Fatma Deniz

THE USE OF SPACE BY SUFIS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL IN LIGHT OF SEYYID HASAN'S DIARY, *THE SOHBETNÂME*

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2018

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by

Fatma Deniz

(Turkey)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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External Supervisor

Budapest
May 2018

I, the undersigned, **Fatma Deniz**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 17 May 2018

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Abstract

This thesis explores how Sufis in seventeenth-century Istanbul used various types of spaces in their everyday lives, based on a spatial and textual analysis of the *Sohbetnâme* (1661-1665), a diary written by a Halveti dervish, Seyyid Hasan.

Taking the *Sohbetnâme* as a case study, I argue that the main principle that informed Sufis' use of space was not institutional, with the lodge serving as the primary site of residence, worship and sociability as suggested in the secondary literature, but rather much more diffused, intimate, and ad hoc, organized around the spaces that the close-knit group of Sufi brethren mentioned in the diary felt comfortable in. This spatial organization of the daily life marginalized the role of the lodge as a communal center for the Sufis in the diary, as they constantly created alternative, "private" and "semi-private" venues for their social and religious gatherings. I also argue that multiplying the locations for such gatherings pushed and pulled these Sufis into an itinerant way of life and blurred the distinction between what we typically think of as "private" and "public" spheres, leading us to question the relevance of these categories.

The present thesis aims to contribute to the growing fields of Sufism studies and everyday life history is in the Ottoman lands, while also addressing engaging with the 'spatial turn' in cultural history. Although they are based on one particular source, the findings discussed in this thesis constitute the ground for the future studies on this topic.

Keywords: Sufism, Use of Space, *The Sohbetnâme*, Dervish Lodges

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My special thanks go to Central European University and the Medieval Studies Department members who facilitated my years in this institution. Central European University was not only the place where I studied, but it was also the place where I met various cultures and people from all round the world, and it felt like home.

My sincerest thanks are to my friends, my siblings, my mother and father. My parents were the real strength of mine for all my life thanks to their endless support. Last but not least, I want to thank Volkan, who patiently put up with my complaints at times of self-doubt.

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Note on Transliteration

The present thesis focuses, mainly, on a single primary source, *The Sohbetnâme*. In direct quotations from this source and other primary sources, I transliterated the words according to the rules of Modern Turkish. In transliterating the Arabic and Persian words, I also showed the long vowels (â, î, û) as well as ayn ع (ʿ) and hamza ء (ʾ). In direct quotations from the secondary literature, I kept the original transcription and transliteration of the texts. I wrote words, which are used in modern day English, such as dervish, imam and sheikh according to the dictionary spelling and did not put them into italic. Words, which do not appear in English dictionary, such as *ʾişret* and *taʾaşşi* as well as short sentences and phrases like *ʿazim rûhânî sefâlar oldu* were put into italic and transliterated in the same way of direct quotations from the primary sources.

Introduction

Space and its geographical, climatic and socio-cultural aspects affect and shape people and society; in turn, people produce and shape their own space based on various factors, such as convenience, religious, or political convictions. The present thesis is the study of how Sufis in seventeenth-century Istanbul used spaces at their disposal and adjusted them to their own personal and group needs.

The study will focus on the spatial organization of everyday life of Sufis based on the *Sohbetnâme*, a two-volume diary kept between H. 1072-1075 (1661-1665) by a Halveti dervish, Seyyid Hasan, who lived in seventeenth-century Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire after 1453.[1] Given the fact that the spatial organization of life is one of the main indicators of life patterns, and spatial perspective makes it possible to analyse the incommensurable juxtaposition of elements of everyday life that were previously investigated separately; spatial and textual analysis will be the main method applied to this study.[2] Spatial analysis can be defined as "the process of examining the locations, attributes, and relationships of features in spatial data through overlay and other analytical techniques in order to address a question or gain useful knowledge."[3] This study will combine spatial analysis with the close reading of Seyyid Hasan's description of his and his brothers' life as recorded in his diary in order to shed light on how space structured daily life of Sufis in seventeenth-century Istanbul.

[1] *Sohbetnâme*, 2 vols., Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi [TSMK], MSS E.H. 1426 (vol.I) and E.H 1428 (vol.II) [Hereafter *Sohbetnâme*, I-II]. Although Seyyid Hasan did not title his work as *Sohbetnâme*, he wrote some titles such as "Sohbethâ ve Mabeynhâ." Most probably it was the reason for the diary to be titled as *Sohbetnâme* in the catalog.

[2] Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture*, trans. Adam Blauhut (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 224.

[3] GIS dictionary, s.v "Spatial Analysis" https://support.esri.com/en/other-resources/gis-dictionary/term/spatial%20analysis (Accessed May 16, 2018).

The spatial turn received a considerable attention in historical studies in the past few decades. Kümin and Usborne argue that there was a spatial awareness in scholarship in the mid-twentieth century but it became more self-consciously reflective after 1980s.[4] Following this, "concept of space has experienced a renaissance in social sciences."[5] Bachmann-Medick refers to Henry Lefebvre (d. 1991), who was one of the most prominent figures of social history and the French Annales School. Lefebvre, who focused on the production of space and its link to social practice, was a leading figure in spatial studies.[6] Nowadays, "space is no longer seen as a physical territorial concept but as a social production process bound up with the symbolic level of spatial representation."[7] Studies combining space and culture such as the trend toward reconceptualising culture by conducting spatial analysis were the outcome of this turn.[8] Some studies also combined space, society and politics, like Habermas' concept of "public" and "private spheres."[9]

The concepts of "public sphere" and "private sphere" became common analytical terms in many fields after they were introduced by Jürgen Habermas.[10] Habermas, who theorized that a "bourgeois public sphere" emerged in the eighteenth century, paved the way for many spatial studies focusing on these notions, including Ottoman historical studies. Assessing the relevance of the terms "private" and "public" in the Ottoman context, some studies argued that the house, and especially, the *harem* where women and family members resided (inner sanctum), was the private sphere while outside of a house, such as streets and

[4] Beat Kümin and Cornelie Usborne, "At Home and in the Workplace: A Historical Introduction to the 'Spatial Turn,'" *History and Theory*, Forum: At Home and In the Workplace: Domestic and Occupational Space in Western Europe From the Middle Ages, 52 (2013): 309.
[5] Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns*, 213.
[6] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford and Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1991).
[7] Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns, 216.*
[8] See Rob Shields, *Spatial Questions: Cultural Topologies and Social Spatialisations* (London/Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2013).
[9] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans.Thomas Burger, with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, MASS: MIT Press, 1991).
[10] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.

bazaars as well as the *selâmlık* part of a house, where male guests were welcomed (outer sanctum), were public sphere. In this vein, the dichotomy of the public/commonweal/male versus private/domestic/female emerged in the context of Ottoman studies as well.

In contrast, Leslie Pierce argued that this dichotomy does not work for early modern Ottoman society. Instead, she suggested the concepts of inner-outer or interior-exterior.[11] Similarly, Tülay Artan also postulated that in the Ottoman context "indoors" stand for private activities while 'outdoors' for activities in public space; but also that these two should not be taken as polar opposites but as positions on a continuous scale.[12] She defined "'private' as the intimate physical and emotional space into which civil or religious authorities could not intrude."[13] However, realizing "the possibility of such privacies occurring within the public sphere as well as of violations of privacy in non-public zones," Artan hypothesizes about a third category, an intermediate sphere, where the public and the private overlap and boundaries between the individual and society are blurred.[14]

Building on Artan's argument, Alan Mikhail also moves beyond simple notions of "public" and "private" and argues for the case of coffeehouses "as a space of overlapping functions in which a spectrum of ambiences and affects fluidly combined to form a complex realm of social interaction."[15] In addition to the scholars developing generally applicable notions for a specific time period, some scholars attempted to define public and private for particular communities at a given time. For example, Marcus Abraham sought the meaning of privacy in eighteenth-century Aleppo and came up with the surprising result that "local Arabic speakers had no word for privacy and it certainly was not defined as the opposite of

[11] Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 7.
[12] Tülay Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression 1600-1800," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (New York: Routledge, 2011), 381.
[13] Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression 1600-1800," 381.
[14] Ibid., 381.
[15] Alan Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House," in *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Dana Sajdi (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 135.

public."[16] Considering the multi-religious, multi-cultural and multi-ethnic configuration of the Ottoman territories, the necessity to redefine these terms for a particular group of people at a particular time emerges due to the fact that each group might have had their own unique spatial and private versus public experiences.

Rather than adopting more general definitions that have been suggested in recent studies based on juridical opinions (*fetvas*) or court registers,[17] I will redefine and reconceptualise the terms "public" and "private" for the particular group of Sufis who are the protagonists in the *Sohbetnâme*: its author Seyyid Hasan and his Sufi circle. The gradation of 'ease and comfort' as well as 'access' rather than the division between indoor and outdoor will be the main criteria in my analysis. Thus, in this study, private space will stand for the places where Seyyid Hasan felt the highest level of comfort (based on the textual analysis of his diary), such as the homes of his sister and Yıldız, one of the prominent figures in this Sufi circle. Public space will stand for the open-to-all places, which allow access to many by limiting the in-group privacy and comfort, like bazaars, promenades and coffeehouses. I will also suggest the existence of a third sphere, where the division between public and private is blurred, building on Artan's argument. Applying these definitions of private and public will allow a more nuanced understanding of the socio-religious and congregational life of Hasan and his associates, and it will also clarify for this particular case that privacy can take many shapes and it can embrace a variety of forms.[18]

Seyyid Hasan (1620-1688), or Es-Seyyid Hasan ibn eş-Şeyh es-seyyid Mehmed Emîn ibn es-Seyyid Abdü'l-Hâlık, as he was recorded in the primary sources, was the son of Seyyid

[16] Elizabeth Thompson, "Public and Private in Middle Eastern Women's History," *Journal of Women's History* 15/1 (2003): 57.
[17] See Rhoads Murphey, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of an Urban Tradition," in *Studies on Ottoman Society and Culture, 16th-18th Centuries* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 115–31; Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression 1600-1800."
[18] Farzaneh Milani, *Veils and Words: The Emerging Voices of Iranian Women Writers* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1992), xi.

Mehmed, the sheikh of the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge.[19] His father was a former scholar (*müderris*) and a disciple of Necmüddin Hasan Efendi, the sheikh of the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge who was married to Seyyid Mehmed's sister. Seyyid Mehmed reached the high position as the sheikh of the main lodge after travelling for a while. After his death, he left his position to his older nephew, Seyyid Kirâmeddîn Efendi. Thus, although succession from father to son was frequently practiced in the Sufi orders, Seyyid Hasan was not lucky enough to succeed his father, probably because of his young age (19) at the time of the latter's death.[20] Even though he lost the chance to become the sheikh of the most prestigious lodge in the order, he was highly trained and a disciple of his cousin, Kirâmeddîn Efendi. As Kafadar puts it, "[n]evertheless, Seyyid Hasan had a proper education and followed his father's path, awaiting his own chance of advancement in *Sufiyye* [Sufism] which had become somewhat like a regular career-path in the highly bureaucratized ethos of the Ottoman urban society in the post-Süleymanic age."[21]

In April 1664, Seyyid Hasan ascended the seat of the sheikh of the Ferruh Kethüda Lodge, also known as the Balat Lodge. From then on, Seyyid Hasan continued his duty as the sheikh of the lodge and as the preacher of the neighbouring mosque. Hence, Seyyid Hasan, too, followed in footprints of Sünbül Sinan (d.1529), who was the forefather of the Sünbüliyye and became a preacher, and various Halveti and Sünbüli masters, who were preachers of central mosques in the capital, for twenty-four years until his death during the plague of 1688.[22] To put it in his own words describing the deaths of his closest family and

[19] Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, *Vekāyiu'l-fudalâ* [Events of Virtuous], in *Şakaiku'n-nu'mâniyye ve Zeyilleri,* ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, 5 vols. (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları 1989), vol. IV, fols. 24b-25a.
[20] Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeen Century Istanbul and First Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121-50.
[21] Kafadar, "Self and Others," 139.
[22] Semih Ceylan, *Türkiye'de Tarikatlar (Sufi Paths in Turkey),* (Istanbul: Isam Yayınları, 2015), 717.

friends from an earlier episode of plague, once he "drank from the chalice of death" (*câm-ı eceli nûş eyledi*), Hasan was buried near the Eyüp Sultân tomb complex.[23]

Most of our information about Seyyid Hasan comes from Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi's *Vekâyiü'l-fudalâ,* which consists of short biographies of various figures such as sheikhs, bureaucrats and poets.[24] Mehmed Süreyyâ's *Sicill-i Osmanî,* which gives very brief information, is another primary source on Seyyid Hasan.[25] As for the secondary literature, articles by Orhan Şaik Gökyay and Cemal Kafadar are thus far the only studies, which had investigated different aspects of Seyyid Hasan's diary, the *Sohbetnâme*.[26] Although Gökyay and Kafadar are the only scholars who examined this diary, numerous others touched upon it in their works due to the growing interest in socio-cultural themes which paved the way for the rise of new types of sources such as diaries, letters and memoirs, especially in the seventeenth century.[27]

Self-narratives or ego-documents were one of these new types of historical sources. A number of Ottoman self-narratives have been published and analyzed in recent years, especially those written by individuals with Sufi affiliations. *Vâkı'ât* by Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâî (d. 1628), who was one of the most influential Sufi sheikhs of his time, was also in the form of a diary.[28] Another eminent Sufi master, Niyâzî-i Mısrî (d. 1694), recorded his memoirs in his *Mecmû'a-ı Kelimât-ı Kudsiyye-i Hazret-i Mısrî (The Collection of the Sacred Words of the*

[23] The citation is from *Sohbetnâme I, fol.* 5b. Seyyid Hasan's tomb does not exist today. We read that Hasan died of plague and buried to Eyüp from Şeyhi's *Vekāyiu'l-fudalâ*.
[24] Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, *Vekāyiu'l-fudalâ* [Events of Virtuous], in *Şakaiku'n-nu'mâniyye ve Zeyilleri* vol. IV.
[25] Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani* IV vols *(The Genealogy of the Ottomans)* (Matbaʿa-i ʿÂmire, 1308), II: 142.
[26] Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Sohbetnâme," *Tarih ve Toplum* 3/2 (1985): 56-64.
[27] For studies touching upon Seyyid Hasan and his diary, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2010); Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013); Zeynep Yürekli, "A Building between the Public and Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite: The Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul," *Muqarnas* XX (2003): 159–86.
[28] ʿAzîz Mahmûd Hüdâî', *Vâkı'ât,* 3 vols., Üsküdar Selimağa Kütüphanesi, MS Hüdayi Ktp. 249. For further information on ʿAzîz Mahmûd Hüdâî' and his works, see Ziver Tezeren, *Seyyid Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâyi, I: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Tarikatı ve Eserleri (Seyyid Azîz Mahmûd Hüdayi, I: His Life, Personality, Tariqa and Works)* (İstanbul, 1984).

Venerable Mısrî).[29] Telhisî Mustafa Efendi kept his diary for twenty-four years (1711-1735), almost concurrently with the chronicle of 1741-1762 written by a Damascene barber, Ibn Budayr.[30] This list of examples can be continued with a diary of an imam, memoirs of *şeyhülislâm* (chief mufti) Feyzullâh Efendi, the dream book of Sultan Murâd III (*Kitâb-ı Menâmat*), as well as many letters like Asiye Hatun's dream letters.[31]

Finding such a great number of self-narratives or ego-documents produced in the early modern Ottoman Empire, Dana Sajdi came up with the term "nouveau literacy" referring to a written culture situated between the high and low, borne out of the rise of literacy and the changing social dynamics in early modern times.[32] Whether the reasons were as Sajdi explained or not, it is obvious that some conditions prompted people, many of whom were Sufis, to produce more writing related to "self" than before. As Terzioğlu mentions, "a large majority of the people who authored first-person writings in the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were practitioners of Sufism."[33] Suraiya Faroqhi argues that literary arts of reading, writing and narrating had close connections with the tekkes (lodges) because they were suitable for such literary activities owing to their open use of libraries and meetings in which literary works were recited. Furthermore, Sufism as a way of

[29] *Mecmua-ı Kelimat-ı Kudsiyye-ı hazret-i Mısri (The Collection of the Sacred Words of the Venerable Mısrî),* Bursa Merkez İl Halk Ktp., MS Orhan Gazi 690. For the published version of the text, see *Niyazî-i Mısri'nin Hatıraları (The Memoirs of Niyazî-i Mısrî)*, Halil Çeçen (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2014).
[30] Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus: Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013); Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others."
[31] Michael Nızri, "The Memoirs of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi (1638-1703): Self, Family and Household," in *Many Ways of Speaking About the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian and Turkish (14th-20th Century)*, eds. Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 27–36; Kemal Beydilli, *Osmanlı'da İmamlar ve Bir İmamın Günlüğü* (İzmir: Yitik HazineYayınları, 2013); Özgen Felek, "(Re)creating Image and Identity: Dreams and Visions as a Means of Murad III's Self-Fashioning," in *Dreams and Visions in Islamic Societies*, eds. Özgen Felek and Alexander D. Knysh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012), 249–72. Özgen Felek, *Kitābü'l-Menāmāt: Sultan III. Murad'ın Rüya Mektupları (The Book of Dreams: The Dream Letters of Sultan Murad III),* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014); Cemal Kafadar, "Müterediddit Bir Mutasavvıf Üsküplü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri 1641-1643 "A Hesitant Sufi Üsküplü Asiye Hatun's Dream Notebook 1641-1643" in *Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken (Who Was Here When Were Not)* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2009).
[32] Dana Sajdi, *The Barber of Damascus.*
[33] Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (1618-94)," *Studia Islamica* 107/94 (2002): 142.

thinking enabled people to talk about themselves and share their dreams.[34] Similarly to Faroqhi, Terzioğlu lists factors behind the close relationship between Sufis and writing; Sufi access to the written word, the fact of many Sufi masters coming from urban 'middle-class' backgrounds and the role of lodges as sites of literary activity.[35] Although the number of texts produced by Sufis is high, most of these self-narratives were about mystical experiences, religious conversations or theological matters. It is in this respect that the *Sohbetnâme* stands out as a unique text.

