

<sup>191</sup> quoted from Richard Niebuhr's *Pilgrims and Pioneers* in Delaney'90 p.517

<sup>192</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre; "Structures, habitus, practices" Pp. 52-66 in *The Logic of Practice*, California: Stanford University Press, 1990.

<sup>193</sup> Tanyu, Hikmet; *Türklerde taşla ilgili inançlar*, Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları: 731, 1987, p.12-12



p.1)<sup>194</sup>. On the other hand, this stone is said to remain from Adam's time in Delaney's *hajj* article. She reflects from her villagers (her village is a village of Ankara) that it was white in the beginning, black in the end with the sins of the humankind (this sounds Christian). To make a long discussion short, it can be said about the Black Stone here<sup>195</sup> is that it *is* conceived as feminine in the stories about it, and it *is* very old. This stone is also an important part of *Space Odyssey 2001*<sup>196</sup> a cult film of science fiction that is an epic drama of the past and future of humankind. The Black Stone rises before the monkeys when one of them rises on his/her feet and claims power with the large bone s/he hold in her/his hands. Then the bone is thrown to the sky, begins to spin in the air<sup>197</sup> and we see a spaceship instead. We are now in year 2001.

The continuity between the past and the future is a reflection of the continuity of life and death. The concept of life after death was incorporated into daily life as "respect to the dead" by many cultures as well as the Shamanistic religion which was the religion of the Turks before Islam. Islam also provided space for the continuation of this habit. In the introduction, I said that the Koran tells people to cover their dead anonymously in earth, so that, wild animals wouldn't disturb their dead. The graves of the ancestors are taken up from different angles in the Koran. Respecting the dead and especially the dead prophets is advised in many verses to Muslims. On the contrary to that, visiting one's ancestors to show and be proud of the high quantities them, is severely criticised<sup>198</sup>.

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<sup>194</sup> For the storyline of this "go back" refer to **Kınal**, Firuzan: *Eski Anadolu Tarihi*, TTKY XIII Seri No 7, 1962

<sup>195</sup> This stone which is also referred to as the Black Lady in **Albek**, Suzan: *Galatlar*, TTK Yayınları, 1989 is a signifier of the spirituality of the history of the world. It is said to be a mirror with its shiny and black surface. There is an unpublished article in Turkish that is a group work of two where I constituted one half named *Ayinedâr*/The Mirror Frame dated 1993 about this subject.

<sup>196</sup> **Kubrick**, Stanley, *2001: A Space Odyssey: The Ultimate Trip* UK / USA: MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer), 1968 Color

<sup>197</sup> with the *Blue Danube* by Strauss

<sup>198</sup> The 102<sup>nd</sup> surah, el-Tekasür (pride in abundance) is all about this.

Nevertheless approaching the subject *türbe* from a purely scriptural angle would cause one to skip the variety of cultures and their practises. According to Hans-Peter Laqueur, “the mingling of Islam with earlier local traditions and crafts created an artistically high-ranking funerary art.”<sup>199</sup> This connection between the Schamanistic religion and Islam is similar to that of pagan religion and Christianity. The transfer of the funerary rituals to Christianity is described by Eliade (1985, p. 53) similarly.

Riad Bahhur wrote in the Postcolonial Discussion List<sup>200</sup> “there is no reason to become fundamentalist historians, ie reading the history and breadth of Islamic culture exclusively in light of legal systems and scriptures. We then lose sight of how people create Islamic cultures that differentiate themselves from legal systems, prescribed rituals, holy books.” The importance of conceiving Islam not merely as a reflection of the holy book but also as a creation of cultures is repeated thus.

Such a creation takes place within the *türbes* by women from different classes, different cities when the *türbe* is in an urban centre like Ankara. Regeneration is attributed to the saint to whom the tomb belongs. On the other hand, women as the members of the childbearing gender are close to regeneration. The association of death and women take place in the *türbes*. A picture of this association would reflect love as the first layer: the love of God and a mother’s love for her children that she expresses through her wishes, making wishes for their health. On the other hand, expression of love is not always as divine as holy books advice us to be.

Most people are afraid of death. Nevertheless, the fact that the saint of the *türbe* is dead doesn’t matter to them. His/her death denotes being closer to God than the living. When people visit the *türbe* as groups and in a steady manner, love is expressed in different ways. In the next chapter, such a group is described in the *türbe* of Hüseyin Gazi. Women go there every Friday and cry collectively as if they

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<sup>199</sup> Laqueur, Hans-Peter: “Dervish Gravestones” in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey* ed:Raymond Lifcheit, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992

<sup>200</sup> On Sun Oct 05 1997, subject: Islam and history. This list in the internet

(postcolonial@lists.village.virginia.edu.) discusses the issues of the colonised countries after the dissolution of colonisation.

are crying for somebody who is just dead. *Ağıt* is the word for dirge in Turkish. Old women come together and repeat the characteristics of the dead person aloud, one after another. From the point where one leaves, the others' continue until their breath stops, too. It resembles the women's chorus in the ancient Greek tragedies. This women's chorus is usually viewed as something *grotesque* from the point of view of high-culture.

The best connector of regeneration and death as well as of the *grotesque* is Mikhail Bakhtin's *Carnival* concept. In his conception of the *grotesque*, death is visualised (and made fun of) as a part of the regeneration process. The heterodox dervishes that go around with displayed genitals are an example. Many practices of folk culture that are criticised by high-culture fit in to the framework that is drawn by Bakhtin while he described the grotesque in Rabelais' work (1984) about the producers of the carnival. Many of these are practices of women in the modern age. At the same, heterodox practices of people are usually perceived as grotesque by scripturalists. The first part of the fifth chapter of this study is about such practises of women.

The closest connection to heterodoxy was the Foundation of the Living Saint, of *Mother Love* in this research. Because they were Alevi, and *Mother Love* didn't believe in scripturalism and her sainthood was because of what she has learned in her dreams, one could expect their practices to be closer to heterodoxy than any practice in the urban context in modern times. Nevertheless, the result was their being even more conservative than the Sunnies. Not in spectre; women heads were uncovered, their hair was short. Yet, although Muslim women with uncovered heads denote a departure from strict scripturalism, this does not symbolise heterodoxy. In reality, the community of *Mother Love* as well as herself is in defence against the institutions that want to prevent such a foundation in the midst of a secular republic. As a result, they keep their own values as strictly as scripturalists keep the values of the Koran and hadith traditions.

The state sees trouble with the sainthood of living saints who are healers because healing has monetary connotations and in this case it is not a legal *healing* process. The local saints carry on a task of alternative medicine in curing people in a country

where state hospitals are not sufficient for the population and people can't see the use in western medicine when it is not applied with the necessary care. Michael Gilson (1984) observed the life and foundation of a saint in a Lebanese village before and after his death and saw that the bureaucracy formed around the saint before his death continued afterwards the function of regeneration of life, but in a passive way.



#### IV. NARRATION

This chapter consists of the narratives that mainly come out of the interviews and participatory observations during *türbe* visits. Most introductory research method books warn the researcher that asking questions about sex, money and religion is more difficult than asking about anything else. This is a problem concerning *privacy*. These three categories belong to the private lives of people. The kind of religion that is lived in the *türbes* is one of the areas that break the public-private dichotomy. The *türbes* are *public* spaces in the way that they are open to the public, they are state owned and regulated. There is nothing private about the *türbes* as the dichotomy goes. On the other hand, people live special relationships with God, with the saint and with the *türbe* as a result of their religious investments in them. These relationships are not shared with other people.

The saintly tomb unites men and women, rich and poor, the living and the dead and the private and the public. However, I focused more on female perspectives concerning the saintly tomb because the majority of the attendants of the *türbe* were women. In addition to that, I focused on female saints that were few in numbers when compared to the male counterparts. My idea in the beginning was that the stories of the female saints would give a researcher a better view of the thoughts of women who are in the habit of visiting saintly tombs.

Before hearing about the women saints who are a minority among saints and their visitors who are a majority among the visitors, it may be interesting to remember the most famous female saint, Rabia. According to Schimmel, (1982, p.363) Rabia Adeviyye is the first *veli* (singular of *evliya/* saints) in Islam. A Pakistani Muslim, Thanvi<sup>201</sup> recites that she is an ideal for all Muslim women because she continuously prays and cries. Weeping is a basic concept in evaluating “Turkish Culture”.

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<sup>201</sup> Thanvi, ‘Ashraf ‘Ali; *Perfecting Women [Bihisti Zevar]*, Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 1990



Photographs of weeping children are hanged side by side to praying ones at the back of the lorries that are many in quantity because many international trade routes pass through Turkey. Fethullah Gülen, the founder of Islamo Turkish schools worldwide, is well known for his weeping face<sup>202</sup>. One of the reasons to the popularity of Rabia among women believers may be her weeping and praying characteristics. The first saint that I will narrate in this section, a living saint *Mother Love* told that one tear in the eyes of anyone listening to her while she is in trans means forgival of God to him/her.

### **A. The Female Saints in Ankara**

I have narrated the places where people attend and evaluated these spaces according to the criterion if a house, a temple and a tomb were found together. Still, the introducing saint is a living saint, *Mother Love* who doesn't have a tomb yet. Still, *Mother Love* is important for comprehending the personality of a saint. And the personality of a saint requires her/him to be at two worlds at the same time<sup>203</sup>: Our world and the other world. So that s/he is living and dead and it is possible to project what will happen or continue to happen after her/his death. This projection is done parallel to the anthropological experiences of Michael Gilsenan's (1984) experiences with a living saint and revisiting him after his death and seeing that all the bureaucracy that was forming around *him* became fixed around his dead personality. *Mother Love's* foundation is already very bureaucratic, this bureaucracy will probably remain after her death.

Although there are more saints in the villages of Ankara, I concentrated on the women saints in the city of Ankara. This study tries to draw the framework of female spirituality in the sacred-secular capital of Turkish Republic. As it has been told in the method section, there are several similar studies but I haven't come by much like the present one. Ayşe Saktanber's (1995) is a similar study that takes the private life

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<sup>202</sup> New Perspectives in Turkey, Spring 1997

<sup>203</sup> İbraev, Şakir, "Korkut Ata Şamandır", *Dördüncü Uluslararası Türk Kültürü Kongresi*, Ankara: Atatürk Yüksek Kurumu, Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 5.11.1997

of Sunni families in the middle of an urban context as its subject<sup>204</sup>. Religious spaces and women unite in the context of the *türbes* when Turkey is concerned. I had hoped to find about more examples of different synthesis' of these words in different Muslim countries, yet learning that *türbe* is a Turkish phenomenon<sup>205</sup> deepened my interest in what I could find out here and now. So that I begun going around to find about the places, visitors and stories of the female saints in Ankara.

In exploring the concept of female saints in Ankara, one of the questions that I had in mind was about the period where we can find more women saints. For getting an accurate idea of this, I had to begin somewhere and I choose to begin with going around in the old-city of Ankara. The result of this trip of a few months was a core narrative text to begin further research with. In this process, I learned there most of the *türbes* are built in the Selçuk period and those belonging to women were no exception. Still, this can be a subject of further research. However, it was an important beginning point because coming out to the streets of Ankara for the sake of the formation of the notion of an older-period or a text-of-route in my mind was quite an adventure. The streets were nearly "washed with blood" due to the sacrifice of sheep during the Feast-of-Sacrifice of 1997. It was raining and I was ahead of the bloodshed because I had begun my exploration on the *arife*, meaning the eve-of-a-feast.

I have said that a period when we could observe a peak point in woman saints would help for a better view of history. Then we can observe the state structure of that time and the changes in the social and political contexts. This can still be done, but as a subject of another story. This study has so far occupied itself with different aspects of history to hold light to today's situation and it doesn't claim to shed light on particular periods in history which have remained in the dark so far. Nevertheless, for such a breaking point through history and social science a contemporary example was needed to begin with. This is why, I was fascinated by the process I had gone through. First, I read what *Mother Love* had written on an ancient tomb (the tomb of Kesikbaş that will be mentioned in the next part). Reading her poem written for

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<sup>204</sup> It has been discussed in II/A/2

<sup>205</sup> see III/B/1 for more information

Kesikbaş, I thought that she must have been a kind of Sufi-poetess some centuries ago. Then, I learned from the shopkeeper nearby that she was well, alive, and open to visitors.

### 1. A Living Saint

*Mother Love*<sup>206</sup> is from Yozgat, another Central-Anatolian town like Ankara, is a woman of 45, who is said to be related to the “world of the dead”. As far as I have learned, she is living in Mamak, under a coal store named Keçikıran. I first saw her name on a *türbe* where a saint named “Kesikbaş” (Cut-head) lay. There was an ode to him:

Büyük şehit Oniki imam soyundan  
Zeynel Abidin künyesi Yemen  
Horasan’dan gelir erdir

Mekke yolu Allah’a  
Sultan tahtı burada  
Bu dünyada hayır et ki  
Muhammet var divanda

Dünya dolu malın var  
Boş geçecek salın var  
Mekke, Kudüs ararsan  
İbadete yerin var<sup>207</sup>

After several visits to her Foundation and reading her prayer book *Mehtaptaki Erenler*, I understood that she wrote similar pieces to nearly all the saints in Ankara. One of the disciples of her says that the present layout of history, especially that of the lives of prophets is distorted and *Mother Love* reflects the true histories from what we call the-world-of-the-dead and what she calls *Umman*. Most holy persons are reflected as relatives according to her narrative. She narrates from *Umman* in a

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<sup>206</sup> I have told in the introduction that what I call her is a nick name that preserves her security but also reflects her personality.

<sup>207</sup> This honourable martyr comes from The Twelve Imams’ line/ Zeynel Abidin, in his record writes Yemen / Coming from Horasan, he is a man  
The Meccan road goes to God/ Here is the throne of the Sultan / Make benignity in this world/  
Mohamed is the holder of the council  
Your property is many/ But your raft will leave empty/ If you look for Mecca Jerusalem / Then you have a place to worship the Almighty

state of trans and in both Turkish and Persian<sup>208</sup>. It is a unique experience to hear from her when she is in Umman, her voice seems to hypnotise the listener in its peculiar tone. The common characteristic of the narratives about the saints points out to their being unusual. *Mother Love* is not an exception.

The shopkeeper near the *türbe* of Kesikbaş described and introduced *Mother Love* to me as a local “healer”. Contrary to that description, my arrival to her foundation showed me that *Mother Love* was herself a saint for many people who come from different places of Turkey. I learned that she told the story of Kesikbaş (Zeynel Abidin) from *the other world*. She is a person who belongs to two worlds; our world and the “other world” that we, normal people don’t know about. “Place” has a very important dimension for such a person who has the ability to see special places in her mind. The Foundation of *Mother Love Ali*<sup>209</sup>, the place where many visitors come and get healed is now being transformed into a bigger building that is nearby. The importance of the space that it is built on is that it belonged to one of the holy warriors of Battal Gazi<sup>210</sup>.

She takes over the role of an Islamic warrior in characteristics as a leader. She is charismatic and has relationships with the political leaders<sup>211</sup>. There are many non-Muslims who attend her foundation. At the same time, she is showing the “true path of Islam” that has been disturbed by the changes in the holy-book to the bewildered. The place and importance of the new building for the foundation perfectly fits her other actions as well as a gathering of the three basic spaces. This characteristic of the building brings us back to the threefold housing: The tomb- the temple (the complex) and the house (she is already living there).

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<sup>208</sup> The Ottoman Language consisted of Arabic, Turkish and Persian before the simplification of language in one, Turkish. Mother Love says that she does not ever want to learn Arabic although it is the language of Islam, because the Sunnies claim on it.

<sup>209</sup> Her name is written side by side to the name of the prophet Ali, underlining her Alevi identity.

<sup>210</sup> The warriors of Islam lived close to non-Muslim lands. Their life styles were not scripturally Islamic, but they were very effective in spreading Islam. (The Encyclopedia of Islam, “Battal Gazi” article.

<sup>211</sup> She invites important political leaders who are at the Alevi “side” to her foundation. Most of her invitations are consummated.

The present place of the Foundation looks and functions much like a school building. Educative panels are posted around the concrete garden. The activities of the foundation are planned to continue there until the new building finishes completely. There is a small door as the entrance where one or more of *Mother Love*'s disciples wait. S/he asks every person the reason of his/her arrival. There is a list of the rules to enter the place behind him. These rules are: To be *abdestli* meaning clean for worship in the way Islamic rules describe, not smoking within the place and not holding your hands together at your back.

All of these rules are put in line of "respect" to *Mother Love*. One understands the importance of *respect* better when s/he gets closer to seeing *Mother Love*. She is close to God, and she must be respected. Stooping<sup>212</sup> is widespread among the Turks as a matter of respect. There are verses concerning walking styles for human beings in the Koran. One verse advises the believers not to walk too proudly<sup>213</sup>. The straight body denotes high self-assurance in many aspects of the "Turkish culture" too. It is mostly perceived as an obstacle before respect to the authority, by the authority whether s/he is a household head, a religious leader, or a schoolteacher.

What makes *Mother Love*'s place resemble a school garden is mainly the concrete garden. It is surrounded by the separate buildings of the Foundation of *Mother Love* – Ali (she is Alevi, discussed in the previous section III). These are; an *Aşevi*<sup>214</sup>, a waiting room where old schoolbooks are distributed freely, and a small shop where religious souvenirs are sold as well as food which is told to be curative. Examples of religious souvenirs are green scarves, small accessories regarding the place and photographs of Ali and food. The kind of food changes all the time. There were apples and grapes at first, other things another time. Some of the food that is brought by the visitors of *Mother Love* is sold there. In addition to these, there are various

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<sup>212</sup> This word is Bourdiean terminology of the body.

<sup>213</sup> [16.69] Then eat of all the fruits and walk in the ways of your Lord submissively.

[25.63] And the servants of the Beneficent God are they who walk on the earth in humbleness.

<sup>214</sup> A big kitchen where food is cooked three times a day to feed the people who belong to the place and the poor can eat there free.



photographs of *Mother Love*: photographs which show a stout woman with a “formal” outfit, short cut hair, and a powerful face with no make up on<sup>215</sup>. What is formal in her clothing is its being designed for the “new Turkish woman” of the new Republic, and short hair that supports this modern outlook.

*Mother Love*'s outlook perfectly reflects her statist position. This refers to a ground discussion concerning the outlook of women of the Turkish republic described in Ömer Çaha's book *Civil Society and Women*. *Mother Love* is a stereotype of the women “whose clothing is almost determined by law, whose hair was shaped in the formal context”. This stereotype is opposed to the category of “different kinds of women, both religiously and non-religiously dressed, and who may be the only pioneers of a civil societal framework in Turkey”<sup>216</sup>. Her clothing is, as Atatürk would want the women of Turkey to get dressed. When she is in the *Umman* Atatürk's personality dictates her what to wear. According to *Mother Love*, among the other saints, he is the one who designs her outlook. One of the other dictated things is the new building of the Foundation of *Mother Love*.

The people that I have met showed me a bigger place (a big apartment) that was being built as a complex, which was going to include all things about *Mother Love* and more. (For example a cave for the 12<sup>th</sup> İmam and a helicopter track for an international statesman) Apart from the present complex that I have tried to describe, there is a Wedding Saloon that she has founded. This seems to be an enterprise that was the beginning stage of the complex where different activities of the Foundation will be held.

Back to the current space that is being used: there are two panels reserved for Atatürk in the garden. Miraculous events from Atatürk take the bigger part in these panels

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<sup>215</sup> *Mother Love* isn't from Ankara as it is told. But her practises coincide with that of the older woman of Ankara, who are important in shaping up the religious values shaped up in Ankara. For example, putting (or not putting) make-up is an matter of religion for both. Old *Ankaralı* women call themselves (or others) “madama”, recalling the non-muslim women, when they put makeup on their faces. Similarly, *Mother Love* doesn't use even a slight make-up on her face.

<sup>216</sup> Çaha, Ömer, *Sivil Kadın: Türkiye 'de Sivil Toplum ve Kadın*, Vadi yayınları; Ankara, Konya, 1996

where also the six principles concerning state foundation are listed. One of these miracles is his healing of a young soldier who couldn't dance with his fiancée because he couldn't walk. Atatürk made him walk by only ordering him to walk<sup>217</sup>. The second miracle concerns a French writer who came to visit him. We are told that this writer accepted to be an agent of his state against Atatürk, but when he saw Atatürk, he couldn't stand before him, fainted and then confessed his "inferior" position against this "honourable man". Atatürk is held as another saint who takes *Mother Love* as a mediator like the other saints who give messages through her existence.

*Mother Love*, with her presence as a saint talks about several keywords and dualities. The first group of keywords is related to her uncommon position as "the only saint all around the world" as it is written on one of the panels<sup>218</sup>. These groups of words are related to the dichotomy between *healing* versus *medicine* and *daily life* versus *extraordinariness* as well as the importance of *miracle*. The apple makes a wonderful exemplar of the actualisation of these keywords.

*Mother Love* throws apples to couples who want babies. When I asked her about the apple, first she told that she was pleased to hear such a question and answered that the apples *are* babies. Then, the couples eat the apples and have a baby. Apples are one of the most common aspects of daily life. They're everywhere. We eat them and they nourish us. At the same time they symbolise lots of things for us. They do so *because* they are ordinarily around. They symbolise abundance in Anatolian culture because they are many in quantity. The Kybele reliefs hold apples (or pomegranates) in their hands because they both symbolise fertility. With the beginning of the religions, the apple turns out to be the fruit that caused us to be fired from Heaven. A saint throws an apple, but by throwing the apple she is throwing all these meanings interwoven in each other, in the minds of each one of us. Eating the apple heals the

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<sup>217</sup> An event making a perfect synthesis of a military leader who gives orders that will be realised by his soldiers and a holy person who can do by only wishing for it.

<sup>218</sup> I asked this to her most esteemed disciple, he said that this means she is the only saint who is announced to be so, because there is a rule that the saints keep their identities as saints hidden, but some have to reveal it for the good of people.

couple. It is the saint's miracle to turn the apple into a child. It is the miracle of collective consciousness to create meaning from the apple.

The second group of keywords relate to the Alevi identity of *Mother Love* that can be condensed in one dichotomy; that of difference versus oneness in Ankara. There are both Alevi's and Sunni's who come to the Foundation. The orthodox Sunnis accept her secular position within her identity as being a saint. The reason for this acceptance is that they want to get healed and they believe that saints can heal. On the other hand, the "conversation" sessions held every Thursday late at night underlines the difference of the Alevi community. Although these sessions are open to everyone, Alevi culture is promoted and developed in these sessions. These developments are also supported by *Mother Love's* hypnotising words from the *Umman*.

*Umman* is another keyword from her terminology and is an important concept in understanding her. Her existence in the two worlds that combines life and after life is interpreted as her "diving into umman". *Umman* is the word for sea. According to Schimmel (1982, p.246) the feeling of basic unity of humanhood is pronounced with different images by sufi poets. *Umman* is one of these word-images that are wave, foam, bead which are all *water* in essence. A more compact image of divine existence belongs to Ibn-Arabi: *an open green sea where the forms that fly and escape from it go up like waves and then fall back and get lost in infinite deepness.* (Ibid.)



Figure 8 A saint in trans

This image gives an idea of what *Mother Love* can be feeling when she is in trans, spelling verses from another reality. Nevertheless her importance as to the present study has other reasons from this world too. Firstly she is important because in her personality one is able to observe a living-saint. She may or may not be defined by everybody as a holy person, but she is a figure whom many people call a saint. She is actually the saint of many people as well as a friend of God<sup>219</sup>. Everyday hundreds of people come to see her and wait for hours. In the Foundation of *Mother Love* everybody is called “Hey, visitor”. The visitors are there for some help, socialising among themselves and it seems that they don’t care about how they are treated until they see the saint. It is as if they are waiting in the corridor of a hospital. People resort to any cure that is available. Almost all of the visitors had gone to a doctor before.

A local epic from Central-Anatolia region from the 1930’s reflect beautifully how illness is the closest thing to death and how all the cures are intertwined for most people. The “epic of the mother-in-law” is from Kayseri (Akkaya, 1934, p.19). A woman in her midlife was telling the epic that was composed by her mother in law when she was ill. The most repeated verse of the epic is “*yumdum gözlerimi açamıyorum*” (I have closed my eyes, I can’t open them). Throughout the epic, she talks about different kinds of cures. She mentions an amulet written by a hodja in one place. In another verse she mentions one young female member of her family Hafize (her name is the female version of *hafız* a person who has memorised the Koran) reciting the Koran. On the other hand, she mentions a doctor’s treatment and the *five* injection marks on her body.

It seems that the treatment of a living saint is not easily available because a living saint is hard to find. This may be why the tombs of the saints are very popular. *Mother Love* gives importance to the dead saints and visitation of their tombs. She tells their stories in her book *Cemden gelen Nefesler*<sup>220</sup>. She says that the true

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<sup>219</sup> She is referred to as “evliya” and not *aziz*, *ermiş* or *azize* as other Turkish words for the saint.

<sup>220</sup> She has got two books. The first one is this one, *Cemden gelen Nefesler* (The breathes that come from the gathering) which one of her esteemed disciples say that is more complicated than the other. It is written by a journalist with her permission and direction The other is a prayer book *The Saints in*



versions of biographies of the saints are told to her when she is in the *Umman*. On the other hand, there are people who will never know and be sure of these lives! The view of a 82 year old *türbe*-visitor reflects this uncertainty by saying “everything was very complicated in the past (before the Republic)” and “for example may be the ones who are dead were not really saints. They may have been philosophising on religion, and the people around would call him/her religious.”<sup>221</sup>

This clear view about the uncertainty concerning the true character of the saint gets more complex by getting close to a living saint. This was the first important point concerning *Mother Love*. Secondly, it is possible to observe the bureaucracy around her that will possibly remain after her death. This is the observation of Michael Gilsenan in his striving towards *Recognising Islam* about a saint in Lebanon before and after his death. There is a similar bureaucracy that concentrates on collecting money and organising people around the personality of *Mother Love*. Parallel to Gilsenan’s observation after the death of the saint in Lebanon, it is not unrealistic to project that these people and buildings will not dissolve after her death, because her “saint personality” will remain and get even more well known. The picture of the bureaucracy lies around the principle that everybody works there for free<sup>222</sup>. There are two young men who are the most knowledgeable and esteemed disciples. There is a university graduate, a young woman who works in the Assembly and comes there in the evenings to sell things at the small shop. There are two women who are also on the business of selling things (they are the ones who exaggerate this business). In addition to them, there are a lot of teenagers who are there one day and not in another. Saturdays are crowded both with visitors and the young volunteers.

The third basic aspect of *Mother Love* in regard to this study relates to her being in Ankara. She is from Yozgat but her sainthood “came” to her after their migration to

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*the Moonlight*. Both books are only sold within the Foundation and are compulsory for the visitors to buy.

<sup>221</sup> Direct quote from interview 3 in the appendix.

<sup>222</sup> One of the disciples announce to the crowd “Are you able to control your 16 year old children? We are. They come here and work for free.” This is why there are a lot of young people around.



Ankara<sup>223</sup>. They moved to *Mamak* where the *Sunni*'s are the majority. She said in a *muhabbet* that is the gathering where she talks with followers who come there from different parts of Ankara that she doesn't like the people of Mamak who are badly dressed and dirty. There were people from Mamak but it seemed they didn't react. Although people from different sects come to her to be healed, the regular followers are all Alevi. So that, whether they are from *Mamak*, they clearly distinguish themselves from the people of *Mamak* who are Sunni, who are dirty. Although *Mother Love* gives importance to the saints of Ankara, she doesn't take Ankara as a sacred place. The sacredness comes from her, not the place.

My fourth point that is related to her is that she is a woman. But she is not a woman when she is talking from *Umman* with the words of different holy persons who are all men<sup>224</sup>. When I asked her about "the women saint" she responded that there is no men and women before God. She said that although she is in the body of a woman this doesn't make her sainthood female. On the other hand, she adds that her, being a saint to be in the body of a woman proves that women are able to walk in the true path too. This discussion didn't end before mentioning that there are also woman who pollute the word "woman" by their behaviour. These are the woman who keep their houses dirty and who are shabby themselves. This description is very much similar to *Dede Korkut*'s description of the "bad woman" and the "good woman". He gives three examples for the bad women by attributing them animal characters. Only one type of women is not attributed an animal character and she is the good woman<sup>225</sup>. The good women is tidy, doesn't make gossip, doesn't take unwanted visitors home and treats the real visitors as her husband would have done so if he was home when her husband is absent. *Mother Love*, with her dressing, cleanliness and chastity in her daily life, is also a role model for the Alevi community that attend the foundation. This can be observed from the hair of some women, dressing of others and behaviour of most of them in which they proudly imitate the saint.

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<sup>223</sup> The place names are expressed differently by *Mother Love* according to their meanings in *Umman*. She calls *Yozgat Ofsat* and she calls Ankara as *İsfendiyar* meaning red in *Umman*.

<sup>224</sup> These names are cited in *Solak, İsmet; Cemden Gelen Nefesler*, Ankara, 1996 (9. Print)

<sup>225</sup> *Gökyay, Orhan Saik; Dede Korkut Hikayeleri*, İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları 252, 1976

The book that tells us about ideas and history about *Mother Love* is also sold in the small shop within the garden. There is an uncanny thing about money here. The shopkeepers try to sell you things all the time, telling you they are curative, telling you they are holy. This pattern resembles the Christian practices where the church tries to collect money all the time for the benefit of the church, for better sitting places or for a new organ<sup>226</sup>.

Similarly, it is easily seen that the money that the Foundation collects and gets is transformed into new investments that are beneficent for the whole district, namely Keçikıran. The most favourable of these investments is the Wedding Saloon. An old Sunni woman who brought me to the Entrance door of the Foundation, told me that she didn't approve everything about *Mother Love*, yet she added that "she has been so useful to our district that I can do nothing but pray for the well-being of her".

The late scandals about sheikhs and their disciples make money collection an important criterion in evaluating religious matters in Turkey. In the *Yasin* which is the most popular prayer book in Turkey, we read "comply with those who don't want a fee from you" (11<sup>th</sup> verse). This is probably why it is repeated a hundred times a day in the Foundation that *Mother Love* doesn't collect fees from the visitors that she heals. She doesn't, but her disciples do, by selling small accessories five times more expensive from their standard prices and by saying that the visitor's visit will not be valid if s/he doesn't buy from them. People who get used to it, or who don't have money don't buy from them. On the other hand, it is possible to see parallelisms between the words of Erbakan, the head of the Welfare party<sup>227</sup> and the words of the woman who sells souvenirs. Erbakan, in a speech to support Channel 7, an Islamist Channel says that "When it is pitch-dark after you die, what will save you is the money you will give to support Channel 7". The saleswoman announces "*Mother*

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<sup>226</sup> The young third-worlders have grown up seeing such practices in the films about past and present American life styles. Now we see that such practices are parts of our lives too.

<sup>227</sup> It was the only Islamist party in the assembly until it got closed on February 1998. Now its name has changed to *Fazilet* (Virtue) Party. The new base is formed with the representatives in the assembly who became independent representatives after Refah Party was closed. The leaders of the party

*Love* says that especially those who will buy these things with the last money that is left in your pockets will be saved". It is surprising that money causes the same words to be spoken in such different contexts (and probably more).

