

**THE PERSISTENCE OF A SACRED PATRILINEAGE IN
CONTEMPORARY TURKEY: AN ETHOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT ON THE
ULUSOY FAMILY, THE DESCENDANTS OF HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ**

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MERAL SALMAN

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Saktanber
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully
adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şen
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Gündüz-Hoşgör	(METU,SOC)	_____
Assoc.Prof. Dr.Aksu Bora	(HU,COM)	_____
Prof. Dr. Tayfun Atay	(AU, ETH)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şen	(METU, SOC)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erdoğan Yıldırım	(METU,SOC)	_____

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Name, Last name : Meral Salman

Signature :

ABSTRACT

THE PERSISTENCE OF A SACRED PATRILINEAGE IN CONTEMPORARY TURKEY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT ON THE DESCENDANTS OF HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ, THE ULUSOY FAMILY

Salman, Meral

Ph.D., Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şen

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This ethnographic study is on a sacred patrilineage, on the Ulusoy family members who are widely accepted by the Alevi Bektaşî communities as the descendants of the eponymous founder of the Bektaşî Order, Hacı Bektaş Veli. In line with the Shi'ite tradition, it is claimed that Hacı Bektaş Veli inherited the *batin*, the esoteric aspect of the knowledge and the type of spirituality of this knowledge - *walaya*, by genealogical chain traced back to Ahl-al Bayt, and therefore undertook an initiating and supervisory role over his adherents. As the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the Çelebis, namely the Ulusoy family, have also become the heirs of his sacred authority which was also inherited by their descendant through blood and

transmigration. The Ulusoy family has undertaken the role of spiritual guides and leaders of some other sacred *dede* (sacred guide) lineages called *ocaks*, as well as of the disciples of those *ocaks*, to regulate and supervise their life in accordance with the *batin*, divine knowledge. Thus, the purpose of this dissertation is to explore the maintenance and reproduction of the hereditary sanctity of the Ulusoy family during the Republican period during which, due to the secularization and modernization attempts of the Republic, the sanctity and sacred authority of the family has not been recognized as a social distinct category. To this end, I firstly examine the historical background of the family by situating the family in the Ottoman period. Having found out the continuities and ruptures in exercising of the sacred authority of the family over the disciples after the establishment of the Republic, I focus on the transformation of the sanctity and new forms of it by employing the concepts of space/place; kinship and, gender.

Key terms: Alevi-Bektaşî, sacred authority, kinship, gender, secularization

ÖZ

GÜNÜMÜZ TÜRKİYE’SİNDE BABA SOYLU, KUTSAL BİR AİLE: HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ’NİN EVLATLARI, ULUSOY AİLESİ ÜZERİNE ETNOGRAFİK BİR ÇALIŞMA

Salman, Meral

Doktora, Sosyoloji Bölümü

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Bu etnografik çalışma Alevi-Bektaşî toplulukları tarafından Bektaşî tarikatının kurucusu Hacı Bektaş Veli’nin evlatları ve kutsal kabul edilen bir aile olan Ulusoylar üzerinedir. Şii geleneğine paralel olarak, Bektaşî tarikatının Çelebi koluna bağlı olanlarca Hacı Bektaş Veli’nin Ehli Beyt’e uzanan bir silsile ile batın yani ezoterik bilgiyi ve velayeti ve dolayısıyla bunların getirdiği kutsal otoriteyi kalıtsal olarak edindiğine inanılır. Hacı Bektaş Veli’nin evlatları olarak kabul edilen Çelebilerin yani Ulusoyların da kan bağı ve ruh göçü ile sahip olunan bu otoritenin kalıtçıları olduğu kabul edilir ve Ulusoylar kutsal otoritelerinin kaynağı olan batın bilgisiyle kendilerine bağlı ocaklar, dedeler ve taliplere rehberlik ederler. Bu çalışmanın amacı modernleşme ve sekülerleşme girişimleriyle birlikte kutsiyetleri resmi olarak ayrı bir sosyal kategori olarak tanınmayan ailenin Cumhuriyet dönemi boyunca kutsiyetlerini nasıl koruduğu ve yeniden ürettiğini araştırmaktır. Çalışma öncelikle Osmanlı dönemine, ailenin tarihsel arka planına bakmış, ailenin

Cumhuriyet dönemi boyunca kutsal otoritesini uygulamak konusunda tecrübe ettiği devamlılıkları ve kopuşlar incelenmiş ve sonra yer/mekân, akrabalık ve cinsiyet kavramları aracılığıyla ailenin kutsiyetinin dönüşümü ve aldığı yeni biçimler araştırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Alevi-Bektaşî, kutsal otorite, akrabalık, cinsiyet, sekülerizm

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Bektaş then said, “The one sitting to my right was my grandfather, the Sunlight of the Two Worlds, Muhammad Mustafa. The one sitting to my left was the Lion of God, the Commander of the Faithful, Murteza Ali. One was teaching me the manifest wisdom, the zahir, of the Qur’an and the other the hidden wisdom, the batin, of the Qur’an. (Velayetname, 2006:39)¹

The Bektaşî order is a unique dervish order with two different organizations coexisting within it. One of these organizations, the Babagan branch, is based on succession by discipleship and rejects any blood tie. The other one, the Çelebi branch², in other words the Ulusoy family, claims to be the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the eponymous founder of the order. In accordance with association of Shi’ism and Sufism within the Bektaşî order (Nasr, 1999:117), the Çelebi branch has asserted an Alid genealogy through their ancestor Hacı Bektaş Veli and has shared similar claims with some Shi’ite branches such as Ismailis to possess divine knowledge and divine right to rule.

This dissertation is about the Çelebi branch of the Bektaşî order, more specifically, about the persistence of the Ulusoy family as the leading sacred lineage

¹ The Saintly Exploits of Hacı Bektaş Veli Menakib-ı Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli “Vilayetname” translation and introduction by Huseyin Abiba (2006) by Babagan Books.

² The title of Çelebi was given to member of lineages which were accepted to have descended from Hacı Bektaş Veli and/or from Mevlana Cemalettin Rumi. The official usage of the title of *çelebi* was banned in 1925 and with the surname law in 1934; the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli adopted the surname of Ulusoy which means “supreme pedigree”. However, the title Çelebi is still used unofficially when talking about the family.

of Alevi-Bektaşî³ community in the Republican period in which the sacred authority of the family has not been recognized as a distinct social category.

The key concepts that need to be grasped when considering the characteristics of the sacred authority of the Ulusoy family are *batin* (the esoteric knowledge) and *walaya* (to be close to God). According to the Islamic belief, the Prophet Muhammad, who revealed the exoteric law (*shari'a*) of Islam, was the last prophet. After Muhammad, the revealed law was accepted as the guide and was protected by the guardians and interpreters, namely by the *ulema* (Trimingham, 1998: 133). However, those for whom the exoteric law is not sufficient hold that the divine revelation also had hidden, spiritual meaning. They claim that prophetic revelation is twofold; it includes both the exoteric (*zahir*) and the esoteric (*batin*), namely both *shari'a* and *haqiqa*. Furthermore, the spiritual reality, *haqiqa* could not be derived from the *shari'a* by logic. The Shi'ite tradition claims that interpretation of *haqiqa* requires an inherited knowledge and spiritual guidance. Thus, the guidance of the *batin* on the way of God was provided by the cycle of *walaya*, by the cycle of *Imams* which came after the closure of the cycle of prophecy (Corbin, 1993).

Imam means leader or guide and the quality of interpreting the esoteric aspect of the divine revelation is emphasized by the term *walaya*, a noun form of the verb root *wly* which literally means to be close (to God) or to be friend (of God) (Jafri, 1987: 165). Accordingly, “the *wali* is, in Shi'ite terminology, is he who is the nearest to God in love and devotion and therefore is entrusted by Him with the esoteric knowledge of religion” (Jafri, 1987: 165) and all the *imams* are *awliya*⁴ *Allah*. Having knowledge of both the *batin*, (the esoteric knowledge) and *walaya* (the spirituality associated with this knowledge) the *Imam* undertakes an initiating and supervisory role. He initiates his disciples into the mysteries of the knowledge which includes

³ I use the term Alevi-Bektaşî to refer the community which is affiliated with the Ulusoy family.

⁴ The term *awliya* is the plural form of the term *wali* and *wali* is the person who possesses the quality of *walaya*. Thus, all *imams* possess the quality of *walaya*, in other words they are *awliya*.

both the idea of knowledge (*ma'rifah*) and the idea of love (*mahabbah*) (Corbin, 1993:26-27).

The qualifications of the *Imam* could only be possessed by the family of Muhammad (*ahl al-bayt*) by his daughter Fatima and his cousin and son-in law Ali ibn Abi Talip and their progeny.⁵ Ali was the first Imam because he was believed to have inherited the religious knowledge of the prophet and to be divinely inspired (Daftary, 2007:40).

Without accepting the Shia doctrines, many of the Sufis also show respect for the family of the prophet and venerate Ali ibn Abi Talip as “[a]n important link in the spiritual chain leading the Sufi masters back to the Prophet” (Schimmel, 1975:82). The *batin* and the *walaya* are part of the structure of Sufism as well; however, the way that the Sufi guides receive the knowledge of the *batin* is different. Unlike the *Imams*, they receive the esoteric knowledge not genealogically but through the spiritual progression. The knowledge of *batin* comes to them by means of a spiritual chain which begins with Muhammad and continued with elected masters, and also, by means of direct inspiration from God (Trimingham, 1998:135). In Sufism, *wali* is the ordinary man who is selected by God. He being a friend of God, or, in other words, due to his closeness to the source of power and authority, i.e., to God, he is both an intermediary and patron for his adherents (Cornell, 1998: xix).

In terms of the sacred authority of the Ulusoy, the *walaya* of Hacı Bektaş Veli is closer to the term of *walaya* in Shi'ite sense rather than in Sufi sense.

⁵ The spiritual guidance of the family of the prophet (*ahl-al bayt*) is common in Shii'te tradition, however, having fallen out in dispute over succession of the *Imams*; the Shi'a subdivided into several branches like Twelve Shii'is, Ismailis and Zaydis. In Twelver Shii'ism the Imamate which began with Ali remained with his descendants until the twelfth Imam, Muhammad al-Mahdi. It is believed that the twelfth Imam went into occultation and will continue to guide until the day of resurrection (Jafri, 1987: 160-161). After the death of the sixth Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq, Ismailis accepted his son Ismail bin Ja'far as the appointed successor. Despite the fact that Ismail predeceased his father, the Ismailis argues that the Imamate was passed to his progeny and unlike the Twelver Shii'ites, they rejected other son of Imam Ja'far, Musa al-Kazim as true *Imam* (Daftary: 2007). Different from other two branches, the Zaydis supports any qualified descendants of al-Hasan and al-Husayn (vom Bruck, 2005: 32).

According to the Alevi-Bektaşî tradition, Hacı Bektaş Veli inherited *walaya* by the genealogical line, through his descent going back to the seventh imam of the Twelver Shi'is, Musa al-Kazım⁶. In this respect, with the inherited knowledge of *batin* and its spiritual form of *walaya*, Hacı Bektaş Veli became the carrier of the role of *Imams* in terms of spiritual guidance through which he could initiate and supervise his disciples. Furthermore, parallel to the understanding of Alid *ghulat* (exaggeration) which is based on the belief in incarnation of divinity in human body and transmigration of soul as well as the belief that Muhammad, Ali and the Imams possessed “intrinsic divinity inherited through blood” (Babayan, 2002: xlv), Hacı Bektaş Veli was incarnation of Ali ibn Abi Talip (Ulusoy, 2009:49) because death was only the end of physical form in cyclical time (Babayan, 2002: xv-xvi); and *walaya* will never end with death (Ulusoy, 2009:49).

Hacı Bektaş Veli as the possessor of the *walaya* and as the incarnate of Ali ibn Abu Talip established the Bektaşî order, namely the Alevi-Bektaşî Path. He became the spiritual guide, leader and was called *pir*. As the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the Çelebis, namely the Ulusoy family also become the heirs of his sacred authority which was also inherited by their descendants through blood ties and transmigration. The Ulusoy family have undertaken the role of spiritual guide and of the leader of some other sacred *dede* (sacred guide) lineages called *ocaks* and also of the disciples of those *ocaks* to regulate and supervise their life in accordance with the *batin*, divine

⁶ According to the *Velayetname* (2006:33) the genealogy of Hacı Bektaş Veli is as follows: “Hacı Bektaş Veli was the son of Seyyid Muhammad, who is better known as İbrahim the Second. Seyyid Muhammad was the son of Musa the Second, who was the son of İbrahim Mükerrrem el-Mucab. İbrahim el-Mucab was from the same mother and father as the Sultan of Horasan, Ali er-Rıza. İmam el-Rıza, İbrahim el-Mucab, Abbas, Kasım and Hamza were from the same mother, whose name was Necmet un-Neseviyye. Their father, İmam Musa el-Kazım had thirty-nine children... İbrahim el-Mucab, the brother of İmam el-Rıza, was the son of İmam Musa el-Kazım who was the son of İmam Ca'fer es-Sadik, who was the son of Muhammad el-Bakir. İmam Muhammad el-Bakir was the son of İmam Zeyn ul-Abidin, who was the son of İmam Huseyn. İmam Huseyn was the son of Ali el-Murteza and his mother was the daughter of Prophet Muhammad, Fatima ez-Zehra, making İmam Huseyn's grandfather none other than Muhammad Mustafa. This indeed proves without doubt that Hacı Bektaş veli is indeed a *seyyid*.”

knowledge.

1.1 Research Problem

In downtown Hacібektaş, across the main dervish lodge, called the “Hacı Bektaş Veli Museum”, one can easily recognize some old buildings called “the Çelebi mansions”. With the exception of very few, buildings of the mansions are mainly hidden behind the garden walls and trees which make it hard to estimate how many mansions are located there. Needless to say, for an unfamiliar gaze, not only the numbers of the buildings is difficult to estimate but also the ongoing life in them. During winters, these buildings are almost empty. However, in summers, with return of the homeowners to their mansions and especially in Augusts when the memorial ceremony of Hacı Bektaş Veli is held, they are full of Alevi-Bektaşі people visiting the homeowners, the *effendis*, the progenies of Hacı Bektaş Veli. Moreover, in the summer months, if one mingles with the visitors from all over Turkey; it will be very hard for one to meet one of the inhabitants of the Hacібektaş in these mansions. Although all visitors are welcomed by the homeowners, hardly any inhabitants of Hacібektaş visit the houses of the Ulusoyos because the family lost its religious legitimacy over the inhabitants of the district many years ago. At present, the existence of the family in Hacібektaş has been surrounded by lack of awareness, prejudiced opinions and dislike of the inhabitants. Only the older generations have information about the family members and some of them still have respect for them. More interestingly, similar ignorance could be found in the studies of Alevism-Bektaşism. It is impossible to find a detailed research on the family, although the family occupies a crucial position within the Alevi-Bektaşі belief as a sacred lineage performing religious rule over the Alevi-Bektaşі community who are affiliated with them.

My first meeting with some of the members of the Ulusoy family happened during the fieldwork for my master's thesis on the transformation of the annual memorial ceremony of Hacı Bektaş Veli. While investigating the celebration of the festival, I realized that the houses of the Ulusoy family were important places where one could meet people from different regions of Turkey. However, their way of celebrating the festival was completely different from that of other visitors. Unlike others, the visitors of the Ulusoy family did not participate in the official part of the ceremony or other events organized by the municipality. The overlapping of date of the meetings at the residences of the Ulusoy family with the date of the festival stemmed from the invitation of the family members to their disciples to Hacibektaş in 1964, when the dervish lodge of Hacı Bektaş Veli reopened as a museum. Some of the members of the Ulusoy family led the way in opening the lodge as a museum and celebrating the opening date as an annual festival. Since then, the disciples have begun to pay regular visits to the Ulusoy family during the festival.

I visited two houses of the Ulusoy family, which were full of visitors. I was welcomed by the owners of the houses, they were kind and helpful. This was quite amazing because what made them unknown to me for years was the social distance between the family and the inhabitants of Hacibektaş. It appeared that bridging this distance was in fact easy. All that was required was to knock on their doors which had already been opened. Thus, the relationship between the Ulusoy family and the inhabitants became more interesting to me.

Aside from the relationship between the family and the inhabitants, the family's relationship with the disciples was also intriguing. Under the sacred authority of the Ulusoy family, a large number of people gathered and lived at the residences as if they were members of an extended family. Thus, I realized that, what I witnessed at those houses was a tradition which persisted, was reproduced and even reinvented over the centuries.

The Ulusoy family has intrigued me very much and a question accompanied this interest: How has a leading holy lineage maintained its sacred authority for centuries? After I decided to study the Ulusoy family for my PhD, I planned to restrict my study to the period of the Republic because with the modernization and secularization attempts of the newly established Republic, the divine knowledge and divine right to rule of the family was not officially recognized. The loss of official right to rule over its community deprived the family of all legal and economic privileges which then led to transformation of its sacred authority as well. Therefore, I pose the question: How does a leading lineage claiming to have the divine right to rule over its community exist in a “secularized world?” However, “secularized world” is an equivocal definition when taking into account the secularization theory and the secularization case of Turkey.

The theory of secularization is originated from the Enlightenment idea of the death of religion and this idea was taken up by the “founding fathers” of sociology, Marx, Durkheim and Weber and also by other thinkers of the 19th century, who share the common idea that religion would decrease, even cease with the development of the modern, industrial societies (Noris& Inglehart, 2004:1). Until the 1960s, the decline of religion in modern society was taken for granted, but in the 1960s the secularization theory developed more systematically (Casanova, 1994:19). On the other hand, in the 1960s and 1970s, the proposition of the decline of religion was challenged with emergence of the new religious movements and, since the 1980s, with the “resurrection” of religion; the proposition of the decline of religion has become quite controversial.

Along with its controversial position in the sociological theory, the theory of secularization has some other specific difficulties. Hadden’s (1987:598) critique that

“the secularization theory is not systematic”, points out one of these difficulties.⁷ Although this claim is challenged by Tschannen (1991:396), he also says that “[w]hile a number of theories have been very systematically stated (contrary to Hadden’s claim), it is true (as Hadden claims) that one cannot combine these theories into a single, coherent super theory.” Following the Kuhnian perspective, Tschannen’s (1991) effort is to systematize the divergent secularization theories at the paradigmatic level by using the shared concepts in these theories as cognitive devices. In this respect, he argues that the core concepts of secularization paradigm are differentiation, rationalization and worldliness. While arguing for the deprivatization of religion, Casanova (1994) also stresses three premises of the secularization paradigm, secularization as decline, secularization as differentiation and secularization as privatization and marginalization.

According to Casanova, the core of the secularization theory i.e., the differentiation proposition is “[e]mancipation of the secular spheres –primarily the state, the economy and science- from the religious sphere and the concomitant differentiation and specialization of religion within its own newly found religious sphere” (Casanova, 1994:19). The Protestant Reformation, the formation of modern states, the growth of modern capitalism and the early modern scientific revolution were the developments- they were both the dynamics and the carriers of the process of differentiation- which undermined the old medieval religious system and contributed to the modern secularization process (Casanova, 1994:24). In this regard, Durkheim’s argument on the functional differentiation in the industrial society⁸ and Weber’s argument on the differentiation in the modern society through rationalistic

⁷ The other difficulty is that the term secularization is multi-dimensional. As I will mention later on, while making separation between individual, organizational and societal levels of secularization, Karel Dobbelaere (1987) tries to solve the confusion on the term’s multi-dimensional characteristic for the sake of methodological clarity.

⁸ Durkheim’s argument on the functional differentiation in industrial societies has been developed by Steve Bruce, Thomas Luckman, Karel Dobbelaere.

world-view⁹ laid the foundation of the theory of secularization.

The other sub-thesis of the theory of secularization, -the decline of religion in the modern world- is very contentious; even in its terminological usage. Dobbelaere (1987:116-7) makes a distinction between the dimensions of secularization which are linked to one another and argues for a societal, institutional (organizational) and individual levels of secularization. For him, in the 1960s and 1970s, some of the secularization theorists, such as Acquavia, Luckmann and Martin, explained the decline of the ecclesiastical religiosity at the individual level grounding the decline on the social change. The segmentation of institutions and disintegration of social bonds led to this decline. At the societal level, Wilson and Luhmann talked about functional differentiation; societalization of the sub-systems and functional rationality through which religion also became a sub-system among other sub-systems and lost its societal functions.

Privatization, the other proposition of the theory of secularization, does not necessarily mean the decline of religion in the modern society. Luckmann argues that the premise that church and religion were essentially identical brought about the conclusion that religion becomes a marginal phenomenon in modern society. This claim necessitates looking into global processes that caused this transformation. However, factors such as industrialization have no direct relation to secularization. Industrialization and urbanization strengthened the tendency for institutional specialization which detached institutional areas from religious values and created autonomous primary public institutions governed by their functional and rational norms. This transformation also isolates an individual from the society, making the individual retreat into the private sphere (Luckmann,1967) and the subjectivity of the individual brings about privatization through which religion turns socially invisible

⁹ Weber's argument on the differentiation in the modern society through rationalistic world-view was followed by Peter Berger, David Martin and Bryan Wilson.

(Martin, 2005:20). As Casanova states, sanctification of subjective autonomy and the retreat of individuals to the private sphere legitimate autonomy of the primary institutions (Casanova, 1994: 37) which also points out the irreversibility of secularization.

One of the most important theorists of secularization, Peter Berger,¹⁰ however, suggests the “abandonment of the old secularization theory” because the old secularization theory includes the premise of decline of religion on both societal and individual levels. Besides that, the old theory presupposes that secularization is a result of modernization which emerged through the processes of rationalization and/or differentiation of modern institutions. Thus, “[t]he theory seemed less and less capable of making sense of the empirical evidence from different parts of the world” (Berger, 2001: 445). On the other hand, this does not mean that secularization does not exist; it only means that secularization is not a direct and inevitable consequence of modernity (Berger, 2001: 445). Similarly, but in a more comprehensive way, Martin, who has not been interested in the general, underlying processes of secularization (Dobbelaere, 1987: 112), also criticizes the theories of secularization. For him, these one-directional theories generalize the proposition of decline or marginalization of religion which is valid for only the core areas of Western Europe. These theories therefore suffer from selective epiphenomenalism, conceptual incoherence, indifference to historical complexity and ethnocentrism. He further argues that religion and modernity are not necessarily incompatible, while secularization theory is not rooted enough in empirical data (Martin, 1991: 265).

Both critiques of the theory of secularization concentrate on the claim that the decline of religion in modern society denotes an “inevitable” relation between

¹⁰ In his early theory, Berger argues that the main carrier of secularization is rationalization in religion and in modern industry which brought about the autonomization of society from religious control. The objective level of this autonomization is pluralization of religious institutions which leads to an increasing worldliness. And the subjective level manifests itself as the collapse of the world-view (Tschannen, Olivier, 1991:398).

secularization and modernity. In this sense, referring to the old debate on the exceptional case of the United States in terms of theory secularization (how can the U.S. be both modern and religious?), this debate leads to the question whether secular Western Europe is an exceptional case (Berger, 1999). On the other hand, the defenders of the secularization theory claim that by arguing the decline of religion, they do not mean the belief which is beyond institutional control; they talk about decline in practice and in religious involvement (Wilson, 1979: 275; Dobbelaere, 2006:132). Moreover, Dobbelaere (1987:132) stresses that “[s]ecularization is not a mechanical, straightforward process...”, but in Western Europe, general trend is an ongoing secularization process. And for him the reformulated secularization theory enables one to analyze differentiation between secularizing and de-secularizing processes through the changes observed in Western societies (Dobbelaere, 1987:132).

While arguing for the abandonment of the old theory of secularization, Berger (1999:7) points out the term of desecularization which challenges the relation between modernity and religion. Against the sub-thesis of the religious decline in modern societies, he stresses the resurgence of religion all over the world within modernity: “Modernity, for fully understandable reasons, undermines all the old certainties; uncertainty is a condition that many people find very hard to bear; therefore, any movement (not only a religious one) that promises to provide or to renew certainty has a ready market” (1999:7). Unlike Berger, who declared his suspicion about the relation between secularization and modernity, Martin argues that in the theory of secularization, social differentiation is the core sub-thesis and it does not mean a displacement of religion and a once-for all transition from religion to politics or to science (Martin, 2005:17). In a similar vein, Casanova (1994:5-6) also accepts the differentiation as the core sub-thesis of the theory of secularization, but he argues in favor of a new concept - *deprivatization* of religion. For him, in the 1980s, religious traditions throughout the world have begun to reject the marginal and

privatized role which was attributed to them by the modernization and secularization theories and have started to claim their public role in the society. Casanova calls this process deprivatization of the religion and argues that the resistance of religious traditions to secularization (privatization, marginalization) is not new. What is new in the deprivatization process is a widespread refusal of religious traditions to retreat into the private sphere.

Following Casanova's identification of the three propositions of the theory of secularization, in the case of Turkey, I focus on the meanings secularization as differentiation, decline and privatization. Again, following Casanova, I argue that differentiation thesis is the core and most defensible thesis of the secularization theory, granting the "uniqueness" of the case of Turkey in terms of experiencing the secularization process.

At first sight, an attempt to apply the differentiation theory of secularization to Turkey's may seem awkward. The Western Christendom is based on "double dualist system of classification", namely the dualism between "this world" and "other world", and at the same time on the dualism within "this world" between secular and the religious spheres. Through the differentiation process, although the separation between "this world" and "other world" remained, "this world" became only the secular one in which religion found its place (Casanova, 1994:15). On the other hand, in Islam, "religion and state were believed to be fused together, the state was conceived as the embodiment of religion and religion as the essence of the state" (Berkes, 1998:7). Accordingly, Turkey never experienced the differentiation of secular and religious spheres in the sense of the characteristic of Western Europe. During the Ottoman era, religion was part of the administrative structure and it was an important provider of political legitimacy (Mardin, 1971).

However, for the purpose of westernization and modernization which were believed to be precautions against the decline of the Empire, the first secularization

reform of the Ottoman Empire began in the 19th century in the form of the Tanzimat reforms (Toprak & Sunar, 1982: 425). The modernization efforts of these reforms led to the gradual separation of religion from judicial and administrative affairs and educational institutions (Mardin, 1989:107). On the other hand, this separation did not mean that religion and state obtained their own institutions and authorities; rather it was a bifurcation of the whole (Berkes, 1998:480).

Modernization and westernization were also the aims of the founders of the Republic. They favored a constitution of the modern nation state which also would be secular and rational. Thus, an Islamic state was the obstacle for the Kemalist's goal to constitute a modern nation state (Ahmad, 1993:53). In this regard, following the course of the French experience, the Kemalists established state control over religion (Toprak, 1995:91). They did not separate the institutions or reform them; on the contrary, they eliminated the traditional institutions which were incompatible with the "secular" state (Berkes, 1989: 467). To this end, the new Republic sought to emancipate education, law and public administration from the influence of Islam (Toprak, 2005). The abolition of the caliphate was followed by: the abolition of the Ministry of the Religious Affairs and Pious Foundation and religious courts (in 1924); the adaptation of the hat as headgear and dissolution of the religious orders (in 1925), the reform of the calendar and adaptation of the new criminal code and adaptation of the Swiss civil code (in 1926), the disestablishment of Islam as a state religion and reform of the alphabet (in 1928), the Turkification of the call to prayer (1932) and the declaration of laicism as part of the Turkish constitution (1937) (Mardin, 1977:287-288). Moreover, use of religion for political purposes and personal gain were banned. Besides, all religious schools were banned and the educational system was unified under a Ministry of Education (in 1924). Also, with the establishment of a Directorate of Religious Affairs (1924), "official" Islam was put under control of the state (Toprak, 2005). All these reforms emancipated the state,

law¹¹, science, economics, and education from religious control. Furthermore, under the control of the state, it was attempted to reform and replace religion in its own sphere as well.

Despite the fact that it is very difficult to speak about the decline of religion during the Republic, it is claimed that the so called religious “revival”¹² took place in the mid-1940s, and then after the *coup d’etat* of 1980. Looking at the early periods of the Republic, it can be said that Mustafa Kemal and the Kemalists were strongly against the public function of religion that provided political ideology, identity and social solidarity (Tapper, 1991: 6). During the single-party rule, in order to emancipate the secular spheres from the influence of religion and reduce the power of religion on social control and guidance, the secular reforms were carried out. Their rule became much more oppressive, especially in the mid-1930s, when the militant secularists became dominant in the Republican People’s Party. Thus, the Republic’s modernization and secularization effort created two cultures.¹³ “the westernized and secular culture of a tiny but influential the minority associated with the bureaucracy and the indigenous culture of the mass of the people associated with Islam” (Ahmad, 1993:92).

¹¹ According to Berkes (1998: 467) “[i]f the crux of western secularism lay in the relations between the state and church, the pivot of secularization in the Muslim societies lay in the secularization of law, particularly the civil law.”

¹² The terms revival, resurgence and revitalization of religion are ambiguous. As Vukomanović (2009:9) points out, religious discourse, religious practice, religious community and religious institutions are constitutive elements of religion and it is not always clear which of these elements experiences revitalization.

¹³ For Mardin (1977) and Sunar & Toprak (1982), in the early Republican regime, secularization created a gap between the masses of the periphery and the central elites. During the Ottoman period, tension between the center and periphery was reduced partly by the bonding function of Islam. Islam figured in the imperial-patrimonial structure of the Empire basically at the two different levels: at the center, as a scripturalist, sharia-minded, *ulema* governed Islam; and at the periphery, as mysticism of the sects, religious orders, the tarikats. With secularization, religion lost its legitimizing function for both sides and the connection between the center and the periphery, provided by religion, was reduced (Sunar & Toprak: 1982:422).

With the transition to the multiparty system in 1946, a mass of the people associated with Islam moved towards participation in politics. The Republican People's Party split into two parties, i.e. RPP and DP (Democratic Party); and both accepted Islam as an important source of political support among the constituency (Sunar & Toprak, 1982:428). According to Lewis (2002), during this period, an open sign of religious opposition was the critique of the state's secularist policy. Also, religious education was one of the first discussed issues. In 1949, religious education was introduced in schools and a year later, religious education was made compulsory for the fourth and fifth classes of primary schools. Besides, mosque attendance rose and pilgrimage to Mecca began. Religious books and pamphlets were written and published. With the liberalization of religious policies, the *tarikats*, which had continued to exist secretly during the Kemalist government, became apparent. For Sunar and Toprak (1982:431), in the 1950s, after DP won the elections:

The net impact was the instrumentalization of Islam by the DP for the electoral purposes and the inadvertent, but nonetheless incipient, ideologization of religion by peripheral groups in their attempt to share in the benefits of modernization through clientelist participation in, rather than categorical rejection of, the secular institutions of the Republic.

In the 1960s and 1970s politicization of Islam became concrete and the most striking issue was the foundation of Islamist parties. The National Order Party¹⁴ was founded in 1970 and in 1972, as the continuation of the former party; the National Salvation Party was founded. The party based on the idea of the *Milli Görüş*¹⁵ (the National View) which was formed by the members of a particular Nakshibendi group (Atacan, 2006:43). The party adopted a synthesis of Islam and rational capitalism (Mardin, 1977:295), and was able to become a coalition partner of different

¹⁴The party was shut down in 1971 with the accusation that the party aimed at creating an Islamic state.

¹⁵ *Milli Görüş* composed of four main ideas: the idea of *ümme*t (Muslim community) under the leadership of Turks, nationalism, etatism in economy and respect of the military (Atacan, 2006: 46).

governments in 1974, 1975 and 1977.

The administrative and economic institutions of the state introduced Islamic conservatives (Mardin, 2006: 12) since 1940s; but the evident Islamist “resurgence” occurred after the *coup d’etat* of 1980. Turkish-Islamist synthesis, within which Islamist movements flourished, was emphasized by the military, and later by the right-wing parties. After the *coup d’etat* of 1980, neo-liberal economic policies came into operation and the shift from import substitution to export-oriented growth led to migration from rural to urban areas thereby radically changing the profile of the cities. Besides that, after the coup, suppression of the left which was influential on the urban poor, made room for the Islamist movements and they could be easily organized among the urban poor. Not only did the Islamist movements resolve the problems of identity or conservative fears of the urban poor, but they also became a channel to political and economic power, social status and prestige (Toprak, 1999).

Thus, from the 1980s till now, religious traditions and movements challenged the public, economic, political and moral spheres much more openly and strongly than before. The Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi), whose members were mostly old members of the *Milli Görüş*¹⁶, could be seen as an embodiment of long religious “revival” within the modern Republic. The JDP was able to articulate the neo-liberal economic policies to its religious world-view (but declared its split from *Milli Görüş*) and formed a coalition of different Islamic, nationalist and right-center groups that won the elections in 2002. They have occupied the government office ever since.

The other thesis of secularism, the privatization of religion simply means the withdrawal of religion into its own, private sphere, with the emancipation of secular spheres from religious control and religious rules. In the case of Turkey, in the early

¹⁶ The Welfare and the Virtue Parties were the successors of the National Salvation Party which also based the idea of *Milli Görüş*.

Republican period, the Kemalists not only established secular spheres but also tried to reform and place the religion in its own sphere under state control. After the abolition of the Caliphate and Ministry of Religious Law and Foundations, the Directorate of Religious Affairs established and attached to the Office of the Prime Minister with the aim of taking religion under the control, sought to reform religion and to make it compatible with the modern world. The Directorate of Religious Affairs' status was confirmed after the military invention in 1960. Moreover, the 1982 constitution made the Directorate of Religious Affairs a part of the Republic's administration (Shankland, 1999: 29). The Religious Affairs' duties were the administration of mosques, the appointment and dismissal of imams and preachers and other mosque functionaries and the supervision of the muftis (Lewis, 2002). In addition to these, "[...] the Directorate oversees the organization of the pilgrimage, publishes large quantities of literature, distributes and prints the Koran, makes rulings on question of religious nicety in the form of opinions (*fetvas*), hold conferences on religious issues, oversees the conversion of those who wish to become Muslim and, attends to the physical infrastructure of the modern religious buildings" (Shankland, 1999:30). As Shankland stresses, although the term "Religious Affairs" does not denote any specific religious group, excluding the religious groups such as Alevis, Yezidis, Christians and Jews, the Directorate of Religious Affairs took the responsibility of defining and executing Sunni Islamic affairs.

Regarding the role of the Religious Affairs, Gülalp (2005: 357) argues that the Republican regime attempted to turn religion into a private and personal matter by controlling it through the Religious Affairs office. However, the arguments about the privatization of religion become equivocal when the Religious Affairs' dual function is taken into consideration. One of the functions of the Religious Affairs is to position and keep religion in its own sphere. The other function is to define and dictate "a Sunni form of Islam" which, at the same time, means interfering in the private sphere

of an individual. To what extent the Religious Affairs performs its functions is also an important issue. State control over religion through the Directorate of Religious Affairs could eliminate old, central Islam; on the other hand, despite the legal ban, religious orders could survive and during the period of Republic, even new religious orders had flourished. Apart from the persistence of religious orders, since the establishment of the Republic, religious movements challenged the sphere of religion defined by the state. Especially during the 1980s and after, “religion” has gained more and more power in other spheres such as politics, administration and economy.

Finally, in the case of Turkey, the differentiation aspect of the theory of secularization is, in my view, the most appropriate part of this theory. Rather than reduce the influence of Islam in society, the early republican regime tried to replace the old form of Islam (although there were multiple forms of Islam during the Ottoman) with the new one, compatible with modern nation state. It also separated the religious sphere from the secular but the privatization of religion and decline of religion did not taken place. Since 1940s, and especially since 1980s, what did take place was the religious movements’ refusal to be sharply separated from the state. Since 1940s, religious orders, religious movements and parties have been able to enter and integrate with the spheres of politics and economics which were identified by the early republican regime as secular spheres.

Thus, this study aims at positioning the Ulusoy family as the leading sacred lineage within the context of Turkish secularization/modernization process. It examines the transformation of their sacred authority and maintenance of their divine right to rule over the Alevi-Bektaşî community. To that end, the study includes eight chapters. First chapter is introduction and it involves the research problem, review of research and research methods and some brief information on research subjects.

In the second chapter, I discuss the fieldwork process from gathering data to classifying it. During fieldwork, the interaction between the researcher and research

subjects is unavoidable and in my case, as an insider researcher, this interaction gains special importance. Thus, for the sake of the validity of the research, I try to reflect my social origin, gender, marital status, age and state of religious belief on the research process and show how these affected the research and the relationship between me and my research subjects.

In the third chapter, based on the fact that in the Ottoman period the Ulusoy family (the Çelebi branch) was formally recognized as the hereditary successors of Hacı Bektaş Veli, I explore the status of the Çelebis as the *postnişin* of the main dervish convent and as the trustee of the exempted foundation of main dervish convent during this period. Due to their official status, some privileges were granted to the family. However, these privileges depended on the policies on the centralization and decentralization of the Empire and were therefore not stable. Therefore, I follow the course of transformation of the family's sacred authority during the Ottoman period in order to highlight grasping the continuities and discontinuities of this authority in the Republican period.

In the fourth chapter, I explore the changing internal distribution of the sacred authority within the Alevi-Bektaşî Path. During the Republican period, with the modification of the hierarchical relations within Path, the *mürşit*'s authority dispersed among the male members of the family and, the title of *effendi*, acquired new forms. Therefore, the first part of the chapter is on the sacred role of the *effendis*. In keeping with this, I especially focus on the succession rules within the family and follow the ways of succession from the end of the 19th century till present. The existence of the effendis in the political sphere is another topic of this chapter. From the 1950s to the mid-1990s; some of the family members were able to convert their religious authority into a political one by being founders of the political parties or being elected as deputies in the areas where the Alevi-Bektaşî population density was high. In the wake of changing political conditions after the 1990s the family's sacred

authority becomes incapable of ensuring its election as deputies. However, does not lead to its resignation from the political sphere; on the contrary, it enables new possibilities in the political sphere. Thus, this chapter examines the course of the family members in the political sphere during the Republican period.

In the fifth chapter, I focus on Hacıbektaş district as the “locality” whereby the sanctity of the Ulusoy family is permanently reproduced through the idea of “return to origin”. Firstly, I explore the dissolution of the family’s old forms of authority that accrued to its old status within the patrimonial relations that flourished in the district during the Ottoman period. This dissolution continued till the 1950s and radically transformed the family structure which split into nuclear families. In the 1930s, family members began to migrate to other cities even though some returned back to the district. This trend of out-migration from the district and returning back to the district ended only in the 1990s. Except for a few, the family members have settled in other cities. During this period, the perception of Hacıbektaş district as the locality changed and the relationship of the family members’ with this locality acquired special importance in maintaining and reproducing the Ulusoy’s sanctity and sacred authority. Thus, the residences of the Ulusoy family are also the focal points of this chapter.

In the sixth chapter, I explore those rules of kinship through which the Ulusoy family sustains itself as the sacred patrilineage. Without ruling out the multidimensional characteristic of kinship which includes biological, social, religious, economic and political aspects, I relate the term kinship with the line of organization of the family. Besides that, I focus on the genealogy of the family because genealogy as a kind of ideological tool to reconstitute the religious authority (Gilsenan 2000) is vital for preserving the ongoing “right to rule” over the Alevi-Bektaşî community. Keeping the genealogical memory alive is also another important aspect of the maintenance of the family’s sacred authority; hence, the patronymic usage and the names given to newborn members of the family also present an issue

with in this chapter.

The seventh chapter is on the gender aspect of the reproduction of the family. The family members and the Alevi-Bektaşî community share the common belief that only men are able to give life and blood ties can pass only through male lineage. The Ulusoy women cannot create an agnate by giving birth but they are included within this agnatic bond. Besides that, for the continuity of the family, men's control over women's reproductive capacity is essential (Palazzi, 1999: 215). Thus, under the subtitles of procreation, marriage and motherhood, education and work, I discuss the role of the Ulusoy women in the procreation of the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli; women's position in the reproduction of the sanctity of the family and their experience of the gender roles which they should undertake within the family.

The eighth chapter is the conclusion and general evaluation of the study.

1.2 Review of Research

Hereditary succession is a widespread succession rule among the Shi'ite branches and communities, such as the early Baha'is who are close to the Shi'ite tradition (Scharbrodt, 2008) and also among some Sunni Sufi orders. In this regard, there is a large collection of studies on sacred genealogies, especially on Sufi orders in North Africa such as the Sanusiya in Cyrenaica¹⁷ (Evans-Pritchard, 1968); the Ihansalen who are the descendants of saint Sidi Said Ahansal in Morocco (Gellner, 1969); the Hamidiya Shadhiliya order in Egypt (Gilsenan, 1973); or in the Middle East like the Rashidi Ahmadi order which also spread across parts of West Africa and Southeast Asia (Sedgwick, 2005). Furthermore, there are studies on the Shi'ite branches like Zaydis, ruling families in Yemen (Vom Bruck, 2005) which similar to my study focus on transformation of the families after they have lost formal

¹⁷ An ancient region of northeast Libya.

recognition of their “divine right to rule”.

However, sociological and anthropological studies on holy lineages in Turkey are rare. Caroline Tee’s (2010) ethnographic study on the Derviş Kemal Ocağı focuses on the transformation of the organization of the holy lineage through geographical distribution and urbanization. Peter Andrews and Hıdır Temel conducted a descriptive study that gives some information on the Hubyar sacred lineage, its geographical distribution, organization and rituals. Apart from a few smaller scale studies, there is not a comprehensive study on the Ulusoy family. One of the studies of the Ulusoy family is an oral history study that takes place in the book *Cumhuriyet’in Aile Albümleri* (1998). Using photographs from the family album, Ayşe Berktaş Hacımırzaoğlu presents snapshots from the family life and gives a short history of the family during the Turkish Republic period. But ruling out the family’s persisting religious authority over the Alevi-Bektaş community, Hacımırzaoğlu heralds the family’s disintegration for integrating into the Republic.

Another study is an article on the Ulusoy family, “L’oncle et le député : circuits de ressources et usages de la parenté dans un lignage sacré en Turquie” (2006), written by Benoit Fliche and Elise Massicard.¹⁸ Fliche and Massicard seek an answer to the question how the family dealt with the collective religious and economic sources which had remained from the period of the Ottoman Empire in the period after the constitution of the Republic. For Fliche and Massicard, unequal distribution of the resources, especially the religious resources which became concrete in the position of *mürşit*¹⁹, resulted in segmentation within the family. As a

¹⁸ These researchers also wrote another article “Die Ulusoy-Familie in der republikanischen Türkei: Abstammungsgebundene religiöse Autorität und Versuche ihrer Transformation,” to be published in the collection of papers presented at the International Alevilik Symposium held at Heidelberg University in 2006. This article is the abridged version of the aforementioned article with little difference.

¹⁹ The family member who succeeds the post of Hacı Bektaş Veli.

result, the family members have sought to take advantages of the family patrimony through religious, political, marital, educational and economic strategies. Thus, despite the authors' precipitate attempt to derive information from poor data²⁰, the article provides a picture of the family members' disputes over the distribution-redistribution of the reduced family resources and their strategies for taking advantages of the resources. This study presents the family members only as the competing agents for their benefit, ruling out their emotional ties, experiences, feeling and moral and religious reasoning and the family's living interaction with the Alevi-Bektaşis.

1.3 Research Methods

To study the maintenance of the Ulusoy family during the Republican period, I applied ethnography as a research process. Having my research based on the fieldwork, I used several data gathering techniques in order to conduct the study on the Ulusoy family. Ethnographic study provided me to scrutinize the family within its socio-historical context by taking into account the family member's practices, experiences, feelings, reasoning and ideas as well.

I conducted the fieldwork from December 2008 to September 2010 with a few breaks in between. I met with the family members several times in Ankara: in December 2008 and in the period between October 2009 and January 2010. My study in Hacібektaş district lasted from July 2009 to October 2009 and from July 2010 to September 2010.²¹

²⁰ To illustrate, the authors' claim about the correlation between marriage and politics are somewhat problematic because of the lack of data and wrong information about a family member's position. In the article, he (Ali İhsan Ulusoy) is called *mürşit* although he was not.

²¹ Until the end of writing process of the dissertation, I met some of the family members and got information from them by conducting interviews or having conversation about the Ulusoy family.

During the research, I used several data gathering methods: observation, interview and in-depth interview, oral history and documentary research and visual research.

1.3.1 Observation

Participant observation can be used as the cognate term of ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993:2), but, during the fieldwork; the roles that a researcher undertakes might vary from complete participation to complete observation (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993:93; Davies, 2008:82). I made an effort to avoid these two poles of the field roles as much as possible, and tried to conduct a reflexive observation which necessitates taking into account my participation in the research circumstances.

In Hacibektaş district, my research was based on visiting the residences of the family members. The family has 17 residences at the Hacibektaş district. With the exception of a few, I visited almost all residences on several occasions. All these residences, except one which is used by its owners all the time, are generally used by the family members in summers. These residences are gathering places of the family members who live in big cities like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. Moreover, they are the meeting places for the family members and the Alevi-Bektaşî community affiliated with the family. By visiting the residences, I had an opportunity to observe the relationship among the family members which is indicative of all power relations, kinship rules, gender roles, hierarchies, beliefs, customs and daily activities. I also observed how all those are experienced by family members from different generations. The relationship of the family members with the disciples was also important to understand the position of the family within the community. In this sense, I had the opportunity to observe how and in which ways the family members

exercised their authority over the disciples. Moreover, living in Hacıbektaş district provided me with the opportunity to spot and experience the peculiar position of the family within their hometown in terms of the minimum relation they have with other inhabitants of the district.

In Ankara, I visited some of the members of the family in order to understand the difference between their way of life in Ankara and in Hacıbektaş. During some of these visits, I could observe their relation with their disciples in Ankara and make comparisons between these two field sites.

1.3.2 Interview and Oral History

Interviewing is an essential data gathering technique for conducting field research. I conducted semi-structured interviews with some of the family members at the beginning of my study, which otherwise, were, scheduled during our second meetings. I prepared informal list of the topics which I wanted to talk about and the responses were open-ended. The topic on the Ulusoy family was organized to get basic information about the interviewee such as her/his education, profession, marriage, her/his position, personal history and information about her/his nuclear family. The interviewee's self-perception as an Ulusoy and relation with other Ulusoy was also part of the questions. The second topic was on the family members' organic relation with the Hacıbektaş district which is crucial to understand the role of locality in terms of reproduction the sacred authority. The questions on the mansions that they possess provided me to scrutinize both reproduction of sanctity through locality and the family history including the changing family structure. The family members' relation with the inhabitants of the district was also another question under this topic. In consonance with the previous topics, the third topic was the relation between the Ulusoy and the disciples. Depending on whom the interviews were

conducted with, I asked questions on organization of the Alevi-Bektaşî community, the family's role and position within the Alevi-Bektaşî belief and nature and type of relations between the family and the disciples.²²

There was no time restriction for the interviews. The duration of the interviews was from half an hour to two hours although the meetings during which the interviews were conducted usually took more time than the interviews alone. After a while, when the family members got familiar with me, I carried out unstructured interviews and I could ask more specific and personal questions which varied according to the interviewee. Despite my intention to interviews one person at a time, there were some cases when these interviews turned into group interviews. This kind of interviews were sometimes more fruitful than I expected. Including both personal and group interviews, I conducted seven interviews with one family member; five interviews with two members; six interviews with one member; three interviews with three members; two interviews with seven members and an interview with nineteen members. There were 24 family members with whom I did not conduct interviews due to several reasons such as inconvenient milieu. Among them, there were also children with whom conducting interview was not possible. I preferred to have conversation with them rather than conducting interviews. Thus, "naturally occurring conversation" (Davies, 2008:105) took a great part in my fieldwork.

Apart from family members, I conducted four interviews with some sacred guides and disciples. Two of these were group interviews and all of them were conducted at the mansions of the Ulusoy. The questions were about the relationship of sacred guides and disciples with the Ulusoy and the rituals which they performed during their visit to the Ulusoy. Again, due to unfavorable conditions for interviewing them while visiting the Ulusoy, I generally preferred to have conversation with them. Except for a few interviews I had also conversation with the

²² See Appendix A and B for two samples of the semi-structured interviews.

inhabitants.

During the fieldwork, I also relied on oral history as a research technique. As Thompson argues, history has social purposes (Thompson, 2000:6). In line with this, oral history helps reconstruct a particular event in the past through the voices of the ignored and unprivileged ones (Angrosino, 2007:49). Using oral history thus provided me with an opportunity to develop Ulusoy's history from the beginning of the Republic up to now. Individual life story, by which the narrator can talk about her/his life in a detailed way; single-issue interview which provides testimony about an aspect or period of narrator's life and family tree interview by which it is possible to get the information about other family members from contemporary or previous generations (Slim, et. all, 2003:116-117) were the interview techniques that I used during the oral history study. I conducted these interviews both one-to one and in a group.

1.3.3 Documentary Research

Being a researcher with no expertise in the discipline of history, I experienced difficulties in scrutinizing the archival data and this was the most troubling part of the documentary research. I had to depend on the secondary archival data since I was not a researcher trained to make an archival research. Besides that, my knowledge of Ottoman Turkish is insufficient for me to transcribe the documents written in Ottoman Turkish into the Latin alphabet.

As a result, I used secondary archival data resulting from other researchers' studies. Faroqhi's studies on the Bektaşî dervish convents provided me some dependable information on the history of the family.²³ The official documents on the

²³ See Faroqhi, Suraiya (1976). "The tekke of Hacı Bektaş: social position and economic activities", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 7, pp.183–208 and Faroqhi, Suraiya (2003). *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*. İstanbul: Simurg Yayınevi.

family which were published in Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal were also my secondary sources. However, the lack of original forms of these documents makes me uncertain about their dependability given the fact that transcription of those documents inevitably involves the comments of the transcriber. Although it covers quite valuable information and historical data, this problem is also valid for the book of Cemalettin Çelebi, *Müdafaa* which was transcribed and edited by Birdoğan (1996).²⁴ There is also another book which is written by Ali Celalettin Ulusoy (1986). This book is a unique source to comprehend the author's perception of his family and covers some important edicts, assignments, verdicts and letters which highlighted the relationship between the state officials and the family in the Ottoman period, especially in the 19th century and in the early Republican period.²⁵

Furthermore, an important source given to me by the family members is the registry of birth of the family members from the end of the 19th century till 2004. I also collected some handouts on the family and especially on the religious head, the *postnişin* of the family. Besides, I collected news on the family and interviews conducted with some of the family members from different newspapers.

1.3.4 Visual Research

According to Banks (2007:6-7) there are three strands of visual research in social sciences. One of them is the creation of images like taking photos or making sketches, not for the purpose of using it but for the purpose of documenting or analyzing the research topics. The researcher can create these images independent

²⁴ Birdoğan, Nejat (ed.) (1996). Çelebi Cemalettin Efendi'nin Savunması (Müdafaa). İstanbul: Berfin Yayınları.

²⁵ Ulusoy, Celalettin Ali (1986). Hünkar Hacı Bektaş Veli ve Alevi-Bektaşî Yolu. Hacıbektaş.

from the research subjects' knowledge. The second strand is the study of images which are produced or consumed by the research subjects like observing them while they are taking photos or watching television. And the third stand is the collaborative study of the researcher and research subjects on the preexisting images or on creating new images. During the study, I applied all three strands of visual research. I took photos and made sketches to make the place of the Ulusoy in geographical sense more clear and understandable for me. I also took photos with one family member and observed him while taking photos and I observed some of my informants while watching a television program in which one of the *postnişins* of the family participated. However, my visual research was based on the collaborative study of the preexisting photos and taking of new photos. Some of the family members shared their photo albums with me. We looked at the photos which were taken since the early 20th century on. They explained to me the history of those photos. This collaborative study also formed a part of the oral history study as well. Moreover, I took new photos of the family members in order to support the study visually.

1.4 Field Site

A quick look at some debates on field sites could be helpful to define the field of my study. Since the early 1990s, the conventional single-sited ethnography has been challenged by theorists of the multi-sited ethnography. According to them, bounded single-sited ethnography is unable to grasp the local within the capitalist world system and/or global era (Marcus, 1995). Thus, the multi-sited ethnography theorists maintain that, in spatially decentered world, all local phenomena are part of larger systems which operate on global scale. The reality of the interconnected local phenomena, namely, the reality of the global does not correspond with the reality produced by a bounded single sited ethnographic study (Candea, 2009; Cook et.al,

2009). Now, with the insufficiency of the single-site ethnography, the ethnographer's "being there" experience is out of meaning, and instead of it, it is time for "following the thing" because "the object of study is ultimately mobile and multiply situated" (Marcus, 1995:102). In order to follow the thing, people, metaphor, (etc.), the ethnographer should pass through various sites but these sites are "not a self-contained local instance in communication with a global system, but an ethnographic location for the direct study of this system itself" (Candea, 2009:29).

The shift from single-site to multiple sites involves some geographical concepts like space and place. According to the multi-sited critique of single-sited ethnography, the conventional field aims at a simultaneous study of space (geographical area) and place (imagined spaces, cultural formations: culture, village, nation etc.). Thus, with the overlap between place and space, the natural spatial boundaries of the place become the boundaries of the field site. Furthermore, there are some assumptions included within this single-sited ethnography model. One of them is places, cultural formations, have clear boundaries and they correspond to bounded space; secondly places are highly homogeneous within itself and highly heterogeneous among themselves. However, in multi-sited ethnography, space means both the plural bounded local spaces and a unitary "seamless" global space (Cook et.al, 2009). Thus,

"[p]laces spill out from spaces, the ethnographer ought to follow carriers from local space to local space and the boundaries of the ethnographer's field ought to come assiduous following of connections to correspond to the sum of all the connected spaces- in this sense it would be a *multi sited* field" (Cook et.al, 2009: 63).

In this sense, multi-sited ethnography faces two important problems. One of them is stressed by Candea and defined as the holism of the multi-sited ethnography. The multi-sited ethnography theorists argue that passing through spatially dispersed field sites and following research subjects means at the same time to study the "seamless reality". Moreover, in order to be able to study "seamless" reality, the

researcher has to be ubiquitous. However, the researcher has to make some decisions and choices during the fieldwork, and these decisions and choices draw the arbitrary locations of the study (Candea, 2009). The other problematic issue of the multi-sited ethnography is the one concerned with the geographic concepts. While criticizing understanding of the single-sited ethnography on space and place; the multi-sited ethnography is also not far from this understanding by maintaining that a field corresponds to place(s). Arguing for un-sited field, Cook et.all (2009) says that a field should not be thought as an area and, moreover, the connection between field, space and place is not necessary.

In the light of this debate, it might be helpful to reconsider the terms of space and place. When space is considered as the product of multiple interrelations, embedded practices, connections and disconnections which is permanently under construction (Massey: 1994, 1999, 2005) then, place is particular articulation of those interrelations in particular location (Massey, 1994:168). In keeping with these definitions, both space and place are necessarily thought as openness, dynamism and pluralism and, not as opposing concepts because they “emerge through active material practices” (Massey, 2005:95). Furthermore, every individual place is unique as meeting of social relations at that location, “[e]ach place is the focus of distinct mixture of wider and more local social relations. There is the fact that this very mixture together one place may produce effects which would not have happened otherwise” (Massey, 1994:156).

When space and place are conceived as processes under construction of multiple social relations and not static closures, then the field of the research can be easily connected with both place and space without underestimating the specificity of the place. In this regard, Hacibektaş district was the most important part of my field research as the locality and as the meeting place where the sanctity of the family is permanently reproduced. Thus, rather than moving from one place to another to

follow my research subjects, I moved and followed them where they met.

It was also important for my research to be able to gather data about the “mundane” life of the family members. Their stay in Hacibektaş intrinsically includes their mundane life, in other words, their sacredness never excludes the profane. However, in order to see the continuity and/or discrepancy in their life experiences, I needed to follow them out of Hacibektaş district. Thus, I followed my relationship with some of the family members and this pursuit brought me to Ankara (with the indispensable influence of the fact that Ankara is the city where I live as well). In fact, Ankara was the city where I began to conduct my field research because of my earlier connection with a member of the family. In different times, I moved between Hacibektaş and Ankara to conduct my field research and every time, the boundaries of my field was drawn by my choices and decisions which are also determined by my interaction and relationship with the research subjects, as well as by my economic conditions, gender, age and dispositions (Bourdieu, 2003:283).

1.5 The Research Subjects

The study encompasses the members of the family from the end of the 19th up to now. Two sons of Feyzullah Çelebi, namely, Ahmet Cemalettin Çelebi (1863-1921) and Veliyettin Ulusoy (Çelebi) (1867-1949) and their progenies are my research subjects. Since the end of 19th century, the Ulusoy have had 222 members and 78 nuclear families. 90 females were born as Ulusoy, 43 were included within the family by marriage. 90 males including Ahmet Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi were born in the period between the second half of 19th century and 2010. From the end of the 19th century till 2010, 28 females died and 18 of them were daughters-in-law. And, between these dates, 27 male members of the Ulusoy died. Now, 167 members of the family are alive.

During the fieldwork, I met 58 members of the Ulusoy family from different generations. The oldest person was born in 1918 and the youngest was born in 2009. I met 42 female members and 7 of them were daughters-in-law. The number of male members whom I met was 16, one of them was a boy and one of them was a baby. All those family members that I met are persons who have residences in Hacibektaş district or who stay at their parents/grandparents' residences.²⁶ That is to say, many of them have still organic relationship with the disciples.

Although it is not my intention to focus on the Alevi-Bektaş community, the interdependent existence of the Ulusoy family as the sacred agnatic descent and the Alevi-Bektaş community, makes the disciples of the family indispensable part of my study. In order to understand the position of the family within the Alevi-Bektaş community, a triad hierarchy might be visualized. At the top of this hierarchy is the Ulusoy family due to their descent from the "fountainhead of the path" (Korkmaz, 2003:379), namely Hacı Bektaş Veli. As his descendants, the Ulusoy family possesses the post of being *mürşit*, religious mentor (Ulusoy, 1986: 199). Although all family members are at the top of this hierarchy, not every family member can be a *mürşit*. Only one male member (two male members, like now) can possess the post of *mürşit*. In accordance with this hierarchical order, below the *mürşit*, are the *dedes*²⁷ and *babas*²⁸, the sacred

²⁶ See the Appendix C for the table of social profile of the research subjects that I met during the fieldwork. The Ulusoy family, as the leading agnatic descent, has a crucial position within the Alevi-Bektaş Path and is known by large amount of people. Using the family members' names might mean the disclosure of their identity, and, therefore, it might cause putting them in a vulnerable position regarding the possibility of misuse of the information that is given in the study. In order to prevent the disclosure of the family members' identity, I do not use their names. As I will explain in the Chapter VI, due to the fact that name and name giving has special importance for the family members in terms of kinship through which the sanctity is reproduced, I do not use nicknames as well. Instead of nicknames, I use some abbreviations in order to refer to the family members.

²⁷ The way of the organization of the Alevis is based on *ocaks*, namely the sacred patrilineages of the sacred guides, *dedes* many of which claim an Alid genealogy. Some of these *ocaks* are affiliated with the Ulusoy family. However, some of them assert that they have priority at the Alid genealogy and they do not feel obliged to get permission from the children of Hacı Bektaş Veli and they are called independent *ocaks* (Yaman, 2000).

guides (who are affiliated with the Çelebis of Hacı Bektaş Veli, namely with the Ulusoy family). The *mürşit* of the Ulusoy family gives a kind of permit (*icazetname*) to the *dedes*, namely he appoints them. By this way, he keeps them under control in order to ensure the functioning of the path. At the bottom, there are the disciples who are affiliated with those *dedes* or *babas*. This hierarchy is based on the consent of the participants and necessitates reciprocity. Rather than a strict order, it should be understood as dynamic relationship in which all ranks control themselves and others in accordance with the Alevi-Bektaşî path.

Thus, it is impossible to study the sanctity of the Ulusoy family members and transformation of their sanctity without putting them within these hierarchical relations. In this sense, as part of this hierarchical structure of the Alevi-Bektaşî path, the Alevi-Bektaşî sacred guides and disciples are also my research subjects.

²⁸ In terms of the Alevi-Bektaşî belief, the *babas* are also sacred guides but they are not descendants of sacred persons and can be appointed only by the Çelebis by virtue of their knowledge and ability to guide.

CHAPTER 2

IN THE FIELD

Reflexivity, “the process of monitoring and reflecting on all aspects of a research project from the formulation of research ideas through the publication of findings” (Jupp, 2006:258) is the prerequisite for the ethic and for the validity of a research. In an ethnographic study, in which the researcher and the research subjects are in a close relationship, reflexivity gains a special importance. Opposite the claim of objectivity which proposes the dual detachment of the researcher from the object of knowledge and his/her own particular life situation for the sake of value-free science (Dean et. all 2006:6), it is clear that researcher is the part of the social world in which s/he conducts the research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1993). Therefore, it is crucial to indicate –from the phase of selecting the research topic to the reporting the results- how the study is affected by the researcher (Davies, 2008:4). Moreover, contrary to the claim of subjectivity which breaks down the distinction between the researcher and research subjects and reduces the social and knowledge of the social to the experience of the researcher, reflexivity is not an end of the study, but the means to get the social reality of the knowledge which is outside the researcher (Davies, 2008).

In this chapter, I will reflect on the fieldwork of the study. Following Bourdieu’s argument of “objectivation of the subject of objectivation” (Bourdieu, 2003:282), I will lay stress on my social origin, gender, marital status, age and religious beliefs so that I will indicate how all these affected the fieldwork and my relationship with the research subjects.

2.1 Being Insider

Taking into account the differentiated society and heterogeneous culture, the concepts like nonnative/native and outsider/insider becomes controversial (Coffey, 1999:22, Narayan, 1993:671). Besides, the ways of belonging is very complex (Davies, 2008:42) and, when taken for granted like in my case, affinity of the insider researcher with her/his research subject is very problematic. I come from the hometown of the Ulusoy family, from Hacібektaş. Further, I am a member of a family who were, like some other families in the district, subjects of the Ulusoy family in the past. Moreover, my maternal grandfathers' grandfather was working for the family as a teacher²⁹. There is not a relationship between my maternal family and the Ulusoy family anymore. Still, my grandfather and grandmother have respect for the family but without attributing any religious meaning to them. Needless to say, my grandparents belong to the minority in Hacібektaş who have no negative thought about or attitude towards the family. For years, the legitimacy of the family's rule over the Alevi-Bektaş community has been challenged and refused by the inhabitants. Thus, many of the inhabitants of Hacібektaş neglect the claim that Hacı Bektaş Veli had descendants. For many of them, the Ulusoy family members are usurpers who exploit the Alevi-Bektaş community by using the claim that they are the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli. As I will elaborate later, their rejection of the legitimacy of the family's religious authority stems from the disintegration of patrimonial relations between the Ulusoy family and the inhabitants of the district.

Before I came to know the Ulusoy family, as a person who is far from any relations in the district, I had no negative or positive idea about them except for curiosity aroused during my visits to Hacібektaş. Like many other natives of my

²⁹ Unfortunately I could not get any information about what he taught. At that time, my grandfather was a little boy and he could only remember that he went to the mansions of the family with his grandfather.

generation, I have never lived in Hacibektaş because many of the inhabitants migrated from the district to the cities by the end of 1960s and 1970s. I brought up in the city and only visited Hacibektaş in summers to meet my grandparents. Besides that, belonging to a lower middle class family and being educated woman who living in the city, my own life experience is completely different from that of my contemporaries who live in the district although we share some common values and cultural codes. Thus, rather than insider, I preferred to define myself as quasi-insider similar to Atay's definition of a third position in the field, namely being outsider and insider (or native and non-native) at the same time (Atay, 1996:363).

At the beginning of the study, relying on my former experience on conducting a field research in Hacibektaş, I decided to choose strangeness as a methodological tool. It is obvious that shared ideas, feelings, cultural and ethical codes, language and terminology create very comfortable environment for an insider researcher. On the other hand, distance from research topic is necessary to escape from the illusions that might stem from the confidence in familiarity. Thus, I decided to emphasize my being quasi-insider, which provided me a spontaneous distance. However, in the field, things did not happen as I planned. Due to the fact that I was relatively free from all existing power relations in the district including the relationship between the Ulusoy and the inhabitants, I could not envisage that my research could be a kind of "studying 'up'" (Nader, 1972). Unlike me, both the Ulusoy and the inhabitants perceived my study as 'studying up' the Ulusoy. By choosing this topic, in the eyes of them I turned, against my will, into an embodiment of the relationship between the Ulusoy and inhabitants.

I tried to explain to inhabitants and the Ulusoy the problematic of my study by stressing that the focus of my study is beyond my ideas and feelings. However, I failed to explain it. The reaction of the inhabitants varied from mockery to anger with my research topic. Some of them suspected that I am affiliated with the family. For

example, I met two young women in Hacibektaş and they wanted to learn what I was studying. Having learned my research topic, they supported the claim that the Ulusoyos are not the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli and they got really aggressive when I said that my study did not problematize whether the Ulusoyos are real progeny or not. Again, one of the authorized persons in the local administration told me that he could have helped me with my study if the topic of my research had not been the Ulusoyos.

Most of the Ulusoyos with whom I got in contact welcomed me to their homes but it is important to stress that my gatekeeper was the one of the *postnişins* of the family. Before starting the fieldwork in Hacibektaş, I made interviews with him in Ankara. He introduced me to some elders of the family and to some other members who reside in the Çelebi mansions. Later, some other family members introduced me to other members as well and I did not experience any explicit problem about their confidence in me and in my study. I realized the advantage of having such a gatekeeper when I tried to introduce myself to some of the family members on my own. Some of them were kind but distant and not willing to answer my questions while some others welcomed me and spared some time for my questions but our interaction was formal and detached. Those family members who were in a close relationship with my gatekeeper became my informants with whom I was in a close relationship during my fieldwork.

My status of being insider had different meanings for the different generations of the Ulusoyos. For the older and middle-aged generations it was important but the younger generations did not care about it because they had no experience or memory about the relationship between the inhabitants and their family. Moreover, the older generations were used to talking to researchers, journalists and even some academicians interested in the historical documents that the family possesses. However, I was the first insider to conduct an ethnographic study on the family.

Beside the problem they had in understanding why I was conducting the study, they were also amazed that an insider would want to do such a study. Having lost their religious authority and legitimacy over the people of Hacibektaş, they have been surrounded with dislike and even, in extreme cases, hatred. Thus, they were pleased with my interest in their family. To illustrate, one member of the family happily remarked “I can’t imagine that one of the inhabitants of Hacibektaş wants to study our family!”³⁰ Moreover, my interaction with them was not anything like a relationship between an *effendi* and a disciple or that of an Ulusoy and an inhabitant. They preferred to deal with the objectivation of the insider researcher by thinking that she had ties of loyalty with their family. This is why some of them accepted my research as a kind of service to their family.³¹ And some others told me that they accepted me as a member of their family or as one of their children. Such an effort to get closer stemmed from sincerity and good will as well as an implicit endeavor to eliminate the danger of the close existence of an unequal one. Besides, the paternal and/or maternal authority is a natural part of their religious authority over the disciples; in this sense, what they attempted was to normalize our relationship. However, in some cases, my being an insider made our relationship more fragile and sensitive in spite of their effort to normalize it. To illustrate, during a conversation that I had with one of the family members about the relation between the family and the inhabitants, I mentioned the attitudes that some of the inhabitants of Hacibektaş had toward my study without giving any details. After a couple of days, I participated in a meeting at the house of an elder member of the family. At that meeting, an old widow told me “I heard that your family disapproves of your study because you study.” I was astonished and explained to her that it was not true. Then I realized that

³⁰ From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³¹ From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacibektaş. Additionally, a member of the family requested me to send my study to a political party from which he wants to be elected as a deputy, from a conversation made with MUa; BUa; SUD, MUD; FUC; SUE; NSU on 19.09.2009 in Hacibektaş.

the person with whom I was in a conversation a couple of days earlier had spoken to other members of the family about our conversation and that version of the story changed as it circulated. A few days after this meeting, when I phoned the lady at whose residence we previously met, she apologized to me on behalf of the old widow. She thought that I was offended. I was not but thought that I was ethically wrong by ruling out the fragile relationship between the Ulusoy and inhabitants and by talking to an Ulusoy about the attitudes of the inhabitants toward my study.

Despite the fragile relationship between me as an insider and them as the Ulusoy, it was their generosity that allowed me to make a “journey” into their life and into their family history and even sometimes to enter the sensitive areas of their lives. On the other side, unlike the Ulusoy, the attitudes of the disciples toward me were generally negative: “The soil of Hacibektaş is precious but the people of Hacibektaş are like Muawiyah”³² was the saying that I often heard from the disciples when they learnt that I am a native. In general, the disciples’ anger towards the inhabitants is based on two reasons; one of them is inhabitants’ desecration of the Ulusoy and their relationship with the disciples and the other one is the inhabitants’ inhospitable attitude towards the visitors.³³

Thus, some of the disciples to whom I talked to at the houses of the Ulusoy were prone to be resentful and skeptical about my questions. I realized that they protected their *efendis* against my indignity because I did not treat the Ulusoy in a way they did. For example, during a conversation with an Ulusoy family member a

³² This saying is attributed to Hacı Bektaş Veli, in Turkish it is called as “Hacibektaş’ın toprağı kimya, insanı Muaviye”. Muwayiah is the first caliphate of the Umayyad Dynasty who fought Ali ibn Abi Talip in order to be caliph. He is one of the hatred persons because he was known as the murderer of Ali ibn Abi Talip and accused of disrupting the Ahl al-Bayt’s the right to rule.

³³ Inhospitable attitude towards the visitors includes overpriced sales of the tradesmen which reveal the encounter of two different mentalities. From the angle of the visitors, the inhabitants want to drive a profit from the visitors’ religious belief; ironically this is the same accusation that some natives make against the Ulusoy. From the angle of the inhabitants, the tourism of belief is the only opportunity to earn in this economically backward district.

disciple who accompanied her messed with my speech and questions. Although that member of the Ulusoy was one of my favorite informants and we liked each other, without knowing our relationship, the disciple interpreted some expressions that I used signs of my disrespect. Moreover, for the disciple, asking so many questions was a sign of my immaturity. Although most disciples were thought to be at ease with during the study, there were also friendly and helpful disciples to whom I was introduced by the Ulusoy.

During the fieldwork, I realized that my status of being an insider is beyond my self-perception as an insider; however, the reality was that I was not as insider as my research subjects and inhabitants ascribed to me. At times when my research subject's expectation about my behaviour did not match up, they had doubts about my efficiency on the research topic. For this reason, the most difficult part of the fieldwork was to try to understand and learn some basic gestures or some basic codes of conduct followed by the family members that I was generally assumed to be familiar with. Because I did not know or share their religious beliefs and cultural and ethical codes, I sometimes, violated them unknowingly. For example, I asked one of the old ladies whether the Ulusoy women visit the disciples or not. I thought that my question was quite normal because the Ulusoy women undertake an active role at their residences during the visits of their disciples. However, the lady was displeased with this question because she perceived it as a kind of indignity attributed to the Ulusoy. For her (and for many elder and middle- aged members of the family), an Ulusoy woman undertaking the role of an Ulusoy man is an unacceptable behavior. Thus, communicative missteps are always more risky, especially for an insider who studies 'up' because s/he is assume to have familiarized herself/himself with the expected rules and norms.

Religious belief was also an important challenge due of my insider position in the field. The Ulusoy behaved me as if I was a putative believer, who had already

had loyalty to the sacred authority of their family. However, I did not manifest that I have no religious belief because they never asked me about that. On the other hand, I never supported their presupposition about my religious belief and did not behave like a disciple. Because of the fact that their religious authority is based on consent rather than force, and all the religious performance is based on self-control and self-discipline, none of the family members prompted me to behave like a disciple. Although the disciples were too sensitive about treating the family members with great care and expected me to do the same, the family members were not as sensitive about it. More interestingly, some of the family members, who criticize and do not undertake the religious position of the family, were also critical of me with the presupposition that my interest in their family stems from my loyalty to them.

During the fieldwork, I pondered on the religious belief because I was willing to experience the effervescence at the residences of the Ulusoy family. My acquaintance with some symbols and terminology of the Alevi-Bektaşî discourse enabled me to observe the religious performances and to study the family's position within the Alevi-Bektaşî community with relative easiness.

2.1.1 Representing the Self and Being Identified by the Research Subjects (and Roles in the Field)

Before conducting the field research, I talked to one of the *postnişins/mürşit* of the family and asked for permission to conduct a study on the Ulusoy family. Getting permission was important for me to access the family and to declare who I am and what I am doing. I explained him my plans about the study and the methods which I would use. In every first meeting with the family members, I or the person who introduced me to the family members explained who I am and what I am planning to do. And of course, all those explanations about my identity and my task

were chaotic. I knew it would be difficult to explain what doing a PhD candidate and conducting a Ph.D. and conducting academic research means to people who are not familiar with the academy and academics. What concerned me was the possibility of being reckoned as a journalist, which would make it difficult to obtain information about the lesser known mundane and ordinary aspects of their lives.³⁴ As per their perceptions, the family members introduced me to other family members and to the disciples (and in one case to the natives) as a researcher, as a student, as a journalist, as a person who writes a book, as a professor at METU or as an associate professor at METU. I realized that, when they introduced me as a professor, it was not only unfamiliarity with my status as a researcher but also a way of adding prestige to their position within the family and within the community. If I had corrected them while they were introducing me to other people, it would be considered very impolite behavior. I corrected them when we were alone or when we were among people who were friendly. There was also another reason why they attributed different identities to me. For example during a conversation, a family member continued to identify me as a journalist although I corrected her shortly before. She did this not because she thought that I was a journalist, but because it was easier for her to identify me by saying I was a journalist. Therefore, I decided not to be obsessive about my identity and only tried to prevent serious misunderstandings.