The *Sohbetnâme* is currently preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. The manuscript consists of two volumes in 418 folios in total. Each page has thirteen to twenty-four lines and Hasan's writing style and the size of his letters change from one page to another.[36] It is written in *nesih* script in Ottoman Turkish, although Seyyid Hasan is eager to use Arabic and Persian words and even sentences on some occasions. Hasan mostly uses white paper with the rare exception of some yellow pages. He always divides his day into two parts; daytime and the night-time, where he records the venue where they gather for dinner (*taʿaşşi*) and the nightly religious meetings (*ʿişret*), and sometimes the place where he sleeps. Overall, his diary covers a period of mere 4 years, from the 1st of Muharram in 1072 (27 August 1661) to 29th of *Zilhicce* in 1075 (13th of July 1665).

In the last page of the diary, we read a note written in a different hand-writing which belongs to Hacı Mehmed Hâşim (d. 1785), who was the sheikh of the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge between 1757-1785: "This year-book [*sâlnâme*], which was written by the hand of venerable Seyyid Hasan Nuri, has been given me in 1175 [1756] in the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge."[37] This note elucidates two points: first, they considered this source as a year-book, indicating that 'diary' form was not an established genre at that time, and second, the

[34] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam*.
[35] Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times," 142.
[36] See Appendix A and B for the fascimile of some pages.
[37] *Sohbetnâme* II, fol. 261b.

Sohbetnâme had been kept within the lodge circle until it ended up in the Topkapı Palace Library.[38] Although focusing on how and why such an ordinary diary became worthy of entering the palace library would be extremely fruitful and interesting, this question remains open because it is beyond the scope of this study. This question is even more intriguing when the content of the diary is taken into consideration: it records quotidian details only, unlike other Sufi texts which record religious devotions and conversations.

For a Sufi to focus solely on earthly, 'this-worldly' details instead of mystical themes was, undoubtedly, a rare, if not unique, undertaking. The correct question to raise at this point is the reason why Seyyid Hasan preferred recording the daily and mundane details more than their worship, devotions and mystical experiences. The diary does not provide clear clues that would allow us to answer this question, but possible explanations will be the subject of the subsequent chapters. Putting aside this puzzling aspect of the diary, it is a significant source contributing to the hitherto neglected but now growing fields of Sufi studies, especially to the cultural and political (as opposed to economic) aspects of the Sufis' embeddedness in society and urban space.

Recently, several studies have attempted to shed light on the abovementioned topics, but using space as an analytical tool in Sufism Studies is a fairly new development. [39] Except for the rare studies which apply new spatial methods—such as Nile Green's detailed study on Sufi spaces, and Hasan Karataş's research on the role of Amasya in the history the Sufi

[38] For further discussion of the diaries written by Sufis, see Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times."

[39] Nathalie Clayer, "Life in an Istanbul Tekke in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries according to a 'menakibnâme of the Cerrahi Dervishes," in *The Illuminated Table, The Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, eds. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Wüzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2003); John Curry and Erik Ohlander, eds., *Sufism and Society: Arrangements of the Mystical in the Muslim World, 1200–1800* (Abingdon, Oxon ; N.Y: Routledge, 2011).

branch, the Halvetiyye—most of the studies related to space focus on "the dervish lodges," so much so that it would not be misplaced to define them as "the lodge literature."[40]

Despite the significant contributions by "the lodge literature," limiting the Sufis to "the lodge" resulted in conceptually isolating them from others spaces and spheres of action. Similarly, studies on Sufi daily life also investigate everyday life patterns, mostly, within the lodges. The importance of extending the scope of spatial analysis beyond the lodges is one of the main arguments of this thesis. This research also challenges two central theses in the existing literature: first, the lodges as being the focal points in Sufi life, and second, the dichotomy between the settled and wandering dervishes. In lieu of providing a physical topography of Sufi spaces, this study will map Sufi life in seventeenth-century Istanbul based on a textual analysis of Seyyid Hasan's *Sohbetnâme*.

The present study will put forward three main arguments in three chapters. To situate the diary and its study in a historical context, the first chapter will focus on the Sufis in seventeenth-century Istanbul. To do so, this chapter will discuss the number of Sufi branches and sub-branches, their distribution within the city, Sufi interactions with society, as well as the main threat against Sufis in the seventeenth century, the so-called Kadızadeli Movement.

In the second chapter, the use of indoor spaces, the lodge and houses, will be investigated. Analysing these spaces has yielded particularly interesting results. First of all, the tekkes are not the only focal points in the Sufi circle in the *Sohbetnâme*; instead, these Sufi figures carved out their own exclusive and private venues, such as houses, for their close-knit clique. Therefore, the principle of spatial organization of Sufi everyday life is not

[40] Nile Green, *Making Space: Sufis and Settlers in Early Modern India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012); Hasan Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor: The Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiyye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," (unpublished PhD thesis, University of California, 2011). For some examples of the lodge literature, see Raymond Lifchez, eds. *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey* (University of California Press, 1992); Mustafa Kara, *Türk Tasavvuf Tarihi Araştırmaları: Tarikatlar, Tekkeler, Şeyhler (Research of the History of Turkish Tariqa: Tariqas, Lodges and Sheikhs)*, (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005); Mustafa Kara, *Bursa'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler (Tariqas and Lodges in Bursa* (Bursa: Uludağ Yayınları, 1993).

institution-based but group-based. Second of all, organizing everyday life patterns according to one's social circle rather than institutional affiliation comes with the mobility and itinerant lifestyle that entailed Sufis' constant movement from one place to another. Thirdly, entering another person's place often raises the question of the limits of "public" or "private" sphere in the lives of the Sufis mentioned in the diary. Clearly, the distinction between the public and private spheres is blurred due to the fact that they were "comfortable" to spend their time in each other's inner sanctum both in the lodges and in their own homes (in the *harem* part of the household).

In the third chapter, I will analyze the use of outdoor places, such as coffeehouses, gardens, bazaars and shops. I will also focus on the socio-recreational activities of Sufis in the *Sohbetnâme* by taking into account the changing notions of leisure and pleasure in this particular time period. The secondary literature suggests that the use of public spaces, seeking pleasure, as well as the emergence and spread of new means of entertainment changed the patterns of social life in early modern Istanbul.[41] The extent to which this shift was reflected in Sufi life will be one of the main questions in this chapter. I argue that Sufis in the *Sohbetnâme* were not visible in the new spaces of leisure and entertainment par excellence—the coffee shops, although they certainly did build on new forms of sociability and what Cemal Kafadar calls "nocturnalization" of life fuelled by the use of coffee. Analyzing Sufis' use of the outdoors and constant frequenting of gardens and shops, the chapter further reinforces the argument that tekkes were not central sites in the lives of Sufis recorded in the diary and traces Sufi itineraries through their neighbourhood and beyond.

As a whole, the thesis aspires to contribute to the recent "spatial turn" in Ottoman cultural history and Sufi studies by suggesting new aspects of Sufi life. Although the findings

[41] Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul," in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, eds. Arzu Öztürkmen, Evelyn Birge Vitz and Przemysław Marciniak (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 243–69.

are limited to a single case study, they can hopefully inspire further, more comparative research.

Chapter I

Being a Sufi in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul

In this chapter, I will provide background information about the *Sohbetnâme* and the living conditions of the Sufis in seventeenth-century Istanbul before moving to the analysis of the places the diary covered and the Sufi uses of these spaces. The chapter will also elucidate the extent to which Sufism spread into the urban fiber of Istanbul, the groups of people who were at odds with Sufis, as well as the reasons that sparked the Kadızadeli attacks on Sufis. Seyyid Hasan's diary coincides with the years following what scholars refer to as the second Kadızadeli wave (ended in 1656) and the onset of the third wave (c. 1664-1685).[42] Although the harshest years of this last Kadızadeli wave took place after Hasan finished writing his diary, the period when the *Sohbetnâme* was written could not have been entirely free of tension created by the Kadizadeli preaching. Therefore, I will attempt to situate Seyyid Hasan and his *Sohbetnâme* into this picture. In the last part of the chapter, I will provide more detailed information about Hasan's social network and the variety of places he mentions in his diary as the basis for the analysis in subsequent chapters.

In the seventeenth century, Istanbul was composed of Eyüp, Galata, Üsküdar, and *Suriçi* (lit. inside of the walled city), which had 226 neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) in 1600.[43] *Mahalle*s were congregational units (*cemâ'at*) of people rather than simply administrative units.[44] Lodges constituted a significant part of these congregational entities: in some cases,

[42] Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45, no. 4 (1986): 251–69.

[43] Mehmet Canatar, "1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri'ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul'da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler," "Neighborhoods in Istanbul and Observations on Their Features in the Light of Istanbul Waqf Tahrir Registers from 1009/1600" in *Osmanlı Istanbulu* I, eds. Feridun Emecen and Emrah Safa Gürkan (İstanbul: İstanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014), 283-310.

[44] Cem Behar, *Bir Mahallenin Doğumu ve Ölümü (1494-2008): Osmanlı İstanbul'unda Kasap İlyas Mahallesi (The Birth and End of A Neighborhood (1494-2008): A Neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul)* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014), 37. Canatar, "1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri'ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul'da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler," 292.

"lodges provided the framework for new communal formations" and there are occasions when people of the *mahalle* created their community around a lodge.[45] In fact, some of the neighbourhoods in Istanbul were established around a lodge, like those of Şeyh Ebulvefa and Şeyh Akşemseddin.[46]

The institutionalization of Sufism in Istanbul accelerated in tandem with the Ottoman imperial consolidation of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As Lapidus argues, "[b]y the sixteenth century, Sufism was established as a fundamental element of Ottoman society. Sufi brotherhoods were important in the organization of Muslim town and rural life where they provided a focus for devotional, charitable and educational activities."[47] Afterwards, dervish lodges were accepted as a main pillar of Ottoman society together with mosques and *medrese* (school).[48] When it comes to the seventeenth century, the lodges peaked in terms of quality and quantity.[49] Although the total number of lodges in the capital in the seventeenth century is not known, Kara identified 388 sheiks (masters) in the seventeenth century. It is possible to speculate that the number was higher based on the data provided from later centuries, such as the existence of three hundred tekkes in Istanbul at the turn of the nineteenth century.[50] The Ottoman city that hosted the greatest number of lodges was

[45] Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 13.

[46] Canatar, "1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri'ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul'da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler," 288.

[47] Ira M. Lapidus, "Sufism and Ottoman Islamic Society," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* Raymond Lifchez eds. (University of California Press, 1992, 28.

[48] Mustafa Kara, *Metinlerle Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf and Tarikatlar (Sufism and Sufi Orders in the Ottomans in the Light of Texts),* (İstanbul: Sır Yayınları, 2005), 220.

[49] Ibid., 220.

[50] Klaus Kreiser emphasizes that there were around three hundred tekkes in Istanbul in the nineteenth century. See Klaus Kreiser, "The Dervish Living" in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* Raymond Lifchez eds. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1992); similarly, Ahmet Nezih Galitekin who calculates the total number of the tekkes in Istanbul as 338. See Ahmet Nezih Galitekin eds. *Osmanlı Kaynaklarına Göre İstanbul Câmi, Tekke, Medrese, Mekteb, Türbe, Hamam, Kütübhâne, Matbaa, Mahalle ve Selâtin İmâretleri* (*Mosque, Lodge, Madrasa, School, Shrine, Bath, Library, Press, Neighborhood and Selatin Buildings in the Light of Ottoman Sources*), İstanbul: İşaret Yayınları, 2003; See Semih Ceylan, *Türkiye'de Tarikatlar (Sufi Paths in Turkey)*, 37;. and Kara, *Metinlerle Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf and Tarikatlar*, 224.

certainly the capital, Istanbul. Halvetiyye, Celvetiyye, Mevleviyye, Bayramiyye, Kadiriyye and Bektaşiyye, most of whom had numerous sub-branches, were the most prevalent orders not only in Istanbul but also in Anatolia and the Balkans. The Halvetiyye Order, which originated in Azerbaijan and entered Anatolia in the early fifteenth century, was the most widespread one among these aforementioned orders.[51]

Hasan Karataş explains the factors, most of which were related to political support for the Halvetis, behind the order's rise and the key role Amasya (a northwestern city in Turkey) played in this process.[52] It is a well-known fact that the Ottoman sultans supported Sufis in various ways; for instance, through exemption from taxes, giving salaries to some dervishes from the imperial treasury, assigning some waqf income (endowments) for the expenditure of the lodges.[53] Furthermore, the fifteenth-century Ottoman chronicles and hagiographies (*menâkıbnâme, vilâyetnâme*) discuss close ties between the sultans and the sheikhs that allegedly went back to the beginning of the Ottoman polity, for example between Osman I (r. ca. 1300-1324) and Sheikh Edebali, Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) and Emir Sultan and Mehmed II (r. 1451-1481) and Akşemseddin. Soon after the advent of the Halvetiyye Order in the capital in the sixteenth century, Halvetiyye masters and sultans developed closer ties through marriage. For example, Merkez Efendi (d. 1552), who was a Sünbüliyye sheikh (a sub-branch of Halvetiyye), married Şah Sultan, the daughter of Selim I (r. 1512-1520). This kind of dynastic and Sufi alliance continued in the seventeenth century in a way that Kösem Sultan, the mother of Murad IV (r. 1623-1640), was a Halveti benefactress similarly to her sultan son, who "became fond of the Mevlevi sheikh Doğani Ahmed Dede (d. 1630), who was invited to

[51] To read mor on Halvetiyye, see John J. Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010); John Curry and Erik Ohlander, eds., *Sufism and Society*; John J. Curry, "The Growth of a Turkish-Language Hagiographical Literature Within the Halveti Order of the 16 and 17 Centuries," in *The Turks*, ed. Hasan Celal Güzel et al. vol. 3 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2002).

[52] Hasan Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor."

[53] Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

the palace to perform the Mevlevi whirling (*semâ*) especially for the Sultan."[54] Mehmed IV (r. 1648-1687) also invited Hasan Ünsi Efendi, who gave a sermon to the palace and members of the privy chamber (*has oda*), treasury, the larders (*kilerliler)* and *Enderun ağas* (aghas in the inner part of the palace) showed their allegiance to the sheikh. Later, they all did *devrân* (a ritual in which dervishes move rhythmically and recite prayers) and dhikr (recitations of prayers).[55] From all the information provided above, it can be seen that Sufism was warmly welcomed by the settlers of Istanbul as well as the sultans not only in the seventeenth century but also prior to that.

However, at the other end of the spectrum, there are sheikhs who were sent to exile or murdered. Similarly, in the sixteenth century, there were "*fetvas* [legal opinions issued by jurists] declaring the use of ritual music and dance during Sufi gatherings illegitimate."[56] Kafadar also points out to this issue by first touching upon the way secondary literature considering Sufism in society, and then, by redrawing the picture: "Scholarly work seems to suggest that affiliation with the orders in the classical and postclassical empire included the entire urban population except for the defenders of the orthodoxy, the religious scholars."[57] However, the main source of recruitment for the Kadızadeli "movement" that rejected and attacked some Sufi practices they found at odds with tradition were the people of the bazaar. Furthermore, "[d]espite the excellent relations that the Celvetiyye under Azîz Mahmûd Hüdâî enjoyed with ruling circles, a Celveti sheikh was banished to Cyprus later." There was also a "contrast between the number of Bayrami-Melami sheikhs who were executed or persecuted and the designation of a Bayrami-Melami sheikh, Şehid Ali Paşa, as a grand vizier."[58] After giving these examples, Kafadar suggests that the "wholesale characterization of the tarikats'

[54] Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis," 257.
[55] Ceylan, *Türkiye'de Tarikatlar*, 703.
[56] Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State Building," in *The Ottoman World*, 95.
[57] Cemal Kafadar, "The New Visibility of Sufism in Turkish Studies and Cultural Life," in *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey,* Raymond Lifchez eds. (University of California Press, 1992, 308.
[58] Kafadar, "The New Visibility of Sufism," 308.

political and ideological affiliations must yield to a more sensitive consideration."[59] Ultimately, the Sufi presence in the Islamic culture must be reconsidered from a point where to be loved and to be hated intersects, especially in regard to the seventeenth century when the most vocal anti-Sufi protests were articulated under the umbrella of another phenomenon in the need of reconsideration, namely the Kadizadeli "movement." As Terzioğlu has demonstrated, neither were all mosque preachers labelled as followers of Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1635) universally anti-Sufi, nor were all the Sufis necessarily at odds with the "Sunnitizing," "orthodoxizing" aspects of the Kadızadeli preaching.[60]

The phenomenon of *'ulemâ'* (scholars) and *vâizân* (preachers) willing to condemn certain Sufi practices was not new in Ottoman (or Islamic) history. In the sixteenth century, as Zeynep Yürekli shows, "[a]s the shaykh of the alleged center of the Ottoman *Halvetiyye*, Sünbül Sinan had the mission of convincing the ulama that Halveti rituals were in accordance with the shari'a." Moreover, the opposition to the Sufis can be traced through the *fetvas* issued by the eminent *şeyhülislâm* Ebu's-suud Efendi, who declared "strict control over their [Sufi] conditions, permitting communal dhikr as long as there was no dancing (*raks*), whirling (*devrân* or *semâ*), or instrumental music involved."[61] Furthermore, Ebu's-suud Efendi asserted that "there are decent people among the Halvetis" as a response to the anti-Sufi proponents.[62] Terzioğlu asserts that "[r]ecent scholarship has tended to downplay sixteenth-century attacks on Sufi *bid'ats* either as the work of a tiny minority among the Ottoman *'ulemâ'* or as campaigns directed specifically at 'heterodox' and especially Shi'tizing Sufis such as the *abdals*."[63] In fact, controversial practices like ritual music and dance, which some scholars considered *bid'at* (innovations introduced to religion after the death of Prophet

[59] Ibid., 309.
[60] Derin Terzioglu, "Sunna-Minded Sufi Preachers in Service of the Ottoman State: The Nasihatname of Dervish Hasan Addressed to Murad IV," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 27 (2010): 241–312.
[61] Zeynep Yürekli, "A Building between the Public and Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite," 172.
[62] Ibid., 172.
[63] Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State Building," 95.

