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HUSAYN GHAZI AND HIS LODGE IN HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

(Tarihsel çerçevede Hüseyin Gazi ve tekkesi)

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ABSTRACT

Anatolia had begun to become an absolute homeland for the Turks from the Seljuk period onwards. In this process of ‘homelandization’, the *abdals*/dervishes, one of the mobilizing elements of Anatolian-Turkish society at the time, had a major role. In general, these groups organized themselves around the grave or spiritual legacy of a ‘great dignitary’ in the places they had settled, and established an institution. Thus, they played a role in keeping the community together and instilling ideals in it. Husayn Ghazi and His Lodge can be given as an example of this historical fact. As can be seen in the precedents of the period, the problem of ‘existence’ issue of Husayn Ghazi and the issues of ‘belonging’ and ‘property’ of the lodge in Ankara, which was shaped around the identity of Husayn Ghazi, are open to scrutiny. In addition, the issue of the revival of the lodge is also worth examining. This study sheds light on these issues regarding the personality of Husayn Ghazi and His Lodge with a holistic view in line with the data provided by the records of the period and the existing literature.

Keywords: Bektashi, dervish, Husayn Ghazi, Qalandari, lodge

ÖZ

Anadolu Türkler için Selçuklular döneminden itibaren mutlak bir yurt hâline gelmeye başlamıştır. Bu ‘yurtlaşma’ sürecinde, o zamanki Anadolu-Türk toplumunun harekete geçirici unsurlarından biri olan *abdalların*/dervişlerin rolü büyüktür. Bu zümreler, genel olarak, iskân ettikleri yerlerdeki bir ‘ulu zat’ın kabri veya manevi mirası etrafında teşkilatlanıp bir müessese tesis etmişlerdir. Böylece, toplumu bir arada tutucu ve ona ülkü aşılavıcı bir rol oynamışlardır. Hüseyin Gazi ve Tekkesi de bu tarihsel olguya bir örnek olarak verilebilir. Dönemindeki emsallerinde de görülebileceği üzere, Hüseyin Gazi’nin kimliğine ilişkin bir ‘mevcudiyet’ ve bu kimlik etrafında şekillenen Ankara’daki tekkenin de ‘aidiyet’ ve ‘mülkiyet’ mevzuları incelemeye açık bulunmaktadır. Bununla beraber tekkenin yeniden ihya olunması konusu da incelemeye değerdir. Bu çalışma, döneme ait

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kayıtların ve mevcut literatürün sunduğu veriler doğrultusunda, Hüseyin Gazi'nin şahsiyetine ve tekkesine ilişkin bu konulara, bütüncül bir bakışla, ışık tutmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bektaşilik, derviş, Hüseyin Gazi, Kalenderî, tekke

THE SOURCES

On a high hill 10 km northeast of Ankara, there is an old Bektashi lodge, known by the name of Husayn Ghazi, who is buried in the lodge compound. We can only learn about this great dignitary from the *Battalnames*. According to Yagmur Say, experts on this subject agree that *Battalnames* were composed in the 11.-15th centuries (Say, 2009).

Despite the scarcity of sources on the personality of Husayn Ghazi, there are many sources on his lodge. The most important of these is the inscription of the lodge. This inscription was found in three pieces and read by researcher-writer Abdulkerim Erdogan. According to this inscription, a repair was made here by Mehmed II in 1459 (2004).²

The *Vilayetname* (thought to had been written in 16th c.) and Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali's *Kunhu'l-abbar*, written between 1592 and 1598, can be mentioned as periodical sources that enable us to make predictions about the establishment and historical transformation of the Husayn Ghazi Lodge. *Vilayetname* describes the arrival of the Bektashi in Anatolia and how the tomb of Battal Ghazi, the son of Husayn Ghazi, was discovered. From *Kunhu'l-abbar*, it is also possible to find clues about how the Qalandari dominance, which was widespread in Anatolian dervish lodges at the time, was weakening.³

² Today, one of three pieces of the inscription has been lost. In addition to the inscription, the official website of the Mamak Kaymakamligi (District Governorship) states that the earliest record of the lodge is dated 1378, but no information is given about the nature of this record in the website (T.C. Mamak Kaymakamligi, Retrieved April 4, 2022).

³ At that time, we can follow the traces of the negative attitude towards the Qalandaris, also known as the ışıklı and the revafiz, from the following sentences of Gelibolulu in his book: "Lâkin ol târihde ba'zı 'ulemâ ve ışıklara bi't-tab' buğz üzere olan Vezîr Rüstem Paşa ma'rûz-ı pâdişâh-ı kiş-ver-güşâ kılup ol Revâfîz'ı andan ihrâc itdürdi" ("However, Vizier Rustem Pasha, who naturally harbored a grudge against some scholars and ışıklı at that time, obtained the consent of the conqueror padishah of the countries, and prosecuted the revafiz from there") (Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, 1598/2020, p. 459). This negative attitude also makes the transition of the administration of the Husayn Ghazi Lodge from the Qalandaris to the Bektashis meaningful.