It is difficult to end the discussion of *Mother Love* who can be<sup>228</sup> studied by different academics from social sciences as well as medicine. She is as much of an *Umman* that she dives into, and it is no doubt that she brings services to the district and to people's hearths. In addition to that, in her personality I saw a saint and tried to reflect it.

Last but not least, her good command of music and dance as a part of her leadership of a community must be focused further. She complies with Depew's (1991, p.357) proposal that contemplation is conceived intensely with a learning of music and that in the best regime theoretical pursuits will be closely related to musical ones. She plays the *bağlama*, and she sings with a deep voice as a part of her *Muhabbet* (love-talk during which she plays music, she gives advice, tells stories and answer questions). In addition to that she tutors a group of young girls to play the *sema* (the Alevi ritual dance). Contemplation is the most important part of her politics and is not only limited with a single state of trans. Her personality will be the subject of debates in near future in the Turkish media for sure.

#### **Small tomb near the *türbe* of Keşikbaş**

The shopkeeper with whom I met during a purchase informed me about both *Mother Love* and the small tomb near the *türbe* of Keşikbaş. First about the small tomb: a few people that I've met while I was photographing the small tomb (two of them were middle-aged men, the other one a woman who didn't talk much) told me that the small tomb near Kesikbaş belonged to a girl from his family. Nevertheless, the shopkeeper laughed at these and said that they were thinking like that because the tomb was small. He further said that, long ago, all around was full of tombs and that small tomb was left from that times. He said that it belongs to "Bulgurzade'ler" who

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announce that the new party is waiting for other politicians because "it is not the same party anymore" and it will act on a greater base.

<sup>228</sup> And she *is* studied according to her disciples. They didn't give names.

were very rich when the tombs were destroyed. So, they managed to keep their ancestor's tomb. It seems that they had to leave after, and they couldn't take care of the tomb. The shopkeeper said that there still were people from his family who came and visited the tomb, but that they were very poor people. He added that it was a twist of fate and it was always like that all around the world. "Once you are rich, then you get poor, once you are poor, you get rich" was the lesson that he learned from that story!

Although this small tomb is seemingly very insignificant, it points out to some issues concerning the *türbes* and the cities that expand to include their ex-cemetery regions. It shows how some of the tombs that once belonged to the cemetery, remain within the city that have moved to embrace the tomb. The cemeteries are often out of the borders of the city. That is true for the history of the city of Ankara, too. Once the city life was lived within the borders of the citadel and rituals were performed by the small hill near it. Now, there is Hacı Bayram on this small hill and ritual prayers are continuing. But something has changed, there are now many houses in the region of the old cemetery and only the *türbes* and some tombs like this one remain there.

## **2. Kırkkızlar**

The first graveyard that coincided with the tomb-temple-home trio I had in mind from the very first beginnings of my research was Kırkkızlar. Its name meaning "Forty-Girls", a rather widespread name given to collective-tombs all over Anatolia. 40 is one of the key numbers like 7 that is used for *erenler* ie, people who have achieved a certain state of perfection of the soul. This graveyard is located at the Ulucanlar side of the castle of Ankara. It is one of the "closed" places due to the impossibilities of preservation, restoration and acceptance of visitors. Still, the wife of the actual person who was put to live there by the government seems to perform the duties of a *türbedar*. We will see that the state appointed *türbedars* do not always live in the *türbe*, like the caretaker of *Karyağdı Sultan*, but the *türbedar(s)* of this graveyard were living there.

When I first arrived the place, I was nearly missing it because it seemed not to have an entrance, at least an entrance that could be distinguished from the other doors of

standard houses -or squatter houses- around. A minute later, I thought that having a shiny wooden door could have been an indicator. At least an indicator of class difference, but an indicator. Then I looked around, saw an opening, an iron-cage window that showed a multiplicity of tombs as if the garden was a depot of Ottoman ruins. I photographed the place, and then knocked at the door as if it was any of the doors around. A woman's voice answered the knock: "whooo's that?" and I explained to her that I had come to visit the tombs.



### Figure 9 Kırkkızlar

She (I will refer to her as E.) was a beautiful woman of 35, coming from Erzurum. She was busy with making bread when I arrived, and she poured some flour on the floor while she was opening the door for me. This is why she left me alone for a while: "Go around the garden while I sweep the floor" she said, and I did. There were other people, other women gathering in the yards of their houses. It seemed as if they thought of the cemetery that was actually a garden, as an open sight before them. I looked around, to see the living multiplicities of women, to see the dead ones as well. Then I realised that there were many tombstones that belonged to men. I thought that Kırkkızlar can also be a distortion of Kırğızlar/the *Kyrgyz*'s, a Turkic people (like the one in Eskişehir, indicated in Tanyu 1967, p.246). Later, I learned from one of the officials in the Ethnography Museum that the actual Kırk-Kızlar constituted only the half of the tombs while the other tombstones belonged to various times and people. They were there only because there were nowhere else to put them.



I continued to talk to the woman that I have met on my first visit to Kırkızlar. I asked her if she knows about these forty girls, and she answered: "I don't know if they are women or girls." This is a distinction that I wouldn't think of. It seems that what she regarded as basic information was the distinctions between a woman and a girl. On the other hand, not all of the tombs belonged to women. There were classical symbolisations of rose on the tombstones that were the tombstones that were referred to as Forty Girls. This was the group right in the middle of the garden. According to Laqueur (1992, p293) the rose figures are used for women who have affiliations with *tariqats*<sup>229</sup>. It is certain that at least these tombs belong to women and they are "holy" in one way or another.

I asked her how she feels about living by "the holy". Her first answer was as if she was indifferent. She told that she saw the place as a "garden". Yet a few days later she told that there are many people who come and go and she is the only "authority" to let these people in and out. She said that she certainly takes in the women and all the boys and girls who come together and say that they are students.<sup>230</sup>

I then asked her about the timing of the visits of the women and she told that it was at its peak when Ramadan came. I asked her about the people who come to visit the saints, she said that both men and women come, but she let only women in because she is alone there and she doesn't want any trouble. On the days that I was there, no woman came to visit. It would have been interesting to talk to them, but for the time being, it was interesting enough to make interviews with the couple who took care of the graveyard.

The extent of these dialogues about the visitors showed that she was the voluntary keeper of the holy-cemetery. Actually, her husband was working at the Ethnography Museum as a watchman, and the Museum gave this house in the Kırkızlar graveyard only to provide them with a place to live. Her husband is not very

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<sup>229</sup> for further information concerning the rose figures:

Hihmet, Neriman; *Ankara Kabristanlarında Açan Güller*, Ankara: Cönk Yayınları, 1966.

<sup>230</sup> "Sometimes boys come together with the girls, mostly students, to read the tombstones, I let them in".

interested in taking care of the place. Still, it seems that it is not pure coincidence that they were there because his other relatives were the keepers of the mosque and *türbe* of Hacı Bayram. I learned this from E.'s account on the first day of the feast. She told that they went to Hacı Bayram, near their relatives to make their sacrifice.

When I was moving she said something that opened up a discussion on dreams. She said that she couldn't easily sleep in this house. She added "some days I am not able to sleep until it is nine o'clock in the morning. Sometimes they don't keep out of my dreams, I see them over and over again." And after saying this she felt guilty and said, "because I have told you these, they won't come any more..." This is why I asked her if she feels happy when they come and make her sit up late. She responded that she was happy that they came and she would be afraid if they didn't come back. Perhaps this is why she insistently tried to give one of the breads that she was making to me. I said I wasn't hungry, but she said "Take this and let me feel that I have given you something". Later on, our friendship continued as I visited the place.

### 3. Karyağdı

The owner<sup>231</sup> of the *türbe* gave her name to the Karyağdı Mountains on the north-west of Ankara. The *türbe* was built in 1577. Its name means It-snowed, summarising the story of the woman saint to whom the *türbe* belongs. She loved a man, married him and got pregnant. She desired snow because she was pregnant. So, she prayed to God for snow in the middle of August. It snowed, and she ate mouthfuls of snow. Then she got ill and died. The details of this story come from an immigrant to Ankara from eastern Turkey<sup>232</sup>, he and his family visit Karyağdı Sultan regularly. He said that she was at the 8<sup>th</sup> month (it is interesting that August, the month that this episode is said to take place in is the 8<sup>th</sup> month of the year) of her pregnancy and the words that she told was "*mübarek biraz es/* blessed wind, blow some."<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> They are the "homeless hosts". *Evsiz evsahibi* is phonetically more similar to landless landlords/ladies in English.

<sup>232</sup> He told another story about a saint in his city as well. This story can be found in VI/A/3.

<sup>233</sup> *Mother Love* (IV/A/1) explains the reason of the snow as "the non-ending of the mourning for the *ehlibeyt*"

Almost all the people who have lived in Ankara long enough know the story of Karyagdı because her *türbe* is in a very central place. The passers by as well as people who come from different parts of Turkey visit it. These people are mostly women, a fact related also by Tanyu in 1967. Nevertheless, Tanyu also tells us that there was an old woman, who was taking care of the *türbe* with her own will. This must have been in the year 1967. She lived with the tips that the visitors granted her. She lived by the *türbe* as also Nezihe Araz describes. Araz relates the following words from the old *türbedar*: “When everybody is in their deepest sleep, something comes down from the skies. I wouldn’t know whether it is snow or is it the divine light. I only know that it disappears before it touches the ground”. It is told that she lived in a small cottage near the *türbe*. Nowadays, there is a middle-aged man who opens the places in the morning and closes it by 6 o’clock. He is an employee of state. There used to be an institution that took care of the *türbe*, an association with the same name with the *türbe*. The current *türbedar* notes that they were swindlers and earned a lot of money through the *türbe*. He concludes that *Karyagdı Sultan* punished them in the long term.

Hikmet Tanyu notes that stylish women with fur coats and lipstick from *Yenişehir*<sup>234</sup> used to visit this place more often than any other kind of people. There are still many stylish women who visit the saint, yet, as it is already told, they are from all-over Turkey. It is both an indicator of the diffusing of that kind of dressing styles and also due to the fact that the new transportation devices have made mobilisation easier. Although the visitor pattern did not change much in thirty years (1967-97), with the new arrangement of the space, the visitors seem to be more comfortable than they once were. Tanyu tells us that the visitors could not be on their own, because the *türbe* was too much embedded in the shops nearby. And as long as the shopowners were a male population, the visitors were very disturbed of being watched by this male population. (Tanyu, 1967, p. 76) Nowadays, the surroundings of the *türbe* have

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<sup>234</sup> The-new-city. Named after the newly built western state and civil buildings. *Yenişehir* used to be the new- opulent-center of Ankara after the republic was founded. Nowadays, it is caught between the arms of the city that is spread all over the steps.

been trimmed to leave the old blacksmiths and repairers alone. Furthermore, there are iron panels to keep them apart from the *türbe*.

There is a thing that has radically changed: the number of the visitors. Earlier it was about 3-4 people for “normal days”. This number has increased to 15-20 or more today. In addition to that, many people pray while they are passing by too. This may be a peculiarity of big-city life where people move a lot daily. This pattern of “passing-by” is better illustrated in the next section because the *türbe* of Tezveren remains in the middle of a big street. People visit her while they are crossing the street!

Visiting the saints is an act of combining travel on earth and praying for the dead. These two actions are advised by the Koranic tradition. Remembering history becomes a process embedded in daily life. When the cities widen, the graveyards that were outside the city become a part of the centre. Then, most of the graves are demolished. Most of the remaining tombs belong to saints who are the most important people of their *folk*. These tombs that do not belong to statesmen but to civic personalities tell stories. People tell stories about them and these stories become a part of the tomb. These stories express the unwritten, the oral and the unspelled aspects of the past.

Karyağdı Hatun is also the demonstrator of the past in the present. The current *Türbedar* is a state official who has been working there since 12 years. He says that the spirit of Karyağdı Hatun affects his family as well as him. He is a genuine *Ankaralı* and he believes that there is an undeniable connection between him, his family and the saint. I asked him how he began to work there, was it coincidental, and he answered “nothing is coincidental when a saint is concerned. Nobody could come here if she didn’t call them.” Then I asked him if the place belonged to the *Karyağdı Association*, an information that the man in the Ethnography museum had given. The *türbedar* was upset with this question and asked how I knew of the association. In fact, the telephone number of the association could not be found in the telephone book. The story is that twelve years ago, the *türbe* became the private property of an association that organised the use of the *türbe*, and this association

used to collect money from the visitors “so that their wishes were accepted”. The *türbedar* says this was “exploiting the situation” and the state that released the *türbe* from this situation did the most suitable thing. After some trials, the state took over the responsibilities of the *türbe* and the law court annulled the association.

The *türbedar* was holding his finger in a glass of water. I didn’t ask what happened. Yet he began to talk about it, saying that they had a big car accident where two people died. He survived with only a damage in his finger. He describes the accident as: “We were up on a hill, then there was a crash. Then, there must have been things going on upwards, things we wouldn’t think of”. Then he said that the saint saved him from death because of his service up til then. Belief plays an important part in such *miracles*. The most popular prayer<sup>235</sup> begins with an oath of belief: I believe in God and that there is one God, I believe in the book that God has sent, I believe in the prophet, I believe in angels. Therefore an important aspect of submission is accepting that there are things that human mind cannot see or feel. The existence angels, or “things we wouldn’t think of” that reside “upwards” can be examples to this view. It is always useful to remember what the white queen said to Alice, “I was able to believe fifteen unbelievable things before breakfast when I was you age”<sup>236</sup>.

#### 4. Tezveren

Tezveren is a named tomb located in the conjunction point of two wide streets. The name meaning quick-fulfiller-of-wishes<sup>237</sup> does not denote gender. In order to come near the tomb, one has to pass through a fast traffic. As far as I have observed, it is mostly men who come here to pray. The positioning of the tomb can be an effective agent in constructing this pattern because Hacettepe-Numune Hospital region is an extremely public place where there are very few accommodations. The people who come by, turn clockwise around the tomb quickly, three times, and then make their prayers at the foot of it (it is not very possible to be comfortable at the head part of the tomb). I have made these observations by waiting by the tomb for different

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<sup>235</sup> Sübhaneke. The prayer that is spelled before the *namaz*.

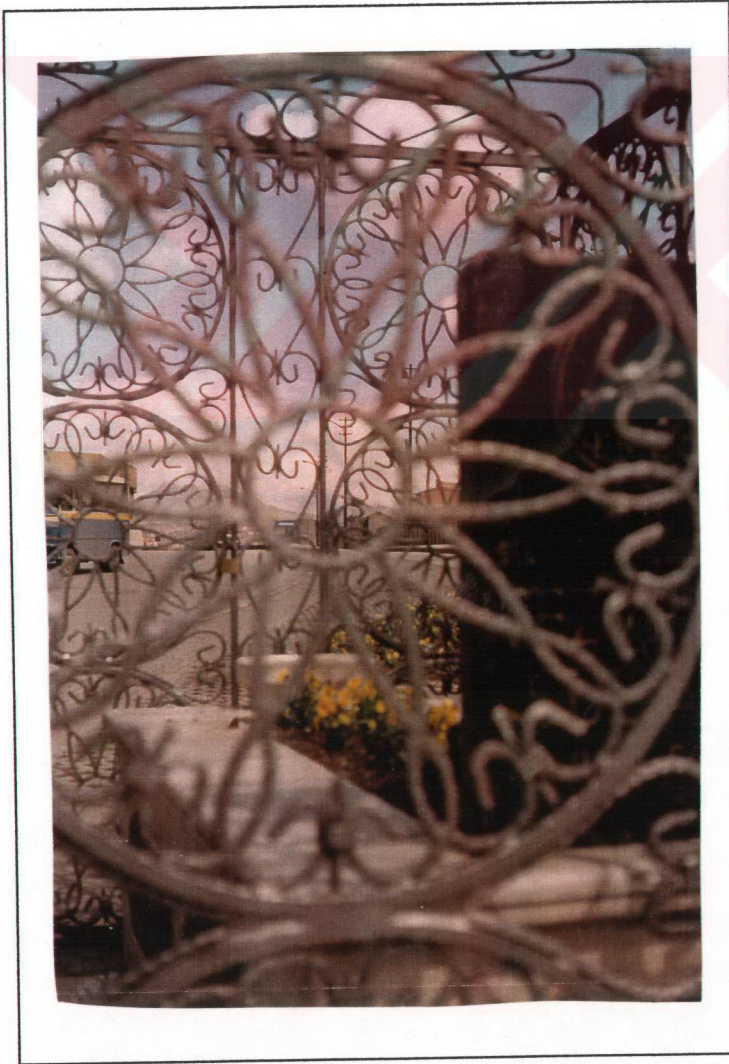
<sup>236</sup> Carroll, Lewis; *Alice in the Wonderland* online from <http://www.lewiscarroll.org/texts.html>

<sup>237</sup> The name can also be read as a “thesis giver” for people with academic involvements!



periods of time and then standing in a distant corner for an hour (between 17.4.1997 and 21.4.1997).

Everybody that I have talked with about spiritual matters knew about a pretty recent story about Tezveren and its positioning. The area of hospitals that are connected by Talatpaşa Street and Hasırcılar Street was once a site of various tombs. During the building of these streets and public places, the tomb of Tezveren had to be destroyed. Nevertheless, "something" prevented the bulldozers from disturbing that piece of land. They tried and retried but they weren't able to do that. As a result the solution was a compromise which the current odd positioning of the tomb shows. An iron cage that was built around the tomb during street constructions, protects it from car crashes and other damages for the time being.



Rooster and turkey remains (especially heads which are carefully placed in the diamond-shaped concretes which lets grass to grow in its holes) can be observed behind the *türbe*. The place of the *türbe* constitutes the highest peak around. The city can be viewed from different angles there.

*Mother Love* says that the real name of Tezveren Sultan is *Zekine Ana* and they are sisters with *Şhriban Ana* which is the real name of *Karyağdı Sultan*.

### **The unknown woman at the back of the mosque of Ahi Şerafettin**

The oldest mosque in Ankara is the Mosque of Ahi Şerafettin built in 1330. It is a few meters down from the *türbe* of Kesikbaş that was described in *Mother Love* section. It is very pivotal in the citadel region. There is a small yard at the back of Ahi Şerafettin mosque. There is not only his, but many others' tombs there. Probably that region which is now circumscribed by walls was once a part of the graveyard that included Kırkkızlar and the tomb of Kesikbaş. Remains from the roman period are incorporated into the walls around the yard. Ahi Şerafettin's tomb is put in a small room, while the others are in open space. As usual, there is a very lively green inside the closed tomb, a green contrasting with the concrete of the walls. Again as it can be seen in many other tombs, the tombs of the men wear red *fez*<sup>238</sup>s to indicate that they are men and probably to contrast the green of the covers. There are his footprints inside, on the stone floor.

The men in front of the mosque said that the other tombs belonged to his family. The woman that I've talked with said that three of them were men while seven were women.

Ahi Şerafettin mosque is a very popular place visited by lots of people every Friday. And after the Friday prayer, they visited the graves at the back of the tomb. The man that I asked about the tombs and his friend were from the shopkeepers around the mosque. They were talking with each other in front of the gate of the walls that circumscribe the tombs. I just entered from the gate without bothering them and went around to see each tomb. Then I decided to look for the women who would be visiting or taking care of the place. It seems that this wasn't a bad idea because I met an 81 year-old-woman when I went round the graveyard. She was the keeper that lived in a house by the graves and was a good storyteller. She made the cleaning and taking care of the tombs and the graves.

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<sup>238</sup> Men as a part of westernisation in the Ottoman Empire wore the *fez*. Ironically, it had begun to symbolise the conservative east for the westerners as well as the people of the Turkish Republic who lived through the "hat revolution" of Atatürk. The *fez* was abolished by that revolution.

She said that they were her friends and it would be a great happiness to reach their level one-day. I asked about her relation to the saint and she defined this relationship as a "protective" one where the saint protects the family who takes care of the saint(s).

She said that this was a very "useful" tomb. It helped many people to get rid of their problems. She told a recent (it had only been 4 or 5 months in 17.4.1997) story about a couple that lived in the citadel. They couldn't have any children and they tried everything to have one. One day, when they stopped hoping anything about having a baby, the man had a dream. In his dream, Ahi Şerafettin was saying: "You pass by me every day but you don't get in. Come by one Friday and sacrifice an animal for me<sup>239</sup>. Then, I will give you a boy who is as long as the white tomb nearby." Then, they sacrificed a chicken one Friday, and they had a son afterwards. From then on they visited the tomb regularly.

She said that this story was similar to the story of a Greek couple who lived long ago. They also wanted to have children, and Ahi Şerafettin gave them one. Afterwards, they became perfect Muslims and they were buried outside Ahi Şerafettin's region. She also said that she saw him in her dreams, she saw him all positively, that goodness comes from him and not badness. Nevertheless she didn't want to talk about her dreams more, so that she began to tell another story:

One day, a woman died. They buried her on a rainy day, it was raining as it is raining now. Her burial place was near Ahi Şerafettin's, yet not exactly in it. Then, the rain stopped pouring. And it didn't rain again. After a while, one man came and said that the cause for the rain to stop may be her burial. So that they had to open the woman's grave to see if there is any problem. The rain began again when she was reburied more properly. And it was understood that she was a holy person who communicated this man after her death because she wasn't comfortable there.

Her other story was about the man who came at the end of the story of the unknown woman whose burial stopped the rain. This man came again when he was older. The woman I was talking to was a small girl when he came. Her parents understood that this old man was the cousin of Akpak<sup>240</sup>. The *türbedar* said that he was a good saint

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<sup>239</sup> The most popular sacrificial animals are sheep, roosters and camels. But camels are not common in Turkey.

<sup>240</sup> Another saint whose name means White and Clean.



and a good dervish. Then he died one day, and his tomb was blessed but in a less popular place. His tomb was among the destroyed ones in the big cemetery that was once all over the region. His tomb remained under a building where there is held a Koran Course now.

While telling this story, she was repeating her wishes for the peace of the saints; she was saying words like: "We have taken refuge in God, refuge in them. We are just sitting and doing nothing." Then, she wanted a small amount of money from me as I had visited the place and I would want its endurance.

I wanted to learn about the people who visited the tombs and learned that most men came here after the Friday Prayer. They got out of the mosque and came here to pray for the dead. Women came anytime in the middle of the week and the most popular reason of coming was to make wishes, especially to wish for opening their *kismet* (luck-especially pertaining to issues of good marriage). Thursday was an important day where people lit candles. After telling these, she told that of course she couldn't know about these things because "nobody could enter between God and his/her Kul (servant-believer)".

Anybody that I talk to uses this phrase about no intermediaries between God and his/her slaves. These women who are self-appointed caretakers of graves mention themselves not anybody else as the assumed mediator. They are very modest in that. However, it seems that they don't see the saint as a mediator between God and his/her Kul, but merely an instrument. This may be the line that separates a mediator and an instrument; the first is a living-human-being who cannot be a mere instrument of reaching God because s/he has his/her defects, while the other is dead, so that s/he is already one with God.

## **B. Male Saints**

Although the issue is especially about women saints, the main theme is women's visiting patterns of the female saints, so that talking about the main male saints of Ankara, who are not devoid of being visited by women is not out of context.

## 1. Main Saints

If the subject of the paper wouldn't require a focus on female's whether marginal or small, Hüseyin Gazi and Hacı Bayram would have been written at the top with big letters because they determine the spiritual map of Ankara. The former is the 4.5 metres long grave of a warrior on the highest margin of Ankara and the latter is the most developed spiritual religious place of Ankara right at the centre of it.

### Hüseyin Gazi

A warrior of Islam placed at the top of the high steep hill named after him is said to be 4.5 meters tall. His military men lived and died in the same place. The rocky view around the *türbe* is said to resemble him being still protected by his soldiers who are lying by these rocks. It is possible to see a panoramic view of the not much used margins of Ankara from the *türbe*. Still, these margins are turning rapidly into new residences for newcomers of Ankara. The nearest districts are the *Ekin Mahallesi* and *Hüseyin Gazi Mahallesi* named after him.

The young *türbedar* of the *türbe* lives in one of the residences in the *Ekin Mahallesi*. He is not one of the newcomers; they were from Kalecik and came to Ankara in the time of the mother of his grandfather. She used to be the *türbedar* of the saint before her daughter, the grandmother of the current *türbedar*. Then his grandfather took over the job, taking his grandson with him to the *türbe* most of the days. So that the current *türbedar* who is 18 years old says that he began to be a *türbedar* since 10 years.

On the other hand, according to another account, there was another man who was not a state official but an artisan who was a volunteer for taking care of the *türbe*, several years ago. There is no similar account of this boy's story in this long-legged artisan's story. The long legs of the artisan resembled the long legs of Hüseyin Gazi.

The current *türbedar* is minion in size and doesn't have long legs. Still, everyday he climbs the hill that takes a minimum of one hour and a good condition to climb. He was fasting on the day I went there. He says that he fasts for two days sometimes, in summer when he continuously remains around the *türbe* and there are no passers-by.



He is a lonely person who climbs the hill alone everyday. He says that he takes shelter in God and nobody else, whatever will be will be while he is at the top of the hill, alone. Apart from the men of the district who come there with their cars and consume alcohol without being seen whom he calls “*jackals*”, there are wolves around. I ask him if he faced one, he said yes and added that if he comes by another “either I will beat him/her up, or she, it doesn’t matter”.

He is the most “spiritual” of all the *türbedars* that I have met in Ankara with his infinite patience and submission. As long as the word Islam comes from the same root as *teslim*, which means submission, these characteristics are not unusual. I ask him about his relationship with the saint, he says, “God knows”.

Hüseyin Gazi’s *türbe* is very plain inside. There are two pictures: One belongs to Prophet Ali the other to the 12 imam’s. Both are pointing out to Alevi beliefs and practices. Hüseyin Gazi is a warrior of Islam and the father of a heterodox *Bektaşî* saint Battal Gazi. Both the father and the son are Sayyids, ie they were from the lineage of the prophet Mohamed according to tradition.

Battal Gazi is a saint to whom Alevis, Bektaşîs show reverence but it is Battal Gazi’s lineage that makes him a Sayyid. This importance of lineage makes him closer to the Alevis. Alevis are Shia and lineage is more important for them because Prophet Ali is the husband of Mohamed’s daughter Fatma, and also his nephew. The warriors of Islam like the Bektashis and Alevis stand for heterodoxia in most cases.

A heterodox way of life may look very “liberal” or “conservative” to the modern eye. For example, *Mother Love* Foundation (IV A/1) is pertaining to a living Alevi community. This community and the history of different heterodox dervishes, some of whom consume drugs, show that there is no assumed single knowledge of Islam but a variety of approaches and practises. Practices such as consuming alcohol and drug have a liberal appeal while the exclusiveness and ultranationalist attitude of *Mother Love*, have conservative connotations. This attitude results from the position of Alevi’s in Turkey. Their unorthodoxy means that the practised/folk Islam has a priority over written Islam. But many Sunnies interpret this situation in such a way

that they perceive Alevis as indecent people. This is why they are on the defence and have to prove their decency all the time.

It seems that even only in the lower slopes of Hüseyin Gazi Mountain, different ways of Islam is being lived. Apart from Alevi's to which the *türbedar* belong, there are Sunni Muslims who comply with Atatürk's reforms: the Galibi's.<sup>241</sup>

Back to the *türbe*: The most important women's ritual takes places on Fridays. Many middle and old aged Alevi women come together and perform a ritual. This ritual is described as being similar to an act of tragedy and is found "uncanny" by the laicist Muslim women and the mainstream Sunni Muslims. However, it may also be regarded as a ritual of purely traditional women as Susan Sered describes for Middle-Eastern women whether they are Jewish or Muslim<sup>242</sup>.

According to the narrations of the *türbedar* and people that I have talked with about the *türbe*, these women pray collectively to God and make the people around them live the terror of death. They have added that the collective ritual is non-stop and there is no break of silence during it. I think that this sight of old women crying together resemble the women's chorus in the Greek tragedies.

### **Hacı Bayram**

It is in Ulus and the mosque of Hacı Bayram (fifteenth century) and The Temple of Augustus (Byzantine period) are found here, side by side. A great deal of the places of residence have been destroyed for constructing a square that includes these two and shopping centres (mostly book shops now). The mosque is in full usage and some extensions are added. The temple is preserved and there is no entrance to it.

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<sup>241</sup>There is an Ms thesis about the Galibi's.

Aras, Ömer Recep; *Organisational Structure of Islamic Mysticism: The Case of Galibi Order*, Masters Thesis, Department of Social psychology, METU, Ankara, 1992

<sup>242</sup> Sered, Susan Starr, *Women as ritual experts: The religious lives of elderly Jewish women in Jerusalem*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992

Raci Bademli<sup>243</sup> and his colleagues reconstructed this district in 1986, in a very modern way by opening up the space in price of the historic spirit of the area.

The aim for building Hacı Bayram and Augustus Temple is the same, which is religion. Religion is a very important keyword in understanding the reactions to tourism in that place, and also in understanding the direction of the changes in the area. Muslim tourism is desired in the place. On the other hand, the two different kinds of monuments standing side by side show that religion had a more general and accommodating character in the thirteenth century. The Augustus Temple was used as a *medrese*, a school for the disciples of Hacı Bayram. The temple is untouched now. Iron bars support it. On the other hand, this region is very crowded because many people including the laicist Muslims come for the funeral *namaz*. It is important to note that this *namaz* is the most widely performed one in Turkey. There is always someone in the family who is a Muslim enough to initiate this rite before the burial of the dead person.

During my university education, the area was the subject of a research paper written by me and Evrim Binbaş, submitted to Geoffrey Summers. It was quite an experience to go around and see what have changed with the new reconstruction and how that felt. Not much has changed till then. On the other hand, five years is nothing compared to the whole religious history of the area. The aim in this centre had always been religious ritual. The changes happened in the perception of religion from then on. The current change is that the shopkeepers are less uncomfortable with the non-orthodox looking people who come there. This is due to the power of capitalism; you don't question much when there is money in something. And this is positive in this context because it resulted in more tolerance.

Tolerance is closely related with power though. The conservative Muslims were seen inferiors by the westernised people of Ankara until the "revival of Islam". This is probably why they were as intolerant when they gained power. This process happened when there were more orthodox Muslims in Ankara with migration and

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<sup>243</sup>He's in the City-Planning Department of METU. He's got familial ties with Hacı Bayram.

after they realised that they were the majority. Now, they tasted power and don't feel inferior to the laicists, they can be tolerant.