Muhammed), was already a problem according to not only 'hardliners' but also 'moderates' as Terzioğlu puts it.[64] The dispute, exasperatingly, prevailed throughout the seventeenth century in three waves.

The Kadızadeli "Movement," which was named after Kadızade Mehmed Efendi (d. 1635), who was a mosque preacher as well as the first figure of the movement, created serious problem for practitioners of Sufism. Inspired by the theologian Birgivî Mehmed Efendi's (d. 1573) moralistic, didactic, catechetical work *Tarikât-ı Muhammediye*, some prominent *'ulemâ'* figures attacked the Sufi members because of their tendencies toward emotive religiosity, deviation and innovation such as *semâ* (whirling), cemetery and tomb visits, tobacco and coffee consumption, singing and music. For the Kadızadelis, "innovation represented a falling away that threatened the salvation of the community," and even further, according to them, "those who refused to renounce such innovations were heretics who must reaffirm their faith (*tecdîd-i imân*) or to be punished."[65] Kalpaklı and Andrews argue that, "[t]he flourishing culture of wine and beloveds, taverns and gardens, intoxication and sex, bound as it was to the spiritual [Sufi] interpretation of love, became a favourite target."[66] "Kadızadelis also denounced the writings of Muhyîddîn ibn al-Arabî (d. 1240), particularly those bearing on the 'Unity of Being' (*vahdet el-vücûd*), pantheism."[67] Sufi belief in the immortality of the Prophet Hızr, and also, the generally accepted idea of referring to Islam as the religion of Abraham, which was acknowledged by Sufis too, were also ideas that Kadızadelis would not accept.[68] Therefore, not only the practices of the Sufis but also their beliefs were problematic according to the Kadızadelis.

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64 Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the Age of State Building," 95.

65 Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis," 253, 255.

66 Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2005), 81.

67 Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis," 255.

68 Katip Çelebi, *The Balance of Truth*, trans. Geoffrey Lewis (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1957), 33 and 110.

Driven by the religious imperative of "enjoining right and forbidding wrong" (*emr'i ma'rûf nehy 'ani'l münker*), Kadızadelis attempted various ways to establish their understanding of tradition as the only authoritative one by eliminating their Sufi counterparts in the religious economy of the empire. Kadızade Mehmed, who was promoted as a preacher to the most prestigious imperial mosques of the capital, like Bayezid, Süleymaniye and Aya Sofya, used his office to promulgate his and his followers' more strictly defined understanding of piety and correct ritual practice on society at large. Similar to Kadızade Mehmed, other supporters of the movement were also assigned to the main mosques in the capital and used their pulpits to the same effect, thus helping the movement produce a major social and intellectual effect, at least in the capital. The Kadizadelis also tried to impose sanctions on Sufi practices by gaining support from the state. The first wave of persecution of Sufis as well as other dissenters ended in 1635 when the first charismatic leader of the movement, Kadızade Mehmed, passed away; yet soon after, the movement re-emerged with another charismatic leader.

The leader of the second Kadızadeli wave (in the 1640s and 1650s) was Üstüvânî Mehmed Efendi, who was the preacher at Fatih Mosque. "Üstüvânî had adopted Kadızade's stance on the Sufi orders … he urged his listeners to attack not only regular Sufi brethren but also mere visitors to their lodges."[69] In this era, Kadızadelis wanted the *şeyhülislâm* to issue a *fetvâ* declaring Sufi music and whirling illegal but found themselves unable to persuade the *şeyhülislâm* even though they endeavoured to "put more pressure on the Sultan through their adherents in the palace." The grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha was the one who ended the second wave of persecutions by arresting Üstüvânî and his advocates. Unlike his father, the grand vizier Fazıl Ahmed Pasha's was more fond of the Kadızadeli ideas, and it was during his tenure that the third wave began.

[69] Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis," 258.

When Fâzıl Ahmed Pasha took over the office of grand vizierate in 1661, he invited to Istanbul Vani Efendi, whom he met in Erzurum in 1659. The arrival of Vani Efendi paved the way for the most austere era in the history of the movement. Vani Efendi's close ties with the most important figures at the imperial court, such as the sultan and grand vizier, prevented any possibility of rivalry he might have encountered from a sheikh. As of 1665, Sufi music and dance rituals were forbidden in Istanbul. Fazıl Ahmed also exerted his influence to ban alcohol and tobacco consumption and gained partial success. It is also known that the lodges were plundered, Sufis were assaulted and they were stopped in the streets to ask for reaffirmation of faith.[70] Yet, these harshest days came to an end in 1683 when the Ottomans were defeated in Vienna. Vani Efendi, who was one of the main supporters of the Vienna Campaign and a crucial figure in persuading the Sultan to engage in this warfare, was considered responsible for the failure and was exiled.

Although the reasons behind these hostilities have hitherto been considered as purely the controversy between 'Sufism' and sharia-guided 'orthodoxy,' Zilfi suggests that "the conflict embraced a wider spectrum of protagonists and sympathies than the 'Sufi-orthodox' dichotomy implies."[71] Building on Zilfi's call for a broader approach, recent studies shed light on the political aspects of the conflict rather than reducing it to a religious phenomenon only. Accordingly, Ali Fuat Bilkan focuses on the political interests of the Kadızadeli supporters, similarly to Marinos Sariyannis, who argues that the movement served the new mercantile strata in their struggle for political power.[72] Moreover, Zeynep Yürekli argues that "of all the

[70] Abdülkadir Özcan, s.v "Köprülüzâde Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi,* 26 (2002): 260-263; Ali Çoban, "Mihnet Dönemi Sufiliğinde Savunma Amaçlı Akaid Yazıcılığı: XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı'sında İki Sufi İki Eser (Catechism Writings in the Trouble-Age Sufism: Two Sufis Two Texts in the Seventeenth-Century Ottomans)," *İlmi ve Akademik Araştırma Dergisi* 36 (2015): 8.
[71] Ibid., 252.
[72] Ibid., 263; Marinos Sariyannis, "The Kadızadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?," in *Political Initiatives "from the Bottom Up" in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete VII, a Symposium Held in Rethymno 9-11 January 2009,* ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Crete: Crete University Press, 2012) and. Ali Fuat Bilkan, *Fakihler ve Sofular Kavgası:*

appointments to Friday preacher posts in the five major mosques in Istanbul between 1621 and 1685, a great majority was of Halveti sheikhs. It is no surprise, then, that Halveti convents were the major targets for Kadızadeli attacks during that time."[73] Consequently, the Kadızadeli supporters sought their political, career and economic interests as well, which might have been the main reason for the movement to be so successful and mobilize many supporters. Yet, whether religiously, economically or politically motivated, the movement left a decisive mark on seventeenth-century Istanbul.

To elaborate on the Sufi response to these attacks, Abdülmecid Sivasî (d. 1639) is the name worth mentioning because Kâtip Çelebi, who describes the strife as the Kadızadeli vs. Sivasî debate, spoke of him as the main respondent to Kadızade Mehmed.[74] Sivasî included many interpretations and evaluations in his writings about the debates triggered by the Kadızadelis, and he even condemns the Kadızadelis as heretics and hypocritical.[75] Sivasî, in his *Dürer-i Akâid* (Pearls of Religious Doctrines), tries to show that Sufis are the true followers of sunna (Prophetic Custom).[76] Niyâzî-i Mısrî also emphasizes the Kadızadeli attacks in his writings and blames Vani Mehmed Efendi for struggles he faced.[77] Mısrî also criticized Vani Mehmed in his sermons and in his hermeneutic courses.[78] In Mısrî's own words, "The goals of heretics were to destroy the lodges and build madrasas in their places. In 1079 [1668], such a sedition was committed that I had to move to another neighbourhood. We

17. Yüzyılda Kadızadeliler ve Sivasiler (The Strife Between Ulema and Sufis: The Kadızadelis and Sivasis in the 17th Century) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016). –

[73] Zeynep Yürekli, "A Building between the Public and Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite," 175.

[74] Katip Çelebi, *The Balance of Truth*.

[75] Katip Çelebi, Fezleke-i Katip Çelebi II, Istanbul: Ceride-i Havadis Matbaası, 1869, 183; for the published work, see Katip Çelebi, *Fezleke I-II*, eds. Zeynep Aycibin (İstanbul: Çamlıca Basım Yayın, 2017).

[76] Ali Çoban, "Mihnet Dönemi Sufiliğinde Savunma Amaçlı Akaid Yazıcılığı: XVII. Yüzyıl Osmanlı'sında İki Sufi İki Eser (Catechism Writings in the Trouble-Age Sufism: Two Sufis Two Texts in the Seventeenth-Century Ottomans)," 13–22.

[77] Bilkan, *Fakihler ve Sofular Kavgası*, 109-110.

[78] Ibid., 109.

could not do sermons for a couple of months."[79] Even if only a small number of Sufis explicitly noted attacks against them, it would appear that there was an atmosphere of fear and latent intimidation that Sufis had to live with at this time.

As it is clear from all this, the seventeenth century was the time of religious crisis for mystics in addition to the crisis created by disasters and diseases, such as fires and plague.[80] For example, the Great Fire (1660) destroyed hundreds of houses, mosques, baths, churches as well as killing thousands of people. The fire was brought under control three days after breaking out; yet, it was too late to save more than half of the *suriçi*.[81] Not only great fires, but also frequent small-scale fires were also making life harder for residents of Istanbul. Similarly, the plague was also one of the most devastating elements in the lives of seventeenth-century Istanbul residents. For example, "In 1661, when more than a thousand bodies were buried each day from Edirnekapı, Muslim imams and Christian patriarchs led their flocks in prayer, side by side, on the great field of Okmeydanı on the outskirts of Istanbul."[82] While the figures in this statement may be exaggerated, additional primary and secondary literature still shows that the plague in this century emerged as a trouble which killed hundreds each day.

Taking everything into consideration, Sufis in seventeenth-century Istanbul lived in an atmosphere of tension between acceptance and rejection by various parts of the urban population. No matter how much power the Sufis enjoyed and acted as spiritual guides for masses, the Kadızadeli attacks caused a crisis that undermined tranquillity. This was the environment in which Seyyid Hasan wrote his diary, the *Sohbetnâme*. Considering what Dekker points out that "[d]uring World War II, as will happen in times of crisis, more people

[79] Mustafa Aşkar, "Tarikat-Devlet İlişkisi, Kadızâdeli ve Meşâyih Tartışmaları Açısından Niyazî-i Mısrî ve Döneme Etkileri (Tariqa-State Relations, Niyazî-i Mısrî and His Effects on the Era in the Light of Kadızadeli and Sheikhs Debates)," *Tasavvuf: İlmi ve Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi* 1 (1999): 63.
[80] Nükhet Varlık, *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience, 1347-1600*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
[81] Behar, *Bir Mahallenin Doğumu ve Ölümü*, 101.
[82] Zilfi, "The Kadizadelis," 264.

kept diaries than in happier times," it is not surprising that one of the rare examples of a Sufi diary comes from this particular time period.[83] Given that not only the attackers but also the fires and the plague aggravated the survival of Sufis, Kafadar's argument that "daily record-keeping of minutia seems most suited for times when every single day, every single meal, every single pleasure of human company was something to be grateful for" makes a lot of sense.[84] Clearly, it was not merely Seyyid Hasan who felt the need to record his concerns. As Artan shows: "Leading Sufis' personal journals, letters, diaries and dream-logs, reflecting their hopes enmities or social concerns, become especially noteworthy in the 17th and 18th centuries."[85] Yet, even though the social pressures and crises Hasan experienced were in theory multi-faceted, he preferred to include only one of the troubles, the plague, he and his intimate circle were subjected to.

In the *Sohbetnâme,* the plague occupies a central role as at least one funeral per almost every day is recorded by Hasan. There are even occasions when there are funerals of five or six people at the same time, as in the case of the funeral of Hasan's wife. Such an enormous crowd was present at the funerals that Hasan was unable to see the coffin of his own wife.[86] On the other hand, Seyyid Hasan's silence about the attacks against Sufis, particularly the Halvetis, with whom he was affiliated, is puzzling. Either Seyyid Hasan did not suffer any consequences of the anti-Sufi attacks, or he had a different way of dealing with them, unlike his Sufi brethren who engaged in polemics with the Kadızadelis, such as Niyazî-i Mısrî, Abdülmecit Sivasî and Sünbül Sinan. Even though it is not known whether Hasan and his Sufi brothers were silent about the ongoing crisis in their daily life routines (group conversations and sermons), one is tempted to suggest that Hasan was intentionally censoring his writings

[83] Rudolf Dekker, "Jacques Presser's Heritage: Egodocuments in the Study of History," *Memoria Y Civilizacion* 5 (2002): 35.
[84] Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others," 143.
[85] Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression," 380.
[86] *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 8b.

not only by failing to record a single word about the Kadızadelis but also by minimizing the description of his and his brethren's religious rituals including dance, *devrân* and music.

The Sohbetnâme features daily and mundane details rather than concentrating on the religious and mystical themes, which occur on very few occasions. First of all, it is worth noting that Hasan does not, usually, records himself and his Sufi compatriots in seclusion (*halvet*) except a few instances during the four years covered in the diary.[87] Considering that seclusion is one of the basics of his tariqa (the Halvetiyye order derives its name from this word for seclusion, *halvet*), Hasan's rare mention of this aspect of his being a Sufi is surprising. Secondly, contrary to the majority of Sufi writings, which focus on mystical experiences, the only mystical experience Hasan records is that his dream about the death of *pişkadem* (lit. first step; a person who leads the ritual) came true in the morning.[88] In addition to these two details, Hasan recorded themselves reciting the prayer ritual, common at the time, known as *muhammediye*, performing the prayer after finishing reading the whole Kur'an (*hatim duâ'sı*), praying accompanied by music (*demdeme* and *zemzeme*), and daily prayers (*namaz*). Besides writing about these prayers and rituals on a few occasions, Hasan does not note particular rituals on either the tenth of *Muharrem* nor on similar holy days, in contrast to the secondary literature's mention of the ritual held in the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge, where Hasan resided, on the tenth of *Muharrem*.[89] All in all, these religious rituals remain a minor detail in consideration of the whole diary proving that Hasan's priority was to record daily mundane events like visits, social gatherings, conversations, food and drink.

On the other hand, even though the title of the diary is *Sohbetnâme* (Book of Conversation or Companionship), Hasan does not specify the content of their conversations in

[87] *Sohbetnâme* I, fols 87a and 48b.
[88] *Sohbetnâme* II, fols. 46b, 47a and 47b.
[89] "*'aşûrâ* (sweet dish made of legumes, sugar and some fruit commemorating Noah's food made in the ark) is made and given to the poor. The whole night was dedicated to the worshipping, and, sheikh and his disciples go to the bath in the morning." Hür Mahmut Yücer, s.v "Sünbüliyye," *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, "Sünbüliyye," 38: 139.

their gatherings, which constituted the basis of their lives. There are only two occasions when Hasan makes references to the religious themes discussed in the daytime by saying "spiritual pleasures occurred" (*'azim ruhânî sefâlar oldu*) and mentioning "spiritual conversations" (*musâhabet-i ruhânî*).[90] Except these rare reflections on religious themes, we see Hasan and his Sufi brothers talking about daily issues, which were also stated quite infrequently, such as deciding on the place to go and inviting each other to some places, or informing each other about the latest developments in their own and their' friends lives, like promotions or deaths.

