

Dervishes and Efendis: Sufism, Nation, and Love in Late Ottoman History

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the nation within the dervish-efendi community, the affect of war, and the politics of love in the late 19th century by looking into an egodocument. The autobiography/memoir of Aşçı Dede İbrahim Halil Efendi is used as the primary source for this research. This micro historical research focuses on the sociality in Sufi orders and civilian and military bureaucracy. It argues that the dervish-efendi community constituted the social medium where bureaucracy and dervishes meet, sociopolitical networks are established, and norms and morals of the male community are crystallized. By discussing the male-male desire in İbrahim Efendi's self-narrative, this thesis argues that heteronormativity and Ottoman respectability tamed bodies and desires throughout the 19th century.

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This thesis is the final point of one adventure, and it is personal yet not really. As it happens in the adventures, there were bright and dark days. This adventure began with shutdown, lockdowns, and travel restrictions during the heydays of the pandemic, and kept going with lockdowns, and ended up with an economic crisis and a new war. If it is not the golden days of our age, studying in a master's program and having a thesis to write was a privilege; I am glad to have that. This thesis is dedicated to those we have lost, and could not show our love enough.

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Introduction

Thesis

The primary purpose of the present thesis is to evaluate the nation within the dervish-efendi community, the *affect* of war, and politics of love in the late 19th century by looking into an egodocument. I read the autobiography/memoir of Aşçı Dede İbrahim Halil Efendi against the historical background of 19th-century Ottoman history.

It suggests analyzing this century as the salient era of modernization and *governmentality*, in which Sufi orders and civilian-military bureaucracy are profoundly shaped. I argue that the dervish-efendi community constituted the social medium where bureaucracy and dervishes meet, sociopolitical networks are established, and norms and morals of the male community are crystallized.

This research recognizes the nation as the collectivity formed within the ruling regime. Then, it suggests looking at the nation without searching for the constitutive influence of a (modern) nationalist movement.

As part of the thesis, I discuss the affect of war and the politics of love within İbrahim's self-narrative. I argue that wars, violence, and imperialism paved the way for the creation of collectivity as the nation, together with the nationalist projects of the nation.

This paper suggests recognizing *queers* within the 19th-century phenomenon of dervish-love. By looking into the politics of love, I argue that Ottoman *respectability* and heteronormativity had tamed bodies, desires, and imagination.

This present thesis concludes that masculine imagination and sociality are the keys to the meaning-making and functioning of Sufi orders, warfare, and love in the 19th century.

Methodology and Theory

This thesis engages with microhistory and uses Ibrahim Efendi's self-narrative as a microscope to question the macro narratives of modernity, nationalism, and heteronormativity. In this way, I aim to show that social differentiation as a marker of identity can operate within the ruling regime of knowledge, violence, and sexuality.

The primary source of this research is the memoir of Aşçı Dede Ibrahim. There are two original editions as manuscripts located at the Istanbul University Library.¹ Moreover, the transcription of the complete edition from Ottoman Turkish to the contemporary alphabet is published in four volumes over two thousand pages.² In this thesis, I recognize this published edition as the main text and reference according to their publication. In addition, since there is no complete translation in English, I will translate the selected parts from the voluminous memoir.

Autobiography/memoir offers a narrative of identity-story as fragmented, contradictory, and arbitrary. Due to the voluminous material, there are specific difficulties in covering and framing an egodocument within the macro-political, social, and cultural history. Besides, Ibrahim Efendi's narrative had been written in different periods and later rewritten under the supervision of him. As a result, various sections appear out of the flow, referring to a previous topic or remaining independent. Similarly, he sometimes contradicts himself or changes his stories slightly in time.

Studies on auto/biography and egodocuments are fundamental to approach and evaluate historical self-narratives. Eakin describes the extended self as the identity's signature and explains it as the "self of memory and anticipation, extending across time." He recognizes "the

¹ Aşçı Dede Halil Ibrahim, *Risâle-i Tercüme-i Ahvâl-i Aşçı Dede-i Nakşî-Mevlevî*, Cilt [Vol.] 1 (h.1316-1317); Cilt [Vol.] 2 (h.1318); Cilt 3 [Vol.3] (h.1323), (Istanbul University Rare Works Library, Turkish Handwritten Manuscripts), No.78-79-80

² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı Dede'nin Hatıraları: Çok Yönlü Bir Sufinin Gözüyle Son Dönem Osmanlı Hayatı*, 4 Cilt [The Memoir of Aşçı Dede: Late Ottoman Social Life by the Lenses of a Sophisticated Sufi, 4 Volumes] Mustafa Koç & Eyüp Tanrıverdi, haz., (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2006), 479

extended self as identity story" and concludes that autobiography is a discourse of identity.³ In that sense, what differentiates *autobiography* from *biography* is subjectivity as enveloped in a body that distinguishes one from others.⁴ In that sense, Ibrahim's text-as-his-identity provides the relational framework to research on late Ottomans.

Eakin argues that autobiography is fiction constrained by fact.⁵ When an account of narrative-as-experience is organized, it is inevitable to deploy the strategies of fiction such as emplotment, point of view, temporalization, and characterization.⁶ However, the fictional dimension of autobiography might be seen as a problem for the objectives of history-writing. Nevertheless, as he notes, neurobiological studies on remembering and narrating show that the "sense of identity is somehow the product of our lives *in* and *as* bodies."⁷ Auto/biography or egodocuments, in general, do not only report but perform identity by writing, narrating, and reading.⁸ Thus, reminding us that "history can never be a found object standing free of the hands of the historians who make it,"⁹ it is possible to tackle egodocuments as historical sources by evaluating them as such.

Kırmızı highlights *responsibility* when approaching someone's self-story and refers to Goffman by pointing out the relationship between *frontstage* and *backstage* and *performance* and *unperformed*.¹⁰ Identity is neither a stable unit nor fully receivable momentarily. Furthermore, it is a (identity) story that performs better by repetition, and it is necessary to

³ Paul J. Eakin, *Writing Life Writing: Narrative, History, Autobiography* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 2; for more on egodocuments, see at, R. Elger & Y. Kose, eds., *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010)

⁴ Eakin, *Writing*, 42

⁵ Eakin, *Writing*, 77

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Eakin, *Writing*, 92; *emphasis* in the original.

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Eakin, *Writing*, 77

¹⁰ Abdulhamit Kırmızı, "Oto/Biyografik Vebal: Tutarlılık ve Kronoloji Sorunları," [Auto/Biographical Responsibility: Consistency and Chronology Issues] in *Otur Baştan Yaz Beni: Oto/Biyografiye Taze Bakışlar* [Sit Down and Rewrite Me: Fresh Looks into Auto/Biography] ed. Abdulhamit Kırmızı (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2012), 11-27; Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959)

distinguish stages and status. Thus, this research recognizes Ibrahim's text-as-his-identity yet suggests focusing on relationality, multiplicity, and dynamism, considering the fragmented appearances and silences as components of his identity.

While Ibrahim was constructing his life by writing, he preferred to write something - in lieu of writing something else. He did what White later termed, "emplotment,"¹¹ that is "the encodation of the facts contained in the chronicle as components of specific kinds of plot structures [...]." ¹² When Ibrahim wrote his narrative, he temporalized his life, (re)formulated memories and emotions, brought exaggeration and contrast, and he kept down his opinions and feelings sometimes. White points out the narrative as a solution to the problem of how to translate *knowing* into *telling*, while arguing that narrative is translatable and "a metacode, a human universal."¹³ Eventually, Ibrahim's emplotment reflects his performance for stability and cohesion in his identity-story. However, on the other hand, this research also offers a novel emplotment of Ibrahim's narrative; hence it highlights some parts over others.

Even though his self-narrative is voluminous, it does not tell everything about himself. Some phenomena were mentioned briefly or left utterly on the air or were not being highlighted at all. In this direction, Davis remarks on history-writing as historians' invention held tightly in check by voices of the past.¹⁴ Indeed, Ibrahim presents voices of the past in his self-narrative, and so does this research. Besides, *speculation*,¹⁵ as Davis suggests, as a historical tool will be operationalized on Ibrahim's identity and sociality, especially concerning his love affairs. Although this research follows historical frameworks, critical literary studies offer novel

¹¹ Hayden White, "The historical text as literary artefact," in *The writing of history: Literary form and historical understanding*, R. H. Canary, and Henry Kozicki eds., (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 83

¹² Ibid, *Emphasis* is the original.

¹³ Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol.7, 1 (Autumn 1980), 5-6

¹⁴ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 5

¹⁵ In the context of the monograph on a specific enslaved family from Surinam, Natalie Zemon Davis discusses problems of sources and indicates: "*You speculate, and you make it clear you're speculating. But even if you can't resolve the matter, it's important to venture it. Resorting to speculation is better than not asking the question at all.*" Jessica Roitman and Karwan Fatah-Black, "Being Speculative is better than to not do it at all': an interview with Natalie Zemon Davis," *Itinerario* 39, No.1 (2015), 3-15

approaches and theories.¹⁶ Thus, this research engages with queer theory and operationalizes *queer* reading practices.

Literature Review

For the first time, Ibrahim Efendi's self-narrative was partially published by Reşat Ekrem Koçu in the newspaper *Haber Akşam Postası* under the title "The Memoir of Mevlevi" as "the mirror of the intimate life of a hundred years ago Istanbul," in 1941.¹⁷ Koçu emphasizes the richness and authenticity of the memoir regarding testimonies of traditions, beliefs, and events. "While readers will enjoy the literary style of Ibrahim Efendi, young historians and people of social sciences will be introduced to this significant work. This memoir is the clear witness of the Turkish society's revolution in a century."¹⁸

Koçu and Mehmed Ali Akbaş published the newspaper version as a book later.¹⁹ The publication belongs to the Istanbul Encyclopedia Library, linked to Reşat Ekrem Koçu's unfinished life-long project. Arguably, Koçu's interest in Aşçı Dede İbrahim had stemmed from the male-male desire dimension, if the *queer* gaze in the articles and male homoerotic drawings in Istanbul Encyclopedia is considered.²⁰ The printed book also has two drawings of young Mevlevi dervishes. Koçu states that he made his selection by excluding parts where Ibrahim talks about mysticism and advice to show tolerance to Ibrahim due to his *odd* manners and *intimate* confessions.²¹ In that sense, while Koçu was one of the earliest researchers who

¹⁶ See at, for instance, Eve Kosofsky-Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990)

¹⁷ Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Mevlevinin Hatıraları," *Haber Akşam Postası*, December 12, 1941, No.3190; online access via Istanbul University Newspapers Project: <http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr:4444/ekos/GAZETE/index.php>

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹ Reşat Ekrem Koçu and Mehmet Ali Akbaş, *Geçen Asrı Aydınlatan Kıymetli Vesikalardan Bir Eser: Hatıralar, Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim* [A Piece Enlightens the Past Century, Memoirs: Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim] (İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi Yayınları, 1960)

²⁰ See further on Reşat Ekrem Koçu, for instance, at Joseph A. Boone, "Creating a Queer Archive in the Public Eye: The Case of Reşat Ekrem Koçu," *GLQ* 23, No.1 (2017), 51-81

²¹ Koçu and Akbaş, 1960, 7

captured Ibrahim's queerness, his interest stayed limited to publishing certain parts of the narrative for the widespread readership.

The autobiography/memoir of Ibrahim appeared in German under the title *Die Memoiren des Türkischen Derwischs Aşçı Dede İbrahim* as a book outcome of the Ph.D. dissertation of Marie Luis Bremer in 1959.²² In his review, Lewis evaluates Aşçı Dede's narrative as a unique example against the fact that autobiography is few and scattered "in the lands of Islam, where the personal development of individuals has rarely seemed of interest, even to themselves."²³ He claims that the post-1908 Revolution Ottomans started to engage with autobiography due to "the spread of the Western desire -and apparatus- for personal self-description."²⁴ However, Aşçı Dede İbrahim's account is neither Western-styled nor one of the few examples of Ottoman self-narratives. Furthermore, Koç and Koç point out that since Bremer transformed the narrative from the first-person perspective to the third person, most likely because of the language problems, this research fails to adequately capture Ibrahim's life story.²⁵ Nevertheless, Bremer's account is the earliest scholarly publication on Aşçı Dede İbrahim Efendi.

In 1983, Carter Findley benefited from the memoir on social aspects of dervish life.²⁶ Later, he used the memoir in his work on the Ottoman civil officialdom in 1989.²⁷ As a continuation of his previous work,²⁸ Findley offers an overview of Ottoman bureaucracy, but

²² Marie Luis Bremer, *Die Memoiren des türkischen Derwischs: Aşçı Dede İbrahim* (Walldorf-Hessen: Verlag für Orientkunde Dr. H. Vorndran, 1959)

²³ B. Lewis, review of *Die Memoiren des türkischen Derwischs: Aşçı Dede İbrahim*, Marie Luise Bremer, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 24, No.3 (1961), 589

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Gülçin Koç & Haşim Koç, review of *Aşçı Dede'nin Hatıraları: Çok Yönlü Bir Sufinin Gözüyle Son Dönem Osmanlı Hayatı* [The Memoir of Aşçı Dede: Late Ottoman Social Life by the Lenses of a Sophisticated Sufi], Mustafa Koç & Eyüp Tanrıverdi, haz., Turkish Journal of Islamic Studies 19 (2008), 140-149

²⁶ Carter V. Findley, "Social Dimensions of the Dervish Life, as Seen in the Memoirs of Aşçı Dede Halil İbrâhîm," içinde *Economie et Sociétés dans l'Empire Ottoman, Fin du XVIIIe-début du XXe Siècle*, der. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont ve Paul Dumont (Paris, 1983)

²⁷ Carter V. Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989)

²⁸ Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980)

this time by discussing individual examples together with the macro social, economic, and political settings. In that sense, Ibrahim's narrative is one among others. While Findley follows the transformation of scribal services into civilian bureaucracy, Aşçı Dede İbrahim's account represents "the most candid and prolific 19th-century official memoirist"²⁹ and "Islamic conservatives of the civil officialdom,"³⁰ as Findley defines, without Dede, they would be less documented compared to *westernizers*.³¹

He turns to memoirs several times throughout the book in different chapters to discuss social origins and environment,³² education,³³ mysticism, cultural dualism,³⁴ career paths, overwork,³⁵ patronage and promotion,³⁶ monthly salary, and living expenses.³⁷ Also, he writes on the *hajj* (pilgrimage) testimony of Aşçı Dede İbrahim in a different publication.³⁸ Findley brings a detailed analysis of Ottoman civil bureaucracy and the socio-political dimension of officialdom. Despite his more nuanced perspective on westernizers-traditionalist, inevitably, he reproduces binary oppositions in Ottoman history.

Mustafa Koç and Eyüp Tanrıverdi published complete transcription with the title "The Memoir of Aşçı Dede: Late Ottoman Social Life by the Lenses of a Sophisticated Sufi" in four volumes and over two thousand pages in 2006.³⁹ As the editors of the memoir, Koç and Tanrıverdi offer a detailed introduction to Ibrahim's life.⁴⁰ Thanks to their edition, the full text of the memoir was published for the first time in modern Turkish script. In line with their

²⁹ Findley, Ottoman, 17

³⁰ Findley, Ottoman, 19

³¹ Ibid

³² Findley, Ottoman, 119-130

³³ Findley, Ottoman, 144 and 149

³⁴ Findley, Ottoman, 179-187

³⁵ Findley, Ottoman, 231-236

³⁶ Findley, Ottoman, 281-292

³⁷ Findley, Ottoman, 320

³⁸ Carter V. Findley, "A Muslim's pilgrim's progress: Aşçı Dede İbrahim Halil on the hajj 1898" in *The Islamic World: From Classical to Modern Times* (Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis), C. E. Bosworth, Charles Issawi, Roger Savory, and A.L. Udovitch, eds., (Princeton: 27Books, 1989)

³⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*

⁴⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, IX-LV

objectives, they do not pursue an analysis within self-narrative literature or late Ottoman history. While their introduction brings the historical accounts around Aşçı Dede together with some chronological errors, it seems their edition itself enlarged the audience of İbrahim Efendi for the following period.