Similar power balances were experienced in the past, in the time of Hacı Bayram too. It was between him and another famous Sufi. Akşemsettin was the name of this Sufi who came from Göynük. He lived in Ankara for a while in the lodge of Hacı Bayram.<sup>244</sup> At his first arrival, he didn't take Hacı Bayram's power much seriously. This is why, the second time he came to live, nobody showed him any respect. Nobody called him to eat with them. He ate with the dogs and after this he was accepted again because he was able to degrade himself. Now, there is still a contemplation-room that is known as the room of Akşemsettin. It is in the cellar of the mosque of Hacı Bayram. (Ibid. p 84) Akşemsettin is said to be the one who found the grave of Eyüp Sultan in İstanbul that has been talked about in the introduction. He and his family became the *türbedar* in the *türbe* that Fatih had made done for Eyüp for a while. (Ibid. 90) And he was an important pioneer in the process of the “reconstruction of Istanbul by the Turks” by his words. (Ibid p.94)

There is a story about Hacı Bayram in the first interview in the Appendix, about his being to Mecca for Hajj. His wife takes him a bowl of *halva* that is cooked in Ankara. The sainthood of Hacı Bayram was accepted after he brought a *tiğtap*<sup>245</sup> which is a product that can be found in no place other than Ankara, together with him from his Hajj visit<sup>246</sup>.

The Mosque and tradition of Hacı Bayram, being in the centre of Ankara, is more closely connected to the secular state than any other. Kara (1990, p.321) describes the ritual before the opening of the Assembly from Şapolyo's History of the tariqat's:

On April 23<sup>rd</sup> of 1923, the day that the national Assembly of Turkey was going to open, all the representatives had been to the Mosque of Hacı Bayram. After the *namaz*, extracts from the Koran were read.... The tariqat flag of *Hacı Bayram Veli* was brought (several rituals took place and) the community came before the assembly while they were announcing the unity of

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<sup>244</sup> Cunbur, Müjgan: “Akşemsettin ve Göynük”, *Türk Kültür Araştırmaları* XXIX 1-2, Pp.77-109

<sup>245</sup> It is a metallic bowl for food. It still exists in a private collection. It was found in the *Pir Evi* (the house of the patron saint) of Hacı Bayram Veli in Ankara. [Bayramoğlu, Fuat; *Hacı Bayram-ı Veli: Yaşamı, Soyu, Vakfı*, II.cilt, Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1983]

<sup>246</sup> This story can also be found in “The stories of *halva* and *aşure*” in Chapter Six.

God (*tekbir*) Mustafa Kemal Pasha welcomed the group there. Two sacrifices of sheep were made in front of the assembly before the group entered. The flag of Hacı Bayram Veli which had many verses from the Koran on it was erected on the rostrum. The holy Koran and a part of Mohamed's beard was also put there ... The assembly was opened by making use of Hacı Bayram Veli's spiritual influence. The spiritual soul of this saint embraced the Turkish republic, which came in place of the fall down Ottoman State. Ankara became the centre of the new Turkey. The spiritual influence of Hacı Bayram Veli tied all the intellectuals to Ankara.

## 2. Some Other Saints

### Karacabey

It is in Sümer Mahallesi and part of a *külliye*, (a foundation that includes many different facilities like a mosque and a Turkish bath-*Hamam*) which was founded by Karacabey who had been one of the important Turkish leaders. (Tanyu, 1967, pp. 74-5)

The interesting position of Karacabey comes from the *hamam* part of it. There was a rumour that the women's part of the *hamam* is not used because it was *uncanny!* The story about it is written in the travel notes of Şükrü Akkaya (1934) from the central-Anatolia region. One day a woman enters the woman part of the Hamam of Karacabey early in the morning. There was sitting a small-eyed woman there<sup>247</sup>. She felt uncanny and left the place. The same thing is told to have happened in another *hamam* in Ankara. Both of the *hamam*'s women sections were closed as a result of this event. Nevertheless, "in the time of men & women" (Tanyu, 1967-8. p. 75) meaning that before the closing of the women's section, women used to take water from the "Dede Kurnası/ Basin of the Grandfather)

*Mother Love* talks about other saints named *Seccade Sultan*, *Ziyaret* (genderless but *Mother Love* tells she is a woman). One of my informers that I have met in an informal atmosphere in a private house said that there is a *Mehlika Sultan* within the borders of the city of Ankara. Although this thesis is an attempt to draw a map of some patterns concerning the spirituality of women in Ankara, it is only a beginning step. This is why I choose to draw several maps as different patterns who are interwoven between a variety of time and space, instead of completing a single map of, say, all the woman saints of Ankara.

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<sup>247</sup> It really feels uncanny to think about this small-eyed-woman in the *hamam*. Not all the people I asked thought that it was uncanny, may be it is a result of a collective-conscious of people of Ankara.



## V. Thisworldly Reflections of the Other World

In Mircea Eliade's *History of Religious Ideas*, the tomb rituals are presented as a continuation from pagan funeral practices. However, the personality of the saint was also very useful for mainstream Christianity because it incorporated in itself "being near to God and here on earth". This is why the tombs of the martyrs became privileged and paradoxical places where Heaven communicated with Earth. (Eliade, 1985, p.51)

The tombstone that brought heaven and earth together functioned to reunite men and women, aristocrats and slaves, rich and poor, natives and strangers. (Ibid, p 53) All became *one* in the saint's personality and his tomb. It is the same for Muslim saints as well as Christian saints, and as I have told in the introduction, Turkey is a place where one can find the tombs of both in plenty.

Such a process of interclass and intersex "becoming one" was of course to be preferred by the "left outs", the women and the poor. This preference came to a point where those groups are the dominant ones in most *türbes* towards the end of the 20th century in Ankara. Two groups are extreme examples to this context. The first example is a group of *meczup* (insane people who are said to be insane in the love of God) who live around the *türbe* of Hacı Bayram the most popular saint in Ankara<sup>248</sup>. These people have no money, no relatives, no ownings and nothing to do with the world. This disturbs many people but when it is lived in the context of a holy saint, it becomes more acceptable for the people who go there.

The other extreme example takes place in the other popular *türbe* of Ankara, Hüseyin Gazi. This place has become a space for systematic ritual for women. The laicist Muslim attendants of the *türbe* find this ritual as disturbing as the *meczup*'s in Hacı

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<sup>248</sup> There is a "psychologist's" office near the *türbe*. These people attend to this office. The psychologist is very religious and doesn't even see covered women because his "eye of the hearth" is open. See IV/2/1 for more information about Hacı Bayram.

Bayram. Both examples stand for the *türbes*' providing ground for the people who usually can't express themselves.

In Europe in the Middle ages, the concept of the *carnival* provided a space where the lower classes, the ugly and the poor could express themselves<sup>249</sup>. The *grotesque* was created and recreated within the context of the carnival. It meant that everything could be ugly, odd, absurd, bizarre, fantastic and still *be*. It was the reign of the "low culture". The carnival had two functions. Firstly, it prevented the dispossessed members of the low culture from uprisal, therefore was a tampon for the status quo. Secondly, it was an expression of the power of the low culture, a parody of what can happen if there really was an uprisal. My point is that some of the saints' tombs in the Islamic culture are very similar to the carnival of the Middle Ages in Europe. The carnival is now a traditional and conventional happening there, but the saints' tombs continue to be a centre for the low culture of Muslims.

The main theme behind the similarity of the carnival and some of the practices regarding the *türbe* is that they both point to the continuity between death and life. The most grotesque thing, the most ugly, odd, absurd and bizarre thing that is fantasised through the carnival is **death**. Similarly in the context of the *türbe*, death becomes a part of life. It is acceptable that the objects that are found in a *türbe* may not be a part of *real* religion. And mostly, the objects in a *türbe* are of the most "grotesque" kind. They may not have connections with "the reality" or the system that the power holders (be them the kings or the majorities or science) conceptualise.

What most people find disturbing in the very poor people and some practices of women, who are considered *superstitious*, is the ignorance that is attributed to low culture or women. Although merely the concept of the *türbe* is regarded as a temple of the ignorant in most cases for the intellectuals in Turkey, I have tried to demonstrate that it is not a subject that easy to label as *superstitious*. Still, it has its superstitious sides and this chapter deals with these. Bob Dylan ends his "Tombstone

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<sup>249</sup> Bakhtin, Mikail; *Rabelais and His World*, trans: Haelane Iswolsky, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984

Blues” with words that mention what most people see as the negative side of superstitions related with the graves: useless knowledge.

Now I wish I could write you a melody so plain  
That could hold you dear lady from going insane  
That could ease you and cool you and cease the pain  
Of your useless and pointless knowledge<sup>250</sup>

There is a lot of *disinformation*<sup>251</sup> about religion going around. Such examples of disinformation unveiled in the dialogues of the visitors where we were all waiting for hours in the Foundation of *Mother Love* Ali. There, I waited with the visitors for 4-5 hours a day. I had a chance to talk to women as a part of the waiting process so that I made participatory observation. Many women used the term “*sin/gimah*” for situations irrespective of religion such as crossing ones legs. It was banned to cross legs and smoke within the Foundation for reasons of respect. Men seemed to care less about such bans and did whatever they pleased. Parallel to this, the male volunteers of the Foundation scolded women when they smoked or crossed their legs, while to men, they told about the bans within the context of a dialogue.

Respectfulness was a part of daily life for men, while it was a matter of religion for women. Delaney (1991) says that in Islam daily life and religion are not as differentiated as it is in other religions. It seems that this undifferentiated position of the religion towards life cause blurring of the boundaries of the authorities in the case of women. They are taught that they are sinning when they don't respect the ones to be respected. This is “useless and pointless” knowledge when it is broken from its standard context: the family life or the community life.

What happens is that, the ones who have more access to authority, use otherworldly concepts (such as sin) to regulate the ones over whom they can use their authority. As a result, the people (mostly women) at the bottom levels of authority get used to having others in between them and their religion. So it is likely that similar to their

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<sup>250</sup> Dylan, Bob; “Tombstone Blues” in *Highway 61 revisited* (CD), Sony Music Entertainment Inc.: Madrid, 1967

<sup>251</sup> Disinformation is information that blurs the mind instead of causing knowledge to grow. For example the newspapers cause disinformation when they get away from the main point and bomb the reader with details about events.

habit of “bribing” the ones in charge of authority with good manners and treats, they bribe the saints with some objects. The first section of this chapter deals with this.

On the other hand, “the melody” that Atatürk and the woman who realised the necessity of women’s rights wrote really hold many woman from “going insane” and keep their minds in its cool. If lack of education is one important factor that keeps the feminine gender ignorant, supported or even strained education<sup>252</sup> results firstly in a rejection of disinformation and secondly in a selection of valuable pieces in that information. The daughters of the laicist Muslim women who combined Islam and Laicism in their own way reject more aspects of Islam than their mothers because they haven't seen much of their mother's religious involvements that remain very private. However, the “revival of Islam” in big cities in Turkey cause a reconsideration of these practices like it is done in this study. Elif Bilgin’s study (1996) is also an attempt in between these two phases of rejection of the values that belong to the period before the Republic (like Islam) and reconsideration (of these values). In this line of thought, the second section of this chapter deals with the position of laicist women as thisworldly reflections of Atatürk. As long as this revolutionary is dead (of course not in a spiritual sense), these woman have to reconsider all that was undermined by the *modernist* values by themselves and this is what they have already done consciously or uncounsciously.

### **A. Objects of Desire**

This section concentrates on the most concrete forms of “regeneration of life” introduced in section III/B. The objects that can be found in or around the *türbes* differ all around Turkey. What doesn’t change is their role as instruments of wish. This situation doesn’t contrast with the usage of the *türbe*, which *is* a place for wishing. The most popular form is a barren tree to which many pieces of cloth are tied. There is no example of this style in Ankara. Apart from this, as it has been told in the introduction, sugar cubes are sine quo non’s of *türbe*-life. Sometimes candles

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<sup>252</sup> The granddaughter (Dilek Güngen) of one bohemian *Ankaralı* told how her grandmother and her cousins were made to go to school, even if this remained a show some of the times.



like it is in the churches (Fig 3) and wheat (Karyağdı) can be the objects towards the realisation of one's wishes.

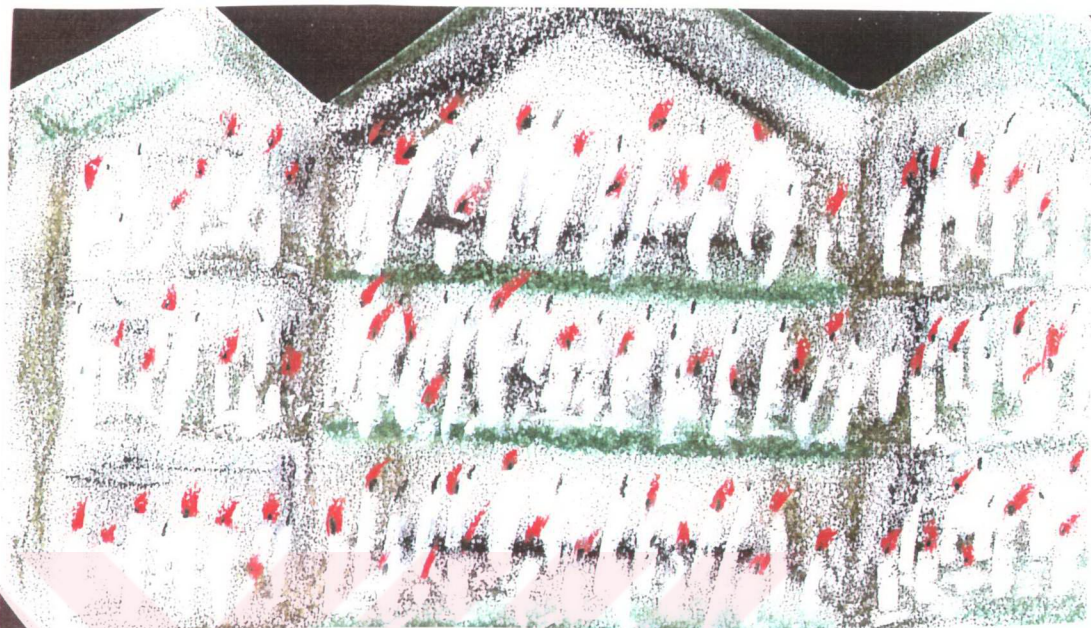


Figure 11 Candle-House at *Mother Love*<sup>253</sup>

The whole of the study concentrates on forms of religious spaces other than the Camii or Ka'be as positive formations where women come together with their God through the personality of the saint who is a friend of God. The women put a saint between themselves and their God instead of putting men from their families. The role of the saint as an instrument and not a mediatory agent between women and their God is achieved by a kind of transparency that is gained by death. This transparency provides an unveiled medium for women to get involved in religion, as they understand it.

This section seemingly stands out from the rest of the paper because of its *separation* of some aspects of the *türbe* (the objects of desire) from others (that described in the

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<sup>253</sup> I have seen that taking photographs was not to my advantage before the eyes of the visitors in the Foundation. But the candles and the three parted candle-house looked very interesting and I had sketches of it. This painting is from those sketches.



above paragraph). So that it is a problematical but challenging approach towards the *türbe*.

Halil Berktaş (95:35-41) describes the continuation of the pagan beliefs in Christianity in the personality of Mary, Jesus, the saints and the relics of the saints. Here, Islam's position radically changes by its accusation of idolatry. Nevertheless, no radical position or situation is able to change everything about what it effects, if people need to express something they do: Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar<sup>254</sup> describes this while talking about the architecture of the Selçuks in Anatolia. He says that the beautiful outer and inner engraved details of the mosques and *türbes* makes one think that architecture is behind what is forbidden by religion: the statute. There may be other aspects in it but it is interesting to think in terms of figures for the following development of the subject: most of the *türbes* in Anatolia are Selçukid ones. The *türbe* of Hüdavend Sultan in Niğde that is described as having marginal architecture such as animal and human figures in "The Marginal Place of Women" (III/A/2) is an example of such architecture. It stands out of these architectural works by being even more figurative than Tanpınar describes, but when thought together with Tanpınar's description, it is not a marginalisation.

The contrast is the non-worldliness of the saint and the worldly wishes of her/his guests. This contrast is usually attributed to the unreligious kind of relationship that is formed between God and the guests, using the saint as the mediator. Even the newly emerging Feminist Muslims find this relationship uncanny. Konca Kuriş is such an example. In her words, she was once "ignorant" in the hands of religious sheikhs and later got enlightened by reading the Koran herself. In an interview with her<sup>255</sup>, she cites from the Koran that "Those who get others as saints/idols than God, they only say that they are close to them for them to make them closer to God, they are ungrateful." She says that the translations of *Koran* translate the word saint/*evliya* as friend or idol. However, until now, we have seen that the saint's transparency achieved by death makes him/her a way to God: a way that s/he had achieved when alive remains there with stories after his/her death. A true-way like in the prayer el-

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<sup>254</sup> Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi: *Beş Şehir*, İstanbul: MEB Yayınları, 1994

<sup>255</sup> Interview with Kuriş by Avni Özgürel, *Radikal* (Daily newspaper) 1<sup>st</sup> of December, 1997

Fatiha: Show us the straight way, the way of those on whom thou hast bestowed thy grace.

This way is even clearer after the death of the saint. If someone is labelled a saint, people talk about the good sides of him/her. On the other hand, all saints are human and humans err. A dead saint is no more a human being, s/he is a fictional personality. For example, the tomb of Hüseyin Gazi is 4.5 metres long because people like to remember him not as a standard human being but someone extraordinary. Still, there is no doubt that he was extraordinary at his time. *Mother Love*, with her healing powers and charismatic personality, is also very extraordinary. This is why her community perceives all the things she do, even her “mistakes” as good characteristics.

It was discussed in *Mother Love* Section that money is an important determinant in evaluating and understanding the thisworldly doings of saints. Mostly getting money from the visitors is viewed negatively. On the other hand, the belongings of *Mother Love* give her a positive connotation in the eyes of her visitors. It is the prime subject of discussion among the woman visitors. Her car, the new building are talked about with both grief and sympathy. This is the human side of the saint and at the same times a ground for various wishes as to a car, a house and other belongings. The Objects of Desire reflect the desires of women in the most material sense. They think during putting the saint as an in-between to their wishes that “this person can obtain what s/he wants from his/her God, s/he may do it for me if I visit him/her”. This situation resembles Frederik Barth’s model of chieftainship<sup>256</sup>. They don’t want their leader to be poor like them. They want her to be their leader, but at the same time someone as powerful as the other powerful people in the big city.

The saint is taken as a model in every respect. All s/he does is read positively. On the other hand, when the saint is dead, other institutions may talk instead of him. For example, like all the other *türbes* in Turkey, the *türbe* of Eyüp belongs to the state too. His is one of the most popular tombs all over Turkey. There are hundreds of

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<sup>256</sup> Barth, Frederik; *Nomads of South Persia: The Basseri Tribe of the Khamseh Confederact*, Boston: The Little, Brown Series in Anthropology, 1961. (The Chapter on Chieftainship Pp. 71-90)

visitors who come to visit him everyday from different parts of Turkey and the world. The people who go there do different kinds of things they believe and think is appropriate to show respect to a dead saint. The quantity of visitors caused the state to give messages about the proper application of religion in the *türbes*. The long list that the religious Office of Eyüp prepared reflects the unreligious ways and objects used by the visitors. The list is as follows:

Esteemed Visitors,

To visit the tombs is among the Muslim practices (sünnet). During the visit, it is customary to salute (selam) and read the *Koran* to the soul of the owner of the tomb.

To lit candles in the *türbes*

To stick wish-stones to tombstones

To throw coins to the *türbe*

To tie pieces of cloth to the trees and/or to the *türbe*

To wish a wish directly from the *türbe*

To distribute foisted sugar cubes

To believe that turning the taps on and off during the call to prayer (ezan) will bring good luck.

To believe that undoing a lock during the call to prayer (ezan) will bring good luck.

To believe that turning the taps on and off during the call to prayer (ezan) will bring good luck.

To wave scarves from the minaret in order for the young girls' destinies to "open" during the call to prayer

To circumambulate the centuries old plane trees in front of the *türbe* by turning around them 7 times.

To expect cure by rubbing on ones face or hands to the walls of the *türbe*

To prey roosters or turkeys and offer them to the *türbes*

To carry a blue bead worn to avert the evil eye (*nazar boncuğu*) and to hope for help from it

All of these are superstitious beliefs that have nothing to do with reality. They not at all have any relation with our religion; they are contradictory to our beliefs, are inconvenient and surely foreign-oriented.

The Religious Office of Eyüp

(*Eyüp Müftülüğü*)

This list is interesting to see because of the possible superstitious acts that can be observed throughout it. It was posted on the front part of the *türbe*. There is no similar list on any of the *türbes* in Ankara. On the contrary, the sugar cubes are distributed from the *türbe* itself in *Karyağdı Sultan*. There are some pictures posted in the inside of Hüseyin Gazi's tomb and scriptural Islam forbids human-figures, but the Turkish Alevi's use the figures of Prophet Ali and the 12 *İmams* freely.

The three provisions from the list that begin with “to believe” are important to note. Some actions can be regulated by a religious office but are beliefs in the group of human behaviours that can be regulated by lists? When some belief structures are interrupted by strong authorities like a directorate of the state, the order of things that are about the treatment of the dead are interrupted in people’s minds too. This is a place where one can ask what is left when the objects-of-desire are taken away. For example, the precious things like the kilims and carpets are taken from the *türbes* because they can be stolen. But, apart from the popular *türbes* like Mevlana’s or Eyüp Sultan’s that have beautiful patterns on the interior of the dooms, what is put inside is a green cover and a red fez (for male saints). Are they better objects? Or is does uglier objects remind the visitor that the objects are unimportant?

Jacobson (1993, p. 85) explains the repeating symbols in different Siberian villages as to death as a *mythical order* “the reiteration of which was essential at the time of a person’s death” (Ibid. p 85). On the other hand, in the *türbes* which are as related to death as the objects from early sites joining “individual relations into inductive relations” (Ibid. p 84) there is no signifiably *mythical order*. This may be because the objects do not fully (or not at all) remain in the *türbes* but have been taken away to the museums or get stolen and, new and ultimately *green* things come to decorate the inside of the *türbes*.

## **B. Laicist Woman Reflecting on Atatürk**

*Mother Love*, the living woman saint who has a relation with the dead, says that Atatürk was the first of the three brothers: Hacı, Bektaş, Veli, where all were different saints and not the one saint as we know. Whatever the inconsistencies between our knowledge and hers, the result is that Atatürk becomes a saint before the eyes of a quite large Alevi community. *Mother Love*’s disciples express that she thinks that history writing is a disturbed process whether it be the history of Islam or near history. *Mother Love* adds further that Atatürk was a saint also when he was a statesman and he had his miracles. These miracles described in section IV/A/1 are: his healing of a young soldier who couldn’t dance with his fiance because he couldn’t walk by only ordering him to walk, and his feeling the evil in a French writer who came to visit him was an agent.

This is not a surprising comprehension in a state where every primary school child *knows* that “Atatürk is not dead, he still lives and watches us” from the photographs (Delaney, '90, p. 517) which are obligatory to hang on every main room in every public and private institution.

This is an internalised feeling. My 82 years old interviewee (interview1) who is an uncovered Muslim woman says that after 200-300 years, people will come to visit the tomb of Atatürk as a saint. This explains why the mausoleum of Atatürk stands like a Ka'be on a Phrigan hill, which can be seen from many parts of the sacred-secular city of Ankara. As a result of that, “the cult and veneration of Atatürk after his death give the impression more of a sacred state than of a secular religion”. (Delaney '90, p.517 and footnote 12) His mausoleum which looks a lot like Ka'be as well as an Ionic temple prepares the ground for that. He wanted it to be constructed on the hill on which there existed an old Phrigan graveyard/temple. Now there are many women visiting the place at every occasion. There isn't a research done on the number and gender of people visiting the place as far as I know, but whenever I have been there, the number of women far exceed the number of men there. It maybe needless to say that many of these women are with their heads covered, yet one needs to say that in a time both sides to the “headscarf” problem see each other as enemies.

So that “Atatürk is like a prophet whose mystical image exists as a powerful unifier forever and ever. No other modern leader has achieved the degree of immortality Atatürk enjoys among the Turks” (Quoted from Volkan and Iskowitz '84:358 in Delaney '90 footnote 12)

This is an important point to be concentrated on: the women whom I have talked to, if they are believers who also believe in that doings of Atatürk, envision him as a saint whose mausoleum will be visited like a *türbe* of a saint after two hundred years. The same is true for *Mother Love* as well (both that she will be a visited dead saint in the future and that she conceives Atatürk as a saint.)



There is another dimension to women's perceptions of Atatürk: his relationship to *women* as half-of-the-nation. The fact that women's rights were even more early achieved than many European countries makes many people think that Atatürk could foresee the future. This is one factor, yet there are other factors to be explored too. The perception of these factors as a process of rights being given to women *or* as women taking their rights is explored in detail in "The Turkish State and its laws"<sup>257</sup>. What the present section will explore is the factors behind the emancipatory relation between Atatürk and women-of-the-Turkish-state.

Atatürk wanted the women of a country to be self-sufficient without him. Delaney says that the whole emancipation of a nation is parallel with that of his mother<sup>258</sup>. "According to two of his biographers (Volkan and Itzkowitz) the emotional appeal may have been the result of the fact that he identified his own mother with the motherland and felt injuries to the latter as if they were to the former." (Ibid. p.187) His mother, Zübeyde Hanım was all alone after the death of her husband and Atatürk's maternal uncle was the nearest man to them. It seems that the hardships that Zübeyde Hanım had gone through effected Atatürk and resulted in his perspective about women as we know it today. Other women are pictured with hardships in the development of the Turkish Republic.

In the organisation of the Ottoman Empire four forces used to remain within their borders: the military (fire), the intellectuals (water), the merchants (air) and the peasantry (soil). In the building of a nation, two of the classes, military and peasantry were united in one and peasantry struggled for the soil that they were building on.<sup>259</sup> Women also struggled, there is a famous heroic poem where women do every sacrifice to carry heavy guns for men who are making war. Every primary school book has this poem. As a result of the changes in balances thus, firstly a combination

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<sup>257</sup> IV/B/1

<sup>258</sup> Delaney, Carol: "Father State, Motherland, and the Birth of Modern Turkey" in *Naturalising Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis*, ed: Sylvia Yanagisalo and Carol Delaney, London, New York: Routledge, 1995

<sup>259</sup> Kasaba, Reşat; *Peripheralization of the Ottoman Empire*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1985.

regarding the soil and nation was achieved and secondly, women ceased to be a passive unity with the soil and begun to work. This wasn't only for the defending of the soil as the first resolution would make clear: Women were to work for the nation by themselves<sup>260</sup>. The Independence War was a foundational step for the nation<sup>261</sup> and women actively worked on this war as well as the foundation of the nation, which they are an active part of. This is both a responsibility and an emancipatory process<sup>262</sup>. This is why the laicist women see themselves as the worldly descendants of Atatürk more than men!



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<sup>260</sup> For further information on gender and nation refer to **Catherine, Hall**; "Gender, Nationalisms and National Identities: Bellagio Symposium, July 1992", *Feminist Review* No 44, Summer 1993

<sup>261</sup> **Sirman Nükhet** held a seminar on 17.05.1996 to the department of Gender and Women Studies on The War of Independence as a foundational myth.

<sup>262</sup> **Unat, Nermin Abadan & Oya Tokgöz**; "Turkish woman as agents of social change in a pluralist democracy", P.709

## VI. DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S SPIRITUALITY

In Islam, the spiritual role of women is not institutionalised to represent the women believers. Although there are women saints, it is like the *kadın-polis* in Turkish. It means policewomen but here, whereas the term "police" is used for policemen, where, the gender of the profession is added when indicating a women (Braun, 1996).

In Christianity, there is the nun as a well-known institutionalised religious women figure. As it is described in the "The headscarf as a tool towards spirituality" section, a nun and any Muslim women is alike in the way that they both cover their heads religiously. I have described instances from two European films that consider religion as an important issue that covering one's head and moments of saintliness come together for women in the collective consciousnesses that are reflected in filmmakers. In Turkey, there are different formal and informal levels of institutionalisation as regards women. These levels are apt to fast changes that can be followed from the white headscarf that the woman character wears while reading the Koran. It symbolises an old religious woman or a young angelic bride-to-be in the 70's. The usage area of the white headscarf widened and "new" kinds of headscarfs entered the Turkish films with the production of religiously aimed films and similar serials that are prepared for the religious channels like the STV and TGRT in the 90's. This is an area to be studied where Christian women turning into Muslims is an especially liked theme (a theme that is also employed in Battal Gazi films where Cüneyt Arkın is the protagonist). These changes indicate a variety of roles as to spirituality. Religious formulations appear forming parallels to societal changes.

There are many young girls in *İmam-Hatip* schools that are schools to educate imams and preachers. Women can't be imams when they graduate from the school like some of the male graduates. On the other hand, they can be preachers who talk to groups of women. Welfare Party made use this kind of woman-to-woman talks in its election campaign . The female preachers who are a part of the structure of Welfare Party

organised perfectly, entered houses and talked with most women of the poorest districts.

This situation keeps up with the voluntarism of most Islamic organisation at grass roots level. For many Islamist women, household tasks are a sufficient employment for women. So they don't regard themselves unemployed when they are at home or organising informally together as women. Feminist studies on the work life of women prove that women's household work is wageless labour<sup>263</sup>. The qualifications of most women are more than it is needed within the household and the informal gatherings provide ground for further knowledge in Islam and independent action<sup>264</sup>.

All of these women cover their heads and this is a signifier of conservatism all around the world currently. On the other hand, some of them, especially those in İstanbul use these gatherings as a tool for travelling alone and use the information that they get in standing against their fathers that use religion as a tool of controlling their daughters. These are what most young people do all around the world and an indicator of "liberation". Young women used spirituality for freedom in the long history of Little Asia (Shepsut, 1993). These women were "priestesses" B.C. and before the Abrahamic religions. We can use the word "priestess" for any spiritual standing for women throughout ages. Young women and men also used Christianity for getting free from marriage (Castelli, 1989). Yet Islam doesn't provide a ground for religious institutions that women can use to "get free" from the responsibilities of family life. On the other hand, as well as providing ground for opposing parents in their oppressing attitude towards daughters, Islam provides ground for women to be the spiritual agents of their families.

Similarly, women pray for the well being of their family members and that the terms that are used to denote women within the family can be indicators of women's role within the family that is, as a household priestess. Nevertheless, this doesn't

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<sup>263</sup> MacKinnon, Catherine; *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachussets, London, England, 1989

<sup>264</sup> Raudvere, Catharina; *Women Dervishes in İstanbul*, Conference, Social Sciences Institute of METU, September 1995

necessarily mean that women have power because of such roles they may possess. She's a priestess who can rule all that the other members of the family eat, but this is an unpronounced power.

About the regular approaches to this issue, Tolmacheva says that;

...Such chronological perspective (...) creates a dichotomy in the stereotypical portrait of the central Asian woman. The reader is presented, on the one hand, with the wretched picture of the oppressed woman of the past and on the other, with optimistic, celebratory sketches of the liberated women of the present. (Tolmacheva, 1994, p 185)

In this context, she is either a victim of Islam, or a liberated "atheist". In both cases, she lacks the aspect of being a liberated practitioner of religious life. In Turkey, although the dichotomy is not that distinct now, the same dichotomy exists.

