WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DERVISH LODGES: KOCA MUSTAFA PASHA, MERKEZ EFENDİ AND THE ŞAH SULTAN COMPLEXES

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WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DERVISH LODGES: KOCA MUSTAFA PASHA, MERKEZ EFENDİ AND THE ŞAH SULTAN COMPLEXES

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

Women's Participation in Dervish Lodges: Koca Mustafa Pasha, Merkez Efendi and the Şah Sultan Complexes

This thesis examines women's participation in dervish lodges in the late fifteenth and the first half of sixteenth centuries. For the issue, three mosque complexes of Ottoman Constantinople were chosen to be investigated: Koca Mustafa Pasha, Merkez Efendi and the Şah Sultan. Three dervish lodges are all representatives of Sünbüliye, a sub-branch of the Halvetiye order, have a significant place in the history of early modern Ottoman realm. So, the building projects are studied with reference to political, social, religious and urban contexts of their times. By looking at adventure of the Halvetiye in the after conquest period of Istanbul, three patrons and architectural plans of dervish lodges are analyzed. In addition, the ways of patronage, restoration projects and additional waqfs of women are evaluated as kinds of attempt to be visible, to be exist in history. This thesis tries to hear the voice of both elite and urban women who connected themselves to these dervish lodges regarding their class and status dimension. Women as relatively active figures of Sufism, their methods of representation, aims, the limitations that they came across and the meaning of all these are main points of this thesis.

ÖZET

Kadınların Tekkelere Katılımı: Koca Mustafa Paşa, Merkez Efendi ve Şah Sultan Külliyeleri

Bu tez on beşinci yüzyıl sonu ve on altıncı yüzyılın ilk yarısında kadınların tekkelere katılımını incelemektedir. Konu için Osmanlı İstanbul'unun üç külliyesi araştırılmak üzere seçilmiştir: Koca Mustafa Paşa, Merkez Efendi ve Şah Sultan Külliyeleri. Üçü de Halvetiye'nin Sünbüliye alt kolunun temsilcileri olan bu tekkeler erken modern Osmanlı dünyasında önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bu nedenle, bina projeleri dönemlerinin siyasi, dini, sosyal ve kentsel bağlamlarına referans ile çalışılmaktadır. Halvetiye'nin fetih sonrası İstanbul dönemi macerasına bakarak, üç hami ve üç tekkenin mimari planı analiz edilmektedir. Ayrıca, kadınların patronaj yöntemleri, restorasyon projeleri ve ek vakıflar tarihte görünür ve var olma teşebbüsleri olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Bu tez belirtilen tekkelerle ilişki kuran hem elit hem de şehirli kadınların, sınıf ve statü boyutlarını dikkate alarak, seslerini duymaya çalışmaktadır. Sufizmin görece aktif figürleri olarak kadınlar, onların temsil metodları, karşılaştıkları sınırlamalar, amaçları ve bütün bunların anlamı bu tezin temel noktalarıdır.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this thesis is to examine a subject that is relatively little studied in the studies on Ottoman Empire: women's participation in dervish lodges. I will focus on the early modern Ottoman Empire and investigate how women were involved in Sufism and in what ways they represented themselves within institutions and settings of Sufi Islam. To explore this topic, I choose three mosque-lodge complexes founded in the late-fifteenth and early sixteenth century Istanbul: Koca Mustafa Pasha, Merkez Efendi and the Şah Sultan, which all have an attached Halveti-Sünbüli convent and are also connected to each other through Sufi narratives. Examining both elite and urban women with reference to patronage and waqf endowments respectively and looking at the particularly gendered character of the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex, I hope to make a contribution to the understanding of women's role in dervish lodges in the early modern Ottoman realm.

In 1992, Cemal Kafadar drew attention to the issue of gender in Sufi studies, and noted that a study of Sufism's relationship with power is required, which also comprises the issue of authority and domination.[1] He noted that the subject is almost untouched. From that day to this, research about the issue has not covered sufficient ground. The information about connections that dervish lodges had with their environments, the daily relationship between the shaykh and the follower and within the followers, the participation of women in Sufi rituals, women's positions as devotees, women's links with the orders and reflections of all these matters on the social, cultural and economic life, have all remained questions that have not been

[1] Kafadar, "New Visibilty of Sufism," 309.

sufficiently answered yet. Historical sources often only give glimpses about these topics; on the other hand, those little clues enable researchers to find pieces of a puzzle that will hopefully give a sense of early modern Ottoman women's religious practices.

Furthermore, as John Curry underlines the sources about religious figures in the Ottoman world were often written by the prominent members of Sufi establishments or by members of elite classes, and generally remained incapable of illuminating religious experiences of commoners.[2] In this thesis, I will assume commoner women's relatively active participation in Sufi orders. Yet, the reason why we cannot make this assumption without any hesitation is the difficulty posed by women's relative invisibility. It is a fact that women of Islamic societies were less visible and less verbal compared to their male counterparts.[3] But, they were not invisible.

In order to say something about this little studied area, I will try to look both at elite and urban women's relations with the Sufi orders and their role and participation in dervish lodges in early modern Istanbul. The word participation should be explained at this point. It concerns the ways of patronage, aids, restoration projects, additional waqfs etc., in other words, any kind of attempt to be part of the life of an order or a particular lodge and to be visible and to be exist in history through these acts. What I'm looking for is the methods that women have used to represent themselves to the public via dervish lodges. The class and rank dimension in terms of their elite and commoner positions will be also considered.

[2] Curry, "Hagiography As A Source of Women's History," 50.

[3] Helminski, "Women of Sufism," XX.

In terms of the time span, I'm interested in the period following the conquest of Constantinople, specifically the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The location of chosen dervish lodges is the Ottoman capital, as after Mehmed II's (d. 1481) conquest of the city that resulted in the fall of Byzantine Empire, the Sultan wanted to make the Ottoman Empire a world empire with Constantinople as its capital. In order to achieve this goal, many regulations, alterations, additions, destructions and also some preservation were taken into consideration. These also included initiatives for the creation of myths and legends that would be a part of city's memory. This could be seen as the invention of tradition for the reconstruction and repopulation of the city. In other words, the period following the conquest corresponds to a change in politics, social life and culture representing an era of dynamism, transformation, and also the appearance of new and influential actors: the new ruling elite. In such an atmosphere of change, the Sufi orders had a significant place, a phenomenon some aspects of which still wait to be studied in depth. In addition, the Islamic identity of Ottoman Empire, that became more visible in the sixteenth century, absorbed the Byzantine character of the city. Among the actors of this process in political stage were the Sufi orders, and especially Halvetis.[4]

Yürekli points out the institutionalization of the Sufi networks as tariqas and their politicization in the early modern period, which was marked with the competition between states. She notes that the tariqas searched for places within the empires where they would be dominant, and they also competed within themselves. According to her, for each empire of the early modern Islamicate world, the conditions and opportunities differed and how hagiographies corresponded to

[4] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 212.

architectural patronage varied.[5] At this point, paying attention to the particularities of such an atmosphere also requires an extra attention to be paid to the position and to the distinctiveness of the Halvetiye order. This particular Sufi path was apparently supported by the state although the Halvetiye's relationship with the Ottoman state also experienced downs.

Hearing the voice of women in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is not easy, but is not impossible either. So, with the idea of writing history from below, I will try to hear them, try to understand what they did within Sufi networks, what kind of relations they had with the Sufi orders, in what ways their roles differed when compared to men, to what extent royal and ordinary women could represent themselves in society, how gender effected their manners of self-representation. Particularly I'm interested in what their projects of architectural patronage or their waqf endowments tell us about their aims, feelings, or the state's and the society's positions about the issue.

With such questions in mind, I focus on three mosque-lodge complexes: Koca Mustafa Pasha, Merkez Efendi and lastly Şah Sultan, because they are connected in some terms: all three are the dervish lodges of the same sub-branch of the Halvetiye, Sünbüliye. In addition, not only chronologically, these three were founded as mosques within a narrow time span, but also in terms of the shaykhs of the Sünbüliye they have a special connection. While the head shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge was Sünbül Sinan (d. 1529), at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Merkez Efendi (d. 1552), who would become the shaykh of his own complex later, was a disciple of him. In addition to this, Şah Sultan (d. 1572) commissioned her complex in Eyüp for Merkez Efendi, after restoring and

[5] Yürekli, "Writing Down the Feats," 95-96.

expanding the complex founded by this sheikh in Yenikapı. Apart from these, Koca Mustafa Pasha and Merkez Efendi complexes have been among the most significant and religiously attractive places of Istanbul due to the legends, stories, myths that are associated them and their founders and users. Şah Sultan's complex is also a fundamental case to study in terms of a princess' devotion to a shaykh. The significance of the Sufi patronage of the princess is twofold. It highlights her agency in representing the imperial family in the public space, thus her acts convey a royal message. On the other hand, her patronage of Sufism had an individual aspect, as it was intimately linked to a master-disciple relationship.

There are a number of studies concerned with one of the mosque complexes that this thesis focuses on, the individual shaykhs, or the Halveti order at large. However none of them has an emphasis on the gender dimension of the foundations and workings of the dervish lodges, which were connected to each other through narratives and through a range of patronage mechanisms.

1.1 Women and sufism

During the eighth and tenth centuries, Sufism emerged from the practice of *zühd* (renunciatory modes of piety) and especially from mid-ninth century onwards it gained a special place in its birth location, Baghdad. Later, it spread to lower Iraq, Western Iran, Central Asia, Khurasan and Transoxania in many different forms and types.[6] The doctrine of Sufism, which places the love of God to the center, and includes many aspects such as renunciation, the spiritual stages to reach God, the training of the soul, the union with God, and the pursuit of a true understanding for

[6] Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 56-73.

the divine marks an inward turn.[7] This mystical dimension of Islam is open to every Muslim believer who chooses such an ascetic path for her/his life. In other words, unlike, for example areas of legalistic or scholarly practice, there is no restriction based on sexes, and that makes the participation of women in Sufism possible as devotees and even *veli*s (friends of God).[8]

Furthermore, Margaret Smith claims there was a complete equality between the sexes among the friends of God and Sufism gave great opportunity to women because thanks to it women could achieve the sainthood.[9] She supports her claim with several historical sources such as Feridüddin Attar's (d. 1221) statement that "the Sufis have no separate existence in the Unity of God" and the Prophet Muhammad saying "It is not the outward form that matters, but the inner purpose of the heart". Then, she quotes a conversation from *Nefahatü'l Üns* written by Abdurrahman Cami (d. 1492) and calls attention to the use of a non-sex-specified word, soul, to give the number of Abdals.[10] Someone was asked "How many are the Abdal?" and he answered "Forty souls". Then, the conversation continued with the question "Why did we not say forty men?" and he replied: "There have been women among them."[11] This egalitarian approach in Sufism makes it more proper for active participation of women. Therefore, women, like men, were involved in Sufism as early as the very first centuries of its emergence.[12]

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[7] Ibid., 2.

[8] For a hagiographical narrative of a woman *veli*, Fatıma-i Menemeniyye, see Hamarat, *Bayramiye Tarikatı Menakıbı*.

[9] Smith, *Rabi'a the Mystic*, 1.

[10] Ibid., 4-5.

[11] Cami, *Nefahatü'l Üns*, 805.

[12] Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 426.

Various biographies of Muslim saints included women, and there is a very famous figure among the earliest ones, Rabia al-Adawiyya (d. 801). Known as the first women mystic, who chose the life of an ascetic, she represents the early involvement of women in Sufism.[13] There is no treatise about her and she did not author any works, but she is included in later biographical accounts with some sayings, narratives and poems that are credited to her.[14] She became a symbol and also a guide for those who wanted to be part of mystical life. In the *vakfiye*s (endowment deeds) of women, frequent comparisons of waqf founders with Rabia al-Adawiyya show both her popularity and the significance that is attached to her. It is narrated that she had disciples and also men and women associates who came for her counsel and teaching.[15] Her contribution to the development of Sufism is often noted. For sure, Rabia al-Adawiyya opened a way to women who had the same feelings about the mystical dimension of Islam. Fatima of Nishapur (d. 849), a Sufi woman who lived during the ninth century, is also known for her close relationship with Bayezid Bistami (d. 874) and discussion about mystical issues with him.[16]

Apart from them, we also know that there were many female participants in the lives of dervish lodges via their economic support or their being disciples of Sufi masters.[17] The convents that served women are known from the twelfth century

[13] Ibid., 426.

[14] The first source for the biography of Rabiatü'l Adeviye is very late written by Feridüddin Attar who lived four hundred years after her. Apparently, the information about her mostly legendary but still they are significant to give some idea about her character. Smith, *Rabi'a the Mystic*, 4-5. Helms, "Rabi'ah as Mystic," 1.

[15] Smith, *Rabi'a the Mystic*, 13.

[16] Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 427.

[17] Schimmel, *My Soul is a Women,* 47-48.

onwards in the cities of Baghdad, Mecca, Medina and Cairo.[18] They were used for religious devotions and also provided shelter to women who were in need, such as widows and those with no relatives.[19]

Many Sufi women are recorded in biographical dictionaries through the centuries and Ruth Roded has studied this issue in detail. She examined thirty-eight biographical dictionaries and analyzed the percentage of entries on women in these sources. The results vary from 0% to 23%.[20] Roded reached the conclusion that Sufism allowed women to display their inwardness. At the same time, the writers of biographical collections mention these women saints as examples among men. They gained this status with the holiness of their lives, their asceticism and union with God, so it should be noted that the Sufi path enabled women to break the bounds of invisibility, and even to reach the status of saint, like men.[21]

Moreover, Roded focuses on the transmission of knowledge in her book and finds that most of Sufi women included in these biographies are the companions of the prophet Muhammad so the entries are mostly from earlier periods of Islam. Although the biographical collections narrate the accounts of early Sufi women as idealized figures, there are also some other women who are mentioned from the eleventh century on, such as Aisha of Andalus (d. 1305), who had a room above a mosque and spent twenty years by praying and fasting there.[22] Later, in the fourteenth century, Şemseddin Ahmed Eflaki (d. 1360) wrote a biographical work on

[18] Ibid., 48-49. For a brief information about these convents see Smith, *Rabi'a the Mystic*, 171-176.

[19] Roded, *Women In Islamic Biographical Collections*, 106.

[20] Actually, Roded went beyond a quantitative analysis and investigates the reasons of increases and decreases in the number of entries in different times.

[21] Roded, *Women In Islamic Biographical Collections*, 109.

[22] Ibid., 107.

the Mevlevi order and mentioned the granddaughters of Celaleddin Rumi (d. 1273) as saints who had many female disciples.[23] Lastly, Shah Jahan's daughter Jahanara Begum (d.1681), who was attached to the order of the Kadiriye, should also be cited here as a famous example from the seventeenth century. After being trained by the saint Molla Shah, she became a mystic and was highly praised by her shaykh for the degree of her knowledge of Sufism.[24]

Apart from the issue of sainthood, women's roles as gleaned from the biographical collections of saints are diverse. Women appeared as mothers, wives and daughters, and also they could be part of genealogies of the Sufi orders. In terms of beneficiary acts, women are mentioned among the patrons of Sufi institutions and donators of them.

While there are also some negative ideas about women in Sufi thought and practices, in the early years of Islam Sufism provided some gender-egalitarian spaces in which mystic women followed the path of piety.[25] So, as Annemarie Schimmel states, using the word ambivalent for the attitude of Sufism toward women is more appropriate. At this point, discussing the limits of the visibility of Sufi women, and looking at how far the Sufi ideas of spiritual hierarchies reflect social ones will be beneficial.

Shahzad Bashir says the status differentiation according to the master and disciple relationship is a universalistic notion of hierarchy for Sufis. On the other hand, belonging a Sufi lineage that has roots in time of the prophet Muhammad[26] or

[23] Ibid., 107-108.

[24] Smith, *Rabi'a the Mystic*, 155-156.

[25] Shaikh, "In Search of al-Insan," 782.

[26] It gained significance after from the fourteenth century onwards.

being a sayyid means different proximities to the divine and this also creates a hierarchy.[27] Apart from these general acceptations about the Sufi idea of hierarchy, the status of women in this structure is complicated because of the issue of gender. Since the relationship between men and women may include desire, the inclusion of women into Sufism in the context of master-disciple connection becomes a matter. To make it clear, the ultimate goal of master and disciple relationships is to lead the disciple to God with an intermediary of love.[28] In addition to this, in the context of the love between master and disciple, women were seen as marginal regarding bodily difference. Women and *namahrem* men, who were distantly related, so marriage with him is lawful in Islamic law, were restricted from the contact that includes desire with the exception of some unrestricted areas such as motherhood.[29] According to Bashir, women could not develop intimacies with male Sufis that requires non-restrictive physical contact. Therefore, almost all medieval Sufi thought takes men as its standard and excludes women as significant actors. The reason of this exclusion is related with the arena of love.[30]

When women are wives of the Sufi shaykhs they are shown to be worthy companions for the masters, or they are seen as trials of masters through whom they would strengthen their religious resolve. On the other hand, a married Sufi woman had to meet her husband's requirements, so her marital status seen as a burden that prevents her from performing the Sufi practices.[31]

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[27] Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 79.

[28] Ibid., 131.

[29] Ibid., 137-138.

[30] Ibid., 21, 137.

[31] Ibid., 154-158.

Women Sufis whose interests paralleled those of their masters and other male Sufis have a positive representation in the hagiographies; and even if they had links with Sufi men, they become valuable particularly.[32]

Briefly, male masters' derived from their ability to establish emotional relationships with disciples that included physical contact. In this way, they could extend the number of their followers with their charisma and with their recourse to the language of spiritual love. In contrast, woman were restricted and they could not display themselves in public and so could not be an object of love. Yet, they could get female devotees and also attract some close male relatives.[33]

All in all, despite the fact that there is no restriction for women the low number of accounts concerning women compared to men is an obvious indicator of women's marginal status within Sufi establishments and networks. It should also be noted that the above-mentioned arguments derived from the texts written by men. An apparent male dominance is visible in every sense, so, it is most probable that some women could not enjoy the equality of sexes in the spiritual path.

1.2 Studies and sources

This study benefits from a number of studies that have introduced me to the historical study of Sufism. W. Spencer Trimingham's *The Sufi Orders in Islam* has been beneficial as it offers an understanding of Sufism and of the notions of an order or tariqa, and traces the formation and development of the Sufi institutions, their rituals and practices. [34]

[32] Ibid., 158.

[33] Ibid., 161-162.

[34] Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*.

A more recent work, Ahmet Karamustafa's book *Sufism: The Formative Period* must be noted for its emphasis on the contextualization of the issue. He looks at social and cultural aspects that affected the Sufi orders, and makes an important contribution to the knowledge about early years of Sufism.[35] Published a few years later, Nile Green's book, *Sufism: A Global History*, geographically comprises various areas such as the Middle East, Asia, Europe and also United States, and addresses the interconnections between these.[36] This global history of Sufism also encompasses a wide historical span, beginning in the early medieval period and ending at the turn of the twenty-first century.

On the subject of religion and politics in the Ottoman context, Derin Terzioğlu problematizes the confessionalization issue, and frames the orthodoxy and heterodoxy issue in the Ottoman realm in her articles "Sufis in the age of state building and confessionalization" and "How to conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization."[37] They provide important insights into the position of the Halvetiye in the Ottoman Empire with reference to its origins and rituals.

Zeynep Yürekli Görkay's article "A Building between the Public and Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite: The Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul" has inspired me to concentrate on the deep world of dervish lodges.[38] A chapter of Cemal Kafadar's book *Kim var imiş biz burada yoğ iken* on a Sufi woman

[35] Karamustafa, *Sufism*.

[36] Green, *Sufism*.

[37] Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the age of state-building and confessionalization," 86-99; Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization," 301-338.

[38] Yürekli, "The Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha," 159-185.

has drawn my attention to the issue of gender.[39] The very interesting document Kafadar examines, the dream letters of Asiye Hatun from Skopje, which is in the Topkapı Palace Library, in a seventeenth century manuscript, has made me wonder about the world of women and Sufism. Of course, what I study is not directly Sufi women of the Ottoman capital; rather this thesis scrutinizes the relationship between dervish lodges and women. I will investigate all the persons whose waqfs, restoration projects or patronage had a connection with the mystical path.

Since Sufism is more than a quest to reach God and it comprises more beyond this individual aspect, mystic life spurs a need for organization, and for a collective experience. This must in part be the reason for the establishment of dervish lodges, where the spirit of brotherhood/sisterhood is experienced. Despite their large numbers, spaces of Sufi gathering and ritual are relatively little studied in the context of Ottoman Empire. Whereas they have potential to shed light on the social history of Ottoman Empire, they have not drawn enough scholarly attention. The edited volume *The Dervish Lodge* including seventeen articles about dervish lodges in the Ottoman lands has been an important contribution to the literature on the topic.[40] Besides, Baha Tanman's doctoral dissertation "İstanbul Tekkelerinin Mimari ve Süsleme Özellikleri" on the subject of dervish lodges in Istanbul is a very extensive study that investigates mainly the architectural features but also touching on the social and cultural aspects.[41] So, it is very beneficial in its evaluations of the architectural features of the complexes.

[39] Kafadar, *Kim var imiş biz burada yoğ iken*.

[40] Lifchez, *The Dervish Lodge*.

[41] Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri."

In her book *Architecture and Hagiograhpy in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age* Zeynep Yürekli examines the shrines of Seyyid Gazi and Hacı Bektaş Veli that were within the territories of Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century.[42] Yürekli brings together three important issues, which are hagiography, shrine construction and the sociopolitical context. She focuses on the remodeling of these two shrine complexes in the context of the emergence of the Safavid polity, so they are evaluated with reference to orthodoxy and heterodoxy debate. Her study is very significant because it helps to contextualize architecture with the help of hagiographies and socio-political dimension of the time.

Furthermore, Leslie Peirce's studies on imperial women, who had the opportunity to have power and also to show it, has also informed the approach of this thesis. Her book *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* problematizes gender and sexuality of royal women and touches on the architectural patronage as a way of going outside of the harem walls.[43] Lucienne Thys-Şenocak's book on Ottoman royal women's patronage, with its focus on Hatice Turhan Sultan's projects is a very detailed portrait of architectural patronage in the context of the Ottoman court.[44]

Concerning the Sufi order Halvetiye, John Curry's book *The transformation of Muslim mystical thought in the Ottoman Empire: the rise of the Halveti order, 1350-1750* is another very useful source for this thesis.[45] Additionally, Hasan Karataş's dissertation about the Halvetis: "The City as a Historical Actor: The

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[42] Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiograhpy in the Ottoman Empire*.

[43] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem.*

[44] Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Woman Builders.*

[45] Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought*.

Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" is also worth to be mentioned here.[46] Lastly, of course, the very comprehensive work of Nazif Velikahyaoğlu about the Sünbüliye sub-branch and Koca Mustafa Pasha Mosque Complex stands at the starting point of this thesis.[47]

Thanks to the help of existing studies, as I mentioned above, my further research will benefit from waqf surveys of Istanbul. The endowment deeds and some other waqf documents in Prime Ministry Directorate General of Foundations will be also very useful to uncover the information about patrons and complexes. The restoration and renovation projects will be included from the documents in State Archives of the Prime Ministry. The primary sources will provide direct information from the past and voices from Ottoman classical period. Chronicles, travel books such as Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, various maps of the Ottoman capital, engravings, legends and stories about the complexes will create a vast world to explore. Moreover, Sufi texts mainly the hagiographical sources of the Halvetiye order and also biographical dictionaries that include some of Sufi figures will help me in this process. Besides, the locations and architectural configurations of the complexes are also regarded as primary sources and as products and the physical remains of the past.

These sources offer answers to some of the questions I have posed above and provide a space for an argument about women and Sufism. I will try to analyze the three mosque-lodge complexes in order to conduct a study that will try to say something new.

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

[47] Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliye Tarikatı.*

Since hagiographies are gaining a seat in the academic research thanks to the information they provide regarding historical events, persons, their authors and readers, their central role in the development of the cult of the saints has been explored in more depth. John Renard mentions the recent researches on the Sufi institutions in the medieval Eastern Anatolia and says there is a relationship between hagiographies and these Sufi foundations. Focusing on Sara Wolper's study regarding the Sufi foundations in the age of Rumi in Anatolia,[48] she outlines the functions of hagiographies, which are portraying formal links between saints and officials of dynasties, featuring some patrons in texts and increasing the possibility of financial and political support.[49] Shaykhs, followers, or some political-religious elites are the patrons of and participants in the Sufi institutions, and Sufi narratives at times affect their acts, working as propaganda texts.

This thesis has also benefitted a lot from the hagiographical narratives of the Halvetiye order and in this subject two of primary sources need an extra attention, the *Menakıb-ı şerif ve tarikatname-i piran ve meşayih-i tarikat-ı aliyye-i Halvetiye* (hereafter *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*) and *Lemezat-ı Hulviyye ez Lemeat-ı Ulviyye* (hereafter *Lemezat*) which constitute the main hagiographical sources of Halvetis. The cult of saints caused an emergence of hagiographies, which were generally written by devotees of the Sufi order with the purpose of narrating biographies of the shaykhs combined with their miraculous deeds. At the background, the idea of the shaykhs' virtues and pious characters are stressed.

Yusuf b. Yakub (d. 1581), son of Yakub Germiyani (d.1571), the fourth shaykh of the Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge, presented a work to Murad III (d.

[48] Wolper, *Cities and Saints.*

[49] John Renard, *Friends of God*, 181-183.