Moreover, I myself had no clear picture of what being an academic researcher means, so I did not make certain definitions about my position and identity in the field except from saying why and how I plan to do my study. Coffey (1999:28) stresses that “the dialectic between researcher and researched” is the key to craft and form the identities. Thus, during the fieldwork, I became a researcher by practicing to

³⁴About my fear of being considered as a journalist, I experienced strange incidents during the fieldwork. To illustrate, while I was waiting for a member of the Ulusoy family at her home, I met a woman who worked there voluntarily. At the time I had a digital tape recorder with me. Although I explained her that I am not a broadcaster or journalist, she was obsessed with “being videotaped” and she warned me many times saying that “you are a journalist, don’t videotape me!”

be a researcher. Further, in accordance with my research subjects' definition of and expectations from a researcher, I sometimes turned into a guest who pays a visit, sometimes into a chronicler of the family, sometimes into a relative who accompanies her elders, sometimes a friend to chat with about politics or about the education of their children or a friend for Turkish coffee fortune-telling.

Without rejecting impossibility to overcome the unequal relationship between the researcher and researched (even in the case of studying up); I adopted the understanding that ethnographic research is dialogic, dialectical and collaborative. According to Angrosino (2007:12):

The sense of a dialectic perspective is that truth emerges from the confluence of divergent opinions, values, beliefs, and behaviors, not from some false homogenization imposed from the outside. Moreover, the people of the community are not subjects at all, they are active collaborators in the research effort.

During the fieldwork, I talked about the research to my research subjects who were interested in it and we exchanged our views on the research. My aim was to make the study transparent for them as much as possible. At the same time, I tried to be careful about not hurting their sentiments or destroying their spontaneity. Thus, one of our most important joint works was the pedigree chart of the family from the end of the 19th century till 2010. Later, the pedigree chart turned into a key which was able to open many otherwise closed doors for my study. For example, the male members of the family began to take my research more seriously when they saw the chart. Some of the family members were proud of the pedigree chart which I had drawn and showed it to their disciples. It was also very helpful in my relationship with the disciples. Some disciples appreciated me and showed their interest in my study. For example, after a small talk on the pedigree chart, a young disciple made a contribution to my study by calling my attention on the new relief in the

museum.³⁵The pedigree chart was also helpful for me to learn the extent of the relationship between some of the natives and the Ulusoy. Almost all middle aged natives to whom I showed the pedigree chart found their schoolmates on the chart and for most of them, the school was their only contact with the Ulusoy.

Apart from the pedigree chart, the members of the Ulusoy would sometimes give me a piece of advice. One of them suggested me to visit the cemetery to learn the exact dates of the births and deaths of some of the Ulusoy of which we were not sure. By this way, I experienced that the cemetery is very important place not only for getting information on birth and death dates but also a place with a lot of symbols pertaining to the hierarchy and the social prestige of the dead ones.

Moreover, while conducting oral history, some of the informants warned me not to think that some events were peculiar to the family or to the district. They wisely urged me to put the events into their context and move from micro to macro perspectives.

2.1.2 Gender, Age, Marriage

At the beginning of the study, I could not foresee how gender would have a decisive role in the course of the research. While planning to study this sacred patrilineage, I did not make any stress on gender aspect of the study; however, during the fieldwork in Hacibektaş, I realized that gender was the basic aspect which draws the boundaries of my fieldwork.

As I mentioned before, the Ulusoy's return to their residences in Hacibektaş in

³⁵ This relief was on display in 2009, in the museum. The original form of this relief is a picture which was made in honor of the visit of Mustafa Kemal to Hacibektaş in 1919. In the picture Cemalettin Çelebi, the *postnişin* of the family and Mustafa Kemal were drinking coffee, so this picture symbolizes their collaboration in constituting the Republic. However, in the relief Mustafa Kemal is alone. It is very important sign which reveals the effort of the some local administrators to discredit the authority of the family.

summers means “return to the house of the father”. Literally, those houses are in the possession of fathers. Yet, as domestic places, they are for mothers. Male members of the Ulusoy family who maintain the religious roles and authority as the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli do not stay at their houses for the whole summer. They move from one place where the Alevi-Bektaşis live to another for important local events or for visiting the *dedes*, sacred guides and their disciples.³⁶ Besides, not many elderly or middle-aged male members are alive, the oldest members of the family are females and in some of the mansions, only the female members reside as the head of the family. With males or without them, as domestic places, those residences are under the control of the female members, namely under the rule of the “mothers”.³⁷

As a female researcher, I found myself within the female world and within the domestic sphere of the Ulusoy family in Hacibektaş. The Ulusoy men were also important to the study and there were some male informants who spared their time to talk to me and helped me a lot. However, because I am a female, men were not comfortable with me. Besides that, they were generally too busy or away from home. The best time to find the males at their residences was the festival time because they stay at their residences to meet the Alevi-Bektaş community. However, it was almost impossible to have a conversation or conduct an interview with them at their residences which were full of disciples who paid visits and performed their religious duties and rituals.

In any case, the women were my main informants because I spontaneously found myself among them. More importantly, I realized the importance studying the Ulusoy women, the upholders of the family memory, who play a key role in the reproduction of the family. In spite of the fact that gender was the decisive aspect of my study in terms of drawing the boundaries of the fieldwork, it is important to point

³⁶ In Chapter 4, I will explain the transformation of the relationship between the Ulusoy family and the *dedes*, sacred guides and between the Ulusoy family and the disciples.

³⁷ As well as the familial status, the mother is the title of Ulusoy family female members used by disciples.

out that just like being a native does not necessarily cause an affinity with research subjects, my being a woman did not necessarily bring spontaneous affinity with the world of female Ulusoy women.

The Ulusoy women have experienced a life-long strict education on being proper women and their education is based on self-control. These masterful ladies have *sui generis* rules and roles which regulate their domestic life. Their life in Hacibektaş is restricted to their domestic areas and in the company of one or more female disciple who serve them. One of their most important tasks is to keep their residences clean and ready for the visitors. During the festival times, it is difficult to organize household work, manage the presence of a large number of people and perform religious roles expected by the disciples. When they leave Hacibektaş and return to their mundane lives they are not surrounded with such rules and ceremonies because their relationship with disciples is not so intensive during that time. However, as females of the leading sacred lineage, they are constantly required to be “proper” for their disciples. The definition of a “proper Ulusoy woman” varies according to generation, education and profession of women. Nonetheless, they and their self-perceptions are not free from power relations in society in which they live. In this sense, the Ulusoy women with whom I carried out my fieldwork, share many common experiences and sufferings in domestic life with any ordinary women.

On the other hand, unlike my female informants, I never felt the pressure of those restrictions or expectations of being a proper woman in the traditional sense from my family. In other words, my hexis was different from theirs.

During the fieldwork, in every meeting, I was trying to avoid doing or saying something wrong thereby; disrespecting them or hurting them. I showed my sincerity and respect to them and tried to behave as politely as possible. Generally, they were understanding and praised me. It seemed to me that my hexis did not disturb the Ulusoy females as much as it made me uncomfortable among them. For the middle-

aged and elder women, I was similar to their younger female relatives in terms of my speech, clothing and behavior. However, some of them found me and my appearance interesting because I did not fit into their inhabitant prototype. Moreover being an insider, they were keen on learning more about me and my family, even wanting to meet my mother and grandmother, which made me uncomfortable. This attempt to focus on me would have changed my ethnographer's identity and I would have turned into a neighbor or guest for them. I understood that they were trying to normalize our relationship by stressing mutuality of communication. At the same time, it was also an attempt to overthrow the authority of the researcher as a capable gaze of an "outsider". Thereafter, I talked about myself more and answered all their questions about my family but I postponed their wish to meet my family members until the end of my study.

Except from my anxiety about my hexis, my status of a single woman was an obstacle for me in trying to gain information about private aspects of their lives. Marriage as a rite of passage to adulthood could have provided me access to those issues of adult womanhood such as giving birth and sexuality. Because I am unmarried, I was perceived as young and immature, although I am in thirties. Some of them wanted to know whether I had a boyfriend or not. They recommended me to get married and to have children avoid being lonely in old ages. In extreme cases, some of them thought that my being single meant an openness about marrying their single male relatives. One of them even told me that had there been a suitable man, I would have been a good bride because I am well educated and good looking.³⁸ Moreover, during an interview with an Ulusoy woman who has an unmarried son (with whom I did not meet), I asked to her some questions about her marriage and her expectations about her son's marriage. Like many Ulusoy women she supported endogamy but interestingly, at the end of our interview she said that "I hope you also

³⁸ From the conversation with NUb on 27.08.2010 in Hacibektaş

find a suitable”.³⁹ Those incidents were great opportunities to understand how they perceive Ulusoy gender relations as well as relationships between Ulusoy males and non-Ulusoy females. For them, it was quite normal to think that I (as a non-Ulusoy female) would be eager to marry any of their single males.

Another important issue was the way of speech of the older and middle-aged Ulusoy women. My way of speech and theirs were different in that theirs were more complicated than mine. As an educated person who could easily move in and between the words and worlds of the dominants without hesitating to reject or challenge them, I talk directly and avoid any allusions whenever possible. In this regard, conducting interviews or having a conversation with male informants is always less laboring for me. On the other hand, the female Ulusoy's speech was not so easier for me. What makes the speech of those women very complicated is well illustrated in the quotation below:

A woman's discussion of her life may combine two separate, often conflicting, perspectives: one framed in concepts and values that reflects men's dominant position in the culture, and one informed by the more immediate realities of a woman's personal experience. Where the experience does not “fit” dominant meanings, alternative concepts may not readily be available. Hence, inadvertently, women often mute their own thoughts and feelings when they try to describe their lives in the familiar and publicly acceptable terms of prevailing concepts and conventions. To hear women's perspectives accurately, we have to listen in stereo, receiving both the dominant and muted channels clearly and tuning into them carefully to understand the relationship between them (Anderson & Jack, 1991:11).

My informants used different ways to express themselves when there were no correspondence between their experiences and the male dominated values and concepts. While talking about their own experiences, they rarely objected to the patrilineal family values and concepts. However, they wittingly destroyed the meaning of their sentences by a short silence, by a slightly laugh or by saying inconsistent words or sentences one after another. Their speech was very impressive

³⁹ From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

and it was not so hard to follow hidden meaning in it. They also expressed their feelings and ideas in ways that was not easy to comprehend yet at the same time proved very interesting to me. For example, to some of my questions, some of the Ulusoy females, especially the older ones, gave completely different responses or explained totally different things. Still, they would always give a reply to all my questions, but, on many occasions, I realized that only after having been lost in their words and sentences.

Meanwhile the younger generation women, especially those in their twenties preferred to express themselves clearly without hesitating to object some of traditional family values. There were also teenagers who were not willing to communicate with me.

2.2 Some Equipment Used During the Fieldwork

The equipment which I used during the fieldwork were a digital voice recorder, a simple digital camera for taking photos and making short videos and a netbook on which I showed scanned old Ulusoy family photos to some other family members.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I preferred to use voice recorder because made recording long interviews easier. Before the interviews, I explained to my interviewees that I would not use their recorded tapes, I would transcribe all interviews. I told them that if they did not want to be recorded, I would not use it but that it was for me to preserve those interviews. Only few of the interviewees did not want to be recorded. Their hesitation was understandable as some topics included private and familial issues.

Despite the fact that the recorder aids researcher, in her/his work, it has an undeniable alienating effect on some of the interviewees. As I experienced during my

fieldwork, being recorded sometimes could call some stereotypes created by the mainstream media and an interview could easily turn into making a statement. Besides, being recorded could also cause the interviewees to restrain from giving fully honest/genuine responses. It also generates anxieties about their performances in terms of speech and language which makes the interview far from being a genuine talk. For instance, with some informants, our real talk began only after I turned the recorder off. On the other hand, some informants with whom I close did not mind being recorded. Even some informants even liked being recorded and after the interview, they wanted to hear their voice. After a while, I preferred not to use recorder and began to take short notes, which turned interviews into conversations and became more efficient for getting information.

My research subjects were more comfortable about the camera and many of them posed for me. As the oldest member of the family told me, in the past, only the family members could take the photos of the females and those photos were not shown to the outsiders. Because the females of the Ulusoy are not secluded from the public anymore, it is considered quite normal for them to pose for a photographer. Nonetheless, by allowing me to take their photos, the elder females showed their trust in me.

In any case, the equipment which I used during the one-to-one interviews was distracting and it was always better not to use it. However, in the public events or group meetings, I was expected to use the equipment. In these events, it is common to use camera, recorder or mobile phones by the participants, especially by the disciples. For instance, during a *muhabbet* (religious conversation) there were three voice recorders, two cameras and fifteen digital cameras for taking photos and short videos apart from many mobile phones used for the same purposes.⁴⁰ In some events, although I was not eager to use any equipment and preferred to observe and take

⁴⁰ I got the numbers related to the equipment from the notes of Besim Can Zırh, with whom I participated in a *muhabbet* on 15.08.2009. I am grateful to him for allowing me to use his notes.

notes, I felt that some of the family members and other participants expected me to take an active role by using the equipment because that fits the stereotype of a researcher -which is actually not far from a journalist stereotype- in their minds. For them, using equipment was a way to demonstrate that I took the events and participants seriously. At the same it was the way to be taken seriously by the research subjects.

2.3 Field Notes, Transcriptions and Photos

I took notes by using notebooks and then I organized them on the computer like a diary in order to maintain the chronology of events and the details of my observations and fieldwork experiences. Moreover, I transcribed the voice recordings during and after the day's fieldwork. Because transcription is a laborious task, I extended it over a period of time. I tried to transcribe all the details as much as possible taking into account the impossibility of transcribing expressions such as a laugh or a silent moment which could change the meaning of speech. If the transcription could be accepted as translation, this study includes two translations of the records because the transcriptions were also translated into English.

During the fieldwork, I got some old photos from the family members which I used to refresh the memory of the elder family members and make it easier for them to remember the recent history. I took new photos of some family members for the study and kept aside some of photos and short videos of the religious performances for memory's sake taken by myself to keep my memory on the fieldwork alive.

CHAPTER 3

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE FORMAL RECOGNITION OF THE ULUSOYS (ÇELEBİS)

The Hünkar said “Kadıncık, you have received the nesib which you hoped for from us. You will now carry to of my sons, and they will be the sons from my lineage and they will bear my name. Have all those who are seventy years of age will kiss the boy’s hand when they reach seven years of age. If the world should be destroyed let them sleep, so they shall not see that turmoil (Velayetname, 2006:134).⁴¹

During our conversations about the sacred lineage of the Ulusoy, I realized that some family members and disciples unwittingly referred to the ancestors of the Ulusoy who lived in the Ottoman period. Apart from the idea of worldliness of family members in recent history and contemporary ones, the difference in perception of sacred authority of the line of descent in the Ottoman period and of the line of descent in the Republican period might stem from the prevalent opinion on the decline of the temporal authority of the Ulusoy which is actually an inseparable part of the spiritual authority. The idea of decline embraces an ideal state of the temporal authority of the family which existed in a bygone era, namely, in the Ottoman period. Therefore, in this chapter, I will focus on the Ottoman period to be able to grasp continuities, discontinuities and rupture in the family’s sacred authority with the establishment of the Republic.

⁴¹ The Saintly Exploits of Hacı Bektaş Veli Menakib-ı Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli “Vilayetname” translation and introduction by Huseyin Abiba (2006) by Babagan Books.

The existing studies on the history of the Bektaşî order, other than a few which refers to old official documents⁴², do not allow placing the Çelebi branch at the center of the order's historical narration. Birge (1965), in his comprehensive study *the Bektashi order of Dervishes* focuses on three periods in the history of the order. The first period is from the 13th century to 16th century, namely the early era within which the order flourished. Second period is from the 16th century to 1826, the period which begins with Balım Sultan's succession to the post and ends with the abolition of the Bektaşî order under the reign of Mahmud II. The last period is from abolition of the order in 1826 to 1925 when the order was banned with the establishment of the Republic. Birge's historical narration of the order begins with Hacı Bektaş Veli but the history of the order proceeds without giving special attention to the presence of the Çelebis except for explaining that the order separated into two branches the Babagan and the Çelebi, in the 16th century and only gives brief information on the Çelebis and their relationship with the Kızılbaş⁴³ groups.

Köprülü (2003), Melikoff (2004) and Ocak (1999) attributes a secondary role to Hacı Bektaş Veli in the establishment of the Bektaşî order by referring to one of the 15th century Ottoman historiographers Aşıkpaşazade (2003:571) who claims that Hacı Bektaş Veli was an adherent of Baba İlyas⁴⁴ and that as a dervish obsessed with divine love he was far from establishing a dervish order. According to Aşıkpaşazade, the order was established after his death by his disciple, Hatun Ana and by another

⁴² Although those studies are not on the Çelebi branch, by referring to the old documents they help to grasp the changing position of the family in the Ottoman period. See, Faroqhi, Suraiya (1976). "The tekke of Hacı Bektaş: social position and economic activities", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 7, pp.183–208; Faroqhi, Suraiya (2003). *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik*. İstanbul: Simurg Yayınevi; Küçük, Hülya (2002). *The Role of Bektashis in Turkey's National Struggle*. Leiden, Boston: Brill; Soyzer, A. Yılmaz (2005). *19. Yüzyılda Bektaşilik*. İzmir: Akademi Yayınevi.

⁴³ Kızılbaş is one of the nominations of the Alevi communities.

⁴⁴ Baba İlyas is one of the leaders of Babai uprising occurred in the 13th century in Anatolia against the Seljuk rulers. Another historical source written by Eflaki (2001:125) in the 14th century, says also that Hacı Bektaş Veli was the follower of the Baba Resul, one of the leader of Babai uprising.

disciple, Abdal Musa in the 14th century. Following this claim, in the studies conducted by Köprülü (2003: 127, 128), Melikoff (2004:107) and Ocak (1999:176), Hacı Bektaş Veli is described as a dervish who had no role on the establishment of the Bektaşî order apart from becoming its symbolic leader long after his death. The Bektaşî order is defined as a dervish order, organization of which is based on discipleship. In line with this definition, Abdal Musa the founder of the order (Melikoff, 2004: 204) or “the creator of mythological character of Hacı Bektaş Veli” (Ocak, 1999:177) and Balım Sultan,⁴⁵ the second founder and organizer of the order who was sent from Dimetoka to the main *dergah* by Bayezid II (Ocak, 1999: 175; Melikoff, 2004: 205) gain special importance in the history of the order. Thus, the Çelebis are kept away from the historical narrative, Aşıkpaşazade talking about “the descendant of Hacı Bektaş, the son of Resul Çelebi, Mahmud Çelebi” (Aşıkpaşazade, 2003: 572).

Yet, to be able to scrutinize the family in the Ottoman period, it is crucial to place them within the history of the order. Therefore, broadly speaking, this chapter is mainly based on the official Ottoman documents which shed light on the formal recognition of the family as *postnişin* of the *dergah*, main dervish convent of Hacı Bektaş Veli and trustee of the foundation of the *dergah*. The general lack of testimonies led me to use official documents dated from the 17th century to 20th century which were transcribed and published by the researchers. A rare exception is a hagiography, *Vilayetname*, probably written in the late 15th century (Gölpınarlı, 1995: XXIX). Fortunately, for the early 20th century, not only the official documents but other written sources on the family are also available. *Müdafaa* written by Cemalettin Çelebi in 1915 is a valuable testimony to his era and first hand-written source on the family’s history. There are also impressions of some visitors who came to the district around this date. For the late period of the Empire and early Republican

⁴⁵ The identity of Balım Sultan is controversially. Although the Çelebi branch accepts him as the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the Babagan branch rejects any blood ties with him.

period, in addition to the official and unofficial documents, I will refer to interviews with the family members.

3.1 The Çelebis as *Postnişins* of the *Dergah* and Trustees of the Foundation

For centuries, the Çelebis, on the ground of being hereditary successors of the patron saint Hacı Bektaş Veli, has supervised the Alevi community which has been connected with them and has appointed sacred guides (*dede*) of the *ocaks*. In the past, they also supervised all Bektaşî dervish convents associated with the main *dergah* of Hacı Bektaş Veli as the *postnişins* of the main dervish convent of the Bektaşî order. Being the leading sacred lineage of Alevi community and the Bektaşî order which was far from Sunni interpretations of Islam put the family in a vulnerable position under the sovereignty of the Empire that adopted Sunni scripturalism by the end of the 15th century. On the other hand, the Çelebis had been recognized by the central administration officially via the foundation system of the Empire and thus granted certain privileges in accordance with their position of trustees/administrators of the foundation of the main *dergah*.

As a part of the Ottoman land system, pious foundation is defined as a revenue bearing property which “is withdrawn from commercial transaction and is made in alienable for some beneficent end; taken out of the condition of private ownership, the property is said to belong to God, and its revenue is assigned for some religious or charitable purposes” (Barnes, 1987:5). The pious foundation of Hacı Bektaş *dergah*, which included areas around Hacıbektaş, the areas known as Süleymanlı and some possessions in the vicinity of Kırşehir and Kayseri (Faroqhi, 1976:192), was recognized as a kind of foundation called *müstesna*, namely

exceptional foundation.⁴⁶ In the early periods of the Ottoman Empire, revenues and taxes collected from certain properties of the state were given to some warriors⁴⁷ and to saints or to their followers.⁴⁸ In due course of time, those properties were converted into exceptional foundations which were administered by their trustees independently (Akgündüz, 1996:559-60). On the other hand, including the exceptional foundations, the central administration had the right to control and to supervise all foundations within the Empire (Barnes, 1987). In keeping with supervision of the central administration of all foundations, the *sultan* appointed candidates to the post of Hacı Bektaş *dergah* and trustees of the foundation based on the rule of *evladiyet* (hereditary succession).⁴⁹

In general, formal recognition of the Çelebis through the foundation system provided them opportunities to exercise religious authority which was inseparable from economic and judicial authority at the official level. However, the characteristics of privileges granted to the Çelebis were not stable and heavily depended on the changing policies on the foundation system which, on the other hand, depended on the centralization and decentralization processes of the Empire. In this respect, it might be useful to focus on different periods in the Empire to follow the transformation of the formal recognition of the Çelebis.

⁴⁶ As examples of the official documents which indicate the status of the foundation, see the verdict dated 1730 in Birdoğan (1996:56-57); a 1909 dated petition in Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal(1999) vol.9; a 1909 dated official document in the same journal (2000) vol.15; 1895 dated official document in the same journal (2007) vol.42.

⁴⁷ Those warriors were Gazi Evrenos Bey, Gazi Ali Bey, Gazi Mihail Bey and Gazi Süleyman Bey.

⁴⁸ Those saints were Mevlana Celalettin Rumi, Abdülkadir Geylani, Hacı Bayram Veli and Hacı Bektaş Veli.

⁴⁹ See the documents dated 1671 and 1795 in Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal (1999) vol.9; and a document dated 1825 in the same journal (1998) vol.8.

3.1.1 The Period Before the 15th century

Due to the lack of documents before 15th century, it is difficult to give detailed information on this period. Still, the exceptional status of the foundation of the order and the acceptance of Hacı Bektaş Veli as the patron saint of the Janissary Corps which were established around the 14th century implies a privileged position of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the order.

In what is considered as the oldest documents on Hacı Bektaş Veli, Birge (1965:41) talks about two charters of a foundation dated 1295 and 1297. According to Birge, the first document is on a dervish lodge founded on the property of Hacı Bektaş Veli. This document was discovered by Ali Emiri Efendi and published in *Tarih ve Edebiyat Mecmuası*. Other document is from the archives of Ministry of Evkaf and in the document it is referred to district of “El Haj-Bektash”. Furthermore, Faroqhi claims that the oldest available document on the foundation of Hacı Bektaş Veli is an administrative register dated 1476⁵⁰ (Faroqhi, 1976:184). The date of this document coincides with the fact that in 1476 Mehmet II revised the rights of the land property and foundation (İnalçık, 2006:114). Therefore, there is a high probability that during the administration’s centralization attempts to confiscate lands belonging to some foundations (Kafadar, 2010:150), the foundation of Hacı Bektaş was registered together with other pre-existing alienated lands and foundations.

More than the official documents, the *Vilayetname* as a written form of the oral tradition of that era, tells something on the relationship of Hacı Bektaş Veli with founders of the Ottoman dynasty, namely with Osman and his father Ertuğrul. According to *Vilayetname*, Ertuğrul visited Hacı Bektaş because he sought Hacı Bektaş’s divine blessing in order to be able to receive a governor position from a

⁵⁰ Current studies on the transcription of the old documents on the Bektaşî order could not provide any document older than aforementioned document. See *Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektash Research Journal* (1998) vol.7; vol.8; (1999)vol.9, vol.10, vol.11; (2000) vol. 13, vol. 14, vol.15; (2003) vol.26; (2004) vol. 32; (2007) vol.42.

Seljuk lord. With the help of Hacı Bektaş Veli's divine blessing his son Osman became a warrior for the faith (ghazi) (Gölpınarlı, 1995:71-74). Moreover, Osman's grandson Murad received Hızır Lale's (Hacı Bektaş's son) blessing when he visited the dervish convent (Gölpınarlı, 1995:89). No matter to what extent the accuracy of a hagiography could be questioned, in those stories, the role attributed to Hacı Bektaş Veli (and to his descendant) whose divine blessings were received by the Ottoman rulers tells something which is relevant in terms of the spirit of the early period of the Ottomans. The pre-imperial period of the Ottomans was characterized by the process of alliance and conflict between several social forces which underwent a transformation while negotiating their position within the polity. Among those there were also holy figures with a following whose divine blessing was crucial to strengthening the legitimacy of the rulers. In need of divine protection, the Ottomans privileged the mystics like Hacı Bektaş Veli and patronized them (Kafadar: 1995).

Although the date of the formation of the foundation of Hacı Bektaş Veli is not clear, it could be inferred from its exceptional status that, due to the close relations it had with the first members of the Ottoman dynasty, the possession of revenues and taxes of certain properties were granted to Hacı Bektaş Veli and/or to his successors and later they were converted into a legal institution, namely into a foundation.

Moreover, in *Vilayetname* it is said that after the death of Hacı Bektaş Veli, his son Hızır Lale⁵¹ succeeded to his post (Gölpınarlı, 1995: 88). In line with this narrative, besides succeeding to the post of the *dergah* as the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the Çelebis were also appointed as trustees of the foundation.⁵² Thus, the

⁵¹ According to the narrative in *Vilayetname* (1995:63), the Çelebis are descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli and his follower Kadıncık Ana. However, the children of Hacı Bektaş Veli and Kadıncık Ana were born without their parents having sexual intercourse. Kadıncık Ana gave birth after she drank the water in which Hacı Bektaş's blood dropped.

⁵² In the first instance the trustee of the foundation was appointed by the founder (Imber, 1997:151).

appointment of the Çelebis as the trustees means that their formal recognition dates back to the establishment of the foundation, namely to the early periods of the Empire.

3.1.2 The Period between the 15th and 16th Centuries

With the transformation of Ottomans from a frontier principality into an empire, the dervishes who flourished in the ghaza ethos were purged from the imperial policy and began to lose their privileges. Confiscation of the foundation lands by Mehmet II was part of his centralization policy which angered the uprooted dervishes. In this regard, Bayezid II's effort to be close with orders and patronizing them only precautioned the ones who suffered from his father's harsh centralism (Kafadar, 1995:96-97). Either ways, in the 15th and the 16th centuries, monopoly and legitimation of scripturalism of Sunni Islam, namely, centralization of the state was established. With the conflict between the Ottomans and the Safavids in the background, the central administration became harsher against dissidents and tended to persecute those who did not fit the scriptural centralization of the Empire (Barkey, 2008:165). The Bektaşî order, which was far from the Sunni interpretations of Islam, was affected by the transformation of the central administration as well. According to Kafadar, unlike the earlier cooperation of these two organizations, in the 16th century, the Ottomans and the Bektaşî order became two opposing poles of Ottoman religio-political culture⁵³ (Kafadar, 1995:98). In keeping with this argument, the uprising of Kalender Çelebi was one of the most striking events that occurred during this period. The uprising of Kalender which was led by one of the "son of Bektaş"⁵⁴ in other

⁵³ To be able to avoid the persecution, the dervish groups also joined the Bektaşî order (Karamustafa, 1994:95).

⁵⁴ In her study on the 16th century Ottoman scholar Mevlana İsa, Flemming (1995: 161) cites a passage from Mevlana İsa on the uprising: [...] Then the Sheykh called Kalender, a "Son of Bektash"

words, one of the *postnişins* of the *dergah*, was against the reign of Kanuni Süleyman and ended with the annihilation of Kalender Çelebi in 1527. According to Ulusoy, the underlying reason of this uprising was economic (Ulusoy 1986:78), or as Faroqhi (1976:185) argues for some participants of the uprising, the reason was primarily economic. Those arguments are quite acceptable when considered that in the empires “dissent manifested itself in religious terms more than in other dimensions although religion was often covering for socio-economic issues” (Barkey, 2008:156).

It has also been argued that an important event occurred before the uprising, the closure of the *dergah* by Selim I and reopening of it in 1551 (Faroqhi, 1976:185). However, neither Cemalettin Çelebi (Birdoğan: 1996) nor Ali Celalettin Ulusoy (1986) give any information about this closure of the *dergah*.

Furthermore, according to Cemalettin Çelebi’s (Birdoğan:1996) and Ali Celalettin Ulusoy’s (1986) narration of the family history, the split of the Çelebis into Hüdadadlı and Mürselli branches and, the separation of the Bektashi order into two branches as Çelebi and Babagan also happened during this period. The split within the Çelebis was based on the conflict over hereditary succession. Since I will elaborate hereditary succession rules of the family later, for now, it is important to say that while Hüdadadlı branch of the family, namely one of Hacı Bektaş Veli’s grandson Resul Balı’s progeny was deprived of succeeding to the post, Mürselli branch, namely Resul Balı’s older brother Mürsel Bali and his progeny, kept the right to be the successor. Although both of these branches received a share of the income of the foundation, only the Mürselli branch had the right to be the successor and to be the administrator of the foundation after the separation (Ulusoy, 1986). On the other

joined forces with Djelal. The sultan had him lured away and taken prisoner, whereupon his followers, armed dervishes (ışık), freed him, killing many troops. The ışiks became an army of eight hundred men. In a great battle they inflicted disastrous loses on a huge Ottoman army. They fled to the hearth of Hadjdji Bektash for protection, from where they went on to join Djelal. Ibrahim Pasha blocked their passage, and in the ensuing battle Kalender was killed. Women, boys and booty were taken, Anatolia was laid waste.[...]

hand, a 1764 dated edict on the unjust succession claim of one of the members of the Hüdadađlı branch points out to a long term dispute of these two branches over succession (Birdođan, 1996: 55).

The latter separation was a serious challenge to hereditary succession of the Çelebis because, arguing that Hacı Bektaş Veli was celibate, the Babagan branch brought the legitimacy of the Çelebis religious authority into question. Similar to the former split, the same persons, Mürsel Balı and Balım Sultan were at the center of the dispute. For the Çelebi branch, the separation into two branches as Çelebi and Babagan branch happened long after the succession of Balım Sultan, when a *dedebaba*⁵⁵ namely, Sersem Ali Dedebara was appointed to the *dergah* by the central administration in 1552⁵⁶ (Ulusoy, 1986:74). With the appointment of the *dedebaba* to the *dergah*, the order separated into two branches with two leaders: namely, with the *dedebaba* of the Babagan branch, and the *postnişin* of the Çelebi branch.

Unlike the Çelebis, the Babagan branch's claims were on succession by discipleship and based on learning, not on blood ties. Interestingly, the Babagan branch acknowledged Balım Sultan as the son of Mürsel Balı (Mürsel Baba) but the Babagans rejected the claim that Balım Sultan was a member of the Çelebi family. Naturally, having argued for the celibacy of Hacı Bektaş Veli, they did not accept Mürsel Balı as the grandson of Hacı Bektaş Veli. Thus, for the Babagan tradition, Balım Sultan came from Dimetoka and became *postnişin* of the *dergah*. Because he made the Bektaşî order regular and introduced celibate dervishes and new application of rituals, he was called the Second Saint of the order (Birge, 1965: 56-58). Although the order separated into two branches in the 16th century, the separation became visible in the 19th century, after the abolition of the Bektaşî order by Mahmud II in 1826.

⁵⁵ Post of *dedebaba* is the highest rank within the Babagan branch of the Bektaşî organization.

⁵⁶ This date is important when the claim that the *dergah* was closed by Selim I and reopened in 1551 is remembered.

3.1.3 The Period between the 17th and 18th Centuries

In the 17th and 18th centuries the central administration weakened and begun to lose its power over the foundation administration (Barnes, 1987:42). In this period, like other trustees of foundations, the Çelebis could benefit from their officially recognized authority confidently. Thanks to the abundance of the official documents of this period, it is easier to describe the position of the Çelebis of that time. As I mentioned before, the Çelebis exercised economic and juridical authority which was actually inseparable from their religious authority, on the grounds of being *postnişin* of the order and trustee of the foundation. As the trustees of the exceptional foundation, they possessed the right to collect taxes on villages and fields which belonged to the properties of the foundation.⁵⁷ Since the properties of the foundation were tax exempted, officials had no right to intervene in tax collection.⁵⁸ Furthermore, as the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli and owners of his post, the Çelebis had the right to appoint all the authorized persons in the dervish lodges and convents which were associated with the main *dergah* of Hacı Bektaş. Moreover, the only authority to solve the juridical problems that occurred at the dervish lodges and convents was the Çelebi of the Hacı Bektaş Veli. A Muslim judge was not authorized to interfere in juridical matters.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ From fifteen proportions of the income, four proportions were allocated to the trustees and employees; four proportions to food and provisions given to travelers, the poor and dervishes; four proportions to the maintenance of the dervish convent and three proportions to the Çelebis as the share of hereditary successors (Birdoğan, 1996:48).

⁵⁸ See the edicts dated 1671 and 1795 in the Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal (1999) vol.9 ; 1910/1911 dated official document in the Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal (2000) vol.15

⁵⁹ See the addicts dated 1730 in Birdoğan (1996) pp.56-57.

3.1.4 The Period of the 19th Century

Convenience of foundations to flourish during the 17th and the 18th centuries fell behind when the central administration attempted to regain its power by committing to reforms in the state. Although the efforts to reform foundation administration began at the end of the 18th century, it was not before the 19th century that Mahmud II founded an autonomous ministry which supervised and controlled all foundations. Later, in the Tanzimat era, the centralization of the administration of the foundation became stricter than before (Barnes, 1987).

The foundations of the Bektaşî order were the first over which the central administration exercised new politics of foundation administration. Thus, the Bektaşî order was abolished in 1826, about a month after the destruction of the Janissary corps. Destruction of the Janissary corps was also one of the reforms of Sultan Mahmud II who tried to modernize the structure of the Empire against the ongoing decentralization process (Ahmad, 2003:25). The relation between the corps and the Bektaşî order was one of the justifications for the suppression of the Bektaşî order (Birge, 1965:77). On the other hand, according to Barnes, rather than Bektaşî alliance with the Janissary corps, the Bektaşîs were charged with being heretic. Thus, the official reason of the abolition of the Bektaşî order was based on heresy of the order. The *Şeyhülislam*⁶⁰ stated that the abolition of the Bektaşî order was not to bring Hacı Bektaş Veli or the order which he founded into question, but to destroy heretic elements which deformed the order (Barnes, 1987).

After the abolition of the order, as well as the persecution of the Bektaşîs, the lands of Bektaşî foundations were confiscated and the buildings were damaged, turned into mosques and/or *medreses* (Barnes, 1987:87-89). The central administration justified the confiscation of the foundation lands of the Bektaşî order

⁶⁰ The chief religious official in the Ottoman Empire

by questioning the invalidity of converting the state lands into foundation. Moreover, according to this justification, even if the state lands could be converted into foundations, it would still be an invalid reason because the lands would thus be granted to the heretics (Faroqhi, 1976: 202; Barnes, 1987:89). For Faroqhi (2003:164), the abolition of the Bektaşî order can be perceived as a rehearsal for confiscation of all foundations by the central administration. In fact, the central administration's policy on controlling revenues of the Bektaşî order was extended to all other religious foundations in the Empire as well (Barnes, 1987:92).

The foundation of the *dergah* of Hacı Bektaş was not confiscated but the *dergah* was turned into a Naksibendi convent and a Nakshibendi sheikh was appointed to it (Küçük, 2002:36). The *postnişin* at that time, Hamdullah Çelebi was sent into exile in Amasya, but before that he was on trial with the charge of corruption.⁶¹ Nevertheless, it is important to underline that the abolition of the order did not mean that the Çelebis were not recognized as the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli anymore. Although Hamdullah Çelebi was sent into exile in Amasya, he was not deprived of his share of the foundation's income which was allocated to the hereditary successors of Hacı Bektaş Veli.⁶² As Faroqhi (1976:203) says, after the banishment of Hamdullah Çelebi, his brother Veliyettin received the position of *postnişin* and trustee. She adds that Veliyettin Çelebi "had received the order to hand over the possessions of the *tekke* to the Nakşbendis" (1976:203). Veliyettin Çelebi died in 1828 and his son Ali Celalettin received the position of trustee in 1846. After

⁶¹ There is an interesting book on Hamdullah Çelebi's exile in Amasya. The book includes the documents on his coming on trial for conspiracy and includes some testimonies on his life in exile, in Amasya. However, the original documents were not presented in the book. The lack of original documents prevents me from using the book for the study. See *Hamdullah Çelebi'nin Savunması "Bir İnanç Abidesinin Çileli Yaşamı"* (2008) ed. İsmail Özmen, Yunus Koçak, Ankara.

⁶² See the document dated 1845 in Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal (2007) vol. 42. Interestingly, Faroqhi (2003:176) thinks that the share of the foundation income which was given to Hamdullah Çelebi was a kind of 'hush money'. It seems that she ignores that Hamdullah Çelebi received a part from the share given to the hereditary successors of Hacı Bektaş Veli.

that, in 1848, he received share of the foundation's income which was allocated for the hereditary successors of Hacı Bektaş Veli, probably after the death of his uncle Hamdullah Çelebi⁶³ (Ulusoy, 1986: 97). When Ali Celalettin died, his younger brother Feyzullah Çelebi inherited his position in 1871. After him, with a verdict dated 1904, his elder son Ahmet Cemalettin Çelebi became the trustee of the foundation (Birdoğan, 1996:72-73).

After the abolition of the Bektaşî order, the status of the foundation of Hacı Bektaş *dergah* was not clear, however, as Barnes says, with the Tanzimat period, the foundation of *dergah* was declared again as an exceptional foundation. On the other hand, the exceptional foundations were deprived of administering the landed properties of the foundation which were mixed with other properties (Barnes, 1987: 121-122). This change in the administration of the exceptional foundations led to a reduction of power of trustees and *postnişin* of the foundation. For instance, as the officially recognized trustees, the Çelebis had the privilege to administer the property of the foundation;⁶⁴ however, compared with their old position in the *dergah*, they were far from being influential in administering it. Moreover, at the *dergah* there was a struggle for power between the Nakshi sheikh, the Çelebis and the Babagan branch. The Nakshi sheikhs were sent to the *dergah* as executors of Nakshi rituals and as persons who were responsible for the tomb (tomb-keeper) in the *dergah* but they were neither successful in executing Nakshi rituals nor influential in administrating the order (Küçük, 2003:52).

⁶³ According to Ulusoy, Hamdullah Çelebi died in exile, in 1846 (Ulusoy, 1986:93). However, based on the petitions for his return to Hacıbektaş, Küçük (2003:40) thinks that he should be forgiven and allowed to turn to Hacıbektaş.

⁶⁴ In his book Cemalettin Çelebi presents an official document dated 1888 and 1889 on the declaration of the foundation of Hacı Bektaş Veli as an independently administered foundation (Birdoğan, 1996: 86-87). Moreover, there is a cabinet decision dated 1889 on the privilege of the trustees of the independently administered foundation on tax collection (Birdoğan, 1996:90).

Despite the abolition of the order, according to Birge, by the middle of the 19th century, the order became widespread and the Bektaşis begun to gain power in the high places (Birge, 1965:79-80). However, those Bektaşis were the members of Babagan branch who became more powerful and influential in the order by taking the advantage of being suitable to the ethos of their time. In the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century, Sufi institutions began to lose their legitimacy; moreover, hereditary succession in Sufi orders was particularly targeted. For some modernist thinkers and politics of the time, Sufism was an archaic institution and one of the reasons of decline of the Empire. Thus, it even happened that some members of Sufi orders argued for reforming dervish lodges, especially the methods of succession of the sheiks (Zarcone 2007:26-28).

Due to weak legitimacy of sheikhs' hereditary succession in Sufi orders, the Babagan branch became an addressee in the official documents on the Bektaşi order. As Soyger states, before 1846, in official documents, there were reference to the "Çelebi" title but after that date it was referred to "Çelebi branch", which means that the Babagan branch was also recognized. Moreover, the title *dedebaba*, the highest hierarchy of the Babagan branch was used for the first time in an 1880 dated official document (Soyger, 2005: 93-94).

Furthermore, petitions dated 1911 and 1912 which were sent to the prime ministry and the office of Şeyhülislam from different dervish convents (by the members of Babagan branch) revealed a demand for appointment of a Bektaşi *dedebaba* to the main *dergah* as a *postnişin* because the post of the Nakshi sheikh was vacant after the last sheikh's death. The members of the Babagan branch claimed that their position in the *dergah* was recognized officially. To illustrate, the *dedebaba* of the *dergah* Feyzullah Baba signed some documents with the titles of *postnişin* and *türbedar* (tomb-keeper). Besides that, without any hesitation, the members of Babagan branch could question the legitimacy of the Çelebis' religious authority and

their capability to administer the order. However, they could not dare to claim in the petitions that the Çelebis were not the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli because the Çelebis were still recognized by the central administration as the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli.⁶⁵

Even the counter attacks of Cemalettin Çelebi that aimed to remove some of the members of the Babagan branch from the *dergah* or to reduce their power failed.⁶⁶ It was clear that the Çelebis had lost their power over the Babagan branch. Cemalettin Çelebi complained about some Bektaşî *babas* that ignored the privileges of the Çelebis, especially their privilege of appointment to *postnişins* for the dervish convents. Moreover, Çelebi complained about the Bektaşî's interfering with the share of income of the foundation (Birdoğan, 1996). The conflict between the two branches was so visible that even Hasluck, in his book *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* talked about the rivalry between the Çelebis and the Babas in their claims for the head of the order (1929:162).

The book, *Bektaşî Sırrı* which was written by a Bektaşî, Rıfıkı Baba in 1909 was the utmost challenge of the Babagan branch to the legitimacy of the Çelebis. The author openly claimed that the Çelebis were not the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli (Birge, 1965:87). More interestingly, a 1909 dated court decision which was presented by Cemalettin Çelebi in his book indicates that the claim that the Çelebis were not the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli became prevalent. This claim was even applied by one of the director of tax-farmers to justify his attempt to expropriate one-tenth of income of tax exempted areas of the foundation's property (Birdoğan, 1996:80-84).

In 1915, as a response to the claims of Rıfıkı Baba, Cemalettin Çelebi wrote the book *Müdafaa* (the Defence). In his book, he referred to official documents,

⁶⁵ See petitions in the Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal 1998, vol.7

⁶⁶ *ibid*

verdicts and even court decisions to defend his family's religious legitimacy and the privileges that had been granted to them previously. In *Bektaşı Sırrı*, Rıfkı Baba accused Çelebi of visiting the *sultan* in order to eliminate the *dedebaba* from the *dergah* and to receive all income of the foundation. As a response, Çelebi denied these accusations and said that the reason why he paid a visit to the Palace was to claim their old privileges (Birdoğan, 1996:46-48).

About this visit to the *sultan* (Sultan Reşat), one of the family members told me a story which was also narrated by her father, namely one of the grandsons of Cemalettin Çelebi. This story was an attempt to picture him as a legendary figure against his rivals. According to the story, when the members of the Babagan branch in the *dergah* claimed that Hacı Bektaş Veli had no progeny, the *sultan* summoned to Çelebi and said: "I can figure out whether he is the real descendant of Hacı Bektaş or not". Before Cemalettin Çelebi went into his presence in Dolmabahçe palace, some bread was put on his way and a Kuran was put in his seat. However, when Çelebi entered in the palace, he realized the bread and Kuran without seeing them and requested their removal. After that, while they were sitting, the *sultan* showed him a ship which was sailing through the Bosphorus. The *sultan* told Çelebi "If you are the descendant of Hacı Bektaş Veli, you should swing this ship." Just then, the ship swung and captain could not control the ship. Çelebi stopped the ship only by saying "stop". And then, the *sultan* realized that Cemalettin Çelebi was the real descendant of Hacı Bektaş and told him "Tell me who your enemies are. They will be sentenced with capital punishment." However, Cemalettin Çelebi did not give names of his enemies and rescued them from capital punishment.⁶⁷

Despite Cemalettin Çelebi's efforts, which were also recounted by his family members, it was impossible to regain the old privileges. As well as demanding the privileges and defending them, he was also trying to keep and reestablish the Çelebis'

⁶⁷ From the conversation made with SI on 27.07.2010 in Hacıbektaş.

religious authority over the Alevi *ocaks*. He sent his spokesmen to different regions of Anatolia where the Alevi communities lived. Via his spokesmen, he claimed that the source of the Alevi path was the post of Hacı Bektaş Veli. Without recognizing the authority of the Çelebis, sacred guides and rituals that the sacred guides executed became estranged from the path. And he invited independent Alevi *ocaks* and their communities to associate with the Çelebis (Yaman, 2006:59-60). This information was narrated to me later, during the field research when one of the disciples explained to me how the people of his village (in Merzifon) were affiliated again with the Çelebis at the time of Cemalettin Çelebi. While passing through this village, Çelebi realized that the people of this village forgot their association with the Çelebis and he appointed a *baba* to this village.⁶⁸ Similarly, one of the *babas* from Kısas told me that they were affiliated with the Çelebis when Cemalettin Çelebi was *postnişin*.⁶⁹

3.2 The Çelebis as the Sacred Leaders of the Alevi Community

Parallel to Cemalettin Çelebi's attempt to establish his family's authority over all Alevi *ocaks* and Alevi communities, during the World War I, the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), Enver Pasha and Talat Pasha met with Cemalettin Çelebi (Ulusoy, 1986:100). After this meeting, similar to the regiment formed by Mevlevi Sufi order (Küçük, 2003: 133), a regiment, Hacı Bektaş Veli Mujahedeen Battalion was formed by Cemalettin Çelebi for the eastern front of the war (Ulusoy, 1986:100). While showing me photos of the battalion, with heavy irony, some of the family members told me that the battalion was called "Vay Anam"⁷⁰

⁶⁸ From the interview with a disciple on 19.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

⁶⁹ From the interview with a *baba* on 14.08.2009

⁷⁰ "Vay anam" is an exclamation of fear and pain or astonishment. If I translate it one-to-one, it corresponds to "oh my mom" but I guess that "woe is me" is a better translation.

battalion because “soldiers” were afraid of voice of guns and said “vay anam!” when they heard it. Happily, this battalion which consisted of some old/young poor peasants did not combat because the war in eastern front was over.

In similar vein, at the beginning of the National Struggle, both nationalist and anti-nationalist visited Cemalettin Çelebi and demanded his backing for popular support (Küçük, 2003). During this period, although the status of *dergah*’s foundation remained exceptional and Çelebi continued to perform his task (Küçük, 2003:141), it was clear that rather than his position as trustee of the foundation, his position as the religious leader who could mobilize the Alevi community was important.

While explaining the visit of the nationalists to Çelebi, Şapolyo argues that Cemalettin Çelebi was the patron sheikh of six million Kızılbaş⁷¹ in Anatolia in 1910s (Şapolyo, 1944: 251). Thus, for Mustafa Kemal and for his friends it was necessary to visit Çelebi in order to able to gain the support of Alevis (Kansu, 1968:492). Ulusoy claims that Çelebi supported the national struggle before the meeting at Hacibektaş on 23 December 1919 (Ulusoy, 1987:100). The signatory of Cemalettin Çelebi in the Amasya Declaration on 21/22 June 1919 that pointed out the necessity of independence (Küçük, 2002:155) supports the claim of Ulusoy. After the visit of Mustafa Kemal, Cemalettin Çelebi also took part in the first National Assembly as the deputy for Kırşehir and was elected as the Second vice President of the First National Assembly although he could not attend the meeting because of his ill health (Küçük, 2002: 167).

Mustafa Kemal’s visit to Cemalettin Çelebi at Hacibektaş was narrated by the companions of Mustafa Kemal and by the family members.⁷² With the help of this

⁷¹ Kızılbaş is one of the nominations of Alevis. It seems that for Şapolyo the relation between Alevis and Bektaşis and as well as their relation with Çelebi branch and Babagan branch was not clear. See Şapolyo, E.B (1944). Kemal Atatürk ve Milli Mücadele Tarihi. Ankara: Berkalp Kitabevi, p.251

⁷² See Kansu, Müfit Mazhar (1968) Erzurum’dan Ölümüne Kadar Atatürk’le Beraber. II.Cilt Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, pp. 492-593; Şapolyo, E.V (1944) Kemal Atatürk ve Milli Mücadele

narration, this visit became a kind of testimony of Çelebi's support for the national struggle and later on, the family members have referred to it in order to strengthen their legitimacy in the Republican regime. In this meeting, especially three events were stressed, one of them is Çelebi's way of giving a warm welcome when Mustafa Kemal arrived in Hacıbektaş (as a sign of Çelebi's support to Mustafa Kemal); second event is their drinking alcohol at the meal (maybe as a sign of sharing similar habits/life styles)⁷³ and the third and most important event is the secret talk between Mustafa Kemal and Çelebi on the republican regime (as a sign that Çelebi was in favor of the Republic, besides he was a visionary religious leader).

Some members of the Ulusoy family argue that Mustafa Kemal visited the Çelebis more than once. Since the generation who witnessed these visits is not alive, the members of the family whom I talked to narrated the stories the way they could recollect them. Some of them told me that Mustafa Kemal came to Hacıbektaş three times; he came to Hacıbektaş twice when Cemalettin Çelebi was alive and then visited Veliyettin Çelebi after Cemalettin Çelebi had passed away.⁷⁴ One of the family members also told me that he came to Hacıbektaş once. Although all preparations for the second visit were made and Veliyettin Çelebi went to Kırşehir for welcoming him, Mustafa Kemal went to Kayseri without stopping by at Hacıbektaş.⁷⁵

Tarihi. Ankara: Berkalp Kitapevi, pp.251-252; Ulusoy (1986) Hünkar Hacı Bektaş Veli ve Alevi-Bektaşî Yolu. Ankara, pp. 101-102.

⁷³ For some of the family members, in this meeting, drinking alcohol is a sign of Mustafa Kemal's initiation into Bektaşism. During a conversation, one of the family members referred to the claim that Mustafa Kemal was a Bektaşî and he said that "He might be a Bektaşî because he was drinking alcohol." After saying this, he told me a story about Mustafa Kemal. According to the story, Mustafa Kemal visited Hacıbektaş and after the visit, the driver of the Çelebis took him to Mucur by a horse-drawn carriage. Mustafa Kemal saw that the driver was drinking something and asked him what are you doing? The driver shyly said that he drunk *rakı* to be able to get warm because of the cold weather. After this response, Mustafa Kemal wanted his hip flask and he drunk also *rakı*. From the conversation made with MUa; BUa; SUD, MUD; FUC; SUE; NSU on 19.09.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

⁷⁴ From the field notes in 2009 in Hacıbektaş

⁷⁵ From the interview with AUa in Hacıbektaş on 18.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

Moreover, one of the old ladies of the family talked about the preparations made for the visits of Mustafa Kemal and said:

When Atatürk came here, I will tell you what I heard from my mom and my aunt. When he came first, my grandfather was ill. My mother sewed a night-dress for Mustafa Kemal. The cloth was cream with black spots. In old times, men were wearing night-dresses. And my mother rolled cigarettes for him. They laid carpets everywhere. Atatürk came and cooks prepared meal. My grandfather welcomed him although he was ill. Atatürk and his companions came with eleven automobiles. My grandfather's grandmother when she saw that the automobiles she said "fat things are flying! Fat things are flying!" She had not seen any automobile before and despite the bad road, automobiles went very fast and this is why she thought that they were flying. Later, Atatürk and his aide visited my grandfather at night. In this secret meeting, my grandfather said "Your Excellency Mustafa Kemal Pasha, when will you establish the Republic?" "Çelebi Effendi" Mustafa Kemal said, (in the past we did not use Ulusoy, my father-in-law adopted Ulusoy as surname) "Çelebi Effendi, keep this among three of us, Republic will be established soon." After my grandfather passed away, Atatürk came here once again and visited my father-in-law but did not stay here."⁷⁶

One of my interviewees also told me what she had heard about Mustafa Kemal's visit:

As my grandmother told us, Atatürk came here, Vahdettin⁷⁷ came here as well. But my great-grandfather did not welcome him. He welcomed Atatürk, brought him to our home, put him up. Atatürk brought china dinnerware set and armchair as presents. He had a meal and before drinking buttermilk, he first made a servant drink it. My mother possessed some parts of this china dinnerware set. She gave us some parts of this set (...). When Cemalettin Çelebi passed away, Atatürk paid a visit to my other grandfather Veliyettin Çelebi. Atatürk said when I talked to Veliyettin Çelebi, I felt as if I am purified.⁷⁸

Another version of the meeting between Cemalettin Çelebi and Mustafa Kemal was narrated among the inhabitants of Hacıbektaş. Although this story reveals

⁷⁶ From the interview with NUa on 27.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş

⁷⁷ By saying Vahdettin, she probably meant the antinationalists.

⁷⁸ From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

how subordinated people of Hacibektaş perceived Cemalettin Çelebi and Mustafa Kemal rather than what happened during the meeting, it designates an important aspect of the meeting which the family members avoid mentioning, namely it designates unequal and complicated power relations rather than an ideal relationship based on solidarity and mutual trust.⁷⁹ The story goes as follows:

When Mustafa Kemal visited Cemalettin Çelebi, he asked Cemalettin Çelebi to provide soldiers and horses and feed them. Cemalettin Çelebi said “I’ll give everything what I possess to support the war but I am not so powerful to provide soldiers and horses or to feed them.” After this visit, Mustafa Kemal went to the Çapanoğulları⁸⁰ and again asked for soldiers and horses. The Çapanoğulları, in order to be seen powerful, promised more than the family could afford. Then, Mustafa Kemal thought the family was strong enough to mobilize people against the nationalists and saw them as a danger. After the meeting Mustafa Kemal ordered his companions to repress the Çapanoğulları family.⁸¹

Unlike the portrait of Cemalettin Çelebi which was drawn in this story as that of a cunning person, another visitor of Cemalettin Çelebi, Cemal Bardakçı who was the governor of Çorum described him as an ignorant and naive person. Bardakçı visited him in 1921 in order to demand his support against the dissident Alevi population in the area of Çorum. However, for him it was not easy to meet Çelebi because of Çelebi’s unwillingness to meet him. According to Bardakçı, during his

⁷⁹ In this story what Mustafa Kemal demanded from Çelebi and Çapanoğulları was similar to a fief’s obligations. That is to say, a fief was obliged to serve the army of the sultan with providing horse, weapons, armor and armed retainers (Imber, 1997:115).

⁸⁰ In this story Çapanoğulları is an interesting figure because there was an uprising under the leadership of the Çapanoğulları family against the nationalist in the area of Yozgat, in 1920 and it was defeated by the nationalist. More important thing is the hostility between the Çelebis and Çapanoğulları family since the 18th century because the Çapanoğulları had no devotion towards the main *tekke* of Hacı Bektaş and did not take care of the buildings of the foundation of Hacı Bektaş Veli in their area despite the orders sent from the Porte (Faroqhi, 1976:198). For further information see Faroqhi, S. (1976)*The Tekke of Hacı Bektaş: Social Position and Economic Activities* in International Journal of Middle East Studies. Vol.7. No2 pp.183-208.

⁸¹ This story is widely known among the inhabitants of Hacibektaş and I heard this story from different persons.

visit, Bardakçı informed Çelebi about Alevism and Bektaşism and as a result of these conversations Çelebi decided to support the national struggle (Bardakçı, 1946). However, he did not refer to the visit of Mustafa Kemal or Çelebi's position as deputy for Kırşehir and as second vice president of the Grand National Assembly. On the other hand, Bardakçı gives interesting information that Cemalettin Çelebi had not gone out from his residence since 1919 (Bardakçı, 1946:17). This information is in harmony with the information that two doctors who were sent by Ankara government to treat Cemalettin Çelebi for his illness did not allow him to go out of his residence or meet people.⁸²

When Cemalettin Çelebi died in 1921, his younger brother Veliyettin Çelebi succeeded to his post. Moreover, in 1922, he went to Ankara, visited National Assembly and issued a declaration in which he introduced Hacı Bektaş Veli and his family. He declared his support for the Ankara government and especially Mustafa Kemal and his group, without referring to the conflict between the first and second group in the Assembly (Küçük, 2002:171). However, unlike his brother, he did not receive any position in the Assembly. One of the family members claims that he was offered the post of a deputy but he rejected it. It could be due to his distrust Mustafa Kemal and Ankara government because the family was under pressure. Moreover, another possible reason that a family member mentioned to me was that he was a self-conscious person and probably he did not want to leave Hacıbektaş.⁸³

3.3 The Çelebis, the Sacred Lineage without Formal Recognition

Unlike the former secularization efforts of the Tanzimat reforms in the 19th century that led to bifurcation of the whole rather than separation of the institutions of

⁸² From the field notes in 2010 in Hacıbektaş

⁸³ From the conversation with VHU on 13.08.2010 in Hacıbektaş

the state and religion into their own spheres (Berkes, 1998:480), the Republican regime eliminated the traditional institutions. The state, economics and science were emancipated from the religious rule and control. Moreover, in order to put religion under control of the state, a Directorate of Religious Affairs (1924) was established. In this regard, the closure of all dervish convents and tombs; abolition of certain titles like sheikh, çelebi etc. and the office of keeper of tombs were part of the secularization attempt and removal of old institutions.

In 1924, a year before the closure of all dervish convents and tombs with the Public Law No.677 which was passed by the Grand National Assembly in November 1925, the administration of dervish convents and tombs was taken over by the Directorate of Religious Office and this law was a sign of formal recognition of the dervish orders by the government (Kara, 2004:326). On the other hand, according to Kreiser (2004:93), since 1923 dervish convents had been presented in the Turkish press as the places where the idle and superstitious persons dwelled. Parallel to the efforts of legitimation of closure of dervish convents and tombs, Mustafa Kemal, in his speech which was delivered in Kastamonu in 1925 said:

Gentlemen and fellow countrymen, know that the Turkish Republic cannot be a nation of sheiks, dervishes and mystics. The truest path is the path of civilization; it is necessary for one to be a man who does what civilization dictates. I could never admit in the civilized Turkish community the existence of primitive people who seek happiness and prosperity by putting their faith in such and such a sheikh, a man opposed to the sparkling light of civilization which encompasses all science and knowledge. In any case, the tekyes must be closed. We will obtain strength from civilization, science, and knowledge-and act accordingly. We do not recognize anything else. The essential aim of tekye is to keep the people in ignorance, and make them act as if they were insane. The people, however, have chosen to be neither silly nor insane (cited from Barnes, 1987:153).

After the closure of the *dergah* and abolition of the official title of *postnişin*, in 1926, Veliyettin Çelebi donated all the shares of the income of the foundation, namely 10.000 liras, to *Tayyare Cemiyeti*, the Aircraft Association. In 1928, the Grand National Assembly decided that the title of trustee of the foundation which

was given to the sheiks and tomb-keepers was already abolished with the Public Law No.677. Lastly, in 1935, the Directorship of Foundations sold all the property of the foundation of old *dergah* (Ulusoy, 1986:39).

To answer the question of how the closure of the *dergah* was perceived by the Çelebis is difficult. Besides that, the question of whether the annulment of the formal recognition was foreseeable for them is unanswered. One of the current *postnişins* addresses the rivalry between the two branches while explaining the reason why his family supported the closure of the *dergah*. From the arguments of him, it can be inferred that the family adopted the justification of the government for the closure of the *dergah*. According to him:

The Babagan branch was more influential in the administration of the *dergah*, we were like onlookers. Apart from the rivalry between us and them, the other reason why we supported the closure is the corruption of the *dergah*. There were some corrupt persons but security forces could not interfere with the events that happened in the *dergah* because of the laws that existed during that time.,⁸⁴

Furthermore, it is important to stress that while talking about the oppression to which the family was exposed in the early Republican period, generally the family members justified this oppression by arguing for the hardship of establishing a new state. Whenever they talked about that, they needed to stress their support to the Republic and Mustafa Kemal.

Hence, despite the fact that since the 19th century the Çelebis had experienced gradual loss in their authority over administration of the *dergah* and foundation, the loss of formal recognition and elimination of old institutions in which the family flourished were serious challenges to the existence of their sacred authority. With the loss of formal recognition, all kind of privileges granted to them were also ended. Thus, in the next chapters, I will elaborate the maintenance and reproduction of the sacredness of the family during the Republican era.

⁸⁴From the interview with VHU on 04.12.2008 in Ankara

CHAPTER 4

NEW FORMS OF THE ULUSOY'S SACRED AUTHORITY

*The effendis are like fire, if you come close to them you will burn, if you go away from them you will freeze.*⁸⁵

For the Alevi-Bektaşî people, the sacred authority of the *mürşit* and his right to rule is the basis of the establishment of the just order within the community. Along with this, during an interview an *ana* said: “Of course this is our country, our land, our Republic; however, we have also our Path. During the *cem* rituals, the task of our Path is making a judgement on who is guilty or who is not guilty [...]”⁸⁶ While showing the loyalty to the Republican regime and its temporal law, she was stressing the essentiality of divine justice which is executed by the *dedes* who are the representatives of the *mürşit*.

Interestingly, the second *mürşit* of the Republican period was Feyzullah Ulusoy who succeeded after his father, the last official *mürşit*, Veliyettin Çelebi, deceased in 1940. At that time, he was a student at the faculty of law. Thus, as representative of Hacı Bektaş Veli, he became the executor of divine justice on earth and, at the same time, he was the representative of jurisprudence of the new Republican regime. However, it was not easy to harmonize these authorities and he

⁸⁵ This is a saying which expresses the “necessary” social distinction between the Ulusoy and the disciples.

⁸⁶ From the interview with AUB on 24.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

quit working as a lawyer for the sake of the divine justice that he embodied. He preferred farming in order to make a living. According to a family member:

He was a lawyer. People said ‘the lawyers lie; he cannot be a *mürşit* if he works in this profession. The *mürşits* have to be perfect in ethical sense.’ He left his occupation and preferred to be the *mürşit*.⁸⁷

His inherited identity and his acquired identity could not coexist because, in the eyes of the adherents, the justice which belongs to the temporal sphere endangered the divine justice that he executed.

As I have put it in the previous chapter, in the Ottoman period, the family was formally recognized by the patrimonial authority of the Ottoman Empire which combined the state ideology with religion. Under the reign of the Ottoman rulers, the *mürşit* could exercise the divine authority over the disciples. After the establishment of the Republican regime, however, in accordance with the secularization attempts which proposed differentiation of economic, juridical, administrative and scientific spheres from the religious sphere, the sacred authority of the family became incompatible with the new regime and lost its formal recognition. Moreover, the sacred authority of the Ulusoy which covers all aspects of life, without separating the temporal and spiritual, had been challenged and oppressed by the new forms of authorities that were established and exercised in both temporal and spiritual spheres.⁸⁸ In keeping with this, developments such as spread of mass education, industrialization, urbanization and migration to the cities which accelerated in the mid-1950s, completely changed the structure of the rural Alevi-Bektaşî communities. On one hand, the secularization and modernization attempts of the new regime disrupted the communal Alevi-Bektaşî society (Shankland, 1999:135), and changed

⁸⁷From the interview with one of the *mürşits*, SUa on 24.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

⁸⁸ The Directorate of Religious Affairs which was established with the aim of controlling religion and situating it into religious sphere has not recognized the Alevi-Bektaşî belief and dictated the Sunni form of religion on the Alevi-Bektaşî people.

the relationship within the triad hierarchy which consists of the *mürşit* who represents the post of Hacı Bektaş Veli; the *dedes* and *babas* who mediate between the *mürşit* and the Alevi-Bektaşî communities (disciples) and the disciples who are affiliated with the Uluşoys directly and/or with the mediation of the *dedes*.⁸⁹ On the other hand, the dissolution of the old, closed and hierarchical relations did not give an end to the Path but, on the contrary, led to the emergence of new forms of authorities exercised by the members of the triad hierarchy.

In order to examine the internal distribution of authority within the order, Gilsenan (1973:65-66), in his study on the *Hamidiya Shadhiliya* tariqa, applies a typology which is actually a continuum between the pole of organization and of association. The poles of the continuum are based on Weber's (1978:48-52) definition of organization as a closed social relationship which consists of a high degree of internal stratification, hierarchy, defined rules, roles and salaried professionals, and of association as a voluntary social relationship which includes less hierarchical and functional internal stratification and more egalitarian positions and

⁸⁹While explaining the changing patterns of the Alevi belief, Yaman (2006), Shankland (1999, 2003) and Kreiser (2006) put a spotlight on the position of *dedes* as sacred guides. Following them, it might be said that, in the early Republican period, the differentiation of the temporal and spiritual spheres led to conflict between the *dedes* whose authority covers both of the spheres and the officials who represent the state and claim authority over the temporal and spiritual spheres. This contestation weakened the authority of the *dedes* and their guidance over the "temporal spheres". Another issue which weakened the authority of the *dedes* is the migration, urbanization and mass education which altered the village life, segmented the closed communities, and destroyed the traditional relations between the *dedes* and disciples. A large amount of the Alevi-Bektaşî people has participated in urban life; their children received education and got professions. In line with this, another challenge which questioned the legitimacy of the sacred authority of the *dedes* was directed to them within the community. In the 1960s and 1970s, the young generations of Alevi-Bektaşîs who adopted leftist ideologies questioned the legitimacy of the inherited sacred authority of the *dedes* and accused the *dedes* of exploiting people by using religion for their own interest. Moreover, in the 1990s, the urbanized and educated non-*dede* Alevis began to define their identity on the grounds of Alevism-Bektaşîsm and, to establish organizations and associations. Thus, with the so called revival of Alevism-Bektaşîsm, the position of the *dedes* regained importance. However, the redefinition attempts of the position of *dedes* brought about restriction of their sacred authority within the religious sphere. Their supervisory role over the community which has already lost its communal character has been taken by the members Alevi-Bektaşî organizations with the claim to be the spokesmen of the Alevi-Bektaşî community.

roles and diffuse norms. For Gilson, the religious orders which include some elements of both of the poles, can be thought as lying in this continuum, however, their place is not static and they can move along the continuum. Following Gilson, when the Alevi-Bektaşi Path is situated on the continuum of the poles between association and organization, I argue that the Path is closer to the association pole because of its lack of scriptural rules and of institutions, which makes the structure of the Path free from being firmly fixed. By the same token, I argue that it has become closer to the association pole especially after the establishment of the Republic, when the official recognition of the Çelebis ended and the organization within the Path which was based on the networks of the dervish convents was banned. Hence, by moving on the association pole, the Path has gained flexibility which allowed modification and emergence new of new forms of authorities.

Therefore, this chapter seeks to follow the course of the sacred authority of the Ulusoy family and new forms of their sacred authority within the Republican period. Firstly, putting the Ulusoy family at the center on my focus, I investigate the transformation of the “traditional” way of internal distribution of the authority within the Path after the establishment of the Republic. In this regard, I examine the *effendi* as a new form of sacred authority of the family and then, the succession debate over being *mürşit*. Lastly, as the sacred authority transformed, I examine how some of the family members have channelized their sacred authority into the political sphere.

4.1 “*Effendi*” an Ambiguous Position within the Path

The term *effendi*, i.e. “master, lord” has a Greek origin, and was already used in Anatolia in the 13th and 14th centuries. As a designation reserved for members of scribal and religious classes, this title was widespread in Ottoman usage. In the 19th century, however, the usage of the title of *effendi* was regulated by law. The title was

given only to some people, such as princes of the ruling house, the wives of the Sultan, to the *ulema*, and other non-Muslim religious heads. In the Republican period, the title of *effendi*- which was also used for the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli-was banned, together with some other Ottoman titles, because of its religious connotations (Lewis, 1991:687).

Although the title of *effendi* is not officially in use anymore, all members of the family are designated as *effendis* by the disciples, no matter whether the family members exercise their inherited sacred authority or not. Besides that, this title has acquired new characteristics in its contemporary usage. Next to its old denotation, the term *effendi* designates the position that the Ulusoy males occupy within the hierarchy of the Path, i.e. the position which emerged after the abolition of the order.

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I separated the Ulusoy males simply into two groups. First group of the Ulusoy are the members of the family who do not undertake the sacred role that is attributed to them. They are generally from the second or following generations of the Republican period. All of these family members are educated, have their respective professions and live in cities. They have any personal relationship with the disciples.⁹⁰ A male member of the family said:

My relationship with the disciples is limited. Me and my brothers do not visit the disciples. I go to the Hacıbektaş district at the weekends and in summers but have no relationship with the disciples.⁹¹

In general, their disinterest in the Path allows me to put them in one group. However, the members of the second group who, unlike the members of the first one,

⁹⁰In the fieldwork, during the interviews some of the family members talked about the male members of the family who have no relation with the disciples. The number of those male members was about 10. In 2010 there were 56 Ulusoy males over the age of 18 and, I noticed about 20 males who have no relationship with disciples. Those are the males who generally do not visit the district and/or reject any traditional relationship with the disciples. However, it is impossible to give an exact number due to the fact that it is not easy to classify people based on ambiguous categories such as *effendi*.

⁹¹ From the interview with MNU on 09.01.2010 in Ankara.

have relations with the disciples, differ among each other. Therefore, the second group can also be separated into two subgroups, one defending the old relations of the triad hierarchy as much as possible, and the other exercising the new form of authority which destroys the triad hierarchy and blurs the distinction among the arrays. In other words, the difference between them stems from the attitudes of the family members towards two radical and intertwined changes that the family has experienced after the establishment of the Republic, the first being the dispersion of the sacred authority from the *mürşit* to all male members of the family (to *effendis*), the second being the decline in social distinction between the Ulusoy and the disciples which came about due to the modification of the triad hierarchy of the Path.

The dispersion of the sacred authority among the male members and emergence of the new form of authority of the *effendis* happened first when the descendants of Cemalettin Çelebi moved to Tokat in 1928. After the loss of privileges and formal recognition, they were in need of people's support. It was the first time that members of the family whose sanctity necessitated being secluded from the public, had left the Hacibektaş district for a long period of time, and mingled with the disciples. Despite the rules of the Path which necessitated social distinction among the arrays of the triad hierarchy, this situation has created more personal and close relationship with the disciples. According to a family member:

After migration to Tokat, some of the family members began to visit the disciples (perform the task of a *dede*). Before that, any of the male members of the family visited the disciples because we were (we still are) at the top of the hierarchy in the organization of the Alevi community. Our position is a kind of inspectorship. The role of teachers is given to the *dedes*, we inspect the *dedes*. Until the period of Cemalettin Çelebi, the family's income came from the share that the *dedes* collected from the community and from the share which was allocated to the trustees of the foundation. After the establishment of the Republic, the family tried to find different ways for making a living.⁹²

⁹²From the interview with HSU on 11.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

Although it is the *mürşit* who is accepted as the representative of Hacı Bektaş Veli, after the migration to Tokat, besides the *mürşit*, other male members, the *effendis*, have also behaved as representatives of the post of Hacı Bektaş Veli, and have established a new form of authority over the disciples. However, this new form of authority exercised by the *effendis* put the Ulusoy's sacred authority in a more profane and vulnerable position due to temporal concerns openly shared with the disciples.

Actually, alongside its vulnerability, the position of the *effendis* is very ambiguous because, in the hierarchy of the Path, their position can be placed in between the *mürşit* and *dede*. Shankland, who conducted a research in an Alevi village (Susesi), sees three ranks within the Alevi community: *effendi*, *dede* and *talip*. The *effendis* come once or twice a year to the village, give reply to the questions of the villagers on the Path, and collect the dues⁹³. However, Shankland confused the role and position of the *effendis*, and claims that, because the *effendis* visit the village rarely, their duties fall to the *dede* (Shankland, 2003:40). The *effendi* is a “new” category within the Path in terms of exercising the authority over the disciples, and there is no defined duty of the *effendi*. Therefore, contrary to Shankland's claim, collecting the dues and supervising or enlightening the community in accordance with the teachings of the Path do not fall to the *dedes*, these are already the duties of the *dedes* which are also undertaken by the *effendis*. Alongside these duties, the *dedes* guide their community, lead the ceremonies and execute the divine justice as the representatives of the *mürşit*. When it comes to leading the ceremonies and guiding the disciples, the *effendis* never take the responsibilities of the *dedes*, because their

⁹³ According to a family member, the due which they collect is named *hakullah* which in principle (in the past) is to be collected by the *dedes* and be given to the *mürşid*, and should then be separated by him into three. One of these shares is for the family, one is for the people who serve, and one is aimed to cover the expenses of the house of the Ulusoy family. From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

position is superior to *dedes*. In keeping with this, an Ulusoy male explains his connection with the disciples as follows:

If you cultivate the land, it will fertilize. You should always be in a close relationship with the community. If there is logic in your explanations of things, and if you give your love to disciples, it will be a genuine relationship, and will never end. [...] Generally, after October, the *dedes* visit the villages. Our task is different from the *dedes*' task. The *dedes* go to the villages and solve the problems and after that, an animal is sacrificed. This ceremony is called union sacrifice. Our position is superior to *dedes* and we inspect them. We generally pay a visit to our communities in November or December after the harvest.⁹⁴

A young *effendi* said:

Sometimes I participate in *cem* rituals; sometimes there is not any *cem* ritual during my visit. We talk to each other, share out ideas about some events. My father died when I was ten years old. For example I talk to people who knew my father, and I learn about some characteristics of my father that I did not know before. I learn some things from them, and they learn from me. As you know, there are a few things that we should do during a *cem* ceremony; it is the *dede* who guides the ceremony.⁹⁵

At the same time, the *effendis* cannot undertake the role of the *mürşit*. The *mürşit* appoints the *dedes* and *babas*, and executes the divine justice as the successor to the post of Hacı Bektaş Veli. When I asked a young *effendi* whether he is responsible for executing the divine justice or not, he responded as follows:

In my visits, I haven't faced serious problems about the community yet, sometimes there would be some problems among the villagers. You listen to both of the sides of the quarrel, and then ask the opinion of the community. If you reconcile both of the sides, the problem can be solved.

