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## GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUFI ORDERS IN OTTOMAN ANATOLIA

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A brief survey of the pre-Ottoman period and the period of Ottoman foundation.

By the XIVth century, which saw the foundation of the Ottoman state, mystical thought had matured and been systematised, the basic works generally accepted as the classics of mysticism had been written and mystical trends had been institutionalised in the form of a number of sufi orders. A survey of the historical development of the mystical movement reveals that mystical thought matured and was systematised in the Abbasid period, that this thought was institutionalised and the sufi orders formed under Seldjuk hegemony and that these religious orders proliferated during the Ottoman period, bringing all sections of the Islamic community under their influence.

A number of the leading orders had already been founded and become quite widespread before the foundation of the Ottoman state. These religious orders and their "pīrs" (heads of the orders) are as follows:

- Kāzarūniya: Abū Ishāq Kāzarūnī (d.426 / 1034)
- Yasawiya: Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī (d.562/ 1167)
- Qādiriya: 'Abd al-Qādir Kilānī (d.562 / 1167)
- Rifā'iya: Seyyid Aḥmad Rifā'ī (d.578 / 1182)
- Madyaniya: Abū Madyan Tilamsānī (d.590 / 1193)
- Kubrawiya: Nadjm al-dīn Kubrā (d.618 / 1221)
- Suhrawardiya: Shihāb al-dīn Suhrawardī (d.632 / 1234)
- Tchishūtiya: Ḥasan Tchishtī (d.633 / 1237)
- Shādhaliya: Abū al-Ḥasan Shādhali (d.656 / 1258)
- Bektāshīya: Hādji Bektāsh Walī (d.669 / 1270)
- Mawlawiya: Mawlānā Djalāl al-dīn Rūmī (d.672 / 1273)

Badawīya: Aḥmad Badawī (d.675 / 1276)

Dasūqīya: İbrāhīm Dasūqī (d.693 / 1295)

Sa'dīya: Sa'd al-dīn Djibāwī (d.700 / 1300).

Apart from these, it would be useful to mention here a few other important sufi orders founded at a later date that were highly influential in Ottoman society:

Khalwatiya: Sirādī al-dīn 'Umar Khalwatī (d.750 / 1350)

Naqshbandīya: Bahā al-dīn Naqshband (d.790 / 1391)

Bayrāmīya: Hādī Bayrām Walī (d.833 / 1430)

Zaynīya: Zayn al-dīn Hāfī (d.838 / 1434)

On the other hand, a glance at the process of Islamisation in Anatolia and its religious-cultural history shows that this region hosted a very lively and colourful mystical life prior to the foundation of the Ottoman state. In the course of the Turcoman migrations to Anatolia from Central Asia, Khorasan, Transoxiana and Iran, which increased in intensity after the battle of Manzikert in 1071 and further increased with the Mongol invasion, a large number of Sufi dervishes such as Abdāl, Kubrawī, Suhrawardī, Yasawī and Qalandarī belonging to various religious orders and fraternities entered and settled in the region. Many mystics from various regions arrived here, either under Mongol pressure or attracted by the social and political conditions in Anatolia. These included distinguished personalities whose names became an integral part of the history of mysticism, such as Muḥyī al-dīn b. al-'Arabī, the leading name in the mystical philosophy known as *Waḥdat al-Wudjūd*, Ṣadr al-dīn Qūnawī, one of his most distinguished pupils, Awḥad al-dīn Kirmānī, Mu'ayyad al-dīn Djandī, Sa'd al-dīn Farghānī and Mawlānā Djalāl al-dīn Rūmī in Konya, Fakhr al-dīn 'Iraqī, the author of *Lama'āt* in Tokat, Nadjm al-dīn Dāya, the author of *Mirṣād al-'İbād* in Kayseri and Sivas and Hādī Bektāsh-i Walī in Kırşehir. There were also a number of distinguished mystics who lived outside Anatolia but whose works enlivened the mystical life of the region. In short, XIIIth century Anatolia was a very lively centre of mystical thought and mystical life.

Although, as far as Turkish mysticism is concerned, the XIIIth and XIVth centuries constitute the most brilliant period of classical mystical thought, the religious orders attained their greatest brilliance during and

after the XVth century. At the same time, the Mawlawīya and Bektāshīya orders, which were first founded in Anatolia and which were to become so widespread and influential in succeeding centuries, had already taken their place on the historical scene prior to the establishment of the Ottoman state. Moreover, during the same period, orders such as the Kubrawīya, Kāzarūnīya and Rifā'īya, which had been founded before this time in other regions, were also encountered here.

The Akhīs, who might be described as a continuation of the Futuwwa institution in Anatolia, played a very important role in the administration of the economic and social life of the Anatolian community, particularly in large centres of habitation. From the second half of the XIIIth century to the middle of the XVth, this organization, referred to by 'Ashiqpashazāda as Akhīyān-i Rūm, performed an important function in the social and cultural life of Anatolia. In the XIIIth century in Anatolia, a number of high state dignitaries, judges, professors in the theological schools, great merchants and Sheikhs belonging to various different religious orders can be seen to have entered the Futuwwa organization, an Akhī institution. Sheikh Edebālī, 'Uthmān Ghāzī's father-in-law, is known to have been one of the leading members of the Akhī fraternity. In founding an Ottoman state, the Ottoman emirate benefited very considerably from the influence wielded by the Akhī organization and by Akhī leaders such as Sheikh Edebālī, Akhī Ḥasan, Akhī Maḥmūd and Candarlı Qara Khalil. Even Sulṭān Murād I took upon himself the leadership of the Akhī. Akhī thought, which, from many points of view, was practically identical with the mystical principles and precepts expounded by Suhrawardī in the *'Awārif al-Ma'ārif*, had borrowed a great deal from the Rifā'īya in style, customs and the outward appearance of their officials, and were, in various ways, closely associated with religious orders such as the Mawlawīya, Bektāshīya and Khalwatīya.

Apart from the Akhī organization, certain other religio-mystical groups referred to by 'Ashiqpashazāda as independent bodies, such as the *Ghāzīyān-i Rūm* (Anatolian Gazis or Alperens), *Bādjiyān-i Rūm* and *Abdalān-i Rūm*, may be cited as mystical movements active in XIIIth and XIVth century Anatolia.

The *Ghāzīyān-i Rūm* are referred to in some sources as *Alps* or *Alperenler*. According to Gölpınarlı, warriors belonging to the military wing of the Futuwwa organization, such as Turgut Alp, Akça Koca and Konur Alp,

together with a numerous band of followers, reinforced the fighting spirit of the army, while at the same time their moral authority served to strengthen social cohesion.

According to some scholars, the group known as *Bādjiyān-i Rūm* constituted the women's branch of the Akhī fraternity. Fāṭima Bādji, the wife of Sheikh Nāṣir al-dīn Maḥmūd, who won fame as Akhī Evren and is generally accepted as the founder of the Akhī organization in Anatolia, is claimed to have been the leader and spiritual guide (*murshida*) of the *Bādjiyān-i Rūm*. The women belonging to this organization performed very valuable services in the women's section of the organization through activities in conformity with the spirit and discipline of a religious order.

The *Abdālān-i Rūm* (Anatolian Abdals), another of these groups, was an organization formed by heterodox dervishes belonging to fraternities particularly active among the Turcoman tribes in rural areas in Anatolia, such as the Ḥaydarī, Qalandarī and Ḥurūfī. It became famous as the Babaī, after Baba İlyās-ı Ḥorasānī. These dervishes bearing the name of *Abdāl* or Baba were also known as *Khorasān Erenleri*. Orkhān Bey had a zāwiya erected on the slopes of Uludağ and also founded a vakıf for each of the dervishes belonging to this group who had taken part in the conquest of Bursa, such as Abdāl Mūsā, Geyikli Baba, Dughlu Baba and Abdāl Murād. All of these zāwiyas were still in operation in the XVIIth century.

The Turkestan zāwiyas founded in Tarsus by individuals of Central Asian origin, such as 'Abd Allah Mendjek and Begdje Sheikh Gürkānī, are also of great interest. These zāwiyas established communications between this region and Anatolia while at the same time aiding travellers in the area.

Although, in the XIVth century, which saw the foundation of the Ottoman state, one encounters a number of mystical groups and individuals from various regions belonging to various religious orders and fraternities, religious orders with an organized structure of tekkes and zāwiyas were far less widespread than in the following centuries. Nevertheless, it may confidently be said that in the period contemporary with the foundation of the Ottoman state Anatolia was characterized by a very lively mystical and tarikat activity. With the creation by the Ottoman state of political unity and social tranquillity, Anatolia offered fertile ground for the development and proliferation of the religious orders. The steady strengthening and expansion of the Ottoman state and the endurance for centuries of its

hegemony over the region made the Ottoman Empire the period in which mysticism attained its greatest expansion, activity and vitality.

z A brief glance at the religious orders active in Anatolia in the early days of the Ottoman state reveals the following picture: The most important religious orders that existed in the Anatolian cities at the time of the foundation of the state were the Mawlawīya and Rifā'īya. By the XIVth century the Mawlawī order had spread to a number of different Anatolian regions, while in the first half of the same century the Rifā'ī order was to be found in Izmir, Bergama, Amasya and other regions

According to Fuat Köprülü, the Khalwatīya occupied an important place in Anatolia in the foundation years of the Ottoman state, but its proliferation throughout Anatolia and its acceptance by the wider public took place under the halīfes (deputies, successors) of Yaḥyā Shirwānī (d.1464), who is generally regarded as the second "pīr" of the order.

Although the Kāzarūniya order that first appeared in Anatolia at the beginning of the XIIIth century continued its activities throughout the XIVth and XVth centuries, it later disappeared.

The expansion of the Naqsbandiya order, which began its activities in Anatolia with a tekke founded in Amasya at the beginning of the XVth century, was due to the efforts of Molla 'Abd Allah 'Ilāhī (d.1491), who was active in Simav in the second half of the same century, and in Istanbul by Amīr Aḥmad Bukhārī (d.1516).

The Bayrāmiya order, founded in the first half of the XVth century by Hādji Bayram Walī (d.1430), the *khalifa* of Hamīd al-dīn Aqsarāyī (d. 1412), better known as Somuncu Baba, had already won great renown during the lifetime of its founder and was to expand still further with the incorporation of the Shamsīya and Mawlawīya branches founded by its leading halīfes, together with the Djalwatīya branches formed at a later date.

The first representative in Anatolia of the Kubrawīya, was Shams al-dīn Muḥammad of Bukhāra (d.1429), who won renown as Amīr Sultān. He founded a *dargāh* in Bursa, where he won the respect and admiration of all, finally becoming son-in-law to Bāyazid I. In his own lifetime, the order began activities, through the efforts of his disciples, in Balıkesir, Edincik, Gelibolu, Edremit and Tuzla and the sanjaks of Aydın and Saruhan, as well as in Karaman and various other parts of Anatolia. Nevertheless, unlike most of

the other orders, it failed to continue for any length of time and completely disappeared after only two generations.