1595) after the sultan's visit to the mausoleum of Merkez Efendi, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*. It was written in the process of the institutionalization of the order by transforming oral sources into permanent written ones. The narrative comprises the biographies of the first four shaykhs of the Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge; Çelebi Halife (d. 1494), Sünbül Sinan, Merkez Efendi and Yakub Germiyani.[50]

Some decades later, Cemaleddin Mahmud Hulvi, (d. 1654) upon seeing Merkez Efendi in his dream, became devoted to Necmeddin Hasan Efendi, who was the head shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge in the later seventeenth century. Later, he went to Cairo where he was attached to the Gülşeni shaykh Hasan Efendizâde İbrahim Efendi.[51] His work *Lemezat* was compiled between the years 1609 and 1621 and includes the biographies of Halveti shaykhs. After a long introduction section, he states three of the notable khalifas of the shaykh and then continues with the next shaykh who continued the silsila of the order.[52]

1.3 Objectives, methodology and chapter outline

The power of elite women is undeniable, and they could have a presence in public life. We must bear in mind that we do not know any dervish lodge established in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries only for women, nor do we have any specific information about their participation in Sufi rituals. However, an investigation about ordinary urban women's representation in the public realm and their relations with

[50] In this thesis, I will use a printed version of the source produced in the nineteenth century that I get a copy of it from Isam Library. Yusuf b. Yakub, *Menakıb-ı şerif ve tarikatname-i piran ve meşayih-i tarikat-ı aliyye-i Halvetiye*. A manuscript version can be also found in Süleymaniye Lib., MS Esʿad Efendi 1372/1.

[51] Uzun, "Cemâleddin Hulvi," 347.

[52] In this thesis I use the transliterated and edited version by Mehmed Serdar Tayşi. Hulvi. *Lemezat*. The manuscript version is in Istanbul: Süleymaniye Lib., MS Halet Efendi 281.

the orders and dervish lodges will take the research one step further. My aim is to contribute to the existing literature about women in the Ottoman world through their participation in these particular lodges. In my opinion, both royal and ordinary women had connections to Sufi orders. Despite the fact that they could not be highly visible within the public space, in some ways that I will analyze in this study they could partake in the collective practice of Sufism via the dervish lodges.

This study will use a methodology that situates the study of architecture within a historical context. It assumes that architecture is also a sphere for history. The buildings have a cultural, political, social background. Therefore, to see them as a product of their ages and societies that they belonged to is the best way of re-constructing their total story. Furthermore, it is undeniable that a descriptive analysis of architecture is needed, after doing this in my study for the sites in question, I want to go beyond, and to locate them in their Sufi context by asking questions about the order, the sub-branch, patron or patrons of the complexes, other architectural projects of same patrons, the lives of shaykhs who resided in them and their social persona. I am also concerned with the overall layout of the complexes, the restoration projects and additional building programs that introduced alterations, donations made to the foundations, the state's position regarding the order, the use of the complexes and the ways in which gender affected their use, legends both about the shaykhs and about the complexes, and finally, the graves and mausoleums in their courtyards, the veneration of these saints and spiritual connection with them.

Before my research, the works of Gülru Necipoğlu, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak have shaped my perspective about the Ottoman architecture in this manner and their studies illuminated my road. Moreover, while conceptualizing the subject of women in this thesis, Leslie Peirce's work on the

harem and again Thys-Şenocak's book *Ottoman Women Builders* has given me ideas about the role of gender and helped me to see patronage as a complex phenomenon related with politics, economy, religion as well as social status and rank. In addition, such literature review about women directed me to use more culturally receptive adjectives in my thesis such as modesty, invisibility and political sagacity instead of negative ones that are confined, segregated, meddling and sexual.[53]

Based on Sara Wolper's suggestion that "the organization of urban space has a major effect on one's perception and experience of the world," we can say that what people see and do not see in urban space is a result of certain choices; there is an organization, a visual order and changes in this structure means a lot.[54] Considered from this point of view, where these dervish lodges were built and within which complexes, close to what kinds of buildings, and the networks of relationship between them are significant points, because they are products of an urban program of their times.

All in all, the locations, architectural units and layouts of these three dervish lodges are significant in terms of the urbanization project implemented after the conquest. The use of Byzantine sites in terms of continuation, the political atmosphere of the capital city in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the rise of a new military bureaucratic elite, in this case pashas**,** in the political arena, the relationships between the Halvetis and the state and lastly placing women into this story are the issues of this study.

Since the three dervish lodges are the spatial representatives of the same order, the Halvetiye, it is essential to examine the particular Sufi order in the context

[53] Babayan, "The Aqa'id Al-Nisa," 350.

[54] Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 3.

of political and religious aspects of the period. For this reason, in the second chapter following the introduction, I will call attention to the questions of what is distinctive about the Halvetiye order in the Ottoman context and how the orthodoxy-heterodoxy debate affected Halvetis in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This section starts with the emergence of the Halvetiye, an examination of the order's *silsile* (spiritual chain) and the discussions about its origins. Then, I will pay attention to the distinguishing aspects of the order, its rituals, dhikr style and practices, in order to give a background to the discussions on Halvetiye in the first two centuries of their establishment in the Ottoman lands. Their rise to prominence on the political scene in Amasya in the reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) and how they were established and institutionalized in the imperial capital will also be discussed. On the other hand, I will focus on the controversies they experienced with the ulama in the sixteenth century and suspicions about their deviant origins through the reigns of Selim I (r. 1512-1520) and Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566) and its effects on the relationship between the state and the order, and by extension, the shaykhs. I will try to show the Halvetiye's influence on politics, society and religion, with the hope that this chapter will constitute a background for understanding the Halvetiye's position in the eyes of the state and its presence in the architectural patronage programs of the imperial family members.

In the third chapter, I will concentrate on the architecture of the complexes and question the ways in which notions and dynamics of gender may have shaped these three building projects. I will focus on the patrons of the building programs, the locations, the layouts and functions of the architectural units and their inscriptions in the larger context of urban organization, and the political, religious and social dynamics of the period. It should be said that, since the Koca Mustafa

Pasha mosque is a conversion project and it was built on the site of a former Byzantine monastery, the evaluation of the complex as a whole comprises a large time span, and therefore it will occupy a larger space in the chapter. By looking at the restoration and renovation projects and additions to the sites, I hope to see how the layout of these three complexes developed through the years. The identity of the patrons of restorations and additions will also be studied in order to understand what their histories beyond the moment of their foundation. In this way, the third chapter includes not only a descriptive analysis about the buildings' architectural properties but also an examination of them in their historical contexts with reference to the gender issue.

In the fourth chapter, I will shift my attention to women and present the topic under three sub-titles: elite women, urban women and the gendered identity of Koca Mustafa Pasha complex. This chapter examines women as actors of architectural patronage, waqf founders and of users of sites of veneration. For each sub-title, putting the physical mystical place, the dervish lodge, at the center, I will try to see the relationship between women and the three complexes that I have chosen. Under the topic of elite women, I will mainly focus on a royal woman, Şah Sultan, as the patron of three Sünbüli dervish lodges in the imperial city. Her special and close relationship with Merkez Efendi, and her self-representation in the urban space thanks to her architectural patronage will be investigated. I will address her act of Sufi patronage in a multi-dimensional manner; in other words, her gender and social status will be evaluated together. Comparing her projects with wives of Sultans, her sisters and also with other princesses will hopefully present a detailed portrait of a royal female patron of a lodge.

Regarding the issue of urban women who were also relatively active participants of waqf foundations, I will try to shed light on their relationship with the Sufi order. Benefitting from Nazif Velikahyaoğlu's book on the complex, I will look at the waqfs founded by women who were connected to the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex. By doing this, I am aiming to understand the ways in which urban women were connected with the Halveti order. It should be mentioned that the documents published by Velikahyaoğlu belong to a private archive; they are not recorded in any other study. Unfortunately, the copies of the documents were not given to him and the book includes only summaries of these endowment deeds. I should say that, despite my efforts to reach the daughter of the last shaykh's grandson with the help of Nazif Velikahyaoğlu, I could not have access to these documents. Therefore, information about these waqfs depends only on summaries. Furthermore, the waqf survey of 1600 contributes with two women's waqfs to my thesis. Urban women as endowers of charities in the Ottoman world, whereby they donated their houses, vineyards and other properties demonstrate their economic power and control of their wealth. Their motives in mentioning particular shaykhs or dervish lodges in their endowment deeds will be discussed alongside issues of class and rank.

The last sub-title of this chapter approaches the topic from a different point of view. Having four mausoleums of women in its courtyard makes the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex very significant in terms of the gender issue. The reason for the making of the specially gendered character of this mosque-lodge complex and women's contributions to this to site will be examined. Why does such a special feature mark this complex? Were there any connections with the Byzantine past? What did legends, stories and any other sources say about it? While trying to answer

these questions, I call attention to the dominance of oral traditions about these mausoleums.

While Appendix A shows the architectural plans, maps and the photos of these three mosque-lodge complexes, Appendix B includes the transliterations of the texts in Ottoman Turkish that are used in this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

THE HALVETIYE ORDER

The Sufi order that my thesis concentrates on is the Halvetiye, which emerged in Azerbaijan and northwest Iran, which was one of the crucial actors of Ottoman Empire's not only mystical but also political life thanks to its great popularity in the Ottoman lands until the collapse of the empire. The Halvetiye entered the empire in the fifteenth century and through the years it gained a notable support both from the state and the society, gave birth to new sub-branches, and became an integral part of the Ottoman history. This process included an Ottomanization of the Sufi order, which was born in outside of the Ottoman lands. It began with the arrival of *halife*s (spiritual successors of a saints) in Amasya in the early fifteenth century and continued through the following decades in various regions of the empire. The advantageous years of Bayezid II's reign, which brought together the Halveti shaykh Çelebi Halife and the sultan, marked a turning point and paved the way for their move to the capital city.

This chapter aims to demonstrate the close relationship between the Halvetiye order and the Ottoman state in order to understand its distinctive role in the religio-political world of the Ottomans in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. With reference to the figures influential in the foundation of the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex, the privileged status of the order will be discussed, including the problems they experienced. It will be shown that despite the debates about its origin and its practices, the Halvetiye could adapt to Ottoman society and attain a high degree of popularity. The story of the order in light of the political and religious context will also help us contextualize and understand the architectural

patronage acts of the imperial family members or military-administrative elites directed toward order.

Actually, it will not be wrong to say that the Halvetiye had been institutionalized through the history of empire, starting with its introduction to the Ottoman lands in the fifteenth century and became one of the most effective Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, the Sufi order, despite its shared long history with the Ottoman state, had also been part of political and religious controversies. Despite the rivalry between some ulama and Halvetiye followers, thanks its close relationship with the sultans the order was able to attain a durable place in the history of Ottoman Empire that lasted into modern era. The political protection provided by the state in the reign of Bayezid II was the critical point for the order in terms of their move into the imperial city, which was followed by an architectural program including the creation of dervish lodge. Yet, it must also be noted that the history of Halvetiye did not continue under comfortable and stable conditions, but rather the order had also experienced problems as a result of their intimacy with politics.

It is important to look briefly at the emergence of the Sufi path for a better understanding of the perspectives of Halvetiye followers and their religious background, and also for comprehending where their ideas and practices originated. I will begin the discussion with the origins of the Halvetiye with reference to its *silsile,* which is a term used in the terminology of Sufism and the Sufi orders for a continuous chain of spiritual descent.[55] Whether the information in these *silsile*s is true or not, they are very significant for the followers of Sufi orders; so to understand

[55] Aydınlı, *Doğuş Devrinde Tasavvuf ve Hadis*, 197.

what they mean to the followers of a certain path has been an integral part of Sufi studies. I will also discuss the Halveti rituals and practices, as they will provide a background for the debates between Halveti shaykhs and some members of the ulama. The biographical accounts of the founder and second founder of the order are other parts worth mentioning in terms of understanding where Halveti self-perceptions. Their introduction to Ottoman lands and their initial years in the imperial city will also be discussed in this chapter, with an overview of the first shaykhs of the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex where Bayezid II (d. 1512) settled them after his victory for the throne with the support of a Halveti shaykh. Lastly, the position of Halvetiye in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries will be evaluated in the context of Ottoman confessionalization.

2.1 The emergence of the Halvetiye

Sufism emerged from *zühd* that emerged between the eighth and tenth centuries, particularly in the religious and cultural milieu of Baghdad. As these practices were disparate and heterogeneous in their nature and also due to lack of sufficient documentation it is very difficult to have a clear idea about the early eras of Sufism. Sufis' renunciatory tendency for the cultivation of inner life caused the emergence of new notions and practices such as spiritual stages, closeness to God, love of God, training of the soul, a desire to attain knowledge of the interior etc.[56] Later, they succeeded in creating an alliance with Sunni Islam, with the exception of a relatively marginal groups. Sufism had spread to various regions of the Islamic world by the eleventh century.[57] The medieval period saw the emergence of tariqas that

[56] Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 1-2.

[57] Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the age of state-building and confessionalization," 86.

standardized the rituals, practices, their belief systems and also created links with the past thanks to spiritual chains.[58] However, there were also antinomian dervishes who were exceptions of this trend of institutionalization.[59] This new period witnessed the diversification of Sufi doctrine as a result of expanding spheres of Sufi influence, an increase in the textual production of Sufis, the rise of cult of saints and venerations of miracles and deeds of friends of God.[60]

It is clear that there is a dominance of the past in the Sufi tradition, so the very sanction and authority that were given to the Prophet and the *veli*s give a backward-looking character to Sufism.[61] These friends of God privileged and viewed themselves as a spiritual elect because they were seen as intermediaries between the divine and human beings.[62] In addition, the practices and rituals might also have roots in the formative period of Islam and might have been transmitted by the heirs of the Prophet, the shaykhs in the *silsile* of the Sufi orders. Sufis constructed their traditions by looking back to the Prophet's time and also to the lives of the saints, which is significant in terms of a historical self-consciousness.[63]

Having roots in earlier times of Islam is a significant point for Sufi orders to create a continued long *silsile* that is supported by narratives, because this kind of a connection with the early centuries of Islam provides legitimacy to the orders and their followers. When well-known figures that have a crucial position in the Islamic history become a part of the order, this helps to ensure the attention and support on

[58] Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders*, 10-11.

[59] Green, *Sufism*, 71.

[60] Ibid., 112-115.

[61] Ibid., 3.

[62] Karamustafa, *Sufism,* 20.

[63] Green, *Sufism*, 5.

the part of society. *Silsile*s connected the head of an order, the shaykh or pir, with a person regarded as the order's founder and through him, back to the Prophet."[64]

In our case, the Halvetiye *silsile* shows a great continuity in time thanks to the written sources of the path that link all the shaykhs to the founder, and the founder to the Prophet Muhammad, forming a solid chain. On the other hand, there are also some disconnections, inconsistencies and also variations in the *silsile*, which will be discussed later. Nevertheless, the chain of Halvetiye gives us the chance of following a chronological list of shaykhs.

Before going through an examination of the sources regarding the spiritual chain, I want to touch on the issue of hagiographies, which are essential tools in the process of the re-construction of the Sufi orders' histories. These narratives deserve a careful evaluation in order to illuminate the dark pages of the paths' origins. Therefore, in this chapter, two hagiographical sources of Halvetiye order, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye* and *Lemezat* will be examined bearing in mind that they are debatable in terms of the factual information they provide. In spite of their biographical and historical character, they are not completely relaible in the eyes of scholars because of the supernatural elements in their contents. The information supplied by these narratives helps with regard to the issue of the origins of Sufi orders. For Sufis they are like a proof for the *silsile*, but for historians it is complicated in terms of the difficulty of the interpretation of miracles. As parts of both natural and supernatural worlds these texts should be evaluated according to their contexts. In order to achieve this, the approach in this thesis is not making an investigation of the authenticity of these narratives, but rather I refer to them while at the same time considering questions such as who their authors were, when and why they were

[64] "*Silsile*" in *EI*, 611.

written, who their audience was, in what ways their reflected the society's needs and in what ways they could capture the attention of followers etc. The hagiographies were generally written by disciples who were commonly not the shaykhs' contemporaries, so it can be easily said that the portrait of the holy person was partly a construction of the author. Therefore, while looking at such texts, the imagination and contribution of the hagiographer should be taken into consideration. In addition, why a hagiographer needed such a construction and why people venerated these narratives are also significant points to understand the context.[65]

With help of hagiographies that created a memory network to provide a connection between past and present, between the dead and the alive, it is possible to shed light on religious and cultural life of a particular society. As products of their times, hagiographies allow us to gain insight into shaykhs' lives as well as into the authors concerns.[66]

In this regard, the earliest source about the Halvetiye's *silsile* is *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, which was written in the sixteenth century by Yusuf b. Yakub, with the purpose of compiling information about the origins and development of the order. It was presented to Sultan Murad III. In the first hagiographical source of Halvetiye path, Yusuf b. Yakub as a dervish of the order, gathered all the information about the Sufi path including the *silsile*, the biographies of the Halveti shaykhs and also narrations of shaykhs' lives with a concentration on their virtues and miraculous deeds. In the early seventeenth century, another hagiographical source of the Halveti

[65] Efthymiadis, "Introduction," 1-14.

[66] Köprülü, *The Seljuks of Anatolia*, 38-40.

order including biographies of shaykhs was *Lemezat* written by Mahmud Cemaleddin Hulvi, a devotee of the order.

The *silsile* of Halvetiye began with the Prophet Muhammad and continued with ‘Ali b. Ebu Talib via *telkin* which means inculcation by oral transmission.[67] In Islamic mysticism, *telkin* is a tool to provide a connection between the shaykhs in the *silsile*. Generally, these chains of the orders consist of two parts; the first part begins with the prophet Muhammad and comes to the founder of the order, and the second one comprises a list of the shaykhs from the founder to the last shaykh. The first section is almost the same in all the Sufi orders’ *silsile*s, except those of the *Aleviyye* and *Bekriyye* (*Sıddıkiye*), regarding to whom prophet Muhammad inculcated what kind of dhikr style. According to Sufis, prophet Muhammad taught dhikr, the remembrance of God, to first four caliphs and by this way four types of dhikr appeared and two of these four, ‘Ali’s and Ebubekir’s, spread widely.[68] While the Prophet was going from Mecca to Medina (the hejira), he inculcated dhikr to Ebûbekir’s ear three times in a cave, which is categorized as *hafi*, silent or hidden dhikr. On the other hand, the fourth caliph’s dhikr is categorized as *cehri*, vocal dhikr.[69] In this respect, Yusuf b. Yakub gives the details of the first transmission from Prophet to Ali:

> One day, ʿAli b. Ebû Tâlib (R.A.) came into the presence of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.S.) and said [in Arabic]: “Guide me to the closest of paths to God Most High, and the most virtuous of them before God, and the easiest of them in regard to the worship of God” . . . The exalted [Prophet Muhammad] said: “What prophecy has bestowed upon me is [an action] incumbent upon you” . . . As soon as ʿAli asked what type of action [it was],

[67] I owe the definiton to J. John Curry. Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought*, 23.

[68] Öngören, “Zikir,” 411.

[69] Kara, *Tasavvuf,* 153-154.

> the exalted [Prophet] said: "It is perseverance in the remembrance of God in solitude." ʿAli said: "Is the benefit of remembrance excellent in this way, for all people are those who recall?" . . . [The Prophet] said: "O ʿAli, while there is a man on the face of the earth saying 'Allah, Allah' the Day of Judgment will not come." ʿAli said: "O Messenger of God, then by what means is it necessary to make the remembrance (dhikr), [to] let it be acceptable, tell me the information (talqîn)?" [The Prophet] said: "Close your eyes and be silent, until I recite three times, you listen, then afterwards you also recite, let me tell you." So he closed his kohl-tinged eyes to the two worlds and said "there is no god save God" in a loud and drawn out voice, beginning with a negation three times from the right side, and finishing with an affirmation from the left side. ʿAlî was silent and listened. Then he said, "there is no god save God" three times according to this practice. The most noble Prophet spoke and confirmed [it], saying "the trustee [angel] Gabriel taught it to me also according to this practice by the command of the Lord of the Two Worlds." ʿAlî did not neglect the process of struggle as the days and nights passed, and he was guided to so many spiritual advancements and sublime manifestations that the world of spirits was opened with an opening of openings, and he began to see that which they did not see, and know that which they did not know; he came to that which no eye saw, and no ear heard, and not entered the heart of any human being.[70]

So, in this sense Halvetiye belongs to *Aleviyye* group that is also named *Cehriyye* whose members perform vocal dhikr.[71]

I may be useful to explore the *silsile* of the Sufi order given in the *Tezkire-i Halvetiye* to see how this secret teaching was passed down from one generation to another. After respectively listing the names of the Prophet Muhammad, then ʻAli b. Ebu Talib, and his sons Hasan and Hüseyin,[72] Yusuf b. Yakub continues with Hasan el-Basri (d. 728), Habib el-Acemi (d. 748), Davud el-Tai (d. 782), and Maruf el-Kerhi (d. 815). Then, he says there was another rumor, that offers a different line; from Hüseyin to Zeynelabidin (d. 713), Imam Muhammad el-Bekir (d. 732), Imam Cafer el-Sadık (d. 765), Imam Musa el-Kazım (d. 799), and then to Imam Ali el-Rıza

[70] The translation is from John J. Curry. Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought*, 23-24.

[71] It should not be confused with "*Alevi*" in tolday's context. *Aleviyye* category refers to the orders whose *silsile*s continues with ʻAli bin Abu Tâlib after Prophet Muhammad, so they perform vocal dhikr in their sessions.

[72] Other *silsile*s that I will mention in this chapter do not include the names of grandsons of the Prophet Muhammad.

(d. 818) then again Maruf el-Kerhi. The *silsile* continues with Sari el-Sakati (d. 867), Cüneyd el-Bağdadi (d. 911), Mimşad al-Dineveri (d. 912), Muhammed el-Kürdi (d. 980),[73] Kadi Vecihüddin Ömer el-Sühreverdi (d. 1137), Ömer el-Bekri (d. 1050), Ebu'l-Necib Abdülkadir el-Sühreverdi (d. 1168), Kutbeddin el-Ebheri (d. 1225), Rükneddin Necaşi (d. 1231), Şahabüddin Tebrizi (d. 1302), Cemaleddin Ezheri,[74] İbrahim Zahid Gilani (d. 1305), Ahi Ahmed Halveti (d. unknown), Pir Ömer el-Halveti (d. unknown)[75], Ahi Mirem Halveti (d. unknown), İzzeddin Halveti (d. 1425), Sadreddin Halveti(d. 1456), Yahya-yı Şirvani (d. 1463), Pir Muhammed Erzincani (d. 1474) and Cemal el-Halveti."[76] After giving the *silsile*, the author provides the biographies of first four shaykhs of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge, from where the Halvetiye was spread in the capital city of Ottomans, Constantinople.

Different sources vary concerning the part of the *silsile* between İbrahim Zahid Gilani and Pir Ömer el-Halveti, such as in the above-mentioned sixteenth century source by Yusuf b. Yakub that gives the name Ahi Ahmed Halveti between these two shaykhs. Later, in Hulvi's the seventeenth century source, this the part of the *silsile* has Gilani, Ahi Muhammad Halveti and Ömer el-Halveti.[77] I think Ahmed and Muhammad could be used interchangeably, so they are most probably the same person. In addition, in an undated *silsile* that belongs to the last Sünbüli shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish complex, which Nazif Velikahyaoğlu evaluates in his

[73] As John Curry underlines in his book, the person was referred to Ahmad al-Aswad al-Dinawari, Abu Abdullah al-Dinawari or Muhammad al-Dinawari in different sources such as in Nevizade Atai's Hadaikül Hakaik, Ahmad al-Aswad al-Dinawari is used.

[74] In some sources he is mentioned as Cemaleddin Tebrizi. In Lemezat, it is explained; the shaykh took his education in Camiu'l Ezher, so pseudonym of Ezheri is also used for him. Then, he settled to Tebriz, so Tebrizi is also used. Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 303.

[75] While Hulvi gives the date circa 1397-98, Vicdani corrected it as 1349.

[76] Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, 9-10.

[77] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 314, 329, 338.

comprehensive book about Sünbüliye sub-branch, the succession is given as Zahid Gilani, Ahi Muhammad Halveti and Ömer el-Halveti was written.[78] In Sadık Vicdani's *Tomar-ı Turuk-u Aliye,*[79] an early twentieth century work on Sufi orders, after mentioning Gilani, the *silsile* was divided into two, and with the shaykh Safiyuddin Ardabili (d. 1334) Safaviya was founded. The *silsile* of the Halvetiye order continues with Sadüddin Fergani and then Ahi Muhammad al-Halveti.[80] In consequence, although there are some different versions of the transmission chain, all these sources could generate a general idea about the list, so it become easier to touch on the debates about Halvetiye's suspected deviant origins.

Before an evaluation of the second part of the *silsile*, in order to create a general framework for Halvetiye's Ottoman adventure, I would like to mention a discussion about Halvetiye's origins. The Shiite origins about Halvetiye order has been a matter of scholarly debate, and the names of imams of the Shiite tradition in the Halveti *silsile* has been offered as evidence. In addition, since the practices of Halvetiye were also seen as deviant by some Ottoman ulama, their position in Sunni-Shiite conflict became complicated.

Zahid Gilani, the teacher of both Safiyuddin Ardabili, the founder of the Safeviye order, and Ahi Muhammad, made the Halvetis suspicious in the eyes of Ottomans because a descendant of the Safuyiddin, Şah İsmail (d. 1524) founded the Shiite Safavid dynasty, which would become one of the enemies of Ottoman Empire. It is a fact that these two mystical brotherhoods sprung from the same shaykh and it is quite possible they had similar ideas and practices, especially in the first centuries

[78] Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliye Tarikatı,* 320.

