Seyyid Seyfeddin (Piri Sevdin) Ocak (Alevi sacred lineage)

Dr. Ali Eren Demir
demiralieren14@gmail.com

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Address: Alevi Ansiklopedisi
Körnebachstr. 49-51, 44143 Dortmund

info@aleviansiklopedisi.com

Summary
The Seyyid Seyfeddin Ocak (locally known as the Piri Sevdin Ocak) is one of the Alevi Ocaks that has been active for centuries in the Pertek district of Tunceli (Dersim). Because it has received limited attention in the academic literature, the visibility of this important Ocak has diminished within the social memory of Tunceli Alevism (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 9). The Ocak is composed of dede families who claim descent from its founding figure, Seyyid Seyfeddin Baharzi (1190–1261). Baharzi was one of the leading scholars of his time and a disciple of Necmeddin Kübra, the founder of the Kubrawiyya order (Eflaki 2006). One of Baharzi's grandsons, known as the Second Seyyid Seyfeddin, migrated from Khorasan to Anatolia in the fourteenth century and settled in the village of Pilvenk in Dersim (present-day Dedeağaç). Having received icazet from the Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergâh, he laid the foundations of the Ocak in the region (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 81). As one of the founding Ocaks of the Pilvenk aşiret, the Seyyid Seyfeddin Ocak acquired a strong social position in the Pertek area. The Pilvenk aşiret consists of four ezbets (lineages or descent groups): Piranlılar, Halifanlar, Keşkekhuranlar, and Süleymanlar. The Piranlılar are affiliated with the Seyyid Seyfeddin Ocak, while the Halifanlar are affiliated with the Şıh Delil-i Berhican Ocak (Yaman 2006, 130). A major turning point in the history of the Ocak was the event known as the "Sır Mahmut incident." Following the killing of Seyyid Mahmut, a member of the Ocak, in the village of Pilvenk, the ocakzades migrated from Upper Pilvenk (Dedeağaç) to Lower Pilvenk (the Pertek area). Today, members of the Ocak are concentrated in villages affiliated with the Dere subdistrict of Pertek, including Erindek (Yamaçoba), Şuşenk (Bakırlı), Ağzünik (Kayabağ), Carhek (Yalınkaya), and Margik (Günboğazı) (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 59–61). Processes of modernization and migration have transformed the Ocak system. The memory of the Ocak is currently being preserved through the Kasım Özer archive, while its visibility is being enhanced through academic research.

Keywords: Alevi Ocak, Dersim, Pertek, Piri Sevdin, Raa Haqi, Seyyit Seyfettin, Sosyoloji

Historical Origins: From Khorasan to Anatolia

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The history of the **Seyyid Seyfeddin *Ocak*** begins with a migration narrative that extends from Khorasan to Anatolia. The founding ancestor of the *Ocak*, Seyyid Seyfeddin Baharzi, was one of the prominent scholars of his time. According to Eflaki, his full name was Seyfeddin Said Ibn al-Mutahhar Baharzi, and he was born in Baharz in 586 AH / 1190 CE (Eflaki 2006). He left his birthplace at a young age and studied with renowned scholars of the period. He later became a disciple of Necmeddin Kübra, the founder of the *Kubrawiyya* order, in Khwarezm.

Seyyid Seyfeddin Baharzi settled in Fethabad, a suburb of Bukhara, where he carried out activities of religious guidance (*irşat*). It is reported that until his death on 21 October 1261, he converted many Mongol commanders and administrators to Islam. It is also narrated that Batu, the founder of the Golden Horde, held him in high esteem, and that Batu's brother Berke embraced Islam through his influence (Eflaki 2006). Baharzi authored works in Arabic and Persian, and his tomb has been preserved to this day in the Fethabad quarter of Bukhara.

The migration of Seyyid Seyfeddin Baharzi's descendants to Anatolia constitutes the foundation of the *Ocak*'s presence in Tunceli. According to *ziyaretnames* obtained from the Hacı Bektaş Veli *Dergâh*, Baharzi's son Seyyid Sadreddin migrated from Turkestan to Diyarbakır in 704 AH / 1304 CE, where he later died. Seyyid Sadreddin's son, known as the Second Seyyid Seyfeddin, arrived at the Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş Veli *Dergâh* in 751 AH / 1350 CE, registered with the *Ocak*, and received *icazet* (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 81-82). This historical sequence illustrates the stages through which the *Ocak* became institutionalized in Anatolia.