In Katip Celebi's *Kitab-i Cihannuma* and Evliya Celebi's *Seyahatname*, the Husayn Ghazi Lodge is directly mentioned. These two works were written in approximately the same period (the last half of the 17th c.). Katip Celebi mentions the lodge in a few lines in his book. Evliya Celebi, on the other hand, describes his trip here and what he saw in detail. Evliya's account is very important as it is the most detailed first-hand account.

The most concrete information on the Husayn Ghazi Lodge can be found in the *ser'iyye sicilleri* (sharia registries) and *tahrir defterleri* (cadastral record books). The cadastral record book dated 937 H/1530 CE is the oldest written text of this lodge (Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri, 937/1530, 438/378). Thanks to the sharia registries, the 17th century history of the lodge can be easily analyzed.⁴

In addition to the cadastral record books and sharia registries, some specific documents in the State Archives and the Foundation Records Archive shed light on the history of the lodge. For example, the *Cevdet Evkaf* record in the State Archives contains information about the foundation lands and the question of who will be sheikh of the lodge. In the same archive, there is a document on the repair of the lodge in the records of the *Meclis-i Vala Evraki* (The Documents of The Supreme Council). It is also seen that this place was registered as a foundation with a *şahsiyet kaydı* (personality record) dated 1897 in the Foundation Records Archives.⁵

In the issue of the *Ankara Vilayet Salnamesi* (Ankara Province Almanac) dated 1300 H/1882/3 CE, under the title "Bālā każāsı" (Bala District), Husayn Ghazi and his mausoleum are briefly mentioned as follows: "Husayn Ghazi, the first conqueror of this region, lies in the grave of martyrdom on the land of Bala district and on top of a high mountain" (Ankara Vilayeti Salnamesi, 1300/1882-3, p.181).⁶ Due to its distance from the center and the political situation of the period, it is understood

⁴ In these records, there is detailed information about who took place during the management crisis in the lodge during that century. In our study, inferences made from the interlinears of these documents were used. The management crisis observed in the records is of such a nature that it can be a research topic in its own right; so, it will not be considered here.

⁵ This document was accessed by using the digital archive of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü. This digital archive can only be accessed from computers at the VGM, the date of access to this archive is December 12, 2022.

⁶ "Bu havâliniñ birinci fâtihî Hüseyin Ğazî Bālā każāsı toprağında ve mürtefi' bir dağda günüde-i merkad-i şehâdettir." (The original text)

that the lodge was far from its former fame during this period. For this reason, Husayn Ghazi and his tomb are not even mentioned in most of the salnames (almanacs).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, European historian/archaeologists began to examine religious sites in Anatolia. In George Perrot, Edmond Guillaume and Jules Delbet's joint work *Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie, d'une Partie de la Mysie, de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont*, published in 1872, the Husayn Ghazi Lodge is mentioned. In this work, the mountainous location of the lodge and who were in charge of it are mentioned. Later, F. W. Hasluck utilized the works of these French archaeologists (only Guillaume was an architect, not an archaeologist) and described the situation of the Husayn Ghazi Lodge in his own time.

Closer to the present day, Husayn Ghazi and His Lodge were first mentioned in Hikmet Tanyu's work titled *Ankara ve Cevresinde Adak ve Adak Yerleri*. In this work, the beliefs among the people about Husayn Ghazi were gathered together and detailed information was given about the physical condition of the lodge. Ahmet Yasar Ocak also mentions the legendary narrative about Husayn Ghazi in his work titled *Türk Folklorunda Keskik Baş*, and in his work titled *Kalenderiler*, he explains the emergence of mystics in Anatolia in detail and draws a general portrait of the period. Abdülkerim Erdoğan, who has done important researches on the local history of Ankara, has compiled and collected historical information about Husayn Ghazi and His Lodge in his works titled *Unutulmuş Şehir Ankara* (2004) and *Manevi Mimarlarıyla Ankara* (2008). Fahri Maden's 2010 doctoral dissertation also contains information about the Husayn Ghazi Lodge.⁷ Ahmet Koc's article titled *İdari ve Mali Acılardan XVII. Yüzyılda Seyyid Hüseyin Gazî Tekkesi*, published in 2014, is a prominent study conducted via using archival documents about the Husayn Ghazi Lodge and sheds light on the administrative status of the lodge in the 17th century.⁸ Cigdem Akyuz's article published in 2017 also examines the myths surrounding the lodge, using oral sources.

⁷ In this study, Maden lists the Bektashi lodges in the Ottoman Empire in the light of the sources of the period. According to the listing made in this work, the Husayn Ghazi Lodge in Ankara seems to have been opened after 1826, but there is no information in the book about when it was closed.

⁸ All cadastral book and sharia records used in this study were obtained thanks to Ahmet Koc's valuable work. Most of these records have partial or complete translations in the aforementioned work.

In addition to the materials mentioned above and used in this study, in order to obtain information about the current status of the lodge, an interview was conducted with Huseyin Oz, an Alevi-Bektashi dede (grandfather) who is one of the founding members of the Huseyin Gazi Association, which manages the lodge. The tangible historical remains of the lodge (inscription, lodge furniture, rooms, grave site) were observed in situ.