[79] The book includes information about Melamiye and Kadiriye and Halvetiye orders' sub-branches and *silsile*s. It was latinized by İrfan Gündüz. Vicdani, *Tarikatlar ve Silsileleri.*

[80] Vicdani, *Tarikatler ve Silsileleri,* 174.

of their emergence. However, it should be said that the Halvetiye had been a very popular Sufi order, divided into many sub-branches and it spread to various regions of Ottoman lands, so that in time it gained a character of its own. A different perspective on the question is offered by Devin DeWeese who argues that the existence of Zahid Gilani in the Halvetiye *silsile* might not be as a proof of concealment of the ties with Safeviye but rather an assertion of them for competitive purposes. In other words, according to him, the Halvetiye faced competition from the Safeviye in their common homeland and wished to portray itself, rather than the Safeviye, as the legitimate lineage maintaining the authoritative legacy of the local saint Ibrahim Zahid.[81] In addition to this, Terzioğlu has noted that *silsile* of the Halvetiye and their strongs Alid loyalty must have made them particularly valuable for the state to reach social and religious group who had the potential to attract Safavid propaganda.[82]

In 1972, B. G. Martin wrote an article and defined Safeviye and Halvetiye as twin brothers and suggested that the reason for why Halvetiye remained Sunni is their movement into Ottoman lands.[83] Martin takes attention to Nevizade Atai's work of *Hadaiku'l Haka'ik*, a later source for the *silsile* of Halvetiye, which does not include the names of Shiite imams. According to Martin and Hans Joachim Kissling,[84] this difference stemmed from an intentional concealment of the truth in a hostile environment. Halvetis tried to hide their real origins in order to gain an unsusceptible position in the eyes of the Ottoman rule and the members of the ulama,

[81] DeWeese, "Spiritual Practice and Corporate Identity," 267-268.

[82] Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the age of state-building and confessionalization," 93.

[83] Martin, "A Short Story of the Khalwati Order," 275-305.

[84] Hans Joachim Kissling wrote two articles related with this subject. In 1953, "Aus Der Geschicte des Chalwetijje-Ordens" ZDMG, CII, 233-289 and in 1956 "Zur Geschichte des Derwischhordens der Bajrâmijje", Südostforschungen, XV, 237-268.

in other words to be seen as orthodox in the period of a strong anti-heterodox stance.[85]

However, Hulvi's seventeenth century work of *Lemezat* provides insight into the question, as it includes biographical information and narratives about each Halveti shaykh. In this comprehensive work, he included all twelve Shiite imams providing before giving the *silsile*.[86] Indeed, it is not so easy to say there was a conscious effort to strike out of the names of imams in the *silsile*s. Of course, these narrative sources as re-constructions, were written after the institutionalization of the order, so the Halveti dervishes in these texts were shown as more unified than they might have been. Also these texts betray an obvious tendency to conceal religio-political controversies because of the fear of being provocative. But, as we see clearly in Hulvi's hagiographical work, he did not hesitate to include the names of imams. For this reason, neither inclusion of imams nor their common teacher with Safeviye could be definite evidence of Halvetis deviant or Shiite origins.

2.2 The rituals and practices of the Halvetiye

2.2.1 Halvet

This section aims to shed light on the peculiarities of the Halvetiye and its general principles. Initially, our first step is an emphasis on the meaning of the word *halvet*, which is a technical term of mysticism, meaning retirement, seclusion, retreat and

[85] Martin, "A Short Story of the Khalwati Order," 284-285.

[86] Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 51-145.

more specifically isolation in a solitary place or cell involving spiritual exercises.[87] The meaning until the tenth century generally refers to being away from the people or preferring life in isolated places, but from tenth century on, it also means doing the performance of *erbain* (forty-day *halvet*) under the guidance of a shaykh in a *halvethane* (special room for *halvet*).[88] During the *halvet*, which is generally a requirement for the disciple, the practitioner tries to discipline himself/herself and to purify the soul with deep spiritual contemplation.

Although B. G. Martin thinks that the practice has Christian origins,[89] in Islamic sources the practice of *halvet* is associated with the Prophet Moses' forty days retreat.[90] Moreover, *halvet* also has its roots in the time of Prophet Muhammad without a precise specified duration. Thanks to the transmission of Aisha, the wife of the Prophet, it is known that the Prophet Muhammad used to go to Hira Mountain to worship there alone.[91] Due to this information, the practice is generally seen as Sunna and this transmission is used to prove this is not a *bid'a* (innovation). In addition, it must be said that this practice is not something special to the Halvetiye order; it has been experienced by various Sufi orders such as Suhreverdiye and Bayramiye from early on, and its particular form in the Halvetiye was an interpretation of earlier practices.

Erbain lasted forty days and is conducted according to a set of rules; one should perform ablution in the place and the clothes should be clean, the room

[87] Landlot, "Khalwa," 990.

[88] Uludağ, "Halvet," 386-387.

[89] Martin, "A Short Story of the Khalwati Order," 275.

[90] Koran, 2/51 and 7/142. A detailed explanation of sura al-Araf 142nd verse can be find in Sühreverdi, *Avârifü'l-Meârif*, 195-196.

[91] Ibid., 198-199.

should be isolated from sunlight and sound. The performer should be alone, if the performer is a novice, he is allowed to be visited once a week or every ten days by the shaykh, and only for the congregational prayers one can leave the *halvet*.[92] The place of the performance named as *halvethane*, which has many variations in its style over the centuries. The Halvetiye order, whose name derives from this practice, provides some of the primary examples of the *halvethane*, which were often connected to, or surrounding the prayer room of a mosque. This would enable one to attend the congregational prayer during the period of seclusion.[93]

The name of the order, Halvetiye, derives from the word *halvet* and the name of the founder of the path is also Ömer el-Halveti.[94] Hulvi narrated his pir's experience to us: "When he completed all the steps and was charged with *irşad* (act of showing the true path), he did not accept this duty of guidance and went to the mountains. He settled in a hollow of a tree for *halvet* and made this hollow a place for his *halvet* performance. Even, it is reported that he made *erbain* forty times enduringly and hence got the pseudonym of Halveti.[95] Apart from this story, he also mentions Yahya-yı Şirvani's, the second founder's practice; "When he stays for forty days in *halvet*, one cannot look at his face because of an extra-ordinary luminescence.[96]

[92] Algar, "Cella," 123.

[93] Tanman, "Halvethane," 388.

[94] It should be noted that he is not the first one who uses Halvetî sobriquet. For futher infomation see Deweese, "Spiritual Practice and Corporate Identity in Medieval Sufi Communities," 251-300.

[95]Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 339.

[96]Ibid., 382.

2.2.2 Dhikr

In the Islamic context, dhikr means remembrance of God, more specifically it refers to repeating of the names of God, saying specific prayers in specific times, in certain determined numbers, silently or vocal.[97] In mysticism, dhikr of *Kelime-i Tevhid* (There is no god save God), and the vocal or silent repeating of the names of God are the most common modes of this practice. There are two types dhikr, private and collective. Actually, in an early twentieth century work *Tomar-ı Turuk-u Aliye*, detailed information about the steps for the private dhikr in the Halvetiye order is given, and generally two things form the performance, *Kelime-i Tevhid* and *Esma-i seb'a* (The seven names of God; La ilahe illallah, Allah, Hu, Hakk, Hayy, Kayyum and Kahhar).[98] Each name corresponds to a level and the novice must complete these seven levels. When s/he consummates all steps of the *suluk* (the mystical journey), s/he reaches the position of *irşad*.[99]

In the collective manner, the dhikr ceremony in dervish lodges is different than the private one and entails the practice of the *sema'* (chanting of litanies with musical accompaniment) and *devran* (the rotation).[100] This ritual was performed as follows: the followers of the order gathered and created a circle in the dervish lodge or in a mosque, placing their hands on the shoulders of the person next to them, and did the performance with the guidance of the shaykh, started to walk through right or left, repeating "There is no God save God" in a spiritual kind of trance.[101]

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[97] Kara, *Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar*, 152.

[98] About the practice of dhikr, variations had been there inevitably which change according to the position of *mürid* and the situation. For further information see Vicdani, *Tarikatler ve Silsileleri*, 181.

[99] Ibid., 182.

[100] Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought*, 268.

[101] Vicdani, *Tarikatler ve Silsileleri*, 182. Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, 174. Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought,* 268. In addition, there are many different types of

All in all, these *sema'* and *devran* ceremonies were significant for the Sufi orders in terms of imparting the sense of a collective identity and a way of attracting new followers. However, they also caused many controversies between the Sufis and ulama in the Ottoman state due to the suspicion of heterodoxy, an issue that will be discussed later.

2.3 The Halvetiye's dissemination in the Ottoman lands

In the process of generating a complete story of the Sufi path, two very effective two political events that coincided with the Halvetiye's emergence and its spread to the Anatolia should be mentioned, invasions of Mongols and of Timur (d.1405), respectively. Firstly, the Mongol Empire, which was founded by Cengiz Khan (d. 1227) at the beginning of thirteenth century in Central Asia, marked a turning point in the history of western Asia as the huge invasions affected many regions including Asia Minor. The influx had a destructive character and resulted in a catastrophic picture for much of the population. Another fundamental event that concerns us was the emergence of Timurid dynasty. The irrefutable impact of the establishment of Timurid Empire by Timur in the late fourteenth century was a pivotal point in the history of Halvetiye's introduction to Anatolia. The invasions of Timur and the policies of guarding and exiling some of the artisans, Sufis, intellectuals etc. brought about the move of ideas. John Curry thinks that after the destruction of the Anatolian lands by Timur, there were some factors that helped the development of Halveti order such as a rise in the interest in Sufism among Anatolian Turkish Muslims, who wanted to learn more about the traditions of their faith, in the process these forced or

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devran, for further information see again Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, 174-176; Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliye Tarikatı*, 105-106.

willingly re-located intellectuals became representatives of some Sufi orders.[102] He is right because at the beginning of fifteenth century, invasion of Anatolia was also the time for the emergence of Halvetiye in Anatolian lands. Pir İlyas, who was a popular scholar in Amasya, was forced to be re-located to Shirvan by Timur, where he met Sadreddin Hıyavi, a shaykh of the Halveti order, and became a disciple of him.[103] Then, Pir İlyas went back to Amasya, influencing the dissemination of Halvetiye in Anatolian lands.

Scholars have different ideas about the founder of the Halveti order such as Hans Joachim Kissling argues that the founder of the order is Yahya-yı Şirvani. A few years later, B. G. Martin shared the same idea and mentioned Ömer el-Halveti as a shadowy figure. He claimed that an organized system of the order was founded by Yahya-yı Şirvani and hence Ömer el-Halveti's role as a founder was not in an institutional sense.[104] However, Ömer el-Halveti continued to be referred as the founder in the literature. What we know about him mostly depends on the *Lemezat* of Hulvi; he was born in Lahcan and chose the path of mysticism, then he became a disciple shaykh Muhammad Harizmi, his uncle. After his choice of spiritual way of life, he went to the mountains and settled into a hollow of a tree for *halvet* where he did *erbain* for forty-times and took the sobriquet Halveti.[105]

As I noted before, the general assumption about the order is that the task of institutionalization of the order was fulfilled by Es-Seyyid Cemaleddin Yahya bin es-Seyyid Bahaeddin eş-Şirvani eş-Şamahi el-Baküvi el Halveti. He was born in the

[102] Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought,* 50-51.

[103] Cami, *Nefahatü'l-Üns*, 666; Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 378.

[104] Kissling, "Halvetiye Tarikatı," 30-31; Martin, "A Short Story of the Khalwati Order," 276-277.

[105] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 338-339.

fourteenth century in Samakhi, a city in the region of Azerbeijan.[106] According to story by Taşköprüzade, while he was playing *çevgen* (polo stick), shaykh Pirzade b. shaykh Hacı İzzettin Halveti who was a disciple of Şeyh Sadreddin, saw him and prayed for him to be a member of Sufi path. After this event, he became attached to the shakyh Sadreddin Halveti and completed all the steps that were necessary to be a shaykh. Following the death of his shaykh Sadreddin, there was a rivalry between Yahya-yı Şirvani and Shaykh Pirzade, which resulted in Yahya-yı Şirvani's decision to move to Baku because the disciples chose Pirzade for the post. Taşköprüzade underlines that Yahya-yı Şirvani attracted ten thousand people around him and he sent his *halife*s to the four winds of Islamic lands. He was the one who started this tradition of sending *halife*s.[107]

In Baku, Yahya-yı Şirvani had good relations with the Shirvanshahs and Halilullah Han (d. 1462), the emperor, placed Yahya-yı Şirvani in the Keykubat masjid, which was near to his palace. Taşköprüzade gives the date of his death as saying nine months after Halilullah's death, Yahya-yı Şirvani died.[108] During his mystic lifetime as a Sufi, he brought up many halifes such as Muhammed Bahaeddin Erzincani, Dede Ömer Ruşeni (d. 1487), Habib Karamani (d. 1496) etc.

The significant actors of the Halvetis, who moved to Anatolian lands from Baku to Amasya, were Pir İlyas and Zekeriya el-Halveti. While some figures came to Anatolian lands, some others remained in Azerbaijan such as Dede Ömer Ruşeni (d. 1487). The part that is striking in Dede Ömer's life story is his closeness to the ruler of White Sheep Turcomans, Uzun Hasan (d. 1478) who brought him to the city

[106] Cami, *Nefahatü'l-Üns*, 669. Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 380, 392.

[107] Taşköprüzade Ahmet Efendi, *Eş-Şakaiku'n-Nu'maniye,* 216-217.

[108] Ibid., 217.

of Tebriz. Additionally, Selçuk Hatun, the wife of Uzun Hasan also had a close relationship with Ruşeni.[109] These close ties with the rival of the Ottoman Empire might have caused some problems for the Halvetiye during the reign of Mehmed II, due to the emperor's conflicting attitude towards Sufi orders.

Moreover, we know that Ruşeni's brother Alaeddin-i Halveti (d. 1462-63) had a problematic relationship with Mehmed II and because of his popularity in Istanbul, the Sultan asked Alaeddin to leave the capital. Upon this conflict with the ruler, the shaykh left the city and went to Larende (Karaman), the capital of the Karamanid dynasty.[110] Obviously, this unwilling re-location to the rival's land is also an indicator of how Halvetis were not particularly welcomed in the Ottoman Empire.

Furthermore, another *halife* of Yahya-yı Şirvani, Muhammad al-Erzincani, seems to have had a close relationship with White Sheep Turcomans as in the case of Dede Ömer Ruşeni. According to Hulvi, before a battle[111] between Mehmed II and Uzun Hasan, the shaykh warned the ruler of White Sheep Turcomans about the battle and given the reasoned that the Ottomans are ghazis of Islam and soldiers of the conquest of Istanbul. The battle ended with the defeat of Uzun Hasan and he came to Erzincani's dervish lodge, asked what will happen to them now. Hulvi writes that shaykh sent Pir Ahmad, one of his *halife*s, to Mehmed II as a messenger and a peace treaty was concluded.[112]

Despite these turbulent relations with Ottomans, thanks to high numbers of *halife*s, Halvetiye was spreading in Ottoman lands through the fifteenth century and

[109] Cami, *Nefahatü'l-Üns*, 670.

[110] Ibid., 671.

[111] Hulvi did not say the name of the battle, but the battle is Otlukbeli.

[112] Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 395-96.

it should be noted that "Sadreddin Hıyavi, being the shaykh of both Yahya-yı Şirvani and Pir İlyas, should be credited with the idea of aggressive proselytizing."[113] After Mehmed II's death, thanks to the Sufi-oriented sultan, Bayezid II, the order would continue to expand and eventually it succeeded to be of one the most effective mystical following centuries.

2.4 The arrival of the Halvetiye in Constantinople

From the fifteenth century on, we have a better information pool to complete the puzzle of Halvetiye's story because of the increasing activities of the order that parallel the expansion of Ottoman Empire and the high number of its followers. Sufi hagiographies, as the most significant sources of studies on Sufism, are very useful for this period, in terms of not only illuminating their readers about Sufis' biographies but also providing information regarding politics and culture of the society to which they belong.

The founder of Cemaliye sub-branch of Halvetiye, Ebü'l-Füyuzat Muhammed b. Hamiduddin b. Mahmud b. Muhammed b. Cemaleddin el-Aksarayi, or Çelebi Halife, the most significant actor in the story of Halvetiye's arrival to Constantinople, was born in Aksaray at an unknown date.[114] In *Lemezat*, Hulvi reports that Cemal Halveti began his career as a *müderris* (professor), but he left his position and became attached to a Sufi order, Zeyniye, to become a devotee of Hacı Halife.[115] However, during the time that he spent with the aforesaid path, he could

[113] Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor," 62.

[114] Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 408.

[115] Ibid., 409-410.

not convince himself spiritually, and in order to find another murshid, he began to travel. While narrating Çelebi Halife's life story, it should be underlined that one of our sources, *Nefahatü'l Üns* that was written by Abdurrahman Cami and translated by Lami Çelebi in the fifteenth century has a special place in terms of accounting Çelebi Halife's life because Lami implies he personally met Çelebi Halife at the Semaniye Madrasa. In other words, the narrative about the shaykh's life was written by his contemporary, a personal met acquaintance.

In Karaman, Çelebi Halife met with another shaykh, Alaeddin Rumi el-Halveti, the shaykh who was asked to leave the Constantinople by Mehmed II, and one of his *halife*s Abdullah Kurbani. Nevertheless, their shaykh-devotee relationship did not last long because after a while, both Alaeddin Rumi and Kurbani died. Then, again as Çelebi Halife was in search of the true path he went to Tokat where he met Tahiroğlu[116] who was an antinomian and illiterate shaykh. The story has the same end and Tahirzade died, so Çelebi Halife decided to go to Shirvan to see Yahya-yı Şirvani. On the route, he had a conversation with Pir Muhammad Erzincani, one of the halifes of Yahya-yı Şirvani and continued his way. On the second day of his travelling, he heard the death of Yahya-yı Şirvani and after a long process of seeking for a murshid, he returned to Erzincani and attached himself to him. He completed the steps of *suluk* there and was charged with the *irşad* in Amasya.[117]

[116] Tahiroğlu or Tahirzade, identified differently in the accounts of Lami and Hulvi. Hulvi says he was a halife of Erdebiliye path which is founded by shaykh Safi. Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 410. On the other hand, Lami mentions him as Halveti. Cami, *Nefahatü'l Üns*, 673.

[117] Ibid., 674. Hulvi says he arrived to Shirvan and joined the funeral prayer of Yahya-yı Şirvani. Çelebi Halife stayed in graveside of him at night and saw him in the dream, Yahya-yı Şirvani said him to go Pir Muhammad Erzincani. Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 411-412.

The fight between sons of Mehmed II, Bayezid and Cem Sultan for the throne gave the Halvetiye a chance to take to the stage because Bayezid II was sent to Amasya, a province of the Ottoman state, as prince governor and his court included many shaykhs including Çelebi Halife. The Halveti shaykh Hulvi accounted that while Sultan Bayezid was a prince-governor in Amasya, shaykh Çelebi Halife was occupied with showing the true path to people there. The prince firmly believed in the shaykh and obeyed to him. *Kapıcıbaşı* (chief gatekeeper) Hacı Mustafa Agha was close to Beyazid II and also a disciple of the Halveti shaykh, so he acted as an intermediary between the shaykh and Bayezid II for dream analysis of the prince.[118]

In *Şakaik*, Taşköprüzade reports that the vizier of Mehmed II, Karamanlı Mehmed Pasha supported Cem, who was in Karaman in those times, for the throne, and tried to discredit Bayezid in the eyes of his father Mehmed II. Shaykh Vefa (d. 1491) was also standing for Karamanlı Mehmed Pasha.[119] On the other hand, Çelebi Halife and his party supported Bayezid II's accession to the throne; Bayezid II wanted his shaykh to pray for him. Çelebi Halife said to him to wait for thirty-three days and he would get news. At the end of the given time, Bayezid II heard the death of his father Mehmed II and then also got the news of the death of Karamanlı Mehmed Pasha, the supporter of his brother Cem. Bayezid II went to the capital quickly and took the throne.[120] Following the triumph of Bayezid II, the new sultan invited Çelebi Halife to the capital city of the empire. He sent Hacı Mustafa Agha to invite Çelebi Halife to Istanbul with a firman. Çelebi Halife accepted the invitation

[118] Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 412-415.

[119] Taşköprüzade Ahmet Efendi, *Eş-Şakaiku'n-Nu'maniye,* 215.

[120] Ibid., 215-216; Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 413-414.

and then he was lodged in the palace of *Kapıcıbaşı* Hacı Mustafa Agha that was near the Gül Mosque in the Balat neighborhood of the walled city, where he continued to be occupied with *irşad*.[121]

Later on, Koca Mustafa Pasha (d. 1512), as a follower of the Halvetiye path, commissioned a mosque complex carrying his name that also included a convent for his spiritual leader. There are some significant steps in the process of the institutionalization of a Sufi order, and the establishment of dervish lodges as the places of the propagation of the shaykh's teaching entails the spatial aspect of the issue.[122] With this architectural patronage, the emergence of Halvetiye within spatial order of the imperial city began. The enthronement of Sultan Bayezid II with the support of Çelebi Halife paved the way for the Halvetiye order to become one of the most prominent Sufi groups in the relatively new center of the Ottoman Empire. The popularization of the order encouraged people to attach to it while the order was enjoying the state's protection. It can be clearly seen that Bayezid II chose Halvetis as the chief beneficiary of his patronage, not Nakşibendis or Zeynis who were assumed to be the more Sunna-oriented Sufi orders.[123]

Unlike his father Mehmed II's rule, there were large numbers of Sufi groups in Constantinople during the reign of Bayezid II. As Karataş remarks crucially the Bayezid II's reign was very significant for the future of the Halvetiye because "the

[121] Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 414-415.

[122] Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 88-89.

[123] Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the age of state-building and confessionalization," 93.

Halvetis for almost a century struggled to be accepted by the Ottoman elite, which would guarantee the future of their order in the brave new world of the *Rum*."[124]

To turn back to our subject, according to Taşköprüzade, while Çelebi Halife was continuing his teachings in his convent, some day the sultan requested that Çelebi Halife to go kaaba in order to pray for the end a plague epidemic, a common occurrence in those times in Istanbul. So, the shaykh departed with his forty disciples but he died on the way of pilgrimage.[125]

It is known that, when Çelebi Halife was alive, he charged *halife*s in Istanbul and in some cities of Anatolia for teaching the true path to people.[126] Before his death, he said that Sünbül Sinan should be the shaykh and also wanted Sünbül Sinan to be married with his daughter Safiye Hatun.[127] Consequently, the new shaykh of the Halvetiye was Sünbül Sinan. When this new shaykh arrived in Istanbul and became the spiritual leader of the Halvetiye followers in the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex, the Sünbüliye sub-branch of Sufi order had appeared.

The convent in the complex of Koca Mustafa Pasha is the first Halveti convent in Istanbul and later it would become one of the significant centers of the Sufi order. Introduction of the Halvetiye to the capital was becoming a part of this

[124] Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor," 112, 115. When he says Rum, it has two meanings; first geographically, and for the second he refers to the affiliation with political networks of these orders which can be named according to their camping around; in Anatolia as Rumi and Karamani. Rumi camp was comprised of the Rumi Halvetiye and Bayramiya, the shaykhs of whom supported Bayezid for the throne in 886/1481 from his base in the Rum region. On the other hand, the Zeyniye and Karamani Halvetiye belong to the Karamani camp, which included of the representatives of the old regime of Mehmed II, a considerable segment of the ulema and the Karamani population of Istanbul.

[125] Taşköprüzade Ahmet Efendi, *Eş-Şakaiku'n-Nu'maniye,* 216; Cami, *Nefahatü'l-Üns*, 675; Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 417-418.

[126] Öngören, *Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf*, 45.

[127] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 418.

project of embellishing the city which had the potential of attracting new dervishes and of the development of Sufi order, with the support of a set of political actors, which included the zenith of power: the sultan. Furthermore, the high number of dervish cells in the first lodge of the Sufi order is also an indicator of both the desire of the order to attain many followers and the state's tolerance towards them. Another remarkable point is that there was also a madrasa in the project, which suggests that this madrasa-dervish lodge combination was not seen as a problematic issue in the final quarter of the fifteenth century.[128] As a result of the efforts for the order's flourishing was the emergence of a sub-branch of it, the Sünbüliye. Eventually, the order could have been represented in many dargahs in the capital city such as the Karabaş dervish lodge in Tophane, İmrahor dervish lodge in Yedikule and Sinan Erdebili's dervish lodge, which is close to the Hagia Sophia.[129] Hüseyin Agha, who was the *kapı ağası* (the white eunuch) of Bayezid II, also converted the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus into a mosque and then with the additional dervish cells to the complex, the building project appeared as a sixteenth century Halveti dervish lodge.[130]

The new shaykh, Sünbül Sinan was born in Merzifon, and before he attached himself to the Halvetiye order thanks to Çelebi Halife, he had concerned himself with religious sciences. During his career as a Sufi, he was interested in the

[128] Zeynep Yürekli, in her article about the dervish lodge commissioned by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, points out some other madrasa-convent combinations and thinks that the coexistence of these in the first years of Halvetiye order in the capital city shows us an uproblematic relationship between ulema and the order. See Yürekli, "The Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in Istanbul," 159-185.

[129] Tanman, "Halvetilik," 534.

[130] Eyice, "Küçük Ayasofya Tekkesi," 520.

disciplining of his followers and also by preaching he was inviting people to follow the true path.[131]

The good relationship between Cemal el-Halveti and the court of Bayezid II did not continue in the reign of the successor, Selim I. He executed the patron of the first Halveti convent in the imperial city, Koca Mustafa Pasha. According to Hulvi, Selim I asked the pasha "why did you caused the death of my uncle Cem?"[132] In addition to this, it is also known that Koca Mustafa Pasha supported prince Ahmed for the throne against Selim I, and this was probably one of the important reasons of Selim I's anger towards him.

Undeniably, the death of their protector Bayezid II and then, the execution of the patron of the Halveti convent by new sultan caused tensions between the order and the state. Since prince Ahmed, the sanjak governor of Amasya, was the favorite of his father, Rumi Halvetiye also supported Ahmed and this was another problematic situation for the Sufi order.[133] The leaders of the Sufi order had not been able to predict the winner of dynastic struggle.

The seventeenth century Halveti dervish Hulvi continues to narrate the story; after the execution of Koca Mustafa Pasha in Bursa, Selim I came back to İstanbul and he ordered to demolish his mosque complex, but guards of the palace feared Sünbül Sinan's solemnity and could not carry out the order of the Sultan. Upon this, Selim I was angered and went to the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex. When the sultan saw the shaykh, his anger turned to love and reverence. Selim I said he came to visit him, but Sünbül Sinan had known his intention. The shaykh suggested the sultan at

[131] Taşköprüzade Ahmet Efendi, *Eş-Şakaiku'n-Nu'maniye*, 275.