İbrahim Efendi's self-narrative covers almost all the 19th century from a relatively wide geography, and contains testimonies of various fields. Hence, it offers extensive material for the researchers. Besides, his Muslim-religious feature is highlighted with assumed contradictions or framed.⁴¹ Baltacı, for instance, focuses on Sufi life in Erzincan by focusing on İbrahim's narrative.⁴² A similar approach can be seen in Şentürk's master's thesis on the Sufi life in Edirne during the 19th century.⁴³ Şentürk offers a historical analysis of 19th century Ottoman history based on 'character traits' of the sultans (i.e., "being mild-mannered to the point of weakness," "despotic-modernizer," "West-admirer," "more conservative," and the one who applies tries to save the state contrary to his predecessors).⁴⁴ Whereas she brings lodges of Edirne in her research together, Şentürk revives profound dichotomies of modernization-westernization and tradition-Islam throughout the 19th century as a response to contemporary issues.

Çeven used Aşçı Dede's text in research on Sufi education in 2019.⁴⁵ By dividing it into three sections the introduction to Sufism, crystallization of his Sufi identity, and maturity of

⁴¹ For instance, see at, Richard Wittmann, "Französische Hemden, Österreichische Dampfschiffe und Deutsche Lokomotiven: Fremde Dinge in der Selbstverortung des Islamischen Mystikers Aşçı Dede İbrahim," içinde *Selbstzeugnis und Person: Transkulturelle Perspektiven (Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit)*, der. Hans Medick, Angelika Schaser, Claudia Ulbrich (Köln, Weimar, Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2012).

⁴² Halil Baltacı, "Aşçı İbrahim Dede Hâtıratı Çerçevesinde XIX. Yüzyıl Erzincan'ında Dinî ve Tasavvufî Hayat [Religious and Mystical Life in Erzincan in 19th Century According to Memories of Asci Dede]," *Erzincan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, ÖS-I (2015), 47-64

⁴³ Müzeyyen Şentürk, "19. Yüzyılda Edirne'de Tasavvufî Hayat (Aşçı Dede'nin Hatıraları Işığında [The Sufi Life in Edirne in the 19th Century (Under the Light of Memories of Aşçı Dede)]," unpublished MA Thesis (Edirne: Trakya Üniversitesi, 2019)

⁴⁴ Şentürk, "19. Yüzyılda," 29

⁴⁵ Zeynep İrem Çeven, "Hatıralar Işığında Tasavvufî Terbiye (Aşçı Dede Örneği)" [Sufi Education as Seen in the Memoirs of Asci Dede], unpublished MA thesis, (Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi, 2017)

his Sufism,⁴⁶ Çeven follows the mystical life of Ibrahim in different cities and various Sufi orders to discuss mystical and self-educational dimensions. On the other hand, Çeven's focus is limited to said areas and does not offer further historical or sociological insights.

Ezgi Sarıtaş benefited from Ibrahim's self-narrative in her Ph.D. dissertation in 2018.⁴⁷ Besides Ibrahim's account, she deals with two other self-narratives as the primary sources that male homoerotic desire is formulated with first-person narratives during the sexual modernization period.⁴⁸ Her dissertation is a rare example of research on heteronormativity in the Ottoman-Turkish context by recognized as historical, flexible, and unstable. Besides, her focus enlightens homosociality with the Sufi love dimension of the self-narrative, alongside the contribution to gender and homoeroticism in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods.

The main problem in Sarıtaş's account originates from the missing link between Ibrahim's self and his dervish orientation. She recognizes male-male desire and configuration within Sufi love discourse yet cannot detect anxiety over 'improper' love or *dervish-orientation* as a configuration of queer subjectivity. Nevertheless, her dissertation provides further insight into sexual modernity in the Ottoman-Turkish context.

Outline

What self-narrative of Ibrahim can elaborate on the late Ottomans? This present thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter situates Ibrahim's life into the 19th-

⁴⁶ Çeven, "Hatıralar," 1

⁴⁷ B. S. Ezgi Sarıtaş, "Heteronormativite ve İstikrarsızlıkları: Geç Osmanlı ve Cumhuriyet Dönemlerinde Cinsel Modernlik [Heteronormativity and its Unstabilities: Sexual Modernity in Late Ottoman and Republican Periods], unpublished PhD dis., (Ankara: Ankara University, 2018)

⁴⁸ Sarıtaş, "Heteronormativite," 24

century history of the Ottoman Empire. The second and third chapters follow, respectively, war and love from Ibrahim's self-narrative.

Chapter I starts with the historical background concerning changes and continuities in the Ottoman sociopolitical ruling regime during the 19th century. It suggests that reading Sufi orders are medium of sociopolitical mobilization and knowledge-production in the Ottoman power regime. How does governmentality influence Sufi orders and the dervish-efendi community? In what way did Sufi networks operate in the late Ottoman socio-political power regime?

Chapter II introduces theoretical approaches to the nation as the collectivity and follows Ibrahim's life trajectory. Then it shifts to the affect of war and violence. What role do modern technologies play in the change in memory and imagination? Why does war engender nationalism?

Chapter III subjects the politics of love regarding the dervish-love of Ibrahim. I suggest reading anxiety over male-male desire and configurations of queerness within heteronormativity and dervish-love. How was male-male desire reshaped during the 19th century? In what way does Ottoman respectability operate within the dervish-efendi community?

Chapter 1: Late Ottomans and Turkish Nation

The Turkish nation-state was born out of the Great War (1914-18) and the Turkish War of Independence (1920-1923). At the end of the War of Independence, the parliament abolished the sultanate and introduced the republic. Half a year later (1924), parliament decided to dismiss the caliph by indicating that "since it is already embraced in the concept and understanding of the republic, the Caliphate is abolished."⁴⁹ The newly established Directorate of Religious Affairs (1924) became the highest office, yet, unlike its pluralistic name, it promotes and serves only to Sunni-Orthodox Islam (even today). Until 1928, the official religion of the Turkish nation-state was Islam, and in 1937, laicism was added to the constitution as one of the founding principles of the regime.

Following Sheik Said's rebellion in 1925, political authority declared martial law and later decided to close down all Sufi lodges since Said was a Kurdish Naqshbandi sheik.⁵⁰ Another Naqshbandi-colored uprising occurred in 1930 and ended up continuing the single-party regime.⁵¹ The early years of the multiparty regime beginning in 1946, have witnessed attacks on busts of Atatürk and reciting the call the prayer (*ezan*) in Arabic by Tijani order.⁵² Following the military coup of 1960, the discourse, image, and history of reactionaries-progressives had been well-settled and diversified within the Cold War period.⁵³ Nevertheless,

⁴⁹ Hilâfetin İlgasına ve Hanedanı Osmaninin Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Memaliki Haricine Çıkarılmasına Dair Kanun, [Law on the abolishment of caliphate and deportation of Ottoman dynasty] Kanun [Law] No.431, 3/3/1924; published in Resmi Gazete, 6/3/1924; see discussions on abolishment of caliphate, Michelangelo Guida, "Seyyid Bey and the Abolition of the Caliphate," Middle Eastern Studies, Vol.44, 2, 275-289

⁵⁰ See at, Mesut Yeğen, *Devlet Söyleminde Kürt Sorunu* [Kurdish problem in the state discourse], (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009); for the accounts after abolishment of lodges, see at, Yasemin Paçalıoğlu, "To Pluck a Rose from Gâf and Lâf? On the Dissolution of the Dervish Lodges in Turkey," unpublished MA thesis, (Colorado: University of Colorado, 2019)

⁵¹ See at, Umut Azak, *Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010)

⁵² Ibid; azan was in Turkish rather than in Arabic.

⁵³ Ibid

loosening state control and surveillance on Sufi orders and the emergence of political Islam have provided new horizons and possibilities for social and political activism.

Sufi orders, in other name, communities (*tariqas* and *cemaats* as *tariqas* after the abolishment of lodges), have profound influence and agency in politics, economy, education, and culture in the contemporary world.⁵⁴ In that sense, the recent history of Sufi orders would show various negotiation, adaptation, and resistance strategies to exist in the shifting political, social, and economic settings of 20th century Turkey.

In the first meeting at the Ankara parliament, which would conduct the War of Independence, Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Ataturk, d.1938) was elected as the chairman in 1920. Bektashi Cemalettin Çelebi Efendi (d.1923) and Mevlevi Abdulhalim Çelebi Efendi (d.1925) were elected as deputy chairmen.⁵⁵ They represent the ancestral line of succession from the founder-sheiks of their orders and known figures of public life. Besides, their participation in politics is neither unprecedented nor situational.

Sufi orders have a long history as a social institution in Anatolia and the Balkans.⁵⁶ Recent studies from early modern history suggest novel approaches such as "Ottoman confessionalism" and "Sunnitization" and spark further discussions on Sufi orders, ruling regime, and social change.⁵⁷ Alongside the armed dervishes of early centuries, on some

⁵⁴ See at, for instance, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Türkler, Türkiye ve İslam: Yaklaşım, Yöntem ve Yorum Denemeleri* [Turks, Turkey and Islam: Essays on Approach, Method and Interpretation] (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013); Brian Silverstein, *Islam and Modernity in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); also, Martin van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell, eds., *Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007); for a modernization-secularization line of thought example, see at, Banu Eligür, *The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010)

⁵⁵ See at, Ömer Yılmaz, "Anadolu Millî Mücadele Hareketine Tekke ve Tarikat Şeyhlerinin Katkıları, [Contributions of Takkah and Tārīqa Sheikhs (Masters) to the Anatolian National Struggle Movement]," *Journal of Analytic Divinity*, Vol.4, 2 (December 2020), 148-165

⁵⁶ See at, for instance, Isa Blumi, *Reinstating The Ottomans: Alternative Balkan Modernities, 1800-1912* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011)

⁵⁷ See at, Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu, eds., *Entangled Confessionalizations?: Dialogic Perspectives on the Politics of Piety and Community-Building in the Ottoman Empire, 15th-18th Centuries* (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2022)

occasions, it is possible to find out Sufi orders as armed militias.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, their function and operation contain mainly sociopolitical consolidation, acculturation, and mobilization.

It would be not surprising to find out warfare engenders nationalism since the war itself bears forms of collectivities as friend and foe. Besides, war brings significant shifts in politics, social life, and economy but also in emotion, imagination, and memorization.⁵⁹ History, as the history of domination, is profoundly linked with violence and war.⁶⁰ On the other hand, history-writing is not different but centers war on the constitution and destruction of historical figures, entities, and narratives. In the end, the narrative of nationalist historiography spread through education, culture, and politics while reshaping collectivity simultaneously.

Historical accounts of Ottoman-Turkish nationalism highlight the Balkan Wars (1912-13) as the acceleration and intensification period.⁶¹ The defeat, violence, and loss of the former capital, Edirne – triggered a reaction but also led to the coup of 1913 and the war government of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP). The defeat in the 1877-78 Russo-Turkish war accelerated mass Muslim migration from the Balkans and Caucasia, which eventually changed the distribution of population dramatically.⁶² Finally, the state-sponsored extermination of Armenians in 1915 and population exchange with Greece, primarily constructed the contemporary population under the nation-state.⁶³

⁵⁸ See at, for instance, Michael Kemper, “Khālidiyya Networks in Daghestan and the Question of Jihād”, WI Vol.42, 1 (2002), 41-71

⁵⁹ See at, John Hutchinson, *Nationalism and War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017)

⁶⁰ Historical sociology provides further thought, for instance, see at, Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: A History of Power from the Beginning to A.D. 1760, Vol. 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) & Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914, Vol. 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

⁶¹ See at, for instance, M. Hakan Yavuz and Isa Blumi, eds., *War and Nationalism: The Balkan Wars, 1912-1913, and Their Sociopolitical Implications* (Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2013)

⁶² Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985)

⁶³ More on population policies, see at, for instance, Fuat Dündar, *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği 1913-1918* [Modern Turkey's Cipher: The Ethnicity Engineering of the CUP], (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008)

Late Ottomans did not have the comfort of the citizens of the Republic regarding their national identity. Were they Turkish? They were not all ethnically or politically Turkish or Muslim. In fact, the Turkish nation-state made all citizens of the republic Turkish by the law. Whereas some of the late Ottomans were founders of the nation-state remembered with glory and pride, others became the arch enemies, traitors, and symbols of anti-national behavior. Turkish nationalism has determined the boundaries and definition of the national collectivity of the Turkish nation. However, there is neither one configuration of Turkish nationalism nor a fixed one.

The modernist school of thought remarks that modern technologies of communication, production, and governance prepared the rise of nationalism, nation-state, and eventually nation.⁶⁴ It is a European invention, and its spread is linked with imperialism, colonialism, and warfare. In this view, nationalism represents the initiative, the entrepreneur agency that transforms collectivity through a particular direction by painting with its color. Besides, religion is rather a phase that societies over it. On the other hand, are late Ottomans European? They were neither inventors of modernity nor nationalism but certainly participators of both processes. Although the late Ottomans were not directly colonized, they had been challenged by and adapted to new forms of imperialism.⁶⁵

Nationalism emerges from the modern setting and differs from the former collective identities in different degrees— it is male, rational, progressive, and productive. Undoubtedly, this is also how nationalist historiography frames by following binary oppositions. According to this line of thought, westernization is the force that brought nationalism and secularism into

⁶⁴ See at, Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1983); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983); Eric J.E. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013)

⁶⁵ For the Ottoman imperialism/colonialism, see at, Erol Ülker, “Ottoman Empire and Imperialism,” in *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism*, Immanuel Ness and Zak Cope, eds., (Cham: Springer, 2019); also Mostafa Minawi, *The Ottoman scramble for Africa: Empire and diplomacy in the Sahara and the Hijaz* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016)

action and has changed the flow of history. Thus, the Turkish nation is the product of nationalism that emerged due to westernization and secularization. The main problem with this narrative, nationalism confirms its own beliefs by naming, narrating, and remembering. If nationalism were taken away, how can we talk about the nation?

HIStory: Aşçı Dede İbrahim Halil Efendi

İbrahim Halil Efendi or Aşçı Dede was neither a westernized elite nor a Turkish nationalist. He was not part of the Young Turk movement, was not secular or a sheik, and did not hold a critical position in the state nor fight in a war. However, in his fiftieth year of career at the War Ministry, he prepared a report labeling his most outstanding service to the state. He was born and grew up in Istanbul, yet he had worked in Erzurum, Erzincan, Damascus, and Edirne for most of his life. Similarly, for most of his life, he had financial problems. İbrahim Efendi had served as a civil official for almost sixty years and died while waiting to get pensioned.

İbrahim Halil was one of the late Ottomans. His mother tongue was Turkish, and he was a Muslim, a dervish-oriented civilian official at the War Ministry responsible for keeping records of the daily accounts (*ruzname kalemi*). He bears the title *aşçıdede* (chief/cook dervish) because of his dervish affiliation. He is 'efendi' since he is an educated member of the civilian bureaucracy. Essentially what made him significant is his extensive writing about his life, yet his writing is not in western-origin format. İbrahim's self-narrative is formulated on becoming 'worthy' due to his service and companionship with sheik Fehmi from Erzincan. He calls himself as 'sinner,' 'poor,' 'reprobate,' but does not prefer first-person. This 'worthiness' also reflects his Sufi voyage; hence, it starts with the reflections on his mystical voyage through God. However, once he had started writing, he simply could not stop.

He writes about the daily life and rivalries in the *Kalem* (scribal/civilian bureaucracy), bliss and gatherings in the Sufi lodges, sheik Fehmi, love affairs with males, financial problems, extensively on dreams and their meanings, his hajj, lives of the family members, spectacular events, his visits to tombs, mosques, and sheik, dervish-oriented efendis. He mentions names, places, foods, geographical locations, transportation, and communication technologies. His autobiography/memoir presents religious texts extending from conventional sources such as Quran and hadith through Mesnevi, Mevlevi legends/sagas (*menakıbnames*), Naqshbandi, and Qadiri texts, Ibn Arabi, Hafez, Ismail Hakki Bursevî, and Ibn Fârîz as well as other popular sources.⁶⁶

This chapter suggests reading Sufi orders as the medium of sociopolitical mobilization and knowledge-production in the Ottoman sociopolitical regime. Ibrahim's self-narrative will be presented against the historical background of the 19th century, where Sufi orders held a place in the power regime, alongside the bureaucracy, ulema, and the palace. I argue that Sufi orders operated as the social medium in which military and enlarging civilian bureaucracy met, patronage relations were established, and regional and imperial politics were conducted. Furthermore, parallel to improvement in modern governance technologies, Sufi orders were regulated under state control and surveillance. In that sense, the dervish-efendi culture constituted the early configuration of the socio-political community as Turkish-speaking Muslim men. Hence, this chapter begins focusing on reform in Ottoman history and then turns to Sufi orders and governmentality.