The settlement of the Second Seyyid Seyfeddin in the village of Pilvenk in Dersim (today's Dedeağaç) marked the beginning of the *Ocak*'s organization at the local level. According to *menakıbname* narratives, when the Second Seyyid Seyfeddin arrived in the village then known as Vank, the area was inhabited by Christian Armenians. Through the

kerametsi he displayed, he is said to have brought the local population to Islam through the *Alevi* path and to have made them his disciples (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 25-27).

One of the *kerametsi* recounted in the *menakıbnames* is particularly striking. When the eldest son of a priest appeared before Seyyid Seyfeddin and said, “O dervish, our horses eat nothing but green grass,” Seyyid Seyfeddin scraped the snow from the ground, plucked a small clover shoot, and threw it before the horses. The tiny shoot turned into a large heap of clover, and the horses fed abundantly on the fresh grass. In another *keramet*, when the priest said, “O friend of God, there is neither bread left in our trough nor flour in our bin,” Seyyid Seyfeddin went to the flour bin in the kitchen and declared, “We have done what is required; by God’s permission, flour will never run out from this bin” (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 26).

Assessments of the etymology of the name Pilvenk shed light on the historical background of the region. The term *Pilvank* is formed by combining the Zazaki (Kırmancki) word *pil*, meaning “large,” and the Armenian word *vank*, meaning “church” or “monastery,” and thus signifies “large monastery” (Çevik 2020, 87). This etymological information supports the presence of a Christian settlement in the area and the subsequent process of Islamization.

The Pilvenk *Aşiret* and Social Organization

The Pilvenk *aşiret* is one of the *Alevi* tribal groups in Tunceli and is composed of four *ezbets*: Piranlılar, Halifanlar, Keşkekhuranlar, and Süleymanlar. The term *ezbet* is used in the sense of a clan or lineage group and defines the basic framework of social solidarity. Within the Pilvenk *aşiret*, the Piranlılar and Halifanlar hold *Ocak* status, while the Keşkekhuranlar and Süleymanlar occupy the position of *talip* (Yaman 2006, 130). This structure demonstrates the institutionalization of the *Ocak-talip* relationship at the level of the *aşiret*.

The Piranlılar are affiliated with the Seyyid Seyfeddin (*Piri Sevdin*) *Ocak*, whereas the Halifanlar are affiliated with the Şıh Delil-i Berhican *Ocak*. From the formative period until the early twentieth century, these *Ocaks* and their *talips* often acted together in social, political, and religious matters and became institutionalized as the Pilvenk *aşiret*. In the traditional period, during the *Cem* ritual-the central form of *Alevi* worship-each *ezbet* assumed a specific duty within the *cem* and fulfilled its ritual responsibilities accordingly (Tosun & Koç 2022, 42). The allocation of distinct services to each *ezbet* both ensured social integration and reinforced the community's collective identity.

The geographical distribution of the Pilvenk *aşiret* indicates the scope of the *Ocak*'s social influence. They inhabit an area situated between the regions settled by the tribal groups of Eastern and Western Dersim. Most of their villages and hamlets are located in the Pertek district, with a smaller number attached to the city center of Tunceli. Outside Tunceli, Pilvenk groups are also found in the Kelkit region (Çevik 2020, 89-91). The significant presence of Pilvenk *aşiret* members in Elazığ is a result of migration from Tunceli.

The relationship between the Seyyid Seyfeddin *Ocak* and the Şıh Delil-i Berhican *Ocak* is crucial for understanding the internal dynamics of the Pilvenk *aşiret*. As noted by Ali Yaman, disputes and competition have emerged between these two *Ocaks* over issues such as claims to being the principal *Ocak*, the performance of *keramet*, and symbolic superiority (Yaman 2006, 130-131). Similarities and differences between their foundation myths and narratives bear traces of this rivalry.