## **A. Sacred Dimension**

### **1. The Private Lives of People**

This section talks about intimacy as a sacred state between the believer and her/his God. It is so hard to localise, to think of "Middle Eastern Women" as a category when talking about intimacy, but one's own experiences. Nevertheless, I must declare that I have chosen the word intimacy to talk about what have been called the private in a different way. The private-public distinction is not a valid one for every context. In addition to that, it is very gendered in the way that it is usually women's sphere that is called private and men's sphere public. As a result, I don't have the private-public dichotomy at hand to deal with spirituality but the intimate and the private, which is not a dichotomy at all.

What enters into peoples own private spheres differ according to their socialisation. Still, obscene things and sex are the main core of this sphere due to childhood experiences with perception<sup>265</sup>.

However, one's socialisation may well depend on personal experiences with ones parents, but still, the main patterns of this socialisation are developed according to

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<sup>265</sup> Berne, Eric: *Sex in Human Loving*, New York: Penguin Press 1970-83.



societal events. I am not a psychologist to comment on these processes, but there is a subject that I am trying to get to, which is the privacy of one's relations with religious spaces in Turkey.

People find it uncanny when someone tries to talk to them about their spiritual experiences. Still, at other times, ie, when this conversation develops naturally, it becomes a wide area to contemplate together with women. This was openly explained by a university professor<sup>266</sup> with the following words; “people live their most intimate minutes within a *türbe*, you are relieved from all the stress of daily life and you don't want to add to this stress by any other unwelcome intrusion.” This intrusion may be a woman who thinks she is an expert in religion, and who feels free to tell you that your hair is coming out of your scarf, or a journalist who may release your picture as “university professor attends the *türbe*”.<sup>267</sup>

On the other hand, women intrude to other women if they think that they belong to the same group. For example, the older women in the women's section of the mosque of Hacı Bayram think that it is their duty to warn other women if these women are not complying with “how a Muslim should be”. These older women try to correct the outlook first of all: they warn other women if their hair comes out of their headscarf or they don't use any headscarf at all<sup>268</sup>. Every time I had been to Hacı Bayram, such an occasion happened. The other important factor was how the *namaz* was performed. Women were free to correct each other in that as well. On the

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<sup>266</sup> In interview 3, app.

<sup>267</sup> My initial experiences in *Karyağdı* led me to make a distinction between inside and outside. There was a factor that could change the framework of being an intruder or not. I have already told that my first experiences during the feast had to be achieved at the outside of the *Karyağdı* mausoleum. Everybody was outside, so that there was no gathering inside. Nevertheless, a man who came to pray there had said that being outside or inside wouldn't matter at all.

<sup>268</sup> The young woman who hadn't had a headscarf had very short hair. She argued with the old woman that warned her and then all the women in the mosque began to argue among themselves. Nobody openly defended the woman with uncovered head, the younger women remained silent, listening to the older ones who were repeatedly saying that it was the house of God.

other hand they feel free to breast-feed their babies and chat with each other.<sup>269</sup> In addition to that, women fight with each other. They continue to spell their curses in the house of God too. This makes the place an "inside". There is a female culture there in the sense that George Simmel<sup>270</sup> had used. A similar situation can be observed at its best in the *Hamam* (Turkish bath). There is a distinct outside and inside when the *hamam* is considered. One feels that she is a part of a multiplicity with a hundred breasts and a hundred eyes. It is not a herd that has to be led to somewhere, the *hamam* experience is bound by space, yet the people change all the time.

This situation could well be fit to the spectacle society, a society that consists of gazers, a concept formed by the Situationists (France, 1950's) and Guy Debord, who is one of them. Nevertheless, there is an act in the *Hamam*, an act of cleaning, an act to be repeated a million times. This "obsessive" notion of cleanliness is also a move toward spirituality, which can also be observed within the borders of individual households.

The mystical layout of the inside/home borders point out to preservation. The "pure" is preserved via seclusion whether it be the walls of a house or the bulk of textile to wrap. Delaney describes these two words by saying that when you step inside the border of a house, it is clean in contrast to the dirty streets, and you are now under protection. (Delaney, 1991, p.237)

A similar protection is obtained by the headscarf. The household borders that protect the people inside become mobile in the form of a headscarf. Ironically, many women keep their heads open outside but wear their headscarfs when they enter into a religious space. This behaviour can be observed from Tansu Çiller, the ex Prime Minister of Turkey, at its best as described in the section above on covering. The

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<sup>269</sup> On the other hand, by the entrance of the women's section of the mosque, there is a list of bans including bringing small children and talking about thisworldly things.

<sup>270</sup> Simmel is an important german sociologist who talked about female culture when no other social scientist was doing so. Simmel, Georg: Zur Soziologie der Familie. ex: Vossische Zeitung (Berlin), Sonntagsbeilagen Nr. 26-27 vom 30. 6. und 7. 7. 1895

same section led us to the tomb of the saint, which had a double kind of privacy: an inside where the deceased body lies, and an inside of the mausoleum where a single tomb or a family of tombs may exist. So that, the privacy created within the family is recreated and individual people or groups of people can enter into this privacy because it no more exists. Still, this privacy is still “privacy” because it continues to exist in people’s minds.

Although "the saint" is an intrusion between the believer and his/her God, and people like to repeat the phrase that nobody can enter between God and the believer, s/he or (mostly) *his* family is not an active intruder. The individual private lives of people coincide with a collective Islamic management of daily life at this point. This kind of collectivity is well suited for women, and it is the kind of collectivity that most women bring with themselves. For example, Ümmü or Mümine, the most *saintly* character of the family in village life is the spiritual figure within the private life of a family. The outer spheres are like the layers of an onion. There are less of these layers in a village. For example as public layers, the tomb of the most esteemed ancestor is the spiritual figure of the village, and the imam of the mosque. In the city life, there are more layers and consequently such figures are more. A more knowledgeable woman who gives directions to other woman may be the spiritual figure of a group of a quarter of a city. An Islamist politician may be the spiritual figure of millions of people. A saint such as *Mother Love* is the spiritual figure of an Alevi community in a big city.

Women also incorporate in many of these layers. The saint’s tomb continues to preserve an intimate state like the interfamilial one. The saints live in people’s minds, and act there. Like Atatürk; one of the most popular songs about Atatürk says “Atatürk’s not dead, he lives in my heart”.

## **2. Religious Gathering of Women**

Women’s networks in Muslim countries can be defined as informal settings of give and take which effect the order-of-things in an indirect manner. Indirect power remains to be power as a matter of fact but this should be evaluated within modernity, traditionality and their syntheses. In the context of Ankara, as regards the

*native's* of Ankara, we can say from the interview 1 (App.) and Şirin Tekeli's interview with her mother<sup>271</sup> that going out for visiting the neighbours was an unwanted characteristic for a woman within the women's communities. So that, we see that these networks couldn't be much formed in an urban context before the migration and women had to live and discover their religiosity all alone. But it seems that things changed after the migrations began and Ayşe Saktanber's (1990) *Elif Sitesi* is a site for women to live their religion all together.

For the women's networks to work, there has to be the necessary context which, at the most general level we can call *Gemeinschaft*, the "traditional" society. This can be the modernist approach. Nevertheless, not all societies end up in the same results within similar contexts. Additionally, tradition can also be *recreated* as it has been proposed in the introduction concerning the example of the Eyüp area as an invention-of tradition. And the present study has so far unveiled two types of re-traditionalisation, the first is about creating a religious arena within a modern context: the Laicist Muslim. The second is a reaction, which is denoted by the *conscious Muslim*, and his/her conscious reaction against the harsh processes of modernisation. These processes resemble the main roads of the nation building processes as described in the introduction and elsewhere within the paper. They passed through old houses and *türbes* and whatever came their way. Only some of the *türbes* resisted. Both Tezveren and Gülbaba remain in the middle of such roads. The trimmed *türbes* and houses that came in the way of roads and public squares are valuable as long as they are *authentic*.

However merely purely traditional housing and structures can not limit the content of the authentic. Traditional ways of living can still be found in daily life. Women's networks are also a part of it and belong to the traditional which can only be talked of now with the processes of localisation that post modernism has brought to divide what was once called universality into globalisation and localisation processes. Both processes talk about power and like the mega-forces like the US that no longer want

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<sup>271</sup> Tekeli, Şirin: "78 yaşında bir feministle Söyleşi" *Kadınlar İçin*, İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1988

to hold everything in their hands<sup>272</sup> and give way to make smaller nations stronger, localities let such powers to animate.

Therefore we can say that women's networks means power to women, and is inherent to "the traditional" rather than "the modern" which allows not much existence to anything other than the individual, which is the "he" in all political and economic documents. Yet modern Turkey within the line of tradition that we can draw from Anatolia is a ground for women to have power. This line is drawn from the *Magna Mater* tradition, Kybele and/or the all-powerful solitary Mother figure of the Turkish films. However, it must be noted that, when evaluating women power in the distant past like the matrilineal housing in Çatalhöyük<sup>273</sup>, what is matriarchal is defined as opposed to what is patriarchal today. So that it is not a "healthy connection" and the powerful mother figure of the Turkish films may be regarded as a masculinised women. Still even this last evaluation may be due to our bias about thinking power in terms of male domination. Where this discussion may lead us to in the future doesn't change the fact that the perception of our surroundings is determined by dominant cultures of the day. When we are talking about the larger-part-of-the-world where we talk about *global trends* to indicate what was regarded as *universal* in modernist terminology. The local cultures have only just begun to effect the global-culture with their assumed *authenticity*. As to the situation of women, they remain on the margins for the time being. What will change this situation is organised collective consciousness, which takes its lines from past and present women's togetherness.

A basic realm of coming together for women is their deep involvement in food. Here, this involvement doesn't only include the making of it. The stories about food also take place dominantly in the understanding structures of women.

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<sup>272</sup> Boniface, Pascal; *Güçsüzlük İsteği: Uluslararası ve Stratejik tutkuların sonu mu?* (La Volonté D'Impuissance: La Fin des Ambitions internationales et stratégiques?), Trans: Alp Tümertekin, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayıncılık, 1997

<sup>273</sup> The "Introduction" section has more information on this issue.



### 3. Stories of Sacred Food

The association of food with women is a direct one in most cultures because women are closely related with the nourishment of the members of their families. Food is a matter and a signifier of daily life. Christian spirituality denies food as a matter of the craving of the flesh. However Islam unites bodily needs and governing of food with religion. (Delaney, 1991) Further, the holy Koran invites the believers to ponder on the food provided by God as a sign of his wisdom and generosity in the verses of 24-29 of the *Abasa* (He Frowned) the 80<sup>th</sup> surah. Ayla Algar draws our attention to this in the beginning of her article that tells us about the place of food in the lives of devoted Muslims<sup>274</sup>.

*Halva* and *Aşure* are two sacred dishes that are cooked on special occasions. I will talk about the stories that I bumped into while exploring the subject of women's spirituality and that I thought that was a part of this spirituality. The first one is a *Halva* story and which brings together a *problem of interpretation*: Faroqhi says that (1990, p. 656) it is necessary to find out something about the general world-view that forms the background to the texts under investigation. And few studies are done in favour of this. Throughout this study, I have tried to reflect the stories that I could incorporate into spirituality, but many of them remained in the interviews in the appendixes and even more as future potential studies. Still, the *halva* stories that occurred two times in different interviews and twice in Faroqhi's paper is interesting. The reason of talking about the story here in interpreting the sacred dimension of women's spirituality is to show that same stories can be told in different ways by favouring different person. In this context, none of these people are women. Still this means that we are still very lucky in finding women's spirituality despite of the lack of such favours.

Faroqhi explains the situation of differences that are found in the attributed characteristics of the main actors of the stories by as a utilisation of the traditions current in the same milieu by the compilers of the two legends. (Ibid p.667)

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<sup>274</sup> Algar, Ayla; "Food in the Life of Tekke" in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey* ed:Raymond Lifcheit, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992

The saint was apprentice to a shoemaker. While the latter was at prayer in Hicaz, Piri Baba brought his master a tray of warm *halva*. From the flower design on the tray, the master recognised his property upon his return treated his apprentice with special consideration.

Piri Baba also refuses the gifts of the Sultan<sup>275</sup>. This refusal also takes place in the *halva* story that is related by the same informant that gave some details about the story of *Karyağdı*. This story is about a saint in eastern Anatolia. He was the servant of a rich landlord who was one of the important religious persons of the city and had been to Mecca for Hajj. The servant took some *halva* from one of the villagers to take to his master. Everybody laughed at him, but later it was understood that he actually took the *halva* to his master. When his master was back from Hajj, he said that "I had been to Hajj, but he had done the real worship". Then his sainthood was accepted and his master offered him all of his material owning. But he refused.

The third story of *halva* is told by Ms. F during Interview 1 (App.). According to my interviewee, he was an apprentice in a vegetable garden before being a saint<sup>276</sup>. Some time passed after he went to hajj. One day, his wife saw one of the *Ahi*'s preparing *halva*. She wanted some *halva* to take to her husband. The *Ahi* gave the *halva*, and laughed at her and wondered why she put her husband as a mediator if she wanted to eat some *halva*. He thought that she herself was going to eat it. But when Hacı Bayram was back from Hajj, it was understood that he was carrying the bowl that the *Ahi* gave the *halva* with in his bag. Then his sainthood was accepted. This story has been told in the *Karyağdı* section in another way, about the sainthood of a servant in eastern Turkey. There is a sharp contrast between the two stories: The first one results in the servant being a saint because he took the *halva* to his master, but the second one results in the Hacı being the saint because he was able to take the bowl from his wife. Except from the result part, most details of the stories are the same

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid. p.665, Still Faroqhi says that he may not have refused but couldn't actually receive the awaited gift in page 674

<sup>276</sup> Ankara is a very important place as to Small Scale Production Organizations/ *Ahilik Teşkilatı*. It is even told that the *Ahi*'s had to get hold of the administration of Ankara for a while before the Selçukidian period in a time of *anarchy*.

and there is no detail as to who gave the bowl to whom actually in both of the stories<sup>277</sup>.

This story also tells about apprenticeship. The special bowl that is produced in Ankara is called *tuğtap*. My grandmother who was a genuine *Ankaralı* used to say “*tuğtap gibi*” (like the *tuğtap*) to very tidily organized things. This shows the perfection in a work accomplished.

The second storyline is about *aşure* that originally means the tenth day of the month Muharrem. Several events took place on this day: Adam met Eve, Abraham was delivered from the fire, Joseph was reunited with Jacob, Noah and his family left the ark after the great flood (Algar, 92, p.300). Actually, this sweat soup is said to be invented in Noah’s ship when nothing was left but small amounts of chickpeas, beans, raisins, rice, wheat, dries fruit, nuts etc. *Aşure* is also my favourite dish ever.

In Alevi culture, *aşure* is a memorial of Imam Hüseyin and the martyrs of Islam. (Ibid. p 301) This was also underlined by *Mother Love* during her talk to her community. She said that making and eating the *aşure* without remembering Imam Hüseyin and his chopped head is insincere. Every time one performs (the preparation and consuming of) *aşure*, s/he has to feel this pain inside and perform it as if it is a sacrifice (like sheep sacrificed instead of Isaac, Abraham’s son.)

In *The fast and the holy feast* by Caroline Bynum<sup>278</sup>, there is a sub-heading named “Food in the lives of women saints” in Part II, which generally talks about the role of food in medieval times. There we see the story of Rabia Adeviyye Sultan, the first Muslim saint. One day Rabia who was living away from other people want to eat

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<sup>277</sup> There is an up-to-date joke about different versions of miracles: The Pope and Fidel were walking along Havana's Malecon (sea wall) and a big gust of wind blew the Pope's little cap off which landed in the sea. A gracious host, Fidel bounded to the rescue, leaping the sea wall and striding across the waves until he reached the cap, then turned and walked back across the water until he reached the Pope and deposited the somewhat damp little cap on the Pope's head. All in front of 3000 journalists. Headlines in the Cuban daily Granma read: Fidel Performs a Miracle! Walks on Water!.. The daily newspaper in the Vatican had a different lead: Pope Does a Miracle! Makes Fidel Walk on Water! But the Miami Herald read it altogether differently. Their lead: Aging Fidel Can't Swim! Told by Vera Britto in an internet list →(fiatlux@umich.edu - <http://www.umich.edu/~fiatlux>)

<sup>278</sup> Bynum, Caroline: *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, LA:University of California Press, 1987

*Aşure* a lot, and was so happy to see that that day one of her neighbours had cooked *Aşure* and left it on the entrance of her small house. Unfortunately, the bowl that contained *aşure* was turned upside down, and Rabia got sad. Then, she heard a voice that came from nowhere and that told her to choose between worldly pleasures and the love of the owner of the voice. She made her choice immediately, understanding that her ascetic life can not be combined by thisworldly desires.

## **B. Secular Dimension**

There have been different experiences of secularism in Islamic countries. The practise of secularism changes with time and with revolutions within single countries as well. The short history of the Turkish Republic had been a stage towards living different combinations of Islam and “modernity”. Throughout this study, I have expressed several times that the language of the prayers had been one of the hottest issues of the debates. The individual, collective and state-level applications vary, but the language of Islam is still a hot issue in Turkey, and continues to be so in countries that have other languages than Arabic. Saeed Ur Rehman<sup>279</sup> wrote to the discussion list of postcolonial issues about the language of Islam that

No Muslim can offer that prayer in any other language than Arabic. The five prayers, which are called fajar, zuhar, asar, mughrab and isha, are the ones I was talking about. There is also a hadith that "Arabic" is Allah's favourite language. I was trying to suggest that there is a hierarchy of languages even in Allah's order of things.

The call to prayer was done in Turkish until the 1950's in Turkey. Famous musicians like Saadettin Kaynak were the pioneers of this application. (Akgün, 1979-80) Similarly, another important dimension that was an indicator of secularism in an Islamic country was the outlook of its people. The reforms about hats, headgear and dress are similar to the ban of villagers from the Atatürk Boulevard in Ankara. This at hand, the most dominant indicator of “westernisation” is the outlook of women in Islamic countries. This is why it is necessary to remember the headscarf debates in order to visualise how such steps towards secularity have affected women's life

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<sup>279</sup> Rehman, on the subject of Islamic culture, Postcolonial Discussion List, Spoon Collective, 7 Oct 1997

styles. It was like a liberation to take off the headscarf, but the predicaments behind it concerning westernisation and being a Muslim effected and continue to effect woman externally and internally. The dilemmas lived by women who cover their heads are reflected in Acar's (1991) and Özdalga's (1998) studies. I have tried to explore the dilemmas of *laicist* women, but there remains a lot to be explored for future research.

### **1. The Turkish State and Its laws**

During my research, one of the most problematic areas related to issues of perception was the inclination of the interviewed people towards viewing the history of the Turkish Republic as totally and merely constructed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Women seeing him as a saint underlined this perception because saints had their connections with the other world and it wasn't surprising that one man, if he was a saint, would build a republic with all its laws and manners.

Especially when it comes to "giving their rights to women" there are no women who can visualise some women working for their rights and Atatürk preparing a ground for the acceptance of them. It is as if he looked at European countries, saw that women enjoyed some rights and had given them to Turkish women. Its not that he didn't. But one should not overlook other names, women's names in trying to comprehend a past for Turkish women with rights. For example Halide Edip Adıvar and a group of women from big cities, who worked with her, constitute an important power towards the realisation of advanced rights of women in Turkey<sup>280</sup>. This process began in the period of Abdülhamit the IInd with women writing to the newspapers and discussing their situation with men<sup>281</sup>. Of course these women were city-dwellers or members of the bourgeoisie so to say. They were effected by European trends. Yet they were able to effect the government and ten years after one

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<sup>280</sup> For example Nezihe Muhiddin and others: Nimet Nemide, Latife Bekir, Şukufe Nihal, Matlube Ömer, Nesime İbrahim, Rana Sani Yaver, Refika Hulusi Behçet... (Türemen, 1997) all worked for women's rights during the formation of the republic and the name of none is remembered when talking about those rights.

<sup>281</sup> Türemen, Mehmet Rıdvan; *Nice Yıllara Türk Kadınlar Birliği*, Kadın Birliği Yayınları, 1997



woman beginning to work as a teacher in a school in 1873, another woman became a director of another in 1883<sup>282</sup>.

One last specific example from Türemen is the parallelism of Atatürk's declaration about women's importance in İzmir on 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 1923 and one Ms. Naciye's declaration in 1920 as a representative of Turkey in a conference in Bakü. "What Naciye Hanım said three years ago so sincerely, were repeated by the great Atatürk Ghazi Mustafa Kemal as the basic principle of the newly emerging society." (Türemen 1997, p.9): Equal rights to men and women to give power to the society. This is an indicator of Türemen's subsequent words that "Ghazi Mustafa Kemal carefully and appreciatively followed the women's movements from the beginning".<sup>283</sup> His deep involvement with women's rights may have more implications than it already seems like. Mustafa Kemal's mother is an important model in understanding such implications. She was alone in raising Atatürk and his sister in their childhood and this must have effected Atatürk's actions in the future<sup>284</sup>.

It was important to note that Atatürk was not alone in enacting laws for women's rights. There were women working for themselves already, before being "created" by Atatürk. It is necessary to spell a synthesis of two situations that were laid out until now. For this, these two situations have to be repeated here: One is that old-Ankara that was left more or less untouched by the republic because the archaeological layout of multiple cultures throughout history was to be protected. For that reason there was a ban on building new residences. The other important regulation is that

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<sup>282</sup> *ibid* p.4

<sup>283</sup> Of course now the preciseness of these words make illusions more possible because we can't exactly know if he did or he didn't. The same is true, or even more true about the life of Hz. Muhammad: Everybody talks as if they witnessed his life. One typical example is the current müftü/religious head of Üsküdar İhsan Özkeş some liberal words of whom were quoted in III/A/1. Large masses listen to his words but he talks with inelastic words that have a potential to shape peoples minds.

<sup>284</sup> Reflections upon the theme of Atatürk and the loneliness of his mother were discussed in B. part of Chapter V. .

religion became an area of secrecy, of personal lives of people<sup>285</sup>. So that, the *türbes* and mosques that remained in the hearth of Ankara were alienated in two ways: First they belonged to the category of religion, and second that they were a part of the old-city of Ankara.

The alienation of the region doesn't mean that the place was to be left all alone. We see the togetherness of institutions in the example of the restoration of the citadel of Ankara. Different governmental and non-governmental organisations stress the position of Hacı Bayram Mosque, Augustus Temple and Citadel of Ankara. The two most important state agencies are the Ministry of Culture and The Ankara Municipality. Others are universities, societies, Directorate of Religious Affairs. The most important function of the state is planning and implementations of these plans. For example, in the case of the Hacı Bayram Environment Planning, the most important state agency is the Ankara Municipality that prepared the main plan. But this plan is realised in coordination with Middle East Technical University Department of City Planning.

In addition to that, the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations set some rules for the protection of the city walls and these were the only rules that were in the form of "rules" and were complied with.

## **2. Individual institutions and formation of Foundations (Civil Society)**

The role of METU in the restoration of the Hacı Bayram district is only a recent appearance of its wide scoped studies on Ankara. These studies include a city-wide archaeology of the old civilisations. The different civilisations were mainly in the old-city region, but parts of them are found all around Ankara<sup>286</sup>. For example the hill on which Atatürk's tomb Anıtkabir is constructed on an old Phrigean graveyard/temple (V/B).

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<sup>285</sup> A process less spelled than but more parallel to the enactment of some regulations as to religion.

This argument is discussed in Chapter I, A/2.

<sup>286</sup> It is apt to remember the name of Sevim Buluç whose recent death in the end of 1995 doesn't change the fact that she is the name on the execution of many of these projects.

The regulations of the Turkish State that effect the daily life positively or negatively are important issues as to the gaining of the *future rights*. The atmosphere that is created by seeing-Atatürk-as-a-saint-who-did-everything in the past prevents a projection of people doing something for themselves. On the other hand, civil society is the name of a ground for people acting for themselves. It is easy to say that the *cemaat* concept indispensable to Islam prepares a ground for civil society. Yet it is difficult to evaluate different kinds of *Islam's* and their diversions. According to Ira Lapidus<sup>287</sup> most Muslim societies did not and still do not conform to the monolithic *umma* model. This is one of the reasons why there is not one Islam but a variety of Islams.

The Turkish examples of Islam and laicism unite in one point. They are both very close to the point of one-man-historicising that could be one of the things that prevent *civil society* to realise. The names of powerful men are spelled in bringing new ways of living according to Islam for the Islamicists. The name of Atatürk is spelled and respelled in trying to resist to these changes for the laicists.

The same is true for women's associations that still see Atatürk as their saviour and don't try to invent new and broader borders for themselves. According to Türemen, there were four women's associations during the last 50 years of Ottoman Empire, which were formed one after another in 1908, 1909, 1912 and 1913. And these were not constructed with the orders of Atatürk like those that were constructed after the republic.

The most popular women's organisation that didn't form its identity in line with the personality of Atatürk was *Papatyalar/* The Daisies in the 80's. These women were grouped in the leadership of the wife of Turgut Özal, the prime minister the first political person who was to approach the Islamist tendencies in a liberal way. The daisies were made fun of because of their non-serious activities and came to their end. Now fanatical Muslim women carry out more "serious" activities in İstanbul.

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<sup>287</sup> Cited in Sunar, İlkay: "Civil Society and Islam" in *Civil Society, Democracy and the Muslim World*, edited by Elisabeth Özdalga, Swedish Research Institute in İstanbul, 1997 p.15

The *City Mothers* are such an example, a group of women who come together under the leadership of their sheik's, an orthodox Muslim man.

The city mothers outlook is very strict. Most of them wear black *çarşaf* when they are going to take place in Turkish media. Their appearance determines the evaluation of their actions from different perspectives. The laicists find it a waste of time to try to understand them because they are so far from the model that was presented as the “new Turkish women” in 1930's and on. Here, the fact that language is an important secular matter in living Islam through the history of modern Turkey, shifts and underlines the importance of *appearance*. The outlook becomes more important and effects the perception of religion more.



## VII. THE CURRENT CHRONOTOPE OF ANKARA

The word chronotope is invented by Michail Bakhtin<sup>288</sup> "towards a historical poetics", which immediately resembles Fernand Braudel's invention of the long duration towards a historical economy in his famous *The Mediterranean*. Of course their main concern is the same while differentiating in their areas of interest.

### A. Place of Saints in the lives of Women

The function of the female saints in the lives of women is not radically different from those women in Morocco. Daisy Hilse Dwyer describes them as:

Mothers search out saints and Sufi orders when uncertainties occur or when crises arise, with the childbearing years defining a particularly precarious period. When children become ill or die, when daughters remain uncourted, or when a mother has not yet guided a certain number of offspring into the safer, later years of childhood, the founders of Sufi orders, like other saints are called upon as protectors.

This situation corresponds to Chinese Buddhism where what are called saints in the Islamic connotation were called Gods in China in the Middle Ages. Hansen<sup>289</sup> suggests that the cults were manipulated by the powerful during this period. This circumstance is parallel to what I have called the invention-of-tradition for the *Eyüp Sultan Türbesi* in İstanbul. Yet Hansen also says that the masses are as effective as the powerful because of their support and without the support of the masses, the gods could not prevail. (p.127) Still, the popularity of the "root temples" that such power relations were more important shifted into regional Gods while getting closer to 1276. (p.128-160) The "root temples" can be called as the "root *türbes*" in Turkey such as Eyüp Sultan, Hacı Bektaş Veli or Mevlana. They are still widely visited, especially after 1950's and after the rise of domestic and foreign tourism.

A similar parallelism between tombs may be formed for Christianity too, the saints' tomb for Christianity and the *türbe* are more or less the same. On the other hand,

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<sup>288</sup> Bakhtin, Mikhail M.; *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, Austin: University of Texas Press, Seventh Printing, 1990.

<sup>289</sup> Hansen, Valerie; *Changing Gods in Medieval China 1127-1276*, Princeton U Press, 1990



there is a basic difference between them: the saints are incorporated into Christian religious institutions while they are left out of the inside of the mosque in Islam. On the other hand, the tombs of the saints who give their names to mosques and the tombs of their families can be seen in the court of the mosque. Hacı Bayram and Ahi Şerafettin are two examples to this in the citadel of Ankara. Being out of the mosque doesn't indicate whether they are placed out of *core* religion but indirectly show that they are not in between the God and the *Kul* (slave of God only). They are valued in daily life and spirituality though. Different saints are valued by different sects but they don't become mediators in the mosque.

When women are concerned, I have already told that they don't have a high access to the mosque in Turkey. But there can be different reasons to attend a *türbe*. It is a historical sight, a tomb of ancestors, a house of the holy and a realiser of wishes. This is why, a root *türbe* is their root in the tree of religion. Besides, it is a place for the oppressed, the left outs<sup>290</sup>. The *türbe* is the concrete form of the root paradigm as Şerif Mardin (1991) describes it: the visitation of the *türbe* offers an undecided root for the people who are left with no definite rules to design their religious life.

Women don't choose *türbes* randomly. "A woman might choose an individual saint or Sufi order because of its geographic accessibility, for she is often severely restricted in her mobility owing to general notions of propriety or a husband's jealousy." (Dwyer, p.589) City women may be in a better situation concerning propriety or a jealous husband, yet the fact that women's mobility is not much doesn't change for women who are university professors. The formation of a family is an important responsibility and this responsibility keeps them immobile. As a result of this immobility, when a city is changed due to a job or a school, new saints are found and attended<sup>291</sup>.

This wide range of saintly alternatives is a comparatively new situation. The religious spaces were abandoned in 1925, and religion was left aside like the *türbes*: kept locked with some watchmen. Remember the legend of Hacı Bayram breaking

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<sup>290</sup> Refer to page 129 for *türbe* as a place for the oppressed.

<sup>291</sup> Appendix interview3

the lock every night (IV/B/1). Tanyu (1967-8) says that this act was actually done by the visitors who came by night. Whatever the “true” version of the story is, it shows that there is a severe need for the saints and accessibility to them.

When something is abandoned in stead of being regulated, it either goes underground like some of the *tariqat*'s have done in Turkey, or, if this abandonment is not supported with strict regulations organising what is done with the remains, people continue the previous practices in even more bizarre ways. So that when the state ignores the cultural heritage because the piousness of people concerning the saint becomes extreme, the folk religion that this people create and recreate continues to exist, and the empty space that the state leaves is filled by any organ and mostly a smug organ. The danger with this subject is becoming even more statist than the state itself. However, this situation is very similar to the current political situation in Turkey where it is very popular to talk about the “empty spaces in government” which are filled by anybody. Then scandals rush in but they don't result in total changes. Furthermore, the subject is “forgotten” because it is related to the privacy of the state, like the “veiled payment” which is reserved for “secret security issues”.