As discussed in Chapter 2, this male-bonding community has composed the discourse, representation, and socio-political codes which determined the color of socio-political leaning and identity via modern technologies of knowledge and production. War, violence, global

⁶⁶ For Ibrahim Efendi's works on Persian, see at, Esra İpek Turan, "Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim Efendi'nin Fars Dili ve Gramerine Dair Çalışmaları" [The Studies on Persian Language and Grammar of Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim Efendi], unpublished MA thesis (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2007)

encounters, and imperialism paved the ways for shifting imagination, memory, and collectivity.

New Order and Reordering

Son of Mehmed Ali, Ibrahim Halil was born in Kandilli district of Istanbul in 1828.⁶⁷ His birth follows the Auspicious Event, the abolishment of janissaries in 1826, and the Bektashi order in the following months. When he was born, the war was ongoing an extension of the Greek Revolution of 1921. Although he only witnessed the last years of the reign of Mahmud II as a child, the following decades developed based on the New Order (*Nizam-ı Cedid*), which emerged in this period. The death of Mahmud II and the enthronement of Sultan Abdulmecid brought the *Tanzimat* (Reordering) Edict of 1839 and further named the period as Tanzimat era when Ibrahim was still in Istanbul at latest 1856.

Abu Manneh discusses the text and process of the *Tanzimat* Edict of 1839 within the Islamic political thought rather than Western origins or influence.⁶⁸ Classical accounts start Ottoman westernization in 1839 especially linking with Mustafa Reşid Pasha, a high-ranking statesman fluent in French who read the edict to the public after serving as the ambassador in Paris and London.⁶⁹ However, Abu Manneh 'acquits' Reşid Pasha from being the Western-influenced creator of the Edict of 1839 and shows the influence of Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi and sub-branch Khalidiyya order on both the young Sultan Abdulmecid and the Mother Sultan, besides the upper classes of Istanbul.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 81

⁶⁸ Butrus Abu-Manneh, "The Islamic Roots of the Gulhane Rescript," *Die Welt des Islams*, Vol.34, 2 (November 1994), 173-203

⁶⁹ See at, for instance, Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968); Niyazi Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey* (C. Hurst & Co, 1998)

⁷⁰ For similar analysis, see at, for instance, M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008)

The edict promises the application of sharia which represents legal and political protection from despotism and justice, including within taxation and military service.⁷¹ In this direction, Anscombe indicates that the despotic mode of the rule of Mahmud II was the driving force behind the Tanzimat Edict of 1839 since his period raised questions on the purpose of the state and limits on its power.⁷² In this sense, it represents the consensus among the actors of the Ottoman ruling regime in 1839. Undoubtedly, non-Muslims as protected communities under sharia which provides justice as protection and certain autonomy, yet not equality as political and legal. What brings Sultan Abdulmecid, bureaucracy, and ulema together in Tanzimat is on the side linked with the recent memory of the arbitrary and despotic rule of Mahmud II; on the other side, Sunni-Orthodox trend in the upper and middle classes.⁷³ To understand these two intertwined trends, necessary to highlight the turning points of the early 19th century.

The sultan of the *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order) Selim III had been dethroned and assassinated in 1808, while one of the prominent notables was coming to intervene with his army in the capital.⁷⁴ In the meantime, Prince Mahmud saved his life by running to the palace's roof. Soon after, Mustafa Bayraktar, notable of Russe, had crowned him while becoming the grand vizier. Deed of Alliance of 1808 was born out of this new power configuration; however, as Yaycioğlu discusses, provincial dynasties' elimination, suppression, and pacification started shortly after.⁷⁵

Yaycioğlu points out that certain forms of collective participation developed in the Ottoman provincial order during the 18th century.⁷⁶ As a result of these participatory habits,

⁷¹ Abu-Manneh, "The Islamic"

⁷² Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 11

⁷³ For discussion on ulema, see at, Ismail Kara, "Turban and fez: Ulema as opposition," in *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*, Elisabeth Ozdalga, ed., (New York: Routledge, 2005), 163-203

⁷⁴ Ali Yaycioğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016), 203-239

⁷⁵ Yaycioğlu, *Partners*, 242

⁷⁶ Yaycioğlu, *Partners*, 118

Yaycıoğlu indicates, negotiation between Ottoman *millets* and the central government led to more interest in recording, controlling, and transforming sociopolitical and economic settings.⁷⁷ Besides, starting from the 17th century, public space and new sociality emerged within old and new places of collective gatherings, including Sufi lodges, coffeehouses, taverns, and barbershops.⁷⁸ Thus, at the end of the 18th century, Ottoman central and provincial administration and socio-political settings had been under profound change.

Mahmud II priors slave-origin statesmen to critical positions while enlarging bureaucracy in favor of centralizing power into the palace and his loyal group.⁷⁹ Hüseyin Pasha, who was himself slave-origin, invested in a slave school for education and training at his new mansion.⁸⁰ While Hüseyin Pasha was also the founder of the new army after 1826, besides holding various high offices during his long career, Mahmud II did not give the grand vizierate to him.⁸¹ Çelik reminds Hüseyin Pasha's hesitation to establish Military Academy because of the fear of losing domination over bureaucracy since the estimated number of *slaves* who were loyal to him changes between 30 and 80.⁸² Hence, the politics of Mahmud II contains balancing human sources of imperial force based on their affiliations among various agencies and conducting reform by keeping the power regime intact.

Alongside seizing property and violating rights, which was the basis of opposition, Mahmud II changed outfits in the army and later for state officials by introducing fez, trousers, and frock coats. Quataert remarks that using clothing laws to promote homogeneity is a precursor for Mahmud II in the 1829 law compared to European and American annals since it

⁷⁷ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners*, 156; further discussion on controlling and policing, see at Betül Başaran, *Selim III, Social Control and Policing in Istanbul at the End of the Eighteenth Century: Between Crisis and Order* (Leiden: Brill, 2014)

⁷⁸ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners*, 33

⁷⁹ See at, palace group: Butrus Abu-Manneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century (1826-1876)*, (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2011), 117

⁸⁰ Yüksel Çelik, "Hüseyin Mehmet Paşa (1756-1855): Siyasi Hayatı ve Askeri Faaliyetleri," [Hüseyin Mehmet Pasha (1756-1855): Political Life and Military Career] unpublished Ph.D. diss., (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2005), 442

⁸¹ In the funeral of Mahmud II, he obtains the stamp of grand vizierate by force. Çelik, "Hüseyin," 380

⁸² Çelik, "Hüseyin," 442

prefers uniformity over distinctiveness.⁸³ On the other hand, he discusses that reducing state-origin and *millet*-based distinctiveness into uniformity exposed class differences since workers rejected to dress as the law required.⁸⁴ Furthermore, it challenges the *millet* boundaries and awakens specific resistance through change during the 19th century.

At the end of his reign, Mahmud II represents the emergence of the modern state and society in Ottoman history, together with the broad distress from various sources accumulated and operating through new forms of production, participation, and communication.

One particular event is the watershed that would color the later political and religious dichotomies in Ottoman history until contemporary times. As Yaycıoğlu reminds us, the growing bureaucracy, allied with the pro-reform ulema and students, economically detached guilds and merchants thanks to current legal regulations, and ordinary people of Istanbul who did not benefit from janissaries joined militias of Mahmud II and have completed what New Order targeted at the beginning: abolition of janissaries in 1826.⁸⁵ In that sense, the direction of reform is not different from his counterparts: The elimination of provincial power agencies in line with the construction of a modern centralized state and its ruling class, reform in the military and fiscal system, novel technologies of social control via establishing socio-political links between the modern sovereign and his imperial subjects.⁸⁶

Mehmed Ali, the father of Ibrahim Halil, was a former janissary who hides during the bloody elimination of troops and saves his life thanks to the people of Kandilli.⁸⁷ Later he joined the new army, as Ibrahim calls *Nizam-ı Cedid* (New Order). Mehmed Ali mostly stayed in different regions according to his duty as a lieutenant (*mülazım*) in the new army; for

⁸³ Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.29, 3 (August 1997), 419; emphasis in the original.

⁸⁴ Quataert, "Clothing," 420

⁸⁵ Yaycıoğlu, *Partners*, 241

⁸⁶ See at, for example, Christopher A. Bayly, *The Birth of The Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004)

⁸⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 83; Kandilli, district in Istanbul.

instance, he returned from Egypt with his battalion when Ibrahim was about around eight years old (1836).⁸⁸ In addition, from Ibrahim's early ages onwards, because of the sickness of Behiye Hanım, Ibrahim's mother – his parents *de facto* separated.⁸⁹ Thus, Beşir Agha was the critical figure in how Ibrahim's life was shaped, including his 'comfortable childhood,' introduction to Sufi orders, and his education that led him to take office at War Ministry.

Beşir Agha was the *slave* of Salih Pasha, who, as Ibrahim mentions, became later the steward (*kethüda*) of Mother Sultan and has a mansion at Süleymaniye as well as a waterside mansion (*sahilhane*) at Kandilli besides had been governor in the provinces.⁹⁰ Since Ibrahim's [step] aunt Esmâ Hanım marries with "respected, wealthy, intelligent and beloved Arab [*sic*] slave,"⁹¹ Ibrahim and his bigger family move together with them to his new mansion at Şehzadebaşı. Later, Beşir Agha takes Ibrahim to Imamzade Esad Efendi's mansion, the new school's minister, where Ibrahim got tested in reciting the Quran and accepted to the School of Civil Administration at Süleymaniye.⁹² Hence Beşir Agha opened to door for Ibrahim to enter the civil service. Thus, it can be said that the abolition of janissaries changed the career paths of the upper/middle classes in Istanbul, as happened in Ibrahim's case. Moreover, it deepened the government control and surveillance of the Bektashi order, which eventually shaped Ibrahim's Sufi orientation.

Abolishment of Bektashi lodges also occurred in 1826. The link with janissaries made Bektashis a threat to the new power configuration. Besides, they were a threat due to their "blasphemy, heresy, schism, and libertine," as indicated in the imperial edict of Mahmud II.⁹³ Furthermore, Abu-Manneh points out that janissaries, mainly Bektashis, represent lower

⁸⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 84

⁸⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 83-84

⁹⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 83; Süleymaniye, district in Istanbul.

⁹¹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 84; Arab as Black.

⁹² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 133; Süleymaniye Mekteb-i Rüşdiyesi (Mülkiye)

⁹³ Abu-Manneh, Studies, 69; referring to Suraiya Faroqhi, Der Bektaschi Orden in Anatolien (Wien, 1981), 111

classes vis-à-vis Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order and upper classes of the capital.⁹⁴ Therefore, the bloody abolition of janissaries extends its effect on the condemnation of Bektashis as the representative and actual 'other' of the new upper-class morality.

Before the edict, sheiks of the prominent six orders, namely, Naqshbandi, Qadiri, Khalwati, Mevlevi, and Sa'di – met at Topkapı Palace with the grand vizier and chief mufti to discuss the status of Bektashi order.⁹⁵ While according to Cevdet Pasha, the sultan has also listened the meeting.⁹⁶ Abu-Manneh highlights the unwillingness and silences of the Sufi sheiks regarding said accusations.⁹⁷ In the end, it was decided to eliminate the order, confiscate their lodges, and banish their dervishes. The confiscated lodges essentially transformed into orthodox orders, most likely Naqshbandi-Khalidi.⁹⁸ Moreover, some Bektashi *babas* (sheiks) joined them as well.⁹⁹ In that sense, the imperial edict represents the crystallization of the Sunni-Orthodox trend at the imperial level as it operates within the new power regime.

The Sunni-Orthodox trend in the capital is phenomenal, following the Greek Revolution in 1821 through the abolition of janissaries and Bektashis in 1826.¹⁰⁰ In addition, this trend coincides with the spread of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order and Khalidi sub-branch among the upper classes, including tutors of Prince Abdulmecid and the middle classes.¹⁰¹ As the causes of this trend, besides the Greek revolution of 1821, the earlier Wahhabi rebellion in the Arabian peninsula, and Mehmed Ali Pasha's invasion of Syria and Anatolia, can be seen as the spark of the legitimacy crisis. This crisis outed with piety as a form of revival and enthusiasm to mobilize around 'proper' Sufi orders for the middle and upper classes. Therefore, the Sunni-Orthodox trend regulates morality, knowledge-production, and legitimacy via Sufi

⁹⁴ Abu-Manneh, *Studies*, 10

⁹⁵ Abu-Manneh, *Studies*, 68

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, referring to, Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet* [History of Cevdet], 2nd ed., Vol. 12, r.1309, 181.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*

⁹⁸ Abu-Manneh, *Studies*, 70

⁹⁹ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, 2nd ed., [Mevlevi Order after Mevlana Rumi], Istanbul: Inkılâp Kitabevi, 2006; via Abu-Manneh, *Studies*, 50

¹⁰⁰ Abu-Manneh, *Studies*, 11

¹⁰¹ Abu-Manneh, "The Islamic"

orders during the century, including love, body, and sexuality (Chapter 3). Nevertheless, these dynamic functions as double-sided became apparent with the Sufi orders under governmentality.

Sufi Orders and Governmentality

"Since my early childhood, I have been attracted to the dervishes. On Fridays, I preferred to spend time with dervishes in lodges instead of going to excursion spots (*seyir yerleri*)."¹⁰² Ibrahim enjoys drawing a shrine at home and conducting services, like a funeral or making a turban on his head, acting as an imam or muezzin. "In that time, they were selling minaret in wooden, by getting them, I was lightening candles around it and then reciting *azan* (prayer call). They beat me by saying, 'Do not recite *azan* at home!'"¹⁰³ During this period, he attended a Rifa'i lodge at Yenikapı yet was not a follower of the order.

Ibrahim's narrative includes various names from low and middle-rank bureaucracy and dervishes of multiple orders. Starting from Istanbul, respectively, Erzurum, Erzincan, Damascus, and Edirne as the cities he worked in and others that passed through. The rich testimonies about social life around the lodge and *Kalem* provide the material for this research. Moreover, throughout his narrative, the phenomenal discussions regarding the social life around the lodge, sheikdom by *evladiyet* (sheikdom passes through his son) and *caliphate* (deputy sheikdom), and control over Sufi orders became manifest.

As I argued, Sufi orders constitute the social medium where bureaucracy and dervishes operate in imperial politics. In line with the modernization of the empire, Sufi orders are subjected to administrative control as a result of their agency and saliency. In this double-sided

¹⁰² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 88

¹⁰³ Ibid

process of governmentality, not only did the state develop novel mechanisms of control and disciplining Sufi orders, but dervishes were mobilized within the middle and upper classes and constructed opposition with the ulema against the public authorities or configured networks and patronage. On the other side, Ibrahim's narrative does not present only the dervish-efendi community, but he also encounters 'secular' efendis, as discussed in Chapter 2. At the same time, warfare and violence became the main driving force in emerging of nationalism and collectivity.

In 1846, at the age of 18, Ibrahim Halil began in the office of Muhtar Efendi, the clerk in the Army of Istanbul (*Dersaadet*) under the Office of the Quartermaster General.¹⁰⁴ By being the son of the Qadiri sheik of Kartal Baba lodge at Üsküdar, Muhtar Efendi becomes sheik after his father's death (*evladiyet*), yet appoints a deputy sheik (*caliph*) since he holds an office in bureaucracy.¹⁰⁵ In fact, Muhtar Efendi is a classic example of 'cradle sheikdom,' which Ibrahim mentions more instances across the empire.

Evladiyet becomes one of the central tropes of criticism towards Sufi orders during the century. The main critique originates from the question of merit. Besides, it is one of the distinctive signs of eventual *decay*. On the other hand, Ibrahim's narrative points out another function of *evladiyet*, although indirectly. The imam of a regiment at Erzincan, Abdussamed Efendi, marries Sheikh Vehbi's daughter and becomes one of his *caliphs*. However, Sheikh Vehbi dies neither with a son nor indicating a *caliph*. Treasury Mecid Efendi and Fehmi started the construction of the new lodge dedicated to Sheik Vehbi Hayyat. Son-in-law Abdussamed Efendi built a house and later claimed his ownership of the lodge, based on his *caliphate* and family responsibility, by getting the support of Dervis Ibrahim Pasha.¹⁰⁶ Ibrahim curses Abdussamed Efendi and indicates Fehmi as the *caliph*. When the *conquest* of the lodge was

¹⁰⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 185: *Ordu-yı Humayun Elbise ve Levazımat Dairesi*.