ISSUES

Although Anatolia exhibited a generally Orthodox Christian outlook during the Eastern Roman period, it would be misleading to consider this outlook as absolutely homogenous. Border relations with the Persians and Arabs must have paved the way for the formation of a more complex social structure in Byzantium's eastern extremities. After the Byzantine-Arab conflict that lasted from the 7th to 11th AD century, the region became the cradle of the Turkish-Byzantine conflict, and there were both military and demographic Muslim Turkish flows from central Turkestan into Anatolia. The relative Islamization of Anatolia was also a result of these flows. In this context, *abdalan*, *bacıyan*, *ahıyan* and *gaziyan* (dervishes, sisters, ahıs and ghazıs) played a vital role, as Asik Pasazade states (Asik Pasazade, 1485²/2003, p. 298).

In these mass influxes, the *abdalan* community must have been composed of Qalandari dervishes, since, as stated by Ahmet Yasar Ocak, it is thought that these dervishes came to Anatolia via Syria and Azerbaijan in the first quarter of the thirteenth century (Ocak, 1992a, p. 61-62). Considering that these historical periods coincided with events that shook Anatolia deeply, such as the Mongol Invasion and the Crusades, it is natural that some problematic issues arose in the context of mystics/lodge notions in Anatolia, which was inhabited by the aforementioned mass flows and whose socio-cultural structure was thus differentiated.

Taking this historical background into account, an assessment can be made that there are three main issues regarding Husayn Ghazi and His Lodge, the complexity of which has been exacerbated by the factor of time and distance. These issues can be listed as existence, belonging and property.

1. The Question of Existence

The formation of the lodge took place around the tomb of Husayn Ghazi, and thanks to the sanctity attributed to this tomb, the lodge has existed for centuries, preserving its important position in history. Even though the structures in the lodge were worn out, the tomb here have not disappeared and this tomb turned this place into a point of attraction in the eye of the people. The personality of Husayn Ghazi and the impact of this personality on Turkish society since the establishment of the lodge is worth emphasizing.

The personality of Husayn Ghazi should be analyzed from two perspectives: legendary and historical. It can be stated that historical information about him is almost non-existent and that the legendary information is also limited. Information about Husayn Ghazi's life is generally found in works such as *Battalname* and *Danismendname*, which describe the Byzantine-Islamic wars in Anatolia. His life story is generally told around Battal Ghazi. According to Abdulkerim Erdogan, Husayn Ghazi was an Umayyad soldier under the command of Maslama ibn Abd al- Malik and was martyred while fighting the Byzantine army near Ankara (Erdogan, 2008). Hikmet Tanyu (1967), while explaining his observation in the lodge region, mentions him as "Whatever the rumors about Husayn Ghazi, the conclusion of these rumors is that he was a martyr of Islam and conquest" (p.90).

In addition, it is worth noting that the 'severed head' motif, which is encountered in many parts of Anatolia⁹, is also found in the martyrdom narrative of Husayn Ghazi. Ahmet Yasar Ocak (1989) explains this narrative as follows:

According to legend, during the siege the enemies beheaded Husayn Ghazi. But he carried his head in his arm and went east, an hour and a half on foot, to the hill where his mausoleum stands today, and only there did he surrender his soul (p. 19).

Although there is a consensus on the fact that Husayn Ghazi was a soldier, there is no common opinion on which of the Umayyad and Abbasid states he belonged to. This dichotomy, which is encountered in the name of Husayn Ghazi, who is

⁹ For example, the severed head motif is also seen in the legends of Seydi Sultan and Muşlu Ali, who are considered to have played a vital role in the Islamization of Anatolia. According to the narratives, Seydi Sultan in Erzincan, Muslu Ali in Yozgat had fought against Byzantine and while fighting they were martyred. These examples can be multiplied further (Ocak, 1989, p.20).

introduced as Battal Ghazi's father in most mythical sources, is also present in the personality of Battal Ghazi. Some sources portray him as also an Umayyad soldier, while others portray him as an Abbasid soldier. In fact, both are possible. However, according to Ocağ (1992b) when the Byzantine and Syriac sources of the period are taken into consideration, the possibility that he was an Umayyad commander/soldier seems closer to the truth.

Although it is not known when the Husayn Ghazi Tomb was built and when a dervish lodge was established around it, it is likely that Turkish dervish groups established a lodge here when they settled Anatolia in the 13th century. This means that there is time difference of at least four hundred years between the dates when Husayn Ghazi may have lived and the probable establishment of the lodge. Despite this difference and the fact that Ghazi was probably an Arab, it is plausible that he was adopted by the Turkish ghazi-dervish masses because his jihad against Christian Byzantium was enough to make him a role model and spiritual leader for the Turkish ghazis- dervishes.

As is evident from Asik Pasa's *Garibname* written in 1310, being *alp-ghazi* was a very high rank for the Turks who were coming to Anatolia in droves during this period (Inalcik, 2000). It is understandable that these masses, who presumably did not like to live religion in a purely scriptural form and combined their warrior characteristics with their religious sincerity, absorbed the personality of Husayn Ghazi, regarded him as a saint, and almost enshrined him in Turkish culture. Considering the conditions of the period, the legendary narrative alone, rather than historical reality, is sufficient for such a personality to become a 'flag'.