Another striking point about this unusual diary is the absence of the strong master-disciple relationship. For dervishes, the intimate master-disciple relations as well as masters as spiritual guidance played a pivotal role. Nevertheless, Seyyid Hasan notes himself meeting with his sheikh only two times in the course of the diary. "After this, Kasam Efendi's brother Halil came and told me that 'master' (*Efendi*) was waiting for me. I went to his house (*sa'âdethâne*) and saw that Derviş İbrahim was present. Then, we drank coffee."[91] "After that, Baki Dede told me, "Çavuş Ağa came to meet with the master (*Efendi*), please come (*buyrun*)… Çavuş Ağa, Baki Çelebi and I, humble, kissed his blessed hand. Then, we drank coffee in his blessed cell."[92] Except these two occasions, the existence of Hasan's sheikh in his life never becomes visible. Moreover, when these Sufis decide on the venues for their regular meetings, Sufi brethren ask Seyyid Hasan for advice but not the sheikh.[93] Thus, 'sheikh' in Hasan's diary does not appear as a figure who leads their congregational life or as an authority for the decisions but as an insignificant figure who is mentioned only twice throughout four years.

All these puzzling details show that Seyyid Hasan was refraining from writing a diary of religious prayers and rituals but preferred to write a diary of meetings, visits, gatherings,

[90] *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 30a.
[91] *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 98a.
[92] *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 54b.
[93] *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 37a.

food and coffee times. Moreover, whenever Hasan felt that he was straying from the main topic, recording his day and night time activities, he felt the necessity of going back to it by saying, "let us return to the topic" (*biz sadede gelelüm*). This indicates that his main aim was noting the mundane details of this world while leaving the heavenly and mystical themes aside. Although the mystical works of Sufis included daily life details and there was the example of Mısrî's diary, "which is neither a completely this-world-oriented text nor a text oriented towards the 'other world'," [94] Hasan's full focus on the ephemeral world is one of the unique such examples in the Sufi literary opus.

Various reasons could be suggested for why Hasan chose to write such an unusual text. Considering that the Kadızadelis were attacking Halvetis' way of worship, Hasan may have wanted to feature their human (eating, sleeping, drinking, socializing) side by downplaying their daily religious practices. Therefore, Hasan's diary may be a form of a takiyya (dissimulation), whereby a Sufi's mystical universe is completely hidden by the narrative emphasizing these worldly pursuits in company of his brethren, the co-travellers on the Sufi path. Although Hasan never directly refers to the Kadızadelis in his diary, this movement likely heightened his sense of Sufi identity and affected his mode of self-representation.[95] And to create such a narrative, the diary turned into the notebook of pleasant gatherings, social occasions, coffee and dinner parties, and, visits and meetings with beloveds (*yârân*) and brothers (*ihvân*) by meeting the Abu Said's expectation "to eat only in company" as Ahmet Karamustafa shows.[96]

Alternatively, Derin Terzioğlu argues that "the shift that took place in the modes of self-representation in Sufi narratives in this period [and] it was suggested that the temporal and the mundane entered Sufi personal narratives, as the Sufis became progressively more

[94] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God," 165.
[95] Ibid., 149.
[96] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Sufism: The Formative Period* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 123.

integrated into the social, political and economic structures of 'this world'."[97] Although all these possibilities for Hasan's choice of focus in his diary on the "ephemeral" remain as speculations, his notes allow us to shed light on little-known aspects of everyday and social life of Sufis in seventeenth-century Istanbul.

The bonds of brotherhood and the role of communal life in Sufi life are plainly distinguishable in the diary. Two circles of people—an inner (composed of frequently mentioned thirty to forty people) and an outer (the rest of individuals who are named only a few times)—seem to have existed around him. Imams, sheiks, scholars, judges, bureaucrats, numerous shopkeepers, preachers, chief mufti, scribes, artisans, whose titles varied from *çelebi* and *ağa* to *efendi*, constituted these circles. Listing all the people he met, I counted more than five hundred names only in the first volume of the diary, revealing the wide network of people with whom Seyyid Hasan interacted. Both the inner and outer circles were composed of the residents of his neighbourhood and of near neighbourhoods, some of which were also his relatives as well as mystics. Thus, this shows that the inhabitants of a neighbourhood, relatives and mystics, who also constituted the social network of a dervish in seventeenth-century Istanbul were not separable from each other. As Kafadar explains, "From the *Sohbetnâme*, we learn of the intricate web of relationships established, on the basis of family ties as well as order affiliation and *mahalle* solidarity, between that social world and other sectors of Ottoman society."[98]

For Seyyid Hasan, his *yârân* and *ihvân* were so significant that these Sufi figures are at the centre of our analysis on the use of space. The types of places mentioned in the diary are dervish lodges, homes, shops, gardens, baths and mosques. One of the most striking points about the diary is that most of these places are private such as homes and gardens, and thus associated with particular people; the rest of the places, such as shops, are also

[97] Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God," 165.
[98] Kafadar, "Self and Others," 142.

"personalized." For example, Seyyid Hasan does not mention the item which is sold in a shop but mentions the owner's name on numerous occasions, such as Beşlizâde's shop, Hasan Pasha's shop and Süleyman Çelebi's shop, illuminating the fact that he focused on persons instead of the shops' function or main commodity they sold. The only exception to this personalization of places are those open to public, like baths and mosques, which appear to be the least frequented places covered in the diary. Therefore, the space which will be covered in this present thesis is composed of private venues and of places associated with particular people, whether homes or shops, proving that Hasan's primary consideration were the persons even when recording a place. Further to that, Seyyid Hasan's feeling of intimacy with the places he discusses is also quite apparent, emphasizing the socially and emotionally constructed nature of space as discussed in the diary.

For Hasan, the places he records are so connected with people that he does not feel the need to specify their function. There are many occasions when it is not clear whether he is talking about a street name, a person's home, a lodge or a shop because he records simply: 'at (name of person)'. To illustrate, when Seyyid Hasan writes "at Yıldız'," who was an important figure in this Sufi circle as well as a person very close to Hasan, it is difficult to decide whether he meant Yıldız's home or Yıldız Lodge, especially when it comes to the religious rituals held in this venue. 'Bazirgânzâde' is another example of the same ambiguity because there was both a figure very close to Hasan namely Bazirgânzâde and a lodge called the same way. Similarly, Cambaziye and Ali Fakih are both names of streets and mosques. We also learn from various entries that some Sufis have their cells in the lodges as well as having their own homes. Thus, when Hasan writes "at Kandilci Dede's," he might be referring to the lodge or a home, even a shop for some people. All in all, all the places recorded in the diary were noted in an intimate style that makes some of these places identifiable and others not.

In conclusion, Sufis, especially Halveti dervishes, enjoyed abundant support from Ottoman state and society, and Sufism was of central importance to Ottoman pious sensibilities throughout the early modern era. However, at the same time, not all aspects of Sufi beliefs and practices as well as styles of piety met with the same level of acceptance, nor was their visibility in the social and religious life of the empire equally tolerable to everyone, leading at times to outright hostility and even persecution, like in the case of seventeenth-century Istanbul. In such an environment where crisis substituted serenity, Seyyid Hasan inscribed the human side of Sufis into history via the *Sohbetnâme*. Therefore, this diary, which is full of social occasions like dinner parties, meetings and visits, stands as a rich testament to social and daily life features of contemporary Halveti Istanbul-based Sufis.

Chapter II

Sufis in Motion (I): Rethinking the Role of the Lodge and Home in the Daily Life of Seventeenth-Century Istanbul Dervishes

This chapter aims to rethink the role of the lodge and Sufis' own homes in the everyday life of dervishes by closely examining how these spaces were used, how frequently, and by whom. Based on Seyyid Hasan's diary, the chapter follows the dervishes in question as they move within their neighbourhood and within the city, studying their choices of venues for particular activities, their relationship to particular spaces, as well as to one another. One of the questions that the chapter seeks to answer is whether the lodge indeed figured as the Sufis' primary residential and devotional space and structured their daily rhythm, as suggested by the secondary literature. The second question that the chapter aims to shed light on is the applicability of the notions of "private" and "public" to the Sufis' use of and attitude towards space. While one would expect the lodge and the homes to belong to the "private sphere," the chapter will argue that the situation was more complex.

A. Dervish Lodges and the Koca Mustafa Pasha Dervish Lodge

> [W]as the tekke primarily a place for an "open" religious community, with members living both inside and outside the establishment? Or was it rather the living quarters of a family, namely that of the *şeyh?* … [I]t was doubtless both things at the same time. And this was the peculiarity of the tekke as an institution, which resembled neither a monastery or *medrese*, nor a family mansion.[99]

Dervish lodges, known in Ottoman Turkish as tekke, *zaviye, dergah, hangah, asitane,* served Sufi members as religious, residential and educational venues.[100] On the one hand, dervish lodges all over the Ottoman Empire differed in their size and architecture; on the other, they shared many common features in terms of their architectural structure and practices in these

[99] Kafadar, "Self and Others," 142.

[100] In this thesis, I will be using 'lodge' and 'tekke' interchangebly.

places. For example, architectural elements such as rooms for the residents (*hücre*), *semâhâne* or *tevhîdhâne* (both mean a large salon for the whirling ceremony), a kitchen (*matbah*), and house of the sheikh (*harem*), along with daily devotional rituals, were the features shared by many lodges.[101] Apart from being a home to some dervishes and being a religious centre, the tekke was also an educational institution at which dervishes of all ages were educated. Moreover, it was also the venue where various spiritual-artistic activities were organised, such as poetry readings, music performances, and making of some arts like *ebrû* and *tezhîb*. In addition to these aspects, lodges played an important role in the transformation of urban settings and dynamics of social life as well as in the formation of communities in and around themselves as mentioned before.[102]

Among hundreds of lodges all around the empire, the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge, a part of a larger Koca Mustafa Pasha complex in Istanbul, was one of the most prestigious ones owing to its central role in the Halvetiyye Order, a Sufi branch that emerged in Azerbaijan in the early fifteenth century, and expanded quickly to the Ottoman lands where it came to flourish in a very short period of time.[103] An old ruined monastery, the Agios Andreas Monastery located in the south-west of the European part of the capital, was converted into a Sünbüliyye-Halvetiyye lodge by the grand vizier Koca Mustafa Pasha in 1489.[104] When Sünbül Sinan began his career as the sheikh of the Koca Mustafa Pasha Dervish Lodge in 1494, Sünbüliyye emerged as a sub-branch of Halvetiyye and the lodge was

[101] To read more on the topic, see M. Taha Banman, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları/Tekkeler (Architectural Structure and Dervish Lodges in the Ottoman Architecture)," in *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler (Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society)*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005). Also see Semih Ceylan, *Türkiye'de Tarikatlar (Sufi Paths in Turkey);* Saim Savaş, *On Altıncı Yüzyıl Anadolusunda Bir Tekkenin Dini ve Sosyal Tarihi: Sivas Ali Baba Zaviyesi* (The social and religious history of a dervish lodge in sixteenth-century Anatolia: Sivas Ali Baba Dervish Lodge) (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1991).

[102] Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 13.

[103] Süleyman Uludağ, s.v "Halvetiyye," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Islam Ansiklopedisi*,vol. 15 (1997), 393-395.

[104] Hür Mahmut Yücer, s.v "Sünbüliyye," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 38, 36-140.

transferred to the Sünbüliyye branch.[105] Thereafter, the Koca Mustafa Pasha Dervish Lodge was acknowledged as the main lodge by all the sub-branches of the Halvetiyye Order because it was the first Halvetiyye dervish lodge in Istanbul.

In the beginning, the Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex included a mosque, a *medrese* (school), an *imaret* (soup kitchen), a lodge and two baths; later on some additions were made.[106] This complex was also one of the first examples of the "mosque-dervish lodge" type of buildings.[107] Although Evliya Çelebi recorded forty dervish rooms in the lodge, Nazif Velikahyaoğlu observed twenty two parts in the lodge and estimated based on the *tahrir* registers that roughly thirty rooms and twenty dervishes stayed at this lodge in the nineteenth century.[108] Seyyid Hasan's diary proves his estimation right, because he records around twenty people having a room in the lodge. Judging from the diary, the parts of the lodge most frequently used by these approximately twenty people were the dervish rooms or cells (*hücre*, pl. *hücerât*). The middle room (*orta hücre*), the outer room (*taşra hücre*), the garden accessible from the individual cells (*hücre bağçesi*), the whirling hall (*hücre semâhânesi*), and the inner sanctum (*hücrenin çak içrüsü*) emerge in the diary as the parts of the tekke used by its residents. In addition to the rooms, the refectory (*ta'amhâne*), the refectory's garden, whirling hall, water cellar, the bath, the fountain, and the soup-kitchen are also referred to as relatively frequently used places.

Based on Seyyid Hasan's notes, his and his brothers' activities varied in different corners of the lodge. Sitting, having conversations, meeting and visiting each other's rooms are the most frequently recorded activities in the diary. Hasan's vocabulary to record these activities are quite diverse and the diary reflects his intimate relations with his fellows which

[105] Fatih Köse, "İstanbul Halveti Tekkeleri (Halveti Dervish Lodges in Istanbul), (unpublished PhD diss., Marmara University, 2010).
[106] Nazif Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliyye Tarikatı ve Koca Mustafa Paşa Külliyesi* [Sümbüliyye Order and Koca Mustafa Paşa Complex] (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2000), 155.
[107] Banman, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları / Tekkeler," 376.
[108] Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliyye Tarikatı ve Koca Mustafa Paşa Külliyesi*, 160.

are described in terms of *ülfet* (intimacy) and *mukârenet* (closeness). In addition to chatting, Sufis also slept, made and drank coffee, ate, and shaved in their rooms in the lodge. From this we can see that the cells in the lodges were not merely the venues for worship or residence but for miscellaneous social activities as well. Yet, as it was discussed in the previous chapter in detail, what is striking is that Seyyid Hasan records no prayers and rituals but merely the daily details. Thus, this feature of the diary contradicts Nathalie Clayer's argument that "the everyday lives of all these people living within and around the tekke was punctuated by prayers and ritual ceremonies."[109] The tekke in Hasan's diary emerges as a site of residence and intense sociability rather than prayer and devotional life.

The intense collective life of Hasan's Sufi circle and their idea of brotherhood are among the most notable aspects of his diary: they shared nearly every moment during the day, even when taking a nap ("and then *Pişkadem* and I slept in the room").[110] Hasan describes his solitude with the word *münferiden* (alone): "It happened that we together had food in Hariri's new room and I slept alone."[111] This seems to corroborate the order's code book, which emphasizes "showing more affection to one another than to their full brother" as Kafadar notes.[112] They even felt quite comfortable with spending their time in each other's rooms in the absence of the owner of the room. For example, *Pişkadem* consigned his room key to Seyyid Hasan, who, then went to the *Pişkadem*'s room to rest.[113] Similar examples abound in the diary that illustrate exceptional levels of comfort in each other's rooms, regardless of the nominal room owner being present. This raises the question of the extent to which this lodge was a private space for its residents. Would it be misplaced to say that a lodge was a form of a

[109] Clayer, "Life in an Istanbul Tekke in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 232.
[110] *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 150b.
[111] "Harîrî'nin yeni odasında maʿan ekl-i taʿam ve münferiden menâm itmek vâkıʿ olmuşdur." *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 87a.
[112] Kafadar, "Self and Others," 141 notes that "this 'code book' is appended, by a different hand, to the hagiography written by Seyyid Hasan's father; Üniversite Ktp., İbnülemin M.K. 2956, 49b-52b. The citation is on 51b."
[113] *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 22a.

home, and hence, a private space to the family of resident dervishes in the similar way as to the members of any other family?

To define the nature of the lodge as either a private or public place, it should be specified whether it was an exclusive or inclusive place due to the fact that intimacy determines the level of comfort. Were there any criteria for outsiders to get in the lodge or was it an open and welcoming space for all out-group individuals? Although Seyyid Hasan gives examples of people visiting the lodge, the diary is not allowing us to answer this question with certainty. Still, it provides some important clues. As is clear from the previous example, rooms had keys. Whether all of the rooms had keys or only the rooms of more important figures is unknown. The examples, however, demonstrate that Hasan had access to *Pişkadem*'s room even though he locked his room. Moreover, it is known that the lodges were also welcoming newcomers or visitors and people who did not reside in the lodge. There were also always free rooms reserved for travellers. As a result, the lodge space seems to have been subject to different levels of privacy. Rooms, which were private places for their owners and their Sufi brothers, allowed intimate sociability. At the other end of the spectrum, the lodge space extended into the sphere of public because it was also open to out-group.

Apart from the physical nature of the lodges as private or public space, the residential role of the lodge also needs to be examined. Klaus Kreiser recorded the number of men living in dervish lodges in Istanbul around 1820 and concluded that it amounted to at least one percent of the adult male population of the Ottoman capital, with the figure reaching approximately 2.5 percent by about 1868.[114] Garnett states that dervishes stayed in their rooms for hours busy with contemplation and worship and did not go out for long periods of time.[115] Based on this, for Sufi people who did not own their own homes, the lodge served as

[114] Clayer, "Life in an Istanbul Tekke in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," 219.
[115] Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Dervişler ve Abdallar* (Mysticism and Magic in Turkey) (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2010), 85.

the residential quarters where they were allegedly rather stationary, with their everyday life largely confined to the lodge. However, the diary of Seyyid Hasan presents a contrasting picture in this respect. As will be shown in the subsequent section, during the daytime Seyyid Hasan and his fellows always moved from one place to another. Even during the night, they were highly mobile, with their activities including having dinner (*taʿaşşi*), regular nightly gatherings (*ʿişret*) and lodging (*beytûtet*), all in different venues. Seyyid Hasan records dozens of different places where he sojourned during the four years covered in the diary, as shown in the table below.[116] The details in the table are selected partly based on the most frequented places, and partly on places which could be expected for Hasan to stay at, such as his home, the lodge, his sister's house, and the lodge where he became the sheikh.