¹⁰⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 186

¹⁰⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 504

achieved, Ibrahim also turned his *itikaf* (ritual retreat) room into the downstairs of the lodge. Thus, it is necessary to consider *evladiyet* as the line of sheikhdом and control over the physical space of the lodge, as well as rights of properties and financial means.

"A voyager who has not these four things then he cannot complete his voyage: etiquette (*âdab*) of Mevlevi, voyage (*sülûk*) of Naqshi, love of Qadiri, submission (*teslimiyyet*) of Bektashi."¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Ibrahim starts to follow Mevlevi's order by attending rituals every Sunday at the Kasımpaşa Mevlevihouse.¹⁰⁸ Later he starts to go to Eyüp with the Mevlevi outfit on Fridays.¹⁰⁹ Ibrahim also mentions Saffet Pasha lodge as Naqshbandi that they went together with Osman Efendi.¹¹⁰ Even though Ibrahim does not follow the formal process, sheik efendi entitles Ibrahim as sheik *köçeği*¹¹¹ (servant) who serves the upstairs and is different from those ascetics who serve downstairs in Kasımpaşa.¹¹² At the age of twenty-six (1854), Ibrahim divides nights of the week as follows: one night for his mother and one night for his wife (*harem*) at home, and one night for the sake of Mevlana [Rumi] and the four-night for four rightful caliphs at the Mevlevihouse.¹¹³

Ibrahim Efendi was a Mevlevi when he was appointed to Erzurum at the end of the Crimean War in 1856. The center of the army shifts between Erzurum and Erzincan during his career in the Fourth Imperial Army. Following moving to Erzincan in the same year, Ibrahim meets with Hoca Fehmi Efendi (d. 1880), one of the caliphs of Sheik Vehbi Hayyat (Uzun

¹⁰⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 433

¹⁰⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 317; Kasımpaşa Mevlevihouse; also Kasımpaşa, district in Istanbul.

¹⁰⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 318

¹¹⁰ Ibid, see in detailed at Chapter 3.

¹¹¹ Although *köçek* means servant here and also means a new disciple joined Sufi order or janissary barrack; but also means, dancer boy or man in women clothes, or frivolous person. It can also be *queer*. Nişanyan states the passive homosexual meaning emerge as in the 19th century. Sevan Nişanyan, Nişanyan Sözlük: *Çağdaş Türkçenin Etimolojisi* [Nisanyan Dictionary: Etymology of Contemporary Turkish], (Istanbul: Liber Plus Yayınları: 2018) via nisanyansozluk.com

¹¹² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 319

¹¹³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 320-321; Said caliphs, Abu Bakr, Omar, Osman, and Ali.

Terzi Agha).¹¹⁴ Ibrahim indicates that Sheikh Vehbi is the caliph of Mevlana Khalid (d.1827), the leader of the sub-branch of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi order. "Since I do not know *rabıta* (binding) like Khalwatis, I was looking around like an animal [i.e., ox, bull]."¹¹⁵ Through Sheikh Fehmi, Ibrahim repeats Naqshbandi-Khalidi *zikrs* (dhikr, rhythmic, repetitive prays) and prayers. Therefore, the second stage, the "voyage of Naqshbandi," begins for Ibrahim.

In Erzincan, the Marshal (*Müşir*) Pasha and his son-in-law are Mevlevis, and they recognize Ibrahim from his "Mevlevi mustache."¹¹⁶ President of the Military Council Derviş Ibrahim Pasha (d.1896) and Treasury Mehmed Haled Efendi (d.1879) are the prominent figures in Ibrahim's life afterward as both followers of Sheikh Fehmi and Naqshbandiyya.¹¹⁷ Moreover, Ibrahim develops a patronage relation with Derviş Pasha; although it follows zigzags, it lasts until the pasha's death.

"Accountant Mehmed Sakıb Efendi heard that I follow Sheikh Fehmi. However, he is Bektashi and disputes me because I have left smoking and snuffing all together, and most of the days I am fasting."¹¹⁸ While Ibrahim continues to take on the Mevlevi outfit in the evening and Fridays, he also indicates that he did not encounter any adverse reaction from the people.

Abu-Manneh mentions the practice of reading Mesnevi at Naqshbandi lodges in Istanbul.¹¹⁹ Similarly, Ibrahim's narrative shows that Mevlevi rituals and *zikr* were part of the Naqshbandi-Khalidi lodge in Erzincan. Ibrahim writes to Kayseri Mevlevihouse and requests a *neyzen* (*ney*/flute player), and he asks for graduation to recite and conduct ritual from the *aşçıdede* of Konya Mevlevihouse.¹²⁰ Moreover, Sheikh Fehmi calls him *aşçı dede* (chef/cook),

¹¹⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 339; for detail, see at Nuran Çetin, "Terzi Baba'nın 'Kenzü'l-Miftâh' Adlı Eserinde Bazı Tasavvufî Kavramlara Yaklaşımı [The Approach of Terzi Baba on Some Sufi Concepts in His Work 'Kenzü'l-Miftâh']", *Journal of İlahiyat Researches*, Vol.49, 1 (June 2018), 207-234

¹¹⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, 336

¹¹⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 349

¹¹⁷ Ibid

¹¹⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 350

¹¹⁹ Abu-Manneh, *Studies*, 42

¹²⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 367

even though it is a title that belongs to the Mevlevi order.¹²¹ In that sense, it can be argued that Mevlevi teachings and rituals have a broad audience because of the Mevlevi order's popularity and adaptations by Naqshbandi-Khalidi lodges. On the other hand, for instance, Mahmud II had promoted Mevlevis vis-à-vis Bektashis after 1826, besides Selim III and Sultan Abdulaziz (r.1861-1876) were also Mevlevi.¹²² Thus, Mevlevis and Naqshbandis became the most acceptable and trendy orders throughout the 19th century, and Ibrahim followed his first and second destinations throughout his voyage.

Alongside the dervish-oriented efendi community in military and civilian bureaucracy, it becomes clear that Sufi orders are not independent of neither ulema nor state control. For example, Ibrahim notes that the ulema of Erzincan had applied to the court to examine Sheik Vehbi on sharia since he is illiterate.¹²³ Similarly, the Chief-mufti of Erzurum complained about the new *zikr* style instigated by Ibrahim to Marshal Abdulkерim Pasha, which eventually stopped.¹²⁴ Besides, asking for allowance to conduct Mevlevi *zikr* from the central lodge indicates the formal procedure and control mechanisms within the Mevlevi order. In the same direction, before leaving Erzincan to go to Erzurum back, Ibrahim received the diploma (*izinnâme*) stamped by Hacı Sıddık Efendi because of his religious courses besides other students.¹²⁵ Therefore, the control mechanisms for dervish-sheiks internally and by state manifest in Ibrahim's life and self-narrative.

Ibrahim explains the opposition of ulema against the dervishes based on their recklessness vis-à-vis sharia and their latent (*bâtın*) piety and bliss. Within his narrative, Ibrahim transmits a religious pamphlet by which he investigates the voyage and stages and the characteristics of the voyager. "Even in these days, there are dervishes who do not obey sharia

¹²¹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 418

¹²² Silverstein, *Islam*, 76; and Yaycıoğlu, *Partners*, 18

¹²³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 341

¹²⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 437

¹²⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 514

completely, and some of them abandon praying (*târikü's-salât*), some of them drink forbidden wine, and some are *luti* (pederasty/deviant). Besides, they are mostly ignorant, mischief-maker (*müfsid*), profane (*mülhid*), and some equate *halal* (lawful) to *haram* (illicit)."¹²⁶ Since the ulema bears the moral compass, conducts jurisdiction, and produces knowledge in the Ottoman regime, their stance against the 'improper' dervishes and Sufi orders marks the socio-political agenda. In addition to state mechanisms, ulema became key to deciding acceptable and not-acceptable Sufi teachings and orders based on Sunni-Orthodox belief.

After 1858, Ibrahim changes to dervish outfit by taking off the 'specifically' Mevlevi dress. Following the army's move from Erzincan to Erzurum in 1861, he reaches out the "love of Qadiri" while indicating that the people of Erzurum are completely Qadiri, and because of that, there is no *zikr* on daytime at any lodge.¹²⁷ "Several efendis from various military and civilian bureaucracy offices follow Qadiri order and meet every Friday to chant Quran together (*mukabele*) as in the Istanbul style. Indeed, if there is a great meeting like this in Erzurum during winter, it is guaranteed that everybody will be there."¹²⁸ They do not operate as closed groups but as competing institutions to recruit, shape, and mobilize the Muslim community according to their religious and sociopolitical positioning.

Ibrahim emphasizes how he was not following the dress codes of civil officials by keeping his dervish outfit in Istanbul, Erzurum, Erzincan, and Damascus. Reminding Quataert, the reform in uniform erased differences between Ottoman communities and triggered a reaction, especially from the Muslim *millet*.¹²⁹ Indeed, rather than any class-based distress, Ibrahim is displeased due to resembling non-Muslims. Also, it personally affects him because of his sufi orientation.

¹²⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 684

¹²⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 434

¹²⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 436

¹²⁹ Quataert, "Clothing"

"However, only one caliph of prophet Mohammed exists in every century. They called him *ulemâ-billâh* (the greatest ulema), and every century he emerged from one of the great tariqas. In this century, he is from Naqshbandiyya."¹³⁰ Undoubtedly, Ibrahim identifies Fehmi as the Naqshbandi, the greatest ulema of the century. Indeed it is most likely to find out more than one 'the great ulema' in the same period depending on one's sufi affiliation. On the other hand, as is discussed in the first part of this chapter, Naqshbandiyya entered Ottoman Empire with enthusiasm and appetite by emphasizing Sunni-Orthodox positioning, expanding individual and silent *zîkr*, *rabîta* (binding),¹³¹ and acting as an umbrella order by welcoming others. Compared to the elite network and musical and visual rituals of the Mevlevi order, Naqshbandi holds the upper hand among Sufi orders in an increasingly modernizing socio-political setting.

Yaycıoğlu reminds us that since the 18th century, war and fiscal reform have set the political agenda in many corners of the world, and these reforms often triggered new programs for social regulation and reordering and disciplining society in general.¹³² Whereas financing administrative and military reform requires novel financial sources, the reform cannot be limited to targeted fields but operates as a driving force for various processes. Silverstein indicates that "[New Order and Tanzimat] amount to the onset of a new Ottoman governmentality."¹³³ Essentially no different from their contemporaries, Ottomans targeted to maximize resources and more efficient warfare.¹³⁴ Therefore, Sufi orders were not out of reform that aimed to increase population well-being, general productivity, and socio-political cohesion.

¹³⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 427

¹³¹ For more on *rabîta*, see at, M. Brett Wilson, "Binding with a Perfect Sufi Master: Naqshbandi Defenses of *râbîta* from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic," *Die Welt Des Islams*, Vol.60, (2020), 56-78

¹³² Yaycıoğlu, *Partners*, 240

¹³³ Silverstein, *Islam*, 39

¹³⁴ *Ibid*

Reading with a Foucauldian lens, Silverstein emphasizes the transformation of Sufi orders into corporate bodies recognized by the state as an instance of populations, in which individuals can be compared and exchanged following objects of the rationalized procedure.¹³⁵ He highlights the proliferation of examinations, systemization and stricter control of diplomas, and surveys for Sufi orders as some of the mechanisms of Ottoman governmentality.¹³⁶ Ibrahim Halil Efendi's testimony sheds light on this governmentality of the 19th century as a firsthand account. He not only mentions exams, central lodge, diploma, and confrontation with ulema opposition but also, for instance, posts the full text of his diploma in his narrative as proof of his sufficiency.

A manifestation of control was introduced in 1866 by the Assembly of Sheikhs, a body of Sufi sheiks reporting to the imperial chief-mufti.¹³⁷ Silverstein reminds us that Mehmed Ali Pasha had established a similar institution in Egypt in 1808.¹³⁸ In 1812, lodges were reorganized hierarchically under designated central lodges, and later, central lodges were determined based on territorial location rather than Sufi affiliation.¹³⁹ In this way, it can be argued that the administrative authority goes beyond the limits of various tariqas and empowers the procedure and equality among the accepted Sufi orders.

During the 1860s and 1870s, seven Sufi orders were represented at the Assembly of Sheikhs, while the chair was Mevlevi: Sadi, Rifai, Qadiri, Sunbuli, Khalwati, and Naqshbandi.¹⁴⁰ Silverstein indicates that from 1875 onwards, non-sheik officials were also added to the council. Furthermore, the *evladiyet* was (sheikdom passes through the son)

¹³⁵ Silverstein, *Islam*, 68; referring to, Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Essential Foucault*, Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, eds., (New York: The New Press, 2003), 229–245

¹³⁶ *Ibid*

¹³⁷ Silverstein, *Islam*, 74; Meclis-i Meşayih.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, referring to Jong, F. de. *Turuq and Turuq-linked Institutions in Nineteenth Century Egypt: A historical study in organizational dimensions of Islamic mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); for the modernization of Egypt, for example, see at, Khaled Fahmy, *All the Pasha's Men: Mehmed Ali, his army and the making of modern Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2002)

¹³⁹ Silverstein, *Islam*, 75

¹⁴⁰ Silverstein, *Islam*, 76

abandoned, and the successors *caliphate* (deputy sheik) had to receive introduced the approval of the Assembly.¹⁴¹ Thus, throughout the end of the century, Sufi orders were primarily controlled by internal and external mechanisms.

Modernization and governmentality had tamed Sufi orders and put them under control and surveillance mechanisms. However, on the other hand, it can be argued that they increasingly became part of new forms of social and political life. For instance, lodges also became the center for Young Turk propaganda.¹⁴² Ibrahim's memoirs end before the Revolution of 1908; hence it is not possible to discuss, for instance, how he would react to the deposal of Abdulhamid II in 1909.

Modernization accelerated change and settled governmentality within Sufi orders, civilian and military bureaucracy, and ulema during the 19th century. Ibrahim Efendi's narrative shows that Sufi orders are central in Ottoman social life and Sufi networks are functioning within the civilian-military bureaucracy. Furthermore, social and political criticism originates and operates under dervish-efendi sociality, Sufi and Islamic discourse and mentality. The history of reform in state apparatuses, social life, and Sufi orders is the product of negotiation, adaptation, and resistance of various forces. The dervish-efendi community constitutes the configuration of the socio-political community as Turkish-speaking Muslim men. Therefore, the dervish-efendi community is the medium of imagination and praxis for reforming administrative, social, and political order.

¹⁴¹ Ibid

¹⁴² Kristin Fabbe, *Disciples of the State? Religion and State-Building in the Former Ottoman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 98; M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *Preparation For a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 257

Chapter 2: War and Nation

"Gentlemen, how fortunate you are that you are studying sciences in such a prestigious and respected school of our exalted state. You are preparing for the order of jihad by putting every theory into practice to protect our holy homeland. For this, you must fulfill your duties properly and not waste a single day, let alone an hour of your precious time. You should spend your day and night on good and beneficial things, and you should strive to be in the best positions in this world as well as in the afterlife. I am glad to meet you. May Almighty Allah give your thoughts strength, mental clarity, and inventiveness. Amen"¹⁴³

Naqshbandi-Khalidi Sheik Fehmi from Erzincan gives this speech during his visit to Military High School at Kuleli¹⁴⁴ in 1879/1880. At first sight, the visit from a Naqshbandi sheik to a modern school can be surprising. Classical historical accounts of the Ottoman history present a dichotomic view of the 19th century between progressives as Westernists, i.e., 'seculars' and traditionalists as religious Muslims. Besides, the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, who is known for his Islamist politics, can be seen as a grotesque picture of 'Ottoman reform.' On the other hand, it could be surprising for his disciples and followers. Naqshbandiyya is known for the strict application of sharia and Muslim culture vis-à-vis Western infiltration. Indeed, Sheik Fehmi is not pleased with Western influence neither in administration nor in cultural life. Behind those, what he emphasizes is crucial: being educated, disciplined, and dedicated to protecting the holy homeland and the life after death. His words highlight self-control, moral duty, and political affiliation to cadets.