2. The Question of Belonging

In the Ottoman Empire, it is possible to trace the existence of the lodge shaped around Husayn Ghazi's tomb¹⁰ back to the 15th century. In addition, the existence of a lodge in this region must go back much further. Following the 11th century Seljuk raids, it is known that there was a second mass migration from Turkestan to Anatolia in the 13th century. With this second mass migration, Turkish dervishes literally began to settle in Anatolia. It is possible to see an

¹⁰ The tomb and lodge mentioned in this work are located in the Mamak district of Ankara today, but it is known that Husayn Ghazi has tombs in different provinces of Anatolia, such as Alaça/Çorum, Divriği/Sivas, Körs/Kütahya, Zile/Tokat. (Akyuz, 2017, p. 153).

example of making Anatolia *şen*¹¹ by these dervish groups in a work known as *Vilayetname*, which is thought to have been written sometime between 1481-1501. According to this work, Haji Bektash Veli, together with his friends, came to Anatolia from Khorasan after getting permission from Hodja Ahmad Yasawi and guided people here with his words and actions.

There is an important point mentioned in the *Vilayetname* in relation to our subject, which is that the location of the Battal Ghazi Tomb, which is located in Eskisehir today, was discovered in a dream by Ummuhan Hatun, the mother of the Seljuk sultan Kayqubad I (Golpinarli, 1958). Following this dream, a mosque and madrasah were built here and a complex was formed. In the inscription of the mosque, the date of construction is mentioned as 604 H/1207/8 CE. This complex was repaired from time to time and became a Bektashi complex after Suleiman the Magnificent (Denkhalbant, 2009).

Based on the legendary narrative, it is likely that the tomb of Husayn Ghazi, who we can refer to as Battal Ghazi's father, was discovered close time to the construction of Battal Ghazi's tomb, and this possibility does not contradict the known historical flow of the tomb in the following centuries. Therefore, the Husayn Ghazi Lodge must have been formed mainly by the gathering of Turkish dervishes around the tomb since the 13th century. These dervishes were Qalandari dervishes, as it was mentioned above that Qalandaris came to Anatolia via Syria and Azerbaijan in the early 1200s.

Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, reports that the Battal Ghazi Tomb and Lodge was administered by ıřıklı taifesi (the illumined group) until the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, which must also apply to the Husayn Ghazi Lodge (Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, 1598/2020, p. 459).¹² By the ıřıklı taifesi, he means the Qalandari dervishes. Gelibolulu is also supported by official Ottoman records. For example, in the sharia registry record dated March 24, 1613, Seyit Pir Veli, the dismissed

¹¹ The expression 'making *şen*' (it pronounced in English as shan) must be derived from the Armenian word *şen* (pronunciation, shan). In Turkish, *şen* means developed, built-up, inhabited in addition to cheerful (Kubbealti Akademisi Kultur ve Sanat Vakfi, Retrieved December 14, 2022). *Şenlendirme* is a term used in Ottoman records to refer making people settled at uninhabited areas.

¹² When the Husayn Ghazi's Tomb and Lodge were examined, the narrative related to the Battal Ghazi's Tomb and Compound matters because the locations of them are too close to each other and according to the legends, they were related by blood. Therefore, this study often refers to the Battal Gazi's Tomb and himself.

sheikh of the lodge, wrote a letter to Istanbul stating “...muḳaddemā ışıklu mutaşarrıf iken ihrâc olunub ...” [“...whilom the master is ışıklu, (now) they are dismissed...”] (Ankara Ser’iyye Sicilleri, n.d., 14/700:748 & 971). When rebellions such as Shahkulu, Bozoklu Djelal and Shah Qalandar are considered, one can understand the reason for the Ottoman administration’s cautious stance towards the Qalandari people called the ışıklu/illuminated. Throughout the 17th century, it is seen that this group, which had bad relations with the central authority, melted among the Bektashis in the historical process and the administration of the Husayn Ghazi Lodge, as in other examples of lodges, was transferred from Qalandaris to Bektashis (Koç, 2014, pp. 22-24). This handover should not create the impression that there was a serious religious difference or enmity between the Qalandaris and Bektashis. It is likely that Qalandari dervishes were still regulars of the lodges, even if the names in the management of the lodges had changed.

The name of Evliya and Katip Celebi can be mentioned as direct witnesses to the new Bektasahi administration in the Husayn Ghazi Lodge, the focus of this study. In his *Cihannuma*, Katip Celebi (1657/2008) states that “Engürü üzere müşerref bir yerde Hüseyin Gazi tekyesi vardır.” (There is the Husayn Ghazi Lodge in an honorable place in Ankara.) (p.633). Evliya Celebi gives more detailed information in his *Seyahatname* and mentions his visit to this lodge. He states that he went to the lodge, sacrificed, gave alms, saw yalınayak başı kabak ârif-i billah dervişler (barefoot, bald head, saint dervishes), and refers to it as bir ulu Bektaşî tekyesi (a great Bektashi lodge) (Evliya Celebi, 1681/1999, p. 208). At the same time, he describes it as an area that was home to more than a hundred dervishes and where forty to fifty thousand people could gather at the same time. These statements show how big a role the lodge played in the society of 17th century Ankara.