Figure 1: Hasan's Number of Stays in Various Places During the Years of 1661-1665

Places	**Number of Nights Recorded in 1661**	**Number of Nights Recorded in 1662**	**Number of Nights Recorded in 1663**	**Number of Nights Recorded in 1664**	**In Total**
Hâher-i Mihter (Older Sister)	21	31	31	28	111
Hâher-i Kihter (Younger Sister)	1	5	1	1	8
Ev (His home)	6	No mention	No mention	No mention	6
Hücre (His Room in the Lodge)	8	3	5	No mention	16
Bazirgânzâde (the lodge or the house is unknown)	16	22	10	8	56
His Friend Taşçızâde	No mention	10	No mention	No mention	10
The Ferruh Kethüdâ	No mention	No mention	No mention	4	4

[116] Among these places, some of which were more frequented than others. Moreover, a third group of places, his friends' houses, where he lodged also existed somewhere between the most and the least frequented places.

Dervish Lodge					
His Friend Yıldız	No mention	No mention	No mention	6	6
Rest	28	39	28	17	
Total	80	110	75	64	

The table reveals interesting results. It is quite clear that these people had various alternatives to lodge and their own homes, so much so that, for example, in 1661, Hasan records approximately 25 different places where he sojourned. Moreover, based on the figures, it is obvious that Hasan considered some of his Sufi brothers' homes as an ideal spot to stay regularly. Thus, these places can also be considered as private places for Hasan owing to the fact that he is comfortable with staying in these sites as he wishes. Conversely, Hasan is not as comfortable with these places as he is at his sister's and Yıldız's home. Thus, the private sphere for Hasan was multi-layered and multi-focal. The data and the examples provided above indicate clearly that neither the home nor the lodge were the primary and ultimate destinations for Seyyid Hasan and his fellows but that they preferred to be mobile and lodge together. This evidence, which presents many alternatives to the lodge both in the daytime and at night, also challenges the idea that the lodges were central in the spatial organization of the everyday life of Sufis.

In addition to the fact that the lives of the Sufis were not confined to the lodge in general, when they did go to the lodge, their attendance was not limited to a single tekke, but there is evidence for inter-tekke communication as well. Hasan refers to around fifteen lodges during the four years of writing the diary. The most important one of these, the Nizamzade Lodge, also known as Seyyid Nizam Lodge, which was established in the first half of the sixteenth century by a Nakşibendiyye sheikh, differs from others.[117] This lodge was located in the vicinity of the Koca Mustafa Pasha neighbourhood. Both because of its proximity to the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge and because Nizamzade himself was a devoted brother of those in

[117] Fatih Köse, "İstanbul Halveti Tekkeleri (Halveti Dervish Lodges in Istanbul)," 255.

the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge circle, Seyyid Hasan considers this lodge as his second lodge. He seems to be not only very comfortable with visiting this lodge often, but also comfortable with eating, drinking and sleeping there. Moreover, even in the absence of Nizamzade, Seyyid Hasan orders his room to be unlocked and sits in his room, "when I arrived to Nizamzade Lodge, I ordered to unlock his [Nizamzade] door and I sat inside. When his oldest son came, he told, 'my father, together with Adilzade went out of town by exiting from Silivri Gate."[118] As for this lodge, Hasan records the *tevhîdhâne*, Nizamzade's room (which is also in the *harem*) and the inner sanctum (*enderûn-ı harem*) as places where he used to spend his time. As the *harem* was a private place, Hasan's easy access to this part of the lodge indicates his intimacy with the members of this lodge. For Hasan, the Nizamzade Lodge stands as a relatively private place where he acted comfortably.

Apart from the Nizamzade Lodge, many other lodges, especially the Hacı Evhad Lodge, are mentioned in the diary numerous times, while some others are referred to only once. Whether often or rarely mentioned, Hasan's diary shows that some of the other lodges also served as relatively private places for dervishes, and they were alternative destinations to visit and attend the rituals, proving the open-public aspect of these lodges. These examples also suggest that a dervish was not necessarily associated with a single lodge. The overall conclusion, thus, is that the lodges, which were places where the clear distinction between the private and public was blurred, did not have the spatial monopoly in the lives of Sufis, who had various alternatives, as will be shown in the last section of the chapter.

[118] "Nizâmzâde Tekkesine vardıkda odasını açdırıp mücâleset, büyük oğlu gelüp babam Adilzâde ile Silivri Kapısından taşra gittiler didikde" See *Sohbetnâme*, II, fol. 140b.

B. Dervishes on the Move

Seyyid Hasan's and his fellows' mobility within and in the vicinity of their neighbourhood substantiates the aforementioned characteristic of Istanbul's neighbourhoods as having a vibrant congregational life. Seyyid Hasan and his brothers moved and changed places many times in a day. This high level of itinerancy encompassed numerous homes, gardens, shops and streets visited for various reasons. It is best illustrated by Seyyid Hasan's own words:

> I, humble, got some work done in the paper shops and while heading to Kazancı ʿAli Çelebi's shop, I saw Ebu'n-Necât Efendi sitting next to a scribe shop. I, humble, sat next to him, too. Thereafter, I rested and took a nap in Ali Çelebi's shop. Later, we had a chat with the zakirbaşı [dervish leading the performers of religious litanies] in the Bayezid Mosque and went to Simhâne and drank a cup of coffee in Nuh Dede's place. Then, we returned from Nişancı Yolu and visited and watched Hacı ʿAlizâde's construction and talked to him, his father, his brother, his wife's brother Taşçızâde and Solak Yusuf Beg. Thereafter, again two of us, returned to the neighbourhood. I went to Yıldız's home but the zâkirbaşı left.[119]

> After noon, I went to Mahmud Dede's room and assigned him a task. I met Hariri and Hâherzâde next to the gate of Hacı Evhad Rooms. Then, Cinci Emir Çelebi related his dreams to [this] humble in the middle of his garden. Thereafter, I met the *imam* of the Hâtûniyye on horseback at Etyemez, and I met Barber Muhammed Çelebi at İnebeg. I got some work done in the shop of my younger brother-in-law together with him and his son. Then, Damat Çelebi also arrived and sat with us for a while. And I met people for one time in Dülbendci Hüseyin Çelebi's shop and two times in our Hüseyin Çelebi's shop. Then, I passed along the seaside and near the fortress in Kumkapı, and along the seaside in Yenikapı. Then, I met Çerkes Damadı in İnebeg, Uzun ʿAli Çelebi's son next to Bostan mosque, again Çerkes Damadı and Fincancı Emir Çelebi in front of Sultan Bayezid-i Cedîd. While we were taking the road to the arch, the aforementioned Emir showed up across the street, he was very kind with [this] humble under the aqueduct (Kemeraltı).[120]

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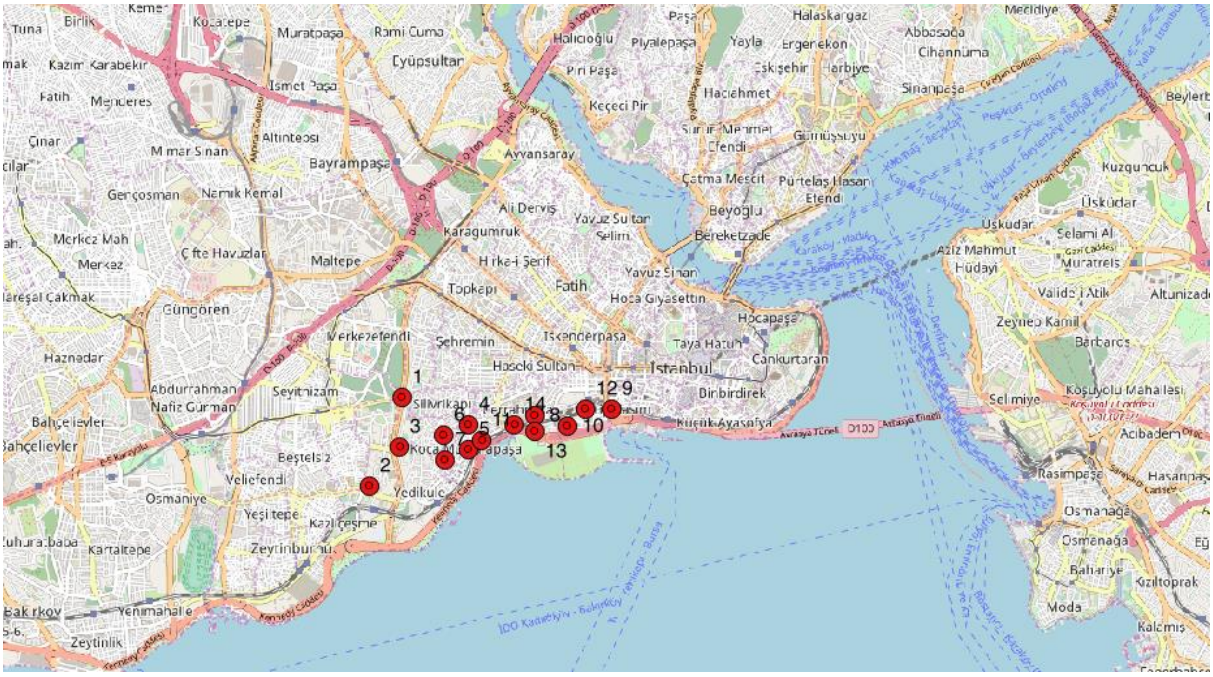
[119] "Fakîr kağıdcılar içinde bazı mesâlih görmek ve Kazancı ʿAli Çelebi'nin dükkânına ʿazîmen mâbeyn bir yazıcı dükkânının kenarında Ebu'n-Necât Efendi'yi câlis görüp fakîr dahi yanına varup mücâleset. Sümme mezbûr ʿAli Çelebi'nin dükkânında menâm u istirâhat. Sümme Sultân Bayezid'in taşra hareminde zâkirbaşıyla mülâkat idüp ikimiz Simhâne'ye ʿazîmet ve Nuh Dede'nin birer kahvesini tenâvül idüp Nişancı Yolu'ndan ʿavdet ve Hacı ʿAlizâde'nin yapısını seyr ü ziyâret ve anda kendü ve peder ve birâderi ve kayını Taşcızâde ve dünürşisi Solak Yusuf Beg'le musâhabet vâkıʿ olmuşdur. Bâdehû yine ikimiz semte dâhil oldukda fakîr Yıldız evine mürûr ve zâkirbaşı müzâhabe eylemişdir." *Sohbetnâme* I, 79b.

[120] "Baʿde'z-zuhr Mahmûd Dede'nin hücresine girüp kendüye sipâriş-i hıdmet ve zeyl sevkde Mihterzâde ve Hacı Evhad Odaları kapusu kurbunda Harîrî ve Hâherzâde'ye iltikâ' ve Cinci Emir Çelebi Bağçesi ortasında fakîre rüyalar ʿarz itmek ve Etyemez'de Hâtûniyye imâmına râkiben mülâkât ve İnebeg'de berber Mehmed Çelebi'ye iltikâ' ve küçük eniştenün dükkânında kendü ve oğluyla edâ'-yı mesâlih ve Dâmâd Çelebi anda gelüp

Figure 2: Hasan's Itinerancy Map Based on the Second Example



In the second example, Seyyid Hasan mentions fourteen venues where he either goes or stops by. Although certain locations of a few stops out of the fourteen mentioned ones are not possible to identify, Hasan allows us to speculate about them considering the flow of the day. The map given above is both representative and unrepresentative of Hasan's itineracy at the same time. On the one hand, these instances and the map are representative of his life because of the fact that he went from place to place, most of which were in the vicinity of his own neighbourhood, and visited and met many people in a day. On the other, they are not representative due to Hasan's arbitrary motions; in other words, he did not have particular patterns in this itinerant lifestyle. Consequently, while Hasan's movements did not have an exact pattern, there was a pattern of constant daily motion.

celse-i hafîfe ve bir kere Dülbendci Hüseyin Çelebi ve iki kere bizüm Hüseyin Çelebi dükkânlarında buluşmak ve Kumkapu'da leb-i deryâya ve hisar diplerine ve yine Yenikapu'da leb-i deryâya mürûr ve İnebeg'de Çerkes dâmâdıyla ve Bostan Câmiʿ kurbunda Uzun ʿAli Çelebi oğluyla ve Sultân Bayezid-i Cedîd önünde yine Çerkes dâmâdı ve Fincâncı Emir Çelebi'yle buluşmak ve Kemer'e saparken mezbûr emir karşudan görünüb Kemeraltı'nda fakîre vâfir telattuf vâkıʿ olmuşdur." *Sohbetnâme* II, 171a.

Seyyid Hasan's level of itinerancy within his neighbourhood did not change even after becoming the sheikh of the Ferruh Kethüda Lodge. Hasan did not move to the Ferruh Kethüda Lodge, unlike other sheikhs who lived in the home reserved for the family of the sheikh next to the lodge, but preferred to live in the same neighbourhood where he was probably born and grew up. Beginning in 1663, when he was appointed as the sheikh, a new frequent destination in his itinerary emerged owing to Hasan's regular sermons in the mosque of the lodge. Hasan counted 111 sermons in total until the end of his diary. Therefore, at least for the time period covered in the diary (there is no information about the location of his residence after 1664), Hasan travelled between his neighbourhood and Eyüp where the lodge was located, at least a hundred times. The distance between these two spots today takes approximately ninety minutes to walk. Notably, Seyyid Hasan prefers to stay in his own community and among his brotherhoods rather than move to the lodge to avoid the three-hour walk daily.[121] This decision also shows the strong congregational allegiance of these Sufi circles and how they held on to each other despite the long distances.

Hasan's choice to continue living in his own neighbourhood should not be viewed as a phenomenon only pertaining to his Sufi circle, and requires a closer look at the nature of the *mahalle* (neighbourhood) system. Yılmaz argues that in the early modern Ottoman *mahalles* the characteristics of both "private" and "public" could be seen owing to the fact that its residents were well aware of each other's private issues and had public places where everyone could meet, such as marketplace, street or around a fountain.[122] Building on Yılmaz's argument, Alan Mikhail asserts that "[s]pace within Ottoman neighbourhoods was fluid and

[121] The means of transportation was not usually stated in the diary. There are very few occasions Hasan mentioned his transportation with horses or oxcarts. Hasan's not having either a horse or a car shows that he usually travelled by walking.

[122] Fikret Yılmaz, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair (On the Limits of Privacy in the 16th Century Ottoman Society)," *Toplum ve Bilim* 83 (1999-2000): 92–110.

overlapping and should not be understood in terms of divisions and distinctions."[123] Considering Hasan's social network, which was composed of Sufi brothers, people from his neighbourhood or from close neighbourhoods, the *mahalle* factor in Hasan's life was also highly salient. Willingly undertaking long walks almost daily might be explained both by his deep commitment to his Sufi circle and his network in his *mahalle*.

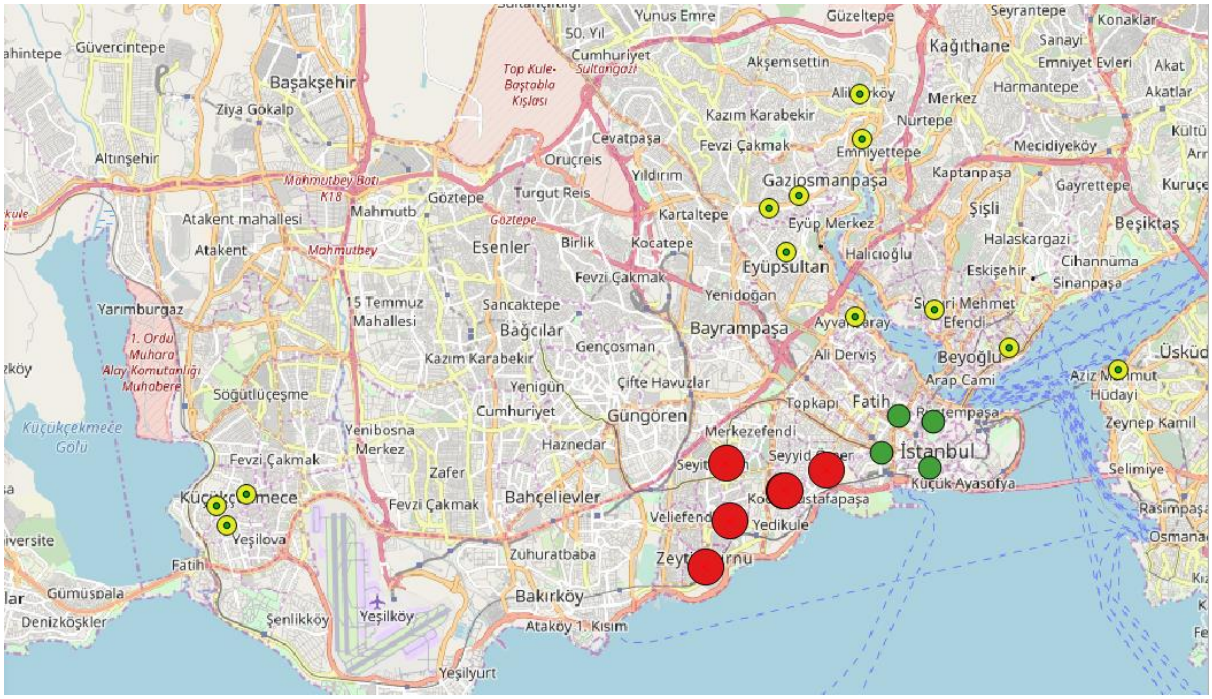
Because of Hasan's lack of comments on the reasons for his constant visits and journeys, it is not possible to know the main purpose behind all this movement. Moreover, whether the purpose of their high mobility lay in their Sufi lifestyle or in individual agencies also remains a mystery. In other words, Hasan and others may have visited and met with all these people to talk about mystic topics or to practice the custom praised in Islam, *sıla-ı rahim*, meaning visiting relatives and friends and maintaining intimate contact with them. Conversely, these people may have visited each other and moved all the time, because they as individuals enjoyed doing so. Even though there are some examples in the diary of people visiting to invite each other to their religious meetings (*sohbet* and *'işret*), these instances are exceptional, and the purpose of the majority of the visits and meetings is unknown.