In addition to the religious orders briefly treated above, the Akbariyya school of *Waḥdat al-Wudjūd* thought, as systematized by İbn 'Arabî, was represented in Anatolia by a number of outstanding personalities in the years before the founding of the Ottoman state. Parwāna Mu'in al-dîn Sulaymān (d.1278), the ruler of Dānishmend territory in the second half of the XIIIth century, studied for a long time under Şadr al-dîn Qūnawî, the *khalifa* of İbn 'Arabî, and served as patron of the members of this school, by whose ideas he had been profoundly influenced. Mu'ayyad al-dîn Djandî, Sa'îd al-dîn Farghānî and Fakhr al-dîn 'Irāqî-conducted their activities in the medrese and tekke erected for them in Tokat by Parwāna Sulaymān. The Akbariyya movement continued its existence during the first years of the Ottoman state in the hands of powerful representatives. The most distinguished of these was Dāwūd-i Qayşarî (d.1350), who wrote an Arabic commentary on İbn 'Arabî's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* and was the head *mudarris* in the medresse in Iznik, the first Ottoman theological college. He had been trained together with 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānî (d.1329), a pupil of Şadr al-dîn Qūnawî. After Dāwūd-i Qayşarî, the Akbariyya school was represented by a number of distinguished scholars and Sufis such as Molla Fanārî (d.1430), the first Ottoman Sheikhulislām, his pupil, Quṭb al-dîn İzniki (d.1450), Yāzidjizāda Muḥammad (d.1451), the author of the famous *Muḥammadiyya*, and Djamāl-i Khalwatî (d.1506), known as Tchelebî Khalifa. The order continued in operation until the present day, exerting a strong influence on a number of other orders.

Having presented this information on the state of mysticism and the religious orders in Anatolia during the early years of the Ottoman state, we can now proceed to the distribution of the religious orders in the Ottoman Empire. First, however, we should give a brief explanation regarding the method we shall be employing in our treatment of the topic. It would be impossible to include a detailed study of all the religious orders and their branches to be found in the Ottoman Empire within the space of this article. An examination of the history of any one of the main orders or any one of its branches would demand a separate study of its own. Things being as they are, we shall confine ourselves to touching upon the main religious orders active during the Ottoman Empire, their leading representatives and the branches produced by that particular order.

The XIVth century witnessed the first formation of the religious orders on Ottoman soil, but it was in the XVth century that independent orders and their branches began to appear and that *tekkes* (dervish lodges) and *zāwiyas* (hospices) belonging to them made their first appearance. In this article we shall endeavour to present the historical development of the principal religious orders active in Ottoman territory together with the main outlines of their general distribution.

### Qādiriya

The Qādiriya, the earliest and most widespread of the Islamic religious orders, was founded in the XIIth century by 'Abd al-Qādir Kīlānī and continued its development outside the Ottoman Empire, more particularly in the Middle East, between the XIIIth and XVth centuries.

#### 1. Ashrafiya

Qādiriya was first introduced to Anatolia by Ashrafoglu 'Abd Allah Rūmī (d.1469). Celebrated over the centuries for works entitled *Dīwān*, *Muzakkī al-Nufūs* and *Tarīqatnāma*, he completed his *sayr u sulūk* (special training of a religious order) in Ankara as a pupil of Ḥādji Bayrām-Walī and received his *idjāzat* from the Bayrāmīya order, subsequently marrying the daughter of the Sheikh. Later, on the Sheikh's recommendation, he became an adherent of the Qādirī sheikh Ḥusayn Ḥamawī at Hama and, after receiving his *icazet* from the Qādiriya order, returned to his home town of Iznik, whence he succeeded in diffusing the Ashrafiya, a branch he had founded in his own name, in Bursa and throughout Western Anatolia. As he was the first to introduce the Qādiriya to Anatolia, Ashrafoglu Rūmī was accepted as *Pīr-i Thānī* (Second Pir) of the Qādiriya in the Ottoman Empire. The Ashrafiya was the result of the merger of the religious order of Amīr Sulṭān (Kubrawīya) with the Bayrāmīya and the Qādiriya and a number of others.

The first Ashrafiya tekke was that founded in Iznik by Ashrafoglu Rūmī, which became the headquarters of the Ashrafiya. This lodge, one of the most important tarīqat and mystical centres in Anatolia, continued its activities until the XIXth century, making an outstanding contribution to the diffusion of mystical culture. Ashrafoglu was succeeded by his leading *khalifa* 'Abd al-Raḥīm Tīrsī, who undertook the position of *postnīshīn* of the tekke. In the XIXth century, this lodge transferred its headquarters to the İncirli lodge in Bursa, while, in the course of time, the lodges founded in

lefke, Pazarköy and Gemlik Küçükkumla became the leading centres of activity of the religious order. From the XVIIIth century onwards the Nu'māniya *tekke* in the Çatalfırın district in Bursa became one of the most important centres of the religious order, continuing in operation until the middle of the XXth century. The most famous Ashrafi lodge in Istanbul was the *tekke* in the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa complex, generally known as the Abdāl Ya'qūb Dede *tekkesi*.

## 2. Rūmīya

The Qādiriya was introduced to Istanbul only at the beginning of the XVIIth century thanks to the efforts of İsmā'il Rūmī (d.1631). Ordained *khalīfa* by the Qādiri sheikh Fayḍ Allah in Baghdad and Aḥmad Mişrī, another Qādiri sheikh, in Egypt, İsmā'il Rūmī, on his return from Egypt to Anatolia, founded lodges in his own name in Tosya and Kastamonu and visited Izmir, Manisa, Bursa, Izmit, Tekirdağ, Edirne, Salonica, Ishtib, Contanza, Plovdiv, Sirov and Temeshvar in an attempt to spread Qādiriya in these areas. He later came to Istanbul and began to disseminate the order in the Sofular Mosque at Fatih, founding in his own name the first Qādiri Istanbul *tekke* at Tophane, where he undertook preaching activities. This lodge, known as the *İsmā'il Rūmī Āsitānasi* or the *Qādirikhāna Tekkesi*, became recognized from that time onwards as the centre for all the Qādiri in the Ottoman Empire. Rūmīya was thus established as a separate branch of the Qādiriya. İsmā'il Rūmī, like Ashrafoghlu before him, was recognized as the Qādiriya Pir-i Thānī in the Ottoman territories. With the foundation of the *Qādirikhāna Tekkesi* in Istanbul, the Qādiriya in the capital began to be organized from the XVIIth century onwards on the basis of a central Istanbul administration, producing a powerful administrative structure with the authority to appoint all Sheikhs to Qādiri *tekkes* throughout the Empire. This central *tekke* continued its operations right up to the Republican period. In his *Safina-i Awliyā*, Ḥusayn Vassāf Bey gives the names of all the Sheikhs in the *tekke*, together a short biography of each.

Thus it would appear that the Qādiriya order, one of the earliest and the most widespread of the sufi orders in the Islamic world, and one which produced a large number of branches, is represented in Ottoman territory only by the Ashrafiya and the Rūmīya.

### Khalwatīya

The Khalwatīya was one of the most widely diffused and most influential of the religious orders in the Ottoman Empire. This Sunni order, founded in Iran in the XIVth century by Abū 'Abd Allah Sirādj al-dīn 'Umar b. Akmal al-dīn Lāhidji Khalwatī (d.1349 or 1397), was introduced into Ottoman territory in the second half of the XVth century and spread very rapidly, splitting up, in the course of time, into a number of different branches. A number of religious orders founded in Anatolia and developing as apparently independent orders were essentially branches of the Khalwatīya.

The foundation and proliferation of the Khalwatīya on Ottoman soil was realized mainly through the efforts of Seyyid Yaḥyā Shirwānī (d.1464) and his *khalīfas*, but the first introduction of the order in Anatolia and its diffusion in the Amasya region was the work of Pīr İlyās of Amasya (d.1410), another *khalīfa* of Sheikh Şadr al-dīn Shirwānī. In examining the development and areas of expansion of the Khalwatīya on Ottoman soil, attention should be given to a number of individuals, trained, like Pīr İlyās Amāsī, by Shirwānī and sent to Anatolia, each one of whom are generally recognized as founders of branches, and to the proliferation, in the course of time, of the branches they founded.

Pīr İlyās continued his religious mission in the *Gümüşlüoğlu Tekkesi*, the first *tekke* founded in Amasya in the name of the Khalwatīs. After his death, the position of Sheikh of the lodge was held by his *khalīfa* Sheikh Zakariyyā Khalwatī who was succeeded in turn by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Tchelebī, the grandson of Pīr İlyās's daughter. Khalwatī activity in this *tekke* continued until the end of the XVIth century. Another *tekke* in Amasya belonging to the *khalīfas* of Pīr İlyās was built by Ya'qūb Pasha for Gümüşlüoğlu 'Abd al-Raḥmān Tchelebī, which was still in active operation in the XVIIth century. Another *khalīfa* of Pīr İlyās by the name of Sheikh Ṭāhiroğlu, is mentioned in the sources as having engaged in preaching activities in Tokat.

It was Seyyid Yaḥyā Shirwānī, recognized as "pīr-i thānī" of the order, who ensured the rapid diffusion of the Khalwatīya. Thanks to him, the order spread to a number of regions, first and foremost Anatolia. Shirwānī, born in Shamākhī, after completing his education in Tabriz, decided to choose the mystical path and, entering the service of Sheikh Şadr al-dīn Khalāwī, was finally ordained *khalīfa*. After marrying the daughter of the Sheikh he settled in Bakū, where he continued his preaching activities until his death.

Through the *khalifas* he instructed and sent around the country, the Khalwatiya divided in the course of time into four main branches in accordance with the traditional classification.

1. The Rūshaniya, founded by Dede 'Umar Rūshani (d.1486).
2. The Djamāliya founded by Djamāl-i Khalwatī (d.1493), who achieved fame as Tchelebi Khalifa.
3. The Aḥmadiya founded by Aḥmad Shams al-dīn Marmarawī (d.1597), generally known by the cognomen Yigitbāshī.
4. The Shamsiya founded by Shams al-dīn Aḥmad Sīwāsī (d.1597).

However, prior to the formation of these branches, Molla Habib Qaramānī (d.1496), another of Shirwānī's *khalifas*, visited the districts of Karaman, Ankara, Amasya and Sivas in his efforts to disseminate the religious order and ensuring the continuation in the various regions of the services of the *murīd* (disciples) he had trained. One of these was Sheikh Dāvūd-i Khalwatī (d.1507), a native of Mudurnu. The work of preaching begun by Qaramānī in the Mehmed Pasha *Tekkesi*, built in Amasya by Khidr Pashazāda Mehmed Pasha (d.1485), was carried on by his *khalifas* up to the end of the XVIth century. A line begun by al-Hādīdj Khidr Amāsī, another of Qaramānī's *khalifas* in Amasya, later produced the Shamsiya, one of the four main branches mentioned above.

The preaching activity begun by Qaramānī in his hometown of Karaman was carried on after him by his *khalifa* Djamāl al-dīn İṣḥāq Qaramānī (d.1526) who achieved fame as Djamāl Khalifa. He later went to Istanbul, where he carried on his preaching activity, first in the mosque/zāwiya built for him in Zeyrek by the Grand Vizier Piri Mehmed Pasha, and subsequently in the Koruk *Tekkesi* in Fatih built for him by the same dignitary. A *khalifa* of Djamāl Khalifa by the name of Azalīzāda 'Abd al-Raḥmān Efendi (d.1565), who had a *tekke* in the Sutlūce district, engaged for many years in preaching activity in the Şāhīb 'Atā Zāwiyasi in Konya. The same activity was subsequently carried on first by Washna Efendi and then by Yayabāshizāda Khidr Efendi. Naqqāsh Baba, another *khalifa* of Habib-i Qaramānī besides Djamāl Khalifa, conducted his activities in the *dargāh* at Nakkastepe at Kuzguncuk in Üsküdar, and was succeeded in this work by his son Derwish Tchelebi (d. 1560).

