

**The Bektashi Order in the Ottoman Empire:
Between Political Influence and Heterodox Sufism
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Abstract

This study explores the prominent role of the Bektashi order in the Ottoman Empire, tracing its emergence in Anatolia's Sufi and doctrinally diverse environment shaped by political and religious conflicts among the Mongols, Safavids, and Turks. The research shows how Sufism intertwined with philosophy and popular beliefs, including extremism and deviations. made the Bektashi order a major religious, political, and social force. It also explains how the order gained influence within ruling structures by exploiting shifts in state power. Its dominance lasted until the Ottoman Empire's decline.

Keywords: Sufi orders, Bektashism, ottoman empire, political influence, heterodox Sufism.

الطريقة البكتاشية في الدولة العثمانية: بين النفوذ السياسي والتصوف المنحرف

ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف الدور البارز الذي اضطلعت به الطريقة البكتاشية في الدولة العثمانية، من خلال تتبع نشأتها في بيئة مشبعة بالفكر الصوفي والتعدد العقائدي بمنطقة الأناضول، والتي تأثرت بالصراعات السياسية والدينية بين المغول والصفويين والأتراك؛ وتسلب الضوء على تداخل التصوف بالفلسفة والمعتقدات الشعبية، وما شابه من غلو وانحرافات؛ جعلت البكتاشية فاعلا دينيا وسياسيا واجتماعيا بارزا؛ كما تبرز الدراسة كيف تمكنت هذه الطريقة من فرض نفوذها داخل دواليب الحكم، مستفيدة من تذبذب قوة الدولة؛ إلى غاية أفولها مع نهاية الحقبة العثمانية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: طرق صوفية، بكتاشية، دولة عثمانية، نفوذ سياسي، تصوف منحرف.

Introduction:

Sufism is regarded as a religious phenomenon and a spiritual, experiential practice that has historically represented a fundamental dimension of Islam. It spread widely across many regions of the Islamic world. However, during the Ottoman era, Sufism evolved into a social phenomenon, which significantly contributed to the rise and proliferation of numerous Sufi orders—particularly in the context of the empire's territorial expansion. The Turks, by nature, were inclined toward Sufism and held its practitioners and spiritual leaders in high esteem. As a result, these Sufi orders acquired substantial social influence within Islamic societies, regardless of their theological orientations, beliefs, or behavioral norms.

This influence extended across various aspects of life, including the religious, political, and military domains of the state. A notable example is the Bektashi Order, which emerged as a syncretic framework encompassing elements from multiple religions, sects, and civilizations. The order succeeded in asserting its presence, solidifying its ideological tenets, and attracting a wide base of followers, including many communities, scholars, and sultans. Its doctrines and beliefs—marked by extremism, polytheistic tendencies, and various manifestations of societal deviation, gained traction and acceptance across different segments of the population.

The Bektashi Order, thus; represented a convergence between political authority and deviant mysticism. It exerted influence over the state and the reins of power while also being deeply affected by the empire's internal strength or weakness. Its trajectory was closely tied to the Ottoman state's rise and decline, ultimately reaching its downfall alongside the empire's collapse. In this way, the order played a double-edged role—on the one hand, contributing to the weakening of the Ottoman state, and on the other, sealing fate and that of its beliefs,

Given the nature of the subject, we adopted a synthetic-analytical historical approach. This study, therefore; aims to examine the historical spread of the Bektashi Order, to clarify its core doctrines, and to analyze its relationship with political authority and heterodox mysticism. It also seeks to answer a fundamental question: Was it the order's political entanglement or its doctrinal deviation that led to the eventual decline of its influence?

1- The Emergence of the Bektashi Order:

Sufism spread from Central Asia to the region of Antalya during the 12th century, a time when merchants, dervishes, scholars, and craftsmen frequently traveled to and settled in the area. In this context, Sufi ideas became intertwined with the local cultures, sects, and religions as well as with the beliefs of the tribes that had migrated from Khorasan. The Ottomans capitalized on the presence of dervishes, a group they strategically relied upon—particularly in military contexts—to extend their control over new territories.

The Sufi landscape of Anatolia was significantly shaped by incoming and emerging orders and movements, such as the Qalandariyya, Haydariyya, and Hurufiyya, in addition to the migration of numerous saints and spiritual figures from the lands of Khorasan. From that point onward, the Ottomans began to show increasing interest in and patronage of Sufi lodges (tekkiyas)⁽¹⁾, recognizing their role in spiritual and social life. The dissemination of Sufi thought in the region is largely credited to Sheikh Yassawi (d. 265 AH / 869 CE), considered the founder of the Yassawiyya Order. He played a pivotal role in transferring Sufism from Turkestan and Central Asia to Anatolia. In addition to spreading Islam in the region, he laid the foundational principles of Sufism there, shaping its future development within Anatolian society⁽²⁾.

The Ottomans relied heavily on Sufism during their territorial expansions, beginning with the foundation of their state in the late 13th century CE (7th century AH). Sufism played a crucial role in restoring spiritual tranquility to Anatolia, a region that had endured severe turmoil under Mongol domination and their hostile campaigns against the Turks, coupled with economic deterioration. In such a climate, Anatolia a receptive environment for Sufi thought, particularly under the influence of the mystical ideas of *Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi*. The Ottomans embraced Sufism and recognized it as a vital tool for expansion, especially into Christian territories, starting with the Byzantine Empire and across Anatolia, and later into the broader

Islamic regions that came under Ottoman control. In the early stages, the Ottomans formed alliances with dervishes and their spiritual patrons, employing them in the conquest of Byzantine lands. Dervishes enjoyed considerable respect and spiritual authority among local populations, which conferred a form of religious legitimacy upon Ottoman military campaigns and territorial gains⁽³⁾.

It was within this dynamic religious and political context that the Bektashi Order emerged as a successor to several earlier Sufi traditions, including the Mevleviyya, Khalwatiyya, and Naqshbandiyya. The Bektashi Order rapidly established itself on the regional stage, particularly along the important commercial route between Ankara and Kayseri, an area densely populated by large Turkmen tribes known for their strong affinity for Sufism⁽⁴⁾.