However, dealing with serious problems of the community that the *dedes* cannot solve is the responsibility of the *mürşit*. As an *effendi* said, the *effendis* refer

⁹⁴From the interview with ADU on 14.08.2010 in Hacıbektaş

⁹⁵From the interview with UUa on 23.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

the serious problems only to the *mürşit*.⁹⁶ Another *effendi* also explained that it is not the *effendis* but *dedes* and the *mürşit* who are responsible for executing the divine justice:

[...] If the problem of the community is not so serious, it is solved by the *dedes*. However, if the problem is severe, we explain it to the *mürşit*. He listens to both sides, and decides like a judge. If it is necessary to give punishment to someone, he does it, and the guilty person can be excommunicated. However, it is practiced in places where people are still adherents to the Path.⁹⁷

Hence, the *effendis* do not attempt to take the role of the *mürşit* or violate his position; however, they do not behave under the control of the *mürşit* as well. They establish their relationship with the disciples individually without any consensus among the family members. When it became difficult for me to grasp the position of the *effendis* who behave without any control mechanism for regulating the relationship with the disciples and without any cooperation from the *mürşit* or with other family members, an Ulusoy male said:

The family members visit the disciples by using their own initiative and without any control of the *mürşit* over them. There are lots of male members of the Ulusoy family but some of them do not visit the disciples. I mean, some of them have relationship with the disciples but some of them do not. The Ulusoy who pay visit to the disciples are also visited by the disciples in Hacibektaş during the ceremonies. Each house of the Ulusoy has its own disciples but, in reality, all of them are the disciples of Hacı Bektaş Veli. Namely, the disciple who pays a visit to an Ulusoy house can pay visit to all of the Ulusoy houses. No one has the right to control or hinder the disciples. To whom the disciples pay visit depends on their own wish and decision.⁹⁸

The interviewee explained the current case of the *effendis* without referring to any contest within the family, however, in the past, the dispersion of sacred authority

⁹⁶From the interview with AUc on 30.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

⁹⁷From the interview with ADU on 14.08.2010 in Hacibektaş

⁹⁸From the interview with HHU on 21.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

among the males and the *mürşit*'s lack of control over them created problems within the family. All the family members who moved to Tokat and grew up among the disciples preserved their close relationship with them even after returning to Hacıbektaş. In the 1950s, the *mürşit* reacted against the *effendis*' relationship with the disciples. His aim was to maintain the position of the Ulusoy's within the old triad hierarchy of the Path. Despite the fact that he could not hinder the dispersion of the sacred authority among the family members, he tried to keep the *effendis* under control, and, according to a family member, he offered to share all the income that the family got.⁹⁹ However, he failed to restrain the economic relationship between the *effendis* and disciples or to control them. Furthermore, when the disciples began to visit the houses of the Ulusoy's in Hacıbektaş in the 1960s, it became impossible to keep the social distinction between the family members and the disciples, and, including the *mürşit*, all family members had to establish close relationship with the disciples. Thus, one of the current *mürşits* explained his relationship with the disciples as follows:

Personally, I have relationship with the disciples through the mediation of the *dedes*. Namely the *dedes* visit me and explain to me the problems of the community. If necessary, I go to the place where the problem has occurred. If there is an important event such as opening of a *cemevi*, I go to the places where the disciples live. Of course it is impossible to participate in every event. I sometimes give speech or listen to the problems of the disciples in these places but the *dedes* and disciples always visit me.¹⁰⁰

Currently, although all *effendis* adapt themselves to the changing relationship within the Path, their relationship of economic dependence on the disciples is still not appreciated by the members of the family who have no relationship with the disciples and/or who have relationship with disciples but have their own professions and

⁹⁹From the interview with HSU on 25.12.2009 in Ankara

¹⁰⁰From the interview with VHU on 01.12.2008 in Ankara

income. The family members who are critical of the *effendis* describe the *effendis*' activity through which they earn a living as performing the role of *dede* (*dedelik yapmak*) or as visiting the disciples and establishing with them an economic relationship (*talip üzerine gitmek*). According to an Ulusoy, not only some of the family members but also the disciples do not appreciate the *effendis* who often visit the disciples:

My maternal uncles were visiting the disciples. Actually, my uncle did not visit the disciples, and my father also did not visit but their children are visiting the disciples. Now, no matter whether they are young or old, ignoring their age, all of them are visiting the disciples. Although Cemalettin and Veliyettin Çelebi were brothers, their descendants are different from each other. The descendants of Veliyettin Çelebi are educated and they do not prefer to visit the disciples. Many of the descendants of Cemalettin Çelebi are not educated and they generally visit the disciples. [...] The family members, who visit the disciples often, are not so much respected. If you have a close relationship with people that makes you unworthy in their eyes.¹⁰¹

Along with this evaluation of the family member, in 1991, a couple of disciples sent a letter to the *mürşit*. They were critical of the internal distribution of the authority within the Path and made some suggestions about the improvement of the Path in accordance of the requirements of the contemporary world. According to them:

The community is increasingly growing more aware, it is growing increasingly against "taking without giving". The visits from the *effendis* must be organized carefully, and people should not be irritated by them. Such visits and meetings must not take place under the influence of alcohol (cited from Shankland, 2003:149).

In his response, despite the fact that the *mürşit* agreed with the concerns and suggestions of the disciples, he stressed the mutual responsibility of dealing with this problem and explained the difficulty to exercise his authority over the *effendis* as follows:

¹⁰¹From the interview with FUA on 21.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

[...] I have never been in favor of the *effendis* making visits [to collect dues]. However, I have been unable to prevent it. I have been unable to explain this to either the followers, or to those making the visits, I have spent a lifetime in this struggle. Of course, it goes without saying that a person must not go to a place of worship under the influence of alcohol. I have attempted to explain this to everybody, everywhere, but who takes any notice? If you put a bottle of drink [in welcome] in front those who come, if you fill their pockets [with drink], how is it possible to impede this? [...] Whether the arrival of *effendi* or *dede*, how do you know whether he has the right to be there? Everybody is proud of their forebears. However, the right to have this pride must be accompanied by observing the laws of the saints. If that person is not acting in accordance with their forebears, then they are in any case not of use. We are not compelled to act as these have done. This lesson must be well taken (cited from Shankland, 2003:150-151).

Parallel to the above quoted letters, a family member complained about the corruption of the relationship between some of the *effendis* and their adherents. He stressed that the disciples have begun to choose the *effendis* who fit their own interest. To illustrate, when they are in need of psychological support they prefer to connect with one of the *effendis*, and when they are in need of having a talk they prefer to connect with another one. In other words, with the interest of being chosen by the disciples, the *effendis* have turned into competing individuals who seek their own interest without any cooperation with other family members.¹⁰² Therefore, the individualized and profaned sanctity makes the *effendis* competing and dependent on the disciples.

As I said before, some of the family members differentiate themselves from the ones who “perform the role of *dedes*” (*dedelik yapan*). Generally those are the descendants of Veliyettin Çelebi who stayed in Hacıbektaş while the others moved to Tokat, have tendency to maintain the old hierarchical relations, and behave in accordance with the *mürşit*. Moreover, unlike the others, they are not economically dependent on the disciples because they have their own professions. According to an *effendi*:

¹⁰²From the interview with HSU on 25.12.2009 in Ankara

I visit the disciples whenever I want. This is a responsibility of showing the truth to people, of answering their questions, and teaching them. My mission is related to my profession, I am a teacher. I never see my mission as a way of earning a living.¹⁰³

An *effendi* who is also a teacher and meets the disciples only during his spare time said that he also visited the disciples but he did not perform the task of *dedes*:

[...] I do not have enough time for the visits, and I generally go to Urfa and Antep. Sometimes I go to Amasya. When I go those places, *cem* and *muhabbet* rituals are conducted, or there are some events happening. However, I do not have so much time that I can spend for the visits because I am working as a teacher. In a short time, I am trying to visit many places and meet lots of people, so, I am very busy during these visits. I cannot accept many of the invitations, and they have to cancel them. Sometimes, I organize these visits but sometimes I visit the disciples without planning, and surprise them. I participate in *cem* and *muhabbet* rituals or sometimes in panels or openings of *cemevis*.¹⁰⁴

To conclude, the emergence of the authority of the *effendi* has eliminated the *dedes*' and the *mürşit*'s vital role in connecting the arrays of the triad hierarchy. Therefore, it has weakened the mediatory role of the *dedes* who are actually the spokesmen of the community, and weakened the power of the sacred authority of the *mürşit*, who was the only head of the family previously.

4.2 The Debate Over Succession

During the Republican period, in general, the *mürşits* faced problems of establishing authority over their own family members, over the sacred guides,¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³From the interview with HSU on 11.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹⁰⁴From the interview with HHU on 21.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹⁰⁵Actually, the *dedes*' challenge to the sacred superiority of the Ulusoy is a long term problem for the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli. As I put in the Chapter 3, the inherited and leading authority of the Ulusoy (Çelebis) had questioned in the 19th century openly when the family began to lose its legitimacy in the eye of the officials. Moreover, since the Ottoman period there already have been independent sacred lineages which do not recognize the authority of the Çelebis. However in the Republican period (as different from the Ottoman period) the *mürşit* began to lose his power to exercise authority over the *dedes* due to the blurred relationship among the arrays which has brought

disciples and also of defending the right to rule over the ones who question their inherited authority. Thus, the competing claims of the *effendis* over the sacred authority led to struggles over becoming the *mürşit*. Therefore, the identification of the *mürşit* has become one of the most sensitive issues of the family because the contest for being *mürşit* is still an unsolved problem between Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi branches.

Considering the succession rules, although *nass*, “explicit designation of a successor by his predecessor” (Daftary 2007:520) is a valid rule of succession in the Twelver Shi’ism, in Ismailism (Daftary 2007) and, in the Bahai faith¹⁰⁶ (Scharbrodt 2008). It seems that *nass* is not the valid rule for succession of the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli. For them, first of all, the candidate has to be virtuous and learned (*erşed ve eslah*). Furthermore, for the identification of the *postnişin/mürşit* there are some additional rules. Primogeniture is one of the rules to recognize the successor; the system of handing down from father to son is the other. However, due to lack of the consensus on these rules, the debate over succession has continued for centuries, and caused separation of the lineage into different branches.

In line with the succession problem of the lineage, before the period of Balım Sultan, the family separated into two branches as Mürselli branch and Hüdadadlı branch. Although both of these branches (as the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli) received a share from the foundation of the order, only the Mürselli branch had the right to be the successor and to be the administrator of the foundation. According to Celalettin Ulusoy, provided they are virtuous and learned, only sons of the successor could be a successor. Though the succession passed from father to son, if the current conditions required, it could pass from the older brother to the younger brother. The Hüdadadlı branch was removed from the post of *mürşit* on account of this succession

about individualization and independence from the collectivity that the association of the Path necessitated.

¹⁰⁶During the period when the hereditary succession was in operation.

rule. Although the father of Hüdadađ Çelebi, Rasul Bali was the *mürşit*, after Rasul Bali died, the post of *mürşit* did not pass to Hüdadađ Çelebi but it passed to his uncle, Mürsel Bali. Because Hüdadađ Çelebi died before Mürsel Bali, the son of Mürsel Bali, Balım Sultan became the successor. Thus, the children of Hüdadađ Çelebi lost their right to be successors since their father died without becoming the successor (Ulusoy 1986: 70-71).

As a family member maintained, although the disagreement on succession has continued for centuries, in the Ottoman period, the central administration behaved as an adjudicator, and decided on who would be the *mürşit*. Because the Republic does not recognize the status of the *mürşit* officially, lack of an adjudicator makes the disagreement complicated.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, after centuries, the same situation which happened in the 16th century gave rise to a new debate over the succession between the descendants of two brothers, Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi, when the last official *mürşit*, Veliyettin (Çelebi) Ulusoy died in 1940. Veliyettin Ulusoy succeeded to the post after his elder brother Cemalettin Çelebi. Except for his youngest son Mustafa, all sons of Cemalettin Çelebi died before their uncle Veliyettin (Çelebi) Ulusoy. Thus, after the death of Veliyettin (Çelebi) Ulusoy, there were two candidates for the post of *mürşit*. The youngest son of Cemalettin Çelebi was eligible for the post both because he was the eldest member of the family, and he was the son of the *mürşit*. However, he was eliminated from the candidacy because of his health problem which is why he did not fit the criterion of being *mürşit*. The other candidate was Feyzullah Çelebi who was the eldest son of the last *mürşit* Veliyettin (Çelebi) Ulusoy, and he was widely accepted by the community as the *mürşit*. However, the eldest grandson of Cemalettin Çelebi, Hasan Hulgü Rıza Ulusoy, despite the fact that his father died without being a successor, claimed that primogeniture was the valid rule for succession, and that, as the oldest member of the family, he should be the

¹⁰⁷From the interview with HHU on 21.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş

mürşit. Some of the sacred guides followed him, and this led to division within the family and within the community. According to a disciple, the community felt disturbed by this contest and demanded reconciliation between the two *mürşits*. After that, these two members of the family carried on the tasks of *mürşit* together till Hasan Hulgü Rıza Ulusoy was elected as a deputy in 1957.¹⁰⁸

Second contest occurred in 1994 when the last *mürşit* Feyzullah Ulusoy died. While the post was handed down from Feyzullah Ulusoy to his son Veliyettin Hürrem Ulusoy, the members of Cemalettin Çelebi branch reacted to this by claiming again that this is an invalid way of succession. According to the rule of primogeniture, the new *mürşit* was to be the brother of Feyzullah Ulusoy being the oldest member of the family. However, he rejected this offer, so that one of the grandsons of Cemalettin Çelebi, Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy, claimed that he was the successor. Although, since 1994, Veliyettin Ulusoy has carried on his task of *mürşit*, and is widely accepted by the community, Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy persisted in his claim until he died in 2005. Then, his half-brother Haydar Ulusoy claimed his right to be the successor. However, he died a year after his claim, and, instead of him, the Cemalettin Çelebi branch put forward Safa Ulusoy as the new *mürşit* because he was the oldest member of the family. Nowadays, Safa Ulusoy and Veliyettin Hürrem Ulusoy carry out this task together. However, the tension between the two branches has still continued without an explicit conflict.

Below there is a chart which shows the Ulusoy males who claimed the right to the post of *mürşit* or who were proposed as the candidates for the post of *mürşit*:

¹⁰⁸From the interview with a disciple on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

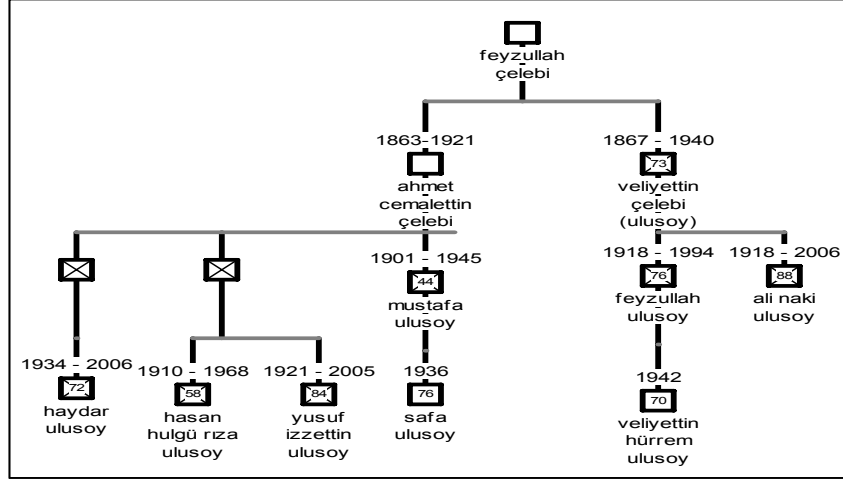


Figure 4.1 The Ulusoy males who claimed the right to the post of *mürşit* or who were proposed as the candidates for the post of *mürşit*

4.3 Channelizing the Sacred Authority into the Political Sphere

The first member of the family who got involved in the political sphere was Cemalettin Çelebi when he became the second vice president of the first Grand National Assembly in 1920. As Massicard and Fliche (2006) say, he was appointed by Mustafa Kemal to this position because of his leading role in mobilizing of the Alevi-Bektaşî communities during the Independence War. His position had a symbolic power over the adherents of the Çelebis in terms of gaining their support to the new regime. In this regard, as the first member of the family who became a deputy, he differs from other family members who have channelized their sacred authority into a political one since the 1950s.

In the early Republican period, the secular politics of the single party regime kept religion under strict control. With the transition to multi-party system in 1946, however, both of the parties, RPP (Republican People's Party) and DP (Democratic

Party) saw religion as a source of political support. In keeping with this, they integrated religion with politics. In that period, the Sunni orders which were actually not recognized officially became more apparent in the public. The Alevi-Bektaşî community was also recognized as a remarkable electorate, and during this period, some of the Ulusoy members could enter the political sphere.

In the elections of 1954, for the first time one of the *effendis*, Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy was elected as deputy of DP from Tokat. As one of the descendants of Cemalettin Çelebi who moved to Tokat in 1928, he had organic relationship with the disciples in this city. Therefore, he easily channelized his sacred authority into a political one. Moreover, the party that he became the deputy of was significant. According to Massicard (2007), and contrary to the opinion that the Alevis supported RPP, in the first elections after the transition to multi-party regime there were signs that many of the Alevis supported DP. Parallel to this argument, except a few, the Ulusoy also supported DP against RPP. According to the daughter of the former *mürşit*:

My father did not support İnönü. They complained about his oppressive regime. My father supported Adnan Menderes. One of my paternal uncles, my maternal uncle supported him, even; my maternal uncle became a deputy of DP. [...] After reading the book “ÇılgınTürkler” I became angry with my father. Although he was a well-educated person, he supported DP. My family members said that we were oppressed, we became poor, but at that time not only our family but also everybody suffered from poor conditions. One of my paternal uncles named his son “Adnan” but later he supported Ecevit.¹⁰⁹

Another family member analyzed the incline of his family members towards the DP as follows:

Not only the Ulusoy but also the other Çelebis were rightists. I think the underlying reason of that is the inability of our family members to evaluate and understand the period of the Second World War during which İsmet Paşa was national chef and

¹⁰⁹From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

during which people were suffering from famine and poverty. Moreover, during the first years of the Republic when the dervish convents were abolished, our family was oppressed and it might also affect their political opinion. They had been oppressed and then, they experienced the hard conditions of independence war. After the establishment of the Republic, they were again oppressed by banning the Path and the visits of the *dedes* and disciples. The period of İsmet Paşa and the Second World War followed these hard times. Our family members could not analyze this case and they saw İsmet Paşa as the one responsible for all the things that they had experienced. They were angry with him, they even hated him, but they could not see what happened in the world at that period. [...] They related the relief that the country experienced after the single party regime with Menderes and his policies. However that was the result of the changing conjuncture that happened all around the world. I think that the generations which did not grasp the period analytically, became the rightists.¹¹⁰

The elder half-brother of Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy, Hasan Hulgü Rıza Ulusoy was an exception in terms of his support to RPP while others were supporting DP. In the 1957 elections Hasan Hulgü Rıza Ulusoy and İzzettin Ulusoy became rivals as the deputy candidates from Tokat, and Hasan Hulgü Rıza Ulusoy was elected as the deputy of RPP. Their candidacy from the same city but for different political parties led to a conflict between the brothers. Besides that, other family members who supported DP took offence at Hasan Hulgü Rıza Ulusoy because of his candidacy for deputy of RPP.¹¹¹ Despite these negative attitudes of the family members towards him, in the next elections in 1961, he became again the deputy of RPP from Tokat. Following these two *effendis* who were able to convert their sacred authority into political authority, in 1965 Kazım Ulusoy, who was also a descendant of Cemalettin Çelebi became deputy of Nation Party (Millet Partisi) from Amasya where he had close relationship with the Alevi-Bektaşî population.

The integration of religion with the party politics of DP and RPP brought about the support and empowerment of Sunni Islam and Sunni orders. The Alevi-Bektaşî belief also became a public issue after the military intervention in 1960. In

¹¹⁰ From the interview with HHU on 03.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹¹¹ From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

1961, General Cemal Gürsel proposed that the mosques should be available for the Alevis for the purpose of harmonizing the Sünni and Alevi population. Moreover, in 1963, concerning the reorganization of the Directorate of Religious Affairs, in the Assembly, the chair of the Republican People's Party, İsmet İnönü proposed establishing an Office of Sects within the Directorate of Religious Affairs (DRA).

Along with this, the officials came into contact with Feyzullah Ulusoy. He was invited to a meeting with minister of the state, Hayri Mumcuoğlu, on the subject of reorganization of the DRA. In the meeting, he was offered the post of the representative in the Office of Sects. He was recommended to Cemal Gürsel for this position by his uncle¹¹² and the deputy of Erzincan, Hüseyin Aksu. As Feyzullah Ulusoy cited, Hüseyin Aksu said to Cemal Gürsel “Why are you trying to find a person for this position? In Hacібektaş, there is Feyzullah Ulusoy who is one of the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli and who is venerated by the Alevis. You can appoint him to this position.” However, Feyzullah Ulusoy rejected this offer on the grounds that he was not eligible for that position.¹¹³

The rightist and Islamist media reacted against the government's effort to harmonize the Sunni and Alevi population and refused to accept the Alevi belief as a sect. The rightist media's attack towards the Alevi belief led to mobilization of the Alevis and for the first time, by using the term “Alevi”, some Alevi university students made a declaration in order to protest the rightist and Islamic reaction, and made a claim to be recognized based on the constitutional principle of secularism. Moreover, the establishment of the first Alevi organizations and reopening of the *dergah* which was under restoration since the mid-1950s as a museum and

¹¹²Probably Hasan Hulgü Ulusoy who was actually his uncle's grandson.

¹¹³http://www.haberiniz.com.tr/yazilar/koseyazisi50602-Celebi_Feyzullah_Ulusoyla_Sohbet.html accessed on 13.07.2012

celebration of annual festival of Hacı Bektaş Veli followed the former developments (Ata: 2007, Massicard: 2007).

The deputies Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy and Hasan Hülğü Rıza Ulusoy played an important role in the opening of the *dergah* as museum, but there was also another family member, Ali Celalettin Ulusoy who actively took part in this process. He was also one of the founders and president of the first Alevi-Bektaş organization, Hacı Bektaş Tourism and Propagation Association, established in 1963.¹¹⁴ According to his son:

If I am not wrong, the association was founded in 1963. For a long time, my father had been the president of the association. They organized a “night” in the Büyük Cinema and some conferences on Hacı Bektaş Veli. [...] During the opening ceremony of *dergah* as a museum, my father gave a speech and said that he was happy with the opening of dervish convent as a museum which was closed by the law regulating the status of the religious covenants and dervish convents. A garrison commander who was eager to show his adherence to the principles of Kemalism interfered in my father’s speech by saying something like “No one is able to open the place closed by Atatürk.” People got into a panic because of the commander’s speech. The Alevis were still backward at that time, and with the concern that the state officials would interfere in the ceremonies many of them left the district. Then, the opening of the museum was reported in the Ulus newspaper. I cannot remember it word by word but it was written that the Kemalist general put the presumptuous person into his place. However, my father was the member of the RPP. On the following, day my father sent a refutation and it came out in the newspaper. He explained the scene of the opening ceremony and stressed that he was a member of the RPP and reminded them about the Ulusoy family’s obvious support to Atatürk.¹¹⁵

The disappointment of the Alevi-Bektaş community became great when the new DRA law (#633) was passed on in 1965 without any offer to the Alevis, despite the community’s expectations of having Alevism placed in the structure of the DRA. Hence, the Alevi-Bektaş criticized the Sunni bias in the state institutions including the DRA. In 1966, the director of DRA, İbrahim Elmalı responded to the critique by arguing that Alevism faded away. His claim strengthened the sectarian hostility

¹¹⁴In 1963 another association, Hacı Bektaş Culture, Development, and Assistance Association was established.

¹¹⁵From the interview with HHU on 03.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

towards the Alevi-Bektaşî community. Soon after, Sunnis attacked Alevis in Ortaca (Muğla) (Ata, 2007).

All these events led to the foundation of the first Alevi-Bektaşî political party, i.e. the Turkish Unity Party (Türkiye Birlik Partisi) in 1966. Besides the urbanized middle-class Alevis and university students, the Ulusoy family were also taking part in the emerging Alevi movement. However, the authority of the Ulusoy family, especially the authority of the *mürşit*, was vital for gaining support of the Alevi-Bektaşî community who still showed respect for the *mürşit*. Therefore, Feyzullah Ulusoy became one of the founders of the Turkish Unity Party (TUP).

Just like the *mürşit*, Feyzullah Ulusoy, who became one of the founders of the party, three other Ulusoy family members were elected as deputies of TUP in the 1969 elections. Four members of the family were nominated as candidates for deputy: Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy from Tokat, Kazım Ulusoy from Amasya (he was transferred to the party from the Trust Party), Ali Naki Ulusoy from Çorum (he had close relationship with the disciples in Çorum because Çorum was the birthplace of his mother) and, Ahmet Cemalettin Ulusoy from Yozgat. Except for Ahmet Cemalettin Ulusoy, all candidates from the Ulusoy family were elected as deputies. After the elections, in order to form a government, Demirel was in need of affirmative votes of the deputies from other parties. To that end, the Justice Party deputies lobbied among other party deputies for their support. Five deputies of the TUP, including the Ulusoy family members supported Demirel, thus providing financial aid to the TUP and the right to have the floor. These five deputies casted affirmative vote for the government of Süleyman Demirel (Adalet Partisi-Justice Party) despite the counter decision of the TUP's central executive committee.

Thereafter, the Ulusoy family members were accused of following their own personal interests and faced with reaction of the party members and Alevi-Bektaşîs. They defended themselves by arguing that they tried to hinder any political crisis in order

to preserve democracy and serve their electorate more efficiently.¹¹⁶ Efforts to expel the Ulusoy from the party resulted in the excommunication of these five deputies from the Path by committee constituted by the party staff. A book called “Beş Yol Düşkünü” (Five Excommunicated Persons) was published and handed out to the Alevi-Bektaş people (Ata: 2007). According to the daughter of Feyzullah Ulusoy:

My father was one of the founders of the party. At that time, I was young; they insisted that my father should found the party. They visited my father many times, persuading him to found the party. They were Alevi people, well educated people, and my father founded the party. My uncles became deputies of the party, but then, they were misunderstood because of the affirmative vote. Among the ones who casted affirmative vote was my paternal uncle. My father-told them “Do not cast affirmative vote, you are right, but people can easily misunderstand you. And, that was what happened. After a while, the party was also closed. [...] My father did not become a deputy of the party.”¹¹⁷

Thus, a political party claimed the sacred authority through which its members could excommunicate the *effendis*. For the Ulusoy, the TUB experience had very destructive effects in terms of relationships within the Ulusoy family, and with the disciples. According to a family member:

The issue of Unity Party caused resentment among the family members. Our family was reviled by the Alevi community for affirmative vote of the three Ulusoy. Lots of gossip came out in the press; they claimed that the Ulusoy did this in return of money. No matter whether it was true or not, it destroyed our relationship with disciples. My father wrote a letter in which he criticized the affirmative vote of the Ulusoy. This also led to resentment among the family members and the resentment has continued for a very long time. There is still an arms-length relationship between us and their children, and even their grandchildren. The political issues damaged our family. [...]The relationship with disciples from some regions was broken. Loyalty of the disciples from Tokat has remained. Some of our family members continued to be elected as deputies from Tokat, the disciples supported Şahin Ulusoy, for example. The disciples from Amasya partially preserved their relationship with our family. Many of the disciples from Black Sea region keep their loyalty to us but, the

¹¹⁶From the interview with MUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş and with NUa on 08.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹¹⁷From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

issue of affirmative vote destroyed the relationship with the disciples especially in Çorum. In the east, some people took advantage of this issue. Many of the sacred lineages are independent in the east, and those who claimed that Hacı Bektaş Veli had no children made use of this issue.¹¹⁸

The bad experience of TUB did not put an end to the political life of the Ulusoy. In the 1973 elections, Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy became an independent candidate for deputy position from Tokat, Kazım Ulusoy and Ali Naki Ulusoy became candidates for deputy of the Republican Trust Party from Amasya and Tokat but, none of them were elected. However, in the 1973 elections, another family member, half-brother of Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy and Kazım Ulusoy, Haydar Ulusoy became a deputy of RPP from Tokat. Moreover, in the 1987 elections, Kazım Ulusoy was also able to be elected as deputy of the RPP from Amasya. Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy was unable to get elected as deputy anymore, but he became one of the founders of the Right Way Party.

Despite the fact that some of the family members¹¹⁹ still see the deputy elections as a way of converting their sacred authority into a political one, the last family member who became a deputy was Şahin Ulusoy.¹²⁰ He became deputy of the Social Democratic Party from Tokat in the 1991 elections, and between the years 1994 and 1995, he became the Minister of Tourism. Lastly, in the 1995 elections, he was elected as deputy of the RPP from Tokat.

¹¹⁸From the interview with HHU on 03.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹¹⁹ With the updated information that the Massicard and Fliche (2006) gave, those are the deputy candidates: Orhan Ulusoy was deputy candidate of RPP from Tokat (in 1977); Sedat Ulusoy was deputy candidate of RPP from Amasya (in 2007 and in 2011); Timurcan Ulusoy was deputy candidate of RPP from Tokat (in 2002) of Nationalist Movement Party from İstanbul; Zeliha Ulusoy was independent deputy candidate from Tokat (in 1995); Ali Ekber Ulusoy was deputy candidate of the New Turkey Party from Tokat (in 2002); Hayrullah Ulusoy was deputy candidate of the Motherland Party from İstanbul (in 1995) and from Ordu (in 2002).

¹²⁰Hasan Hulgü Rıza Ulusoy who became deputy of RPP from Tokat in the 1957 and in the 1961 elections is father of Şahin Ulusoy. Thus, he followed his father in his political carrier.

The fact that the *effendis* are not able to channelize their sacred authority into political one being elected as deputies can be related with the insufficiency of the traditional relations to suit the changing political climate in which the Alevi movement and alternative forms of authorities gained power in the political sphere:

In the mid-1970s, Alevi-Bektaşî people suffered from Islamist-rightist attacks and massacres in Malatya, Sivas, Kahramanmaraş and Çorum. Moreover, after the military intervention, the Alevi-Bektaşîs again face marginalization and discrimination. The Turk-Islam synthesis which was developed by the rightist intellectuals in the 1970s was reformulated as a state ideology after the military intervention. With the 1982 constitution, the religion courses were made mandatory in the primary and secondary schools. The power of the DRA was extended, and in the Alevi villages mosques were built and *imams* were appointed. Furthermore, neo-liberal economic policies created an unequal income distribution and weakened the middle class. Many of the Alevi-Bektaşîs were also among the population who suffered poor economic conditions (Massicard, 2007:71-73).

Thus, a new Alevi-Bektaşî movement arose from such conditions. Moreover, the oppression of the left after military intervention, and the rising ethnic and nationalist movement after the collapse of socialist rules influenced the characteristics of the Alevi-Bektaşî associations and they were established on the grounds of identity politics (Vorhoff, 2003:96). In Germany by the end of the 1980s, the first Alevi-Bektaşî associations were established with the purpose of becoming visible publicly. Then, in Germany and in Turkey, an Alevi declaration which demanded recognition of Aleviness was published. The 1993 massacre in Sivas and 1995 massacre in Gazi neighborhood accelerated the organization of the Alevi-Bektaşîs.

Unlike the Alevi revival in the 1960s which saw active participation of sacred guides or people adherent to the traditional way of the Path, in the second Alevi revival, generally urbanized, educated and non-*dede* people (many of whom came

from leftist tradition) participated. By integrating Aleviness with their ideology, they reinterpreted the tradition in several ways. During this period, the traditional leaders of the Alevi-Bektaşî Path, the sacred guides, stood out as leaders of the community but restricted within religious sphere. Moreover, their existence in the Alevi movement brought the contradiction between the inherited sacred authority and some concepts defended by the Alevi-Bektaşî organizations such as democracy and enlightenment.

On the other hand, in 2006, the *mürşit* Veliyettin Ulusoy and the Alevi-Bektaşî organizations¹²¹ held a “Unity Meeting” and then “Unity *Cem*” in Hacібektaş. In these meetings, the Alevi-Bektaşî organizations declared that they accepted Veliyettin Ulusoy as the *mürşit*. Thus, in the Alevi movement, these meetings turned over a leaf and provided ways of collaborating identity politics with the Path without restricting the sacred leader to a religious sphere.

In 2007, the Justice and Development Party (JDP) government’s “Alevi opening”¹²² policy towards the Alevi-Bektaşîs was strongly protested by the Alevi-Bektaşî organizations and Veliyettin Ulusoy became visible in the public as the spokesmen of his community. He demanded secularization of the state by abolishing the Directorate of Religious Affairs and the compulsory religion courses in the schools. Moreover he demanded the state’s neutrality in matters of religion and towards all religious communities, as well as the liberty of all religious communities without the state’s interference. In line with the “Alevi opening up process” on 9 November 2008, a demonstration was organized by the Alevi-Bektaşî associations

¹²¹Alevi Bektaşî Federation, European Confederation of Alevi Communities, and Hacı Bektaş Veli Cultural Association were the organizations which organized the meeting.

¹²²Within the framework of “Alevi opening” the JDP government organized workshops and planned to establish a governmental institution which would function like a general directorate under the prime ministry. In line with this, Alevi institutions which would educate and employ the *dedes* and *zakirs* were also part of the plans.

against discrimination and for equal citizenship rights. Veliyettin Ulusoy gave a speech at the demonstration.

To conclude, since the 1950s, the Ulusoy family has participated in political life by being elected deputies, as founders of the political parties or, in the case of Ali Celalettin Ulusoy, as the founder and president of the first Alevi-Bektaşı organization. However, for the first time, a *mürşit*, Veliyettin Ulusoy appeared in the political sphere without being connected with any party or the organization, but, rather as the spokesman of his community.

CHAPTER 5

THE HACIBEKTAŞ DISTRICT: FROM HOME TO A MEETING PLACE

When the Hünkar had settled in the home of Kadıncık in Soluca Karahöyük those who heard about his miracles began to visit him. But the muhibs and halifes who gathered around him were not content with the climate of the village. They said, "Let us make this clear to the Hünkar in such a way that he will go to a place near the coast so that we could inhabit a warm part of this land." So one day they gathered and began a conversation with the Hünkar saying, "The wind of this place is severe, it blows without end". The Hünkar replied, "The erens are coming to visit me and for this reason the wind gusts." Another day they said, "The snow of this Karahöyük is tremendous and its cold intense. If an eren resided at a low place, say, by the seashore, the abdals, çıplaks and the garipts who come would find easiness." The Hünkar was unhappy with these words and he said "For the truth of my journey of the truth which goes to the Truth, if there was a higher and colder place, I would have gone and settled there" The halifes understood that the Hünkar would not leave Soluca Karahöyük...(Velayetname, 2006:88)¹²³

The Hacibektaş district, where Hacı Bektaş Veli lived, and where the main dervish lodge of Hacı Bektaş was located, has been "the fountainhead" of the Alevi-Bektaşî belief for centuries. Before the abolition of the Bektaşî order, all Bektaşî dervish lodges from Balkans to Near East, and some of the Kızılbaş/Alevi lineages were connected to the main *dergah* in Hacibektaş. According to Birge, the Bektaşîs with whom he talked claimed that the distance between two Bektaşî dervish lodges

¹²³ The Saintly Exploits of Hacı Bektaş Veli Menakib-ı Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli "Vilayetname" translation and introduction by Huseyin Abiba (2006) by Babagan Books.

situated in this vast area was not over six hours' journey (about 15 miles). Therefore, it was possible for one to travel all over the Empire by going one Bektaşî dervish lodge to another (Birge, 1964:83). Thus, the main dervish lodge of Hacı Bektaş Veli was the locus of this dervish lodges network. However, with the abolition of the dervish orders in 1925 all dervish lodges were closed. Consequently, the common way of organizing the order on the basis of the dervish lodges was also abolished. In other words, the closure of the main *dergah* put an end to the existence of the Babagan branch in the district but the Çelebi branch, i.e. the *effendis* of the Alevi-Bektaşî communities, has survived.

Arguing for the maintenance of the dervish orders after they had been closed, Kreiser points to a certain kind of persistence in terms of place by highlighting the importance of to preserve the sheiks' right to dwell in their residences which belonged to the foundations of their old dervish lodges (Kreiser, 2004:96). Parallel to this argument, and keeping in mind that the Çelebis have continued to dwell in their mansion complex after the ban of the order, the main concern of this chapter is grasping the role of the residences of the Ulusoy, in other words, the role of the place in maintaining the sanctity and in performing the sacred authority of the family.

As a place, or more correctly, as a meeting place at which particular social relations intersect, the residences of the Ulusoy are constructed by multiple material practices and relations. For this reason, in this chapter, I accept the residences of the Çelebis as the locus of the Alevi-Bektaşî, and as articulations of the relations, understandings and practices that characterize the place and are always constructed on far larger scales (Massey, 1994: 154). I also attempt to follow the historical trajectories of the family in the Hacıbektaş district, relating these trajectories to the socio-economic and political alterations in Turkey.

Firstly, I elaborate the relationship between the Ulusoy and inhabitants in terms of the disruption of the family's old privileged status and the loss of legitimacy.

While focusing on the social relations in the district, I search for the reasons why the family could not preserve its sacred authority in their hometown but over the disciples who live in many parts of the country. Then, I focus on the transformation of the residences from an extension of the *dergah* to loci where both the family members and the disciples meet. Lastly, I research the current position of the residences of the Ulusoy as meeting places through which the sanctity of the family has reproduced.

5.1 “The soil of Hacibektaş is precious but the people of it are like Muawiyah”

As I mentioned in the previous chapters, currently, there is an almost unconnected coexistence of the Ulusoy and inhabitants in the Hacibektaş district. While I was searching for explanations of this broken relationship or the loss of genealogical legitimacy of the family over the inhabitants, one of the middle aged Ulusoy referring narratives in *Vilayetname*, said: “For centuries there has been prejudice and jealousy against us. When Hacı Bektaş Veli came to Hacibektaş, he became an unwelcome person in the eye of some of the inhabitants.”¹²⁴ For him, the main reasons for the current conditions are attitudes of prejudice and provocation which began after the uprising of Kalender Çelebi implanted into the minds of people, the claim that the Çelebis are not the hereditary successors of Hacı Bektaş Veli.¹²⁵ From one aspect, his point was important for me because he was addressing the historical roots of the dissolution of the genealogical legitimacy of the family. Although question of the hereditary succession of the family can be traced back to the separation of the Bektaşî order into two branches after the uprising of the Kalender

¹²⁴ From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹²⁵ From the same interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

Çelebi in the 16th century, it became prominent when the family began to lose power with the abolition of the order in 1826. Therefore, there should be a connection between the dissolution of the patrimonial relations in the district and the loss of the legitimacy of the family. Moreover, older members of the family with whom I talked about this issue stress that in the near past the inhabitants showed great respect to the Çelebis.¹²⁶ Thus, considering the gap between the Ulusoy's paternal authority over their disciples and the inhabitants' rejection of this authority based on grievances against the Ulusoy's (such as doing nothing good for the district except for usurp people's religious beliefs), the relationship between the Ulusoy's and the inhabitants needs more complex explanations more than just attitudes of prejudice and provocation.

In his book *Recognizing Islam*, in the third chapter, Michael Gilson talks about the "Learned Families" in a Shiite village in Lebanon and explains how the structural changes in Lebanon economy, or, the "European based capitalism" in the end of 1950s interrupted the privileged position of these families by altering the social relations. The "Learned Families" are composed of sheikhs who monopolized the religious knowledge and the *seyyids* whose religious authority is based on genealogy that can be traced back to the son of the Imam Hossein, Ali as-Saghir. By virtue of the authority and literacy the sheikhs and *seyyids* could monopolize the administrative posts in the village as become major landholding groups. However, by the end of the 1950s, thanks to the service-dominated economic development, agriculture became less productive and migration from the rural areas to urban areas became prevalent. When cash economy reached the rural areas, new occupations, educational and economic paths were also introduced and this led to shortage of labor agriculture. Being landholders, the Learned Families' relationship with peasants weakened their position. Moreover, their religious expertise became incapable of

¹²⁶From the interviews with MUa on 16.07.2009; with AUa and HNU on 27.08.2009; with NUa on 18.08.2009; with NUa and NUb on 26.07.2010; and ADU on 14.08.2010 in Hacıbektaş.

dealing with economic, political and social problems and, the families lost their dominance in these fields. They were compelled to be religious because they fell behind other spheres of life (Gilsenan, 2000).

Despite different socio-economic and historical contexts and different positions of the families in these contexts, the case of the Learned Families in a Shiite village of Lebanon can give an idea on the current situation of the Ulusoy in the district in terms of the dissolution of the sacred authority at the local level due to the changing social relations that stretched beyond the local. Based on their divine authority which comes from the inherited *walaya* by genealogical line, the Çelebis also monopolized the economic, political and social resources but, this monopolization was supported through an official recognition of their post by the Empire.

According to the foundation system of the Ottoman Empire, all the people of the lands of the foundation were the subjects of the *dergah* which was represented by the Çelebis. Until the closure of the *dergah* in 1826, as the hereditary successor of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the Çelebis were formally recognized as *postnişins*. Up to the closure of the *dergah* in 1925, they were formally recognized as trustees of the foundation. Thus, the subjects, inhabitants of the district were connected with the sacred guidance and supervision of the family which naturally involved economic, juridical and political authority.

As the trustee of the foundation, the head of the family undertook the financial responsibilities of the *dergah* which was economically dependent on the tax and revenues of the lands and villages belonging to the foundation (Faroqhi, 1976:197). All the lands of the foundation were tax exempted and governed by the trustees of the foundation independent of the central government's intervention. Hence, the relationship between administrators of the foundation (the Çelebis) and the inhabitants of these villages and lands were mutually dependent because under the

authority of the *dergah*, the inhabitants were also under the protection of the trustees of the foundation against the central administration, especially against the tax-farmers of the central administration (Faroqhi, 1976: 197). Naturally, this does not mean that the relationship between them was without conflict. To illustrate, some official documents from the 18th century show that Feyzullah Çelebi, the *postnişin* and trustee at that time, complained about the peasants who resisted paying the taxes which could only be collected by the administrator of the foundation.¹²⁷ Moreover, Faroqhi talks about a petition signed by the Çelebis in the 18th century which mentions a complaint about peasants who ran away from the lands of the foundation and a demand to get them back. When the family's official position weakened with the abolition of the *dergah* in 1826, although the family was formally recognized as the trustees of the foundation, the hereditary succession of them was questioned by the Babagan branch which gained power against the Çelebis. As a result of the rivalry between the two branches, the inhabitants of the district became divided into subjects of the Çelebi branch and Babagan branch.

No matter whom the inhabitants acknowledged; charity was an important aspect to grasp the relationship between the *dergah* and the inhabitants. Because the Çelebis have resided out of the *dergah*, in their mansion complex, they were also performing the task of helping not only the guests but also the needy in the district. In line with this, Cemalettin Çelebi was described by the family members and by inhabitants as a paternal figure. To illustrate, Cemalettin Çelebi is portrayed as a powerful person who doled out money to the needy when he went to public places. As an example of the charity that the family undertook, there was also a bakery in the mansion complex of the Çelebis where the poor people got bread without paying.¹²⁸ Furthermore, among the services of the family to the inhabitants, there was a school

¹²⁷See the Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal (1999) vol.9; (2007) vol.42

¹²⁸From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

which was opened in the mansion complex by the father of Cemalettin Çelebi, Feyzullah Çelebi in order to educate the children of the Çelebis and the children of the district and surrounding villages.¹²⁹ More interestingly, according to a family member, Cemalettin Çelebi and his brother Veliyettin Çelebi had some surgical instruments. Although the Çelebis were treated by a family doctor, the inhabitants approached them when they needed treatment and/or practical information and help.¹³⁰

In keeping with this, below, I quote a part of an interview. The interviewee is Aşık Zebuni from the upper part of the district. His narration is based on the memories of his parents and of his own and sheds light on the role of the *dergah* in the life of inhabitants. His location in the district is important because as I mentioned before, the inhabitants of Hacібektaş live in two parts, the upper neighborhood which supported the Babagan branch and the lower part which supported the Çelebi branch when the rivalry and tension between two branches faded during the 19th and especially during the early 20th century.¹³¹ According to him:

When the dervish lodge was open, they helped the families if they were suffering from hunger. They welcomed the guests and fed them. They collected all the income of the foundation and used them for the public good such as bake house, fountain. All that had gone after the closure of the dervish lodge. The district fell into very bad condition, people became poor. It was the time in between two world wars, there was malaria, grasshopper attack, two world wars... we have no bread. If the dervish lodge had been open we would not have suffered from that hardship. If you had money, there was nothing to buy; you could not have bought anything.¹³²

¹²⁹From the interview with NUa on 18.08.2009 in Hacібektaş.

¹³⁰From the conversation with NUa in Hacібektaş on 17.09.2009 and from the interview with MUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacібektaş

¹³¹ From the interview with VHU on 04.12.2008 in Ankara

¹³²Interview with Aşık Zebuni in 2009 in Ankara. The data that I present here was gathered under the direction of Dr. Tugba Tanyeri Erdemir and Dr. Aykan Erdemir as part of the project on “Antagonistic Tolerance in Turkey,” funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Moreover, Hamid Z. Koşay who visited Hacibektaş entrusted with the official duty of preserving the artifacts of the *dergah*, gives some information on the role of the *dergah* in the life of the inhabitants. According to him, the population of the district was about 1400 people and some groups of the inhabitants were subject to the Çelebi branch and some others were subject to the Babagan branch. They were all landless and poor people. Despite the fact that the inhabitants resented both of the branches due to some economic reasons, they were still under the influence of them. Moreover, people believed that the *dergah* would be open again as in the past. Therefore, they were not willing to be employed as workers for the committee which was sent from the Ministry of Evkaf because they believed working there as sacrilege. For instance, they thought that the administrator of the district became paralyzed because he destroyed and used the walls of a sacred stone called “greeting stone” to construct a school. Koşay adds that he heard that some people abandoned their superstitious belief after seeing that the door of the *dergah* closed (Koşay, 1928).

After the closure of the *dergah* in 1925, in 1928 the title of trustee of the foundation, which was given to the sheiks and tomb-keepers, was abolished. Lastly, in 1935, the Directorship of Foundations sold all the property of the foundation of old *dergah* (Ulusoy, 1986:39). Thus, the family was dismissed from political, judicial and economic spheres of official authority which is actually intermingled with sacred authority. This also meant that, the inhabitants’ subject position under the authority of the Çelebis also ceased to exist.

Besides that, the secularization policies of the single party rule (CHP-Republican People’s Party) aimed at secularization of all levels of society from the state to the social life, and the attempt to eliminate religious symbols was part of these policies (Zürcher, 1992:186). In keeping with this, Koşay’s abovementioned impressions might be read as the tension and efforts of the officials to separate the

profane from the sacred, which were interwoven in the mundane lives of the inhabitants and, thus, to resign the Çelebis from being local authority for the sake of the new regime.

During the fieldwork, the family members avoided giving detailed information on economic issues of the family, thus, it was difficult for me to tease out the economic relations of the family with the inhabitants after the abolition of the *dergah*. The family was no more responsible for the lands of the foundation and more importantly, the lands of the foundation became the private ownership of the inhabitants. The family had also its private ownership which was actually incomparable with private ownership of the poor inhabitants'.¹³³ After abolishment of the foundation system, the family, as landholders had no relationship with the inhabitants except for the problems in the farm of İlicek village that I will mention later.¹³⁴ This was the case because the family members had their own labor power which was made up by disciples who served the family voluntarily.

In the early Republican period; to a large extent, the inhabitants were still under the effect of the sanctity and paternal authority of the Ulusoy because the family was in an advantageous position when compared to the inhabitants in terms of obtaining economic and social resources. The Ulusoy were held in high esteem by inhabitants and despite the oppression of the family by the local administration, the family was respected even by local officials. A family member remembered those days as follows:

¹³³ From the interview with VHU on 04.12.2008 in Ankara

¹³⁴ In the 1960s, some family members constructed few buildings downtown, in the areas where extensions to the mansion complex were made. They are used as groceries's store buildings but, unfortunately I have no information on the rental relations between the family members who possesses them and the tenants.

They [the inhabitants] showed respect to my father [Veliyettin Çelebi], he had influence on them. He did them favors as much as he was able to do. He visited the schools, he visited the municipality. He did not stay at home without going out. He had a good relationship with the civil servants.¹³⁵

They [the inhabitants] had respect for us. Now, there is no respect for the elders, anywhere. In the past, they were visiting us. If one was sick and there were no doctors, they asked for cure. My father explained remedies for the cure to the best of his knowledge.¹³⁶

The relation between the family and the people of the district was still based on charity. For example, after the alphabet reform in 1928, Veliyettin Çelebi allocated the guest house of the mansion complex to the school where the women of the district learnt how to read and write.¹³⁷ Later, the mansion of the Çelebis also hosted tailoring courses (Berktay, 1998:262). Moreover, until the 1950s, the bakery in the mansion complex was open for the needy people.¹³⁸

In addition to that information, some other family members said that the inhabitants were visiting the Ulusoy especially in the feast days and showing great respect to them.¹³⁹ They invited the Ulusoy to their wedding ceremonies and despite the fact that the family members did not participate in these ceremonies because their sanctity necessitated seclusion but, sent wedding gifts with the persons who served the family and sometimes the Ulusoy children could accompany them.¹⁴⁰

Although the family members preserved their leading position until the mid-1940s, they did not undertake any official position in the district. In the mid-1940s, when the multi-party system started, the government's effort to liberate CHP

¹³⁵ From the interview with AUa on 27.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹³⁶ From the interview with AUa on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹³⁷ From the interview with AUa on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹³⁸ From the interview with VHU on 30.01.2009 in Ankara

¹³⁹ From interviews with FUa on 29.08.2009; with SUa and MUb on 24.07.2009; with ADU on 14.08.2010 in Hacibektaş

¹⁴⁰ From the conversation with NUa on 23.07.2010 in Hacibektaş.

(Republican People's Party) led to a relaxing of the strict secularist policies (Ahmad, 2002: 131) which decreased oppression of the family as the ruling sacred lineage. Maybe because of this political climate, one of the family members, Hulgü Rıza Ulusoy was elected as the mayor of the district. Six months after the election, he laid down his post.¹⁴¹ According to his son, some of the people of Hacıbektas supported another person for the post of mayor and they were able to remove him from the post.¹⁴² Unfortunately, he did not give any further information on this issue, therefore, the underlying reasons of this dismissal is not clear. It could be accepted as a sign of weakening legitimacy of the family's sacred authority or as heralding a breakdown in the relationship between the Ulusoy and the inhabitants that became visible in the 1950s.

In the 1950s, the liberal economic policies of the Democrat Party led to radical changes in the rural areas. Due to the priority which was granted to production of agricultural goods and minerals, roads were constructed and agriculture was mechanized throughout the country, thereby connecting towns and cities to the villages. Moreover, mechanization of agriculture had transformed the relations of production which also brought about migration to cities.¹⁴³ Money flowed into the rural with the export of food and raw minerals and that caused a demand for consumer goods (Ahmad, 2002: 115-116). In keeping with the structural changes introduced all over the country in the mid-1950s, the development of infrastructure and construction of government offices, lodging buildings, a bank, a modern school and a prison in Hacıbektas. Thus "the village-like life of the district was modernized" (Gürses, 1964:7) and new paths of occupations, education and economy emerged.

¹⁴¹ The tenure of his post as mayor was from 01.01.1946 to 20.10.1946. www.hacibektas.bel.tr accessed on 29.08.2010

¹⁴² From the interview with ADU on 14.08.2010 in Hacıbektas.

¹⁴³ There were also migration abroad, especially to Germany.

Both the Ulusoy and inhabitants were unavoidably affected by the same structural alterations which actually dissolved the old paternal authority of the family by reducing the social distinction.

As I elaborate this topic later, the family structure of the Ulusoy transformed from extended family into a nuclear one. Some of the family members moved from the district because of their professions or education of the young generations. They began to live both in the district and in the city. It could be said that the authority of the family had been already removed from the temporal sphere that was dominated by the officials and by institutions of the Republican regime. What remained was the religious authority in terms of their sacred genealogy and sacred knowledge which was also suppressed under the single party regime but a little bit relaxed with secularization policies of the multi-party regime.

The family's post at the top of the hierarchy of the Alevi-Bektaşî Path never allowed the family members to establish face to face relations with the inhabitants; on the contrary, their sanctity necessitates seclusion from the public and mediation of the sacred guides, *dedes*. *Dedes* were the intermediary between the disciples and the Çelebis and some of the families from the other branch of the Çelebis, the Hüdâdadlı branch¹⁴⁴ undertook the position of *dede*. According to a member of the family, the last *cem* ritual under the guidance of a *dede* who was affiliated with the Çelebis was held in a village of Hacıbektaş, Çayırbağı in 1957.¹⁴⁵ Another member of the Ulusoy whose mother is from the Hüdâdadlı branch gives some information about the religious rituals of the inhabitants:

¹⁴⁴I will refer to the Hüdâdadlı branch while elaborating the hereditary succession rules of the Çelebis. On the other hand, the Hüdâdadlı branch is not the focus of this study and it needs detailed study, thus, it can be topic for another study.

¹⁴⁵From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

The inhabitants of Hacibektaş were also performing *cem* rituals. For example, Ali Ağa Dede who was the proxy of my grandfather guided many of the people from the lower part of the district. My mother said that she saw a man whose neck was in a rope and he was taken crawling to our home. It was the ritual of social acceptance of the one who was excommunicated because of his guilt. She [the mother] said that we were little kids; we were laughing because we found it funny. However, the elder ones got angry with us and sent us away. My mother remembered those.¹⁴⁶

Without any mediation of the sacred guides, the family had no religious role that they performed among the inhabitants, thus, the family had no place in the lives of the inhabitants in the religious sense. In the 1960s and 1970s, the leftist ideologies became prevalent among the young generations in the district; questioning the genealogical legitimacy of the Ulusoy with the claim that “the Ulusoy are usurpers of religion and exploiters of poor people”. A family member remembered that period as follows:

At the period when the leftist idea was prevalent, young people adopted some discourse without knowing what’s what. To illustrate some wrote on the wall of our garden in Topayın village: Landlords! Keep your hands off the lands of the peasant! In Topayın village, other families owned lands as much as we did; they even had more than we had. They had a grudge against us because of that garden. [...] As if we were landlords. We possessed lands but people of İlicek¹⁴⁷ appropriated them. Later the family had grown bigger and the lands were shared. Everyone owned about one or two hundred acres of land.¹⁴⁸

For a family member, the leftists had great effect in the breakdown of the relation between the Ulusoy and the inhabitants. Her mother added that, while going to Topayın village, in İlicek village they saw an inscription was written on a wall saying “we are working; the effendis are spending.”¹⁴⁹ The leftists attempted to

¹⁴⁶From the interview with HHU on 21.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

¹⁴⁷ As will mention later, the family had a farm in İlicek village and the ownership of the farm became a great problem between the family and the people of İlicek which went on trial.

¹⁴⁸ From the interview with HHU on 03.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

¹⁴⁹ From fieldnotes on 23.07.2010 in Hacibektaş

explain the privileged position of the family, which was based on the patrimonial relations and which had been already dissolving due to the structural changes of the country's class relations. They were quite successful in destroying the ruling sacred authority and legitimacy of the family in the eyes of the people. To illustrate, some of the Ulusoy had an important role in the opening of the *dergah* as a museum in 1964 and in establishing the first Alevi-Bektaş organization. Although these activities were the turning point for the district towards its connection with the other parts of country and even abroad as a center for the Alevi-Bektaş people, the role of the Ulusoy in them was underestimated. More interestingly, while talking about the disfavor that the inhabitants fell into with the family, a family member said:

When my children were little kids, when they were going to the cinema, children of the inhabitants were mocking them by saying "the son of my effendi, the son of my effendi!"¹⁵⁰

Actually, that was quite normal that the children of the Ulusoy were exposed to the disfavor of other children. Among the family members, they were the only persons who had intimate relations with the inhabitants because they were educated in the same school with other children of the district. An Ulusoy says that when she was in primary school in the 1960s, she invited her some schoolmates home. According to her, the children who could enter the house of the Ulusoy were privileged.¹⁵¹ Even today, some of the middle-aged inhabitants to whom I talked knew only the members of the Ulusoy family who were their classmates.

Aside from the schoolmates of the Ulusoy, there were also some poor women who could enter the houses of the Ulusoy but, to serve the family. My grandmother told me that in the 1930s, when she was a kid, her mother and some

¹⁵⁰ From the interview with MU on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹⁵¹ From the interview with ZUa on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

other women sometimes went to the houses of the Çelebis and did housework there, because serving the family were like worship for them.¹⁵² According to some Ulusoy, in the 1950s and 1960s women who needed economic support served the family and were given some food in return for their service. Later, they began to take daily wage for their service.¹⁵³ An old lady from among the inhabitants remembered the days when her mother served the family, as follows:

You could pass one house through the other without going out. Then, they were separated, everyone built his own house. In the past we went to their houses, we were fatherless. My mother went there to wash their clothes. They gave bread for her service. Till the evening, she did all the works that she should do. The women worked for bread. Was there money or not? They did not give us money, we were fatherless.¹⁵⁴

According to a family member, at those times, no one had cash and, they began to pay money to their workers for their service barely in the end of the 1970s or in the 1980s.¹⁵⁵ On the other hand, in the 1980s, many of the young generations of the Ulusoy and the inhabitants had already migrated to big cities and they did not live in the district permanently. Despite the fact that the family was still in an advantageous position to get economic and social resources, in the cities the family members and inhabitants had similar life styles of getting an education and jobs.

After 1980s, in the district, the old relations had already dissolved and the paternal authority of the Ulusoy completely ceased to exist. Moreover, the dissolution of the relation between the inhabitants and the Ulusoy family isolated the family from the ongoing life in the district. Yet, at the same time, especially since the

¹⁵² From the conversation with my grandmother on 14.08.2011 in Hacibektaş

¹⁵³ From the interview with VHU on 30.01.2009 in Ankara; from the conversation with NUa and NUb on 26.07.2010 in Hacibektaş.

¹⁵⁴ From the interview with an inhabitant on 21.06.2009 in Hacibektaş

¹⁵⁵ From the fieldnotes on 23.07.2010 in Hacibektaş

opening of the *dergah* as a museum in 1964, the district was gradually turning into a place where the Ulusoy family meet the disciples all over Turkey. In the 1990s and 2000s, the inhabitants who had already forgotten the genealogical legitimacy and sacred authority of the family felt they were being disturbed by the visitors of the Ulusoy family because they believed that family members who welcome the visitors are usurpers of religion.

In the 1990s, when the establishment of the Alevi-Bektaşî organizations became widespread on the ground of identity politics and when a large number of people began participating in the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli, the inhabitants of the district perceived the festival as a kind of belief tourism. One of the effects of the Alevi-Bektaşî organizations which flourished in the 1990s was to destroy the old hierarchical religious structure of the Alevi-Bektaşî community whose sacred authority was attributed only to the sacred guides. Actually, the legitimacy of this traditional structure had been already challenged in the 1960s and 1970s by leftist ideologies. However, this time, the organizations had undertaken an alternative authority even in the religious issues and it brought about the understanding that every member of the Alevi-Bektaşî communities could be spokesmen in the name of the Alevi-Bektaşî.¹⁵⁶ Thus, the underlying reason for the inhabitants' current dislike towards the Ulusoy family did not stem from the idea like in the 1960s and 1970s that the Ulusoy family are usurpers of religion but from the idea that the "yield" of the festivals and belief tourism are not equally distributed since the Ulusoy family welcome their own visitors. According to an old family member who suffers from the disfavor of the inhabitants:

¹⁵⁶ For the contradiction between the descent based structure of Alevi society and the modernist approaches to Alevism in the 1990s see Vorhoff, Karin (1998) "Let's reclaim of our history and culture!": Imagining Alevi Community in the Contemporary Turkey in *The Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol.38 Issue:2 pp.220-252.

When the visitors come to our houses, the inhabitants of Hacibektaş think that they give us lots of money but this is not true. This is not true, we pay all the bills of the residences and the guests take back even their firewood. The visitors are not like before. [...] We don't harm anyone. They could not say that any Ulusoy would harm anyone. They were saying that we were usurpers, if only they had come and seen whether we are usurpers or not. It would be better if they would not say what they have no idea about. People who come to our houses know who we are. I wish our sons and daughters got married to the inhabitants. Would it be bad, they are people of our homeland but they do not know us as we are, they know the usurpers.¹⁵⁷

Currently, the dislike of the inhabitants is strengthened with the publicly known problems between the mayor and *mürşit* on the reclaim of the sacred authority of the Ulusoy. To question the sacred legitimacy of the family, the mayor refers to the rivalry between the Babagan branch and Çelebi branch. While ignoring the existence of Cemalettin Çelebi, he stresses the importance of the role of the Babagan branch in the Independence War and in the constitution of the Republic by referring the visit of Mustafa Kemal in Hacibektaş in 1919. However, his struggle with the Ulusoy could not stretch beyond the local, at which the family had already lost its legitimacy.

5.2 Knocking on the Doors Which Have Already Been Opened

When I went to Hacibektaş in order to conduct my fieldwork, I spent some time arranging meetings with some family members but my real fieldwork began when I entered the mansions of the Çelebis. Without entering the residences of the Ulusoy family, it is almost impossible to participate in their life in Hacibektaş. These residences which seems isolated from the district at first sight, actually undertake the role of the physical loci which constitute intimate relationship between the Ulusoy and disciples and, “bonds of solidarity among fellow seekers under the guidance of a particular master” (Howell & van Bruinessen, 2007:17).

¹⁵⁷ From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

First of all, it is important to specify how the residences of the family are located in the district. As I will elaborate in this chapter, the location of the residences in terms of distance or closeness to each other gives some important clues on the near history of the family. Before looking at the location of the residences it is important to stress the importance of the number of the residences which according to an old belief should not be over twelve. According to the elder family members, with reference to the number of Twelve Imams, in the past, the “houses” or the male members who married could not outnumber twelve and when it was one outnumbered by one, he would die. For this reason one of the elder family members did not want to count the number of the residences of the Ulusoy when I asked her the number of them. She counted up to twelve and then, stopped.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, many of the family members to whom I talked about the residences ignored this old belief and counted the residences beyond twelve.

The biggest area, across the *dergah*, the museum of Hacı Bektaş Veli, is the mansion complex of the Çelebis. The mansion complex is the oldest part of the residences. However, due to the cadastral works which ended in the 1970s¹⁵⁹; today the area of the mansions is different from its oldest forms. In the area of the mansions there is an adjacent building which consists of six residences. The oldest part of the adjacent building is about 170 years old and the latest one is about 90 years old. These buildings are officially recognized as historical buildings. However, those double story houses are far from their original forms, because they were renovated. Moreover, one of the residences was turned into museum in 2003 by the Ministry of Culture. The museum of “Atatürk” was opened in honor of Mustafa Kemal’s visit Cemalettin Çelebi in 1919. In the area of the mansion complex, there are also five detached buildings. A two-story mansion with a penthouse is next to the adjacent

¹⁵⁸ From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş

¹⁵⁹ www.nevsehirozeliidare.gov.tr accessed on 16.10.2011

building and it was erected in 1955. In the end of the 1950s, a two story building was also erected in the mansion complex by one of the family members. By the end of the 1960s, after some family members migrated to the district from Zile, a building was erected in place of the ruin of the old guesthouse of the mansion complex. In the 1990s, after the owner of the house died, a storey was added to it. The newest building in the mansion complex was built at the end of 1990s and it is used as a guesthouse. The owner has his own residence in the mansion complex but I could not learn the date when it was built. In the mansion complex, total number of the buildings is eleven. However, one of them is a museum and other is a guesthouse and a residence in the adjacent buildings is also used as a guesthouse, thus, only eight of them are used by the family members. Two of the buildings are two-storey buildings whose floors are separate residences, namely, in the mansion complex there are ten residences used by the family members.

There are also other residences of the family which are located on the right side of the complex of the mansions. This area is at the end of downtown. Two residences in this area were built in the late 1960s or in the early 1970s after the migration of some family members from Zile to Hacıbektaş. One of the buildings was enlarged in the 1980s and this adjacent building consists of two residences and a guesthouse and a *cemevi*¹⁶⁰. Next to this adjacent building, there is a three-storey building which is used by one of the family member after his parents and brother died. The first storey of this building is also used as a guesthouse and as a *cemevi*. The oldest son of the family was built one- storied building next to the three-storey building by the mid-1970s. Last building is also one-storied and was built in the mid-1970s by one of the Ulusoy sons who migrated to the district from Zile and had his

¹⁶⁰ A room where the *cem* rituals are performed.

own residence in the mansion complex. Moreover, there is also one house near those houses which is used by the widow of an Ulusoy.¹⁶¹

Two buildings at the end of the center of the district belong to the *mürşits* of the family. One of them was completed in 1987 and other one was bought in 2008 because the building in the mansion complex was insufficient for the owners. There are also residences of the family in Topayın village of Hacibektaş which was formerly used in summers. However, according to some of the family members, they are in ruins now because the family members who own those residences do not live in the district in winters and cannot maintain them and do not accommodate visitors in them anymore.

Apart from a family which lives in the district, all other nuclear families live in other cities¹⁶² and generally they do not prefer to stay in Hacibektaş in winters. Many of the residences belong to the elders of the family and their children are using these places collectively.¹⁶³ No matter whether they undertake their religious role and perform their religious authority or not, almost all family members visit their elders in the district.

¹⁶¹ She is excluded from the family and her house is not counted as the residence of the Ulusoy.

¹⁶² According to the information that I got during the fieldwork, currently thirty one families live in Ankara; five families live in İstanbul, one family in İzmir, one family in Antalya, one family in Zonguldak, one family in Kıbrıs. There are also six families that I have no residential information. Actually, counting the families in terms of their accommodation is very difficult because there is no ideal form of nuclear families. For example, some children do not live with their parents because they study or work in other cities. Or in some cases, the different generations live together, especially the females who are widows. Thus, those numbers that I give is not an exact but approximate numbers and might give an idea in which cities the population density of the family are high. Great numbers of the family members live in Ankara because of the distance between Hacibektaş and Ankara is relatively shorter than other cities. For this reason, first generations that moved to city preferred to live in Ankara or their profession necessitated settling in Ankara. Many of the family members also studied and worked in Ankara.

¹⁶³ For the old and new version of the mansion complex and residences of the Ulusoy see Appendix D

During the fieldwork, except a few,¹⁶⁴ I visited all residences. My first visit occurred when my gatekeeper took me to one of the oldest member's residence in the complex of the mansions. The homeowner introduced me to her residence which has a magnificent room called "the room with grapes" because all the walls and the ceiling are full of ornaments, especially the ornaments in the form of bunch of grapes.¹⁶⁵ That day, we visited four residences in the mansion complex. One of them was a detached building by the adjacent buildings. Apart from the mansion with "the room with grapes" all residences, particularly the first storeys of the buildings were arranged so as to accommodate guests.

Me and my gatekeeper took photos and the homeowners gave me brief history of their residences. I was aware that it was quite normal for them to welcome a visitor, because the visitors are the natural part of their residences. Furthermore, I already knew that those buildings were the meeting places which put boundaries between the public and the private. However, a question arose during my first visit: since when have the doors been opened to the visitors? Actually this question was a follow-up to another question that I asked myself before conducting the research and to which I tried to seek answers in the first part of this chapter: why the dwellers of the district think that the doors have not been opened for them anymore?

During the interviews and conversations, some of the family members said that in the past, the visitors who came to their residences were not so much. In the past, transportation was difficult and people could not travel to the district easily. Even, when they came to the complex of the mansions, they could only stay at the guesthouse in the mansion complex. Men could not enter where the Çelebi family

¹⁶⁴ I could not visit one residence because the owners were not in Hacıbektaş during my fieldwork. There is also one residence that I preferred not to visit although I conducted interview with the young male family member from this residence. The owners of the residence dealt with some serious health problems and I did not want to disturb them.

¹⁶⁵ See Appendix D

members resided. There were people who worked in the guesthouse, for example, there were cooks who worked only for the guesthouse.¹⁶⁶ Later, the disciples and sacred guides began to visit the residence of the *mürşit*.¹⁶⁷ After the memorial ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli held in 1964, people began to visit almost all residences of the Ulusoy family with their families.¹⁶⁸ However, the changing characteristics of the visitor and their way of visiting the family needs more elaboration.

To begin with, some of the family members' recognition of the visitors as "the guest of Hacı Bektaş Veli"¹⁶⁹ is intriguing because it connotes the pilgrimage. In keeping with the connotation of the pilgrimage, it can be observed that the meetings at the residences of the Ulusoy family involve some patterns of the old tradition of giving charity such as welcoming the visitors, feeding¹⁷⁰ and accommodating them. Before 1925, it was the responsibility of the *dergah*, in other words of the Babagan and the Çelebi branches to welcome the visitors who make a pilgrimage and to feed them because one of the most important obligations of the foundations was to give charity as a pious act (Singer, 2002:25).¹⁷¹

When Koşay visited Hacıbektaş with an official duty shortly after the abolition of the *dergah*, he defined the district as Kaaba of the Alevis and Bektaşis. According to him, ten thousands of people were making a pilgrimage to Hacıbektaş

¹⁶⁶ From the interview with NUa on 08.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

¹⁶⁷ From the interview with FUa on 07.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

¹⁶⁸ From the interview with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

¹⁶⁹ From the interview with SUE on 10.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

¹⁷⁰ Although some family members stress that they continue to feed their guests; in the last years at some residences, the visitors have begun to cook their meal at the places which are allocated to them.

¹⁷¹ To be able to afford the obligation of giving charity, from the fifteen proportions of the income of the foundation, four proportions were allocated to food and provisions given to travelers, poor and dervishes (Birdoğan, 1996: 48).

(Koşay, 1926). It is crucial to underline that apart from the visitors who make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Hacı Bektaş Veli, a great number of people were visiting the Çelebis in order to get permission to be a sacred guide or in order to renew the permission given by the Çelebis. The sacred guides were also obliged to prove that they were adherent and faithful to the Path by participating in a religious ritual. They were also giving gifts and paying taxes to the Çelebis. A researcher, E.G. White, who visited Hacıbektaş in 1912, described the dervish lodge as a place of pilgrimage and stressed that “No visitor to the place has accomplished the purpose of this journey without seeing Jemal Efendi¹⁷² and receiving his blessing” (White, 1913). F.W. Hasluck, who visited the district in 1914, also talked about Cemalettin Çelebi and said that the Çelebi lived outside the convent and administered the foundation’s property there (Hasluck, 1929:162). As Hasluck states, the Çelebis performed their duties at the complex of the mansions where they resided, in this regard, the complex of the mansions could be accepted as the place which functioned as the extension of the *dergah*.

According to a family member, in Cemalettin Çelebi’s time, the mansion complex was arranged for entertaining guests. There were barns, a bakery and housekeepers for the visitors and guests.¹⁷³ As well as the patrilocal residences where family members live in, there were also separate residences for the visitors, called guest houses. A Hungarian researcher, Bela Horvath, who came to Hacıbektaş in 1913, gave some information on the mansions. He described the mansions of the Çelebis as big and ornamental and added that they were welcomed in a magnificent room (probably in the guesthouse) where they had a meal.¹⁷⁴ Unfortunately, he gave

¹⁷² Cemalettin Çelebi

¹⁷³ From the interview with SUa on 24.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

¹⁷⁴ At the meal, they drank rice soup and ate lamb roast, a kind of dish made from egg, stuffed zucchini, pilaf and yogurt.

no other details on the mansion probably because he could not spend enough time at the mansion. Horvath could not meet Cemalettin Çelebi, because he was at the other mansion in Çayırbağ near the district (Horvath, 2088:103).

Another visitor of the mansions of the Çelebis, Cemal Bardakçı, whose visit in 1921 was described in the previous chapter, gives some accounts of the mansions. He was welcomed in the guesthouse (*selamlık*). According to him the guesthouse in the mansions was in a bad condition. Around the main door there was blood of animals sacrificed by visitors who came daily from everywhere. At the bottom, there was a big sitting room and there were about six rooms upstairs and a room for making coffee. Later, he was taken to meet Cemalettin Çelebi in another part of the mansion where the family members lived (*haremlık*). The room which they met was about 4 meters in width. A beautiful Persian carpet and two couches were the furniture of the room (Bardakçı, 1945).

Those are the impressions of the visitors of the mansions before the closure of *dergah*, however, no one is able to give detailed description of the complex of the mansions. After the ban of the title of çelebi and closure of the *dergah*, in accordance with the changing structure of the family, the architecture of the complex has been completely changed. Some of the parts of the complex were destroyed, new buildings were erected and the patrilocal residence was separated into individual residences. The guesthouses were destroyed and individual residences were used to serve to the visitors. While the history of the old mansion complex is fading; the residences as the meeting places have been permanently reconstructed.