Still, this doesn't mean that there were no regulations at all and that state is a single entity that acts coherently with all its organs. Kutsal Yeşilkağıt, talks about religious education of the state in his presentation of “The Military and Religious Education” in Turkey<sup>292</sup>. His point is that the reason that religious education<sup>293</sup> was closely related with the Turk-Islam synthesis ideal: Obligatory religious education would prevent the young people from making the mistake of being leftist. I have already argued in the “Introduction” section<sup>294</sup> that the 1960 Constitution held religious education optional. Yeşilkağıt argues that this disturbed the Turk-Islam synthesis idealists, military being the biggest sub-set. He further argues that this balance changed by raising of the capital of the *tariqats*. This was realised by preparing bids

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<sup>292</sup> Yeşilkağıt, Kutsal: “Understanding Democracy in Turkey: The Military and Religious Education” on Thursday 13<sup>th</sup> of November in the 5<sup>th</sup> National Social Sciences Congress that was held in METU Ankara, between 12-14 November 1997

<sup>293</sup> Which was underlined and debated densely after 1970's.

<sup>294</sup> I/A/2

for the adjudications of the defence industry and taking the adjudication. So that the security politics of Turkey directly effected the “revival of religion” even more than it already seems. His point is indicated by Kafadar (1992, p. 311) as the military government proclaiming itself heir to Kemalist secularism on the one hand, and allowing Islamist movements more space in the political area in order to bridle the left, on the other. “Enlightened Islam was regarded as the best bulwark against communism and religious fanaticism”<sup>295</sup>.

In the discussion part of the session that Yeşilkağıt presented his paper “Political, Religious and Ethnic Identity Problem in Turkey”, the health dimension was added to the layout. Medicine came out as a more western originated institution to be regulated in the lack of a well-organised system in which “folk medicine” reigned<sup>296</sup>. These data at hand, the following conclusion can be reached: it is not only a matter of abandonment but *attainability* that matters when medicine or religion is concerned. And attainability means the regulation of both areas so that they can be reached easily by every fellow-citizen. This is not only the job of the state but civil societal organisations to become attainable. What is called the folk religion or folk medicine –both of which have healing functions like in the case of *Mother Love* where these unite- can themselves be a way to civil society –the Alevi community that is formed around *Mother Love*- (more info. III/A/1) but the “occult” factor constitutes a dangerous dimension.

Religion is always hard to deal with and one of the important reasons is that it is mixed with the occult. The good and the bad are communicated without understanding with the occult: The child is told not to steal because if s/he does so Godfather will come and punish him/her. This may be the reason why the horror movies of the Western culture mostly talk about Christianity and nothing else. A similar mix of the religious and the occult can be seen in the Muslim stories compiled in the book which is known with the name of its writer, *Kara Davut* (David the Black) who lived in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Davud, 1975). The narration of the book is

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<sup>295</sup> Sakalhoğlu, Ümit Cizre: “Parameters and strategies of Islam-state interaction in Republican Turkey”, USA: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, No:28, 1996 (Pp 231-51)

<sup>296</sup> Refer to III/B/The Passive Regeneration of Life.

jumbled, it seems to reflect a collective unconscious. It is full of miracles, which could have been normal events that have turned into miracles by the power of multiple-narration.

Faroqui, in the introducing paragraphs of her article “the Story of an Urban Saint” says that studying saints lives are difficult in the way that myth and reality are mixed, and one cannot be sure of the reality of the saint him/herself. This blurred situation due to the identity and the miracles that the saint had performed in the past becomes a mess for the historicist. On the other hand, the miracles that are being talked about in the distant past don’t remain there. They become a part of the present: *The dead* continue to perform miracles.

## B. As Spaces Unite

Spirituality is a state of mind. But as long as this study hasn’t made use of the tools of psychiatry so far, I can’t reflect it purely as a state of mind. This is why I have used time and space concepts in reflecting women’s spirituality. I had tried to picture the current situation of women’s spirituality throughout the *türbes* as the basic space concept and personal histories as the basic time concept. The *chronotope*<sup>297</sup> of Ankara is pictured as relationships of women with the *türbes* after the Republic.

In this light, space can be redefined as the intersection of the Particular and the Universal. I will try to explain this here. Women pray for their families in the *türbes*, they pray that they will survive as a family<sup>298</sup>. Therefore they carry their home with them<sup>299</sup>. This is the particular aspect of space in evaluating the intersection of spaces in the *türbes*. The basic space, the *türbe*, is a house too. It is the house of a dead person as well as the caretaker in some cases (like *Kırkkızlar*). It is the house of an *evsiz evsahibi* (homeless host<sup>300</sup>). Every time one visits a *türbe*, it is multiplied

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<sup>297</sup> A Bakhtinian concept meaning time-space

<sup>298</sup> This thought is a result of short informal conversations with women who attend the *türbes* as well as the interviews in the appendix.

<sup>299</sup> This factor can be explained by *habitus* (introduced in III/B/1 as the space-like structures in one’s mind, as a reflection of the mind to the surroundings and that of the surroundings to the mind.)

<sup>300</sup> refer to footnote 231

because continuous visiting results in a transformation of space from merely a plastic entity to a structure of the mind. This is similar to animating the Ka'be in one's mind through *namaz*. The intersection of individual households and the *türbes* as houses of the holy realises in the minds of women. The interview as a method tries to reach these structures in one's mind, one maps in her/his mind, her/his habitus. For example the old Ankara now constitutes a part of the habitus of my first interviewee who is 82, but I can't visualise this unless she describes. She talks about a city that won't be repeated as another chronotope but only a chronotope that lives in her habitus: the space-like structures in one's mind, as a reflection of the mind to the surroundings and that of the surroundings to the mind.

In one of these interviews (1) the whirling dervishes with their yellow pants and white dresses who danced in the Hacı Bayram square were described very vividly. This action took place regularly as an anniversary from the establishment of the Republic till Atatürk's death. It is a unitary activity where a religious ritual becomes a part of a secular celebration. Of course this is in line with the whirling dervishes' being presented to the westerners as civilised cultural exchange in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. (Kafadar, 1992, p.312)

Today, the proof of such a civilised cultural exchange is needed for entrance to the European Union. However, Europe supports the barriers between Turkey and Europe and the European Union is becoming a declining aim for the Turkish Republic. This situation is very critical in that Turkey is a country that is Muslim but that tries to comply with western norms. Feyerabend says in his introduction to the Turkish version of his *Against Method* that the Islamists use western technology without believing in it. However, showing the *Mevlevi's* to the westerners are not always approved by the mystical Islamists in Turkey. Mustafa Kara has carefully evaluated (but forgot to give exact references to some of his quotations) several newspapers and periodicals concerning the mystical dimension of Islam (Kara, 1990, p 227). It seems that the quotation from Kara's study that criticizes the western manipulative approaches to "the east" stands in front of Feyerabend's view on the Islamists.

That west is that hasn't been our lover. What means being our lover, it is that makes us incorrigible. It is that we could save Anatolia by giving four million martyrs. There was nothing to do to destroy a state that was a balance factor for the world but to take her away



from the Universal declaration (Islam) that she was attached to. He (the west) is he who knows and does it.<sup>301</sup>

However, all the people aren't effected by the same causes in the same way. Within the more *westernised* people of the republic, women are not as separated from Islam as men. They carry through this attachment by the *türbe* visits. They may visit the *türbes* as historical sights, as the tombs of ancestors, as hosts of houses of the holy and/or as realisers of wishes. This variety of reason provides grounds gfor consistency and continuity in the *türbe* visits. The reason for this consistency is that the *türbes* stand as a more *soft* religious space than the mosque. This is why, in the current chronotope of Ankara, women and men, the poor and the rich, the conscious Muslims and the laicist Muslims continue to attend the *türbes* of Ankara despite the interruptions of different regulations of them. Ankara is important in the sense that it is the capital of the "new life" introduced with the republic. Most of the people who complied with the new life ignored Islam for a while. But many women seem to successfully combine Islam and this new life. The "new life" is a western style of life that was taken on to comply with the western standards that made the westerners the patrons of the world. This is why the combinations that women make are combinations of dichotomies. The headscarf is a good example: the "new life" ordered that the headscarf was not going to be worn to look western, but scriptural Islam ordered that every Muslim woman should wear it. There is no in between when Islamism is at one hand and modernism is on the other. But women wear it in the *türbes*, take it outside, carry it with them, leave it home where they will put it on in the Night of Power (*Kadir Gecesi*) when they will be performing *namaz*. Many of the women who are in-betweeners attend the *türbes*. The *türbes* unite dichotomies like them. These spaces unite the dead and the living, the past and the present, Islam and the pagan!

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<sup>301</sup> Ibid. p 265

## VIII. PATTERNS

Frederick Nietzsche says that the most important concept that he has reproduced is *Amor-Fati*. In daily language, this concept can be described as loving your faith and doing what you do, as if you are going to do them until the end of the world<sup>302</sup>. Actually immortality is achieved by *lineages* of families and the habits that are transformed through these lineages. Identities are formed within the processes of different forms of transferring life.

In the various transfer mechanisms forming identities such as nation, class or kinship identities, the dominant party is “father” in *civilised* contexts. With the spreading of feminism since the seventies, the forgotten mothers and mothers’ mothers have also become an issue. I have chosen the subject of “patterns of spiritual involvement” with a notion that women could have been using similar patterns with their mothers and their mothers’ mothers. Yet to redefine an identity-wise hierarchy as to matrilineal descent of life is not my concern. Alas, many of the interviews resulted that many women are effected from authoritarian positions of older men in their families and don’t even want to talk about their mothers.

The patterns that I could figure out by the usage of the concept of *türbe* turned out to be tracks in the collective conscience of societies that is formed throughout generations and carried on with modifications. I will try to pack the common characteristic of these tracks in this section. In doing this, it is necessary to remember that visiting the dead and praying for the dead are dealt with as an archaeology of knowledge (Foucault) and a mapping of the habitus’ (Bourdieu) of women.

The reason of using “patterns” is explained by the following synopsis of Mikael Aktor<sup>303</sup> from Catherine Bell’s *Ritual Practice - Ritual Theory* (1992):

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<sup>302</sup> Thanks to Bahattin Akşit for reminding Yalom, Irvin D., *When Nietzsche Wept*, Harper Perennial, 1993

<sup>303</sup> Aktor, MA15@soas.ac.uk to list bourdieu@jefferson.village.virginia.edu, on 29 Nov 1995

Undoubtedly it is extremely important to conceptualise the human body in theory of ritual: bodily experience as basis of ritual symbols, traditionally formalised patterns of bodily actions as available social forms for the individual to enter, the body as the true subject and thereby body-language as a direct language without dualistic meta-levels...

The process of *writing* is like having the photograph of maps of these patterns, with added dimensions. Trinh T. Minh-ha's famous words about writing reminds me of Bakhtinian definition of Dostoyevsky's poetics as *dialogic* (Bakhtin, 1990):

Writing, in a way, is listening to the others' language and reading with the others' eyes. The more ears I'm able to hear with, the farther I see the plurality of meaning and the less I lend myself to the illusion of a single message.

This section, as a conclusion is a bringing together of the alternative roads of existing for women, which are not necessarily marginal. For example *abdest*/ablution for the *namaz*/ritual prayer in Islam is such a pattern. In my first interview, Ms. F said that her father who was an *ex-müftü* of Ankara had thought her to make her prayers of ablution in Turkish and not in Arabic. She said say "I am washing my mouth, and my mouth won't tell bad things, washing my feet and my feet won't go to bad places etc." all in Turkish every time she performed ablution. A similar situation is expressed by Aynur İlyasoğlu's *İstanbulin* interviewee. She said that her mother thought her to treat her organs similarly during ablution<sup>304</sup>.

Although nobody cared for a long time what women thought during ablution (or weaving patterns in pullovers) in their houses, I think that these thoughts are a key towards understanding the dialectic of the position of women in Turkey. The dialectic works with marginality and centrality of women to Turkey. My research proved to me that now, the practices of women, especially old women who have experienced the republic have become central to problems of religion in Turkey. The ways of those women are unique and they could only be unique because they were marginal. They remained marginal, because the women's attitudes toward religion were assumed to be ignorant and so that it was overlooked by the positivist view. The patterns woven around the *türbes* were seen as ignorance by the *high culture* that consisted of men and women who tried to take over western positivism. On the other hand, these old women recreated and made use of root paradigms where both

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<sup>304</sup> İlyasoğlu, Aynur. "Kadın Çalışmalarında Yeni Yöntemler" in Kuvvet Lordoğlu *İnsan, Toplum, Bilim* abstracts from the 4<sup>th</sup> Conference on Social Sciences, 1995.

religion and modern life could be regarded more flexibly. The *türbes* that all of these women visited for a period in their life, provided ground for this understanding.

### A. Visiting Patterns

I have just suggested that women's practices concerning the *türbe* that were viewed as superstitious by the intellectuals of Turkey who thought that the positivist view was the only view and science the only way towards progress. Now science is moving to include and wrap objective evaluations of subjective experiences with the tools of archaeology, psychology, etc. The scientific methods of evaluating focus groups and in-depth interviews are such tools. In this respect, the subjective, marginal experiences of women concerning religion may become central to evaluation and the modelling of religion. I have developed this pattern of centralisation of the marginal from the cemeteries and cities. The cities move to wrap the cemeteries, make them a part of the city and protect some of the tombs from the cemeteries such as the *türbes*.

The same thing is true for the tombs of the martyrs in Christianity. Mircae Eliade relates that the tombs of the martyrs, which were marginal due to their placing in the cemeteries at the edges of the cities, became the centres of the religious life in the sixth century Christianity. A similar situation was true for the *türbes* in small regions in Anatolia. There, the knowledge of scriptural Islam was unavailable so that the practice of Islam was a matter of the local powerful (charismatic/rich/knowledgable) people until the republic. The tombs of these persons who continued to perform miracles and practices when they were dead were preserved when the village moved to incorporate the cemetery. The tombs of the powerful and/or saintly personalities whose lives remained to be "pure" after their death didn't remain marginal in the cities that enlarged too. The important graves remained in the centre of the city when the city grew and incorporated the cemeteries.

I have primarily dealt with the practices within a city. Therefore, this second type of articulation was more important than the practices that are related to the *türbe*. Women and/or the poor are the majority of the visitors. Both groups are disadvantaged in reaching a *türbe* in a city. It is hard to get out of one's house if one is female and it is hard to get to a far place in the city if one is poor. This is one of

the reasons why most visiting patterns are not regular. On the contrary, for example in times like the feast of sacrifice, the *türbes* are closed by the government and people visit “from outside”. Other times, women including the laicist Muslims visit the places as groups as well as individually. Older women give up the city life and stop going out of the house for visiting the *türbe*. So that the city life and *türbe* visits are given up in the same parallel, with old age. It is important to note that these women begin to perform *namaz* more than before.

Apart from the feasts, there are regular visits like that of the women who attend the *türbe* of Hüseyin Gazi every Friday. On the other hand, Friday is already the most common day of *türbe* visiting for the *türbes* that are around mosques, and for men. Men who get out of the Friday prayer visit the tombs that are around to with the spiritual feeling that they get most Fridays after being together with a crowd of other Muslim men. The patterns of spiritual involvement become more orderly through the mosques. Unfortunately women can't experience the spiritual feeling of unity that men feel after the Friday prayer, in the mosques.

I have told that there isn't a specific *mythical order* of things in the *türbes* in the framework drawn by Objects of Desire, the objects that are displayed/ordered in a particular way in the *türbes*. The objects found in the *türbes* are not special ones because the original pieces are removed from them. Nevertheless, the patterns of visiting the saints are special. For example, the *türbedar* of Karyağdı Hatun (IV/A/3) said that nobody could come to the *türbe* if she didn't call him or her. Although I didn't study the position of dreams in Islam, it is important that both the voluntary *türbedar* of *Kırkkızlar* and the old woman living at the back of the mosque of *Ahi Şerafettin* stated that they had dreams about and with the saints lying there. Here it may be “unacademical” but necessary to remember my first visit to the *türbe* of Karyağdı, the first step of the process towards the writing down of my research. My motivation to this process was also a dream. I was sleeping in the same room with a friend and he saw that we were sleeping and it was summer (August) as it was that day. Then he saw that it snowed outside, he saw that I was not there, I was outside in the snow, and I was somebody else somebody “high”. Then I told the dream to other people as a pleasant story and they told me that there was a *türbe* named “Karyağdı”



which belongs to a similar storyline. Then I visited the place and an adventure with women's religion followed.

In *Dreams, Sufism and Sainthood* by Jonathan Katz<sup>305</sup>, a Sufi mystic and jurist who lived in Algeria in the 15<sup>th</sup> century is portrayed. This mystic, Al-Zawawi told that "the dead may influence the affairs of the living" by a proper *adab* (a conventional way of doing things in Arabic) or behaviour when visiting the graves of the departed Muslim saints. Dreams weren't a part of the people that I have interviewed, but it was a part of their stories about the saints, and it was a part of the lives of women *türbedar*'s. Like the *halva* story in chapter VI, these dreams and conventions regarding saintliness may also effect the visiting of the saints. Katz argues that all types of dreams are "individual by definition". Still this doesn't change the fact that they have wide and general implications for the whole community. (Ibid. p.219) The *halva* stories were told as if they were genuine to the saint that the story was attributed to. However, this was a repeating pattern of narration of stories of Hajj as regards the saints.

When it comes to women, it can be said that the most visible pattern is how women touch or kiss the tombs of the saints. Similarly, lighting candles or eating sugar cubes from the *türbe* provide an equally satisfactory tie that binds the unworldly with the pains of this world. The smell of rose oil is added to this act of senses in most türbes. (Putting the smell of feet caused by the rule that the shoes should be left outside, aside) Susan Sered (1992) classifies the acts of touching/kissing as "female-oriented religion". I don't think that such patterns are as inherently gendered yet her following finding fits the current slide in such patterns:

The traditional female-oriented religion of the Middle Eastern women has suffered a number of direct and indirect attacks at the hands of modern, male oriented society. The most striking example concerns holy tombs. There are two widespread and important rituals that women perform at tombs while men generally do not perform these rituals, they just pray and leave. The first women's ritual is lighting candles on behalf of needy family members and leaving the candles to burn next to the tomb. The other is kissing and touching the tomb in order to establish close contact with the holy person (p.132)....

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<sup>305</sup> Katz, Jonathan; *Dreams, Sufism and Sainthood: The Visionary Career of Muhammad Al-Zawawi*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996

These acts being forbidden under modern sanctions, the male sphere is identified as normative for the whole of the society. So that “many Middle eastern women have begun participating in traditional male rituals... and abandon their traditional female practices in order to take part in the mainstream religion”. (Ibid. p 133)

The order of the events may not be as Sered describes. On the other hand, “mainstream” and “male rituals” are usually interchangeable and this is what happened in Turkey. One day one woman performed the funerary ritual for her husband, and this spread immediately in the beginning of 1998 where the leader of the Islamist *Welfare Party* was the Prime Minister but the party was tried to be shut down because of its anti-Republican acts<sup>306</sup>. The woman who chose to perform this act was from the more educated and laicist domain. This means that they have already and more or less voluntarily given up the “traditional-female-rituals” already. Still, the habit of going to the tombs continue in many woman as it is both a religious act and an act that one can do even if s/he is fallen far from religion according to his/her own values. There are always a variety of saints to be chosen from in the city life where women are immobile. Visiting patterns change with the new saint who is chosen according to the changing accommodation. Women also tend to choose the closest *türbe*. So the *türbe* to be visited is not randomly chosen. Then they learn parts of the stories about the saints. They pray el-Fatiha in the way that the saint opens before them. Both men and women do nothing else when they are praying, they concentrate on the tomb, they wish from God to keep them in the “true path” in Arabic, then they wish health and wealth for the sake of the saint.

As a last note, it is proper to remember how people pray by the *türbes* that remain in the middle of the roads in Ankara (such as Tezveren and Gülbaba). People come near the *türbe*, open their hands, pray, circumambulate the *türbe* three times, and continue their way. This is an example to how visiting patterns are shaped according to the structures of the city. Similar paths come into existence in people’s minds. Old women visualise something totally different than the Ankara that is lived today. But people are even more complicated than the cities. Trying to understand the paths in

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<sup>306</sup> It was closed a few days after this “*namaz* discussion”, had another name (Fazilet) but left out of the assembly and government until the new elections that will be held in March 1999.

their minds is even more difficult than deciding if there really were roads in the city of Çatalhöyük like Ian Hodder proposes or not, like Mellaarts proposition. Here, it is important to know that Hodder studied the western hill of Çatalhöyük (literally double-tumuluses) and Mellaart the eastern one<sup>307</sup>. There are yet many more tumuluses in people's minds. The unwritten memories of female involvements are there to excavate.

## B. Belief

The visiting patterns are indicators of how spirituality is lived in Ankara. On the other hand, the interviews give an idea of how belief patterns effect the spiritual involvements of urban women. In the 4<sup>th</sup> interview, my interviewee (with assumed Bektaşî origins) said that she takes religion as love. So that she doesn't let anything come between her and her love and God's love to her and her love of other people. This is very close to Sufism where "love is praised as the highest possible state in approaching God". Where the following prayer to the prophet is a signifier of the importance of love according to Annamarie Schimmel (cited in Saktanber, 1995, footnote 10, p.72)

O God give me love of thee  
and love of those who love Thee  
and love of what makes me approach Thy love  
and make Thy love dearer to me than cool water<sup>308</sup>.

These are quoted in the footnotes of Saktanber 1995 to emphasise women's role in being an agent through which *love* can be learnt for men. In more plain words, that men learn how to love from women. (Ibid. p.52)

My fourth interviewee's solution to keep her loving religion was not to read the Koran in Turkish but in Arabic only. Because if she did, and there were a lot of controversies, she would be "blurred". However, my first interviewee, an 82 years old *Ankaralı* woman, the daughter of an ex-müftü who is very "modern" says that her father taught them to pray in Turkish while they are cleaning themselves of praying

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<sup>307</sup> Acar, Özgen: "Çatalhöyük Uygarlığı Bilmecesi Yeniden Araştırılıyor", Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Bilim Teknik eki, 4 Kasım 1995

<sup>308</sup> The prayer was quoted from Fariduddin Attar *Tadhkirat al-auliya*

to God, with plain words. This didn't blur her mind she successfully kept her hair open (and very short) and pray in Turkish and be a good Muslim.

The mapping of the abstract in to the concrete in Berktaý's (1993) understanding of sacred places and the mapping of the concrete into the abstract, ie, the soul in Delaney's understanding (III/B/1) are two sides of the same coin: Belief

### C. Patterns of Identity

Suraya Faroqhi concludes her study on an urban saint, namely Piri Baba, that he is a symbol standing for the unity of the urban community and the enhancement of its reputation against outsiders as a saint. Even the Sultan is an outsider here. (Faroqhi, 1990, p.676). This perfectly fits the pattern of *Mother Love*, a living woman saint, an "Alevi girl" in her words, who chooses to keep the identity of her community which consists of Alevi migrants to Ankara as against the Sunni's, Arabs, Armenians and any other threat to their unity. The fact that she does this in an urban context is a detail, but an important one.

The examples of *Mother Love*<sup>309</sup>, the Galibi Order<sup>310</sup> and the schools of Fethullah Gülen<sup>311</sup> constitute a bigger pattern. They show that synthesis' are emerging with firstly one strong person, secondly one big *cemaat*, and thirdly the image of Atatürk.

The most important identity crises occur with migration. In the introduction I said that migration was the uncalculated aspect of planning the city of Ankara. The *tariqats* could be banned in the places that were closer to the centre but this was not possible for the eastern parts of Turkey. On the other hand, Islam isn't a monolithic unity neither in the east nor in the west. Şerif Mardin, the person who initialised the study of Islam in Turkey says that in order to talk about an *Islam*, people have to

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<sup>309</sup> see (IV/A/1)

<sup>310</sup> see (IV/B/1)

<sup>311</sup> Şen, Mustafa, Turkish Entrepreneurship in the Turcic Republics, Doctorate thesis to be submitted to the Sociology Department of METU in 1999, Mimeo

study the thousands of Islams all over the world<sup>312</sup>. So that talking about Islam means talking about the clashing point of local Islams and Islam as a global keyword. This also points out to the accord of *Islam* to discussions on both locality and globality. Ironically, Islam provides the global framework for an identity that is needed in the big cities while keeping the local traditions. This is why Islam is “an integrating power between new and old urban centres” as well. (Özdalga 1998 p.87 cited from Hodgson)

This situation results in the diminishing of Sufi Islam in a modern context where “scripturalism will have a much greater chance of surviving...than Sufism” (cited from Gellner in Özdalga 1998, p.90). However, in the case of Turkey, this diminishing occurred more harshly than a natural process. As a reaction to the state oriented control of the uncanny and mystical side of religion, the *tariqats* seemingly increased after 1950's. This contrasts with Gellner's preposition. The state-oriented situation is due to the reforms that were done in the beginning of the Republic. They provided a more global context for even an Islamic revival. The results of these can be seen from the social personality of *Mother Love*. Although she takes her power from her community, or folk, her existence as a woman and as an Alevi had thus become possible through the Republican processes and reforms (according to her own account). This is why she is a laicist and a religious figure in a Republic where religion is carried through with root paradigms.

Her ideas comply with the Alevi root paradigms that are rooted in their collective consciousnesses. She says that the Koran was changed in the times of Ömer and Osman the caliphs who are supposed to bring together the whole text. As a result she refuses to believe in the current form of the book, so that she is not a scripturalist at all. However, she is a good Muslim who needs principles to lean on. These, she learns from the prophets and saints from *the other world*. Still, she catches modernity in the personality of Atatürk whom she takes as another saint. Yet, if scripturalism will be regarded as any text, she has her books in print. And represents a position in Islam with her books as well as her Foundation, personality and Wedding Saloon.

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<sup>312</sup> Mardin, Şerif. *Modernleşme*, Konferans, Tübitak Ankara, 3 Mart 1998.



Another important identity pattern concerns the identity of the *türbedar*'s/carers of the saintly tombs. The state realised that these people were self-appointed and appointed officials instead of these people. I have told that having the saintly tombs under state control means that the state appoints the *türbedar*'s. Having state as a mediator resulted in the gender of the carer takers to change. Mostly *women* were the caretakers before but *men* were appointed instead of them by the state. The Tomb of Karyağdı is a good example for that. Both Hikmet Tanyu and Nezihe Araz mention an old woman there, before 1970. She was a highly spiritual women, who saw that there was light on the *türbe* every night. The current *türbedar* is a state official, a watchman of the state rather than a spiritual caretaker. Nevertheless, he also attributes spiritual aspects to his situation.

The circumstances are similar but more familial in the tomb of Hüseyin Gazi, which is far away from the city centre, and has smaller chances to be taken care of. Nevertheless, its young *türbedar* says that he is a volunteer for his sick grandfather who is still the actual state official. Before his grandfather, his grandmother took care of the tomb and before her, her mother. The young boy's story may or may not be true, but the layout is interesting. It seems that the shift from female to male took place with the shift from self-appointedness to state-appointedness!

This trend is reversed in the graveyard of Kırkkızlar. The state decided to accommodate one of the watchmen of the Ethnography Museum in the small house built for a *türbedar* in the graveyard. This man from Erzurum was to take care of the graveyard, which was closed to visit in return. Nevertheless, it is not what actually happened. His wife, E., appointed herself to be the spiritual caretaker of the graves and the saints there. Consequently, she began to take in some people whom she thought to come for "good reasons". She defined her identity as a spiritual caretaker by a self-appointed attitude. Although statism in Turkey, which more or less is symbolised by Ankara as the capital of a national state, is more visible than independent action, self-appointedness is an important factor proving the opposite<sup>313</sup>.

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<sup>313</sup> It was personal communication with İsenbike Togan that connected civil-society and self-appointedness.

Self-appointedness can be an indicator of individuality and personal initiative. This is true, in Turkey, the driver of a public bus will decide to change his route in seconds if there is a long-term traffic jam in front of him, he will take the initiative. Nevertheless, such individuality should not be regarded as the same thing as in western societies. As I have discussed in the section on “Coming together”, in Islam daily worship is an important part of daily life and it is mostly performed together with other people in mosques. I have argued that women try to achieve unity in a variety of spaces including the saintly tomb, *türbe*.

The self-appointed *türbedar* of *Kırkızlar* graveyard is alone in her activities most of the day. But she is not alone in life. She has her neighbours who also care about the tombs. These neighbours seem to be a closed group because E. talks about them as a unity. In addition to that, she has the dead owners of the gravestones who come into her dreams together, and she has the visitors of these tombs, who come together, pray together or work together (students). These groups consist predominantly of women. *Unity* as a keyword that I have used throughout the study, points to the state of being together in dreams, in social life or in death. The different groups for the life of Ms. E. is a signifier for this type of unity. Another type of unity is more spatial than the neighbours, dead people or the visitors. *Kırkızlar* is a graveyard where there is a collection of tombstones from different historical periods. It is at the same time a place for the visitors to worship God through the personalities of the dead saints. Finally, it a place to live for E. and her husband and their children. The same space has three functions: grave, a place to worship and a place to live. Just like the homes of Çatalhöyük dwellers 9000 years ago.

It was no problem for the women of Çatalhöyük to be included in religious ritual

## CONCLUSION

In *The Saint Inspector*<sup>314</sup>, a technological creature visited saints that rested on high stages and controlled their bodily mechanisms as well as inside of their brains! At the end of each “inspection” s/he took notes. The saints didn’t react to any of these because they were saints in endless meditation after all. Neither the living saint that I have studied, nor the women that I have asked about spirituality can be *understood* by any scientific method that resembles the inspectors’. *Emphaty* was my main tool in this way, but not the only one.

This study is the result of a process where the tools of feminist and critical theories are used to reverse the order where women are the objects of life and the third world the subject of social science, which has been a subject of eurocentrist and orientalist attitudes. I am a third worldian woman writing about the third world and other women as being one of *them*. Oral history was my main tool of pursuing untold stories of women of the third world, Muslim women of Ankara in this case.

The interviews that I have carried out with various *laicist Muslim* women showed that in the secular capital of a Republic where Islam is the prevailing religion, some women have preserved what is sacred, in a secular attitude. The “new life” ordered that the headscarf was not going to be worn to look western, but Islam ordered that every Muslim woman should wear it. There was no in between. But women wear it in the *türbes*, take it outside, carry it with them, leave it home where they will put it on in the night of Power (*Kadir gecesi*) when they will be performing *namaz*. Many of the women who are in-betweeners attend the *türbes*. The *türbes* unite dichotomies like them. These spaces unite the dead and the living, the past and the present, Islam and the pagan! But the three main spaces that the *türbe* unites are pictured as the following throughout the study;

the tomb of the saint  
the temple for the visitors  
the house for the caretaker

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<sup>314</sup> Booth, Mike. *The Saint Inspector*, 10<sup>th</sup> International Film Festival of Ankara 1998, Animation, England, 1996

There are the *türbes* of both male and female saints in Ankara. The female saints were less in number but I tried to focus on them. By this way, I not only pursued the spiritual involvements of women in Ankara now, but also that of the past. I found out that while the male gender of a saint shape his genderlessness, in order to think about a woman saint, people tend to add womanly characteristics to her like being a bride, being beautiful or being pregnant. In addition to these characteristics, in order for women to be a saint, she must have an extraordinary story so extraordinary that people continue to tell even if she is a woman while many people throughout history define sainthood as *true manliness*.