The Bektashi Order constitutes a mixture of various beliefs and diverse philosophies. The political circumstances that encompassed the region, along with the structure of Ottoman society—composed of multiple religions, ethnicities, and philosophies—contributed to giving Bektashism a distinctive character. As one Turkish writer stated, *“At its inception, Bektashism was a purely Turkish order in thought, language, culture, sentiment, and even in literature. Everything attributed to it belonged to the Turks. Moreover, it was an Islamic order that, in its own crucible, melted together many religions and philosophies of Asia. In other words, it was a contradictory doctrine that encompassed a wide range of beliefs, both divine and non-divine.”*⁽⁵⁾

The Bektashi Order traces its origins to Haji Bektash Veli, and it is considered one of the Sufi orders that followed a heterodox path in Sufism, deviating from Islamic law, as evidenced by its practices. Most of the available information about the order links it to Shiite Sufism, given that the majority of its followers venerates Ali, deify him, and hold the Twelve Imams in reverence. Furthermore, they denigrate and belittle the Companions of the Prophet, and they perform religious rituals and supplications at the graves of Imams and saints, considering such acts of invocation an integral part of their religious practice⁽⁶⁾.

Some Western historians trace the origins of Bektashi followers back to Christian roots, citing their adoption of a form of trinitarianism similar to that found in Christianity, albeit in a different configuration: “Allah, Muhammad, Ali.” They are also known to have permitted the consumption of alcohol, and their women do not wear the veil. Additionally, followers often ask their sheikhs to absolve them of their sins and mistakes, openly confessing their transgressions to them seek resolution⁽⁷⁾.

2- The Founder of the Bektashi Order:

2-1- His Lineage and Birth:

He is Muhammad Bektash Wali, son of Sheikh Ibrahim II, son of Sayyid Musa, son of Sayyid Ishaq, son of Sayyid Muhammad, son of Sayyid Ibrahim, son of Sayyid Imam al-Mahdi, son of Sayyid Muhammad, son of Sayyid Hassan, son of Sayyid Ibrahim, son of our Master Imam Musa al-Kazim, son of our Master Imam Ja‘far al-Sadiq, son of our Master Imam al-Baqir, son of our Master Imam Zayn al-Abidin, son of our Master Imam al-Husayn, son of our Master Imam Ali ibn Abi Talib—may Allah honor his countenance. Sheikh Bektash was born in the year 645 AH / 1240 CE in the city of Nishapur, located in the region of Khorasan. His father was Sayyid Ibrahim II, and his mother was Lady Khatam, the daughter of Sheikh Ahmad Effendi, one of the most distinguished scholars and nobles of Nishapur⁽⁸⁾.

2-2- His Upbringing and Education:

Upon reaching the age of maturity, miraculous signs began to appear in him, and his reputation spread among the people. Delegations started coming to him, and many gathered around him, seeking his supplications and blessings. However, he withdrew from public life and entered into seclusion in a monastic retreat, dedicating himself to worship and piety for a period of forty years, during which he did not interact with others. At the end of this period, he traveled to Sheikh Ahmad Yassawi, from whom he acquired profound knowledge. Sheikh

Ahmad then directed him to Badakhshan to engage in struggle against the invaders and subsequently instructed him to proceed to the lands of Rum (Anatolia)⁽⁹⁾.

On his journey, he stopped in Najaf, where he stayed for forty days, during which he studied Islamic jurisprudence in a corner of the shrine. This corner housed a school frequented and inhabited by students and Sufis, and it received great care and attention. Its walls were adorned with a type of tilework known as *qashani*, and the structure itself was well-built and richly decorated. During his stay, he visited the grave of Imam Ali—may Allah honor his countenance. He then traveled to Mecca, where he remained for three years, further deepening his knowledge. Afterward, he departed for Medina, where he stayed for forty days, visiting the grave of the Prophet Muhammad, peace and blessings be upon him. From there, he journeyed to al-Quds, and then passed through it to Damascus, before heading toward the region to which his Sheikh had directed him -arriving finally at the area of Sulayjah Qarah Ayuq, now known by his name as "The District of Haji Bektash". His fame soon spread throughout the region and across neighboring lands, and people began coming to him from all directions. News of him even reached Sultan Orkhan, who personally visited him to seek his blessings and prayers, and had his soldiers receive his blessings as well. He passed away in the year 738 AH / 1320 CE, at the age of ninety-three, in Turkman, where his grave is located beneath a large dome, surrounded by a Sufi lodge (zawiyah)⁽¹⁰⁾.

Sheikh Haji Bektash recorded the principles of the Bektashi Order in a collection of writings known as "al-Wil yah", composed in Arabic prose. This text was later translated into Turkish in poetic form by the author Oghlu Khatib in 1490 CE, and subsequently rendered into prose as well⁽¹¹⁾.

3- The Spread of the Bektashi Order:

The Bektashi Order began to spread during the 13th century, which marks the era of Sheikh Haji Bektash. It was Sheikh Ahmad Yassawi who sent him to Anatolia, reportedly saying: "*O Haji Bektash, you have received your share of spiritual labor. Rejoice, for you shall become the Pole of Poles (Qutb al-Aqtab) and will rule for forty years. We are now on this path, and the authority shall be handed to you after us. Indeed, the time of our departure has come—goes forth to the land of Rum, as I have sent you there. I have already subjected to you the Substitutes (Abdal) of Rum and appointed you as their leader.*"⁽¹²⁾

The Bektashi Order experienced significant growth within the Ottoman Empire starting in the late 15th century and continuing into the early 16th century, particularly during the era of Sheikh Balim Sultan (1475–1516 CE). Balim Sultan introduced new ideas into Bektashism, including concepts such as coexistence within Islam, the unity of religions, moral elevation, and tolerance toward Christianity, even incorporating some of its beliefs. These developments sparked widespread debate around Balim Sultan, especially given that his mother was a Christian from Bulgaria and his father a Bektashi. As a result, many began drawing parallels between Bektashi trinitarianism and Christian trinitarianism, between monasticism and dervishhood, and between the Twelve Imams and the Twelve Apostles—with some even claiming that the Apostles had found continuity in the Bektashi tradition⁽¹³⁾.

The social group that most widely adopted the Bektashi Order was the Arnauts. From Anatolia, the order expanded into other regions of Rumelia and the Balkans. It is especially prominent in Albania, where a large portion of the population adheres to Bektashism. The same holds true in North Macedonia and Kosovo, where the order also enjoys a significant following.

However, the presence of Bektashism in Bosnia has remained very limited. It maintained only a single zawiyah (Sufi lodge), which has since been converted into a school, and the order's presence in the country has gradually faded⁽¹⁴⁾.