5.2.1 “The assemblies dispersed; where do I go?”¹⁷⁵

Before Cemalettin Çelebi died, he and his brother Veliyettin Çelebi lived together. Cemalettin Çelebi and his sons lived at the adjacent buildings which were on the south front of the mansions complex and his brother Veliyettin Çelebi and his family lived at other parts of the building. Their income was common.¹⁷⁶ After Cemalettin Çelebi, his brother Veliyettin Çelebi became the *postnişin*. However, the closure of the *dergah* and the ban of the *çelebi* title eliminated his formal authority and all privileges of the family.

In the economic sense, the loss was significant. Before the abolition of the *dergah*, out of fifteen proportions of the foundation’ income four proportions were allocated to the trustees and three proportions to the Çelebis as the share of hereditary successors (Birdoğan, 1996:48). Apart from the income from the lands and villages of the foundation, there were other sources of income such as donations from the central administration and private donations from local authorities (Faroqhi, 1976). Customary gifts or a kind of taxes were also given to the Çelebis and *dergah* (Atalay, 1991:37) such as *hırka bahası*. The Çelebis had also their own income independent of the income of the foundation, for example, there were private property of the Çelebis in the area of Çorum (Faroqhi, 2003:134) and vineyards and lands in Hacıbektaş.¹⁷⁷ The family members also said that they owned personal properties which they could keep them after the closure of the *dergah*.¹⁷⁸ However, besides the poor economic

¹⁷⁵ “Dağıldı meclisler nere gideyim” (Ulusoy, 1988:123). Line of poetry from Hüseyin Fevzi Çelebi who migrated to Tokat in 1928 and in the same year he died there.

¹⁷⁶ From the fieldnotes on 26.07.2010 in Hacıbektaş

¹⁷⁷ See the Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal(2007) vol.42

¹⁷⁸ From the interview with VHU 04.12.2008 in Ankara and with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

conditions of war times, the sudden cut in the incomes brought about economic deprivation of the family.

The family was suffering not only from the economic deprivation, but also from the oppression by local administration. A gendarmerie station was built in front of the mansions of the Çelebis and the mansions of the Çelebis were investigated. The visitors and sacred guides, *dedes* were not allowed to enter the district and to visit the Çelebis. The oppression of the Ulusoyos which carried on till the mid-1940s is narrated by the family members as follows:

Every week gendarmerie investigated our homes. In front of our houses, in the place of the municipality building, there was a gendarmerie station. And the administrator of the district was the king of that time, he dominated everything. I don't know why but my grandfather didn't telegraph Atatürk a complaint. I am sure that Atatürk didn't know our situation. (...) My father and my uncles, three brothers were attended secondary school in Yozgat. All the time, the police was following them. Even, they got friendly with the police, my father and uncles invited him to drink tea. Our visitors also weren't allowed to enter the district. At that time İlice¹⁷⁹ was belonged to us. Our visitors went there on foot. They stayed there and at night they sneaked through a hole of a wall and came to our houses. Those who arrested were jailed and their beards were shaved. Notwithstanding this oppression, we have always supported Atatürk. I think maybe what happened at that time was quiet normal, because it was a new regime and we were an influential family. Probably they took steps to prevent any uprising. This is quite normal for the conditions of that time.¹⁸⁰

They invaded our homes; they pricked flour sacks with needles. It would have been better if the persons who did this had been the chiefs but they were ordinary gendarmeries or watchmen. Thank god, now we are better than we were in the past. We saw that they made a *dede* get in a horse-drawn carriage and then they put grass and sacks above him and took him away. When our visitors were arrested, the gendarmerie station was over there, we heard screams of them. They were beaten. I witnessed it when I was child, my mother and others were crying because the gendarmeries beat up the arrested persons. Thank god, we have survived.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹Name of a village of Hacібektaş, at that time it was a farm which was belonged to the Çelebis.

¹⁸⁰From the interview with VHU on 04.12.2008 in Ankara.

¹⁸¹From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacібektaş.

The hardship which the family experienced went hand in hand with some family affairs which were a threat to the old, patriarchal family structure. To illustrate, Cemalettin Çelebi's last wife filed a suit against the children of Cemalettin Çelebi and his brother Veliyettin Çelebi for not being included in her husband's share of property. She lived in the middle part of the adjacent buildings; passages through which the family members passed from one mansion to other were closed until she died and the building was bought by one of Cemalettin Çelebi's grandchildren.¹⁸²

Furthermore, seven years after Cemalettin Çelebi's death and three years after the abolition of the *dergah*, in 1928, two sons and the daughter of Cemalettin Çelebi from his first wife and the oldest son of Veliyettin Çelebi from his first wife migrated to Tokat. The youngest son of Cemalettin Çelebi from his second wife did not accompany them.¹⁸³ Asked about the reasons for that migration to Tokat which led to separation of the family into two branches as the descendants of Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi, family members generally attribute it to poor economic conditions:

My mom said that we sold all the gold that we had possessed. What should they do, there was no income and probably the income of the farm was not sufficient. They got permission from Atatürk and went there.¹⁸⁴

At that time making a living was hard and people were suffering from famine. My maternal grandmother invited us to come and stay there. My father and my uncle¹⁸⁵ went together. I was a little kid. By horse drawn carriages the journey took a week, after a week you could arrive Tokat. My mother's hometown is Tokat. My father was already there, he had left earlier by automobile. My sister was older than us, he brought her with him. I was sad because he did not bring me with him. He

¹⁸² From the conversation with NUa on 23.07.2010 in Hacibektaş.

¹⁸³ Although his address was Hacibektaş, he lived in different places throughout his life. From the interview with SUa on 24.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

¹⁸⁴ From the interview with MUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

¹⁸⁵ The brothers' wives were also sisters.

welcomed us, our family was so large, we kids and our mother, and we went by horse drawn carriages to Tokat, to our grandmother and grandfather.¹⁸⁶

Although the family members avoided making explicit comment on the reasons for the migration except for stressing the economic deprivation as the main reason, it seems that there were other problems within the family, especially those related to the leadership and exercising authority. It is not clear, but probably, before the children of Cemalettin Çelebi left the district, the common property of the family was shared between the sons of Cemalettin Çelebi and their uncle Veliyettin Çelebi. The eldest son of Veliyettin Çelebi also accompanied them and left the district due to some personal reasons.¹⁸⁷ However, his date of migration is not clear because one of the family members said that he went to Tokat a year before than others and he went there because his second wife was from Tokat.¹⁸⁸ The migration of some of the family members to Tokat led to a radical change in the relation between the family members and the disciples. For the family members, it was the first time to intermingle with the community. In line with this, the public figure of the *mürşit* that embodied the sacred authority expired, and despite the fact that the *mürşit* could still preserve his leadership, his authority began to spread between the male members of the family. Furthermore, although the gifts, religious taxes and voluntary human labor of the Alevi-Bektaşî people were important for the subsistence of the family; it was the first time that the disciples provided for some of the family members. The male members of the family who migrated to Tokat began to get in touch with the disciples without the *mürşit* having to control them or having to use sacred guides mediators between the disciples and themselves.

¹⁸⁶ From the interview with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

¹⁸⁷ There are some poems which were written by the eldest son Hüseyin Fevzi Çelebi and by his father Veliyettin Çelebi on the love that they had for each other. See Ulusoy (1988) Pir Dergahından Nefesler.

¹⁸⁸ From the interview with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

However, within the same year of the migration to Tokat, the son of Veliyettin Çelebi, Hüseyin Fevzi and the son of Cemalettin Çelebi, Ali Hadi died in Tokat. A family member who was a little kid at that time remembered the days in Tokat as follows:

Our days in Tokat were in poverty. We had no income; it was hard to support ourselves. My mother sewed wedding dresses to be able to earn money. My uncle also supported us, however, it was not only us but everyone was suffering from poverty. [...] We lived in the separate houses but the building was adjacent. There were passages between the houses. My aunt's home was near our house and my uncle's house was near my aunt's house.¹⁸⁹

The other son of Cemalettin Çelebi, Hamdullah was suffering from anthrax and died in 1934 in Tokat. When he died, Veliyettin Çelebi called back all the family members who resided in Tokat to Hacібektaş by promising that he would take care of them; all of them returned to their hometown in 1934.¹⁹⁰ According to the family members:

We all together returned to Hacібektaş. They made us get on a train from the station of Tokat, Turhal. I was in Tokat till I was six. I remember my childhood, the places where I grew up. When we returned here, we became happy because those mansions were more beautiful than the houses we lived in Tokat. However, we suffered from poverty here as well. Later, we got better. When we came we realized that our fields were under the control of some other people, they did not give them back to us. The mansion was in a bad condition. We spent too much to rebuild the mansion.¹⁹¹

People of Hacібektaş were poor and we were also poor. No one had money. It was winter; we came to Hacібektaş in winter. From the lower neighborhood dried cow dung was sent us to as fuel to be burnt and heat our home. In Tokat we were using firewood and we felt a little bit offended when we saw dried dung. We, the kids were scared of dried dung.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ From the interview with NUa on 08.08.2009 in Hacібektaş

¹⁹⁰ From the interview with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacібektaş

¹⁹¹ From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacібektaş

¹⁹² From the interview with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacібektaş

The poor conditions which the family members experienced with the return to Hacibektaş led to a second wave of migration to Zile in 1938. This time, apart from the oldest son of Ali Hadi Çelebi, Hasan Hulgü Rıza ¹⁹³who married Hamdullah Çelebi's ex-wife, other children of Ali Hadi Çelebi stayed in Hacibektaş because some marital relations were established with the branch of Veliyettin (Çelebi) Ulusoy.¹⁹⁴ Apart from one¹⁹⁵, all of the children of Hamdullah Çelebi went to Zile with their aunt Zöhre. The reason to move Zile was, according to the wife of one of the sons of Hamdullah Çelebi, as follows:

Their disciples in Zile were mature people, they supported them. In Hacibektaş no one supported them, their parents were not alive. [...] My husband lived in Zile; my father gave him pocket-money. He was parentless; he was grown up by his aunt, called Mother Zöhre.¹⁹⁶

Two sons of Hüseyin Fevzi, who returned to Hacibektaş when their grandfather Veliyettin (Çelebi) Ulusoy called, did not stay in Hacibektaş and they also migrated. Like their father, they left the district due to some personal reasons. One of the sons of Hüseyin Fevzi, İbrahim Rıfat who married Ali Hadi's daughter in Hacibektaş returned to Tokat and never turned back again to Hacibektaş. His three sons also did not return back to Hacibektaş but his daughter came back when she married to his grandfather's brother's son. Other son of Hüseyin Fevzi, Ali Cevat went to Zile because he was married the daughter of Hamdullah Çelebi and later returned to Hacibektaş with his brother in-laws in the late 1960s.

¹⁹³ He was going to return to Hacibektaş in several years.

¹⁹⁴ With the surname law in 1934, the family began to use Ulusoy as the surname.

¹⁹⁵ After Ali Hadi died, Hamdullah Çelebi married his brother's wife and they had a son. He did not go with his brothers to Zile and stayed in Hacibektaş with his mother. He went to Tokat when he married and did not turn Hacibektaş again.

¹⁹⁶ From an interview with AUB on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

The family members, who continued to live in Hacібektaş, besides dealing with the fragmentation of the extended family structure, had to deal with the ways of holding their properties. During the fieldwork, I realized that the elders of the family stressed the loss of the properties; especially loss of the areas surrounding their mansions and of their farm in İlicek village. The wide area which surrounded the mansion complex included a large part of the downtown of the district; it was expropriated by the municipality because of the cadastral works which ended in the 1970s. Besides that, the farm in İlicek was appropriated by the sharecroppers and it's the ownership represented a long drawn legall battle after the family took the sharecroppers to court. According to a family member's account on the trial:

We had a farm. My grandfather bought livestock and built the houses. Then, poor people from Sivas and Tokat came there and were engaged in farming there. They shared the harvest of the farm with our family. Later, they became sharecroppers. Because my grandfather died; and my father and uncle were also not here, those people claimed that the farm was their property. The trial process continued about twenty years. When I was child, a lawyer came from Kırşehir. Then three sons of my uncle Veliyettin became lawyers. When sharecroppers threatened to kill the sons of my uncle, we gave up. However, they also could not benefit from the farm.¹⁹⁷

Although they could not regain the possession of the farm, three sons of Veliyettin Çelebi studied law and they were the first members of the family to attend a university and get a profession. The choice of the profession of law was striking because Veliyettin Çelebi who decided to send his sons to acquire education in the field of law, was the *mürşit* who was the highest authority in the Alevi-Bektaş community in terms of exercising religious-juridical authority. But because his authority was not recognized anymore, the family members were in need of protection and guidance at the official level to be able to keep the property and the

¹⁹⁷ From the interview with NUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacібektaş. Moreover, it is not clear whether the appropriation of the farm was related to the law passed in 1945 which "aimed to provide adequate land for farmers who had none or too little by distributing unused state lands, lands from pious endowments (*evkaf*), reclaimed land, land without clear ownership and land expropriated from landowners who owned more than 500 *dönüm*" (*Zürcher, 1992:210*).

rights of the family at the official level. When Veliyettin Çelebi died in 1940, his sons were still studying.

When the sons of Veliyettin Çelebi became lawyers in the late 1940s, it was the first time for some family members to make a living from a profession as opposed to the traditional ways of getting income. Moreover, the elections held in the 1950 after which Democratic Party became the ruling party, paved the way for some of the family members' participation in political life as deputies from those areas where the Alevi-Bektaşî population density was high, where the family members migrated to.

In accordance with the socio-economic developments in the 1950s, one of the informants, Haşim Kutlu argues that the traditional role of the mansion complex came to an end with mechanization of the agriculture in the mid-1950s. A huge portion of the family's income was from agriculture. Mechanization eliminated the work of people who served the family. They were not wage laborers; on the contrary, their mission was to provide the material conditions for the reproduction of the family's sanctity. Mechanization of agriculture also changed the relations of production and the common property of the family turned into private property.¹⁹⁸ Thus, in the mid-1950s, the children of Veliyettin (Çelebi) Ulusoy shared common property. The condition of the mansion complex before sharing the common property is described by Haşim Kutlu as follows:

[...] These double-storied mansions were made from sun-dried bricks and stone. The Çelebis lived on the second floor of these buildings and the first floor was for the people who served the family and for the guest. Storehouses, cellars and kitchens were on the first floor or they were added to the buildings. The buildings were surrounded with the garden walls. In the garden, there were barns and coops which were also surrounded with walls. In the garden there were coaches and horse drawn carriages but were replaced by automobiles and motor vehicles later in the 1950s.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ From the interviews with Haşim Kutlu via mail on 08.09.2010 and on 13.09. 2010

¹⁹⁹ From the interview with Haşim Kutlu via e-mail on 08.09.2010

The division of common property divided the mansions because the mansions. The children of Veliyettin Çelebi owned two parts of the adjacent buildings and one of the guesthouses. The guesthouse was given to the children of Hüseyin Fevzi who did not live in Hacібektaş. They destroyed the building and the ruins remained until the end of the 1960s. Two mansions of the adjacent building were shared by two sons of Veliyettin Çelebi. Another son built a new mansion in the garden of the complex which belonged to Veliyettin Çelebi. One of the family members explained how the division of the mansions happened:

In the past, I did not love Hacібektaş so much. Our home was overcrowded. We lived all together at the mansion near ours. There were two mother-in laws, two sister-in laws, three daughter-in laws, our husbands and our children. Moreover, there were drivers. And there were bullocks which were used for plowing. Later, my brother-in law borrowed the daughter-in laws' gold and bought tractor, no one in the district did it before. Its driver came from Eskişehir but my brother-in laws and my husband sent him because he was a stranger. They sold our hansom and so that they paid their debt owed to us by cash.²⁰⁰

We separated our houses. It was okay for me but others said that our house was crowded. All those places were in ruin. They gave us this mansion. My oldest brother-in law's sons took the guesthouse but they destroyed it. We had this mansion repaired.²⁰¹

Division of the mansions into two part necessitated remodeling of the buildings which caused changes in the appearance of the building as well. Later other parts of the complex which belonged to the children of Cemalettin Çelebi would also change when they shared their houses and built new buildings in the late 1960s.

In the 1950s, some of the descendants of Cemalettin Çelebi who lived in the district migrated to Ankara. Among them there were members of the family who were elected as deputies. Some of the descendants of Veliyettin (Çelebi) Ulusoy also moved to other cities because of their profession. Moreover, there was not a high

²⁰⁰ From the interview with NUa on 08.08.2009 in Hacібektaş.

²⁰¹ From the interview with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacібektaş.

school in the district and for this reason; education of the young male members was another reason to move, especially, to Ankara. Although the elder members stayed and continued to live in their residences, younger and middle aged members who migrated to the cities began to live both in the district and in other cities where they moved. Hacibektaş and their residences turned into home where they did not live permanently.

While the family members were migrating to big cities because of their professions or education, by late 1960s, the members of the family who formerly migrated to Zile moved back to Hacibektaş. They had no residence in the mansion complex and they built their houses by the end of downtown because these lands were areas owned by their grandfather Cemalettin Çelebi.²⁰² According to one of the family members who came back to Hacibektaş, the reasons of their return are as follows:

They are all the grandchildren of Cemalettin Çelebi and we heard that they were sharing the common property. Why do we stay here [in Zile], we said. We cooked ashure (Noah's pudding); we were three houses, Cevat Effendi, we and İhsan Effendi. After the fast in the month of Muharram we cooked the ashura and invited all disciples. Some read the Koran and some read books in Ottoman Turkish. The book *Kumru* was read secretly for Imam Hossein's sake. [...]

We came in Hacibektaş in the mids-1960s. When we came here, they did not give anything to us. Here was a field. They told us to take that field and build a house. It was the fields of our grandfather. They did not give us anything from the lands of Topayın. We took this field. When others passed in front of our house to go Topayın we felt sad as if we fall behind them.²⁰³

Another family member was a teenager when they moved to Hacibektaş. According to her:

²⁰² In the mansion complex there is only one residence which belongs one of the sons of Hamdullah Çelebi. This residence was the residence at which Hamdullah Çelebi accommodated. According to the wife of the homeowner, others did not want to live in this residence because it was in ruins and they went to Zile (from an interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş).

²⁰³ From an interview with AUB on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

We returned to Hacібektaş because it is our fatherland. In fact, living in Zile is wrong but the Alevi community was there and living there was much better than here and our family is leader of the community. They decided to accommodate here because the *tekke* is here, our tradition stemmed from here; even here is our land. [...] We came here with happiness, bought a land and built a house. [...] In our childhood one or twice, we came here like guests because we did not have a house. Our relatives were here, we stayed at their homes.²⁰⁴

Except for sharing the properties of Cemalettin Çelebi, the changing characteristic of the district with the opening of the *dergah* as a museum in 1964 might be another reason for their return to the district. Some of the Ulusoyos had an important role in the opening of the *dergah* as a museum and commemorating it as an annual memorial ceremony. According to Önder who was the General Manager of the Old Artifacts and Museums at that time, the Çelebis invited their disciples to their houses by announcing that the *dergah* and tomb of their ancestor was reopening. Because of this invitation, thousands of people came to visit the museum.²⁰⁵ In this regard, the opening of the *dergah* as a museum was the turning point in the relationship between the Ulusoyos and their disciples because since then, every year during the annual memorial ceremonies, the Alevi-Bektaşis visit the residences of the Ulusoyos.

With the opening of the museum, the link between the *dergah* and the houses of the Çelebis was reconstructed. Their meeting in Hacібektaş was the result of the political climate which was provided by 1961 constitution and which allowed the Alevi-Bektaşis to claim their identity. Furthermore, the acceleration of industrialization and urbanization had affected also the rural Alevi-Bektaş community since the 1950s. Due to the migration to cities and abroad, the closed and traditional structure of the Alevi-Bektaş communities begun to break up and this led to development of personal relations with the Ulusoyos rather than old hierarchical

²⁰⁴ From an interview with NUc on 30.07.2009 in Hacібektaş.

²⁰⁵ http://www.hbektasveli.gazi.edu.tr/dergi_dosyalar/01-35-39.pdf accessed on 28.10.2011

relationship which necessitated the sacred guides as mediator between themselves and the Ulusoy. In line with this, the dissolution of the old structure of the Ulusoy family and migration to places where the disciples lived also brought about more personal and face-to-face relationship with the disciples. Thus, in 1964, for the first time the residences of the Ulusoy hosted the disciples explicitly.

In the early Republican period, the family was under the strict control of the local administration and the sacred guides could visit the *mürşit* secretly.²⁰⁶ The oldest member of the family said:

No, they (the visitors) did not come to our house. In the past they were coming but in my youth, not many guests came. When Atatürk had the tombs closed, no one came because of the ban. Later, it was opened as a museum and then people began to visit.²⁰⁷

Since the 1950s, the sacred guides and some disciples visited the *mürşit* but generally they did not visit other residences of the family members. According to one of the family member who is the daughter in law of the old *mürşit*:

In the past, the *mürşit* was here (at this residence). Many nights, in the middle of the nights, when they came, I woke up and fed the guests. The guests accommodated themselves on the ground floor where also the driver of combine harvester also lived. My family was dealing with agriculture and my father in law was at the same time the *mürşit*. There were many guests. Now, the guests are visiting all the houses of the Ulusoy, in the past they rarely went to other houses, they came to us because ours was the *mürşit*'s house.²⁰⁸

When the visitors came to the *mürşit*'s house in winters they stayed there about ten days because transportation was difficult in winters, and when they came in

²⁰⁶ From the interview with FUA on 29.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²⁰⁷ From the interview with AUA on 27.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²⁰⁸ From the interview with FUA on 07.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

summers they stayed about two or three days.²⁰⁹ After opening the museum and commemorating the annual ceremony, they began to visit the Ulusoyos in August especially during the ceremony. Unlike their practice in the past, they started visiting all residences of the Ulusoyos coming with their family members. Thus, the residences of the Ulusoy gained a new characteristic as the meeting place with the disciples and the houses were arranged to be able to host the guests.

While the residences turned into places where the family and the disciples meet, migration to Ankara (and other cities) in the 1950s and 1960s, reduced some of these residences into places of temporary residences for family members. In the 1970s, the migration to big cities continued, later, the family members who were educated in big cities preferred to live and work in the cities. Still, in the 1980s many of the family members were living in the district. Among them there was the former *mürşit* of the family who lived in Hacibektaş until he died in 1994. In the mid-1990s, except for a few family members, others who lived in Hacibektaş moved to other cities because of their children's education²¹⁰ and their summer-only residence at the Ulusoy mansions. Hence, the residences began to be used by elders of the family and the family members who have organic relationship with the Alevi-Bektaş community. Others who do not undertake their religious authority visit the residences only for meeting the family members.

5.3 The Residences of the Ulusoyos as the Meeting Places

It was in the first days of June 2009 that I went to Hacibektaş in order to carry out my fieldwork. Then I realized that there were some residences of the Ulusoyos whose owners did not come to the district yet. As the family members explained to

²⁰⁹ From the fieldnotes on 21.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

²¹⁰ From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

me later, many of them had to arrange their arrival in conjunction with theirs or children's vacation. Others, the elder members who are retired or have no profession, usually come to their houses in Hacibektaş in May and/or in June. Once they come, they make an endeavor to prepare their houses for the visitors. There are only two residences in the end of the downtown that include guesthouses. There is also one guesthouse in the mansion complex which belongs to one of the Ulusoy families. Others, however, host the visitors in their own residences and the number of visitors they can accommodate depends on the capacity of their residences. Therefore, the number of the visitors is unknown and changes every year. According to a family member, during the festival times a two -story residence has the capacity for accommodating 70-80 persons. Nearly 600 persons visit the residence without staying there.²¹¹ The residences of the *mürşits* are always the most crowded places because of their importance as representatives of the post of Hacı Bektaş Veli and therefore, as the highest authority among the Ulusoy. The number of the visitors also depends on the relationship between the *effendis* and disciples, because closer personal ties are crucial for the visitors. The Ulusoy also prefer to welcome the visitors whom they know, or, they give priority to their disciples that they know. However, some Ulusoy, especially the ones who have guesthouses within their residences have tendency to welcome all visitors without paying attention to any personal relationship.

The disciples and the sacred guides pay their visits when the Ulusoy are in Hacibektaş, generally in summers, at the weekends and, especially in August, generally before and rarely after the annual ceremony of Hacı Bektaş Veli held on August 16-18. In mid-August, almost all members of the Ulusoy, in particular the males who have organic relation with the disciples, make a point of being in Hacibektaş to be able to meet the visitors. Aside from two residences whose owners

²¹¹ From the interview with LUa on 28.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

are the eldest members of the family, others welcome the visitors coming from all-over Turkey and even abroad, from Germany, Iraq, Iran and Syria. Although all visitors respect the *effendis* and pay visits to all of them, they prefer to stay at the residences of the Ulusoyos with whom they have a close relationship.²¹² In this regard, where the *effendis* are influential and more respected, people from these areas prefer to stay at the residences of those *effendis*. The visitors that I met during the fieldwork, and those about whom I was informed by the family members, were from the big cities to which they migrated, such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Antalya, Mersin and from their hometowns such as Adıyaman, Amasya, Antalya, Bursa, Çorum, Düzce, Eskişehir, Gaziantep, Kısas (Urfa), Konya, Merzifon, Ordu, Samsun, Sivas, Trabzon, Yozgat and Zile. Apart from the people who are affiliated with *dede* lineages or with *babas* who are appointed by the *mürşit*, people who have no connection with *dede* lineages are also visiting the family. To illustrate, one of the Ulusoyos said that, in recent years, people from Tunceli and Erzincan have been coming to their residences although the *dede* lineages that they are affiliated with have no relation with the Ulusoyos.²¹³

By the end of August, when the guests leave the residences, some of the male members of the family make visits to the rural places where the disciples live because during the harvest time the disciples perform *cem* rituals and participation of the *effendis* in these ceremonies is important for them.²¹⁴ In November, except for one nuclear family who lives in the district permanently, all the Ulusoy families return to their residences in the big cities, mostly in Ankara and in İstanbul.

²¹² From the fieldnotes on 17.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

²¹³ From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²¹⁴ From the interview with AUc and HUb on 30.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

In this part of the chapter, I focused on the meetings at the residences of the Ulusoyos and on some particular rituals performed in these meetings that I observed during the fieldwork aiming to figure out the relationship between the Ulusoyos and the disciples, and moreover, the reproduction of the sanctity of the family through these meetings.

5. 3. 1 “Our Path has been paved with love”²¹⁵

By making a comparison between Sufi myths in Morocco and in Indonesia, Phina Werbner points out the shared implicit logic, i.e., the possibility of human perfection that is proposed by Sufi Islam. In this regard, despite varied localism in Sufi Islam, in terms of myths and modes of organizations they are very similar (Werbner, 2008:30). Parallel to this argument, many components of the cults, “saints, shrines, annual rituals, sacred exchange, central lodges, and their hierarchical ordered branches” (Werbner, 2008:33) that Werbner sees in Sufism are also present in the case of Alevism-Bektaşism, or more specifically in the case of the visit of the disciples to the Ulusoyos.

During the fieldwork, I observed two modes of visits of the disciples. One of them is pilgrimage which includes all cultic activities, from visiting the dervish lodge and other sacred places to receiving blessing of the Ulusoyos. The Hacibektaş district has been a pilgrimage place for the disciples for centuries. However, when the dervish orders were banned in 1925, the pilgrimage was also halted. The reopening of the *dergah* as a museum and the celebration of the first annual festival held in 1964 established the link between the *dergah* and the residences of the Ulusoyos. Although the *dergah* was turned into a museum and the Ulusoyos were no more the guardians of their ancestor’s tomb, the opening of the museum allowed the disciples to make

²¹⁵“Yolumuz sevgiyle kurulmuş” from the interview with LUa on 27.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

pilgrimage explicitly and without interference of the officials. Since then, the disciples have preferred to visit the Ulusoy in the festival times.

The other mode of visit which intersects with the pilgrimage is the regular meeting of the sacred guides and the *mürşit(s)* which is a prerequisite for the continuity of the Path. The sacred guides have to pay regular visits to the *mürşit(s)* to be able to get or renew the permission to be sacred guides and to solve the problems of the community under the guidance and authority which is based on the divine knowledge of the *mürşit(s)*. A *zakir*²¹⁶ from Kısas, who stayed at the house of one of the *mürşits* during the festival time, explained to me the visit of the sacred guides to the *mürşit* as follows:

From the time of Hacı Bektaş Veli, i.e., since 700 years ago this was the fountainhead and a place of self-control. Even my lord Hacı Bektaş Veli has some sayings on the visit of the *dedes/sacred* guides. He says that the sacred guides whose village or city is near Hacıbektaş have to visit here yearly; those, whose village or city is further away have to visit here biennially and those whose village or city is the furthest have to visit here septennially. The sacred guide who does not visit here fails to perform his religious task. The reason why the sacred guides come here is not to sacrifice. Here is the place of the system of self-control. The problems of the disciples, the problems in the regions of the sacred guides are solved in here. Offended persons are reconciled. The sacred guides gather here. The aim is not to come and see our effendi and sacrifice. Here is the fountainhead; all Alevi-Bektaşis are controlled in here. The problems are explained to the *mürşit* and solved in here. If this had not been done in this way, the Alevi-Bektaş community would not have survived till now.²¹⁷

A sacred guide added that:

After visiting here, we go home and perform our *cem* ritual. Till the festival time, we note all the problems and when we come here in the festival time, we tell them the *mürşit*. The *mürşit* solves the problems and we return back home. Without meeting the *mürşit* we do not perform any *cem* ritual.²¹⁸

²¹⁶*Zakir* is a person who is performing oral recital, i.e. *nefes* and *deyiş* in the religious rituals, *cems* and *muhabbets* i.e. religious conversations with music and drink.

²¹⁷From the conversation at the residence of VHU on 14.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

²¹⁸From the conversation at the residence of VHU on 14.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

One of the *mürşits* also said that the permits to be a sacred guide are not necessarily given at a specific time but, generally, the sacred guides pay visit to the *mürşit* and receive their permits around the festival times.²¹⁹ I also observed the sacred guides' visit to the *mürşit* in different times. To illustrate, a sacred guide visited the *mürşit* to be able to renew his permission in the early August. The *mürşit* checked the information about the sacred guide's lineage, took his photo and asked him about the information of his personal identity in order to record them, and then gave him the permission.²²⁰ Furthermore, in the second day of the festival held in 2009, when I was at the residence of the *mürşit*, some sacred guides from Black Sea Region paid their visit to the *mürşit*. The *mürşit* kept record of the sacred guides and he also took a photo of a sacred guide whose permit was to be renewed. The permits that the sacred guides received and that enabled them to become or to continue being the sacred guides were actually papers with seal of the *mürşit*. Then, they talked about the problems of their communities. Amongst the problems, there was a discussion on the excommunication of a person. Since the room was overcrowded with people, the *mürşit*, the sacred guide and a few persons who accompanied the sacred guide went to another room in order to have a private conversation. After this secret conversation, they returned to the room where we sat, and the problem was discussed among the sacred guides. The sacred guides from different lineages had some problems with the disciples because of the local election held in 2009 and they wanted the *mürşit* to give them a stamped paper on which the *mürşit's* solution on the problem was written. During the conversation the *mürşit* took notes for the paper that he would give to both sides of the quarrel.²²¹

²¹⁹From the field notes on 13.08.2010 in Hacıbektaş.

²²⁰From the field notes on 05.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

²²¹From the field notes on 17.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

Thus, the main motive for the visit of the sacred guides is the *mürşit* who is accepted as the perfect embodiment of the inherited *walaya* which supervises and guides the Alevi-Bektaşî communities under the direction of the Path. Actually, the motive for the pilgrimage of the disciples is also the *walaya* inherited by all family members. By paying visit to the family members and performing some rituals, the disciples receive the blessing of the *walaya* of Hacı Bektaş Veli and through his genealogical chain; they also receive the *walaya* of Ahl-al Bayt. *Niyaz* or salutation that the disciples give to the Ulusoy is the best example of how the Ulusoy is perceived by their adherents. During an interview, one of the Ulusoy remembered a dialog on *niyaz*:

Because of the emerald-colored mole in Hacı Bektaş Veli's palm (which was also in the palm of Ali), the disciples who keep the tradition alive do not kiss the hand, for example, they kiss the palm of my uncle (who is one of the *mürşits*).

Lots of people in my family experienced this but I will tell you my experience. I was a child, when an old man with beard visited my grandfather (he was the *mürşit*), I did not give him my hand. I hesitated because he was old. He addressed me saying: "I don't kiss your hand, who are you? I see you as the embodiment of Hacı Bektaş Veli and, I give you *niyaz* because I pay homage to his lineage. This is *niyaz*." It was the first time that I heard the word *niyaz*.²²²

Furthermore, in the *muhabbet* ritual conducted on the 16th August 2009, an *effendi* laid stress on the characteristics of *niyaz* as follows:

Niyaz is not given to the *mürşit*'s personality; it is given to the personality of Hacı Bektaş Veli. It is the sign of the homage to the sublimity of the descendants of Ali. No one is willing to get his/her hand kissed but there is a person that we represent, and he is Hacı Bektaş Veli. When I say I salute Hacı Bektaş Veli, that is to say the salutation is not given to my personality; it is given to Hacı Bektaş Veli. We should remind people about it. This is the command of our Hünkar (Hacı Bektaş Veli); he said that those who are seventy years old should give salutation to our descendant even if he is seven years old. For instance, I am a teacher and don't allow my pupils to kiss my hand. We are not eager to get our hand kissed but in the Alevi-Bektaşî

²²² From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş

community, as the representatives of Hacı Bektaş Veli, we perform our religious task.²²³

At the end of his abovementioned speech, while explaining the underlying reason of the *niyaz* the *effendi* made a distinction between his temporal and spiritual personality. However, it was not just him, but all participants distanced themselves from their ordinary temporal roles, habits and rules while gathering at his residence. This extraordinary state that can be named as *communitas* (Turner, 1974, 1995) was observed during the visits of the adherents but especially in the meetings held during the festival times with attendance of great numbers of people from different areas. Turner sees the pilgrimage as the liminal stage or the threshold by focusing on the correlation between status movement and change of spatial position in van Gennep's conceptualization of rites of passage which distinguishes three stages within the rituals, i.e. preliminal, liminal and postliminal stages (Turner, 1974:196-7). The pilgrimage center is a threshold in the sense of a place and a moment in and out of time (Turner, 1974: 197) and in and out of temporal order (Turner, 1995:96) which generates a modality of social relatedness or as Turner says *communitas* (1974:201). Without ruling out the fact that the hierarchical system of politico-legal-economic positions is not abolished by the *communitas*, Turner says that the liminal characteristic of the pilgrimage liberates individuals from the everyday strains of roles and status and unites them as integral human being (Turner, 1974:207-8). Being liberated from the strains of roles and status of the everyday life or the temporal does not always address the stage of anti-structure²²⁴ as Turner argues for the *communitas*. Although some of the Ulusoyos stress that all visitors are equal and socially

²²³ From the *muhabbet* performed at one of the residence of HHU on 16.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

²²⁴ Turner says that he follows R. Merton's definition of the structure, namely structure as “the patterned arrangements of role-sets, status sets and status sequences” consciously recognized and regularly operative in a given society and closely bound up with legal and political norms and sanction.” (Turner, 1974:201).

undifferentiated²²⁵ in the meetings at the residences of the Ulusoy, another hierarchical and differentiated “structure” is being generated with reference to the rules of the Path.

The *communitas*, the voluntarily generated relationship among the heterogeneous group of disciples, sacred guides and the Ulusoy is based on the acceptance and tolerance of the difference on the ground of harmony but it is a fragile and ephemeral phase which is threatened by the visitors whose main motive is not to visit the Ulusoy but to find a place to accommodate.²²⁶ At the beginning of a *muhabbet*, an effendi and some disciples talked about tolerance and the effendi recalled his great grandfather’s words that “we accept the one who is excluded from other assemblies but if we exclude the one from our assembly, no other assemblies will accept her/him”.²²⁷ Actually, the visitors are also very careful about their own behavior and behavior of other visitors. Thus, self-control and control of others are the main principles guiding the visitors during the meetings.²²⁸ At the residence of an Ulusoy, during the conversation, an *aşık*²²⁹ from Adıyaman told a parable on the self-control of the disciples as follows:

One day a man came to a dervish lodge and knocked the door. The dervish who opened the door held a bowl full of water. The man who knocked the door put a rose petal in the bowl. Then, he was allowed to enter the dervish lodge. Just then, a man was watching them. He asked the dervish about the meaning of all of things that happened. The dervish responded to him “the bowl full of water means that the

²²⁵From the interviews with SUE on 23.08.2009; with AUa on 24. 08.2009 in Hacibektaş

²²⁶The Ulusoy women called *ana* generally complained about the visitor’s mishandling of household goods and in line with this, their disobedience of the rules of the Ulusoy. From the interviews with MUa on 16.07.2009 and on 25.08.2009; with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²²⁷From the fieldnotes of a *muhabbet* performed at the residence of HHU on 17.08.2009.

²²⁸From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²²⁹A kind of a poet-singer.

dervish lodge is full and there is no place for him. The rose petal was the sign that he won't disturb anyone. This is why I welcomed him."²³⁰

As he said, they had been hearing such parables since their childhood, thus, they had already known how to behave at the residences of the Ulusoy.²³¹

Another threat to the *communitas* is the negative attitudes of the inhabitants toward the Ulusoy and toward their visitors. The inhabitants' behavior was generally accepted by the visitors as sacrilegious to the Ulusoy. While we were talking about the relationship between the inhabitants and the Ulusoy, a disciple complained about the inhabitants as follows:

The old effendis were good because they fed the inhabitants but current effendis don't feed them. This is the point that I see. The inhabitants say to us that "your effendis are coming". If you are an Alevi, he is your effendi as well. They are the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli. One of the inhabitants said that there is no descendant of Hacı Bektaş Veli."²³²

Thus, the threat stems from the contradiction between the liminal phase of the pilgrimage of the visitors and the temporal routine of the inhabitants which allows no room for the Ulusoy to exercise their sacred authority over the inhabitants. However, this threat to the *communitas* is not an obstacle for the meeting held at the residences of the Ulusoy.

²³⁰From the fieldnotes in Hacıbektaş on 18.08.2010

²³¹From the fieldnotes in Hacıbektaş on 18.08.2010

²³²From the interview with a disciple at the residence of one of the *mürşits* on 18.09.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

5.3.2 For the Sake of Bread and Salt²³³

Although there is not any sanctity that is attributed to the residences of the Ulusoy, a *baba*, sacred guide explained to me the importance of staying at the residences of the Ulusoy by referring to the saying “for the sake of bread and salt” which means actually establishing a “fictive” kinship. According to him, after staying at one’s house and sharing a meal with her/him, it is impossible for one to be tempted to think ill of the homeowners; you will accept her/him as if they were members of your own family.²³⁴ The importance of staying at the residences of the Ulusoy stems from a disposition to be in an intimate relationship with them on the principle of gratitude. For a disciple, staying at the residence of the Ulusoy is a special occasion that every visitor should experience.²³⁵ Moreover, an Ulusoy, while explaining why they give priority to their disciples over a great number of visitors who seek shelter, stressed the solidarity with the disciples and argued for the importance of the visit of the disciples for the continuity of the Path.²³⁶

For an unfamiliar gaze, the gatherings at the residences of the Ulusoy seem chaotic. There are lots of cars, pickups and even trucks which are parked outside the gardens of the residences. The gardens are full of tents, of people who are sitting, chatting, drinking tea or dealing with the sacrifice. The residences are also full of people who are giving *niyaz* to the Ulusoy, or who are sitting around him and taking to each other. There is always a circulation of people, someone is coming and someone is going, and the homeowners are equally hospitable to all visitors, smiling

^{233c}“Ekmek, tuz hakkı”. It is a saying which expresses gratitude towards a benefactor.

²³⁴ From the interview with a *baba* from Kısas at the residences of the one of the *mürşits* on 17.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²³⁵ From the interview with a disciple on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²³⁶ From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

and chatting with them while trying to arrange place for the newcomers who want to stay at their residences or supervise work that should be done.

An Ulusoy explained to me how she arranged to host the visitors in the festival held in 2009 as follows:

In the upper floor (in the penthouse) we accommodated the young girls who are single. Women were sleeping on a side of the house and the men were on the other side, we handle it so. There were lots of people who could not find a place to sleep. Even a thousand people come; they want to stay here. They can stay here as far as the residence is able to take them. Abdals²³⁷ stay in the garden because they don't keep the house clean. In my eyes, everyone in here is equal; no one is superior to the others. However, I bring them clean household goods and people should keep them clean. Visitors who stay in the first floor cannot use the toilet in the second floor. Three toilets were built in the garden. [...] I organize all the works that should be done. There was a cook and there were persons who undertook different tasks, one of them cut the meat, one of them cooked, one of them served the food, one of them made tea and one of them served the sugar and cologne. All this was done by different persons and I supervised them. For example, the person who sacrificed the animals was also different. A person is necessary even to throw the garbage away.²³⁸

Mainly, after being welcomed by the Ulusoy, visitors use the residences as if they were staying in their own homes without expecting any service. However, some of the visitors wanted to be served. The people who serve the visitors are also disciples who do this work voluntarily.²³⁹

Thus, the volunteers bustle around in the kitchen to prepare meal or tea for the newcomers and visitors because meal is an important part of the visits. Despite the fact that it is impossible to have a common meal with the homeowners because of the crowd, it is crucial to feed the visitors to be able to strengthen the feeling of unity and solidarity.

²³⁷ An ethnic group, among which there are *dede* lineages which are affiliated with the Ulusoy.

²³⁸ From the interview with SUE on 23.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²³⁹ Although the disciples accept their service as worship, for their work they should be paid but generally their payment is in the form of gift not cash. From the interviews with HSU on 22.07.2009 and with SUE on 23.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

In accordance with the capacity of the residences, homeowners have their own way to handle organization and service of meal. Some homeowners get common meal cooked both for the visitors and for themselves, some allocate a place for cooking to the visitors so that they can cook, after providing them with the cooking utensils and ingredients. The visitors also bring some food cooked or raw in order to share with other visitors. The ritual of animal sacrifice is also part of the communal meals. During a conversation with a group of disciples and sacred guides, a sacred guide explained that the meaning of sacrifice is an offering. According to him the animal sacrifice is an offering to Hacı Bektaş Veli and should be performed as worship at the residences of the Ulusoy.²⁴⁰ The disciples perform this worship when an important event happens in their life, for example birth, recovery from ill health, marriage or something which they strongly wished to happen.²⁴¹ Thus, the sacrifice might be understood as a convergence between the wish of the disciples and divine grace of the Ulusoy.

The cooked or raw parts of the meat of the sacrificed animal are given to the Ulusoy as a gift and sometimes dispatched to the poor of the district²⁴² and are shared among other visitors as morsel of food, *lokma*.²⁴³ The owner of one of the most

²⁴⁰The animal sacrifice is one of the important problems in the district. The mayor of the district got a slaughterhouse built to be able to control the trade of sacrificial animal which is monopolized by a group of people in the district. Many of the Ulusoy send their visitors to the slaughterhouse for sacrificing the animals but some of them allowed people to sacrifice at the gardens of their residences. For sacrificing there are some persons who are in charge. One of the family members said that he supported the mayor in the application of slaughterhouse. He added that his guests complained on the cut of the animals which was not in accordance with the tradition, besides, on the personnel of the slaughterhouse who behaved the guests of the Ulusoy impolite. From the field notes on 17.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

²⁴¹From the field notes on 14.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

²⁴²From the interview with HUB on 30.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

²⁴³*Lokma* is the communal meal eaten in the ceremonies of *cem* or in some other religious rituals in the Alevi-Bektaş belief.

crowded residences of the Ulusoyos said that around the festival time in 2009 nearly 300-400 animals (generally lambs) were sacrificed at their residence. Another Ulusoy said that many of their guests did not sacrifice but she stressed the importance of feeding every guest in their house with meat of sacrificed animals without paying attention on whether they sacrificed an animal or not.²⁴⁴

Similar to sharing of the food, staying at the residences of the Ulusoyos also brings about an intimacy between the visitors and homeowners through their knowing each other's personal history or family history. As I observed, the visitors, without hesitating, can make some comments on the life of the *effendis* and *anas*. To illustrate, in company with an *ana*, I visited one of the residences of the Ulusoyos. The residence was full of visitors and during a conversation; a female disciple told the *ana* who accompanied me that it would be better if the *ana*'s last child had been a boy. The underlying reason of this comment or wish was actually clear because the *ana* has no male child which is crucial to the continuity of the family. Therefore, the disciple's comment did not stem from bad intention but from concern about the *ana* and about her family. Anyhow, for me it was quite interesting to realize that the *ana* did not perceive it as indignity or interference in her personal life.²⁴⁵ Actually, among the visitors, to a large extent, the Ulusoyos have no privacy.

In line with this, the Ulusoyos whom I asked whether the privacy is a problem in their relationship with the disciples, they emphasized their different habits and way of life that they perform in Hacibektaş and in other cities where they live. They said that they have no privacy when they are in Hacibektaş among their disciples. Besides that, although they obey the basic rules and undertake the responsibilities of being a

²⁴⁴From the interview with SUE on 23.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²⁴⁵From the field notes on 08.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

member of a leading sacred lineage all the time, in Hacibektaş they have to pay extra attention to their behavior because the disciples are following them.²⁴⁶

Keeping in mind the fact that the family members are the possessors of the *walaya* which is the authority of the sacred knowledge that supervise and guide the adherents both in the temporal and the spiritual life, the disciples also have no privacy in their relation with the Ulusoy. From family affairs to love affairs, from psychological problems to economic problems, all problems or important events in disciples' life are reported by the disciples to the members of the Ulusoy family with whom they have an intimate relationship. Although it is the duty of a sacred guide to communicate the problems or affairs of his community to the *mürşit*, the transformed relationship between the disciples and the Ulusoy has eliminated the monopoly of the sacred guides and the *mürşits* on getting contact with on behalf of the Alevi-Bektaşî community. Thus, despite the fact that it is still the responsibility of the sacred guides to transmit the problems of the community to the *mürşit*, the old form and new forms of intimate relationship between the disciples and the Ulusoy coexist.

On the one hand, listening to people and trying to find solution to their problems is a heavy responsibility for the Ulusoy. For instance, an old lady complained about one of the married disciples who told her about his love affairs.²⁴⁷ On the other hand, talking to the *effendis* is a strong emotional need for the disciples. A disciple said: "Coming here and talking to the *effendis* brings you the relief if you believe wholeheartedly."²⁴⁸ Another one explained that he and his wife live away from their families but before visiting their families, they come here to see the

²⁴⁶From the interviews with HSU on 22.07.2009; with ZUa, DUB and UUA on 23.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²⁴⁷From the interview MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²⁴⁸From the conversation with a disciple on 28.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

effendis. To be able to express his love to the *effendis*, he stresses the fact that he holds the Ulusoy in higher esteem than his own parents.²⁴⁹

The perception of intimacy is an important factor to grasp the relationship between the disciples and the Ulusoy. As I realized during the fieldwork, the love and respect to the Ulusoy is the basic principle, but people from the rural areas where the patriarchal relations are still strong stress the traditional and hierarchical relations and the *effendis*' position within the hierarchy. People who migrated to and live in the cities stress the friendship and more egalitarian relationship. A disciple talked about the changing characteristic of the relationship with the Ulusoy as follows:

[...] If I stay away from the *effendi*, how can he help me? If I don't talk to him, if I don't ask him anything and learn anything from him, how can he help me? [...] Our elders were angry with us because we ate the meal with the *effendis*. They said that "it is impossible to get close to them, they are fire. If you get closer, you will burn with their fire." It's true that the *effendi* burns but you burn with his love."²⁵⁰

Thus, it seems that during the meetings at the residence of the Ulusoy, the degree of the distinction between the Ulusoy and the disciples depends on which personality of the *effendis* becomes prominent: the temporal personality or the spiritual personality of theirs as the manifestation of Hacı Bektaş Veli.

Consequently, according to Carsten (2004:40) without any reference to the ties of sexual procreation, shared meals and living together in one house create kinship. In the case of the Ulusoy, no matter the degree of the distinction between the Ulusoy and disciples, the meetings at the residence of the Ulusoy construct a kind of fictive kinship, through which the relationship between the Ulusoy and disciples and among the disciples are reproduced.

²⁴⁹From the conversation with the disciples and sacred guides on 14.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

²⁵⁰From the interview with a disciple on 18.09.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

5.3.3 “If our bones are created by God, then our flesh is created by the disciples”²⁵¹

Almost all rituals performed at the residences of the Ulusoy are based on the sacred exchange but the economic characteristic of the sacred exchange is the most sensitive and unspoken part of them. Before focusing on the economic aspect of the sacred exchange, I want to quote a part of the writings of White (1913) who visited Hacibektaş in 1912 but could not see Cemalettin Çelebi, and thus, could only narrate what he heard about:

Pilgrims are said to enter his reception room on their knees as his willing and devoted servants; they advance, kiss his hand, slip the offering they have brought under his cushion, receive his benediction, and withdraw without rising to their feet.

Nearly a century after White’s visit to the Çelebis, I observed the same ritual at the several residences of the Ulusoy. However, at the residence of one of the *mürşits* the ritual was “friendlier” than the one described above. While we were sitting in a room full of visitors who were coming and paying their homage to the *mürşit*, a young man who is the son of a sacred guide presented his donation to the *mürşit*. The *mürşit* did not want to take it because he knew that the newly married young man made expense for his wedding ceremony. However, the young man insisted on giving his donation and, in the end, the *mürşit* accepted it. Other people also brought their donations. Among them there was a man that I knew from another residence of the Ulusoy where he voluntarily served the other visitors. He came to the house of the *mürşit* for both visiting him and bringing his mother’s donation to him. Some persons, in return for their donations wanted the *mürşit* to touch their

²⁵¹ “Kemiğimiz Allah’tansa etimiz muhipten” from the interview with FUa on 31.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

backs in order to receive his blessing or wanted him to touch the parts of their bodies in order to be healed.²⁵²

In another house of the Ulusoy, the ceremony was performed almost in the same way narrated by White. While I was sitting in the sitting room with the *effendi* and *ana* and with lots of visitors and while we were watching a program on TV which was broadcasted at the residence of one of the *mürşits*, some persons entered the room on their knees. After kissing the *effendi*'s hand, they put the donation under the *effendi*'s leg, on the couch. When a woman and his little daughter entered the room, I was sitting next to the *effendi*. Having given *niyaz*, both the mother and the daughter put the money -ten liras and twenty liras- under his leg on the couch. The mother wanted him to touch her daughter's head because she was ill. The *effendi* who behaved as if he was not aware of their money donation, touched her head and told her that she should take an aspirin. He probably said that in order to stress the rational aspect of his role in this ceremony, because of my presence at the room.²⁵³

Not only money, but also all kinds of food are given as presents to the Ulusoy. For example, an old man came to one of the Ulusoy's house with a sack full of gifts for the Ulusoy and he gave to the *ana* a packet of paprika which was probably his own product. The *ana* said to him that he should not bring anything to her but; it seemed to me that he did not do this as an obligation but did this as a kind of responsibility which he performed voluntarily. While giving his gift, he was telling me that "the Ulusoy are not ordinary persons like us".²⁵⁴ Again, in another house of the Ulusoy, an *ana* gave me a packet of paprika as a gift for my mother which was actually a gift for them given by a disciple with some packets of tea.²⁵⁵

²⁵²From the field notes on 17.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²⁵³From the field notes on 14.08.2010 in Hacibektaş.

²⁵⁴From the field notes on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²⁵⁵From the field notes on 15.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

Werbner, who conducted a study on a saint Zindapir who founded a Naqshbandi order in Pakistan, says that the income of the dervish lodge, which is derived from donations of the supplicants, is a secret issue. She is precluded from making an inquiry about the income of the lodge which is only known by the family of the sheikh and by his closest disciples. She adds that, although the saint and his family benefit from the income of the lodge for their own personal needs such as superior education and luxury consumer goods, great amount of the income is used for the maintenance of the lodge and accommodation and facilities of the pilgrims (Werbner, 2003: 213-15). In the case of the Ulusoy, I could observe the economic exchange which happened publicly. However, it was impossible for me to make an inquiry about the economic character of the exchange because I already knew that it is a sensitive issue even within the family and in their relationship with the inhabitants. The intersection of the temporal and the sacred is open to misunderstandings such as accusing the family of hypocrisy or of exploiting the religious sentiments of the disciples. The misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the intersection between the temporal and the sacred can easily harm the legitimacy of the sanctity of the family. The economic aspect of the sacred exchange has been already brought into question by the inhabitants and some of the Ulusoy have felt disturbed because of that.

The distinction between the sacred and profane or virtuoso and mass is the focus of Durkheim and Weber. Durkheim says that in the case of monasticism or a step further from monasticism, in the case of asceticism, the sacred and the profane are accepted not only as separate but also as antagonistic worlds. The sacred takes part in an ideal and transcendent milieu and what remains behind the sacred is involved in the material or profane milieu. Thus, if one belongs fully to one milieu s/he necessarily left the other one (Durkheim, 1995.36-37). For Weber, the withdrawal of religious virtuoso from the world, i.e. from the temptation of the

domain of social relationship is vital to be able to achieve salvation (Weber, 1965: 165-6). He says that the contemplative mystic can live with the gifts of the world. Without gifts, the mystic cannot be alive because s/he should engage in the worldly activities which are sinful and which lead to alienation from god (Weber, 1965:172).

In keeping with Durkheim's and Weber's stress on to be safe from the temporal as a prerequisite for achieving the sanctity, the disciples' giving donation to the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli are also related with the distinction between the temporal/mass and the sacred/virtuoso. By giving donations, the disciples support the Ulusoy's in their temporal needs. On the other hand, the family is not in need of ascetic life to achieve the sanctity which has been already given to them by hereditary succession. Besides that, as the leading sacred lineage, the family possesses the right to rule without making any distinction between the temporal and the sacred. To be safe from the temporal is not the condition for the sanctity of the Ulusoy's; moreover, after the constitution of the Republic, without any official recognition of their post they have been already living in a temporal/secular world. The Ulusoy's are both the embodiment of the sacred and the mediator to receive the *batin*, thus they are both in the temporal and in the sacred milieu. For the disciples whose milieu is the temporal, the only way to get involved within the sanctity is to support the temporal needs of the Ulusoy's; so, they have a role in the sanctity which is brought to them by the Ulusoy's in the forms of blessing and sacred guidance on the basis of the *batin*. Therefore, this is the circulation of the sacred.

It is important to say that, this circulation is not only a symbolic performance. From one aspect, the exchange rituals are the continuation of the donations and dues called *hakullah* which have been given to the Ulusoy's for centuries. From another aspect, the historical roots of this tradition are also grounded in the tradition of charity, that is to say, great amount of the donations are also channeled into the service of the visitors. Some of the Ulusoy's stress that they use the income derived

from the donations for the household expenses because accommodating great numbers of people during summers is very expensive.²⁵⁶

On the other hand, there are also family members who earn a living with the support of the disciples. One of the few family members who did not hesitate to speak to me about the economic aspect of the relationship between the Ulusoy and the disciples said:

When the guests come to our houses, they give donation to us, no one can deny it. If our bones are created by God, then our flesh is created by the disciples. I put it plainly; if we cope with the difficulties with hosting them, they gave us donation. It is a longstanding tradition, in the past it was so, and today it is continuing. They give me a call and say that they will stay two or three days at our residence. They come here, sacrifice, eat and drink and before leaving they give us money, five liras, ten liras. The amount depends on their economic condition. We don't force them to do this, we don't ask for donation. We say "don't bother with making donation" and they say "*ana*, this is our tradition". We don't force people to make donation to us. People of Hacibektaş think that large amount of money is given to us but they don't know the expenses of this household. The visitors give small amounts and we save it. [...]²⁵⁷

A family member who has organic relation with the disciples but who has also reservation about earning a living with the support of the disciples said that even the amount of the donation that the disciples give is small, the sum total is large. For him, economic dependence on the disciples leads to degeneration of the Path.²⁵⁸ Although all the Ulusoy who have organic relation with the disciples receive donations, generally the family members who have no skill in a profession are living on the economic support of the disciples. For example during a conversation on the young *effendis* who earn a living by exercising their religious authority, a family member said that the young men who are not educated have no other choice because they

²⁵⁶From the conversation with HSU on 25.12.2009 in Ankara; from the interview with FUa on 31.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²⁵⁷From the interview with FUa on 31.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

²⁵⁸From the conversation with HSU on 25.12. 2009 in Ankara

cannot receive order from ordinary persons or cannot have profession which necessitates physical force.²⁵⁹

5.3.3.1 Receiving the Divine Blessing

From the aspect of the disciples, apart from being under the sacred guidance of the Ulusoy, the circulation of the sacred finds its embodiment in the rituals of the receiving blessing. In addition to the touch of the Ulusoy on the ill parts of the body in order to heal, there are other rituals for healing. Receiving *lokma* which might be translated as morsel of food is an important ritual related to healing. The morsel of food can be apple, candy, dried nuts and fruits or those kinds of food which can be easily carried to people who cannot visit the effendis.²⁶⁰ As I observed during the fieldwork, blessed water was also the important thing that the visitors demanded. Apart from giving the blessed foods and water, with the reference to the narrative in the *Vilayetname* tiny stones in the form of wheat and lentil are given to the couples who have no baby. It is believed that those stones will cure the infertility of the couples.²⁶¹

Some cloths of the Ulusoy are also demanded by the disciples. Besides that, the Ulusoy give some little presents such as *teslimtaşı* (stone of surrender), special form of onyx with twelve edges which symbolizes the Twelve Imams and which is carried by the Bektashis on their chest. A piece of cloth named *green* which symbolizes the cloth on the tomb of Hacı Bektaş Veli is also an important present. A family member explained to me that she went to the tomb of Hacı Bektaş Veli, laid

²⁵⁹ From the conversation with FUa, SNU, GSU, and MNU on 09.01.2010 in Ankara.

²⁶⁰ From the interviews with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş; on HUa on 30.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

²⁶¹ Because I will focus on this ritual in the Chapter 6, I do not give any further information on it now.

the cloth on it and after making *niyaz*, she took it and then gave the piece of the cloth as gifts. A couple of the Ulusoyos gave me also a piece of *green* when I visited them. While we were chatting, an old disciple who served there was cutting the green cloth. I wanted to learn what she was doing. Having explained to me the meaning of the *green* cloth, the disciple offered me a piece of it. I received it and the *effendi* touched it unwillingly probably because he was hesitating to do this. After touching the *green* he said “May it bring good luck. Put it in your bag, it will help you in all your works” and I put it in my bag.²⁶²

The Ulusoyos to whom I talked to about these rituals stressed that the rituals help people because they believe in its healing power, namely it helps people psychologically but not medically. Only at one residence, the homeowner, an old widow whose laid stress on the miracles of his husband, probably because she needed to strengthen the sanctity of her own house rather than being in need of rational explanations of these rituals.²⁶³

5. 3. 4 The Ambiguity of the Effervescence in the Communal Rituals

The communal rituals are one of the most important parts of the meetings at the residences through which the participants experience the effervescence in the state of *communitas*. In this regard, *cem* is the most important ritual performed at the residences. The family members whom I talked to about the *cem* rituals said to me that, with the establishment of the Republican regime, no *cem* rituals were performed at their residences. However, an *ana* who is the daughter in law of the old *mürşit* said

²⁶²From the field notes on 30.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş.

²⁶³Probably because of the fact that their subsistence depends on the supports of the visitors and that their fragile position within the family, they stress on the miracles in order to strengthen their position as a sacred family.

that when the *mürşit* was alive, visitors from İzmir performed *cem* ritual at their residence but secretly.²⁶⁴ Currently, the *cem* rituals are performed at almost all residences of the Ulusoyos but only just before and during the festivals.

Cem is a kind of ritual which is performed under the guidance of the *dedes* and *babas* with the participation of the community. The *cem* rituals through which the community is regulated include several ceremonies such as religious dance called *semah*, music, common meal and drink. Although there are several *cem* rituals performed in different times with different purposes, the rituals performed at the residences of the Ulusoyos are only symbolic rituals. This is because the *cem* rituals performed at the residences participated by a great numbers of visitors from different areas rule out one of the basic principles of the ritual, namely the mutual consent which can only be possible under the condition that each participant knows each other.

Hence, I participated in some rituals at the residences of the Ulusoyos, and the *cem* ritual that I participated in with the invitation of the homeowners was held in one of the crowded residences of the Ulusoy. In the afternoon, the long and large hall of an old mansion was allocated for the ritual. All furniture in the hall was removed. Standing at the doorway looking inward, I saw the cushions which were put at the end of the long hall, in front of the balcony door. These cushions were for the *effendi*, the sacred guides and *zakirs*. The order of seating was important both for the guides of the ritual and for the participants. The guides of the ritual were in a semicircle shaped order. The *effendi* was sitting in the middle and the sacred guides from different regions were sitting to his left and right. At the left side of the *effendi*, next to the sacred guides, the *zakirs* from different regions but mainly from Kısas and Gaziantep were sitting. The participants were sitting on the floor in front of the guides of the ritual. In between the guides and the participants there was a distance

²⁶⁴From the interview with FUA on 31.07. 2009 in Hacibektaş.

which is necessary for the persons who perform the ceremonies of the *cem*. However, the wife of a sacred guide was angry with the persons who sat in front of other participants because she thought that there should be a hierarchical seating order and those people had no right to sit in the forefront. She complained to the *ana* about those persons. For her “everyone should know his/her place”. The *ana* and the wife of the sacred guide who is also called *ana* were sitting in a room from which the part of the hall could be seen. The *ana* asked me to sit with her in the room but I preferred to sit among people to be able to participate in the ritual. However, the ritual was delayed because the persons from the TRT TV channel who would broadcast the ritual were late. While waiting, the *zakirs* sang some oral recitals called *nefes* and *deyiş*.

I sat among the participants and the room was overcrowded with the newcomers. Among them there were people who were familiar to me because I saw them at the other residences of the Ulusoy. The place that I sat at was so uncomfortable; people were pushing each other to be able to find a place. It was hard to move or follow what was happening in the room. When the tea service had begun, some people sitting around me were angry with it because they saw it as a violation of the rules of the ritual. Despite the fact that some persons reminded them that the *cem* ritual did not begin yet, they left the room. After a while, the ritual started without waiting for the people from TRT. After the *zakirs* played and sang the *deyişs*, twelve services were performed. During the ritual, the *effendi* was in silence, his head inclined, without looking at people.

I tried to follow some parts of the ritual in the room with the *ana* because it was impossible to observe anything among the participants. Again, it was difficult for me to observe the ritual in the room. The *ana* and others in the room were chatting and some other people were preparing for their *semah* performance. Among the people who performed the *semah*, there were two young women who served at that

house and one of them was a little bit excited and anxious about her performance because they took this ceremony very serious. People were wandering around the guides to be able to record the ritual. I also felt that people expected me to make some records, although I preferred to take notes. I also made some records of the oral recitals and *semah*, the religious dance. In the end, after serving the *lokma*, the blessed biscuits, the ritual ended and the participants who accommodated at other residences left.²⁶⁵

In the middle of this chaotic milieu, I realized the ambiguity of the ritual. It was a symbolic ritual but only some of the participants were aware of it. Some of them were even attributing sanctity to it although they knew that it was a symbolic performance. Moreover, some others accepted it as a “real” ritual such as the participants who left the room when tea was serviced. In accordance with their perception of the ritual, their expectations were also changing.

A day later, in the afternoon I participated in a *muhabbet*²⁶⁶ ritual at the same residence, in the same hall. In general, in *muhabbet* ritual, the effendis and disciples talk about the Ulusoy family, about the Path and about some mystical questions. During the conversation they were drinking alcohol under the control of *saki* who served the drinks and makes sure that the participants did not get drunk. At the residences of the *mürşits* this ritual is performed with the participation of the sacred guides and the *mürşit*. However, the ritual that I participated in was open to everyone.

The sacred guides and the *zakirs* were the same persons who participated in the *cem*. The order of seating was also the same. The guests of this ritual were a group of tourists from Israel whose guide and the homeowners knew each other. Later, two persons from Holland also participated in the ceremony. One of the topics of the conversation was the role of the effendis in the life of the community. This

²⁶⁵From the field notes on 15.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

²⁶⁶Muhabbet means both love and friendly conversation.

topic was supported with some anecdotes. The other topic was about some mystical questions on the nature and existence of human being. The ritual included the ceremonies singing the *deyişs*, talking on the Path and performing *semahs* in a relaxed and friendly milieu.²⁶⁷

Another ritual that I observed at another residence of an Ulusoy family was the ritual of animal blessing. The animal blessing ceremony was also similar to other communal ceremonies. The ceremony was held at the garden with the participation of many people. The *effendi* and *anas* were not actively participating in the ceremony and preferred to watch it like other participants. However the oldest *ana* was controlling the ceremony covertly by giving instructions to the *dede* who was guiding the ceremony. To illustrate, she sent some disciples to warn him about finishing the speech when she thought that the speech that the *dede* gave was too long and boring. The speech that the *dede* gave was on ethical behavior in accordance with the Path. After that, two persons brought a lamb in his presence. The *dede* blessed the lamb and the animal was taken to be sacrificed. After that ceremony, the *zakirs* played and song the *deyişs*.²⁶⁸

Despite the ambiguity of these performances, the disciples stressed that they experienced the feeling of unity because they were aware of the importance of meeting people from different areas under the guidance of the Ulusoy. As one of the sacred guides said, the residences are the meeting places at which the people, who in normal conditions cannot know each other, have the chance to come together.²⁶⁹ According to an *effendi* at the residences, they performed symbolic rituals because the real rituals for the continuity of the Path have been already performed in the

²⁶⁷From the field notes on 16.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

²⁶⁸From the field notes on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

²⁶⁹From the field notes on 14.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

places where the disciples live. Therefore, those performances are instructive rituals.²⁷⁰ Moreover, the performances of the communal rituals conducted at the residences of the Ulusoy are very important for the prestige of the owners of the residence among other family members. To illustrate, an Ulusoy was proud of the *muhabbet* ritual performed at her residence because her daughter said that she had not yet seen such a ritual.²⁷¹

Thus, the congregations formed by through the performance of *cem*, *muhabbet* or similar rituals such as blessing the sacrificial animal constitute a natural part of the *communitas* that occurs in the meetings at the Ulusoy's residences which serve to unite them and reproduce the Ulusoy's sanctity.

²⁷⁰From the interview with HHU on 21.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

²⁷¹From the field notes on 18.08.2010 in Hacibektaş

CHAPTER 6

THE REPRODUCTION OF THE PATRILINEAGE BY KINSHIP

It was Kadıncık's custom that if the Hünkar made abdest²⁷² or if he washed his hands after dinner, she would immediately drink that water. One day while the Hünkar was making his abdest, his nose bled and a clot of blood fell into the water. He said, "Kadıncık, throw this water in a place where no one's feet can touch it." Kadıncık took the basin and carried it outside. Kadıncık thought, "Until now I have drunk this unpolluted water, why should I throw this away? This is the most propitious water off all. I will drink it without aversion." She lifted the basin and drank the water. She carried the basin again to the Hünkar. But all that had transpired had been revealed to him. The Hünkar looked into Kadıncık's face, and said once to her, "Kadıncık, did you drink that water? Kadıncık said "What is there that is not known to the Eren? I could not bring myself to throw away even a mouthful of that which remained from the Eren. I only found my stomach."

The Hünkar said, "Kadıncık you received the nesib which you hoped for from us. You will now carry my sons, and they will be sons from my lineage and they will bear my name..." (Velayetname, 2006:134).²⁷³

The above quotation from *Vilayetname* might be read as an attempt to reconcile the claims of the Çelebi branch as the progeny of Hacı Bektaş Veli with the Babagan branch's claim that Hacı Bektaş Veli was celibate. In the narrative, the Hünkar does not literally "inseminate" Kadıncık; however, blood as a transmitted bodily substance from Hacı Bektaş Veli to the Çelebis is only compatible with

²⁷² Ablution

²⁷³ The Saintly Exploits of Hacı Bektaş Veli Menakib-ı Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli "Vilayetname" translation and introduction by Huseyin Abiba (2006) by Babagan Books.

patrilineal descent and implies the consanguinity, i.e. blood kin of the Çelebis with Hacı Bektaş Veli.

Bodily substances and blood in particular, is used metaphorically in order to refer to kinship. Therefore, the metaphor of blood is arbitrary and culturally determined (Parkin & Stone, 2004:2). In other words, blood kin or consanguinity “in a genetic sense has not necessarily anything to do with” rather; it is defined by the society (Fox: 1967:34). In its metaphoric usage, through genealogy, blood identifies the persons who claim to share it, moreover, makes a distinction between the blood kin and the others (Abu-Lughod, 1999). Similar to the case of the agnatic kinship ideology of Bedouins, “blood both links [people] to the past and binds them in the present” (Abu-Lughod, 1999:41). Hence, blood links the Ulusoy through genealogy to the founding ancestor Hacı Bektaş Veli and binds them in the present.

Keeping in mind that “kinship is everywhere a part of the social and cultural management of reproduction” (Stone, 2006:2), it has also a great impact on the reproduction of the sanctity of the Ulusoy patrilineage. In this regard, this chapter is on the kinship of the Ulusoy, in other words, on the reproduction and maintenance of the sanctity of the Ulusoy through kinship ideology, relations and rules. This chapter underlines modes of descent, forms of marriage and, name-giving as the main topics of Ulusoy’s kinship.²⁷⁴ I will be discussing the genealogy of the family that shows the mode of the descent. Genealogy is a fiction but not an arbitrary one because kinship relations that genealogy embodies show how kinship system prevails in that society (Klapisch-Zuber, 1996:101). Moreover, genealogy is permanently under construction, so that, it helps to link the Ulusoy to the past and performs an ideological role to reproduce the ongoing relationship between the family and the Alevi-Bektaşis.

Kinship involves both descent (consanguineal) and marriage (affinal) relations between persons and, through these forms of relations it embodies social structure,

²⁷⁴ Actually, kinship “is intimately linked with gender” (Stone, 2006:2), however, gender is not the special focus of this part because I will elaborate it in the next chapter (Chapter VII).

rights and obligations between kin. It also represents the “ideology of human relationships” and cultural meanings attributed to procreation and to moral and biological connections with others (Stone, 2006:5-6). In line with this, in the second part of the chapter, I examine forms of marriage of the Ulusoy during the Republican era. My emphasis is on the affinal relations that show the attempts to maintain and establish group relations rather than individual relations (Carsten, 2004:14).

It is important to say that, besides the inherited divinity through blood, the incarnation of divine in human body through transmigration of soul is another aspect of the kinship of the Ulusoy. Therefore, name giving is crucial for keeping the genealogical memory alive but, at the same time, it reveals the belief in the transmigration of souls of the family members and indicates another form of the reproduction of the family. In keeping with this, lastly, I analyze the names given to the newborn members of the family in terms of reproduction of the Ulusoy patrilineage.

6.1 “Formerly he was Ali then he became Veli”²⁷⁵

When the attacks of the Babagan branch on the legitimacy of the Çelebis came out in the early 20th century, the consanguinity between Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Çelebis was in dispute. In *Müdafaa*, Cemalettin Çelebi was arguing for the impossibility of Hacı Bektaş Veli’s celibacy by stressing his being *seyyid*. For a *seyyid* it was unacceptable to be against the deeds of the prophet Muhammad who supported marriage and having children. Thus, according to Çelebi, Hacı Bektaş Veli married Kadıncık and they had a son whose name was Seyyid Ali (his other name is Timurtaş). Seyyid Ali had two sons and the Çelebi lineage was descended from them

²⁷⁵ “Evvel Ali idi sonra Veli oldu” (Ulusoy,1988 :37). Line of poetry from Hamdullah Çelebi who was sent Amasya into exile after the abolition of the Bektāşi Order in 1826.

(Birdoğan, 1996:39-40). Only the male descendants of him could exercise his sacred authority (Birdoğan, 1996:46) thus, by virtue of *batin* and *walaya* which have been inherited from Hacı Bektaş Veli through blood kin or consanguinity, the Çelebis (Ulusoy) undertake an initiating and supervisory role over the Alevi-Bektaşî people.