Following him, teacher Hamdi Efendi gives a speech and says, "Sheik Fehmi Efendi is not like other sheiks of our country. He is not an enemy of science and is neither unaware nor indifferent to the conditions of the world. Therefore, we are pleased and honored by their visit to our school."¹⁴⁵ Fehmi surprises him, and he feels the necessity to differentiate Fehmi from other sheiks. Nevertheless, it is misleading to recognize Fehmi as a unique example nor frame

¹⁴³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 561

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, Mekteb-i İdâdî-i Şâhâne

¹⁴⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 562

his visit within an assumed dichotomy. However, he reflects the message of the era astonishingly.

Ibrahim Halil Efendi, i.e., Aşçı Dede Ibrahim, posts both speeches in his autobiography/memoir as the last pieces before Sheik Fehmi went to pilgrimage to Hijaz (Mecca and Medina) and passed away there in 1880. Even though he spent fifteen years in Sheik Fehmi's service, Ibrahim was not accompanying him on this visit, and it seems he met with Hamdi Efendi, yet he does not indicate when or how. It is more likely that these pieces were posted from somewhere else later. It is understandable why Ibrahim Efendi posted these notes in his memoir since he started writing for dedication to his sheik. However, what made a Naqshbandi sheik visit a military school in Istanbul is linked to, on the one side, his military activities on the Eastern front during the wars against Russians; on the other side, the function and operation of Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire.

Ibrahim was in Damascus during the time, and contrary to Sheik Fehmi, he did not witness firsthand the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78. However, Mehmed Arif Bey mentions the heroism of Sheik Hacı Fehmi Efendi in his memoir.¹⁴⁶ He highlights the difference between Fehmi and other sheiks: "He had prophet-like morals, and knew internal and external affairs of the state. He was awake, political, and mature person; besides, someone who understood our [social-political] disease and its origins."¹⁴⁷ In addition to Fehmi's previous participation in Crimean War (1853-1856), in his old age, he led advance forces and the watch duty (*karakol*) in the war of 1877-78 with his cavalry.¹⁴⁸ Furthermore, Mehmed Arif praises Sheikh Fehmi for his support of providing literacy to villagers.¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, the Ottomans lost the war,

¹⁴⁶ Mehmed Arif, *Başımıza Gelenler* [The Things Happened to Us], ed., M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, 3 Volumes, (Istanbul: Tercüman, 1974); Mehmed Arif Bey (d.1897) was a clerk at Erzurum, later became head-clerk under Marshal Ahmed Muhtar Pasha and during the war of 1877-78 accompany him. After his death in 1897 in Egypt, his sons published this memoir for the first time in 1903. One of the sons of him, Celaleddin Arif Bey later became the second chair at the opening of Ankara parliament. Two deputy chairs were Mevlevi and Bektashi sheiks.

¹⁴⁷ Mehmed Arif, *Başımıza*, 322

¹⁴⁸ Mehmed Arif, *Başımıza*, 334

¹⁴⁹ Mehmed Arif, *Başımıza*, 335

and the Russian army came to the peripheries of Istanbul. Ibrahim emphasizes the material deficiencies as the reason for the defeat even though Sheik Fehmi was there, bodily and spiritually.¹⁵⁰

In the previous chapter, following 19th-century history with Ibrahim Efendi's life trajectory, modernization and governmentality are discussed within the dervish-efendi community by looking into civilian-military bureaucracy and Sufi orders. In that sense, Sheikh Fehmi represents a remarkable example of how Sufi orders were profoundly engaged with civilian-military bureaucracy and politics with their leaders and networks.

This chapter suggests understanding the nation not necessarily an outcome of a cohesive nationalism. However, it does not argue that nationalism is not already there, even though the agency was not nationalist. By focusing on the process rather than assuming identity as a signifier of nationalism, national indifference is adapted as the approach.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, rather than accepting Ibrahim's Sufi affiliation as a positionality vis-à-vis modernization and secularism, this chapter suggests the Islamic discourse of the dervish-efendi community as one of the players among others drive to configure power in their favor. In this context, I argue that war and violence profoundly shaped imagination, memory, and collectivity under the sociopolitical and economic shifts of the 19th century.

Spivak suggests looking at "how the imagination might produce nationalism" and "how collectivities are formed" rather than focusing on historical narratives that historicize and localize the nation in specific events and periods. "Re-memoration," as she calls it, is the process by which historical narratives form the collectivity by affect.¹⁵² Spivak seeks two

¹⁵⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 561

¹⁵¹ This chapter does not seek a discussion on national indifference, rather sees as the starting point to investigate nation and nationalism without following nationalist formulations or perspective. See at, in the Habsburg context, Pieter M. Judson, "Nationalism and Indifference" in *Habsburg Neu Denken*, (December 2016), 148-154; Zahra offers more detailed scholarship on the concept, Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review*, Vol.69' 1 (2010), 93-119

¹⁵² Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Nationalism and the Imagination," in *Nation in Imagination: Essays on Nationalism, Sub-Nationalisms and Narration*, C. Vijayasee, et al. eds., (Hyderabad: Orient Longman, 2007), 1

inquiries: de-transcendentalizing nation from nationalism by emphasizing "already-there-ness" and questioning the division between public and private.

The differentiation between cohesive nationalism and the collective "us" stems from the "already-there-ness." It allows de-transcendentalizing nationalism from the nation-state. Then Spivak asks, "when and how does the love of the mother tongue, the love of your little corner of ground, become nationalism?"¹⁵³ She unpacks the phrase "love of" as "comfort in" and adds that this is not a positive affect since it is "simply a thereness, one step from the animal." When the "comfort in" is taken away, she states that there is no cohesive nationalism but the feeling of helplessness, loss of orientation, and dependency.¹⁵⁴

Spivak's discussion is specifically inspiring since Ibrahim Halil Efendi is neither someone ideologically nationalist nor part of nationalist movements. Nevertheless, "love of" as "comfort in" appears early. In his visit to the sons of their neighbor Hoca Hüseyin Efendi from Dagestan, Ibrahim finds "comfort in" his mother tongue. "We have played a bit in the garden. Then we went to their room, where they were also homeschooled, and there were many books. Since I could not read those books, they were reading aloud for me."¹⁵⁵ However, Ibrahim gets emotional and stagnant by listening to the love poetry. When they ask, "what happened to you? If you did not like this book, we could read something else," Ibrahim replies, "No, this book is well, and I understand because it is in Turkish. However, I do not know why, but these words always make me sad."¹⁵⁶

Undoubtedly, the mother tongue is the most outstanding example of being born into. "Language helps to develop nationalism, because the mother tongue negotiates the public and the private."¹⁵⁷ Ibrahim finds comfort in his mother tongue, which is love poetry, for instance,

¹⁵³ Spivak, "Nationalism," 2

¹⁵⁴ Spivak, "Nationalism," 3

¹⁵⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 122

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ Spivak, "Nationalism," 8

influences him emotionally since he recognizes the literary formulation and operates through imagination. Furthermore, the comfort of the mother tongue provides the possibility of being part of the collectivity for the young boys of Istanbul in the 1830s.

Love of homeland also appears in Ibrahim Efendi's account. He mentions Kandilli and Istanbul as his birthplace as his homeland (*vatan*).¹⁵⁸ His dedication to sheik Fehmi makes him comfortable recognizing Erzincan as his homeland as well.¹⁵⁹ When he becomes unhappy in Damascus, he begins emphasizing more about his homeland, Istanbul. Thus, affection influences Ibrahim's imagination and his homelands, either positive or negative.

Ibrahim Efendi writes about what he wears in great detail; it starts from his childhood memories to his later age in Edirne. He notes that when he is not "comfort in." In 1865, after the death of Ibrahim's first wife, Hamide Hanım – they arranged a new marriage for him with the nanny of Ahmed Bey, son of Dervis Pasha (d.1896).¹⁶⁰ "They put on a French [*generic for western-origin*] shirt because I am the groom. I could not say no; in the end, it was the first outfit. So I forced myself to wear that reluctantly."¹⁶¹ However, when someone says, "look at *Baba Ruznamçeci* [Ibrahim] wear French shirt," Ibrahim begins sweating, yet Sheik Fehmi helps him, "if a Muslim slips on this shirt, then it is a Muslim shirt. If a French person does, then it is a French shirt."¹⁶² However, the term 'familia' is not the same as a French shirt: "Some Muslims say familia, but it means offspring of French (*çoluk çocuğu*), and it specifically belongs to them. Hence it is wrong to say familia for Muslims."¹⁶³

Sheik Fehmi urges efendis and pashas against western influence not only this time. On the contrary, following the Crimean War (1854-1856), the West and westernization became

¹⁵⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 800

¹⁵⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 419

¹⁶⁰ Further on Dervis Ibrahim Pasha, see at, Christoph Herzog, and Barbara Henning, "Derviş İbrahim Paşa: Views on a Late 19th-Century Ottoman Military Commander," *Occasional Papers in Ottoman Biographies*, 1, (2012), 1-21

¹⁶¹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 476

¹⁶² Ibid

¹⁶³ Ibid; In later writings, Ibrahim Efendi calls family as familia on several occasions.

tropes of differentiation, sociopolitical leaning, and identity signatures.¹⁶⁴ However, they were not merely opposing change but coloring change within their power struggle. In addition, the growing discourse and literature on Islamic modernism or revival operate as competing forces for governance and control, rather than obeying what public authority order.

Ibrahim Efendi's dervish outfit took the attention of the governor of Trabzon Izzet Pasha while Ibrahim was using the port to go to Istanbul from Erzincan in 1859. Pasha says, "we are all dervish-oriented, but what harm this outfit [fez-trouser-coat] brings to being dervish?"¹⁶⁵ Ibrahim's outfit is a central marker of his identity, and it differentiates the insiders and outsiders in his imagination. Sheik Fehmi requests that Ibrahim to visit some sheiks and dervishes in Istanbul, and a particular Haşim Baba (sheik) appears regarding discontent towards Mustafa Reşid Pasha (d.1858). "I have learned that this Hasim Baba is the pole (*kutb*) among the sheiks of Istanbul and supports Reşid Pasha. They said it was the golden days of the Pasha."¹⁶⁶

One day, in Istanbul, someone known as Imam-ı Azam (the great imam) sees a circle of dervishes in the middle of a desert in his dream. Then he understands they are the saint dervishes discussing affairs of manifest and mystical worlds. Imam talks with a dervish from the circle, "Mercy! Muslims are weakened because of this grand vizier Reşid Pasha, please, if there is a solution to this.' Everybody agrees that they do not want to keep the Pasha, but the head of the session, Haşim Baba says, 'Yes, we are aware of that, yet, unfortunately, there are things that will be handled by him.' One year later Crimean War started, and the French and English armies and navy came and helped us. Then, without any problem, they left. That has happened thanks to Reşid Pasha."¹⁶⁷

"In 1868, there was tension between Muslims and Christians of Erzincan and rumors about attacking each other. Hacı Sıddık Efendi gave a sermon in the main mosque to calm

¹⁶⁴ See further on Crimean War, Candan Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010)

¹⁶⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 408

¹⁶⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 412

¹⁶⁷ Ibid

down people; however, this caused further distress, and Christians complained to the *Mutasarrıf* (governor of an administrative district) Ali Pasha."¹⁶⁸ Ibrahim indicates that Ali Pasha did not investigate the case but directly talked with Marshal Dervis Pasha, who detained Hacı Sıddık Efendi and reprimanded him. However, the detention of Sıddık Efendi triggers more trouble in the city. Furthermore, Sheik Fehmi meets with Dervish Pasha, criticizes him because of the arbitrary detention, and leaves him to pray at the mosque. Ibrahim acts as an intermediary and notes, "Dervish Pasha called me. Poor man, he was trembling and apologizing. Then, I went to Sheik Efendi and shared with him. He said, 'they trust their swords, but the sword of Allah is the sharpest.'"¹⁶⁹

One of the direct relations between individual and state, conscription, causes problems in Erzincan.¹⁷⁰ The new chair of the Military Council, Şükrü Pasha, oppresses people because of the absentees and deserters; ulema is unrestful, alongside the fact that he does not respect Sheik Fehmi nor Ibrahim Efendi. "It is clear that this man is the enemy of dervishes. He is busy with drinking and committing harams and does not know what praying is."¹⁷¹ Following days, the three sons of Pasha pass away by following each other. Ibrahim asks Fehmi to understand the wisdom behind this: "He was attacking offspring of people, saints showed him how it is like the loss of children, for teaching to him."¹⁷²

The change that came with the Crimean War is manifest in searching for consistency and stability within Muslim identity. Islamic criticism is an effective tool against the public authority and their actions. More importantly, imagination and narration allow framing change within the surveillance and command of saint dervishes. These narratives ease the tension

¹⁶⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 513

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰ See at, for instance, Jan Lucassen and Erik Jan Zürcher, "Introduction: Conscription and Resistance. The Historical Context," in *Arming the State: Military Conscription in the Middle East and Central Asia, 1775-1925* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 1999), 1-19

¹⁷¹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 366

¹⁷² Ibid

against western domination by reformulating power hierarchy and consolidating belief and collectivity.

Damascus is different from Anatolia and Istanbul. For Ibrahim Efendi, imagination and collectivity were further reshaped during the years in Damascus. The Crimean War and imperialism profoundly impact economic production, cultural life, and political setting. Due to marriage, Dervish Ibrahim Pasha's patronage expanded into Ibrahim's private life, which Sheik Fehmi initiated. However, Dervish Pasha requests Ibrahim to resign from his officialdom. Why Dervish Pasha forced Ibrahim to resign became apparent with the assignment to check accounts of his farms and represent him in the lawsuit against Abdullah Nablusi in Damascus.¹⁷³ Ibrahim lost the case yet stayed in control of farms. In the meantime, Ibrahim gets closer with Marshal Senior Izzet Pasha and officials in his entourage: "In those days, efendis and officials meet every night and entertain like in a wedding with musical instruments and exceptional chats."¹⁷⁴ They call Ibrahim Efendi "double-sided (*zü'l-cenaheyn*) sultan baba" since he enjoys worldly and mystic life.

Ibrahim Efendi puts a resemblance between him as double-sided and actors of the comedy in Damascus or theater in Istanbul, "if one appears with pasha outfit, you suppose him pasha or with dervish dress, you think he is dervish. However, if you know the leading actor (*oyuncu başı*), Mehmed Agha, then you would recognize him even though he is in a different look."¹⁷⁵ Ibrahim warns the reader against the suspicion that he also became a worldly person by drinking haram and entertaining at night.¹⁷⁶ He continues his dervish life with dedication, yet, this part also reflects his stage in the mystical voyage.

"Oh God Almighty! (*fesubhanallah*), Nobody in Damascus practices *itikaf* (ritual retreat) like in the mosques of Istanbul! That means they are people of pleasure. Since pious,

¹⁷³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 529

¹⁷⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 532

¹⁷⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 535

¹⁷⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 537

devoted, and prayerful ones stay at their homes for *itikaf*, people were surprised when they saw my performance of the ritual. "¹⁷⁷ In the Ramadan month of 1872 (November-December), the "love of" *itikaf* at the mosque is interrupted. Although he is at the honorable Damascus (*Şam-ı şerif*), the Sufi life is missing; hence the loss of orientation and helplessness. During this period, he stays at home more than ever and desperately tries to make new friends where he may find the bliss and sociality as he had previously. Nevertheless, in the following months, he welcomed the new governor of Damascus, Haled Pasha, with joy.¹⁷⁸ Haled Efendi was treasurer when he met with Ibrahim in Erzincan with Fehmi, went to Damascus as treasurer, and later became the governor of Konya.

"After the cholera outbreak in Egypt and spread to Beirut, military and people reinforce sanitary cordons around the Damascus. In the meantime, I saw Hacı Halil Efendi, son-in-law of Naqshbandi sheik Muhammed-i Hanî (d.1862), the caliph of Mevlana Khalid (d.1827), the founder-sheik of Khalidi subbranch of Naqshbandi."¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the outbreak was controlled before reaching out to Damascus, and Ibrahim emphasized the Naqshbandi *zikrs* (*hatm-i hacegan*) as the protection.¹⁸⁰ Later, Ibrahim begins to follow *book-reading* under the son of Muhammed-i Hani, Muhammed-i Hani the younger (d.1898), for two years starting from 1880.¹⁸¹ One of the books he studied belongs to Sayyid Abdulkadir Efendi from Algeria (Amir Abdelkader).