[132] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 428.

[133] Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor," 118.

least to demolish the chimneys of the convent and in this way he showed loyalty to the sultan.[134]

Not only the capital city but also provinces witnessed Selim I's pressure during these years. In Amasya, shaykh Gümüşlüoğlu Mehmed was imprisoned because he belonged to the faction of prince Korkud, but later he was freed thanks to the mediation of Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi (d. 1567).[135]

During Bayezid II's rule Rumi Halvetis enjoyed all the advantages of being closer to the Sultan, but the new reign opened the way for other Sufi groups such as Karamani Halvetiye. Piri Mehmed Pasha (d.1532-1533), vizier of Selim I, commissioned three dervish lodges for shaykh Cemaleddin İshak Karamani in the capital city: in Zeyrek, Fındıkzade and Sütlüce.[136] This was possibly an attempt of Karamani Halvetis to get social support; they could find support from the court of Selim I.

As Curry suggests, all this tension must be evaluated within the context of early sixteenth century Ottoman expansion regarding Selim I's campaign against Safavids.[137] The rise of the Safavid state in Iran with the establishment of Twelver Shiism, became a danger for the Ottoman state because of the Turcoman uprising who accepted Shah Ismail as an incarnation of God and provided him military power. On the contrary, Ottoman state replied this newly emerging political power with the defense of Sunni orthodox Islam, and the offense of Shiite practices by naming them as *bid'a*. The controversy between two states became a significant

[134] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 433-434.

[135] Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor," 118.

[136] Ibid., 123.

[137] Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought*, 73.

point as transformations in the religio-political era and these Sunnitization in Ottoman Empire and Shiitization in Safavid realm during the sixteenth century conceptualized by Krstic as "processes driven by interstate competition and a desire to achieve a greater politico-religious integration."[138]

It should also be noted that despite there is an intervention by state to create obeyed-devout subjects, it is difficult to say there was a clear-cut Sunni orthodoxy. As Terzioğlu asserts, the Sunnitization of the Ottoman Empire was a continuation of earlier trends and it was a result of a gradual ulama empowerment process and also spread of Islamic literacy, not a basic political response to the Safavid rising.[139]

In the context of sixteenth century Ottoman case, confessionalization refers to the initiatives taken by political and religious authorities to reshape the behaviors of Muslim subjects of the empire in accordance with the principles of Sunni Islam.[140] These kinds of modifications affected Sufis and caused the critiques of their beliefs and practices; one of the targets of the controversies was Halvetis that was confronted about *sema'* and *devran*.

Hulvi notes that Sünbül Sinan used to preach every Friday at the Fatih Mosque of Mehmed II and some Fridays he preached in the Hagia Sophia Mosque. He adds that after the sermons, the shaykh used to make dhikr and *devran* with his disciples in the mosque.[141] These rituals possibly caused tensions between the shaykh and some ulama scholars, which had implications regarding the Sufi order's relations with the state. Before moving on to the religious debates surrounding this

[138] Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization," 305.

[139] Ibid., 305.

[140] Terzioğlu, "Sufis in the age of state-building and confessionalization," 87.

[141] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 430.

issue, it must be underlined that Koca Mustafa Pasha complex did not have a *tevhidhane* (a separate ritual place) and due to this reason the mosque had a double-function. That is to say, followers of the order used the mosque for their dhikr and *devran* sessions in addition to its function as a prayer space.

The confrontation between the ulama and the Halvetiye is reflected in the hagiographical sources of the Halvetiye. Hulvi accounted that a religious scholar named Sarı Görez objected to the *devran* ritual and also he accused the shaykh Sünbül Sinan and his disciples with *küfür* (impiety). Moreover, he wrote a letter to shaykh al-islam Kemalpaşazade about the issue and the shaykh al-islam agreed with Sarı Görez. The dervishes of Sünbüliye were worried about the fatwa to be written by the mufti, but Sünbül Sinan told them not to fear, because he consulted with the Prophet Muhammad and learned from him that the issue would be solved in a short time. Thereafter, another Sufi, Mahmud Efendi talked with the mufti, who was going to write the fatwa, and convinced him not to issue it. Sünbül Efendi used to perform dhikr and *devran* after the sermons. On Friday, he came to Fatih mosque and his dervishes were ready for *devran* but Sarı Görez tried to prevent their session and a discussion took place with some ulama, who shared the same idea with him about the impermissibility of Sufi rituals. However, the *devran* began and all the dervishes and scholars performed *sema'* except Sarı Görez. After this event, Sarı Görez accused them with cheating and so Sünbül Sinan was invited to a mosque where Sarı Görez and some other religious scholars were waiting for him. Upon the questioning of Sünbüli shaykh about the *devran* ritual, shaykh Sinan reminded to Sarı Görez that he was a *müderris* in the madrasa of the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex and on Fridays Koca Mustafa Pasha used to come to the company of dervishes. Sünbül

Sinan asked him if he knew this problem about *devran* or whether he wanted to please the pasha. When he took of turban and robe and joined the *devran*.[142]

At the end of the debate, Sünbül Sinan convinced them that the rituals of Sünbüliye were in accordance with sharia. Even, he wrote a treatise that discusses the issue.[143]

The victories of Selim I on Safavids may have diminished the pressure on Halvetis. The death of the sultan in 1520 meant the beginning of a new era for them. In the reign of Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566), not only the sultan but also his immediate family had close ties with the Rumi Halvetis. The mother of Süleyman I, Hafsa Sultan (d. 1534), asked Sünbül Sinan to send a shaykh for her mosque complex in Manisa and upon this request Merkez Efendi was sent there.[144] However, this account is problematic in terms of the dates. In *Lemezat*, Hulvi gives the information that Süleyman usually went to the shaykh's majlis, listened to his sermons and sometimes he cried.[145] So, we learn that when Merkez Efendi was in Manisa, Süleyman was a prince-governor there and they had a relationship that began in 1520s and continued in Istanbul after the accession of the Sultan. In this case, Merkez Efendi should have been sent to Manisa before the accession of Süleyman I to the throne, however, while sections of his mother's complex were completed in different dates, the earliest foundation inscription was on the mosque carries the date

[142] Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, 41-43.

[143] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 430-433.

[144] Ibid., 442; Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 396.

[145] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 442.

1523.[146] All things considered, it will be not wrong to assume that the convent might have been built before the complex.

After the death of Sünbül Sinan in 1529, Merkez Efendi returned from Manisa and became the third shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex. Before it, he was the shaykh of a convent that he built with his disciples outside of the city walls, near the gate of Yenikapı. The shaykh's full name is Musa b. Mustafa b. Kılıç beg b. Haydar.[147] He was probably born in 1463-64 and about his hometown Hüseyin Vassaf,[148] the author of *Sefine-i Evliya*, mentions four possible places: Sarı Mahmud village in Kütahya; Çakmak village in Denizli; Manisa; and finally Uşak.[149] After his initial training, he went to Istanbul for further education, and then moved to Karaman. Merkez Efendi tried to be a dervish of Habib Karamani but the shaykh rejected his request and said that he is not the shaykh who will train him, there was another one who he was waiting for. Then, Merkez Efendi went back to Istanbul and became a disciple of another Sufi shaykh, Mirza Baba, the shaykh of Etyemez dervish lodge, and married his daughter. [150]

In *Lemezat*, the hagiographer Hulvi accounted that Merkez Efendi saw an interesting dream, told it to Mirza Baba and also to some other people whom he trusted but no one could provide a satisfactory interpretation. He thought to go to Sünbül Sinan but he did not, because he would rather stay away from the shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha, the founder of Sünbüliye branch of the Halvetiye order, because of his practice of *devran* and his idea of unity of existence. Later, he saw

[146] Yavaş, "Hafsa Sultan Külliyesi," 123-124.

[147] Ibid., 440.

[148] Hüseyin Vassaf (d. 1929) was a Sufi-writer who lived in Istanbul.

[149] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 395.

[150] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 440; Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 395.

another dream; here, Sünbül Sinan was in the Sufi convent and Merkez Efendi closed his dervish cell's door by putting something behind it in order to prevent his coming in. However, Sünbül Sinan could enter the cell. Merkez Efendi told this dream to Sünbül Sinan to ask for an interpretation, and the dream ended with Merkez Efendi's attachment to the Sünbüliye. After this dream, when he woke up, he decided to go to Sünbül Sinan's lodge with a friend who was a follower of the Sünbüliye sub-branch. In the morning, Sünbül Sinan had ordered a turban and robe to be prepared. When Merkez Efendi arrived to the convent, he kissed Sünbül Sinan's hand and became a disciple of the order. Sünbül Sinan clothed his new disciple with the turban and robe to and said: "your door in your dream is not so strong" implying that he had known about the dream before Merkez Efendi narrated it to him. And he continued; "you were given good news by Karamanî before, what we will do is just guidance to you."[151] Merkez Efendi completed the principles in a short time, became a *halife* and then was appointed as shaykh of Kovacı Dede dervish lodge before he was sent to Manisa.

The accounts of Merkez Efendi reflect a close relationship between Süleyman I and him. We also know that the shaykh was appointed as an army shaykh during the Korfu campaign in 1537.[152] Furthermore, not only Süleyman I but also his half-sister, Şah Sultan, was a disciple of Halvetiye order and she tried to contribute to the spread this Sufi path. In order to do this, she commissioned the chief court architect Sinan to build a mosque as a memorial for her beloved shaykh after his death in 1552.[153] Apart from this, we also know two more architectural

[151] Hulvi*, Lemezat,* 441-442; Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 395.

[152] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 444.

[153] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 295.

projects established by the same patroness for the shaykh: one in Eyüp and the other one in Davutpaşa. After sacrificing his life in the service of the Halvetiye, Merkez Efendi died in 1552 and was buried in his own complex. Thanks to his close relationship with the Ottoman dynasty, the shaykh could become one of the significant Sufi characters of the sixteenth century Ottoman Empire.

Merkez Efendi's close connection with the state did not mean that all shaykhs of Halvetiye had unproblematic relations during the reign of Süleyman I, we know that the successor of Merkez Efendi, shaykh Yakub Germiyani, experienced trouble with the ruler. Yakub Germiyani was first sent to Ionnina where he founded a lodge and met Şah Sultan there. Later, he moved to Istanbul upon the request of the princess and Şah Sultan lodged him in her Davudpaşa complex before his appointment as shaykh to the Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge. His son, the author of *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, Yusuf b. Yakub related a story corresponding to the later years of Süleyman's reign in which the Sultan wanted Yakub Germiyani, as the shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge, to lead the public prayer for relief from the drought. However, the shaykh hid and did not want to obey the order of Süleyman I, but finally, he was forced to pray.[154] Karataş provides a convincing interpretation of this narrative, suggesting that the background of the story is more than a prayer. Actually, it was propaganda of the sultan for his favorite son Selim II, against prince Bayezid. Since prince Bayezid was in Amasya and prepared an army against his father and intended to fight with his brother Selim, Süleyman I wanted to gather people and to use the social influence potential of Yakub Germiyani both in Istanbul and in the Amasya region.[155] This narrative supports the idea that, a Halveti shaykh

[154] Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, 15.

[155] Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor," 128.

was chosen to affect people in a public gathering regarding a dynastic conflict, so it portrays the shaykh as a very powerful figure.

2.5 Concluding remarks

In 1453, Mehmed II conquered the city of Constantinople and this resulted in the fall of Byzantine Empire. The conquest was followed by a project of making the Ottoman Empire a world empire, with Constantinople as its capital. In order to carry out this project, and to reconstruct and repopulate Istanbul, many regulations were implemented, entailing alterations, additions, destructions and also some preservation in the urban sphere. There were also attempts for the creation of myths, legends and memories, which could be seen as the invention of tradition. In other words, the era following the conquest was a period of political and cultural change, and also a period of dynamism and transformation. In this process, the relationship between Sufis and the state gained significance in terms of creating city's religious atmosphere especially in the reign of Bayezid II, and this trend continued through the reign of Selim I and of Süleyman I. The state policy mainly concerned religious matters, politics and urbanization, in other words; the Islamization of the city, the Ottomanization of the city and centralization of the state, and lastly populating the city were the main concerns. Constantinople was reshaped by Ottoman Empire with new monuments and institutions, it was urbanized in a new manner: in other words it was reshaped. The main building types in this reshaping were mosques, madrasas and dervish lodges that marked the city's character. Within this larger picture, Sufism was one of the tools in the creation a new city scape. With the establishment of dervish lodges Sufis generated their own type of collective life.

Through the years after the Halvetiye's introduction to the capital city, the order was further institutionalized not at its place of birth, but in the Ottoman Empire, where it became very influential in both in politics and society via alliances and as well as controversies. In this process, the close contact between sultans and the shaykhs is striking. and can be seen as a traditional story for Ottoman Empire that starting from the establishment of the state, with the warm relationship between Osman Ghazi and shaykh Edebali. In the well known account, shaykh Edebali interpreted Osman Ghazi's dream and told him of the founding of the empire. This intimate connection continued with the marriage of Osman Ghazi and Edebali's daughter.[156] Later, successors of Osman also remained close to the shaykhs such as in the case of Bayezid I's connection with Emir Sultan and Mehmed II's closeness with Akşemseddin.

The Halvetiye order was obviously supported by Selim's father, but, in Selim I's reign, the Sultan was suspicious about vizier Koca Mustafa Pasha, both in terms of his support for Ahmed, the sultan's brother and also of the mystery about the death of his uncle Cem.[157] Such a doubt about the vizier complicated the situation and created a bad impression about Halvetiye order. Although they gained a popularity and guidance during the Bayezid II's reign, the situation was not the same for Selim I's sultanate; Rumi Halvetis were close to losing their position. However, Süleyman I and his immediate family established close ties with the shaykh Merkez Efendi and Halvetis took back their position. In sum, the state and the Sufi order had a very turbulent relationship in the first century of their existence in the capital city.

[156] Aşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğullarının Tarihi*, 57-59.

[157] Martin, "A Short Story of the Khalwati Order," 283.

The significant point is not to ignore the historical process of the Sufi order and see how it has been gaining a privileged status in Ottoman Empire.

At this juncture, we may ask whether the Ottomans consciously wanted to the Sufi order to enter socio-political dynamics, or whether it is a project of Sufi groups themselves. It is a debatable issue but my answer is that the relationship between them is a not one-sided but a reciprocal one, both sides tried to benefit from the advantages of these ties provided. In other words, the relations between the political figures and the shaykhs were ways of legitimation for both because these political figures, especially the sultans wanted to use the popularity of these Sufi figures to increase their influences on society and the shaykhs in turn tried to be close to the political authority in order to protect their orders from accusations of being anti-state, deviant or Shiite. They wanted to secure their positions while enjoying the state protection.

Regarding the issue of confessionalization in the sixteenth century Ottoman lands, the checkered story of Halvetiye in a Sunnitizing state can be clearly seen. The Halvetiye became suspicious in the eyes of some ulama due to its rituals and practices. Relationship between religious authorities and the order could be tense, but at the same time a Halveti shaykh, Sünbül Sinan, could get the position of preacher in prominent mosques of the city. Such a significant position is an indicator of a privileged status that also provides the possibility of making propaganda of the order and acquiring new disciples.

All in all, in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries the Ottoman socio-religious life was in the making and Halvetiye as a social group engaged in both politics and the religious life. Apparently, their problems with the rulers did not keep them from rising to prominence. These years were also very fertile years for the

Halvetiye in Ottoman lands in terms of increasing number of followers, activities and even the architectural patronage projects. While the early sixteenth century, and especially the reign of Selim I, was a particularly difficult time for the Halvetiye, the sultanate of Murad III provided a secure place to Halvetis because the sultan had very close ties with Halveti shaykh Şücauddin Efendi (d. 1588) who was interpreting the sultan's dreams.[158] Yusuf b. Yakub was also another Halveti shaykh who had connection with Murad III. The famous work of Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, was presented to him and the author was granted the position in shaykh-al haram in Madina upon his request.[159]

It is possible to suggest that during the second half of the sixteenth century the Sufi order was integrated into the state.[160] This was when the writing of the hagiographies, which are among the main primary sources of this study, and which look back at and perhaps reinterpret a foundational era, started.

[158] See Felek, *Kitabül Menamat*.

[159] Curry, *The Transformation of the Muslim Mystical Thought*, 77.

[160] Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization," 319.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE COMPLEXES

In this chapter, three mosque complexes of the Sünbüliye sub-branch of the Halvetiye order, Koca Mustafa Pasha, Merkez Efendi and Şah Sultan Complex, will be examined with reference to architectural, socio-cultural and urban contexts. The locations, patrons, architectural units as well as the restorations, renovations and additions forming the complexes will also be subjects of study. It must be noted that not only mosque complexes' structural units and their architectural features but also some narratives and the legends about the sites are also the issues to be considered; the aim is to write a more complete overview on these architectural projects than has hitherto been undertaken.

This chapter discusses different aspects of women's involvement and presence in the complexes. It addresses the question of elite women's patronage in the examples of Merkez Efendi and Şah Sultan complexes, and explores the presence of women's burials in the courtyard of the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex. It should be noted that a long discussion on Byzantine past of Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex will be given because of the complex's former character's relation with the Ottoman times. The site of a Byzatine women's monastery continued to have a powerful female presence with a number of women graves in the courtyard. While the issue will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, the information provided here aims to create a basis for an understanding of the issue.

I argue that gender is not a useful tool for understanding every aspect of the architecture, but it helps us to see some limits and possibilities of the architectural

projects. In addition, the status of the patroness, social and political atmosphere of the era and personal relationships can be very influential in the process of understanding these philanthropic acts, but this dimension of the issue will be discussed in the next chapter. The commissioning of Sufi convents in larger architectural projects gives a different character to the complexes in terms of patronage because the presence of a dervish lodge in the program means that the patron is close to a Sufi order, and maybe more than this, s/he is devoted to a shaykh. Therefore, architectural projects that entail private connections make the sites mystical centers of a certain path and also representatives of a specific Sufi organization. I will try to focus on this kind of special relationships between patrons and particular sites or Sufi figures.

Benefitting from maps, several listings of dervish lodges written in the late period of the Ottoman Empire, endowment deeds, and further documents in state archives of the Prime Ministry, I hope to understand how the existence of dervish lodges shaped the architecture of these complexes and in what ways the lodges affected their historical travel in time. A chronological order will be followed for the chapter, so firstly Koca Mustafa Pasha, then Merkez Efendi and finally Şah Sultan complex will be examined. Initially, Koca Mustafa Pasha and his architectural patronage project will be discussed in the fifteenth century Ottoman context that corresponds to an after-conquest period. After this brief information about the complex, Byzantine past of the site will be explained and then, the architectural units of the complex will be investigated one by one and its multi-layered character will be highlighted. Merkez Efendi complex will be evaluated as both a foundation of a shaykh and a project of a princess. The sub-urban character of the site and the complex's contribution to the urbanization process will also be underlined. Finally,

the information about Şah Sultan's complex will help us to explain the meaning of her architectural patronage.

3.1 Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex

The Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex, which has the earliest construction date among these three projects, was commissioned as the first Halveti convent in the capital city by a *kapıcıbaşı* in last years of the fifteenth century, in the reign of Bayezid II. The patron built the Sufi convent for his shaykh Çelebi Halife who was the founder of Cemaliye sub-branch of the Halvetiye order. Upon the invitation of Bayezid II, the shaykh had left Amasya and come to the imperial city where Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge was given to him.[161]

The patron of the architectural program, Koca Mustafa Pasha (d. 1512), had devshirme origins and after his education in the palace, he started to move up the career ladder. The pasha's close ties with Bayezid II brought him the position of *hazinedarbaşı* (treasurer in chief) in the year of enthronement of the sultan in 1481 and he became a *kapıcıbaşı* eight years later. Later, he was also charged as *sancakbeyi* (governor of sanjak) before becoming a vizier in 1501, and then the grand vizier in 1511. One year later, he was executed in the reign of Selim I and was buried in Bursa.[162]

Before evaluating the building complex and its patron, to understand the general context of the patronage of the building, it should be noted that the construction program of the complex corresponds to a period of shifts in

[161] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 414-415.

[162] Emecen, "Koca Mustafa Paşa," 132; Çoban, "Hadikatü'l Vüzera," 23.

architectural patronage in the Ottoman Empire, which can be briefly stated as the increasing variety in the identity of patrons. The process started in the reign of the Mehmed II, as a result of his obvious seclusion policy, with the abandonment of the tradition of the sultan personally attending the imperial council. Besides this, a *kanunname* (law code), written after 1477 prepared for following generations of Ottoman the imperial ideology and practice which were elaborated during Mehmed II's reign and it described and detailed the structure of the administrative military and religious hierarchies.[163] All these changes in the idea of imperial administration resulted in the delegation of power to court officials and also caused changes in architectural patronage particularly of the imperial council members, especially the grand vizier, the head of viziers, because they found a new area for presentation of power such as patronage of public building complexes, which increasingly gained significance in the newly conquered city. As Kafescioğlu draws attention to Mehmed II's order in 1459, written in the fifteenth-century chronicle by Kritovoulos, it comprises a collective building activity:

> Command of the Sultan to all able persons, to build splendid and costly buildings inside the City
>
> Then he called together all the wealthy and the most able persons into his presence, those who enjoyed great wealth and prosperity, and ordered them to build grand houses in the city, wherever each chose to build. He also commanded them to build baths and inns and marketplaces, and very many and very beautiful workshops, to erect places of worship, and to adorn and embellish[164] the city with many other such buildings, sparing no expense, as each man had the means and the ability.[165]

[163] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 4.

[164] Kafescioğlu notes that Charles Riggs has translated the word *kosmein* as "to beautify" and "to adorn" and the word of *agallein* as "to embellish". She enwides these words meanings by comparing English trnaslation and the original text and says *kosmein* renders "ordering" and *agallein* renders "glorifying" and "paying honor to God" Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 237.

[165] Kritovoulos, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 140.

The announcement of the sultan, due to immediate need for public buildings in a sparsely inhabited city encouraged the new elite to build in different regions. An example is the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha who commissioned a large project including a mosque, a madrasa, a bath, a khan, a Koran school, a mausoleum near the commercial center and many other buildings in different parts of the city.[166] Apart from him, Rum Mehmed Pasha, with his project in Üsküdar, and also Has Murad Pasha who built in Aksaray were significant actors of the construction plan.

The project of building that started in the reign of Mehmed II also was adopted by his successor Bayezid II, but the architectural activities in his reign including a high number of conversions portrays a different character. Kafescioğlu underlines the role of a religious identity of the state which was much more powerful in the sultanate of Bayezid II, and she sees these conversions as evident reflections of this dominant character to city's urban fabric.[167] Some of these rearrangements were Chora Monastery (Kariye Mosque), SS. Sergius and Bacchus (Küçük Ayasofya Mosque), St. John Studius Monastery (Imrahor Mosque), Monastery of Lips (Fenari İsa Mosque), and Myraleion Church (Bodrum Mosque) (see Appendix A, Figure 1). In addition, Koca Mustafa Pasha also chose churches for his two projects in the capital city, the mosque bearing his name was converted from a church in the post-conquest period in order to revive the city life and his choice in Ayvansaray also occupied the site of an earlier Byzantine church called Atik Mustafa Pasha Mosque.[168]

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[166] Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fâtih Devri*, 443-451.

[167] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 225.

[168] About the identification of the church scholars have different opinions about the subject, Eyice proposes that it is the church of St. Thekla. Eyice, "İstanbul'da Kiliseden Çevrilmiş Cami ve Mescidler," 281. and Millingen says it was dedicated to St. Peter and Mark; Van Millingen, *Byzantine*

The endowment deed of Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex has not surfaced yet, but there is a register about the waqfs of the pasha including purchase records in Archives of the Directorate of Pious Endowments in Ankara.[169] Apart from this, information about his pious foundations was provided by waqf surveys of 1546 and 1600.[170]

The pasha carried out his building program while he was a *kapıcıbaşı* of Bayezid II. As it is explained in the previous chapter, the pasha was very close to the sultan and also to the Halvetiye order. With the permission of the sultan, he was granted some vegetable gardens from the sultan's own property as alms and the right of possessor and tenant were also given to Koca Mustafa Pasha, which means that he could sell, grant and endow them.[171] According to the waqf register dated 1546, the complex consisted of a mosque, a madrasa, a school, and a public kitchen and shaykh house, and a double-bath.[172] In addition to this, the patron had also other building projects; a mosque in Eyüp-Ayvansaray neighborhood, a hospice in Yenice,

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Churches, 191-192; Hawkins and Mathews asserted that it is also possible that it is the church of St. Elias in Petrion. Ernest, Hawkins and Mathews "Notes on the Atik Mustafa Paşa Cami," 133.

[169] The register is in VGMA, 654. A part of its first pages is missing and probably there was the endowment deed.

[170] A vast survey about the waqfs of Koca Mustafa Pasha made by Nazif Öztürk including a private archive belongs to son of the last shaykh of the complex that consists of endowment deeds, firmans, imperial decrees and many other documents. Öztürk, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Vakıfları ve Külliyesi," 7-76.

[171] A *mülkname* (freehold deed) from the register in Archives of the Directorate of Pious Endowments in Ankara by Bayezid II. "*Kapıcılarımbaşı Mustafa ----- mahrusa-i Kostantınıyyede Sulumanastırı havlısı içinde kendü bina etdiği mescidin dayesinde olan yeri ki tulu iki yüz kırk bir zira' ve arzı yüz seksen zira' dır bir tarafı mescid havlısına ve mescide açılan yola ve bir tarafı beylik havlıya ve bir tarafı Yunus bey ve bir tarafı Seyyid Ahmed ve Sinan ve Hayreddin ------ muttasıl olub imaret itmakçün İstanbul subaşısı ---- tezkiresi ---- mülkname virdüm ve buyurdum ki bade'l yevm taht-ı yedinde ----- mutasarrıf ola dilerse sata ve dilerse bağışlaya ve dilerse vakf ide.* VGMA 654:121-123.