It is also possible to infer the social role attributed to lodges from archival records. For example, in the sharia registries of the same period (17th century), a dismissal incident in the Husayn Ghazi Lodge is mentioned and while describing the lodge, there is an expression dervişân fukarasının ve ayende vü revendenin it’am-ı taamı için (to feed the poor dervishes and passers-by) (Ankara Ser’iyye Sicili, 25/711:893- 118 & 1121). As is evident from this, the Husayn Ghazi Lodge, like other lodges/zawiyah, also had the function of being a social institution in

which passers- by found safety. This function of the lodge naturally raises the question of its material resources. According to the information obtained from the cadastral registries, the lodge had an income of 11,639 akche in 1530. These revenues were obtained from the villages Cemşid (Djamshid) and Bitik, which are understood from other records to be part of Murtazābād district. In other words, the income of two villages was allocated for the lodge (Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri, 937/1530, 438/378). After this date, according to Ahmet Koc's study, it is seen that donations were accepted from some people for the lodge, and it is even known that the children of the people who made these donations took part in the discussions about who would take over the management (Koc, 2014, p. 26).

According to these historical data, it can be said that the Husayn Ghazi Lodge was under the uninterrupted rule of the Qalandaris from the 13th century until the end of the 16th century. Although this inference can be made, there is no data on the activities of the lodge during this 300-year period and its effectiveness in the community. We do not even have information about the belonging status of the lodge before the 13th century. Although it is undecided which mystic/religious group considered this place as its own, it is highly probable that there has been a grave here since the 7th or 9th century. However, the existence of a formation around the grave must have occurred after the gradual settlement of Turkish dervish groups in Anatolia after the 11th century.

According to the information obtained from the Bektashi environments close to this lodge, Bektashis had managed the Husayn Ghazi Lodge until 1826, after taking over the administration from the Qalandaris. However, it may be wrong to consider this period, which corresponds to almost three centuries, as a purely Bektashi period. Because, according to Abdülkerim Erdogan, Bayramis were also involved with this lodge for centuries and were took part in its administration (Erdogan, 2008). This is evidenced by the document dated 1210 H/1796 CE, which shows that the right of meşihat (i.e. the right to act as sheikh) was entrusted to *Hacı Bayram evladından Abdülhamid ve Mehmed Reşid babalar* (from the sons of Haji Bayram, Abdulhamid and Resid) (Cevdet Evkaf, 1210/1796, 283/14408).

After the closure of the guild of Janissary in 1826, it is likely that the Husayn Ghazi Lodge was also closed down.¹³ The tangible heritage of the lodge (documents, belongings, structures, etc.) must have been damaged after this period. In 1853, an archival document stating that the lodge underwent repair indicates that the lodge was severely damaged (Sadaret Mektubi Kalemi Meclis-i Vala Evraki, 1273/1857, 88/47). However, it can be assumed that the Bektashi influence in the administration of the lodge disappeared during this period, and Bayramis must have been more active in the following periods. For example, in an archival document from the reign of Abdulhamid II, it is understood that Bayramis had the absolute right to manage the lodge (Babiali Evrak Odasi Evraki, 1309/1892, 18/1322).

In addition to the archival documents, the 1861 work of French researchers indicates that the Husayn Ghazi Lodge was administered under the Haji Bayram Mosque (Perrot et al., 1872, p. 283). F. W. Hasluck (1929), citing the work of these researchers as a source, echoes this information, states that “only the tomb remains here and is patronized by the Bayramis” (p. 504). It is these researchers who provide the last concrete data on the lodge’s pre-1930s past.¹⁴

According to the information obtained from Dede Huseyin Oz, in the period immediately preceding the activities to revive the lodge, that is before 1997, a person named Osman, who was thought to be a Qadiri, was managing the lodge on his own. However, a positive administration should not come to mind from this administration. Because, according to Dede Huseyin Oz, it is thought that

¹³ Although this information is written on the entrance sign of the lodge today, it is understood that this is only a “guess” because there is no document that the lodge was closed with this date. The reason why the Bektashis, who currently manage the lodge, believe so, must be the repair in 1857. However, the archive document describing the repair in 1857 does not contain information about why the lodge was damaged. It only mentions repair costs.

¹⁴ To make it clear, it is observed that until the ends of the 18th c., the Bektashis were dominant in the lodge. However, from that time it is seen that the Bayramis were also in the lodge and could reach to the sheikh position [It should not be forgotten that even though the Bayramis had reached to the sheikh position, the Bektashis existence (or dominance) might maintain, so it should not be evaluated as a contradiction]. In the lodge, which is thought to have been closed (or simply worn out) at the beginning of the 19th century, the Bayramis must have dominated until the beginning of the 20th century. Because, the foreign sources mentioned here only refer to the Bayramis. However, it should be noted that there was a Bektashi father in the lodge in 1910, see p.14.

this person exploited the feelings of the people by taking advantage of the neglect of the lodge.