In the foundation myth of the Şıh Delil-i Berhican *Ocak*, the *keramet* of reviving a lamb occupies a central place. By contrast, in the foundation myth of the Seyyid Seyfeddin *Ocak*, the multiplication of clover in winter and the sanctification of the flour bin are foregrounded (Yar & Yalgın 2014, 7-8). These differing *keramet* narratives form part of

each *Ocak*'s effort to assert its distinctiveness and symbolic superiority. The motifs of "revival" and "multiplication" appear in both *Ocaks*, but they are expressed on different symbolic planes.

Some groups use the expression "Keşiş Piro" in a derogatory manner to belittle *Piri Sevdin*. Members of the *Ocak* respond to this as follows: "Given the status of our ancestor, some enemies of God target us by using the expression *Piro Keşişi*. We consign them to God. The term *pir* is an Islamic concept. Moreover, even the most ignorant people know that in Dersim *talips* address their *pirs* as *piro*" (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 45). This discursive struggle forms part of a broader debate that questions the *seyyid* status of *Piri Sevdin* and, by extension, his legitimacy.

The Sır Mahmut Incident and Settlement in Pertek

The *Sır Mahmut* incident occupies a central place in the social memory of the *Piri Sevdin Ocak* and is narrated as the reason for the *Ocak*'s migration from Upper Pilvenk (Dedeağaç) to Lower Pilvenk (the Pertek area). Although different interlocutors recount the event from varying perspectives, there is broad agreement that it involved a killing resulting from internal conflicts within the *Ocak*.

According to one narrative, Seyyid Mahmut was a holy figure endowed with *keramet*. One of the most widely recounted *keramets* is as follows: Seyyid Mahmut was conversing on a rooftop with his brother Seyyid Pirali and several others. At noon, when women had gone to milk the animals returning from pasture, someone teasingly said to Seyyid Mahmut, "Show us a *keramet* so that we may see it." Seyyid Mahmut then began to write something on his fingernail. While returning in spring to the village of Pilvenk after visiting *talips* in the autumn, Seyyid Mahmut was killed near the village, at a spot on the Munzur River today referred to as *Sır Mahmut Gölü*. A number of residents of Pilvenk are said to have martyred him there and to have weighed down his horse with stones in order to drown it as well (Kala, Altı &

Demir 2023, 29-30).

Another narrative emphasizes the political dimension underlying the event: “In the meantime, both the Helifanlılar and the Piranlılar were told to gather all their documents and come to the village of Tozkoparan. There, your *cemaat* will be organized. The Ottoman plan to eliminate our *Ocak* was successfully carried out. In the Pilvank or Pirvank settlement, the *pir* family and various *talip* families used to live together. All of them were merged into a single unit and registered as an *aşiret*. This is how it was presented. In this way, the *pir* family was effectively erased” (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 31). The contrast between these two narratives is striking. While the first frames the event within a traditional and mythological register centered on *keramet* and local dynamics, the second interprets it as a political strategy.

The migration that followed the *Sır Mahmut* incident led to lasting changes in the social structure of the *Ocak*. It was decided that the perpetrators would be identified and punished: each killer was required to give a plot of land as blood compensation to Zeyi Ana, the wife of *Sır Mahmut*, and to leave Pilvank. After the incident, a sense of spiritual fear spread among those living in Pilvank, and migrations began toward distant provinces such as Erzincan, Gümüşhane, Giresun, and Maraş. Because Zeyi Ana’s children were young and vulnerable, they eventually left their holdings in Dedeağaç and purchased land in the Upper Çay hamlet of the Dere subdistrict and in the village of Erindek (including Şüşenk), where they settled (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 30-31).

Another significant consequence of the migration was the relocation of the *şecere* (genealogical document) of the *Ocak*: “Thus, when a large part of the Seyyid Seyfeddin lineage migrated to this new area, they requested that their *şecere* be transferred there as well. Those remaining in Pilvank brought the *şecere* and left it in the house of their relatives in Kevırkan. In this way, our *şecere* was moved

from Pilvank (Dedeağaç) to Kevırkan (Halilpınar)" (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 32). The *şecere* functions not merely as a document but as a material marker of the *Ocak*'s legitimacy.