[172] Barkan and Ayverdi, *Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) Tarihli*, 366. Additional buildings of the complex will be mentioned later.

a mosque and a school in Nevrekob.[173] To provide sufficient amount of income for the functioning of the waqfs, he endowed numbers of shops, gardens and khans and also lands in various parts of the empire such as Rumeli, Yanbolu, Filibe, Drama, Nevrekob, and Siroz etc.[174]

Koca Mustafa Pasha is registered as a district in the 1546 waqf survey and the complex constitutes the center of it. Since its foundation, it first served the Cemaliye sub-branch for a short time and later the Sünbüliye sub-branch of the Halvetiye path. Today, the mosque is generally known as Sünbül Efendi Mosque, the name derived from the second shaykh of the dervish convent. I want to investigate this urban project with an emphasis on its double-identity that it gained from Byzantine and the Ottoman empires throughout the history.

3.1.1 Hagia Andrea in Krisei: The site during the Byzantine Era

In terms of the historical background of the site, the information about the earlier stages of the building is unclear but the existence of a church dated back to the sixth century in regard to some relics has been asserted. It is also known that daughter of Emperor Arcadius (r. 395-408), had commissioned a monastery dedicated to Saint Andrew near the gate of Saturninus.[175] Only from the eighth century on, we have more information about a monastery that was built in the site survived until the construction of the mosque complex in the fifteenth century. The monastery was dedicated to one of the apostles, Hagios Andreas, but later, in the period of

[173] Barkan and Ayverdi, *Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) Tarihli*, 366. Canatar, *Tahrir Defteri: 1009 (1600) Tarihli*, 601.

[174] Barkan and Ayverdi, *Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) Tarihli*, 366-369. Canatar, *Tahrir Defteri: 1009 (1600) Tarihli*, 601-604.

[175] Eyice, *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi*, 7.

Iconoclasm, Hosios Andreas, a saint who was against the destruction of religious icons, was martyred in Crete Island in the eighth century, and his relics were brought to Constantinople and buried in this monastery. His burial changed the name of the religious building as Hosios Andreas.[176]

As a result of destructive Iconoclastic period, the monastery was most probably ruined but luckily had the chance of a restoration project commissioned by Basileios I (d. 886) in the ninth century. After another devastating event for the city, the Latin occupation, Theodora Raoulaina (d. 1300), the niece of emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, saved the monastery and thanks to her, the church appeared as a three-aisle basilica. The information about the project of Theodora Raoulaina is not precise, but Semavi Eyice put forwards Theodora "re-constructed" the complex, re-using the existing parts and Müller-Wiener also has the same idea and thinks the building of the church belongs to Palaiologos period, not earlier than this.[177] Moroever, Vasileios Marinis underlines the similarity of the Church of Lips, built in the thirteenth century by wife of Michael VIII, Theodora (d.1303), and Hagia Andrea in Krisei and he says Eyice's proposal is more probable.[178]

Furthermore, detailed information about the special relationship between Raoulaina and the site is obviously needed. In 1261, when Latin troops removed from Constantinople, Byzantine Empire came back to the city thanks to the emperor Michael VIII, who established a new era of Palaiologos, there. Son of Theodore II

[176] Ibid., 7. Eyice and Tanman, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Külliyesi," 30. Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası,* 172.

[177] Eyice, *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi*, 8-10; Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii," 156; Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası,* 173. There is an early debate about dating the church building in his article Semavi Eyice argues that some remnants, early-dated capital of columns used in the church and the superstructure of the building, none of them can be a proof to date the church to pre-palaiologos period. These are the claims of Raymond Janin and Ebersolt and Thier's. For further information see Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii," 8-12.

[178] Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual,* 120, 182-183.

Laskaris, the young John IV, was legitimate successor for the throne but he became co-emperor.[179] After return of the Byzantines, the empire faced a schism in the church of Constantinople because of the deposition of the patriarch Arsenius, who excommunicated Michael VIII Palaiologos in reason for blinding John IV, the young co-emperor, and prisoning him in a castle. By doing this, Michael VIII became the only emperor of Byzantine Empire.[180]

The patriarch Arsenius was dismissed and exiled to the island of Proconnesus by Michael VIII. After this event in 1265, two parties appeared in the society: Arsenites that supports the memory of patriarch Arsenius and Josephites, the followers of the newly appointed one by Michael VIII. The only emperor defended the union with Church of Rome but both Arsenites and Josephites was against this idea.[181]

In 1274, the union of churches was accomplished, known as the Union of Lyons, but it did not last long and only seven years later; Pope Martin IV was dissatisfied so changed his idea and he excommunicated Michael VIII.[182] In the same year, John Raoul, the second husband of Theodora Raoulaina, died and his widowed wife became a nun like her mother Eirene-Eulogioa who was sister of Michael VIII.[183] Theodora Raoulaina and also her nun mother were followers of Arsenites, so as opponents of the emperor's religious policy, both of them exiled from the city.[184] Upon the death of emperor in 1282 and enthronement of his son, Theodora

[179] Hackel, *The Byzantine Saint*, 71.

[180] Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady,* 33-34; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches,* 110.

[181] Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady*, 4.

[182] Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople," 333.

[183] Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady*, 36-37.

[184] Talbot, "Building Activity in Constantinople," 333

Raoulaina returned from exile to Constantinople with the reign of new emperor.[185] After she came back to the city, Theodora Raoulaina used her private property to restore Hagia Andrea in Krisei and also the nearby Monastery of Aristine.[186]

In order to smooth over religious division, Andronicus II (d. 1332), the successor of Michael VIII, permitted the bringing of the sacred relics of Arsenius from Proconnesus to the Constantinople.[187] Subsequently, the venerated remains of Arsenius were moved to the monastery of St. Andrew upon Theodora's request. Until her death, remains had been in Hagia Andrea in Krisei, but later, in time of the patriarch Niphon (t. 1311-1314), it was transferred to the S. Sophia.[188] Presumably, because of the second patron of the complex, Theodora Raoulaina died in 1300, the monastery lost its prestige of having relics of the patriarch Arsenius.

Theodora Raoulaina, as a nun took the monastic name of Xene,[189] re-founded a women monastery as a woman patron in Hagia Andrea in Krisei, brought the relics of the patriarch who hold the same opinion with her, and made this place a shrine for the memory of him. Through the rest of her life, the place where lived and prayed there until her death was her monastery.[190] Besides this, Simonis Palaiologina, daughter of Andronicus II, had married with the king of Serbia, Stephen Milutin (d. 1321) and after her husband's death, she returned to Constantinople and became a

[185] Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady*, 37-39.

[186] Erdoğan, "Monastic Patronage in Palaiologan," 54. This monastery was mentioned inThe Byzantine Lady, as a little house, where Theodora Raoulaina invited Gregory of Cyprus in his retirement and gave him this place as monastic cell. Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady*, 43-44.

[187] Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," 74-75; Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 111.

[188] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churhces*, 110-111. Wortley, *Studies on the Cult of Relics*, 643-645.

[189] Talbot, "Bebaia Elpis," 1561.

[190] Nicol, *The Byzantine Lady*, 40.

nun, buried in Hagia Andrea in Krisei.[191] In the light of this information, women dominance on the site becomes evident. The project of Theodora Raoulaina as member of the Palaiologos dynasty revived the building complex as a nunnery so; she provided accommodation to women who were in search for such a place. Then, both she and Simonis, the widowed noble women of the empire, chose the monastery as their final resting place. In other words, women as residents and the burials mark the site's character.

Kidonopoulos marks the area of Krisis as one of the regions that the building of monasteries were concentrated and others are quarters of Mangana, Blanga, Xerolophos and Perama (see Appendix A, Figure 2).[192] The popularity of the site reflected by a Russian traveller, Stephen of Novgorod, mentioned his visit to the monastery during his visit to Constantinople in 1348-1349, and says "… this is a very beautiful convent where we kissed the body of St. Andrew."[193] In addition, an anonymous description of Constantinople written by an unknown author in the late fourteenth century identifies the church as follows: "This is St. Andrew Convent, and the body of St. Andrew reposes there in front of the church doors; Christians are blessed, for healing comes from it."[194] So, the visiting of travelers related with the veneration of the relics of the saint and people were expecting miracles for their problems.

Apparently, the complex was one of the attractive areas of the city in Byzantine times and it had been a place of visit and veneration after Raoulaina's

[191] Eyice, *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi*, 8.

[192] Kidonopoulos, "The Urban Pyhsiognomy of Constantinople," 107.

[193] Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 40.

[194] Ibid., 148.

reviving project at the site including a church housing relics of St. Andrew. Michael VIII Palaiologos and Andronikos II were foremost figures of the extensive building and renovations projects in the re-gained capital after devastating effects of fires, earthquakes and Latin occupation, as both patrons and encouragers of the churches, monasteries, charitable institutions as well as secular buildings of palaces and houses, early Palaiologan era witnesses a large-scale flourishing in architecture (see Appendix A, Figure 3, see also Figure 4).[195] However, the fourteenth century faced with two civil wars, the first through years of 1321-1328 and the second was between 1341 and 1347, also an earthquake in 1332 and then in 1343 damaged the structures of the city and also influenced the building activity negatively.[196]

Close to the year of conquest, we learned from a record that a vineyard and plot of land for wheat cultivation owned by Hagia Andrea in Krisei in 1401.[197] That is to say, the monastery was still in function in the last years of the Byzantine era. Moreover, the fifteenth century Italian itinerant, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, indicates the church in his map of Constantinople, just near to the gate of Silivri, which includes very few numbers of buildings (see Appendix A, Figure 5). So, it can be deduced that the monastery could have a place among the prominent religious places of the city.

3.1.2 Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex's Ottoman Years

In 1453, with the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II, Byzantine Empire ended and the fall of the city marked a significant point for its history because it

[195] Kidonopoulos, "The Urban Pyhsiognomy of Constantinople," 100-108.

[196] Ibid., 109-110.

[197] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi–sacra et profana (Vienna, 1860–90),* 506-509 as cited in Constantinides, "Byzantine Gardens and Horiculture," 91.

would serve as the capital of a new state, the Ottoman Empire. In this new capital, the architectural culture of Ottoman Empire witnessed a change; sultan's new urban complex did not include convents for Sufis unlike his predecessors' as an obvious attitude towards the mystics. Starting with Orhan Gazi, the earlier form of sultanic mosques, were multiple functioning socio-religious complexes and they had convent sections were given to shaykhs, travelers and guests, so Mehmed II's project symbolizes a rupture from convent-masjid to convent-mosque form (see Appendix A, Figure 6 and 7).[198] However, this rupture did not implemented by his successor. The close relationship Bayezid II with the Halveti order that began in the sultan's years in the sanjak of Amasya and continued in his reign influenced both his own urban complex in the capital city and the identities of the buildings in city's urban fabric. To clarify, Bayezid II's connection with Sufis echoed in his architectural project with inclusion of convent rooms and it indicates a return to earlier form of sultanic mosques i.e. the state provides housing for Sufis in the imperial mosque of the sultan. Moreover, starting from Koca Mustafa Pasha complex, Mirahor İlyas Bey conversion program of St. Studius monastery, Küçük Ayasofya project of chief white eunuch Hüseyin Ağa and Atik Ali Pasha Mosque Complex served to the Halvetis. The numbers and founders of these buildings show us the growing influence of the path and high number of Sufi patrons. This protection enjoyed by Halvetiye especially in the districts of Topkapı and Koca Mustafa Pasha with remarkable number of foundations of dervish lodges.[199]

As it was stated before, Hagia Andrea in Krisei was converted into a mosque with the initiative of Koca Mustafa Pasha who was a *kapıcıbaşı* of Bayezid II at the

[198] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 49-50; Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 70.

[199] Ibid., 186.

time of the its foundation and later he also served as grand vizier in the reign of Bayezid II and Selim I. The chosen building, the church of Hagia Andrea in Krisei, was ready-to-use, but it was not transformed into a mosque immediately; it took thirty-three years to be an Islamic place. Just after the conquest, in the 1455 survey of Istanbul, the building registered as *Kızlar Knîsesi* (The Monastery of Nuns) and the church. The survey records that the monastery includes five houses and two of them were empty, the residents of other three are Hamza, a dervish from Manisa and his brother the scribe Pir Mehmed and Yorgi from Edirne.[200] Hence, probably the building was not in use of Christian population and it is likely that it had served as residence until the patronage of Koca Mustafa Pasha. The early drawing of Constantinople made by Giovanni Andreas di Vavassore's also includes Hagia Andrea in Krisei, so the building was one of the prominent structures of the city at that time.

According to the two panels on the north wall of the mosque, the conversion project was hold between 1486 and 1490. Mustafa Ali (d. 1600), the Ottoman bureaucrat and the intellectual of the sixteenth century, in his work of *Künhü'l Ahbar*, narrates the opening ceremony of the mosque mentioning the participation of Bayezid II and the feast for the ceremony with details of gifts such as various types of fabrics and also a procession of sugar candy.[201] Before Ali, the author of *Heşt Behişt*, İdris Bidlisi, had depicted the ceremony and it is very similar to what Ali says; The Pasha threw about approximately one hundred thousand Rumî *akçe*s for the coming of the sultan as well as he gave high quality gold-filled Frenk fabrics and also gold plated Yezdi and İskenderani goods. Ten beautiful *gulam*s (young

[200] İnalcık, *The Survey of Istanbul 1455*, 492.

[201] Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l Ahbar*, 962-964.

servants) who wears golden belts and golden and jewel decorated crowns, hold pitchers, bowls and pots made of gold or silver resembles the beauty of heaven. He presents about one hundred gifts including colorful and embroidered textiles and horses like the wind to the sultan.[202]

Mustafa Ali says many of who were present there said verses but the most beautiful one was written by İdris Bidlisi that was inscribed on a panel.[203] The inscription embellished the main gate of the complex dated 1492[204] also mentioned by the seventeenth century traveler Evliya Çelebi and Ayvansarayi, but the panel could not survive. The inscriptions defines the complex as sacred and says the holy coming of sultan, who loves his subjects, to the complex brought joy to the place and he also honored his vizier with compassion.[205]

Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex consisted of a mosque, a madrasa, a dervish lodge, a public kitchen, a school and a double-bath in the sixteenth century.[206] Later, through Ottoman period, the complex enlarged with many additional building as well as witnessed various restorations. Initially, after the death of shaykh Sünbül Sinan, a mausoleum was erected for him (see Appendix A, Figure 8). Other five mausoleums of the shaykhs were built in different times and close to Sünbül Sinan's tomb. According to Ayvansarayi, Defterdar Ekmekçizade Ahmet Pasha added a

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[202] *Heşt Behişt* comprises the histories of first eight sultans of the Ottoman Empire from Osman to Bayezid II and it was written in Persian. Vural Genç has translated the the text from Persian to Turkish in his unpublished PhD thesis and he kindly shared it with me. "Acem'den Rum'a: İdrisi Bidlîsî'nin Hayatı, Tarihçiliği ve Heşt Behişt'in II. Bayezid Kısmı (1481-1512)," 855-856.

[203] Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l Ahbar*, 964-965.

[204] The date of the inscription is given in Künhü'l Ahbar and in the travelbook of Evliya as 1572-1573, but a later source of Ayvansarayi gives the date of 1492.

[205] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 262; Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 221; Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l Ahbar*, 964-965.

[206] Barkan and Ayverdi, *Tahrîr Defteri: 953 (1546) Tarihli*, 366.

building was almost same size with the mosque on the right side of the mosque in the seventeenth century, but the building is not present today.[207] The chief black eunuch Hacı Beşir Ağa commissioned a fountain in the courtyard of the complex in 1737.[208] Later, a *muvakkithane* (timing room) was built by shaykh al-islam Veliyüddün Efendi just close to the west entrance in the eighteenth century.[209] Then, the nineteenth century witnessed the construction of two *sebil*s (public fountains); Müşir Mehmed Halil Rıfat Pasha added a *sebil* in 1834-35 and later Hacı Emine Hanım, sister of Behçet Pasha, who is *mutasarrıf* (governor) of Karesi, built another one.[210] Apart from restorations that will be mentioned later, Abdulhamid II constructed a mausoleum for shaykhs of the dervish lodge.[211] Serasker Rıza Pasha who had close ties with the complex renovated the mausoleum and added another one for himself with a room for tomb keeper.[212] There are also some other pieces in the courtyard, all three are undated, making this complex special in terms of the stories about them which are Çifte Sultanlar mausoleum, the grave of Katherina (*Sarı Sıdıka*) and a cypress tree on the tomb of Daye Hatun.[213] Lastly, a little fountain for birds, an ablution fountain and a harem building are also parts of this complex. Apparently, Koca Mustafa Pasha complex is very significant in terms of longevity and range of elite patronage.

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[207] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 226.

[208] Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, 156.

[209] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 221.

[210] Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 798.

[211] Details about the mauseloum will be given later.

[212] Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 798.

[213] A detailed research about gendered charachter of these units (Çifte Sultanlar Mausoleum, Daye Hatun, Safiye Hatun and the grave of Katherina) will be made in the third chapter. Therefore, I will not explain them at this point.

The list of the buildings reveals the multilayered character of the complex and also makes the examination of units difficult but putting them in a chronological order will help to understand the meaning of patronages on the site through the centuries. It will be better to start with the entrances and then continue with the afore-mentioned the sixteenth century structures of the complex. For the additional ones, the buildings that we know their construction will come firstly and then, the undated buildings will be investigated.

It will be better to start with the courtyard, which is large and asymmetrical. It has three entrances; the west, the north and the east that is used as main entrance has a nineteenth century restoration inscription of Abdulmecid and the tughra of Mahmud II (see Appendix A, Figure 9). The inscription mentions Sultan Abdulmecid as greatest emperor of the time and refers to his love of dervishes. Then, it says helpers of him are aqtab, people who are at the top of the spiritual hierarchy, in restoration of this beautiful dervish lodge. It is very probable that the composer of the poem uses the word *devran* with its two meanings; firstly it refers to the world and secondly to the ritual of the Halvetiye order, the rotation.[214]

Continuing with the mosque, I want to underline its past as a church and to say these buildings, churches, belonged to a different religion, so the architectural idioms were designed according to a different belief and hence different requirements. Therefore, some indispensible alterations were taken into consideration. Before the conversion project, the church's axis, exceptionally, was not along west-east direction, but rather, it had a deviation to northeast that provides convenience to place mihrab on southeastern direction in the process of transforming

[214] *Kerâmet-pîşe-i dervişân-nüvâz u dâd-endişe/Şehinşah-ı cihân-bân-ı zaman Abdülmecid Hândır/ Yapıp bu hankah-ı evliyayı aldı himmetler/Mu'îni ol şehin gavs ile aktâb u imâmândır/Bu tarih-i güher-fer fâl-i hayr olsun ebed Zîver/Bu ra'nâ hankâh el'ân binâ-yı şâh-ı devrândır. Ketebehu Yesârizâde Mustafa İzzet gufire lehüma 1264.*

it into a mosque.[215] So, the entrance is also changed which was on west, but later it is changed to the north where a five-domed wooden portico was also added. Since other converted churches in the city were in accordance with the west-east direction and their apses were towards east, the qibla is placed in the apse with a deviation to the south, in other words towards south-east.

Apart from the axis issue, it should be said that the present building is a product of additions and alterations that continued through the centuries, so the church had lost some of its original features. The three-aisle Byzantine basilica has a trefoil plan as it stands today, but this plan is a product of interventions, the central dome and two semi-domes are parts of this change and they are totally re-built in the Ottoman time. Semavi Eyice and Alexander van Millingen have the same idea that the church originally has an ambulatory type. However, in order to open the front of the mihrab the columns carrying the dome had been removed and the vaults of the side galleries had been turned into semi-domes, thus side parts united with the center.[216] The architect made this intervention, as a solution for a more united prayer space to users (see Appendix A, Figure 10 and 11). Furthermore, Eyice says after the conversion project, the plan of the mosque is the pioneer of Bayezid II Mosque that has a central dome supported by two semi-domes (see Appendix A, Figure 12).[217] At this point, the effect of Hagia Sophia in Ottoman architectural culture must be underlined, beginning with Mehmed II's complex, Rum Mehmed Pasha and Atik Ali Pasha mosques which were designed as a central dome flanked by a semi-dome on

[215] Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Beyazid ve Yavuz Selim Devri*, 273. For further information see Köseoğlu, "Neften Saf'a Efsunlu Bir Dönüşüm Hikayesi," 18-28. Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Cami," 169-170.

[216] Eyice, *Son Devir Bizans Mimarisi*, 10-11. Semavi Eyice thinks that there are three examples of the ambulatory type in Constantinople; Hagia Andrea in Krisei, Pammakaristos Church and Constantine Lips Church.

[217] Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Cami," 172.

mihrab side took Hagia Sophia's superstructure as a model, hence they are forerunners for the plan of Bayezid II Mosque (see Appendix A, Figure 13, 14 and 15). The result of re-modeling in Hagia Andrea in Krisei was the first example of a main dome supported by two semi-domes, like the plan of Hagia Sophia, in the Ottoman architectural culture.[218]

One passes through one of the portico's two doors located in first and fifth parts and enters to the nave via a door at the north aisle. The mihrab and minbar are under the semi-dome on the south through the qibla. The mosque has two semi-domes each have three windows flank the main dome and the cupola has an octagonal shape on the exterior, and it is circular inside.

The outer narthex of the church has three bays and the central one is located on four columns. Other sides of the central bay are groin-vaulted and also on south and north sides the continuing parts of the aisles covered by small domes. The barrel vaulted inner narthex separated from the naos with two columns (see Appendix A, Figure 16). On the south, the bay is groin-vaulted and there is a domed bay is on the north side. The bema of the church is barrel vaulted and it is contiguous to a semicircular apse. The prosthesis covered with a small dome and the diakonikon is cross-groin vaulted. Furthermore, the church's exterior is also covered with masonry and the mosque gained a new appearance. The unknown architect made these large scaled alterations to the church's architecture and also changed the building's entrance on north, in this way the structure gained a different character (see Appendix A, Figure 17).

A significant number of converted churches in Constantinople makes possible to compare the interventions to these constructions. The change in the

[218] Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 219.

structural system of Hagia Andrea in Krisei, the remove of columns and uniting aisles with the central part is a solution adopted in the Ottoman architectural culture's conversions stories of Byzantine churches. At this point, it might be more useful to look two other ambulatory type churches in the city. The Church of Constantine Lips (Fenari İsa Mosque) bearing the name of its founder was constructed in 907.[219] After restoration of the Byzantine rule following the Latin occupation, Theodora, the wife of Michael VIII commissioned another church on the south, which has ambulatory plan, and restored the present one located in the north side.[220] Following the capture of city, Alaeddin Ali Efendi from Fenari family converted the south church into a masjid in 1496-1497.[221] In the seventeenth century, after a devastating fire, the grand vizier Bayram Pasha restored the building and the columns of the south church that separate the nave from the aisles on three sides removed and replaced with arches (see Appendix A, Figure 18).[222]

The church Pammakaristos was commissioned by John Komnenos and his wife Anna Doukaina in the beginning of the twelfth century.[223] The ambulatory type church has witnessed many alterations and additions through both the Byzantine times and the Ottoman years. Until the end of the sixteenth century, it had functioned as patriarchate but Murad III converted it into a mosque and named as Fethiye.[224] In the process of conversion, while its apsis replaced with a triangular qibla wall and a

[219] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 126. Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, 182.

[220] Marinis, "Structure, Agency, Ritual, and the Byzantine Church," 342.

[221] Ayvasarayi, *Hadikatül Cevami*, 215; Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 127; Freely, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, 176.

[222] Eyice, "İstanbul'da Kiliseden Çevrilmiş Cami ve Mescidler," 282-283; Freely, *Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, 176.

[223] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 132; Marinis, Architecture and Ritual, 191.

[224] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 133.

dome was added to its superstructure, another significant intervention was inside; the supportive columns in the interior were removed. With this intervention, the main dome and the vaults placed on arches (see Appendix A, Figure 19).[225] As clearly seen in those examples, because the columns stand between the central bay and the aisles in the ambulatory type, these churches' architecture prevents a united prayer space. Therefore, the Ottoman architects solved the problem with providing communication of central prayer space with the aisles thanks to the arches. However, it should be noted that the experience of Hagia Andrea in Krisei marks a more extensive intervention compared with two others in reason for its completely changed superstructure.

For the project of the pasha, there are two parts of inscription panels on the wall of entrance to the mosque, the text on the right entrance in Arabic. The inscriptions date the mosque to the Bayezid II's reign and mentions Mustafa Pasha as the patron of the building. Thanks to it, we learn that the mosque was built between 1486 and 1490-91.[226]

Another typical Islamic addition to the mosque, apart from the mihrab and the minbar, is the octagonal minaret added to the mosque with its one side on the right of its entrance.

İdris Bidlisi says he said his verse for the complex after the erection of madrasa that had twenty cells and gave the date of 1492, so the establishment date of the madrasa located at the southeast of the mosque, is one or two years later than the

[225] Ibid., 134. Eyice, "İstanbul'da Kiliseden Çevrilmiş Cami ve Mescidler," 284-285.

[226] *İnne fi ahdi devleti sultan/Bayezidül muzafferul 'ala/Abdu sahibel --- ve'l hayr/Mustafa zül menakıbil 'ala/Kad beni cami'an li vechallah/Halisan la lisemati ve reyya/Ve kad iftaru fihi littarih/Mescidi üssise aled takva 891 (1486). And the left one; Devr-i şeh Bayezid Han da ki anun/Safvetü'l arz min asakire/Yapdı bir bendesi bu cami'i kim/Sare fi'd dehr nevadire/Elhameha'llahü fihi tarihan/Yessirü'l hakkı emr-i âmire 896 (1490-91)*. Ayvansarayi, *Hadıkatü'l Cevami*, 121.

complex.[227] The madrasa registered in 1546 waqf survey[228] has seven domed cells on its right and on the other hand, left side's domes were demolished and their roof is barrel-vaulted. An open courtyard is surrounded with a U shape domed portico on the east, west and south sides with the arches located on twelve columns. The *dershane* (classroom) part's cover is roofed, but Aydın Yüksel thinks that it was most probably domed before.[229] The existence of a madrasa in the complex means that it is an example of madrasa and dervish lodge combination, so the madrasa students and the scholars work there used the same courtyard with dervishes and shaykhs and that was unproblematic in the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century.[230] Today the madrasa serves as Koran course for boys.

