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FOUCAULDIAN ANALYSIS OF "POWER" IN HALVETI- CERRAHI TEKKE IN  
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FOUCAULT'CU BİR ANLAYIŞ İLE HALVETİ-CERRAHI TEKKESİ  
İÇERİSİNDEKİ GÜÇ KAVRAMININ ANALİZİ

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## ABSTRACT

My thesis concerns the power relationship of “Sheikh” and “Dervish” in Turkish Sufism; The Case of Halveti Jerrahi Tekke in Karagümrük. According to Foucault, in general power could be defined as the set of relations and the flow that depends on capillary circuits in the society as micro practices, also is something travels around in the discourse rather than an institution or group holds and governs. The discourse of Turkish Sufism consists of the full submission to the sheikh and being like a deceased body of the *gassal* whose duty is the washing of the dead. The idea of power in Foucault correlates the consent of the dervishes being affiliated to their sheikh without any legal sanction; interestingly how Foucauldian modern form of power juxtaposition the very traditional form or power in Sufism would be analyzed. In Sufism, there are many rules and regulations for the dervish starting from the “biat” (obeisance) to the seyr-i suluk (the journey of the self), including the not only practices and ceremonies but also the submission of dreams to the Sheikh. In addition, tariqats of Sufism, in a way includes the model of Bentham’s Panopticon which Foucault refers in his theory as a system of surveillance; that dervishes behave as if there was an imaginary panopticon in which their Sheikh always sees, knows and controls them. My thesis focused on this assumption whether Foucauldian modern form of power could be the core of traditional and religious attachment of dervishes to their Sheikh. The study stresses the ethnographic data of participant observation and in depth interviews of dervishes in Karagümrük, moreover a compact literature review of the resources. Due to inter-group relationships and organizations, Sufi tariqas have been seen as cultural associations though they have very marginal Islamic attitudes. Although Tekke is assumed as a premise of tolerance politics in Turkish secularism, tariqa would be tough disciplined way of divinity. Henceforth this thesis would be a humble remark on literature which would include the partial observation of an Islamic tariqa and the of power relationships in Tekke.

## ÖZET

Bu çalışma Karagümrük'teki Halveti Cerrahi Tekkesi Örneği özelinde Türk İslam Tasavvufu'nda "Şeyh" "Derviş" ilişkisini inceler. Foucault'ya göre iktidar genel olarak bir ilişkiler kümesi, mikro pratikler vasıtasıyla toplumun kılcal damarlarındaki bir akış olarak tanımlanır; ayrıca iktidar bir kurumun ya da grubun elinde tuttuğu ya da yönettiği değil söylem aracılığıyla dolaşıma girer. Türk Tasavvufi söylemi tıpkı bir gassalın elindeki ölü gibi şeyhe mutlak teslimiyeti içerir. Foucault'daki iktidar kavramı dervişlerin herhangi bir yasal yaptırım olmaksızın şeyhlerine bağlanmaya rıza göstermeleriyle ilişkilendirilir; ilginç bir biçimde Foucault'nun modern iktidar formu epey geleneksel bir iktidar formu olan Tasavvuf ile birlikte nasıl düşünülebileceği analiz edilecektir. Tasavvufta derviş için, biattan başlayıp seyr-i süluk'a uzanan ve yalnızca pratik ve ayinleri değil rüyaların bile Şeyhe teslim edildiği, pek çok kural ve düzenleme vardır. Ek olarak, Tasavvufi tarikatler, bir ölçüde Foucault'nun eserlerinde bir gözetleme sistemi olarak referans verdiği Bentham'ın Panoptikon'unu içerir; dervişler hayali bir panoptikon varmış ve bu yolla Şeyhleri sürekli görüyor, biliyor ve kontrol ediyormuş gibi davranırlar. Bu tez, dervişlerin şeyhlerine yönelik geleneksel ve dini bağlılıklarının temelinde Foucaultcu modern iktidar formunun olabileceği varsayımına odaklanır. Bu çalışma, katılımcı gözlem yoluyla elde edilmiş etnografik veriyi, Karagümrük'teki dervişlerle gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine mülakatların yanında yoğun bir literatür taramasını içerir. Grup içi ilişkiler ve organizasyonlar nedeniyle, oldukça marjinal İslami tutumlar içerseler de, Tasavvufi tarikatler kültürel cemiyetler olarak görülmüşlerdir. Tekkeler Türk sekülerizminin hoşgörü politikasının öncülleri gibi addedilseler de, tarikatler ilahi olana ulaştıran sıkı disiplin içeren yollardır. Bundan böyle, İslami bir tarikatın katılımcı gözlemini içeren ve tekkedeki iktidar ilişkilerini inceleyen bu tez literatüre naçiz bir katkı sağlayacaktır.

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*To the loving memory of our dear İbrahim Akkökler,*

*(1923-2014)*

## I. INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I focus on the Halveti-Jerrahi Dervish Lodge in Karagümruk since while all dervish lodges have been abandoned in Turkey with the law, Halveti Jerrahi Dervish Lodge<sup>1</sup> (Tekke)<sup>2</sup> has been accomplished to survive until this time with all of the entourage like its existing monumental heritage, continuous rituals, and members from all over the world.

It could be assumed that this research consists of an ethnographic study of *Halveti-Jerrahi Tekke* in *Karagümruk* to explore the structure of the relationship between Sheikh and Dervish in Sufi tradition. Additionally, there have been semi-structured in-depth interviews with the Sheikh and random method of sampling from the dervishes via snowball technique.

Observations in natural setting would be included and there have been self-report measures to acquire quantifiable data for the regular Thursday dhikr (sacrament), *iftars* (the evening meal for Ramadan fast), Monday meşks (the rite of collective singing and playing instruments), *kuşluk* (the special sacrament in the night of *bayram*), the funerals and *mevlids* (Mawlid). The case study would take one and half year follow-up including religious eids (*Bayram*) to be a comprehensive one. Available documents, objects would be recorded completely as possible in the data gathering process. Personally collected data from the field by being a participant observer would be analyzed and evaluated in the discussion part of the thesis.

The third part of the thesis would include the geographical and architectural information about Tekke in regard to key features of the Sufi lodges as well the historical traditional

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<sup>1</sup> In this thesis dervish lodges would be nominated as Tekke

<sup>2</sup> In Turkey, there have been many dervish lodges (Tekkes) who survived in de facto status such as Kadiri Tekke.

monuments and the current enduring ones. It should be considered that tekkes are the very private and closed institutions rather than being social associations and the components of the harmony of the society. The spatial organization of the sacred places would be questioned if there is a relation between spatial knowledge and religiosity since it could be said that tekkes are not like institutions of solidarity that regulated all parts of the public spirit in terms of unity, tekkes might be the places of the tariqa members becomes dervishes who have a normal life which could be full of not only the daily activities of a man, but also the reification of their souls and emancipation from the evil ideas. How the space of Tekke would affect the sheikh who could be deriving power from the location by gathering his dervishes together could be assessed. Furthermore, how the sheikh might create a form of as-if world by demarcating a space-time relationship that should be beyond the present by exemplifying a totality and reconfigured in the light of possibilities that flow from them. Hence, the embodiment of subjects is going to be evaluated in this section with the concept of heterotopia of Foucault.

After one and half year of ethnographic study, my thesis would include the discussion that the power of the sheikh who could be the sacred intermediary between the prophet and God. I provide brief historicity of the Tekke in regard to the grand sheikhs, the architectural structure, religious rites and practices, and after that I mentioned about the power of the Sheikh who is accepted as the guide of the mystic reification and his consent would be required for not only the otherworldly activities but also inner word practices. In other words, the ambivalence of the mundane matters of this life would be enlightened by saints in Tekke.

There should be full devotion and generosity by dervishes since the Sheikh who is also a defender for the evil tricks and deceptions of Satan, would be promised to help

dervishes on the day of Resurrection. Dervish should have total honesty, trust and obedience to the sheikh, if this lacks, sheikh will understand. The bond between the sheikh and the dervish is akin to the relationship of man and God that means if the dervish has a satisfactory relationship with the Sheikh then undoubtedly, has the same with God. Power could be located in the particular field of the society, as Foucault argues, and the power of the Sheikh is indirect, non-subjective and productive in Tekke.

The subjectivation- objectivation dynamic, through which an individual self is formed as it interacts with the external world outside the self, is something that each of us participates in from an early age in defining ourselves. “Since subjectivation-objectivation<sup>3</sup> is exercised by every individual on a daily basis, it is not restricted to the privileged elite; the only prerequisites are to be capable of thinking and acting”. Shortly, these power relations characterize the way human beings govern one another thus how the subject is objectified via the certain procedures of governance. Hence, the Sufi path of a dervish which would be a long journey of discipline and subordination has a direct correlation with governmentality.

In my thesis, I also refer to Butler, who talks about the subject that we named before its existence and this practice could include ontological commitments. Butler mentions about the attachment to subjection which is could be possible with the psychic aspect of power due to the desire of live as “to be”. In addition to Butler, I refer to Deleuze in terms of his concept desire could be analyzed in the Power mechanism. Deleuze gives the visibility to Foucauldian concepts and how the power is produced within the society. I give brief information about the Deleuze reading of Foucauldian power.

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<sup>3</sup> Gutting 1994, 315

So I do challenge that if Tekke could have the features of the panopticon in order to enable the governmentality of dervishes who always suppose themselves visible by sheikh and they have to be honest with him. Not only their entire lives but also souls would be controlled by the Sheikh and they are mostly connected with the Sheikh's orientations. I try to find answers to some questions, like how Tekke put everyone together and why nobody escapes from the governing of the Sheikh. How the subject is subjectivated via the certain procedures of governance regarding Sufi path of the journey of *nefs*, and is there any form of micro bio-politics which includes full governmentality of bodies and auxiliary power into the psyche of dervishes have been assessed in my thesis.

## 1.HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### **Sheikh Pir Nureddin Jerrahi, The foundation of Halveti-Jerrahi Tekke and The Notable Sheikhs**

#### *Friends of God*

*Surely God's friends - no fear shall be  
on them, neither shall l they sorrow  
(Quran, 10: 62).*

The historical background of Islamic Sufism and Khalwatiyya in which khalwa's widely accepted meaning is being lonely and pray for God for forty days<sup>4</sup>, in Ottoman Empire is beyond the scope of this work, that's why the historical background is traced back to only *Jerrahism*, which is the branch of *Ramazaniyye* and the founder Pir Nurettin Jerrahi. The title of *Pir* would be denoted for the founder of the tariqa, similar sense of sheikh for the Arabic usage; in fact originally the word could be used to announce the elderly (patriarch) in a tribe or family<sup>5</sup>.

The “the friends of God”, it is the sheikhs, awliya, *Pir* etc might have special “power” which might be seen in the miracles or tackling specific issues while in all divine religions the saints could be considered as only channels of grace between divinity and the worshipper<sup>6</sup>. This power should be seen as either a gift from God because of the special effort of the saint or the influence on God himself, they are all mediators<sup>7</sup>.

Pir Nurettin Jerrahi was born in *Cerrahpaşa Yağcızade Konağı* in İstanbul<sup>8</sup> just opposite to the *Hobyar Mescid* which was a mosque burned to the ground and whose foundations

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<sup>4</sup> Kahtalı 1997, 1

<sup>5</sup> Buckley 1992, 30

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 32

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, 32

<sup>8</sup> For further information see *Tekmilet eş-Şakayık fil Hakk el-Hakayık*

were covered by the Cerrahpaşa *Hospital*<sup>9</sup>. The precise time of birth of Pir Nureddin Jerrahi is in dispute<sup>10</sup> yet it is known that the birth time could be forth of May in 1678 before noon on Monday according to the *Envar-ı Hz. Pir Nureddin*<sup>11</sup>. It could be said that in a spiritual sense, the Halveti Jerrahi tariqa traces its spiritual ascendancy right back to the day on which the history of Sufism begins which might be supposed as the Ubaydah ibn Jarrah who was declared as ten companions of Paradise with the Holy Prophet although this origin could be weak<sup>12</sup>.

It is crucial to understand from within “from the point of view of the tariqa” certain of the facts pertaining to Pir Hz. Nureddin Jerrahi’s birth, ancestry and noble lineage. The parallels with certain facts related to the birth of the Holy Prophet Mohammed (peace and blessings be upon him) are so remarkable as to be spiritually significant. It is said and more strongly believed that in the world of tariqa that nothing is fortuitous. All things are meaningful in the Creation of Allah, and the inner eye is the eye which sees the reality of all things, since the name of the Holy Prophet Mohammed (peace and blessings be upon him) is *Muhammad*, as is the first name of Pir Nureddin and the Holy Prophet Mohammed’s father’s name was *Abdullah*, as was that of the father of Pir. Also the Holy Prophet’s mother’s name was Amine, and so was the name of Pir Nureddin Jerrahi’s mother had the same<sup>13</sup>.

The birthdate of the Holy Prophet Mohammed and Pir is 12 Rabi’ul Awwal too and both came into this world on Monday. What is more important to note that the Holy Prophet was called *khatemul –anbiya* which would be the seal of prophets, since after him no other prophet would come: and the title given to Pir Nureddin Jerrahi could be

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<sup>9</sup> Dal 2006, 49

<sup>10</sup> Buckley 1992, 94

<sup>11</sup> Akkökler 2014, 8

<sup>12</sup> Dal 2006, 49

<sup>13</sup> Akkökler 2014

considered as *hatemul mujtahidin*, “the seal of interpreter of Islamic law”, since after him no other founder of a tariqa would make jurisprudence in tariqa rituals. He also had spiritual gifts from the other pirs like a cloak from Hz. Seyyid Abdulqadir Geylani, beauty from Seyyid Ahmed Bedevi, might from Seyyid İbrahim Dusuki etc<sup>14</sup>.

Pir Nureddin Jerrahi received classical training of Islam from the local *medreses*<sup>15</sup>. He was talented in calligraphy and there have been some studies of Pir Nureddin Jerrahi in the Tekke, also he got poetry training from the famous poet *Nabi*<sup>16</sup>. After the formal education, he was appointed as a Chief Judge to the Ottoman province of Egypt, an appointment which he was destined not to fill<sup>17</sup>. After a while, he met with sheikh al-hajj Ali Alaattin Köstendilli al-Khalwati, on the prompting of his uncle and became a dervish with full devotion<sup>18</sup>. He got his *icazet* (letter of approbation) after his “*khalwa*” (solitary retreat- fasting and praying) and saw a dream of building of a Tekke with İsmail Efendi near by the *Canfeda Hatun* Mosque in Fatih, Karagümrük by the permission of the Holy Prophet Mohammed. When he was let to leave the Tekke, he took the epithet “*Jerrahi*” from the master of the *Ramazaniyye* order, namely *sheikh al-hajj Ali Alaattin Köstendilli ai-Khalwati*<sup>19</sup>. It is so obvious that Pir could sense or informed by spiritually, the things before they happen, that could be unseen and hidden things, and İsmail Efendi was also informed about the construction of Tekke by Allah, that is considered as a real miracle<sup>20</sup>.

Sometime later a call came from Sultan Ahmed III who wished to meet and become personally acquainted with Pir Nureddin Jerrahi. It could be seen that there have

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<sup>14</sup> Akkökler 2014, 9

<sup>15</sup> Atacan 1990, 40

<sup>16</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 37

<sup>17</sup> Buckley 1992, 96

<sup>18</sup> Dal 2006, 49-50

<sup>19</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 38

<sup>20</sup> Dal 2006, 54

mentioned about two separate dreams which the former was seen by the *Sultan Ahmet III* and in this dream the Holy Prophet Mohammed appeared to the Sultan and ordered him to purchase the mansion as a *dergah* for Pir Nureddin Jerrahi<sup>21</sup>.

In the latter Pir Nureddin Jerrahi himself appeared to *al-Hajj Bashir Agha* who was the Keeper of the Sultan's Harem, and asked for the mansion to be his tekke<sup>22</sup>. The following morning the Sultan and the Keeper of his *Harem* told one another of their dreams and with the decree of Sultan, tekke could be built on this land<sup>23</sup>. Through the decree of Sultan Ahmet III, the Bekir Aga mansion was consigned to Pir Nurettin Jerrahi in order to be his tekke<sup>24</sup>. After these miraculous events, the tekke could be considered as a gift. In other words, the twelve-roomed mansion next to the *Canfedâ (Kethüda Kadın Mescidi)* in Karagümrük, belonging to a certain notable el Hajj Ebu Bekir Avni, was bought after the death of its owner, and transformed into a tekke for the dervishes in 1115/1703<sup>25</sup>. The Tekke was opened on Thursday when the regular meetings are held until present, the 6th of Rajab which coincided with the holy day the *Mirajj*<sup>26</sup>. Meanwhile, there had emerged other 29 Jerrahi Tekkes of which 24 were located in İstanbul since XVIII century<sup>27</sup>.

The detailed record of the biography of Pir Nurettin Jerrahi who was one of the religious elites, an insider and Islamic jurisconsult, is absent and he died in 1720 and his first dervish Suleyman Veliyeddin was the second leader of the order. Pir Nureddin Jerrahi spent eighteen years until his death on 9<sup>th</sup> *Zilhicce* 1133/1720<sup>28</sup>. Pir Nureddin Jerrahi passed away on a Monday evening, on the *Eid al-Adha* and was buried in the

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<sup>21</sup> Buckley 1992, 101

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 101

<sup>23</sup> Dal 2006, 56

<sup>24</sup> Atacan 1990, 40

<sup>25</sup> Akkökler 2014, 16

<sup>26</sup> Buckley 1992, 103

<sup>27</sup> Kahtalı 1997, 9

<sup>28</sup> Akkökler 2014, 8

tekke in which the tomb was placed by the feet of his mother, which could be taken by the Jerrahis as proof that he is in Paradise, on account of the hadith which relates that “Paradise is beneath the mother's-feet”<sup>29</sup>.

Pir Nureddin Jerrahi gives particular precedence to his observations concerning the relationship and attitudes of the novice towards his master: in essence, this relationship constitutes an attitude of total submission and subordination of the novices with regard to his superiors<sup>30</sup>. Thus, for example, a dervish must never resist or contradict his master in anything or in any way whatsoever. In fact, he who even harbors any feelings of opposition toward the master in his innermost self without actually actively opposing the sheikh' is already guilty of having broken the contract of allegiance *ahd* entered into upon the dervish obedience *biat*. In this manner, he will stray from the Path and will no longer be able to reach the ultimate goal of Sufism.