The geographical distribution of members of the *Piri Sevdin Ocak* within the Pertek district provides a key framework for understanding its social structure. According to documented records, settlement sites are systematically dispersed across different subdistricts of Pertek. The Dere subdistrict, along with the villages of Erindek (Yamaçoba), Şuşenk (Bakırlı), Ağzünik (Kayabağ), Carhek (Yalınkaya), Sürgüç, Ulupınar, Margik (Günboğazı), and Balişer (Beydamı), are the primary locations where *Ocak* members are concentrated (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 59-61).

The Social Functions of the *Ocak* System

The *Alevi Ocak* system functions as a highly effective force in maintaining social order. *Ocaks* are *seyyid* families who perform religious services and are believed to descend from Fatima, the daughter of the Prophet Muhammad, and Ali. This lineage-based form of organization grants *dedes* a distinct position within the social hierarchy. The social roles of *dedes* are not limited to spiritual leadership; they also play active roles in mechanisms of justice, education, governance, and decision-making processes (Yaman 2011, 85-87).

The legitimacy of the *Ocak* system is grounded first and foremost in *seyyid* lineage. In addition to descent, belonging to the lineage of a charismatic dervish constitutes an important source of *Ocak* legitimacy (Yıldırım 2018, 231). The collective identification with figures regarded as the true founders of the *Ocak*, and the naming of *Ocaks* after these charismatic individuals, demonstrate the institutionalization of charismatic authority.

The internal hierarchy of the *Ocak* is structured as a three-tiered system-*Mürşit-Pir-Rehber*-expressed through the principle "*el ele el Hakk'a*." A source from the Baba Mansur *Dedeler* explains this structure as follows: "To follow the

path of those who have reached Truth on the path of *Hak Hakikat*, that is, those who have become one with *Hak*; to recognize as *mürşit* the more knowledgeable, more diligent figures who serve the path-saints and *pirs*-and to follow their way. Each *mürşit Ocak* has its own *talips*. The *talips* of every *mürşit Ocak* know their *rehbers*, *pirs*, and *mürşits*, and they walk together from below upward" (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 17-18).

According to Çakmak, the *Ocaks* of Tunceli were hierarchically connected through the principle "*el ele el Hakk'a*." At the same time, this discourse also points to a horizontal form of communal organization (Çakmak 2013, 378). In *Alevism*, respect flows from below upward, while love flows from above downward, as the essence of the belief is love. This dual structure strengthens social solidarity and ensures the unity and cohesion of the community.

On specific days of the year, *dedes* visit the *talips* affiliated with them, conduct *cem* rituals, inform the community, and resolve disputes. These visits do not merely involve the performance of religious rites but also activate mechanisms of social regulation and solidarity. While guiding communal worship, *dedes* transmit religious knowledge and experience and respond to the social and spiritual needs of the community.

Among the social functions of the *Ocak*, its role as a mechanism of justice occupies a central place. During *cem* rituals, *talips* confess their faults, disputes are resolved, and issues of rights and obligations are addressed. This indicates that the *Ocak* operates as a form of communal court. In resolving conflicts within the community, *dedes* draw upon both their religious authority and their social prestige.

Relations with the Hacı Bektaş Veli *Dergâh*

The relationship established between the *Piri Sevdin Ocak* and the Hacı Bektaş Veli *Dergâh* offers a concrete example of center-periphery dynamics. Visits made by *ocakzades* to

the *Dergâh* in 1924, 1959, 1960, and 1969, as well as the *icazetnames* they received on these occasions, demonstrate the institutionalized character of this relationship (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 81-99).

The *ziyaretname* dated 17 April 1924 includes the following statement: "It is duly recorded that the aforementioned Seyyid Seyfeddin Baharzi was born in the town of Baharzi, affiliated with Haf in Khorasan, later affiliated himself with Shaykh Necmeddin Kübra in Bukhara and received spiritual effusions; that he died in Bukhara in the year 658; that his son Seyyid Sadreddin died in Diyarbakır in 704 during his migration from Turkestan to Anatolia; and that his grandson, the Second Seyyid Seyfeddin, came to the *Dergâh* of His Holiness Hünkâr Hacı Bektaş Veli in the year 751, where he complied, underwent purification, and received authorization and *icazet*" (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 82).