In accordance with the Shiite tradition, it is believed that Hacı Bektaş Veli inherited *walaya* genealogically, through his descent is traced back to the seventh Imam of the Twelver Shi'is, Musa al-Kazım and thus, he became the carrier of the role of *Imams* in terms of spiritual guidance. In line with the information given by two different versions of *Velayetname* (1995; 2006), the genealogical line of Hacı Bektaş Veli is as follows:

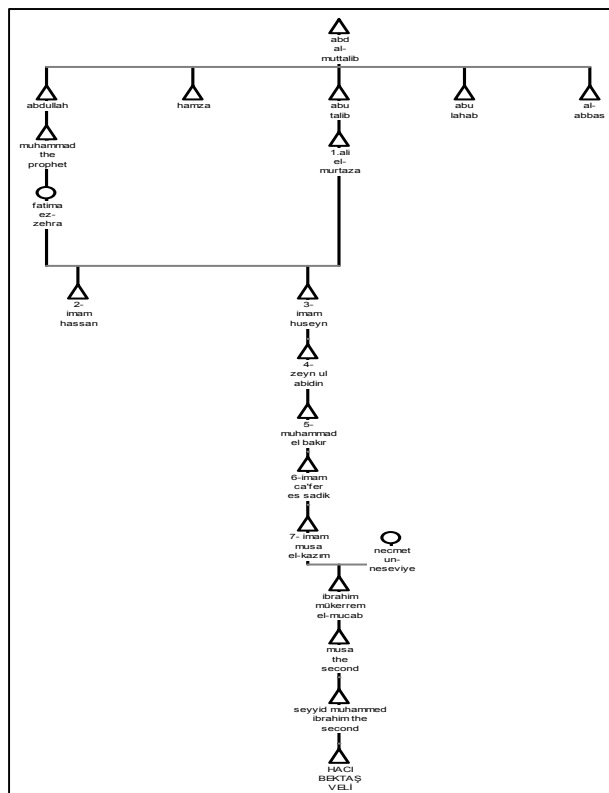


Figure 6.1 The genealogical line of Hacı Bektaş Veli

On the other hand, Cemalettin Çelebi's version of the genealogical line is quite different. He also maintains that Hacı Bektaş Veli's descent is traced back to the seventh Imam of the Twelver Shi'is, Musa al-Kazım; however, in the genealogical line there are some other persons between the 7th Imam and Hacı Bektaş Veli. Çelebi's version of the genealogical line traced back to Musa al-Kazım is as follows (Birdoğan, 1996:51-52; Ulusoy, 1986: 20):



Thus, the “blood” which involves *batin* and *walaya* was transferred to Hacı Bektaş Veli through his genealogical line and he further transferred this hereditary sanctity to his male descendants. In addition, the genealogy of the Ulusoy family which is traced back to Hacı Bektaş Veli represents the male line till the last official *postnişin*. However, as the family members who gave the genealogy chart said to me, this genealogical line is incomplete and needs some revision. According to the Ulusoy, their genealogical line is as follows:

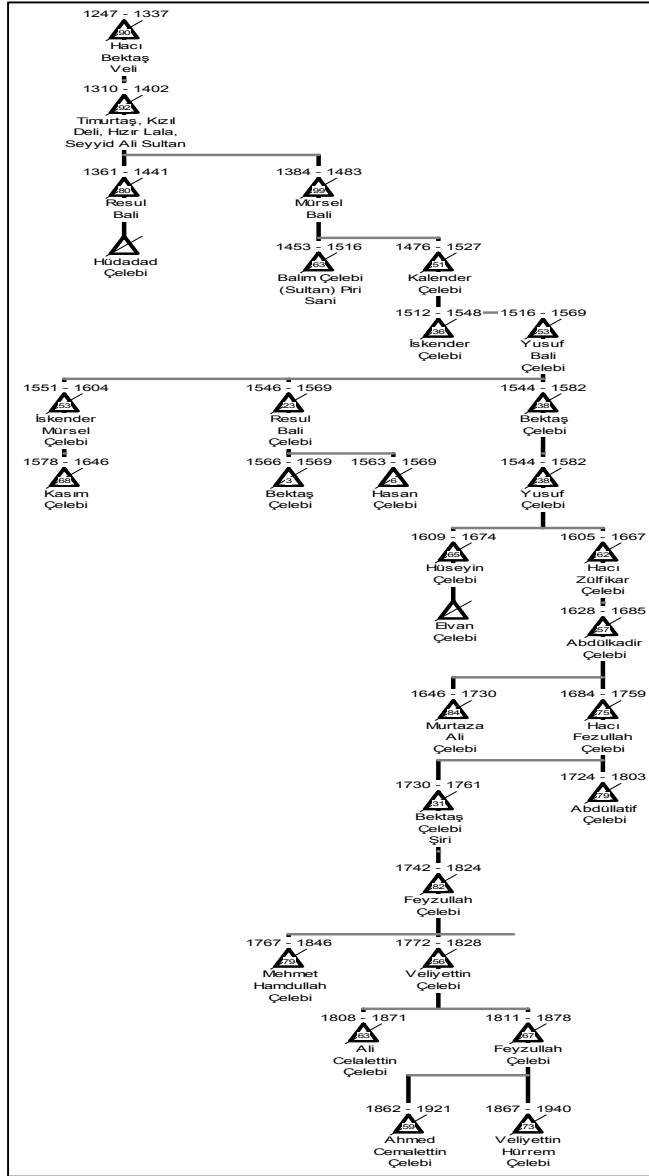


Figure 6.2 The genealogy of the Çelebis.

Consequently, in the case of Hacı Bektaş Veli's descendants, hereditary sanctity implies the tradition which is basic for Shi'ite thought. According to this tradition, the Imam as the progeny of Ali ibn Abu Talib and Fatima is the inheritor of *walaya* and *batin*. Despite the fact that the Twelver Shi'is accept the termination of the line of the Imams with the 12th Imam, other Shiite branches such as the Ismailis believe the continuation of the Imam's authority (Scharbrodt 2008:8). Like the Shiite branches, the Alevi-Bektaşî belief claims the continuation of the sacred authority of the Imams.

Accordingly, for the descendant of Hacı Bektaş Veli, blood relationship is sufficient reason to claim the sacred authority the Imams have. Only *mürşits* of the family should possess some additional qualifications to be successors. However, in Zaydi Islam in Yemen, kinship is not sufficient to be a proper *seyyid*, since birth indicates solely "the beginning of the process of becoming a sayyid" (vom Bruck 2005: 105).

[t]he classical Zaydi doctrine of the Imamate stresses that descent from Ali and Fatima is necessary prerequisite for legitimate leadership. However, it states equally clearly that this condition is insufficient. Candidacy for the highest office is reserved for a learned descendant of the Prophet (vom Bruck, 2005:108).

In Zaydi Islam, animating inherited "substance" through morally informed praxis denotes becoming 'Alid (vom Bruck 2005:105). Unlike Zaydis who need to learn the inherited "substance" and like the Twelver-Shi'is who need to remember the inherited "substance", the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli strongly believe that training is not necessary. In terms of their hereditary sanctity, Hacı Bektaş Veli's descendants' position denotes "being" rather than "becoming".

Hence, the only condition for being the descendant of Hacı Bektaş Veli is to be born into the Ulusoy patrilineage. As descendants of the founding ancestor, the family members are related to each other by descent and create a patrilineal descent group. All children inheriting this sanctity makes them Ulusoy, however, only sons

can transmit it to their offspring. According to the pedigree chart that I prepared with the Ulusoy during the fieldwork in 2009 and in 2010, the Ulusoy who descended from Ahmet Cemalettin Çelebi (1863-1921) and his brother Veliyettin Hürrem Çelebi (Ulusoy) (1867-1940), are one hundred and eighty people, ninety males and ninety females. In total the number of women who married into Ulusoy men was forty five.²⁷⁶ Below, there is a pedigree chart of the Ulusoy patrilineage, the branches of Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi including the female members from the late 19th century to 2010:²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ However, two of them divorced and a widow remarried out of the family and they do have any relationship with the family. I put two of them on the chart because they have children however, one of them had no child and I did not put her on the chart. As I explain later, some nuclear families of the Ulusoy have no relationship with the other members of the family. Because of the rupture in the relationship, they are not involved anymore within the kin relations. Therefore I put two Ulusoy males who have no relationship with the family on the pedigree chart but, I do not put their wives and offspring (on whom I have no information) on the chart.

²⁷⁷ See the enlarged version of the pedigree chart in the Appendix E.

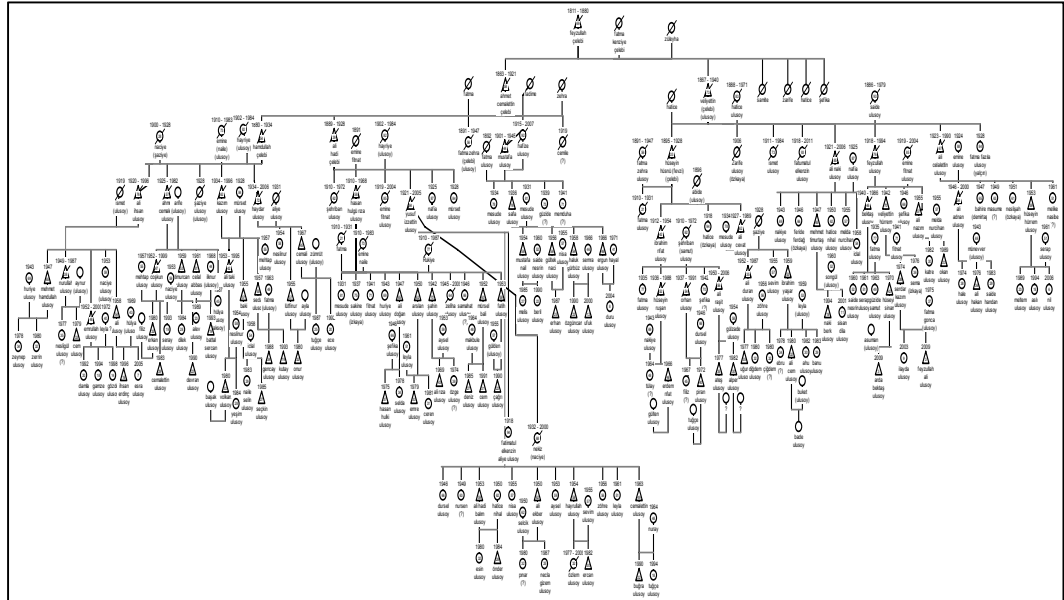


Figure 6. 3 The pedigree chart of the Ulusoy (Çelebi) Family

6.2 Rules and Forms of Marriage

During a group interview with Ulusoy females from three different generations, a middle-aged Ulusoy told me how her grandmother defined the males and females of their family: “Our sons are like homemade bread and girls are like ready-made bread.”²⁷⁸ This expression implies favoring of men over women and points out the reality that male children are kept within the family while the females leave their natal families when they get married. Since membership is transferred only through the male-line, male children are favored. Besides that, paternity has a special importance. According to Delaney, the monotheistic religion and monogenetic theory are, despite their different levels, parallel in terms of the

²⁷⁸ From the interview with the FUa, SNU, GSU and, MUE on 09.01.2010 in Ankara.

principle of creation which comes from one source which is symbolically masculine (Delaney, 1991:3). Thus, the role of paternity is “primary, creative and engendering” while maternity is restricted into the role of carrier and nurturer of the offspring. The creative role which flows from father to son is crucial for the continuity of the line; therefore, father must make sure that the son is his own child. This position of paternity in patriarchal authority brings about the restriction on women (Delaney, 2001).²⁷⁹ Similarly, Fox says that a patrilineal marriage is regulated on the ground that men control and have rights over women’s reproductive activities. Under the domination of father-son-brother constellation, women undertake only the roles of being a mother or a wife (1967: 121).

6.2.1 Polygyny and Monogamy

For a patriline, acquiring male children is vital to survive and, in the case of the Ulusoy, it is also crucial to maintain and to reproduce the hereditary sanctity. During the Ottoman period, polygyny was prevalent form of marriage that the Çelebi males practiced. To illustrate, both Ahmet Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi married three women. Veliyettin Çelebi’s first wife died early, after her death, he had two wives at the same time. In the early period of the Republic, after the 1926 civil code brought into operation monogamy and civil marriage, polygyny became rare but was still practiced by one of the sons and two grandsons of Cemalettin Çelebi.

One of the reasons of polygyny practiced by the son of Cemalettin Çelebi, Hamdullah Çelebi was the custom of levirate, i.e. marriage between a widow and a brother or other male relative of her deceased husband. After his brother Ali Hadi Çelebi died, Hamdullah Çelebi married his wife, Hayriye. According to one of the daughters of her:

²⁷⁹ In the next chapter (Chapter 7) I will return to Delaney’s analogy between seed and soil and the roles of men and women in procreation in monotheistic religion.

My mother was 25 years old when my father died. There were lots of men who wanted to marry my mother. My uncle was anxious about that. My uncle married my mother but this was not a civil marriage, and then they had a child. My mother did not live with him in the same house because he had his other wife. My uncle also did not stay our home at nights. My elder sisters felt offended because our uncle married our mother. They had a child. This marriage happened in order to prevent my mother's marriage to men out of our family.²⁸⁰

And after Hamdullah Çelebi died, one of the sons of Ali Hadi Çelebi, Hasan Hulgü Rıza Ulusoy married Hamdullah Çelebi's second wife, Emine. As one of the family members explains:

After my aunt died, my uncle Ali Rıza married Emine, but we call her Naile. Before Naile, he already married but they had no child. This is why he married again. In the past male practiced multi marriages, but now there are not such marriages. Now is better than the past.²⁸¹

The last male member of the Cemalettin Çelebi branch who practiced polygyny in the Republican period was the second son of Ali Hadi Çelebi, Yusuf İzzettin Ulusoy. Apart from the custom of levirate which aims to keep the (affinal woman) widow within the family and continue to control her reproductive activities, in general, the main motive of the polygyny was to have male children. Actually, this declared motive of polygyny is suitable to what Fox says: in a patriline a man wants sons and, he expects his spouse or even spouses to produce male children (Fox, 1967:115).

The claim that men practice polygyny for having more male children was challenged by some of the Ulusoy females arguing that it was only an excuse for their desire to marry another woman. In the past however, it was the unquestionable reason of polygyny. Even, one of the wives of Veliyettin Çelebi who had no sons supported her husband's new marriage. However, she was pregnant and six months after her

²⁸⁰ From the interview with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

²⁸¹ From the interview with FUa on 07.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

husband's marriage she gave birth to a son.²⁸² Currently, not only females but also the males of the family also disapprove polygyny. In addition, according to a male member of the family:

In my opinion, the Alevi community also disapproves polygyny, however, in the past it was more a tolerable form of marriage. The last polygynous marriages were practiced by Yusuf İzzettin and Ali Rıza.²⁸³

Consequently, from the end of the 19th century to 2010, there were six polygynous marriages and fifty seven monogamous marriages, including the marriages of Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi that have been practiced by different generations of the male Ulusoy. There are two divorced male members in the family. Lastly, there are three male members who remarried after their wives died.

6.2.2 Endogamy

When my grandfather passed away, the Çelebis of Konya paid a visit of condolence to us. My mother said that they stayed at our home for three months; amongs them there was a beautiful pregnant woman [probably the wife of the Çelebi of Mevlana]. She was pregnant and I was also pregnant with you, said my mother. Our fathers decided to marry the two unborn children if one of the babies would be a male and the other a female. At that time, in our family, girls did not get married to men who were not members of our family. When I was born my uncle requested people not to tell anyone that the newborn baby is a female. The other baby was male but had mental disabilities; they did not get me married to him.²⁸⁴

This story which is narrated by several members of the family implies the pride in keeping the females within the family even if the prospective groom has a high prestige like the Çelebi of Mevlana. The endogamy rules which had been

²⁸² From the interview with AUa and HNU on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

²⁸³ From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

²⁸⁴ From the interview with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacibektaş.

exercised till the early 1980s over many of the female Ulusoyos stemmed from the special position of the females within the family as the inheritor of sanctity. Because they inherit but cannot transmit the sanctity to their children, one of the basic concerns about the females' marriage is to preserve the rights in reproductive capacities of female members. The other one is keeping the females' inherited abstract assets that can be under control and preservation only on the condition that the females practices endogamy. Thus, the position of the Ulusoy females brings about the concern over the equivalence in social position and in prestige of the prospective spouse. Actually, the Ulusoy males are the only equivalent spouses for the female Ulusoyos. However, even when the endogamy rules were in operation, there were not always suitable matches. Some females stayed single but some of them got married to males out of the family.

There are ninety females who were born into the Ulusoy lineage from the end of the 19th century to 2010. The last females who practiced endogamous marriage were born in 1961, thus, the last endogamous marriages occurred in the early 1980s. Between 1891 and 1961 forty six females were born into the lineage and forty five of them married. Twenty nine of these marriages are endogamous and, sixteen of them are exogamous. On the other hand, five of these exogamous marriages were with members of the Hüdadađlı branch²⁸⁵, who have been both distant relatives and affinal kin. Only eleven female members married male members who are outside the lineage and have no kin relation with the Ulusoyos. After 1961, forty four females were born and forty three of them are still alive. In 2010, thirteen of these forty three females were under the age of eighteen. Among the thirty females whose ages are over eighteen, nine of them married and all of those marriages are outside the lineage. In total, in the family there are fifty four married females and twenty nine of the

²⁸⁵ As I mentioned in the Chapter 3, the Hüdadađlı branch is the descendants of the grandson of Hacı Bektaş Veli, Resul Bali. This branch was eliminated from the post of Hacı Bektaş Veli on the ground of succession rules. For succession rules for the post of Hacı Bektaş Veli, see Chapter 4.

marriages are endogamous and twenty five of the marriages are exogamous, in other words, more than the half of the number of female marriages are endogamous.

Along with the generative role ascribed to males in procreation, Ulusoy males can both inherit and transmit the sanctity. Therefore, in terms of prestige and continuity of the lineage, endogamous marriage is always preferable; however, for the males endogamous marriage is not crucial for the continuity of the lineage. From the end of the 19th century to 2010, ninety males were born. Sixty three of them married. In 2010, twenty seven male members were single and seven of them were under the age of eighteen. In the lineage, six of the males practiced polygamous marriage. Including three second marriages, marriage of fifty seven male was monogamous. Thus, sixty three males married and including the polygamous marriages and second marriages, the total number of the marriage males is seventy six. Twenty eight²⁸⁶ of these marriages are endogamous and forty eight of them are exogamous.²⁸⁷

The charts that show the endogamous marriages of the Ulusoy are below:

²⁸⁶ A male member married an Ulusoy female and after she passed away, he remarried another Ulusoy female. This is why twenty nine female and twenty eight male have endogamous marriages.

²⁸⁷ The endogamy rate of the females is 54% and it is higher than the endogamy rate of males which is 37%. The endogamy rate of the Ulusoy lineage is 44%. However, the numbers of the married Ulusoy and the endogamy rates given by Massicard and Fliche (2006) is different: According to the information that they mostly derived from the registers of birth between the dates 1870s and 2006, 53 persons married outside the family and 28 persons married in the family. The lineage endogamy rate is 52%; the female endogamy rate is 57% and the male endogamy rate is 46%.

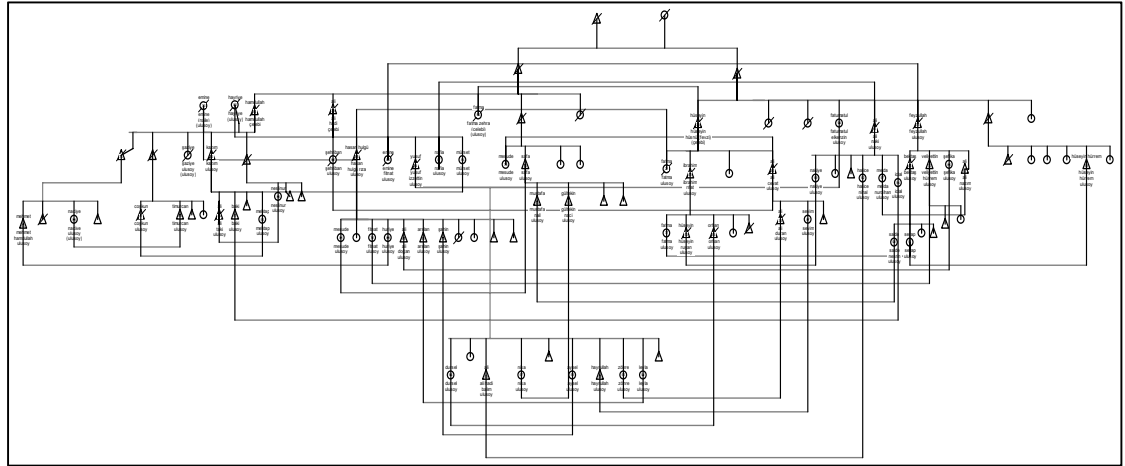


Figure 6.4 The endogamous marriages of the Ulusoy.

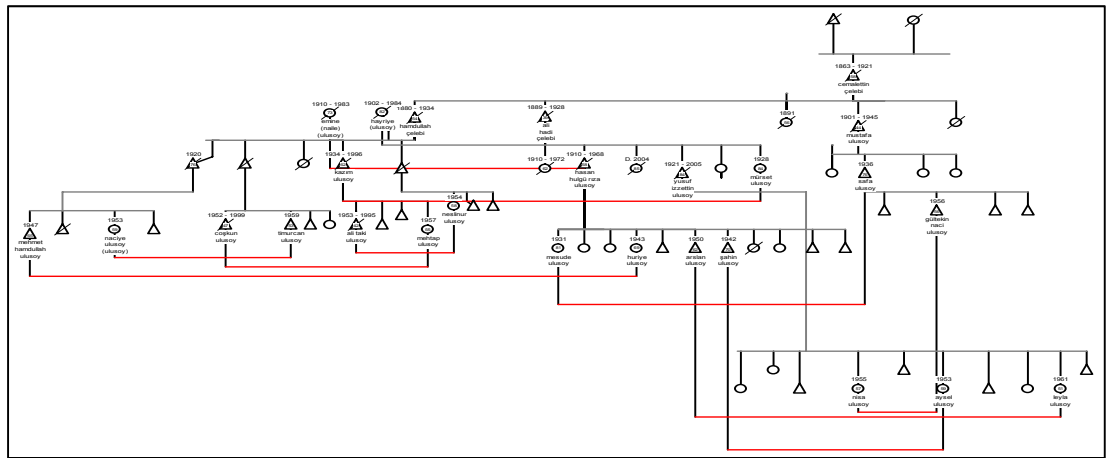


Figure 6.5 The endogamous marriages among the descendants of Cemalettin Çelebi. Nine females from Cemalettin Çelebi branch got married to males from the same branch (of Cemalettin Çelebi).

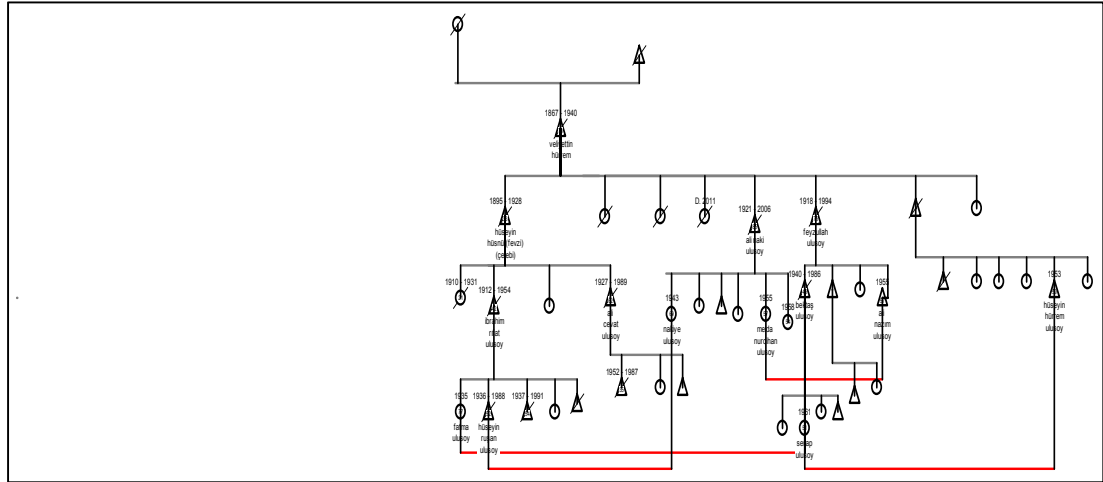


Figure 6.6 The endogamous marriages among the descendants of Veliyettin Çelebi. Four females from Veliyettin Çelebi branch married males from the same branch.

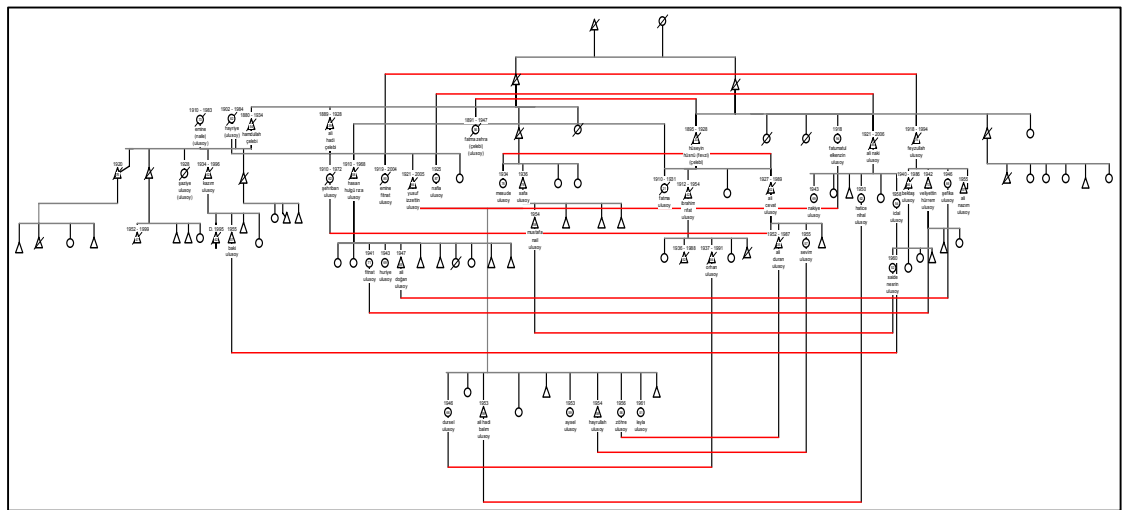


Figure 6.7 The endogamous marriages between Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi branches. Nine females from the Cemalettin Çelebi branch married males from Veliyettin Çelebi branch and seven females from Veliyettin Çelebi branch married males from Cemalettin Çelebi branch. In other words, there are sixteen endogamous marriages between two branches.

As I will elaborate in the next chapter (Chapter 7) almost all endogamous marriages of the females were decided by the elders. When I asked whether there are some rules of endogamous marriages, some female Ulusoy said that there was no special rule however, the endogamous marriages happened on the condition that there were suitable matches.²⁸⁸ According to an Ulusoy whose marriage is also endogamous:

In our family, in the endogamous marriages generally the females are older than males. You should marry whoever was the match for you; no matter whether he was son of our paternal or maternal uncle or paternal or maternal aunt. If there was no match for you, you had to stay celibate. They did not let the girls marry someone out of the family. The Alevis resented us when our family members married outside the family. They were worrying about the decline in our lineage when we got our females married to men outside the family and when our males married outside the family. They were right, now there are many people in our family, the girls get married into other families and daughter-in laws from different families are married into our family. Our family is growing.²⁸⁹

As it is stated in the above quotation, both cross and parallel cousin marriages are the patterns of endogamous marriages of the Ulusoy. There are nine parallel cousin marriages, one which is parallel and cross cousin, and one cross cousin marriage (the female is at the same time great-grandchild of male's grand-uncle). In nine marriages the females are the grandchildren of the males' grand-uncles; in three marriages the females are the grandchildren of the males' uncles; in two marriages the females are the males' paternal grand-aunts' daughter; in one marriage the female is the daughter of the male's grand-uncle; in another the female is the grandchild of the male's great-grand-uncle; and in another marriage the female is the male's maternal uncle's daughter and in a marriage the female is the great-grandchild of the male's great-grand-uncle.

²⁸⁸ From the interview with AUa on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

²⁸⁹ From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

Furthermore, marital exchange among the family members, namely brother-sister pairs is a pattern of endogamous marriage practiced by the Ulusoy. Below, there is the chart which shows the marital exchange between Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi branches:

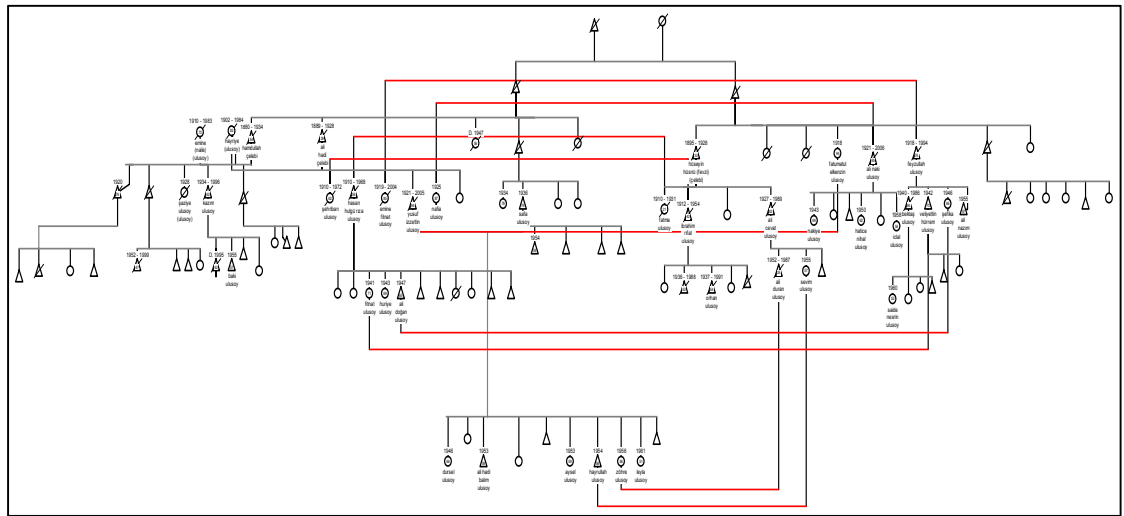


Figure 6.8 The exchange marriages between Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi branches.

The marriage exchanges occurred between the children and grandchildren of Veliyettin Çelebi and Cemalettin Çelebi's son Ali Hadi Çelebi's children and grandchildren. Veliyettin Çelebi's two sons married Ali Hadi's two daughters and in return of these marriages, Ali Hadi's son married Veliyettin Çelebi's daughter. According to a family member, when Veliyettin Çelebi's son wanted to marry Ali Hadi's daughter, Ali Hadi was not alive and as the head of the family, one of the elder brothers of prospective daughter-in law persuaded Veliyettin Çelebi to give his daughter in marriage to him.²⁹⁰ Another exchange was between Ali Hadi's son and

²⁹⁰ From the interview with FUa on 21.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

daughter and Veliyettin Çelebi's son Hüseyin Fevzi's daughter and son. Second generation exchanges occurred between Veliyettin Çelebi's two grandchildren and Ali Hadi's two grandchildren. Moreover, another exchange is between Ali Hadi's other two grandchildren and Veliyettin Çelebi's two great grandchildren. Thus, in principle, if a male who has a sister marry a female who has a brother, the brother of the daughter-in law can also marry the sister of son-in law.

Massicard and Fliche (2006) interpreted all endogamous marriages of the Ulusoyos as an attempt to strengthen the ties within the family members through alliances against structural segmentation. To strengthen the position within the family is important in order to be able to occupy a center place within the family. The acquisition of centrality within the family is also important in the struggle over the succession of the *mürşit* which is based on two controversial succession rules: primogeniture and/or being son of preceding successor.

During our conversations and interviews on marriage, some of the Ulusoyos confirmed the role of endogamy in strengthening ties within the lineage against structural segmentation. One of the young male members who said that he supported endogamy but who could not find yet a match from the lineage stressed that if there had not been endogamous marriages, the lineage would have segmented.²⁹¹ An elder family member complained about the exogamous marriages of the young generations and said: "Only through the endogamous marriages our kin relations are strengthened."²⁹²

Moreover, through endogamy the females' and their children can be kept within the family because as one of the family members said, in the exogamous marriages of the females, only one or two generations of the children of these females

²⁹¹ From the interview with EUa on 28.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

²⁹² From the interview with VHU on 30.01.2009 in Ankara.

have connection with their mother's or grandmother's natal kin and then they break away from the Ulusoy.²⁹³ Similarly, another family member said:

The girls that marry outside the family are not accepted as the members of our family. In all families it is the same, the lineage proceeds with males. For example, my sister in law and nephews whose marriages are exogamous, they all have gone away.²⁹⁴

Furthermore, endogamy is crucial to maintain the property if females inherit lineage property (Stone, 2006: 210). In the case of the Ulusoy, female members have also inherited the property since the Ottoman period²⁹⁵ but only, until the 1980s. Many females preferred to hand their inherited property on to their brothers.²⁹⁶ During the field research, although a male member of an Ulusoy family had some problems on sharing the inherited property with his sisters, who were in exogamous marriages, family members do not see the retaining of property within the family as one of the reasons of endogamy. While talking about the reasons of endogamy, an elder family member said:

I don't know [why endogamy is supported by the family members]. It is not because of the property of the family. The reason is to prevent the family from segmentation. The property is not important. For another families property is important but it is not important for us. In the past, males married outside the family but they did not allow the females to marry outside the family. However, nowadays grandchildren of my brothers marry outside the family.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ From the interview with UU on 23.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

²⁹⁴ From the interview with MUD on 05.01.2010 in Ankara

²⁹⁵ See the document dated 1845 in Turkish Culture and Hacı Bektaş Research Journal (2007) vol.42

²⁹⁶ From the interview with MUa and MUD on 05.01.2010 in Ankara

²⁹⁷ From the interview with an NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş

Except a few, almost all middle aged and elder family members whom I talked about the marriage patterns of the Ulusoy support endogamy. One of them whose son had an exogamous marriage said:

My first choice for marriage of my children is endogamous marriage. You know his/her family; you know how s/he grew up. They claimed that endogamous marriage causes diseases but my mother and father are parallel cousins and we are all healthy persons. All members of my generation who were born in 1957 married in the lineage. [...] My first choice is a member of our family, then an Alevi person and lastly a Sünni person. My daughter in law is also Sünni but I love her, she adopts herself to our family.²⁹⁸

During the same interview, the mother of former interviewee said:

I feel disturbed by the exogamous marriages. I want to them [grandchildren] marry into the family. Only we can appreciate each other. They do not marry each other and in the future they won't marry each other. They say to each other "my cousin". (She laughed) I tell my grandchildren that "don't kiss each other". They response "we are cousins" but I say "why on earth are you saying that we are cousins, don't kiss each other" (she laughed). If it could be possible, I would have made them marry each other. Are people outside the family better than the members of our family? My husband is my parallel cousin. Our parents prompted us to marry into the family. However, the younger generations are not like us, they acquire education, they are afraid of the illness because of the endogamous marriages. Illness has no direct relation with endogamy. [...] In some lineages, girls are not allowed to marry outside the lineage in order to keep the inherited property but, in our family the reason of endogamy is not this. We don't want that our girls wasted. Our girls are so cute, besides, they are well educated. However, they marry even Sünnis, not Alevis.²⁹⁹

Thus, for the younger generations, genetic disease is the basic reason to reject endogamous marriages. According to a young female Ulusoy:

I am completely against the endogamous marriages. In the past the family members got married to each other for the continuity of the lineage. However, the family members have several diseases. This is why I am against endogamy.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸ From the interview with MUD on 05.01.2010 in Ankara

²⁹⁹ From the interview with MUa on 05.01.2010 in Ankara

³⁰⁰ From the interview with MUE on 07.07.2009 in Hacıbektas

A young male Ulusoy pointed out other reasons why the younger generations of the family do not marry into the lineage:

In the past endogamous marriages happened. If two persons love each other, it can be, but endogamy is not an obligation. [...] The time is changing. You cannot find a match or even if you want to marry one, she doesn't want to marry you.³⁰¹

A male Ulusoy who married outside the family explains the reasons of decline in endogamy as follows:

I accept my close relatives as my sisters. For example I see the daughter of my uncle like a sister because we grew up together. However, distant relatives in the family are not accepted as sisters. On the other hand, to have a kin relation is not the only criteria for choosing a spouse. It is important to find and meet a person with whom you can live together. For example I see seventy percentages of the family members once a year. Under these circumstances it is hard to choose your spouse among the family members. However, in the past young people could meet and choose each for marriage. Besides that, people's worldviews and their thoughts on marriage have been changing. Moreover, endogamous marriages are also being discussed scientifically.³⁰²

As the family members also says, migration to cities, acquiring education and work of the family members brought about the elimination of old, traditional way of life based social distinction and seclusion from the public. In line with this, the growing population and geographical distance among the members of the lineage does not allow maintaining the lineage together. Those factors transformed the old, closed kin relations and brought about the segmentation of the structure of the lineage, thus, the kin relations are restricted to the close relatives whose younger generations accept each other as siblings. Moreover, although the family members who have organic relations with the disciples feel the responsibility of being a member of a sacred lineage, individualization, rather than collective identity increases

³⁰¹ From the interview with EUa on 28.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş

³⁰² From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş

and the authority of the elders decreases. Thus, the reasons behind rejecting the endogamous marriages, for fear of genetic diseases and those emotional ties which hinder them from accepting their relatives as spouses are known and accepted by the elders. During our conversations, the elders stressed that although they support endogamous marriages, for the happiness of their children they cannot force them to marry into the family and can even accept exogamy.

6.2.3 Exogamy

Although older and middle-aged family members strongly support endogamy and discourage exogamy in general, exogamous marriages practiced by males are perceived as different from those marriages that females practice. For centuries, exogamy has been quite prevalent among the males. However, in the past, there were some criteria for the prospective daughter-in-laws outside the lineage. For example, the daughter-in-laws had to be members of any the sacred guide's lineage because the disciples were accepted as fictive children of the Ulusoy (Çelebis). This was also valid for the lineages of all sacred guides; male members of these patrilineages were not allowed to marry female disciples.³⁰³ On the other hand, according to the information that I got during the field research, from the late 19th century to 2010, only seven (of the forty eight) daughter-in-laws are the members of the lineages of sacred guides, and three of them are from the Hüdadađlı branch. This was an old rule and has no validity even in the early 20th century. One of the family members narrated how her father married her mother in the 1910s as follows:

My father and my uncle traveled and looked around for girls to marry. They thought that my mother and her aunt (her father's sister) were good matches for them. My mother was twelve years old and her aunt was fourteen years old. My maternal

³⁰³ From the conversation with HSU on 30.01.2009 in Ankara

grandfather was not willing to give his daughter and sister in marriage to them. He thought that his daughter and sister were not good matches for the Çelebis; they could experience problems and difficulties in their marriages because they were not equal to the Çelebis, they were disciples. Then, my paternal grandfather threatened my maternal grandfather with excommunication (she laughed). My maternal grandfather allowed the girls to marry them and after wedding ceremony, they brought the daughter- in- laws here.³⁰⁴

Thus, from the end of the 19th century until 2010, the Ulusoy males married forty eight affinal women; however, two of these marriages were levirate.³⁰⁵ On the other hand, two affinal women got divorced and have no relationship with the Ulusoy anymore. An affinal woman who was a widow remarried a man out of the family and she has not any relationship with the Ulusoy. Moreover, there are two affinal women whose husbands' are not involved within the kin relations and the Ulusoy have no information on those daughters-in-law.

From the end of the 19th century until 2010, twenty five females of the Ulusoy have practiced exogamous marriages. Sixteen of those marriages happened before the mid-1980s, namely in the period in which the endogamy was still exercised as the rule over the females.³⁰⁶

Among the females whose marriages are exogamous, there were also four females from Veliyettin Çelebi branch and a female from Cemalettin Çelebi branch who got married to males from the Hüdadađlı branch. Those members of the Hüdadađlı branch are both distant relatives who descended from the same ancestor and affinal relatives through former marital bonds. To illustrate, the mother of Cemalettin Çelebi and Veliyettin Çelebi was from the Hüdadađlı branch; moreover,

³⁰⁴ From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁰⁵ The exogamy rate of the males is 63% and it is more than the endogamy rate which is 37%.

³⁰⁶ Nine of the exogamous marriages practiced after that date. The exogamy rate of the females is 46% and less than the endogamy rate which is 54%. The exogamy rate of the lineage is 56%.

one of the wives of Veliyettin Çelebi (Ulusoy) was also from this branch. Those five marriages are quite acceptable in terms of the social status of the sons-in law.

Through exogamy the female members of the lineage disperse out and females out of the lineage move into the lineage as daughters-in law. For the continuity of the lineage which is based on descent and kin relations, the basic criterion for the exogamy rule is that the daughters-in-law and sons-in-law have to be the member of the Alevi-Bektaşî community. Therefore, marriages to outsiders, in other words, to Sünnis are accepted as a threat that undermines the sanctity of the family. During the interviews and conversations, some of the family members said that they would not accept if their children want to marry a Sünni.³⁰⁷ One of the young males said that for him devotion to Path has priority over love that he feels for a woman. Thus, he would not have married a Sünni woman even if he had fallen in love with her.³⁰⁸ Along with the importance of the continuity of the lineage, marriages to Sünnis also presented the concern of cultural differences, as per one of the family members' opinions:

Inmarriage or intermarriage happens if God wants them to happen. However, with a Sünni probably they [her daughters] cannot get on well. Our traditions are different, we are completely different. How could they be in accord each other?³⁰⁹

Despite the fact that the family members are against the marriages to Sünnis, there are nine male members who married Sünni females.³¹⁰ Apart from two, all of those marriages happened in the 1990s and 2000s. Two of the males who married Sünni women were born in the 1950s, one of them was born in the 1960s, two of

³⁰⁷ From the interviews with ZUa on 23.08.2009; with SUE in Hacibektaş on 10.07.2009

³⁰⁸ From the interview with EUa in Hacibektaş on 28.07.2009

³⁰⁹ From the interview with HUa on 06.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³¹⁰ The rate of the male marriages to Sünni females is 12%.

them were born in the 1970s and four of them were born in 1980. Five of the males' parents practiced exogamous marriages and four of the males' parents practiced endogamous marriages. The fathers of these male members who are still alive have relationship with the Alevi-Bektaş community as did those fathers who are not alive. Among the fathers there are also two persons who claimed to be *mürşit* with reference to primogeniture as a rule of succession. However, one of these *mürşit*'s son married long after his father's death. These males were born in the 1970s and except for one, all the males born in 1980 married after their father's death. In other words, only three fathers were alive when their sons married to Sünni females.

There are also three females who married Sünni males.³¹¹ Two of these females were born in the 1960s and one of them in the 1970s.³¹² According to the information that I got during the fieldwork, all of those females' parents practiced endogamous marriages. These females acquired university education, professions and live in the cities thereby giving them opportunities to know non-Alevi; as a setting, according to Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smith (2002:419) is crucial for inter-ethnic/religious marriages.

There is no common attitude toward the members who married Sünni persons and the Ulusoy do not openly react against the exogamous marriages. However, those marriages mean breakaway from the family. According to a family member:

Their relationship with us is broken. No one could do anything about these marriages. This is their personal choice. They are not coming to Hacibektaş. [...] For years we have not seen each other. After breakaway, they could not move into the family. We see them only during the funerals of close relatives.³¹³

³¹¹ There is also a female who married but I have no information on her husband.

³¹² The rate of female marriages to Sünnis is 6%.

³¹³ From the interview with SUE on 10.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

The position of their parents or close relatives within the family and within the Alevi-Bektaşî society is also important. As a family member said:

Excommunication of a father from the community for his daughter's or son's marriage to a Sünni is the rule which is valid for all Alevi. If his daughter marries a Sünni the penalty will be more severe. Put the penalty aside, as a leading sacred lineage, marriages to Sünnis threaten the existence of our family and undermine the lineage. Marrying a Sünni is the personal choice of the family members. In the last century, especially after the 1990s, the number of the marriages to Sünnis has increased. The society has changed, Alevi community is also changing. The excommunication is still in operation, for our family, it is not in operation in the cem rituals but the tie of those persons with the family weakens.³¹⁴

In practice, excommunication rule which includes the parents' excommunication is not exercised by the family. However, those marriages are damaging to the sacred authority of their parents or to the close relatives who have organic relation with the disciples. A family member talked about her paternal uncles' worry about the marriages to Sünnis as follows:

For example, two grandchildren of my maternal uncle married Sünnis, he was mürşit (with the claim of primogeniture as a succession rule). During a conversation he said "How can we explain the marriages to Sünnis to our disciples?" I said that," Uncle, time changes, the children of the disciples are also marrying Sünnis. This is even better for intermingling with Sünnis." He said nothing.³¹⁵

Moreover, a female member whose son married a Sünni explained how they reacted against this marriage as follows:

It was so difficult for us. At first we couldn't accept this marriage. We had lots of problems within the family. However, after they married, I accept her as my daughter. She moved in our family, she took our name. Of course, at first we reacted against this marriage. My husband did not approve of my son marrying a Sünni. We were in a crisis. (She laughed) Now, they are happy and we have a grandchild. We like our daughter-in law; maybe their origin is also Alevi...³¹⁶

³¹⁴ From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³¹⁵ From the interview with HNU on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³¹⁶ From the interview with LUa on 28.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

Her stress on the possible Alevi origin of her daughter in law became quite understandable for me when I heard the same claim for another daughter-in-law. Both of the males who married those females were practicing their sacred authority over the disciples before marrying. On one hand, a possible Alevi origin of their wives might be helpful to make these marriages acceptable which are actually against the rules of Path.

On the other hand, for the family members who do not perform religious authority, the marriage of their children to Sünnis is not a problem. According to a family member:

As far as I know, during a gathering, some people told a member of our family “You were excommunicated for your daughter’s marriage to a Sünni.” He responded them by saying that “I disregard the excommunication rule, whether Sünni or Alevi for me everyone is equal.” Okay, we show tolerance toward people from seventy two nations but we have also millennial tradition, rules, and lore of our community. They shouldn’t be denied. It is a personal preference, a person can marry a Sünni but this is against our Path.³¹⁷

Consequently, the exogamous marriages to Alevi-Bektaşis are not supported but accepted by the lineage because in a community based on shared blood, the Alevi-Bektaşis are not foreigners. For the family, the problems that stems from exogamous marriages are mainly about losing control over reproductive female members and inherited property, structural segmentation of family and weak social ties among the members. In order to maintain the family’s prestige and social status, the equivalence between the spouses is also another concern. However, such marriages do not threaten the legitimacy and continuity of the lineage’s sanctity like marriage to Sünnis do. Although getting married to “foreigners”, in other words, to persons who are not members of the Alevi-Bektaş community means excommunication from community, this punishment is exercised quite differently.

³¹⁷ From the interview with HSU on 22.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş

These marriages are accepted as personal preferences of the family members rather than a familial problem and/or collective responsibility. To a great extent, the emphasis on personal preference stems from the segmented structure of the family into nuclear families rather than single monolithic entity. On one hand, this segmentation in the family structure and individualization of the members is quite contradictory to the claim of the family as leading agnatic descent group sharing the inherited blood and collective identity. On the other, due to lack of the control mechanism which can be exercised over all family members, family members avoid from taking other members' responsibility. In the case of the marriages to Sünnis, although the parents face the problems that their children cause, they can also avoid the situation whereby the legitimacy of their sanctity is being questioned.

Thus, the females who marry Sünnis naturally break away from the family and have no close relationship with natal kin. For the case of the males, especially the males who formerly exercised sacred authority, the process is quite different. They excommunicate themselves wittingly from the family and from the community. However, the solution of this problem also means the rupture of these members with the lineage. Similarly, divorce is also against the rule of the Path. As I said before, two male members divorced; and both of the males have no relationship with the family and the disciples.

6.3 “Name is like an ornament”³¹⁸

According to Bodernhorn and vom Bruck (2006:22) “names may commemorate the continuity of kinship through time”. The surname, while fixing the members into the lineage and distinguishing them from others, keep the past and present kinship ties alive. Along with that, despite the fact that some of the Ulusoy

³¹⁸ From the fieldnotes on 21.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

are not in kin relations, the reason why I put two hundred and twenty two consanguineal and affinal kins³¹⁹ on the pedigree chart is because of their shared surname which was adopted by the *mürşit* of the family Veliyettin Çelebi with the surname law in 1934. In 1934, there were only twenty eight family members, including the newborns, who took the surname of Ulusoy.

The meaning of Ulusoy is sublime lineage. A family member said that Veliyettin Çelebi chose Ulusoy as a surname because the patronymic of “çelebi” had been already adopted as a surname by one of the families from Hüdadađlı branch as a surname.³²⁰ Another family member maintained that the reason why he preferred to take the surname Ulusoy instead of Çelebi is the bad connotation of the title of çelebi which was declared as an illegal religious status.³²¹

The personal names of the Ulusoy also keep the kinship ties alive but in a different way from the surname which can be traced back to 1934. As Bodernhorn and vom Bruck (2006:21) say “it is often through naming that the dead are reintegrated into the world of the living and memories of the dead retained.” In line with this, during our conversation, an Ulusoy lady said “Name is like an ornament. Names of the ancestors are given to the newborns,” and she added that “name is like a stamp”.³²² Like the stamp of the *mürşit* which is transferred to his successor, the name of the ancestor is stamped onto the newborn and it is believed the newborn inherits his characteristics as well as his name.

Therefore, the newborn male is respected by others because of the name that he bears (actually this is a past practice, however, still in operation in the relationship

³¹⁹ Although one of them was divorced and other was remarried a man out of the family, two daughter-in laws are on the pedigree chart because they have children who bear the surname of Ulusoy.

³²⁰ From the conversation with one of the *mürşits* VHU on 13.08.2010 in Hacıbektaş

³²¹ From the interview with HSU on 11.07.2009 in Hacıbektaş

³²² From the fieldnotes on 21.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

among the elders). One of the current *mürşits* bears the name of his grandfather who was also the *mürşit* and, according to some family members since his childhood, the family members, especially the females, have shown great respect to him and he has been called “*effendi*” even by his elders.³²³ The respect that the family members have for the names intermingles with their belief of transmigration of soul which manifests itself in the names and in some cases it is difficult to separate them from each other. As in the case of the *mürşit*, his name not only retaining the memories his of grandfather and great grandfather and gains prestige but it also designate the belief in transmigration of soul which generally reveals itself in the details of the name-giving histories of the family members.³²⁴ The *mürşit* had two grandmothers and, when he was a child, he loved one of them more than the other. She called him “my man, my husband” because of his name but it was not the only reason why she called him her husband. When his mother was pregnant with him, she did not want this pregnancy. One day she had a dream and in her dream she saw her father-in-law who died nearly five years ago. In the dream he told her that she should give birth to the baby. Her sister-in-law also saw her father in her dream. Therefore, she decided to give him birth. The grandfather’s name was given to him. This is why in the past the old ladies did not, and still do not allow him to kiss their hands.³²⁵

There is also another story of name and transmigration of soul, however, this time; a female member’s soul passed into another female. On the other hand, because

³²³ From the interview with NUa on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş; from the conversation with FUa, SNU, GSU, MNU and MUE on 09.01.2010 in Ankara

³²⁴ Incarnation of divinity in human body and transmigration of soul is part of the belief of Alevi-Bektaşis. However, apart from name giving stories, during the fieldwork, the pattern of the transmigration of soul is rarely articulated to me. An old Ulusoy lady told me that after a year of his grandfather’s death, her mother became pregnant with her and the family members thought that the grandfather reincarnated as the newborn, however, as the baby was a girl, they thought that they were wrong. From the interview with NUa in Hacibektaş on 06.07.2009

³²⁵ From the fieldnotes on 13.08.2010 in Hacibektaş

the male is both inheritor and transmitter of kinship, the transmigration of males is more prestigious than transmigration of females within the family. According to the lady who narrated the story, her father's paternal aunt before dying told him that she would be reborn as his daughter. However, after she died, he had four sons but not a girl. When his wife (the mother of the lady) became pregnant, she did not want to give birth to her fifth baby. However, her father insisted on his wife giving birth because he thought that the fifth baby might be a girl. And the fifth baby was a girl, who is the lady bears name of her paternal grandaunt.³²⁶

Along with these stories, while we were talking about naming, in the narratives of some family members, the respect that is shown to the names and implicit connection between name and transmigration of soul could be recognized. For example, the family members cannot give the names of the elders to their babies while they are alive because no one could then call him by that name.³²⁷ Moreover, while explaining the reason why her husband rejected to give his deceased mother's name to their daughter, a family member said that he felt disturbed by the idea of calling their daughter his mother's name.³²⁸ An Ulusoy female, who had her paternal grandmother's name said that in her childhood her father gave her another name when he heard other children calling her "grandma".³²⁹

On the other hand, over the years, with the changing naming patterns, the names that are given to the newborns are also changing. In the past, it was the elders who decided on the names of the newborns. However, with the segmentation of the extended families into nuclear families and decline of the patriarchal authority of the

³²⁶ From the fieldnotes on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³²⁷ From the conversation with FUa, SNU, GSU, MNU and MUE on 09.01.2010 in Ankara

³²⁸ From the group interview with ZUa, DUE, UUa and Ç on 23.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³²⁹ However, her new name was unofficial and was used among the family members. From the interview with AUa and HNU on 27.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

elders with loosening family ties, parents now decides on the names of their children.³³⁰ From the ninety males who were born between 1863 and 2010, twenty nine male members were not given the names of the ancestors, other sacred figures and their names do not have any direct connotation of the Alevi-Bektaşî belief. Nine of them were born in between 1939 and 1972. Twenty of these male persons were born between 1977 and 2000. The decline in the traditional names that the family members give to their male children between these dates is crucial. Those who do not have traditional names are the children of the younger generations, many of whom live in the cities, were educated and work there. Only seven male members who were born between 1977 and 2000 have traditional names. However, currently, I observed a tendency to give to male babies the names of the ancestors. Excluding the one who was born in 2000, the last four males who were born between 1994 and 2009 have double names and one of these names belong to the ancestors, generally to grandfathers.

Thus, seventy one males take their names from the ancestors or from some important figures in the Alevi-Bektaşî belief such as the 12th Imams and/or combination of the names of ancestors/important figures and modern names. Besides that some names have some religious connotations such as Cem which is the name of the religious ritual of the Alevi-Bektaşî belief. There are forty double-named persons and the name of the sixteen persons is Ali and the name of four persons is Hüseyin. Moreover, two persons had three names. Thus, there are twenty one male who had their grandfather's name as one of their names. Generally, the members of Veliyettin and Cemalettin Çelebi branches prefer to name their male children with the names of the elders within their branches such as grandfathers, grand grandfathers or in some cases paternal uncles if they do not give the names of distant ancestors from the

³³⁰ In the past, the elders wrote the names that they wanted to give to the baby in piece of papers and then, the mother was choosing a piece of paper among them and the name written in the paper was given to the baby. From the interview with AUa and HNU on 27.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

pedigree chart. For example, there is not any Veliyettin in the Cemalettin Çelebi branch and there is not any Cemalettin in the Veliyettin Çelebi branch although some names such as Kazım, Ali, Cem are common. Below, there are some examples of the passing the names on to different generations:

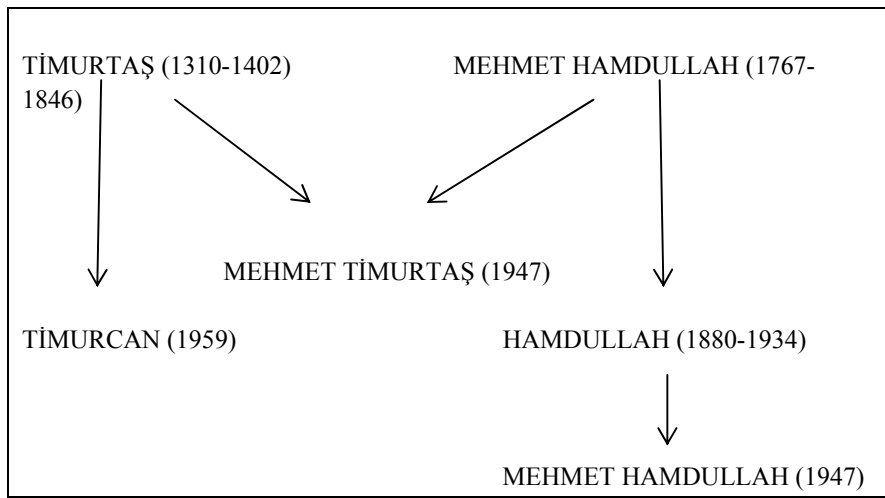


Figure 6.9 Different versions of the names of Timurtaş and Mehmet Hamdullah which were given the members of the family from different generations. Mehmet Hamdullah is the grandson of Hamdullah (1880-1934)

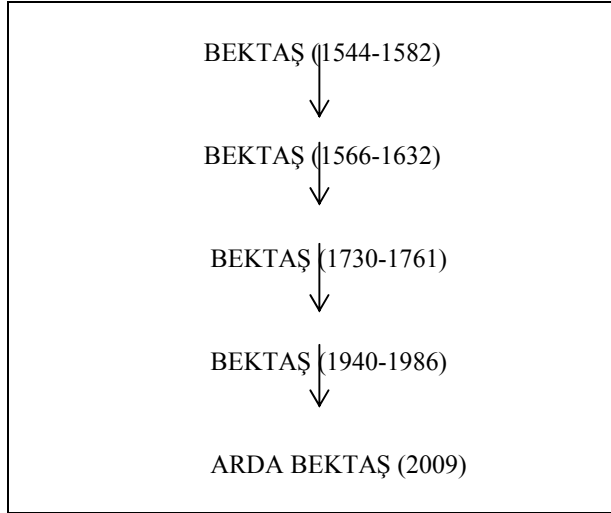


Figure 6.10 The name Bektaş given to the family members from different generations. Arda Bektaş is the grandson of Bektaş (1940-1986)

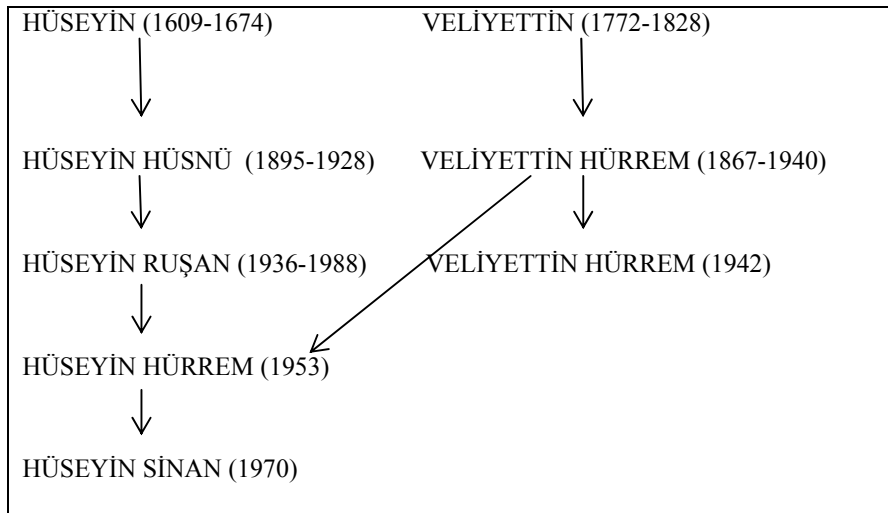


Figure 6.11 The combination of the names Hüseyin and Veliyettin. Veliyettin Hürrem (1867-1940) is the grandson of Veliyettin (1772-1828) and Veliyettin Hürrem (1942) is the grandson of Veliyettin Hürrem (1867-1940)

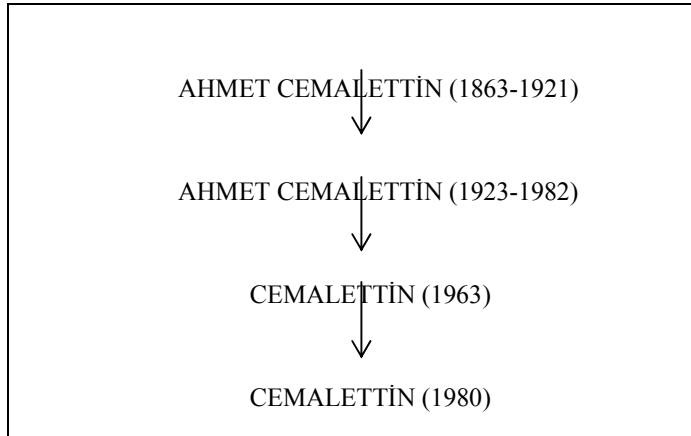


Figure 6.12 The passing of the name of Ahmet Cemalettin on to his descendants. Ahmet Cemalettin (1923-1982) is the son of Hamdullah Çelebi and grandson of Ahmet Cemalettin Çelebi (1863-1921). Cemalettin (1980) is the grandson of Ahmet Cemalettin (1923-1982). Cemalettin (1963) is the grandson of Ali Hadi Çelebi who is the other son of Cemalettin Çelebi (1863-1921).

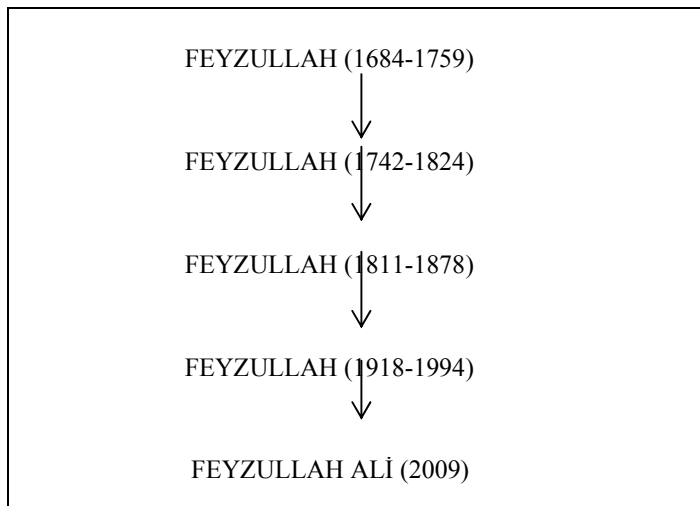


Figure 6.13 The passing the name of Feyzullah on to grandsons.³³¹ Only the last Feyzullah (2009) is the son of the grandson of Feyzullah (1918-1994).

³³¹ According to these dates, second Feyzullah was named before his grandfather died. This is a contradictory practice to the rule that the names of the living elders are not given to the newborns. Probably the date of death of the first Feyzullah or the birth date of second Feyzullah is wrong.

There are also some examples where names are passed on to other generational branches as well. The name of the ancestor Mürsel Bali (1384-1483) was given to a newborn in 1952. The name of Ali Celalettin (1808-1871) was given to his grand-nephew that was born in 1923. As a different example, Ali Hadi Balım (1953) is the combination of two names Balım Sultan (1473-1516) and Ali Hadi (1889-1928). Grandsons carry their grandfathers' names as one of their double names, as was the case with two grandsons of Hasan Hulgü Rıza (1910-1968) who have the names Ali Rıza (1969) and Hasan Hulki (1975); a grandson of Mustafa (1901-1945) has the name Mustafa Nail (1954).

Due to the fact that the Ulusoy patrilineage is based on links through males, in terms of kinship, the names of the females are not so crucial for the continuity of the lineage. From 1891 to 2009 among the ninety females, there are twenty four female who have the name of the paternal aunts and grandmothers no matter the grandmothers were affinal women or not. Because the names of the females did not feature on the genealogy, it is difficult to trace back to the names used among the Ulusoy females. There are some names such as Hatice (18th century), Zarife, Güzide, Huriye, Zehra, Şefika, Samite, Emine Fitnat, Saide, Fatma (19th century) and Naile (20th century) which were quite prevalent among the Ulusoy females from different generations. Since 1983, the names of the family members were not given to the female newborns. Thus, the last females who carry their grandmothers' name as one of their double names were born in 1983.

CHAPTER 7

REPRODUCTION OF THE PATRILINEAGE IN TERMS OF GENDER

One night Kadıncık was seized with fright and awoke from her sleep. When İdris asked what was wrong, Kadıncık said, I had a strange dream. You are a learned man, interpret it for me.” İdris then asked “What was your dream?” Kadıncık began to explain, “The full moon entered through my skirt and made its way to my breast. It wanted to leave by my collar, so I grabbed my collar. Then it wanted to leave by my sleeve, and I held my sleeve. It wanted to leave by my skirt, so I sat down and covered the ground. Then I was overtaken with fright and awoke.” İdris said, “Kadıncık, in the science of dreams the Sun stands for the Prophet Muhammad, the moon one of the erens³³². A child will come into the world from you, a child from among the erens.”(Velayetname, 2006:73).³³³

The father and son relationship lies at the core of a patriline and the generative role is ascribed to males for the continuity of the lineage (Eilberg-Schwartz, 1996:28). However, this chapter focuses on the females of the Ulusoy. There are two basic reasons for my focus on the Ulusoy females. During the fieldwork my gender put me spontaneously among the Ulusoy females, thus, to a great extent; I conducted the research among them.³³⁴ Other reason is that, as Palazzi (1996:215) puts it, male control over females and their reproductive capacity is crucial for the continuity of a male line; i.e. for the maintenance of a patrilineage. Hence, the females’ vital but

³³² Eren means saint.

³³³ The Saintly Exploits of Hacı Bektaş Veli Menakib-ı Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli “Velayetname” translation and introduction by Huseyin Abiba (2006) by Babagan Books.

³³⁴ I explained the research process in the Chapter 2.

subordinated role in the biological and social reproduction is crucial in terms of highlighting the structure of the Ulusoy lineage and its transformation during the Republican period.

The position of the female within the patriline is defined by the role which is ascribed to her in procreation. Therefore, I examine the understanding of procreation of the family by relating it to the cosmology of monotheistic religions, which is, according to Delaney (1991) embodied in the analogy between nature and female (land/planted) and culture and male (who plant the seed). In with light, the construction of femininity is based on the culture nature analogy that brings about the domestication of femininity and organizes the female's life according to gender roles which causes the asymmetric power relations between males and females. Those roles also create hierarchical relations among the females. Hence, by examining the roles of the Ulusoy females as *ana*³³⁵, mother, sister, wife, daughter and daughter-in law, I aim at grasping the transformation of the gender roles within the Ulusoy patrilineage during the Republican period. Moreover, I focus on the females' education and work to be able to understand how those public activities affect the gender roles that are attributed to them.

7.1 The Procreation

In *Velayetname* (2006:85-86) there is a story on wheat and lentils which that became stone when the villagers who harvested their corps refused the request of Hacı Bektaş Veli who wanted "something" from them. Having realized that all grain turned into stone, they went to Hacı Bektaş Veli and complained about this

³³⁵ Ana is the religious title which means mother and which is used to nominate the Ulusoy females and to the sacred guides' wives.

punishment by saying “Now it is good for nothing.” And, the story continues as follows:

Hacı Bektaş said “No, they are good for something. Let them be a souvenir for those who love us. Have a woman who has neither son nor daughter fast for three days, then on Friday night have her swallow one of these petrified grains without grinding it in her teeth. That night Allah Almighty shall grant a son to her and her husband. If they swallow a stone lentil, a daughter shall come. [...]” To this day, by the power of the Eren, the grain which became stone, pushes out and comes from under the soil and from the inside of the rocks.(Velayetname, 2006:86).

Even today, the belief in generative power of stone grains which is narrated in *Velayetname* still persists. This is an old tradition according to which the disciples who have no children receive the stone grains, especially the stone grains of wheat from the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli. This tradition was also common among the Babagan branch when Birge (1965:38-39) visited them in Albania in 1933. It was the Babas who gave the grains of wheat or lentil to their female disciples, however, as I observed, amongst the Ulusoy, only females give the stone grains to the female disciples. According to some Ulusoy females, the female disciples hesitate to request the stone grains from the Ulusoy males because the males have to describe how to use the grain. A female Ulusoy explained to me the preparation and usage of stone grains as follows:

Before giving the grain of wheat to the disciple we wax it. We rope it and tie it in three knot while saying Allah, Muhammed, Ali. The couple that takes the stone wheat should fast on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. Having fasted three days, the woman swallows the stone wheat and take a shower [shower implies sexual intercourse because she hesitated to talk about sex]. The rope of the stone grain of wheat should be tied around the woman’s waist until she gets pregnant. After she gives birth, the same rope should stay around the baby’s waist for 40 days. After 40 days the baby’s parent throws the rope or buries it. I practice whatever I learned from my paternal grandmother.³³⁶

³³⁶ From the interview with SUE on 23.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

After practicing this ritual if the couple has a baby, taking the baby, the parents visit the Ulusoy from whom they received the stone grain and, sacrifice an animal at the residence. It is believed that the baby has a mark on his/her skin in the shape of the grain that his/her mother swallowed. Although it is not a prerequisite, many of those couples give the names of the Ulusoy to their children. The stone grains designate the generative power of the miracle of Hacı Bektaş Veli. Sacrificing meat which designates shared substance and taking Ulusoy names of are the rituals performed for the procreation of a child and establish a kind of fictive kinship with Ulusoy.

However, just like the disciples who followed this tradition, according to some of the interviewees, the Ulusoy females also swallowed the grains of wheat when they wanted to have a male baby.³³⁷ Therefore, the metaphor of the grains in the narrative and in the tradition is very important to grasp how procreation is defined by the Ulusoy and in general by the Alevi-Bektaş people. The metaphor of the grain is quite parallel to the cosmology of the monotheistic religions in which seed and soil analogy is used for procreation. According to Delaney:

With seed, men appear to provide the creative spark of life, the essential identity of a child; while women, like soil, contribute the nurturant material that sustains it. [...] Some of these meanings are quite apparent in the terms “to father” and the “to mother” as well as in “paternity” and “maternity”. The perceived creative, life giving ability of men allies them symbolically with God, whereas the material sustenance provided by women associates them with what was created by God, namely the earth. In other words, there is a cosmological dimension to gender, and conversely there are gendered aspects of cosmology (Delaney, 1991:8-9).

Similarly, in her study on Ancient Judaism, Eilberg-Schwartz (1996:28) says that the engendering sexuality which is attributed to men is embodied in the analogy of seed. For Delaney, procreation is defined by the divine and creative aspect which is symbolically attributed to male and, by the nurturant and material aspect which is

³³⁷ From the conversation with FUA, SNU, GSU and MUE on 09.01.2010 in Ankara and, from the fieldnotes on 18.08.2010 in Hacibektaş

attributed to female. In line with this, in her study in a Turkish village of Sünni Muslims, she sees that the folk theory of procreation is related to a Sura (2:223) in Qur'an: "Women are given to you as field to be sown, so go to them and sow (your seed) as you wish" (1991:30).

In the Shiite belief and in its branches, the figure of Fatima holds an important position as the daughter of Muhammad and as the wife of Muhammad's cousin Ali ibn Abi Talip. The family of Muhammad (*ahl al-bayt*) is composed of Fatima, Ali ibn Abi Talip and their progeny, however, the line of descent continued only through the males. In Isma'ili argument, Fatima's "blood tie" to Muhammad becomes a sign of her nobility and purity, rather than her generative role in procreation (Cortese & Calderini, 2006: 44). On the other hand, in her study on ruling Zaydi families, vom Bruck says that in northern Yemen, it is believed that men and women are equally endowed with generative roles in procreation through their bodily substances, semen, ovaries and milk. Thus, for her, the generative role that is ascribed to females has effects on the Zaydis' claim to a distinct status relying on their descent which they trace back to Muhammad through his daughter Fatima (vom Bruck, 2005:103,104).

The fact that the line continues through males is articulated by many members of the Ulusoy family repeatedly. However, for me there was no way to speak with the males about procreation. As a single and "young" female researcher, it was also not easy to speak with the females about procreation openly. I could pose explicit questions on the role of females in procreation during two group interviews. The interviewees said that it is the mother who nurtures baby, firstly in her womb and after giving birth with her milk. However, nurturance does not mean transmission of bodily substance in terms of generative role in procreation. When I tried to open a discussion by giving the example of seed and soil analogy, they only agreed with it

but without making any further explanation of it.³³⁸ Thus, the abovementioned narration in *Velayetname* and tradition of swallowing stone grains; and, besides that, the engendering role that is ascribed to male and nurturing role that is ascribed to female in reproduction implies the patriarchal reasoning of procreation which is parallel to Delaney's claim on the seed and the soil analogy.

7.2 Transformation of the Domestic Place and the Gender Roles

The ascribed roles to males and females in procreation and reproduction are connected with the analogy of culture and nature which lead to domestication of femininity. According to Ortner (1998) and Rosaldo (1974) women and the characteristics of femininity are related to nature by defining them as irrational, dependent, emotional and private, on the other hand, men is associated with culture and masculinity defined as rational, independent and public. For Ortner (1998), female's body and emotions are seen closer to nature, however, she also partakes in cultural sphere and her in-between position makes her intermediary between nature and culture. Thus, her nursing bond with her child and her reproductive and socializing activity of new generations associates her with the domestic context which is accepted as lower order of social and cultural organization. Males, without being associated with nursing and child care, occupy higher level of interfamilial relations. Rosaldo (1974) also sees that the reproductive and child rearing roles that are attributed to women situate them within the domestic sphere by restricting their economic and political activities. Compared to men, women have few institutionalized social roles. Their roles as sisters, wives and mothers are defined by virtue of their relationship to men and of their age. Thus, the patriarchal relations, connecting biological and social reproduction of new generations with femininity,

³³⁸ From the group interviews and conversations with FUa, SNU, GSU and MUE on 09.01.2010 in Ankara and with MUa and MUD on 05.01.2010 in Ankara.

tends to situate the female on the private realm, in other words in the domestic context. Unlike the females, as Ortner (1998:35) claims: “[...] men are identified not only with culture, in the sense of all human creativity, as opposed to nature; they are identified in particular with culture in the old-fashioned sense of finer and higher aspects of human thought-art, religion, law etc.”

Following Rosaldo’s and Ortner’s arguments, I noticed that the residences of the Ulusoy, these religiously publicized places belong to the females. This is not because old, widowed ladies live there but that the residences are the living spaces of the females. Males or *effendis*, who have supervisory role in the Alevi-Bektaşî community for the continuity of the Path, relate themselves to the public rather than domestic space except for the meetings with the disciples at their residences.

When I first visited the old mansions of the Ulusoy in which the elder or middle aged Ulusoy family members live in summers, I felt that the mansions have their own rhythm and time or a kind of timelessness which is fixed in the moment which contains past, present and the future at the same time. Even though the architecture of the mansions (were renovated); the furniture within them had not been changed for years, some even dated back the beginning of the century. Photos of the relatives and ancestors on the walls strengthened my feeling about the timelessness of the residences. Even, the new residences which were built in the 1960s or later are organized with the purpose of serving a large amount of visitors but again the furniture belonged to the older generations and some souvenirs revived the long history of the domestic spaces of the Ulusoy females.