In one case only must the dervish oppose his master, however, and that is if the latter should forbid him to attend the communal dhikr (that would be infrequent and it happens only when the sheikh would like to test the dervish)<sup>31</sup>. Pir Nureddin Jerrahi has customized the number of *esma* in Halveti-Jerrahi Tariqa which could be the levels of the training of self, and he took “gifts” from 14 other main tariqa, those were listed as such, “*Sultan Veled Devri*” from Mevleviyye, “*Vefa Devri*” from *Zeyniye*, *Hafi* dhikr from *Naksibendiyye*, “*Bedevis Topu*” from *Bedevisyye*, “*Burhan*” from *Rufaiyye* and as accessories “*Elif Lam Bendi* ( A special belt) from *Bektaşiyye* , *Teber* and blue skin which denotes the maqam (position) from *Celvetiyye*<sup>32</sup>. Because of the location of the *tekke*, the members were the statesmen, craftsman, artisans who were called as

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<sup>29</sup> Buckley 1992, 103

<sup>30</sup> Akkökler 2014, 12

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 9

<sup>32</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 38

aristocracy in Ottoman Empire<sup>33</sup>. Pir Nureddin Jerrahi was buried in the heart of the sanctuary of the tekke in Karagümruk.

Suleyman Velieddin who was the second sheikh of the tariqa, was originally a dervish of *sheikh al-hajj Ali Alaattin Köstendilli ai-Khalwati* remained until 1158 (1745)<sup>34</sup>. The third leader of the order, after its founder, was Sertarikzade Mehmed Emin el-Kuddusi who had been a Khalife of Nureddin Jerrahi and Kasımpaşalı Seyyid Abdulaziz was the successor of Sertarikzade<sup>35</sup>.

It is notable that the *silsile* was continued to sheikh al-Hajj Ibrahim Fahrettin Erenden who was both the son and a khalifa of Sheikh Seyyid Mehmed Rizaeddin Yaşar Efendi, remained the acknowledged leader of the order to the law of abolishment of Tekkes in 1925, dervish lodges and small lodges, *zaviyes*. Sheikh Fahreddin Erenden claimed that all the world of God's creature would be supposed to be considered as tekke, there has been nothing to do with the walls<sup>36</sup>. In fact, the abolition of dervish lodges, tekkes, mainly rooted from the *Sheikh Said* rebellion after which not only the *Naqshibandi* order but also all of the tariqas were forbidden and they lost their influence on the society<sup>37</sup>. Sheikh Said was not only a Sufi sheikh but also a leader of a leading Kurdish tribe that had political and military power behind, that even had ethnic matters yet the rebellion resulted with the change in the Turkish constitution until when the multiparty democracy was assured in Turkey after the Second World War<sup>38</sup>.

According to the founder of the republic Mustafa Kemal Atatürk the separation of religion and politics would be indispensable rule to achieve the Western values which

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<sup>33</sup> Karaatlı, 2006, 40

<sup>34</sup> Buckley 1992, 107

<sup>35</sup> Öztürk 2004, 66-80

<sup>36</sup> Kahtalı 1997, 20

<sup>37</sup> Özdalga 1998, 37

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, 39,46

could be the key of the accomplishment of the modernization of Turkey<sup>39</sup>. So, due to abolition of the caliphate and other religious institutions for the sake of symbolic secularization, the political legitimacy would be established with the loyalty to the state, rather than the religion<sup>40</sup>.

Sheikh Fahreddin Erenden was contemporaneous with the laicism movement of Turkey and he would be a primary actor of the transformation of Tekke to “the House of Culture” (*Kültür Evi*) into the legal form<sup>41</sup>. Sheikh Fahreddin Erenden resisted to the law and executers by himself and sometimes he used his excellent classic music knowledge to get sympathy and never thought to fight against the state like the other counterparts<sup>42</sup>. Subsequently, mainly his humble effort, the House of Culture would be become The Association of the Preservation of Tomb and Nurettin Mosque, (*Nureddin Camii ve Türbesini Koruma Derneği*)<sup>43</sup>.

After the decease of sheikh al-hajj Fahrettin Erenden, the order was led by as seyyid sheikh al-Hajj Muzaffer Ozak who was qualified as *muezzin* also *hatip* and served in his capacity in a number of mosques in Istanbul, also studied calligraphy and owned a bookstore, having a family background of military officers<sup>44</sup>. At the time of Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak, Tekke would be seen as the cultural element of the modern liberal Turkey then headed by Turgut Özal<sup>45</sup>. From now on, Tekke would be considered as a foundation in 1981<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> Küçükcan, 2003, 486

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 488

<sup>41</sup> Özdamar 1995, 180

<sup>42</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 43

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*, 45

<sup>44</sup> Buckley 1992, 113

<sup>45</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 50

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, 50

Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak led the western branches were held and the Khalwatiyya Jerrahi Order in *Karagümriik* became the internationally widely known tariqa<sup>47</sup>. Like the other sheikhs he smoked a lot, and black felt wearing without beard unlike to the other sheikhs of tariqas who strictly forbid these kinds of modern and fancy attitudes. He was also known as with the joke of the nomination that is the “sheikh of women” before he would be a dervish of Sheikh Fahrettin Erenden, even Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak himself says that there were no men in around<sup>48</sup>. In Sufism manhood would be accepted as a claim of being constantly dhikr of Allah not disrespectful to the promise to Allah that he indented to say this matter<sup>49</sup>. Besides that Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak got married for twice and he had two children from the second wife<sup>50</sup>. He organized dhikr ceremonies (*usuls, ayins*) in abroad and had a remarkable audience<sup>51</sup>.

The name of the Tekke was changed to the Association of the Preservation and Continuation of Turkish Historical Music and Folklore (*Türk Tasavvuf Musikisini ve Folklorunu Koruma ve Yaşatma Vakfı*) in the time of Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak (1981)<sup>52</sup>. Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak had been meeting the other leaders of Sufi orders which remained illegal yet they refrained from political anti-secular activities in contrary to the other extremist orders<sup>53</sup>.

Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak had inscribed some significant books that some of them could be listed as *Ziyinet'ül Kulüb* (Adornment of Hearts), *Envar'ül Külüb* (Lights of the Hearts) and *İrşad* (Wisdom of a Sufi Master) and *Hazret-i Meryem* (The Blessed Virgin Mary,

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<sup>47</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 50

<sup>48</sup> Kahtalı 1997, 33

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, 33

<sup>50</sup> Buckley 1992, 116

<sup>51</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 50

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, 50

<sup>53</sup> Buckley 1992, 122

not published in Turkish)<sup>54</sup>. Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak deceased in 1985, and his ceremony of funeral would be considered as glorious since lots of dervishes wearing special caps, *meczubs* (believed that mentally ill but close to God, behaving weird in the public) and many people from all over the world who loved him. He was buried next to the Sheikh Fahreddin Erenden in Tekke with a special permission of the president Özal<sup>55</sup>.

The Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak has been succeeded as seyyid as sheikh al-hajj Safer Dal who was one of close dervishes of Sheikh Fahrettin Erenden. He was born in 1926 in İstanbul and he was a shipyard worker also a wafer halva maker; restaurant owner besides, he was also a considerable musician who contributed to the collection and arrangement of notes of hymns of Turkish Sufi music that has still performed today<sup>56</sup>. He was a poet respecting divine love who had a divan (collection of poems named *Muhibbi –The Lover- Divanı*) and a glossary of Sufi terms<sup>57</sup>.

After the decease (1999) of sheikh al-hajj Safer Dal, Tekke was handed in to the as-seyyid sheikh al-hajj Ömer Tuğrul İnancı, born in 1946 in Bursa, who involves in the occasions of Sufism especially he is influential in *Shab-i Arus* Ceremonies which commemorate the passing of Mawlana Jalal Al-Din Al-Rumi's and Rumi's masterwork in Turkey and he lectured in conferences, schools, TV programs both internationally and in the borders of Turkey. He practiced 21 years as a lawyer then he got retired from being the director and artist of İstanbul Historical Turkish Ensemble affiliated to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. He was still *postnişin* (head of the religious sacrament) in the ensemble. Mr. İnancı has lectured extensively on Rumi and the *Masnawi* on TV programs and at conferences, both internationally and in Turkey. He is

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<sup>54</sup> Kahtalı 1997, 37-39

<sup>55</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 51

<sup>56</sup> Çakır 2013, 15

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, 15-17

also the author of two books on Rumi and the Masnawi, including *Dinle Ney'den* (Listen to the Reed) and *Bir Muhammedi Asik Hz. Mevlânâ* (A Deep Lover of Muhammad), as well as numerous many other books in Turkish on Sufism and spirituality<sup>58</sup>.

The order today remain illegal although it seems tolerated one, besides the dervishes of the tariqa still refrains from the activities which would be political or anti-secularist, thus Turkey has not repealed laws banning the orders, in recent years it has merely chosen not to implement them.

Although there is still penal abolition to the deviant religious activities in contrary to the Sunni Orthodox Islam by presented from the very secular Turkey by the Presidency of Religious Affairs (*TC Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*), yet the center of Halveti-Jerrahi order is placed in İstanbul, Turkey, there are still many branches of the dervish lodge and the adherents would be seen in abroad such as Europe and USA also Latin America<sup>59</sup>. All of the religious activity is controlled by the state and due to the complaisance of the rulers these Sufi orders remain today<sup>60</sup>. To be clear, it could be said that in the initial base of the secularism, there has been mistrust to the Sufi intellectuals, dervishes as if they were the champions of the secular republic and would like to establish a government based on Islam<sup>61</sup>.

There had been restrictions on the religious symbols which were used in the public and there was a demand for the control of religion of Kemalist understanding of laicism rather than eliminating it since the zeitgeist were the incorporation of Western values to

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<sup>58</sup> <http://www.bozar.be/en/activities/80586-conference-with-omer-tugrul-inancer> retrieved in 22.11.2015

<sup>59</sup> Buckley 1992, 8-9

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*

the state in order to modernize the state<sup>62</sup>. Nevertheless in present Turkey, Sufi orders would be considered as the cultural elements of the state and in some way Jerrahism could be accepted as popular cultural mystic activity as the foundation would be related to the Turkish Sufi Musicology<sup>63</sup>.

In conclusion, despite all of the reforms that would provide the secularization and modernization, there had been a revival of Islam which would be exemplified as the opening of Islamic high schools, the proliferation of Islamic fashion industry, gaining popularity of Islamic music and journals the production of religious music, and the publication of Islamic journals, in contrary to the domination of Kemalist elite who would like to replace the function of metaphysical religiosity to the secular values<sup>64</sup>.

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<sup>62</sup> Zürcher 2005

<sup>63</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 51

<sup>64</sup> Küçükcan 2003, 506

### 3. ORDINARY LIFE AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN TEKKE

#### 3.1 Dhikr

Dhikr is the symbol of the fact that Allah would always see the dervishes<sup>65</sup> even they could not see him. In other words, dhikr is the permanent remembrance of Allah meaning either preventing to involve in sinful activities, or disbelief<sup>66</sup>. Dhikr could be either open or private, the former denoted the recollection with the tongue *dhikr jahri* which is performed collectively and the latter is the recollection of heart *dhikr khafi* which could be considered as superior<sup>67</sup>. Heart would be the seat of the divine knowledge<sup>68</sup>. Halveti Jerrahis gather two days of a week and involve in collective vocal dhikr: *dhikr jahri*. In Tekke, regular times, nobody would gather for the salat in contrary to the mosques however, *salat* is the second pillar of Islam which would have a similar meaning with dhikr, constant remembrance of Allah and symbol of unity of Muslims<sup>69</sup>. In addition, it could be said that the musical instruments would be used in Tekkes, whereas, in mosques they would not be allowed and the music is based on only the human vocal<sup>70</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> Buckley 1992, 253

<sup>66</sup> Geels 1996, 233

<sup>67</sup> Schimmel in Geels, 1996: 229-230

<sup>68</sup> Geels 1996, 231

<sup>69</sup> Saniotis 2015

<sup>70</sup> Demirtaş 2007, 46

### 3.1.a Monday Dhikr Ceremony- Meşk

*Meşk* is the getting used to or learning in Turkish<sup>71</sup>. Islamic tariqas have been prone to support their practices with the music especially reading the dhikr including *evrad*, *salavat* and performing *sema*<sup>72</sup>. It is very different than the music in the mosques, that in Tekke, the instruments like *kudüm*, *bendir*, *mazhar*, *halile*, *nevbe*, *ney* are utilized<sup>73</sup>. The lyrics of *meşk* are usually Turkish in Tekke which is another disparity from the mosque<sup>74</sup>. The subjects of the hymns could be the love of God, prophet and also his entourage and *awliyas* and the leader of the *meşk* is called as *serzakir* who is a well-educated musician and highly ranked dervish<sup>75</sup>. There are also celebrated composers within the Jerrahis<sup>76</sup>.

Likewise before all the rituals, Muslims could renew ablution for the *Meşk*. In the *practice of dhikr*, there would be a break for the passing through the *esma dhikr* and some dervishes who are *durakçı* sings the hymn and the practice was called as *durak*<sup>77</sup>.

Halveti Jerrahis have been using the dhikr which is the *zıkr-i cehri* and their dhikr could be a branch of classical Turkish music, also there existed many reputable composers within the tariqa, such as Tophaneli Mahmud Efendi, Bursalı Ebu Bekir, Fethullah Çelebi, Şeyh Müstakim, Edirneli, Şaban Dede, Şeyh Hasan Efendi, İmamzade Efendi, Şeyh Hasan Efendi, Mustafa Dede, Mehmed Nuri Efendi, Hacıkadınlı Nuri Efendi, Şeyh Hamdullah, Şeyh Salih Efendi, Yorgancı Şeyh Ömer Efendi, Şeyh Hafız Mehmed Efendi, Şeyh Mustafa, Kutucu Şeyh Ali, Hatib Hafız Mahmud Efendi, K. M. Paşalı Şeyh Hafız Hüseyin Efendi, Şeyh Mustafa Efendi, Şeyh İbrahim Ethem Efendi, Hafız

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<sup>71</sup> Develioğlu in Karaatlı, 2006, 102

<sup>72</sup> Öztürk 2004, 242

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid*, 243

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, 246

<sup>77</sup> Adar 2014, 154

Sadeddin Efendi, Hafız İsmail, Şeyh İbrahim Fahreddin (Erenden) Efendi Hafız Post, Şeyh Mehmed Nazmi, Çâlâk Şeyh Ahmed Efendi, Zâkirbaşı Ahmed Çelebi<sup>78</sup>.

In order to perform the *meşk*, there have to be time, place and the members of the *tariqa*<sup>79</sup> in addition there exist a belief that music leads to an increase both in the adherence to İslam and impiety of infidels<sup>80</sup>. While the *meşk* is continuing, there could be some frenzy behaviors which is strictly forbidden and the difference between the frenzy and rapt, devoid of any sensation of slap to his face<sup>81</sup>.

Monday was the day of *devran* (vocal dhikr of gathering dervishes) since the time of Sheikh Muzaffer Ozak, after him, Monday would be day of *Meşk*. In Mondays, dervishes come to Tekke in the *asr* prayer, they do the *usul* all together, then magrib prayer would be performed, they eat their food in the *sofra* (the small tables of twelve people put on the floor and the food is served in one big bowl per *sofra*, they share the food). After the *isha* prayer, *ihvan* (brothers and sisters who are the dervishes of Tekke) come together and sit in a regular circle, a screen which has the lyrics and the notes of the hymn would be put in front of them, so they can easily follow the music. The musicians put the right of the sheikh *Efendi*, and the *kıdemli dervishes* who are the old dervishes or the guests would sit next to Efendi. Efendi has the notes, and he is the head of the *Meşk*, he gives the rhythm and the *esmas* (the holy names of God) of the dhikr.

Women are placed in the second floor of the Tekke, they have also a screen which has the full scene of the place of *Meşk*, and still they do not have the lyrics and notes like men. Women deal with *Meşk* via listening rather than joining. *Semazens* perform *sema* while the *meşk* is continuing; they use the *meydan* (where the dervishes perform the

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<sup>78</sup> Güney in Adar 2014, 156

<sup>79</sup> Cüneyd-i Bağdadi in Demir 2010, 372

<sup>80</sup> Zü'n-Nün Mısri in Demir 2010, 372

<sup>81</sup> Demir 2010, 382

dhikr), since Efendi and the *ihvan* are placed in the other room which is opening to *Meydan* and the *ocak*, and also the place of *sohbet* that is the sermon of Efendi which could be related to the anything not necessarily about religion.

The hymn would be related to the exilic calendar, to illustrate in *Muharrem* month, the instruments would not be used in the *Meşk*, since the Karbala was happened in this month and it is a kind of mourning. In *eids*, it could be seen that the lyrics would be linked to the *eids*. *Semazens* are the elected dervishes of the Tekke, they usually are charged this duty with the dreams. They are involved in a strict training process, and they can start in their childhood. In the back rooms of the Tekke, the beginners are exercising the reeling. *Semazens* would know the way, customs and propriety (*usul, erkan and adab*), it is not the part of folklore, but it is part of the religious rite.

Some tourist groups could come to Tekke on Mondays and they can sit at the *zıvvar maksuresi* which is placed on the *mihrab* (niche in a mosque wall indicating the direction of Mecca) of the Tekke when you enter the *meydan* it is in the right. Sama (*Sema* whirling dervishes with religious music) is started with the tone of the kudüm, then continues with the *ney*, at this moment *semazens* stand up with a strong hit to the floor which symbolizes the resurrection day<sup>82</sup>. Left side of the *meydan* is the symbol of the other world (*alem-i gayb*) and the right side is considered to be this world (*alem-i şühud*), in addition *semazens* walk through left to right, highness to the lowness and route to sheikh is the sign of the spiritual journey of dervishes<sup>83</sup>. After greeting each other that is called *cemal seyri*, dervishes waits the others without standing on the invisible stroke (*hattı istiva*) that only sheikh could pass through and not backing onto

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<sup>82</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 106

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*

the post<sup>84</sup>. *Semazens* take three tours which is the symbol of three stages: to they get their cardigans off with the end of the *ney* solo, they position as they pray then sheikh kisses the conical hats of the dervishes and *sema* starts.

While *sema* is ongoing, sheikh starts the dhikr which is done by sitting only with heads; it could be shorter than the dhikr of the Thursdays. When *sema* is finished, at the same time dhikr is ended, the *hatim duası* would be done and Efendi pray vocally and dervishes would join. Efendi smokes while he is talking; however the dervishes are not to be allowed. Some days of the participant observation, it could be seen that some reputable old dervishes could smoke with the permission of Efendi, still that is rare. While Efendi is continuing to his *sohbet*, women are listening from the second floor either from *meydan* or the other rooms.

There have been loud speakers in all rooms in Tekke both in the first floor that belongs to men, and the second floor. Some days, Efendi warn people against the speculations to Islam and have some straight words that dervishes would be pleased for his toughness (*celal*) but some guests would be displeased from this kind of speech and also the existence of cigarette and that cause their disengagement to the Tekke.

The actors within a group who derive powers and meanings from the location<sup>85</sup>, can come together and create a form of as-if world by demarcating a space-time which is beyond the present by exemplifying a totality and reconfigured in the light of possibilities that flow from them<sup>86</sup> thus the embodiment is crucial for the affect which is neither simply an emotion nor the perceptions of individual subject, rather it is the

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<sup>84</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 107

<sup>85</sup> Thrift 2007, 116

<sup>86</sup> Radley in Thrift 2007, 116

becomings that goes beyond the perceptions who live through them (they become other)<sup>87</sup>.