The dervish cells and the public kitchen standing on the east, north and the west part of the courtyard[231] create L shape body, which divided into two by the north entrance.[232] Ayvansarayi gave the number of dervish cells as forty in the eighteenth century.[233] The layout has been changed with the construction of new buildings around the cells and the hospice, the mausoleum of Sünbül Efendi and Sersaker Rıza Pasha, and the mausoleums of other shaykhs were built in front of the them, so aforementioned parts relatively lost their connection with the courtyard.

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[227] Genç, "Acem'den Rum'a," 855.

[228] "… *câmi'i-şerîf ve imâret ve medrese ve hanıkah ve mektebhâne der mahsûre-i İstanbul der kurb-i Sulı Manatır* …" Barkan and Ayverdi, *Tahrir Defteri 953 (1546) Tarihli*, 366.

[229] Yüksel, *II.Bayezid ve I. Selim Devri Mimarisi*, 278.

[230] Later this type of complexes witnessed controversies between the ulama and dervishes. For more see; Zeynep Yürekli's article about Sokollu complex.

[231] Yüksel, *II. Bayezid ve I. Selim Devri*, 279. Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 802. Both do not give information about which part of this L shape was hospice due to the lack of information.

[232] Tanman talks about the possibility of the construction these units on formerly Byzantine monk cells of the monastery. Tanman, "Sümbül Efendi Tekkesi," 107.

[233] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 221.

Furthermore, a wall was built in front of the short side of L shape and these units were also abstracted and today they are used by mosque officers. The north and east side units were changed to a large extent and transformed into a Koran course for girls.

The waqf register also mentions a school, which is relatively a small unit of the complex located at the left side of the main entrance. It has been functioning as a library for a while.

The double-bath located on the west of the courtyard does not have a symmetrical plan, it is renovated and open to daily-use of public. There is an undated inscription on the exterior door of it. It advises users to not brag about their clothes and reminds that they leave it before they enter to the bath.[234] The double-bath includes a *halvet* and it also has undated and probably incomplete inscription. The inscription describes the beauty of the *halvet* that had been used by Sünbül Sinan and prays for the soul of Koca Mustafa Pasha.[235]

The domed mausoleum of Safiye Hatun is located at the left side of the mosque with its octagonal plan (see Appendix A, Figure 20). According to Ayvansarayi, Koca Mustafa Pasha commissioned a mausoleum for himself but his daughter Safiye Hatun buried there.[236] On the other hand, Hulvi narrates that shaykh Çelebi Halife's last will of the marriage of his daughter Safiye Hatun and Sünbül Sinan.[237] So, there are two Safiye Hatuns in the sources and lack of a construction date makes it difficult to know the identity of its patron certainly. The mausoleum

[234] *Gurur etme libâs-ı fahr ile ömrüm cihândır bu/Kabâ-yı cismini kor bunda herkes câmekândır bu*.

[235] *Su gibi itdi masraf veznedâr-ı mülk-i ...../ Gülistan oldu ziba halveti Sünbül Efendi'nin/Ola sîrâb-ı rahmet-i ruh-i Koca Mustafa Paşa/Erenler himmetiyle zir-i tas-ı çarhdan yâ Rab/(...) tarihe itse âb-ı kevsere ser-füru safvet*. Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde II. Bayezid ve I. Selim Devri*, 279.

[236] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 222.

[237] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 418.

will be discussed in the next chapter as a representative of woman presence in the courtyard of Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex.

Sünbül Sinan, the founder of Sünbüliye sub-branch of Halvetiye order, was the second shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge and he was buried in the courtyard upon his death in 1529 and later a domed mausoleum was built for him. The mausoleum of Sünbül Efendi took its today form after Mahmud II and Serasker Rıza Pasha's (d. 1920) restoration (see Appendix A, Figure 21).[238] The pasha added a part for himself to the octagonal tomb of Sünbül Sinan and by doing this he united these two parts. When you enter the mausoleum, Rıza Pasha's symbolic coffin is on the right, and Sünbül Efendi's on the left (see Appendix A, Figure 22 and 23).[239] Politician Reşit Saffet Atabinen (d. 1965) is another person who built an adjacent part behind the tomb of Sünbül Efendi and buried there. The desire of being buried close to the founder of Sünbüliye sub-branch continued after the collapse of Ottoman Empire and extended to the second half of twentieth century.

In 1737, chief black eunuch Hacı Beşir Agha commissioned a fountain in the courtyard of the mosque (see Appendix A, Figure 24).[240] He was charged as chief black eunuch in 1717 and served in the reigns of Ahmed III and of Mahmud I for twenty-nine years.[241] The modest column fountain has an inscription on it and it says visitors of this place come to the source of generosity and goodness. Then, states

[238] Tanman, "Sümbül Efendi Tekkesi," 107.

[239] Hüseyin Vassaf narrates a detailed story about the patronage of Rıza Pasha. Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 380-381.

[240] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 221-222.

[241] Özcan, "Hacı Beşir Ağa," 555.

Hacı Beşir Agha's name as patron of this auspicious fountain that pours sherbet of paradise.[242]

Hacı Beşir Agha commissioned fifteen more fountains in İstanbul, but only nine of them were survived.[243] Apart from fountains, he was also well known with the patronage of mosques and libraries and schools,[244] so such a powerful figure of the palace in the eighteenth century Ottoman Empire has a link with the complex and the Halvetis.[245]

Later in the eighteenth century, shaykh-al Islam Veliyüddin Efendi also became one of the donors of the complex and he built a *muvakkithane* at the west of the courtyard.[246]

In the nineteenth century two *sebil*s were commissioned but one of them, grand vizier Rıfat Pasha's *sebil* that is located in the northeastern part of the courtyard next to the rectangular mausoleum, was ruined. In addition, Hacı Emine Hanım built an octagonal *sebil* close to the mosque, at the opposite of the *muvakkithane*.[247]

There are four more mausoleums belongs to the shaykhs of the Sufi lodge, to understand the collectivity and also the crowd of mausoleums of shaykhs I want to

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[242] *Menba'-ı cûd-ü mekârim zâir-i beyt-i kerim/Çehre-say-i südde-i dergâh-i fahr-ül mürselin/Ya'ni kim Darüssaade Ağası Hacı Beşir/Bu hayırlı çeşmeyi yaptırdı ol zât-i güzin/Didi Hâtif mevki'n tahsin idüb tarihini/Nûş kıl bu çeşme-i zîbâya gel mâ-i main 1150*. Tay, "Hacı Beşir Ağa'nın İnşa Ettirdiği Çeşmeler," 22.

[243] Ibid., 13, 16.

[244] For further information about Hacı Beşir Ağa and his pious foundations see; Hathaway, *Beshir Agha*; Tay, "Hacı Beşir Ağa'nın İnşa Ettirdiği Çeşmeler," 12-50.

[245] There is no evident information about the Sufi order that he was attached to, but Hathaway thinks he most likely had ties with Halvetis and also Nakşibendis. Hathaway, *Beshir Agha*, 97.

[246] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 221.

[247] Müller-Wiener, *İstanbul'un Tarihsel Topografyası*, 174; Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Külliyesi," 134.

describe them together without regarding their construction dates. The rectangular mausoleum which was built by Abdulhamid II in 1891-92 including twelve symbolic coffins, six of them are the shaykhs of the dervish lodge[248] and other six are unnamed.[249] This mausoleum is close to the northern entrance and near to it a hexagonal tomb housed four people and only two of them are known; shaykh Yakub Germiyani and shaykh Kerameddin Efendi. The hexagonal mausoleum includes two shaykhs; shaykh Hasan Adli Efendi and shaykh Eyyabi Mehmed. There is another mausoleum have a nameless symbolic coffin stands between hexagonal and octagonal mausoleums.[250]

The harem building was built on the north of the complex near to the east entrance (see Appendix A, Figure 25). The construction date of this recently restored[251] three-decker wooden harem building is unknown, but we know that it was restored in the nineteenth century. It might be speculative but the building may have been used as a separate space for rituals regarding the controversies that Halvetis was faced with. Moreover, there is also a birdbath in the courtyard standing without any information.

The complex is also well known with its chained cypress tree placed on the tomb of Daye Hatun, who is believed to be the wife of companion Cabir. The grave of him is in the courtyard of Atik Mustafa Pasha Mosque, which was built by the

[248] Shaykh Gazi Efendi, shaykh Razi Efendi, Haşim Efendi, second Haşim Efendi, third Haşim Efendi, and shaykh Kutbeddin Efendi.

[249] Tanman, "Sümbül Efendi Tekkesi," 107.

[250] The information about mausoleums provived by the article of "İstanbul Koca Mustafa Paşa Sünbül Efendi Camii ve Külliyesi Günümüzdeki Durumu, Genel Değerlendirmesi Rölöve Yöntemlerimiz." People who work at the present restoration project kindly shared with me.

[251] It has renovated in 2010.

same patron (see Appendix A, Figure 26). Alexander Van Millingen narrates an anonymous story about the cypress tree:

> One day a Jew who had borrowed money from a Turk, on being summoned to pay his debt, replied that he had done so already. To that statement the Turk gave the lie direct, and accordingly, debtor and creditor were brought to the chain for the settlement of the question at issue. Before submitting to the ordeal, however, the Jew placed a cane into the hands of the Turk, and then stood under the cypress confident that his honor for truthfulness and honesty would be vindicated. His expectation proved correct, for the chain touched his head to intimate that he had returned the money he owed. Whereupon taking back his cane he left the scene in triumph. Literally, the verdict accorded with fact; for the cane which the Jew had handed to his creditor was hollow and contained the sum due to the latter. But the verdict displayed such a lack of insight, and involved so gross a miscarriage of justice, that from that day forth the chain lost its reputation and has hung ever since a dishonored oracle on the dead arms of the cypress, like a criminal on a gibbet.[252]

Moreover, Evliya Çelebi says it is called as chained cypress tree because a charitable person lashed its dry boughs with chains.[253] Çifte Sultanlar mausoleum near the tomb of Sünbül Sinan has a rectangular plan (see Appendix A, Figure 27). It is believed that granddaughters of Ali b. Ebu Talib, whose names are Fatıma and Sakine, came Constantinople for the siege of the city and they were buried there. There is also another grave in front of the mosque and it is claimed that the grave belongs to the daughter of Constantine, Katherina and who became a Muslim, then took the name Sıdıka Hatun (see Appendix A, Figure 28). The special character that is given by these women burials in the courtyard of the complex will be discussed in the next chapter.

As a result of the popularity of the complex and the veneration of the shaykhs, many people want to be buried there; so various *hazire*s (small graveyard) emerged in the courtyard of the complex through the centuries. One enters to the

[252] Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches*, 107-108.

[253] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 263.

courtyard from the main entrance and walk through the mosque sees *hazire*s on left and right sides. There is also another small one that took its shape in time and appeared between the mausoleums and the dervish cells.

Bandırmalızade Ahmed Münib Efendi's work of *Mecmua-i Tekaya* was written in the last years of the nineteenth century gives an alphabetical list of dervish lodges in İstanbul.[254] The dervish lodges was categorized according to their dhikr days and Sünbül Efendi dervish lodge was ranked as the thirty-second among the ones that perform their dhikr on Fridays.[255] Another example of this kind, *Rehber-i Tekaya*, which was written by Yeşilzade Mehmed Salih, made his classification based on the Sufi orders, and placed Sünbül Efendi dervish lodge on the first rank among the Sünbüli lodges.[256]

The long history of complex witnessed many restoration projects such as after the earthquake of 1766, the dome of the mosque and some other parts were renovated in reason for the damage.[257] As I mentioned before, in the nineteenth century two Sultans marked the history of complex; firstly, Mahmud II and then Abdulmecid. The restoration inscriptions are located between the columns of the porch on the portal consist of three parts; the right one states Mahmud II's restoration in 1834 and two others states Abdulmecid's restoration in 1847, the middle one includes the names of all shaykhs of the Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge (see Appendix A, Figure 29).

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[254] Bandırmalızade, *Mecmua-i Tekaya*. For more information see Şimşek, "Bandırmalızâde Ahmed Münib Efendi'nin Hayatı, Eserleri ve Mecmûa-yı Tekâyâ'sı," 135-172.

[255] Ibid., 4.

[256] Aşkar, "Yeşilzâde Mehmed Salih Efendi'nin Rehber-i Tekây'ası," 156.

[257] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 227.

The inscription of Mahmud II dated 1835 and the text praises the sultan Mahmud II and says the complex, which had been in disrepair for a long time, becomes prosperous thanks to the dervish lodge and in this way the hearts of dhikr practitioners are revived. After eulogizing Sünbüliye sub-branch of Halvetiye order and its founder Sünbül Sinan, it mentions the name of the official, Hüsrev, charged with the duty of renovation and his own name, Pertev.[258]

The long inscription of the restoration by Abdulmecid, firstly portrays the sultan making *devran* like a dervish and says because of his reverence to Sünbül Sinan, he restored the complex and makes it unique. Then, the text narrates briefly the shaykhs of the complex that begins from Cemal Halveti and come to the present shaykh at that time, shaykh Razi.[259]

Vassaf narrates a story about Sultan Abdulmecid; when he was a child, he became sick and failed to respond to the treatment of doctors, so Mahmud II invited Rıza Efendi, the shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge, to the palace and sultan's son came around by means of the shaykh's prayer. While shaykh Rıza Efendi was about to get in boat with his devotees to turn back his lodge, he was presented gifts prepared by Bezmiâlem Vâlide Sultan.[260] This story refers to a close connection between Sünbüli shaykh Rıza and the imperial family.

In prime ministry archives, there is a series of documents includes the expense of the exploration, wages of workers and the cost of goods purchased. The project corresponds to the reign of Abdulmecid and it involves repairment of the

[258] Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii ve Hankahı Sağ Tamir Kitabesi.

[259] Hankah Kitabesi 1.

[260] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 304.

mosque, hospice, the mausoleum of Sünbül Sinan and the dervish cells (see Appendix B, Document 1 and 2).[261]

After 1950, some of the wooden parts were withdrawn from the mosque and the dome and semi-domes restored.[262] Then, the women's side was also taken out and the mihrab and minbar renovated by the mosque society in 1981.[263] Lastly, in the first months of the 2016, a restoration project has started comprising all parts of the complex with an exception of the harem building, which has newly renovated by another institution and was given to *İstanbul Bilim Sanat Kültür ve Eğitim Association*. As new information, in the wake of explorations on the site a cistern is discovered in the south of the courtyard, just behind the mosque by 2016 restoration project holders.

All in all, the product of flowering project of after-conquest period was built a relatively desolated location and helped to a balanced distribution of the inhabitation in the walled city.[264] At this point, it should be asked that if the state used the patronage as a legal mechanism to provide urban growth with the establishment of the lodges. I think the answer is yes. In addition to this, the conversion project of the converted patron provided an Islamic character to the formerly Christian worshipping place where Mustafa 'Ali identifies the site as unique.[265] So, the religious identity of the site combined Byzantine and Ottoman elements in the complex. Actually, the nature of the legends is also remarkable because of their roots in Byzantine history of the city.

[261] EV.d 13467, EV. D 13488.

[262] Eyice, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii," 160.

[263] Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliyye Tarikatı*, 158.

[264] Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 807-808.

[265] "*... saha-i cami-i bi-misal ...*" Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, *Künhü'l Ahbar*, 964.

The patron commissioned a dervish lodge and housed Çelebi Halife who came from Amasya, paved the way for springing up a Sufi path in the new capital. The accommodation provided by a state official who claimed an ownership of an architectural project in the capital city. It is one of the examples of building large-scale urban complexes activities of new administrative elite and the Halvetis enjoyed the opportunity of influencing the population to gain new devotees.

The complex has been called as Sünbül Efendi, it did not take the name of its first shaykh, maybe because Çelebi Halife buried in Tebuk.[266] Sünbül Efendi memorialized and venerated thanks to existence of his mausoleum that brings spatial existence to him. So, the meaning people attributed to the complex are shaped with the tomb's attractiveness. In addition, the structure of the complex's courtyard has probably contributed to popularity of the complex in reason for having three entrances because this provides a high-level engagement with the neighborhood and people use the courtyard as a street in their daily-use.

Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex has served for centuries to the residents of the city and it has been transforming starting with its establishment up until today. The complex has been extended with new structures through the time and every new construction added a new layer to its character. The natures of these patronages, all of them are projects of elites; create new links between the complex and the patrons. Hence, these numerous patrons from different centuries by filling the courtyard keep alive the complex. The multilayered character of Koca Mustafa Pasha complex has also an effect on the visitors. One enters into the courtyard and sees various buildings commissioned by various patrons in different times and each of them has different architectural style and texture. This diversity of the architectural units

[266] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 418.

makes visitors feel the long history of the complex and also shows the importance given to there.

3.2 Merkez Efendi Complex

Merkez Efendi Complex, as the second center of the Sünbüliye sub-branch of the Halvetiye order, is located in the Zeytinburnu district, just near Mevlanakapı, so near the city walls but outside them. The neighborhood around it also takes the name of the shaykh, Merkez Efendi. The sixteenth-century complex has a significant place among the religious centers of İstanbul with its large cemeteries and high number of visitors.

The hagiographical work of Hulvi states that Merkez Efendi constructed a masjid and a modest dervish lodge on the site with the help of his dervishes[267] and Ayvansarayi also narrates that the shaykh built the complex himself.[268] Another source confirming the information that the shaykh was the patron is the endowment deed of Şah Sultan stating the mosque was built by Merkez Efendi.[269] However, when we look at the *vakfiye* of Merkez Efendi, which was written in 1552, he did not mention his mosque. The *vakfiye* recorded various *halvet*s and furnishings, a toilet, a bath including a boiler, garden and a fountain.[270] This situation poses a question: wasn't there a mosque in 1552? Could it have been commissioned by Şah Sultan after Merkez Efendi's death? It is very probable that the mosque was not in a good

[267] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 447.

[268] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 224, 307-308.

[269] *"Mahmiye-i Konstantiniyye ebvâbından Yenikapı haricinde, merhum Şeyh Merkez Efendi mezarı ve civarında bina buyurdukları cami-i şerif ..."* VGMA, Şah Sultan's endowment deed.

[270] "*Yenikapı dimekle ma'ruf kapunun haricinde vaki olub halevat-ı müte'addide mefruşet'un bi'r-riham ve beyt-i siyab ve kenif ve kazgan müştemil hamam ve hadika ve fiskiye ki ...*"Merkez Efendi endowed a double-bath and some shops adjacent to the bath for his waqf. VGMA, Merkez Efendi's endowment deed.

condition, so it was not in use at the time. If this were so, it might be the reason why Merkez Efendi did not mention it despite the fact that in many sources, and even in the endowment deed of Şah Sultan, the mosque and its patron were underlined.

Apart from Merkez Efendi, the complex has another patron as the second founder, Şah Sultan. A discussion about the princess and her relationship with the Sünbüliye will be presented in the next chapter, but at this point, I want to state that the princess personally met with Merkez Efendi, and she might have even been married to him. As a result of this close relationship, Şah Sultan commissioned an architectural project on the site of the formerly built dervish lodge, as a memorial of the shaykh after Merkez Efendi's death in 1552. At that time, the modest structures constructed by Merkez Efendi and his dervishes were remodeled by her project.[271] Şah Sultan's endowment deed, dated 1570, includes three pious foundations established for the service of Sünbüliye sub-branch, and one of them is Merkez Efendi complex for which she endowed rooms, orchards for the shaykh, imam, muezzin and the caretaker.[272] In her *vakfiye*, a mosque, a dervish lodge and dervish cells were mentioned. Furthermore, the autobiographical work of architect Sinan, *Tezkiretü'l Ebniye*, proves the princess' patronage recording the mosque and the bath in the list of buildings erected by Sinan.[273] On the other hand, while *Tuhfetü'l-Mimarin* mentions the patronage as the mosque of Şah Sultan outside the Yenikapı for the soul of shaykh Merkez Efendi, *Tezkiretü'l-Ebniye* lists it as the mosque of

[271] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 295.

[272] VGMA, Şah Sultan's endowment deed.

[273] Sai Mustafa Çelebi, *Yapılar Kitabı*, 98, 108.

Merkez Efendi outside the Yenikapı gate.[274] So, both sources did not list the convent that was referred to in the *vakfiye*.

The date of initial construction of the mosque and dervish lodge is not clear, but Ayvansarayi gives a clue: while Merkez Efendi was busy with his own convent, Sünbül Sinan died and he was occupied with the post as the new shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge.[275] So, in consideration of Sünbül Sinan's death in 1529,[276] Merkez Efendi's humble structures must have been built before this date. To make it clear, we know that the shaykh was in Manisa when Sultan Süleyman was a prince governor there, in other words Merkez Efendi was sent there before the enthronement of the sultan that took place in 1520. Moreover, in a conversation recorded in the *Tezkire-i Halvetiye* between shaykh Yakub and him, Merkez Efendi says he knew he would be the shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha Dervish lodge after Sünbül Sinan, so he left Manisa and came there.[277] It means the shaykh came back to Constantinople probably just before Sünbül Sinan's death. Considering all of these, if the dervish lodge was there in 1529, it must have been built before Merkez Efendi's transfer to Manisa i.e. before 1520.

As presaged by Merkez Efendi, he became the third shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha Dervish lodge after the death of Sünbül Sinan and throughout his remaining life; he was served as shaykh for both complexes.

Initially, it must be said that it is difficult to know the first architectural elements of this complex precisely due to its complicated history, which is marked

[274] Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, 28; Sai Mustafa Çelebi, *Yapılar Kitabı*, 98.

[275] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 307-308.

[276] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 434.

[277] Ibid., 443.

with the construction of additional parts and renovation projects. However, a detailed research will be put forward in order to understand the story of the complex. Through the analysis, I will emphasize the idea of urbanization, because this dervish lodge formed a center of an architectural complex that served as one of the first Halveti dervish lodges in Ottoman capital, as a Sufi institution, and spurred the development of a new neighborhood.

Today the Merkez Efendi complex is divided into two parts by a street, but it is not scattered, there is an arrangement in general. The complex consists of a mosque, the mausoleum of Merkez Efendi and the small mausoleum of third and fourth shaykhs of the Sufi lodge, a water well, a *halvethane*, *darü'l kurra* (hadith school), a double-bath, and the harem building which was built for the accommodation of the shaykh and his family in the nineteenth or the twentieth century (see Appendix A, Figure 30). The mosque, mausoleums, well and *halvethane* are in the same courtyard, which has an entrance on the east. On the other side, there is wooden harem building and *darü'l kurra*, and at the south of these the double-bath is located. The old single-floor harem building of the nineteenth century at the opposite of the main entrance was demolished what we have today is a new one, which is used as an association building.[278] The available information about the harem building dates back it to the nineteenth century.

The dervish cells, refectory, kitchen, and shaykh's room and *hünkar* pavilion on the north and east part of the site by creating an L shape did not survive. These units were probably single-floor and wooden.[279] Esin has published a drawing of these units copied from the last shaykh Nurullah Kılıç (see Appendix A, Figure 31).

[278] Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri*, 318. Also in Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 202.

[279] Tanman, "Merkez Efendi Külliyesi," 205.

Later, a Koran course for girls established there and a wall built in front of it, so the part lost its connection to the courtyard.[280]

The mosque was like in the example of Koca Mustafa Pasha, had a double function serving as both *tevhidhane* and mosque. It is erected on an elevated platform. The mosque has a rectangular plan and pitched roof. Actually, the interior of the building consists of two parts, because the portico was attached to the prayer space inside. There are two entrances on the north wall; the right one is for a direct access to stairs for women's side and the left door is used as the main entrance. Additionally, there are also two doors that the ends of the portico; one for the women side (right) and the other for the *muezzin* (left). The wall of portico on the north surrounds the ritual space; the mihrab is located in the middle of south wall with two windows on each side. The minbar is also very modest. The second floor is totally located on portico, has a U shape plan.

The minaret is located on the west wall, where prayer space and portico are united. According to Gülru Necipoğlu, only the base of the minaret might be remaining part from the mosque that architect Sinan built. She adds that the present structures do not have their sixteenth century character.[281]

About the mausoleum of Merkez Efendi (see Appendix A, Figure 32) it must be said that what we see today is not the building of the sixteenth century. It is most probable that during the renovation project in the reign of Mahmud II, it was rebuilt.[282] This project of the Sultan also includes a rectangular roofed additional place attached to the domed mausoleum of the shaykh, similar to Sünbül Sinan's

[280] Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri,* 318.

[281] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 296.

[282] Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 199.

tomb, including twelve symbolic coffins of some lodge shaykhs and their family members surrounded with wooden railing.[283] Hüseyin Vassaf says that in the reign of Abdulaziz, the Sultan commissioned a silver *şebeke* (grating around symbolic coffins) for the mausoleum of Mehmed II, and the old one which mother of pearl inlaid on walnut was placed around the symbolic coffin of Merkez Efendi.[284] These descriptions of *şebeke*s are in accordance with the present situation in the mausoleums. Moreover, the mother of pearl is used in dynastic mausoleums only for sultans, wife of sultans, and their children, however, the *şebeke*s of Merkez Efendi and Yahya Efendi are the exceptions of this rule.[285]

Besides this, there is an octagonal ablution fountain decorated with Sünbülî turban at the top on the northeast of the mausoleum. On the south of it, there is the *halvethane*, which was personally used by Merkez Efendi, and a water-well. The attention-grabbing units of the complex are six or seven meters lower than the courtyard and located on an *ayazma* (holy spring) from Byzantine times. The access to the seclusion chamber and well provided by narrow stairs at south. In the hagiographical tradition, the shaykh heard ripples that come from underground, and then his disciples dug where he shows and found a spring and a well, which were there since ancient times. Then, they built there a masjid and a dervish lodge.[286] Evliya Çelebi also mentions this spring and says who drinks this tasty water three times before the breakfast; s/he will be fine because the water cures the fever.[287]

[283] Tanman, "Merkez Efendi Külliyesi," 204.