At the same time, Hasan and his Sufi fellows were not living an itinerant life only within the boundaries of their own neighbourhood, but their mobility was city-wide. A clear picture of his itinerancy which had three layers—from most to least frequented places—emerges on the city-level. The innermost layer was his own Koca Mustafa Pasha neighbourhood which had derived its name from the mosque complex, as was the case for almost ninety percent of neighbourhoods in Istanbul.[124] The most frequented places were those within Hasan's own neighbourhood and a few more districts in its vicinity. The second layer included the heart of the city, such as the Hagia Sophia and the Sultan Ahmed Mosque

[123] Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House," 145.
[124] Canatar, "1009/1600 Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri'ne Göre Nefs-i İstanbul'da Bulunan Mahalleler ve Özelliklerine Dair Gözlemler," 297.

(today popularly known as the Blue Mosque), while the third layer included the least frequented districts, such as Alibey Köy, Küçük Çekmece, Eyüp and Beşiktaş. In short, the destinations of Hasan's movements in the city and the frequency of visiting different destinations in various districts varied. The map below visualizes Hasan's itineracy within the city; red points show the most frequented areas, green points indicate the second layer of itinerancy and small yellow points demonstrate the least frequented districts.

Figure 3. Seyyid Hasan's General Itinerancy Map Within the City Scale



Many of Hasan's fellows also travelled between the cities in the empire, for example, to Edirne, Belgrade, Plovdiv, Baghdad, Thessaloniki, Kardzhali, Bursa and elsewhere. Here it is important to highlight Hasan's enthusiasm to note all these people departing for other cities. On some occasions, Hasan noted the total duration of these journeys; for example, Nazmi Efendi travelled to Edirne, and his journey took sixty-eight days in total.[125] Seyyid Hasan's

[125] *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 63b.

acute attention to these journeys is also shown by the fact that he specifically records when nobody departed for another city (*hiç taşra çıkılmadı*).[126] Despite his interest in intercity travels, Hasan, unlike his Sufi brothers, seems to have never left the capital. In none of his entries does he render the reasons for the travels of his friends and acquaintances and his silence at this point makes it harder to tease out Hasan's choice to stay within the walls of capital. Still, his entries articulate that Sufis in the seventeenth century were mobile not only within the city but also travelled to various cities for different reasons.

C. Home is Where the Heart is: Homes as Alternatives to the Lodges

Doğan Kuban postulated that the shape of a home is created according to the material and spiritual conditions, and obviously, the notion of "home" is profoundly related to social psychology and the human psyche.[127] Thus, a home does not merely manifest the culture in which it was built, but also the way in which it is used speaks about the socio-cultural and daily life features of its users. For example, in the Islamic and Ottoman contexts, more affluent houses were divided into two parts, the *haremlik* and the *selâmlık*. The first refers to the domestic and private sphere, while the latter refers to the more public space where guests are welcomed and a social network is maintained.[128] On the other hand, some scholars challenge this division and do not consider a home as private sphere. For example, Rhoads Murphey argues that the Ottoman terms used for "home" implied none of the sense of intimacy and seclusion that we associate with the term today.[129] He also includes servants who joined the household on a considerable level of intimacy. Furthermore, he demonstrates

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126 *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 71b.

127 Doğan Kuban, *Türk Hayatlı Evi* (Istanbul: TC Ziraat Bankası, 1995), 12.

128 Sami Zubaida, "The Public and Private in Middle Eastern History and Society," in *The Challenge of Pluralism: Paradigms From Muslim Context*, eds. Abdou Filali-Ansary and Sikeena Karmali Ahmed (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 16.

129 Rhoads Murphey, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of an Urban Tradition," in *Studies on Ottoman Society and Culture, 16th-18th Centuries* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 119.

that a house could be situated next to a family's place of business allowing the "outside" world access to the family hearth.[130] Hence, in Murphey's view, Ottoman homes were less intimate places and more open to the public than previously thought.

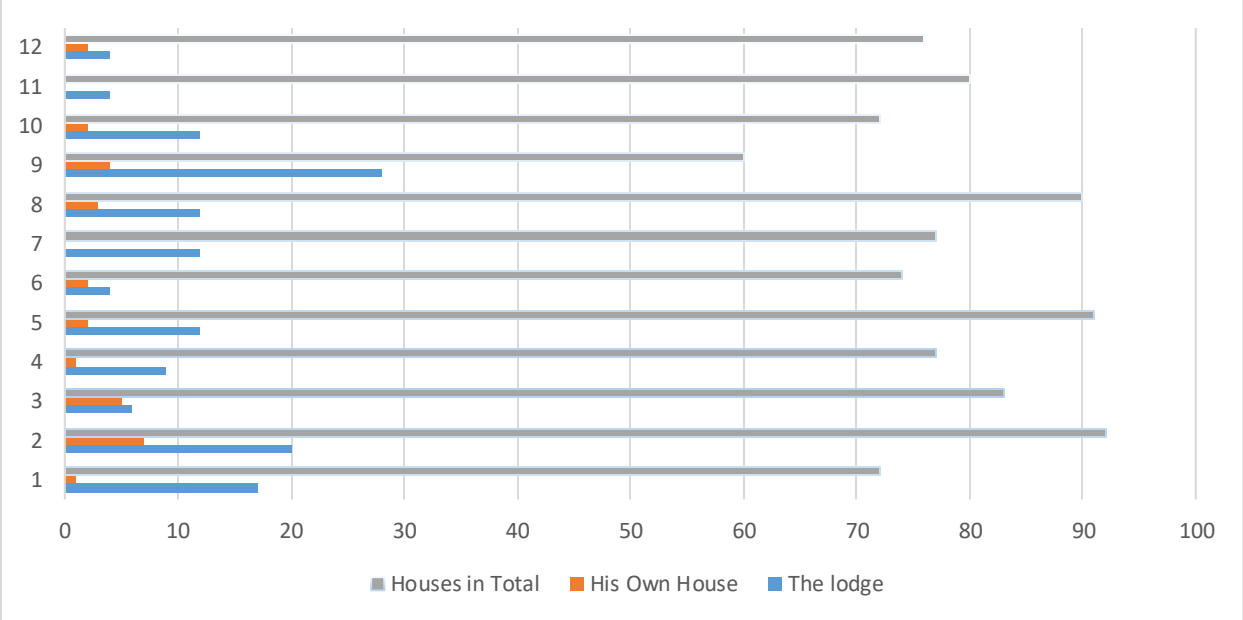
Fikret Yılmaz, discussing the limits of privacy in the sixteenth-century Ottoman society, challenges the idea of homes being open to the public. Yılmaz, after investigating numerous court registers, shows various examples of people who were careful to preserve their domestic privacy.[131] Considering all the arguments on the Ottoman home being private, open to public or divided between public and private, I will engage with these categories and try to nuance them in light of how Seyyid Hasan and his Sufi brothers used their homes and talked about them. Due to the fact that the lodge has been considered as the main venue in Sufi studies, the role of private homes in the lives of dervishes was downplayed. After analysing the role of private homes in the Sufi spatial organization, I will demonstrate that some homes were the places where distinction between the private and public was blurred, as well as the places that served as alternatives to the lodges as venues of private devotion.

Seyyid Hasan had two residential sites: his own home and his room in the lodge. However, neither served as the exclusive venues for him sleep or spend time at. He records spending his time in his home on fewer occasions than in his room in the lodge. For example, he mentions going to his own home approximately forty times in 1661 and less than twenty times in 1664. Moreover, Hasan's purpose when going to his own home was mostly to take or bring something. For instance, he took a book home and went to his sister's home, or he took money from his home to take it somewhere else.[132] Similarly, he went to his home to change into a black cloak (*sûfî*) and left.[133] What is interesting in this picture is that Hasan's home

[130] Murphey, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul," 120.
[131] Yılmaz, "XVI. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Toplumunda Mahremiyetin Sınırlarına Dair (On the Limits of Privacy in the 16th Century Ottoman Society)."
[132] *Sohbetnâme,* I, fols. 31a and 62b.
[133] Ibid., 40a.

was a temporary stop where he stayed for a very short period of time to supply his needs and continued to move around his neighbourhood during the day. Accordingly, he records only six nights at his own home in four years! The graph below also illustrates the number of occasions when Hasan records going to his own home as opposed to the lodge and other houses in one year.

Figure 4: The Frequency of Hasan's Visits to His Own Home, The Lodge and Other Homes between August 5, 1663 and July 23, 1664



Why Hasan spent such little time in his own home remains an open question. As mentioned in the first chapter, Hasan's wife passed away a few days after the diary commences. Spending time in the home may have not been attractive to a widower after the loss of his life-partner. At the same time, Hasan's household, his two sons and daughter, was still in the house and they continued to live together there. Hasan's children, similarly to Hasan, did not confine themselves to their homes but also stayed at other venues. For example, Hasan's oldest son, who followed his father's path, had a room in the lodge and his

everyday life was akin to his father's. Moreover, Hasan records some occasions when they all stayed at older sister's (*hâher-i mihter*) home.[134] In this sense, Hasan's sister's home is at the heart of my argument that a domestic and private sphere exceeded its limits for these people so much so that they were comfortable with their relatives' homes as a second home to themselves.

It is obvious that his sister's home became Hasan's preferred home, because he mentions going there many more times than to his own house. His diary shows that he was also very comfortable spending time in every corner of his sister's home, such as his nephew's room, the *harem*, the *selâmlık*, the inner yard, the edge of the pond, the main garden and his sister's husband's room. Clearly, Hasan was able to get in the private and personal parts of the house at will, such as the *harem* and his nephew's room. His activities in these spaces, many of which prove Hasan's feelings of ease, also varied. Hasan did here everything one could do in one's own home, such as sleeping, resting, shaving, eating, napping in the daytime, picking fruit and writing. Furthermore, during the four years, there are only a few occasions when Seyyid Hasan notes spending all day in one particular place, and all such days were spent in his sister's home.[135] Importantly, his sister's home was not among the places where the public and private is blurred. It was merely a private space which Hasan found comfortable. This indicates that there was no need to be a proprietor to consider a place as domestic and private: indeed, privacy could be exported to other places and could take many shapes.

Like Hasan's older sister's home, Yıldız's home stood out as a private sphere for Hasan considering his frequent visits there. Yıldız's pavilion, big and small rooms, his coffee chamber (which was room for miscellaneous activities, not just coffee drinking), his library, his garden and some other parts served Hasan for various purposes such as sewing, leisure

[134] *Sohbetnâme,* fols. I 42b, 33a.
[135] Ibid., fols. 122b, 136a, 133b.

time, chatting with others, staying the night, taking his son Muhammed to entertain him, and writing. For example, Hasan sewed things in his own home in 1661, but in the later years, he always went to Yıldız's home to sew. The diary entries reveal that in Hasan's life Yıldız's home played a very similar role to his sister's home: places which served him as private spheres where he could and frequently did go at will and pursued activities as he wished. Yet, Yıldız's home had also another crucial function in the internal spatial organization of these Sufis figures.

Yıldız's home was not only an ideal spot for Hasan to spend his day and do various things, but was also ideal for the Sufis to organize their regular nightly gatherings (*'işret*). They also did their Sufi devotions in this place, "At Yıldız, I sat next to the desk when *devrân* (a form of Sufi devotion) and *tevhîd-i şerîf* (lit. the holy Oneness; in this context, a form a prayer to be recited) are done after *vird* (a form of *zikr*, i.e., prayer including the invocation of God's name or prayers based on the verses from the Quran) and *i'tikâf* (a going into retreat for a definite time)."[136] In the year 1661, Seyyid Hasan and Yıldız discussed and arranged their regular nightly gatherings to conduct them three times at Yıldız's and four times at Ahmed Ağa's, "[b]ut Yıldız consulted me by saying 'What if we make the *'işret* one night in my place and one night at Ahmed Ağa or make it one week in my place and one week in Ahmed Ağa's place' and I decided to make it three nights at Yıldız' and four nights at Ahmed Ağa's."[137] This example underpins the fact that their Sufi devotions and rituals were exported into their homes from the lodge. During the four years covered in the diary, Hasan and his Sufi brothers had their dinner and made their *'işret* in either Yıldız's or Ahmed Ağa's home.

[136] *Sohbetnâme,* II, fol. 86b: "Yıldız'da ta'aşşi vâkı' oldu… ve i'tikâf ve vird 'akabinde devrân ile tevhîd-i şerîf olunurken kürsi dibinde oturdum."

[137] *Sohbetnâme,* I, fol. 37a: "'âyâ 'işret bir gice bizde ve bir 'Ahmed Ağa'da mı olsa' deyü fakîrden istişâre eyledikde fakir dahı şeb-i sebt üzere şeb-i sülâsa ve şeb-i hamîsi ziyâde idüp üç gice Yıldızzâde Efendi'de ve dört gice 'Ahmed Ağa'da olmağı re'y-i sevâb görmekle ba'de'l-yevm bunu üzre 'azîmet olunmuşdur." Seyyid Hasan either uses Yıldızzâde and Yıldız interchangeably or both Yıldız and Yıldızzâde live in the same house because Hasan always notes Yıldız's home for their gatherings not Yıldızzâde as he recorded in this sentence. From this date forward, they always organize their gatherings based on this decision.

In addition to these, there were also some other venues where these Sufis had their *'işret* and *sohbet*, such as İsmail Çelebi's home (in the *harem*), İbrahim Ağa's home (in the *harem*), Cerrah Yusuf Çelebi's home (in the *harem*), and homes belonging to others. Having their meetings in the private part of their homes (*harem*) is a crucial point to note. Based on these examples, it would not be misplaced to argue that even if the *harem* (where the women also resided, if there were any women in the household) belonged to the private sphere in one's home, it was not private enough to keep a Sufi from welcoming his Sufi brothers there. Naturally, when an unmarried person welcomed his Sufi brothers in his *harem*, the division between *haremlik* and *selâmlık* was absent. However, Hasan records approximately thirty people welcoming their guests in the *harem* and considering the age range of his social circle, it is improbable that all these thirty people were unmarried.

Entering freely each others' houses was not only for the night-time religious meetings (*'işret)* but also a daytime phenomenon. For example, there are many instances when Seyyid Hasan and his Sufi compatriots spent their times in various homes at the absence of the proprietor, "We spent some time in Mütevellî's home but he was not present;" "We could not find Derviş Çelebi in his home but spent some time in his room;" "We could not find Kasım Paşalı Pîrî Çelebi at his home but we, five of us, relaxed there;" "We ate and drank and made *'işret* in Hacı Siyavuş home but he was not present."[138] On one occasion, Yıldızzâde goes to the mosque to pray, but Hasan stays in his home waiting for him instead of accompanying him. All these examples attest to the level of comfort in each other's homes. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the homes of Sufi fellows were part of the private sphere for these people, while also figuring as alternatives to the lodges as places of rituals.

Taking everything into consideration, I argue that the lodges, in which daily Sufi life was experienced, were not the venues where Sufis who resided there spent most of their time,

[138] *Sohbetnâme* I fols. 81b, 62b; II fols. 1a, 26a.

sojourned and conducted their religious rituals. The everyday life of Sufi people and their religious rituals were exported into other lodges as well as houses. To conduct these rituals in different places, these Sufis lived a highly itinerant way of life. Furthermore, their level of itinerancy was not only due to their Sufi rituals, the *'işret* and *sohbet*; they were also constantly on the move, going to each other's homes and other premises where they pursued their activities as freely as if they were in their own homes. The level of comfort and ease that Sufi brethren had at each other's places raises the question of the division between the private and public. Clearly, the dichotomous division between the public and private does not serve well in the analysis of their lives. For example, some homes—that of Hasan's sister and of Yıldız—served Hasan as private spheres while some others belonged to the third group where the distinction was blurred. The analysis of the use of the lodge and private homes alone is sufficient to draw these conclusions; analysing the socio-recreational places such as shops and gardens in the next chapter, however, will further bolster the arguments above.