### 1. Rūshaniya

Dede 'Umar Rūshani, the founder of this branch, employed the cognomen "Rūshani" (of Aydın) to indicate that he was a native of that city. Rūshani went to Bakū, where he became an adherent of Seyyid Yaḥyā Shirwānī and was ordained *khalifa*. After the Sheikh's death, he worked on the expansion of the order in Gence, Tabriz, Berdaa and Karaağaç. It was one of Rūshani's most distinguished *khalifas*, Sheikh İbrāhīm Gulshani (d.1533), the founder of the Gulshaniya branch, who introduced the Rūshaniya to Anatolia. Thus it was by means of the Gulshaniya branch that the Rūshaniya, one of the principal branches of the Khalwatiya, was diffused throughout Ottoman territory.

#### a. Gulshaniya

A native of Diyarbakır, İbrāhīm Gulshani went to Tabriz at a very early age and there became an adherent of Rūshani. He remained there until the Sheikh's death, after which he remained for some time in the post held by the former Sheikh until forced to leave under Shī'ite pressure and return to Diyarbakır, where he continued the work of preaching for a time. He later went by way of Urfa to Cairo, where he finally settled. Sultān Selim I visited him after the conquest of Egypt and it was on the Sultān's instructions that in 1524 he built the first Gulshani *dargāh* beside the Mu'ayyadiya Mosque. While conducting his preaching activities there and winning very great popularity, İbrāhīm Gulshani was invited by Sultān Suleymān the Magnificent to İstanbul, where he remained for some time. Meanwhile, he succeeded in attracting to the membership of the religious order a number of high state dignitaries as well as very distinguished personalities from medrese circles. Finally, he left his position in İstanbul to Sheikh Ḥasan Zārifi (d.1569) and returned to Egypt, where he died five years later.

Besides his work in the mesjid and zāwiye built for him at Kumkapı, Ḥasan Zārifi carried on his activities in the lodge which later became famous as the Durmuş Dedé Tekkesi. The work of disseminating the Gulshaniya order was carried on by other *khalifas* of Gulshani, such as Şādiq 'Alī Efendi (d.1554) in Diyarbakır, 'Ashiq Mustafa Efendi (d.1563) in Edirne, his son Aḥmad Khayālī (d.1569) in Egypt and Muḥyi al-dīn Qaramānī (d.1550) in Gebze. Muḥyi al-dīn Qaramānī was accused of holding views contrary to the Sharī'a and condemned to death by a fetva issued by the Sheikhulislam Abū al-Su'ūd Efendi. His place was taken by Sheikh Karim al-dīn Efendi.

Muḥammed Demirtaş of Kütahya (d.1529), another of the *khalīfas* of Dede 'Umar Rūshani, founded another secondary branch known after its founder as the Demirtāshīya. He established his tekke in the vicinity of Cairo and carried on his activities in this area.

The Gulshaniya branch of the Khalwatiya produced two secondary branches, the Sazā'iya and the Hālatīya. The Sazā'iya was founded by Sheikh Ḥasan Sazā'ī (d.1738), the Hālatīya by Sheikh Ḥasan Hālatī Efendi (d.1911).

## 2. Djamāliya

The Djamāliya, one of the main branches of the Khalwatiya, was founded by Sheikh Djamāl Khalwatī (d.1493). As his father was a *qādi 'askar* (high official in the Ottoman judiciary) he was better known as Tchelebī Khalifa. A native of Aksaray, he belonged to the family of Sheikh Djamal al-dīn Aqsarāyī. Having received training in mysticism from Hādji Khalifa of Kastamonu (d.1489) he became an adherent of the Halvetī Sheikh 'Abd Allah Qaramānī, upon whose death he entered the service of the Khalwatī Sheikh Tāhiroghlu in Tokat. After the Sheikh's death he became an adherent of Pir Muḥammad Erzindjānī at Erzincan, by whom he was ordained *khalifa*. Thereupon he went to Amasya, where he began his preaching activities. He later came to Istanbul on the invitation of Bāyazīd II, and continued to work until his death in the tekke established for him by the Grand Vizier, Qodja Muḥṣafa Pasha.

Tchelebī Khalifa entrusted the work of preaching to a number of *khalīfas* in Istanbul and in several Anatolian cities, while he himself engaged in the expansion of the sufi order. Of these *khalīfas* we may cite Sunbul Sinān Efendi (d.1529), the founder of the Sunbuliyya, Qāsim Tchelebī (d.1518), Sheikh in the Qarabāsh tekke at Tophane, Sheikh Uways (d. after 1524), who held the position of Sheikh in Istanbul, Karaman and Damascus, Sheikh Sinān al-dīn Yūsuf Ardabili (d.1544), who founded the Erdebil Tekkesi, in which he held the position of Sheikh, in the vicinity of Ayasofya Mosque in Istanbul. These *khalīfas* in turn trained a number of *khalīfas* and *murīds* (disciples) of their own, who worked on the further expansion of the order. For example, Qāsim Tchelebī trained the celebrated Sheikh Qarabāsh Ramaḍān Efendi (d.1545 or 1556) and Bālī Efendi of Sofia (d. 1553). Some four hundred *khalīfas* are said to have been trained in this way, principally by Bālī of Sofia, Kurt Mehmed Efendi (d.1589) and Muḥṣafa

Muṣliḥ al-dīn (d.1574), better known as Nūr al-dīnzāda, while 'Aṭāyī records that Sheikh Uways, a *khalifa* of Tchelebī Khalifa, presented seventy thousand with the dervish cloak.

a) *Sunbuliyya*: A branch of the Djamāliyya, the Sunbuliyya was founded by Sunbul Sinān Efendi (d.1529), the most distinguished *khalifa* (*khalifat al-khulafā*) of Tchelebī Khalifa. This Sheikh, whose real name was Yūsuf b. 'Alī but was also known as Sinān al-dīn Yūsuf, was originally from Merzifon. After studying the aklī and naklī (rational and spiritual) sciences under Afdalzāda in Istanbul, he chose the mystical path and became an adherent of the Khalwatī Sheikh Tchelebī Khalifa. After completing the *sayr u sulūk* and receiving the *idjāzat* he went to Egypt, where he spent some time engaged in preaching activities. On the death of the Sheikh, he came to Istanbul in accordance with the Sheikh's last will and testament. There he married the Sheikh's daughter and undertook the office of Sheikh in the Qodja Muṣṭafa Pasha *tekke*, where he remained for thirty years until his death. The sheikhūlislām İbn Kamāl wrote a *marthiyya* (elegy) on the death of a man who had won profound admiration and respect.

Sunbul Sinān had trained a large number of *khalifas* and was succeeded by Merkez Muṣliḥ al-dīn Efendi (d.1551), one of the most distinguished of these. Of the other *khalifas* he sent to various parts of Anatolia and Rumelia with the aim of enlarging the order, Djam Shāh Efendi (d.1536) served the order in Karaman, Djamāl Efendi of Akşehir (d.1536) in Akşehir, Sheikh Maqṣūd Dede (d.1562) in Hayrabolu and Siroz, Sheikh 'Alā al-dīn (d.1562), the son of Muṣliḥ al-dīn Muṣṭafa, in Istanbul and Kefe, and Sheikh Çavdarlı Aḥmad Dede (d.1571) in Kütahya.

Merkez Efendi was one of the most important members of this religious order. A learned Sufi, after completing his *sayr u sulūk* with Sunbul Sinān Efendi, he held for some time the position of Sheikh in the Koşacı Dede zāwiyya in Istanbul. Meanwhile, Hafsa Sultān, the mother of Sultān Sulaymān the Magnificent, appointed him to the mosque and zāwiyya she had founded in Manisa. While carrying out his duties there, he made *Mesir Macun*, (a sort of toffee) out of scores of different herbs and distributed it to the people, which was probably the origin of the Manisa tradition of distributing Mesir Macun to the people at the Nawrūz festival.

On the death of Sunbul Sinān, Merkez Efendi returned to Istanbul, where he took up his position as Sheikh in the Qodja Muṣṭafa Pasha *dargāh*.

Here he trained a number of *khalifas* whom he entrusted with duties in Istanbul and various parts of Anatolia. Of these, Sheikh Ya'qūb Efendi (d.1571), Gömleksiz Meḥmed Efendi (d.1544), his own son-in-law Seyyid Muşliḥ al-dīn (d.1576), Seyyid 'Abd al-Khāliq, Sheikh 'Abd Allāh ('Abdī Efendi) (d.1591), Muḥyi al-dīn Efendi (d.1582), known as Köşe Sheikh, and Sheikh Aḥmad Efendi (d.1570) are known to have taken up posts in Istanbul, while of those sent to Anatolia his son, Sheikh Aḥmad Efendi (d.1562) was stationed in Denizli, Shams al-dīn Aḥmad Efendi (d.1567) worked in the Molla Tchelebī zāwiya at Tire in Aydın and Sheikh Aḥmad Dede (Kalburcu Şeyhi) (d.1570) in the village of Kalburcu in Kütahya. On the death of Merkez Efendi, who is credited in the sources as having left behind some three hundred *khalifas*, his place was taken for a time by his son Ahmed Efendi, and subsequently by his *khalifa* Sheikh Ya'qūb Efendi, who was carrying out the duties of Sheikh in Dāwūd Pasha *tekke*. On his death, the same duties were undertaken by his son, Yūsuf Sinān Efendi (d.1579).

b) *Sha'bāniya*: The Sha'bāniya, one of the branches of the Djamāliya, was founded by Sheikh Sha'bān Walī (d.1569) of Kasatamonu. This branch, which sub-divided into a number of secondary branches, was the means by which the Djamāliya-i Khalwatiya has survived to the present day.

After studying the natural sciences in his hometown Kastamonu and in Istanbul, Sha'bān Walī turned to mysticism and became a novice under Sheikh Khayr al-dīn Tokadī, who had received his icazet from Tchelebī Khalifa (d.1525) who was then in Bolu. After spending twelve years with the Sheikh he was ordained *khalifa* and sent to his hometown Kastamonu to disseminate the order. Sha'bān Efendi carried on his preaching activities in the mesjid and zāwiye founded by Seyyid Sünnetī Efendi, one of the Khalwatiya Sheikhs in Kastamonu and, for a time, in the Djamāl Agha Mescidi and the Khunsālar Mosque. His fame spread far and wide, and a number of ordinary people and members of the ulema joined his order. One of these was Muḥarram Efendi (d.1575), a close friend of the Sheikhulislām Abū al-Su'ūd Efendi. In all this, Sha'bān Efendi played an important role as both Sheikh and one versed in the natural sciences.

On his death, his place was taken by one of his *khalifas*, 'Uthmān Efendi (d.1569), who was himself succeeded on his death forty days later by the *khalifa* Khayr al-dīn Efendi (Kazançı Khayr al-dīn) of Kastamonu (d.1579,

who at that time held the position of Sheikh in Amasya. On his death, his post was taken over by 'Abd al-Bāqī Efendi of İskilip (d.1589), who had been sent to Çorum by Sha'bān Efendi.