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<sup>87</sup> Radley in Thrift 2007, 116

### **3.1.b Thursday Dhikr Ceremony- Devran**

In Thursdays, communal dhikr takes place in Tekke. The dervishes come together at the time of *asr* which is the compulsory daily prayer of the third, after the *usul*<sup>88</sup> and *magrib* prayer which is the fourth of daily prayer, they eat dinner that is served by dervishes themselves, together in the small tables by sitting in the floor. Their food is served in a bowl for each table, and everyone eat from the same bowl. Generally, soup is the entrée, and after the soup, the main course would be served and it could be meat added vegetable or legumes with traditional white rice, lastly dessert would be served. Dervishes do not intend to satisfy with the food, so it is very common to eat less in dinner than they have in their regular time. It could be very hard to tolerate with the physical toughness of dhikr in *meydan* if they eat to their fill.

Subsequently the dinner, one of people of table would pray God loudly for the food and the others say amen. After the reciting Qoran, pray and *isha* salat (last daily prayer), which could be arranged for communal pray according to the lifestyles of dervishes, mainly starts at eight o'clock in winter, yet it is more or less coincided with the regular time of pray in summers; dervishes would sit in semi-circles in front of the *galyak* (sheep skin) of Efendi who has two khalifes in his both sides, and the twelve *galyaks* (sheep skin) would be exhibited in the *meydan* which symbolizes the twelve imams. Muzaffer Ozak<sup>89</sup> mentions how the dhikr circle of angels would be and that's why the dervishes would do the same.

Efendi and Khalifes would wear their special clothes, come and sit in front of the community with the call of Meydancı Baba "Destur Ya Hu!". Dervishes who are in

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<sup>88</sup> Usul is the vocal reading of evrad in Tekke

<sup>89</sup> Karaatlı 2006, 109

charge of singing the hymn, would be positioned in the maksure which would include the *minber* (pulpit where the head prayer is located in the salat) of the communal prayer.

In the *tevhid* dhikr, after the reciting of *Salat- Kemaliyye and Salat-ı Kutbiyye*, all of the dervishes including the *maksure* part, they are sitting in the floor. In midst of the dhikr, *meydancı* baba comes in front of Efendi and brings the *buhurdan*, a bowl of water and some underwear clothes of the sick people who are brought by dervishes. It is believed that these underwear clothes and water could be healing likewise the prophet Jonah who was cured with the underwear of his son the prophet Josef. *Tevhid* dhikr could be in the range of forty and five hundred. Towards the end, *meydancı* baba comes and takes the *buhurdan* and the others from the *meydan*.

For the *kıyam* dhikr, the carpets in the *meydan* would be tidied up carefully, which carpet would be located where is strictly determined and controlled by the older and assigned dervishes. Then, all dervishes stand up and make a circle again, they have their arms in others shoulder and turn around Efendi. There has been a communal hymn while dervishes are positing and ended with the calling of Efendi “*ism-i pak, Cism-i pak, Nesl-i pak, Hz. Muhammed Mustafa ra Salavat!*”.

After the praising of the Holy Prophet Mohammed, the hymn continues and Efendi looks each and every dervish’s eyes in the turning circle. The tempo of the dhikr could be controlled by Efendi by tapping on the floor in order to achieve the desired rhythm<sup>90</sup>. It is very common that first orbital would be consisted of the boys, and the second is the higher positioned dervishes. Sometimes, it could be seen that Efendi joins the circle while he is directing the dhikr which could be *İsmi-i Celal* (HU) and ends with the calling of Efendi (*İlla Hu!*). Efendi taps to the floor with the name of Allah “Hay” and

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<sup>90</sup> Buckley 1992, 257

take off the special clothes of him only wears the *haydariye* and the Halveti cap.

Rhythm would be fastened and with the dhikr of *bedevi topu* reaches the highest level.

When Efendi calls “*Ya Hay!*” all the dervishes come closer to each other and touch their backs, when they say the dhikr “*Ya Hay!*”, they are elevating in their foot finger tips in minor high. It is assumed that there are angels positioned on the floor, and dervishes cannot let out their feet out of the floor. When Efendi calls *illallah*, the dhikr would be ended and the last part would be initiated. In that part, dervishes would be separated in two sections and looking to each other, Efendi gives the names and they do the *kıyam* dhikr. It would be realized face to face. After that part, dervishes would position with the *Elif* salaam and says Allah, Allah constantly without any break, and a khalife reads the *gulbank*, after that Efendi prays in Turkish, then leave the *meydan*. When he come the end of the *meydan*, he salaams the dervishes, and only *meydancı* baba replies him. There is not allowed to talk the other dervishes since Efendi salaams the *meydan*.

After the dhikr, it is not be welcomed to drink water, since it is supposed to damp the warmth love of Allah inside. After the *devran*, Efendi talks and the dervishes listen to him, women are in upstairs with the giant screens and the others in the downstairs both screens or live. Efendi smokes and the others do not bother from this situation, yet some guests could not understand why a sheikh smokes. Dervishes say that, if cigarette is haram (forbidden), we burn it, if it is *mekruh* (a bad choice), we quell, if it is *helal* (free), we smoke. In the end of the *meydan*, desserts, fruits or some biscuits would be served to dervishes next to tea.

### 3.2 Marriage Ceremony

The prospective bride and groom from Tekke, does not matter how old are their obeisance, or if any of them is not a dervish of there, Efendi could realize the marriage ceremony on the *meydan* if the marriage day would be on Mondays and Thursdays which are the collective dhikr time. There could be exceptions, however, generally marriage ceremonies would be done before the *usul* which is the everyday dhikr for dervishes yet done with together on Mondays and Thursdays only. Efendi sits on the red post in the *meydan or meşk room* and his face is looking through the dervishes who sit in front of him in a circle. Efendi pray for the new couple, and ask both bride and groom, did you accept him or her as your husband or wife for three times. It is very significant to use the past tense, since Islamic law acknowledges the past tense for the contract of marriage in addition to the existence witnesses. Some dervishes could be considered as witnesses and the others were the spectators, furthermore the *mihir* would be demanded by Efendi on behalf of the bride that is the asset of women which she gets for the gift of the marriage from men.

*Mihir* is not the same as *başlık parası* since *mihir* could only be taken by the bride herself. Traditionally, bride says *helal ettim* (ok, I gave it my husband voluntarily), yet it is compulsory for men to give what she wants. These demands would be written in a piece of paper, reputable dervishes who are the witnesses of the marriage, and given to the new couple. In this paper, *mihir* and the *talaks* (the right of divorce) would be included. In that kind of traditional ceremony the rights of divorce would be given to the man, however if the woman want to get them, either she will get all of them or partially. If anything would not be said, man could be the assigned to have the rights. Finally, Efendi would give the stamp of the Halveti Jerrahi Tekke to the bride that seems like a golden necklace alike to the medallion. Many often, marriage ceremonies would not be

one in a night, could be two or three, and all the ceremony would be done again with a full concentration and care. In Islam, with the marriage, it is believed that new couple would be emancipated with their old sins, and they would be innocents like babies. After the ceremony, young couple could kiss the hand of Efendi who would give them two pieces of chocolate to bride and said “break it to two, and one half for your husband and eat one half yourself”, then give one chocolate to groom, “break it into two, one half for your husband and eat one half yourself”, generally asks the question of “one plus one equals what?” the new couple replies one, so this conversation symbolizes the unity of the couple, and their togetherness would be superior than other everything including their own families.

### 3.3 Circumcision Ceremony

Circumcision is compulsory for all Muslim boys so in Tekke, there would be a ceremony for that. Around 21<sup>st</sup> of June, this ceremony would be held, before this time, there would be announcements for the collective circumcision. Dervishes and any boys from neighborhood could be welcomed to the event. Tables would be established in the back rooms of Tekke, medical doctor comes to Tekke and boys lie down in front of him, one by one their circumcision would be done, they dressed their traditional dress which is white long dress look like the *jellabiye* of Arab men, and after the operation is done, they go to next to Efendi for kissing hand of him. The operation would be done within the men, there are no women inside except for mothers, and a man called “kirve” would be placed in the head of the boy.

*Kirve* is a precious position in Turkish culture, since circumcision would be accepted as the transition to the manhood for a boy, and it is a practice of the Holy Prophet Mohammed. *Kirve* is the experienced guy who could be a support for the boy for his lifetime. He is like a degraded father of the boy. After they kiss the hand, Efendi gives them a present and to tug at boys’ heart strings. The ceremony is very same with a festival, the instruments, musicians, toys and lots of boys would be there, food and desert would be given, in addition hymn would be sang by dervishes. Women are placed in the upstairs and they have fun too. They can watch the room which Efendi is placed, so they can watch their boys while they are kissing Efendi’s hand that coincides the time of circumcision.

### 3.4 Birth Ceremony

If a woman dervish gives birth, after the birth for the naming ceremony, the parents of the new born bring the baby to Efendi. If the day is Monday, Efendi would accept them after the *Meşk*, with the father only because the mother is in the upstairs. However, sometimes woman dervish could come with the baby in the *Meşk* room. There do not exist any strict rules in Tekke, there are sanctions, traditions by practices. Frequently, dervishes demand Efendi a meaningful name for the baby. Efendi would ask “what name the mother wants?”, and the father says “You would know well my lord”, then Efendi asks three times, and the last one, if the mother wants a name for the baby, the father says the name.

It is crucial that the name would denote something religious, or means good thing since, in Islam, it is the duty of the parents to call a good name the offspring which is one of the right of the child from his or her parents. In other words, on the day of resurrection, the child could give his or her parents what for the good naming. If Efendi accepts the name, sometimes could add one more name, a *kıdemli* dervish or Efendi himself call the azan on the baby’s ear and Efendi says his name with the expression of *Beyefendi* (gentleman) or *Hanımefendi* (lady) for three times. Repeatedly, it could be observed that the babies especially newborns do not cry with this ceremony in the hands of Efendi who treats them in a merciful way.

After naming ceremony, with a special dhikr, his cap or scarf would be given and the baby is accepted to the tariqa. His or her biat would be realized in this way, and the dervishes call them “*tekkede doğanlar*” (dervishes born in Tekke), and some jokes would be done for them, their names are “*Zeynep Kamil*” which is a well-known maternity hospital in Istanbul.

### 3.5 Funeral Ceremony

For a dervish, the funeral ceremony could be started in the hospital with the existence of other dervishes who read *evrad*. After that dervishes put the deceased dervish to the washing house of dead with the burial permit document and his own bag in which all they need were included, soap, rose perfume, towel, cotton etc. Dervishes, after the first wash, full ablution, they would start to *tevhid*<sup>91</sup> and dhikr of God's names. Sometimes, the relatives who are not dervishes, they can have a creepy feeling while the vocal dhikr continues since this place the washing house of dead would be identified with the silence.

“Knowledge of a place is strongly related to the senses like moving, seeing, listening or evoking smell which are together with the nostalgia, rage, bitterness; thus a place would turn into an object of feeling”<sup>92</sup>. In Turkey, the washing of house of deads especially the big ones, could have nine rooms, where always associated with “the fear”; most of the time people goose flesh goose pimples, accordingly it could be said that here is the object of projected fantasies<sup>93</sup>.

The six rooms are for washing where are really hygienic, and have smell of rose and marble floor with a crepuscular light. These rooms have a waste of garbage, single use removal washing tools, henna and that kind of stuff. The other three rooms belong to the imams, *gassals*<sup>94</sup>, and the drivers of funeral vehicle. This could be a rare thing for any funeral that the dervishes would be so crowded there, and people who were afraid of the imagination of their own death, have a hesitation to enter the washing house, thus the geographies of religion as being religious-spiritual spaces have “quiver with

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<sup>91</sup> That is the main principle of Islam, God is one.

<sup>92</sup> Aretxega 1997, 25

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid*, 32

<sup>94</sup> The men who are in charge of washing the dead people

affective energy’<sup>95</sup> “which has wider socio-cultural discourses, institutions, norms, and practices were reproduced and on occasion transformed”<sup>96</sup>. The washing house is perceived as the place of ghosts and spirits which do not exist as a real material thing, but at the same time they could be touched by someone, and hunted, possessed and thus are in certain senses real that creates a very uncertainty that is the main source of fear to the washing house. “The active presence of absent things is much more related with the presence of unactualized possible of ghosts and phantoms who are figures of technological transmigration and metamorphosis”<sup>97</sup> in space-time accomplishments<sup>98</sup>. Since, all spaces could bear the luggage of their past and “provide the ‘stutter’ in social relations, the jolt which arises from new encounters, new connections, and new ways of proceeding” and approximations<sup>99</sup>. Here it could be said that washing house have its own “ghosts” in the eyes of the ordinary people, yet the dervishes consolidates that fact due to their vocal dhikr.

After the tevhid dhikr, before they enshroud the deceased dervish, he is garnished with his “*çeyiz*<sup>100</sup>”, they put Kerbela stones to his eyes, they have his coif his head worn, they put henna to his palms, they perfume him and cause him to lie down into his burial case which was beleaguered with the cloth of Kaaba, and in the line of his head, there was his *tac-ı şerif*<sup>101</sup>. When people see his burial case, they could understand there could be something different, so his burial case itself could be an affective sign within the space. The time do not matters, even it is midnight the dervishes’ body could be brought to

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<sup>95</sup> Thrift 2007, 56

<sup>96</sup> Holloway 2003, 1963

<sup>97</sup> Bayer in Thrift 2007, 116

<sup>98</sup> Thrift 2007, 120

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>100</sup> Derviş çeyizi is the acquisitions of a dervish gains in his entire life, they could be head coif, rosary, tac-ı şerif etc.

<sup>101</sup> The head symbol of the Dede in the tariqa like coif but more glorious

Tekke in order to spend the night with his Pir<sup>102</sup>. Tekke's tomb which is located in the entrance hall where the former sheiks are buried, however, it is not the graveyard, anyone of Tekke should salaam the tomb (*türbe-i şerif*) with special gestures, which is the *elif selami* means being straight like Arabic first letter elif. The burial case would be located in the "tomb" on the end of the sarcophagus of the Pir. Before, all the devishes enter into the tomb, it is a gesture of respect, dervishes would kiss the threshold and they should not set their foot on it for the presentation of respect.

Tekke has an ambivalent affective energy in the same way the washing house have, with the existence of the burial case with the sarcophaguses of the grand sheiks, it serves to senses more than it does in the ordinary times. It was important since his funeral causes lots of "irrelevant" people come into tekke which is the Historical Turkish Musical Foundation and have an outdoor sign "If you are not a member of Historical Turkish Musical Foundation, you should not be permitted to enter inside".

After the body put in the tomb, dervishes start to the dhikr again, the deceased body does not be left alone, and he is in the place of the other sarcophaguses of his grand sheikhs. That could easily be realized that some people hesitate to enter the tomb like in the washing house. This could be the very resemblance of the washing house and tekke that some ordinary people could not enter.

They have a quiver; they distance the embodiment of the dhikr in the graveyard with a deceased dervish. Their affect lies on the practices rather than the Tekke. The practice of dhikr evokes the feeling of unknown-uncertain. Non-representational theory is related the effectivity instead of the representation; in other words it stresses "the how"

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<sup>102</sup> The Grand sheikh and the founder of the tariqa

instead of “what”<sup>103</sup>. That night, after the dhikr ended, people start to disperse; they had their special head coifs with them, the irrelevant guests of my funeral encountered with the cats around.

Cats could be considered as weird animals that some people have a deep unreasonable fear of them; in addition some black cats are strongly related with the bad luck. Cats are different from dogs, in all religious institutions, cats could be found easily since the Prophet of Islam had liked cats very much. A story of him is always told that when there was a sleeping cat on his cloak, he hadn't moved though he had to move. He waited until the cat woke up. So, pious Muslims attribute a different religious significance to the cats and they feed them wherever they see. This affect would be strengthened with the affective spatiality of Tekke of where cats are the indispensable elements. A common<sup>104</sup> belief in Turkey, if a place has cats and “mad”s, it should have saints. Those grand sheiks in Tekke are surely the “veli” because there are also the mad people in Tekke. The dervishes in Tekke, would know that there would be “*meczup*”<sup>105</sup>, who could be a “friend” of God or real crazy person.

Dervishes behave very cautious to them, however, the guests could not know much about the *meczup*, and it could be another root of irrational fear in Tekke. People most of time run away from these *meczups*, they creep and try to give *meczups* the shake. In the funeral ceremony in Tekke, there have been some *meczups* and lots of cats here besides the dervishes. The “irrelevant” relatives could be “touched” the very paranormal “affect” of Tekke. It is the depiction of an “other worldly” activity in the bodily practices of everyday in Tekke. The dervishes do the dhikr, they incorporate the cats and *meczups*, and they could be lied down our deceased sheiks' bodies into the tomb. It

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<sup>103</sup> Kemp in Thrift 2007, 113

<sup>104</sup> Bir yerin kedisi ve delisi varsa, oranın velisi mutlaka vardır.

<sup>105</sup> They are the bizarre people who could be either a hidden saint (veli) or a real mad.

is like the children's play, someone in the group would assign the roles and the others behave like that, they try to do as-if.

Following the night in Tekke, in the morning towards noon, dervishes start to come again. They are involved into mementos with me and did what they do in their ordinary times. They could be the parts of the “flows” of the affect, as being an actor on the make believe practices, but they were “unconscious”, not aware of. When the silence is realized in the roof of the Tekke, cats are spread around, everyone stands in the *elif salaam*, Efendi come into the Tekke. He salutes and salaams everyone on the road, the dead body in the tomb and entered the main building. After a while, all of the dervishes come near to the burier case, after the “*türbedar baba*”<sup>106</sup> opens the door of the tomb, kisses the threshold, dervishes sit in a circle around the burial case. Efendi initiates the dhikr again and prays for the deceased dervish; then dervishes take the burial case on the level of their waists instead of the shoulders.

Turkish burial cases are carried on the shoulders of the men usually, but the sheikhs of dervishes are carried on the level of the waists. They walk through the Fatih Mosque in order to pray the “*cenaze namazı*”<sup>107</sup>. The burial case has the *tac-ı şerif* that anyone could easily recognize me as a sheikh of dervishes. When they arrive to the mosque, they put the corpse on the “*musalla taşı*”<sup>108</sup>. Following the noon pray, cemaat (parish) of the mosque pray the *cenaze namazı* which is different from people who are not dervishes, Efendi would be the imam<sup>109</sup>. The place that *musalla taşı* located in the mosque could be an affective space in terms of “unreasonable fear” again. Some Muslims whether they are not pious or not, cannot look at the *musalla taşı*. They say

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<sup>106</sup> The dervish who is in charge of the tomb

<sup>107</sup> Prayer performed at the funeral

<sup>108</sup> Stone on which the encoffined corpse is placed during the funeral service.