The Bektashi Order expanded widely across many regions of the Islamic world, similar to other Sufi orders, including Egypt and the Levant. In Egypt, the Bektashi Order notably spread during the reign of Khedive Ismail. This order was notably open to Christians, many of whom joined it. Consequently, numerous ribats (Sufi lodges) and zawiya emerged, where

practices varied between religious chanting (madh), sama' (spiritual listening), and dhikr⁽¹⁵⁾. Sufi orders extended eastward as far as India and westward to the Islamic Maghreb. The most significant influence on these regions came from Ottoman Sufi orders, which reached the lower strata of society, particularly the poor. They emphasized styles of Sufi music and dance. This influence was largely due to the political and cultural dominance of the Ottoman Empire over both the Mashriq and the Maghreb. Notably, orders such as the Mevleviyya and the Bektashiyya spread Sufi music, singing, and chants among the Janissary soldiers in Algeria, although their presence there was relatively limited, focusing primarily on themes related to military victories and wars. Additionally, they addressed themes of spiritual love and divine longing⁽¹⁶⁾.

The close association between the Janissaries⁽¹⁷⁾ and the Bektashi Order facilitated the order's widespread dissemination across many regions of the Ottoman Empire. Numerous sheikhs and followers of the order joined the Janissary corps, often occupying the front ranks in military ceremonies, adorned in their distinctive green garments, accompanied by spirited Sufi hymns. The Janissaries played a pivotal role in embedding the characteristics of Bektashi Sufism in various locales. Devotees within the Janissary ranks established domes, zawiyas (lodges), and shrines over the graves of their sheikhs in the regions where they settled. Consequently, the order's mausoleums and sanctuaries became widespread throughout the empire. When off duty, Janissaries would travel between weddings and coffeehouses, performing vocal chants and playing instruments such as the violin and drum. The majority of their repertoire centered on themes of spiritual love (ishq), their own heroic exploits and victories, as well as their disappointments⁽¹⁸⁾.

The Bektashi Order reached the peak of its influence during the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, a period that coincided with the Ottoman Empire's expansion into the Arab world and Algeria. As a result, Bektashi centers proliferated throughout the empire, with their leader residing in Istanbul and known as the "Çelebi." Due to the Bektashi Order's significant political and social influence within the state, the Ottoman authorities grew wary of its power. This apprehension led the government to support other Sufi orders, such as the Mevlevi, in order to create a balance of power within the empire⁽¹⁹⁾.

Since its inception, the Bektashi Order has experienced periods of turbulence and instability. While some Ottoman sultans supported and endorsed it, others opposed it, favoring different Sufi paths instead. Toward the end of the Ottoman era, Sultan Mahmud II ordered the abolition of the Janissary corps. Subsequently, according to the September 1925 law, the Bektashi Order and its affiliated tekkes were officially dissolved, along with all other Sufi orders throughout the state⁽²⁰⁾.

Sheikh Saleh Niazi is considered the last sheikh of the Bektashi Order. He was exiled in 1931 CE and immigrated to Albania, where he continued the order's activities in a land fertile for its presence, given the prior establishment of the Bektashi tradition in Albania. Around him, the disciples of the Bektashi dervishes gathered and bestowed upon him the title of "Dede Baba." However, in Turkey, the Bektashi Order remained a body without a soul, persisting only through cultural heritage and the history of Turkish society—particularly through poetry. Its ideas continued to circulate among Turkish intellectuals, especially amidst the ideological conflicts experienced by Turkey.

4- Factors Behind the Spread of the Bektashi Order:

- The dire conditions experienced by the Islamic ummah and the harsh reality endured by Muslims during that period—characterized by widespread backwardness, injustice, tyranny, poverty, and ignorance—led many peoples to seek refuge in heterodox Sufism, thus living in a reality far removed from the one they had fled.
- The security turmoil and its complete absence created a bleak environment and harsh circumstances, wherein the leaders of Sufism lived peaceful lives, secure and tranquil, far from the seditions and conflicts that afflicted the masses. *"The poor were, in fact, more at ease and tranquil than the peasants in their fields, merchants in their shops, and artisans in*

their workshops. They were safe from the enforcement of laws and, for much of the period marked by severe oppression, were spared from these evils altogether. This was because the soldiers feared their power and respected their spiritual authority, believed in their connection to Allah, and thus sought their favor and approval. Consequently, many were drawn to enter the order, motivated by the peace of mind and stability they found within the confines of the zawiyas.”

– The luxury enjoyed by some within the Sufi orders: *“The poor were above the burdens of daily life then, not exerting themselves in mastering trades from which they earned their living. Instead, they lived in the zawiyas, fed and clothed at the expense of benefactors and wealthy patrons, under the pretext of dedicating themselves to dhikr, night vigils, and pure worship of Allah. One of the ironies of this era was that these ascetics, who claimed austerity and contentment with the most trivial of life’s concerns, actually lived more comfortably and luxuriously than peasants, merchants, and craftsmen.”*

– The Ottoman Turks’ love for dervishes and Sufism: *“The Turks loved Sufism and tended to venerate the people of faith, sincerely honoring their spiritual guardianship.”⁽²¹⁾*

5- Beliefs of the Bektashi Order:

5-1- Veneration of Sheikh Bektash and Shi‘ism:

The Bektashi Order is considered a heretical Sufi path that deviates from orthodox Islamic creed. It encompasses within its doctrines elements of Christianity, paganism, and Shi‘ite rejectionism (Rafidism). Its adherents venerate Ali (may Allah honor his countenance), elevating him to a position analogous to that of Jesus (peace be upon him). Followers of this order propagate myths about Sheikh Bektash. The Bektashi mystics display strong devotion to the Ahl al-Bayt (the Prophet’s family), exhibiting zealotry in their love, and hold Imam Ja‘far al-Sadiq in high reverence. Conversely, they oppose and disparage the Companions of the Prophet. They believe in a form of trinitarianism whose slogan is "Allah, Muhammad, Ali."⁽²²⁾

The Bektashis also recite a specific supplication to Sheikh Bektash, which includes the following: *"Allah, Allah, there is no deity but Allah; the head is shorn, the chest is burnt, and the sword is bloodied. In this battlefield, how many heads are severed, yet none feel it? By Allah, our might and sharp sword harm our enemies, and our servitude to our Sultan is manifest. Whether we are three, seven, or forty, by the Muhammadan prayer and the light of the noble Prophet, our Sheikh and Sultan is Haji Bektash Wali."⁽²³⁾*

The Bektashis attributed many legends and myths to Sheikh Bektash. According to the author of *Manaqib al-‘Arifin*, Sheikh Bektash’s heart was filled with knowledge, despite his views not fully aligning with Islamic law. His ideas were considered moderate, situated somewhere between those of himself and Jalal al-Din Rumi. Numerous tales were circulated about him, including that he could command deer and speak to birds, ride lions, and order them to spread carpets to fly him through the sky. He was also credited with various other miraculous attributes, such as restoring sight to the blind, reviving the dead, and healing the sick⁽²⁴⁾.