According to all these data, it is difficult to attribute the historical belonging of the lodge to a specific religious group, but it is certain that this region must have been used and even established by colonizer Turkish dervishes since the 13th century at the earliest. Considering that the sects/sufi orientations at that time were not as segregated as they are today, and that these sects and sufi movements were still intertwined, the idea that the historical belonging of the lodge can be attributed to all the people of the heart gathered under the umbrella of the Turkish Islam¹⁵ is the most reasonable one.

3. The Question Of Property

First of all, it is worth mentioning the general historical course of the construction around the Husayn Ghazi's tomb. It is understood that there was a tomb here in the 8th century at the latest. It is likely that Turkish dervishes gathered around this grave until the 13th century. It has already been mentioned that the first historical information about the lodge is its inscription (see p. 1). It is understood from this inscription that this lodge was restored in 1459. Therefore, until this date, the Turkish dervish groups had been able to establish a lodge in here. The cadastral record of 1530 also indicates that this place was a foundation. Therefore, what was at first only a mausoleum place became certainly a 'lodge' compound from the 15th century onwards. However, as mentioned earlier, we know that a complex was built around Sayyid Battal Ghazi's tomb and that there was an influx of Turkish dervishes to Anatolia in the 13th c., so the physical presence of the lodge must date to an earlier period.

When making evaluations about the Husayn Ghazi Lodge, it should not be forgotten that it is a foundation property. In the digital archive where the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü stores the information of registered foundations, it is seen that this place was registered as a foundation based on the şahsiyet kaydı (personality record) document dated February 6, 1897. According to this record,

¹⁵ The concept of Turkish Islam is a relatively new concept in the literature and its nature can be evaluated from different angles by researchers. In this study, this concept refers to the symbiotic relationship between the influence of Islam on the Turks when they became Muslim and the way they practiced Islam, and the spiritual framework created by this relationship.

this lodge is a mazbut foundation in terms of its administration and a hayri foundation in terms of its nature. In other words, the right of tevliyet belongs to the person specified in the waqfiyyah/deed of trust and its management is under the authority of the Evkaf-i Humayun Nezareti.¹⁶ Since this is a waqf/foundation property, it is useful to mention what the concept of waqf means in Islamic societies. The institution of waqf, which was fully established in the Islamic world in the 2nd c. H (8th-9th c. AD), can be briefly defined as “the eternal allocation of a property by its owner to a religious, social and charitable purpose” (Kubbealti Akademisi Kultur ve Sanat Vakfi, Retrieved December 14, 2022). According to the classical legal system in Islamic-Turkish states, as stated by Fuat Koprulu, waqfs, which were managed by individuals such as *nazır* and *mütevelli*, were supervised by *kadıs* and, if necessary, the *nazır* and *mütevelli* could be replaced by the state authority. Waqfs were not also obliged to obtain written approval or permission from the official authority during the establishment phase (Koprulu, 1987, pp.364, 374).

For foundations that did not have an official founding document, the only legal point of reference in the event of a possible state intervention was the information transmitted by word of mouth.¹⁷ This must have made it easier for outside intervention in foundations, as oral transmission was prone to the risk of being subject to change over time.

It is known that the Husayn Ghazi Lodge has had a significant foundation income since the 16th century. It has been mentioned above that in addition to these foundation revenues, external donations could also be received. It is learned from the record that the settlement revenues endowed to the lodge were still in operation in the 19th century (Cevdet Evkaf, 1218/1804, 436/22055). According to Ahmet Koch’s work which examines the history of the lodge through the sharia registries, the lodge seems to have had a waqfiyyah, but since we do not have a

¹⁶ In terms of their nature, waqfs are divided into two categories: hayri and zürri; and in terms of their managements, they are divided into three categories: mabut, mühlak, cemmat ve esnafa mahsus (T.C. Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Retrieved December 12, 2022).

¹⁷ Waqfs are managed according to the waqfiyyahs that contain instructions about the foundation. Therefore, if there is a foundation, it should also be a waqfiyyah. However, it is understood that some waqfs were established in the early periods without a written waqfiyyah (Ozgudenli, 2012, Retrieved January 12, 2023). This may be also the case in the Husayn Ghazi Lodge, but there is not sufficient information about this issue.

written version of this waqfiyyah (perhaps there never was a written waqfiyyah), it is not known who was the first owner/s (Koc, 2014, p.20). This lack of written text makes it unclear on what terms the lands were endowed and what the owner/s had predetermined about the management of the foundation. This uncertainty probably played a major role in the change of hands in the management of the lodge, i.e. the state authority making appointment as it pleased.

4. The Revival

It is possible to draw some conclusions about the condition of the Husayn Ghazi Lodge in the early 20th century in line with the available data. According to the statements of Fahri Maden, when this lodge was reopened, that is, in the second half of the 19th c., it started to develop again, and even reached a situation to host nearly a hundred dervishes. In addition, Mihmandar Ali Baba was the postnişin (a term used like ‘sheikh’) of the lodge in the 1910 (Maden, 2010). After the 1925 closure of the lodges, as stated by Cigdem Akyuz, it is likely that the tangible cultural heritage here was moved to the Ankara Ethnography Museum (Akyuz, 2017). The current dede of the lodge confirms this information and states that it must have been after this period that the lodge was left unattended.