Sha'bān Efendi is recorded as having ordained three hundred dervishes as *khalifas*, and, after his death, it was through the work of these *khalifas* that the order spread in many directions.

### 3. Aḥmadiya:

The Aḥmadiya was one of the main branches of the Khalwatiya. This branch, known as the "orta kolu" (central branch), was founded by Sheikh Aḥmad Shams al-dīn Marmarawī (d.1504), generally known as Yigitbāshī. The name Marmarawī indicates his birth in the village of Marmara in Akhisar. In Uşak, where he went for his further education, he became an adherent of 'Alā al-dīn 'Ushshāqī (d.1485), generally known as 'Alā al-dīn Efendi of Kabak. On completing the *seyr u sulūk* he was ordained *khalifa* and sent to Manisa to engage in preaching activities. At one point, while carrying out his duties there, he went to Istanbul, where he settled a dispute in the *mashāyikh* (council of Sheikhs) and then returned to his duties in Manisa. It was because of this success and his courage in both speech and behaviour that he was given the nickname "Yigitbāshī" (stout-hearted). His family tree can be traced back four generations to Seyyid Yahyā-yī Shirwānī. On the death of the Sheikh, Marmarawī, who had been engaged in preaching activities in the tekke in the Seyyid Khwādja district of Manisa, continued as *baş khalifa* (head *khalifa*) in his own tekke

The branch he had founded underwent a process of very great expansion, splitting up into a number of secondary branches and spreading into a number of different regions. Secondary branches produced by this main branch active in Ottoman territories included the Sināniya, 'Ushshāqīya, Ramadāniya and Mişriya.

a) *Sināniya*: The Sināniya branch was founded by Sheikh İbrāhīm Khalwatī (d.1568), better known as Ümmī Sinān. A native of Bursa who completed his education in Istanbul, Ümmī Sinān went to Karaman where he became an adherent of Sheikh 'İzz al-dīn Qaramānī, one of the *khalifas* of Sheikh Marmarawī, and was himself ordained *khalifa* after completing the *seyr u sulūk*. After spending some time in preaching activities in the Manisa and Uşak regions, he came to Istanbul, where, until his death, he continued

his preaching activities in the Ümmî Sinân Tekkesi in the vicinity of Tophane that had been founded for him by Sultân Suleymân the Magnificent. After his death, he was succeeded by his son-in-law Sheikh 'Arab Sharîf Mehmed Efendi of Aleppo (d.1614).

In Istanbul there were another two separate tekkes belonging to the Sinâniya branch. One of these is the Pazar Tekkesi in the vicinity of the Ümmî Sinân Tekkesi, the other the Ümmî Sinan Tekkesi in Eyüp. The first Sheikh of the Pazar Tekkesi was Harîrî Mehmed Efendi (d.1640), another son-in-law of Ümmî Sinân, who remained in this post for some ninety years. As for the tekke at Eyüp, the first Sheikh here was Sheikh Naşûh Efendi (d.1568).

b) *'Ushshâqîya*: The *'Ushshâqîya* branch was founded by Sheikh Hasan Husâm al-dîn *'Ushshâqî* of Bukhara (d.1592). Although he complemented his normal education at Bukhara with spiritual enlightenment from Kubrawî and Naqshî Sheikhs, he remained unsatisfied and, in response to a spiritual sign, he set out from there and completed the *sayr u sulûk* under Sheikh Seyyid Aḥmad-i Samarqandî Efendi in Erzincan. Ordained *khalîfa*, on the Sheikh's orders he settled in Uşak, where he engaged in preaching activities. Meanwhile the future Mehmed III, then governor of Manisa, became aware of his fame and, on becoming Sultân, invited him to Istanbul, where he continued his work. His *dargâh* was in the Kasımpaşa district. The funeral of a man who lived to the age of 121 and had, in his lifetime, won the greatest respect and admiration, was conducted by 'Azîz Maḥmûd Hudâyî.

He ordained a number of dervishes *khalîfa* and, in the course of time, trained a great many Sheikhs. The *'Ushshâqîya* later produced a secondary branch, the Djamâliya. The founder of this branch was Sheikh Muḥammad Djamâl al-dîn Efendi (d.1751). From the Djamâliya sprang the Şalâhiya branch founded by Sheikh 'Abd Allah Şalâh al-dîn Efendi (d.1783).

c. *Ramaḍânîya*: Ramaḍân al-dîn Makhfi Efendi of Afyonkarahisar (d.1616), the founder of this branch, having received a normal education in his hometown went on to undergo mystical training under Sheikh Qâsim Tchelebî. After being ordained *khalîfa* he came to Istanbul, where he engaged in preaching activities in his tekke in Kocamustafapaşa.

c. *Djarrâḥîya*: Another important branch that came into existence after the Ahmediya was the Djarrâḥîya, a secondary branch of the Ramaḍânîya.

Sheikh Nūr al-dīn Muḥammad Djarrāhī (d.1721), the founder of the branch, having completed the seyrisülük under 'Alī 'Alā al-dīn Efendi, the Sheikh of the Salāmī Efendi *dargāh* in Üsküdar, continued his work on the expansion of the order in the *dargāh* named after him at Karagümrük in Istanbul. This *dargāh* continued its operations until the Republican period and trained a large number of dervishes.

d. *Miṣrīya*: One of the most important secondary branches of the Aḥmadiya, the Miṣrīya was founded by Sheikh Muḥammad Niyāzī-i Miṣrī (d.1692). A native of Malatya and the son of a Naqshī dervish by the name of 'Alī Efendi, he was given the cognomen Miṣrī because of the many years he had spent studying in Egypt. After returning to Istanbul, he went on to Bursa and Uşak, where he became an adherent of Sheikh Yūsuf Sinān Ümmī (d.1664). He accompanied the Sheikh to Elmalı, and then, after completing his seyrisülük, returned by way of Uşak and Kütahya to Bursa, where he took up residence in a tekke built for himself. Later, he was banished to Limni Island for certain ideas he had expressed while engaging in preaching activities in the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne. After remaining there for twelve years he returned to Bursa, and from there he went on to Edirne, but shortly afterwards he was again banished to Limni, where he died. His mystical works and, more particularly, his *Diwān*, an important work in the Yūnus Emre tradition, won considerable fame. While many people benefited from his teaching, he himself received spiritual guidance from members of the Mawlawī, Bektashī and other religious orders.

#### 4. Shamsīya:

One of the main branches of the Khalwatiya, the Shamsīya was founded by Sheikh Shams al-dīn Aḥmad Sivāsī (d.1597) a native of the Zile district of Tokat. His father, Abū al-Barakāt Muḥammad Zilī, an adherent of al-Ḥādīdj Khiḍr-i Amāsī, a *khalifa* of Sheikh Ḥabīb-i Qaramānī, took the seven years old Aḥmad to the Sheikh to receive his blessing. After a normal education in Zile and Tokat, Shams al-dīn Aḥmad went to Istanbul, where he continued this education for a time before abandoning it for the mystic path. After returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca he taught in Zile for some time, eventually joining Muşliḥ al-dīn Khalifa, the *khalifa* of his father's Sheikh Khiḍr Efendi, and was ordained *khalifa*. Shortly after the death of this Sheikh he became an adherent of Sheikh 'Abd al-Madīd Shirwānī (d.1556), who had come from Şirvan to Tokat to engage in preaching activities.

Having completed his *sayr u sulūk*, he received the *hırka* (cloak) of the order from Sheikh 'Abd al-Madjid Shirwānī and was sent as *khalifa* to his hometown Zile. While engaged in teaching and preaching activities in Zile, he went to Sivas at the invitation of Qodja Hasan Pasha, one of the viziers of Suleymān the Magnificent, who had built a mosque (Meydan Mosque) and a *dargāh* in Sivas, where he continued his preaching activities until his death.

While the Shamsiya branch of the Khalwatiya was expanding in Sivas and Zile, it was also being introduced to Istanbul by Sheikh 'Abd al-Madjid Siwāsī (d.1639), a *khalifa* of Shams al-dīn Siwāsī. The efforts of 'Abd al-Madjid Siwāsī, who became famous for his conflict with the opposition to the tekkes led by the Qādizādas that appeared in Istanbul at that time, and of Sheikh 'Abd al-Aḥad Nūrī-i Siwāsī (d.1651), his *khalifa* and his sister's son, resulted in the rapid expansion of the order in the capital and the foundation of a new branch, Siwāsīya, named after Siwāsī.

a. *Siwāsīya*: The only branch produced by the Shamsiya, the Siwāsīya is ascribed to Sheikh 'Abd al-Aḥad Nūrī Efendi, whose learning and virtue were universally recognized in Istanbul. A native of Sivas, Nūrī Efendi came to Istanbul with his uncle Sheikh 'Abd al-Madjid Siwāsī Efendi at a very early age. Complementing his studies in the natural and esoteric sciences with a religious training he was finally ordained *khalifa*. After engaging for some time in study and preaching activities in Mytilene he was invited to Istanbul and appointed Sheikh in the Mehmed Agha Tekkesi, a post he held until his death. Meanwhile he acted as preacher on various occasions in the Fatih, Bāyazīd and Ayasofya mosques. On his death, he was succeeded as Sheikh by one of his *khalifas*, Sheikh Muḥammad Naẓmī (d.1701). Naẓmī Efendi held this post for forty-five years, and on his death his place was taken by his son, Sheikh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Rāfi'a (d.1720), who was, in turn, succeeded on his death by his son Sheikh 'Abd al-Madjid Efendi (d.1730). As Widjdānī, records, although the Siwāsīya was unable to continue in existence as an independent branch, at the beginning of the XXth century it was represented in the Zibīn-i Sa'ādat *dargāh* in the district of Taşkasap by Sheikh Seyyid Yūsuf Diyā al-dīn Efendi, whose line could be traced back to 'Abd al-Aḥad Nūrī.

#### Mawlawīya

The Mawlawīya, an order founded on Anatolian soil by Mawlānā Djalāl al-dīn Rūmī (d.1273) was to become one of the most important religious

orders of the Ottoman period. Although its foundation was ascribed to Mawlānā, the institutionalisation of the order, with its traditions and officials, must be accredited to Tchelebī Ḥusām al-dīn (d.1284) and, more especially, to Mawlānā's son, Sulṭān Walad (d.1312). The years up to the XVth century may be regarded as the period of its foundation and development. The Afyonkarahisar Mawlawikhāna, founded in 1316, was the most important Mawlawī *dargāh* in Anatolia after the *dargāh* in Konya.

The occupation by the male descendants of Mawlānā's son, Sulṭān Walad, of the position of Sheikh in the *tekke* in Konya gave rise to an official office of Tchelebī in the Mawlawī order. The Tchelebī holding this position were either Sheikhs themselves or gave authorization to future Sheikhs. The line descending from Sulṭān Walad's daughter Muṭahhara 'Ābida Khātūn was known as "*Īnāth Tchelebīs*". Thus the Mawlawī Sheikhs can be divided into two groups - Tchelebīs and non-Tchelebīs.