5-2- Polytheism (Shirk) with Allah:

Allah, the Exalted, said: *“Indeed, Allah does not forgive associating others with Him [shirk], but He forgives what is less than that for whom He wills. And whoever associates others with Allah has certainly fabricated a tremendous sin.”⁽²⁵⁾* He also said: *“Indeed, Allah does not forgive associating others with Him [shirk], but He forgives what is less than that for whom He wills. And whoever associates others with Allah has gone far astray.”⁽²⁶⁾*

The Bektashi Order falls into shirk through its adoption of beliefs associated with the Rafidah and esoteric sects. Followers seek forgiveness from their sheikhs and attribute supernatural miracles to their saints⁽²⁷⁾. They believe in the equality of religions and hold that the human being is a reflection of the divine. Their Sufi life is considered a mirror of God’s existence. Sheikh Bektash expressed this concept by saying: *“If you ask the lovers, ‘How did you come to know Allah?’ they will answer: ‘We have known Him through ourselves, for He is latent within us. Our proof is the saying of the Prophet (peace be upon him): ‘He who*

knows himself knows his Lord.’ The lovers mean that Allah resides within the human self; so how can one reach Him by searching elsewhere?⁽²⁸⁾”

They venerate and deify Ali, believing in the incarnation of Allah within the human body—*glory be to Allah above such an attribute*—. They hold that Allah first incarnated in the body of Ali and subsequently transferred into the body of Haji Bektash. Additionally, they believe that humans can transform into birds. According to their beliefs, Haji Bektash himself transformed into a dove and traveled from Khorasan to the land of Rum. They also venerate the bird known as the “karki” or “turana.⁽²⁹⁾”

5-3- Negligence in Obligatory Duties:

Followers of this order are lax in observing the obligatory acts of worship such as prayer, almsgiving (zakat), fasting, and pilgrimage (hajj). They believe that these duties have been lifted from them and apply only to new entrants into the order, thus exempting established members from these obligations⁽³⁰⁾.

5-4- Veneration of Saints:

They engage in prayer to saints, an act considered major shirk (associating partners with Allah) and a violation of Islamic creed. They believe in the unity of revealed religions and permit the consumption of alcohol. Moreover, their women do not wear the veil. Followers of the order undertake pilgrimage to the region of Nu ehir in Turkey, known as “al-Hadra,” where they circumambulate the sacred shrine with special dances and recitations over three days of celebration⁽³¹⁾. Bektashism holds that the order is inseparable from both spiritual truth and Islamic law (sharia). It asserts that whoever truly understands the sharia also understands the order and that performing the rituals of the order constitutes engaging in spiritual truth⁽³²⁾.

5-5- Use of Music:

The Sufis incorporate musical instruments and dance into their dhikr (remembrance) rituals as an act of drawing closer to Allah. This represents a stage of deep love and devotion to the order. Their gatherings feature a variety of melodies and percussion instruments, such as the duff, flutes, flags, and banners. During the chanting, they engage in dancing, which attracted many people inclined toward sin and desires to Sufism. The sheikhs permitted leniency in worship, obligatory duties, and other religious obligations, as singing and music played an effective role in attracting people to the order⁽³³⁾. Bektashi poetry, which they chant to the accompaniment of music within the tekkes, contains corrupted and heretical doctrines. For example, Azmi Baba, in his supplication to God, says: *“You created the earth and the heavens, mankind and jinn. Are you the architect, O chief of the builders? You fashioned the sun and the moon, the days, and the celestial sphere. You hold dominion—are you the Illuminator? You created the seas without a cover, set rivers flowing without feet or legs, established the earth without a foundation, and the sky without pillars. How strange! Are you accountable for habitation? Do you take reckoning, or are you a caretaker of an inn? If you have a thousand hellfires, I fear none of them. Is not the name of the Merciful bestowed upon you? Did You not say You forgive sins? So forgive my faults, or are you a violator of promises? If you pardon me, does that diminish your glory? Even kings forgive such rebellion...⁽³⁴⁾”* This poetry seems to challenge God—*glory be to Allah above such a statement*.

5-6- Equality Between Men and Women:

The Bektashi believe there is no distinction between men and women, thus advocating equality between the two. Consequently, married and unmarried women have their own specific rituals during celebrations held in the tekkes, known as “Ayin Cem.”⁽³⁵⁾

The date of August 16th is considered a festival by followers of the Bektashi Order, during which they celebrate around the sacred shrine, in contradiction to Islamic communal practice⁽³⁶⁾.

5-7- Seeking Intercession (Istimdad):

This is one of the beliefs of the Bektashi, which holds that **Imam Ali** (may Allah honor his countenance) forgives them, erases their sins, and intercedes on their behalf. Such beliefs are

widespread in their poetry, for example: *"Supplication is written upon your brow, aid to you, O Ali, and honor to you. Know that my sins have exceeded all bounds. Aid to you, O Ali, and honor in your path. We recognized Allah in a moment—am I not afraid to lose that budding virtue...⁽³⁷⁾?"*

5-8- Incarnation and Reincarnation:

The Bektashi venerate the numbers four and twelve, which symbolize the Twelve Imams and the four essential elements representing existence: fire, air, earth, and water. They believe that Allah created the universe through these four elements by means of love and that humans are created from these elements⁽³⁸⁾.

6- Principles of the Bektashi Order:

6-1- The Theory of Emanation (Sudur):

This theory holds that there is no creator except Allah and that all that exists emanates from the essence of Allah. It further posits that Allah—glory be to Him—can increase or decrease. This belief is shared among various Sufi orders and scholars, such as Sheikh Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi.

6-2- Veneration of Imam Ali:

The belief in and love for Imam Ali is considered one of the core principles of authentic Bektashism. reflects the influence of Shi'ite thought on Bektashi doctrine.

6-3- Wilayah (Spiritual Authority):

They believe in wilayah as a rank specially bestowed by Allah upon the Wali (Saint). This rank is considered equivalent to that of the prophets and is regarded as superior in status to all other ranks, reaching the level of divinity.

7- Clothing of the Bektashi Order:

Followers of the Bektashi Order wear a white cloak (aba) and a white cylindrical cap called a "sikke." The sikke features multiple edges—specifically twelve—symbolizing the Twelve Imams of Shi'ism. They wrap their necks with a stone-colored veil known as "teslim ta ." The leader, or sheikh, wears a green turban over the sikke. They are armed with a double-edged axe and carry a long staff. Additionally, unmarried dervishes of this order wear earrings, distinguishing them from others⁽³⁹⁾.