<sup>109</sup> Head prayer of the pray

that it looks like to invite them to the other world. The belief is strange that if a person who looks too much to the “*musalla taşı*” that means that his or her eyes are looking to the *Ahiret* (the other world). *Musalla taşı* is present all the time in the mosque; however it is only visible in the funerals. As Holloway<sup>110</sup> asserts, spiritual practices affect a sacred place in the mundane life which could abolish the division between the sacred and profane and is taken as sacred in itself. Thus the *musalla taşı* could be a thing of dissolution of what is sacred and profane in everyday life.

When they arrive to the graveyard, the same ceremony of carrying the burial case is happened again and dervishes bring the dead body to the grave. Dervishes dissipate black cumin on the grave that was another tradition for Tekke. Then with Quran, they bury the deceased dervish. After the Quran and dhikr, dervishes make a cluster and pray for him, then stay a while in order not to leave alone. Repetitions of the rituals and through exploring the role of sympathetic and contagious mimesis, bodies are produced in the moment of event hood; hence the bodies of dervishes are the part of the repetitious religious practices<sup>111</sup>.

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<sup>110</sup> Holloway 2003, 1963

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*

### 3.6 Dreams

In Tekke, dervishes believe that their dreams would be important since they are a piece of God, and could be the key to the development in the *seyri sulük* (journey of self for the fulfillment). When they see a dream which could be called as “mana”, they write down the dream and bring it to Efendi. However, men could be more comfortable to bring the letter to Efendi directly; they have some difficulties since the assistant dervishes of Efendi take the letter, and give it to Efendi. *Mana*’s have to be something remembered for two-three days approximately, could be related to anything. Efendi would decide which mana is relevant and which one is irrelevant; while he has a joke that “*Bi tarafın açıkta kalmış*” (Your back was in cold in the night). If Efendi decide that, the dervish see a “deep” dream about himself, Efendi could change the dhikr of the dervish, so dervish could reach the next level. Sometimes, some irrelevant and ridiculous dreams could be reached to Efendi, yet it is obvious that Efendi decide the quality of the dream. For *biat*, dervishes could have to see the *biat* dream which is not explained by dervishes because of its being of a secret.

### 3.7 Mevlid and Kandil Ceremonies

*Mevlid* is an occasion which would be held traditionally by Muslim people. In fact *Mevlid* is the poem of Suleyman Çelebi, has a meaning of praising the Prophet Mohammed, including the lifetime story of him begins from birth. The poem could be said like a song by *mevlidhans* who have good and powerful voices. In circumcision, marriage or the funeral ceremonies, even in a moving to a new house and anything like that, it is very frequent to come together and call for a *mevlidhan*, and to listen to the poem. Many people suppose that *mevlid* is a piece from Quran, however, it is in Turkish and a poem. Delivering mint candies whose covers are like a conical cap, is associated with the *mevlid*, In Tekke, if the day of dhikr coincides with the death day of former sheiks (*sene-i devriye*), *mevlid* and Quran would be read in the *meydan* and candies could be delivered in addition to a kind of dessert which is usually *tulumba tatlısı*.

In time of Kandils which would not be necessarily being in the regular gathering day, it is more likely to read *Mevlid* and Quran before the dhikr. *Kandil* is a day that is sacred to the religion. It could be the birth of Prophet Mohammed, or Lailat al Miraj etc, in Turkish culture, in the sacred nights (*lailat*) some minarets are illuminated by oil lambs, these nights would be called *kandil* in Turkish since people get used to shorten the name of these nights generally with the term *kandil*. Some *kandils* have some rituals and *salat*, so in Tekke people perform these *salats* before the dhikr. The nights of *Kandils*, would be very long and tiring for the dervishes.

### 3.8 Biat (Obeisance) Ceremony

“Verily those who plight their fealty to thee do no less than plight their fealty to Allah. The Hand of Allah is over their hands: then anyone who violates his oath, does so to the harm of his own soul, and anyone who fulfills what he has covenanted with Allah,- Allah will soon grant him a great Reward.”<sup>112</sup>

In Sufism, it is believed that in the light of this article from Qoran which symbolizes the peace and love oath of the Muslims of Madinah to the Holy Prophet in Hudeybiye in the very first years of Islam, while there were a kind of *pandemonium* between the believers and non-believers of Islam in Mecca dervishes should take the oath of obeisance to the sheikh as being a representative of the Holy Prophet<sup>113</sup>.

In Tekke, there would be forty guys who are responsible for the duties. First seven men including Khalifes, are the top officers in the tariqa, and deal with the improvement of dervishes and they could teach how the spiritual rituals would be performed. The sheikh has to be greater than other men for dervish<sup>114</sup>. There should be full devotion and generosity. Sheikh who is also a defender for the evil tricks and deceptions of Satan, would be promised to help dervishes in the day of Resurrection. Dervish should have total honesty, trust and obedience to the sheikh, if this lacks, sheikh will understand. The bound between the sheikh and the dervish is akin to the relationship of man and God that means if the dervish has a satisfactory relationship with the Sheikh then probably, has the same with God<sup>115</sup>.

Before the entrance ceremony, *biat*, it is expected that the prospective dervish has to see a dream that she or he will accept the *tariqa* by the deceased former sheikhs and sit in front of them with doing the *tevhid* dhikr. After the dream, she or he would write a letter

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<sup>112</sup> Qoran, 48:10

<sup>113</sup> Öztürk 2004, 45

<sup>114</sup> Buckley 1992, 191

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, 196

to Efendi which has the dream on it and send it to Efendi by the other dervishes who have the duty of carrying messages to Efendi. If Efendi decides the dream is compatible with the entrance of the person to tariqa, in other words, Efendi accepts him or her to the Tekke, there have to the entrance ceremony (*biat*).

In the ceremony of the entrance (*biat*) to the Halveti-Jerrahi path and sheikh would accept the one who want to be a dervish, by sitting on the floor facing the *Qible*, touching the knees and doing dihr together. The dervish is given a special cap, a rosary and a book of daily pray *evrad* with kissing, and then his belonging is to be left to Sheikh's own discretion. That would be the core argument of the thesis regarding the power relationship between the sheikh and dervish.

Dervishes believe that the Sheikh is always right whatever he says, if the dervish thinks there would be disagreement, then he is the one who is the wrong; in addition there would have been destruction of the *nefs* which is resulted from the doubt and mistrust to the sheikh. Dervish should eliminate the duality, he is no longer conscious of his experience and his own desires, rather he is concerned with the instructions and requests of his guide with total honesty, obedience and annihilation<sup>116</sup>. In Halveti Jerrahi Tekke, the dervish should follow the spiritual guides in order to be with Allah, on Allah at the end of the Sufi path.

When the sheikh asks something to dervish, he should do it the explicit way he ordered, that is the "*nutuk haklamak*" in the jargon. That should not be necessarily a spiritual issue; it could be related to the mundane activities of this world. The dichotomy between the world and after death is blurred in Tekke, in this world the dervish could live in heaven or hell while following the Sufi path, and all the activities are interrelated

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<sup>116</sup>Buckley 1992, 194

to each other. The sheikh has to draw attention to the faults of dervishes in order to make good of his deficiencies and to serve the sheikh is a privilege and blessing for a Jerrahi<sup>117</sup>.



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<sup>117</sup> Buckley 1992, 199

### 3.9 Ramadan Month

In Ramadan Muslim people fast for thirty days and some perform the *Teravih salat* which could be in three styles, one is *Enderun*, one is *Hatim* and the other is regular. *Enderun teravih salat*, which is a tradition of Ottoman types, includes hymn within the salaams of the pray in addition to the *salavat* (praising Prophet Mohammad). It could be very long in hours, and however, people who pray *Enderun Teravih salat*, says that it is not tiring since it has many breaks within the salaams of the salat. The other Teravih style consists of the whole Quran in the performing, while regular one is performed with pieces of Quran for each *rekat*. *Teravih* is a *salat* which would be performed by collectively by an imam (head prayer).

In Tekke, people gather for the *usul* first, after the sunset calling and the performing *salat*, people have their *iftar* (evening meal after the day fasting). The sequence is different than Muslim people do at their homes, that first dervishes drink water and eat a date, after they pray and later they sit together and eat the *iftar*. Some poor people from the neighborhood could come and eat the *iftar* or they can get the food in small pots.

After the sunset prayer, akin to the isha prayer, Quran would be read that could be one *cüz* (part, component within the Quran that has 30), and after the thirty days of Ramadan, on the morning of *Eid*, one whole Quran would be read (*hatim*). The vocal reading of Quran would be called as *mukabele* and everyone could join the reading by oneself, so who reads with it with the hafız, can make one *hatim* for Ramadan.

Dervishes could also adhere to *Hatim* in Beyazıt Mosque after *asr* prayer which is a tradition for the Istanbul dervishes from Ottoman times.

Tekke is open for twenty four hours in Ramadan, after the *iftar*, *Enderun Teravih* is performed that the time between *iftar* and *sahur* (night meal before sunshine for day

fasting) is shortened especially in summer Ramadans, so people stay in Tekke and deal with chatting the other dervishes or pray or perform salat and doing dhikr individually. After the *Teravîh salat*, people could drink tea or herbal tea while they are listening to the talk of Efendi that could be relatively jiffy when comparing the ones of regular times. *Sahur* could be done by collectively again; however it would not be as crowded as in *iftars*. The days of *meşk* and *meydan* (collective dhikr), which are Mondays and Thursdays, in addition to the *Teravîh salat*, they gather and do their dhikr without any abridgement in the practice. Ramadan is such a sacred month for all Muslims yet dervishes would do much without a doubt.

### 3.10 Eids (Bayram)

#### 3.10.a Ramadan Eid

In Ramadan *Eid*, people could come together in the time of sahur again, to the time of abstinence, *usul* would be done collectively, and dervishes sing the eid hymn together. That time would be called *Temcid* which means the renovation time. After the morning calling, dervishes pray the special *salat* that is *Eid salat* which is compulsory for all Muslim men. After the *salat*, dervishes wait for Efendi to kiss his hand for the eid. Efendi wear his *çeyiz* (the special cloth that symbolizes the position of the grand sheikh containing a special turban—*taç-ı şerif*, special dress- *huseyniye* and a belt-*Elif-lam bend kemeri*) and dervishes kiss his hand one by one, this ceremony, there would be “*musiqi*” in the background. After the *bayramlaşma*, Efendi would initiate a short dhikr including *kuud* dhikr of *tevhid* and *kıyam* dhikr. After the *meydan* dervishes would be free to leave the Tekke and in *bayram* days, while they are leaving some kind of deserts would be circulated; and there would not be any dhikr ceremony even if the days could be Monday or Thursday.

### ***3.10.b Kurban Eid***

Before the 40 days to *Eid*, the sacrificial animals would be bought and brought to the back yard of Tekke. It is believed that in forty days, an organism could renew itself, so in Tekke, the animals are fed with their own baits, also put henna on their fur and taken care of kindness and compassion. These animals could be the property of the dervishes in Tekke or any people who want to sacrifice in Tekke. In the morning of eid, it would be same in Ramadan eid, dervishes come together at the time of *Temcid* and same ceremony would be realized. After the ceremony, Efendi would come into the back yard and his sacrifice animal would be immolated first. The butcher would be Efendi himself or any dervish who would be a high rank in the hierarchy. After the segmentation of the animal, first roasted wheat would be served to the dervishes by Efendi himself. Some of Efendi's sacrifice animals could be donated to dervishes and poor people.

### 3.11 Aşure (Noah's Pudding)

*Aşure* (Noah's pudding) has very significant role in the existence of Tekkes. From the Ottoman times, all the Tekkes are responsible to cook and circulate to people. Tekkes have their own turn and Halveti Jerrahi Tekke would be last of them since it is accepted as *asitane* (the main Tekke) of all the others. Usually, *aşure* would be cooked in the time of Muharrem month which is a sacred month that any dispute would be banned and Kerbela was happened, yet in Tekke after Muharrem month, the very beginning of the following month, *aşure* would be cooked by the dervishes.

According to Islamic attitude, there have been many remarkable events in history which realized in *Muharrem* such as the birth of Jesus Christ, the miracle of Moses and the flood of Noah. *Aşure* has the meaning of ten in Arabic (*aşera*) and symbolizes the ten ingredients of pudding of Noah who is believed first *Aşure* cook in the history. In Tekke, there would be big boilers for the *aşure* and the ingredients would be sold by the wealthy dervishes, and in the making Efendi would show up and stir the each boiler of *aşure* and pray. The cooks would be remarkable dervishes and they stand up for hours in order to get ready the *aşure*. After the day of cooking, which could be Wednesday, in Thursday *aşure* would be served to everyone who comes to Tekke. Tones of *aşure* would be served and many people believe that it would be a cure for every disease.

#### 4. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF HALVETI-JERRAHI TEKKE IN KARAGÜMRÜK

*Members only...*

In Turkey, due to the fact that Islamic mysticism has had roots in these lands since the reign of Ottoman Empire, there have been many architectural buildings like dervish lodges or *khangahs* and etc. Most of the Tekkes, have reserved graveyards which could be either for the deceased dervishes or pirs or sheiks of the each Tekke. More specifically, Tekkes might include the residence for sheikh's family, a place for dhikr, courtyard mainly tomb, some mansions for dervishes (*konak*) and promenades enclosed by protective walls<sup>118</sup>. However, these buildings have not been organized in particular size and form, and their features could be differentiated according to their geographical location<sup>119</sup>. Tekkes could be *asitane* at the same time if it would be considered as the grand lodge (major tariqa facility) for the dervish brotherhoods, some would be named as *zaviye* which could function as a dervish hostel and the term *dergah* could denote the lodge which has an attached tomb<sup>120</sup>. Halveti-Jerrahi Tekke would be an *asitane* and the regarding characteristics would be depicted in terms of architectural features, geographical spatiality and the place of affection.

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<sup>118</sup> Lifechez 1992, 73

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, 77

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid*, 76

#### 4.1. Architectural Landscape of Tekke

Halveti-Jerrahi Tekke in Karagömrük is composed of some functional parts which have some symbolic meanings, and each of them is as respectable as in comparison to the whole existence. The main door opens to a courtyard in which tombs are located on the left side and all dervishes generally greet the tomb with *elif salaam*<sup>121</sup>.

The tomb is not allowed to visit people like the other ones in Istanbul. This is the former place of dhikr which is now a scared graveyard of the previous sheikhs; interestingly this tradition has been lasting in the modern Turkish state, since the last sheikhs of Tekke were buried in this place with the special permission from Turkish judicial court. In Tekke, there is a window which is called as *niyaz penceresi* (the window for salaam and pray). “The *niyaz penceresi* is a large ornamented window in the tekke’s street facade and in the tomb Pir Nureddin Jerrahi” and the other every *postnişin* (grand sheikh who owns the sheep skin) was buried and the only remarkable woman in the tomb is the mother of the Pir that is the symbol of the fact that Pir Nuraddin Jerrahi is in the Heaven as the Holy Prophet says that”... the heaven is under the feet of mothers”. There is a *şadırvan* (water tank with a fountain in order to get wudu) in the anterior of Tekke whose roof is shaped as *Tevhid* principle.

Tekke’s some parts are *tevhidhane* (the main room for the dhikr of the acceptance of one God, *şerbethane* (special kitchen for special deserts), *mutfak* (kitchen), *meydan* (the room for dikhr), *şeyh odası* (the chamber for the leader of tekke), *hanımlar kısmı* (the place for women), *misafirhane* (guestroom)<sup>122</sup>. Till 1987 renovation, the old building was used for the main prayer and in the first floor there were three sections for women,

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<sup>121</sup> It is a special salaam of dervishes that they would imitatete the first Arabic letter elif, with their bodies, and they believe that they should be straight like elif.

<sup>122</sup> Atacan 1990, 44

men and the sheikh<sup>123</sup>. “The separation of the places for women and men would be done with thin tulle though there were separate entrances and also there was only one kitchen in the side of men who were conversing, praying, and doing meşk here likewise the women who had a small one in contrast to men’s”<sup>124</sup>. The chamber of grand sheikh was a little room where the dervishes could have had the opportunity to express themselves to their sheikh before and after the dhikr.

The new building was totally different from the old one since the number of dervishes would be exceeded and there should be any extra space. Through the renovation process, the place in the upstairs was reserved for the usage of women. There are two stairs for the entrance of this part, and one of these is located just next to men’s entrance. A women’s toilet is in the part of men’s entrance, and looking through just toilets, it could be said that the strict rules of Islamic sharia would not be welcomed with Halveti-Jerrahis.

The second floor which the main door is located for women, has a balcony which women dervishes could smoke freely. In the left side, there is a shoe cupboard both inside and outside, and after the small entrance from a wooden door; there is a room for women who have children or elderly. This room was refurbished only one or two years, the furniture, and cabinets are new. In antre-room, again in the left side there are special cabinets for the attendants of Tekke who could be intermediaries between the men’s side and responsible for the order of women. The head of women dervishes is called as bacı (sister) and there are some other women dervishes who are in charge of cooking, cleaning, serving the food. After the cabinets, there is a small kitchen and just next to the kitchen there is small toilet which most of time is not allowed to use any dervishes

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<sup>123</sup>Atacan 1990, 45

<sup>124</sup>*Ibid*

other than the attendants. In the right side, there is a room which consists of sofas and another room in it. The room is like a cell which a lonely elderly relative of the former sheikh would live. This woman dervish is called as *hala sultan* (aunt).

In front of the main door, aside to the small room and kitchen, there is a door to the *meydan*. Surely, it is closed with the folding screen which is looking through the *maksure* and main *meydan* for dhikr. There is a chart for women for maintaining the full silence when the dhikr is started. The whole area is covered with carpet and in left side, in the very end of the building, after the stairs which is going down to the center of the men's place, there is a tiny sofa and big screen of TV which is only activated when the grand sheikh is preaching after the dhikr ceremonies. It is strictly forbidden to smoke in inside except for the Efendi.

The men's floor which is the basement and *kıdemli meydan* (senior meydan) would be placed here. The *kıdemli meydan* is considered to be coal cellar of the old mansion and towards the entrance to the new *meydan*, there is an ante where the toilets and shoe cupboards are situated, on the left side there are three special rooms and a great kitchen which is the main kitchen all the food is cooked. Moreover, these rooms would be the most significant ones since they belong to grand sheikh and the main singer (*serzakir*) and a room is storage for the musical instruments and used as changing room for attendant dervishes.

The room of grand sheikh is composed of two parts, one is a small toilet for ritual ablution and the other is for the sheikh's residence and meeting with the dervishes. In the room, it could be seen that there are small library and two small chairs in the room also a study desk. In the ground there is a sheep skin again. It should be noted that the

room and all the furniture could be considered as modest and they all had their reminiscence.

In the right side, there is *ocak* which is a small place to get tea and there is a room for *meydancı baba* which is considerably small room either. *Meşk odası* and *Semahane Meydan* (place for dhikr) are placed in the of end this aged building. In *meşk odası*, there is a red cedar in the margins, yet only seniors or some guests are welcomed to sit there. Right in the middle, Efendi would sit it should be noted that with the pillows the place of the grand sheikh looks different however it is the exact same cedar that others would sit. There are the photos of deceased sheikhs just behind the grand sheikh.