Moreover, as far as doctrine was concerned, the Mawlawī order developed from the very beginning in the form of two independent branches. One was the Walad branch, which was based on *zuhd* (pious asceticism) and was faithful to the doctrinal principles of *Ahl al-Sunna* and the Sharī'a, while the other was the Shamsī branch, which was of a more esoteric character, with the members resembling the Qalandaris in not feeling themselves bound to the Sharī'a and free to drink wine and smoke hashish, to let their moustaches grow, and to shave their heads, beards and eye-brows. Diwāna Meḥmed Tchelebī (d. after 1544), one of the "*Īnāth Tchelebīs*", was temperamentally linked to the Shamsī branch, and this *dargāh* subsequently remained under the administration of his descendants. However the name Mawlawī immediately suggests the Waladī branch, which operated on Ottoman territory and was represented by the Tchelebīs. This branch was always on very good terms with the Ottoman administration.

With Diwāna Meḥmed Tchelebī the Mawlawīya order entered a period of expansion in Anatolia. This dervish of Qalandarī leanings frequently set out on travels in the course of which he opened *dargāhs* in a number of different places, such as Burdur, Eḡridir, Sandıklı, Muḡla and Kütahya, and appointed *khalifas* to run them. He was also responsible for the foundation of the Galata Mawlawikhāna in Istanbul.

The third important Mawlawī centre in Anatolia was the Mawlawikhāna founded in Manisa in 1368 by İshāq Bey, the Bey of the province of Saruhan.

Another Mawlawī *dargāh* in Anatolia was the Pīrī Meḥmed Pasha Zāwiya founded in Konya at the beginning of the XVIth century.

From the end of the XVIth century, Mawlawī activity tended to be concentrated in urban centres rather than in villages and country towns, with the Mawlawī order addressing more particularly the upper class and urban elite. At the same time, the Mawlawī *dargāhs* became centres of literature, music, calligraphy and the fine arts, with the result that a number of high state dignitaries felt a keen interest in the Mawlawī order, some of them founding *dargāhs* for members of the order. For example, the Peçoy Mawlawīkhāna was founded in 1665 by Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha, the Kayseri Mawlawīkhāna in 1675 by Bayram Pasha, the Kilis Mawlawīkhāna in 1676 by Ali Ağa, the Salonica Mawlawīkhāna by the vizier Aḥmad Pasha, the Yenikapı Mawlawīkhāna in Istanbul by Malkoç Bey, the Beşiktaş Mawlawīkhāna by Ḥusayn Pasha of Ochrid, and the Üsküdar Mawlawīkhāna by Sultanzāda Nu'mān Dede. At the same time, high state dignitaries were also responsible for repairs carried out on the Mawlawī *dargāhs*. As an example of this we may cite the renovation in 1765 on the orders of Sultān Muṣṭafa III and with funds supplied by the Treasury of the Galata Mawlawīkhāna, which had been destroyed by fire. All this shows the close interest taken in the Mawlawī *dargāhs* by high state dignitaries, which reached a peak with Selīm III, himself a poet and musician with a keen interest in Sheikh Ghālib, and was continued with Maḥmūd II, who is known to have formed a close relationship with Ḥālat Efendi, a Mawlawī Sheikh of the period. This interest contributed very greatly to the development of the Mawlawī *dargāhs*, as well as to the granting of a number of privileges, such as the exemption of Mawlawī dervishes from military service.

In the course of time, five separate mevlevīhanes were founded in Istanbul. These were the Galata, Üsküdar, Kāsımpaşa, Bahāriye (at Eyüpsultan) and Yenikapı mevlevīhanes. Apart from these there were a few Mawlawī *dargāhs* operating in Anatolia and Rumelia. Apart from the abovementioned, these included *dargāhs* in Izmir, Bursa, Eskişehir, Gelibolu, Sivas, Ankara, Kastamonu. Manastir and Salonica Mawlawīkhāna were also founded in Aleppo, Damascus, Medina, Egypt and Crimea.

#### Bayrāmīya

The Bayrāmīya was another of the religious orders that arose and developed on Ottoman soil. Founded in Ankara by Sheikh Ḥādji Bayrām

Walī (d.1430), who had submitted to the spiritual guidance of Sheikh Ḥamid al-dīn Aqsarāyī, or Somuncu Baba, whom he succeeded, the order split up after the founder's death into two main branches, the Shamsīya-i Bayrāmīya and the Mālāmīya-i Bayrāmīya. Later, the order produced yet another branch by the name of Djalwatīya. As Sheikh Ḥamid al-dīn Aqsarāyī had received training from Sheikhs belonging to the Abhariya Naqshbandiya and Khalwatīya orders, the order founded by Ḥādji Bayrām Walī can be said to have been inspired by all three of these religious orders. On receiving complaints that Ḥādji Bayrām, who had acquired great popularity and fame during his lifetime, presented a danger to the state on account of the large number of his followers, Sultan Murād II summoned him to Edirne, but on realising his great scholarship, virtue and integrity the Sultan sent him home laden with praise and gifts. He trained a great many disciples and ordained a great many *khalīfas*, among whom were some whose names would live for centuries, such as Aq Shams al-dīn (d.1459), the tutor of Mehmed the Conqueror, 'Umar Sikkīnī (d.1475), the founder of the Malāmīya in the Ottoman period, Yazidjizāda Muḥammad (d.1451), the author of *Muḥammadiya*, a work that remained very popular reading for centuries, and his brother Ahmed-i Bidjān, the author of *Anwār al-'Ashiqīn*. On his death Ḥādji Bayrām was succeeded by Aq Shams al-dīn, his most celebrated *khalīfa*, who continued his tarikat activities in Göynük. The Bayrāmīya split into two branches following a dispute regarding method with 'Umar-I Sikkīnī, another *khalīfa* of Ḥādji Bayrām, who attended Aq Shams al-dīn's discussion and recitation circle.

### 1. Shamsīya-i Bayrāmīya:

This branch, founded by Shams al-dīn Muḥammad, celebrated as Aq Shams al-dīn, who had been tutor to Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror and who stood by his side during the conquest of Istanbul, led Bayrāmī-ism along the Sunni path and adopted the method of "*djahrī dhikr*" (public recitation). This branch gave rise to several other branches:

a. *Tannūriya*: This order was founded by Sheikh İbrāhīm Tannūri of Kayseri (d.1482), one of the *khalīfas* of Aq Shams al-dīn. He was succeeded by Sheikhs such as Muhyī al-dīn Yawsī, Sheikh Qāsım. Madjd al-dīn Şārūkhānī and İlyās-ı Şārūkhānī. Of these, Muhyī al-dīn Yawsī (d.1514) was the father of SheikhuIslām Abū al-Su'ūd Efendi and the son-in-law of 'Ali Qushdjī. A native of İskilip, he engaged in preaching activities in İskilip and

Amasya, leaving for Istanbul on the invitation of Sultan Bāyazīd, who had known him in Amasya while he was Shahzāda (prince), and continued his religious activity in the tekke that had been erected for him by the Sultan and which subsequently became famous as the Yawsī Baba Tekkesi. After the Sultan's death, he returned to İskilip, where he died two years later.

b. *ʿIsawiya*: This branch, founded by Sheikh İlyās-ı Şārūkhānī, a member of the *tariqat* genealogy of İbrāhīm Tannūrī, is generally regarded as a branch of the Tannūriya. Sheikh İlyās-ı Şārūkhānī, a native of Akhisar and the son and *khalifa* of Sheikh Madjd al-dīn ʿIsā Şārūkhānī, engaged in tarikat activities in Manisa.

c. *Himmatīya*: Sheikh Himmat Efendi (d.1684), the founder of this branch, was a native of Bolu. While müderris (teacher in the medrese) he became an adherent of Sheikh Ahmad Bayrāmī and was appointed Sheikh in the tekke erected by İbrāhīm Efendi in Istanbul.

## 2. Malāmīya-i Bayrāmīya:

This order was founded by ʿUmar Dede (Sikkīnī), one of Hādji Bayrām Wali's *khalifas*, who adopted the practice of silent recitation and "malāmat" (the seeking of blame, censure). As mentioned above, he founded a separate branch after a dispute regarding method with Aq hams al-dīn and worked on the dissemination of his own religious order. Sufis belonging to this branch, which became known as "Second Period Malāmīya", adopted a monist approach, and expressed their thoughts quite openly. Because of this, they were severely persecuted by the Ottoman administration, always a stout defender of the *Ahl-i Sunnat* (Sunnī Islam orthodoxy), some of its members being executed, others imprisoned and others banished. Of these, İsmāʿil Ma'shūqī (d. 1529) was executed, along with twelve of his followers in accordance with a fetvā issued by the Sheikhulislām İbn Kamāl for irreverent opinions incompatible with the Sharī'a that he had expressed in sermons delivered in central mosques, such as Ayasofya, Bayezīd and Süleymaniye, and for his subsequent refusal to disavow these opinions. Again, Sheikh Hāmza Bālī (d.1561) was executed for similar behaviour in accordance with a fetvā issued by Abū al-Su'ūd Efendi, while another to be executed was Sheikh Bashīr Agha. Those imprisoned included Bunyāmīn Ayāshī and Hūsām al-dīn Anqarawī (d.1557). Anqarawī subsequently settled in Ankara, where he worked on the dissemination of his order. Leading *khalifas* included Sheikh Hāmza Bālī of Bosnia (d.1561), Sheikh Hāmza

(Ḥasan Qabādūz) of Bursa (d.1601) and İdrīs-i Mukhtafī (Ḥādījī ‘Alī-i-Rūmī) (d.1615). Of these, İdrīs-i Mukhtafī managed to escape persecution of this kind by living for forty years under an assumed name. The members of the Malāmīya order were obliged by this persecution to assume the character of an underground association and to carry on their activities in strict secrecy, which makes it very difficult to follow the historical development of the order. ‘Umar Dede, the founder of the Malāmīya-i Bayrāmīya, was succeeded in his office, first by Bunyāmīn of Ayaş (d.1510) and then by Pīr ‘Alī of Aksaray (d.1538), the father of İsmā‘īl Ma‘shūqī, whose *khalifa*, Ya‘qūb Efendi (d.1589) became famous as Ḥalwāyī Baba (maker of helva). Other distinguished members of this religious order were Ahmed-i Sārbān of Hayrabolu (d.1545), ‘Alā al-dīn of Vize (d.1562), Gaḍānfar Dede (d.1566) Hüseyin-i Lāmekānī (d.1625) and Sheikh ‘Abd Allāh-i Bosnawī (d. 1644).

During the lifetime of Pīr ‘Alī of Aksaray, the Malāmīya Bayrāmīya spread throughout Central Anatolia, Istanbul and the Edirne region, while in the lifetime of İsmā‘īl Ma‘shūqī the order penetrated the ranks of the Sipāhīs (ottoman cavalry) and spread more particularly in Rumelia. The rapid spread of the Malāmīya in this region was due in part to the fact that the teaching of Sheikh Bedr al-dīn had already familiarized the local inhabitants with *Waḥdat al-Wudjūd* (monist) thought, while at the same time the pressure exerted on the Malāmīs by the authorities and the *ulamā* aroused popular interest in the group, which penetrated into the heart of Rumelia. The successful work of Aḥmad Sārbān and the poems he wrote in pure Turkish played an important role in this expansion. During the lifetime of Ḥusām al-dīn Anqarawī the order continued its expansion in this region, with Bosnia and the surrounding country becoming a second centre of the order, which developed still further as a result of the efforts of Sheikh Ḥamza Bālī and continued its expansion during the lifetime of Ḥasan Qabādūz. Under İdrīs-i Mukhtafī, who succeeded Qabādūz, the Malāmīya spread throughout all ranks of the high state dignitaries from the poets to the Sheikhulislām and the Grand Vizier. Finally, after the execution of Bashīr Agha and forty of his followers, the order was compelled to conceal its activities and the rate of expansion slowed down. The Melāmīs spread more particularly throughout the province of Rumelia, and there were tekkes belonging to the order in Istrumca, Salonica, Doyran, Köprülü, Tikvesh, İstīp, Prizren, Skopje and Manastir.