8- Ranks of the Bektashi Sufi:

The basic ranks within the Bektashi Order are arranged from the lowest to the highest as follows:

8-1- Al-'Ashiq (The Lover):

This is a person who is inclined toward the beliefs and principles of the Bektashi Order, becoming spiritually attached to the Bektashi spirit. They develop the desire and determination to practice its teachings and to formally enter the order. Such a person becomes eligible to advance to the rank of Talib.

8-2- Talib (The Seeker):

This individual spends a period as an 'Ashiq and, upon wishing to formally join the order, is endorsed by three sheikhs known as the Ikhwan (Brothers). However, they remain in this rank until they receive the Bektashi pledge and the approval of the Sheikh al-Akbar (the Grand Sheikh) of the order.

8-3- Murid or Muhib (The Disciple or the Lover):

A Talib who adheres strictly to the order's teachings, accepts its allegiance (mubaya'ah), listens attentively to the Sheikh's advice, teachings, and conditions, and is honored with a grand ceremony. Upon acceptance by the Sheikh and taking the pledge, the person attains the rank of Murid or Muhib.

8-4- Al-Dervish:

The Murid or Muhib advances to the rank of Dervish, which is divided into two categories:

a) Mutajarrid (The Celibate):

This refers to the unmarried dervish who dedicates himself entirely to the welfare and service of the order. He resides in the tekke, engaging in worship and serving the community.

He is called *Mutajarrid* because he renounces his own desires and worldly matters. He precedes the *Mutahhil* dervish in the dhikr circles⁽⁴⁰⁾. These celibate dervishes wear iron earrings in their ears and are referred to as “Mankush.” They sing praises of the Sheikh and his attendants⁽⁴¹⁾.

b) Mutahhil (The Married):

This refers to the married dervish, who is assigned specific times for work within the tekke and performs service only during his free time. He is prohibited from wearing the order’s garments outside the tekke. The unmarried followers of the order are called “Mutabtalın,” and they have a sheikh who resides in the tekke, known as “Mujarrad Baba,” meaning “Father of the Mutabtalın.” The most famous tekke for this group is located in the region of Edirne⁽⁴²⁾.

8-5- Baba:

is one of the three major ranks within the Bektashi Order. The Baba is also referred to as Sheikh. This rank is far above that of a dervish and is attained only after a long period of study. The individual must deeply immerse himself in the sciences of Sharia and the Order and taste the mysteries, meanings, and manifestations of Sufism.

8-6- Dede Jad:

Known as the Khalifa (Deputy), this is one of the higher ranks. A Baba advances to this rank after climbing the hierarchical ladder. The Dede Baba is responsible for promoting a Baba to the rank of Khalifa.

8-7- Dede Baba:

This is the highest rank and position of general leadership within the Bektashi Order. The Sheikh of the Bektashi Order is titled “Çelebi.” This supreme position is based in the tekke known as “Pir Evi” (House of the Pole). The entire order operates under his authority. He is also called Sheikh of Sheikhs and the Greatest Guide (Murshid al-Azam). He is promoted from among the Babas and is responsible for appointing or dismissing the sheikhs of the tekkes⁽⁴³⁾.

9- The Bektashi Order and Its Relationship with Politics:

9-1- Its Relationship with Authority:

During the Ottoman era, Sufi orders held considerable power, especially in Islamic countries. They extended their control over Islamic centers and universities. For example, during Ottoman rule in Egypt, the appointment of the Sheikh of Al-Azhar required the approval of the Sheikh of the Sufi Orders. Those scholars who opposed them often faced imprisonment or execution due to their proximity to the centers of power⁽⁴⁴⁾.

These orders exerted significant influence on social, religious, and political life. Their roles oscillated between contributing to religious revival and social cohesion and, conversely, causing decline, backwardness, and doctrinal fragmentation. Amidst this complexity, rulers viewed Sufi orders as tools to stabilize social and political conditions in many regions of the Ottoman Empire, supporting them materially and morally⁽⁴⁵⁾.

Sufism had already spread in Egypt prior to Ottoman rule. The 13th century CE / 7th century AH witnessed the arrival of many prominent Sufi sheikhs from the Maghreb, such as Sheikh Ahmad al-Badawi (d. 675 AH), founder of the Ahmadiyya Order, and Sheikh Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili (d. 656 AH), founder of the Shadhiliyya Order. Also arriving from Iraq was Sheikh Abu al-Fath al-Wasiti, who established the Rifa‘iyya Order in Alexandria, tracing its lineage to Ahmad al-Rifa‘i (d. 578 AH). Additionally, the Brahmaniyya Order appeared in Egypt under Sheikh Ibrahim al-Disuqi (d. 676 AH). Most of these orders had a profound impact on social and political life.

The Sufi orders that arrived in or were established in Egypt generally exhibited moderation, which has contributed to their acceptance and their adherence to correct Islamic teachings and beliefs. contrasts with other Sufi orders that deviated from orthodox doctrine⁽⁴⁶⁾. The continued existence of these moderate orders to this day underscores this distinction.

The Ottoman state contributed significantly to the establishment of Sufism in many regions, which in turn opened the door for various extreme Sufi orders, such as the Bektashi,

to assert their presence—particularly as the Ottomans recognized the sheikhs of philosophical Sufism, who flourished under Ottoman rule.

An example is Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi, who faced considerable opposition from many scholars due to his Sufi ideas. During the reign of Sultan Selim I, upon entering Damascus, a large mosque was constructed and named after Sheikh Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi. Later, Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent officially recognized Ibn Arabi and his Sufism by instructing the Ottoman state's Mufti to approve all of Ibn Arabi's works and acknowledge their validity. Ibn Arabi was also protected by a prohibition on cursing or defaming him throughout the empire⁽⁴⁷⁾.

The Ottomans' interest in Sufism and Sufi orders is partly attributed to their belief that Sheikh Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi foretold the conquest of Constantinople. As noted by al-Sha'rani in his book *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra*: "*In some of his writings, he described the coming of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent and the conquest of Constantinople at a certain time, and indeed, this came to pass as he predicted, approximately two hundred years separated him from the Sultan.*"

The Ottoman sultans relied on the Bektashi Order to develop the army and strengthen its jihadist spirit, particularly during the reigns of Sultan Orhan (1288–1362 CE) and Sultan Murad I (1326–1389 CE), in their conquests across Europe and Asia⁽⁴⁸⁾. Sufism also played a role in the installation of rulers and sultans. The order was involved in rebellions against six sultans, whom they assassinated and replaced with new rulers. For instance, in 1032 AH, they killed the Grand Vizier Hussein Pasha, and similarly, they assassinated Sultan Osman II (1618–1622 CE), who attempted to abolish the Janissaries, as well as Sultan Ibrahim. They also dominated Sultan Murad IV (1623–1640 CE)⁽⁴⁹⁾.