Apart from being a true man, ie honest, courageous and wise etc., the personality of a saint requires her/him to be at two worlds at the same time: our world and the other world. Although womanhood apparently has not made spirituality easier until now, what is good is that being a woman also has its advantages, despite all the obstacles before it. Women are much more used to being in the two worlds at the same time due to power of regeneration that is closely related with their capability of bearing children.

We have to go back 9000 years to see the extent of the respect due to such powers of womanhood. Female clay figurines giving birth and commanding animals were found in Ankara as well as Çatalhöyük. Çatalhöyük is the first city in the whole housing history of humankind. The houses of Çatalhöyük are also used as small temples, and the dead are buried under those houses. There is no hierarchy, and the spaces are undifferentiated according to function there. One doesn't have to go as far as Çatalhöyük too see one of the clay figurines that symbolise the structure of Çatalhöyük for the world now. One of these figurines was found in Ankara, in the Bahçelievler district on the street of Taşkent where there is a Registration Office for Compulsory Military Service today.

This positioning has past and present on top of each other, represent some dichotomies: military specialisation/ undifferentiatedness of life in Çatalhöyük, dominance of men/ hidden powers of women, oppression/ spirituality. In today's

situation, spirituality can be a means of living the latter side of these dichotomies. It can be a means of being oneself despite the tradition, or the machines of state, of Islamic law, of armies and guilds or of the philosophers with their astronomy and medicine. The fact that the Turkish Military fed the capital of the tariqats against the Leftists (VII/A) shows that the dialectic of mechanisms of oppression can be quite complicated.

Spirituality can provide ground for a rebuilding of hierarchy at the same time. For example, in the new order of things of the community of the saint *Mother Love*, the Alevi's are the best people and the Arabs, the orthodox Muslims, the Jews, the Armenians are all seen inferiors. On the other hand, these aspects of *Mother Love's* life probably will not remain after her death. Because the *türbe* of the saints is usually a uniting place and a dead saint doesn't provide grounds for discrimination.

The Foundation of the living saint, of *Mother Love*, is the place where many visitors come and get healed, a function similar to that of a saintly tomb. The Foundation is now being transformed into a bigger building that is being built on the unknown tomb of one of the holy warriors of Battal Gazi. So that, even if the saint who performs is living, she is going to take power from a dead personality also. This brings us back to the threefold housing: The tomb (of the warrior of Battal Gazi) - the temple (the complex) and the house (she is already living there).

I was lucky to find a living saint, from whom I could learn about the daily life of a saint. The mission of a historian may be to pick out the "real" life story of the saint but at the same time s/he has to be aware that the stories that other people tell, deserve attention too. These stories are formed around the tomb of the saint, the *türbe*. The visits that are paid there result in different storylines. Every time one visits a *türbe*, it is multiplied because continuous visiting results in a transformation of space from merely a plastic entity to a structure of the mind.

People tend to visualise the saint as an ideal and a romantic personality. On the other hand, the community that the saint directs may be directed against other sects and this is as much romantic as the nation-state after the Reich. This is why there is a line



between a living saint and a dead saint that separates a mediator and an instrument. A living saint is a living-human-being who cannot be a mere instrument of reaching God because s/he has his/her defects, while the saint of a *türbe* is dead, so that s/he is already one with God. So that, by attending a *türbe* the visitor becomes one with God, while by attending a community of a living saint, the visitor becomes one with others while the saint becomes one with God from time to time. I have left the mosques out of this formulation because women are not yet participants of religious ritual in the mosques as houses of the holy, and the present study is about women's spirituality.

*Mother Love's* community is an example where the visitors come together with each other, forming a community. On the other hand, not all the visitors but only the Alevi ones form this community, and this is why the identity of this community is formed against the *other* defined as non-Alevi Muslims. From Suraya Faroqhi's narration of another urban saint, we see that this was also the case centuries ago. On the other hand, a saint is also able to reunite these identities. For example, although the community of *Mother Love* is Alevi and is against the current ways and means of the Sunnis, she accepts Sunnis to the meetings of her community. In this way, the current conflict between Alevi and Sunni is regenerated and resolved within the saint's powerful personality, although to the advantage of the Alevis.

I have already told that the unifying aspect of saintliness is more than this when the saint is dead. We see the *türbe* as an inter-religious and inter-sect place which fulfils the functions of a temple, a tomb and a dwelling and which is an alternative religious space for women in Turkey. Another function of *türbe* in the religion of women and the people from the bottom levels of social hierarchy is providing a fictitious personality to respect. The people at the bottom levels of authority get used to having others in between them and their religion. The saint is someone somebody can see as an important "parent" or "leader", but at the same time s/he hasn't have the power to direct the visitor's mind to thoughts that do not already exist in this mind. The living "authorities" teach them that they are sinning when they don't respect the ones to be respected. This is "useless and pointless" knowledge when it is broken from its standard context: the family life or the community life.

The *türbe* visit is a continuous habit in Anatolia and it is not always considered a major part of religious tradition in Turkey. There are only a few studies about the *türbes*. On the other hand, the *türbes* provide the sociology of religion as well as *türbe* visitors with three subjects. These subjects are; a dead person who is a friend-of-God, a place to pray, and a place to regenerate life with wishes.

The saint continues to *perform*, with his/her visitors. The saint is in the other world and this world at the same time; fulfilling thisworldly wishes by the power s/he takes from the other world and the beliefs of his/her visitors in this world as well.

Atatürk is also regarded a saint by many women with whom I talked to. This was both positive and negative. It was positive in the sense that it pictured how a defender of secular values could be seen as a sacred entity. Atatürk interrelated the *sacred and secular* with his acts as well. For example, it can be said that religion was veiled while the women were unveiled in the sense that veil signifies the capacities of religion or *women*. It is negative in the sense that the atmosphere that is created by seeing-Atatürk-as-a-saint-who-did-everything in the past prevents people from doing something for themselves. This hierarchy of the power to act exists in people's minds and hard to break. The balance between the sacred and the secular is such delicate that only the saints are thought to have the power to play with it.

Ankara the capital of the Republic is a signifier of the sacred-secular-state that reflects this balance. The oldest district of it, Ulus, is where the mosques, *türbe*'s and ancient relics are. For most people who live in other places of the city, there is little difference between the museums and Ulus itself. Ulus symbolises the Ankara before the republic. Ankara is a metropolitan urban centre and the relationships of the studied people change in parallel with urban patterns. But modernity is something else and the Ankara that was built after the republic symbolises modernity and its Ulus region which was left on its own after the restructuring is now "invaded" by the migrants from different villages of turkey who had come to live the "new life" in Ankara. The "Turkish Village" that they come from consists of close family ties

where nearly everybody is each other's relative. Ankara is intertwined with such structures now and is multi-cultural phenomena.

I am an *Ankaralı*. This is a point where the subject and object of the study may blur. But when the situation of laicist women who don't like to talk about their religion are concerned, being a part of the subject of the study, ie being woman, being Muslim and being *Ankaralı* helped me in conceiving spirituality of woman of Ankara. I have tried to reflect the patterns the most visible of which is visiting patterns, as patterns of belief and identity throughout the study and this conclusion.

As a result of this study, I was transformed, freed from automatically taking place in one of the camps to the laicism debates and began to see the possible different synthesis that individual women do in their homes. Synthesis of life and death, of laicism and Islam, being and nothingness. I saw the powerlessness of women which the people who don't like the *türbes* see as a reason for *türbe* visitation. This powerlessness is universal as described thus:

I am nothing when I am by myself. In myself, I am nothing. I only know I exist because I am needed by someone who is real, my husband, and my children. My husband goes out into the real world. Other people recognise him as real, and take him into account. He affects other people and events. He does things and changes things and they are different afterwards. I stay in my imaginary world in this house, doing things that I largely invent, and that no-one cares about but myself. I do not change things. The work I do changes nothing: What I cook disappears, what I clean one day must be cleaned again the next. I seemed to be involved in some kind of mysterious process. (MacKinnon 1989, p 88)

I was able to see the power of women to open doors out of this situation, with the help of the narrations of old women who overcame dilemmas. I was happy to reflect these doors in this study. I hope I will do more in the future.

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## Appendix

### Interview 1

<b>Date: 9.6.1997</b>	
<b>Interviewee:</b>	Ms. F.
<b>Characteristics</b>	She's 82. She's a native of Ankara and the daughter of an ex <i>müftü</i> . Her lineage is from Hacı Bayram Veli.
<b>Impressions:</b>	She was a quite restless in the beginning because she didn't know what to say. After some time, a good dialogue developed between us. She is an energetic and good-looking woman who can be a model for an ideal combination of Islam and the reforms of Atatürk.
<b>Type of Interview:</b>	In depth interview, 2+ hours

### Notes and Dialogues

Kayıt yapılamaya başlanmadan önce ben biraz kendi çalışmamdan, niye geldiğimden, karşılıklı akrabalarımızdan bahs ettik. Böylece genel bir çerçeve belirlenmiş oldu.

F: Altıntaş mahallesinde, biz 4 kız 3 erkek yedi kardeş hepimiz orada otururduk.

E: Siz daha büyük olanlardan mısınız?

F: Ben dördüncü kızım. Sonra 3 oğlan. Malum eskiden erkek evlada daha fazla fayda...kıymet verilmiş. Annem rahmetli çok küçük yaşta evlenmiş. Babam öğretmen. Evlendikleri zaman ilk kız olmuş, ondan sonra efendim, ikinci gene kız; teyzesinin adını koymuşlar, büyük ablam H.'ymiş, derken malum ya erkek evlat isterler, tekrar, eskiden bu kadar şey yokmuş, durumları iyiymiş, ikinci kızı L. olmuş. "Çok şükür Allah'ın lütfuna" demişler. Babam o zamanın zamanında çok bilgili kültürlü bir insanmış. Lise mezunuymuş. Hatta anneciğinin bir tane oğluymuş da İstanbul'a göndermemişler. Yoksa etraftan çok söylemişler, Hacı Dedemiz de, yani tüm Ali ulviye (sp?). bilgili bir insanmış, kızları da okusun istemiş. Ablamlar da hep evelndi. Biri mühendislen, biri albaylan evlendi. Hep kaybettik bunları şimdi, 7 kardeşten bir ben kaldım. Ben enstitüyü o zamanlar, -33-34'te mezun oldum, 65 sene olmuş. Hatta akrabalarımızın bazıları çok softaydı, "Ayy, R. bey kızlarını okutuyor" felan diye ayıplamış. Babam da o zaman demiş ki "ben kızlarımı okutuyorum, mektuplarını kendilerini yazsınlar, başkalarına muhtac olmasınlar, dertlerini sırlarını vermesinler" diye -o zamanlar erkeler kendi aralarında akşam toplantıları yaparlardı-

o gece toplantıda söylemiş bir sürü akrabasının ortasında, utanmış ve salonu terk etmiş. Yani bu kadar büyük bir kalabalığın içinde söylemiş babam bunu, “kızlar okuyacaklar” demiş. Ne kadar güzel etti, hepimizi okuttu. Ama ben sonra akrabaynan evlendim, mutlu günlerim oldu, efendim, 20 sene kadar böyle bir hayat sürdürdük, 4 çocuğum oldu, yani akrabalıkta bir şey durum olmadı. Annemin kardeşinin oğluydu, teyze çocuğu, galiba amca çocuğunda öyle oluyor.

E: İki de tehlikeli galiba ama.

F: Tehlikeliymiş ama olmadı neyse ki. İşte bu şekilde, sonra enstitüye devam ettim, enstitüde eğlendik felan, yalnız orada çok güzel şeyler yaşadık, Atatürk’ü bizzat tanıdım, ikinci sınıftım enstitüde, efendim, Fransızlar geldi. Mühassıslar.

E: Öğretmen olarak

F: Mühassıs olarak. Ben talebeyim. Bilmem bunlara lüzum var mı. Fransızlar geldiği sıralarda okullarda suüstümaller olmuş. İşte Atatürk’ün şeyine gitmiş ki herhalde, kontrole geldi Afet hanımla beraber. Kendi bizzat. Değişiklikler yapmak için... sonra da Fransızlar gitti.

E: Nasıl suistemaller olmuştu ki?

F: Bilemiyorum, her türlü fikirlerden, -ki o zamanlar vardı- şeyi mi beğenmedi, tedrisatı, sonra dördüncü sınıfa geçtiğimizde Alman mühassıslar geldi, onlar Deutch yani, bir Alman hocamız vardı Sullivan, çok severdi beni, bi de Yaşar hanım vardı, Türk olarak, şapka hocamız<sup>315</sup>, salondaydık, Atatürk geldi, nasıl acı çektiler nasıl kortular, ben oturuyordum, hocam başımdaydı, prova yaptırıyor, Atatürk geldi, gözlerinin içine bakılmıyor o kadar heybetli bir gözü var. Ama kendisi normal bir boydaydı. Bazı arkadaşlarıma sordu, işte orda Atatürk’le bizzat tanıştım sonra efendim Şah-ı Şah geldi Pehlevi biliyorsunuz, babası, o zaman, arkadaşlarımla konuştu. Yani ben, kendimi söylemek gibi olmasın da çok güzel zamanlarımız oldu. Hatta ufak bir de anım var, pek saçma birşey ama, efendim şimdi benim büyük ablam 32’de Sivastaydı, o sırada bütün, Almanlar geldi okula da geldiler. Her tarafa Alman mühassıslar geldi. Geldiler, işte biz havuzlu köşkte oturuyoruz, Almanlardan Sivas’a gelen Mösyö Fox diye bir Avusturyalı ablamlarda misafir, bir kızı var Çiço, derken, ben bunu, okulda, Alman mühassısa sordum, dedim ki; “frolayn” dedim, beni de çok severdi, ismimi söyleyemezdi de kısaltırdı. “Siz Avusturya Mösyö Fox tanır?” dedim, ordaki cahilane bir konuşmama bakın. Ama düşünemedim, o mösyö Fox’un Avusturya’dan ablamın evine misafir gelmesi çok büyük birşey gibi geldi. Ay, benim yüzüme bir baktı da, bazen ailede anlatırım, “Ah, F.!” dedi, “Sen, Türkiye Mehmed Ağa tanır, ben Avusturya Mösyö Fox tanır”

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<sup>315</sup>F. hanım Zübeyde Hanım Enstitütüsünde Şapka bölümünde okuyormuş.

E: (Güler)

F: Aman bir utandım, bir utandım, 15 yaşında bir kızdım o zamanlar, şu olacak şey mi

(Gülüşmeler)

F: İşte orda bir şey yaptım herhalde, o da alay etti. Bu benim okul hayatımdaki çok saçma sapan bir hikaye. Hep anlattırır yeğenim. İşte böyle yavrum.

E: Peki uzun süre kaldılar mı mösyö Fox'lar?

F: Ankara'da az kaldılar, sonra Sivas'a döndüler yine. İşte biz belediyenin yakınında oturuyorduk, tam Ankara'nın yer orasıydı.

E: Biraz daha söz eder misiniz o zamanki Ankara'dan, tam gözümün önüne getiremiyorum tabii.

F: Tabii siz çok küçüksünüz, ben bile.. Mesela babam bir tarihtir. Bizi şey yetiştirdi, okula gittik, sonra evlendik, yani Ankaralıların, çok, yani bu, Atatürk'ü karşılayan Ankaralıları var. Koç'tan ziyade, bazı Ankaralıları Atatürk'ü karşıladılar. Misafirperverlikleri meşhurdur. Ankaraya ilk geldiğini bilirim, ben çok küçüktüm, 7 yaşındaydım. Bir akşam çadır kuruldu Ankara Palasın olduğu yerde. Efeler vardı. Orada Atatürk tüm Ankaralıları karşıladı. Hep çocuklar vardı. Demek ki büyük millet meclisinin açıldığı şey o ki 23 Nisan çocuk bayramı... O zaman bizi o gece babam oraya o şenliklere fener alayına götürdü ve bize, bana ve kardeşime bir şeyler hediye edildi. Onu pek hayal meyal hatırlıyorum. Çok şükür Ankara, Ankaralıları misafirperverdir. Yalnız, Ankaralı Ankaralıyı çekemez.

E: Nasıl?

F: Onu bilemiyorum ama Ankaralıları hakikaten misafirperverdir. Canını veren insanlardır. Ama Türkiyemiz öyle, Türk milleti öyle.

E: Tabii, nereye giderseniz gidin...

\*F: Bakın benim babam da Ankara'nın Hacı Bayramındandır. Sülalesinin ahvadındandır. Hatta benim babaannem öldüğü zaman o leylek gelip şey yapmış, o türbenin yanında, onu oraya gömdüler. Orada. Bir de benim bir kız kardeşim daha vardı, onu hiç bahs etmedim, 5 kızdık. İlkokulu bitirdiği zaman ölmüş, çok güzel bir kızmış, o da orada. Hacıbayram sülalesinden. Yani şimdi 82 yaşındayım ama o gençlik hayatımın devrelerini, tarihi durumlarını hemen hemen hatırlıyorum. Ankara Atatürk'ü bile bağrıma bastı

E: Bir yabancı olarak mı?

F: Tabii, tabii evladım. Bize mükafat, Ankara'yı payitaht etti. Ankara eskiden yemyeşilmiş. Fakat sonra çoraklaşmış. Eski Ankara evleri var. Gecekondu falan hiç yoktu, çok cüzi bir nüfusu vardı. Sonra hükümet oldu meclis kuruldu. Her taraf kalkındı ama Ankara fevkalade kalkındı.

E: Babanız Hacıbayram sülalesinden, sonuçta siz de o sülaleden geliyorsunuz. Siz, Hacıbayram'ın dini tarafı hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

F: Ermiş bir insan tabii. Benim düşündüğüm, Hacı Bayram Veliullah... ne biliyim, yazıyor  
esasında

E: Benim sorduğum bilgi değil de sizin kendi tecrübeniz, düşünceniz.

\*F: Tanrının sevgili kullarından. Hatta, bakın bu Hacıbayram'ın bir hikayesi var. Bunu  
babam anlatıyordu. Bir bostancı çırağıymış. Malum Ankara'da eskiden bostanlar varmış.  
Hacca gitmiş. Hacı Bayram Veliullahın hanımı bir gün helva pişirildiğini görmüş, "Hacı  
Bayram, helvayı pek severdi" demiş. "Bana bir kap verin de ben onu ona götürüyüm" demiş.  
Gülmüş, "o hacda, bu burda" demiş. O zamanlar kapaklı sahanlara sahan-malhazır derlermiş.  
Bakırdan. Onu mahcub etmemek için helvadan koymuş "al" demiş, "götür". "Acaba kendi  
mi yiyecek yoksa götüreceksin mi" diye de merak etmiş<sup>316</sup>. Eskiden hacca gitmek aylar  
alıyormuş, şimdi uçakla 4 saatte gidiliyor. Bir de hacdan dönmüş ki, hircundan bu sahan  
çıkmuş. O zaman onda bu Tanrının verdiği inanç görülmüş işte. Hemen ahi demiş ki o zaman  
"nasıl bir hacca gitiin sen" ama oraları ben tam şeydemiyorum.

E: Peki siz hiç ziyaret eder misiniz?

F: Ziyaret ederiz, her zaman. Babam rahmetli bizi götürürdü. Ramazanlarda giderdik.  
Gittiğimiz zaman orada mevleviler dönerdi. Biz de seyrederdik.

E: İçerde mi dönüyorlardı?

F: Hacı Bayramın içerde. Gelirlerdi Konya'dan. Nasıl ki şimdi sarı külahları... hatta biz üç  
kardeş giderdik, bir kardeşim de mühendis, bir kardeşim de avukat, üç erkek kardeşim var.  
Korkmuştuk biz onlar döndükleri zaman. Şimdi böyle dini şeyler yok tabii. Atatürk kapattı  
hepsini tabii ticari olarak olanlarını, çok bilinçli bir insandı.

E: Kötüye kullanmaları engellemek...

F: Kötü kullanmaları, evet. Bzim pek bunlarla ilgimiz yoktu. Ama bakın ben eski türkçeyi  
bilirim, babamda taş mektep derler, lisede öğretmendi, efendim orda da okumuş, beş vakit  
namazını kılardı ama yobaz değildi. Hepimiz... annem belki çarşaf giymiştir ama ablalarım  
da ben de, hiçbirimiz çarşaf felan giymedik. Benim amcam Ankara'nın müftüsüymüş.

E: Oradan...

F: Evet, babamın adı da benziyor. Eşi de Ankaralı, çok güzelmiş. R. bey hacca gitmiş,  
dönerken bir elbise getirmiş. Bu hanım bir düğünde bu elbiseyi giymiş, bu E. hala -amcanın  
hanımına eskiden hala denirdi halbuki yenge denir- elbiseyi giydiği zaman herkes hayran  
kalmış. Hanımlar arasında laf olmuş, "bu elbise çok güzel, hacca gidersen sen de getirsene"  
demişler kocalarına. Memleketin ekonomisine zarar gelmesin diye bir gün gece

<sup>316</sup>Bu yemekle ilgili duyduğum ikinci mucize. Bir akrabamız da, ermiş bir kişi olduğunu düşündüğü büyük dedemi bana anlatırken, "Birgün birileri büyük deden adına bir yemek vermişler, öldükten sonra. Oğlu (büyük amcam)na da yemekten ikram etmişler, dana eti yiyormuş. 'Oh bu da ne güzel tavukmuş, canım da çok istiyordu' demiş. Bunun üzerine yemeği verenler gülmüş, 'ne tavuğu canım, dana bu' demişler. O gece büyük deden rüyalarına girmiş ve 'oğluma bir tavuk yedireyim istedim, çok mu gördünüz' demiş" (1996, Kurban bayramı sırasında anlatıldı)

oturmalarından birisinde “R. bey, siz eşinize bir elbise getirmişsiniz, bizim hanımlar çok beğenmiş, şunu bir görebilir miyiz?” demişler. Eskideen hanımların elbiseleri görülmezmiş. Ama o makul karşılamış, ve eskiden şömüneler, şömineli evler vardır ya, şömine yanıyor, kışın, oturuyorlar, sohbet yapıyorlar işte, burada büyük amcamız R. Bey, Ankara Müftüsü, getiriyor elbiseyi, herkes hayranlıkla bakıyor, hanımlarına almak istiyorlar, alacaklar, o kadar üzüntü oluyor ki, hanımlar arasında şey olmuş, memleket şey olmuş, yani, anlatamadım, hemen alıyor elbiseyi şömineye atıyor. Akıyor böyle, saf gümüş, erkeklerin dili tutuluyor. Pek ince bir düşünde, memleket hanımlar tarafından şey olmasın diye, ben anlatamadım ama. O zamanlar memleket neler geçirdi, muazzam, padişahlık devrinde. Her türlü şeyler oluyor. Memleketin ekonomisi mahvolmasın diye, hacca gidilecek, elbiseler alınacak. 25 defa hacca gitmek dinimizde yok, bir defa gidilir. Madem ziyaret edeceğiz, benim kanaatim, giden Hacılar, hacca gitmesin, okul yaptırın, hastane yaptırın, su gettirtirsin, yol yaptırın.

E: R. beyin hanımı üzülmüştür...

F: Üzülmüştür amma eski hanımlar ses çıkarabilir mi! Belki sonra telafi edip başka birşeyler aldı amma, memleket şey durumda, paralar lüzümsüz harcanmasın diye.

E: Ne zaman müftüydü?

F: Herhalde yüz seneyi geçti. Ben 82 yaşındayım ya! Daha neler duymak istersin yavrum, ne anlatayım... Mesela Atatürk döneminde çok güzeldi.

E: Evet çok güzel anılarımız olmuş

F: Okuldayken, evet.

E: Peki diğer hanımlar nasıldır, nerelere gidilirdi?

F: Mesela benim ablam da, hepsi de memleketin kalkınmasına yardımcı olmak için çalışırlardı. Maddi ve amnevi her türlü şeyi yaparlardı. Ama tabii cahiller de çoktu, ama Ankaralıların çoğu okumaya başladılar okudular. Ben üç dil biliyordum ama 60 sene oldu tabii, unuttum. Çalışmadım, ben öğretmen çıktım, Niğde’ye tayinim çıktı, kayınpederim zengindi, fabrika sahibiydi, çalıştırmayı hoş karşılamadı. Sonra çocuklar doğdu... (Mola veriyoruz, mutfağa gidiyoruz)

F: Şimdi bu zamanda dini istismar ediyorlar. Çok gereksiz.. hele bu Şevki Yılmaz’ın yaptıkları, ismini belki tam bilmiyorum, hiç hoş değil. Bizim babamız ne kadar şeydi ki bakan, Kur’an-ı Kerim’i bizim dilimizde, o arapça kelimelerle değil de. Mesela abdest alırken, derdi ki “Şart değil arapça konuşmanız. Yüzünüzü, ağzınızı.. ellerinizi yıkarken, ‘Allahım kötü şey verme, ellerime’, kulağınızı yıkarken, ‘kötüyü duyurma, gözlerim kötüye bakma, pis kokular hissetme’ ağzınızı yıkarken” derdi “güzel konuşmalar, güzel, küfür



etmeden' ayađınızı yıkarken 'dođru yola gnder' deyin" derdi. Hep bu arapadan tercmeleri... yani, "arapa konuřmanız řart deđil" derdi. O kadar bize kolaylık gsterirdi.<sup>317</sup>

E: Anlamını bilerek yapmak...

F: ok daha gzel. İřte byle...

F: Evet, peki, mesela eskiden  kardeřinizle beraber babanızın sizi Hacı Bayram'a gtrdđn sylediniz. Sonradan gitmeye devam ettiniz mi, evlendikten sonra.

F: Artık ben o tarafa, o tarafın ailesi oldum.

E: Evet..

\*F: Benim kayınvalidem, yani teyzem<sup>318</sup> ok muhterem bir insadı. Hepsisi de kltrl insanlardı. Demek istediđim.. řimdi eskisi gibi deđil, unutkanlık da var bende.... Yani dine karřı saygımız ok, tabii ki, Tanrının hikmeti byk, peygamberimiz, efendim, en sevgili kulu Tanrımızın. Ona bile mrn 64 yařına kadar uygun grmř. Ama peygamberimiz, bakın ben bazen Kur'an okuduđum zaman, tercme Kur'anım da var, orada okuyabiliyorum, arapa hi řet vermiyor, deđil mi evladım, ama arapa yazılmıř Kur'anımız. Ne bileyim, "Kuluvallah ahad"ın o kadar gzel tercmesi var ki. Allahın birliđi, herřeyi onun yaratması, herřeyin ondan gelmesi, Tanrının sevgili kulu peygamberimizin zelliđi. Ka kere evlenmiř, hatta gayri mslm bir insanla evlenmiř ki mslmanlıđı onlara da řeyetmek iin. Dinimiz kutsiyet... Bir defa abdest almak ok gzel birřey, beř vakit temizlik. Eski insanlar dinlerinde temiz deđillermiř, devamlı dinimizde abdest almayı vurgulamıř ki temizlensinler. Namaz da bir nevi idman, yani uyurukluk deđil, vcudu dinleřtirmek.

E: Siz eski yazı da biliyorsunuz deđil mi... O zaman hem arapasından hem trkesinden okuyorsunuz.

F: Kur'an-ı Kerimi'i okuyorum, onun yanında arapasından deđil trke harflarla olanından, iki Ku'an'im var, yatak odamda, bařucumda. Bazen okurum mesela, Kur'an'da kaıncı czdeydi... kadınların evlenmesi, drt tane! Hayır, kat'iyyen.<sup>319</sup> Kadınların drt tane evlenmesi ne řekile olurmuř; Btn harp zamanı imiř, erkekler gitmiř, zrriyet kalmamıř. Mecburi bir erkek, ortada kalan kadınları himayesi altına almıř ki kt yola sapmasınlar. Sonra zrriyet olsun ki hayatta, řimdiki durumda drt kadınla evlenmek deđil, o zamanın zamanında, harp zamanında btn erkekler gitmiř, tercmesi Kur'anda. Dnya dolmuř hala harp zamanında kadınlar fuhřa gitmesin diye yoksa drt tane kadın alsın diye birřey yok. řimdi az ocuk yapıyorlar, harpler de yzyze deđil, karřılıklı sng harbi deđil. Yani anlatamıyorum...

<sup>317</sup>"ocukların Tanrıları anneleridir" Brandon Lee, *The Crow*, kk kızın annesinin kolundan morfini bořaltırken.... Bu da onun gibi, iyi biřey.

<sup>318</sup>Bylece annesinin tarafı olmuř oluyor, bu tr anasoyluluklara da bakmalı, mesela giriřte de akraba evliliđinden sz ederken "amca tarafı olursa kt de teyze tarafı olursa birřey olmuyor galiba" diyordu.

<sup>319</sup>Onbir yařındayken Kur'anı ilk aıp baktıđım sralarda bilhassa merak ettiđim konulardan birisiydi.

E: Gayet iyi anlatıyorsunuz.

F: Dizimizin kudreti çok büyük ama bunu bilememişiz. Benim babacığım derdi ki, “kattiyen şey yoktur” şu, tekke değil de nedir..

E: Tarikat

F: “Dinimizde tarikat yoktur” . Tanrı, sevgili kulu peygamber.

(Bir çay daha almaya gidiyoruz, dönüşte bana enstitü zamanından kalan bir büyük çikolata kutusunu gösteriyor. O ve bir arkadaşı muhasebeleri iyi olduğu için kooperatif yapıyorlarmış, çikolata satıyorlarmış, iş bittiği zaman bütün hesaplar doğru olduğu için kendilerine bu kutu, hem de içi dolu olarak hediye edilmiş. Daha sonra çocuklarının, torunlarının evlilik resimlerini gösterdi. Kendi evliliğinin bir hafta sürdüğünden bahs etti. Bir de kendi ailesini, anne-babası, kardeşleri, anneannemin de çok benzer bir fotoğrafı vardı, baba çok ama çok asık bir surat, anne, başı kara örtüyle örtülü, bir de gri elbise-pardesü. Sonra yerimize dönüyoruz.)

F: babam dindar bir insandı ama yobaz değildi. Onu da bir düğüne çağırmışlar. Orada babamın yaşının civarında Kınacılar, Vehbi beyin ailesi... şimdi hep İstanbuldalar, Ankara'nın eski zenginleri hep oraya yerleşti. Koçlar, Kütükçüler, bunların hepsini düğüne çağırmışlar. Babam da sevilen bir insan, namazını abdestini hiç bozmamış ama dediğim gibi yobaz değilmiş. Orda içki içiliyor, demiş ki Vehbi Koç, “hocam burada, ben içmem” , bunu da babama söylemişler. Babam o kadar anlayışlı bir insanmış ki hemen bardağa suyu doldurmuş, “ben susuz içerim, hadi düğünün şerefine” diye bardak kaldırmış. Öyle hem nüktedan hem sayılan bir kişi, Allah rahmet eylesin, çok iyi bir insandı.....

E: Sizin evliliğiniz de muhteşem olmuş galiba...