Abdulkadir Efendi was the popular leader of Algerian resistance against France, eventually sent to Damascus and stayed until his death in 1883.¹⁸² Naqshbandiyya was no longer decisive in power in this era as in the early decades of 19th century Damascus; however,

¹⁷⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 540

¹⁷⁸ Ibid

¹⁷⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 556

¹⁸⁰ Ibid

¹⁸¹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 557; Kitab al-Mawaqif

¹⁸² See more on Amir Abdelkader, at, Itzhak Weismann, "God and the Perfect Man in the Experience of 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jaza'iri," Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society, Vol.30, 2001, 55-71; also, Itzhak Weismann, "Between Sufi Reformism and Modernist Rationalism: A Reappraisal of the Origins of Salafiyya from the Damascene Angle," Die Welt des Islams, Vol.41, 2, July 2001, 206-237

it was still effective as a forum for discussions on Islam in the new sociopolitical order.¹⁸³ Hudson shows that "the largest collection of al-Sha'rani (d.1565) writings and the Sufi literature, in general, was belonged to Muhammed-i Hani the younger".¹⁸⁴ Besides his influence on a small group of ulema in power, he has a significant influence on the emergence of Salafî reform.¹⁸⁵ After two years, Ibrahim compares Muhammed-i Hani the younger with sheik Fehmi and says, "one is sun, one is the moon, even the moon gets light from the sun, they are incomparable."¹⁸⁶

Damascus was one of the critical locations where global forces were operating in line with imperialism, nationalism, and capitalism. The demand for Syrian grain, especially following the Crimean War, increased unprecedentedly, making it possible for the Beirut-Damascus carriage road and the integration of Damascus into the world economy.¹⁸⁷ The Levant witnessed competing narratives of European imperialism, Ottoman governance, Islamic revivalism, and Arab nationalism.¹⁸⁸ In this setting, she points out the Naqshbandi order "as a side for the negotiation of local rivalries and the influence of the Ottoman state."¹⁸⁹ Due to this link with the Ottoman state, Hudson highlights, it was easy for Salafis to relinquish links with Sufism.¹⁹⁰

Hudson remarks that "massacres of Christians in 1860 brought up questions and responsibility and morality within the Syrian Muslim community."¹⁹¹ Ibrahim informs that

¹⁸³ Leila Hudson, *Transforming Damascus: Space and Modernity in an Islamic City* (New York: I.B. Tauris Academic Studies, 2008), 91

¹⁸⁴ Hudson, *Transforming*, 90

¹⁸⁵ Ibid

¹⁸⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 557; "kaf dağı kadardır."

¹⁸⁷ Hudson, *Transforming*, 50

¹⁸⁸ For the reflections on Ottoman Levant, see at, Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Toufoul Abou-Hodeib, *A Taste of Home: The Modern Middle Class in Ottoman Beirut* (Stanford University Press, 2017); Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Lebanon* (University of California Press, 2000)

¹⁸⁹ Hudson, *Transforming*, 94

¹⁹⁰ Ibid

¹⁹¹ Hudson, *Transforming*, 90

following to 1860 massacres, Christians of Erzurum felt insecure against the Muslim community and sent a letter to Istanbul calling the army back to Erzurum from Erzincan by demanding protection.¹⁹² Although Ibrahim does not mention Muslim responsibility directly, he notes, "Sometimes prominent Christians of Erzincan were visiting Sheik Fehmi to talk with him. However, even for them, he showed respect and hospitality to obey what hadith says."¹⁹³

In this sociopolitical and economic setting, while Naqshbandi sheik Muhammed-i Hani paved the way for the Salafi turn gradually, Sheik Fehmi was engaged in warfare and politics. Besides, well-known Emir Abdelkader, thanks to his anti-colonial struggle, operates through African Sufi orders. These various responses to western domination and colonization crystallized within Sufi leaders and ulema and were further operated by their agency within the dynamic set of alliances and clashes.¹⁹⁴

The dissatisfaction of Ibrahim Efendi is not limited to the piety of people or Sufi-Salafi differentiation. Damascus is the site of the global economy, imperial rivalry, and nationalism. "They say 'neither the sugar of Damascus nor the face [*sic*] of Arab [*black*].' It refers to the people of Damascus, who are mostly clever and bright. Because of their smartness, they are quick-witted, cunning, and insidious. Besides, they bite non-Arabs like a scorpion."¹⁹⁵ Ibrahim repeatedly confronts the Galip Efendi, the assistant manager of the first branch in the Fifth Imperial Army Office in Damascus. "In 1875, he came to office as a teenager. As a teenager from Damascus, he was not only bright but also knew how to handle things at the office like an experienced one."¹⁹⁶ Ibrahim dislikes Galib Efendi and his ally Aziz Efendi by referring to them as sons of pashas, who do not know difficulties and obtain everything quickly. However,

¹⁹² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 429

¹⁹³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 391

¹⁹⁴ For a survey on trans-imperial Sufi networks within Mediterranean, see at Gavin Murray-Miller, "Empire and Trans-Imperial Subjects in the Nineteenth-Century Muslim Mediterranean," *The Historical Journal*, Vol.63, 4, (2020), 958-979

¹⁹⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 891; The original of the idiom should be "Neither sugar of Damascus nor the dick of Arab!" [Ne Şam'ın şekeri, ne Arap'ın zekeri!]

¹⁹⁶ Ibid

it is not limited to rivalry in the bureaucracy; he indicates how he prevents people from praying and adds, "they shoot bullets to Muslim-believers but show friendship to pagans (*müşrik*) and infidels."¹⁹⁷ The tension between Galib and Ibrahim Efendis usually occurs in departmental meetings, especially during promotions and purchasing external services and goods.

Ibrahim promotes two officers in his office to assistant managers, and Galib Efendi objects to this decision based on their lack of merit. While Ibrahim mentions that Galib Efendi was the enemy of those two officers because of their known morals, he adds, "we save these two efendis from their despotism. It is not the munificence but what I can do else!"¹⁹⁸ Galib and Aziz Efendis object to promoting a specific officer by claiming that he and his mother are involved with the illicit business. The morality aspect prevents the promotion, yet, another member of the meeting says to Ibrahim, "It should not be said out loud, but Galib and Aziz Efendi are *pimps*. They pimped a woman for me. However, they are repressing other efendis here, and we shake our heads like a plaster cat for accepting what they say!"¹⁹⁹ The rivalry leads to the staffing of bureaucracy on both sides while morality is operational in decision-making for promotion and objection.

"He spent more than fifteen *kurus* to decorate his office, and even the chief of staff's office is not that fancy."²⁰⁰ When Ibrahim cannot renovate the old chairs of his office, he shows resentment to Galib Efendi, who also declined his request. Ibrahim mentions a certain Salâhaddin (Efendi) who became a significant trader while he was a small-size fez seller at Damascus. In the end, fez purchase was ordered from Istanbul instead of Salâhaddin Efendi due to Ibrahim's efforts and against the desire of Galib Efendi. Arguably, the confrontations between Ibrahim and Galib Efendis can be understood within the nationalizing setting of

¹⁹⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 731

¹⁹⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 893

¹⁹⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 894

²⁰⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 894; cent

Damascus in the 1890s. Ibrahim notes Salâhaddin Efendi as "from Galib Efendi's race/nation (*cins*)"²⁰¹ and points out their cooperation.

Ibrahim tries several times to get appointed to Istanbul in his old age. In the meantime, he spends time in Istanbul lobbying for his appointment among high bureaucrats and palace affiliates. When he succeeded, he was appointed to Edirne to the Third Imperial Army in 1896. Edirne brings joy to him. However, he was in Istanbul in August 1896.

"I was getting ready to go to Edirne. May Allah never shows us again that Armenians raided the Ottoman Bank. On the Galata side, there was a combat, and more than five thousand Armenians were murdered. All shops were closed. It happened as the previous janissary time. It lasted eight-ten days while it appeared that everybody was in fear."²⁰² Following the occupation of the bank, pogrom towards Armenians in Istanbul makes the parallel with the abolition of janissaries. Memory and temporalization shape imagination and collectivity.

"As you know, without money you cannot prepare for traveling. However, because of the Armenian issue, there is no sufficient money to pay salaries."²⁰³ Ibrahim stays longer in Istanbul. His narrative shows how the language of everyday life, imagination, and affection are swinging in those days. He adds dreams after the occupation of the Ottoman Bank, which both reflects Ibrahim's positionality. "Children saw two men, one is standing, tall and chubby, the other is sitting, short, and his face is hidden under a long headgear. They asked the man standing, 'dear sir, those Armenians stood up, Muslims trampled under feet, how is it going to be?' The man sitting says, 'do not worry, I will handle this question.'"²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Ibid

²⁰² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 929; Eldem indicates that the official death number of the minister Nazım Pasha shows around a thousand Armenian and about thirty Muslim. For further on the occupation and following pogrom, Edhem Eldem, "26 Ağustos 1896 'Banka Vakası' ve 1896, 'Ermeni Olayları'" [26 August 1896 'Ottoman Bank Incident' and the 'Events of 1896'], *Tarih ve Toplum*, 5, (2007), 113-146

²⁰³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 941

²⁰⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 930

Ibrahim Efendi indicates that the Armenian insurrection caused tuberculosis in Derviş Pasha and further his death. "Because Pasha was infuriated, and if he could, he would exterminate the Armenian nation from the earth."²⁰⁵ One side of this narrative shows that hatred toward Armenians has increased during the last years of the 19th century. On the other side, it indicates how significant the despotic regime was to knowledge production and spread, shaping imagination, narration, and affection.

"Everybody began to prepare a great celebration for the victory against Greece in 1897. Without any reason or excuse but because of laziness and indifference, let alone participating, I have never even put a torch in front of my door!"²⁰⁶ This time, Ibrahim feels excitement, enthusiasm, and love. It seems that indifference manifestly ends with the victory celebrations. What has changed in Ibrahim Efendi's account is linked with his social environment in Edirne, his old age, and the mediums of communication technologies that provide the basis for collective imagination and narration.

Newspapers begin in the Ottoman lands as earliest as the last decades of the 18th century. The first official newspaper started in the early 1830s and later others followed.²⁰⁷ Ibrahim Halil Efendi's emphasis on newspapers begins in the century's last decades. Furthermore, he prefers to cite newspapers directly about the Greco-Turkish War of 1897.²⁰⁸ While newspapers narrate the victories and events happening at the front, Ibrahim follows day after day what is going on. His mystical meaning-making functions through the Greek war as well. The victory in Dömeke (Domokos) takes place in his autobiography/memoir.²⁰⁹ The reflection of Dömeke in his account is also related to the relative loosening in censoring the press. The copied pieces from the newspapers concerning developments from the front and

²⁰⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 914

²⁰⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 983

²⁰⁷ See at, for instance, Özgür Türesay, "The Political Language of Takvîm-i vekayi: the Discourse and Temporality of Ottoman 'Reform' (1831-1834), *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, Vol.31 (2020)

²⁰⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 978

²⁰⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 980

victory show how the control of communication technologies reflects on daily life of ordinary people. To an extent, his enthusiasm could be linked with the policy-set of Sultan Abdulhamid II, especially concerning late 1890s as the period of shifting emphasis on Turkishness and the Turkish language.²¹⁰ What shapes collectivity is not the victory or defeat but the narrative itself as a product of the public, spread via public and merged with private.

In the latest writings, Ibrahim Efendi mentions the Russo-Japan war of 1905.²¹¹ He shows sympathy towards Japan, which reflects the general reaction of the Ottoman society. He frames the war and victory within the saint dervishes operation.²¹² During this period, Ibrahim turns into transmitting news about Bulgarian bandits²¹³ or military activities in Yemen²¹⁴, and new mail stamps²¹⁵, alongside the daily life in Edirne.

"When we are born, we are (born into) the possibility of timing: temporalization."²¹⁶ Spivak points out that the division of time as past, now, and future, temporize the narrative and enables individual and collective life. "That is the idiomatic story of time into which the imposition of 'identities' must be accommodated."²¹⁷ Being born in a specific geography and time is central to drawing a trajectory from past to future as the configuration of an identity story.

Ibrahim does not discuss nationalism; however, this is not the complete lack of nationalism. Neither the lack of "us" vis-à-vis "them." At first, his language represents opportunities and limits. Then his social setting defines his collectivity. When he was born, the

²¹⁰ For instance, the Ottoman parliament of 1876 recognized Turkish as the official language. See at, Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 91

²¹¹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 1389

²¹² For Ottoman-Japan resemblance, for instance, see at, Renée Worringer, "Sick Man of Europe" or "Japan of the Near East?": Constructing Ottoman Modernity in the Hamidian and Young Turk Eras," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol.36, (2004), 207-230

²¹³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 1301, 1355

²¹⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 1597

²¹⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 1598

²¹⁶ Spivak, "Nationalism and," 4

²¹⁷ Spivak, "Nationalism and," 5

wars of Greek Revolution were ongoing. His first appointment from Istanbul coincides with the Crimean War. Although he was at Damascus, his sheik was fighting in the war of 1877-78 against Russian Empire. Massacres, foreign intervention, anti-colonialism, integration to global economy shape sociopolitical setting in Damascus; hence, the imagination and narrative of Ibrahim.

The opposition to public authorities and forms of governance determined the imagination, discourse, and collectivity. From his early writing to the end, his narrative host various positionalities, ideas, and influences. Ibrahim's self-narrative shows how remembrance and affect are central to forming of collectivity. Modern communication, print, and transportation technologies changed how people think, believe, and act. Ibrahim emplots his narrative by forming imagined collectivity as the nation. Furthermore, public and private work together to produce consistency and timelessness.

Chapter 3: Politics of Love

Twelve-year-old Ibrahim goes to school yet, cannot read the Quran. Then, one day, Ibrahim sees Mehmed at the school. "He was older than me, one or two years. Childhood, I went to him to talk. We sat face to face and *knee to knee* since the place was narrow. Although we talked about nothing important, something happened to me, and I passed out. [...] When I arrived home, my mom, grandma, and aunt got anxious because of my look; they called a doctor. He could not find anything; of course, I was in love."²¹⁸

"When I see him [Mehmed] from the door, my heartbeat jumps, and my skin turns into a rainbow. However, since no child is clever enough to understand my mystery in this school, I spent a month like that."²¹⁹ When spring comes, Ibrahim makes a bouquet and puts it in Mehmed's drawer. "After five to ten minutes, he retook the flower, smelled it, and smiled at me, which means he understood his lover brought them. [...] Ibrahim, who cannot read the Quran, is now reading like a pro-reader. [...] Mehmed tested my reading; I was sweating and stuttering."²²⁰ Then, one day, Ibrahim could not hold himself, started crying, and said, "something happened when I sat next to you. There is a flame in my heart, and I am shaking when I see you! If I look at your face, I want to cry and see you in my dreams."²²¹ Mehmed laughs at his declaration of love and says, "let me give you a book; if you read this book, you will get rid of this love."²²²

Mehmed brings the book and says, "take this book and read, but do not show anyone, read at night and at home." Ibrahim says there are beautiful pictures in the book and asks, what kind of book is that? "Later, I began to read this book and understood that this book is about a

²¹⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 89-90

²¹⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 95

²²⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 95-96

²²¹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 96-97

²²² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 100

lover and beloved, like Mehmed and me."²²³ While Ibrahim was reading Layla and Majnun's story²²⁴, he hid the book each time from his mother and cried while reading at night. The next day, Ibrahim reads a love poem to Mehmed, yet, Mehmed says, "you are the Majnun, but I am not Layla. My name is Mehmed. You should go and find a Layla." Mehmed keeps going, "I see; I am like a Layla for you, but if I heard something about this from anyone, that day is the day you perish."²²⁵

The first love causes distraction and confusion. It also triggers anxiety in Ibrahim's extended family about his health and manners. They ask questions to his nanny, Şirin Kadın, who informs Ibrahim about what is going on with them. "There was a particular Molla Hanım, old, wise, and insightful, who is our neighbor. They have consulted her by talking about my case. She says, 'it seems he is *interested* in someone from the school.'²²⁶ The following day, Molla Hanım visits Ibrahim's family in the evening and tells a story about a sultan's son who sees a girl and falls in love. Ibrahim understands it addresses him; he says he is going to bed but listens to them what they are talking about him.