In the XIXth century, after a fairly long period of enforced secrecy, the Malāmiya entered a new era of activity and expansion with the preaching activities Sheikh Muḥammad Nūr al-'Arabī (d.1887).

### 3. Djalwatīya

Founded in the XVIth century by Sheikh 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hudāyī (d.1628), this order was one of the most important branches of the Bayrāmiya. Hudāyī's family tree goes back to Aqbıyıq Madjdhüb (d.1455), one of the *khalifas* of Hādji Bayrām Walī. Sheikh Muḥammad Muḥyī al-dīn Uftāda (d.1580), who was active in Bursa, performed the role of spiritual guide to Sheikh Hudāyī who, having completed his studies in Istanbul and Egypt, worked for a time in Bursa as *nā'ib* and *mūdarris*, but later became an adherent of 'Uftāda Efendi and gave up these posts in order to complete the *sayr u sulūk* under the Sheikh, finally being ordained *khalifa*. On the Sheikh's death Hudāyī succeeded him, but he later left Bursa and, after spending a short time in his hometown of Sivrihisar, took up preaching activities in Istanbul. The Hudāyī *dargāh* in Üsküdar was founded during his lifetime. One of the most popular Sheikhs in Istanbul, he enjoyed a very close relationship with the sultans Murād III, Meḥmed III, Aḥmad I, 'Uthmān II and Murād IV. He taught a large number of followers and ordained over sixty *khalifas*. On his death, his place was taken by Muk'ad Aḥmad Efendi (d.1639), one of his *khalifas*, who at that time held the position of Sheikh in Bursa.

As a result of the activities of the *khalifas* sent out by Hudāyī Efendi, the Djalwatīya order spread very rapidly throughout Anatolia and the Balkans, gaining a footing in Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa and Balıkesir in particular. In the course of time the order produced several branches, such as the Salāmiya, ascribed to Sheikh Salāmī 'Alī Efendi (d.1692), who held the position of Sheikh in the Hudāyī *dargāh* in Üsküdar; the Haqqīya order ascribed to the distinguished scholar and Sufi İsmā'il Haqqī Bursawī (d.1724), *khalifa* of 'Uthmān Faḍlī Efendi (d.1690) and author of the commentary entitled *Rūḥ al-Bayān* and a number of other works, who was engaged at that time in preaching activities in Bursa; the Fanā'īya order ascribed to Fanā'ī 'Alī Efendi of Kütahya (d.1745), a *khalifa* of Salāmī 'Alī Efendi who worked in Manisa, Bursa and Istanbul; and the Hāshimiya order ascribed to Muḥammad Hāshim Efendi (d.1782), the son and *khalifa* of Sheikh Yūsuf Nizām al-dīn Efendi, who had previously belonged to the Malāmiya and Bektāshīya orders

and who at that time was Sheikh in the Bandırmalı *dargāh* in Üsküdar. The appearance in the course of time of as many as thirty Djalwatī *tekkes* in various districts of Istanbul shows the extent of the order's expansion and influence in the capital.

### Naqshbandiyya

Founded by Sheikh Muḥammad Bahā al-dīn Naqshband of Buknara (d.1389), the Naqshbandiyya was one of the most widespread and influential orders on Ottoman soil, as well as in various other parts of the Islamic world. The first Naqshbandī sheikh to arrive in Anatolia was Khwādja Rukn al-dīn Maḥmūd of Bukhara, a *khalifa* of Bahā al-dīn Naqshband, who founded a tekke in Amasya in 1404 and used it as a centre from which he proceeded to disseminate the order. Ahmed-i İlähī, another Naqshī sheikh, who left Bukhara for Anatolia during the reign of Meḥmed the Conqueror, settled in Bursa and founded a *dargāh* there. The rapid spread and rise to fame of the Naqshbandiyya in Anatolia were due to Molla 'Abd Allah İlähī (d.1491, who had received instruction in mysticism from Khwādja 'Ubayd Allah Aḥrār (d.1490), and to the *khalifas* he had trained.

Having studied the religious sciences in the Zeyrek medrese in Istanbul, Molla İlähī decided to further his studies in Khorasan, one of the most famous centres of scholarship of the day. While studying there, he turned towards the mystic path and went to Samarkand to become an adherent of Sheikh 'Ubayd Allah. After completing the *sayr u sulūk* and receiving his *idjāzat* he remained for a year in retreat beside the tomb of Bahā al-dīn Naqshband in Bukhara, after which he returned to his hometown on the orders of his Sheikh. In the course of his journey he visited Molla 'Abd al-Raḥmān Djāmī and a number of other Sufis. After remaining for a short time in his hometown, where he achieved considerable fame and continued to disseminate the order, he was invited to Istanbul by Meḥmed the Conqueror, but was not particularly attracted by the invitation and sent Amīr Aḥmad Bukhārī (d.1516) in his place. He later went to Istanbul, where he continued with his preaching activities in a dilapidated building beside Zeyrek Mosque, and finally went to Vardaryenicesi in the vicinity of Salonica, where he continued his work until his death.

The hundreds of disciples trained by Molla İlähī played an important role in the expansion of the Naqshbandiyya order on Ottoman soil. The most important of these disciples was undoubtedly Amīr Aḥmad Bukhārī, who

succeeded Molla İlähi in his own *dargāh* in Istanbul. Aḥmad Bukhārī was at first an adherent of 'Ubayd Allah Aḥrār, and later, together with Molla İlähi, came to Anatolia to complete the *sayr u sulūk* under his supervision. In a short time, working on the expansion of the order from the tekke established in his own name in the Fatih district of Istanbul, Emīr Buhārī created a large body of *murīds*. As the existing *tekke* proved inadequate he founded another at Ayvansaray, and, shortly afterwards, when this, too, proved inadequate, another *tekke* was founded at Edirnekapı by his *khalifa* and son-in-law, Maḥmūd Tchelebī (d.1531). He thus established, during the first stage, three separate Amīr Bukhārī *tekkes* in Istanbul, at Fatih, Ayvansaray and Edirnekapı. Like his Sheikh, he trained hundreds of *murīds*, including, in addition to Maḥmūd Tchelebī, who succeeded him in the *tekke* at Fatih, several important names, such as Hākīm Tchelebī (d.1566) who was active at Koska in Istanbul, Pīrī Khalifa (d.1554) in Eğirdir, Maḥmūd Lāmi'i Tchelebī (d.1531), the translator of the famous *Nafahāt al-Uns* by Molla Djāmī, in Bursa and Sheikh Muşliḥ al-dīn Ṭavīl, who had a close relationship with Bayazid II, in Kastamonu and Bursa. Besides these, Amīr Bukhārī trained a number of *khalifas* and sent them out to various regions to engage in preaching activities.

As a result of the efforts of the *khalifas* trained by Molla İlähi and Amīr Bukhārī and sent out to various parts of the country, the Naqshbandiya order expanded very rapidly, first and foremost in Istanbul, but also in various other regions, such as Rumelia, Isparta, Bursa, Kastamonu and Bolu.

Apart from this line of dervishes, Baba Ni'mat Allah of Nahcivan (d.1514), author of the mystical commentary *al-Fawātiḥ al-İlähiya Mafātiḥ al-Ghaybiya*, known as *Nakhdjivānī Tafsīrī* for short, came from Tabriz to Akşehir, where he settled and for sixteen years publicized and disseminated the Naqshbandiya order. Meanwhile, the rapid expansion of the order in that region was largely the result of the preaching activities undertaken in the Maḥmūd Tchelebī Tekkesi founded by the above-mentioned Khwādja Rukn al-dīn Maḥmūd Bukhārī at the beginning of the XVth century and now known as the first Naqshī *tekke* in Anatolia, the Yā Wadūd Tekkesi founded in 1453, in which the position of Sheikh was held first by Şun' Allah Bukhārī, a *khalifa* of Sa'd al-dīn Kashghārī, and, subsequently, by his son Sheikh 'Abd al-Wadūd Efendi, and the Sheikh Abdāl Tekkesi founded in 1554 by the Naqshī Sheikh 'Abd Allah Efendi. One of the most important of those active in Istanbul was Mehmed Amin-i Tokad-ī (d.1745), one of whose

mürīds was the distinguished scholar and Sufi Mustaqīmzāda Suleymān Sa'd al-dīn Efendi.

In the XIXth century, following this process of expansion in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, the Naqshbandiya order entered a period of new and more rapid expansion in the Ottoman territories under the title of Khālidiya-i Naqshbandiya, becoming particularly influential in Istanbul and Anatolia.

### 1. Khālidiya

As it was the seventy odd *khalifas* trained by Sheikh Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d.1827) who were chiefly instrumental in disseminating the Naqshbandiya order throughout many parts of the world, including the countries of the Far East, the order came to be named the Khālidiya after the Sheikh. Baghdādī, whose family tree could be traced back six generations to Īmām-ı Rabbānī (d.1625), was the *khalifa* of Sheikh 'Abd Allah-ı Dehlevī of India (d.1824). The fact that both Iraq and Syria, regions in which Khālid Baghdādī was active, was under Ottoman administration facilitated the spread of the order in Istanbul and Anatolia, while another factor in this rapid proliferation was that most of the Bektāshī tekkes that had been closed at the time of the abolition of the Janissary Corps during the reign of Maḥmūd II were transferred to the Khālidiya-i Naqshbandiya. Let us now take a brief glance at those responsible for the introduction and expansion of the Khālidiya in Istanbul and Anatolia.

1. Aḥmad Ḍiyā al-dīn Gumushkhānawī (d.1893), the *khalifa* of Aḥmad-i Ervādī, the mufti of Tripoli in Lebanon and one of the *khalifas* of Baghdādī, while at the same time playing an important role in Ottoman political, social and religious life through his activities in his *dargāh* at Babiālī in Istanbul, also made a very great contribution to the spread of the order in various regions in accordance with the tradition initiated by Baghdādī. His work in the *dargāh* was continued after his death by his *khalifa* 'Umar Ḍiyā al-dīn Daghīstānī (d.1920) and his *khalifas*. The Nureddīn Topçu sheikh 'Abd al-'Azīz Bekkīne (d.1952) and Meḥmed Zāhid Kotku (d.1980; both of whom belonged to the Republican era, were members of this same line.

2. Another line established by Seyyid Ṭāhā-yı Hakkārī, another of Baghdādī's *khalifas* included a number of outstanding personalities who reached maturity during the Republican period, such as As'ad Arbīlī

(d.1931), Muḥammad-i Kufrawī of Bitlis, Seyyid 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Arvasī (d.1943), Sheikh Aḥmad Hanzewī (d.1949), Muḥammad Luṭfī of Alvar (d.1956), Muḥammad Muḥyī al-dīn Efendi of Bolu (d.1976) and Maḥmūd Samī Ramazanoghlu (d.1984).