CHAPTER III

Sufis in Motion (II): Rethinking the Role of Socio-Recreational Places in the Daily Life of Seventeenth-Century Istanbul Dervishes

The second group of places that I will investigate are the outdoor and public places that served as venues of gathering, socialization and entertainment: gardens, coffeehouses and bazaars. I will raise the questions of first, how these public and outdoor places were used by the Sufi members recorded in the diary, and second, how the Sufi use of these places differed from rest of the Ottoman society. Answering these questions will both provide us with details about everyday life of the Sufis in terms of their socio-recreational activities, and allow us to situate Sufis in the broader picture of the leisure and entertainment activities within the city.

Ottomanists have hitherto devoted considerable attention to both places of socialization and entertainment, such as coffeehouses, gardens and wine-taverns, and to forms of sociability transpiring there.[139] However, there are still many aspects and details to be covered in terms of this topic. For instance, did a Sufi have a different and distinctive understanding of leisure and entertainment than a bureaucrat? Therefore, this chapter aims to combine the studied aspects of the topic with those that are still less well understood, such as Sufi perspectives on forms and sites of leisure and entertainment in seventeenth-century Istanbul. Each of the chapter sub-sections focusing on, respectively, coffeehouses, gardens, bazaars and baths, will explore the extent to which the existing literature can be applied to this group of Sufis.

[139] See, for instance, Nurhan Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan: Gardens and Flowers in the Ottoman Culture* (İstanbul: Aygaz, 2002); Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 2007); Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love"; Muzaffer Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 4 (1958): 149–82; Eminegül Karababa and Güliz Ger, "Early Modern Ottoman Coffeehouse Culture and the Formation of the Consumer Subject," *Journal of Consumer Research* 37, no. 5 (2011): 737–60; Ahmet Yaşar, *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar (Ottoman Coffeehouses: Public Space, Socialization, Power)* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009).

A. Coffeehouses or House Coffee?

Research on coffee and coffeehouses in Ottoman society has received considerable attention in recent decades. For example, we now know that "there were hundreds of coffeehouses in Istanbul in the sixteenth century" and that "coffee kettle becomes regular in houses in the seventeenth century."[140] The popularity of coffeehouses as places of gathering became so great that Ottoman authorities occasionally tried to ban them due to the fear that they served for seditious activities.[141] However, despite occasional bans, coffee and coffeehouses retained their prominence and coffeehouses established themselves as the main destinations to socialize and be entertained.[142] As Katip Çelebi explains, "[b]ut these strictures and prohibitions availed to nothing.... [o]ne coffee-house was opened after another, and men would gather together, with great eagerness and enthusiasm, to drink."[143] One of the main impacts of coffee was the change in social life of the city due to the rise of night life, which, in turn, led to the emergence of new means of entertainment. However, the social status of the customers of the coffeehouses or the importance of these places for various social groups have not been studied in detail.

Speaking of Sufis, some contemporary authors mention dervishes' presence in coffeehouses. For instance, the renowned sixteenth-century bureaucrat and intellectual, Gelibolulu Mustafâ Ali, describes coffeehouses as the gathering place for people looking for

[140] Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love," 254.

[141] Ahmet Yaşar, "'Külliyen Ref'ten 'İbreten Li'l-Gayr'e: Erken Modern Osmanlı'da Kahvehane Yasaklamaları," in *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar, İstanbul*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), 36–44.

[142] For a detailed review of literature on coffeehouses, see Ahmet Yaşar, "Osmanlı Şehir Mekânları: Kahvehane Literatürü (Ottoman Urban Spaces: An Evaluation of Literature on Coffeehouses)," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3/6 (2005): 237–56.

[143] Katip Çelebi, *The Balance of Truth*, 60.

pleasant conversation, like dervishes.[144] Yet, whether coffeehouses indeed served as places of gathering for Sufis is still a question, especially in light of Seyyid Hasan's and his friends' choice not to frequent them, despite their love of coffee.

Although coffee houses can be considered as a public place, recently, some studies have begun to questioning this idea. Alan Mikhail focuses on coffeehouses and argues that these places included private elements and cannot merely be considered as public. For example, "the removal of one's shoes symbolizes the crossing of a threshold between the outside world of dirt, the street and the city on the one hand and the comfortable familiarity of the home, mosque or coffee house on the other."[145] He also points out many other similarities between a home and a coffeehouse, their names at the most basic level: a coffeehouse is also called a house.[146] Nonetheless, a coffeehouse cannot prevent the entrance of 'others'. Although the customers might feel partially at home, one cannot escape meeting people from other circles considering that these places were open to all. It might have been the chief reason for Seyyid Hasan and his Sufi brethren not to go to a single coffee house over the entire course of diary.

Yet coffee was one of the basic pleasures in the lives of these Sufi people, so much so that they create rituals such as having a morning coffee together. It is recorded that they invite each other to their houses for the morning coffee or visit each other for the same reason, "*Pişkadem* told me that I am invited to Osman Agha's house for the morning coffee."[147] For Seyyid Hasan, various rooms in the lodge and different houses were ideal places to have his coffee throughout the four years. Coffee chambers (special rooms for coffee) are also places where their coffee rituals are held. Hasan records two houses having coffee chambers among

144 Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love," 265; Eminegül Karababa and Güliz Ger, "Early Modern Ottoman Coffeehouse Culture and the Formation of the Consumer Subject," *Journal of Consumer Research* 37, no. 5 (2011): 742.
145 Alan Mikhail, "The Heart's Desire: Gender, Urban Space and the Ottoman Coffee House," 149.
146 Ibid., 148–50.
147 *Sohbetnâme,* I, fol. 38b.

numerous places where he drinks coffee. Yıldız, who is one of the key figures in the intimate organization of the circle, is one of those lucky people who were able to afford a coffee chamber at which Seyyid Hasan feels at home. At the same time, these places emerge as miscellaneous-activity spaces owing to the fact that Hasan uses coffee chambers also to sleep, to rest, to shave or simply spend time in. Whether in special coffee chambers or in different parts of homes and the lodge, Sufis in the diary enjoy coffee so much that there are cases when Hasan drinks two or three cups of coffee in a row in one particular place.[148] Thus, Hasan's circle enjoy coffee at various spots, most of which were homes and cells in the lodge.

Despite their apparent love of coffee, however, neither Seyyid Hasan nor people around him ever go to a coffeehouse. They prefer to have house coffee instead of frequenting a nearby coffeehouse. Unlike Hasan and his Sufi brothers, people in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were so fond of coffeehouses, of which, numbers multiplied in a short period of time, and even in the times of prohibition owners did not close their coffeehouses. The reason why this group of Sufis do not become part of this trend might be because Seyyid Hasan and his people are already so social and itinerant (as I explained in detail in the previous chapter) that they have many destinations to go throughout the day and night; hence, there may not have free time and need to socialize at coffeehouses. Likewise, they might prefer to enjoy this 'social' beverage in a more "intimate" setting which they clearly value much. It might also be that they avoid coffeehouses out of necessity rather than a choice considering the sentiments that some segments of the society that may gather in the coffeehouses, like the folk of the bazaar, harboured against them. Yet, the lack of visibility of these Sufis in similar public places like public gardens and popular food courts (*kebâbcı*, *bozahâne*) supports the idea of refrainment from the public sphere and an inward turn toward their own clique.

[148] *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 64a.

All in all, while possibly thousands of people enjoyed the coffeehouses in the capital in a given day, Seyyid Hasan and his Sufi brothers preferred to enjoy house coffee. Instead of enjoying themselves in a public place, these Sufi figures produced their own exclusive private settings at which coffee was an effective tool of in-group socialization and solidarity, possibly out of need to protect themselves. It is not possible to make a general argument about Sufis' absence from coffeehouses based on just this group of Sufi figures while overlooking hundreds of others in different corners of the city. However, Seyyid Hasan's and his brothers' example allows us to raise this as a question.

B. A Micro Replica of the Paradise: Gardens

> [F]or the Ottomans, the garden, the köşk [pavilion] …. emphasizes the creation of a special group of intimate, trusted, beloved friends who share a common interpretation of life.[149]

Even though the eighteenth century, especially the era known as Tulip Era (1718-1730), is usually highlighted as the age of public gardens and pleasures, it is obvious that such a change in the use of public places was the result of a process of transformation going back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries rather than a drastic change. For instance, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu analyzes visual data from the sixteenth century and concludes that "In the following years, the public spaces of the capital city and royal and urban figures within its urban spaces were portrayed with increasing frequency in the texts and paintings of books produced for the Ottoman court, announcing shifts in the uses."[150] Cemal Kafadar also points to the changing public night-time habits in the sixteenth century, but emphasizes that the real impact was to be felt in the seventeenth century.[151]

[149] Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, 78.
[150] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580," *Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut* 56/1 (2014): 34.
[151] Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love," 260.

The seventeenth century was also partially involved in the phenomenon of outings in the gardens. Thanks to Evliyâ Çelebi, we know of various preferred gardens and promenades some of which stand out as the most preferred ones, such as Kağıthâne, at which "the goldsmiths of Istanbul every 'forty' years held a celebration lasting twenty days and nights."[152] He also adds that approximately five or six thousand tents were set up and people poured into this area.[153] Although Evliyâ's proclivity to exaggerate some figures is well-known, he still provides us with valuable information about the popularity and locations of promenades. In short, use of public spaces, specifically the outings in the gardens, was already a phenomenon in the social lives of the residents of Istanbul in the sixteenth but further grew in importance in the following century.

The nature of public gardens is a topic worth examining more closely. Technically, public gardens were open-to-all places and ideal spots to be enjoyed by commoners too.[154] Yet, Andrews and Kalpaklı emphasize how the public or private gardens gradually became the ideal sites of erotic activities in the early modern Ottoman world.[155] Therefore, a public space did not have to be exclusively a public venue but could contain private pockets in it as well, although given its lack of gates, it is unclear how privacy in a public garden, even if temporary, could be asserted or guarded. In this study, I will consider public gardens as public sphere owing to its availability to out-groups. Still, how can we situate Sufis in this picture?

In Islamic culture, gardens were always remembered together with the paradise, as Doğan Kuban argues.[156] Furthermore, Ibn Arabi (d. 1240) who was the most influential Sufi

[152] Suraiya Faroqhi, "What Happened in Istanbul Gardens and Beauty Spots? Evliya Çelebi on Religion, Dominitaion and Entertainment," in *Şehrâyîn: Die Welt der Osmanen, die Osmanen in der Welt. Wahrnehmungen, Begegnungen und Abgrenzungen lluminating the Ottoman World. Perceptions, Encounters and Boundaries*, ed. Yavuz Köse (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, O, 2012), 124.
[153] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi (Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi)*, eds. Robert Dankoff, Yücel Dağlı and Seyit Ali Kahraman (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2016), 238.
[154] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures;* Tülay Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression 1600-1800"; Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*.
[155] Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds*, 75.
[156] Doğan Kuban, *Türk Hayatlı Evi*, 160.

thinker for the later Sufis, focuses on the symbolic side of gardens by considering them as a reflection of the Heavenly Paradise, and he stresses travelling from one garden to another as a quest for the attainment of knowledge.[157] The question of the extent to which Ibn Arabi's interpretations of gardens shaped Sufi figures' social and recreational preferences within the Ottoman lands deserves a detailed research. In consideration of Ottoman Sufis' having a profound respect for Ibn Arabi, they may also have considered gardens as being places for contemplation. Moreover, there is evidence that gardens also attracted Sufi figures such as al-Nabulusi, a contemporary of Seyyid Hasan. As Artan indicates, "the Damascene mystic and jurist al-Nabulusi joined friends on numerous outings to gardens on the outskirts of his city during his seven-year retreat (1679-86).[158] Artan also points out to a panoramic painting depicting Sufi figures along the Bosporus.[159] There are also other miniatures depicting Sufis in gardens such as the one showing the dancing (*semâ*) Sufis in a garden in Hafiz's *Divan* as well as the one depicting a Sufi gathering in a garden in Bukhara in the sixteenth century.[160] Even if these examples cannot be representative for all, they still document at least some instances of Sufis enjoying public gardens.

In the *Sohbetnâme*, gardens emerge as one of the most frequently mentioned places. Based on Seyyid Hasan's entries, these gardens, which were of sufficient size to be toured, included flowers, fruit trees, pavilions (*köşk*), railings and ponds. The activities that transpired in these gardens varied according to the needs of Seyyid Hasan and his brothers, such as having dinner and conversation, sitting for a while, gathering, spending some free time, picking fruits, walking around or going for an outing, organizing circumcision feasts and ordinary feasts and resting. Hence, gardens were multi-functional places where these Sufis

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157 B. Deniz Çalis-Kural, *Sehrengiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman Istanbul* (Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2014), 38–39.
158 Tülay Artan, "Forms and Forums of Expression 1600-1800," 396.
159 Ibid., 395.
160 Shahzad Bashir, *Sufi Bodies: Religion and Society in Medieval Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 151,102.

could do recreational activities and socialize, as well as pursue their everyday rituals like having meals together.

There is a clear division between public gardens, at which people gather, organize festivities and socialize, and private gardens of homes. Ekrem Işın states that private gardens satisfied the recreational and pleasure needs of the upper class while the vast promenades did the same for the commoners.[161] To elaborate on this argument, Sedad Eldem explains that these private venues were sitting gardens, where there were flowers and ponds, sofas of different sizes, and tents or pavilions depending on the prosperity of the owner.[162] He also includes Sieur du Mont's note on his visit, in the seventeenth century, to the garden of a high-ranking official whose garden was around 500 square meters.[163]

Seyyid Hasan visited some gardens more frequently than others. The criteria of 'ease and comfort' again emerge in classifying these venues. Based on these criteria, Hasan's older sister's (Seyyide Hatice) garden served as a home where he spent much time. He enjoyed sleeping, sewing, resting and picking fruits in this garden. "I slept and spent some time in my older sister's garden and got some fresh air next to the pond;" "I sewed a hat in my older sister's garden."[164] As the example shows, Hasan considered Seyyide Hatice's garden (together with a few other gardens among many) an ideal spot to sleep—the ultimate individual, personal activity. The fact that he refrained from sleeping in most other gardens except Seyyide Hatice's (and a few others) shows Hasan's ease and comfort at this venue. Hasan also had a garden in his own house; yet, he mentioned it only a few times, such as when his friends walked around in his garden and he invited some people to plant roses.[165] Except for these entries, Hasan never recorded himself spending time in his own garden. This

[161] Ekrem Işın, *İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat* (Daily Life in Istanbul), (İstanbul: İletişim, 1995), 48.
[162] Sedad H. Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (Turkish Gardens), (İstanbul: Milli eğitim Basımevi, 1976), 291,292.
[163] Ibid., 292.
[164] *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 126b.
[165] *Sohbetnâme* II fols. 171b and 143b.

bolsters the argument that Hasan felt "at home" in many different places, much more so than in his own house, and that his "private sphere" was woven from the places with which he felt particular emotional and physical bond.

In addition to individual recreational activities and daily routines, the gardens in the diary were ideal spots for social gathering and religious rituals of Sufis. For example, "I decided to go to the gathering organized by Rumhî Ahmed Ağa, who wanted to give a banquet for the Sufi brothers (*yârân,* in Aziz Efendi Bağçesi in Ağa Çayırı… But Derviş Çelebi recited prayers (*zemzeme*) for a while and did not stay for the feast."[166] In this example, we see a Sufi religious gathering held in a garden not in the lodge. Hasan records more examples of their Sufi gatherings in gardens, such as "I found the gathered Sufi brothers in ʿAzîz Efendi Bağçesi and promenaded (*seyr ü teferrüc*)."[167] Therefore, gardens emerge as ideal places for continuing daily routines and socio-recreational activities as well as conducting Sufi rituals.

Hasan's choices of terms and phrases when talking about these gardens is a crucial point to emphasize. He mostly used *teferrüc* (outing) and sometimes *zevk u safâ* (pleasure and enjoyment) showing that he enjoyed to be in these places. Considering that Hasan generally does not express his emotions explicitly except on a few occasions, it is important that one of those is a moment when he discloses his feeling of pleasure (*zevk u safâ*) for being in the gardens. Yet, although gardens satisfied the recreational and entertainment needs of people mentioned in the diary more than many other sites, most of these gardens were not vast public gardens but private ones, belonging to Hasan's brothers and acquaintances.[168]

There are only a few mentions in the diary of going to the public gardens: Filorya Garden, a garden in the Süleyman Promenade and Davud Paşa Garden are the only examples.

[166] *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 82b.
[167] *Sohbetnâme* II, fol. 94b.
[168] See appendix C for the list of gardens Hasan recorded.

For instance, on the 23th of *Şevval* in 1072 (11th of June, 1662), "We went to open park (*sahrâ*) and entered Sabık Mütevelli Ağa's tent. Although we could not find Mütevelli Ağa, one of his servants called Mahmud served food and coffee. We rested and spent some time. While they [*zâkirbaşı* and *pişkadem*] had fun, I rested and slept."[169] Except for these occasions when they went to a public garden, Seyyid Hasan and his brothers spent their time only in private gardens. This situation, again, might have stemmed from a great amount of alternative gardens or because of their desire to protect their in-group ties. Moreover, it is clear that even in the times when it was fashionable to go to a public garden, they confined themselves to their own intimate and exclusive circle. Staying within the private gardens instead of enjoying vast promenades was likely a matter of preference if not security for Seyyid Hasan and his brothers in such an insecure time.