Therefore, from one aspect, these residences could be seen as the embodiment of the long history of the domestication of the femininity. In summers, some of the Ulusoy ladies live in the mansion complex where their fathers and/or mothers were born, where they and their husbands were born and raised and where some of them even gave birth to their children. Some of them also have grandchildren who visit

them and stay at the residence in summers. The coexistence of different generations within the residences and the memory of the ancestors which is always kept alive supported my feeling of a kind of “timelessness” of the domestic space which is defined as “domestic memory” by Bahloul in her study on a Jewish- Muslim multi-family house Dar-Refayil in colonial Algeria:

[...] when dealing with time, memory sought to cancel it out, to locate the past in eternity, to give it a dimension of the absolute. Domestic memory does not count time: time is an intangible dimension of remembrance of the domestic space. This remembrance flows like a river that never runs dry, re-creating a world in which objects and gestures are endlessly repeated without interruption (Bahloul, 1996:102).

In line with the domestic memory which “is woven into the structure of genealogical history” (Bahloul, 1996:102), it was not surprising when I became aware of the females’ role in maintaining and reproducing the history of the family. Thus, the Ulusoy females are not only biological and social reproducers of the lineage, at the same time, they maintain, narrate, and transmit the history of this sacred lineage from one generation to another. Along with this, many important past events and the near history, the kin relations, deaths, births and marriages are known and narrated by the females.

On the other hand, aside from its timelessness or its domestic memory within which the past, present and future of the family flourished, the domestic space of the Ulusoy females has also been transformed. During the Ottoman period, the domestic space of the females was called *harem* and the females lived there secluded from the public. Their activities were restricted to dealing with the housework and child rearing. Within the mansion complex, except for the family members no males were allowed to see the Ulusoy females till the 1920s. The male servants were also not allowed to see the females, when they served the dinner, they brought the dinner up to the second floor where the females lived and then left the second floor without seeing any female of the family. The dinner was served in the rooms of the females

by female servants. As some of the female family members narrated, the affinal women died in their early ages because they could not get accustomed to seclusion or severe control. At those times, tuberculosis was a widespread illness among the females.³³⁹

In the early Republican period, despite the Republican regime's support for female's participation in public sphere through laws on education, participation in economic and political life, inheritance rights, in general, the females participation in public life was limited (Özbay, 1999:561). Because of the Ulusoy's special sacred lineage, the Ulusoy females still lived a secluded domestic life which would also be transformed.

According to Özbay, the establishment of the Republic brought about new dimensions on modernization of gendered places. During the first decades of the Republic, in the houses of the upper-middle classes, the part of the house which was allocated to males, *selamlık* and, the part of the house which is allocated to females, *harem* lost their functions. *Harem* turned into sitting room and *selamlık* which was a symbol of household's relation with outer world transformed into reception room and opened to females. The spouses entertained their guests in these rooms and, the reception days became the way of females' participation in public life. Later, the salons or the old reception rooms were used for friendly meetings and those rooms became the public spaces in which the females existed (Özbay, 1999). Therefore, when females entered the public sphere, their living spaces i.e., the domestic space were also publicized.

The transformation of mansion complex of the Ulusoy shows some parallelism with the transformation of the upper-middle class residences that Özbay described. With the establishment of the Republic, the *dergah* was closed and the foundation system was abolished. The mansion complex lost its function in terms of

³³⁹ From the conversation with NUa and NUb on 23.07.2010 in Hacibektaş

providing accommodation to the visitors of the *dergah*. The *selamlık* which was used for the purpose of hosting the visitors had also lost its function. On the other hand, the visitors continued to visit the mansion complex secretly and because the *selamlık* was not used anymore, they were accommodated in first floors of the mansions which were allocated for the servants. Therefore, the line of the gendered places also blurred. In keeping with the transformation of the mansion complex and its gendered places, in the early Republican period, the females began to move within the mansion complex without hesitating to be seen by the servants. Shortly after, they began to go out of the mansion complex but only for special occasions. For example, they, all together went to Turkish bath and as one of the Ulusoy females said, other females of the district looked at them with great curiosity.³⁴⁰ Another Ulusoy female remembered the life in the mansion and in the domestic space during the early Republican period as follows:

Wearing scarf was forbidden, until that time men could not see the women. In the past, our family was farming and there were farmers, herdsman and other servants in the mansion complex. My mother and other females avoided being seen by those males. Then, my father said “no one wears scarf anymore, there is no meaning to wear it.” The females began to wear overcoat. Now, everyone is naked [she laughs]. [...] We sewed our cloths; there were no cloths to buy. We were crocheting, sewing, cooking. [...] Everyone did housework and cooked, there was no activity except for those.³⁴¹

Although the Ulusoy females did housework, they had also many servants. According to an Ulusoy lady:

In the past, -I don't call them servants- there were lots of persons who worked in our residences. We grew up in the arms of those women. In the past, they came to our residences when their husband remarried or when they could not marry. Now, everything is different. Everyone works, or the widows have salaries. In the past they

³⁴⁰ From the conversation with NUa and NUb on 23.07.2010 in Hacibektaş.

³⁴¹ From the interview with AUa on 18.09.2009 in Hacibektaş.

suffered from hunger and came to our residences. Now, we pay the girls who serve us.³⁴²

In the 1930s, for the females, going out of their mansion complex was a rare occasion because of the social distinction between the inhabitants and the Ulusoy. An Ulusoy female talked about her childhood in the in the 1930s:

In the past, we were not allowed to go out. When there were wedding ceremonies, the wedding presents were sent by our servants and by the kids. [...] In the past, we had gardens at Topayın village. My mother told that, while getting on the stagecoach, the traps were stretched on both sides so that they could not be seen by others. Now, when my daughter goes shopping, I want her to be careful about what she is wearing. I say her “don’t go out without putting on socks and don’t wear short-sleeved shirts. Here, people know who we are.” She says “mom, the time has changed, all of those things remained in the past.” Time has changed.³⁴³

In the early 1940s, despite the females’ rare participation in the public life out of home, their domestic spaces began to turn into places where they could participate in public life. An Ulusoy female remembered how her mother entertained the wives of some important officials as follows:

The wife of the governor of Kırşehir came to the district. My uncle wanted my mom to come to Topayın. We also went there. She appreciated my mother and my uncle’s daughter who was my mother’s daughter-in law. My mother had some meals cooked and we took the meals and went there...³⁴⁴

Even in the late 1950s, for the females, it was not acceptable to go out of the home freely. According to a female Ulusoy who was born in the early 1950s:

During our childhood, we did not go to downtown. Our elders did not go out, it was a blameworthy act. However, now, I go shopping and talk to shopkeepers.³⁴⁵

³⁴² From the interview with MUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş.

³⁴³ From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁴⁴ From the interview with NUa on 08.08. 2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁴⁵ From the interview with HNU on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

It was in the 1960s that a few of the Ulusoy females, whose parents moved to Ankara in the 1950s, acquired university education and even got employment. After 1964, i.e. with the commemoration of the festival of Hacı Bektaş Veli, a large number of disciples began to visit all residences of the Ulusoy families and thus, the residences of the Ulusoy families were completely public. Therefore, the domestic space which was, in the past, allocated to the females and where the females were secluded from the public, turned into public spaces where they hosted the visitors. The Ulusoy females, who undertook the gender roles by virtue of their relationship with males such as mother, wife, daughter or sister, found themselves in the sphere of the males i.e. in the sphere of religious organization. Therefore, their title *ana* has gained new dimensions and turned into a public role, which is also performed by virtue of their relations with Ulusoy males.

7.2.1 Being an “*Ana*”

In June 2010, I was invited to a gathering of the Ulusoy females at one of the residences of the elders of the family. I participated in the gathering by accompanying an *ana* and her little daughter. The Ulusoy females were sitting on the balcony and the downtown was in view. When we found ourselves in their presence, we kissed hands of these dignified ladies because kissing hands of the elders was the part of the ritual of greeting as a sign of showing respect. Except for two I knew all of them. There were also female disciples who were the servers and companions of Ulusoy females.

The Ulusoy females were chatting about their children; other family members, some health problems, daily concerns or some important events related to the family members. This friendly conversation became a little bit harsher when they began to discuss two sensitive topics: the relationship of the Ulusoy families with the disciples and

intermarriages to Sünnis. The conflict was between two poles were represented by two Ulusoy females. One represented the modernist understanding which rejected any traditional relationship and rules of the Path and the other represented the traditionalist understanding which was completely against violation of the rules and practices of the Path. As far as I understood, one of the ladies thought that rejecting the existing relationship between the Ulusoy and disciples would at the same time reject the title of *ana*. On the other hand, her bodily hexis, her relationship with non-Ulusoy, her moral values are what made her an *ana* whether she undertook any religious role or not.³⁴⁶

Actually, the abovementioned discussion was a kind of embodiment of the tension between the notion of being an *ana* and practicing the role of *ana*, the tension that I felt in many times when I got contact with the Ulusoy females. To be an *ana* means to be born into the Ulusoy lineage and the title *ana* which designates a kind of nobility is used for all the Ulusoy females, disregards their age. Both a female baby and an elder female are called *ana*. Further on, if an Ulusoy female marry a male out of the lineage, she could not be an *ana* anymore. Put differently, for the females who were born into the lineage, endogamy is a prerequisite for being *ana*.³⁴⁷ The females out of the lineage who married the Ulusoy males are also called *ana*. Although those females are also respected, the Ulusoy females who were born into the lineage are superior to them in terms of nobility because, only the females who were born into the lineage share the sacred blood of Hacı Bektaş Veli which was transmitted to them from their fathers. Others, as the wives of Ulusoy males and as mothers of the Ulusoy children possess the title of *ana* on the condition that they receive the recognition of the family and of the disciples.

³⁴⁶ From the fieldnotes on 27.07.2010 in Hacıbektaş

³⁴⁷ However, I realized that a female who married out of the lineage is still called as *ana*.

According to an *ana*, the females who got the title of *ana* by marriage do not prefer to use this title if they are wise and mature.³⁴⁸ In keeping with this, during a conversation with a daughter-in-law from outside the lineage told me that she is against being called *ana*:

They are calling all the females who are in our age *ana*, even they call the females *ana* who came out of the lineage. I am against this. [...] After marrying the *effendi*, our new life begins. Then, whether we are able to receive recognition or not, it depends on us. People show us their love by saying *ana*. If we can deserve this title, it is great happiness but if we cannot deserve it, the *Hünkar* would punish us.³⁴⁹

She also said that she did not participate in some rituals such as giving the stone grains to the disciples when her husband was not with her; she said that it was better if they got the stone grains from the born- *anas*.³⁵⁰

Apart from the sacred blood, what made an *ana* noble is her discipline, i.e. there are some additional values that are crucial for being an *ana*: obedience or respectfulness to elders and especially to all males of the family, moreover, modesty, purity, virtue, being self-controlled and diligent homemaker. While explaining the difference between an *ana* by birth and by marriage, an *ana* argued for the special position of the *ana* by birth: “Not only had our fathers and mothers but the whole family disciplined us, because there are rules in our family.”³⁵¹ Parallel to this argument, another *ana* explained that in the 1950s, they grew up under strict control and discipline. When children did something wrong or made a mistake, no one was cross with them but some stories on similar cases were narrated. That is to say, without being threatened or being beaten for punishment, they were educated by

³⁴⁸ From the interview with SUE on 10.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁴⁹ From the interview with (SUE and) LUE on 28.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁵⁰ From the interview with (SUE and) LUE on 28.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁵¹ From the interview with ŞUE on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

being criticized. Despite the fact that children did not feel any gender difference in their mundane life, in our conversation the *ana* said that her father was very authoritarian in his relationship with his daughters. The daughters stood up when their father entered the room and could not sit until he allowed them to sit. As well as the education which was part of the making of the *anas*, they also learnt how to perform to be an *ana* in their relationship with the disciples. As she said, in her childhood she also learnt how to behave with the visitors and the disciples who came to their residence.³⁵² Another *ana* said that:

We grow up under very strict discipline. Now, I am observing the daughters-in law, who were not from the family, their attitudes are very relaxed. We weren't and even our younger females are not undisciplined. We are all self-controlled. To illustrate, I am eighty years old, I have nieces, daughter, granddaughters and they are all the same. Even, people recognize our working women's excellent characteristics in their offices. We, the uneducated ones were proper and now our girls are educated, they are also proper.³⁵³

A young *ana* also said that they were born into this position and it is impossible for them not to learn about their family and about the rules of being *ana*.³⁵⁴ While explaining the difference between their life in Hacibektaş and in Ankara, in another interview, the young *ana*'s mother said that they behave more carefully in Hacibektaş but wherever they go, they are always self-controlled because since their childhood they have been educated to be self-controlled.³⁵⁵

Beside the nobility that the *anas* inherits by sacred blood and the additional skills they gained through education designates the statutes of both being and becoming *ana*. Moreover, with the transformation of their domestic space into public

³⁵² From the conversation with (AUa, NUd and) DUa on 17.09.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁵³ From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁵⁴ From the interview with Ç on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁵⁵ From the interview with (Ç, UUA and) ZUA on 23.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

place, the *anas* entered the publicity of the religious sphere and they should have some additional skills on performing the role of an *ana*. Thus, the notion of being/becoming *ana* and performing the role of an *ana* is interrelated but are different.

Although the role of *ana* necessitates undertaking the responsibility of organizing all the works, hosting activities and exercising some religious rituals, the *anas* have no personal relations with the disciples. That is to say, the relationship between the *anas* and the disciples has been established by virtue of the females' relationship with the Ulusoy males. To illustrate, while explaining how the disciples love her, an *ana* reveals the characteristic of the relationship between the *anas* and the disciples:

We practice what we have learnt in our childhood, youth. In my childhood at the house of my father there were visitors and, after marrying, we had visitors because of my husband who was also an *effendi*. The disciples know my children as well. I am used living with the disciples, I love them. [...] Many times, they kiss my hand because of my husband and, having learnt the identity of my father, they kiss my hand twice because of my father.³⁵⁶

Another *ana* said:

It is a nice feeling being loved by the disciples. The disciples loved my father, they loved my husband, in the same way they love my brothers.³⁵⁷

In the relationship between the *anas* and the disciples that is established via the Ulusoy males, the *anas* have to be cheerful, kind and patient. An *ana* complained about the hardship of this performance:

Sometimes, my husband says to me "You may be very kind to the people that you like and if you don't like them you aren't." I don't like some persons but they still come to our home because I behave cheerfully. I don't know how, but people derive

³⁵⁶ From the interview with (Ç, UUa and) ZUa on 23.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁵⁷ From the interview with (MUa and) MUd on 05.01.2010 in Ankara

my feelings from my gestures. My son says “Papa, why you are angry with mom, since my childhood she has been working at home.” I tell my husband “Before we married, your three sisters, your mother and lots of servants were dealing with the responsibilities of the home and visitors. Now I am alone but, tell me is there any decrease in the number of the visitors?” He says “No.” And then, I am asking: “Why are you complaining about me?” This responsibility is too heavy, you have to be cheerful, you have to be always healthy, and even I shouldn’t even have a headache. The accommodation of the visitors at our residences and their animal sacrifice makes our task harder. Cleaning all of these beds and preparing them... in the past, when my mother-in-law was alive, all of the beds and bedclothes were washed in two days and a servant prepared them. I bought bedclothes in dark colors. I could not use the dirty bedclothes for visitors who are polite, like you. I accommodate them on the upper floor. I could not give them the beds on the first floor; the beds in the first floor are also clean. Sometimes, people are using the pillows like cushion. It is very difficult to explain it people, they don’t listen. Some female visitors behave very relaxed. I know that they are good persons but what other people might think about them? [...] One of the guests was offended because they did not show an interest in them. Thousands of people are coming here, it is too crowded, and how can I show special interest in anyone? There is always such gossip and I feel sad because of it. I welcome them and ask how they are, what else can I do for them? After the memorial ceremonies all of us become ill. [...] It is nice to kiss each other but one day a group of people consisting of thirty persons kissed me three times saying Allah Muhammad Ali. I said “You are thirty and I am one. When you kiss me three times, how many kisses will they be? There is one village in Malatya and, people there kiss only our hands.” They went to my husband’s sister and complained about my words. What can I do? I have to tolerate all of them because in the house of my father things were the same. However, I don’t know what the new generations will do. Maybe my son’s future wife will undertake this responsibility or maybe she won’t undertake it. However, I hope that someone will take it and the Path won’t cease.³⁵⁸

Thus, being an *ana* is a subordinated but crucial role in the relationship between the Ulusoy and the Alevi-Bektaş community. An Ulusoy female said that her mother-in-law said “We are hosting the visitors, we are dealing with all the responsibilities about the home, not the males, we do whatever should be done.”³⁵⁹ Similarly, a young *ana* also said:

In our family, the males are in the forefront in terms of the respect that is shown them and in terms of the maintenance of the Path. However, the females are the

³⁵⁸ From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁵⁹ From the interview with FUa on 21.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

persons who handle the residences, host the visitors and control the relationship between the family members.³⁶⁰

In principle, the females' role in the relationship with the disciples is restricted to the residences and in the public aspect of the domestic sphere. The *anas* visit the disciples when they accompany the Ulusoy males. They never perform the roles of the Ulusoy males or the *effendis* who control and supervise the disciples based on the rules of the Path. The females are also excluded from the economic aspect of the relationship with the disciples even in the domestic sphere if the effendi is alive and present at the residence. As I explained in the Chapter 2, during the fieldwork, when I asked whether the females go to the places where the Alevi-Bektaş people live, an old *ana* accepted this question as an indignity to the position of the Ulusoy females held in the relationship with the disciples. Actually, she even did not support the Ulusoy males' economic relationship with the disciples. According to her:

The girls of our family do not undertake the male's role and don't visit the disciples and collect *hakullah*. For example, they invited me and my daughter where they live, we visited them and they hosted us. When we visit them, we bring presents and whether we visit them or not, they help us in the economic sense. For example, if we have a wedding ceremony they bring us presents. All of those happen mutually. [...] Our widows don't remarry. God helps them, and they have some income from their fathers or husbands. In the past, the widows had nothing, my mother; my mother-in-law had nothing. I do not appreciate collecting *hakullah*. Fortunately our children are being educated. I prayed to God to help my children for a job at the government offices.³⁶¹

Female's performing the roles of the Ulusoy males over the disciples is a sensitive issue for the family. A widow daughter-in-law who came from a different lineage is not appreciated by the family and has no relationship with other family members because she regularly visits the disciples and collects *hakullah*. During our conversation she claimed that she is an *ana* because of her marriage to an Ulusoy and

³⁶⁰ From the interview with Ç on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁶¹ From the interview with (MUd and) MUa 05.01.2010 in Ankara

because she is the daughter of a sacred guide. For her, the disciples who are wealthy should support her in economic sense because she has no other income.³⁶²

To conclude, the Ulusoy females have a vital but underrated role in the reproduction of the sanctity of the family. They organize the meetings between the family members and the disciples in their religiously publicized domestic space and by taking part in all kinds of rituals that are performed at their residences. On the other hand, qualities of being *ana* which are defined on the ground of the principles of the nobility and the role of *ana* which allows no room for social distinction that their nobility needs, engenders a tension between the notion of being *ana* and performing the role of *ana*. Like in the case of the debate at the gathering of the Ulusoy females that I mentioned before, the Ulusoy females who do not undertake the role of being *ana* preserve the idea of the notion of being *ana* by rejecting any form of relationship which endangers the social distinction required by their nobility. They also threaten the continuity of the Path by devaluing the existing rules and the transformed roles between the family and the disciples. On the other hand, rejecting this role is possible under the condition that their husbands or fathers also did not perform the role of *effendi*. In other words, rejecting or performing the role of *ana* heavily depends on the Ulusoy males and because this title is defined by virtue of the females' relationship with males, it cannot be separated from the kin relations and roles.

7.2.2 Marriage and Kin Roles

As I discussed in Chapter VI, marriage is the basic part of reproducing and preserving the sacred genealogy, so, despite the segmentation in the family structure and the split into nuclear families, both cross cousin and parallel cousin marriages

³⁶² From the conversation with AUd on 18.09.2009 in Hacibektaş

within the family still unite them. As an agnatic descent, the family discourages women's out-marriage rather than men; however, out-marriages of women are getting more prevalent than before. Among the ninety females³⁶³ of the family who were born between the dates 1891 and 2010, fifty four³⁶⁴ of them married. Twenty nine Ulusoy female got married to Ulusoy males and, there are five widows among them. Twenty five Ulusoy females got married to males out of the family. Moreover, the Ulusoy has forty three daughters-in-law and, four of them are widows.

Marriage is crucial to define the positions and the roles of the females within the Ulusoy patriline. Exogamous marriage of the Ulusoy females means splitting from the natal kin and losing the title of *ana*. For the females outside the lineage, however, to marry Ulusoy males mean gaining the title of *ana* and getting included within the patriline as wife, mother and daughter-in-law. Except for two females who married out of the lineage, I met females married within the lineage, who are single and who are affinal females. During our interviews or conversations, marriage was one of the topics that we often and easily talked; however, my informants' speech was very complicated. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, when there were no correspondence between their experiences and the male dominated values and concepts, they wittingly destroyed the meaning of their sentences by a short silence, by a slight laugh or by saying inconsistent words or sentences one after another. To illustrate, having said that they did not want to marry but their husband and the elders decided on the marriage, many of them claimed they are not forced to marry. Especially for the elders, showing willingness to marry is a shameful situation and by

³⁶³ During the fieldwork, two females of the family passed away. In 2010 there were eighty of them but in 2012 only seventy nine of them are alive.

³⁶⁴ In 2010 thirteen of the females were under the age of eighteen. Over the age of eighteen there were twenty three females who were single.

saying that they did not want to marry, they also stress that they are moderate persons. Hence, these are the stories of the females on their marriages:

My mother and my father decided on my marriage. If they say “yes” you cannot say “no” [she laughs].³⁶⁵

We did not see our [grand] uncle’s children often. He (uncle’s son) insisted on marrying me. I was 16 years old, it was childish but I said my mom that I didn’t want to marry. I cried a lot. He saw me and wanted to marry me. After marrying, we liked each other.³⁶⁶

We had already knew each other. He was four years younger than me and even I couldn’t think marrying him. He wanted to marry me. In the past, there was no wedding proposal. My elder sister told me “He wants to marry you and, I, our mother and elder brother want you to marry him.” I did not want to marry, not because I didn’t like him, but because he was younger than me. It would happen even if you want to marry or not. You could not marry outside the family, they did not ask you whether you want to marry or not. However, I was happy in my marriage, he was a good person. Although he was younger than me, I showed respect for him and he also did this. We never hurt each other. Sometimes our children hurt each other, I find it strange. Thank God, they are also happy.³⁶⁷

In our family this is a tradition. This house is our ancestors’ house. My mother was born in this house and now I am the daughter-in-law in this house. Nowadays, the youth objects to kin marriage. I mean, some of them are against it, some of them are not. It is good and bad at the same time. The elders said us you would marry and we said okay. However, there is no one who is divorced or we have no sick child, isn’t that nice? People are puzzled about our situation. [...] When my mother became a young girl, my father wanted to marry her. Think about that, at that time my father sent my mother letter through a servant. My mother told this, my father wrote that “I want to marry you but if you don’t want to marry I will drop out of the school.” He was very young at that time; he went to secondary school or high school. My mom said “I am not alone; I have my mother and elder brothers.” Then, it is rumored that my mother and father married by sending letters to each other. My mom swore that even their hands did not touch each other’s hands. Even we got older she told the same. I said mom, isn’t it normal when you wrote letters, but she did not accept it. Then, they married. They were so happy. My father followed my mom’s advices. [...] My marriage is kin marriage. I heard that he wanted to marry me. In the past, there were some problems between my father and maternal uncle (father-in-law); my father told that in no way our children would marry in the future. Then my brother married my husband’s sister and there was gossip about my husband’s wish to marry me. I did not want to marry and even my father was not positive about this marriage

³⁶⁵ From the interview with AUa on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁶⁶ From the interview with NUa on 08.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁶⁷ From the interview with MUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

but he is my mom's brother's son. My maternal aunt came to our house and talked to my mother secretly. My mother wanted her to talk to me. After a while they talked about this marriage to my father. My mom talked to my father but, at first, he did not want this marriage by thinking that my husband hosts great number of visitors at this residence and it would be hard for me to deal with it. He said "He want to marry you. He is a good person, he is respectful and the one who shows respect to elders could also appreciate you. If you want, I accept this marriage but if you don't, I won't force you to marry." I said "As you wish father." My younger brother and my husband are good friends. One day my brother saw me crying and wanted to know the reason why I cried. I explained him and he told "He is very good person, marry him without any concern." I thought that my family wanted this marriage and I married. He is really a good person; I have no complaint about him. [...] I wish that my son will marry in the lineage but I know that the girls in our family will say that we are sisters and brothers. We couldn't say that. We said okay or I would think about it. In our family no one forced the girls to marry.³⁶⁸

My husband is my relative. Our houses were side by side. Two or three years before our marriage, they were living in Zile and, then they moved to Hacibektaş. We saw each other but we weren't friends. First, his family said that he wanted to marry me but I rejected. I guess that I believe in destiny, he sent me message by someone, first I refused his wedding proposal. After seven-eight months, they came to our home and my mother and father decided to marry us. I said that I accepted my parent's decision. I did not object to their decision, it might mean that I also wished to marry him. We married and lived ten years together but my husband died because of a car accident.³⁶⁹

If we hadn't wanted to marry then it wouldn't happen. I wished I acquired university education. At that time, the political climate was chaotic; my grandfather did not allow me to acquire university education. I graduated from high school and his family visited us in order to say that he wanted to marry me. At that time my husband was a university student. And, it happened. We did not flirt with each other. There were my contemporaries who met with their prospective husband but I was not ready for marriage.³⁷⁰

Another Ulusoy female told me that she was engaged when she was 18. Her paternal aunt talked to her mother and her about her marriage. She did not want to marry because she did not know her husband except seeing him once or twice. Her paternal aunt said that she had no chance to marry someone she knew because she was not educated or worked, she had no social life. According to her, if she had

³⁶⁸ From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁶⁹ From the interview with ZUa on 13.08. 2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁷⁰ From the interview with (FUa, GSU) and SNU on 09.01.2009 in Ankara

objected to this marriage no one would have forced her but she agreed to marry. Her mother and father decided her marriage; actually her mother was also against this marriage because she also did not know the prospective husband. After the engagement, she and her husband were allowed to meet under the control of the mothers. Unlike other females to whom I talked about their marriages, in her speech she was more critical about the marriage rules of their family. She stressed that the males of their generation saw the females as if served on a plate and they chose whichever women they wanted to marry. Moreover, she was the only female who mentioned sexuality but in an implicit way: She complained about that the females grow up as if they were sexless and in her marriage she could not understand and live her gender and sexuality.³⁷¹

An Ulusoy female talked about her father's letters that he wrote to her and to her other sisters to ask their decision on marriage. If the daughters did not answer his letters that meant that they accepted the marriage. My interviewee married although she was against the kin marriage:

We decided to marry, my husband saw me and he liked me. I believe in destiny, I was against the kin marriage but despite of it I married. Our children, the new generation is completely against the kin marriage. Kin marriage shames them. They are right; they say that fortunately we did not become ill. My sister wrote a thesis on kin marriage and then she married our uncle's son. [...] In the family the closest kin marriage is ours. My husband is the son of my maternal uncle and paternal aunt. In our family everyone designates us as a positive example of kin marriage by saying that your children are very intelligent. I object it, kin marriage is over, and all of our children are brothers and sisters.³⁷²

There are also stories of the daughters-in-law from different families who married in the 1970s and in the 1990s as follows:

³⁷¹ From the conversation with (AU, NUd and) DUa on 17.09.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁷² From the interview with HNU on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

As you know, the Ulusoy visit their disciples. He was our guest and that is how we met. [...] My mother thought that the Ulusoy should marry females within the lineage and she thought that I shouldn't marry an Ulusoy. Even I thought why my husband did not marry within the lineage, why the elders did not interfere in his decision on marrying me.³⁷³

My sister-in law saw me when I went to their home as a guest and she thought that I would be a proper wife for his brother. It is nice to be a daughter-in-law in this family but at first, I was worried about it because they have lots of visitors and hosting them is not easy. However, I got used to it in course of time. [...] After we met, my husband and his family visited my family and my family approved this marriage and we married.³⁷⁴

Unlike the daughters of the family, the daughters-in-law have more concern about marriage because of the unequal relationship between them as the disciples and their husbands as the *effendis*. During a conversation when an *ana* said that the other participant of our conversation who was an affinal female tackled with the problems in her marriage with understanding, the affinal female explained that she kept on the good side of her husband who was not an easy-going person because her own position was inferior to his position.³⁷⁵

Despite the fact that the Ulusoy females also share the sacred blood, in matters of marriage they do not hold equal positions. According to one of the eldest *anas*, showing respect to males and being obedient and a diligent homemaker is very important to be a proper wife. Her husband was a calm but authoritarian person and, told her “you should make something out of nothing”.³⁷⁶ Moreover, in line with the expectations from the wives, till the 1960s, the females showed their respect for their husbands by addressing them as “*effendi*” or “my *effendi*” or “the father of my son”

³⁷³ From the interview with LUa on 28.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁷⁴ From the interview with HUb on 30.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁷⁵ From the conversation with SUE and LUa on 28.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁷⁶ From the conversation with (NUb) NUa on 26.07.2010 in Hacibektaş

or “the father of my daughter”, although their husbands call their wives’ names.³⁷⁷ During the fieldwork, I noticed that some of the females were still calling their husbands “*effendi*”. Actually, all males are *effendi*, even the young ones no matter whether the female is older than the male.

One of my informants talked about how the males are held in high esteem by the females:

We attach great importance to the males. When we have a meal, we don’t begin to eat before the males. This is our tradition; we learnt it from our elders. Even today, I don’t begin to eat before my son.³⁷⁸

While talking about elders of the family, another female pointed out the difference of the parental relationship between the generations as follows:

My paternal grandmother was an authoritarian woman; she enforced her decisions on others. My fathers were adults but they were still afraid of her [she laughs]. She was a religious person and showed great respect to males. She was the second wife of my grandfather. His first wife appreciated his marriage because his second wife gave birth to three *effendis*. Think about it, who accept second marriage of her husband? Men were sacred creatures and women were like their slaves [she laughs]. Our new generation is different. My husband says “you are not like your mother.” My mother cherished my father but not like a slave. When we visited my parents, my mother became angry with me because I did not wake up before my husband. My mother prepared my father’s breakfast and his clothes that he would wear. When she made a salad, she tasted the ingredient and used the tasteful ones. She was such a person [she laughs].

In general, the qualifications that the females should have for being a proper *ana* is quite same the qualifications that the males expect from their wives. Unlike males’ expectations on their wives, almost all the females whom I talked to, stressed that they are content with their marriage because their husbands respect them and took into the consideration their wives’ well-being. One of the females said:

³⁷⁷ From the conversation with (NUb and) NUa on 26.07.2010 in Hacibektaş

³⁷⁸ From the interview with FUa on 07.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

I tell you one another positive aspect of our family, there is no divorce in our family. No one gets divorced from her husband. Everyone tries to be happy even if they are not happy (she laughs).³⁷⁹

As well as the unequal female and male relations, in a patriline, marriage creates hierarchical relations among the females. In polygamous marriages for example, one of the wives could be more dominant than the other.³⁸⁰ Moreover, as the eldest female of the family, mothers-in-law have power over the daughters-in-law. In endogamous marriages, the mother-in-law is generally the close kin, as in my informant's case, she could be maternal aunt:

With my mother-in-law we had no problem. We were like sisters. We didn't quarrel with each other. [Her granddaughter objected to her saying that in their relationship they had no problem because her mother-in-law was her maternal aunt] No matter whether she is my aunt or not, when two persons come together there might be problems in their relationship but we did not have any. We showed respect for each other. When she requested something from me, I did it right away.³⁸¹

According to another Ulusoy:

My relationship with my mother-in-law was good, I loved her and she loved me. We showed respect to the elders, to the sisters-in-law, to the mothers-in-law. When we were together with our mother-in-law we did not talk too much.³⁸²

Unlike former informants, a middle aged female said that she was oppressed by the elder females before and after marriage:

I was oppressed by my paternal grandmother. Then I got married and I was oppressed by my mother-in-law. However, my mother-in-law was different from my

³⁷⁹ From the interview with ŞUa on 25.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁸⁰ From the conversation with NU on 23.07.2010 in Hacibektaş

³⁸¹ From the interview with (BUb, MUE and) FUA on 07.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁸² From the interview with MUA on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

grandmother, for example she was not against exogamous marriages of her daughters.³⁸³

According to the Stone, in a patriline married-in or affinal women could be seen as the threat for male patrilineal solidarity (Stone, 2006:112). Although I heard that males of the family often say it is the females who control and govern the family, in general females tend to perceive the affinal women as ambitious and as a threat for the solidarity of the lineage. According to an *ana* by birth:

The affinal women have power over their husbands. The females of our family shows respect for their husbands, we were educated in this manner.³⁸⁴

The shared feeling of uncertainty about affinal women is expressed by a disciple as follows:

During a conversation with one of my effendis about some problems of the family, I argued that the problems stem from the affinal women. He said “you are right but this is only one aspect of the problem. Not everyone behaves with good will. Being daughter-in-law in this family is great felicity but only if this person could grasp it. It is wrong to be more royalist than the king.” The females within the lineage are more respected but there are affinal women who fit into the family well and to whom the disciples feel loyalty.³⁸⁵

When I asked questions about the relationship between kins, they generally said that they are in a close relationship with relatives if the female is also a kin. Therefore, to be kept within the core of the relations of the lineage, the wife’s position is crucial. If she is from within the lineage, the relationship with other family members is stronger. As one of the family member said she has good relations with the close kin but she does not prefer to have close relation with affinal women because they are ambitious.³⁸⁶ Thus, the uncertainty about the affinal women are also

³⁸³ From the interview with SUE on 10.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁸⁴ From the interview with MU on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁸⁵ From the interview with disciple Niyazi Y. on 18.09.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁸⁶ From the conversation with AUa, DUa and NUd on 17.09.2009 in Hacibektaş

expressed when we talked about motherhood, it is believed that the personality of the children depends on the mother and her motherhood.

7.2.3 Motherhood

About the ideology of patriarchy and of mothering, Chodorow says “[...] objectification and devaluation of women and expectations of total maternal investments themselves are products of a historically deepened association of women with the domestic sphere and with maternal responsibilities” (Chodorow, 1981: 508). In keeping with this, in the Ulusoy patriline, motherhood is defined on the grounds of carrying, nurturing and rearing the children. Except for carrying the baby, no other role is ascribed to females in procreation. However, in contrast to women’s passive role in procreation, in terms of rearing and socializing the children, the mother’s role is quite active. During the fieldwork, the informants generally referred to motherhood when we talked about familial relations or about some events that are disfavored. One of the male members of the family said that the females have a decisive role over their children whose Characteristics of children depend on mother. So if the mother is ambitious³⁸⁷ and acquisitive³⁸⁸ her children will be also the same. During an interview, by criticizing some members of the family not included in the kin relations, another female said: “It is the mother who educates the child.”³⁸⁹ Another female Ulusoy also stressed the importance of the mother’s character for maintaining children’s relation with other family members.

³⁸⁷ From the conversation with HSU on 25.12.2009 in Ankara

³⁸⁸ From the interview with HNU on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁸⁹ From the interview with FUa on 31.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

Thus, not only the child's character is associated with the mothers, but also her/his position within the family, his/her future life in terms of acquiring education, having a profession and choosing a proper spouse. While complaining about her husband's being deprived from his grand grandfather's inheritance, an affinal female was saying "if you have a mother you prosper, if you have no mother you lose."³⁹⁰ In the past, in polygamous marriages the mother's decisive role in their children's life became more concrete. In accordance with the mother's attitudes towards children, especially to their step children, the relations between them could be quite good or bad, or in extreme cases the step children split up with the step mother.³⁹¹ Put differently, being motherless or in the case of polygamous marriages, mother's subordinated position against his husband's other wife means the children's vulnerability within the relationship of the lineage.

Since male children are important for continuing the lineage, females in the past gave birth to many children.³⁹² During the Republican period, the transformation from extended family into nuclear family meant that the number of the children couples had declined. While the first generation of the females gave birth to approximately four children, second generation gave birth to three or two children. The females from the third generation however, gave birth to two children or one child. According to an old Ulusoy lady:

Our children were well-behaved but now, children are not well-behaved. My granddaughter asks "grandma how could you gave birth to so many children?" Even if there were servants, the responsibility of children is on the parents.³⁹³

³⁹⁰ From the interview with AUb on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁹¹ From the interview with SUE on 10.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁹² From the interview with AUa on 27.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁹³ From the interview with NUa on 06.07. 2009 in Hacibektaş

In a patriline, to give birth to a male is both the task and prestige of the females it empowers their position within the lineage. According to a female Ulusoy:

When we were pregnant, it shamed us and we tried to hide it. However, the younger females do not hide it; even they are putting their hands on their belly and they show that they are pregnant. I blame them for this. There is no meaning to feel ashamed of pregnancy but showing it is also not proper behavior. We especially wanted to have sons, it is because through the males the line continues. He has the surname of Ulusoy and this not matter whether his mother is from the lineage or from outside the lineage. However when the girls marry outside the lineage, their surname is changed.³⁹⁴

Another female also said:

The boys are always more precious than the girls. My daughters say you cherish your son. My mother-in-law was also the same; she cherished the males, because we learn it so.³⁹⁵

During our conversations and interviews on motherhood, while explaining their relationship with their sons, the females also stressed that it is not the males but the females who cherished the male children more:

My father was a good person. He loved her daughters very much. In the past, when the baby was a girl, this displeased the family. My mother told that she felt upset when people told that she gave birth again to a girl but my father did not displeased because of it. You cannot decide on whether the baby will be girl or boy. I have five daughters. After two girls, I gave birth to a boy. My mother-in-law said that it would be better if you gave birth to another boy and so that I gave birth to three girls as well.³⁹⁶

According to another female:

³⁹⁴ From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁹⁵ From the interview with FUa on 31.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁹⁶ From the interview with NUa on 08.08. 2009 in Hacibektaş

We are five sisters and a brother. My father did not cherish him because of his gender but my paternal grandmother cherished my brother. My brother also did not seem to feel himself superior to us because he is male.³⁹⁷

The question why the females rather than the males care for their male infants could be answered by looking at Chodorow's (1974, 1981) arguments. Mothers identify with their daughters and tend to see them as their extensions while they encourage the boys to become separate and autonomous. Thus, mother reflects on her daughter her own feelings about being female in patriarchal culture and cherishes the boys more than girls. In other words, from the aspect of producing gender roles, mother produces mothers. Girls keep their attachment to their mothers and identify themselves with mothers and other relative females. This is what one of the informants who grew up during the 1950s had to say about the chain of continuity between mothers, daughter and other close kin females: "Unlike the current individualism, in the past we felt that we were part of a whole. Grandmothers, aunts and the mothers brought up the children together."³⁹⁸

Another informant talked about how she was raised by her mother as a prospective daughter-in-law and mother although she wanted to be educated and had no interest in housework. More interestingly, because her father was not an oppressive person, her mother threatened her with punishment to be inflicted by her maternal uncle when she objected to her mother.³⁹⁹ Her father was a man who cherished his daughters; he never forced or threatened them.⁴⁰⁰ In the

³⁹⁷ From the interview with HNU on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁹⁸ From the conversation with (AUa, NUd and) DUa on 17.09.2009 in Hacibektaş

³⁹⁹ From the conversation with (NUa and) NUb on 26.07.2010 in Hacibektaş

⁴⁰⁰ According to Kandiyoti (1997: 123), the Republican regime's modernization attempts affected the definition of paternal role as well: "The remote, authoritarian father figure began giving way to a new intimacy and paternal involvement. The modern father had a special link to his daughters, who were valued, educated and nurtured [...]." Thus in this case, the father is closer to the modern father rather than the "old" paternal figure.

abovementioned mother daughter relationship, the changing paternal role is important because the mother attempted to preserve the paternal figure and even she tried to substitute the maternal uncle for this figure.

On the other hand, unlike their mothers, many of the second or third generation Ulusoy females of the Republican period were idealizing to get educated and work. They then urged their daughters to educate and work rather than prompting them to undertake the domestic roles. OneUlusoy female said she always urged her daughter go to study and become an independent woman.⁴⁰¹ Although some women are happy with less dependence on and confinement to the domestic space, they had also some concerns about the discontinuity of the tradition. According to an Ulusoy female:

“Our girls gained their freedom, there were great changes. However, the conventionality declines.”⁴⁰²

And another Ulusoy female said:

I am happy because our girls acquire education; on the other hand, the lore on Alevi belief which was prevalent in my mother’s time is now absent. In our childhood, in our youth we were in Hacibektaş and we were together with the disciples. However, our girls and boys are studying now and cannot stay in Hacibektaş for a long time. They are deprived of the lore of Alevism. They do not grow up as we grew up, their worldviews are different. In our family, there are only a few who participate in the cem ritual among the persons who were born in 1980.⁴⁰³

For the Ulusoy females, acquiring education and participation in employment are crucial factors for gaining freedom in terms of escaping the restrictions of

⁴⁰¹ From the conversation with (NUa and) NUb on 26.07.2010 in Hacibektaş

⁴⁰² From the interview with (FUa, GSU, MNU and) SNU on 09.01.2010 in Ankara

⁴⁰³ From the interview with (MUa) MUD on 05.01.2010 in Ankara

domestic space and entering the public life actively. Therefore, in the next sections, I explore the education and work of the Ulusoy females during the Republican period.

7.3 Entering the Public Life

7.3.1 Education

Before the constitution of the Republic, for the Ulusoy females, literacy was seen as dangerous in keeping the females under the control of males. On the other hand, the males taught females how to read. According to an interviewee:

My mother could read but she couldn't sign. In old times, they did not teach the girls to write so that they would not become "witch" (she laugh); so that they would not write letters to others. Girls knew how to read but they couldn't write. My step mother also could read but could not sign.⁴⁰⁴

After the establishment of the Republic, the idea of the female's education in public schools had gradually begun to gain acceptance by the males of the family. During other interview that I conducted with the same interviewee, she talked about the national schools which were launched in 1929 in order to teach the adults the new script; her elder sisters attended such a school:

When the new alphabet was introduced to the public, my father already knew it and he taught my elder sisters. At that time, public schools were opened. We had an outer mansion which has been now demolished. My father allowed converting this mansion into school and, all the women learnt the new script there. My sisters received their diplomas in two months. I did not go to school; they did not allow me to go to school. At that time, girls were running away and they did not allow me to go school because girls and boys were educated together. I learnt to read at home. I am only literate, no more than this. My father taught me, he said write this and read that. Through this way I learnt to read at home.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁴ From the interview with AUa on 27.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

⁴⁰⁵ From the interview with AUa on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

As she said, girls were prevented from attending public schools where girls and boys studied together. With establishment of mandatory primary schooling in the mid-1920s (Rankin & Aytac, 2006:26), the females who were born in the 1920s and 1930s were allowed to go to school but they could receive education for only two or at the most five years. Nine females were born in the 1920s and in the 1930s and six of them attended primary school. However, only two of them were allowed to graduate from the primary school. According to an Ulusoy female:

I went to school. However, my father was not alive. I attended a neighborhood school (in Tokat). I attended primary school till the third class. I was a successful pupil but my uncle said that there is no meaning in educating me and I was fatherless. Even the gendarme forced my uncle to send me to school but my uncle said no. Thereabouts, he got sick and he died. I couldn't get an education.⁴⁰⁶

Her sister attended primary school in Hacibektaş after they returned there in 1934. She explained it as follows:

I came to Hacibektaş when I was 6 years old and I was sent to school. Firstly, they did not want to accept me to the school because I was younger than other students. Then they understood that I was able to read, and then they accepted me. At that time seven was the age to begin school; I don't know whether it is still the same now. After attending the school for four years, my brother didn't send me to school. Even my teacher came to our home and asked my family to sending me to school but my brother didn't consent to send me to school. I was a precocious child and this is a small district. I wish I had had much education...⁴⁰⁷

Similarly, another female of the family who attended primary school in the early 1940s said that:

My maternal aunt would go to school but my mother-in-law [her elder sister] didn't send her to school. Her uncle didn't send her to school by saying girls should not go to school. My father also didn't send me to school after the second class, again

⁴⁰⁶ From the interview with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

⁴⁰⁷ From the interview with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

saying that girls did not go to school. I can read somehow, I can put my signature, read newspapers. If my eyes are healthy I can read, if they aren't, I can't read. They didn't allow girls to go out; this is why they didn't let them go to school."⁴⁰⁸

However, unlike other females, one of the female Ulusoy said that her father supported her education but she did not want to go to school. According to her:

I started with primary school until the fourth class. My father was willing to sending to me school. He said that "at least, you should have finished the secondary school." I was a shy person, I am still shy but my deceased father told me "you would be relaxed person if you attended school."⁴⁰⁹

Thus, the education of the females depended on their fathers' or other older males' initiative in educating the girls. Among the females who were born in the 1940s, there are females who were not allowed to continue after primary school, at the same time, there are also females who acquired university education. In other words, among the eleven females there are four females who got primary school education, four females who got high school education, one female who did not finish her high school education and two females who got university education. As well as the father's initiative in females' education, migration to big cities in the 1950s and in the 1960s had a great effect on the females' education because during those times, in the district there were no education facilities after secondary school. Moreover, the eldest daughters were in a disadvantageous position when compared to their younger sisters in terms of accessing to education. To illustrate, during a conversation with a mother, her oldest daughter and her youngest daughter, the oldest daughter who was born in the 1940s said that she wanted to go to school but had to discontinue after primary school because her father said that she was grown up. Her father's reasoning was the same for other females who were not allowed to go to school in the 1930s and 1940s. Her mother also said that her husband did not permit her to go to school

⁴⁰⁸ From the interview with FUa on 07.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

⁴⁰⁹ From the interview with MUb on 24.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

because during that time girls were running away. The growing up of a girl means entering puberty which indicates the danger of having any relationship with the boys. The interviewee added that, she could not go to school but her uncle allowed her to use his personal library, by saying that “the aim of going to school is getting a skill for a profession; you could educate yourself without going to school.” She was thus able to read most of the classics in her early youth. Later she attended many art school courses designed for girls in order to learn handicraft skills. The concern of preserving the purity and modesty of girls by secluding them from the public and especially from boys and the need to get formal training only for getting jobs, were the basic factors prevented girls from continuing their education. However, unlike the eldest daughter of the family, her little sister who was born in the 1950s could attend high school and through distance learning she could also acquire university education.⁴¹⁰ Another female who was born in the 1940s was complaining about unequal opportunity for boys and girls to acquire education. According to her, her family moved to the city when her younger brother was about to start high school. And, although she was a much hardworking pupil than her uncle’s son who was her contemporary, he acquired university education but she could not graduate from high school.⁴¹¹

For many of the females who were born in the 1950s acquiring education was much easier when compared to their elder sisters’ or to their female relatives. Among the twelve females, there were three females who graduated from primary school; two of them dropped out of secondary school, two of them graduated from high school and five of them graduated from university. According to one of the females who dropped out from the secondary school:

⁴¹⁰ From the conversation with AUa, DUa and NUd on 17.09.2009 in Hacibektaş

⁴¹¹ From the conversation with NUb and with NUa on 06.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

I didn't attend school after the second year of the secondary school. I attended the first year of the secondary school in Hacibektaş, that year I failed. I guess I was a little bit lazy. Then we moved to Ankara, because my father was deputy at that time. I attended the second year of school in Ankara. I had to take some make-up examinations. My father brought me to the school for the first examination but he didn't let me take the second examination although he was an enlightened person, so I failed automatically.⁴¹²

Another Ulusoy female said that:

I dropped out of school when I was in the second or third class of the secondary school. I dropped out of school willingly. My mother insisted on me continuing my education. Later on, I regretted dropping out of school, like other people who did the same. However, at that time, I didn't want to go to school.⁴¹³

Another Ulusoy explained her personal effort to continue her education as follows:

I wanted to be a doctor but I could not pass the exam. After I got a job in a bank, distant training (education through letters) had begun. When I was in high school I was the best person at math course and, I took the exam for distant education. I was getting through mathematic department. I went to school while I was working. In the summer holidays I went to school and in the winters I received a report for attending school. We took lessons for three months, like the Open University. We educated by distant learning but it was a good education.⁴¹⁴

Many of the females who were born in the 1960s are the children of the parents most of whom are the second generation of the family during the Republican period. Furthermore, their parents had already acquired formal education (the degrees of education that they acquired vary from primary school to university). For them education of girls was acceptable, however, some of the elders thought that getting university education is not necessary for females because they were against the female's work. According to an Ulusoy:

⁴¹² From the interview with ZUa on 13.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

⁴¹³ From the interview with NUc on 30.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

⁴¹⁴ From the interview with HNU on 18.08.2009 in Hacibektaş

My little sister stood up to the family and was able to finish the university. I also resisted but wasn't able to resist like she did, I couldn't do what she did. She succeeded. I was eager to attend the university after the high school but my grandfather didn't allow me to do it.⁴¹⁵

Thus, among the eight female who were born in the 1960s, one of them did not finish her secondary school education, two of them graduated from high school and five of them graduated from university. Those who were born after 1970 are the children third generation parents. Their education was supported by their parents and they have shared equal opportunities with males in terms of acquiring education. Among the twenty six females who were born between the dates 1974 and 1992, fourteen of them graduated from university, in 2010, six of them were university student; three of them graduated from high school; one of them dropped out of the secondary school and one of them did not get education due to some special reason.

In general, for both males and females, the level of education is high. In the early Republican period, the females were deprived of acquiring education due to concerns about the females' participation in public life and losing control over the females. The migration to the cities in the 1950s and 1960s paved the way of the education for many females although males were encouraged more for acquiring education. Since the 1980s, many females acquired university education and shared the same opportunities educated males.

7.3.2 Work

For the females, getting a profession and work means acquiring more autonomy and ending the financial dependence on males. Thus, female participation in employment presents a great threat to patriarchal relations and the patriline. In line with this, to a great extent, working Ulusoy females means dissolution of the

⁴¹⁵ From the interview with SUE on 10.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

patriarchal structure of the lineage. In the late 1960s, four females of the family were employed, two of them graduated from the university and two of them graduated from high school. They were a civil servant and/or teacher and all of them married outside the lineage. There was also a female who was educated but could not work due to several reasons. According to her:

My contemporaries couldn't get education. I graduated from vocational high school. And I became a teacher, tailoring teacher. I was appointed to a school in Muş, but at that time my father was ill and couldn't send me there. 35 years ago there were problems about transportation and, my father couldn't find a companion with me to go to Muş. I could not be a teacher. I am not sad because of this, I got married, and I have children. However, sometimes, I say that if I could work, how nice, I would have been retired. Now, I have nothing. [She laughs].⁴¹⁶

In the 1970s, five females also were employed and all of them graduated from university and apart from one, all of them married within the lineage. According to one of the females who began to work in the 1970s:

I have some relatives older than me who have a profession, the daughters of my uncle and the daughters of my maternal uncle who lived in Ankara. Formerly, they did not permit the females to work with the effect of the social pressure; they thought that the working females could not save their honor. We worked and everybody held us as a model... I am proud of myself, while getting retired; they said to me that I am a unique person. Our elders realized that we preserved our honor although we worked and they let younger generations to educate and work. Now, our children are obsessed with educating and working. In my youth, I was angry with my contemporaries who did not work. Some of them preferred early marriage and some of them were under the pressure of their elders and could not work.⁴¹⁷

In the late 1980s, 1990s and 2000s fifteen female Ulusoy were working and eight of them were single and seven of them married out of the family. They were bank employees, lawyers, civil servants and teachers.

Thus, there were twenty four females who were employed. The oldest of them was born in 1945 and the youngest one was born in 1984. Those females are half of

⁴¹⁶ From the interview with HUA on 06.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

⁴¹⁷ From the interview with HNU on 18.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

the total number of the females who were born between these dates. In other words, between the years 1945 and 1984, forty eight females were born. Among the twenty four females who are employed, four of them married within the lineage; twelve of them married out of the lineage and eight of them are single. Although all of the single females and those who married within the lineage have relationship with the disciples as a member of the family, any of those females take the traditional role of *ana*.

Among the twenty four females who do not work, one of them is still a student. Eleven of them married within the family; five of them married out of the family and eight of them are single. Three of the females who have endogamous marriages do not actively take the role of *ana* because their husbands do not undertake their traditional roles.

Actually, for the working females, the coexistence of the traditional identity and the formal identity within the workplace is a little bit problematic. According to an Ulusoy female who is now retired:

While working, I never said to my workmates that I am a descendant of Hacı Bektaş Veli. I had a workmate with whom I have a warm relationship, one day she said that “whenever I plan to phone you, you call me up; it is because I am the descendant of a *dede* (sacred guide).” I responded her by saying “I guess that I am the descendant of Hacı Bektaş Veli.” [She laughs] To be honest, I am not sure whether I am a descendant of him or not. [...] When I saw some Alevis working at lower levels I felt sad thinking why our people are not in higher working positions. They called me “*ana*” (mother) and in privacy I told them not to address me “*ana*”. Even today, I get angry whoever addresses me “*ana*”. Sometimes they said “*ana*” and sometimes “*anne*”. One of my workmate who is a Sünni heard that and began to address me as “*ana*”. The Alevis in my workplace were always respectful to me and I was supporting them secretly.⁴¹⁸

During the fieldwork there were also some Ulusoy females who were looking for a job, the reason why they do not work was that they could not find a suitable job.

⁴¹⁸ From the interview with HNU on 18.08.2009 in Hacıbektaş

Unlike the former generations, all the Ulusoy support employment for Ulusoy females in employment. One of the family members explained the hardship of being without any profession and income as follows:

In the past, the females who were single necessarily lived with their brothers because they did not work and earn money. Nowadays, the working females do not live with their brothers and with their parents. However, if you don't work, you have to live with them without making any objection. You succumb to the decisions of others whether it is good for you or not.⁴¹⁹

Aside from the Ulusoy females, there are also some⁴²⁰ affinal daughters-in-law who work. These are the females who do not undertake the role of an *ana* in a traditional sense because with the exception of a few males also do not participate in effendi-disciple relationship.

To conclude, in the Ulusoy patriline the females as the biological and social reproducers of the new generations were situated within the domestic sphere. After the establishment of the Republic, the Ulusoy females began to participate in public life first in their domestic spaces when these spaces were publicized. However, the publicized domestic sphere strengthened their domestic roles. At the same time, publicized domestic sphere gave the Ulusoy females a crucial role in reproducing the sanctity of the family except for their role of reproducing the new generations in biological and social sense. Further on, education and work brought about the transformation in the traditional gender roles in terms of providing a relative independence of the females from the domestic space, and thus, from patriarchal division of labor.

However, when compared to the high education level of the Ulusoy females, their employment rates are low. In line with the rapid industrialization and

⁴¹⁹ From the interview with FUA on 09.01.2010 in Ankara

⁴²⁰ As far as I could get information there are five daughter-in laws who work. The age of the daughter in laws varies but all of them are married third or fourth generation Ulusoy males.

urbanization in Turkey, in the 1960s and 1970s the female employment increased; so, some of the Ulusoy females could also be employed in the service sector. Despite the fact that the female education level increased, when compared to former two decades or including the 1980s, to former three decades, since the 1990s the Ulusoy females' participation in employment has been decreased. Low employment may be due to the lack of suitable jobs for the Ulusoy females' education and their social position which is also related to decrease in female employment rates at national level.⁴²¹

⁴²¹ See the article of Buğra, Ayşe and Yakut-Çakar Burcu (2010) "Structural Change, the Social Policy Environment and Female Employment in Turkey" in *Development and Change* 41 (3): 517-538

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

“These are the most dangerous times that we have ever experienced. In the past, they were killing Alevis, now they are also killing the Aleviness” said the *mürşit* Veliyettin Ulusoy during our last conversation in July 2012. He was saying this not because he felt desperate; on the contrary, since 2010, he has been organizing meetings with the sacred guides, *zakirs*, disciples, Alevi intellectuals, and researchers all over Turkey and abroad to establish unity under his sacred authority. Actually, since 2006, he has been working on establishing the unity within the Path with the collaboration of some of the Alevi-Bektaşî organizations. In line with this, he protested “Alevi opening” of the JDP, and, in order to protest discrimination against the Alevi-Bektaşîs, he participated in the demonstration held in Ankara in 2008 and gave a speech there. Besides that, for years, he has been using media channels in order to be more visible in the public. Thus, nearly nine decades after the abolition of the *dergah*, and, for the first time in Republican history, as the *mürşit* of the Alevi-Bektaşî Path, he reclaims his authority publicly over the Alevi-Bektaşî community. Moreover, he offers institutionalization of the Path in sync with the contemporary world.

His public visibility as *mürşit* which challenges marginalization, discrimination and assimilation can be easily connected with the process of resurgence of religion which is designated by Casanova (1994) as “deprivatization of religion” during which marginalization and restriction of religious traditions into

private sphere has been questioned. Therefore, it is obvious that the presupposition of the secularization theories of decline and privatization of religion in an “inevitable” relation between secularization and modernity is no more valid.

However, while resisting privatization and marginalization, religious traditions have also been transformed and redefined by their members. In this regard, in his speech given in the “unity in the *dergah*” meetings held on 10-11 September 2011, Veliyettin Ulusoy put forth oppression and discriminatory policies of the “modern” state, the components of modernization such as industrialization, urbanization and migration, defining the dissolution of the traditional structure and the current problems of the community, some of them being lack of unity, lack of institutionalization, assimilation, and deformation in rituals.

His reclaiming of the leading authority and call for unity postulates veneration to his inherited sacred authority which has actually been challenged since the early 19th century and even deemed illegitimate, after the establishment of the Republic. Yet, there remains a question of how this sacred authority which is transmitted by a genealogical chain, could survive, and could be maintained thus far. This ethnographic study arose from this question. To that end; firstly, I examined the family by situating it into an historical context in order to follow transformation of the sacred authority in accordance with the changing historical contexts. For me, as a researcher who is not an expert in the discipline of history, it was difficult to research the family circumstances during the Ottoman period. However, the difficulty stemmed not only from the lack of my skills but also from the existing dominant historiography in this field, which ignored the Çelebi (Ulusoy) lineage.

Thus, it was eye-opening for me to learn that during the Ottoman period, the Ulusoy (Çelebis) were officially recognized as the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli and connected with the central administration through the foundation system of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, some privileges were granted to the *mürşit* and his

family as the trustees of the exempted pious foundation. The features of those privileges heavily depended on the changing policies of the foundation system which again, depended upon the centralization and decentralization processes in the Empire. Thus, despite the fact that the relationship of the Çelebis with the Ottoman rulers was not static, the Bektaşî order was institutionalized by the foundation system, and the status of the *mürşit* as the trustee of the foundation was well defined.

Researching the status of the Çelebis in the Ottoman Empire was important for grasping the rupture in their sacred authority after the establishment of the Republic, and subsequently, the abolition of the *dergah*. The family lost their officially recognized status and their granted privileges. In line with this, the collapse of the institution of the order endangered the continuity of the old traditional relations. Moreover, the secularization policies of the new regime which proposed separation of and differentiation between temporal and spiritual spheres, and establishment of new institutions in these spheres did not allow any room for the sacred authority of the family. The mass education, urbanization, industrialization i.e. modernization of the society transformed the traditional, hierarchical structure of the rural Alevi-Bektaşî community. As a result of these developments, the displacement that the family experienced put the family in an ambiguous position.⁴²²

The ambiguous position of the family's sacred authority in the Republican regime might be interpreted in two different ways: as a destructive factor for the old, triad hierarchy of the Path and/or as a potentiality which reveals emergence of new forms of authorities. It was, on one hand, destructive because the arrays of the triad hierarchy of the Path blurred and the old social distinction among the arrays declined. Therefore, the authority of the *mürşit* weakened and dispersed among all male

⁴²² On the other hand, the organization of the triad hierarchy of the Path, which is made up of *mürşit-dede*-disciples arrays, was different from the organization of the Babagan branch of the Bektaşî Order which was based on the dervish convents. Therefore, the triad hierarchy of the Path was less institutionalized than the organization of the Babagan branch and was more open to transformation.

members of the family. Moreover, the authority of the sacred guides over their community also weakened. Besides that, the decline in social distinction among the arrays destroyed the mediatory role of the sacred guides in the relationship between the *mürşit* and the disciples. On the other hand, it was a potential for creating new forms of authorities by the family members, an example being the term of *effendi* which gained new meanings with the modification of the structure of the Path. It was also a potential for converting the sacred authority into different forms, as I showed in Chapter 4: the *effendis* were able to channelize their sacred authority into politics.

All the forms of the authority that the Ulusoy family have exercised, the new ones and the old ones, involved practices, relations and reasoning. Thus, articulation of these practices, relations and reasoning make up the residences of the Ulusoy family a place. In this regard, following the trajectories of the family in the place would reveal the transformation of the Ulusoy lineage. After the abolition of the *dergah*, the family continued to dwell in their old residences which formerly functioned as an extension of the *dergah*. Serving as the house of the Çelebi family, the residences encompassed the guesthouses and other facilities as well, which makes them a place where the visitors accommodated. After the closure of the *dergah*, although the lineage separated into two branches and many of Cemalettin Çelebi's descendants moved to Tokat, and then to Zile, the *mürşit* and his family continued to live in their residences. In this way the spatial continuity became an important factor for the maintenance of sacred authority. The family members who stayed in Hacibektaş tended to preserve the old, traditional relations. Other family members, who moved away from Hacibektaş and mingled with the disciples established new forms of authorities, however, they kept their relation with the district, and thus, after a while they returned back there. As I discussed in chapter V, over the course of time, the residences have also transformed. With the dissolution of the old paternal relations in the district, the family was affected by modernization of the society and moved to

cities for education and work. However, for the reproduction of the sanctity and preservation of the tradition, the family members who have exercised their authority over disciples keep their residences and use them as meeting places for both the family members and the disciples. Therefore, while gradually losing their characteristics as a house, the residences regained their old characteristics. As in the past, they turned into places where the visitors find shelter and food. In keeping with this, the residences have become the locus, in which the sanctity of the family has been reproduced and transmitted to the disciples by sharing residences, meals, and moreover, through rituals such as *cem* ceremonies which create effervescence among the participants.

All the shared substances at the residences of the Ulusoy symbolize establishment of kinship between the disciples and the Ulusoy. Apart from the “fictive” kinship between the disciples and the Ulusoy through the sharing of substances, “blood” is used, as a metaphor, for maintenance and reproduction of the sanctity of the family. It is believed that “blood” transmits the *batin* and *walaya* from one generation to other generations, and provides the continuity of the sacred authority. Therefore, for preserving the blood, some rules of kinship regulate consanguineal and affinal relations within the lineage. Moreover, in an agnatic lineage, it is believed that although the females also carry it, only the males could transmit the blood to their progeny. Therefore, the kinship rules are organized in favor of males’ producing new males for the continuity of the sacred lineage. In this regard, polygyny was in operation for the males and continued till the 1940s despite the legal ban. Although the males could marry outside the lineage, endogamy was the rule of marriage for females. Nevertheless, in accordance with the segmentation of the family structure, migration and participation of the females in public sphere through education and work control over the females lessened. The Ulusoy females have begun to marry even outside the lineage. While marrying outside the lineage

means breaking of the connections of those females with the lineage, males are involved in the lineage providing that their wives are from the Alevi-Bektaşî community. Naturally, marrying a Sünnî person or person out of the Alevi-Bektaşî community is a serious threat to keeping the “blood” “noble”. Although marriage to people out of the Alevi-Bektaşî community means excommunication of one’s family from the community, in the case of the Ulusoy, this punishment is exercised quite differently. Tactically, these marriages are accepted as personal preferences of the family members rather than a familial problem and/or collective responsibility, and only the one who married a person outside the community is excluded from the Path.

Furthermore, as Bodernhorn and vom Bruck (2006:22) say “names may commemorate the continuity kinship through time”. Over the years, with the changing naming patterns, the names that are given to the newborns are also changing. In the past, the names of the elders were given to the newborns. However, with the segmentation of the extended families into nuclear families and decline of the patriarchal authority, parents, especially in the 1980s, began to give different names to their children. However, since the 1990s, the name giving patterns have been also changing. There is thus a revival of interest in the names of elders. The parents give their male offspring generally double name, one of them is a “modern” name and the other is the name of the elders, especially the name of the paternal grandfather.

Kinship is linked with gender because the position of a female within the patriline is defined by the role which is ascribed to her in procreation. The understanding of procreation of the Ulusoy, in relation to the cosmology of monotheistic religions, designates the analogy between nature and female, and culture and male. This analogy brings about the domestication of femininity and organization of the female’s life on the ground of gender roles, which causes the asymmetric power relations between males and females, and hierarchical relations among

females. Domestication of the females created biological and social reproduction of the new generations, as well as a domestic memory which is kept and transmitted by the females. In this regard, during the fieldwork, the females were the important source for getting information on the near past of the family, the narratives about the family members, the genealogy and kinship relations. Moreover, the females have undertaken another role which is important for reproduction of the sanctity: the role of *ana* which emerged parallel to the new form of authority of the male members of the family, *effendi*. When the intimate relationship between the *effendi* and the disciples opened the doors of the domestic place, the females who were secluded from the public over the centuries had to undertake the role of organizing the domestic place for the visitors. Aside from that, the females who have entered public life by education since the 1950s, and by work since 1960s, have felt themselves free from any traditional role in the relationship with the disciples, while others continue to perform the role of *ana*.

While conducting this ethnography I aimed at investigating the transformation and reproduction of the sanctity of the Ulusoy family during the Republican period, which is actually a very long period of time. Having defined the old and new forms of the sacred authority of the *mürşit* and other family members, I chose three concepts, place (/space), kinship, and gender, and examined how the inherited sacred authority has been generated and preserved through them. Although I kept out many topics with the purpose of narrowing my scope, due to the richness and complexity of data, all chapters of the study might be developed as a dissertation itself. Therefore all chapters include many questions that are not asked and needs responses to.

This study might be developed by making a few further studies. However, for me, one of the most intriguing ones would be a comparative study between the Ulusoy lineage and a Sunni biased lineage, in terms of acquiring the sacred authority and exercising it. In the study, I related the supervisory and initiating authority of the

Ulusoy which covers the esoteric knowledge, the *batin* and *walaya* to other Shi'i traditions but, I did it by excluding the Sunni Sufi tradition. In this regard, a comprehensive study of this kind would help understand the multiple ways in which different Sufi orders have been experiencing the modernization and secularization process. Besides that, as vom Bruck conducted a study on the Yemeni Zaydis,⁴²³ the reproduction of the sanctity might be studied by focusing on the concepts of memory and remembrance which would actually be a very generative study considering the fact that the Alevi-Bektaşî Path is based on oral culture, rather than a written one.

In 2010, the Ulusoy family (lineage) consisted of 167 persons. What unites them is their common history on the grounds of being the inheritors of sacred authority. Some of them are still defending and exercising the sacred authority over the sacred guides and the disciples, but they also differ among each other in terms of the ways in which they practice the sacred authority. Some of them do not undertake any responsibility for this inherited identity and even, reject it. I would like to end by saying that considering this group of 167 persons as a whole of relations, conflicts, ruptures, continuities, and discontinuities, the Ulusoy family (lineage), is actually very generative and opens ways towards new studies.

⁴²³vom Bruck, Gabrielle (2005). *Islam, Memory, and Moral in Yemen Ruling Families in Transition*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SAMPLES (IN ENGLISH)

The interview conducted with MUa on 16.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

MS- You were born in Tokat, is it true?

MU- No, I was registered in Tokat, but I was not born in Tokat. I was born here, in the house called “Atatürk’s house”. They waited for forty days after I was born, and then left for Tokat. Tokat is my mother’s homeland.

MS- That means that you went to Tokat in 1928. Could you remember the times that you lived in Tokat?

MU- I was in Tokat till I was six. I remember my childhood there, and the places where I was growing up. I came here when I was six, and they sent me to school. At first, they (the school administration) did not want to accept me saying I was too young, but then, on second thought, they realized I would be able to study, and then they accepted me. At those times it was at the age of seven (when children were starting school), I don’t know whether it is the same now. I attended the school for four years, but my older brother decided not to send me there anymore. Even my teacher came here (home) and kindly asked (them to send me back) but my brother didn’t agree with that. I was an over developed child, and this is a small place. That’s how much education I took, if that counts as education (she laughs).

MS- Why did you come back from Tokat (to Hacibektaş)? But before that, let me ask this first: why did you move to Tokat?

MU- My father, my uncles (father's brothers), all of them died there and only the women remained. H.'s and V.'s grandfather, our granduncle, was here. He called us to come back, and we did so. We came here by train.

MS- Was it difficult for you to come back?

MU- Of course, but at the same time we were very happy when we reached here. This place (houses in Hacıbektaş were) was many times more beautiful than the houses in which we lived in Tokat. We entered that room for example, the Atatürk's House, we saw it all around. There are big drawers, we open them, there we find tiny animal toys with feathery heads, things we had never seen before, we rejoice, (we were) children at the age of six or seven. So, that is how we came, but here we suffered a lot from poverty. Later on, our situation got better.

MS- I guess that was the period of famine, after the war...

MU- It was the time after the war, the years of famine. We came back here to see that people had appropriated our fields, and they did not want to give them back. Our house was in ruins and we spent a lot to repair the house, too. I came from that house to this house when I got married. This house belonged to my uncle, and that belonged to my father.

MS- This house belonged to Hamdullah (Çelebi) Bey, and the other one belonged to Ali Hadi (Çelebi) Bey.

MU- Where did you learn the names?

MS- From the registers of birth. Except that, your (older) sister gave me some information about the houses. She was born in "Camekanlı" room. I went there yesterday, it is a nice room.

MU- I was also born in that room. I did the decoration there. Two women and two men came from the ministry saying "you are the granddaughter of Cemalettin Çelebi, what kind of furniture was in that room?" I said there was a divan, and gave information about other pieces of furniture. They brought something (some furniture)

from there, and I myself collected things here from the relatives: my grandfather's armchairs, his bed, the "fez" he wore etc, I collected everything. We decorated the room with those ladies (from the ministry). I brought some things from my dowry to cover the divans and so on. It became quite nice. Lots of people are visiting the house. One day, in the morning, I woke up and saw three big buses (in front of the house). Those were the military buses, and those were all soldiers who are dignitaries. I started to cry, because I remembered the past. In the past they oppressed the Alevis a lot. I thanked God.

MS- Your house was also invaded by the gendarmerie...

MU- They invaded our homes; they pierced flour sacks with needles. If at least those were some important persons, but no, they were ordinary gendarmes or watchmen. Thanks god, now we are better than we were in the past. We saw them making a *dede* get in a horse-drawn carriage; then they covered him with grass and sacks, and that's how they took him away. When they would arrest them (our visitors)-the gendarmerie station was over there-we covered our ears not to hear their screams. They were beating them. I witnessed this when I was a child, my mother and others were crying because they (gendarmes) were beating the (arrested) persons. Thanks god, we have survived.

MS- When you came back from Tokat, you came to the house where you were born. You attended school till the fourth grade of primary school, and then your brother made you drop out of the school...

MU- I had no shoes to wear, that is how poor we were. I wore my mother's slippers in winters, when it was snowing, to go to school and back. My feet turned purple because of the cold. People who do not know us think that we were in wealth. We suffered from poverty. We suffered a lot. If they had let me, I would study. Not everyone studied. Of all the girls I was the only one who went to school; my (girl) peers did not study.

MS- When did you get married?

MU- I married when I was 21 years old. Before marriage, I had been engaged for one year and a half.

MS- Who decided on your marriage?

MU- My older brother and my mom. In those times, they did not even ask for our opinion. If someone from outside (of the family) would wanted to marry us, they wouldn't even ask us (tell us anything) about it. When someone within the lineage wanted to marry, they received our consent of the marriage, of course.

MS- I wonder what was their criterion for the decision about the marriage?

MU- He was my uncle's (father's brother's) son, and he was four years younger than me. He wanted to marry me, I did not want, but later, me as well wanted to marry.

MS- Your sister told me the same.

MU- She is also older than her husband. In our family; in the endogamous marriages, generally the females are older than males. You should marry whoever was the match for you; no matter whether he was a son of your paternal or maternal uncle or paternal or maternal aunt. If there wasn't match for you, you had to stay celibate. They did not allow girls to marry outside the family.

MS- I wonder about the reason of this...

MU- Well, they did not (let the girls marry someone out of the family), and that's it, the Alevis objected this. They were worrying about the decline in our lineage when we got our females married to men outside the family, and when our males married outside the family. Indeed, they were right, now there are many, various persons in our family, the girls get married into other families, and daughters-in-law from different families come into our family. Our family grew bigger.

MS- However, males of your family married females out of the lineage.

MU- Of course, all our mothers were outside the lineage. There was no match, how could they marry; the family was not so extended at that time.

MS- Your daughter's marriage is also within the lineage.

MU- She married her paternal uncle's son.

MS- After you married, how long did you stay in Hacıbektaş?

MU- I have been here all the time.

MS- What was your husband doing; did he perform his sacred role?

MU- My husband; we owed some arable fields, and sharecroppers were farming them, not himself. Then (Osman) Bölükbaşı sent my husband a message saying he would be a candidate from Amasya, you know that, don't you. In nine days he had become deputy.

MS- Did you go to Ankara with your husband? How did you feel when you became the wife of a deputy?

MU- Of course I went to Ankara, of course I did. It was a nice feeling, you talk to selected people for example, and you have meals with them. We were constantly commuting between Ankara and Hacıbektaş. We had an apartment in Ankara, and we moved there.

MS- Why was he elected to the parliament from Amasya?

MU- There are many Alevi in Amasya. They would vote for him no matter of the party the candidate of which he would be. He was elected a member of the parliament three times. People from all parties liked him, invited him to become a member, but he did not do it. Then the Birlik Party was established, they established the party of Alevi Unity and he became a deputy of this party. However, he did not want to do this, he was prompted to become a member, he did it under pressure.