Hikmet Tanyu had come here and made investigations and recorded the abandonment of the lodge by photographing it. It is seen in these photographs that in the 1950s this place resembled a ruin rather than a lodge. So much so that even Husayn Ghazi’s grave is in ruins and open (Tanyu, 1967). As mentioned in the interview with Huseyin Oz, it is believed that the first attempt to repair the lodge was probably made in 1973 by Kalabalı Mehmet, who is said to have come here thanks to a dream he saw, and voluntarily carried out the repairs (“Huseyin Oz ile Soylesi”, n.d.). In addition, Abdulkirim Erdogan states that the road to the mausoleum was built in 1982 under the leadership of General Zeki Tanriverdi and that a person named Mecit Kaya voluntarily undertook the repair of the mausoleum in those years (Erdogan, 2004). We also learn from Huseyin Oz, who is currently dede in the tomb, that a wall was built around the lodge by Namik Kemal Zeybek, who was the minister of culture in the 1990s.

After all these individual attempts at repair, according to the article which was published in the official magazine of the lodge, “Huseyin Gazi Association” was founded in 1997 with the effort of Gulag Oz and Ali Yildirim, and since then the

maintenance of the approximately 10,000 square meter lodge/tomb compound has been undertaken by this organization (“Huseyin Gazi Derneği”, n.d.). Most recently, as stated Busra Bayrak, in the summer of 2022, the Mamak Municipality carried out a comprehensive repair and maintenance operation (Bayrak, 2022).

EVALUATION

The four groups identified by Asik Pasazade played a vital role in the migration of Turks from Turkestan to Anatolia and making Anatolia Turkish homeland, and enabled the survival of Turkish identity in here in the difficult times of 13th century. One of these four groups, the *abdals*, in other words the dervishes, adopted the spiritual heritage of the Islamic ghazis who fought against Christian Byzantium in this geography before them and came together around this spiritual heritage. These gatherings, as seen in the example of Husayn Ghazi, became institutionalized and led to the emergence of lodges.

The Bektashi lodge in Ankara, the subject of this study, has found a place in history around the personality of Husayn Ghazi, who is believed to be the father of Battal Ghazi. According to the dominant narrative, Husayn Ghazi was a Muslim Arab commander who fought against Byzantium before the Turkish conquest of Anatolia. Although there is no other historical source of information about Husayn Ghazi other than the *menkıbes* (legends), it can be stated that a spiritual atmosphere was formed around his name and that Turkish *abdals* gathered together within the boundaries of this spiritual atmosphere.

Two factors come to the forefront in the sprouting and rooting of Turkish-Islamic lodges, which are seen to have started to form in Anatolia since the 13th century. The first of them is the need for people who share the same culture and faith - that is, the Turkoman masses who had just become Muslims- to come together and gather in a foreign geography, which became a vital necessity due to Mongol and Byzantine oppression. The second factor is the prevalence of a fully institutionalized foundation/waqf tradition in Islamic societies at the end of the 2nd c. H (8th-9th c. AD). Thanks to this foundation tradition, dervish lodges were able to survive financially. According to the records, the Husayn Ghazi Lodge also had a significant income and continued its existence for years thanks to this income.

Due to the lack of written documents/waqfiyyahs of the early lodges, which were the cores of the Muslim Turkish presence in Anatolia, the people who firstly allocated space and income to these lodges and enabled their establishment are unknown. In addition to the question of who the first property owners were, it should not also make a definite approach about the question that the belonging of these spiritual centers referred to which sufi community. It may be misleading to make an absolute, bordered classification among the masses who clustered among the people of the hearts who grew up within the 13th century Anatolian-Turkish society that had common spiritual enthusiasm and desire even if it was composed of different social groups. More accurate interpretations can be made when the issue of the belonging of dervish lodges is considered from this point of view. The Husayn Ghazi Lodge, whose administration was seen to have changed hands between Qalandaris, Bektashis and Bayramis in the historical process, should also be evaluated from this point of view.

The formation of the Husayn Ghazi Lodge must be related to the dervishes who settled or traveled in these regions after (or soon to) the discovery of the Sayyid Battal Ghazi's Tomb mentioned in *Vilayetname*. The discovery of Battal's tomb is explained by a dream in the legend. The reconstruction of the tomb of his father Husayn Ghazi in the 1970s is also based on a dream, as mentioned above.

After the first years of the Republic, this area, which had turned into a ruin due to neglect and social insensitivity, has been brought back to its feet as a result of the works carried out in the last fifty years.