The presence of photos would be the sign of the difference from the mainstream Islamic institutions since they all prohibit the photos in the prayer areas. In addition, there are many pieces of calligraphy that they have their own strict place and nobody could change the sequence of them without the permission of the Efendi who claimed that all the tableaus would be specific signs and symbols of the efficiency of the dervish lodge and the sheikh himself. Likewise, the order of the carpets is stable and unchangeable.

In the *meşk odası*, there is a special shelter for neys in the right wall. All dervishes would kneel in front of Efendi as in cyclical sitting order and the first chamber would be composed of seniors, and some attendants. The lighting up the Efendi's cigarette is a duty of a dervish, and there is a small table in front of the Efendi, there are an ashtray, a cup of herbal tea and sometimes some deserts like dates, or syrup soaked pastries. This room could be used on Mondays for *meşk* ceremony and after the Thursday dhikr ceremony for the small sermon which some days Efendi only remains silent and every other dervishes only watch him and they believe that there is something wrong with dervishes' attitude.

In *semahane*, the place for dhikr, there are carpets in the floor in regular times and the first part of the Thursday dhikr, also their sprawl order surely determined by attendants too. There are many tableaus in the walls, and in contrary to the other dervish lodges, there is a tableau of the wives of Holy Prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) with golden thread. Furthermore, there is a *mihrab* in the *meydan*, in other words, the Friday prayer could be performed here whereas not all tekkes could be in charge of such conglomeration. In the yard section, a library had been built in order to serve to dervishes, and a special library for the usage of the grand sheikh in which there have been the registry records and rare books in their special edition and some manuscripts. In the court, a smoke room was built for dervishes and there is a hotel room for the visitors. Unexpectedly, there is a private property within the court of the Tekke and ordinary people live within the complex of the dervish lodge and their main entrance is same with the Tekke.

The all parts of Tekke, each of them separately have been survived although there had been fires, renovations and the implementations of the law of the closure of dervish lodges. Interestingly, the more the building extends, the more dervishes come, and there is always a crowd in Tekke in each part.

## 4.2. Affective Spaces

*Âsumândır kubbesi hep ahterân âvîzesi  
En ziyâ-bahşâ kanâdili güneşle mâhdır  
Seddolunmakla tekâyâ kaldırılmaz zikr-i Hak  
Cümle mevcûdât zâkir kâinât dergâhdır<sup>125</sup> ...  
(Celaleddin Dede 1853-1946)*

The survival of the entire complex of a dervish lodge for ages is very significant for the dervishes for becoming the loyal and attached members of the tariqa, since the knowledge of the places, is thoroughly related with the senses like smell, seeing, listening and etc<sup>126</sup>. In Tekke, a thurible (*buhurdan*) which is a special type of censer; is always burned for the good smell, and in Islam it is believed that good smell is a call for the Angels. When an ordinary man or woman enters from the main glazed door, sees the tiled corridor opening to the nostalgic presence of the Tekke, he or she would feel full attachment to the institution and some kind of spirituality in contrary to Sufism in which it is commonly supposed that everywhere in the world could be considered as dervish lodge.

It is asserted that religious and spiritual geographies need the reproduction of a variety of embodied acts and bodily practices<sup>127</sup>. Also, beliefs especially religions requires supernatural agents and counterintuitive concepts, communal participation on a ritual, separation of sacred and profane<sup>128</sup>. Tekke the dervish lodge, as a sacred space would be the medium of visible articulation of subjective understanding of spirituality and a concrete place of face to face encounters of the shared desires, collectively constructed

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<sup>125</sup> The tomb of our dervish lodge is canopy of heaven, the chandeliers of it are the stars, the brightest bougies are moon and the sun, the abolishment of Tekkes are not the end of the dhikr of Allah, all creatures commemorate the God, so the whole universe is the dervish lodge.

<sup>126</sup> Aretxaga 1997, 24

<sup>127</sup> Holloway, Editorial: Placing religion and spirituality in geography 2002, 8

<sup>128</sup> Sosis 2005, 325

traditions, and historically legacy of norms rituals<sup>129</sup>. To put it on other way, the dervish lodge Tekke could be the experimental landscape of the tariqa, nowhere would be such spiritual since mundane activities of everyday life would be in the domain of what is profane, also, the links of being dervish (I am not alone I know that now<sup>130</sup>) would be created with the spatial organization of Tekke which promoted something bigger and wider and more permanent than the body of the dervish<sup>131</sup>.

“The divine understanding of space-time is related with the symbolic and imaginal representations of the destiny acting upon the bodily engaged actions in which belief here arises out of a bodily practice: “make-believe”, rather than “the belief-make””<sup>132</sup>. In other words, the body has actions in space and time, so the body itself makes the belief rather than it is made, to believe in something<sup>133</sup>. Tekke renders possible the representation of the spiritual beliefs within the body appropriateness. “Such holy places could expedite the experience leads to belief, and belief to action which deeply causes ceremonies so dervishes re-create and reinforce what is supernatural”<sup>134</sup>.

There are many dervishes who come to Tekke annually as a sacred mobility; surely the visit should not be accepted as pilgrimage still there has been a mystic dimension. These kinds of religious places would inspire emotional experience, cultivation of religion and spiritual sense of worshipping<sup>135</sup>. In brief, “there is an affective relationship between the objects and agents since they are the representatives of doing and becoming, and “spiritual traditions produce a variety of sacred materiality”, and these entities become

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<sup>129</sup> MacKian 2012, 84

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid* 122

<sup>131</sup> MacKian 2012, 122

<sup>132</sup> J. Holloway 2003, 1966

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>134</sup> L.Henderson 1993, 471

<sup>135</sup> Finlayson 2012, 1764

entwined in the lived religious experience”<sup>136</sup>. “The religious activity is something that mostly symbolically produced, expressed and felt by the agent within the domain of the landscape”.

Henceforth, in Sufism, there is no need to have a place to be dervish, however, in order to create a sense of connectedness and spiritual bonds to tariqa, there should be a landscape which has historical traces and symbols of sacredness. The Pir of Tekke says to his dervishes that” you –the dervishes- were like the grape, I did extract you and made grape juice.” He meant that the individual entities of the dervishes would not make any sense for the tariqa, the togetherness, brotherhood and intimacy between the dervishes are crucial; these could happen only in the gathering under a single roof. There should be communication between the dervishes and they could share the ceremonies of their rite. The only place that can take place is the Tekke and the becoming of dervishes is surely bound to the presence of the entire building which directly presented to the emotions, and there are always representations and symbols.

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<sup>136</sup>Finlayson 2012, 1768

### 4.3 Governing Geographies: Spatiality in Tekke , Heterotopia, Panopticon

#### According to Foucault

“A whole history remains to be written of spaces which would at the same time be the history of powers ...”<sup>137</sup>

Foucault’s discussion of power would consist of the spatiality since it presupposes the govern individuals in the sovereign’s territory<sup>138</sup>. According to Foucault<sup>139</sup>, the territory is considered to be a geographical term, however, it is also a juridical-political concept, due to the fact that this area could be controlled some kind of power. In addition, the individuals are the product of relations which includes the multiplicities, desires, forces and their identity and characteristics is not pre-given<sup>140</sup> and Tekke could be a place of these relations still different from the real sites of governmentality.

Tekkes might be the utopian places as they promote ultimate devotion, ultimate happiness and majority of rules and regulations also responsibilities to one person, sheikh in contrary to the real political domain. At the same time, tekkes can be found within the culture by their location in reality and they are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted like other spaces, but they are the very mirrors of a placeless place<sup>141</sup>. Dervishes could see themselves on the mirror as a shadow rather than the own visibility of their selves so they could discover their absence on what they see themselves over there, so Tekke could be considered as an example of heterotopia<sup>142</sup>.

Heterotopia as Foucault suggests, are the sites of reordering rather than “the primary sites of resistance to power”, furthermore, “they problematize the received knowledge

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<sup>137</sup> editorial 2007, 516

<sup>138</sup> Huxley 2007, 187

<sup>139</sup> Foucault 2007, 176

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid*, 180

<sup>141</sup> Miskowiec 1986, 24

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid*

on destabilizing the ground where there have been combining and comparing many spaces on one site”<sup>143</sup>. “Principles of heterotopias could be listed as such. First, they are universal, heterogeneous, consists of forbidden or sacred places, people in crisis”<sup>144</sup>. In Tekke, there is a conviction that no dervish is normal; likewise an automobile mechanic place has no cars in good condition. There are many deviants, marginal people in Tekke including the crazy and homeless people.

Foucault illustrates the cemeteries which were formerly located in the church and now moved in the heart of the city that everyone could individualize his or her death, and think about an on space for that so cemetery would be accepted as a death city within the city in order to analyze the second principle<sup>145</sup>. Tekke would perfectly fits what Foucault asserts for this principle of the heterotopia, for the reason that within the Tekke complex there is a graveyard with the fancy sarcophaguses, makes everyone death and through the eternal presence of Tekke, there has been a moment of an individual who would think a space that everything has gone.

The other principle, entailing of different norms in one place<sup>146</sup> might be seen in Tekke, since Foucault gives the example of theaters; in Tekke there are many role plays like elif salaam to attendants or tomb and kissing the threshold yet without coif there is no need to do these. Tekke is somewhere that diverse worlds intersect to each other. Tekke has accumulation of time that works as a museum and simplify the time like museums, or hotels which Foucault<sup>147</sup> talks about. “The other principles of heterotopia could be found in Tekke that has a system of opening and closing systems to environment, moreover, tekke is something that is real and isolating the dervishes”.

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<sup>143</sup> Topinka 2010, 56

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid*, 57

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid*, 57

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*, 57

Hence Foucault sees heterotopias as a map of spacing existing knowledge<sup>148</sup> and utters that:

“...and if we think, after all, that the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea and that, from port to port, from tack to tack, from brothel to brothel...”<sup>149</sup>

As Foucault claims that “space is sum of the surfaces and containers upon which the power enacts certain practices”, besides “it is the very spatiality that no one could escape from the multiplicities of lived experience”<sup>150</sup>. “Foucault’s disciplinary power requires the existence of a space where the confrontations and struggle take place in order to differentiate the exclusions of mundane and normal”<sup>151</sup>. There should be “geographical visualization is essential for the fact that causal and productive powers could attribute to spaces and environments”<sup>152</sup>.

Tekke might the place of Foucauldian power in terms of creating autonomous self-forming individuals, always feel them within a panopticon for governmentality of docile bodies of the tariqa. “Foucault talks about “a surveillance system that requires a panopticon which is kind of architectural building having a central tower facilitating continual inspection which replaces the discontinuous violence of the sovereign””<sup>153</sup>.

Foucault describes the Bentham model of prison the “Panopticon” whose principle is this: A perimeter building in the form of a ring. At the center of this, there is a watching tower, it is ring shaped and all the windows look into the center. The external building outer building is composed of the cells which generally have two windows looking inside, and sunlight could enter from the other side, also easily prisoners think that they

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<sup>148</sup> Topinka 2010, 59

<sup>149</sup> Miskowiec 1986, 27

<sup>150</sup> Huxley 2007, 191

<sup>151</sup> editorial 2007, 516

<sup>152</sup> Huxley 2007, 193

<sup>153</sup> Wallerstein 2013, 20

are watched from the tower in the center even if nobody would be there. The surveillance system could be realized with any men in the world, even with a small boy. In fact, Bentham invented a technology of power designed to solve the problems of surveillance of governmentality<sup>154</sup>.

In Tekke, dervishes always feel that someone is controlling them even if nobody would. That is the very core thought of Islamic mysticism that who wants to be close to God, he or she would behave and pray as if God see him or her all the time reciprocally.

Dervishes could build a special connection with their sheikhs who are the representatives of God and act as they live in a panopticon without any walls; they live in such a surveillance system whose center is Tekke. While dervishes come to Tekke, their absolute surveillance would transform into concrete.

Panopticon is not the *modus operandi*; instead it is the observation of the nature of events from behind in order to rule and direct to an appropriate way that “the law operates in the negative imaginary discipline which is a relational thing to the components of reality”<sup>155</sup>. In fact, panopticon, as Foucault argues, is not the idea of the modern sovereign, but rather it is the archaic dream of the oldest sovereign who would like to have everyone together and nobody escapes and none of their actions is unknown<sup>156</sup>. “As a perfect sovereign idea of panopticon whose central function is a something different from the exhaustive surveillance of individuals, it is not only being constantly under the eyes of the sovereign in everything they do, but also it is the set of mechanisms for the governmentality of individuals who are imaginary made up to have specific processes of individualization”<sup>157</sup>.

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<sup>154</sup> Foucault 1980

<sup>155</sup> Wallerstein 2013, 20

<sup>156</sup> Foucault 2008, 93-94

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid*

Therefore, “spatiality of power could be conceptualized within the actor-network relationship in the articulation of society as a heterogeneous social construct”<sup>158</sup>. “A place could be the geography of control and surveillance as well collective memories, imaginaries, and institutions, in other words it could be understood as solidifying the social relations, beliefs, desires and also discursive activity”<sup>159</sup>. So, Tekke would be the heterotopic place within the city which promotes power and discipline to dervishes who feel as they are living in a hypothetical panopticon.



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<sup>158</sup> Joanne P.Sharp 2000, 25

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid*, 26

## **5. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SHEIKH AND DERVISH REGARDING POWER**

Foucault's would like to understand how power operates within the society and he focuses on forms of power that subjects people, that is, power relationship within the Tekke would be analyzed in his terms to grasp the core idea of the discipline of dervishes and to explore whether there is a correlation of imposing power to individuals. In this chapter, Foucauldian power would be explained about subject, subjection, objectivation and the main characteristics of power itself. Also, governmentality and biopower would be mentioned in order to understand how power works within the society from a historical perspective.

Furthermore, in this thesis, Foucault is examined in order to focus on the analysis of power relations and the knowledge also how objectification has been constituted through which free individuals are made subjects to the system. It could be predicted that who exercise power and in what domain which people involved, yet there is still a question that to whom power belongs<sup>160</sup>. Power would be seen in the hierarchy and the forms of control, surveillance, prohibition, and constraint, in short in everywhere, however the question of who still stays, there has been no precise answer while who lacks the power is obvious<sup>161</sup>.

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<sup>160</sup>Foucault 1977, 213

<sup>161</sup> Foucault 1977, 213

## 5.1 Foucauldian Power

To begin with, Foucault's proposition embraces an apparatus (dispositive) of power that is a productive; as he argues, power is neither a substance nor mysterious property, instead it is the relations like production, exchange, communication between the individuals whose freedom is subjected to government, and it has a rationality rather than instrumental violence<sup>162</sup> of discursive practice of perception, representation, experience of bodies<sup>163</sup>. As Foucault argues, "omnipresent power could fix, repress and dominate the identities and eliminate the any possibility of resistance because there is no foundation for the critique of power"<sup>164</sup>.

According to Foucault, power "comes from below," that is, there is a domination in global scale and strict hierarchy s they can operate through "capillary circuits" which are local and micro scale<sup>165</sup>. However, due to the political process, that is, consisting of compromises between a variety of actors with different interests and motivations, no single outcome can be attributed to any specific individuals. Consequently, the power relation loses its subjectivity<sup>166</sup>. In fact, relation of power uses not only one dimension from top to down but also from the below that is resistance, and top is domination<sup>167</sup>.

As Allen<sup>168</sup> asserts that, "Foucault would conceptualize power in order to analyze his subject", rather than claiming the theory of power. Foucault claims that "power is about relations rather than being a thing, it is the terminal forces"<sup>169</sup>.

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<sup>162</sup> Foucault 2000, 324

<sup>163</sup> Allen 2013, 343

<sup>164</sup> Widder 2004, 413

<sup>165</sup> Gordon in Michel Foucault 2000, xxiv-xxv

<sup>166</sup> Dore 2010, 740

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>168</sup> Allen 2013, 345

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid*

Foucault focuses on subject through the three modes of objectification that the first is related with “the objectivizing of subject who is a productive, speaking and living one by the discourses”<sup>170</sup>. In other words, “these subjects would turn into docile bodies that do behave as not only what we want, but also how the way we demand the micro-management process”<sup>171</sup>. The second mode would consist of the “dividing process of these bodies like mad, criminal, and deviant as such and the third mode includes the ways of human beings who turn themselves into subjects”<sup>172</sup>. Foucauldian “power is relational” and it is obviously seen in the everyday practices of life in which “the individual is immediately being marked from his own individuality, identity and reciprocal recognition of other subjects”<sup>173</sup>.

Subjection is something that there must be the legitimate “subject” of one type of knowledge or another whether the condition that is imposed over, or whatever status they are given even if they are imaginary or real<sup>174</sup>. Subject could be represented “in the immanence of a domain of knowledge and subject and object form and transform themselves in relation to and as functions of one another”<sup>175</sup>.

The subjection- objectivation dynamic, it could be understood that there is an interaction with the external world other than the self who might have involved defining themselves from the very early ages<sup>176</sup>. Since anyone in the society could be effected from this subjection in their daily lives, even the non-elite segments whose priority is not thinking and acting<sup>177</sup>. Shortly, these “power relations characterize the way human beings govern one another thus how the subject is objectified via the certain procedures

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<sup>170</sup> Allen 2013, 337

<sup>171</sup> Gutting 2005, 82

<sup>172</sup> Allen 2013, 337

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid*, 338

<sup>174</sup> Florence 1994, 315

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>176</sup> Skinner 2012, 918

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid*

of governance”<sup>178</sup>. Foucault argues that the practices of subjection are indirect and power needs to reconstruct space and time in order to discipline the individuals<sup>179</sup>. Moreover, “this indirect power could be continuous, autonomous that can be everywhere and always alert, so it is absolutely discreet”<sup>180</sup>.

Also, according to Foucault intentional and non-subjective character would be assessed in the social basis with no rationality<sup>181</sup>. That’s why; Foucault sees power which is everywhere, “as a multiplicity of force relations that are dynamic and multi-directional”<sup>182</sup>. Brown<sup>183</sup> says that Foucauldian power is a “constitutive of subjects who do not simply use them rather power irrigates them instead of being an object but being something travels around in the discourse”. Power, which is different from the sovereign power, would be disciplinary in terms of an annihilating the individuality in top with a real individualization at bottom<sup>184</sup>. “Sovereign power is both conceived and exercised in a standpoint of a juridical form whose effect is always obedience”<sup>185</sup>.

Power relations could be seen within the partners and confrontation between two adversaries that’s why Foucault asserts a kind of physics of power relations<sup>186</sup>. The political existence of a society is bound to the existence of power relations<sup>187</sup>.