MS- Your brother, Yusuf, was also elected from the Birlik Party.

MU- Before that, he was elected from the Democrat Party, for one period, and then from the Birlik Party. Among the Ulusoy only my husband was elected three times. First, my grandfather Çelebi Cemalettin was elected, second my brother, then my

other brother, my husband was fourth, my brother fifth, and then for the sixth time my nephew. My son is also a candidate, if God permits, he will be the seventh one.

MS- From which city will he be the candidate?

MU- He will also be from Amasya...

MS- Following his father...

MU- They loved their father a lot.

MS- Ali Naki Ulusoy was also elected as a deputy.

MU- He was one of the three deputies elected for Birlik Party.

MS- How was your relationship with the wives of the deputies? Did they know that you are the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli?

MU- They all knew who we are. They were very nice, they showed respect for me, they were younger than me. I also showed respect for the elders, and loved the young ones. Wherever we were supposed to go, we went there together.

MS- When you came to this residence after you got married, how many people were living here?

MU- There was my mother-in-law and she had five children. A year or so after my marriage, my mother-in-law moved to her husband's home. We stayed in this house. Then we had children. I had five children but one of them died when he was a three months' baby, and other one died when he was forty two, he was my eldest son.

MS- In the past, did a lot of people visit your homes?

MU- No, no, it was impossible, it was forbidden. The visit to Hacıbektaş was forbidden, no one could come, we couldn't have guests. It became possible later, the *dergah* was opened, you know, lots of people came to our homes.

MS- In the past, (the male of) your family also did not visit the regions where the Alevis lived. As far as I know, only the sacred guides (*dedes*) came to your houses.

MU- My father and my uncle traveled, and looked around for girls to marry. They thought that my mother and her aunt (her father's sister) were good matches for them.

My mother was twelve years old, and her aunt was fourteen years old. They asked for their hands, but my maternal grandfather, my grandfather from Tokat, was not willing to give his daughter and sister in marriage to them. He thought that his daughter and sister were not good matches for the Çelebis; they could experience problems and difficulties in their marriages because they were not equal to the Çelebis, they were disciples. Then, my paternal grandfather threatened my maternal grandfather with being excommunicated (she laughed). My maternal grandfather allowed the girls to marry them, and after a wedding ceremony, they brought them (the daughters- in-law) here.

MS- After your father's death, your mother married your uncle.

MU- Yes, he is my husband's father. My mother was very beautiful, and people from here and there asked for her hand, of course it was not a good thing, so he had her married.

MS- Probably because of the conditions of that time.

MU- Because of the conditions of that time, thanks God there isn't such thing now.

MS- Your father and uncle went among the Alevi in order to find a match for themselves. When the members of your family began to visit the places where the Alevi live?

MU- Really, I cannot remember that exactly. They wanted us to visit them, when they were marrying or something like that; they wanted us to be with them. Now it is different from the past, we visit each other. Now, it is like that, times have changed. In the past, our family did not go out at all. In the past, it was like that, I mean, they showed a lot of interest and respect for our family. Of course, everything has changed, we are visiting them, and they are visiting us.

MS- Where did you visit?

MU- I went to many villages of Amasya. I went to Tokat, to Eskişehir. My son acquired his university education in Eskişehir. I went to Düzce, too. They show a lot of respect for us, they love us very much, and, of course we love them too.

MS- After being elected as a deputy, did your husband visit the places other than Amasya?

MU- After he became a deputy, we did not visit any places, but we traveled. We went to Germany, and to Cyprus.

MS- You came back to Hacibektaş from Tokat all together, didn't you?

MU- Yes.

MS- Well, did the children of your uncle come back?

MU- All of them also came back, but then they went to Zile. All my sisters-in-law who did not like it here went, and I have stayed here as the daughter of this family.

MS- Didn't they like this house?

MU- This house was not like this at that time, we invested a lot in here. We paid them for their share, whatever it was necessary at the time... We repaired the house. They did not like it then, and went to their own homeland. They stayed there for 25 years, and when they came back here they saw that no property remained. The municipality confiscated all of it. All those places were our own property. People of Hacibektaş say that the Ulusoy's did not give anything to this district. If they had looked at the old land registers, they would have understood what the Ulusoy's gave to the district. We had a threshing field over there, it is gone now; all these places were ours, according to the land registers these places belonged to my grandfather. Here was the threshing field, and now it is a government's mansion, and all of it was ours, there are documents showing it belonged to my grandfather, but we neither brought suit against the municipality nor got any money for those places. The inhabitants of Hacibektaş who don't want us in here say that the Ulusoy's are not on the inhabitants' side. What's the use for this place from their being elected deputies, they say. Did

they elect us as deputies? If we had been elected from here, of course we would have been beneficial to the district.

MS- However, I guess that in the past there was a better relationship between you and inhabitants.

MU- The people of Hacibektaş often came to our houses, the elders are still respectful.

MS- Why has this relationship got broken?

MU- There is one thing, let me explain it. When the visitors are coming to our residences, the young people of Hacibektaş think that the visitors give us lots of money; on the contrary, there are expenses of the house such as utility bills, and water bills. On the other hand, the visitors take back with themselves even their firewood when there is some of it left. There are such people, nothing is like it used to be before. The inhabitants can say whatever they want, we don't respond to them. We don't harm anyone. They cannot show any Ulusoy who messed with any inhabitants. Have you ever heard that they call us exploiters? I wish they would come and see what kind of exploiters we are. It would be better if they don't talk about what they don't know. People who are close to us know who we are. I wish our daughters married the inhabitants, and the inhabitants' daughters married our sons. Wouldn't it be better? But they don't know us, they know us as exploiters.

MS- Probably they don't know the Ulusoy, especially after the relationship was broken.

MU- Even in the past, we didn't just go everywhere, anyhow. When there were wedding ceremonies of the inhabitants, our elders sent the kids and the servants to these marriage ceremonies with presents. They sent us to all weddings. Their brides were all carried by our horse drawn carriage. In my childhood, no one had a horse drawn carriage, but us.

MS- As far as I heard, Veliyettin Çelebi doled out bread to the inhabitants when there was famine.

MU- My mother told me that my grandfather Cemal (Cemalettin Çelebi) doled out money to the poor. There was a bake house that worked constantly and bread was doled out to the poor. The elders know that we do not harm anyone, but the young ones... It would be better if our young people would know each other, so that they could understand that we are not the kind of people they think we are. You see, for example, the visitors come to our houses, they sacrifice animals. We pay the bills for electricity and water, while the visitors give us a small amount of money before leaving. Does it mean being an exploiter? The visitor thinks “I sacrifice the animal, my sacrifice will be accepted, but if I disturb the homeowner it won’t be an appropriate way of worshipping,” and give us the money for the expenses. This is why we are called exploiters. The inhabitants think that the visitors give us large amounts of money, but it is not true (she laughs).

MS- Of course, it is not easy to deal with the visitors, and to organize their accommodation.

MU- There are nearly sixty beds in the residence, could it be easy to clean all of them.

MS- In which part of your residence do the visitors stay, on the first floor?

MU- There are three rooms on the first floor, we have tables and chairs, they also cook and eat there.

MS- In which periods do they prefer to visit your houses?

MU- They frequently visit on weekends, and during the festival there is no room even for a needle. It is very crowded. Generally, our visitors are from Amasya; our relationship with them is stronger.

(She looked into the family tree that I drew, and talked about the family tree that her son prepared.)

MU- Before the last elections, Erkan Mumcu came here; he stayed in this room for an hour, asking everyone not to talk. He was watching the room.

MS- This house is about 150 years old, isn't it?

MU- Less than that, it is about 98-99 years old. They had the house built, and went to Tokat without living in it.

MS- Did your elders talk about the reasons why they moved to Tokat?

MU- Their wives were from Tokat, you know. It was forbidden to move from one place to another. They sent a letter to Atatürk and explained that their wives were from Tokat, and that they wanted to go there. Having gone there, they stayed for seven years in Tokat.

MS- Hüseyin Fevzi Çelebi went to Tokat as well.

MU- His wife was also from Tokat.

MS- He married your paternal aunt.

MU- It was his first marriage.

MS- Your uncle's mother is not your father's mother- if I am not wrong- they did not go to Tokat, I guess.

MU- No, but they did not stay here as well. He went to Yozgat, to his wife's village...Everyone went to their wives' homeland.

MS- I guess that although the males are at the forefront, the females are also very strong.

MU- No, the affinal women have power over their husbands. The females from our family are not like that, they show respect for their husbands, we were educated in this manner. We grew up under very strict discipline. Now, I am observing the daughters-in law who came out of the family, their attitudes is very relaxed, all of them are very relaxed, and we weren't like that. Even our younger females are not undisciplined. We are all self-controlled. For example, I am eighty years old, I have nieces, daughter, granddaughters, and they are all the same. People recognize our

working female's propriety in their offices. Their seniors and others say so. We, the uneducated ones were proper, and now our girls who are educated, they are also proper. For, example, one of my granddaughters became a judge, the daughter of my second son; the eldest son's daughter became an English teacher. The girls are also studying now, in the past we were not allowed to do so, they could not allow us. Now, there is a possibility for that, and they do study, our girls are better students than our boys, and all of them are extremely beautiful girls. They are beautiful, but they don't marry their relatives anymore. We keep giving them outside the family, and we take brides from the outside, I am not happy about it. I wish my grandchildren would marry my other grandchildren or at least marry people in the lineage. Any of them did it but...

MS- One of your grandchildren got married...

MU- My two grandsons married. Their wives are not Alevi.

MS- Do you want your grandchildren to marry Alevi persons?

MU- I want this very much but both of them are non-Alevi. However, they are very good, and I like them very much. Everyone is subject of God. There are bad people among the Alevis, and good people among the Sünnis. I wish there would not be a distinction between the Alevi and Sünni but they did this. Sünnis oppressed Alevis a lot, and the Alevis escaped to villages in order to perform their rituals. While escaping from the oppression the Alevis became poor.

MS- In your children's marriage what was the role of the fathers of both sides?

MU- Our children wanted to marry, and we approved their decision. All of my children married without being forced to marry. In our family, our children are not being forced to marry. If they want they marry, if they don't want they don't marry. Not like people in the East who have their children married under coercion. My two grandchildren had flirted for five-six years, and then we understood that they won't break up. Moreover, separating the lovers is a sinful act.

MS- As far as I know, in the past, the female stayed at home, and did not go out.

MU- My mother told me that even when they went to the gardens in the Topayın village by coach, while they were getting in the coach, there was a stretched cloth two sides of them to hinder them from being seen by others. It is wrong, of course, but it was like that in the past. My daughter says that, when she goes shopping, people ask her whether she is the daughter of K. Effendi because her eyes are like her father's eyes. My sons also look like their father. I say to my daughter, don't you dare go out without wearing socks and long sleeved shirt (she laughs). People in this district know us... She says "Mom, there is no need for such things; all those things remained in the past". It is all about the time, times have changed. What my Effendi Imam Ali said, if the era is not in harmony with you, you should be in harmony with the era.

MS- When did the females of your family begin to acquire education?

MU- My daughter did not study. Apart from her, our granddaughters are studying, long after us, the granddaughters studied.

MS- I guess that in the 1970s, the females of your family started to study. Did they begin to work in the 1970s, as well?

MU- Many of them got retired.

MS- How did your family meet the idea of girls' going to work?

MU- No one opposed it, let them work, they said.

MS- How many residences are here?

MU- Let's count. In the past our elders did not count, they said that the number shouldn't be over 12. However, our family grows and the number of the houses is more than 12. The first one is the house of Feyzullah Effendi, the second is of Celalettin Effendi, the third one is of Naki Effendi, the fourth one is of Doğan, the fifth is of Safa, ours is the sixth, Cevat's is the seventh, my brother Yusuf's is the eighth. I won't count the homes of our children. In here, there are eight houses. On the other side, the house of Veliyettin is the ninth, Cemalettin's tenth, Hamdullah

Effendi's eleventh and Ali's house is the twelfth. Some of the houses remained from our fathers and some of us had new houses built. Including the houses of the children the number is over 12, but we won't count them.

MS- Do your children use this house?

MU- Of course. They like it here very much. My son, his wife and children are going to come here tomorrow, and my daughter has just gone.

MS- And your grandchildren?

MU- They all come and like it here very much. When my children were little, there was a cinema in the district. While they were going to the cinema, the children of Hacibektaş were mocking them by saying "the son of my Effendi, the son of my Effendi!" Wouldn't it be better if they became friends with our children?

MS- When do you come to your residence in Hacibektaş?

MU- Before the fifth of June because of the dates of death of my husband and son...

MS- How was the wedding ceremony of your children, like yours, did they continued for three days?

MU- They married in Ankara, in a saloon. The young generation does not want the old wedding ceremonies.

MS- How was your relationship with your mother-in law?

MU- My relationship with my mother in law was good, I loved her and she loved me. We showed respect to the elders, to the sisters-in-law, to the mothers- in- law. When we were together with our mother-in law we did not talk too much. When we were pregnant, we were ashamed, and we tried to hide it. However, the younger females do not hide it; they even put their hands on their bellies, and show that they are pregnant. I blame them for this. There is no meaning in being ashamed of pregnancy like we were, but showing it is also not a proper behavior.

MS- Did you especially want to have male babies?

MU- We especially wanted to have sons; it is because through the males the line continues. He has the surname of Ulusoy no matter if his mother were from the lineage or from outside the lineage. However, when the girls marry outside the lineage, their surname is changed.

MS- Is this the reason why you don't want the out marriages of your daughters?

MU- We are completely against it.

MS- Could you remember all kin, you have a strong memory.

MU- It has no relation with memory, I know the kin. Sometimes my children are confusing the kin relations; young have almost no idea about the kin. Our family is growing more and more.

MS- Could you see each other often?

MU- Of course, we are all together in weddings and funerals. Everyone visits each other, we organize some gathering days.

MS- As far as I know, many of you live in Ankara.

MU- In Ankara and in Hacibektaş our family members visit each other, our relationship is quite good.

MS- What does Hacibektaş mean to you?

MU- I love Hacibektaş very much. I have a balcony in my residence; to me it is the best place, I wouldn't change it for anything. I like this place.

MS- When you remember the past, what has changed since then?

MU- I grow old and I had both good times, and bad times.

MS- Do you retell the past events to your grandchildren?

MU- Of course I do, they are sitting here, around me, and I retell the past to them.

MS- When your visitors come to your home, what do they want from you, do they want stoned grains for example?

MU- They do, I have a box full of stoned grains. They want the stoned grains from us, and God gives them children indeed. After they take the stoned grains, a year later

you see them coming here in order to sacrifice animals, and they put the blood of the sacrificed animal on the baby's forehead. I say it all the time, this happened not because of us, it is the faculty of Hacı Bektaş Veli. They demand the stoned grains and we give it to them.

MS- How do you feel when you see these children of stoned grains?

MU- I feel so happy.

MS- What other things do they want, cloths or some food?

MU- They want *lokma* for example, whatever they can carry such as roasted chickpeas, if they come from a near place they want some fruit to take and give other people where they live. They want “yeşil” (green).

MS- What is “yeşil” (green)?

MU- There is a green cloth on the mausoleum of Hacı Bektaş Veli. Now they don't let us touch it. I lay the green cloth that I bring with myself on the mausoleum, and then I bless Hacı Bektaş Veli, and take it back to home. Then, I give some pieces of the cloth to the disciples who want to take it. They want it, it is faith.

MS- They share their problems with you, do you get tired because of this?

MU- Yes, I feel very tired. Last year, some visitors came from Tokat and they sacrificed animals. It was unacceptable, I really don't like such things but I had to listen. A man who was married had a love affair with another woman. He did not know what to do and needed some advice about his problem. I told him “if you had been ashamed of what you do, you would not have come here”. He had a wife, children. I didn't talk to him, of course. There are people like that, as well.

MS- Over years, what kind of changes do you observe about your visitors? I guess that they have been showing respect for you all the time.

MU-The elders show respect, but the young ones do not. In the first years of the memorial ceremonies we hired a couple of women to help us, but they could not manage all the work. If I would say there were dishes to be washed downstairs,

everyone would run downstairs from their beds. Now, it's not like that, they make everywhere dirty and leave the house without making it clean, pardon me for mentioning this. Many of them do this and we have to hire women to clean the house. What can a person do. There are also good persons who come and clean here. It is just as it has always been, good people are good, and bad people are bad.

MS- Do you receive everyone who wants to come here?

MU- Of course I do not receive the visitors whom I don't know from before. I am alone with a young girl who is my helper in the house.

The interview conducted with SUa and MUb on 24.07.2009 in Hacibektaş

MS- Your father's bothers moved to Tokat in 1928, didn't your father accompany them?

SU- No, he didn't. My father is quite younger than his brothers. My grandfather also had two daughters. One of them is my wife's grandmother.

MS- Your mother is F.?

MU- I was 6 months old when my mother died. My grandmother brought me up.

MS- Your father...

MU- I am the oldest of my sisters and brothers.

SU- He married 3 women and had 11 children. My wife's mother passed away when she was 21 years old, at that time my wife was 6 months old. Her father's second wife, Naile, breast-fed her.

MU- She also has a son and we were in the same age, she breastfed both of us. Moreover, in the past they hired wet nurse, I also had a wet nurse. In that way, I grew up by my grandmother.

MS- Your father stayed here in Hacibektaş, he did not go.

SU- He was not here constantly, I mean, he spent a while in Çorum and then in Merzifon, but Hacıbektaş was the place of his permanent residence. I stayed here till 1964, in 1964 I moved to Ankara. In summers we live in here and in winters we live in Ankara, we stay here for a short period. We moved to Ankara for the sake of children's education.

MS- How did you get married, did your elders decide on marriage?

MU- We decided on marrying.

SU- I was very young, 17 years old. We even got engaged when I was at the second class of the secondary school. After a year, we married, we married in 1953.

MS- How was your wedding ceremony?

SU- In the past the wedding ceremonies were different. The ceremonies lasted for 3 to 5 days with a fanfare of trumpets. There were also some shows of wrestlers.

MS- You have four children.

SU- The person that you saw the other day was my eldest son. He is 18 years younger than me. None of them married before they were 30 years old.

MS- As you said, you decided on your marriage. How did you say it to the elders?

SU- Actually, my father died when he was 44. My mother died before him. I have two younger sisters who did know neither our father nor our mother. We had a step mother, she became a widow when she was 28 years old, and she undertook the role of our mother and at the same time of our father. May God bless her soul, she helped us a lot. She died two years ago. After we decided to marry, she led us. My father in law said that I wouldn't begrudge him by marrying his daughter, but that she was a pupil, she was still studying, and that we can marry after that, but, unfortunately, we dropped out of school.

MS- What did you do in Ankara, did you have an occupation?

SU-I had a building built, in it there were 5-6 apartments. I sold them, and we had lands here from beforehand. Now, I don't do anything, children work, I got retired from Bağkur.

MS- Do you still have lands in Hacibektaş?

SU- Almost no.

MS- When were the lands shared, after coming back from Tokat?

SU- Two families lived together; after my grandfather Cemalettin died they separated. My grandfather Veliyettin showed great respect for my grandfather Cemalettin although the age difference between them was small. The first house is Kazım Ulusoy's house; all of these, from his house to CelalettinUlusoy's house, are parts of one building. There was a high garden wall. After the houses were separated the passages between them were closed and new doors were opened. The first house belongs to Uncle Kazım, second house belonged to uncle Yusuf but it was turned into museum called "Atatürk museum". The next house belongs to Doğan. And next to it is our house. The next house belongs to uncle Naki and the next belongs to uncle Celalettin. Uncle Feyzullah took his share from the garden, and had a house built. Our houses are accepted as historical artifact, and we couldn't have them repaired. They do not allow anything except for restoration.

MS- Why did you move to this house?

SU- That house cannot be used.

MU- When our children came to the house there was no place for their accommodation. Our daughters-in law went to their father's houses to stay.

SU- Because the building was shared it could not be used anymore, even if we restored it, it wouldn't be usable.

MU- We couldn't even have a building built in the garden.

SU- If we could have a building built in the garden, a shop would be built as well. Even if it was to be restored, it could not be accepted as a historical artifact. In the

past, our house roof was made of soil, we changed it and made two rooms, a balcony, had the roof built, and the windows were changed. After all of those changes our house was declared a historical artifact.

MS- How old is that building?

SU- More than a hundred years. A part of it was built before my grandfather Cemalettin was born. A part of it was built by uncle Hamdullah. Inner wall collapsed and we submitted a petition to the district governorship. After that, it was built anew, but it was a sloppy work. When the Atatürk park was built, they made no isolation, and water ruined the wall.

MU- We came home from Ankara to see that the wall collapsed

MS- When were the passages that connected the mansions closed? When were the houses separated?

SU- I don't remember. Anyhow, in winters, no one stays in these mansions, everybody's in Ankara, only aunt Arife always stays in Hacıbektaş.

MS- Where do your visitors come from?

SU- From Eskişehir, Çorum and places like that.

MS- As far as I know, you share the post of *mürşit* with another family member.

SU- I am older than him, the rules regarding the post of *mürşit* is to be based on the primogeniture. It is true but I have some hardship to serve the community, especially the young members of community because of the lack of my education. I have an experience but I cannot express it, as good as he can, if I participate in TV program. The important thing is serving the community; therefore he shows respect for me and loves me. We are actually like one person. The community is separated into two branches, maybe you heard from someone, the branch of Cemalettin Çelebi and the branch of Veliyettin Çelebi. In order to turn these two parts again into the one, Veliyettin and me decided to perform the role of the *mürşit* together. The most difficult duties of the post are undertaken by him, I am helping him in this or the

other way. He deals with the things that should be done by using computer, we together meet and talk to the people who visit us, such as *dede, baba, zakir*. We do everything together, we are together.

MS- You are giving permission to the sacred guides together. What kind of characteristics should a sacred guide have?

SU- There are some problems about this matter, unfortunately. Actually it stems from the lack in the number of the sacred guides. There are only a few sacred guides who speak the same language with the people of our time, or with the young. I remember the days in which we were under suppression, and, despite of it, were performing our religious rituals secretly and with fear, in stables after we would empty them. Under these conditions, some people get affiliated with some other people according to their own minds, explain to others what they had learnt, but there are a lot of shortcomings in this. The sacred guides that we send to people are weak persons. Unfortunately, under the suppression we could not get enough knowledge. We feared. In the time of my father, he and his uncle were arrested and even their hands were handcuffed. My father was fat like me, and the handcuffs hurt his wrists. The former generation experienced such hardship, this is what was happening before us. It is difficult for us to appoint the sacred guides. Sometimes we appoint persons as representative of sacred guides, such as Divani. From my view, the miracles of Hacı Bektaş Veli were performed to teach people. I believe in miracles but the real miracle is in education. For example, there are sayings like “I am the city of lore, and Ali is the door of it”; “the way that does not start with knowledge ends in darkness.” Atatürk showed young Turkish people the way of science, and Hacı Bektaş showed the young people of Rum the way of lore... Today, miracle at the same time means science. I believe that Hacı Bektaş Veli made the stone move. For example he flied in the form of pigeon, but the airplane was invented. Still, today, some of our people expect remedy from stones, they tie the pieces of cloths, which are not part of our tradition, light

candles, but there is no value of this any more. It is always talked about miracles, I don't want to linger on on miracles, and I don't want people to do it. Through miracles, Hacı Bektaş Veli was introduced to people. What we should do is to obey his commands, this is our biggest task.

MS- In the period when the *dergahs* were closed, you had not been born yet, but maybe your elders talked about those times. How did they react against the closure?

SU- I don't allow anybody to speak ill of Atatürk. He is the person who established Turkey. He was never against the Alevism, never. If he had been, he would not have come here and stayed with my grandfather, Cemal. Even, according to what we heard, it was my grandfather who suggested the establishment of the Republic. We should not accuse the president or the prime minister each time we feel threatened, this stands for the past as well as for our time. If we cannot enjoy some of our rights, for example if a (local) governor did an injustice to us, and if we are too weak to have it heard where necessary, of course it will continue. I guess something along those lines happened (in the past), I don't think we were oppressed by Atatürk (directly). Anyhow, there was a gendarmerie station in front of our mansions. Our visitors were followed by them. Sometimes the sacred guides would secretly enter the mansion complex together with the peddlers, they would take the permit (for being a sacred guide), and go. No one would notice that they were sacred guides, nor that they were here, that's how they used to enter.

MS- As far as I know after the *dergah* was reopened as a museum in 1964, the oppression that your family suffered decreased, and the visitors began to visit your mansions openly. Well, how was the period before 1964?

SU- Before 1964 we were not so relaxed, although we did not suffer from the oppression as much as our fathers, but after 1964 we could relax a bit more. Unfortunately although we are not under suppression anymore, there is no unity among us. You know the current situation of the associations and foundations.

Although they share the same aim, they have different views, and the politics interferes in them. The politics also affected our family relations at some point, now we are trying to deal with it. Despite the fact that conditions are satisfactory, we cannot use and appreciate them. More precisely, we cannot provide unity among the sacred guides, and, some would say, even among us; but for a few exceptions, the relationship between the rest of us are quite good. But that's another story...

MS- There were a lot persons in your family who were elected deputies, have you ever thought of becoming one?

SU- No, I haven't. Just about the tasks I have as a citizen. Anyhow, my speech shows the direction of my thoughts.

MS- What has changed within your family since your childhood?

SU- At the weekends, all four children of mine come to our home, if I am at home. If I am not at home, once a week, they gather in one of their houses. My children and grandchildren are very close to each other.

MS- In the past, the Ulusoy family, as a whole, gathered more often, I guess.

SU- Of course, we used to gather more often; in Topayın, we would pay visits to our elders and kissed their hands, then they would visit us. Such things still exist, but not to that extent, it is less frequent. There is a kind of resentment (among the members) occasionally, inappropriate to our family, because it is unnecessary. There are certain problems related to being direct or step relatives.

MS- How did you make a decision on your children's marriage, did they do it themselves, or you participated as well?

SU- All of them decided themselves. Our younger son married a girl from Kırşehir. He himself found her. At first we were not happy with this decision, but they are very happy now, and happiness is what matters. One of my sons married my niece; she is the daughter of my youngest sister.

MU- My (maternal) grandmother died when she was nearly 57 years old. My (maternal) uncle stayed at Zile, and then came here, here he passed away. My maternal uncle's first wife had died before, and then my uncle married my husband's sister. His first wife was Hamdullah's daughter Şaziye.

MS- What do you think about marriages within a family?

MU- If there weren't for diseases, there are some hereditary diseases among us, there is diabetes...

MS- Is endogamy a kind of precaution against the dissolution of the lineage?

SU- Nowadays, exogamous marriages are happier than the endogamous marriages. The segmentation might stem from that. Young people from our family do not prefer endogamous marriage anymore.

MS- Are you worrying about it?

MU- I am sad because of it. For example, one of my daughters-in-law is not Alevi. At first I was very sad, but now I got quite used to it.

SU- What matters is humanity. Our son married from out of the family, they quote it as, supposedly, a bad example.

MS- Not all marriages of the males of your family were endogamous.

SU- My mother for example, is from Çorum, from Alaca.

MS- As far as I observe, currently, the different thing is the Ulusoy female's marriages out of the lineage.

SU- Their marriages are more shocking. Even if we say that there is no distinction between the males and females, they are excluded.

MS- In which house were you born?

MU- I was born in Tokat; my mother died in Tokat. I grew up by my grandmother. For a while we stayed in Zile, and then in Tokat. I did not go to school in Hacıbektaş. I studied till the fourth grade of the primary school, and my grandmother died here. I

had two step mothers; I stayed by them and by my sisters and brothers. I am alone, I mean. It was hard because I was the favorite of my grandmother.

SU- Her grandmother cherished her.

MU- She treated me as if I had been her own daughter. After she had died, I stayed alone.

SU- She is 5 years older than me; I was 17 when we married.

MU- I married when I was 22 years old. Our wedding ceremony lasted for several days, there was wrestling and stuff; even our engagement ceremony lasted for three days. The wedding ceremony was very crowded.

MS- Did you get any education from within the family?

SU- To be honest, I acquired my education within the community, except for a few books that I read before. I talk to you for example, learn something than I pass it on, for example. My family was not too involved in my education.

MS- I wonder about your relationship with the people of Hacibektaş.

SU- Personally, I do not have much to comment about people from Hacibektaş, but in the past, when they would come they used to call us “my effendi, my effendi.” Now, the young generations don’t know (that). They used to come on holidays. Although I was young, the persons older than me would (do the effort and) come to my house, we would often come short of coffee on those occasions. They used to come, but now so rarely, that it almost doesn’t count. The reason why our relationship has broken should be known to them. The other day, I said: if you are an Alevi, you are an Alevi all right, who is your *mürşit*, there is not one, who is your *pir*, there is not one. First you should know your *mürşit* or your *pir*, and only then you will have right to say that they are not able to perform their religious role. If we are loved and respected by our community, it means that we are serving the community. All the houses which are in the upper side of Kazım Ulusoy’s house were our own property, there was a wall. The area beneath the post office, almost completely, belonged to us. The place

where there is school now, was our trashing field. We gave all of the land without receiving any money, how did it turn out were not on the inhabitants' side? My grandfather Cemalettin also helped the inhabitants. At that time the income was high, it was different then now. He got them accustomed to being helped I guess, the new generation cannot find such a relationship. For nearly 700 years we have been known as the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli... they think that our visitors give us gold and pearl. I know that some visitors give us only the post of the sacrificed animal. There is always a gossip about us, about what we are doing. I am trying to greet everyone I meet on my way, but they do not this. Actually, they might not even know that we are the Ulusoy, I mean, that is how interesting persons they are. Actually, here being the fountainhead, the district should serve as an example for others.

MS- What do your visitors do when they come to your house, did they come to your new house?

SU- This will be the second year of our stay here. They are staying in the first floor. The apartment is the same but we had the kitchen built out of the apartment because of the smell. The old owner of this building made a place for workers, and we turned it into kitchen. There are tables in the first floor, they eat there, and sleep inside. The sitting room of the apartment is very big, we turned the kitchen into a room. There are nearly four rooms and a sitting room. They generally visit our house during the memorial ceremony; generally, I do not spend much time here, beside the days in which the ceremony is held.

MS- Do people visit your house in Ankara?

SU- In Ankara, no, our milieu is a bit...conservative. Though, they do not harm us. We are good and honest persons, but we do not perform the prayer, we do not fast, this is our fault. They know that we are the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli. We do not have a close relationship with them, we only greet them. In the building complex,

there used to be ten Ulusoy families, however, five of them sold their houses, and moved away.

MS- In the lineage, you are among the first who moved to Ankara I guess.

SU- No, my father-in-law was the first. At that time, there was no money. We took credit from a bank, and had the building built. Before us, my father-in-law, and then Kazım Ulusoy, and uncle Celal, and Naki moved to Ankara.

MU- The reason why many of them moved to Ankara was education of their children. There was no high school here.

SU- I could not study, but I enabled my children to acquire education. I am still suffering because of the lack of my education. While I speak, I am afraid of making a mistake, even if the topic that I talk about is the one that I know quite well.

MU- He is saying that I convinced him to marry.

SU- The first thing that is necessary is ethic, and then education. A person who is well educated but behaves unethically damages the country, but when a person who has some ethical principles acquires education, he is able to save the country. A person like Atatürk.

MU- My father wanted me to acquire education, but I was lazy. Even at that time he wanted me to graduate at least from secondary school. I was a shy person; even today I am still shy. He said that “if you acquire education, you will cope with your shyness.”

SU- Some of her sisters and brothers acquired education.

MU- My father was a very good person.

SU- He would say even to the disciples: “If you have a piece of bread, sell half of it, and spend it on your children’s education. No one will die because of a half-fed stomach, but the future of a person without education can not be bright.” This is what he used to say. This is what members of our community quote as his words. All of his children studied, though, apart from the three of them.

MU- After I married, my father moved to Ankara with one of my mothers. He had five children at that time, and five of them got education. Two daughters became teachers, one of them died last year.

MS- Do you go to Topayın?

SU- Topayın is in a bad condition, it is in ruins. The elders, allegedly, used to say “I wish I hadn’t seen the current condition of Topayın.” If they would only see it now- our gardens full of the animals from the village. They couldn’t find anyone who would be paid to look after it, supposedly.

MU- My grandma was crying every time she went to Topayın. At that time they had a house there with a pool in the garden. When she saw that the house was in ruins she remembered her father Cemalettin, and did not want to go there.

SU- If it is true, Topayın was like heaven. We don’t know how heaven looks like but... there were flowers everywhere, peacocks and the houses like palaces. Uncle Celalettin established the Association of Tourism and Presentation. At that time, they gathered in Topayın, lots of people came from outside, and during the ceremonies we all together gathered there. Still some of the people of our family go there, we gather here, and some of them there.

MU- Uncle Feyzullah’s family used to go there in springs.

SU- Uncle Feyzullah used to stay there. He did not perform his profession, he was a lawyer. People said that a *mürşit* could not be a lawyer because lawyers lie. He forwent his profession.

MS- Ali İhsanUlusoy was also *mürşit* I guess...

SU- No, he wasn’t. He was elder than uncle Feyzullah but he wasn’t. Uncle Rıza and uncle Feyzullah undertook the role of *mürşit* together. This disunion began at that time. Uncle Yusuf and Veliyettin had some problems regarding the succession to the post and that caused the disunion among the community. Some of the members of our family say to me that I do not have the capacity for being a *mürşit*. If the

primogeniture is the rule of succession, and I am the oldest person of the family, then what? If you say I cannot be *mürşit*, you disobey the rule, if you say I cannot do it, then I will not be your *mürşit*. If I am your *mürşit* according to the rule of primogeniture, I am the one to decide how I am going to perform this duty.

MS- Does being a child of the same father, but different mother make any difference?

SU- Yes, it is not like a full sisters and brothers, of course.

MU- I have five siblings from one mother, and five siblings from the other mother. They gather, but I stay alone.

SU- Uncle Y. has two wives, too. One of them is the sister of uncle F., and the other came from Yozgat. His children are also not so close. There is no resentment in our family, but the relationships might be distant. We have been married for about 56 years, but sometimes we discuss that even we have never been angry with each other for more than 24 hours.

MS- What are visitors doing when they come to your houses?

SU- They are asking about their problems... They want us to give them rope or bottle of water over which we prayed.⁴²⁴ Actually I am against such things. I say only the names of Ahl-al Bayt, I don't know Arabic. It is spiritual belief but if this rope is broken, what will happen? One's connection to Hacı Bektaş Veli should be something that cannot be broken. I am completely against those beliefs but I cannot give an end to these. I don't know where those rituals stem from. Maybe those were performed in the past, but in this era... However, if a doctor gives oral support to patient, it is very useful, our task is like this.

MS- From which areas do they mostly come?

SU- From all regions of Turkey. In the last years, I have connection with Merzifon and Eskişehir. In the past, I used to go everywhere, to Black Sea region, Antep, Urfa, Ordu, Fatsa, Ünye, Sivas, Tokat. We went everywhere. I am getting older, I am 73

⁴²⁴The Ulusoy's pray while keeping or touching the rope or the bottle of water.

years old. I could not go to those places anymore although they want me to visit them.

MS- How do you perform the role of *mürşit* together with VeliyettinUlusoy?

SU- If there are some important problems, we are always in contact. If the problem is not so important such, if there is some case of resentment, dissatisfaction, we can act alone to achieve reconciliation. In the cases like divorce, out-marriages we have to do an investigation. As you know, if one member of the family is guilty, every member of the family is accepted as guilty; not everyone can participate in our Path, s/he has to be pure. In our Path, the people who are pure should gather. We say, for the sake of the subjects, those who are pure persons come together and pray. If we have an accident while we are on the road, we say that there is one among us who is inauspicious.

MS- Taking the past into consideration, what kind of changes do you observe on the visitors?

SU- When compared to the past, it should be accepted that there have been a development in the behavior of some visitors. In the past, it was enough for them to see our fathers and grandfathers, and their visits were like pilgrimage. Currently, the visitors want to learn new things when they come here, and profit by your ideas. There are young people who ask questions that cannot be responded easily. I appreciate this development.

MS- In the time of your grandfathers, were there also so many visitors?

SU- The old people were also coming. There were bake houses, and barns for the animals, and there were even the housekeepers. It was an organization for entertaining the visitors. Unfortunately we don't have such an organization now, and because of this lots of people, who have no connection with us, introduce themselves as Ulusoy to the visitors and misuse them. There are some who had the *cemevis* built, although we have no *cemevi* here. At the time of my grandfather, Cemalettin,

there was a good organization, and lots of people who did various services. However, we are deprived of such an organization now.

MS- I guess that there is a *cemevi* in the mansion complex.

SU- No, it isn't a *cemevi*, it is the place where the visitors stay. Maybe it is called *cemevi* but it cannot be a *cemevi*, because people, at the same time, stay there and perform the rituals. In our family T., aunt A. and A. have *cemevis*. Both V. and I have guesthouses here. In Topayın, it is said that there are people from the Hüdadađlı branch who are also the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli.

MS- How is your relationship with the lineages of the sacred guides?

SU- They change their side from one to another, upon the occurrence of very trivial things. If my child commits a crime, they attribute it to all the members of the lineage; on the other hand, it is he who is responsible for his act. They complain and show respect at the same time. We say they should stay away from the members of our lineage if they behave in way that is inappropriate for the Path. They ask: how can we stay away, they are the descendants of Hacı Bektaş Veli." If they are the descendants of his, then don't complain about them. Not every descendant of his can be like him. If someone is an ignorant, why would you follow him?

MS- When do you meet with the members of the lineage?

SU- Except a few families, we meet on the important days such as funerals, religious festivals all the time. During the religious festivals, the young ones visit the elders, and then they visit the young ones, this ritual is still continuing.

MS- Why the females of your family cannot become a *mürşit*?

SU- If we take Ali and our mother Fatma as a precedent- although she was (one of) the key member of the Ahl-al Bayt-only the males have succeeded. I don't want to say that our predecessors did wrong, but the practice is kept from that time until today. However it happened, and though it shouldn't have, there is this difference (between the genders).

MS- The disciples have respect for your wife as well, haven't they?

SU- Some of them do and some of them don't. Not everyone is the same.

APPENDIX B

A SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW SAMPLE (IN TURKISH)

MUa ile 16.07.2009 tarihinde Hacibektaş'ta yapılan mülakat

MS- Siz Tokat'ta doğmuşsunuz, değil mi?

MU- Hayır, Tokat doğumluyum ama Tokat'ta doğmamışım, Atatürk evi var ya, orda doğmuşum ben, kırkım çıkana kadar beklemişler, kırkım çıktıktan sonra Tokat'a gitmişler. Annem Tokatlı benim.

MS- Yani Tokat'a gidiş yılınız 1928, Tokat'taki yıllarınızı hatırlıyor musunuz?

MU- Altı yaşına kadar Tokat'taydım. Küçüklüğümü hatırlıyorum, büyüdüğüm yerleri filan. Altı yaşında buraya geldim, burada okula verdiler beni. İlk almaları beni küçüğüm diye, sonra baktılar iyiyim, okuyacak gibi oldum, o zaman aldılar. O zaman yedi yaşındaydı, bilmiyorum şimdi de öyle mi. Dört sene okudum abim çıkarttı beni, öğretmenim bile geldi buraya, rica etti ama abim razı olmadı. Biraz geniş etliydim, burası küçük yer. Tahsilim o kadar, bir tahsilim olaydı (gülüyor).

MS- Tokat'tan neden döndünüz, aslında önce şunu sorayım, Tokat'a neden gittiniz?

MU- Babam amcalarım hep vefat etti orada, kadınlar kaldı. Burada da Hürrem'in Veliyettin'in dedeleri vardı, amcalarımız o çağırıldı gelin diye, geldik. Trenle geldik.

MS- Dönmek zor oldu mu sizin için?

MU- Tabii, ama buraya gelince de çok sevindik. Tokat'taki evlerden kat kat güzel buralar. Şu odaya geldik işte, Atatürk evine, bütün oraya geldik. Böyle çekmeceler var, çekmeceleri çekiyoruz, küçük küçük hayvanlar çıkıyor, yüzleri tüylü tüylü, hiç

görmediğimiz bir şeydi, seviniyoruz, altı yedi yaşında çocuk. İşte gelişimiz öyle oldu ama burada çok yokluk çektik. Sonra sonra düzeldik.

MS- O zamanlar galiba tam kıtlık yılları, savaş sonrası...

MU- Savaş vardı, kıtlık yılları. Geldik ki, tarlalarımız her birinin elinde kalmış, vermiyorlar. Bura akıyor böyle, çok masraf ettik buraya da. O evden bu eve gelin geldim ben. Bura amcamın, ora babamın.

MS- Burası Hamdullah Bey'indi, orası Ali Hadi Bey'in.

MU- Kim yazdırdı sana?

MS- Nüfus kayıtlarından, bir de ablanız bahsetti evlerden. Ablanız da camekânlı odada doğmuş, dün gezdim de, çok güzel orası.

MU- Ben de orda doğdum. Oraları ben serdim, bakanlıktan geldiler yanıma iki bayan iki erkek Cemalettin efendinin torunuymuşun, burada ne vardı dediler. Ben de hep söyledim, divan vardı, onları filan söyledim. Ordan da getirmişler bir şeyler, ben de burdan akrabalarından hep dedemin koltuklarını, karyolasını başının fesini filan her şeyi topladım. Orda serdik o bayanlarla. Benim çeyizimden götürdüm serdim divanların üstüne filan. İyi oldu bayağı. Çok ziyaretçi geliyor oraya. Bir sabah uyandım ki üç tane büyük otobüs, askeri otobüs, hep yüksek rütbeli askerler, böyle akıyor gözümden yaş, eskiyi hatırladım. Eskiden çok eziyet ediyorlardı Alevilere, çok şükür Allahım dedim.

MS- Sizin evlerinizi de basarlarmış...

MU- Evlerimizi basarlardı, un çuvallarına şiş batırıyorlardı. O da belli başlı birisi olsa, ya bekçi ya jandarma. Bugünümüze çok şükür, bugün iyiyiz. At arabasına gözümüzün önünde bir dedeyi koydular üzerine ot koydular, çuvalları koydular öyle götürdüler. Yakaladıkları zaman şurda karakol vardı, seslerinden kulaklarımızı tıkıyorduk, dövüyorlardı. Ben buna şahidim, çocuktum, annemler ağlıyorlardı adamları dövüyorlar diye. Atlattık şükür.

MS- Tokat'tan dönünce doğduğunuz eve geldiniz, dörde kadar gittiniz, abiniz sizi okuldan aldı.

MU- Benim ayağımda ayakkabım yoktu kızım, öyle yoksulluk çektik. Annemin terlikleriyle o karda kışta okula gider gelirdim. Mosmor olurdu ayaklarım. Geriden görüp öyle şey ediyorlar, çok yokluk çektik biz. Çok çektik. Bıraksalar, imkânım olsa okurdum. Hepsi okumadı, kızlardan ben okudum burada, benim emsallerim okumadı.

MS- Ne zaman evlendiniz?

MU- 21 yaşında evlendim. Bir buçuk sene nişanlı kaldım.

MS- Evliliğinize kimler karar verdi?

MU- Abim, annem. O zaman bize sormazlardı bile kızım, dışarıdan isteyen olduğunda hiç bize sormazlardı. Aileden isteyen olursa tabii razılığımızı alarak.

MS- Neye göre karar verdiler acaba?

MU- Amcamın oğluydu, dört yaş küçük benden. O istedi, ben istemedim ama sonradan istedim.

MS- Ablanız da öyle diyor.

MU- O da büyük, ailede hep kızlar büyük. Kızım o zaman bizim ailede karşılığın da olursa, amcan oğlu, dayı, teyze o zaman evlenirdin, yoksa mücerret kalacaksın, evlenmeyeceksin. Aile dışına kız vermiyorlardı.

MS- Neden acaba?

MU- Vermezlerdi, niyeyse Aleviler pek razı olmazlardı. Niye veriyorsunuz, niye alıyorsunuz dışarıdan. Sülale bozulmasın. Hakikaten de öyle, çeşit çeşit şimdi, çok artık, veriliyor da, alınıyor da. Aile büyüdü.

MS- Ama erkekler evleniyormuş dışarıdan, değil mi?

MU- Tabii annelerimiz hep dışarıdan. Yok ki, nerden evlensin. Aile büyük değilmiş o zaman.

MS- Sizin kızınız da aile içinden evlenmiş.

MU- Amcasının oğluyla.

MS- Evlendikten sonra kaç yıl burada kaldınız?

MU- Hep burada kaldım ben.

MS- Eşiniz ne yapıyordu, geleneksel ilişkiyi devam ettiriyor muydu?

MU- Eşim tarlalarımız vardı, onları veriyordu, kendi yapmıyordu da, sonra da (*Osman*) Bölükbaşı haber göndermiş, Amasya'dan aday diye, biliyorsun değil mi. Dokuz günde milletvekili oldu.

MS- Ankara'ya gittiniz değil mi eşinizle, milletvekili eşi olmak nasıl?

MU- gitmez olur muyum, gittim tabii. Milletvekili eşi olmak güzel bir şey, seçilmiş insanlarla konuşuyorsun mesela, onlarla yemek yiyorsun. Gelip gidiyorduk devamlı, orda evimiz vardı, oraya taşındık.

MS- Neden Amasya'dan

MU- Amasya'da Alevi çok, hangi partiden girerse girsin, benim eşime oy verdiler. Üç devre seçildi, çok iyi insandı, çok. Her partiden severlerdi, isterlerdi partilerine gitmesini ama o gitmedi. Bir Birlik partisi kuruldu işte, Aleviler Birlik partisi kurdular, mecburen ona geçti, onu da hiç istemeyerek, baskıyla geçti.

MS- Abiniz de Birlik partisinden seçilmiş

MU- O daha önce Demokrat Parti'den bir devre seçildi, bir de Birlik Partisinden. Ulusoyların içinden üç devre seçilen benim eşim oldu. Önce dedem, abim, üçüncüye öteki abim, dördüncüye eşim, beşinci kardeşim, yeğenim de altıncı. İnşallah oğlum seçilirse yedinci olacak, o da aday.

MS- O nerden aday olacak?

MU- O da Amasya'dan.

MS- Babasını takip edip...

MU- Babasını çok severlerdi.

MS- Bir de Ali Naki Bey olmuş...

MU- O Birlik partisinden üçü bir oldular.

MS- Milletvekili eşleriyle nasıldınız, Hacı Bektaş Veli evlatlarından olduğunuzu biliyorlar mıydı?

MU- Biliyorlardı. Çok iyilerdi bana hep saygı gösterirdi benden küçükler, tabii ben de onlara sevgi, büyüklere saygı. Hep beraber giderdik nereye gitsek.

MS- Bu eve gelin geldiğinizde kaç kişiydiniz?

MU- Kayınvalidem vardı, onun beş çocuğu vardı, ben geldikten bir sene sonra falan sonraki kocasının evine gitti. Burası bize kaldı. Çocuklar oldular sonra, beş çocuğum oldu, biri üç aylıkken vefat etti, biri de 42 yaşında, büyük oğlum.

MS- Ziyaretçileriniz çok olur muydu eskiden?

MU- Hayır, hayır olmazdı, yasaktı. Hacıbektaş'a gelmek yasaktı, kimse gelemezdi, misafir olmazdı, sonradan oldu, türbe açıldı ya, misafir çok geldi.

MS- Eskiden, aileniz Alevilerin yaşadığı bölgelere gitmezmiş, sadece dedeler gelirmiş.

MU- Babamla amcam eskiden evlenmek için gitmişler, geze geze gitmişler, kızlara baka baka. Annemle annemin halasını beğenmişler. Annem 12 yaşında, halası 14 yaşında. İstemişler, dedem vermemiş, Tokat'taki dedem. Göze dokunuruz demiş, yani bir hata yaparlar, onlar talip ya. Sonra dedem demiş ki, düşün ederim seni demiş (gülüyor). Adam vermiş, orda annemle halasına düğün yapmış, getirmişler.

MS- Sonra babanız vefat edince anneniz amcanızla evlenmiş.

MU- Evet, eşimin babası. Annem çok güzelmiş, sağdan soldan isteyen olunca, iyi bir şey değil ama.

MS- Herhalde dönemin koşulları...

MU- Dönemim koşulları, şimdi öyle bir şey yok şükür.

MS- Amcanız ve babanız kız almaya gitmiş, peki Alevilerin yaşadığı yerlere gitmeye ne zaman başlanmış?

MU- Valla, onu pek hatırlayamayacağım. İstiyorlar kızım, düğünleri oluyor, bir şeyleri oluyor, istiyorlar. Artık eskisi gibi değil. Yani birbirimize gidiyoruz geliyoruz,

onlar bize biz onlara gelir, gider. Şimdi öyle, zaman değişti. Eskiden gitmezlerdi hiç. Eskiden öyleymiş, yani çok şey ederlermiş, saygı gösterirlermiş. Şimdi tabii değişti her şey, biz onlara gidiyoruz, onlar bize geliyor.

MS- Nerelere gidiyorsunuz?

MU- Ben Amasya'nın çok köylerine gittim. Tokat'a da gittim, Eskişehir'e gittim, oğlum Eskişehir'de okuyordu, Düzce'ye de gittim. Çok saygı gösterirler, severler, tabii ki biz de onları seviyoruz.

MS- Eşiniz Amasya dışındaki yerlere de gider miydi milletvekili olduğunuz dönemlerde?

MU- Milletvekili olduktan sonra bir yere gitmedik, gezmek için gittik tabii, Almanya'ya gittik, Kıbrıs'a gittik.

MS- Tokat'tan döndüğünüzde bütün kardeşlerinizle döndünüz değil mi?

MU- Evet.

MS- Peki amcanızın çocuklarından?

MU- Onlardan da kalan olmadı, hep döndüler ama sonradan Zile'ye gittiler. Burayı beğenmeyen gitti, eltilerim hep, ben kaldım buranın kızı olarak.

MS- Bu evi mi beğenmediler?

MU- Burası böyle miydi kızım, çok para harcadık buraya. Onlara ödedik, neyse işte o zaman... Çok tamir ettirdik biz. Onlar beğenmediler, kendi memleketlerine gittiler. 25 sene durdular, geldiler ki hiçbir şey kalmamış, hepsini belediye istimlak etmiş. Buralar hep bizimdi, şimdi diyorlar ki Ulusoylar ne verdi, tapular çıksa da baksalar, o zaman ne verdikleri belli olur. Harman yerimiz vardı oralar gitti, bu aralar hep bizimdi, dedeme tapuluydu. Şurda harman yeri vardı, şimdi hükümet konağı oldu ya oralar hep bizimdi, tapuluk var dedemin üstüne, ne dava ettik, ne beş kuruş para aldık. Bizi istemeyen Hacibektaşlılar diyorlar, Ulusoyların ne faydası oldu diye, milletvekili oldular buraya ne faydası oldu, siz mi seçtiniz milletvekili. Burdan olsa tabii ki faydası olacak.

MS- Ama eskiden Hacibektaşlılarla daha iyi bir ilişki varmış sanırım.

MU- Çok gelir giderdi Hacıbektaşlılar, büyükler çok saygılıdır.

MS- Neden koptu ilişki?

MU- Kızım şöyle bir şey var, bak anlatayım, bize misafir gelince Hacıbektaş'ın gençleri sanıyorlar ki buraya oluk gibi para veriyorlar, hiç öyle değil halbuse. Hiç öyle değil, su parası, elektrik parası, artan odunlarına kadar alıp götürüyorlar. Öyle insanlar var, şimdi eskisi gibi değil ki. Desinler, biz hiçbirine karşılık vermiyoruz zaten. Bizim hiç kimseye zararımız yok kızım. Bir Ulusoy söylesinler bir Hacıbektaşlıya mesela malına canına gençlerimiz oluyor o kadar Hacıbektaş'ın gençleri oluyor, hiç öyle bir duyulmuş mu, şeytan kulağına kurşun. Sömürücü diyorlarmış bize, sen de duyuyor musun, gelseler de bir görseler sömürücülüğü. Söylemeseler iyi olur ama bilmedikleri şeyi. İçimize girenler biliyorlar mesela ne olduğunu. Ben isterdim dedim Hacıbektaşlılara kız vermek, Hacıbektaşlılardan kız almak. Kötü mü olur memleketlimizin insanı, ama bizi öyle tanımıyorlar ki, sömürücüler tanıyorlar.

MS- Herhalde tanımadıkları için oluyor, bağ da kopunca.

MU- Eskiden de kızım zaten biz öyle her yere gitmezdik. Düğünler olduğu zaman hizmetçilerle çocukları gönderirlerdi hediyeleri alır giderdik. Her düğüne gönderirlerdi. Hacıbektaş'ın gelinlerini de hep bizim arabalarımız, at arabası şimdiki gibi değil, gelini onlar indirirlerdi. Benim çocukluğumda kimsenin at arabası yoktu, bir tek bizim vardı.

MS- Duyduğuna göre Veliyettin Çelebi kıtlık zamanı ekmek dağıtmış halka.

MU- Cemal dedem, annem derdi ki, böyle hamam taşıyla para dağıtırdı derdi fakirlere. Bir de fırın varmış, devamlı çalışmış fırın. Ekmek dağıtırmış fakir fukaraya. Kızım büyükler biliyorlar kimseye bir zararımız olmadığını, küçükler işte... Gençler gençlerimizle tanışsa kötü mü olur, işte anlarlar onlarda öyle bir insan olmadığını. Kızım işte geliyor mesela kurban kesiyor, elektrik harcıyor, su harcıyor, tütün harcıyor, giderken işte beş on kuruş bırakınca mesela bu sömürücülük

mü oluyor. O kendi düşünüyor, kurban kesiyorum, kurbanım kabul olacak, ev sahibine eziyet edersem o kurban kabul olur mu, sömürücülüğümüz bu işte. Onu da fazla bir şey zannediyorlar, hiç öyle değil, hiç (gülüyor).

MS- Tabii kolay değildir, kocaman ev, gelenleri idare etmek...

MU- Çok çok altmış tane yatak var bu evde, kolay mı o yatakları temizlemek.

MS- Nerede kalıyorlar, aşağıda mı?

MU- Üç tane aşağıda odamız var, masamız sandalyemiz var, orda pişirip yiyorlar.

MS- En çok hangi dönemde geliyorlar?

MU- Cumartesi Pazar çok geliyorlar, törende de iğne atsan yere düşmüyor burada. Çok kalabalık oluyor. Daha çok bize Amasyalılar gelir, onlarla daha çok ilişkimiz var ya.

(Çizdiğim soyağacına baktı, kendi oğlunun çizdiğinden bahsetti.)

MU- Geçen seçimlerden önce Erkan Mumcu gelmişti, bir saat durdu burada, konuşmayın, konuşmayın diyor. Odaya bakıyor.

MS- Bu ev 150 yıllık falan değil mi?

MU- Daha az, belki 98-99 yıllık. Yaptırılmışlar, oturmadan gitmişler.

MS- Neden göç etmişler Tokat'a, size anlattılar mı hiç?

MU- Aileleri Tokatlı ya, gelip gitmek de yasakmış, Atatürk'e mektup yazmışlar, eşlerimiz Tokatlı, biz gitmek istiyoruz diye, oraya gidince de yedi sene kalmışlar orda.

MS- Hüseyin Fevzi Çelebi de gitmiş.

MU- Onun eşi de Tokatlı.

MS- Halanızla da evliymiş.

MU- Daha önce halamla evliymiş.

MS- Mustafa amcanızın annesi sizin babanızın annesi değil sanırım, onlar Tokat'a gitmemiş herhalde.

MU- Hayır, burada da kalmadılar, Safa'nın babası da o da Yozgat'a gitti, karısının köyüne... Herkes karısının memleketine gitmiş.

MS- Hep erkekler ön planda gibi ama kadınlar da çok güçlü galiba ailenizde.

MU- Değil, dışarıdan gelenler güçlü de ailenin kızları hiç öyle, eşlerine saygılılardır ailenin kızları, öyle terbiye aldık biz. Çok sıkı yetiştirdiler bizi, ben şimdi dışarıdan gelinlere bakıyorum da ne kadar serbest, hepsi de serbestler, biz öyle değildik. Şimdiki gençlerimiz de öyle değil, mesela ben seksen yaşındayım yeğenlerim var, kızım var, torunlar var, onlar da öyle. Çalıştıkları yerde hep belli oluyorlar. Hep söylüyorlar, amirleri falan. Okumayanlar öyleydik, şimdi okuyanlar, mesela torunumun bir tanesi hâkim oldu, ortanca oğlanınki, büyük oğlanınki de İngilizce öğretmeni oldu. Kızlar okuyorlar şimdi, eskiden bizi okutmadılar, okutamadılar. Şimdi imkân var okuyorlar, kızlarımız erkeklerden iyi okuyor. Hepsi de güzel güzel, ceylan gibi kızlar. Güzel güzel de, akrabadan evlenmiyorlar artık. Hep dışarıdan veriliyor, dışarıdan alınıyor, o da beni üzüyor. Torunum torunuma diyordum ben, torunum olmazsa Ulusoylardan diyordum. Daha ortada bir şey yok da.

MS- Bir torununuz evlenmiş galiba sizin.

MU- İki torunum evlendi, dışarıdan.

MS- Alevi olsun mu istiyorsunuz?

MU- Ben öyle istiyorum tabii ama ikisi de Alevi değiller. Ama çok iyiler, çok seviyorum. Canıma sokuyorum böyle, olsun hepsi de Allah'ın kulu. Alevi'de ne kötüler var kızım, Sünni'de ne iyi insanlar var. Keşke olmasaymış bu Alevi-Sünni ayrımı, keşke olmasaymış ama onlar yapmışlar. Çok ezmişler Alevileri Sünniler, yıldırılmışlar. Köylere kaçmışlar, ibadet etmek için köylere kaçmışlar. Aleviler hep fakir düşmüşler köylere kaçarken de, ezile ezile.

MS- Çocuklarımızın evliliğinde babaların rolü ne oldu?

MU- Onlar istediler, biz onayladık. Onların istekleriyle oldu, dördününki de öyle oldu bizim çocukların. Hiç baskı yapmazlar bizde, hiç. İsterse olur istemezse olmaz. Öyle

doğulular gibi zorla al, zorla ver öyle değil. Bu benim torunlarımın ikisi de beş altı sene flört etti, gezdiler yani. Baktık ayrılık yok, hem günah sevenleri ayırmak.

MS-Eskiden kadınlar dışarıya çıkmazmış pek.

MU- Bahçeye giderken bile duymuşsundur Topayın'da bahçemiz varmış, annem derdi ki, iki tarafa bez yaparlarmış ki annemler falan gelir faytona öyle binermiş. O da doğru bir şey değil de, zaman öyleymiş. Ben şimdi kızım çarşıya gidiyor da, kızım diyorum anne diyorlar bana K. efendinin kızı mısın diyorlar bana diyor, gözleri falan benziyor, oğullarım da benzer de. Kızım sakın çorapsız gitme kızım uzun kollu giy diyorum (gülüyor), burada tanınıyoruz biz diyorum, anne o eskidenmiş diyor, şimdi öyle bir şey yok diyor. Devir işi işte devir döndü. İmam Ali efendim öyle demiş devir sana uymazsa sen ona uyacaksın.

MS- Ailenizdeki kızlar ne zaman okumaya başlamış?

MU- Benim kızım okumadı, o başka da, okuyanlar, torunlar okuyorlar, bizden epey sonra, torunlar okudu.

MS- Herhalde yetmişli yıllarda başlamışlar, çalışmaya da mı o dönem başladılar?

MU- Çoğu emekli oldu, kızlardan emekli olan çok.

MS- Ailenizde kızların çalışması fikri nasıl karşılandı?

MU- Hiç karşı çıkan olmadı, çalışsınlar dendi.

MS- Burada kaç ev var?

MU- Sayalım mı istersen? Saymazlardı biliyor musun eskiden, 12 geçti miydi, olmaz derlerdi, pek saymazlardı eskiden. Ama şimdi çoğaldı, aile çoğaldı. Feyzullah Efendi evi bir, Celalettin Efendinin evi iki, Naki Efendinin evi üç, Safa'nınki dört, Doğan'ınki beş, biz altı, Cevat yedi, Yusuf Abi sekiz, çocukları saymayım zaten. Sekiz ev burada var, öbür tarafta da Veliyettin dokuz, Cemalettin on, Hamdullah efendi on bir, Ali on iki. Babalarımızın evleri kaldı kimisi de Veli Efendi gibi dışarıdan yaptırdı. Çocuklar olunca on ikiyi geçiyor ama onu saymayalım.

MS- Çocuklarımız bu evi kullanıyor mu?

MU- Tabii, çok severler, yarın geliyor oğlum, hanımı çocukları. Kızım da yeni gitti.

MS- Torunlarınız?

MU- Hep gelirler, çok severler burayı. Benim çocuklarım küçükken burada sinema vardı, şurda. Çocuklar sinemaya giderken Hacıbektaş'ın gençleri şöyle dizilirlermiş, alay ediyorlar biliyor musun, efendimin oğlu, efendimin oğlu. Halbuse arkadaşlık kursalar daha iyi değil mi?

MS- Siz ne zaman geliyorsunuz Hacıbektaş'a?

MU- Haziran'ın beşinden önce geliyorum. Bunun da bir sebebi var işte o kaybettiğim oğlum ve eşim de...

MS- Çocuklarınızın düğünü nasıl oldu, sizinki gibi üç gün sürdü mü?

MU- Ankara'da oldu, salonda. Düğün salonunda, eskisi gibi istemiyor artık gençler.

MS- Kayınvalidenizle aranız nasıldı?

MU- Çok iyiydi, ben onu severdim, o beni severdi. Büyüklere saygı çok, kaynanaya görümceye. Büyüklere çok hürmet ederdik, kayınvalidemizin yanında çok konuşmazdık bir de hamile olduğumuz zaman biz kaçacak yer aradık böyle. Şimdikilerde şöyle ediyor, herkes biliyor hamilesin, bir de elini oraya koymak, ayıplıyorum ben. Biz utanırdık halbuse utanacak ne varsa, öyle göstermek de iyi değil.

MS- Özellikle erkek çocuk mu isterdiniz?

MU- Erkek çocuk isterdik ailede. Ailenin devamını erkek sağlıyor. Ulusoy soyadını taşıyan, annesi dışarıdan olsun, evin kızı olsun Ulusoy. Mesela evden giden gidiyor, soyadı değişiyor.

MS- Kızların dışarıdan evlenmesini o yüzden mi istemiyorsunuz?

MU- Hiç istemiyoruz.

MS- Bütün bu akrabalık bağlarını aklınızda tutabiliyor musunuz, hafızanız güçlü.

MU- Hafıza değil, biliyorum hepsini. Bazı benim çocuklar karıştırır, küçükler hiç bilmez doğru dürüst. Aile gittikçe büyüyor

MS- Görüşebiliyor musunuz?

MU- Tabii, düşünlerde hep bir aradayız, cenazelerde hep bir aradayız. Aile içinden de herkes birbirine gelir gider, günler yaparız, toplanırız hep.

MS- Bildiğim kadarıyla çoğunuz Ankara'da yaşıyorsunuz.

MU- Ankara'da da burada da hep görüşürüz, küçükler büyüklere gider, büyükler de onlara gider yani iyi ailemiz.

MS- Hacıbektaş size ne ifade ediyor?

MU- Ben Hacıbektaş'ı çok seviyorum, bir balkonum var şurda, hiçbir yere değişmem orayı. Burayı çok severim.

MS- geçmişini hatırladığınızda neler değişti?

MU- iyi günler de geçirdim, bu yaşım sahibi oldum kötü günler de geçirdim, bu yaşa hepsi geçti.

MS- Torunlarınıza anlatıyor musunuz eskiyi?

MU- Tabii anlatırım, otururlar buraya dizimin dibine dizilirler. Geçmişini hep anlatırım.

MS- Ziyaretçileriniz geldiğinde sizden neler istiyor, buğday istiyorlar mı mesela?

MU- İstiyorlar, dolu bir kutu buğday var. İstiyorlar, hem de Allah veriyor onlara kızım. İstiyorlar bir de bakıyorsun ki senesine kurbanını almış gelmiş bir de çocuğun alnında kan. Ben onu diyorum hep, Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin vergisi, bizde bir şey yok ki. İstiyorlar biz de veriyoruz.

MS- Ne hissediyorsunuz çocukları görünce?

MU- Seviniyoruz, nasıl seviniyor insan.

MS- Başka neler istiyorlar, giyecek yiyecek istiyorlar mı?

MU- İsterler, lokma istiyorlar mesela götürebilecekleri neler varsa leblebi, yakın yerse meyve, götürüyorlar dağıtıyorlar. Yeşil istiyorlar.

MS- Yeşil nedir?

MU- Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin üzerinde yeşil örtü var ya, şimdi mesela ona dokundurmuyorlar, ona hiç dokundurmuyorlar. Biz onun üstünde, götürüp seriyom ben yeşili kendi elimden, niyaz ediyom, geri toplayıp getiriyom, o yeşilden veriyom. İstiyorlar, inanç.

MS- Size dertlerini de anlatıyorlar değil mi, bu sizi yoruyor mu?

MU- Yoruyor kızım, yormaz olur mu? Geçen sene Tokatlılar geldiler, kurban kestiler. Olmayacak şey, ben öyle şeyleri hiç sevmem de işte dinlemek mecburiyetindeyim. Evli adamın o kadınla ilişkisi varmış, onu anlattı, ne yapacağım diye. Sen utansan dedim, gelmezdin buralara. Adamın eşi var, çocukları var kestirdim tabii, konuşmadım. Öyle olanları da var.

MS- Yıllar içinde ziyaretçilerinizde neler değişti? Herhalde saygıları hiç azalmamıştır.

MU- Yaşlılarda var, yenilerde yok. Yaşlılar bu törenin yeni başladığı zaman birkaç tane kadın tutuyorduk ama yetiştiremiyorlardı. Aşağıda bulaşık var dedim miydi, herkes yatağından fırlardı aşağıya. Şimdi öyle değil, pis edip gidiyorlar af edersin. Çoğu pis edip gidiyor, kadın tutup temizletiyoruz. Ne yapacaksın. İyi olanlar var kızım, gelip buraları temizleyenler bile var. Zaten hep öyle, iyiler iyi kötüler kötü.

MS- Tüm gelmek isteyen ziyaretçileri kabul ediyor musunuz?

MU- Tanımadığımı almam, bir kız bir ben varım evde.

SUa ve MUb ile 24.07.2009 tarihinde Hacıbektaş'ta yapılan mülakat

MS- Ağabeyleri 1928 yılında Tokat'a göç ettiğinde babanız göç etmemiş değil mi?

SU- Yok göç etmemiş, bayağı yaş farkı var ağabeyleriyle, diğer iki kızı da var dedemin. Biri eşimin anneannesidir.

MS- Anneniz Fatma Hanım

MU- 6 aylıkmışım ben annem vefat etmiş, anneannem büyütmüş beni.

MS- Babanız...

MU- En büyükleri benim

SU- 3 eşinden 11 çocuğu var, eşimin annesi 21 yaşındayken vefat etmiş. 6 aylıkmiş o zaman. İkinci hanım emzirmiş.

MU- Onun da oğlu varmış, biz beraber aynı yaştaymışız, ikimizi de emzirmiş. Ayrıca bize emzikçi tutarlarmış eskiden, bir de kadın varmış emziren, öyle büyümüşüm anneannemin yanında.

MS- Babanız burada kalmış, gitmemiş.

SU- Devamlı da kalmamış yani bir ara Çorum'da bulunmuş, Merzifon'da bulunmuş, devamlı ikamet olarak da burada, Hacıbektaş'ta. Ben 1964'e kadar buradaydım, 64'de Ankara'ya gittim, yaz günleri burada kışın orada kalıyoruz, çok az kalıyoruz burada. Çocukları okutmak için gittik.

MS- Nasıl evlendiniz, evliliğe büyükler mi karar verdi?

MU- Biz kendimiz karar verdik,

SU- Yaşım da küçüktü, 17 yaşındaydım, hatta ortaokul ikinci sınıfta okurken nişan takıldı, bir sene kadar nişanlı kaldıktan sonra düğünümüz oldu. 1953 yılında evlendik.

MS- Düğününüz nasıl oldu?

SU- Şimdiki gibi değildi o zaman, üç beş gün devam ediyordu, davullu zurnalı, pehlivanlar güreşler...

MS- Dört tane de çocuğunuz oldu.

SU- Benim geçen gün gördüğünüz büyük oğlum, aramızda 18 yaş fark var. Dördü de 30 yaşından evvel evlenmediler.

MS- Siz karar vermişsiniz ya evlenmeye, büyüklerinize nasıl açıkladınız bunu?

SU- Esasen benim babam 44 yaşında vefat etti. Annem ondan önce vefat etti, benim iki küçük kız kardeşim var, onlar annemi de bilmezler, babamı da bilmezler. Babam vefat ettikten sonra bir üvey annemiz vardı, o üvey annemiz 28 yaşında dul kaldı ve dördümüze de hem annelik yaptı hem babalık yaptı. Çok büyük hizmetleri oldu Allah

rahmet eylesin. O da iki sene önce vefat etti. Önderlik o yaptı bize, biz karar verdikten sonra. Hatta o sırada bizim kayınpeder Rıza Ulusoy ben Safa'dan hiçbir zaman kızımı esirgemem ama daha talebe, okuyor, ondan sonra demiş ama bizde maalesef okulu yarım bıraktık.

MS- Ankara'da ne yaptınız, mesleğiniz neydi?

SU- Meslek olarak pek bir şey yapmadım, bir bina yaptım beş altı daire vardı, onu sattım. Burada arazi vardı daha önce. Şimdi boş, çocuklar çalışıyor, emekli oldum Bağkur'dan.

MS- Hala topraklarınız var mı burada?

SU- Hemen hemen yok denecek kadar az.

MS- Tokat'a göçten sonra mı topraklar paylaşılmış?

SU- İki ailede bir arada yaşamış, esas Cemalettin dedem vefat ettikten sonra ayrılma olmuş. Veliyettin dedemin Cemalettin dedeme atası kadar saygısı varmış, aralarında büyük yaş farkı yok. Baştaki ev var, Kazım Ulusoy'un evi, ordan Celalettin Ulusoy'un evine kadar hepsi bir ev. Yüksek bir bahçe duvarı vardı. Her ev bölüşülünce geçişler kapandı, dıştan kapı açıldı. Yukardaki Kazım amcanın evi olarak kaldı, onun altındaki ev Yusuf amcanındı, istimlâk edildi, Atatürk evi oldu, onun altındaki Doğan'ın, onun altındaki de bizim ev. Onun altındaki üzümlü oda, Naki amcanın, onun altındaki Celalettin amcanın, Feyzullah amca bahçeden hisse aldı, oraya ev yaptırdı. Bizim evlerimiz tarihi eser olarak geçiyor, tadilat yaptıramadık, restorasyondan başkasına izin vermediler.

MS- Neden bu eve taşındınız?

SU- Oranın kullanılacak durumu yok ki.

MU- Çocuklar geldiği zaman yatacak yer yok, gelinler babasının evine gidiyordu, kaç senedir kullandık.

SU- Bölündüğü için kullanılacak bir durumu yok, restore de etsek kullanılacak durumu yok.

MU- Bahçeye de yaptıramadık.

SU- Bahçeye yaptırılabilir olsa dükkân da yaptırılırdı, bir kere restore edilse bile oranın tarihi eser olacak bir durumu kalmadı. Bizim eskiden evin üzeri topraktı, bunu değiştirdik, iki oda yaptık, çatı çıktık, balkon çıktık, pencereler değişti, ondan sonra bu tarihi eser olarak belirlendi.

MS- Ne kadardır tarihi evin, yüzyıl var mı?

SU- Yüzyıldan da fazladır, Cemalettin dedemden evvel varmış bir kısmı, bizim odanın bir kısmı sonradan yapılma, Hamdullah amca yaptırmış, iç duvar çöktü, kaymakamlığa dilekçe verdim, yeniden uyduruk bir duvar yapıldı. Atatürk parkı yapılırken izolasyon vermemişler, dışarıya su geldi, su gelince de duvar ...

MU- Biz Ankara'dan geldik ki, uçmuş yıkılmış duvar

MS- Peki evler arasındaki geçitler ne zaman kapatıldı, evler birbirinden ne zaman ayrıldı?

SU- Ben hatırlamıyorum, daha evvel olmuş. Kışın kimse kalmıyor zaten burada, hepsi Ankara'da, bir Arife Yenge kalıyor.

MS- Ziyaretçileriniz daha çok nerelerden geliyor?

SU- Eskişehir'den, Çorum'dan o tür yerlerden geliyorlar yani.

MS- Ailenizin bir üyesiyle birlikte mürşitliği yürütüyorsunuz değil mi?

SU-Ben yaşça büyüğüm, bana dendi ki post uludan uluyadır. Evet post uludan uluyadır ama bir toplum var, o hizmeti verebilmek için de bilhassa günümüzün gençlerine cevap vermek açısından güçlük çekiyorum açıkçası tahsil yönünden. Deneyim tecrübem var ama bunu yanında bugün televizyona çıkıp onun kadar iyi veremem. Mühim olan millete hizmet etmek olduğuna göre, ben onun büyüğü olarak sever sayar. Bir gibiyiz esasında biz. Toplum içinde bir bölünme oldu, belki söylemişlerdir Cemalettin efendi, Veliyettin efendi tarafı diye. Dışarıda da bir ikilik doğdu, bunu birleştirebilmek için bu kararı aldık Veliyettinle, ikimiz de görüş bildiriyoruz. En ağır işleri o yapıyor, ben de yardımcı oluyorum bir nevi. Mesela

bilgisayar işleri yazma işlerini o tamamlıyor, beraber konuşuyoruz gelen kişilerle, dede, baba, aşık ya da her neyse. Birbirimizden ayrı iş görmüyoruz, beraberiz.