[284] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 401.

[285] Barışta, "19. ve 20. Yüzyıl Sedef İşleri," 469.

[286] Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 448; Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 400.

[287] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyehatnamesi*, 335.

The *halvethane* in our complex has a rectangular shape, it is located near the mosque but it does not have a direct connection to it (see Appendix A, Figure 33). The seclusion place has a door and two windows, which are opened to the yard. It is highly probable that Merkez Efendi wanted to locate his seclusion near this ancient and sacred site. The *ayazma* has been transformed into a wishing well and it gained a significant place in the religious culture of the Istanbul.[288] Obviously, as Ayvansarayi identifies, an exalted *ayazma*,[289] a Byzantine sacred spring was Islamized via a miraculous story of the shaykh.

One of the main additional parts to the complex is *darü'l kurra*, which was commissioned by Defterdar Abdulbaki Pasha and on the panel placed on the portal; the establishment date is given as 1017/1608 (see Appendix A, Figure 34). The domed building has a square plan. The grave of the patron, Abdulbaki Pasha and the grave of the preacher of Sultan Ahmed Mosque, Mehmed Eşref Efendi are in front of it. There is also a *hazire* on the south of *darü'l kurra* in its small courtyard. Today, the building functions as a music center.

Another later addition is a fountain located on the right side of the main entrance dated as 1227/1812. The inscription prays for the making water of fountain clear for the love of grandsons of prophet Muhammad, Hasan and Hüseyin.[290]

After entering to the courtyard, a small mausoleum is on the left, in which the third shaykh of the lodge, Shaykh Abdi Efendi (d.1591/92) and his successor and

[288] Tanman, "Merkez Efendi Külliyesi," 204.

[289] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 308.

[290] *Yazsa âşık n'ola vâsıfda bir a'lâ tarih/Eyle nûş-ı âb-ı zülâli Hasaneyn aşkına*.

son Shaykh Mustafa Efendi (d. 1599/1600) were buried.[291] This small rectangular mausoleum has a window opened to the courtyard (see Appendix A, Figure 35).

Lastly, the symmetrical double-bath that is registered in the *vakfiye* of Merkez Efendi is located at the south of the main courtyard (see Appendix A, Figure 36). It is significant in terms of its connection with the miraculously discovered sacred water, which was an *ayazma* to which Christians attributed healing properties. The water of the bath is supplied from this *ayazma* and it is narrated that Merkez Efendi cured canicola fever there.[292] So, in terms of cultural life of this neighborhood, the meaning of the bath is more than its physical presence. Ayvansarayi mentions the curative feature of the water and how people came there to recover their health.[293] Like Koca Mustafa Pasha bath, this one also has four *halvet*s and one of them is attributed to Merkez Efendi.[294] The bath recently experienced an extensive restoration that completed in 2014.

Furthermore, there are many graves around the complex and three different *hazire*s are in the courtyard; one is located at the back of the mosque and the other is at the left of the entrance of the mosque, and as I mentioned before the last one is in the garden of *darü'l kurra* which includes a wide range of bureaucrats, shaykhs of the order and also the members of it. Besides this, there is a huge cemetery around the complex, named as Merkez Efendi Cemetery.

According to the inscription on the main gate of the complex with the tughra of Mahmud II signed by Mustafa Rakım in the middle; Mahmud II renovated the

[291] Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 197.

[292] Tanman, "Merkez Efendi Külliyesi," 205.

[293] "*Derûn-ı hammâmda mumâ ileyhin bir halvet-i mahsusu olub, hâlâ alil ve mariz olanlar, hulûs-ı niyyet ile gusl edüb şifâ-yâb olurlar*." Ayvansarayi, *Hadîkatü'l Cevâmi*, 308.

[294] Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri,* 319. It should be added that there are three more halvets except Merkez Efendi's.

mosque (see Appendix A, Figure 37). Yesarizade wrote the inscription at two sides in celî talik style, dated as 1836. Like other inscriptions, the text praises the sultan initially and then, states that his restoration project in Merkez Efendi complex pleased the devotees. [295]

Mahmud II, including restorations of the mosque, the mausoleum of Merkez Efendi, the small mausoleum of shaykhs and the main entrance held a renovation project.[296] The inscription praises the sultan's justice and majesty and his patronage of reviving the complex.

A *hatt-ı hümayun* (imperial decree) was written in 1786, says the mosque and the mausoleum of Merkez Efendi was not in a good condition so, an examination was done and the cost of the repairment should be paid by from the Haremeyn treasure (see Appendix B, Document 3).[297] We also learn from a document that, after the earthquake re-construction of the dervish cells, the room of shaykh, the harem building and the mausoleum was needed in 1895 (see Appendix B, Document 4).[298]

From a general perspective, it is so obvious that Merkez Efendi Complex does not have a special architectural plan but it is not very modest with its multifunctional buildings, rather it is quite extensive. What makes it significant, alongside the mystic aura of the complex and the veneration of the saint, is its history that dates back to Byzantine times and its connection with the tradition of healing water. Unlike Koca Mustafa Pasha complex, Merkez Efendi was not a center

[295] *Merkez-i pergâr-ı şevket, kutb-ı vakt-i saltanat/Mihver-i çerh-i adâlet Hazret-i Mahmud Hân/İdicek ihyâ Cenâb-ı Merkez'in dergâhını/Beyt-i ma'mûr-ı sürûr oldu kulüb-i salikân/Ol Şehinşâh-ı kerâmet menkabet tecdîd idüb/Koymadı mülkünde aslâ köhne kalmış bir mekân/Sayesinde ol Şeh'in tecdîd olundukça binâ/Şevket ü ömrün füzûn itsün Hüdâ-yı Müsteân/Geldi bir pîr-i sühân Ziver dedi târihini/Yapdı zîba Hânikâh-ı Merkez kutb-ı cihân 1252.* Ibid., 319.

[296] Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 194-195.

[297] HAT 1666/10.

[298] İ.Ev 10/33.

of sub-branch or of a certain order, but it could get a notable attention from society and became a place of visitation thanks to its famous shaykh and became the second center of Sünbüliye after the Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex. This complex is exciting in terms of its non-elite patronage; Merkez Efendi built his own dervish lodge there. Moreover, the complex was located outside the city walls but it is not far from the city, in other words it has an in-between status. If we make a classification of the locations as urban, rural and sub-urban, Merkez Efendi Complex belongs to the third category because it is neither a totally secluded site, nor a city center. In Hulvi's *Lemezât*, it is narrated as "... one day, he was at the dervish lodge which is at a rural/sub-urban[299] area (*taşra*)."[300] Then, he quotes a sentence of Merkez Efendi: "For many centuries, this place has been an excursion spot[301] which is not far away from the Hızır's glance" [302] and increases the mystical aura of the site.

The complexes including various building types such as dervish lodge, madrasa, public kitchen and school had served the society as their patron's philanthropic activities. Additionally, these structures also contributed to the development of their neighborhoods in terms of encouraging the inhabitation. The establishment of waqfs for the building programs financed both their constructions and the process of functioning by means of endowments. So, the erection of the Merkez Efendi lodge, just sixty-one years after the conquest means that the population policy of the state, was still at work and the empire wanted to develop these kinds of sub-urban areas so, the construction of a new Sünbüliye dervish lodge

[299] Hulvi uses the word "*taşra*" but I think he means sub-urban, not rural in our context.

[300] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 448.

[301] Ibid., 448. *"Asırlar öncesinden bu yana, burası eski bir seyir yeridir ve Hızır'ın nazarından uzak değildir."*

[302] Ibid., 448.

was not a very significant problem for them.[303] This tolerance of the state and the presence of holy water 'discovered' by the shaykh resulted in the creation of a neighborhood called as Merkez Efendi. The lodge caused some changes at the site in the process of becoming a neighborhood in terms of the new building programs, as the complex spread to a larger area. The erection of mausoleum of the shaykh made this complex a center for visitors; and the fame of its healing water also attracted people. The dervish cells were probably filled with new devotees. Besides, the Yenikapı Mevlevihane which was built in the last years of the sixteenth century by a janissary scribe Malkoç Mehmed Efendi, is very close the Merkez Efendi complex so also has a role in the inhabitation process of Yenikapı region. The construction of this new lodge was presaged to Merkez Efendi. One night, when his wife realized that he was not at home, she went out and saw him in the courtyard. He had a different turban on his head and doing *sema'* like Mevlevis. He said: "Some time later, a *mevlevihane* will be built near our convent."[304]

What I try to tell is a development from sub-urban to urban thanks to the multi-functional (dervish-cells, kitchen, *darülkurra* etc.) and mystical features of this complex. Ayvansarayi identifies the mosque saying it has a neihgborhood.[305] The 1493 map of Constantinople by Hartmann Schedel depicts a few building outside of the walls, near Mevlanakapı and that shows a beginning of an existence of an inhabitation (see Appendix A, Figure 38). It can be said that the site of the mosque might be one of the first places of inhabitation outside of the land walls. In 1580, Salomon Schweigger's map designated the region as thousands of Muslim graves

[303] However, I think, it would matters a bit. I touched on this issue while looking at the political atmosphere on those times.

[304] Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 447.

[305] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 311.

without any building. In the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi describes this neighborhood, Yenikapı; there are mansions with gardens and houses about five hundred, the Merkez Efendi mosque, seven zawiyas, and a bath, also a *mevlevihane*. There are also seventy-eighty shops.[306]

Merkez Efendi as a mystic chose this sub-urban area to seclude himself, in an extramural area that had housed monasteries[307] and after his death Şah Sultan enlarged and renovated the complex, and made it a full-fledged center of the Sufi order. Thanks to mystic aura and the stories in hagiographical literature, the mausoleum of the shaykh still imparts the feeling of the saint's presence there, his existence there continued through his tomb. Recently, Zeytinburnu Municipality renovated the complex in 2014.

3.3 The Şah Sultan Complex

As I mentioned before, Şah Sultan had a close relationship with the Sünbüliye sub-branch of Halvetiye order. The three of the four architectural programs in the imperial city commissioned by the princess are the most obvious evidence of this closeness. One of her projects including a mosque, a lodge and a fountain, in Davudpaşa, today's Fatih district, was assigned to the Sünbüli shaykh Yakub Germiyani.[308] Only the mosque and a part of the fountain remain from her project. The other one is part of our study, the well-known Merkez Efendi Complex, and the last one was commissioned for the shaykh Merkez Efendi. The complex consists of a mosque, a dervish lodge which includes dervish cells, the shaykh's residence, a

[306] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 353.

[307] Tanman, "Şah Sultan Camii ve Tekkesi," 398.

[308] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 188.

school and a mausoleum in Eyüp, the Bahariye district, located on the shores of Golden horn. In this part of the chapter, Şah Sultan's architectural program in Eyüp will be investigated, however, because an extensive research will be presented in the next chapter, I will not give much emphasis on the patron here.

The author of *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, Yusuf b. Yakub, was the son of Yakub Germiyani, who was the fourth shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha Dervish lodge. In his hagiographical work, he narrates that when Şah Sultan was in Yanya with her husband Lütfi Pasha she met his father there, she even became a devotee of him. Then, she constructed a mosque and a convent in Davutpaşa neighborhood, and upon the request of Şah Sultan, Yakub Germiyani came to her complex in Davutpaşa as the shaykh.[309] For the dervish lodge in Eyüp, Merkez Efendi charged Gömleksiz Mehmet Efendi as the shaykh.[310]

Her endowment deed dated 1570 states that Sultan Süleyman donated some villages from Dimetoka and Constantinople to his half-sister Şah Sultan and the princess also endowed some shops, houses and a bath for her waqf.[311] So, the emperor helped Şah Sultan to finance these pious foundations. The architect Sinan built the modest mosque and the dervish lodge in Eyüp in his early career, and listed both mosque and dervish lodge in *Tuhfetü'l Mimarin*.[312] According to the inscription of construction, the year of building is given as 963 / 1555-1556.[313] But,

[309] Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, 63.

[310] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 447-448. Hüseyin Vassaf says his mauseloum is located at the opposite of the Eyüp complex of Şah Sultan. Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 467.

[311] VGMA, The endowment deed of Şah Sultan.

[312] Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, 24.

[313] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 342. Hüseyin Vassaf talks about another story and says Merkez Efendi was a shaykh there first and tehn he appointed Gömleksiz Mehmed Efendi. Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 467.

unfortunately, the original panel has not survived; instead of it we have a later, newly written one:

> She discovered the Way to God,
> And set our directly for God.
>
> Şah the daughter of Selim Şah
> Erected this building; may it be accepted!
>
> The voice expressed a date for it:
> 'And good indeed is what belongs to God.'[314]

This date is not the mosque's year of built but rather it indicates the conversion year of the building into a Friday mosque, because in 1555, a firman was sent to the qadi by Sultan Süleyman giving the permission of transformation of masjid to mosque a decree for transforming the masjid into a mosque.[315] Furthermore, there are some clues proving the dervish lodge was built before the mosque. Ayvansarayi also underlines that the inscription contradicts with a narrative that mentions a miraculous meeting of Şah Sultan and Merkez Efendi in 1537, and concludes that it is possible that the dervish lodge was built before the mosque.[316]

Bahariye was a place for palaces and mansions for sultans and sultanas[317] and Şah Sultan constructed this complex in the garden of her own palace, which later came to be known as the Hançerli Sultan Palace. According to the information in *Hadikatü'l Cevami,* the dervish cells and the shaykh's residence were established on

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[314] I owe the translation to Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 294. The original text is given in Hadikatü'l Cevami: "*Bulup Hakk'a giden râhı / İder seyr-i ilellahı Bina kıldı Kabul eyle / Ki Şâh bint-i Selim Şâh'ı Didi hâtif ana târih / Ve inne'l-hayra lilllahi*" Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 342.

[315] Fermanlar, Ferman no : 106, e.463/1, 11. As cited in Yüksel, *Kanuni Devri Mimarisi*, 662.

[316] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 342-343. Necipoğlu also thinks the same possibility and gives the date 1537 for the establishment of the dervish lodge. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan,* 294.

[317] Artan, "Bahariye," 536.

the shore of Golden Horn, to the south of the mosque.[318] The kitchen and refectory were on the west of the mosque and the school located at the side of land near the mausoleum of Şah Sultan.[319] Evliya Çelebi describes Eyüp as a densely inhabited place in the seventeenth century, which was filled by mansions of elites, viziers and sultans. He defines Şah Sultan Mosque as luminous abode within vineyards and orchards.[320]

In the *vakfiye*, three rooms were allocared to the *imam*, *muezzin* and caretaker, one for each. She endowed a house including two rooms, a kitchen and a bake house to the shaykh of the dervish lodge. A room and an anteroom were also given to the shaykh as the dervishes were given the same as refectory. Moreover, one room for each, dellak, bath attendant and school teacher in the same neighborhood. And lastly, she endowed her palace to her descendants, and in case of cessation of her lineage the palace was to be demolished and the land assigned to the ones who wants to build house.[321] It is also registered in the endowment that after her death, a wood kiosk was transformed into a school.[322] In the light of this information, it can be said that Şah Sultan transformed her modest complex into a multifunctional one by endowing small units, the rooms, to various attendants of the complex. Parts of the complex have not survived: these are the mausoleum that was commissioned by the patron for herself and her family members, and the school and the dervish lodge.

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[318] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 342.

[319] Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 265.

[320] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 358-359.

[321] VGMA, The endowment deed of Şah Sultan.

[322] Ibid.

It should be mentioned that the palace and lodge connection in the complexes of Şah Sultan is significant. Apart from her project of Merkez Efendi complex, where she re-modeled an already existed structure, she preferred building dervish lodges near to her palaces. This combination of a religious structure and a palace is an indicator of her pious character and also it is a practical way of being there. Most probably, her gender was an important factor in the process of deciding on the locations. The proximity of these two buildings provides an easy access for the princess, so she did not have to leave her private area of accommodation to talk with her shaykh. Furthermore, it also ensures an extensive control of the patroness on the dervish lodge. In Şah Sultan's case, the locations of two of three Halveti-Sünbüli lodges founded by the princess were very close to her palace complexes.

The mosque is in the middle of the complex with its rectangular shape, had a double-function like Koca Mustafa Pasha mosque and Merkez Efendi mosque, in other words, it was used for both prayer and the rituals of the Sufi order until a renovation project by Mustafa III, probably right after the earthquake of 1766, which includes an addition of *hünkar mahfil* (a separate prayer place for sultan) to the mosque and also separate *tevhidhane*.[323] The only entrance of the mosque is located in the north wall, which has a panel on the arch dated 1835. The portico covered up with roof that rose on six wood columns on the entrance (see Appendix A, Figure 39).

Inside, a part next to the north wall is elevated and separated from the main part with wood railing and the second level on this part is women's place. The east and west walls have six windows each, three upper and three lower levels and total number is twelve. Mihrab is on the south wall of the mosque, on the same wall there

[323] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 342. The tevhidhane could not reach the present day and there is no information about its destruction.

are three rectangular windows, one is at right of mihrab and other two are on the left, and also three upper level windows on these. On the far left rectangular window opens to the mausoleum of shaykh Ahmed Efendi. The minaret is on the northwestern corner of the mosque, and its door opens to portico.[324]

The domed mausoleum of shaykh Ahmet Efendi, dated 1812, is adjacently to the mosque on the south. It is close to a square plan and its door is placed on the east wall of the building. There are three symbolic coffins in it, one of them belongs to the patron, and the others are shaykh İbrahim Necati Efendi's and shaykh Ebul Feyz Efendi's coffins (see Appendix A, Figure 40).

Later, like other complexes that we have studied, Mahmud II renovated Şah Sultan complex. In the early reign of Mahmud II the dervish lodge and *hünkar mahfil* were re-built.[325] Then, in 1835 as the mosque and the dervish lodge were ruined, the Sultan commissioned another renovation project. The inscription that belongs to 1835 restoration, which praises sultan Mahmud for his project in the complex is now lost.[326]

Later, the 1894 earthquake damaged the Şah Sultan complex and the need to a restoration of the mosque and mausoleum was underlined (see Appendix B, Document 5).[327]

Baha Tanman notes that while Ahmed Efendi's mausoleum is still standing, only some wall pieces remained from the mausoleum of the Şah Sultan in the mid-twentieth century and these parts were demolished for no reason during the

[324] Tanman, "Şah Sultan Camii ve Tekkesi," 126.

[325] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 344.

[326] You can find it a copy of it in Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 266.

[327] BEO 754/56521.

restoration of 1953.[328] Therefore, the architectural features of the mausoleum cannot be known. Three graves could come until today draw attention of the visitors; but some of them are broken and their places were changed. The grave on the right belongs to mother of Şah Sultan.[329] Haskan claims that the grave in the middle is Şah Sultan's and cites the gravestone on the foot part, which says the owner of the grave, is Şah Sultan. He adds that other part of the gravestone and gives her date of death as 1556.[330] However, we know that the endowment deed of Şah Sultan was prepared in 1570, so the owner of this grave cannot be Şah Sultan. İ. Aydın Yüksel also thinks that it is suspicious, he claims that the head gravestone of the middle grave belongs to the one on the left, because they are similar in their style and their inscriptions are also appropriate to each other. The grave on the left belongs to Şah Sultan's granddaughter Neslihan Sultan.[331]

There is also a small hazire including the graves of some shaykhs and their family members. The *selamlık* building has disappeared.

The closure of dervish lodges in 1925 resulted in an extensive disfavor for these places and Şah Sultan's complex also got its share. In 1953, the mosque burned in a fire and then it was not restored faithfully, so parts of the külliye lost their

[328] Tanman, "İstanbul Tekkeleri," 269.

[329] We learn it from the phrase inscribed on the grave: *Sahibetü'l emetü'l-kabir vâlide-i Şah Sultan bint-i Selim Han*, on other part : *Sultan Selim Han-ı Gazi Evalil'ül Zilka'de Sene selas ve sittin tis'amie (963)*. Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri*, 665.

[330] "*Sahibetu hazihi'l kabr Baniyat-ü mescid ve hangâh-ı Şah Sultan bint-i Yavuz Sultan Selim Han"* Haskan, *Eyüp Sultan Tarihi,* 534-535.

[331] "*Kad intekaleti'l merhume Neslihan Sultan bint-i İsmihan Sultan bint-i Şâh Sultan bint-i Sultan Selim Han Gazi Fi evâil-i zilk'ade Sene selas ve sittîn ve tis'amie ... mine't tâ'un."* Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri*, 666.

original features.[332] In 1971, General Directorate of Pious Endowments subjected it to a better restoration.[333]

Today the complex consists of the mosque, Ahmet Efendi's tomb and a small *hazire*. In 1988, the level of the road was elevated and eventually the complex was below the road level.[334] As a result of the interventions the complex lost its sixteenth century character. In 2013, a restoration project was started for Şah Sultan complex and the process is still continuing, the complex is under restoration while this thesis has been written.

This modest complex commissioned by a royal woman is located outside of the land walls and it is close to Eyüb el-Ensari, a religious node of Istanbul. The princess' private closeness to the Halvetiye order and two of its shaykhs can be clearly seen in her projects.

3.4 Concluding remarks

All in all, it can be clearly seen that the convents, as crucial parts of social and cultural life, were actors of the religious life above all. The sultans whose reigns correspond to the construction of these dervish lodges, Bayezid II, Selim I and Süleyman did not commission these Sufi convents directly, but Bayezid II encouraged his *kapıcıbaşı*, who was going to be a grand vizier later, to contribute to the inhabitation and especially Islamization of the city. The conversion of Byzantine churches and monasteries began after conquest of the city, reached its peak with

[332] Saruhan, *Âbidelerimiz*,142.

[333] Ibid., 122.

[334] Haskan, *Eyüp Sultan Tarihi*, 534.

Bayezid II due to the increased Muslim population and they decreased after his reign.

Furthermore, the patronage of wife of Selim I Ayşe Hafsa Sultan in Manisa and of the sultan's half-sister Şah Sultan in Eyüp placed the state in a close position to the Halvetiye order. These endowments by the patrons are parts of their image in the society and also their mark in the urban landscape. In other words they are philanthropic acts that contribute to the making of their public image and they continue to carry their names.

Moreover, conversions into mosques sometimes include some myths, stories in order to relate a non-Islamic place to an Islamic one and also to attach people to the new settling place, Constantinople. The aim is creating a memory within the newly conquered city.

These complexes with their various architectural units are organized as self-sufficient entities. They include all things that are required for their communal life. Every architectural element was built in accordance with the purpose of use; the mosque for praying, dervish cells for accommodation, and *halvethane* for asceticism etc. In addition to this, the mausoleums of shaykhs' and the hagiographical narratives about them make these religious places more attractive and in this way both production and the preservation of a collective memory is provided. The tombs allow a spatial presence for the souls of the shaykhs and the patrons for visitors.

In this chapter, Koca Mustafa Pasha, Merkez Efendi and Şah Sultan complexes' historical trajectory focusing on architectural features has been presented. Among these three complexes, Şah Sultan's patronage in Eyüp and Merkez Efendi's complex at Mevlanakapı are marked with their modesty. While Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex enjoyed various additional projects and can be

considered a collective construction, Merkez Efendi has only a *darülkurra* and Şah Sultan has only an adjacent mausoleum. The lack of a mausoleum of a venerated saint probably affects Şah Sultan's complex in terms of its number of visitors. Nevertheless, these three Sünbüli dervish lodges are connected with their shaykhs or patrons and they left a special imprint in the history of Constantinople.

CHAPTER 4

WOMEN AND THE SUFI ORDER

Generally, Ottoman women have been regarded as relatively invisible in historical scholarship, and this is probably due to both the Islamic identity of the Ottoman Empire and also the western prejudice about the presence of women in social and political life. This negative impression was also supported by the Orientalist representations of the Ottoman harem as exotic. However, the conservative character of Islamic societies did not render women invisible. Of course, the limitations of self-representation within the public sphere especially for commoner women are undeniably true, nevertheless it has been proved that this argument is no longer valid at least in the case of elite women. The rich amount of recent studies about Ottoman imperial women,[335] show that this negative image is not realistic, because it is certain that there were certainly some ways used by Ottoman women to make themselves visible in the society.

On the other hand, studies about the Ottoman women mainly focus on the members of the imperial dynasty and evaluate elite women patronage. Researches on commoner women are generally limited to the information given by the court records, waqf registers, endowment deeds and so on. Therefore, in this chapter I will try to touch on both elite and urban women, in terms of their participation in Sufism in general and the Halvetiye order in particular, as gleaned through their involvement in particular sites.

It would not be wrong to assume that Sufism is not a practice of men, but, like many other religious practices, it is also experienced by women. However, due

[335] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*; Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*; Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Woman Builders*; Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*.

to the easier accessibility of information, what we know about women's Sufi experiences depends mostly on the royal women's contacts with the Sufis. Endowment deeds are the most prominent sources of close ties in the issue and some religious accounts like hagiographies are also very rich in giving details about elite women contacts with Sufism such as in the case of Şah Sultan, both as a devotee and also as a donator. Although the role and the status of urban women in Sufism is not adequately known, it is not so hard to guess that women were also involved in Sufism by taking part in Sufi orders, and they have even contributed the orders' foundation and spread.

In this chapter, I will try to examine the chosen three mosque complexes asking in what ways women have shaped these and the urban space. In particular, I discuss Şah Sultan's architectural patronage of Sufi sites, commoner women's participation in Sufism in the context of waqf foundations, and the presence of women's graves in Koca Mustafa Pasha complex. In this regard, Şah Sultan's architectural projects will be examined in their historical context with reference not only to the status and gender of their patroness, but also to Şah Sultan's special relationship with the Sünbüliye order. Then, I will try to show the ways that were used by urban women in the waqf system to have connection with the dervish lodges. However, due to lack of information, this part only includes the documents about Koca Mustafa Pasha complex. I will argue that regardless of their status both elite and urban women could have participated in dervish lodges. The presence of women burials in the courtyard of a mosque-lodge complex is a way of to be visible in the history of Sufism.