F: Ah, Evet pazartesi annem kına gecesi yaptı. Salı günü kayınpeder, şirket, kereste fabrikası sahibi, o zaman bütün erkeklere yemek verdi. Ertesi gün damat şenliği, ama ben yokum damat şenliğinde, ben evimde oturuyorum, Demirlibahçe'de oturuyorduk biz, bensiz. Ertesi gün, perşembe, kayınvalide, bütün hanımlara yemek veriyor, öyle garsonlu marsonlu, 60 sene, 62 sene evvel. Sonra beni arabalaran aldılar Demirlibahçe içinde oturduğumuz havuzlu köşke.. Ah, bizim aile gibi birbirine tutkun aile yoktur, R.'nin annesi bir anlatır ki... Babam rahmetli, R.'nin annesi babamın gelini tabii, “N. hanım kızım” dermiş, hiç “N.” demezmiş, bir çocuk görse ayağa kalkarmış, pek anlatırdı “Ah kayınpederim” diye. İşte böyle, en nihayet beni gelin alıyorlar, Cuma günü cumartesi günü bitiyor.

E: Hay Allah.... peki, mesela hamama falan gidilirmiş.

F: Ankara hamamı neden yapılmış geline biliyor musun? Gümüş takımlarla gelin -bende şimdi çok güzel bir hamam takımı vardır, eskinin Fransız keteni üzerine sırmalı işlemeli-, bunlar geline verilir, veyahut kız tarafı, annesi çeyizini verir, gelini hamama götürürlermiş, oğlan tarafı, kayınvalide... Şimdi herkes açık, gelinin nasıl olduğu, vücudu meydanda,

eskiden görünür müymüş! O yüzden gelini onlar yıkarlarmış, kadının, gelinin bir kusuru var mı diye. Sonra da işte bir hazırlık düğüne, bütün akrabalar davet edilir, oğlan tarafı tamamen bütün şeylerini verir, kız giydirilir, yıkarlar felan. İşte bir nevi adet.

E: Peki genel olarak hamama çok gidilir miydi?

F: Valla biz gitmezdik. Ben hayatımda hiç hamama gitmedim. Çünkü nedeni evimizde banyo vardı o zamanın zamanında. Sonra evlerde gene banyo vardı. Bu apartman eskiyince ben müteahhite verdim de, toplam 40-50 senen oldu burada oturdum ben. Sonra da kalöriferli oldu müteahhite verince. 20 sene evvel lükstü ama şimdi...

E: Tabii sürekli yenisi çıkıyor.

(Gülüyoruz) F: Evet, işte böyle.

E: Peki kadınların biraraya geldiği yerler nerelerdi o zaman, siz hamama da gitmiyorsunuz.

F: Oturmalar vardı tabii, mesela el öpmeye götürürler gelinleri. Sonra altın günü var. Eski kına gecelerinde sırf kadınlar olurdu, tepsilerden kuru yemişler gelir, çörekler konur, orada gelini oynatırlar, geline ayrı bir kıyafet giydirilir, sonra düğün olacak, gelinliği ayrı giydirilir. Yani çok saltanatlı şeyler olurmuş.

E: Peki Hacı Bayram dışındadır.. mesela Hacı Bayram Veli'nin annesinin de bir türbesi varmış galiba oralarda.

F: Annesinin değil de, annesinin mezarı orada.

E: Türbe değil yani.

\*F: Bakın, İnönü'nün annesi de orada, İnönü'nü galiba, o da başbakan oldu ya. İnönü'nün bir yakını, annesi herhalde. O da gömülü Hacı Bayram'da. Ama benim babaannem, benim o ölen küçük kız kardeşim, Hacı Bayramın ahvadından olduğu için orada o zaman gömülmüş. Ora mezarlıkmış.

E: Ha, evet etrafı

F: Sonra kalktı bütün, mesela babaannemizin kemiklerini bile bilmeyiz.

E: Oralardadır herhalde. Ne zaman kalktı acaba

F: Çok uzun seneler. İşte epey yani, Hacı Bayram cumhuriyette vardı. Ondan daha evvel

E: mezarların kaldırılması mı?

F: Kaldırılması... ordaki mahdut mezarlarmış. Öyle tamamıyla mezar değil. O ahvada dahil olanlar, falan. Ama türbe, Hacı Bayram Veliullah'ın türbesi.

E: Birkaç tane daha türbe varmış galiba

F: Evet.

(Telefon çalıyor, konuşuyor)

E: Türbeleri nasıl görüyorsunuz, etrafınızdaki hanımlardan gidenler olur muydu?

F: Şimdi efendim, bu türbelerdeki kimseler Tanrının sevgili kulları. Öyle bir şey var ki, bazı insanlar diyor ki, "Hacı Bayram'a birşey vaadedeyim bu benim olsun". Hayır, Tanrının

sevgili kulu yüzü suyu hürmetine. Mevlana, Tanrının hakikaten, yüksek bir insan değil mi, duygulu, hisli. Mevlana bir Tanrı değil ki. O da Tanrının kulu. Sevgili kulu ve fevkalade bir insan. Mesela zamanında vaad ediyorsunuz: “Ayy, Hacı Bayram’a süpürge götürüyüm, şu işim olsun” hayır katıyyen. “Mum dikeyim”, hayır. Bunlar bir nevi cehalet. Çünkü Hacı Bayram yapmıyor ki bunu, Tanrı herşeye kadir, o. Ama onun sevgili kulları var, İstanbulda Eyüp Sultan. Ben böyle şeylere itikat ederim ama şöyle; Tanrının sevgili kulları<sup>320</sup>, Tanrı onu seviyor ya, onun hatırı için “şu benim dileğimi yapsın Allah”<sup>321</sup>. Yoksa onlar ona kadir değil ki.

E: Mezarı ziyaret etmiş olunuyor.

F: Evet, bir okuma yapıyorsunuz, bu Allah rızası için yoksa onların vasıtasıyla değil. Herşeyi yapan Tanrı.

E: Daha çok bayanlar gidiyor...

F: Bayanlar gidiyor ama benim böyle şeylere pek şeyim yok .

E: Peki eskiden sizin çevrenizde nerelere gidilirdi. Mesela dediniz ki enişteniz, onlar daha mazbut bir aileydi...

F: Mazbut bir aile değil cahil. Okumamış. Kendi okumamış, kızları da okutmamış. Ama şimdi torunları Amerika’da okuyor.

E: O aileden türbelere giden olur muydu?

F: Namazına şeyine türbelere giderdi muhakkak. Sonra teyzemizin kızları vardı ki.. ama onlar da açık fikirliydi. Babalarını onlar da sevmezdi, biraz yobazdı daha doğrusu. Nasıl ki işte şimdiki yobazlar gibi. Onun için suçlamaya gerek yok ondan sonraki aileyi.

E: Suçlamak değil zaten kasıt.... Ben türbelere gittiğimde nasıl bir yer görüyorum

F: Hacı Bayram’a gidiyorsunuzdur. Bütün kadınlar doluyor. Bir sıra süpürge götürüyorlardı, neden, camiiyi temizlemek için. Şimdi elektrik süpürgesi var bütün camiilerde. Mum götürüyorlardı, ne gereği var, şimdi elektrik var. Şimdi bakın ben Isparta’da İhlamur dede diye bir kimse var orada. İhlamur semti diye bir yer. Benim damadın annesi, cahil amma çok bilmişlerden. “Hadi seni İhlamur’a götürüyüm” dedi. Yeşillik, dereler, sular akıyor. O türbe. Oraya mum dikiliyordu. Bir sıra dedim ki “Z. hanım, niye bu mumu dikiyorlar, bu zaten ölmüş bir insan” demir yapmışlar. Eskiden çok kötüydü, kızım evleneli 35 sene oluyor. “Benim kannatım, buraya mum dikene kadar oraya para konsun da fakir fukara çocuklar sebeplensin.” “Ay F. hanım, hakikaten doğrusun” dedi. Sonra sonra o mumları götürmediler. Mesela gittiğim zaman bana ikram ederdi “hadi İhlamura gidelim” ama piknik yapmaya, yeşillik, derelik, güzel. Mis gibi kokuyor her taraf, İhlamur ağaçları. Orada da türbe. Demek ki Allahın sevgili kulu bu türbelere...

<sup>320</sup>“Friend of God”. İkinci nottaki akrabamızın kızı da türbeler konusu açıldığında aynı böyle bir açıklama yapıyordu.

<sup>321</sup>Dilekler üstüne Füsüs-ül Hikem, Muhyiddin-i Arabi; “Dilek Allah’tan dilenir, o da zamanı gelince yapar”

E: Etrafın o kadar güzel olması da bir yanda insanın içini huzurla doldurur.

F: Bu yönden mesela, etrafa bir yeşillik veriyor değil mi. Mesela pikniğe gidiyoruz, nedeni ihtiyaç. Öyle bir türbeye her türlü bakım oluyor, ve insana bir ferahlık veriyor. O da demek ki Allah'ın sevgili kulu herhalde.

E: Gördüğüm kadarıyla üniversite mezunu hanımlar da törbeleri ziyaret ediyorlar.

F: Acaba neden?

E: Onların anneleri de gidermiş, anneanneleri de

F: Manevi bir duygu. Mesela, ben şimdi şöyle evladım. Tezveren Sultan Dede varmış. Onun da türbesi varmış, ama nerde bilmiyorum.

E: Numune hastanesinin orada

F: Ha tamam, Hacettepeyi çıkınca orada. Biliyor musunuz oradaki o yol yapılırken, yıkmak istemişler, çok yıkmak istemişler. Kaç defa, kat'iyen. Gelen o grayderlerin demirleri kırılmış, demek Tanrının sevgili bir kuluydu. Herhalde ki onu oraya gömmüşler: Şimdi bir insanda bir his, "acaba..." Anlatamadım. Ben şimdi "Allahım" derim "üç Kuluvallah bir Elham okuyum da Allah rızası için Tezveren Sultan..." Yani Allah rızası için, Allah'ın sevgili kulu olduğu için yoksa Tezveren Sultan Dede ne yapabilir? Allahnan onun kendi arasında<sup>322</sup>. Eyüp var İstanbul'da, bezler bağıyorlar. Halk artık orada. Mesela Atatürk, bir nevi<sup>323</sup>, 250-300 sene sonra bir peygamber olarak tavaf edilecek. Çünkü koskoca Türk milletini kurtaran bir insan. Peygamberimiz de her türlü şeyi yapmış, Müslümanlığı indirmiş, Tanrının sevgili kuluymuş ki. Atatürk de Tanrının sevgili kuluymuş ki<sup>324</sup> türk milletini kurtarmış ve ilerde o da... Geçen gün torunum C. babasından illa ki kendisini Anıtkabir'e götürmesini istiyordu. Daha altı yaşında. Gittiler, "ne yaptınız C." dedim. "Babanne, Atatürk'e hep gelmişler, otobüsler, otobüsler" heryerden geliyorlar. Demek ki Atatürk hakikaten kutsi. Bu irtica gittikten sonra bu anlaşılacak, bu irtica tutunmaz zaten. Herkes onu tavaf edecek, tavaf değil de oradan bir şey edecek, yani bir teşekkür edecek Tanrı vasıtasıyla. O da bir evliya.<sup>325</sup>

(burada kaset bitti. Daha sonra, babasından dolayı emekli maaşı alıyor olmaktan dolayı çok mutlu olduğunu, çünkü böylece muhtac hissetmediğini söyledi. Kocasından kalan mülkler var ama yine de bu duyguyu sevdiği açıkça belli oluyordu.)

E: Ben size yine kadınların dini açıdan ne gibi şeyler yaptıklarını soracağım.

\*F: Aslında kadınlar camiye de türbeye de gidemezlerdi eskiden. Şimdi teravihe gidiyorlar. Eskiden gitmezlerdi hiç, türbeye de gidilmezdi.

<sup>322</sup>Bu güzel bir yorum, bir "deformasyon"

<sup>323</sup>Tapperların makalesinde tam aynı konuya değiniliyordu. "Elhamdülillah laikiz" gibi.

<sup>324</sup>Muhammed/Atatürk warrior saints!

<sup>325</sup>Fena fikir değil, böylece Atatürk'ü Tanrılaştırmak yerine evliyalastırınız ve "Tanrı vasıtasıyla teşekkür ettiğimiz" için devlet kuruluşları içerisinde teşekkür etmemize gerek kalmaz.



E: Evden pek çıkamadıkları için mi acaba?

F: Öyle herhalde. Şimdi bilen de bilmeyen de gidiyor, evliyanın kutsi bir hizmeti var, bu da Allah'a bağlı.

E: Ama siz gelin olduktan sonra bir daha türbeye hiç gitmediniz.

F: Ben Etlik'e gelin gittim, kocaman elli dönüm bir verdi, havuzluydu. Kadınlar gelir, pekmezler kaynardı.

E: Ankara eskiden bağmış tabii, şimdi her yer imar oldu

F: Evet, Çankaya köşkünün olduğu yeri de birisi bağışlamış.

E: Galiba *Kuşulu Park- Seymenler- Botanik Parkı* kuşağı da o şekilde tutulmuş, birisi kendi arazisine bina yapılmasını istememiş.

F: Bizim burada Kurtuluş parkı da öyle, Ankaralı eski bir kadınımdı, çoluğu çocuğu olmamış, o da "ben size burayı bağışlıyorum ama park yapın" diyerek bağışlamış. Bu 40 sene önce oldu, ben geldiğimde orası çoraktı, bir ev, birşaç ağaç vardı. Halbuki şimdi bütün kadınlar spor yapmaya gidiyorlar sabahları.<sup>326</sup>

E: Yeşillendi tabii

F: Ama eskiden de yeşilmiş Ankara. Zoro ağa "buraya ilk geldiğimde tepelerin üstü hep çamdı" demiş.

E: Zoro ağa kim?

F: Türkiye'nin çok yaşayan bir insanı. Eskiden şehrin merkezi burasıydı (Cebeci-Kurtuluş), Yenışehir'e, Kızılay'a develer gelirdi... İşte böyle.

E: Siz Etlik'e gelin gittiğinizi söylediniz. Galiba orada Ana Kadın Camii varmış.

F: Ana Kadın Hala! Bunu sorduğumuz çok iyi oldu, o bizim komşumuzdu, evi bizim evin yanında iki katlı eski bir bağ eviydi. Onların hiç çocuğu olmamıştı, kocası öldü, ev bark Ana Kadın Hala'ya kaldı. O da "cami yapın" diye vasiyet etti. Hatta benim kaympederim ve iki tane de tüccar orası için para verdiler. Mescit gibi oldu ilk önce, merdivenle çıkılırdı, geniş ahşap bir binaydı. Son durağın olduğu yerdeydi, hala da duraktır önü. Ben buraya taşındıktan sonra orası Vakfa gelir sağladı, oraya dükkanlar yapıldı. Sonra Vakıf orayı yeniden yaptırdı. (Son 10 dakikadır salonda olan oğlu, "Nurcular" diyor)

E: Mezarı da orada mı?

F: Hayır, köyüne götürdüler, kocası Ekmekçi Hacı İbrahim Efendi'nin yanına.

Benim kocamın da sesi çok güzeldi de birkaç defa o camiiden ezan okumuştü. Çocuklarım da oraya temizliğe giderlerdi hayrat olarak.

E: Şimdi gidiyor musunuz oralara?

F: Gidemiyorum.

E: Peki Ulus'a en eski evinizin olduğu yerlere?

F: Oralar yandı zaten, çok güzel evlerdi, haremlikli selamlıklı. Ama dediklerine göre itfaiye bir yandan yangını söndürürken bir yandan da gaz döküyormuş, istimlaka para vermemek için.



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<sup>326</sup>Görüşmenin başından beri sorup durduğum “kadınlar beraber ne yapar” sorusuna, kendi haline yakışır, modern bir yanıt gibi.

## Interview 2

<b>Date: 7.12.1997</b>	
<b>Interviewee:</b>	Ms. H.
<b>Characteristics</b>	She's 82 years old. She's from Edremit, a migrant from Filibe. She's been in Ankara till 1933.
<b>Impressions:</b>	Overweight, has problem in moving. Her head is covered with a thin <i>tülbent</i> . She welcomed me in the dialogue. Afraid that she couldn't be of any help. Her experiences about the other religions in Turkey and her life in Ankara afterwards are interesting. She is typically/ patriarchally negative about "womanhood" but thinks that it is important for women to read and write.
<b>Type of Interview:</b>	In depth interview, 2+ hours

### Notes and Dialogues

- Ninesinin babası 7 kere hacca gitmiş gelmiş. Yedi kere hac sık karşıma çıkan bir tema. Onun için de önemli görünüyor çünkü böyle bir örneği ailesinde bir çok "ruhani" kişilik bulunan F. Hanım da vermişti. Daha sonra ailesindeki dindar kişileri sorduğumda H. Hanım da yine ninesinin babasını söyledi.
- Ninesinin kocası da bir genç imammış ve sesi çok beğenildiği için evlenmelerine karar verilmiş. "Çok güzel bir çift"lermiş. Bizim güzelimiz hep gelecekte gibi. Halbuki kendi geçmişi ve "ced" di hakkında gerek tecrübeye gerek fotoğraflara gerekse hikayelemeye dayanan bir görsel bilgi sahibi olan insanlar geçmişlerinde böyle güzellikler yaratıyorlar. Bunu 3'te de göreceğiz.
- **Başka Din:** "Benim aklım erdiği zaman -15 yaşındaydım- Yunanlıları topluyorlardı. Ondan önce hep birarada yaşarlardı Müslümanlarla onlar, komşuydular. Ama tabii Ermeniler falan o sıralar Müslümanlara çok hakaret etmişler. Sonra toplu halde öldürüldü, kaçamayanlar. Kaçan kaçıyordu, kalanları zeytinlikte toplayıp vurdular. Aklım ermiyordu o zaman, zeytinliğin orda dolaşmışım, dedem annemi azarladı ne bırakıyorsun bunu diye, ya serseri kurşun gelirse diye, annem de bana tokat attı."

M. Çocukları da öldürüyorlar mıydı?

H: Çocukları da öldürüyorlardı. Bazıları müslüman evlerine saklanıyorlardı. Alırsın tabii evine o kadar zaman birlikte yaşamışsın, bazıları saklıyordu öyle. Ama mesela dayım Yunan'lılara karşı çete olmuş o sıralar.

- **Kadınların okuması:** “yeni yazı çıktığında eskinin üçüne gidiyordum mahalle hocasına. Sonra annem yenisine yollamak istemedi “gavurun yazısını” öğrenmeyeyim diye. Heralde mahalle hocası değilmiş ki 10 lira ceza vermişti o zaman. Çok iyi bir anneydi benimkisi, hiçbirseyden kızmam da bu yüzden kızarım ona. Sonra kendi kendime öğrendim. Kocam Rüşdiyeliydi, getirdi bana eski alfabeyi ve yeni alfabeyi, “bunları karşılaştırarak öğren” dedi. Kaçırمام hiç gazetede ki havadisleri.”

M: 1933'te Ankara'ya geldiniz.

H: Evet, bize Kazım Karabekir'in köşkünü verdiler, bomboştu yerleştik. Kocam askeriyyeye girdiği için. Orada bir albay vardı, askeriyyede, onun karısı da Bursalı diyerekten rahmetli kocam da Bursalı diyerekten *gelir giderlerdi bizi severlerdi*. Annem vardı, kocamın maaşı 49 lira, biz iki çocuk annem geçinirdik. Sonra rahmetli anneme o albay, adını hatırlayamıyorum da çok iyi bir adamdı “teyze sen evde yemek yapıp da bizlere versen e” Yani kumandanlara çavuşlara, maaş alanlara. O zaman burada bakkalı yok çakkalı yok yiyecek yok lokantası yok birşey yok. Mutfak da büyüktü. Şimdi Kızılcahamam dolmuşlarının kalktığı yere geldik o zaman Etlik'te, orası da kocaman. Bir eri yardımcı vermişlerdi bize, annem gerçi ona kıyamıyordu, ayıp olur diye sadece alışverişe yolluyordu, neyse kumandan, adı Yakub beydi, “teyze sana iki tane daha yardımcı vereyim yemek için, yap, sat” dedi, verdi. Orada iki sene askeriyyeye yemek yaptı.

M: Siz de yardım ediyor muydunuz?

H: Yok ben etmezdim, bir taneyim diye. Dikiş dikerdim, eskiden yama yapılırdı afedersin, onları yapardım.

M: Anneniz güzel yemek yapar mıydı?

H: Şahane yapardı. En çok da Yunanlıların yemeklerini yapardı. Ege'de bile kerevizi enginarı pek bir kimse bilmezdi, ama o yapardı. Ben de tabii öğrendim ama o öldükten sonra. İnsan başa düşünce hepsini yapıyor.

M: Burada dolaşma fırsatı bulur muydunuz?

H: Evet her yerlere giderdik. At arabaları vardı, gahni arabası derler, ben bu Ankara'ya geldiğimde öyle geldim. *İki koca teker, öküzler çeker*, o araba başladı mı yürümeye gıcır gıcır gacur gacur gacır. Dışkapı'da pazar vardı çarşamba günleri annemle kocam giderlerdi, öteberi alırlardı, 150 kuruş bütün harcamaları. Biz 49 lirayla çok rahat ettik de sonunda tutturdu kocam askeriyyeden çıkacam diye “yapma, etme” dedik dinlemedi. O zaman Dışkapı'ya geldik, Solfasol köyü vardı, orada bir ev tuttuk. Sonra kocam öldü, annem de öldü, ben kaldım. Çalıştım, dikiş diktim askeriyyeye, hava hastanesi yeni açılmıştı Etlik'te. Kocamın emekli parası yok birşeyi yok. Çok sonradan ayrılanlara da hak verdiler ama biz uğraşp da almadık bu sefer de. Samanpazarı'nda da teyzem vardı, lokantaları vardı, evvela

sebzeceydi, bir kasapın şekerinin ortasında. Gelen sebzelerden doldurur oğlumun sırtına yüklerdi. Allah aç bırakmıyor insanı.

M: Dinle aranız nasıl?

H: Dinimizi çok şükür biliyoruz ama erbakancı gibiyim dersem yalan söylerim. Şimdi, elli yaşına kadar namazımı kılmadım, saklayacak değilim ya, çalışıyordum, kılmıyordum, kılanlar da vardı çalışanlar içinde de ben kılmıyordum Ellisinden sonra, kızım öldü kocam öldü anam öldü babam öldü, hiç kimse kalmayınca demek ölüm var dedim başladım, Allaha çok şükür şu halimlen bile kılabilirim. Dini Allah bilir içindeyse o vardır. Kendim de bilemem.. Bazen namaza dururum şeytan getirir aklıma fesat birşey (gülüyor)

M: Başınız hep örtülü müydü?

H: Namaz kılmaya başladıktan sonra örtmeye başladım. Gençken açıktı tabii.

M: Annenizin?

H: Annem, anneannem onlar dindardı, hep örtülüydü başları. Teyzem vardı o bile açmadı, lokantası olan. *Bir başı açık olan bendim yavrum.* Çalışmaya başladım başı açık Örttüm desem yalan olur.

M: Ankarada hiç türbe biliyor musunuz?

- H Ankaranın köyünde bir türbeye gittiydik ama... Hatırlıyamıyorum da Hacı Bayram'da vardır türbe tabii. Biz zaten oraya yakın oturuyorduk. Mesela arada bir hani Ramazanlarda filan namaza gidiyorduk. Kuran dinlemeye vaaz dinlemeye falan gidiyorduk. Aşağı yukarı 1944'lerde

M: Çocukları da alıyor muydunuz?

H: Onlar yoktu, eşim de, o beş vakit namazını hiç kaçırmazdı. Biz komşularla falan camiye giderdik. Caminin yanına türbe sonradan açıldı. Giderdik yani. Nereye giderdim ben yavrum, biyere giderdik ama... Biz esas Bursa'da çok giderdik, orada piknik de yapardık, ya

M: Kadın evliya duydunuz mu hiç oralarda ya da buralarda

H: Duymadım, orda yok da... birisi vardı galiba, olduğunu duydum, yaşıyormuş.  
(telefon çalıyor evde kimse olmadığı için ben bakıyorum)

H: Hatırlıyamıyorum, bir beş on sene önce duydum ilk. Ama kadın evliya yok yani.

M: Ben soruyorum çünkü esas olarak Ankara'daki kadın evliyalarla ilgileniyorum. Peki sizce niye kadın evliyalar daha az oluyor?

- H: Kadınlar biraz akılsız oluyor galiba yavrum. *Gülüyor*, öyle öyle, tam bağlanamıyoruz herhalde. Bir şeylik var, yani diyorum ya, namaza duruyorum mesela sokuyor aklıma bir düşünce, "şeytan defol içimden" diyorum öyle gidiyor. Ama neye yarar fesatlık yapıyor... Ama ne olursa olsun, kendine bakacaksın, iyilik yapacaksın, hatır kırmayacaksın, anana babana çok hürmet edeceksin...



M: Bana sanki evin içinde daha dindar, ya da daha doğrusu “ruhani” olan kadınlarmış gibi geliyor ama, sizce doğru mu?

H: Ruhani... Yani var ama yavrum bir yandan da şeytani bir taraf var. Birşeye canım sıkılıyor mesela, kuruyorum kuruyorum kuruyorum kuruyorum, sonra namaza duruyorum, hoop yine aklıma geliyor. “Defol git” diyorum “şeytan defol git başımdan” Allaha yalvarıyorum, “ne olur Yarabbim” diye.

M: Bir hanımla bir röportaj vardı<sup>327</sup>, o da aynı şeyden söz ediyordu, dualar arapça olduğu için aklına sattıkları malların listesi geliyormuş, sizce bunu dua diliyle bir alakası var mı?

- H: Vallahi yavrum, okuduğum kadar biliyorum ama eski yazının tamamını bilmiyorum. Ne eski yazıya yaradım ne yeni yazıya. Annem çok iyi bir anneydi ama şey ederim beni okutmadığı için. Yani mesela dikiş diktim bugün üç kuruş para alıyorum, kimseye muhtaç değilim, ama daha iyi bir yerde.... Mesela damadım derdi “anne sen okusaymışsın devlet idare edermişsin” diye.

M: Evet, maşallah. Ankaralı hanımların da çok iyi ev hanımı oldukları çok iyi ev idare ettikleri söyleniyor. O da bir idare.

H: Bir arkadaşım vardı kasap, Nuriye, sonra o da öldü. Eniştesiyle evlendirmişlerdi ablası ölünce, enişte de amcasının oğlu. İki çocukları oldu ikisi de öldü. Kalede otururlardı.

M: Ankaralı kadınlar sanki iyi ev idare ediyorlar, güçlü oluyorlar diye duydum.<sup>328</sup>

H: Güçlü, onların gücü maldan, evden. Malı olan idare de eder. Onların malı vardı ondan idare ederlerdi. Benim doludur Ankara’lı tanıdığım, malı olmayan hiçbirşey yapamazdı. Bazıları çalışırdı benim gibi. Tekrar kocaya verilirse verilirdi verilmesse otururdu çocuklarıynen beraber. Velhasılı kelam, kadının şansı yavrum, kadınların kadın olarak Yarabbül alemin, Allah’ın gücüne gitmesin biraz eksik yapmış bizi.

M: Belki “telafi edilir”dir?

H: Edilir ama şimdi edilir. O zamanlar ne yapılabilirdi ki... Çayını iç yavrum!

M: ....(çayımı içiyorum).... Daha önce de söz ettik, acaba bildiğimizden daha çok kadın evliya olabilir mi?

H: Şimdi yavrum, Bursa evliya kaynardı ordaki bütün türbeleri bilirim. Gün yapardık, adak yapardı yani. Yemekler yapardık çağırırdık fakir fukarayı.

M: Burda yapmadınız... Hacı Bayram’a ne zamana kadar gittiniz?

H: On sene evveline kadar gidiyordum. Ben zaten o zaman Edremit’te ev aldık, uzun süre orada kaldım. Bir bu sene bacağıım yüzünden burdayım sobam kurulu duruyor evde. Orada

<sup>327</sup> 1.12.97, Radikal, s.8, Konca Kuriş- Avni Özgürel

<sup>328</sup> Y.K. Karaosmanoğlu, Ankara

penceremi aç gül kopar, vişne ağaçları kiraz ağaçları yeni dünyalar sonra elmalar hep kurudu ben gidince.

M: Yazık... Ankara'daki kadınlara dönecek olursak, neler yapıldı siz gençken Ankara'da.

H: Yavrum valla kadın her yerde aynı. Ankarada da bir başka yerde de bir. Ne yapılacak toplanılırdı, yemekler yapıldı. Bol bol yemek yapıldı. Namaz kalan namazını kılar, kılmayan kılmaz, böyleydi yavrum. Şimdi nasıl görüyorsan biliyorsan, aynen kör olayım öyleydi.

M: Hamama filan gidilir miydi?

H: Konuşuldu, sözleşilirdi, gününbirlik gidilirdi. O iş değil ki.

M: Peki bu kadınların davranışları cumhuriyetten sonra değişti mi? Yani Atatürk haklarımızı verdi deniyor, acaba böyle mi oldu yoksa hakları için uğraşan kadınlar var mıydı?

H: Ben o zamanlar küçüktüm, Edremit'teydim. İstasyonla gelir giderdi Atatürk, ben onuncu yılı hatırlıyorum o zamanlar. (Ben: Onuncu yıl, Yunanlıların öldürüldüğü sıralar?, telefon çalıyor, bu konuda konuşmaya hiç gönüllü gözüküyor)

(Telefona bakıyorum yine)

H: Kızım bence sen bu din meselelerini merak ediyorsan Ayşe Özgün'ü seyret. Ben hiç kaçırmıyorum, dindarlar geliyor oraya. Bütün konuşmalar veriliyor, her şey veriliyor. Ne işte o adamcağız çok güzel cevaplar veriyor.

M: Yaşar Nuri Öztürk?

H: Evet. Gelenler de çok güzel sualler soruyorlar, erkekler falan, çok güzel. Kimizi iman ediyor kimizisi etmiyor, Allaha kalmış birşey.

M: Peki sizce kanunlar, cumhuriyetten sonraki mesela tekke ve zaviyelerle ilgili olan, insanların davranışlarını, inançlarını değiştirdi mi?

- H: Eskiden çok karışıkmiş yavrum. Mesela şeymiş bu ölenler evliyalar esas belki evliya değildi. Bilemeyiz onu. Belki din üzerinde felsefe yapıyordu, onu bütün millet dindar biliyordu. Kimin söylediği aklıma yatarsa ben onu tutuyorum. Şu yaşta bile öyle yapıyorum. Mesela bazı şeyi söylüyorlar da düşünüyorum düşünüyorum, böyle olsa daha iyi olur diyorum.

M: Mesela nasıl düşünceler?

H: Din üzerinde felsefeleri yani bilgileri, mesela yorumları: biri başka türlü yorumluyor biri başka türlü yorumluyor hangisi aklıma uyarsa onu kabul ediyorum ben. Bazı bakıyosun hiçbirini kabul etmiyorum, kendim diyorum Allaha havale ediyorum. Ama birşey var ki mutlaka ölecez yavrum, mutlaka bir iman yolu var. Var ama işte onu bulup yakalamak mesele.