The Bektashi Order intervened in the Ottoman-Safavid political conflict, which had a sectarian dimension. The Ottoman state feared the Safavid expansion reaching eastern Anatolia. The Kizilbash Turkmens, aligned with the Safavids, embraced Bektashism and were influenced by Shi'ism, leading them to rebel against the Ottomans. However, they were subdued by the Ottoman army during the reign of Sultan Selim I (1512–1520 CE)⁽⁵⁰⁾.

During the period of Sultan Selim II (1566–1574 CE), there was a reconciliation between the authority and the Bektashi Order. Sultan Selim II was influenced by the Bektashis despite the majority of Turks at that time adhering to the Sunni Hanafi school, a trend established by Sultan Selim I, who brought 2,000 scholars from Al-Azhar following the conquest of Egypt⁽⁵¹⁾.

The rulers and princes of Egypt also showed interest in the Bektashi Order. Muhammad Said Pasha (1854–1863 CE), the fourth ruler of the Muhammad Ali dynasty, designated the cave where Abdullah al-Maghrabi was buried as a site for the Bektashi Order, indicating the close relationship between authority in Egypt and the order. The Muhammad Ali family facilitated the return of Shi'ism to Egypt and allowed the study of its jurisprudence, such as the Ja'fari school, at Al-Azhar⁽⁵²⁾.

The state's shift toward modern means and new administrative institutions led to the decline of Janissary influence and, consequently, the waning of Bektashi power. The government increasingly relied on modern financial, military, and administrative institutions. The gap widened further after the Janissaries' establishment gained autonomy with privileges. Matters worsened as the Janissaries exploited the Bektashi Order and its influence, fostering state fears of their authoritarian practices, which included seizing lands and controlling agricultural production⁽⁵³⁾.

9-2- Relationship with the Janissaries:

Sufi orders found fertile ground for expansion within the Ottoman Empire, imposing their teachings on many segments of Ottoman society and spreading across vast areas of the empire. The military, particularly the Janissary corps and the Akinci army (known in Turkish as Akıncılar), were among the most receptive to Sufi thought. The Akinci were light cavalry units stationed along the empire's frontiers, highly trained, with camps. They conducted

military raids against neighboring hostile states to inflict damage before returning to their bases. Their number reached approximately 30,000 soldiers⁽⁵⁴⁾.

The Bektashi Order maintained a close relationship with the Ottoman state from its inception. It was favored by the authorities, forming a strong bond with the ruling power. Due to the Janissaries' devotion to the order, the Bektashi attained a prestigious position over other Sufi orders, becoming a foundational support for the state. However, this relationship became hostage to the dynamics between the authorities and the Janissaries. Due to the Janissaries' conduct and actions, the order suffered severe blows, impacting its stability. While it enjoyed privileges and benefits from the state, it was also a cause of the order's decline and its strained relationship with the government.

Following the dissolution and suppression of the Janissaries, the Bektashi Order faced exclusion and repression, finding itself outside the spheres of power and state influence—particularly as Turkey transitioned to secularism. The order's activities continued mainly in other regions, such as Egypt and Albania⁽⁵⁵⁾.

9-3- Stages of the Bektashi-Janissary Relationship:

- The First Stage:

This stage was characterized by cooperation between the Janissaries and the Bektashi Order, dating back to the transformation of the Ottoman tribal solidarity and its expansion into the Ottoman Caliphate. This period coincided with the Islamic world suffering setbacks such as the fall of Al-Andalus and Christian dominance in the West. The Ottoman state emerged to exploit this spiritual and moral vacuum by combining Turkish Sufi inclinations with Sunni jurisprudence. This alliance manifested in the close relationship between the sultan and Sheikh Haji Bektash. During the reign of Sultan Orhan (d. 761 AH), Sheikh Khankar was entrusted with the upbringing of the children of Christian captives and prisoners in the Ottoman state. From each family, one child out of every five was taken and raised according to Sufi doctrine. The sultan's aim was to form a strong army of slave soldiers loyal to him and the state, grounded in Sufi teachings⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Sultan Orhan personally approached the first unit of Janissary soldiers to receive blessings from Sheikh Haji Bektash. The Sheikh placed his hand upon one of the soldiers, and the Sultan declared: *"The forces you have established shall bear the name 'Yeni Çeri' (New Soldiers). Their faces will be fair and clear, their right arms strong, their swords swift, and their thumbs sharp. They will be victorious in battle and shall never leave the battlefield without the banners of triumph raised."* Sheikh Bektash then presented the sultan with a red flag bearing a crescent and sword in its center. This became the official banner of the Janissaries thereafter. The Janissaries immortalized the influence and blessing of Sheikh Bektash in their attire, wearing a white kalansuwa (cap) with a piece of wool draped behind it⁽⁵⁷⁾. The Janissaries underwent rigorous training in various combat arts and were raised within an Islamic Sufi-Bektashi framework of loyalty to the Sultan, following the Devshirme system⁽⁵⁸⁾.

Bektashi sheikhs led Janissary units in the camps, motivating them in battle while reciting the Qur'an and prayers for their protection. During processions, they wore green robes and called out to the army "Karim Allah," meaning "Allah is Generous," to which the Janissaries responded with "Hu," meaning "Allah." This group was known as "Hu Keshan," meaning "those who call out the name of Allah."⁽⁵⁹⁾

The Second Stage:

This stage marks the abolition of the Janissaries' subordination to the Sultan. Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent issued a decree that ended the Janissaries' direct dependence on the Sultan, thereby liberating them and granting them privileges. Consequently, their ambitions escalated toward political power. Due to their military organization, they became an independent entity feared by the sultans, who showered them with gifts and money to prevent rebellion.

The Third Stage:

This stage represents the complete severance of ties between the state authority and the Janissaries, especially as the Ottoman state and its army weakened. Sultan Mahmud II contemplated military reforms aimed at curbing Janissary influence while retaining them in their positions and restricting their roles to military interventions. The Janissaries rejected these reforms, leading to a prolonged conflict with the authority that Sultan Mahmud II (1818–1839 CE) failed to suppress. The struggle lasted over eighteen years, during which Janissary corruption and rebellion spread widely, causing extensive destruction of property and the burning of shops and neighborhoods. Rejecting the Sultan's reforms in 1826 CE, the state launched a military assault against them at the Battle of Kheiriyye, resulting in the deaths of approximately 6,000 Janissary soldiers. Following this decisive victory, the Sultan ordered the final dissolution of the Janissaries⁽⁶⁰⁾.