This document presents a narrative of legitimacy that traces the genealogy of the *Ocak* back to Khorasan and positions the Hacı Bektaş Veli *Dergâh* as the central authority that confirms this legitimacy. While the *Dergâh* functions as the source of central symbolic values, the *Ocak* in Pertek occupies the position of the periphery that represents and enacts these values within a local context.

However, this relationship cannot be understood simply as one of subordination. The documents show that, in addition to the *icazets* received by the *ocakzades*, their rights over their *talips* were also formally recognized by the *Dergâh*. Another document dated 17 April 1924 notes that, in order to prevent interference by other *Ocaks* in relation to the *talips* of the Seyyid Seyfeddin *Ocak*, the *Çelebi* of the *Dergâh* sent an official notification to the Ağuiçen and Sarı Saltık *Ocaks* (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 83-84). This document points to the existence of rivalry and conflict between *Ocaks*.

During their visits to the *Dergâh*, *ocakzades* sent a portion of the contributions collected from their *talips*, known as *çıralık*, to the *Dergâh*. This economic flow constituted the

material basis of the *Ocak* system and reinforced the bond with the *Dergâh*. The *icazetnames* and *ziyaretnames* obtained from the *Dergâh* thus functioned as documents that affirmed the legitimacy of the *Ocak*.

Ritual Practices and the *Erkanname*

At the center of the ritual life of the *Piri Sevdin Ocak* stands the *Cem* ceremony. The *erkanname* associated with the ritual practice of Kasım Özer *Dede* provides a detailed account of the ceremony. *Erkannames* are texts that regulate the rituals and forms of worship within *Alevi* belief and describe in detail how *cem* ceremonies are to be performed (Erdem 2011, 247).

The *erkanname* kept in the chest of Kasım Özer *Dede* was used as a guide for doctrinal and ritual activities conducted specifically within the Seyyid Seyfeddin *Ocak*. The surviving pages contain detailed descriptions of the stages of the *cem* ceremony, including the awakening of the *çırağ*, the duties of the *meydancı*, the taking of *ikrar*, and the distribution of *saka suyu*.

The *cem* ceremony begins with the awakening of the *çırağ*:*"Çün çırağı fahr uyandırdık hüdanın aşkına /Seyid'ül kevneyn Muhammed Mustafanın aşkına /Saki-i kevser Aliyü'l Murtezanın aşkına /Hem Hadice Fatıma Hayrünnisanın aşkına /Şah Hasan Hulk-i Rıza Şah Hüseyin-i Kerbela ol imam-ı etkiya Zeynelabidinin aşkına…"* (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 103).

This opening prayer invokes the lineage of the *Twelve Imams* and establishes a cosmological order centred on the *Ahl al-Bayt*.

Subsequently, the *cem* includes stages such as bringing the *talips* into the *meydan*, *darı durma*, confession of sins (*ikrar*), and the request for forgiveness. The *erkanname* describes this process as follows: *"Dede olan zat bunları söyler Allah Allah özünüz darda yüzünüz yerde Muhammed Ali divanındasınız ne gördünüz ne mertebeye geçtiniz destur*

söyleyiniz taliban yahut meydancı bulunan zat dahi hakkı gördük Erenler meydanına geçtik meded mürvet babına geldik Allah eyvallah dirler" (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 104).

The stage of confession functions as a mechanism of social control: "*Tarikimize muhalif bir işleri ve kendülerinden ağrınmış incinmiş ve alacaklı bir can kardaşları var ise dile gelsün söylesün hakkını taleb eylesün der. Hazırda bulunmayan tarikat kardaşlarınızdan bir davacınız ve alacaklarınız olur ise anların dahi sonra icabına bakmak ve haklarını virmek üzere erenler meydanına bir kelle kesiniz dir*" (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 105).

Within the *cem* ceremony, there are specific duties known as the *Twelve Services* (*On İki Hizmet*). In the appendix of the *erkanname*, these services are listed as follows: "*İmam Hasan Tarikci / İmam Hüseyin Farraş / Muhammed Hanifi Rehber / Abdüssamet Zakir / Abdal Ahmed Sofracı / Süleyman İbrikdar / Tayyib Saki / Abdülmümin Hadim-i meydan / Abdülkerim Gözcü / Abdullah Pervane / Had-i Kebir Çerakcı / Abdülcelil Bevvab*" (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 110). Each of these services is symbolically associated with one of the *Twelve Imams*.