The next day, Beşir Agha visits the school and asks the teacher: "Who are the pupils Ibrahim often talks with here? Is there a girl whom Ibrahim is interested?"²²⁷ The teacher indicates that he usually does not talk with other students, let alone girls, but he talks with Mehmed and training writing under him. Therefore, Beşir Agha requests the teacher to watch them and figure out their relationship. Now that they have learned the name of the beloved, Mehmed, they go to a fortune-teller who checks Ibrahim's astrology (*yıldızname*) and writes down an amulet to save him from this love.²²⁸ While the neighbor children suggest that Ibrahim

²²³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 100-101

²²⁴ Layla (female) and Majnun (male) is the canonic love story originate from Arabic (earlier as the 7th century), yet, it transmitted towards Persian and Turkish, as well as to other languages and became *the* love story in literature and popular understanding.

²²⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 107

²²⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 121

²²⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 124

²²⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 125

hug Mehmed and kiss him in a secluded place, Ibrahim feels uncomfortable with this suggestion.²²⁹ Shortly after, Ibrahim got seriously sick, and eventually, they took him from that school and registered to the School of Civil Administration around 1841/1842.²³⁰

Ibrahim Efendi's narrative of the first love story is significant in two aspects. At first, it shows the heteronormative assumptions when they understood he fell in love. They do not only look for a girl as beloved but also narrate stories of love of the *opposite sex*. In other examples, other students or the teacher do not think of him as in love with Mehmed. Nevertheless, similar to his parents, Mehmed emphasizes he is not Layla and Ibrahim should find a Layla. Hence, the subject of love should be *corrected*; hence, they highlight this *need for correction*. In that sense, it exposes the anxiety over 'proper' love and sexuality in the upper/middle-class Istanbulites from the 19th century.

Stoler remarks how Foucault only little says about "what sorts of desires are produced in the nineteenth century and what people do with them" concerning the first volume of *History of Sexuality*.²³¹ It is left, she says, "to examine in particular political contexts, how that pleasure is distributed, how desire is structurally motivated, what specific 'spirals' of pleasure and power displayed."²³² Following the premise of tracing how regulatory discourses incite sexual desire, it is productive to turn late Ottoman history. Rather than introducing *ars erotica* as the sexuality of the Orient in opposition to the West, as in Foucault's account,²³³ this chapter suggests looking into the operation of power and pleasure in a specific context.

Ibrahim's childhood memories provide further detail on the ambiguity of gender roles and early encounters of Ibrahim. "At that time, I wear trousers and coat (*setre*), and since I had such a beautiful flaxen hair, my mother could not bear to cut it and was braiding, and it was

²²⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 126

²³⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 133

²³¹ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 166-167

²³² Ibid; for 'spirals' of power and pleasure, see at, Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 45

²³³ Foucault, *History*, 57

coming until my waist like girls. Following the trend of the time, I covered my fez with fringes and put a crafted paper on it. In this look, I went to Selimiye Barracks with my father. Officials were visiting me like I am the *Kaaba*, and praising my father because of how I look."²³⁴ Later, Ibrahim falls in front of War Minister Rıza Pasha (d.1877), and he asks, "are you a boy or a girl?" I said, 'I am a boy,' then, 'if so, why you do not cut your hair?'"²³⁵ Pasha wants to register him in the military academy, "later you will be a pasha, like me."²³⁶ Even though his mother does not want him to go to school, eventually Ibrahim prefers to work in War Ministry.

Grandmother of Ibrahim reminds him, "my son, you have been like *this* since you were born. You were two-three years old; when drummers of Ramadan passed through into streets, I was holding you at the window. When they beat the drum, you jump and dance on your feet. I was saying, this child will be a *köçek*."²³⁷ Ibrahim says, "yes, I really became a *köçek*. But not like *köçek* of musicians, I became a *köçek* of Mevlana Rumi."²³⁸ Ibrahim brings his childhood memories as a possibility to show *himself* without jeopardizing respectability. Thus, it confirms his *disposition* as a dervish.

Secondly, Ibrahim Efendi narrates this first love story because he formulates his love towards males within the dervish orientation and mysticism. By the love of Mehmed, Ibrahim marks the difference between worldly love toward males and his orientation to mysticism. More importantly, he points out the life-long challenge, not only because of heteronormativity but also in his belief in the afterlife. In this perspective, male-male desire is formulated within dervish orientation as a challenge of Ibrahim in this world as the examination for the afterlife. In that sense, his narrative brings joy, pain, redemption, and hope.

²³⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 84

²³⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 85; Cihan Seraskeri Hasan Rıza Pasha

²³⁶ Ibid

²³⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 120; Köçek means male-dancer, but also servant in mysticism. Also see at, p.26

²³⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 121

What shapes Ibrahim Efendi's life is respectability and heteronormativity that operate through taming bodies, desires, and imagination. Mosse defines respectability as "decent and correct' manners and morals, as well as the proper attitude toward sexuality."²³⁹ He suggests that "analyzing the history of sexuality in the context of the concerns of respectability and the preoccupations of nationalism can help us to realize where we stand, how we got there, and how we might change."²⁴⁰ As he highlights, it is necessary to historicize respectability and heteronormativity instead of recognizing them as the universal law, as fixed and stable. As Mosse indicates, what distinguishes respectability from general courtesy or table manners: "respectability came to rule behavior patterns in all these areas, and was based on a consistent attitude toward the human body, its sensuous qualities, and its sexual functions."²⁴¹ Thus, proper manners, morals, and sexuality are not divided into different sections but simply someone's control over themselves, especially on sexuality.

Elias emphasizes civilizing process as the move to court society and bourgeoisie morality for following the genealogy of modern manners, morals, and masculine configurations.²⁴² Following Elias, Mosse adds that they transformed these concepts into a way of life formulated as respectability during the religious awakening.²⁴³ It is not surprising that the middle class's needs, fears, and hopes are profoundly shaped by the content, discourse, and praxis of respectability. "They perceived their way of life, based as it was upon frugality, devotion to duty, and restraint of the passions, as superior to that of the 'lazy' lower classes and profligate aristocracy."²⁴⁴ Thus, the religious awakening of the 18th and 19th centuries played a crucial role in the civilizing process.

²³⁹ George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe*, (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 1

²⁴⁰ Mosse, *Nationalism*, 2

²⁴¹ Mosse, *Nationalism*, 4

²⁴² Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, Rev. ed., Edmund Jephcott, tr., (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000)

²⁴³ Mosse, *Nationalism*, 4

²⁴⁴ Mosse, *Nationalism*, 5

"The Protestant religious revival of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century changed all that, and returned to Protestantism a moral fervor which united Lutherans, Anglicans, and Calvinists against an unregenerate world."²⁴⁵ This turn into religious revivalism transformed behavior as the expression of piety in the middle-class lifestyle, emphasizing moderation and self-control.²⁴⁶ On the other hand, religious revival is not limited to Protestantism as a phenomenon for the 18th and early 19th centuries, but it should be reconsidered with Islamic resurrection. Alongside the Sunni-Orthodox trend in the early 19th century and expansion of the Naqshbandi order, Salafism as a form of puritanism also requires attention concerning self-control, taming bodies, and desires, and shifting morals and manners of the society.

The origins of respectability are not limited to the religious realm. Mosse reminds the Jacobins were, in fact, puritans similar to Evangelicals and Pietists. He remarks on the 'republican virtue' as the agenda of elimination of vice as the defense and revival of the nation.²⁴⁷ Indeed, the secular-nationalist movements of the 19th and 20th centuries formulated revival within the moral dimension by bringing novel technologies of control and surveillance. On the other hand, mass populations worldwide during the 19th century remained primarily affiliated with their religions, and religious agencies bear the processes of modernization and nation-making.²⁴⁸ In that sense, the rise of Pietism in Germany and Evangelicalism in England represent the acceleration process of respectability.

This chapter enlarges Mosse's conceptualization of respectability in the Ottoman world by drawing a parallel from the revivalism of Pietism in Germany and Evangelicalism in England to Islamic revivalism and Sufism. As discussed in Chapter 1, 19th century Ottoman history witnessed saliency of reform and emergence of governmentality regarding Sufi orders, changing modes of civilian-military bureaucracy, and social life. By focusing on the politics of

²⁴⁵ Mosse, *Nationalism*, 5

²⁴⁶ Ibid

²⁴⁷ Ibid

²⁴⁸ See at, Bayly, "Empires of Religion," in *The Birth of the Modern World*, 325-365

love, this chapter discusses respectability and heteronormativity regarding male-male desire in the late Ottoman history.

Ottoman respectability is settled throughout the 19th century within Sufi governmentality, Islamic revivalism, encounters with Europe, and the criminal law of 1858. Ozsoy questions whether the decriminalization of homosexuality with the 1810 French Penal Code reflected in the Ottoman Penal Code of 1858 in the same direction.²⁴⁹ Contrary to the given narrative, she shows how the Ottoman adaptation of the new penal code shifted punishment of male-male desire and intimacy from monetary to imprisonment.²⁵⁰ Alongside the novel regulation of punishment as victim-based, the universal age of puberty was determined, and the division between private and public was emphasized.²⁵¹ Thus, in parallel with the legal transplantation of the Napoleonic penal code, male-male desire and intimacy in Ottoman society became under stricter regulation and punishment.

Ibrahim has never faced any legal process nor mentioned someone prosecuted because of their *indecent* acts. However, it does not mean that there are no consequences for engaging with male-male desire. Ibrahim remarks on the necessity to remain in divinely metaphoric love and not exchange the afterlife with worldly pleasures. He consults Imam Shafi'i, who has also mentioned love towards males and says, "if a man kisses a child with lust, that equals fornication with his mother seventy times. If a man had fornication with his mother once, that equals having fornication with seventy virgin girls. If a man had fornication with a virgin girl, that equals fornication with seventy thousand women."²⁵² Ibrahim stresses how the enormous price for approaching a boy with lust.

²⁴⁹ Elif Ceylan Ozsoy, "Decolonizing Decriminalization Analyses: Did the Ottomans Decriminalize Homosexuality in 1858?," *Journal of Homosexuality*, (2020), 1-24

²⁵⁰ Ozsoy, "Decolonizing," 15

²⁵¹ Ibid

²⁵² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 128

The punishment is not necessarily coming in the afterlife. Ibrahim faces the threat of punishment in this world at the hands of saints. He mentions a particular Mehmed Sakıb Efendi, a Bektashi-oriented accountant of the *Kalem*. Although Sakıb Efendi had impressed by Sheik Fehmi after their meeting, he later cuts the link with the sheik and turns his love towards a Christian, tailor-protégé boy. One month after, eye pain begins, and while his head becomes bigger than his body, he dies because of his love for the boy. "After his funeral, Erzurum rumor that the mosque's trustee had a dream in which deceased people said they were disturbed by his existence and did not want him in their cemetery."²⁵³ Ibrahim asks Sheik Fehmi about him: "He was also a lover, but nobody held his chain."²⁵⁴ Ibrahim understands it is a message for him because saints hold his chain, and he is free from troubles.

Ibrahim finds the love of God through Sheik Fehmi and reminds his *rabita* (binding) with him. *Rabita* is the practice in which the disciple's heart binds with the Sufi sheik by envisioning and meditating upon his image.²⁵⁵ Ibrahim exercises *rabita* by focusing on the point between the eyebrows of the sheik. One night Sheik Fehmi wakes up and needs a major ablution (*gusül*), which requires cleaning after ejaculation. However, when he wakes up, the love of Sheik Vehbi appears in his heart, yet, he could not dare to do *rabita* (binding) because of the spiritual dirt. After lingering with his sheik's love, Fehmi gets ablution and visits Vehbi. Sheik Vehbi says, when he woke up at night, he saw signs of calling him immediately to *rabita*. When he says, 'let me get ablution,' they say, "*rabita* is allowed without minor ablution for those who need major ablution."²⁵⁶ Thus, the erotic dimension of *rabita* is manifest, especially regarding Ibrahim's orientation.

When the army moved to Erzurum, Ibrahim was not together with Fehmi anymore. He realizes a young boy at the lodge enthusiastically joining *zikrs*, who has long hair, thick

²⁵³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 445

²⁵⁴ Ibid

²⁵⁵ See at, Wilson, "Binding," 57

²⁵⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 619

eyebrows, and sheep's eyes, "like the color in the eyes when you cut the throat of a sheep."²⁵⁷

In the following days, his father brings Aziz to Ibrahim Efendi and says, "take him, please, be your protégé and under your command."²⁵⁸ Aziz Efendi begins to work under Ibrahim Efendi at *Kalem*. However, Ibrahim is not alone in his interest in Aziz; on the contrary, his beauty takes extreme attention.

Ibrahim's office receives many visitors who like to check Aziz Efendi out. "Because the fez, trousers, and coat (*setre*) changed the look and aura of the child."²⁵⁹ A few days after, Aziz asks cavalry sergeant Hacı Bey to accompany him: "I am afraid to go home alone in the evenings. A lot of efendis and officers are following me. Although they did not say anything, still I am afraid."²⁶⁰ In the following days, Ibrahim also joins them and eventually moves in front of Aziz's family house. Ibrahim buys new clothes, assigns a servant in his order, and starts writing exercises. "When we came with Aziz Efendi from the office, there was a half-hour break. Then, we both take on our nightdresses while he comes to me. The nightdress of Aziz Efendi is gorgeous, and even the fur is added. If he were the son of a governor, still, he could not find that much service and respect anywhere. Not everybody comes to the house at nights, but some efendis tell *odd* stories and a few old people from neighbors, only they come."²⁶¹

The Governor of Erzurum also hears the beauty of Aziz. "Albanian (Arnavut) Ismail Pasha was excessively male-lover (*mahbub-dost*) and suggested to pay monthly twenty *liras* to make Aziz Efendi to his secretary (*mühürdar*)." Aziz Efendi's father says, "I gave Aziz to Ibrahim Efendi as a son; nobody can say anything [negative] about him."²⁶² While Aziz stays with Ibrahim, eventually, the time to return to Erzincan comes. "Now it is difficult to go to Sheik Fehmi, yes, metaphoric love is accepted, but I cannot explain how two loves fit into one

²⁵⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 447

²⁵⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 448

²⁵⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 449

²⁶⁰ Ibid

²⁶¹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 451

²⁶² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 452

heart. Nevertheless, it is also difficult to leave Aziz."²⁶³ In the end, Ibrahim decides to take Aziz with him, yet the metaphoric love is not truly accepted.

In Erzincan, Ibrahim arranges Aziz's salary and puts him into work. "However, the dervishes of Erzincan are all from Naqshbandi, and compared to Qadiris, they are relatively more Sufi-oriented. They did not accept that Aziz Efendi with me, and the gossips spread in Erzincan."²⁶⁴ Ibrahim's father is not happy with Aziz either and says to other people, "Does anyone who is a friend of Allah love *mahbub* (male beloved) like this?"²⁶⁵ One of the dervishes, Leblebici Baba, says, "Let us tame (*terbiye*) this ruznamçeci efendi [İbrahim]; they say he went astray."²⁶⁶ Baba says taming is possible only by the bowl with a handle (*saplı tas*), referring to washing dead people with the bowl before the funeral. Although Sheik Fehmi indicates he has no consent for this *treatment*, yet, later on, he says, "I was ready to take a razor and cut you both. However, saints did not give the consent."²⁶⁷ Ibrahim says the fear remained in him even after decades.

After Aziz, Ibrahim Efendi spends his time repenting and zikr as Sheik Fehmi had urged him. "After six-seven months of repenting only before spring, I got purified (*paklandım*)."²⁶⁸ Social surveillance and control over bodies operate simultaneously in taming male-male desire by recognizing tropes of metaphoric love and dervish orientation. However, recognition is part of the regulation allowing a tamed male-male desire configuration. Thus, by including male-male desire discursively into Sufi teachings, the control over the practice of male-male desire is tied strictly to piety and mysticism.

The fear is double-sided in Ibrahim. The fear comes from the people around him, and the fear drives Ibrahim's control over his desire. On the other hand, the mystic voyage and

²⁶³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 454

²⁶⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 461

²⁶⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 464

²⁶⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 461

²⁶⁷ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 479

²⁶⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 470

dervish orientation make it possible to be a male-lover by providing literature, recognition, and sociality as experience.²⁶⁹ "Mevlevi and Bektashis cannot be without *mahbub*; it is necessary to have someone to refill drinks (*saki*). [...] We drink wine, and they [Rufai's and Qadiris] drink pomegranate syrup."²⁷⁰ Ibrahim's affiliation with the Mevlevi order originates from this double-sided operation of respectability. Furthermore, throughout the self-narrative, the other examples of male-male desire or the chats about them occur with Bektashi and *Nazenin*²⁷¹-oriented dervishes, alongside Mevlevis.