3. We should also mention some important personages descending from his *khalifas* through the line of 'Abd Allah Makkī of Erzincan, such as his *khalifas* Khayyāt Muḥammad Wahbī Efendi (Terzi Baba) of Erzincan (d.1848) and Muṣṭafa 'İşmet Efendi of Yanya (d.1872).

4. Another of his *khalifas* was Muḥammad Qudsi (d.1852), better known as Memiş Efendi, whose *khalifas*, from their centre in Konya, were active in Istanbul, Crimea, Trabzon, Sivas, Tarsus and Manisa. Their *khalifas* included Ḥādji Fayd Allah Efendi of Silistre (d.1875) and Topbashzāda Aḥmad Qudsi Efendi of Konya (d.1889).

5. 'Alī Sabtī, who operated as one of Khālid Baghdādī's *khalifas* in the tekke in Palu, was succeeded by his son Sheikh Maḥmūd, whose son, Sheikh Sa'īd (d.1925) was active in Hınıs and was executed for his rebellion against the Republican administration. The activities of Maḥmūd-ı Sāminī, one of the *khalifas* of 'Alī Sabtī, and his *khalifa* Osman Badr al-dīn Arzurūmī (İmam Efendi) were instrumental in disseminating the order in the eastern provinces.

6. Muḥammad 'Abd Allah Hānī (d.1862), one of Baghdādī's *khalifas*, came to Istanbul on the invitation of Mūsā Safwatī Pasha and had a meeting with Sulṭān 'Abd al-Madjīd. He trained a number of mürīds in Istanbul and sent a number of *khalifas* to Anatolia, including Yūsuf Efendi, vaiz (preacher) in the Mosque of Ayasofya, Ḥādji Aḥmad Efendi, imam in the Arpacılar Mosque, İsmā'il Wahbī Efendi, imam in the Ulu Cami in Bursa and İsmā'il Efendi of Kula.

7. 'Uthmān Sirādji al-dīn Ṭawilī (d.1866), another of Baghdādī's *khalifas*, and members of his family were active in Iran and Iraq.

8. *Khalifas* of Sheikh Khālid Djazarī and those who followed in his footsteps played an active part in the dissemination of the Khālidiya order in Syria, Iraq and southeastern Anatolia.

The activities of the Khālidiya Sheikhs can thus be seen to have been concentrated more particularly in northern Iraq, northwest Iran, southern

and southeastern Anatolia. In Eastern Anatolia the activities of the Khālidi were concentrated mainly in the districts of Bitlis and Nurşin. The conversion of the Qādirī Sheikh 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ṭāghī from the Qādirī to the Khālidi order as a result of the efforts of Şibghat Allah Arvāsi, a *khalifa* of Seyyid Ṭāhā Hakkārī, resulted in the development of the Khālidiya in this area. Ṭāghī later settled in Nurşin and made it the centre of the religious order. On his death, his work was continued first by his *khalifa*, Sheikh Faṭḥ Allah Verkānisi, and subsequently by Ṭāghī's son Molla Muḥammad Diyā al-dīn, generally known as *Ḥaḍrat*.

Other Khālidi Sheikhs of the XIXth century who should be mentioned here include Walīy al-dīn Ḥifzī Efendi (d.1837) in Istanbul, Muḥammad Nūrī Shams al-dīn (d.1863) in the Yaḥyā Efendi *dargāh*, Muḥammad Murād Bukhārī (d.1848) in the Murad Molla *dargāh* at Çarşamba, Sheikh Waḥyī Muştafa Efendi of Bursa (d.1878), a *khalifa* of Ḥusām al-dīn Efendi, Ḥamza Niḡārī of Qarabash (d.1887) and Khwādja Ḥusām al-dīn Efendi (d.1863) in Bursa.

As pointed out above, the activities of the Khālidiya in Ottoman territories were never confined to these particular regions. With the encouragement and support of Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II, the order spread throughout almost every part of Anatolia, including Istanbul, as well the Balkans and the Caucasus, even penetrating some African and Far Eastern countries. The main centre of the Khālidiya order in Istanbul was the Gumushkhāna *dargāh*, and the *khalifas* trained by Aḥmad Diyā al-dīn Gumushkhānavī and sent out to various regions were instrumental in the further expansion of the order.

#### Bektāshīya

Founded by Ḥādji Bektāsh Walī (d.1270), a Yasawī dervish who had migrated to Anatolia, the Bektāshīya was one of the most important religious orders active in Anatolia and the Balkans in the foundation years of the Ottoman state and in subsequent centuries. Ḥādji Bektāsh Walī, who had acquired a very good education and received his spiritual training from Luqmān Paranda, a *murīd* of Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī (d. 1166) acquired a site and established a *dargāh* in Sulucukarahöyük (present day Ḥādjibektāsh), where he embarked on the preaching activities which had been the motivation for his migration to Anatolia. Ḥādji Bektāsh Walī, whose adherence to Sunni doctrine is apparent from his works,

concentrated his activities more particularly on the inhabitants of the rural areas. He trained a large number of dervishes in tarikat customs and ordained many of them *khalifas*, sending them to various regions to disseminate the order. As mentioned in the *Wilāyatnama-i Hādji Bektash Walī*, he sent a *khalifa* by the name of Djamāl Seyyid to the Mediterranean region, who, in his turn, trained his son Asildoğan and sent him to Rumelia to engage in preaching activities. Of his other *khalifas*, he sent Şārī İsmā‘il to the Tavas district in the province of Mentеше, Hādjim Sulţān to Uşak, Rasūl Baba (Rasūl ‘Alī Sulţān) to the Beşkarış district of Altıntaş, Pır Abi Sulţān to Konya, İbrāhīm Hādji to Bozok and Üçok in the emirate of Dulkadiroğlu, and Muḥammad Bukhārī, more famously known as Şārī Salţuq, to Rumelia. Muḥammad Bukhārī trained Baraq Baba, who trained Tapduq Emre who, in his turn, trained Yūnus Emre. All these, and the large number of Bektāshī dervishes they trained, played an important role in the Islamization of Anatolia and Rumelia, while at the same time disseminating throughout these regions Hādji Bektash Walī thought and the mystical culture characteristic of Aḥmad Yasawī. At the same time, these dervishes, with their militant outlook, contributed valuable services to the Ottoman state during its foundation years, even engaging in actual combat alongside the Ottoman troops. As an example of this we may cite Abdāl Mūsā, to whom we have already referred. After the capture of Bursa, Abdāl Mūsā arrived in a village (now known as Tekkeköy) in the vicinity of Elmalı in the province of Antalya. Here he built his famous tekke and trained a large number of dervishes, the majority of whom he ordained *khalifa* and sent out into Anatolia. One of the most important of his *khalifas* was Qayghusuz Abdāl, who introduced the Bektāshīya to Egypt.

After the legendary personality of Şārī Salţuq, one of the most important representatives of Bektāshīya in the Balkans, came Seyyid ‘Alī Sulţān, better known as Qizil Deli. Having chosen Dimetoka as the centre of his activities, he married the daughter of a Serbian princess who had been captured by the Conqueror, and had a son, Bālim Sulţān. After completing his education and tarikat training, Bālim Sulţān came to Istanbul, but returned to Dimetoka to engage in preaching activities. Later, in 1501, Bāyazīd II appointed him Sheikh in *Pır-Evi*, the central *tekke* in Hādji Bektash.

The order at first lacked a firmly established organization and was, at the same time, closely involved with Qalandariya but, from the beginning of

the XVIth century, following the acceptance by Bālim Sulṭān (Khiḍr Bāli) of the position of Sheikh of the Ḥādji Bektash zāwiya and second pīr of the order, the Bektāshīya distanced itself completely from Qalandariya and achieved a centralized structure, characteristics it maintained until the order was closed down by Maḥmūd II, together with the Janissary Corps, in 1826.

After Bālim Sulṭān became Sheikh in the *Pīr Evi*, he had all the graves around the *Ḥādji Bektash Dargāhi* belonging to those said to have had blood ties with Ḥādji Bektash torn up and utterly destroyed. One of the most important results of his activities was the formulation and implementation of the principles known as *Bālim Sulṭān Erkāni* composed of a fusion of Ḥurūfi, Shi'ite and Christian elements. In short, these principles, which can be summed up as the doctrine of the Twelve Imams, a relaxed attitude towards celibacy, the drinking of wine, religious prohibitions, the Trinity and the incarnation, the wearing of ear-rings and the tradition of the twelve "posts" (sheepskins) gained, from that time onwards, the status of principles accepted by the and opened the way to their being regarded as lying outside the Sunnī fold. Thus, from that time onwards, the Ottoman administration, while not intervening to any great extent, took a rather unfavourable view of the Bektashis and never established close relations with them. Finally, the abolition by Maḥmūd II of the Janissary Corps was followed by the prohibition of all activity in the Bektashi lodges, to which Naqshī Sheikhs were now appointed.

The first priority in the historical development of the order was, quite naturally, the introduction and dissemination of the order in areas adjacent to the *Pīr Evi*, to be followed later by the widening of activities to include country towns and cities, and by the expansion in Western Anatolia made possible by the foundation, in the XVth century, of zāwiyas in the provinces of Konya, Eskişehir, Uşak, Aydın and Antalya. The Ottoman conquest of Rumelia was accompanied by Bektashi penetration of the region, while, in the course of time, in the favourable environment created by Şārī Salṭuq and his *murīds*, the order spread throughout Bulgaria, Albania, Macedonia, Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In the later periods, of these countries it was Albania in which the Bektāshīya found its greatest expansion. From the XVIth century onwards, following the restructuring carried out under Bālim Sulṭān and with greater financial resources, the order continued its expansion in Istanbul and various parts of Anatolia. Awliyā Tchelebī offers information on a large number of Bektashi tekkes active in the XVIIth

century and identifies the areas in Anatolia and Rumelia in which the order enjoyed its greatest expansion. The area covered by the order up to 1826 was identified by F.W.Hasluck in *Bektaşilik Tedkikleri*, while Suraiya Faroqhi in the work entitled *Der Bektaschi-Orden in Anatolien* presents a more reliable picture by means of maps and an index of the Bektashi tekkes.

### Rifā'īya

Founded by Seyyid Aḥmad-i Rifā'ī (d.1182), the Rifā'īya, also known as the Aḥmadiya, was one of the oldest and most famous of the religious orders. Though founded in the Middle East, it spread, in the course of time, throughout Anatolia and Rumelia. According to the sources, even in Seljuk times, Rifā'ī dervishes could be encountered in various parts of Anatolia. Aḥmad Rifā'ī's son, Seyyid Tādj al-dīn, who arrived in Konya with a numerous body of *murīds*, remained for a time in Amasya. In his *Seyahatnāme*, İbn Battūta mentions Rifā'ī zāwiya in Izmir and Bergama and the Aḥmad Kütchak b. Tādj al-dīn zāwiya in Amasya. This religious order had close ties with the Akhī organization in Anatolia and with the Bektāshīya in Rumelia.