MS- Dedelere icazeti de birlikte veriyorsunuz o zaman, bir dede nasıl olmalı ki, icazet verilebilsin?

SU- Şimdi, o yönde eksiklikler oluyor maalesef. Daha doğrusu dede eksikliğinden oluyor. Şimdiki zamanımızın insanlarına gençlerine hitap edecek dede yok denecek kadar az. Zamanında o baskı işkence ahırlarda hayvanları boşalttırıp halı kilim serip mum yakıp korka korka ibadet yaptığımız günleri hatırlıyorum. Artık günümüzde herkes bildiği gibi o ona bağlanmış o ona bağlanmış, artık ne öğrendiyse öbürüne aktarmış, velhasıl çok eksiklik var. Şimdi de gönderdiğimiz kişiler de çok zayıf kişiler. Üzülerek söyleyim çünkü bu baskı altında bir şey öğrenememiştir. Korku, babam zamanında zaten burada Rıza amcayla beraber Yozgat'ta yakalanmışlar, koluna kelepçe bile vurmuşlar o zaman. Babam şişmandı benim gibi, bileğine dahi kelepçe oturmuş. Öyle bir çağdan geçmişler, bizden evvelki olanlar bunlar. Zorluk çekiyoruz, dedelere verilmesi gerekirken bazen dede vekili olarak babalara mesela Veliyettin'in görev verdiği Divani gibi. Sonra eğitimde, ben kendi görüşüm, hacı Bektaş Veli'nin kerametleri Hacı Bektaş veli'yi tanıtmak için gösterilmiş. Ben kerametine inanırım fakat esas kerameti ilimde. Mesela ben ilmin şehriyim Ali kapısıdır, mesela ilimden gidilmeyen yolun sonu karanlıktır... Atatürk Türk gençlerine Hacı Bektaş Rum gençlerine ilim... ben bugün keramet aynı zamanda ilim demek. Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin cansız kayayı yürüttüğüne inanırım, ilmi... mesela güvercin donunda uçmuş ama uçaklar icat edildi. Bugün hala bazı toplumumuz taşların başını beklemekte, bizde hiç olmayan çaput bağlama, mum yakma, taşta toprağa secde etmiş oluyoruz, bunun bir değeri kalmıyor ki. Boyuna kerametten bahsedilir, ben kerametın üstünde hiç durmam, durulmasını da istemem, keramet Hacı Bektaş Veli'yi tanıtmış. Ne yapacağız, Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin emirlerini yerine getirmemiz gerekir, en büyük görevimiz o.

MS- Tekke ve zaviyeler kapatıldığında siz doğmamışsınız henüz ama aileniz nasıl karşılamış, belki büyükleriniz anlatmıştır.

SU- Ben Atatürk'e zerre kadar toz kondurmam. Türkiye'yi Türkiye yapan Atatürk'tür, Aleviliğe hiçbir zaman karşı olmamıştır, hiçbir zaman. Olsaydı zaten buraya gelip Cemal dedemle kalıp, cumhuriyetin kurulmasını teklif eden hatta Cemal dedemmiş işittiğimize göre. Ondan sonra şimdi de öyle hep yapılan işleri reisicumhurdan başbakandan görmeyelim, yapandan hakkımızı alamazsak biz, mesela kaymakam bir kötülük yaparsa biz de duyurmaktan aciz olursak, elbette ki öyle devam eder. Böyle bir hal olmuş gibi tahmin ediyorum ben, yoksa Atatürk tarafından yapıldığını hiç zannetmiyorum. Bizim zaten karşımızda jandarma karakolu vardı. Gelen giden ziyaretçiler takip ediliyordu. Hatta bazen çerçicilik yapanlarla o dedeler gizlice içeri girer, icazet alır giderlermiş. Kimse onun dede olduğunun ve o şekilde girdiğinin farkında olmazmış, o şekilde girermiş.

MS- Dergâh 64 yılında müze olarak açılınca gelip gitmeler kolaylaşıyor bildiğim kadarıyla ve aileniz üzerindeki baskı da hafifliyor, peki 64'ten önce nasıldı?

SU- 64 öncesinde o kadar serbest değildik biz, serbestlik vardı biraz, babamızın zamanındaki gibi sıkı görmedik ama 64 sonrasında biraz daha rahatladık. Maalesef bu serbestlik durumunda bizde tutkunluk yok. Derneklerin, federasyonların durumunu görüyorsunuz. Amaçlar bir görüşler değişik, siyaset girmiş maalesef. Bizim ailenin içinde de bir girmiş bir zaman, şimdi biz bunu toparlamaya çalışıyoruz. Hala olan da var, maalesef bu serbestlikten faydalanamıyoruz, değerlendiremiyoruz. Birlik olamıyoruz daha doğrusu, dedelerin arasında da var ikilik, bizde de var, sayılır, birkaç kişi müstesna geri kalanı iyiyiz. O başka da...

MS- Ailenizden çok da milletvekili çıkmış, siz hiç düşündünüz mü?

SU- Düşünmedim, vatandaşlık görevimden başka... Benim konuşmalarım yönümü tayin ediyor zaten.

MS- Sizin çocukluğunuzdan beri ailenizde neler değişti?

SU- Ben varken çocuklarımın dördü de hafta sonları bize gelirler, ben yoksam da her hafta birinin evinde toplanırlar. Çocuklarım çok birlik, torunlarım da.

MS- Peki genel olarak Ulusoy ailesi, eskiden daha çok bir araya gelirmişsiniz sanırım.

SU- Tabii daha çok bir araya gelirdik, Topayın'da, büyüklerimizin ellerinden öperdik, ziyaret ederdik, onlarda sonradan gelir bizlerle görüşürlerdi. Yine var da, o kadar değil, azaldı. Bir kırgınlık da var arada, ailemize uymayacak şekilde, lüzumsuz çünkü. Özlük üveylik girmiş, onun da biraz şeyleri var.

MS-Peki çocuklarınızın evliliğine nasıl karar verdiniz, kendileri mi istedi, siz mi uygun gördünüz?

SU- Hepsi de kendi istedi. Bizim küçük oğlumuz Kırşehir'li bir kızla evlendi, o kendisi buldu, biz ilk önce şey yapmadık ama iyiler, mühim olan mesut olmak. Birinin eşi benim yeğenim, küçük kardeşimden.

MU- Anneannem 57 yaşında mı ne, vefat etti. Ali Cevat dayım Zile'de kaldı, Zile'den sonra buraya geldi, burada vefat etti. Dayımın ilk eşi öldü, sonra eşimin kardeşiyle evlendi. İlk eşi Hamdullah kızı Şaziye.

MS- Aile içi evlilikler hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz

MU- Hastalıklar olmasa, irsi hastalıklar var bizde, şeker var bizde...

MS- Aile içi evlilik aile dağılmasın diye bir önlem mi?

SU- Aile dışında evlendiğimiz kişilerde aile içinde evlendiğimizden huzur daha iyi, şimdi öyle. Bölünmeler de ondan olmuştur.

SU- Şimdi gençler evlenmiyorlar pek aile içinden.

MS- Bundan dolayı bir kaygı duyuyor musunuz?

MU- Üzülüyorum, mesela benim gelinin biri yabancı, çok üzüldük önceleri de, şimdi iyi alıştık artık.

SU- Mühim olan insan olmak. Bizim oğlumuz dışarıdan evlendi, diyorlar, örnek oluyor güya.

MS- Ailenizdeki erkekler ille de aile içinden evlenmemişler.

SU- Benim annem Çorumlu mesela Alacalı.

MS- Şimdi değişik olan ailenizin kızlarının dışarıdan evleniyor olması sanırım.

SU- Onlar daha fazla bir sarsıntı geçiriyor, ayırım olmasa desek dahi dışlanıyor, öyle bir durum var.

MS- Siz hangi evde doğmuşsunuz?

MU- Ben Tokat'ta doğdum, annemin vefatı da Tokat'ta. Çocukluğum anneannemin yanında geçti, Zile'ye gittik bir ara sonra Tokat'a. Ben burada hiç okumadım. İlkokul dördece gittim, anneannem burada öldü işte. İki üvey annem vardı onların yanında kaldım, kardeşlerimin yanında kaldım, ben tekim yani. Zor oldu, anneannemin bir tane evladıydım. (SU-Anneanesi el üstünde tutmuş). Kendi kızının yerine koymuş beni, o da vefat edince ben kaldım. (SU- Aramızda beş yaş fark var, ben 17) 22 yaşında evlendim. Kına gecesi oldu, birkaç gün düğün oldu, güreş müreş oldu düğünde de. Epeyce uzun sürdü bizim düğün, nişanımız bile üç gün sürdü. Düğün çok kalabalıktı.

MS- Aile içinde bir eğitim verdiler mi size?

SU- Valla ben esasında eğitimi toplum içinde aldım. Üç beş okuduğum kitap haricinde toplumdaki aldım. Sizde muhabbet ettim onu aldım, başka yere verdim yani. Ailemden pek fazla bir şey görmedim.

MS- Hacıbektaşlılarla ilişkinizi de merak ediyorum.

SU- Hacıbektaşlıların şahsımız olarak bir şeyini görmedik ama eskiden geldikleri zaman efendim, efendim diye konuşurlardı, şimdi gençleri bilmiyor da. Bayramları gelirlerdi. Genç olmama rağmen benden daha yaşlılar çıkıp benim eve gelirlerdi, kahve yetiştiremezdik o zaman. Gelirlerdi ama şimdi hemen hiç, yok denecek kadar az. Kopmanın nedenini onların bilmesi lazım. Geçen de dedim ya Aleviysen Alevisin, mürşidin kim yok, pirin kim yok, bir mürşidini pirini bul da o yolda gidemiyor, yolunu yürütemiyor deme hakkın var. Toplum içinde sevilmemiz sayılmamız

sülaleden geliyorsa da yine de biz demek ki bir hizmet veriyoruz. Kazım abinin evinin üst tarafındaki evlerin hepsi bizimdi, duvar vardı. Postanenin alt tarafı hemen hemen hepsi bizimdi, o ortaokulun olduğu yer harman yeriydi, Ulusoyların bir faydası olmadı da, bunların hepsini bir kuruluş almadan verdik. Cemalettin dedem ayrıca bir yardım yaparmış, o zaman gelir de fazlamış, şimdiki gibi değilmiş. Biraz fazla alıştırmış herhalde, şimdiki nesil de bunu bulamıyor. Zaten biz yedi yüz küsur senedir Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin evladı olarak tanınıyoruz... Bize gelenler olduğu zaman sanarlar altın inci bıraktı, bir deri bıraktıklarını bilirim. Çelebiler Çelebiler böyle, şunu yapıyorlar, bunu yapıyorlar. Dilden dile dedikodu, yolda kimi görsem selam vermeye çalışıyorum, yönlerine öteki tarafa dönüyorlar. Gerçi Ulusoy olduğumuzu bilmeyebilirler de, bu kadar da değişik tipte insanlar yani. Merkez burası olduğuna göre, örnek olması gerekir buranın aslında.

MS- Ziyaretçileriniz geldiğinde neler yapıyorlar, bu eve geldiler mi?

SU- Zaten bu ikinci sene olacak. Alt katta kalıyorlar, aynı daire, değişen bir şey yok. Yalnız koku oluyor diye mutfığı dışarı aldık. Adamcağız kendine amele yeri olarak yapmış, tesadüf biz de işte bir tarafını lavabo yaptık. Altta da masalar var, ora yemek yiyorlar, içeride de yatıyorlar, salon da bayağı geniş, mutfığı da oda olarak yaptık. Aşağı yukarı dört oda, bir salon. En çok törende geliyor ziyaretçilerimiz, zaten başka zamanlarda ekseri burada olmuyorum ben.

MS-Ankara'da geliyorlar mı?

SU- Ankara'da yok, çevre biraz şey, tutucu. Gerçi bize zararları yok. Çok iyi insanız, temiz insanız da namaz kılmıyoruz, ramazan orucu tutmuyoruz, suçumuz o oluyor. Hacı Bektaş evlatlarından olduğumuzu biliyorlar. Samimiyetimiz olmuyor işte, merhaba hoşbeş yolda gördüğümüz zaman. Beş ev kaldık orda, on var vardık, sattılar, gittiler.

MS- Ailede ilk Ankara'ya göç edenlerden birisiniz değil mi?

SU- Yok, babası, bize önderlik yapan o oldu. O zaman para da pek yoktu, kredi çektik, onunla yaptık binayı. Bizden evvel Rıza Ulusoy sonra Kazım abi gitti, Celal amca Naki amca gitti.

MU- Çoğu da çocuklarını okutmak için gitti, burada okul yoktu.

SU- Ben tadamadım ama onlara tattırdım. Ben hala sıkıntısını çekiyorum, yani bir şeyi konuşurken dahi bir gaf mı yapacağım, çok sıkıntısını çekiyorum, bildiğimi dahi satamıyorum.

MU- Beni kandırdın diyor.

SU- Birinci başta gereken ahlak, ondan sonra tahsil. Tahsilli ama ahlaksız bir insan memlekete zarar verir, ama ahlaklı bir insan okursa memleketi kurtarır, Atatürk gibi.

MU- Babam beni okutmayı istedi de, ben tembellik ettim. O zamandan bari ortaokulu bitirseydin diyordu. Ben çok sıkılgan bir insandım, şimdi de öyleyim ama okursan açılırsın derdi, rahmetli babam.

SU- Kardeşlerinin bir kısmı okudu.

MU- Çok iyi adamdı babam.

SU- Hatta dışarıda da dermiş, bir ekmeğiniz varsa yarısını satın, yarısıyla çocuklarınızı, yarım karınla hiç kimse ölmez ama tahsilsiz bir insanın geleceği iyi olmaz diye bunu dermiş. Toplumun bize söylediği, Alevi'nin içinde söylediği sözlerden aktarılan. Zaten çocuklarının hepsini okuttu. Sadece üçü şey yapamadı.

MU- Ben gelin olduktan sonra, annemin birisiyken babam Ankara'ya yerleştiler, o zaman beş tane çocuğu vardı. Beşini de okuttuydu, iki kızını öğretmendi, birisi geçen sene vefat etti.

MS-Topayın'a gidiyor musunuz?

SU- Topayın bakımsız, hepsi bölünmüş, eskiler dermiş ki keşke Topayın'ın bu halini görmez olaydık, şimdi görseler, hep köyün hayvanları bahçelerdeymiş. Parayla bakacak birini bulamıyorlarmış.

MU- Benim anneannem her Topayın'a gittiğinde ağlarmış, o zaman evleri varmış, altında havuzu, oraları yıkık dökük görünce, babasını hatırlarmış Cemalettin dedemi, oraya gitmek istemezmiş.

SU- Yalan, cennet gibiymiş, cennet nasıl bilmiyoruz ya. Her tarafta çiçekler varmış, tavus kuşları, saray gibi evler. Celalettin amca Turizm ve Tanıtma Derneği kurmuştu, onun zamanında bayağı bir kalabalık toplanırdı dışarıdan gelenlerle beraber, törenlerde gider muhabbet ederdik. Yine gidenler oluyor. Biz burada onlar orda yapıyorlar.

MU- Feyzullah amcalar ta baharda giderlerdi.

SU- Feyzullah amca orda kalırdı. Avukatlık yapmadı, hukukçuydu, avukat mürşitlik yapamaz çünkü avukat yalan söyler dediler, avukatlıktan vazgeçti.

MS- Ali İhsan Bey de mürşitlik yapmış galiba.

SU- Yok yapmadı, yaşı büyüktü ama Feyzullah amca yaptı. Rıza amcaynan Feyzullah amca da bir arada yaptılar. Bu ikilik o zaman başlamış, ondan sonra biz bunu tatbik etmeye çalıştık. Yusuf amcaynan Veliyettin biraz şey etmişler, toplumun içinde de bayağı bir bölünme oldu.

MS- Ayrı annelerin çocuğu olmak fark ediyor mu?

SU- Evet, öz gibi olmuyor tabii.

MU- Beş kardeşim bir anneden, beş kardeşim bir anneden, onlar kendi aralarında topluluk oluyor. Ben kalıyorum.

SU- Y. amcamın da iki hanımı var, biri F. amcanın kardeşi, diğeri Yozgatlı. Onun aynı çocukları arasında pek yakınlık. Bizde küslük olmaz da, soğukluk olur. Biz de hanımla bazen şey yaparız, aşağı yukarı 56 yıllık evliyiz, 24 saat bilmem yani küs olduğumuzu.

MS- Ziyaretçiler geldiğinde neler yapıyorlar?

SU- Bir şeyler olursa gelip danışıyorlar işte... İplik dualatma, su dualatma, karşıyım biraz. Diyorum kendilerine ben Ehlibeyt'in adını anıyorum, bilmiyorum Arapça dua

falan. İp bağlatıyorlar, manevi inanç ya inandınız geçti, ip kopunca ne olacak, Hünkâr'a bağlanın ki en azından kopmayan bir bağ olsun. Ben esasen karşıyım ona ama silemiyorum, ben söylüyorum, arkadan yine aynı geliyor. Nerden gelmiş girmiş anlayamıyorum, zamanında yapılmış mutlaka, onu kabul ediyorum da, şu zamanda, şu devirde. Bir doktor hastaya moral verince onun bayağı tesiri var...

MS-En çok nerelerden gelirler?

SU- Her taraftan gelirler de benim son zamanlarda irtibatım ekseriye Merzifon ve Eskişehir. Her taraf giderdim ben eskiden, Karadeniz, Antep, Urfa, Ordu, Fatsa, Ünye, Sivas, Tokat. Her tarafa gidiyorduk biz. Yaşım da ilerledi, 73 yaşına değdim, artık şey yapamıyorum. İstek oluyor ama.

MS- Mürşitliği nasıl yürütüyorsunuz?

SU- Büyük meseleler olursa Veliyettin'le irtibatsızlık yapmıyoruz. Ufacık şeylerden küskünlük dargınlık oluyor, barıştırmak için danışmak gerekmiyor böyle şeylerde. Boşanma, dışarıdan kız verme, kız alma olaylarında araştırmamız gerekiyor, boşanmış niye boşanmış. Biliyorsunuz bir aileden biri suç işlediği zaman hepsi suçlu sayılıyor. Biliyorsunuz bizim tarikatımıza giren insanlar sıradan insanlar olamaz, mutlaka temiz insanlar olması gerekiyor. Bizim tarikatımızda temiz insanların bir arada olması lazım. Ağzı dualı kullar yüzü suyu hürmetine diyoruz, ağzı dualı kullar temiz insanların bir araya gelip Allah'a yakarması. Yolda giderken kaza geçirsek içimizde bir uğursuz varmış diyoruz, toplumda öyle kişilerin olmamasını istiyoruz.

MS- Evlerinize gelen ziyaretçilerde eskiye göre neler değişti?

SU- Eskiye göre bazı ziyaretçilerde gelişme var onu kabul etmek gerekir. Eskiden babamızın dedemizin zamanında görmek yetermiş, göreyim yeter, bir ziyaret edeyim yeter. Hac gibiymiş. Ama şimdikiiler öyle değil, geldiğinde bir şeyler öğrenmek istiyor. Boş geldiyse dolu gitmek istiyor, fikir ve düşüncelerinden faydalanmak istiyor. Şimdiki gençler bazen öyle oluyor ki, altından kalkılamayacak sorular

soruyorlar bize. Ama çok iyi bir şey, gelişme var, onu takdir ediyorum her zaman için.

MS- Dedeleriniz zamanında ziyaretçiler böyle kalabalık mı gelirmiş?

SU- Yaşlılar da gelirmiş, o zaman hususi fırınlar, hayvanlar için tavlalar. Canım hatta kâhyalar, bayağı bir teşkilat varmış. Maalesef şimdi o yok, o olmadığı için de faydalanalar pek çok burada, bizim aileyle ilgisi olmayan bir sürü Ulusoy olarak tanıtılanları var, cemevleri yapanlar var. Mesela bizim cem evimiz yok ama burada birkaç tane cemevi var. Cemalettin dedemin her türlü hizmetini görecektir insan varmış ve teşkilatı tammiş o zaman. Şimdi bundan yoksunuz.

MS- Galiba sizin evlerinizin olduğu yerde bir cemevi var değil mi?

SU- Yok, cemevi değil, misafirlerin kaldığı bir yer. Olmuyor ibadet yerinde yiyip içmek ama cemevi deniyordur, o başka. Bizim ailenin cemevi olarak o Timur'un var, Arife yengelerin, Ali'nin var. Bizim de misafirhanelerimiz var burada, Veliyettin'in ve benim. Hacı Bektaş evlatlarından burada Hüdadahlılar var, Topayın'da varmış.

MS- Ocaklarla ilişkileriniz nasıl?

SU- Mesela ufacık bir şeyde yön değiştiriyorlar. Benim çocuğum bir suç işlemişse bütün sülaleye mal ediyorlar, oysa onun yaptığından o sorumlu. Hem şikâyet ediyorlar, hem hürmet ediyorlar. Biz de diyoruz ki madem bizim aileye uygun hareketler yoksa onlardan uzak kalın. Nasıl uzak kalırız Hacı Bektaş evladı, Hacı Bektaş evladıysa sesinizi çıkarmayın. Hacı Bektaş evladı ille onun gibi olacak diye bir şey yok, cahilse cahilin sözünden gidilir mi?

MS- Aile üyeleriyle nasıl görüşüyorsunuz?

SU- Bayramlarda, cenazelerde, birkaç aile dışında devamlı buluşuyoruz, görüşüyoruz. Zaten bayramlarda büyükler ziyaret edilir, sonra küçükler onları ziyarete gelir. O şey devam ediyor hala, birkaç kişi müstesna.

MS- Neden ailenizde kadınlar mürşit olamıyor?

SU- Ali ve Fatma anamızı temel alalım, Fatma anamız temel olduđu halde Ali ve ehlibeytten devam ediyor. Byklerimizin yaptığına yanlış demek istemem ama o zamandan bu zamana gelmiş. Ayrım olmaması gerekirken olmuş nasıl olmuşsa.

MS- Ama eşinizde sizin gibi saygı göryor deđil mi?

SU- Saygı gösteren de var, göstermeyen de var. Hep bir olmuyor.

APPENDIX C

THE TABLE OF THE SOCIAL PROFILE OF INFORMANTS FROM THE ULUSOY FAMILY

	name ⁴²⁵	birth date	sex	marriage status	≠ of child	occupation	education level	places that they live
1	AUa	1918 ⁴²⁶	F	widowed	4	x	literate	Ankara Hacıbektaş
2	NUa	1925	F	widowed	6	x	drop out primary school	Ankara Hacıbektaş
3	MUa	1928	F	widowed	4	x	drop out primary school	Ankara Hacıbektaş
4	MUb	1931	F	married	4	x	drop out primary school	Hacıbektaş- Ankara
5	AUb	(?)	F	widowed (affinal)	4	x	primary school	Hacıbektaş
6	MUc	1934	F	widowed	-	x	?	Ankara Hacıbektaş
7	FUa	1935	F	widowed	4	x	drop out primary school	Ankara Hacıbektaş
8	SUa	1936	M	married	4	x	drop out secondary school	Ankara Hacıbektaş
9	Sİ	1937	F	married (ourmarriage)	2	x	primary school	Hacıbektaş- ?

⁴²⁵ Instead of names I use abbreviations.

⁴²⁶ She passed away in 2012.

10	FUb	1941	F	married	2	x	primary school	Ankara Hacibektaş
11	VHU	1942	M	married	2	retired (arcitect)	university	Ankara Hacibektaş
12	HUa	1943	F	married	2	x	high school	Ankara Hacibektaş
13	NUb	1943	F	widowed	2	x	high school	Ankara-İstanbul
14	ŞUa	1946	F	married	2	x	primary school	Ankara-Hacibektaş
15	DUa	1946	F	married	2	x	primary school	Ankara
16	ADU	1947	M	married	2	x	secondary school	Ankara-Hacibektaş
17	HNU	1950	F	married	2	retired (bank employer)	university	Ankara
18	NUc	1953	F	married	2	x	drop out secondary school	Ankara-Hacibektaş-Tokat
19	HHU	1953	M	married	3	teacher	university	Ankara-Hacibektaş
20	AHBU	1953	M	married	2	retired (engineer)	university	Ankara
21	MNU	1954	M	married	2	engineer	university	Ankara
22	NUd	1955	F	married	1	retired (bank employer)	university	Ankara
23	BUa	1955	M	married	2	engineer	university	Ankara
24	SUc	1955	F	married	2	x	primary school	Ankara-Hacibektaş
25	ZUa	1956	F	widowed	3	x	drop out secondary school	Ankara-Hacibektaş

26	MUd	1957	F	widowed	3	x	primary school	Ankara
27	SUd	1957	M	married	2	retired	university	Ankara
28	FUc	?	F	married (affinal)	2	?	?	Ankara
29	AUc	1958	M	married	2	x	?	Ankara Hacıbektaş
30	HUb	?	F	married (affinal)	2	x	?	Ankara Hacıbektaş
31	AUd	?	F	widowed (affinal)	2	x	?	Ankara Hacıbektaş
32	İUa	1958	F	married	2	x	high school	Ankara
33	LUa	?	F	married (affinal)	4	x	?	İstanbul- Hacıbektaş
34	SNU	1960	F	married	2	x	high school	Ankara
35	SUe	1961	F	married	3	x	high school	Ankara Hacıbektaş
36	CAU	1961	M	married	2	civil servant	?	Ankara Hacıbektaş
37	İUb	?	F	married (affinal)	2	?	?	Ankara Hacıbektaş
38	GSU	1963	F	single	x	civil servant	university	Ankara
39	HUA	1967	F	married (outmarriage)	2	civil servant	university	Hacıbektaş
40	HSU	1970	M	married	1	teacher	university	Ankara
41	AUe	?	F	married (affinal)	1	nurse	university	Ankara
42	UUa	1977	M	single	x	x	high school	Ankara Hacıbektaş

43	SUd	1978	F	single	x	x	secondary school	Ankara Hacibektaş
44	DUb	1980	F	single	x	x	university	Ankara Hacibektaş
45	Ç	1980	F	married outmarriage	x	x	university	Ankara
46	ZUb	1980	F	single	x	x	university	Ankara Hacibektaş
47	EUa	1982	M	single	x	x	university	Ankara Hacibektaş
48	NSU	1983	F	single	x	judicial intern	university	Ankara
49	SUe	1985	M	single	x	x	student	Ankara
50	MUe	1985	F	single	x	x	university	Ankara
51	MUf	1989	F	single	x	x	student-university	Ankara Hacibektaş
52	BUb	1990	F	single	x	x	student-university	Ankara
53	SUf	1993	F				student-high school	Ankara
54	AUf	1994	F				student-high school	Ankara Hacibektaş
55	İEU	1996	M				student	Ankara Hacibektaş
56	EUb	2005	F					Ankara Hacibektaş
57	NUe	2006	F					Ankara Hacibektaş
58	ABU	2009	M					Ankara

APPENDIX D

THE PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE RESIDENCES OF THE ULUSOYS

Photo 1: A photograph of the Çelebi mansions from the 1950s.



Photo 2: A photo from the Çelebi Mansions from the 1950s.



Photo 3: Çelebi Mansions in 2010



Photo 4: The Çelebi Mansions in 2010



Photo 5: The Atatürk's House Museum in the Çelebi Mansions in 2010



Photo 6: One of the Ulusoy residences outside the mansion complex



Photo 7: One of the Ulusoy residences outside mansion complex



Photo 8: The Room with “grapes”

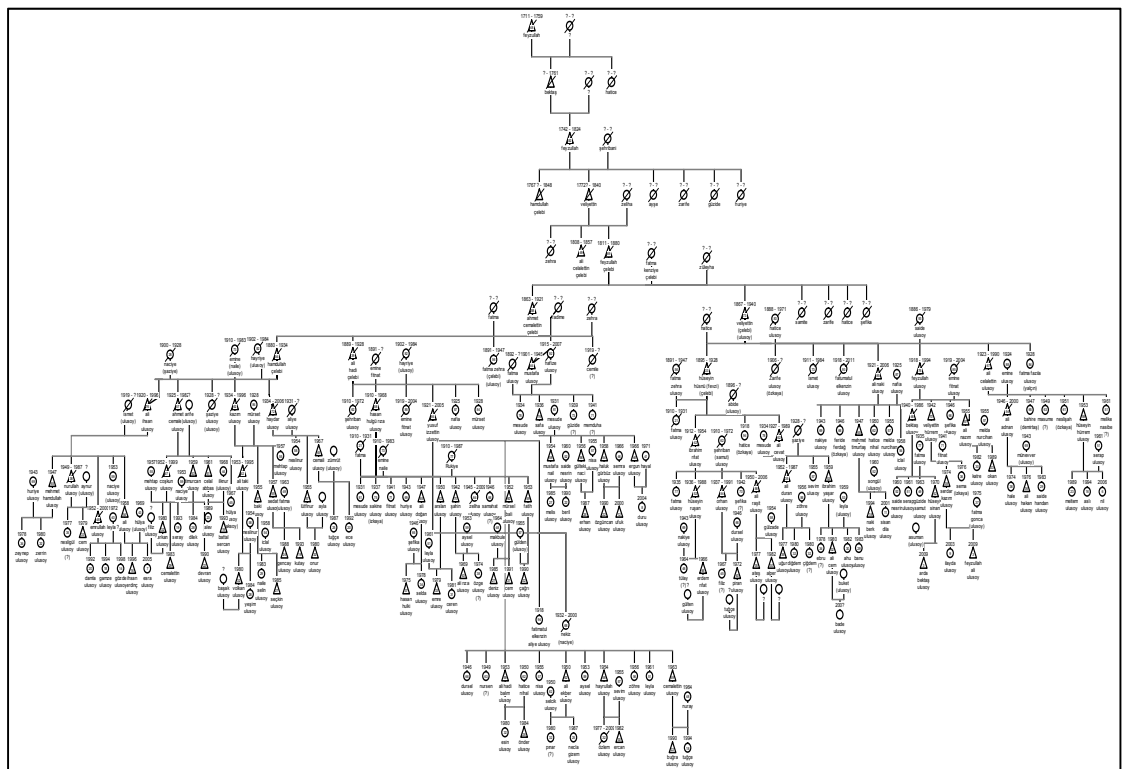


Photo 9: The Room with “grapes”



APPENDIX E

THE PEDIGREE CHART OF THE ULUSOYS



APPENDIX F

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU##

ENSTİTÜ

#

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : SALMAN
Adı : MERAL
Bölümü : SOSYOLOJİ

TEZİN ADI : THE PERSISTENCE OF A SACRED PATRILINEAGE IN
CONTEMPORARY TURKEY: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT ON THE ULUSOY
FAMILY, THE DESCENDANTS OF HACI BEKTAŞ VELİ

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:

APPENDIX G

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Salman, Meral
email: meral_salman@hotmail.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
PhD	METU Sociology	2012
MS	METU Sociology	2005
BS	HÜ Sociology	1999
High School	Ankara Anadolu High School	1994

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2012 April- Present (till the end of December)	UNFPA	Project Assistant
2009 May- 2009 August	“Antagonistic Tolerance : Long Time Sharing of and Competition over Religious Sites in Turkey” project supported by International Collaborative Research Grant, Wenner Gren Foundation and National Science Foundation (NSF)	Field Researcher

CONFERENCES

“The Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli as the Battlefield for the Alevi-Bektaşhi Identity Construction” Graduate Conferences in European History *New Histories Of Topics, Theories, and Methods in the History of Politics Beyond Great Events and Great Men* 18-20 May 2007 at Central European University organized by CEU, European University Institute and Berliner Kolleg für Vergleichende Geschichte Europas

“The Hacıbektaş Festival as an Ideological Battlefield in Construction the Alevi-Bektaşhi Identity” *History, Politics, Turkey: Social Problems and Critical Approaches* at Boğaziçi University, Atatürk Institute, Graduate Conference 6-7-8 December 2007

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English (advanced), German (intermediary), Persian (preliminary), Ottoman Turkish (printed)

PUBLICATIONS

Book:

Alevi-Bektaşhi Kimliğinin Kuruluş Sürecinde Hacı Bektaş Veli Anma Törenleri (The Memorial Ceremonies of Hacı Bektaş Veli in the Alevi-Bektaşhi Identity Construction Process) 2006. Ankara: Kalan Publication

Article:

“Alevi-Bektaşhi Kimliğinin Kuruluşunda Bir Mücadele Alanı Olarak Hacıbektaş Şenlikleri” (The Hacıbektaş Festival as a Battlefield for Construction the Alevi-Bektaşhi Identity) *Kırkbudak Journal*, year:2 vol.7

APPENDIX H

TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışma, kendilerine bağı Alevi-Bektaş topluluklar tarafından Hacı Bektaş Veli'ni evlatları olarak kabul edilen Ulusoy ailesinin Cumhuriyet dönemi boyunca kutsiyetini, kutsal otoritesini nasıl sürdürdüğü ve yeniden ürettiği soruna cevap arayan bir etnografidir. Çalışmada, araştırma problematiğinin ve araştırmanın metodolojisinin yer aldığı iki bölüme, ailenin kutsiyetinin ve kutsal otoritesini uygulayışının tarihsel arkaplanının araştırıldığı bir bölüme, Cumhuriyet dönemi boyunca kutsal otoritenin yaşadığı dönüşüm ve yeni biçimler üzerine bir bölüme, kutsal otoritenin mekân üzerinden nasıl ve ne biçimlerde korunduğuna ve yeniden üretildiğine dair bir bölüme, ailenin akrabalık kurallarını ve ilişkilerini konu edinen bir bölüm, toplumsal cinsiyetin, özellikle ailenin kadınlarının ailenin devamlılığı ve kutsiyetinin yeniden üretilmesi konusundaki etkisini araştıran bir bölüme ve çalışmanın kısa bir değerlendirilmesinin yapıldığı sonuç bölümüne yer verildi.

Çalışmanın Kasım 2008'ten Eylül 2010'a kadar çeşitli aralıklarla süren saha araştırması esnasında veri toplamak için (katılımcı) gözlem, mülakat, derinlemesine mülakat, sözlü tarih çalışması ve belge araştırması, görsel araştırma gibi teknikler kullandım. Araştırma, ağırlıklı olarak Ulusoy ailesinin üyelerinin birbirleriyle ve kendilerine bağı Alevi-Bektaşilerle buluştuğu mekân olan ve kendilerine ait 17 evin bulunduğu Hacıbektaş ilçesinde devam etti. Hacıbektaş dışında, gündelik hayatlarına dair bilgi edinebilmek için Ankara'da Ulusoy ailesinden bazı üyelerin evlerini ziyaret ettim ve görüşmeler yaptım.

Massey (1994) yer (space) kavramını inşa halinde olan sürekliliklerin, kopuşların ve pratiklerin birbirleriyle karşılıklı ilişkilerinin ürünü olarak tanımlar. Mekân (place) ise bu karşılıklı ilişkilerin belirli bir lokasyonda özel bir biçimde birbirine eklemlenmesidir. Yani yer ve mekân birbirini dışlayan kavramlar değildir; maddi pratiklerden oluşur ve çokluk, açıklık ve dinamizm kavramları ile birlikte düşünülmesi gerekir. Bu bakımdan çalışmanın sahası olan Hacıbektaş ilçesi ve diğer sahası olan Ankara ili daha geniş sosyal ilişkilerle bağlantılı ama kendine özgü bir sosyal ilişkilerin buluşma mekânı olarak düşünülmelidir.

Araştırma öznelerim olan Ulusoy ailesi 19. yüzyıl sonlarından 2010 yılına kadar, evliliklerle aileye katılanlar da dahil 222 kişiden oluşuyordu ve 2010 yılında ailenin 167 üyesi hayattaydı. Saha araştırması sırasında 58 aile üyesiyle tanıştım, evlerini ziyaret ettim, evlerinde yapılan etkinliklere katıldım ve onlarla birebir ve grup mülakatları gerçekleştirdim. Mülakat yapamadığım aile üyeleriyle de sohbet ederek onlardan bilgi aldım. Aile üyeleri dışında aileye bağlı dedeler/babalar ve talipler ile görüşmeler yaptım.

Etnografi, sadece sahada verilerin toplanma sürecini içermez, aynı zamanda verilerin değerlendirildiği bir yazım sürecidir ve düşünümsellik (reflexivity), yani başlangıcından bitişine kadar tüm araştırma sürecinin izlenmesi araştırmanın etiği ve geçerliliği açısından elzemdir. Araştırmacının bilgi nesnesinden ayrı/bağımsız olmasını ve değerden arınmış bilimi savunan objektivist yaklaşımın aksine araştırmacı araştırma yaptığı sosyal dünyanın bir parçasıdır. Aynı zamanda, araştırmacı ve araştırma konusu arasındaki ayrımı ortadan kaldırıp bilgiyi araştırmacının tecrübesi haline indirgeyen sübjektivist yaklaşımların aksine düşünümsellik araştırmanın amacı değil, araştırmacının dışındaki sosyal gerçekliğin bilgisini elde edebilmek için bir araçtır. Ayrıca, -çalışmanın saha araştırmasından yazımına- tüm süreçlerinde öz-düşünümsellik, özellikle de benim durumumda olduğu gibi araştırmacı “içeriden” ise, çalışma açısından kritik bir öneme sahiptir. Bu

nedenle, araştırma süreci boyunca cinsiyetim, yaşı, evli olup olmamam, sınıfsal özelliklerim, nereli olduğum, dinsel inancım üzerinden araştırmacılarla nasıl etkileşime girdiğim ve bunların araştırmacılarla ilişkimi ve saha çalışmanın sınırlarını belirlemede ne derece etkili olabildiğini göstermek, düşünömsellik çevçevesinde çalışmanın amaçlarından biriydi. Örneğin, Hacıbektaşlı olmak araştırmacı olarak bana hem içeriden olmanın avantajlarını hem de dezavantajlarını sundu çünkü kasabada yaşamayı tecrübe etmemiş biri olarak araştırma öznelerimin sahip olduğumu düşündükleri bilgiden daha azına sahiptim ve bu bir dezavantajdı. Ama benzer kültürel kodları, dili, terminolojiyi paylaştığım için araştırma konuma ve araştırma öznelerime yatkınlığım, onları anlamak açısından bir avantajdı. Toplumsal cinsiyet, araştırmanın başında bu konuda herhangi bir vurgu yapmamama rağmen saha çalışmasının sınırlarını en çok belirleyen faktörlerden biri oldu. Kadın olarak kadınlarla daha yakın ilişki kurabildim ve saha araştırmamı daha çok onların alanlarında sürdürdüm. Bekâr olmam ise yaşımdan bağımsız olarak beni genç kategorisine soktu ve bu durum, özellikle kadınlar için özel olan bazı alanlara girmemi, bazı soruları sormamı engelledi.

Etnografide sahada elde edilen verilerin yanı sıra diğer araştırmacılar tarafından yayımlanan Osmanlı dönemine ait resmi belgelerden, gazete haberlerinden ve aile üyelerinin yazdıkları kitaplardan da faydalandım. Ayrıca görsel malzemeler (saha araştırması esnasında üretilenler ve mevcut görsel malzemeler), sözlü tarih çalışmaları ve saha bilgilerinin güncel tutulması açısından önemliydi.

Çalışmanın konusu, araştırma sorusunda içerilen bir çelişki üzerinden gelişti: Ulusoy ailesinin kalıtsal olarak sahip olduğuna inanılan kutsiyetin ve -dünyevi, dünyevi olmayan ayrımı olmaksızın tüm yaşamı kapsayan ve toplumsal düzenleme getiren kutsal otoritenin- dinin dünyevi olandan (devlet, hukuk, ekonomi, bilim) ayrıldığı ve kendine ait alana yerleştiği varsayılan, seküler bir dönemde varlığını

sürdürmesinin ve yeniden üretmesinin mümkün olması (veya nasıl mümkün olabildiği).

Öncelikle, ailenin kutsiyetine ve kutsal otoritesine bakmak önemliydi. Bektaşî tarikatı farklı organizasyon biçimleri içeren iki kola ayrılması bakımından özgün bir tarikattır. Kollardan biri Babagan koludur. Bu kol tasavvufî bir eğitime dayanır ve hiyerarşik yapılanması bu eğitimin basamaklarına göredir. Tezin konusunu oluşturan Çelebi kolunun örgütlenmesi ise kan bağına dayanır. Çelebi kolunun, yani Ulusoy ailesinin kendilerine bağlı Alevi-Bektaşî topluluklarca Bektaşî tarikatının kurucusu kabul edilen Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin evlatları olduğuna inanılır. Aile, Hacı Bektaş Veli'den kan bağıyla miras aldığı kutsal otoriteyle kendilerine bağlı ocakların dedelerine ve taliplerine Alevi-Bektaşî yoluna uygun olarak rehberlik eder ve yolun yürütülmesi için kendisine bağlı toplulukların yaşamını düzenler. Ailenin kalıtsal olarak mirasçısı olduğu kutsal otorite iki kavrama dayanır, batın ve velayet. Şii geleneğine göre son peygamber olan Muhammed Kuran'ın zahir yönünü inananlarına açıklamıştır ama Kuran'ın bir de gizli, mantıkla çıkarılamayacak anlamı, batın bilgisi vardır ve bu hakikattir. Batın bilgisini ise sadece veli olanlar, yani Allah'ın dostu olan İmamlar yani Muhammed'in ailesi olan Ehli Beyt (Muhammed'in damadı ve amcasının oğlu Ali'nin ve Muhammed'in kızı Fatma ile olan çocukları) yorumlayıp, inananlarına açıklayabilir. Şii geleneğine paralel olarak Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin evlatlarına aktardığı kutsal otorite de velayete ve batın bilgisine dayanır çünkü Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin 7. İmam Musa Kazım'ın torunlarından olduğuna inanılır. Bektaşîliğin kurucusu Hacı Bektaş Veli hem İmamlar'ın soyundan gelerek yani kan bağıyla sahip olduğu velayet ve batın bilgisini açıklama ve yorumlama yetisiyle, hem de ruh göçüyle Ali'nin bedenleşmiş hali olması nedeniyle inananlarına rehberlik edecek kutsal bir otoriteye sahiptir. Böylelikle, onun çocukları olan kabul edilen Ulusoy ailesi de bu kutsal otoritenin mirasçısı ve uygulayıcısıdır.

Batın bilgisi rehberliğinde inananları için toplumsal bir düzenleme getiren kutsal otorite için dünyevi ve dünyevi olmayan ayrımları yoktur, hayatın tüm alanlarını kapsar. Bu nedenle çalışma, Ulusoy alesinin kutsal otoritesinin ve kutsiyetinin Cumhuriyet döneminde yani dinin dünyevi olandan ayrılması üzerine temellenen “seküler” bir dönemde varlığını nasıl ve ne biçimlerde sürdürdüğü ve/veya yeniden ürettiği sorusu üzerinden biçimlenmiştir. Fakat seküler dönem muğlâk bir ifadedir ve tezin temel sorusunu daha net bir hale getirmek ve bağlamına oturtabilmek için sekülerizm teorilerine ve Cumhuriyetin ilanından günümüze Türkiye’de sekülerleşmenin ne biçimlerde uygulandığına bakmak önemlidir.

1960 ve 1970’lerden itibaren yeni dinsel hareketlerin ortaya çıkışıyla ve özellikle 1980’lerden itibaren yaşanan “dinsel canlanma” ile sekülerizm teorilerinin geçerliliği tartışılır hale gelmiştir. Fakat dinin sönümlenmesi ve özel alana çekilmesi önermeleri geçerliliğini yitirse de dinin dünyevi alandan ayrılması hala savunulabilir bir önermedir. Bu bakımdan, çalışmada sekülerleşme teorilerinin üç önemli önermesi -19.yy Aydınlanma düşüncesinden miras alınan dinin sönümlenmesi; dinin marjinalleşmesi ve özel alana çekilmesi; devlet, hukuk, bilim, ekonomi gibi “dünyevi” alanların dinden bağımsızlaşması, ayrılması ve dinin kendi alanına yerleşmesi- üzerinde durarak Cumhuriyet’in ilanından sonra Türkiye’nin sekülerleşmeyi nasıl tecrübe ettiğine değindim.

19. yüzyıldan itibaren uygulanan reformlarla modernleşme ve bununla bağlantılı olarak sekülerleşme girişimleri görülse de, Osmanlı döneminden farklı olarak erken Cumhuriyet döneminde modernleşme hareketleriyle birlikte uygulanan seküler politikalarla devlet ve diğer dünyevi alanlar dinden ayrıldı. Din, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı altında devlet denetiminde tutuldu ve Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığınca İslam’ın Sünni yorumu diğer inanışlar yok sayılarak vaaz edildi. Erken Cumhuriyet döneminin sert seküler politikalarının aksine, 1950’li yıllarda çok partili hayata geçişle din siyaset, eğitim gibi seküler alanlarda görünür hale geldi. 1980 darbesinden

sonra ise dinsel hareketler Türk-İslamcı devlet politikalarıyla seküler alanlarda etkinliğini artırdı ve güçlendi.

Ulusoy ailesinin kutsiyetini/kutsal otoritesini Cumhuriyet döneminde inceleyebilmek için ailenin yaşadığı süreklilikleri ve kopuşları takip edebilmek önemlidir, bu sebeple ilk olarak ailenin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde varlığını nasıl sürdürdüğünü araştırdım. Osmanlı imparatorluğu döneminde Çelebiler (Ulusoy ailesi) sadece kendilerine bağlı Alevi ocakları değil, Bektaşî tarikatının merkezi olan Hacı Bektaş tekkесinin postnişi olarak diğer Bektaşî tekkelerini de yönetiyordu. 15. yüzyıldan itibaren İslam'ın Sünni yorumunu benimsemiş İmparatorluğun yönetimi altında olmak Çelebiler'i hassas bir konuma sokuyordu. Buna rağmen Çelebiler Osmanlı merkezi yönetimi tarafından vakıf sistemi aracılığıyla evladiyet kuralına dayanarak resmi olarak Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin evlatları olarak kabul ediliyordu ve vakfın mütevellisi olarak atanıyordu. Ayrıca Hacı Bektaş dergâhı vakfi müstesna vakıflardan biriydi. Müstesna vakıf Osmanlı erken dönemlerinde bazı savaşçılara, kutsal kabul edilen kişilere ve/veya takipçilerine bazı mülklerin kira ve vergi haklarının verilmesi ve bu mülklerin zamanla vakfa dönüşmesiyle oluşmuş ve mütevellisi tarafından merkezi yönetimden bağımsız yönetilen vakıflardı. Osmanlı merkezi yönetiminin Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin evlatları olarak kabul ettiği ve postnişin ve vakfın mütevellisi olarak atadığı Çelebiler'in kutsal otoritesi sadece dinsel alanı değil, dinle içiçe olan ekonomik ve hukuki ve politik alanları da kapsıyordu. Çelebiler'e statülerinden dolayı bazı hak ve ayrıcalıklar tanınıyordu. Ne var ki bu hak ve ayrıcalıklar sabit değildi ve Osmanlı yönetiminin merkezileşme çabalarıyla da bağlantılı olarak vakıf sistemi ile ilgili politikalarına göre değişiklik gösteriyordu.

Alevilik ve Bektaşilik üzerine yapılan çalışmalarda Osmanlı erken dönemi ile ilgili Çelebiler'e ait bilgiye rastlamak zordur. Birge (1965) Hacı Bektaş Vakfı ile ilgili 13. yüzyıl tarihli belgelerden bahseder; Faroqhi (1976) ise 15. yy'a ait belgeleri en eski belgeler olarak işaret eder. Vakfın müstesna olmasından ve 14. yy'da

kurulduğu varsayılan Yeniçeri ocağının piri olarak Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin tanınmasından yola çıkarak Osmanlı erken dönemi için Bektaşiliğin önemli bir yeri olduğu varsayılabilir. Velayetname (1995), Osmanlı'nın kuruluşunda Hacı Bektaş Veli'ye önemli bir yer atfeder. Velayetname'de geçen bu tür hikâyeler, Kafadar'ın (1995) belirttiği gibi merkezi bir imparatorluk haline gelmeden önce, erken dönem Osmanlı devletinde hâkim olan gazi “ruhuna” (ethos) yani yöneticilerin kutsal kişilerin inayetiyle meşruiyetlerini sağlamlaştırabildikleri döneme uygundur. 15. yüzyıldan itibaren Osmanlı yönetiminin merkezileşmesinin ve Sünni İslam yorumunun benimsemesinin ardından ve 16. yüzyılda, Osmanlı-Safevi çatışmasının yoğun olduğu dönemde Çelebiler için iki önemli olayın varlığından söz edilebilir. Hacı Bektaş evlatlarından kabul edilen Kalender Çelebi'nin önderlik edenlerden biri olduğu bir ayaklanma ve Bektaşî tarikatının, Osmanlı yönetiminin atadığı bir dedebabayla birlikte Çelebi ve Babagan kolu olarak ikiye ayrılması.

17. ve 18. yüzyıllar ise Osmanlı merkezi yönetiminin zayıfladığı ve diğer vakıflarla birlikte Hacı Bektaş vakfının da tanınan haklardan ve ayrıcalıklardan önceki dönemlere göre daha rahat yaralanabildiği dönemlerdir ve bu dönemlere ait resmi belgelerin sayısı çoktur. 19. yüzyıl ise modernleşme ve merkezileşme hareketleriyle Çelebiler'in hak ve yetkilerinin kısıtlandığı ve hatta Bektaşiliğin yasaklanmasıyla birlikte Çelebiler'in haklarının bir kısmının ellerinden alındığı bir dönem olmuştur. Bektaşilik yasaklandıktan ve Bektaşî dergâhları kapatıldıktan sonra evladiyet kuralına bağlı olarak Çelebiler müteveli statülerini koruyabilmiş olsalar da yetkileri sınırlanmıştır. Diğer Bektaşî dergâhlarının aksine Hacıbektaş'taki ana dergâh açık kalmış ama dergâha Nakşibendi şeyhinin atanmasıyla Çelebiler'in postnişin olma hakları ellerinden alınmıştır. Bu dönem, Babagan kolunun da güçlendiği, Bektaşiliğin tekrar canlanmasıyla birlikte diğer dergâhların yönetimini eline aldığı ve Çelebiler'in evladiyetten kaynaklı meşruiyetlerinin açıkça sorgulanmaya başladığı bir dönemdir.

20. yüzyıl başlarına gelindiğinde ise Çelebiler'in Hacı Bektaş dergâhı ve diğer dergâhlar üzerindeki otoritesini kaybettiği ama 1. Dünya Savaşı'ndan itibaren yöneticiler tarafından Alevilerin lideri olarak kabul görmeye başladığı ve özellikle Alevi-Bektaşî toplulukları mobilize etmek için kendilerine başvurulduğu görülmektedir.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun devlet ideolojisi ve dini birleştiren patrimonyal otoritesi altında Çelebi ailesinin mürşiti (postnişini) resmi olarak tanınıyor ve kendine bağlı Alevi-Bektaşî topluluklar üzerinde kutsal otoritesini uygulayabiliyordu. Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra, ailenin dünyevi alanı düzenleyen kutsal otoritesi dinsel alanın ekonomik, hukuk, bilim gibi alanlardan ayrılmasını öngören sekülerleşme girişimlerine uygun değildi ve yeni rejim tarafından tanınmadı. Ayrıca seküler alanlarda ve hatta dinsel alanda kurulan yeni kurumlar ve inşa edilen otorite biçimleri ailenin kutsal otoritesini baskı altına aldı. Yine, 1950'lilerde hız kazanan eğitimin yaygınlaşması, endüstrileşme, kentleşme, kentlere ve yurt dışına göç gibi modernleşme hareketleri Alevi-Bektaşî toplulukların kırsal ve kapalı toplumsal yapısını değiştirmeye başladı. Alevi-Bektaşî toplulukların komünal yapısı bozuldu ve Alevi-Bektaşî Yol'unun -Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin postunu temsil eden mürşit, ona bağlı dedeler ve babalar ve dedelere ve babalara bağlı taliplerden müteşekkil üçlü hiyerarşik- yapısını tahrip etti. Alevi-Bektaşî toplulukların geleneksel yapısını çözmeye başlayan toplumsal dönüşüm Yol'u sona erdirmeydi. Yazılı kuralların ve oturmuş kurumların yokluğu Yol'un yeni koşullara uyum sağlamasına ve Alevi-Bektaşî Yol'unun hiyerarşik yapısında dönüşüme ve yeni otorite biçimlerinin çıkmasına neden oldu.

Cumhuriyet'in kurulmasıyla birlikte yaşanan toplumsal dönüşümle üçlü hiyerarşide birbirine paralel iki temel değişiklik oldu, birincisi hiyerarşinin mensupları arasındaki sosyal mesafe ve dedenin kendisine bağlı talipler üzerindeki gücü azaldı. Dolayısıyla temsilcisi olduğu toplulukla bağlı olduğu mürşit arasındaki

aracılık rolü etkisini yitirmeye başladı. Bu esnada Çelebi ailesinde yaşanan göçler, ekonomik sıkıntılar gibi nedenlerle aile iki kola ayrıldı ve ailenin erkek üyeleri mürşitin temsil ettiği kutsal otoritede hak iddia ettiler. Dedeler aracılığıyla ya da doğrudan taliplerle birebir ilişkiye girerek otoritelerini mürşitten bağımsız olarak talipler üzerinde uygulamaya başladılar. Efendi, Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin evlatları olmalarından dolayı ailenin erkek bireyleri için kullanılan bir ünvanken, otoritenin aile bireyelerine yayılmasıyla yeni bir anlam kazandı. Mürşit tarafından temsil edilen kolektif otorite daha bireysel ve rekabetçi hale geldi ve taliple ilişkisinde “dünyevi” bir biçim almaya başladı.

Efendi ünvanının kazandığı yeni anlama paralel olarak aile bireyelerinin mürşitlik üzerindeki iddiaları da daha rekabetçi olmaya başladı. Hacı Bektaş Veli evlatları için mürşit olmanın koşulu, ailenin erkek üyesi olmak ve bunun yanı sıra Yol konusunda bilgili ve tutumları bakımından Yol'a uygun olmaktı. Bu koşul dışında, ailenin -her ne kadar evlilik bağlarıyla iç içe geçmiş olsa da- iki kola ayrılması (iki kardeş olan Cemalettin Çelebi ve Veliyettin Çelebi tarafı) iki ayrı mürşitlik kuralını beraberinde getirdi. Cemalettin Çelebi tarafı ailenin en büyük erkek üyesinin mürşit olması gerektiğini öne sürerken, Veliyettin Çelebi tarafı ancak babası mürşit olan erkek çocuklarının mürşit olabileceğini savundu ve bu kuralı 16. yüzyılda ailenin Mürselli ve Hüdadadlı olmak üzerine iki kola ayrılmasına dayandırdı. 16. yüzyılda Hüdadadlı kolu, mürşitlik babadan oğla geçemediği için postnişin olma hakkını kaybetmişti. Mürşit olma konusunda yüzyıllara dayanan ve merkezi yönetim tarafından çözülen bu tartışma, Cumhuriyet döneminde, mürşiti onaylayan bir üst makam olmamasının da etkisiyle arttı ve zaman zaman canlanan bu tartışma, aileden iki kişinin mürşitlik görevini yürütmesine neden oldu.

Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşundan sonra, aile için yeni ortaya çıkan otorite biçimlerinden biri de aile üyelerinin kutsal otoritelerini politik alana kanalize etmeleri sonucu siyasi parti kurucusu (TBP), dernek kurucusu ya da milletvekili olmalarıdır.

Ailenin ilk milletvekili Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşu sürecinde Mustafa Kemal'e destek vermiş olan Cemalettin Çelebi'ydi ve onun milletvekilliği Alevi-Bektaşilerin yeni rejime desteklerini sağlamak üzere sembolik bir güce sahipti.

Tek partili dönemin seküler politikalarının aksine 1940'li yıllarda çok partili hayata geçişle hem CHP hem de DP dini kendilerine destek sağlamak için bir fırsat olarak gördüler, bu sırada Alevi-Bektaşi topluluklarda bir oy kaynağı olarak dikkate alınmaya başlandı. Bu durum Ulusoy ailesinin bazı üyelerinin politik hayata atılmasını sağladı. 1950'lerden 1990'lara kadar 7 aile üyesi, Ulusoylar'a bağlı Alevi-Bektaşi toplulukların nüfusunun yoğun olduğu bölgelerden milletvekili olarak seçildi. 1990'lardan itibaren aile üyeleri milletvekili adayı olmaya devam etseler de, kutsal otoritelerini politik alana kanalize etmekte eskisi gibi başarılı olamadılar.

İlki 1960'larda, ikincisi 1990'larda olmak üzere Alevi-Bektaşi toplulukları kimliklerini ve yurttaşlık haklarını talep eden örgütlenmeler oluşturdular. 1960'lardaki Alevi hareketi henüz geleneksel yapının kısmen de olsa kendini koruyabildiği bir dönemde gerçekleşti ve o dönemin Alevi hareketinde topluluğun geleneksel önderleri olarak Ulusoylar da rol almışlardı. 1990'lı yılların Alevi hareketinde ise daha kentli, eğitilmiş, orta sınıf, dede-olmayan ve genellikle eski sol gelenekten gelen Aleviler rol oynadılar. Yeni Alevi hareketi içinde Ulusoylar yer bulamadı ve 1990'lardan itibaren kutsal otoritelerini milletvekili seçimleriyle politik alana kanalize edemiyor oluşlarında bu durum da etkili oldu. Fakat önceki dönemlerden farklı olarak, son yıllarda Ulusoy ailesinin mürşitlerinden biri kamusal alanda kendisine bağlı toplulukların sözcüsü olarak görünür hale geldi ve kutsal otoritesine dayanarak Alevi-Bektaşilerin taleplerini dile getirdi.

Eski ve yeni, Ulusoyların uyguladığı tüm otorite biçimleri maddi pratiklere ve ilişkilere, inanışlara dayanır ve bunların birbirine eklenmesi Ulusoylar'ın yaşadıkları evleri mekân (place) yapar. Mekân olarak Ulusoylar'ın Hacıbektaş ilçesindeki evlerine bakmak, ailenin kutsiyetinin dönüşümünü takip edebilmek

açısından önemlidir ve bu çalışmanın önemli bir bölümünü oluşturur. Mekân ve kutsiyet arasındaki ilişkiyi üç başlık altında inceledim. İlki, Ulusoylar ve kasaba ahkları arasındaki ilişkinin dönüşümü, ikincisi Ulusoylar'ın evlerinin ve buna bağlı olarak da aile yapısında meydana gelen değişiklikler ve son olarak da kutsiyetin korunması ve üretilmesinde taliplerle buluşma mekânı olarak Ulusoylar'ın evlerinin rolü.

Osmanlı döneminde Hacıbektaş ilçesinin büyük bölümü vakıf topraklarına aitti ve Çelebiler postnişin olmanın getirdiği kutsiyetin yanı sıra müstesna vakfın mütevellisi olarak ekonomik, politik, hukuki ve sosyal bakımdan otorite konumundaydı. İlçe halkı da Çelebilerin patrimoniyal otoritesine tabiydi. Aynı zamanda Çelebiler, merkezi yönetim karşısında özellikle haksız vergi uygulamaları gibi konularda yerli halkın hamisi durumundaydı. Buna ek olarak, vakfın ifa etmesi gereken bir görev olarak yoksullara yardım etmek sadece ilçeye gelen ziyaretçiler için değil, yoksul ilçe halkı için de geçerliydi. 19.yüzyılda ailenin merkezi yönetim karşısında güç kaybetmesi ve Babagan kolunun dergâhta güçlenmesi, ailenin otoritesinin meşruiyetini sarstı ve ilçe halkının bir kısmı Çelebiler'e bağlıyken bir kısmı da Babagan kolunu destekledi. Cumhuriyet'in ilanından ve dergâhın kapanmasından sonra yaşanan sosyo-ekonomik dönüşümle ve ailenin ilçe halkı üzerindeki patrimoniyal otoritesini yitirmesiyle ilçe halkı için ailenin kutsiyeti meşruiyetini tamamen yitirdi ve ilişkileri koptu.

Dergâh kapatılmadan önce Ulusoylar Çelebi konaklarında yaşıyordu ve konaklar, ailenin barınma ihtiyacını karşılamanın yanı sıra dergâhın bir uzantısı olarak ilçeye hac ve ziyaret için gelen konukları ağırlamak, yoksullara yardım etmek, yemek dağıtmak üzere düzenlenmişti. Dergâhın kapanması ve ziyaretin yasaklanması konakların barınma dışındaki işlevini sona erdirdi. Savaş sonrası yaşanan zorluklar, eski hak ve ayrıcalıkların ve gelirin kaybedilmiş olması, yeni rejimin sekülerleşme politikaları doğrultusunda aileyi denetlemesi ve geleneksel ilişkileri baskıyla engellemesi, baskı altında ve ekonomik sıkıntı içindeki Ulusoyların konaklarda bir

arada yaşamasına izin vermedi. Cemalettin Çelebi'nin çocukları ve o zamanki postnişin Veliyettin Çelebi'nin en büyük oğlu, Hacıbektaş'tan ayrılarak taliplerinin bir kısmının yaşadığı Tokat'a göçtü. Böylelikle aile ilk defa birbirinden ayrıldı ve ailenin sahip olduğu kutsiyet aile bireyleri ile talipler arasında sosyal mesafeyi gerektiriyorken, göç eden aile bireyleri ilk defa taliplerle yüzyüze ilişkiye girdiler. Böylelikle ilçede kalan aile üyeleri yolun üçlü hiyerarşisini ve geleneksel ilişkiyi mümkün olduğunca sürdürmeye çalışırken, göç eden aile üyeleri ve onların çocukları yeni otorite biçimlerine uygulamaya daha açık oldular.

İlk göç dalgasıyla Tokat'a göç eden gruptan Cemalettin Çelebi'nin oğulları ölünce, diğerleri mürşitin çağrısıyla Hacıbektaş'a döndüler. Fakat göç edenlerin bir kısmı tekrar taliplerinin yaşadığı yerlere gitti ve ilçeye ancak 1960'ların sonlarında döndüler. İlk göç dalgasından farklı olarak, 1950'lilerden itibaren aile üyelerinin bir kısmı da iş ve eğitim gibi gerekçelerle Ankara'ya göç etmeye başladı ve bu göçler 1990'ların ortalarına, ilçede sürekli yaşayan bir Ulusoy ailesi kalana kadar sürdü.

Dergâh kapanmadan önce dergâhın uzantısı işlevi gören konaklar, erken Cumhuriyet döneminde ziyaretçi gelişleri yasaklanınca Hacıbektaş'ta kalan aile bireyelerinin yaşadığı evlere dönüştü ve geniş ailenin üyeleri birbirinden ayrıldıkça evler de bölünmeye ve paylaşılmaya başlandı. Göç hareketlerinin de etkisiyle ve aile üyelerinin sayısının artmasıyla konakların dışında yeni evler de yapıldı. 1960'lı yıllara gelindiğinde, özellikle yükselen Alevi hareketiyle birlikte, dönemin politik koşulları dergâhın müze olarak açılmasına izin verince, Ulusoylar üzerindeki baskı azaldı ve talipler Ulusoyların evlerini gizlenmeden ziyaret etmeye başladı. Dergâh kapanmadan önce ziyaretçiler için kullanılan konak misafirhaneleri artık yoktu. Bu nedenle ziyarete gelen talipler yakın ilişki içinde oldukları Ulusoylar'ın evlerinde kalmaya başladılar. Ulusoylar'ın evleri hem yaşamlarını sürdürdükleri hem de ziyaretçileri ağırladıkları mekânlara dönüştü. Büyük şehirlere göçlerle ilçedeki

evlerini yaz aylarında kullanmaya başladıklarında ise, evler, aile üyelerinin hem birbirleriyle hem de dede ve taliplerle buluştukları mekânlara dönüştü.

Ulusoyların her yaz talipleriyle ve dedelerle ilçedeki evlerinde buluşmaları kutsiyetlerini sürdürmeleri ve yeniden üretmeleri açısından çok önemli bir faktördür. Saha araştırması sırasında gözlemlediğim iki temel ziyaret biçimi var, biri Bektaşiliğin merkezi olan Hacibektaş'a yüzyıllardır yapılan hac ziyaretlerinin devamı niteliğinde talipler tarafından gerçekleştirilen ziyaretler -ki bu ziyaretler dergâhı ve diğer kutsal kabul edilen mekânlara gitmekten, Ulusoyların evlerindeki ritüellere katılmaya tüm kültik aktiviteleri içerir. Diğer ziyaret biçimi ise yine yüzyıllardır sürdürülen dede ve babaların mürşite yaptığı düzenli ziyaretlerdir. Bu hem dedelerin icazetlerini yenilemeleri, hem Alevi-Bektaşî toplulukların sorunlarını mürşidin batın bilgisi ışığında konuşmaları ve çözebilmeleri için Yol'un devamlılığını bir ziyaretir.

Ulusoyların evlerinde buluşan ziyaretçiler, Turner'in (1974,1995) *communitas* kavramıyla açıkladığı bir "eşik"te bulunurlar, günlük yaşamın rol ve statülerinin sınırlamalarından görece sıyrılmış Yol'un takipçileri olarak diğer ziyaretçilerle ortak bir zeminde buluşmuşlardır ve bu geçici, kırılğan kolektivite, ailenin kutsiyetini yeniden üretir. Yine, Ulusoyların ziyaretçilerle aynı evleri paylaşması, birlikte yenen yemekler ve diğer komünal ritüeller (cem, muhabbet, kurban kesme) "kurgusal" bir akrabalığı işaret eder. Bu akrabalık ilişkisiyle ve uygulanan ritüellerle Ulusoy ailesi ve talipler arasında bir kutsiyet alışverişi olmaz, tersine kolektivite içinde kutsiyet de dolaşım halindedir çünkü kutsiyet ailenin sahip olduğu değil, taşıdığı, taliplerin de onların aracılığıyla ulaştığı bir şeydir.

Ulusoyların evlerindeki buluşmalar ve ritüeller aracılığıyla kurulan ve güçlendirilen "akrabalığın" yanı sıra, kutsiyetini kan bağıyla miras aldığına ve sonraki nesillere taşıyacağına inanılan bir aile olan Ulusoylar açısından hem kutsiyetini korumak hem de onu yeniden üretmek için akrabalık ideolojisi, ilişkileri ve kuralları çok önemlidir. Bedensel sınırlar ve özellikle kan metoforik olarak

akrabalığı işaret eder. İçinde yaşanan toplumun kültürel kodlarına bağlı olarak akrabalık metaforu olarak kullanılan kan, onu paylaştığı savunulanları birleştirir ve birleştirdiklerini diğerlerinden ayırır. Dolayısıyla soyağacı, özellikle de Ulusoyların durumunda bir kutsiyet belgesi olarak önem kazanır. Kutsiyet, Ulusoylar için kanla miras alınan bir şeydir fakat Alevi-Bektaşî inancına göre, ruh göçü yine bir kutsiyet aktarımıdır. Aile içinde ruh göçü inancını aile üyelerinin isimleri ve isim verme hikâyeleri üzerinden takip edebilmek mümkündür.

Soyun erkek üzerinden sürdüğü, kadının kutsiyeti kan bağıyla edindiği ama kendi çocuklarına aktaramadığı Ulusoy ailesinde evlilik kuralları erkeğin neslini devam ettirebilmesi amacıyla, erkeğe göre düzenlenmiştir. 1960'lı yıllara kadar sıkı bir biçimde uygulanabilen evlilik kuralları geleneksel aile yapısının çözülmesiyle, yani hem aile bireylerinin sayısının artması ve geniş ailenin çekirdek ailelere bölünmesiyle, hem de aile bireylerinin aile dışındakilerle yakın ilişkiler kurmasını sağlayan eğitim, iş gibi faktörlerle etkisini kaybetmiştir.

Cumhuriyet öncesi olan ve erken Cumhuriyet döneminde de sayıca az olmakla birlikte devam eden erkeğin çok eşliliği mümkün olduğunca çok erkek çocuk sahibi olabilmek amacı taşır. Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi çok eşli evliliklerinde gözlemlenen ise daha çok aileye dışarıdan gelin olarak gelmiş ama dul kalmış kadınların aileden uzaklaşmasını önlemek için onlarla yeniden evlenme şeklinde olmuştur.

Endogami özellikle ailenin kadınları için geçmişte katı bir biçimde uygulanan bir kuralken, 1980'li yıllardan beri ailede görülmeyen bir evlilik biçimidir. Erkeklerden ziyade kadınlar için endogami kuralının geçerli olmasının temel nedenleri kadının aile dışından evlendiği zaman kendi ailesinden uzaklaşması ve eşinin ailesinin üyesi olması ve kadının miras edindiği ama aktaramadığı kutsiyetinin aileye “denk” bir koca adayını imkânsız kılmasıdır. Endogami, yeni nesillerin üretimi için ideal bir evlilik biçimi olarak kabul edilir. Aile içinden evlenmiş aile bireyleri

daha sıkı akrabalık ilişkileri içindeyken ve aileden kopuşlar dışarıdan evlilik yapanlarda görülmektedir.

Kadınların aksine, ailenin erkekleri Osmanlı döneminden beri aile dışından kadınlarla da evlenmişlerdir. Aile dışından evlenmekle ilgili kural olan evlenilecek kadının ancak bir dede kızı olması şartı artık geçerliğini kaybetmiştir ve aile üyeleri taliplerin çocuklarıyla da evlenmektedirler. Egzogami özellikle erkekler için evlenilen kişi Alevi-Bektaşî olduğu sürece kabul edilebilir bir evlilikken, Alevi olmayan biriyle evlenmek aileden uzaklaşmak ve taliplerle ilişkilerine son vermek anlamına gelir. Alevi olmayan biriyle evlenmek Yol'a göre düşkünlük sebebidir fakat bu kural aile için geçerli değildir çünkü aileyi düşkün ilan edebilecek aileden daha üst konumda bir otorite yoktur. Aile çok geniş olduğu ve aile bireylerinin kontrol edilmesi mümkün olmadığı için bu tür evlilikler, taktik olarak, kolektif bir sorumluluk değil, bu evlilikleri yapanın kişisel tercihi ve kişisel sorumluluğu olarak kabul edilmektedir.

Kutsiyetin taşıyıcılarının ve aktarıcılarının erkekler olduğu patriyarkal bir ailede, neslin devamında kadın üzerinde kurulan denetim ve kadının erkeğe tabiyeti esastır. Üremede kadına ve erkeğe atfedilen roller de buna göre belirlenir. Delaney'in (1991) gösterdiği gibi tek tanrılı dinlerde üreme tohum ve toprak analogisi üzerinde temellenir. Erkek yani tohum yaratıcı, hayat veren yani aslanan, kadın, toprak ise besleyen ve büyütendir. Bu analogiye paralel olarak cinsiyet inşasında erkek kültürle, akılla, yaratıcılıkla özdeşleştirilirken ve kamusal alanda varolurken, kadın doğayla, beslemek ve büyütmeyle özdeşleştirilir ve ona atfedilen doğurmak, büyütme, beslemek rolleri ve görevleriyle domestik alanda varolur. Erkek kurulan bu eşitsiz ilişkide kadının rolleri erkekle ilişkisine göre tanımlanır (anne, eş, kız kardeş, kız çocuğu) ve bu tanımlanmış kadınlar arasında da hiyerarşik bir ilişkiye neden olur.

Ulusoy kadınlarının doğumla edindikleri kutsiyeti aktaramıyor olmalarının nedeni de üremede onlara atfedilen pasif roldür. Oysa annelik, -anneye besleme ve büyütme dışında rol atfedilmese de- sadece yeni nesillerin üretimi açısından değil,

cinsiyet rollerinin üretilmesi açısından da önemlidir. Ulusoy ailesinde geniş aileden çekirdek aileye doğru bir dönüşüm yaşanırken ve babanın patriyarkal otoritesi gücünü kaybederken kadınlar kız çocuklarına geleneksel rollerini aktarmaya çalışmış ama özellikle 1960'lı yıllardan itibaren eğitim görmeye ve meslek edinmeye başlayan Ulusoy kadınları geleneksel ilişkiyi sürdürmek konusunda kendilerinden önceki nesillerden farklılaşmışlardır.

Ulusoy kadınlarının sahip oldukları ama çocuklarına aktaramadıkları kutsiyet onları erkeğe göre daha kırılğan yapmış ve kutsiyetin korunması gereği geçmişte toplumsal hayattan uzak yaşamayı gerektirmiştir. Domestik alanda yaşam sadece yeni neslin devamının sağlanmasına değil, ailenin geçmişinin de yeni kuşaklara aktarılmasına vesile olmuştur. Toplumsal hayattan uzak kalma ve domestik alanda varlığını sürdürme 1950'li yıllardan itibaren kadınların eğitimi, meslek edinmesi, büyük şehirlere göç gibi nedenlerle dönüşüme uğramış, Ulusoy kadınları kamusal alanda geçmişe oranla görünür olmuştur.

Kadınların kamusal alanda yer edinmesine paralel olarak, taliplerin Ulusoyların evlerini ziyaret etmeye başlamasıyla domestik alan da “kamusal” alana dönüşmüştür. Ulusoy erkeklerinin efendi olarak edindiği yeni otorite biçimiyle uyumlu biçimde Ulusoy kadınları da ana olarak –yine ailenin erkekleri üzerinden belirlenen ilişki olsa da- yeni bir rol ve otorite edinmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, bu etnografik çalışma, ailenin yüzyıllardır sürdürdüğü kutsal otoritelerinin ve taşıyıcısı oldukları kutsiyetin geleneksel ve yeni biçimlerine bakarak ailenin tecrübe ettiği süreklilikleri, kırılmaları ya da yenilikleri ve ardından da mekân, akrabalık ve cinsiyet kavramlarıyla kutsiyetlerini/kutsal otoritelerinin nasıl sürdürdüklerini ve yeniden ürettiklerini araştırmıştır.