Disciplinary power in fact constitutes an individualization of targets by fabricating and distributing subjected bodies who are power relations of subjects who are really active objects in contrary to the passive ones<sup>188</sup>. Furthermore, a subject could be defined in the

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<sup>178</sup> Florence 1994, 318

<sup>179</sup> Rouse 2005, 95

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>181</sup> Allen 2013, 345

<sup>182</sup> Dore 2010, 738

<sup>183</sup> Wendy Brown 2008, 68

<sup>184</sup> Allen 2013, 345

<sup>185</sup> Rouse 2005, 101

<sup>186</sup> Simons 2013, 308

<sup>187</sup> *Ibi*, 318

<sup>188</sup> Allen 2013, 344

reciprocal relationship that is power would be a set of reversible confrontations and it could be named as the self-constitute chain<sup>189</sup>.

The other point he makes about power is that it is not only “negative” but it is also very productive. That power could create its own resistance and determine the capabilities of the self whatever she or he can do and however she or he can perceive about the world and him or herself<sup>190</sup>. The new control of the visibility which could be synoptic or individualizing, while talking about synoptic, it involves the architectural and organizational improvements that could be helpful to maintain control within the masses and the other one is to explore the lifestyles, habitus and personal history which is a new attempt to acknowledge the power mechanism<sup>191</sup>. “There is an “economy” of power in which is an endless observation of the entire social structure<sup>192</sup>.

Foucauldian power is “fundamentally productive and that it operates at the lowest extremities of the social body in everyday social practices, rather than being a repressive one”<sup>193</sup>. “Power and freedom are not opposite to each other if there is no subject, then there cannot be freedom, in addition, power proliferates from the desires not containing them”<sup>194</sup>. This kind of “subjugation consists of the individual who is in fact a power - effect, and at the same time, to the extent that he is a power - effect, the individual is a relay: power passes through the individuals it has constituted”<sup>195</sup>.

Foucault asserts that power would be seen in the complex relations which involve effective rational techniques requiring a subtle integration of coercion<sup>196</sup>. Foucault’s

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<sup>189</sup> Foucault, *The Hermeneutics Of The Subject Lectures at The College de France, 1981-1982* 2005, 250

<sup>190</sup> Geoff Danaher 2003, ix-xv

<sup>191</sup> Fraser 1981, 277

<sup>192</sup> Rabinow 1984, 61

<sup>193</sup> Fraser 1981, 272

<sup>194</sup> Wendy Brown 2008, 70

<sup>195</sup> Allen 2013, 346

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid*, 347

power could be associated with the care of spirituality that might be called as the journey of self to the truth is totally different from the philosophy<sup>197</sup>. “The relationship and excesses of political power is evident in modern cultures and political technology originating in “Aufklärung”, additionally power consists of resistances, and struggles are already a form of it rather than an institution which makes individuals subjects”<sup>198</sup>. Foucault is talking about another form of power in which Christianity has: a pastoral power. He explains that is “salvation-oriented (as opposed to political power)”, “It is oblation (as opposed to the principle of sovereignty); it is individualizing (as opposed to legal power); it is coextensive and continuous with life; it is linked with a production of truth—the truth of the individual himself”<sup>199</sup>. In addition, Foucault argues that “in the age of Enlightenment, pastoral power of the Christianity transformed into the phase of disciplinary structure of human science, likewise the transition to the confession to psychoanalyst’s coach”<sup>200</sup>.

His affirmative project which is to promote “new forms of subjectivity and to assert that all the subjects are freely constituted; also power produced a productive body and subjected body”<sup>201</sup>. Foucault’s power could not be considered as negative and oppressive, “it even produces its reality via constituting vast range of subjects in regard to discipline which has dividing practices”<sup>202</sup>.

Foucault suggests that the relationship of desire, power and interest could be multifaceted since it is not because of who exercises power, has the desire and gets the interest; rather people could want that power, it is to be exercised, desire and interest

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<sup>197</sup> Allen 2013, 347

<sup>198</sup> Foucault 2000, 335

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid*, 333

<sup>200</sup> Allen 2013, 348

<sup>201</sup> Simons 2013, 304

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid*, 305

seems like a play with little attention<sup>203</sup>. Power and knowledge go hand in hand since they directly indicate one another, in other words there have been a correlation between them while revealing a power relation<sup>204</sup>.

Foucault argued that resistance and struggle could be seen in the power relationship, yet what is important is here to understand the multiplicity of points of resistance which should not be reduced to the single locus of revolt and rebellion<sup>205</sup>. “Discourse which could be produced and circulated, is considered to be an indispensable unit of power relations that the discourse serve to the legitimization of the sovereign’s rule and obligation to obey the rule”<sup>206</sup>.

Foucault focuses on “the embodiment of techniques and the power which could be seen in the institutions rather than the centralized and legitimate forms, besides his analysis contains the exercise of power which works in the subjugation of individuals, not the possession”<sup>207</sup>. “Power is a net like organization and constitutes the very individual whose gestures, behaviors, desires and discourses come from the power itself and power is proceeded from a micro institutional level that is ascending in the performing of power while appropriation, transformation, colonization and domination”<sup>208</sup>. Foucault differentiates ideology which is a level of speculative discourse, from power, more concentrates on the circulation apparatuses of knowledge<sup>209</sup>. To put in another way, Daldalsays that,

“The production of the "knowledge" of the body is more of mastery for conquering the individual. What Foucault calls the "political technology of the body" operates

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<sup>203</sup> Foucault 1977, 215

<sup>204</sup> Foucault 1995, 27

<sup>205</sup> Foucault in Smart 2002, 70

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid*, 72

<sup>207</sup> Smart 2002, 73

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid*, 72

<sup>209</sup> Daldal 2014, 165

micro-physics of power around the bodies to subjugate man (Foucault 1995, 26).  
The road to man's soul passes from his flesh and bones rather than his mind.”<sup>210</sup>

In fact, Foucault defines state which is totalizing and individualizing power, as the central power because of its infinitesimal surveillance, although there have been struggles against exploitation, domination and subjection<sup>211</sup> that is state is super structural and could operate according to the existing power relations<sup>212</sup>.

As Foucault argues that throughout the Middle Ages and classical Antiquity, the princes had their own advisors who recommend respect to subjects and the love of divine, but from the middle of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, there develops and flourishes a notable series of political treatises that are no longer exactly “advice to the prince” and not yet treatises of political science, but instead are presented as works of the “art of government” until sixteenth century<sup>213</sup>. Between from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, which was reemerged at the beginning of nineteenth century, never came to an end to function as the object of explicit or implicit opposition and rejection, and about which the whole literature on government established its standpoint<sup>214</sup>. “Machiavelli’s main objective of the exercise of power is to reinforce, strengthen, and protect the principality of disposition where the subjects live in their territory”<sup>215</sup>.

According to Foucault, early modern governmentality needs two principles those are “the reason of state” and “the police”, in other words, state would like to control subjects with the governmental technology and directly involve in their lives<sup>216</sup>.

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<sup>210</sup> Daldal 2014, 166)

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid*, 162

<sup>212</sup> Smart 2002, 120

<sup>213</sup> Foucault 2000, 201

<sup>214</sup> *Ibid*, 202

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>216</sup> Ojakangas 2005

Mercantilism would be a good illustration and could be a threshold of the sovereign institutions which were the elementary political ones and the political practices, so, “the art (tactic) of government” could not be developed in a specific and autonomous way<sup>217</sup>. This process is called "political economy" “arises out of the perception of new networks of continuous and multiple relations between statistical studies of population territory, and wealth; and turned into a formation of a type of intervention characteristic of government, that is the transition that takes place in the eighteenth century which is the structures of sovereignty to one ruled by techniques of government, turns on the theme of population and the birth of political economy”. At this respect, discipline was valorized in order to establish a foundation of sovereignty among collective mass; that was a break from the sovereignty of society to a disciplined one<sup>218</sup>.

Governmentality is a combination of sovereignty and discipline; also legitimating and its limitation ‘of the state’ and the economy<sup>219</sup>. Foucault argues that “it would not be a replacement of society; rather it is the change in government, that there is a triangle of governmental management, sovereignty, discipline<sup>220</sup>. Foucauldian government refers to the “conduct of conduct,” in which rationalities and technologies guide human beings, while, “governmentality” stands for relations of power in general and continuous rationalization of forms of government, while discipline and sovereignty have been conceived as accidental, auxiliary or residual, modes”<sup>221</sup>. Conduct could be both noun and verb, means to lead, to guide, and to direct, and the other conduct equals “behavior, action, comportment, or the embodied repertoire”<sup>222</sup>. “Government is a political and technical domain which is neither philosophy nor ideology; rather, it could be an

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<sup>217</sup> Foucault 2003

<sup>218</sup> Foucault 2000

<sup>219</sup> Gane 2008, 359

<sup>220</sup> Foucault Senellart (eds)2009, 26

<sup>221</sup> Lemke 2001, 191

<sup>222</sup> Dean 2002, 119

examination of the individual and technical domain not reducible to philosophy or ideology”. “It also enables us to examine the kinds of individual and collective identity, and forms of subjectivity and agency, which are constructed by these rationalities and technologies of government”<sup>223</sup>.

As Foucault<sup>224</sup> suggests the new form of government necessitates the governmentality which is like below:

- “1. The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security.
2. The tendency that, over a long period and throughout the West, has steadily led toward the preeminence over all other forms (sovereignty, discipline, and so on) of this type of power—which may be termed "government"—resulting, on the one hand, in the formation of a whole series of specific governmental apparatuses, and, on the other, in the development of a whole complex of knowledges [savoirs].
3. The process or, rather, the result of the process through which the state of justice of the Middle Ages transformed into the administrative state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and gradually becomes "governmentalized.””

Ojakangas<sup>225</sup> noted that, this governmentality via the political technologies has been traced back to the West since the 17th century. Collier<sup>226</sup> utters “governmentality is a political rationality that shapes the ‘conditions of possibility’ for thinking and acting in a certain way”. “In addition, governmentality encompasses different styles of thought, their conditions of formation, the principles, knowledge and the practices that they consist of, how they are carried out, their contestations and alliances with other art of governing”<sup>227</sup>.

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<sup>223</sup> Dean 2002, 120

<sup>224</sup> Foucault Faubion (eds) 2000, 219-220

<sup>225</sup> Ojakangas, Michel Foucault and the Enigmatic Origins of Biopolitics and Governmentality 2012, 9

<sup>226</sup> Collier 2009, 96

<sup>227</sup> Rose in Collier 2009, 97

Bevir<sup>228</sup> states that Foucault's governmentality is a decentred and differing from Liberals and Marxists seeing the state as unified dominant entity; also Foucault's state is a polymorphic one whose multiple governing techniques diffusing to various parts of within the civil society. Hence, governmentality is related to the notion of liberal modern state that was seeking discipline of the society different from the old monarchies<sup>229</sup>.

Foucault asserts that liberalism is neither a theory nor ideology, even less "a way for society to represent itself, but rather a practice, a way of doing things by means of sustained reflection of rationalization; in addition to that in liberalism governmental technology is dominated by the principle of the reason of state"<sup>230</sup> with a completely natural way that is the rationality of the free conduct of governed individuals themselves<sup>231</sup>. Liberalism stands for a cautious and self-critical – if not necessarily enlightened approach to the government which coincides with the cautious, delicate, economical and modest politicians<sup>232</sup>. "Liberalism is the regulation through the juridical form constituted a far more effective tool than the wisdom or moderation of the governors" and the question of liberalism is the too much government in which human behavior is directed via state administration<sup>233</sup>.

Foucault argues that it would not be a replacement of society, rather it is the change in government, and that there is a triangle of governmental management, sovereignty, discipline<sup>234</sup>. "Foucauldian government refers to the "conduct of conduct," in which rationalities and technologies guide human beings, while, "governmentality" stands for

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<sup>228</sup> Bevir 1999, 353

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid*, 354

<sup>230</sup> Foucault in Rabinow and Rose (eds) 2003, 202-203

<sup>231</sup> Burchell 1996, 23

<sup>232</sup> Rose 1996, 8

<sup>233</sup> Foucault in Rose and Rabinow (eds) 2003, 205-206

<sup>234</sup> Foucault 2009, 107

relations of power in general and continuous rationalization of forms of government, while discipline and sovereignty have been conceived as accidental, auxiliary or residual, modes”<sup>235</sup>.

Governmentality means that state could control its resources and directly effect the lives of citizens in such degree<sup>236</sup>. It is the strategic field of power relations in mobility, transformability and reversibility<sup>237</sup>. Thus, governmentality is the art of government, and “government designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or groups might be directed like the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families”<sup>238</sup>.

“The old power that symbolized sovereign power was now replaced by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life”, this is to say governmentality, originating in the seventeenth century, linked with the idea of “anatomy-politics of the human body”; still it was different from, but as “a machine which disciplined and the optimized of its capabilities, also extorted of its forces, thus its usefulness and its compliance were increased and its integration into systems of efficient and also economically controlled”<sup>239</sup>.

Sovereign power is small rather than the governing feature of modern political life that subjectifying the individual and unavowed powers could coexist<sup>240</sup>. This focus is strongly associated with the mechanics of life and including the biological studies: “supervision of propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity and series of interventions and regulatory controls that is the bio-politics

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<sup>235</sup> Lemke 2001, 39

<sup>236</sup> Webb 2003

<sup>237</sup> Michel Foucault Gros (eds) 2005

<sup>238</sup> Michel Foucault Faubian (eds) 2000, 322

<sup>239</sup> Rabinow 1984, 262

<sup>240</sup> Wendy Brown 2008, 68

of the population”<sup>241</sup>. “In the same way, the object of the power relations is to administer, manage, govern or foster life in which the body disciplined and increase its utility and exist as a species that has many dimensions in”<sup>242</sup>.

In other words, biopolitics is strongly related to the bio-statistical processes in which not only fertility or morbidity but also “nature, extension, duration, and intensity of the illnesses” prevalent in a population that is not really matter how the illness is contagious, but weakened the economic sources of the new governmentality in contrary to the death which is permanent<sup>243</sup>.

According to Rose<sup>244</sup> “calculations are used to gain information and knowledge about a population, and the constitution of fictive realities for the operation of government” bring to mind the paradox of numbers, numeration of population of the Foucauldian biopolitics. As Foucault told in his lecture<sup>245</sup> bio-politics derives its knowledge from “birth rate, the mortality rate, various biological disabilities, and the effects of the environment”, and define its power. This theory knew only the voluntary implicit contract of individual and society that it is the new body which is different from social body, is the countless, infinite multiple headed body, in addition biopolitics emerge when population is seen as scientific and political, also biological and power's problem<sup>246</sup>. As Mills<sup>247</sup> asserts from Foucault, death could be the limit of power and the death itself is the only thing that escapes from biopolitics and it is the most private.

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<sup>241</sup> Rabinow 1984, 262

<sup>242</sup> Smart, Review Essay. On the Subjects of Sexuality, Ethics, and Politics in the Work of Foucault, 1991, 204

<sup>243</sup> Foucault Aktaş (trans) 2001, 251-252

<sup>244</sup> Legg 2005, 143

<sup>245</sup> (Michel Foucault Aktaş (trans) 2001)

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>247</sup> Mills 2013, 89

Power dispositifs which Foucault cuts reality in a different way that different elements, associations relations involved<sup>248</sup> and biopolitics is the strategic coordination of them; stemmed from below, requires an ascending analysis of invested, colonized, utilized, involuted, transformed and institutionalized global domination<sup>249</sup>. Biopower is always born of something other than itself which is not the real source of power of both coordination and determination or legitimization of sovereignty.

“The nature of the population is collective and serial phenomena which is aleatory and unpredictable when taken in themselves or individually, but which, at the collective level, display constants that are easy, or at least possible, to establish and exist over a period of time”<sup>250</sup>. “This biopolitics introduces mechanisms with a certain number of functions that are very different from the functions of disciplinary mechanisms; and their purpose is to intervene at the level of individuals’ generality regarding an establishment of an equilibrium which is a sort of homeostasis, and compensation for variations to optimize and regulate a state of life”<sup>251</sup>. “According to Lazzarato<sup>252</sup> “political economy, as a syntagm of biopolitics, encompasses power dispositifs that amplify the whole range of relations between the forces that extend throughout the social body rather than, as in classical political economy and its critique, the relationship between capital and labor exclusively””.

According to Mills<sup>253</sup>, biopolitics is a thing that unrevealed and modern politics carries it to a dark ground like Aristotle who pointed out the relationship between the life and politics. “Aristotle’s argument that human is a living animal with the additional capacity for a political existence; Foucault states that modern man is an animal whose politics

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<sup>248</sup>Foucault (Rose&Rabonow (eds) 2003, xv

<sup>249</sup>Lazzarato 2006, 12

<sup>250</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>251</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>252</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>253</sup>Mills 2013, 74

places his existence as a living being in question” Foucault<sup>254</sup>. Biopolitics could be understood as a political economy relationship of government- population which is dynamic forces of ontology and politics rather than works of capital or living labor<sup>255</sup>.

As Foucault claims “biological life is itself, became both the object and the target of the political power whose main maxim is to fostering and disallowing the life of the subjects”<sup>256</sup>. The control is possible only through the normalization of life processes of bodies<sup>257</sup>. Apart from the totalizing narratives and structuralist explanations and modernization programs, Foucauldian power is dealing with the excluded, naturalized and created parts of the population to provide a spatial differentiation where those abstract masses cannot escape from the production of state<sup>258</sup>.

Political economy of power and biopolitics made the individual marked by his own identity in his immediate everyday life and imposed a law of truth on him that he must acknowledge and others have to recognized in him<sup>259</sup>. For Foucault, subject has two meanings, former is subject to someone else by control and dependence and the latter is “tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge”, both of them is a power form of subjugation and subjection<sup>260</sup>. Furthermore, Foucault establishes that there is a resisting life creating the very forms of subjectification<sup>261</sup>. Foucault incorporates life into history for proposing a new ontology which begins with body and its potential of being an ethical subject rather than a political one that Western understanding calls it as subject of law<sup>262</sup>.

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<sup>254</sup>Lazzarato 2006, 9

<sup>255</sup>*Ibid*, 11

<sup>256</sup>Mills 2013, 84, 85

<sup>257</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>258</sup>Legg 2005, 140

<sup>259</sup>Foucault Faubian (eds) 2000, 331

<sup>260</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>261</sup>Lazzarato 2006, 10

<sup>262</sup>*Ibid*

“The Foucauldian power makes the individual categorized, imposed certain kind of law of truth, marked by his own individuality and recognized from the others as he recognize the others that is the terminal stage of being subjects who subject to something”<sup>263</sup>. “If there is struggle which could be in three types, namely against forms of domination, exploitation and subjection or submission, genealogy of this struggle would be elaborated in such a way. In feudal societies, the resistance is against to the ethnic, social domination whereas, in the nineteenth century, the struggle against economic exploitation and today’s struggle is the resistance against to the submission of subjectivity though the other forms of domination still exists”<sup>264</sup>. Hence, “mechanisms of subjection could be linked with the relations of exploitation and domination”<sup>265</sup> and “the materiality of power operates on the very bodies of individuals”<sup>266</sup>, it is the very confrontation between two “adversaries” which are subjectivization and objectivization.