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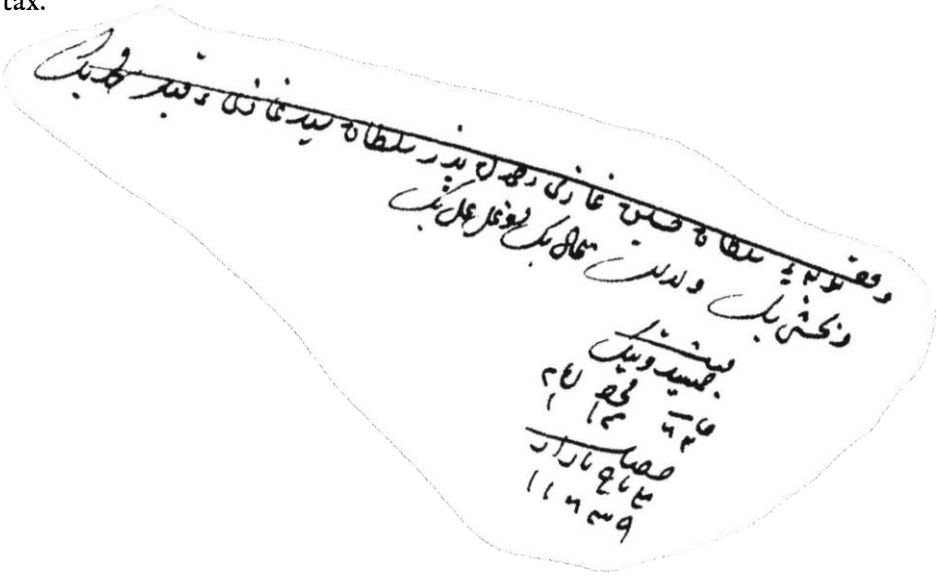
APPENDICES

The Oldest Written Document About the Husayn Ghazi Lodge

In the 438 numbered *Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Anadolu Defteri*, the original and transcription of the section showing the income of the Husayn Ghazi Lodge in 1530 is as follows:

“Vaḳf-ı türbe-i Sultān Hüseyin Ğāzī (?) peder-i Sultān Seyit Ğāzī ḳabri Meḥmed Beg ve Baḥş Beg veledānı Miḥāl Bey oĝlı ‘Ali Beg. Ḳarye-i Cemşid ve Bitig, ḥāne 62, mücerred 14, imām 1. Hāşıl ma‘a bāc-ı bāzār 11629.”.

“The foundation of the tomb of Sultan Husayn Ghazi, the father of Sultan Sayyid Ghazi. Mr. Mehmed, and Mr. Bahsh’s son Mihal Beg’s son Ali Beg. Cemshid and Bitig villages. 62 houses, 14 singles, 1 imam. Total 11,629 with market tax.”



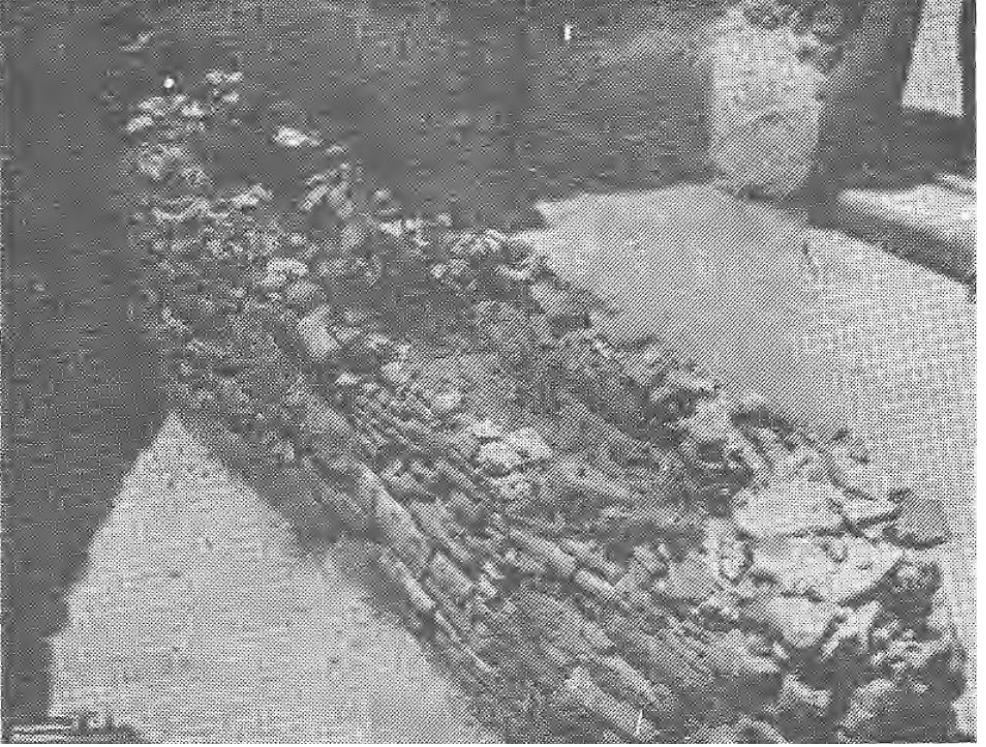
The Husayn Ghazi Lodge in 1926

This image is taken from the “Presentation” article in the 69th issue of the “Yol-Science Culture Research” magazine published by the association that currently manages the tomb. When compared with the photography taken by Hikmet Tanyu in the 1950s -which is given under the next heading- it is noticeable that the dome of the tomb had collapsed by the 1950s. Hikmet Tanyu (1967) also states that “the dome was in good condition until 17-20 years ago” (p.89).



The Condition of Husayn Ghazi's Tomb in the 1950s

This photograph is taken from page 342 of Hikmet Tanyu's book "Ankara ve Çevresinde Adak ve Adak Yerleri", which he prepared as a doctoral study in 1959 and published in 1967.



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