As Ḥusayn Waṣṣāf-Bey points out in his *Safīna-i Awliyā*, the first to bring the Rifā'īya to Istanbul was Sheikh Maḥmūd-ı Ḥadīdī. Some time after 1592, the Rifā'ī rites were performed for the first time in the *masdjid* opposite the building known as the *Rifā'ī Āsitana* in Üsküdar. Later, Sheikh Maḥmūd Hadīdī set out for Damascus, leaving Muḥammad-i Masānī as his *khalifa*. Later, some time after 1689, Sheikh Yasī-i Shāmī arrived to work on the expansion of the order, and it was he who conducted "dhikr-i qiyām" for the first time, and ordained Sheikh 'Uthmān Himmatī, Sheikh Şādiq and Khwādjazāda Muḥammad Tāhīr Efendi as *khalifas*. Of these, 'Uthmān Himmatī (d.1796) trained Sheikh İbrāhīm Şabrī Efendi of Karasarık (d.1827), who used the Qara 'Āisha Khātūn in Küçükmustafapaşa as a *tekke* in which he trained twenty-three *khalifas*. Sheikh Şādiq Efendi (d.1812), one of Sheikh Yasī-i Shāmī's *khalifas*, established a *dargāh* in the vicinity of the Alaca Masdjid in Aksaray, but this later burned down in a great fire.

One of those who made an important contribution to furthering the expansion of the Rifā'īya in Istanbul was Sheikh Seyyid Nūrī Efendi (d.1856), a *khalifa* of Sheikh İbrāhīm Şabrī Efendi of Karasarık. Seyyid Nūrī Efendi was entrusted with the training and instruction of the *shahzādas* (princes) of Sulṭān Selim III and had undertaken the position of clerk in the

*Bāb-i 'Āli Divān-ı Hümâyūn Kalemi* (the Secretariat of the Imperial Council of the Sublime Porte). He received instruction from Şādiq Efendi, Sheikh in the Alaca Masdjid and, after the Sheikh's death, from İbrāhīm Şabrī Efendi of Karasarık, who was engaged in preaching activities in the Fatih district. Ordained *khalifa*, he restored and enlarged the Qurbān Naşūh Baba Zāviyesi belonging to the Ḥamzawīs in Dabbāghlar Meydan in Üsküdar and spent the remaining forty-five years of his life in preaching activity there. He was succeeded in this post by his son Tawfiq Efendi (d.1899), who continued his work there for forty-four years. Of Nūrī Efendi's leading *khalifas* we should mention Sheikh Mūsā Efendi of Üsküdar, Sheikh Şālīh Efendi (d.1879), Sheikh of the Tahta Minare Dergāhi which he himself established, Sheikh 'Abd Allah Efendi (d.1872), who established the Odabaşı Dargāhi in which he became Sheikh, the Tesbīhdjī poet Sheikh As'ad Efendi and Muḥammad-i Fadli Efendi (d.1898), who was Sheikh in the Sarrādj İshāq Dargāhi. Sheikh Muḥammad-i Hilmī Efendi, one of the *khalifas* trained by Muḥammad-i Fadli Efendi, was Sheikh in the Qarababa Dargāhi in Çemberlitaş, while Sheikh İhsān Efendi was Sheikh in the Dügümlü Baba Dargāhi in the Sultan Ahmet meydan.

Another Rifā'ī dargāhi was the *dargāh* in Menzilhâne Yokuşu in Üsküdar, which was founded in Istanbul in 1732 and continued in operation until quite recent times, while another was the Sherbetdār Dargāhi in Istanbul. Later, Sheikh Ken'ān Bey (d. after 1925) held the post of Sheikh in another *dargāh* established in the vicinity of Khirqa-i Sharīf. Another Rifā'ī dargāhi that has been in operation since the middle of the XVIIth century is located in Eyüp. One of its Sheikhs in the later period was Sheikh Büyük Ḥasib Efendi (d.1834), who was succeeded as Sheikh by his son Sheikh Muḥammad Amīn Efendi (d.1886).

A Rifā'ī dargāh known to have existed in Edirne at the beginning of the XIXth century had as its Sheikh the divan poet Muştafa Qabūli Efendi (d. 1825).

#### Zaynīya:

This religious order, a branch of the Suhrawardiya, the foundation of which is ascribed to Zayn al-dīn Ḥāfi (d.1435), a Sufi from Khorasan, was introduced to Anatolia by 'Abd al-Raḥīm Merzifonī ('Abd al-Raḥīm Rūmī) (d.1446) and by 'Abd al-Laṭīf Qudsi (or Maqdisi) (d.1452). Sheikh Merzifonī, about whom Zayn al-dīn Ḥāfi declared, "We lit a log and flung it

into the land of Rūm" (Anatolia) was a poet who produced a Divan as well as works such as *İshq-nāma* and *İrshād al-Anām*. 'Abd al-Laṭīf Qudsi who, like Merzifonī, completed his training in mysticism under Ḥafī in Central Asia, migrated first to Konya and then to Bursa, where he established a Zayniya dargāh from which he proceeded to engage in preaching activities and the expansion of the order, at the same time writing a number of works in Arabic. The expansion of the order was due more particularly to the *khalīfas* of the Sheikh Qudsi who succeeded as *postnishin* of the dargāh by Tādj al-dīn İbrāhīm-i Qaramānī (d.1467), Sheikh 'Abd Allah of Kastamonu, known as Ḥādī Khalifa (d.1489), Sheikh Muḥammad Efendi, famous as Tchelebī of Bolu (d.1493) and Şafī al-dīn Muştafa Efendi (d.1513).

The Zayniya order was introduced to Istanbul by Muşliḥ al-dīn Mustafā of Konya (d.1491), better known as Sheikh Wafā. Generally accepted as Qudsi's most famous *khalīfa*, he established a dargāh in the Istanbul district now named after him (Vefa) from which he engaged in preaching activity. He soon made a name for himself, becoming one of the most famous Sufis in Istanbul. On his death, his place was taken by his *khalīfa*, Sheikh 'Alī Dede (d.1511), who trained and ordained as *khalīfa* the celebrated poet Mawlānā Sham'ī of Rumelia, who worked on the dissemination of the order in Edirne. Another of Qudsi's *khalīfas* in Istanbul was Sheikh Aḥmad, known as 'Ashiqpashazāda, while Sheikh Muḥammad, another of Qudsi's *khalīfas*, known as Piri Khalifa, introduced the order to Eğridir. The Zayniya continued its activities with Seyyid Walāyat (d.1522), Sheikh Muşliḥ al-dīn Muştafa (Gündüz Muşliḥ al-dīn) and Sheikh Burhān al-dīn of Eğridir (d.1562), but the order suffered a severe decline in the middle of the XVth century and was gradually absorbed by the other orders. The dargāh at Vefa was taken over by the Sunbulis.

### Conclusion

The information given above should give a general idea of the distribution of the various religious orders in the Ottoman Empire, but it should be stressed that we had no intention of giving a detailed account of the various religious orders that spread through every part of the territory under Ottoman hegemony covering so extensive a geographical region over a period of some six hundred years. In any case, such a detailed account would have been quite impossible within the limits of a comparatively short article. This study is, therefore, confined to a description of the most

important of the religious orders known to have been active in Anatolia, particularly in Istanbul, and, to a certain extent, in Rumelia, their expansion processes, their main branches and the most important personalities and tekkes connected with them.

The picture that emerges from the brief, general survey here presented can be summed up as follows: In the course of time, the mystical movement that occupied so important a place in Islamic history and civilization resulted in the formation of a large number of religious orders. Although most of the Sufi tariqats established from the XIIth century onwards, whose numbers rapidly increased in the following centuries, operated in territories under the administration of the Ottoman state, a certain number were unable to find representation within the Ottoman borders. It can, however, be stated without hesitation that as a state that held for so many years the position of leader of the Islamic world and that for four centuries had been the centre of the Caliphate, the Ottoman Empire always remained a focus of attraction for the members of a large number of the sufi orders, and it was for that reason that a great number of Sufis migrated, more especially from Central Asia, Khorasan and the Middle East, to Anatolia, where they endeavoured to disseminate their own particular order. Some tariqats were founded in Anatolia itself, with the result that in the course of time Anatolia became one of the most important centres of tarikat activity in the Islamic world.

As can be seen from this brief survey, the most widespread and influential of the religious orders in the Ottoman Empire were, in order of importance, the Khalwatī, Naqshbandī, Mawlawī, Bektāshī, Qādirī, Bayrāmī and Rifā'ī. Of these, the Khalwatīya, although founded on Iranian soil, found its natural locus of expansion in Anatolia. This order, because of the large number of secondary branches it produced, has been nicknamed "tariqat kuluçkası" (tariqat incubator). Literally sprouting branches throughout Ottoman territory, it became the most widespread of the religious orders, carrying out its activities under many different names. A number of tariqats, such as the Rūshaniya, Gulshaniya, Sunbuliya, Sha'bāniya, Sināniya, 'Ushshāqiya and Djarrāhiya, were offshoots of the Khalwatīya.

The most widespread and influential of the religious orders after the Khalwatīya was the Naqshbandīya. Originating in Khorasan and first making its mark in Anatolia in the XVth century, its most rapid expansion took place

in Anatolia in the XIXth century thanks to Mawlānā Khālid-i Baghdādī and his *khalifas*. Under the name of Naqshbandiyya or Khālidīyya, it set its seal on the later period in eastern and southeastern Anatolia, and, more particularly, in Istanbul and various parts of Anatolia, while the good relations existing between the Naqshbandiyya and the ruling class played an important role in the appointment of Naqshī Sheikhs to Bektāshī *tekkes* when the latter were closed down in the first half of the XIXth century.

The Mawlawī order, founded during the Anatolian Seljuk era, had since then developed throughout the whole of Anatolia, becoming particularly influential in urban centres and court circles and making a very important contribution to the enrichment of Ottoman culture and art.

The Bektāshī order, another religious order founded in Anatolia, although it appeared as an order appealing mainly to the inhabitants of the rural areas, was also active in the large urban centres. At first very closely connected with the Janissary Corps, from the XVIth century onwards it assumed a heterodox character under the influence of Shi'ite/Bātinīte thought, which led to a certain coolness in its relations with the state authorities and to its final closure by Maḥmūd II.

The Bayrāmīyya was another order founded in Anatolia which, having achieved a certain fame and influence from the time of its *pīr* Ḥādji Bayrām Walī, later maintained its fame and existence mainly through its Malāmīyya and Djalwatīyya branches. While the Malāmīyya represented an approach totally at odds with state policy and thus became exposed to continual surveillance and persecution, the Djalwatīyya always enjoyed the approval and support of the state.

The Qādiriyya and Rifā'īyya orders, although founded outside Anatolia, found it possible to spread throughout Ottoman territory. The Qādiriyya was represented on Ottoman soil by the Ashrafiyya and Rūmiyya branches.

There were also a number of religious orders other than those considered above that existed at various periods on Ottoman soil, although perhaps in relatively restricted numbers. These included the Shādhaliyya, Sa'diyya, Suhrawardiyya, Kubrawiyya and Tidjāniyya. Sultān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II is known to have had a particular interest in the Shādhaliyya.

That in 1834, during the final period of the Ottoman Empire, there were 209 *tekkes* in operation in Istanbul alone, 259 in 1840, 307 in 1889 and 254 in 1918, clearly shows how widespread and influential they were as socio-religious phenomena.

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