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<sup>263</sup> (Foucault Faubian (eds) 2000, 331)

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid*, 332

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid*, 333

<sup>266</sup> Foucault Gordon (eds) 1980

### 5.1.a The power perspective in Butler: Psychic Dimension of Power

Judith Butler<sup>267</sup> defined the process of subject becoming to agency with subjection and (initiating and sustaining) power in relation to the fundamental dependency on discourse that one can never choose. This power very contains the “psychic” constituent since self-identity of subject could be set up with an external subordination by power itself<sup>268</sup>.

Butler’s analysis lies on the ground that subject has a temporality in performative highlights<sup>269</sup> and it could be easily seen on the gender identity with the re-signification of bodily ego. The discourse of discipline and subjection could be productive in terms of power that at the same time subjects create the power itself<sup>270</sup>. Butler understands discourse as multiple and contradictory but always productive; it has specific effects, and this is where its power lies. While considering the subjection, she has given reference to Foucault and asserts that a subject could feel autonomous while the agent would be established with all the practices of full submission to the power<sup>271</sup>.

The psychic dimension could be created within the zones of unintelligibility and there have been a discipline for the subjection of the individuals; so if the subject resists that subjection, there emerged a kinetic energy of “pathological twist” to the every symbolization<sup>272</sup>. Butler talks about the subject that we named before its existence and this practice could include “ontological commitments”<sup>273</sup>. Furthermore, Butler mentions about the attachment to subjection which is only possible with the operations of power hiding a psychic effect and it is resulted from the desire of survive as “to be”<sup>274</sup>. “She

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<sup>267</sup>Butler 1997, 2

<sup>268</sup>*Ibid*, 3

<sup>269</sup>McNay 1999, 177

<sup>270</sup>Nicky Gregson and Gilian Rose 2000, 437

<sup>271</sup>McNay 1999, 177

<sup>272</sup>Tie 2004, 166

<sup>273</sup>Butler 1997, 4

<sup>274</sup>*Ibid*, 6

illustrates with the existence of a child who strictly depended upon the whatever she or he attached to, yet no one could exist without this attachment and after the fully attached, the denial comes into stage; this denial is partial but still could be a primary force of the subject”<sup>275</sup>.

“Butler assigns the subject as an ambivalent and critical category and also it is a linguistic category that an individual has to reach within the conditions of existence and agency in order to undergo a subjectivation”<sup>276</sup>.

Butler contributed to the theory of power with the fact that “power would mobilize the body; in other words, the power could lead to a relationship between the body and the unconsciousness of the agency”<sup>277</sup>. “There has been a psychic dimension when the subjectivity (symbolic structure of identity) confronts with any formed referent identities”<sup>278</sup>.

To summarize, the three elements could be listed in order to grasp that psychic dimension power. Firstly, According to Llyod<sup>279</sup>, “human beings are dependent individuals in both social and psychic sense, they passion to live and their desire transformed into a willing subjection to a power”. Secondly, Butler mentions that the existence of a subject is far being of “an autonomous subject and this psychic subject” needs the others for “subordination which is essential for its continual survival”<sup>280</sup>.

Butler’s claim has the third aspect which relies on the Freudian concept that is melancholia. “Mourning and melancholia would be needed because they are

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<sup>275</sup>Butler 1997, 8

<sup>276</sup>*Ibid*, 10-11

<sup>277</sup>Tie 2004, 168

<sup>278</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>279</sup>Llyod 2009, 102

<sup>280</sup>*Ibid*.

incorporated to the very structure of ego (much related to the –never never- situations and the disavowal, foreclosure and the installation of the other within the ego)<sup>281</sup>.



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<sup>281</sup>Llyod 2009, 103

### 5.1.b. Foucauldian Power from the perspective of Deleuze

Foucault talks about how the subject is constituted and how the subject is engaged in the power relations yet he does not adequately include the discussion of desire and its cause and effect on the agency in his analysis. “If Foucault’ power would be considered as productive, it should be developed by the concept of Deleuze which is “desiring production””<sup>282</sup>. “Deleuze concentrates on the dominated and dominant forces that could be derived from Nietzsche rather than Foucault; in addition “will to power” is not equivalent to the desire for power”<sup>283</sup>. Besides, “Will to power is an efficient immanent cause of the self-organization of being”<sup>284</sup>. Nevertheless, according to Deleuze, “the power relations are not localized at any given moment” and they all visible and articulable<sup>285</sup>.

Deleuze focuses on the structure of the desire which is productive, primordial and produces the reality while Foucault states that power (that is what constitutes desire in Foucauldian terms) would be a complicated strategy<sup>286</sup>. Moreover, “there is a distinction between the molecular and moral forms of power relations, that’s why power is the multiplicity of force relations which are “immanent in the sphere” and organize themselves and then “crystallize into strata””<sup>287</sup>. Deleuze thinks that the relations of power are heterogeneous in terms of macro and micro systems of power<sup>288</sup>.

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<sup>282</sup>Bignall 2008, 130

<sup>283</sup>*Ibid*, 131

<sup>284</sup>Bignall 2008, 138

<sup>285</sup>Krizek 1995, 296

<sup>286</sup>Demir 2014

<sup>287</sup>Bignall 2008, 133

<sup>288</sup>Demir 2014

Foucault utters that power is primarily positive, whereas Deleuze sees that “power is an affection of desire rather than its cause”<sup>289</sup>. In fact,” according to Deleuze, the subject itself is created by the desire and this desire could be a social agency, could invest its agency with other types of desires which are named as residue”<sup>290</sup>. “Deleuze develops the question of power as the inequality of powers and their struggles, and according to him, who profits from the power and investments could be challenged”<sup>291</sup>, so that Deleuze is more interested who exercise the power whereas Foucault focuses on the how. As Foucault argues, there is a correlation between the desire of power and interest<sup>292</sup>.

Obviously, Foucault’ study would be an inspiration for Deleuze who uncovers the non-discursive phenomena and makes it visible<sup>293</sup>. “Since Foucault could be considered as a visual historian that is, there is a history of not only what was seen but also what could “be seen or seeable, that is the "positivity" of knowledge and power of a time and place”<sup>294</sup>. Foucault and Deleuze actually, are concerned with” the process of domination and exploitation” which lasts through the people’s own desire which is really productive, although Foucault needs a different word for desire (pleasure)<sup>295</sup>. Deleuze defines the desire as being the derives and affects of not your own, that is unconscious<sup>296</sup>.

Henceforth, Deleuze brings the visibility and unconscious to the debate of power, and he asserts about subjection,

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<sup>289</sup>Bignall 2008, 137

<sup>290</sup>*Ibid*, 138

<sup>291</sup>Foucault&Deleuze 1977: 214

<sup>292</sup>*Ibid*, 215

<sup>293</sup>Caluya 2010, 627

<sup>294</sup>Rajchman 1988, 91

<sup>295</sup>Tuck 2010, 643

<sup>296</sup>*Ibid*, 645

“...The fold therefore seems unfolded, and the subjectivation of the free man is transformed into subjection: on the one hand it involves being 'subject to someone else by control and dependence', with all the processes of individuation and modulation which power installs, acting on the daily life and the interiority of those it calls its subjects; on the other it makes the subject 'tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge', through all the techniques of moral and human sciences that go to make up a knowledge of the subject... “”<sup>297</sup>



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<sup>297</sup> Deleuze 2006, 102

## 5.2 The Master Disciple Relationship: The case of the Sheikh and Dervish Relationship in Halveti-Jerrahi Tekke

*“The one who does not obey to any Sheikh, then his tutor would be demon.”*<sup>298</sup>

The relationship between the sheikh and the dervish in Sufism could be concurrent with the relationship of the God and the human being – as being a subject. The *Pir* means the helper, teacher, guide who has an intimate relationship with God as being his friend and acting like a mediator with God and man<sup>299</sup>. The term sheikh could be used for both denoting *Pir* and the *murshid* (spiritual mentor) who would be the central role in Sufism in terms of spiritual development and seclusion of dervish<sup>300</sup>. The chain of spiritual masters could be traced back to the Holy Prophet Mohammed (peace be upon him) who would be the source of all spiritual knowledge and power in the *silsila*<sup>301</sup>. Dervish also means *fakir* who is poor in voluntarily in front of the master also given up all worldly possessions and be the disciple of the sheikh<sup>302</sup>. The dervish would be the disciple that he or she replaced all the desires and own will to the will of the guide who could regulate dervishes' the diet, sleep, speech and etc<sup>303</sup>.

The three stages of Sufism would be started with fully obeying to a sheikh that is *fena fi'l sheikh* (the obliteration of *nefs* in the spiritual existence of the Sheikh the others would be the *fena fil resul*- the obliteration of *nefs* in the existence of the Holy Prophet Mohammed (be peace be upon him) and the other is the obliteration of *nefs* in the

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<sup>298</sup>“Mürşidi olmayanın şeyhi şeytandır.” Common belief in Tekke, the sentence is used frequently among dervishes

<sup>299</sup>Anjum 2006, 248

<sup>300</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>301</sup>Malamud 1996, 91

<sup>302</sup>Anjum, 2006:249

<sup>303</sup>Malamud 1996, 92

existence of God: fena fillah)<sup>304</sup>. The three stages would be the elimination of main dichotomy between God and the mortal self<sup>305</sup>.

The novice (fresh dervish) would not doubt about his sheikh or the other Sheiks of other tariqas since they proclaim the Truth that the novice could not grasp. If the young dervish could win a place over the heart of his sheikh (master), after the blessing of the master, the success in the path could be apprehended straightforwardly<sup>306</sup>. Disobedience to the master would be the irrevocable although some young dervishes could be forgiven for insubordination (in the case of experienced, the mercy should not be seen)<sup>307</sup>. The obedience would be named in tariqa as *adab* (code of conduct) which is related to the true submission to the sheikh who is the representative of the Truth (Hakk).

The spiritual beating is also a common belief that a dervish would be warned by God with an invisible hand that could be any trouble in daily life while he or she would be dissident to his or her master<sup>308</sup>. The mastery would be understood like this, a dervish would see with the Truth, listens with the Truth, walks with the Truth, and talks with the Truth in order to answer the question of God in the Day of Reckoning which is “In your earthly life, I was with you, but who you were with?”<sup>309</sup>. That’s why the relationship with the beloved master would be crucial in tariqa. The disciplining and cleansing the ego has the 68 blemishes would be listed below for the attainment of the true

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<sup>304</sup> Kara, Mustafa. “Tasavvuf Mektebinde Mürid ve Mürşid”, Keşkül Dergisi, 2014, pp.18-19.

<sup>305</sup> Anjum, 2006: 251

<sup>306</sup> Akkökler 2014, 24

<sup>307</sup> *Ibid* 21

<sup>308</sup> S. Dal 2000, 21

<sup>309</sup> Akkökler 2014, 22

submission to *adab* which would be the most important feature in Islam that the Holy Prophet Mohammed says that “Islam is a good *adab*”<sup>310</sup>.

1. <i>Ujub</i> to be proud of one spiritualstate
2. <i>Riya</i> to showoff and be ostentatious
3. <i>Kibr</i> arrogance
4. <i>Hasad</i> envy
5. <i>Bukhul</i> stinginess and miserliness
6. <i>Kin</i> to be vengeful
7. <i>Kufr</i> faithlessness and thankfulness
8. <i>Bidat</i> to distort religion and tradition
9. <i>Kufran-i nimet</i> to deny the giver of gifts and belittle the gifts
10. To be dissatisfied and complain about the one’s own state
11. To cease to have hope in God’s mercy
12. To be sure of God’s punishment
13. To condone tyranny and help tyrants
14. To speak against decent people and each other
15. To keep the heart attached to this world
16. To keep desire to be a leader
17. To expect approval and compliments
18. To fear criticism
19. Not to be able to prevent oneself from the desire of obtaining everything around
20. Instead of wishing to learn the truth, to be an imitator
21. To fawn over people for personal benefit
22. To be happy about disasters that befall people, even enemies
23. To be a coward
24. To get angry
25. To be a tyrant
26. Not to keep sword
27. To believe in bad luck
28. To think unjustly about people
29. To love property
30. To be overly concerned with the world
31. To be ambitious
32. To lead an irresponsible life
33. To mix oneself into the affairs which do not concern one
34. To be undignified
35. Not to keep the time of one’s devotions due to laziness
36. To be shameless
37. To lament the loss of things
38. To gossip
39. To be stubborn
40. To be an egoist
41. To be a hypocrite
42. To be a cheat
43. To be brutish
44. To be dishonorable in relations with women
45. To be lustful
46. Not to accept own mistake and continue insisting on it

<sup>310</sup> Ozak 1980,,31-35

47. To be afraid of poverty
48. Not to believe in destiny
49. To discuss destiny or speculate about it
50. To make oneself depressed
51. To take pleasure in belittling others
52. To be indiscriminately happy
53. To be insincerely kind and fawning over rich people
54. To be contemptuous of the poor
55. To boast and be proud of own past
56. To show off own physical prowess
57. To like to talk long unnecessarily
58. To be self-centered in conversation
59. To forget one's own faults and to be preoccupied with the faults of others
60. To exclude from own heart the fear of Allah and the shame
61. In distress to make excuses and fall back on and encourage the <i>nefs</i>
62. To decline to help in a struggle for God
63. To pretend to be friends with one's enemy
64. To cheat on work
65. To set traps for others
66. To identify with the world to the extent of forgetting God
67. To take pleasure in other people's suffering
68. Not to suffer because of one's mistakes

A dervish should continue to the service to the beloved master either physically or fiscally without any expectation or present from him, also the service could be in a level of high importance that sheikh Fahreddin Erenden states that there are services which they are subordinate to the Sheikh or the Khalifa of the Sheikh (*Sertarik*); these are , the cook (*aşçı*), the singer and the performer of the dhikr (*zakirbaşı*), the performer of the salat (imam), charger with preparing the *meydan* for the dhikr (*meydancı*), the tomb keeper (türbedar), the doorman (*kapıcı*), the grocery shopper for the tekke (*pazarıcı*), the candle lighter (*çerağcı*), the cup bearer (*saki*) and lastly the sweeper (*ferraş*)<sup>311</sup>.

In particular, it is through asceticism “*zuhd*” and communal dhikr which the dervish may under no circumstances neglect that he confirms his decision and strengthens his resolve. In order to help him, the master is obliged to assign duties and obligations to his disciple and

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<sup>311</sup> Akkökler, 2012, 24

to test him in accordance with his natural capacities. It is for this reason that a very personal relationship should exist between master and disciple, since only the sheikh really knows the realities and needs of the dervish. A sound relationship of respect leading to love and devotion between the two is the most essential personal, human element in tariqa, and without it the efforts and *ibadet* of the dervish will lead to nothing whatsoever. This is why the dervish is absolutely obliged to ask the sheikh's permission and advice in all matters both religious and secular. It is to be remembered that the sheikh's permission is also a prayer (*dua*), a protection, and the guarantee of successful outcome for the disciple<sup>312</sup>. A dervish could be always docile to his or her sheikh without any ambition or immodesty; even the dervish could think that the sheikh would be wrong he or she should remain silent in order to have virtue and submission<sup>313</sup>.

It is no easy task to be a dervish, especially in the modern era when the cult of the ego and personal freedom is so highly developed. Indeed, the modern mind is hard put to accept the above story as a story of real love. But then, our values have moved so far from the center as to be barely recognizable any more. However much insistence is laid on such total obedience, Hz. Pir as Seyyid As sheikh Nureddin leaves to the dervish the responsibility of keeping himself and his general behavior in check. In this matter, it is essential that the disciple should never forget that he is full of faults, and that he alone is in the position to fight against them. In order to undertake this attempt at self-mastery, it is of extreme importance that he keep doing whatever his or her sheikh demanded and be accompany with the other dervishes. Such company may consist only of people chosen from the ranks of those who share the dervishes' beliefs. If the dervish keeps the company of worldly people, he will be exposed to numerous dangers. The sheikh is the one who knows the tricks of both devil and the nefis before his dervish and he would be

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<sup>312</sup>Akkökler, 2014, 24

<sup>313</sup>Ghazzali in Malamud 1996, 94)

able to cure them, otherwise the dervish would be remain the initial state<sup>314</sup>. Some of the rules of behavior towards the master, the omission of which is particularly detrimental to the dervish, are the following<sup>315</sup>:

• not to sit in the sheikh's presence with crossed legs;
• not to walk in front of him or to turn one's back on him;
• to be loyal to the sheikh, whether he is present or absent;
• not to be inquisitive about the private affairs of the sheikh;
• not to talk excessively in the presence of the sheikh;
• to stand in the sheikh's presence and to sit down only when he permit sit
• to speak only with the sheikh about one's dreams, and to be satisfied with his interpretation;
• to respect not only the sheikh, but also the elders and the kids in the Tekke. <sup>316</sup>
• never to walk in front of, nor to turn one's back on, the sheikh

While considering the obedience, it could be said that emotion might be considered as a sign of disobedience<sup>317</sup>. The comfort zone of a dervish (namely Garden) could be the very moments that he or she believes that there is a connection of him or her with the Grand Sheikh rather than the worldly passions in addition to this, there is a key for the entrance of the Garden which is "Eyvallah"<sup>318</sup>.

The signs would be worth to mention that a sheikh could be accepted as "loins" (masculine seed) and the dervish could be accepted as "womb" (a passive receptacle), there is a transmission and the discipleship would be the spiritual birth (al-wildda'l-ma'nawiyya)<sup>319</sup>. After that birth which could be the decision of sheikh, the dervish could get another name that symbolizes the annihilated nefs of him that would be the real *kul* servant to God. The symbolization continues with the narrative of mother-infant relationship, and the breastfeeding would be the sign of the interchange of Truth

<sup>314</sup> Gül 2014, 93

<sup>315</sup> Akkökler 2014,24

<sup>316</sup> In this respect, As seyyid as Sheikh Safer Efendi added that the rule of respect behavior is that the elders the younger dervishes show service and to the kids dervishes show compassion. The single and the most significant factor is love. As Seyyid As Sheikh Hz. Safer Efendi states that this is the condition of being in the Jerrahi Order.

<sup>317</sup> Esquivel 2016, 185

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid*, 186

<sup>319</sup> Malamud 1996, 95

(sometimes sainthood) from sheikh to dervish, moreover, the sheikh could be the wetnurse for dervishes<sup>320</sup>. Malamud<sup>321</sup> also suggests that the attachment of dervish to his or her sheikh would be in full devotion, visualization of sheikh in prayer that he or she could create a bridge towards to the annihilation on God (*fana*).

The sheikh and the dervish have a special kind of connection which is called as *rabita* in Sufism. In order to have a full *rabita* with the sheikh, dervish would love his or her sheikh deeply, what's more the leading figure in the Islamic history, Ibn Abbas (ra) sees the Holy Prophet Mohammed in the mirror when he looks<sup>322</sup>. If a dervish would make a strong *rabita* with his or her sheikh, he or she would be under protection of his sheikh which is called as *tasarruf*<sup>323</sup>. *Rabita* means the connection of souls, in order to be a full attachment to the sheikh who is “contagious<sup>324</sup>” (the divine love of the sheikh could be spread to dervishes). *Rabita* would be more important than dhikr, since *rabita* would lead to an intimacy to God directly via the sheikh who already has<sup>325</sup>. *Iman* (belief) and *yakin* (full devotion to the existence of sheikh) would be components of *rabita*, the friendship of sheikh and dervish would be pleased by God himself<sup>326</sup>.