From the late 17th century, Bektashi tekkes proliferated across many regions of Anatolia and the Balkans. However, Sultan Mahmud II perceived their threat and influence. He invited 196 tekkes to a banquet and ordered their massacre in 1829 CE, during which approximately 40,000 Bektashis were killed. Most survivors emigrated abroad⁽⁶¹⁾.

The Bektashi Janissaries prepared to revolt on the 8th of Dhu al-Qi'dah, 1241 AH. They began harassing Janissary military units, prompting Sultan Mahmud II to consult religious scholars about the rebels. The scholars advised their elimination, leading to artillery bombardments on their strongholds, destruction of Janissary tekkes, and the issuance of a decree abolishing the Janissaries and the Bektashi Order. Subsequently, a new military system was established under the leadership of Hussein Pasha "Serasker."⁽⁶²⁾

10- Factors Leading to the Decline of the Bektashi Order:

- Its inability to reconcile with the cultural diversity of Turkish society contributed to the decline of its influence, especially with the weakening and eventual collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The emergence of religious, political, and cultural associations weakened the traditional ties of the order, diminishing the leadership role of the sheikh as the actual reference point, which gradually shifted to the political authorities and heads of these associations⁽⁶³⁾.
- The relationship it maintained with the Janissaries, particularly following the military's dominance and influence during the period of expansion, granted the Bektashi Order significant power within the state. This influence alarmed and threatened the ruling authority, which ultimately led to the order's suppression and dissolution.
- Its association with Shi'ite Sufi thought and Christian doctrines influenced its principles, bringing it into conflict with the Hanafi Islamic school and orthodox Islamic thought.
- Its adherence to extreme beliefs, polytheism (shirk), and deviation rendered it ostracized by many orthodox Sufi orders and the Ottoman authority over an extended period.

Conclusion:

In summary, the Bektashi Order was a product of a phase in the development of Sufism that spread throughout Anatolia and expanded alongside the Ottoman Empire. Its doctrines and beliefs grew in tandem with the spread of philosophical ideas in Rumelia and Anatolia, influenced by the conflicts between the Mongols and the Seljuks. This expansion was also facilitated by the Ottoman state's reliance on the order to strengthen the army and ignite jihadist zeal within it. However, this close association with the military ultimately weakened the state and contributed to its downfall.

The study concluded the following points:

- The Bektashi Order represented a threat to the Ottoman state and Islam in general, historically and in contemporary times, being a source of corruption within Islamic culture and an instigator of rebellions, sedition, and disobedience.
- Bektashism is a heterodox Shi'ite order cloaked in Islamic guise, blending Shi'ite thought with European, Greek, and Anatolian philosophical ideas, Turkish culture, and fragments of pagan religions and corrupt doctrines from India and Iran.

- The order's staunch support for the Janissaries in all matters weakened its standing with the ruling authority, particularly due to its endorsement of rebellions against the state, which ultimately led to its collapse.
- The Bektashi Order spread and developed within Sunni-majority regions such as Turkey, Egypt, and the Balkans, where its doctrines and rituals found compatibility with local Sufism. However, its influence has since contracted and is now confined to limited areas, primarily in the Balkans.
- The Bektashi Order was among the factors contributing to the weakening and eventual collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Its ideas continue to circulate among Turkish intellectuals amid the ideological conflicts that challenge modern Turkey.
- The order amalgamated exaggerated Shi'ite esoteric beliefs and served as a vessel for many sects that arrived and emerged in Anatolia, such as the Qalandariyya and the Akhiya.
- Sheikh Bektash is regarded as the founder of the order, while Sheikh Balım Sultan, his successor, consolidated its principles, ranks, stages of spiritual practice, and the roles of the disciples, making belief in Haji Bektash a condition for initiation.
- The Ottoman state relied on the Bektashi Order during its formative and expansionist phases, but with the empire's decline, it grew wary of the order and dismantled its religious centers during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II in 1826 CE.
- Despite the doctrinal deviations and negative aspects of Bektashism, it contributed to the spread of the Turkish language and sufi culture across many regions, especially in the Balkans, where it remains prevalent to this day.

Endnotes:

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- 2- Mamdouh Ghaleb Ahmed Bari, (2019), *Ibid*, p. 27.
- 3- 'Amer 'Abd Zayd al-Wa'ili, (1439H/2018), "al-Tariqa al-Sufiyya al-Baktashiyya: al-Usul wa al-Tahawwulat fi al-Khitab," *Majallat al-'Aqidah*, Vol. 15, Jumada al-Thani, p. 243.
- 4- Badi'ah Muhammad 'Abd al-'Al, (2010), *al-Fikr al-Batini fi al-Anatoli, al-Imam 'Ali (karam Allah wajhahu) fi Mu'taqad al-Baktashiyya Namudhajan*, Cairo, al-Dar al-Thaqafiyya lil-Nashr, pp. 9–10; also see: 'Amer 'Abd Zayd al-Wa'ili, (1439H/2018), *Ibid*, p. 244.
- 5- Badi'ah Muhammad 'Abd al-'Al (2010), *Ibid*, p. 14.
- 6- Lothrop Stoddard, (1932), *Hadhr al-'Alam al-Islami*, trans. 'Ajaj al-Nuwayhid, edited by Amir Shakib Arslan, Vol. 4, Cairo, Matba'at 'Isa al-Babi al-Khalili, p. 349.
- 7- 'Ali 'Ali Abu Shami, (2017), *al-Tasawwuf wa al-Turuq al-Sufiyya fi al-'Asr al-Muta'akhir*, Beirut, Bisan lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzi', p. 283.
- 8- Ahmad Sari Baba, (1934), *al-Risala al-Ahmadiyya fi Tarikh al-Tariqa al-'Aliyya al-Baktashiyya bi Misr al-Mahrousa*, Cairo, Matba'at al-Shabab, p. 10.
- 9- Ahmad Sari Baba, (1934), *Ibid*, p. 7.
- 10- Ahmad Sari Baba, (1934), *Ibid*, pp. 8–9; also see: 'Amer 'Abd Zayd al-Wa'ili, (1439H/2018), *al-Tariqa al-Sufiyya al-Baktashiyya: al-Usul wa al-Tahawwulat fi al-Khitab, Majallat al-'Aqidah*, Vol. 15, p. 246; also see: Lothrop Stoddard, (1932), *Ibid*, p. 349.
- 11- Khalid Muhammad 'Abduh, (n.d.), "Khulasat Bahth: al-Tasawwuf fi Turkiya, al-Baktashiyya," *Great Middle East Gate*, www.greatmiddleeastgate.com.
- 12- Badi'ah Muhammad 'Abd al-'Al, (2010), *Ibid*, p. 28.
- 13- *Ibid*, p. 36.
- 14- 'Ali 'Abd al-Rahman al-Qar'awi, (2020), "al-Tasawwuf fi Bilad al-Bosna wa al-Hirsik: Asbabuhu wa Atharuhu," *Majallat 'Ulum al-Shari'a wa al-Dirasat al-Islamiyya*, No. 82, Muharram, p. 517.
- 15- 'Abdullah bin Dujayn al-Suhaili, (2005), *al-Turuq al-Sufiyya: Nashatuha wa 'Aqa'iduha*, Seville, Dar Kunuz Ishbiliya lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzi', p. 95.
- 16- 'Amer 'Abd Zayd al-Wa'ili, (1439H/2018), *Ibid*, p. 257.
- 17- **Al-'Inkishariya**: Turkish origin word "Yeni Çeri," composed of "Yeni" (new) and "Çeri" (army), meaning "new army." Arabic pronunciation evolved to "Al-Yenijariya," then to "Al-'Inkishariya." See: *Tarikh al-Tasawwuf*, (2019), *Ibid*, p. 48; and 'Amer 'Abd Zayd al-Wa'ili, (1439H/2018), *Ibid*, p. 262.