Participation in the Mevlevi order is an outcome of the love affair with Osman Faiz Efendi. While Ibrahim was 19 and a boy came to *Kalem* as protégé, Osman Efendi. A colleague says, "My dear efendi, you do not check out Osman Efendi; look how he blossomed."²⁷² When Ibrahim checks him out, he says that he sees him as a second Youssef because of the *poison* his friend gave him.²⁷³ Following days, interest grows in Ibrahim, and he tells his colleague, "please, do not spread this news to everybody immediately." However, Ibrahim is not alone in this matter, "already some of the efendis of our office have interests in him, it is not like in school that children did not understand!"²⁷⁴ The next day Ibrahim goes to the office early, and he realizes his colleague came early as well. "It seems the fire [of love] surrenders you," he says, referring to Ibrahim's mood. However, Ibrahim sees him as a rival, "if you keep going like this, I should give up." His colleague says, "No, no, you know I do not like *mahbub* (male-beloved), my orientation (*tarik*) is different. Do not worry about me. Since he has facial beauty, I wanted to let you know. That is all, and I am not someone immature; I do not tell anybody."²⁷⁵

²⁶⁹ See at, for instance, Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*, (Duke University Press, 2006)

²⁷⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 1084

²⁷¹ *Nazenin* is used to define a particular manner in Sufism that represents indifference to sharia and politics. It contains certain aspects of Bektashi order especially post-abolishment.

²⁷² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 186

²⁷³ Referring to prophet Youssef (Joseph) who is known by his facial beauty.

²⁷⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 188

²⁷⁵ Ibid

Osman Efendi responds to Ibrahim's interest positively, "since I am aware of your degree of love toward me, I do not spend time with my friends and always sitting next to you."²⁷⁶ However, this love causes problems for Ibrahim. "Some of my friends warned me about my love of Osman by saying 'you will be like Majnun,' and some suggested that I follow a sheik to transfer this love to real love; hence save myself from the love of Osman."²⁷⁷ Following days, Ibrahim starts living in a lodge and dedicates himself to the service of the sheik to overcome the love.

"Because this love is growing and my mother was afraid that I will leave the *Kalem* completely and go to foreign lands, she has decided to marry me after talking with some people. [...] When I hear this, I intend to not talk with them again."²⁷⁸ However, dervish Dede Efendi urges him to marry, and Behiye Hanım begins searching for a wife for him. Finally, they have decided on a Circassian *slave* (*cariye*) who is trained from her childhood onwards by Emine Hanım, wife of a prestigious merchant. After the wedding, Ibrahim receives a diamond ring since Mehmed Agha owns two *hammams* (public bath) hence a wealthy person. "They thought the marriage made me forget my love of Osman; however, it remains in a deep corner of my heart."²⁷⁹

Ibrahim attends a wedding with Osman Efendi. When they arrive at the wedding, "musicians and dancers (*köçeks*) welcomed people at the entrance. Then we entered a room with my lover and sat down at the corner."²⁸⁰ When Osman Efendi realizes Ibrahim is crying, he says, "Do not start right now, be patient; you know the nights are long. You nor I had been in a place like this before. If you continue crying, I am going to leave before midnight. All efendis aware of our love affair, but there are some men we do not know, and I do not want

²⁷⁶ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 192

²⁷⁷ Ibid

²⁷⁸ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 194

²⁷⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 195

²⁸⁰ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 196

them to know us. Therefore, please hold yourself."²⁸¹ While Osman Efendi sleeps at Ibrahim's knees that night, Ibrahim's tears drop on Osman Efendi's face.²⁸² After that day, his friends *encourage* him to follow the Mevlevi order. Ibrahim interprets his participation with Mevlevis as his shift from metaphoric love to real love.

In Istanbul, Erzincan or Erzurum, Ibrahim shows that male-male desire is not a taboo talk among Ottoman males. There are some efendis show tolerance and some others who do not. Bektashis and Mevlevis are marked by their tolerance of male-lovers and beloveds. Thus, they offer a configuration of male-male desire in which bodily pleasures and desires are controlled and tamed in the voyage through God. On the other hand, after various confrontations because of his reputation as a male-lover, Ibrahim indicates that "it seems that this metaphorical love is extinguished. The people of this love remain very rare. Everybody understands this love as worldly love."²⁸³

Cevdet Pasha (d.1895) reports to Sultan Abdulhamid II, "those fond of women proliferated, whereas male-beloveds extinguished. It is as if the people of Sodom and Gomorrah disappeared into thin air! The renowned, time-honored love and affection for the young men of Istanbul has now shifted, as a matter of course, to girls."²⁸⁴ Pasha emphasizes the cash flow and the existence of foreign soldiers during the Crimean War in Istanbul as the driving force for shifting trends of consumption and luxury, way of living, and entertainment.²⁸⁵ In this context, he emphasizes that public expressions of love turn into women compared to the previous saliency of male-lovers and beloveds.

Delice points out that rather than merely declaring the end of male-male desire in the Ottoman public life, Cevdet Pasha emphasized the saliency of male-female sociality as a new

²⁸¹ Ibid

²⁸² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 197

²⁸³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 715

²⁸⁴ Ahmed Cevdet, *Maruzat*, Yusuf Halaçoğlu, ed., (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1980), 9

²⁸⁵ Ibid

phenomenon.²⁸⁶ The issues of luxury consumption, financial problems, and morality appear as an extension of the question of women in the public sphere.²⁸⁷ On the other hand, Cevdet Pasha links the disappearance of pederasty with the decline of particular pashas and their encounters with Europeans. Furthermore, Cevdet claims the indifference to family honor, referring to Fuad Pasha by indicating the *unchastity* of his wife linked to her *Nusairi* origin.²⁸⁸ Thus morality operates as legitimacy within the shifting sets of sociality, gender norms, and sexuality.

Love is not subjected to woman in Ibrahim. A woman is not beloved but protected since a woman is not *equal* to a man. Love subjects males, especially the beautiful-faced young men. His mother arranged his first marriage, and the first wife, Hamide Hanım, was a Circassian *slave* and became the mother of two sons.²⁸⁹ Following her death, Ibrahim married Hatice Hanım, the nanny of Ahmed Bey, the son of his patron Dervish Pasha. When Hatice Hanım got the disease of "woman-species (*ırk-ı nisa*),"²⁹⁰ Ibrahim makes his third and last marriage with Dilber Hanım, who has a sister at the palace service. Thus, none of his marriages emerged out of love, nor did he fall in love with them.

Following the death of his wife, Ibrahim quotes a *hadith* that says, "every woman who dies while her husband is pleased (*razı*) with her, goes to heaven."²⁹¹ While the very formulation reflects the male subjectivity, Ibrahim also mentions Sheik Fehmi's warnings on protecting and humane and just *treatment* of women. Furthermore, Ibrahim's relationship with his wives slightly changes over time: from almost complete indifference, referring only to 'wife' (*harem*) to calling as 'my friend/companion' (*refikam*).²⁹² Nevertheless, it does not mean a

²⁸⁶ Serkan Delice, "Friendship, sociability, and masculinity in the Ottoman Empire: An essay confronting the ghosts of historicism," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No.42, (2010), 119

²⁸⁷ Delice, "Friendship," 120

²⁸⁸ Ahmed Cevdet, *Maruzat*, 2; Nusairi is an ethno-religious sect from northern Syria, close to Alawism. Also it is used in a derogatory meaning in Sunni literature, as Cevdet does.

²⁸⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 324

²⁹⁰ Previously (p.46), I gave race/nation meaning to the term *cins*. Here İbrahim calls with the word contemporarily means race, *ırk*, for define woman. Hence I give the meaning of species.

²⁹¹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 473

²⁹² Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı*, 719

change in this categorization of woman as secondary since she was created from the male body, hence neither independent from nor equal to man.²⁹³

"I was fasting, constantly staying in *rabıta* (binding), and thanks to that, I have felt a spiritual power in my body. Then I got together with my wife. However, from the beginning to the end of the intercourse, I repeated God's name (*besmele*) aloud and *zıkr* with my heart. Out of this intercourse, Allah gave us a son."²⁹⁴ Thus, the sexual dimension of marriage is limited to the reproduction, and marriage is related to its sociopolitical and economic function in Ibrahim's self-narrative.

Spivak remarks that the rhetoric of nationalism is "often couched in the assumption of reproductive heteronormativity as legitimacy itself."²⁹⁵ Indeed, the tropes of mother, daughter, nation, or marriage serve to imagine the public and the collectivity derived from the matters of private. "Nationalism negotiates with the most private in the interest of controlling public sphere."²⁹⁶ In that sense, the womb is operationalized in making the nation's future. Resurgence, morality, strength and decay, chastity, and weakness define the boundaries of respectability by nationalism and modernized religious doctrines.

Mosse remarks that "pietism managed to forge a union between religion and patriotism which sanctified personal relationships by depriving them of autonomy of purpose."²⁹⁷ Indeed, the love of God requires binding to the sheik, rapport with the male-bonding community, controlling women, and reproduction as a duty. Furthermore, knowledge-production within ulema and Sunni-Orthodox Sufism mark the undesired ones as the process of taming bodies, remaking the nation, and constructing modern gender and sexuality regime.

²⁹³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 962

²⁹⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, Aşçı, 405

²⁹⁵ Spivak, "Nationalism," 2

²⁹⁶ Spivak, "Nationalism," 18

²⁹⁷ Mosse, Nationalism, 73

The politics of love in Ibrahim's account defines real love as the love of God. The metaphoric love should be only the vehicle, a bridge for reaching the real love. Regarding male-male desire, Ibrahim positions himself within the metaphoric love vis-à-vis the mundane love. Sufi metaphoric love provides a possibility of *queerness* without harming respectability. However, this possibility is a mechanism to tame bodies and desires that operates within Sufi orders and teaching. The technology of self is designed with binding to master, repenting from sins, and blending with the community.

What control Ibrahim's sexuality is the heteronormativity and respectability formulated by religion, social norms, and Sufism. Sufi configurations of male-male desire do not only serve in favor of those *queers* looking for ways to remain respectable or provide a sphere where love is accepted without question. Sufi orders tame male-male desire and the anxiety over 'proper' sexuality holds an important place in the agenda of reform and revival in both secular nationalist movements and Islamic-Sufi mentality, discourse, and praxis.

Conclusion

Mustafa Kemal sent a telegraph to the general of the Western Front, Ismet Pasha, following the victory against Greek forces in 1921: "You defeated there, not only the enemy but also the misfortune of the nation."²⁹⁸ It was a turning point for the nation of a long-run defeated and disintegrated empire. Undoubtedly, the turning of fortune is the birth of an independent Turkish nation-state. Thus, it shows agency, temporalization, and collectivity.

The nationalist narrative offers this turning of a nation's misfortune as the leitmotif for modern history. In this narrative, the 19th century differs in applying Western-inspired reforms from the earlier centuries. Following Tanzimat, Ottomanism became the official ideology as a precaution for preventing disintegration and decline against the nationalist movements of the Christian subjects and domination of European superpowers. Ottomanism brings equality before the law, citizenship rights, and participatory institutions, including the parliament and constitution of 1876, by suggesting a new perspective on political regime, social order, and welfare. However, Ottomanism failed. It did not only fail in preventing the separatist movements but also triggered reactions against westernization from the Muslim-traditionalists.

Failure is followed by the appearance of pan-Islamism by Sultan Abdulhamid II to keep the Muslim nation together. He enlarged networks with Sufi orders and intensified links with the Muslim subjects against westernization and decadence. However, Islamism also failed. Alongside the *treason* of Arabs as Muslims to the Ottoman caliph, the despotic regime led to the emergence of new forms of politics and networking.

The Revolution of 1908 is celebrated with the mottos of liberty (*hürriyet*), equality (*müsavat*), fraternity (*uhuvvet*), and justice (*adalet*). The new era witnessed the crystallization of Turkism as the ideology to avert shattering an empire and empower the core of the nation.

²⁹⁸ Sina Aksin, *Turkey, from Empire to Revolutionary Republic: The Emergence of the Turkish Nation from 1789 to Present*, (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 166

Eventually, the Great War ended with the occupation of the empire. Turkism turned into Turkish nationalism within the nation-state.

Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism are not independent historical movements and experiences. They exist because they need to be failed. Ottomanism appears as a sincere but naïve effort vis-a-vis the nationalism and separatism of the Christian millets. Islamism collapsed because of the *treason* of the Arabs, which served to ease the transformation from Muslim millet to Turkish-Muslim millet. Besides, it is linked with liberty and progress vis-à-vis despotism and backwardness. The failure of Turkism is partial; one side comes from defending the core of the nation vis-à-vis pan-Turkism; the other side emphasizes anti-imperialism. These failures are not only about distinguishing the ruling regime but also contain the configuration of the nation. This temporalization and narrative construct moral superiority, thicken the boundaries of collectivity and erase responsibility.

In this thesis, I aimed to challenge macro-historical narratives of modernization, nationalism, and heteronormativity by looking into an egodocument. It is attempted to investigate a nation without following national historiography or dealing with nationalist agencies. Undoubtedly, a single self-narrative is not representative of the general society. On the other hand, Ibrahim Halil Efendi's narrative contains tropes of Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism without their manifest names or agencies. By following his narrative, this thesis read the voices of the past against the 19th-century Ottoman historical background. His testimonies about Sufi orders and life in the lodges, sociality and politics in bureaucracy, and the gender and sexuality regime of the 19th century Ottoman Empire are evaluated as the key to tackling identity, relationality, and imagination.

The limits of this thesis are the limits of a self-narrative as a historical source. Besides, this is a *his-tory* because it focuses on a male gaze, discourse, and experience. Rather than assuming histories as the overall representative population, it is necessary to emphasize the

form of agency. Furthermore, this approach is not merely a literary game; it highlights reimagining past lives as experiences rather than categories or labels. Recent scholarly production in gender studies methodologically and theoretically enlarged the tools to tackle the problems of sources and historiography. Increasing production in the fields of women's studies engenders a rethinking of masculinity and the operation of patriarchy. Indeed, an updated approach and relational framework in masculinity studies are needed.

In the first chapter, I focused on significant shifts in 19th-century Ottoman history and their reflections on Ibrahim Efendi's life story. Ottoman New Order originated from the reform in military and finance by aiming to improve combat force, taxation, and production, and tame individuals by bonding as an affective community. Sufi orders and enlarging civilian-military bureaucracy constructed the social medium for socialization, knowledge-production, and mobilization. Ibrahim's self-narrative gives extensive details on the dervish-efendi community's material, social, and affection dimensions. I argued that this dervish-efendi community constructed the political community as the nation.

The second chapter investigates the war and violence as the driving force and leitmotif of the second half of the 19th century. Following Ibrahim's testimonies from eastern Anatolia to Damascus and Edirne, I argued that war and violence paved the way for fundamental shifts regarding insiders and outsiders of the nation. Besides, the dervish-efendi community developed forms of opposition against the public authorities and sociopolitical rivals by remarking Islamic and Sufi literature and praxis. Ibrahim Efendi's self-narrative demonstrates that throughout the end of the 19th century, the modern technologies of governance and communication effectively affect imagination, memory, and collectivity.

The last chapter dealt with the politics of love in the egodocument of Ibrahim Halil. I argued that male-male desire as configured within Sufi love provides recognition to mystical queerness. Ibrahim's self-narrative shows that from childhood to old age, male-male desire is

tamed by various forces with a diverse set of discourses. Respectability is the primary agency in constructing a gender and sexuality regime at the hands of Sufism, modern bureaucracy, and nationalism. Moreover, reproductive heterosexuality accompanies respectability in producing the gender and sexuality regime.

The most appealing part of following a life story is the opportunity to encounter a historical experience rather than a category. Life-story is ambiguous, fluid, and arbitrary. Aşçı Dede İbrahim Halil Efendi was one of the late Ottomans. Although his auto/biography memoir is voluminous and tells a lot about him, not everything is manifest to his readers. Besides, it is not clear when he died. The location of his grave, as Koçu indicates, is also unknown. There is no photo or drawing of him. His official records as an official, and his written works, primarily his memoir, are what is left of him today.

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