In addition to *rabita*, there is another term called *murakabe*. A Muslim should pray as if he or she sees God at that time, i.e. God always see his creatures whether they sit, they walk, they eat etc, men should be aware of this and always behave like a devoted Muslim<sup>327</sup>. If a dervish continues *murakabe* for a month, he or she would get *rabita* that means *rabita* would not be realized without *murakabe*<sup>328</sup>. Dervishes could not hide

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<sup>320</sup>Razi in Malamud 1996, 96

<sup>321</sup>Malamud 1996, 99

<sup>322</sup>Taşpınar 2010, 52

<sup>323</sup>*Ibid*

<sup>324</sup>Ayyıldız 2002, 105

<sup>325</sup>*Ibid*, 106

<sup>326</sup>*Ibid*, 107

<sup>327</sup>Taşpınar 2010, 53-54

<sup>328</sup>*Ibid*

anything from their sheikh since dervish could easily be mistaken, the sheikh should control his soul<sup>329</sup>. Furthermore, dervishes could pray God with the name of their sheikhs or the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) that is *tevessul*<sup>330</sup>. *Tevessul* could be same with the *himmət* which is the spiritual help of the sheikh to his dervish. In fact, *himmət* is the demand of desire for Truth, the eagerness towards the desire that should be demanded by dervish<sup>331</sup>. Hence, a dervish should think that at all times God and his sheikh sees him (*murakabe*), should constantly make connection with his or her sheikh (*rabıta*) in order not to obey devil and demand from God with the name of his sheikh who is known with his intimacy to God and his lovers (*tevessül*).

The sheikh could be a model for the dervish in terms of traditional Sufi training and how he deals with the daily works; also he could induce, he could assign special duties within the dervish group<sup>332</sup>. The sheikh would be the symbol of the charisma of the divine power who could convert a dervish to a *wali* via putting him a coat<sup>333</sup>. The relationship between the sheikh and dervish would include the confidence since both should keep the secrets of each other, even if the dervish see a sinful act coming from the sheikh, he or she has to be patient since in the end the profundity would emerge<sup>334</sup>. Furthermore, the sheikh would have the psychological and pedagogical education due to the fact that he would treat his all dervishes differently in accordance to their talents, merits, devotion and etc<sup>335</sup>.

The assignment of the sheikhs would be another aspect since when a sheikh had passed away; his dervishes should obey the successor with full devotion. However, the

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<sup>329</sup>Ayyıldız 2002, 111

<sup>330</sup>Taşpınar 2010, 56

<sup>331</sup>Ayyıldız 2002, 111

<sup>332</sup>*Ibid* 93-98

<sup>333</sup>Aydemir 1998, 54

<sup>334</sup>*Ibid* 55

<sup>335</sup>*Ibid* 57

dervishes had built a strong relationship with the former sheikh and they would be reluctant to embrace the new comer even if the new sheikh would be chosen within the dervish community. The sheikh himself does not know who would be the next or he would not have a word about the selection, it is believed that the whole process is bound to mystic power which would be released with only dreams.

There has been a specific dream which all the other significant dervishes being in charge in Tekke see the exact same sign in order to determine who would be the next sheikh. If only one of them does not see the same dream, then they would wait until the same dream which is supposed to be a message from God. Elder dervishes say the freshmen that if a billet sits on the post (sheep skin), all of the dervishes should obey the billet, whether the presence of the sheikh would be important for the dervish, what is crucial is the existence of the Tekke as an institution<sup>336</sup>.

There could be sheikhs who have perfection in their nefs in regard to their wisdom, understanding, strength and guidance, however, society could face with the existence of pseudo sheikhs and it should be classified as such, *Kal, Yal, Tekke, Takke, Evrad, Avrad, Kürsi, Kabile and Hal*<sup>337</sup>. First one is the sheikhs of kal (so called sheiks) who are ignorant, inadequate people who are not well educated but somehow know a little about religion and people suppose that they are wise sheikhs. The Sheikh of *Yal* who always promotes the heaven as the space of eating, loving and many physical needs, could harm the people in fiscal terms. The Sheikh of Tekke could be considered as officer and gets his daily living from the dervish lodges. The forth one is the Sheikh of Takke who is fond of the physical appearance and symbols of the tariqa. The sheikh of *avrad* encourages reading Koran and holy dhikr every time, while the sheikh of *avrad* is

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<sup>336</sup>Akkökler, 2014

<sup>337</sup>Ozak 1980, 23

such a harasser of women seems like a religious man. The Sheikh of *Kursi* would only deals with sermon on Fridays, the sheikh of *kabile* is the very leader of a tribe. These sheikhs are different from the sheikh of Tekke, in other words, the sheikh would be nothing from the above and everything to his dervish<sup>338</sup>.

Hence, disobedience to the master is irrevocable for a dervish, yet a fresh novice could be forgiven for insubordination, whereas an advanced disciple could have not this mercy. Since, a novice can unconsciously commit errors as a result of his or her lack of knowledge and his or her imperfections; still it is a situation which is impermissible for experienced disciple. From the outside this extreme obedience to the sheikh may seem incomprehensible, however it should be understood that the *adab* towards the sheikh is the core of submission and the disciplining the *nefs*.

The dervishes are encouraged to restraint the ego through vigilance and prayer, constantly beautifying themselves with the opposite of every one in public. As, it could be said, the prayer which pleases Allah most and which brings one closest to Him, is to have beautiful *adab*. It should be bear in mind that the sheikh consciously exposes himself to disdain and criticism. He is reviled by man but praised by God in the world of Truth (*Alem-i Mana*). The sheikhs succeed in surpassing ordinary people and are beholden to neither time nor place. They are free from cravings and greed. When one is free from greed and desire, he expects nothing from people, and plucks no fruits from his dealings with them. In order to assume such qualities, he willingly exposes himself to contempt. He severs ties with all other bonds and relationships, uniting himself exclusively with God Most High, in order that the Divine Will may be fulfilled. They obey the Holy Will of God, of the Prophets, and of the Heart (souls)<sup>339</sup>. A dervish

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<sup>338</sup>Özak 1980, 24-30

<sup>339</sup>Akkökler 2014, 6,7

should be aware of the intimacy of his or her sheikh to God, and should be consciously obedient to him in whatever conditions.



## 6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Dervish lodges (Tekkeler) in Turkey are legally the branches of Ministry of Culture and Tourism rather than the Presidency of Religious Affairs. They are considered as the passive cultural assets of Anatolia remaining from Ottoman Empire; however, dervish lodges and small lodges (*zaviyeler*) are active in modern secular Turkey.

The tariqas would continue with the accession of new sheikhs with their own rules, own terms. The state has no right to appointment of the religious leaders or officers into these tariqas. In fact, tariqas is freer than ever since it should be reminded that there had been a revision movement in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and particularly in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That time period contains the reform of the hereditary sheikh succession and taking measures for the organization of dervish lodges also there emerged the “Council of Sheikhs” (*Meclis-i Meşayih*) in the mid-19th century, and (never implemented) “Sufi School” (*Medresetü'l-Meşayih*) for the education of the sons of the Sheikhs in the beginning of the 20th century. It would not be misleading that there had been strict control over tariqas in the Ottoman Empire.

In Turkey, if someone would like to visit the graveyard of the Halveti-Jerrahi Tekke, he or she should get permission from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism from Ankara. The tomb is locked, and there are surveillance cameras inside. Interestingly, there have been commemorative ceremonies for the reunion night of Pir Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi in Konya every year and the head of the state were been the opening day, watched the ceremony which is in fact a ritual of Sufi worshipping. The sheikhs are visible through different covers, mystical music, ethnic traditional values yet they are the very leaders of such religious communities which have their own rules inversely to the Turkish official Islam.

To summarize the main features of Tekke, it could be said that Halveti-Jerrahi in Karagümruk is the one of the well-known dervish lodges in Istanbul, the famous singers, directors, and actors and also professors would be listed as dervishes of this Tekke. It is located in the part of the old city of Istanbul for ages. The foundation story is full of mystic and extraordinary essentials, so the spatiality is constituted in accordance with the sacred space. Moreover, the discrepancy characteristic of Tekke would provide a basis for the crystallization of beliefs for dervishes. The Tekke has a good smell, visibility of lots of religious figures, symbols and a platform of collective worshipping. Dervishes or any ordinary men or women could be affected that environment. Tekke would be the place of confrontations of spiritual beliefs and people, and produced representative identities to dervishes who have to be docile to the tariqa and the sheikh.

Tekke is the very place of ultimate devotion, joy and adoration for dervishes and according to Foucault, it would be a heterotopic geography in terms of sanctified quality, including graveyard in it, lots of role plays within the tariqa, and deep historicity. Through *the rabita*, *himmel*, *tevessül* and *murakabe* mechanism, dervishes would be accepted as living in a imaginary Panopticon of Bentham. The central surveillance tower could be the Tekke itself, since dervishes mostly believe that the former sheikhs of Tekke were aware of the present time dervishes. Even, dervishes have faith in the former sheikhs would be spiritual guides of modern time dervishes other than their grand sheikh. These pass over sheikhs could induce dervishes with dreams.

The religious rites and ordinary life practices might be recognized as very different from the regular official Islam in Turkey. Also, it is strongly believed that the only holy day is Friday, and nobody would know about the sacredness of the night of Friday which is the exact night of Thursday. Since in lunar calendar, the day begins with nights, so in

Tekke, this tradition is alive. In Thursday night, this is in fact the night of the holy day of a week; dervishes come together and collectively do the vocal dhikr. There are authoritarian rules in the dhikr ceremonies and all of the dervishes have to be aware of them. The authority of the grand sheikh would be understood in every moment. If a dervish would be disobedient to sheikh, he or she would be considered as disloyal to tariqa and the judgment is bound to the Sheikh. Furthermore, in marriage, circumcision, birth, funeral ceremonies, the sheikh would be the main actor, every rule, and every ritual would be an element to strengthen the power of the Sheikh. Dervishes should be consentient in their profane matters of this life too. There is no such a difference sacred and profane in Tekke where every unique thing is considered to be sacred, mystic and a message from God. *Biat* (Obeisance) ceremony is the symbolic act of the improvement of the power of the Sheikh. Dervishes learn how to be honest, obedient and annihilated *nefs* in the first day of their *nefs* journey.

Sufism requires obliteration of *nefs* in three stages, annihilate in the existence of Sheikh, the Holy Prophet Mohammed and the very existence of God himself. So the presence of the sheikh is so much significant and dervishes should obey to him without any doubts. Dervishes should follow their sheikhs even if he would be mistaken. In addition, if a dervish has the chance of being close to his or her Sheikh, he or she would be very close to God. The Sheikhs could be considered as the shadow of the God in earth. There are many procedures that a dervish must follow in the presence of his or her sheikh. A dervish would always be in the service of his or her sheikh, and show love and devotion to him. Dervishes could be the spiritual offspring of the sheikh and they could only achieve in their Sufi path with the help of the Sheikh.

While thinking about the power of Sheikh, the Foucauldian aspects could be brought into scope. The obeisance of dervishes is similar to the process of subjection that is,

individual self is constituted through the micro-management processes. Subjects according to Foucault are objectified, controlled with “the capillary circuits” of relational power. In Tekke, there could be seen that some dervishes would be in charge of some duties and there is a strict hierarchy within the Tekke. The power mechanism is not seen via not only the existence of sheikh but also the possibility of domination. The name, physical existence of the sheikh would not be considered as important within the Tekke, what is more significant is the “absent-presence” of the sheikh. The institution would continue whoever be the sheikh in the eyes of dervishes who has to be devoted to the tariqa itself. The charismatic leadership of the sheikh could be coincidental since there is no rule about the charming attitude of the sheikh. In other words, even if the sheikh would seem to be the sovereign in Tekke, the existence of power relations and the productive network is much more worth to talk about. Yet, it should be noted that the knowledge of Sufi path belongs to the Sheikh and the authority of him, and this knowledge would provide a source for power.

There is an intentional surveillance system in Tekke both physically and mystically, it is alike what Foucault argues. In addition, there is no forced coercive power within the Tekke, and dervishes could be free and their desires are accepted. The individuals have to be disciplined in any way with discursive formations to the continuation of governmentality in Tekke. Discipline is the source of the governing of collective masses without an acknowledgement of a sovereign power. Governmentality in Tekke, is bound to the docile, disciplined bodies containing their souls. The sheikh would like to administer, manage and govern the dervishes, however, what causes of the subjected individuals; it is the power relations rather than the sheikh.

Foucauldian power is a life creating subjugation mechanism for individuals who are determined as subjects and there has to be system of bio-politics since the recording of

the bodies is crucial and extending the life capabilities as a living labor. In Tekke, there are credentials of the records of dervishes. The documents are archived in the room of the sheikh. However, it is different from the governing process of bio-politics because they are only the records of dervishes.

The surveillance through the structure of panopticon in Tekke could affect the resistance of the self to the disciplinary power which could not be considered as rare for dervishes. Through the surveillance of this power, the dervishes even produced, activated but designated to a certain kind of restriction<sup>340</sup>. In fact, Butler<sup>341</sup> states that the maintaining of social existence of the subject is deathlessly bound to the power itself although it exceeds that power. Dervishes are linked to the power relations in the Tekke without conscious.

Butler asks Foucault that if normalizing discourse imprisoned the unconscious –psyche- of the subject, how a resistance could would be possible within the complexity of the relations of power<sup>342</sup>. The identity of being a dervish would be existed if only a power constitute it within the unconscious of the agency that Foucault argues within the surveillance system called panopticon. There is dominant subordination and no permit for resistance that is the Foucault leaks and Butler contributes. Butler suggests the paradoxical point within the analysis of body and soul as interiors and exteriors. The dervish identity needs subjection, subordination, disciplinary power and what Butler attributed “psyche” not to be a fantasy and be a possibility. That is the very point that Butler argument on the materiality of prisons as a signifier of the prisoner likewise a dervish in the Tekke.

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<sup>340</sup>Butler 1997, 83

<sup>341</sup>Mills 2013, 266

<sup>342</sup>Butler 1997, 89

As Deleuze argues that the subject is established by the subject himself and desire would be the source of social agency. Deleuze makes visible what Foucault asserts, and he is more concentrated on the unconscious since it could be claimed that dervishes, they behave and come together with the same desires and be the unconscious subjects of disciplined power within Tekke.

Hence, the dichotomy between the world and after death is blurred in Tekke, in this world the dervish could live in heaven or hell while following the Sufi path, and all the activities are interrelated to each other. Dervishes of Tekke have a *telos* and they have the same path to reach the God, thus they believe the same thing. They have a very strict hierarchical rank system. They live similar experiences; they assert that they see the exact same dreams and their full consent is freely substituted to the power in Tekke. Foucault focuses on how power exercised within the society, in this thesis the small scale group would be assessed in terms of heterotopia, *panopticism*, power relations, docile bodies, governmentality, bio-power, and also psychic dimension and the role of desire and the unconscious. However, in my humble opinion, faiths, beliefs, tariqas could be the subjects of theology since it is difficult to understand the real motive behind being a dervish to a sheikh with a full voluntary submission.

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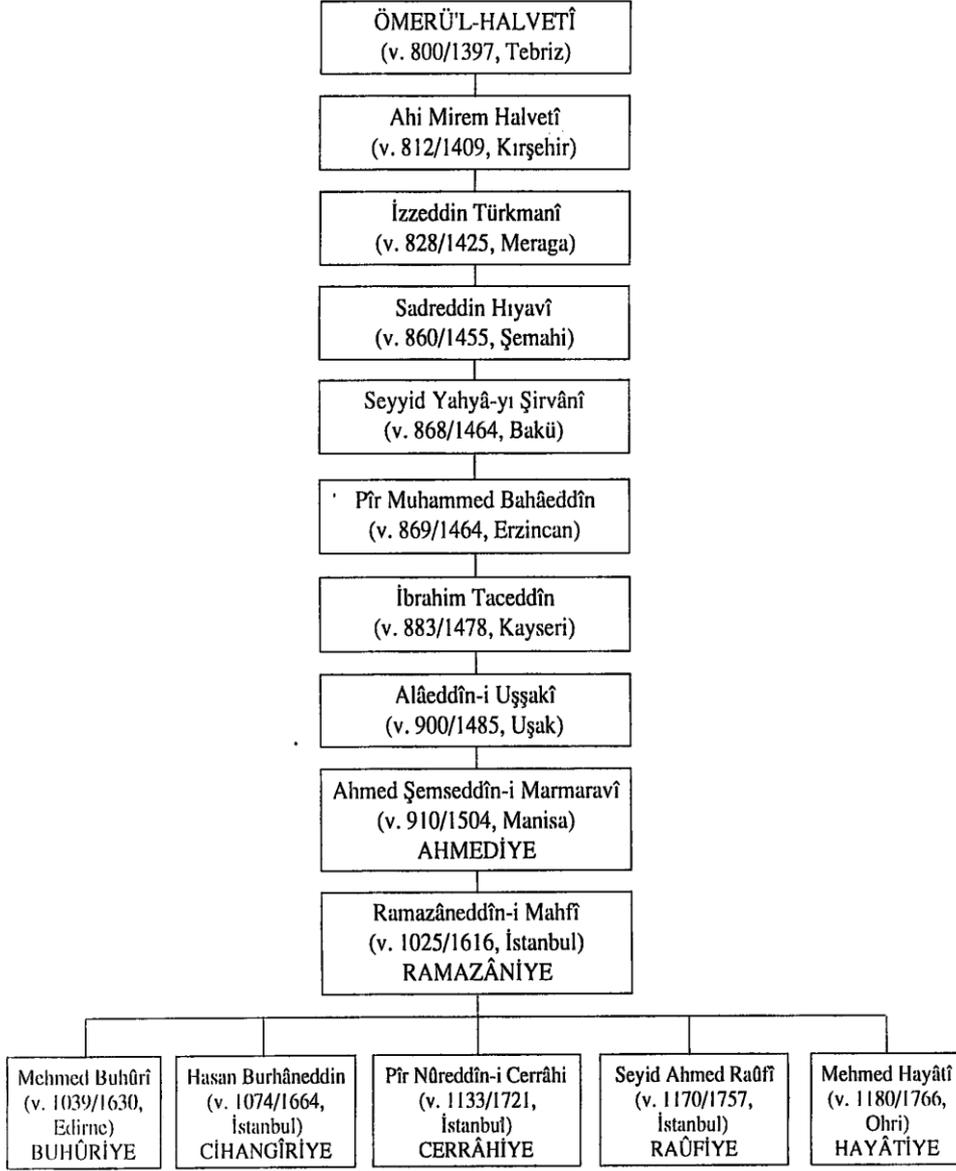
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