- 18- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, (1439H/2018), *Ibid*, p. 263.
- 19- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, (1439H/2018), *Ibid*, p. 264.
- 20- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, (1439H/2018), *Ibid*, pp. 246–247.
- 21- Muhammad ‘Ali al-Sallabi, (2013), “Min Asbab Suqut al-Dawla al-‘Uthmaniyya al-Tasawwuf al-Munharif,” www.alsalabi.com
- 22- ‘Abdullah bin Dujayn al-Suhaili, (2005), *Ibid*, p. 94; also see: ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Hafni, (1993), *Mawsu‘at al-Firaq wa al-Jama‘at wa al-Madhahib al-Islamiyya*, 1st ed., Dar al-Rashad lil-Tib‘ wa al-Tawzi‘, p. 108.
- 23- Badi‘ah Muhammad ‘Abd al-‘Al, (2010), *Ibid*, p. 42.
- 24- *Ibid*, pp. 33–34.
- 25- *Al-Qur’an al-Karim*, Surah An-Nisa, Ayah 48.
- 26- *Al-Qur’an al-Karim*, Surah An-Nisa, Ayah 116.
- 27- ‘Abdullah Dujayn al-Suhaili, (2005), *Ibid*, pp. 100–101.
- 28- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, (1439H/2018), *Ibid*, p. 254.
- 29- ‘Ali ‘Ali Abu Shami, (2017), *Ibid*, p. 283.
- 30- ‘Ali ‘Ali Abu Shami, (2017), *Ibid*, p. 283; also see: Lothrop Stoddard, (1932), *Ibid*, p. 350.
- 31- ‘Abdullah Dujayn al-Suhaili, (2005), *Ibid*, p. 95.
- 32- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, *Ibid*, pp. 255.
- 33- *Ibid*, p. 255; also see: ‘Ali bin ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Qar‘awi, *Ibid*, p. 491.
- 34- Badi‘ah Muhammad ‘Abd al-‘Al, *Ibid*, p. 69.
- 35- *Ibid*, p. 66.
- 36- ‘Ali bin ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Qar‘awi, *Ibid*, p. 517; also see: ‘Abdullah bin Dujayn al-Suhaili, *Ibid*, p. 95.
- 37- Badi‘ah Muhammad ‘Abd al-‘Al, *Ibid*, pp. 128–129.
- 38- *Ibid*, p. 138.
- 39- ‘Ali ‘Ali Abu Shami, *Ibid*, p. 281; also see: ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Hafni, *Ibid*, p. 108.
- 40- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, *Ibid*, pp. 256–257.
- 41- Badi‘ah Muhammad ‘Abd al-‘Al, *Ibid*, p. 38.
- 42- ‘Ali ‘Ali Abu Shami, *Ibid*, pp. 284–285.
- 43- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, *Ibid*, p. 257; also see: ‘Ali ‘Ali Abu Shami, *Ibid*, p. 284.
- 44- ‘Abdullah bin Dujayn al-Suhaili, *Ibid*, p. 152.
- 45- Muhammad Hilmi ‘Abd al-Wahhab, *Ibid*, p. 529.
- 46- Muhammad Hilmi ‘Abd al-Wahhab, *Ibid*, p. 532.
- 47- Muhammad Hilmi ‘Abd al-Wahhab, *Ibid*, pp. 533–534.
- 48- Rabia Muhammad ‘Abd al-‘Al, *Ibid*, p. 73.
- 49- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, *Ibid*, p. 264.
- 50- Mamdouh Ghaleb Ahmed Bari, *Ibid*, p. 5.
- 51- *Ibid*, p. 63.
- 52- Mahmoud al-Sayyid al-Dughaym, (2005), “Muhammad Ali Pasha min Wajhat Nazar ‘Uthmaniyya,” special conference on Muhammad Ali Pasha, Alexandria Library website.
- 53- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, *Ibid*, p. 264.
- 54- ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Qar‘awi, *Ibid*, p. 480; also see: Suhail Sabban, (2000), *Al-Mu‘jam al-Mawsu‘i lil-Mustalahat al-Tarikhiyya*, Riyadh, King Fahd National Library, p. 22.
- 55- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, *Ibid*, pp. 258–259.
- 56- ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, *Ibid*, p. 259.
- 57- *Ibid*, p. 260.
- 58- *Al-Duwishirma*: Also called *defshirmeh*, this term refers to Christian boys recruited by the Ottoman state to serve as soldiers in the military system. Their ages ranged between eight and fifteen years. They recited the Shahada to enter Islam and had to meet physical fitness requirements. They were brought by Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid from the Balkans, then Anatolia, and other Ottoman territories. See: Suhail Sabban, *Ibid*, p. 115; also see: ‘Ali Muhammad al-Sallabi, (2001), *Al-Dawla al-‘Uthmaniyya: ‘Awamil al-Nahdah wa Asbab al-Suqut*, 1st ed., Dar al-Tawzi‘ wa al-Nashr al-Islamiyya, Egypt, p. 53.
- 59- Rabia Muhammad ‘Abd al-‘Al, *Ibid*, p. 41.
- 60- Mamdouh Ghaleb Ahmed Bari, *Ibid*, pp. 67–68; also see: ‘Amer ‘Abd Zayd al-Wa’ili, *Ibid*, p. 262.
- 61- *Ibid*, p. 70.

62- Muhammad ‘Ali al-Sallabi, *Ibid*, pp. 340–341.

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✓ *Al-Qur’an al-Karim*, Surah An-Nisa, Ayah 48–116.

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