M: Bu konuda yol göstericiler olmalı mı sizce?

- H: Gerekli. Ama işte çok kişi olduğunda bakarsın akla hangisi yatkın. Ben o programı izlerim hep. Eskiden de mesela, 3-5 tane kadın alınıyormuş peygamberin zamanında, bak işte bir tarafım da böyle sakatlanıveriyor hemen, tam karar vermişken. (gülüyor) Bir tarafım da gene bombok çıkıyor afedersin. Allah günahımız varsa affetsin.

M: Peki sizce kanunların etkisi ne?

\* H: Güzel ama bu kanunları kim koyuyor, sen ben koyuyoruz. Ama noluyor, kanun yapıyor, dolap çeviriyor, fakir fukaranın sırtından alıyorlar. Kanu mu bu, hak mı bu, din mi bu? Yarın gene seçim olacak gene gelecekler gene yok edecekler, ben şu yarım aklımla öyle düşünüyorum. Yavrum, kimsenin hakkını yemezsen, herkesin hakkını verirsen, Allaha da iman edersen.. başka yapacak şey yok. Sağ şunu demiş sol şunu demiş dinlemeyeceksin. Bütün kötülüklerden sözlerden elini ayağını çekeceksin. Benim şu konuştuğum bile günah, belki iyiler de ben kötü görüyorum.

### Interview 3

Date: 10.12.1997	
Interviewee:	Ms. A.
Characteristics	University professor, 55 years old, grew up in Istanbul. Circassian. She's been in Ankara since 30 years.
Impressions:	It was a very interesting interview. She deals with positive science and her combinations of Islam and <i>modern-life</i> is as interesting as Ms. F.'s. She didn't try to hide anything, she stated all her thoughts openly. Her narration of her laicist friends with whom she attends the <i>türbes</i> with helped me to view <i>türbe</i> attendance from different views.
Type of Interview:	In depth interview, 2+ hours

#### Notes and Dialogues

M: Ankara'da gittiğiniz dini ziyaret yerleri var mı?

A: Evet. Ne deniyor onlara yatır mı, oraları pek tercih etmiyorum çünkü orada ibadet edilmiyor. Ben daha çok camiye gitmeyi seviyorum, hele de evliyayı ziyaret etme amacıyla camiye gitmeyi. Dolayısıyla birçok insanın camiye gitmesiyle biraz farklı. Ben camiyle bir evliyayı ziyareti ayırd etmiyorum. Aslında ben semt camiisine Ankara'da gitmedim. Ankara'da Hacı Bayram'a, İstanbul'da Eyüp Sultan'a gidiyorum. Böylece hem bir bu kişileri ziyaret ediyorum, küçükken büyüklerimle beraber gidiyordum, hem de camiide ibadetimi yerime getiriyorum. Böyle böyle bir alışkanlık kazandım. Özellikle İstanbul'da böyle evliyalarm bulunduğu pek çok küçük türbeler vardı. Belirli amaçlarla o türbelere gidilirdi. Mesela küçük yaşta bir çocuk için bu sınıf geçmek olabilir, yani çok masum amaçlı şeyler.

M: Belli amaçlar için gidilen belli türbeler var mı bildiğiniz?... Mesela Telli Baba gibi?

A: Bilemiyorum, olabilir, mesela "hadi şurdaki evliyaya gidelim" denebilir. Ama benim yetiştiğim zamanda şimdi ortalıkta olan dinsel öğeler yoktu. İnsanlar büyüklerinden öğrendikleri gibi yapıyorlardı. Yani çıkar diye bir şey yoktu. Tabii istemek de bir çıkar, evliyayı vasıta yapmak da bir çıkar ama bunlar hep masum çıkarlar, masum olmasalar bile kimseye bir zararları dokunmuyor, topluma da zarar vermiyorlar. Şimdikinin amacı toplumu belli bir yöne sürüklemek.

M: Peki acaba bu deęişim ne zaman, neyle beraber gerekleřti. Mesela Cumhuriyetin nasıl bir etkisi oldu da sonra deęiřti, kendinizden, annenizden, evrenizden gözlemlediđiniz kadarıyla?

A: Annem ve teyzelerim Cumhuriyet ocuklarıydı. Aslında kokenleri İstanbul olduđu için bunlar hibir zaman bařı kapalı kadımlar deęildi. Aslında annem 1910 doęumlu teyzelerimden ondan buyukleri de var kucukleri de, Osmanlı'yı yařamıřlar. Benim bildiđim annem bařını hi kapatmamıř, resimleri var bařı aık. Annem İstanbul'da kız lisesine gitmiř ortaokul tahsili var, muhasebecilik ğrenimi gormuř. Dolayısıyla annemin yařamında kapalı bir tore yok, yani bař kapama diye birřey yok. Belki ablaları belirli bir sure için kapamıřlardır. řyle birřey hatırlıyorum; annemin vey annesi 1960'larda 70 yařındaydı galiba, bu hanım, ok dindardı, řapka devrimleriyle birlikte, arřaf varmıř stunde mantoya evirmıř. Hibirzaman bařını amamıř, hep eřarp varmıř. Kimse de onu zorlamamıř. Dedem, anneannem ldikten sonra bir yerde hakimlik yaparken kasaba gibi bir yerden almıř bu hanımı. O yzden bu kadar konservatif herhalde. Ben bir tek orada bir kapalılık gryorum, diđerleri aıktılar. Buna rađmen Ramazan'da teravih'e gidilirdi. ok yakındı, İstanbul'da camiiler oktur, kucuk kucuk otantik. Benim ocukluđumda bađıra bađıra ezan okunmazdı. Byle insana ok rahatlık veren sesler gelirdi. Teravihe biz ocukları da gtrrlerdi. Herhangi bir řekilde birisi eřarbın herhangi bir řekilde yamulmuř ya da tırnađnda oje var diye bir uyarıda bulunursa annem camiiyi terkederdi. evrenin yařlı kadınları falan soylerdi. Annem de "birdaha da gelmiycem" der ıkardı. Ama ertesini Ramazan'da yine giderdik. Bir duygudur Ramazan'ın geliři, toplumsal bir rahatlıktır, heyecandır. Televizyon da yoktu o sıralar. Bunları neden camiilere gitmekten hořlandiđımı anlatmak için soylyorum.

M: Kadımlar daha ok teravihe mi giderdi?

A: Erkekler daha ok gider, ama yakın olduđu için kadımlar da giderdi, tıklım tıklım olurdu. Kadımlar için ayrı bir yer vardı, Hacı Bayram'da olduđu gibi. Tahtaperde gibi birřeyle ayrılmıřtı ama ayrıntıları ok iyi hatırlamıyorum. Ama biz giderdik, biz de katkıda bulunuyoruz diye giderdik.

M: Cemaatin parası gibi mi?

A: Evet, toplumun. Ve de insanların bir rahatlaması bu. "Ay ne abuk bitti" denirdi Ramazan geldiđinde, tutarlardı, tutmazlardı o deęiřirdi. Alevi deęildiler ama Bektařilikle ilgileri vardı. Hısım akrabalar da vardı. nk Rumeli kokenliler. Bektaři deęillerdi aslında ama tam kurala uymazlardı. \*Annem, bařı aık, tuvalet giyen, Cumhuriyet balolarına katılan bir insan. Bu kadın her cuma gn, kendi kendine evde oturur, ok gzel sesiyle Kuran okurdu, Arapa okurdu. Eski yazı biliyordu, eski yazılı okula gitmiř ama ortaokulu yeni yazıyla bitirmiř. Evde Fransızca ğretilmiř, tarih bilirdi. Evet, Kuran-I Kerim'i okurdu. Ben de



dinlerdim. Namaz da kıları. Camiye teravih gibi giderdi, bir süre sonra kesti onu. Dinin sömürülmeye başladığını gördüğü zaman, 1950'lerden sonra kesti.

M: 50'ler?

A: Ezan Arapça okunmaya başlandı. Belki daha uzak semtlere de taşındık. Ama Kuranını hep okurdu, elinde oje de olurdu ama başını örterdi. Oruç da tutardı, son zamanlarında perhiz yapması gerekti, tutmadı, bu onun için sorun değildi. Kolları açtı bazen, denize de girerdi, ama onu da yapardı.

- Bunları birbirinden ayırtırdı. Ayırırıldı yani, kardeşleri de.

M: Nasıl ayırırıldı?

A: Yani, "mayıyla da gezerim ama Kuranımı da okurum. Bu benimle Tanrı arasında bir iletişim" diye düşünüyorlardı. Aynı şeyleri düşünüyorum. Babamın çok erken ölmesi de bir varlığa bir büyüğe bağlanma ihtiyacını doğurdu. Herşeyi kendi çapımda Tanrıyla iletişim kurarak halletmeye çalıştım. İstediklerim de oldu. Ama herhalde ben de çok çabaladım. Çok büyük sıkıntılarım olurdu yaşam tarzımdan dolayı, onları da bu iletişimle çözdüm.

M: Bu bağlamda ruhaniyet lafının bir geçerliliği var mı. Kullandığınız bir kelime midir bu?

A: Hayır.<sup>329</sup> Ben kendimce ibadet ediyorum ama koskoca Tanrının benim ettiğim bir iki harekete ihtiyacı olduğunu sanmıyorum. Benim Tanrıya ihtiyacım var. Benim de o hareketlere şöyle ihtiyacım var: Ben Tanrıyla iletişimi nasıl kurayım, bana nasıl öğretmişlerse öyle yapıyorum. Tanrıya ulaşmak için bir yoldur, ben de öyle iletişim kurduğumu sanıyorum. Bu sanma da beni rahatlatıyor. Onu çok seviyorum, bana yardım ediyor. İhtiyacım olduğu zaman hiçkimseden birşey istemiyorum. "Tanrı bana yardım eder" diye düşünmek benim için büyük bir güven. Ben de elimden geleni yapıyorum, belki ben yapıyorum ama ben Tanrı yapıyor diye düşünmek istiyorum. İnanmak daha çok işime geliyor. Benim gibi kadın çok. Başka bir gözle bakacak olursam, benim çevremde benim gibi yaşantısı olan ama sıkıntıları benim kadar olmamış arkadaşlarımda da benzer şekilde davrandığını görüyorum, benzer

\*şeyler yaptığını görüyorum. Ve bütün bunlar müspet ilimle uğraşan insanlar.

M: Onlar da mesela Hacı Bayram'a gidiyorlar mı?

A: Gidiyorlar. Ya da mesela biz konuşup hadi gidelim diyip beraber gidiyoruz, eğlence şeklinde. Nasıl eskiden annemle gidiyorsak, bu kişilerle de öyle gidiyoruz. Bu kişilerle partilere de gidiyoruz. Belki dinin dışında giyiniyoruz ama bu beni rahatsız etmiyor. Ben sevgiyle çok şeyin hallolacağına inanıyorum. Bilmiyorum büyükler de böyle mi inanıyordu

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<sup>329</sup> Ruhaniyet lafını yaşayan evliya hanım da hiç sevmeydi. İslam'da cin var melek var ama ruhlardan söz edilmiyor. Bireylerin ruhlarından da söz edilmiyor. Bu söz *ruhbanlığı* da çağırıyor, bu yüzden "ruhaniyet"i olan (kendileri kabul etmiyorsa bu ne demekse) insanlar pek tutmadılar bu lafi. Başka bir laf bulmalıyım. Var mı? İman.

ama ben Tanrının sevgiyle bağdaştığına inanıyorum. Benim anlayışında korku yok. Büyüklerimde var mıydı bilmiyorum. Olsaydı belki beş vakit namaz kılarlardı. Ama sevgi, Tanrı sevgisi, başkalarını da sevmeyi kolaylaştırıyor. Ben zaman zaman namaz kılarken, oruç tutmaya çalıştım ama olmadı hasta oldum... Yararı var diyorlar ama oruç tutarsam yapmam gerekenleri yapamıyorum, başka işlerim kalıyor, çoluğum çocuğum annemin işleri kalıyordu. Baş örtmenin de yararı olabilir ama bilemiyorum. Camideyken örtüyorum, ama sadece başımı örtüyorum, bahçesindeyken de başımı da örtmüyorum. Kuran okurken de gençken örterdim, sonra herhalde eşimin de etkisi oldu "ne fark var açık veya kapalı olması arasında" dedi, ondan bir süre sonra örtmedim. Ama şimdi yaşılanıyorum herhalde, tekrar örtüyorum, öyle görmüşüm.

M: Arapçasını mı Türkçesini mi okuyorsunuz?

A: Arapça bilmiyorum ama Arapça okuyorum, türkçesini okumuyorum, okursam benim bütün o güzel duygularımın bozulabileceğinden korkuyorum. Aslında ibadetlerin sebepleri, yararları hakkında çok düşündüm ve bazı insanlarla da konuşmak istedim gençken. Ama çok büyük tepki gösterdiler açık açık konuşmaya. Dindar, sofı insanlardı. Bir iki tanesi erkek, birkaç kadın, yaşlıca kadınlar. Erkekler gençti. Benim nedenlere bağlamamı kötü karşıladılar, "Tanrı vahiy yoluyla böyle istemiş yapılır" diye. Tanrı niye beni cezalandırsın, ben elimi defalarca kere yıkamışım niye elimi ayağımı beş kere daha yıkayım. Ama Arabistanda pislik varmış, uygarlıktan uzakmış, hayat şartları çok kötü, okuma yazma yok. Herhalde o toplumu düzene sokmak için. Mesela kadınları koruyamıyorlar, kadınlar sokaklarda, kölelik var. Kadınlar yarı bellerine kadar açık, ve karşı cinse de belki bir çeşit uyarı oluyor. O yüzden kapanma "boynunuzdan altını kapatın"mış diye de duydum. Ama ben okumadığım için bilmiyorum. İlahiyat fakültesinden çok aydın bir profesör de "köle olmayan kadınları köle olanlardan ayırmak için. Köle olanlara herşey yapılabiliyormuş, ayırd etmek için de köle kadınlar açık yaşasın, hanımefendiler kapansın" denmiş.

M: Biz şimdi 1500 yıl sonrasından baktık mı birçok koşul kötü geliyor. Belki bizim zamanımıza da 1500 yıl sonra baksalar başka kötü durumlar, eksiklikler görünecek. Böyle bakılabilir mi?

A: Aslında evet. Kuran sadece bazı ibadetlerden söz etmiyor. Orada bir toplum düzeni de var. Yani hem hukuk, hem, ne demiştin, ruhsal kısmı var. Fıkıh ve dinsel kısım, iman, inanma. Şeriatın ruhsal kısmı yok galiba ama. Bir toplum düzeni, kurallar. Biz kurallara uymuyor muyuz? Yasalar yapılmıyor mu? Ortak kurallar koymak lazım ki herkes uysun. Avrupa'dan alıyoruz, uyduruyoruz mesela kendi sistemimize. O da, ne yaptığını bilen bir insan olarak, başka türlü inandıramazdı o kitleyi. Benim için Atatürk de peygamber. Toplumunu yönlendiriyor, ve bunlar akıllı bir adamın yaptığı işler.

M: İçki içmek akıllı bir adamın yaptığı bir iş mi?

A: Çok şeker veya çok ekmek yemek de değil. Ama hiç kimseye bir zararı yok. Topluma zarar verecek boyutlarda yaparsan.. onun için de kurallar konmuş. Trafikte içki içemiyorsun. Yasakların nedenleri var. Ama bir parmak içeni alıkoymuyorlar trafikten. Peygamberin de, toplumu düzene sokacak kuralları koymak konusunda seçilmiş, yani, çok zeki bir kişi olarak aracılık ettiğini düşünüyorum. Atatürk de seçilmiş bir kişi. Bize de düşünebilecek beyin verilmiş. Bu işin bir başka boyutu da bunların yazılı olmayışı. Ölümünden sonra anlatılanlar geçmiş. (Hadis mi?) Elden ele dolaşırken, yazılı bile olsa bozulabilir. Çeşitli şeyler duyuyorum bu konularda ama inançlarımı zedelemem için fazla irdelemiyorum. Benim amacım başka, ben rahatlamak istiyorum, terapi yapıyorum ben ama başka türlü. Ben Tanrımı seviyorum, dualarımı okuyunca da görevimi yaptığımı hissediyorum, rahatlıyorum. Ama tabii kuralların doğru aktarılmış olmayabilecek olmaması beni rahatsız ediyor. Ben bir arkadaşına birşey sözylediğimde 4/3 doğrusunu duyuyorum ertesi gün. O da en çok. Demek ki çarpıtıyor, ya da yarım yamalak anlıyor o arkadaş. Ben bu yaşında bunları gördüm, hiçbirşey yüzde yüz anlaşılmıyor, çarpıtılıyor. Nitekim öyleymiş, bunu din adamları söylüyorlar. Hadis ne tam bilmiyorum, peygamberin söyledikleri mi sonradan söylenenler mi ama bunlarda çok çarpıtma varmış. Vefatından sonra da çok şey eklenmiş, çıkarma öyle gelenler eklenmiş. Bir şey daha öğrendim, ülkemizdeki dini olaylar sırasında herşey ortalara döküldü o sırada. Derler ki, dinimizde birçok mezhep var, şeriat da kurallar dizisi dedik, her birinin şeriatı aynı değilmiş. Yani Şiilerin toplum kurallarıyla, Malikilerin toplum kuralları farklıymış. Sünnilerin ki de farklı. Öyleyse, Tanrı herkese aynı şeyi söylemiyor mu. Demek ki toplumun durumuna göre, çıkarlara göre uygulanmış bu kurallar.

M: Peki bütün bu ahval ve şeratte kendinizi İslam'ın içinde hissediyor musunuz?

A: Hissediyordum. Çok küçükken öyleydi ama tam da kavrayarak değil. Bir ulu varlık var o bize en iyisini verir buna inanıyorum. Ona ulaşmak için bazı yollar var, benim bulunduğum toplumda bu yollar Müslümanlık yolları, İngiliz için Hristiyanlık yolları, İsraili için Musevilik yolları.

- Ben mesela bir süre yutdışında bulundum, o sıralar kiliseye gittim. Katolik kilisesinde başını bağlar da girerler yahut da şapka takarlar.

Ben başı açık girdim. Katolik kilisesinde törelerin uygulanması çok daha sıkı, bizdeki gibi, görüntüsel. Çok görkemli bir papaz birşey taşıyor, insanlar oturuyor ama yerde oturmuyorlar, o geçerken herkes yerlere kapanıyor. “Ben ne yapayım” diye sordum arkadaşına “ne istersen onu yap” dedi. Ben de şöyle bir eğildim. O sıralar çok sıkıntıdaydım, onların Tanrısı da benim Tanrım da aynı. Ama onlar benim yöntemimi bilmiyorlar ben de onlarınkini bilmiyorum. Bir yanlışlık yapmamak için ben de başımı eğdim onlar gibi ama yerlere yatmadım. “Tanrım, burası da senin evin, senin çatının altı, beni bu sıkıntıdan kurtar dedim” Protestanlarınki çok sadeydi. Orada da duamı ettim.

insanlar kullanıyor herhalde.

331 Bu lafi bu kadar sık ancak ve ancak "Tanrı Uludur" diye ezan okunmasını yakinen tecrübe etmiş

330 Julie Marcus'un Meryem ana tarihi de aynı böyle.

M: Türkiye'de de Müslüman kadınlar kiliseye veya hristiyan evliyalara da gidiyorlar galiba?  
A: Benim yaşadığım yerlerde öyleydi. Oralar hristiyanların Musevilerin bulunduğu yerlerdi. Sinagoga hiç gitmedim, bile uzaktı o yüzden gitme şansım olmadı. Ama İstanbulda kiliseye gittim, bir düğune gittim çok tatlı sevimli bir düğündü. Ezanla beraber canlar da çalındı İstanbulda belirli saatlerde. Sonra ihtiyar hanımlar, onlar da bizim şeylere gelirdi. Ben onların da evliyaları olduğunu, onların da mum diktiğini, oralara bızımkililerin de gittiğini yeni öğreniyordum. Vedikulede falan varmış bizim oralarda yoktu. Meryem Anaya mum dikmeye giderdik biz. Meryem Anayı ziyaret ederken de ben son derece de kutsal bir yer ziyaret eder gibi ziyaret eder gibi ederdim.<sup>330</sup> Diyeceğim şu ki fark etmiyor benim için. Benim bildiğim yol bu. Yani Tanrıya ulaşma yolu namazla, başka türüstünü biliyordum, namaz kıldığım zaman rahat ediyordum. Surf kendim için. Tanrının benim yatıp kalkmama ne ihtiyacı var, o kadar ulu ki.<sup>331</sup> Bense zavallıcık. Ama Tanrı beni seviyor, kırmıyor beni. Ona inanmışım. Belki çok küçük çocuklukta, yaşlı büyükler vardı annemden çok büyüküküler, dindarlardı, onların söylediklerinin etkisiyle belki böyle düşünüyordum, onlardan Tanrıdan dilek dileyeceğimi öğrenmişim. Annemin ölmesinden korkuyordum, hep yalnız kalmamayı diledim. 6 yaşından itibaren yapıyordum bunu. Bu duyguyu vermiş birtleri bana ben de kendi kendime ne dileyeceğimi çıkarmışım. İstediklerim de hep olmuş.

M: Nasıl şeyler bunlar?  
\*332 A: Sırtımı geçeyim, daha büyük yaşlarda çalışmadığım bir dersten iyi not alayım. Çok küçükken bez bebeklerim vardı. Annem de bana... İstanbul gibi bir yerde, Beyoğlunda özellikle çok sık çok güzel bebek mağazaları vardı, bunların önünden geçerken burnumun dayadım, 5-6 yaşındayım. Yani babamın ölümünden sonra. Annemle sık sık sokaklara çıkardık. Annem de burnumu dayayıp baktığımı hissediyordu. Kimisinin gözleri oynardı, kimisi "mama" der. Nasıl ilgimce bakardım o bebeklere. Ama annemin üzülmediğini de hissediyordum. Dua ediyordum "Tanrım bana bir bebek, gözleri oynayan ya da mama diyen bir bebek". Sonra günün birinde ben 7 yaşındayken bir para geldi. Biz paramızı çok zorlukla alıyorduk çünkü yurt dışından geliyordu paramız (Misir). Gidim gidim gönderiyorlardı. Bir sene gelmezdi, sonraki sene gelirdi mesela. Bir gün bu para gelmiş, ilk işi annemin gidip o bebeklerden almak olmuş. Onu bana getirdi. 7 yaşındaydım ve hep dua ediyordum bir bebegim olsun diye. O bebek geldi. Çıldırıldım. Tanrı gönderdi, o yaşta bir çocuk için onu Tanrı gönderdi. Bebek hem mama diyor hem gözleri oynuyor. Hatta *hildirifis* koymuştuk bebegim adını. İnanç vermiş büyükükler ama ben bunu kanıtladım. Anneme "almasaydım" falan

da dediğimi hatırlıyorum, ama yan cebime koy. O bebeği çok istiyordum. Öğrendim böylece, istiyorum hep, dua ediyorum.

M: Şimdi ne gibi şeyler istiyorsunuz?

A: Beni sıkıntıdan kurtar diyorum. Uzun süre mesela “annem yaşasın, annem yaşasın” dedim. Rahatsızdı ama hakikaten ben 37 yaşına gelinceye kadar yaşadı. Demek ki yeterince dua etmemiş, belki evlendikten sonra kendimi emniyette hissettim. Öyle değil tabii herşeyin bir sınırı var, şaka değil. Çok sıkıntıda da olsam hiçbir zaman başka kimseden birşey istemem.

M: Bir evliyanın mezarında nasıl?

A: Tanrıdan istiyorsun ama “bu evliya çok kutsal, aynı peygambere yakın, iyi bir insanmış, eğer öyleyse gerçekten sen onun hatırı için bana yardım et” zaten böyle öğretiler “onun yüzü suyu hürmetine” diye öğretiler. Oraya gidince Tanrıdan istenir, evliyadan istenmez. Ben annemi ziyaret etmiyorum muyum onun gibi gidiliyor evliyaya da.

M: Peki böyle evliya sizinle Tanrı arasına girmiş olmuyor mu?

\* A: Hayır, sadece ben kötü bir çocuksam, kötü bir insansam onun hatırı için istiyorum... Zaten artık gitmiyorum. Hacı Bayram’a gidiyorum sadece. Onu da evliya diye görüyorum herhalde. Mesela Kırşehir tarafına yolum düşerse hep Hacı Bektaş’ı ziyarete giderim. Ankara’da da başka yer bilmediğim için Hacı Bayram’a, oradan geçerken de.. Karyağdı’ya. Onu da bir arkadaşım öğretti, “mutlaka ziyaret et, çok tatlı bir gelinmiş çok genç yaşta ölmüş” dedi.

M: Hikayesini biliyor musunuz?

A: İşte genç bir gelinmiş, sonra ölen gelinleri de oraya mı koymuşlar.. çünkü bir kaç tane mezar var. (aslında bir mezar var) Oraya kalabalıkla gidersek uğruyoruz daha çok, tek başına arabayla zor.

M: Arkadaşınız anlatır mı hikayesini?

A: O da bu kadarını biliyor, o da benim gibi müspet ilimle uğraşan bir insan.

M: Peki onu bir evliya olarak mı görüyorsunuz?

A: Tanrının seçilmiş bir kulu gibi falan.. Yani fazla irdelemiyorum. Ha bir de Hüseyin Gazi’ye yolum düştüğünde gidiyordum. Ama oraya kadınlar gelip ayın gibi “huu, muu” yaptılar. Ben rahatsız oluyorum öyle şeylerden. Camiiye gidince mesela eğer sakinse ortam, sabah erkense camiiye gidip mesela bir namaz kılmayı seviyorum.

M: Belli bir zamanı yok yani.

A: Hayır yok. Belki iki rekat belki 4 belki 6. Oraya gidip Kuran okumayı seviyorum. Ama şimdi o ortam çok zor bulunuyor. Orası kadınlar günü gibi oluyor. Garip kıyafetli sıkıbaşlı insanlar geliyor. Hatta karışıyorlar. Bir keresinde “çok hızlı kılıyorsun” demiş bana da ben de “siz işinize bakın” dedim. O da zavalcılık bir kadın oturuyor orada. Arkadaşıma “kalk



gidiyoruz” dedim. Başörtü de öyle, ister açık tutarım ister istediğim gibi kapatırım, ya da namazımı ister çabuk kılarım ister yavaş. Her zaman cumartesi gidemiyorum, zamanımdan çalışıyorum hafta içinde. Şuna da inanıyorum ben “kul hakkı” almamaya. Yani ne, görevinden çalma. Diyelim ki ben 1-2 saat geç gittim onu kompanse ediyorum, ya evdekileri kim kompanse edecek. Hadi onu da ettik, bu sefer kendimden çalışıyorum. Ben hızlı yemek yiyene karışıyor muyum? Ben tabiat olarak aceleci bir insanım, herşeyim çok hızlı, ben konsantre de oluyorum. Ama bana karışılırsa daha hızlı kılarım.

M: Kendinizi oraya gelen kadınların bir parçası olarak görüyor musunuz?

A: O tip kadınların hayır. Ama benim gibi mahsun bir şekilde gelip bir kenarda duran, pantolonlu hanımlar görüyorum. Belki bir dileği olmuş, şükretmeye gelmiş. Beni hiç ilgilendirmez, ama bana zarar veriyor mu vermiyor. Tanrıyla onun arasında. Bazen öyle çocuklar getiriyorlar ki, yürüyemiyor. Belki bir kaza sonucu öyle olmuş yahut birşey olmuş. Çocuk, böyle yapışıyor şeye, yapıştırıyorlar onu.

M: Nerede, türbede mi?

A: Yok şeyde görüyorum mesela bir kız geldi, yürüyemiyor yine, boynu eğri, bacakları eğri, bir erkekle beraber geldi. Hacı Bayram’ın o küçük yerinde. Dualar etti, birşeyler. Sonra zor doğruldu. Yani bunlar insanların duyguları. Tabii ki Tanrıdan isteyecek, sokaktaki belçiden mi isteyecek. Daha kuvvetli olabilirim, hiç oralara gitmeyebilirim, kendi kendime halledebilirim. Ama bir terapi oluyor, Tanrıyla aramda. Ben lise son-üniversite birde çok ciddi bir sıkıntı geçirdim. Doktora götürdüler, oradaki hasta bakıcı “hihihihi, sevgilin mi terk etti” diyor. Ne alakası var, hayat koşullarımdan dolayı olmuş birşey. Herkes herşeye karışıyor.

## Interview 4

<b>Date: 20.4.1997</b>	
<b>Interviewee:</b>	Two official of ethnography Museum
<b>Characteristics</b>	They were both middle aged man. G1 had more information than G2
<b>Impressions:</b>	There were quite few people in the museum which has a big entrance that echoed. The other officials were listening to us while we were talking.
<b>Type of Interview:</b>	Short discussion, half an hour

### Notes and Dialogues

G: Biliyorsunuz 1925 yılında tekke ve zaviyeler kapatılıyor. Kapatılması demek, bunların çalışmalarının ortadan kalkması anlamına geliyor.

E: Ama bazıları mekan olarak...

G: Şöyle, daha sonra bazı türbeler Bakanlar Kurulu kararıyla açılışına izin veriliyor. Hacıbayram gibi, Mevlana gibi, Eyüp Sultan gibi, Hacı Bektaş gibi. Bunlar da tarihi kişilikler, manevi kişiler oldukları için bu türbelerin açılışına izin veriliyor. Aslında imari olarak Türkiye'deki türbelerin çoğu Vakıflardır. Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü'nün. Bunlar Vakıf eserleridir sadece bir yerde tasarrufu, o da bütün türbelerin değil bazı türbelerin, Kültür Bakanlığına ait. Ankara'da diyelim Hacı Bayram, şu anda açık ve mülkiyeti Vakıflar'a ait ama bakımı müzelerle ait olduğu için şu anda biz ilgileniyoruz. Karyagdı var, Karacabey var, daha başka türbeler var, fakat bunların bir kısmı şu anda kapalıdır, kapısı kilitlidir, anahtarı da camiiler dernekler falan var oralarda bulunabilir. Ama şu anda<sup>333</sup> aktif olarak gördüğümüz tek türbe Hacı Bayram'dır, bizim orada görevlimiz var. Gider, oranın temizliğini bakımını filan yapar, mülkiyeti Vakıfların tasarrufu bize aittir, bakanlar kurulu kararıyla 70 yıldır böyledir. Diğerleriyle çok fazla bağlantımız yok ama orada bir türbe daha bulabilirsiniz. Açılır, kapanır. Bir dernek vardı, bir ara, onlar ilgileniyor falan.

E: Türbedar derneğin görevlendirdiği birisi mi?

G: Türbedarla derneğin ilişkisi nedir bilemiyorum. Yalnız mesela Karyagdı türbesini korumak güzelleştirmek için bir dernek var.

G2: Yani dernek derken, orada birileri bu türbeyle ilgileniyor. Vatandaşın gidip merak ettiği kurban kestiği, belli günlerde dua ettiği yerler. Oraya çok gelen olduğu için birileri

<sup>333</sup> O sırada Kurban bayramıydı.