According to Hüseyin Erdoğan *Dede*, among the Pilvenk *aşiret*, the descendants of the Şıh Delil-i Berhican and *Piri Sevdin* lineages would conclude their acts of worship with three *duazdes*, one *gülbank*, and three *secdes* (Tosun & Koç 2022, 45). This amounted to nine *duazdes* and three *gülbanks*, making twelve in total. This numerical symbolism is directly linked to belief in the *Twelve Imams*. Rather than being performed through instrumental music and poetic couplets, the literary and ritual dimension of the *cem* was primarily articulated through *duazdes* that invoke the *Twelve Imams*.

Processes of Modernisation and the Contemporary Situation

From the second half of the twentieth century onward, the

traditional functioning of *Alevi Ocaks*, including the *Piri Sevdin Ocak*, has undergone profound transformation. According to Yıldırım, "traditional *Alevism* is transforming into modern *Alevism*; however, since this process has not yet been completed, the main contours of modern *Alevism* have not fully crystallized" (Yıldırım 2020, 23).

The causes of this transformation are multidimensional. Urbanization and migration have geographically distanced *talips* from their *Ocaks*. Education and secularization have eroded the legitimacy of traditional religious authorities. The life history of Kasım Özer *Dede* concretely illustrates this transformation. Born in 1924, he became unable to play the *saz* after a work accident in 1963 and paid his final visit to the *Dergâh* in 1969. After these dates, the practice of conducting *cem* ceremonies in the traditional sense came to an end. When he passed away in 2001, the traditional period of the *Ocak* effectively came to a close.

Observations and interviews indicate that both knowledge of *Alevism* in general and of the Seyyid Seyfeddin (*Piri Sevdin*) *Ocak* in particular is articulated only to a limited extent, and that younger generations show insufficient interest in these matters (Kala, Altı & Demir 2023, 118). This situation points to a critical rupture in intergenerational transmission of memory.

Migration from Tunceli to urban centers has also deeply affected members of the *Piri Sevdin Ocak*. The places of residence of Kasım Özer *Dede*'s ten children illustrate this dispersion: three in Turkey (Ankara, Elazığ, Pertek), four in Germany (Bielefeld, Villingen-Schwenningen, Horb am Neckar), and three in France (Paris/Dreux, Bourges). Urbanization has fundamentally altered the *Ocak-talip* relationship. In the traditional period, a *dede* would visit *talips* several times a year, conduct *cem* rituals, and resolve disputes. In urban settings, such regular visits have become impracticable.

In recent years, efforts aimed at preserving and revitalizing

the memory of the *Piri Sevdin Ocak* have become visible. The Kasım Özer archive is being preserved and digitized, and made accessible via www.seyidseyfedin.com. In addition, the book *Seyyid Seyfeddin (Piri Sevdin) Ocak*, published in 2023 by Kala, Altı, and Demir, represents an important step toward filling a gap in the academic literature.

Conclusion

An examination of the *Piri Sevdin Ocak* centered on Pertek enables a nuanced understanding of the complexity, internal dynamics, and transformation processes of *Alevi* social organization at the local level. The *Ocak* system constitutes not merely a religious structure but also an institutional framework for social order, justice, education, and solidarity. Relations among *Ocaks* within the Pilvenk *aşiret* encompass both cooperation and rivalry. The relationship between the *Piri Sevdin* and Şıh Delil-i Berhican *Ocaks* demonstrates how social memory is constructed and how *menakıbname* narratives function as instruments in contemporary struggles over identity. Relations with the Hacı Bektaş Veli *Dergâh* reflect center-periphery dynamics, while the *icazetnames* issued by the *Dergâh* reveal how central authority legitimizes local *Ocaks*. Modernization, urbanization, and migration have fundamentally transformed the traditional *Ocak* system. Yet this transformation remains incomplete, as traditional and modern elements continue to coexist. While the distancing of younger generations from *Ocak* traditions poses a risk of weakening collective memory, new sites of memory-such as digital archiving and academic research-are being created. The case of the *Piri Sevdin Ocak* underscores the critical importance of localized ethnographic and sociological research for understanding *Alevi* social structures.

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