Considering the division between public and private gardens, there is also one last point to underline. As it was stated, one of the functions of gardens were hosting feasts. Yet, some peoples' gardens were not large enough to serve as venues for such crowded occasions (at one point, Seyyid Hasan records around fifty people in one of these feasts), and they could solve their problem by organizing their feast in somebody else's gardens. For example, in one of the entries, Koyun Emini organizes a feast (*yılı cemiyeti*) for his deceased son and daughter, while Mehmed Çelebi organizes a circumcision feast for his son in the same garden, in Koyun Emini Bağçesi.[170] In another entry, Sıçanzade Mehmet Çelebi organizes a circumcision feast for his son again in Koyun Emini Bağçesi.[171] From these entries, we see that some of the private gardens were not closed for the society. This shows that a very private property could turn into a semi-private venue on particular occasions. Nevertheless, on

[169] "üçümüz sahrâya hürûc ve Sâbık Mütevellî Ahmed Ağa'nın çadırına vülûc ve kendi bulunmayup lâkin hüddâmdan Mahmud nâm kimse iltifât-ı tamm ve tenâvül-i kahve ve meks ü ârâm ve anlar sahrâda cilve itdiktikleri esnâda fakîr istirâhat ve menâm" *Sohbetnâme* I, fols. 138b-139a.

[170] The private garden of the official who is in charge of procuring the meat to the army.

[171] *Sohbetnâme* I fol. 95b.

majority of occasions recorded in the diary, gardens were either entirely off limits to the out-group or provided a shared privacy with other Sufi compatriots, thus keeping the visibility of our Sufis in the general cityscape to the minimum.

C. Bazaars: Places to Earn Livelihood

Bazaars were not only the venues for buying and selling but also the main engines of mobility and dynamism within the city. "In addition to their core functions of exchange, markets were/are also spheres of sociability, of gossip and public opinion, of guild organisation and religious fraternities" as Zubaida puts it.[172] Considering the centrality of Istanbul as a commercial zone, its bazaars (markets) developed throughout centuries and increased in number. Concurrently to the *Sohbetnâme,* Istanbul gained three new trading areas: The Valide Han with its 210 rooms (1651), today's Spice Bazaar (1663) and the Vezir Han[173] which boosted the dynamism in Istanbul.

The bazaars of Istanbul were often covered and gated entities, also called *han* in Ottoman Turkish. These bazaars varied in capacity and size as well as in the amount of rooms they included. Due to the fact that the bazaars were gated, Zubaida questions whether they can be considered public spaces. As he states, "in a sense, the quarter and the market were seen as extension of a "private", almost domestic space."[174] Conversely, Rhoads Murphey considers shops as public space, because he points out that houses were not removed from the public due to their location next to a family's place of business.[175] However, bazaars cannot be considered private spaces only because they are covered and gated just like houses cannot be considered as open to public only because of their close location to the business place. The

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[172] Sami Zubaida, "The Public and Private in Middle Eastern History and Society," 17.
[173] Yaşar, "İstanbul'da Sosyalleşme Mekanları," 350.
[174] Zubaida, "The Public and Private in Middle Eastern History and Society," 17.
[175] Murphey, "Communal Living in Ottoman Istanbul: Searching for the Foundations of an Urban Tradition," 120.

main determinant factor might be the criterion of who was permitted to get in these places and who was not. Bazaars were open to public even if they were gated, and hence, they should be put under the category of public places.

It should also be noted that there were some occasions when a public place was turned into a private sphere. For some shops Hasan visited a similar picture appears as in his visits to homes. In some of these shops, Hasan's level of comfort was quite high, so much so that he was comfortable enough to take a nap in the daytime. Among these, his nephew's shop and Kazancı Ali Çelebi's shop were the ones at which he felt most comfortable to sleep and rest ("I slept and rested at Kazancı Ali Çelebi's shop;" "And I ate, slept and ate fruit").[176] In others, apparently, Hasan was comfortable enough to go and sit for a while as he wishes, but not to rest or sleep. Moreover, there are some occasions in the diary when Seyyid Hasan records that he spent a night time in a shop. As it was explained previously, Hasan divided a day into two parts, the daytime and night when he always records where they had dinner and meeting (*'işret*). The number of occasions when there is an exception to this pattern are quite few, often in order to spend a night in the shop (not necessarily to sleep): "Saturday Night: I rested in the herbal shop and then Halil Çelebi and I went to Beşlizâde's shop and sat."[177] In brief, the division between the public and private noted for the coffee shops and gardens is also blurred in the case of shops.

Various bazaars and shops were very frequently recorded sites in the diary. Seyyid Hasan spends much time in various bazaars (Samatiyye Bazaar, which was in the vicinity of his neighbourhood, was the main bazaar he used to go to, and this point enforces the idea that Hasan was mostly moving within the confines of his own neighbourhood) and shops where he just sits and chats with friends, eats and drinks, schedules meetings with others, takes his son to entertain him, and even naps. He records around twenty-five different shops where he

[176] *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 147b; II, fol. 107a.
[177] *Sohbetnâme*, II, fol. 190a.

engages in these actions. In general, he records very few occasions when he goes to these places to buy something. In most cases, he visits only to see his brothers and to spend time with them. Seyyid Hasan's chief aim of going to the bazaar, thus, appears to be social rather than economic.

As already mentioned in the first chapter, Hasan notes the names of the owners of shops such as "Hüseyin Çelebi's shop" and "Hasan Paşa's shop," instead of noting that they are a bakery, a butcher shop or a barbershop. By giving importance to the person rather than the main function of the shops, Hasan demonstrates that his brothers, his yârân, were what made a place worthy of mention or visit.

Barber shops, like coffeehouses, are also traditionally considered important places of socialization. However, in Seyyid Hasan's case, there is an interesting twist. He prefers to call the barber to the houses of others such as Ağazade, Yıldız and to the lodge. His own room as well as others' rooms in the lodge, and different corners of the bath serve as ideal places for a shave. In other words, he does not prefer to go to a barbershop for the purposes of shaving, but he still seems to consider shaving an important aspect of socialization. One of his brothers, Süvari, whom Hasan visits quite often, most probably had a barbershop. Seyyid Hasan's frequent visits to Süvari's place were not for the purpose of grooming; instead, he goes there only for socio-recreational reasons. He sits, has food and meet others in Süvari's barbershop, getting a shave on only few occasions. Other than these instances, Süvari goes to the lodge or to the bath to shave Hasan. Seyyid Hasan, thus once again, provides a slightly different perspective on the uses of the public places believed to be ideal destinations for socialization. His choice of inviting barbers to particular venues instead of going to barbershops also supports the idea that Sufis carved their own particular spaces within the larger public and possibly maintained a low level of visibility whenever possible.

D. Alternative Means of Entertainment and the Baths

Putting aside the places of socialization and recreation, emergence of new forms of entertainment was one of the characteristics of the age when the *Sohbetnâme* was written. Shadow plays, *meddâh* and *orta oyunu* became increasingly common means of entertainment and nocturnal activities in the seventeenth century.[178] Neither Seyyid Hasan nor his brothers ever join such entertainment activities during the four years recorded in his diary. The reason behind their retreat from such activities may have been related to their choice to stay within the borders of their own socio-spatial network and not to be so visible due to the threat against them. It is also possible that they considered such entertainment activities as wasting time or distancing oneself from the true paths leading to the Divine.

As alternative to these activities, Seyyid Hasan and his brothers like swimming and looking at the sea ("we watched the sea because of the wind-blowing").[179] Their favourite swimming spots were in Narlı, Yenikapı and Zeytinburnu, which are all located near Hasan's neighbourhood. Interestingly enough, they also enjoy watching the construction of new buildings ("we watched the working labourer and architects;" "I took Muhammed [his youngest son] to the construction and showed him the camels;" "we watched the demolishing of the pavilion").[180] Besides these, they did not have many other forms of entertainment, or at least not stated in the diary.

Baths have also been considered as one of the main venues for socialization in scholarship.[181] Seyyid Hasan records a few different baths, such as Eski Nişancı Hamamı, Ağa Hamamı, Yedikale Hamamı and Ibrahim Paşa Hamamı, all of which were close to his

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[178] Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love."

[179] *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 57b-58a.

[180] *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 41a; II, fols. 168b and 248a.

[181] Ahmet Yaşar, "İstanbul Hamamları: 1731-1766 (Baths of Istanbul: 1731-1766)," in *Osmanlı İstanbulu II* edited by Feridun Emecen, Ali Akyıldız and Emrah Safa Gürkan. (Istanbul: Istanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2014), 553–85.

own neighbourhood. Although Hasan records various baths, he usually frequented İbrahim Paşa Hamamı and the bath within the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex. Therefore, considering Hasan's habit of socializing in the baths, he spends his time within his own circle in standard baths. Ultimately, baths in Hasan's life serve as places of intimate sociability while satisfying the needs of hygiene.

In conclusion, conducting a spatial analysis on the socio-recreational places recorded in the diary consolidates my previous arguments on the social life of this group of Sufis. The number and frequency of gardens and shops at which these Sufis in the diary felt high level of comfort demonstrate their preference for neighbourhood venues frequented by the members of the in-group and preferably closed to outer-group. Judging from their level of comfort, the distinction between "public" and "private" sphere was blurred in the lives of these people and we observe a tendency to produce their own private and in-group places even within the larger public space, or to withdraw from the public altogether by transferring activities associated with fashionable forms of socialization (coffee drinking, promenading, shaving) to the premises attended solely by members of the in-group. It is a very important question to what extent this kind of socio-spatial segregation can be explained by the anti-Sufi sentiments of the time (and thus the need of these Sufis to stay out of unfamiliar urban venues for safety purposes).

Conclusion

A diary kept between the years 1661-1665 by a Halveti-Sünbüli dervish, Seyyid Hasan, is the main source for this case study on the role and conceptualization of space in the daily life and social relations of the seventeenth-century Sufis in Istanbul. Viewing space as an indicator of daily life's features, the spatial analysis has been chosen as the main method in this study. By asking what aspects of the daily life of the Sufis are revealed through the usage of space, the present thesis has yielded telling results.

This diary, the *Sohbetnâme,* records mostly personal and private places such as homes, lodges, shops and private gardens, and very exceptionally public places like mosques. The number of places recorded in the diary and the frequency of Hasan's and his compatriots' visits to these venues were very high. This meant that the itinerant life style of the Sufis mentioned in the *Sohbetnâme* is quite apparent. Moreover, owing to the high level of itinerancy in the lives of these Sufi people, Sufi lodges were not the focal points in their daily life but merely one of the nodes in the cluster of venues. Instead of conducting their religious rituals and organizing their social gatherings in the lodge, Sufis of the *Sohbetnâme* created their own private areas to practice transpire their social and religious rituals. Thus, they were exporting the Sufi rituals and brotherhood network into various locations rather than confining themselves only to the lodge.

The exportation of socio-religious activities to numerous private venues, such as homes—in particular *haremlik* (inner and private part of a home)—paved the way to question the limits between the private and public sphere in the lives of these Sufis. Accordingly, the secondary literature has already shown that the clear-cut division between the public and private spheres does not work for the early modern Ottomans.[182] The *Sohbetnâme* also reveals

[182] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*.

the inadequacy of the dichotomy between the public vs. private spheres due to the fact that there are many occasions in the diary when both private and public venues could be turned into their opposite or an intermediate category based on the criteria of 'ease' and 'comfort' of the protagonists in the *Sohbetnâme*.

All in all, the thesis argues that the daily life of Sufis in the *Sohbetnâme*, who lived quite an itinerant life, was not structured by and around the lodge. Rather, the everyday life routines of these Sufis—mostly the social gatherings, visits, dinner parties and rarely recorded religious rituals—were not tekke-centred but group-centred. In other words, instead of staying within the limits of the tekke with anyone who is either directly or indirectly connected with the lodge, they moved wherever their own intimate clique was. Hence they produced their own private spheres in diverse areas, like homes, gardens and shops, where the distinction between the public and private sphere as well as typical functions associated with particular spaces, were blurred according to their needs, ease and comfort (eating or sleeping in a shop; sleeping in a garden; shaving in the coffee chamber; etc.).

After providing background information about the socio-religious dynamics in seventeenth-century Istanbul in the first chapter, I proceeded to the aforementioned findings in the second chapter of the thesis, which was on congregational and residential places, the lodges and homes. The third chapter, on socio-recreational places, which included gardens, shops, and baths, argued for the conclusions that I reached in the first chapter but from a different aspect of the daily lives of these Sufis. Due to the fact that the diary was written at a time when excursions into and entertainment in public gardens, bazaars, barber shops and coffee houses became a norms, I wanted to situate Sufis from the *Sohbetnâme* in this context.[183] Yet, most of the places Hasan noted were their private and secure zones, such as lodges, homes, gardens of houses and their shops as opposed to the vast promenades, barber

[183] Boyar and Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*, 245–48.

shops and coffee houses. As a result, I showed that these Sufis were either refraining from the public places because of the Kadızadeli Movement, which attacked Sufi religious practices and created a sense of insecurity in public spaces, or they simply did not want the pleasure of these public places given their already rich and colourful social life.

The thesis sought to contribute to the field of Sufi studies by reconsidering some common places in the secondary literature. Although the existing literature postulates two groups of Sufis, wandering and settled dervishes, the *Sohbetnâme* demonstrates that such a clear-cut division also has to be rethought, given the extent to which supposedly settled Sufis in the diary are actually itinerant, albeit largely within their own neighbourhood and social circle. Secondly, I indicate that the lodge was not the focal point in the daily life organization of these Sufis in contrast to much of the literature that explains Sufism mainly with reference to the lodge as both the institutional and spatial focus of Sufi life. Lastly, the thesis contributed to the literature that argues for the existence of an in-between zone, between the public and private spheres, for the early modern Ottomans. Ultimately, these findings will hopefully not only contribute to the nascent research on social and daily life of Sufis, but also open a new line of inquiry into the role of lodges and itinerancy of dervishes.

The thesis focused only on one group of people recorded in the diary owing to the scope of the study. Therefore, the results yielded in this study cannot be representative of all the Sufis in seventeenth-century Istanbul. Still, the thesis raises the possibility that other groups of Sufis shared a similar routine in their socio-spatial organization of daily lives.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: The Fascimile of First Page of the *Sohbetnâme* II

Appendix B: The Fascimile of the *Sohbetnâme* II fols. 87 a-87 b.

Appendix C: List of Gardens Seyyid Hasan Recorded Over the Course of the The *Sohbetnâme*

Bağcı Kurd Beşe'nin Obası	Ağazade Garden	Filorya Garden
Sahra	Sahrac Garden	Belkıs Hoca Garden
Koyun Emini Garden	İmam Efendi Garden	Davud Paşa Garden
Aziz Efendi Garden	Müezzin Ahmed Çelebi Garden	A Garden in Soğanlı Köy
Merhum Hüseyin Efendi Garden in Süleyman Sahrası	Halıcızade Garden	A Garden Next to Merkez Efendi
Şeyhzade Garden	Bazirgan Şeyhi Oğlu Garden	Abdullâh Efendi Garden
Bazirganzade Garden	Yıldız Garden	Kefevî Mehmed Ağa Garden
Haher-i Mihter Garden	Hücre Garden	Aziz Efendi Garden in Ağa Çayırı
Ahmed Çelebi Garden	Cinci Emir Çelebi Garden	Lalezar Garden
Kenan Paşa Garden	Seyyid Hasan's Garden	Küpeli Garden
Ta'amhâne Garden	Müfti Garden	Amm Efendi Garden
Hacı Alilerin Garden	Mahmud Efendi Garden	Baba Ali Dede Garden
Davud Paşazade-i Kihter's Garden	Mirza Çelebi Garden	

Appendix D: List of Shops Seyyid Hasan Mentioned in the *Sohbetnâme*

Haherzade Shop	Hasan Paşa Shop
Kayın Çelebi Shop	Neccar Hacı Shop
Sahhaf Muhammed Efendi Shop	Küçük Enişte's Shop
Süleyman Çelebi Shop	Haffaf Ahmed Çelebi Shop
Haydarzade Shop	Neccar Muhammed Çelebi Shop
Süvari Shop	Ahmed Ağa Shop
Abdülbaki Dede Shop	Börkcü Veli Shop
Berber Süleyman Shop	Şeyh Hasan Efendi Damadı Shop
Kazancı Hüseyin Paşa Shop	Kebabcı Shop
Muhammed Çelebi Shop	Yorgancılar Kethüdası Shop
Kazancılar'dan Hüseyin Çelebi Shop	Serrac Ahmed Çelebi
Bey Shop	Kazancı Ali Çelebi Shop
Yazıcı Shop	Ağdacı Shop
Tabib Ömer Efendi Oğlu Shop	Akdar Shop

Appendix E: List of Lodges Seyyid Hasan Noted in the *Sohbetnâme*

Nizamzade Lodge	Sivasi Efendi Lodge
Balat Lodge	Aksaray Lodge
Hacı Evhad Lodge	Hüsam Efendi Lodge
Şah Sultan Lodge	Mimar Lodge
Hasan Efendi Lodge	Himmet Efendi Lodge
Muhammed Ağa Lodge	Hacı Ahmet Lodge
Pazar Lodge	Şeyh Sinan Efendi Lodge
Emir Lodge	Yeni Nişancı Lodge
Hulvi Lodge	Yahya Çelebi Lodge
Şaban Efendi Lodge	Etyemez Lodge