In this way, I will use a comparative framework and look at the class dimension of the issue regarding the differences between urban women and elites.

For elite women, expressing their closeness to a Sufi path or to a shaykh in the urban space was not very hard thanks to their means of being patrons of buildings. However, the situation of ordinary women is complicated due to lack of material as well as literal sources. Nevertheless, I will try to find some clues about the relationship between Halveti order and the commoner women. The main aim of this chapter is questioning the effect of gender on architectural projects of women, waqfs founded by women and lastly questioning their presence in the spatial configuration of a mosque-lodge complex. I will argue that gender helps us to understand the limits of the architectural patronage of women and the tools of women used in waqf foundations to participate in Sufism. I also seek to understand the presence of women burials in urban space as another mode of women's visibility in Sufi sites.

I will divide my topic into three subtitles and begin with the subject of elite women who use architectural patronage as the most common way to be present in urban space. In this manner, Şah Sultan, the patroness of three Halveti lodges in the capital, will be analyzed with reference to her projects as an example. The second subtitle is about how waqfs were used by urban women as a tool in the way of Sufi path; by examining waqf surveys, endowment deeds and additional waqfs of mosque complexes, I will try to understand how women supported the Halveti order and obtained prominent roles in these religious organisms. Finally, the special female presence in the character of Koca Mustafa Pasha complex will be examined under a separate title in the context of gendered architectural units of the complex and narratives about them. By evaluating the architectural culture, the waqf system and women's narratives, I am aiming to find the position of women/female in the studies of Sufi orders. In this chapter, I propose that women from both elite and urban

middle classes were active in the Ottoman mystic life and the convent complexes could be shaped by gender differences.

4.1 Elite women's patronage in the Ottoman context

Architectural patronage was used by the state as one of the ways of representing authority and presence of the central power in urban space. However, members of the imperial family or elite members of administrative and military class experienced this common practice at different levels. Sultans, viziers, pashas and many others did this activity according to their status and economic power, so multiple types of patronage have appeared through the Ottoman history. Moreover, as distinction in classes and status was influential in shaping differences in architectural patronage, women patrons were are also active and visible in every dimension of religious and architectural lives, which resulted inevitably with significant differentiation in political senses.[336]

Initially, the meaning of architectural patronage of women should be better understood first, before evaluating the relationship between Şah Sultan and Sünbüliye sub-branch of Halveti order. From a general perspective, architectural patronage can be interpreted as the representation of the self via physical presence of a building in urban space; it may be symbol of power and it signifies economic independence. Furthermore, being a patron of a building or a complex conveys the message of prestige and generosity and this philanthropic image creates a bridge between ruler/elite and subject/commoner. In the case of Ottoman women builders the issue also has a religious dimension because the philanthropic character of act of patronage involves the relation also between God and the patron.

[336] Peirce, "Gender and Sexual Propriety," 53.

Generally women are not associated with the notion of power in the history of Islam, so the word power needs an explanation at this point. D. Fairchild Ruggles, in the book of *Women, Patronage, and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* that she has edited, questions what the term power in connection to women. The book argues that individual forms of women's empowerment entail six categories: financial independence, sons, natal family, celibacy, education, and voice.[337] So, regarding women of different classes within Islamic societies whose source of power differs according to economic status, social class, race, and marriage, will help us to understand the status of elite women in relation to their architectural and institutional patronage.

As mentioned earlier, patronage also requires certain amount of economic independence; royal women often commissioned these building projects with their own wealth. However, having money and property does not always bring a total independence or limitlessness to represent themselves, but rather, especially for Ottoman women in the sixteenth century, it provides possibilities. Commissioning projects and paying the costs of the buildings with their own money means women were able to manage their own resources.

After talking about the notion of patronage, mentioning the practice of it in the Ottoman Empire will be beneficial for our case. When the issue studied deeply, it can be obviously seen that building patronage followed a hierarchy in the sixteenth century Ottoman Empire. Gülru Necipoğlu talks about the codes of decorum that shaped the mosque typologies in the time of the architect Sinan and underlines some obvious differences: domed baldachins placed on four, six, or eight supports is a mark of prestige and also domes flanked by semi-domes were built for royal patrons.

[337] Ruggles, "Vision and Power An Introduction," 6-13.

In addition, another tool of revealing elite hierarchies is the presence of a forecourt; the marble-paved courtyards surrounded by domed arcades signified an imperial privilege. In terms of dome sizes, the largest ones were built for sultanic mosques. Having more than one minaret and multi-galleried minarets also means an imperial claim. Certainly, the costs and monumentality of these mosque complexes is an obvious indicator of the wealth and prestige of their patrons.[338]

What will be analyzed here is the patronage of a princess, Şah Sultan, so I will first give briefly discuss Ottoman women's patronage in general and then princess patrons in particular. At this juncture, before talking about the sixteenth century, it is certainly beneficial to look at female patronage in earlier periods of the Ottoman Empire, when certain codes were established. Royal women, such as mothers of sultans and princesses, always played an important role in architectural patronage since the early years of the Ottoman state. After the end of interregnum period (1403-1413), we also see a few non-royal patrons, who had no blood links to the sultan, such as *daye hatun*s (wet nurses of sultan) and *kethüda hatun*s (harem stewardesses) in the reign of Mehmed I, Mehmed II and Beyazid II.[339] On the other hand, in case of royal women, Ayşe Çıkla underlines that the beginning of the patronage of a mother of a sultan in the provinces was in the time of Mehmed I. In terms of the building type it also shows changes through the transitional period of Ottoman Empire: *imaret-zaviye*s (soup kitchen-convent complexes) were chosen by royal women during the foundation years, but after the centralization attempts, *zaviye*-mosques began to be popular and mosque complexes were built first during

[338] In order to get the details of architectural decorum by the architect Sinan see, Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 119-123.

[339] Çıkla, "Architectural Patronage of Women," 112.

the reign of Beyazid II.[340] In general, all these building programs were modest when compared to those of sultans and they were in provinces not at the capital. So, there was a set of rules concerning the architectural patronage of the female. Not every woman in the palace could be patron of a building. Concubines, the slaves of sultans, were privileged only when they were royal mothers, in other words, when they achieved motherhood. Furthermore, privilege of patronage was given to an elder, a topic that was explained well by Peirce: "women who built were women no longer perceived to be sexually active, whether through abstinence, widowhood, or postmenopausal incapacity."[341] On the other hand, political motherhood was also fundamental. When a prince went to a province as a governor, his mother had this privilege of building as the elder. As I noted before, there was one more distinctive feature about the location issue; the concubine mother could patronize their buildings only in provinces because the emperor was the only one who could build in the capital.

While royal women were enjoying these privileges of patronage, there were some changes in the sixteenth century. The imperial harem was rising in the reign of Süleyman I, who was enthroned in 1520, and until the mid-seventeenth century high ranking women could have chance to enjoy a remarkable extent of political power and reputation.[342]

The institution of seniority,[343] in other words the abolition of sending princes as governors to provincial cities, made the rise of women more visible. Actually, it is

[340] Ibid., 114-116.

[341] Peirce, "Gender and Sexual Propriety," 56.

[342] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, VII.

[343] It is called *Ekber ve Erşed Sistemi*.

a turning point in the history of Ottoman Empire in terms of succession system, because there were no more fights between the princes for the throne. After Ahmed I's reign, the eldest living male Ottoman always came to the throne, but only three times a son succeed his father, mostly, sultans were followed by their brothers, less often by nephews, and once by a cousin.[344] With this new system, there was no more princely-governorate and so *valide* sultan (queen mother), *şehzade* and the sultan lived in the same palace at the capital. Sultan's mother gained power and authority, thanks to her son.

Despite the fact that seniority was first institutionalized during the reign of Ahmed I, it must be noted that, Hurrem Sultan and Nurbanu Sultan did not go to the province with their sons. So, what were the other reasons for earlier beginning of the court women's rising? Apparently, the special reason for the rising of women already from the beginning of the sixteenth century was Hurrem herself. Furthermore, the issue of bureaucratization had also a fundamental role in the process. As a result of the large size of the conquered lands and the increase in the population, the Ottoman state needed a transformation. To achieve this, Süleyman I, put a project of centralization and consolidation into practice.[345] As a result of this bureaucratization process, Sultan became a more abstract figure. Thanks to this abstractness of sultans, royal women took the stage where they could find a chance to represent themselves and built connections with the society. In this way, high-ranking females gained roles in the public, and they became representatives of the imperial power in the urban space.

[344] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 22.

[345] Özen, "The Atik Valide Complex in Üsküdar," 17.

Hurrem legally married with Süleyman I and became the first royal wife of an Ottoman sultan. This extra-ordinary wedding of a concubine and a sultan marked first step of women rising. She also departed from the rule of one mother-one son, which can be explained as a woman being allowed to bear only one son to a sultan or prince. Furthermore, Hurrem did not go to the province with her son thereby the last concubine of the provinces was Mahidevran Hatun, the mother of prince Mustafa who remained a slave.[346] Hurrem broke her concubine status and became a free woman by way of her marriage in 1534.[347] However, she could not attain the higher status of *valide* sultan.[348]

In terms of her presence in the urban space, she commissioned many building programs and one of them was built between 1537-39 in what would become the Haseki district of Istanbul, which received its name from her mosque complex. Hurrem's complex included a mosque with one minaret and later a madrasa and a primary school, a soup kitchen and a hospital were added. It should be underlined that it is in the capital city and the location is very central. Before Hurrem Sultan, mother of princes were allowed to build complexes but they could do this only in provincial cities. Staying at the palace and commissioning a mosque complex in the imperial city made her a rule-breaker and more importantly a trendsetter. Another project of her is in Jerusalem, the Takiyya complex which was completed in 1550.[349] Apart from that, she built a bath near Ayasofya and a complex in the former capital

[346] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 42.

[347] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 268.

[348] Ibid., 269.

[349] Peirce, "Gender and Sexual Propriety," 61.

Edirne. Her acts of patronage spread to many locations within the borders of the Ottoman Empire.

Nurbanu, mother of Sultan Murad III, is another sultana who achieved a royal marriage with a Sultan, Selim II. So, she shared a rare honor with Hurrem and then transcended the border that Hurrem set and took the title of *valide* sultan, upon enthronement of her son Murad III. Her career marked a significant point in terms of institution of *valide*s after Hurrem's position of *haseki* (favourite) in the paradigm of imperial women patronage.[350] Nurbanu Sultan made Sinan the architect of her monumental complex is in Üsküdar district. It was a socio-religious project with many units served the society. The mosque surpasses Hurrem's mosque with its two minarets, symbolizes royalty.[351]

So, it is very clear that Şah Sultan architectural patronages correspond to a turning point, which was initiated by Hurrem in the sixteenth-century Ottoman realm. Until now, the status of favorite and queen mother were discussed and this discussion formed a ground to understand the patronage of Şah Sultan in terms of elite women patronage culture. Nevertheless, due to her position as a half-sister in the imperial family, she cannot be evaluated within the context of wives or concubines. Instead, I will try to evaluate daughters and sisters of Sultans before and after her in order to interpret her projects as a mode of self-representation within the borders of codes of decorum.

[350] Ibid., 62.

[351] Actually, the mosque has a remodeling because its construction started in the reign of Selim II, when Nurbanu was the wife of the Sultan. Then, Murad III enthroned, so the status of Nurbanu was transformed to "queen mother". It reflected in her complex by enlargement of the mosque, extention of the portico and an ddition of the second minaret. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan,* 285-286.

I want to start with Şah Sultan's biography, architectural patronage and relationship with the Sufi order and then a comparison with sultan's sisters before her and after her will be done to put her patronage in a context.

4.1.1 Şah Sultan

Since there is not only one Şah Sultan in the imperial of the Ottoman Empire through the ages; daughters of Bayezid II, Selim II and Mustafa III, there might be some confusion about the identity of Şah Sultans. In this thesis, I am referring Şahî Sultan or Devletşahî who is daughter of Selim I and Ayşe II.[352] She is half-sister of Süleyman I, born from a different mother, married with Lütfi Pasha before 1523 and had two daughters from this marriage, whose names are İsmihan and Şifahan.[353] In the May of 1541, their marriage ended with divorce and Süleyman I dismissed his grand vizier Lütfi Pasha from the post.[354] A *hüccet* (title deed) dated 28 May 1541, listed the architect Sinan among the witnesses, indicated Şah Sultan's renouncement of her rights to dowry and support and then, the pasha gave some of his properties in Istanbul to the princess.[355] The reason was the punishment of circumcision of a prostitute, was stated by the pasha. When Sultan Süleyman heard about the event, he accepted his sister's divorce request and ended pasha's career.[356]

Her husband Lütfi Pasha (d. 1563) was an Albanian origin devshirme who entered to the palace in the reign of Bayezid II, and after his years in Enderun was

[352] Faroqhi, "Shah Sultan," 199.

[353] Ibid., 199.

[354] Ibid., 199.

[355] Ibid., 199. Gülru Necipoğlu states that these terms often accompanied divorce initiated by women. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 294.

[356] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 294.

charged with different positions. During the reign of Süleyman, he became sanjak governor of Kastamonu and then of Aydın. After he joined the campaign of Rodos in 1522 and charged with the restoration of Rodos castle, he was appointed Ioannina (Yanya) as sanjak governor. During his years in Yanya, he joined at the siege of Vienna in 1529.[357] Then, he was appointed to Karaman as beylerbeyi in 1533-34 where he accompanied the campaign of Irakeyn and ordered architect Sinan to built ships in Tatvan, around Lake Van. In 1534-35 Lütfi Pasha was invited to the capital as a third vizier.[358] He commanded the fleet in the campaign of Korfu in 1537. Then, he went to the campaign of Kara Boğdan as the second vizier in 1538 and he put architect Sinan to built a bridge on Prut River, which marked a significant point in Sinan's career. After death of Ayas Paşa in 1539, the office of grand vizierate held by Lütfi Pasha. After his divorce from sultan's half sister, however, the pasha was retired to Dimetoka for the rest years of his life.[359] He explains this dismissal in his work of Asafname.[360]

According to this, he gave up the post of grand vizierate willingly. Meanwhile, the divorced princess did not marry again, as I mentioned in the second chapter, she commissioned mosques, dervish lodges and school in various parts of the imperial city of Ottomans. Moreover, she is known for patronage of books, nine of which were bought for the palace after her death.[361]

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[357] İpşirli, "Lütfi Paşa," 234.

[358] Ibid., 234; Imber, "Lutfi Pasha," 837.

[359] Imber, "Lutfi Pasha," 838; İpşirli, "Lütfi Paşa," 234.

[360] "*… ba'dehu sa'adetlü Padişahımıza ba'zı münafıkîn-i ehl-i garaz – ellezine fi kulubihim maradun (Koran, a part of sura al-ahzab 12nd verse 33/12) – güya cürmümüze müte'allik ba'zı husus ile nifak idüb mağlub-ı nîsa olmayub anların mekrinden emin olmak içün hüsn ve rıza ile sadaret-i 'azimeden feragat evla görülmeğin temini ile fariğ olub ...*" Lütfi Paşa, *Asafname*, 8-9.

[361] Faroqhi, "Shah Sultan," 199.

Şah Sultan, as the founder of three dervish lodges and all founded for the service of Sünbüliye sub-branch of Halvetiye, was a relatively strong representative of dynastic patronage in the urban landscape. Although these building projects of Şah Sultan indicates her closeness to Halvetis, there was actually more than a close relationship with the Sufi order. It is a debated issue that whether she married with the shaykh Merkez Efendi or not. In this part of the chapter, the building projects of the princess will be evaluated firstly, and marriage issue will be discussed afterwards.

Davudpaşa, Eyüp and Yenikapı are the locations of Şah Sultan's pious endowment projects. The building project in Davudpaşa neighborhood was the first building program of the princess where a mosque was built in 1528, just near the to the palace of the couple.[362] Later, she transformed the masjid into a Friday mosque with the imperial firman of Süleyman in 1562.[363] Her first project was a result of closeness to not the famous shaykh Merkez Efendi -for whom she built a complex- but to another Halveti shaykh Yakub Germiyani. The hagiographer of Halvetiye order, son of Yakub Germiyani, narrates the special relationship between Halveti shaykh Yakub Efendi and Şah Sultan. According to him, they met in Yanya where Lütfi Pasha was charged as sanjak governor and the princess became a disciple of him.[364] According to the author, after Şah Sultan's arrival in Istanbul, she built a dervish lodge accompanied with dervish cells in Davudpaşa in 1534-1535 and invited Yakub Efendi who was still in Yanya there to fill the shaykh position.[365] The

[362] Erdoğan, "Şah Sultan Cami," 125.

[363] Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Sultan Süleyman Devri*, 666.

[364] Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, 63.

[365] Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 188.

author of the work, Yusuf b. Yakub, underlines that his father conduced to the contact of Şah Sultan with Merkez Efendi. Upon the princess request, Yakub Efendi was allocated to the convent in Davutpaşa where he would stay eighteen years.[366]

Merkez Efendi, who was at the imperial city at the time of Sünbül Sinan's death, became the successor of the Sünbüliye post of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge in 1529. After twenty-three years Merkez Efendi died in 1552 and Yakub Efendi saw a dream that Sünbül Sinan want him to be next shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge. Following Yakub Efendi's leaving, Şah Sultan was very upset and decided to transform the dervish lodge into a madrasa.[367] As I mentioned in the second chapter, the madrasa unfortunately did not survived and the mosque has been mostly rebuilt.

In sum, the princess met with a shaykh in Yanya and her move to the capital did not cause her to break their connection but rather she commissioned a dervish lodge for him sited next to her palace and brought the shaykh to Istanbul. Apparently, Şah Sultan's spiritual relationship with Yakub Efendi was very striking.

Her second pious foundation is in Eyüp and it was built for a miracle of Merkez Efendi next to her shore palace in the suburb of the imperial city. According to the narrative in *Lemezat*, Şah Sultan and her husband Lütfi Pasha were coming back from Yanya, and robbers killed their guard, at the moment Merkez Efendi appeared and they escaped. When Lütfi Pasha and his wife arrived to Istanbul safely, they were attached to the order. Hulvi says, after this event Şah Sultan decided to

[366] Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, 63.

[367] Ibid., 64; Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 188.

endow a waqf for the mosque and the dervish convent. However, Merkez Efendi appointed his favorite disciple Gömleksiz Mehmed Efendi there.[368]

As I studied in detail before, her last project as the second patron in Yenikapı is a re-modeling after the shaykh's death. Each three complexes including dervish convents of Sünbüliye sub branch of Halveti order are modest projects. First two of them were next to Şah Sultan's palace, so it can be thought that the princess wanted to be close to the convents and probably she often met the shaykhs. The princess chose Sufi lodges to represent herself in the urban place and spent her wealth for the Halvetis. Her identity as a devotee is on the forefront in her life story.

Before making an extensive evaluation of her patronages I want to talk about the issue of her marriage to Merkez Efendi, because it will be beneficial to gain an insight into her feelings and the intentions behind her choices.

4.1.2 The issue of marriage

The debated marriage issue of the devotee princess and the shaykh is significant in terms of explaining the meaning of her projects. On the one hand, her three pious foundations represent her philanthropic character and intimacy to the Halveti order but on the other hand probable marriage will give a different dimension to her architectural projects.

Initially, it must be stated that there are three possibilities about this marriage as they were offered by different scholars: the first and most possible one is the marriage that took place in Manisa, before 1529 as Emel Esin puts forward. The second possibility claimed by Hüseyin Vassaf and Asım Çalıkoğlu to have been after

[368] Hulvi, *Lemezat,* 447-448.

Lütfi Pasha's death and the last one proposed by Tahsin Yazıcı is the argument suggesting that the marriage did not happen at all.[369]

Most evidently, the endowment deeds of Şah Sultan and Merkez Efendi are proofs of their close connection. Laying emphasis on the statement of "mother of my son Ahmet was Şah Sultan who was daughter of Selim I" in the *vakfiye* of Merkez Efendi,[370] and also on the daily assignment of stipends to daughter of Merkez Efendi, Ummi Hatun and also to daughter of Ahmet Çelebi (her probable son), Selime Hatun vakfiyain Şah Sultan's *vakfiye*, it can be easily said that possibility of this marriage is very high. In addition, the princess and the shaykh mutually will to recite Koran each other's mausoleums.[371] An account in *Sefine-i Evliya* supports their marriage: One day Süleyman I came to see his sister Şah Sultan and she was washing the clothes, so the ruler was pleased his sisters situation in terms of her modesty, and he said: "sister, now you find Merkez (the center)."[372]

Merkez Efendi died in 1552 at his nineties, so the marriage could not be after Şah Sultan's divorce in 1541, because Merkez Efendi (d. 1552) was at his eighties at that time. Besides, Ahmet Çelebi (d. 1556)[373] was an adult when the divorce took place because after his father's death the position of shaykhdom was offered to him. Therefore, the shaykh and the princess could not marry after 1541.

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[369] Esin, "Merkez Efendi ile Şah Sultan Hakkında Bir Haşiye," 66-92. Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya,* 394-397. Çalıkoğlu, *Sünbül Efendi ve Merkez Efendi'nin Resimli Hayatı ve Hüviyetleri*. Yazıcı, "Fetihten Sonra İstanbul'da İlk Halvetî Şeyhleri," 87-113.

[370] "*... oğlum Ahmet Bey'in validesi Şah Sultan ibnetü Sultan Selim Han*." There are two other sons mentioned in the *vakfiye,* Derviş Çelebi and Ali Çelebi. VGMA, Merkez Efendi's endowment deed, 959: 623/329 -156.

[371] VGMA, Merkez Efendi 's endowment deed; VGMA, Şah Sultan's endowment deed.

[372] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya,* vol.3, 397.

[373] Taşköprüzade gives the date of 963 for his death. Taşköprüzade Ahmet Efendi, *Eş-Şakaiku'n-Nu'maniye,* 373. However, hagiographer Hulvi gives another date, 970 (1562/1563). In this case, a contemporary of Ahmet Efendi, Taşköprüzade is a more reliable source.

The basic chronological information refuted the second argument that was offered by Hüseyin Vassaf and Çalıkoğlu. Since the clear statement in Merkez Efendi's *vakfiye* confutes the third hypothesis evidently, I want to focus on the second one.

If they married, it must be before her marriage with Lütfi Pasha in Manisa. During Süleyman's years in Manisa sanjak between 1512 and 1520, his half-sister was likely with him. As it is stated before, Merkez Efendi was sent to the convent of Hafsa Sultan in Manisa by Sünbül Sinan, so they were probably at the same place during some years. Yet, hagiographical source of Halveti order, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, dates their first meeting to coming back of Şah Sultan from Yanya to Istanbul around 1534-1535 and her personal demand about Yakub Efendi's appointment to her complex in Davutpaşa. Moreover, the author Yusuf b. Yakub stressed that his father Yakub Efendi conduced to meeting of two.[374]

Few years later, the commander of 1537 Korfu campaign was Lütfi Pasha and Şah Sultan accompanied the army. I have mentioned the miraculously apparition of Merkez Efendi in this event. So, Emel Esin argues this miracle strengthens that they have met before.[375]

Neither *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, nor *Lemezat* includes any clear information about the marriage and what we see in these sources of Halveti order is just Şah Sultan's attachment to the Sünbüliye sub-branch and hence to Yakub Efendi and Merkez Efendi. On the other hand, these sources mention Merkez Efendi's marriage with the daughter of Mirza Baba who was the shaykh of Etyemez dervish lodge,

[374] Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, 63. Şah Sultan's close ties with the Sufi order brings her a place in the hagiographical works of the Halveti order. A women, a member of the imperial family was mentioned in these texts so in this way, the order used the princess as a tool of legimization emphasizing her architectural patronage. In other words, these accounts underlining her elite line strenghtened the position of Halvetiye in eyes of the society as an architectural patron and devotee of the Sufi order.

[375] In her article, Emel Esin claims that Merkez Efendi's miracoluosly apparition is a proof of they had met before. Esin, "Merkez Efendi ile Şah Sultan Hakkında Bir Haşiye," 76-77.

which was before his attachment to Sünbül Sinan. When he completed the steps and became a Sünbüli shaykh, he was appointed to Kovacı Dede dervish lodge. In the *Tezkire-i Havetiye*, it is accounted that since Merkez Efendi was married, he did not stay in the Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge in first years of his devotion to Sünbüliye.[376] Furthermore, after Merkez Efendi's return to the capital from Manisa, Yakub Efendi narrates a conversation between them. He repeats that Merkez Efendi did not stay in the dervish lodge because of his marital status and so he is not known there. Then, he adds that it is a secret and dervishes were not informed.[377] The word secret grabs attention because what kind of a reason made his marriage secret is unknown. Hulvi mentions his wife without giving a date but the event took place after Merkez Efendi's construction of his dervish lodge in Yenikapı and probably close to foundation of Mevlevihane next to them.[378]

It is obvious that Merkez Efendi did not hide his marriage during late years of his life. In addition, one of the tombs in his mausoleum belongs to Hatice Hanım who was identified as daughter of the shaykh of Etyemez dervish lodge.[379]

Esin takes attention to an account of Ayvansarayi that mentions the marriage of grand vizier Mehmed Pasha and İsmihan Sultan who was daughter of Selim II. According to Ayvansarayi, the couple had a son but public did not know this child and it was remained in secret until it revealed.[380] Since killing *şehzade*s was regarded as permissible in those times, it can be implied that even princesses' sons could be

[376] Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, 48. Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 441.

[377] The event took place when Merkez Efendi came to the capital city, just before Sünbül Sinan's death in 1529. Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 443.

[378] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 447.

[379] Esin, "Merkez Efendi ile Şah Sultan Hakkında Bir Haşiye," 82.

[380] Ibid., 73; Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 432.

considered as dangerous. So, there was a tendency to hide these children. Furthermore, the renouncement of Ahmet Efendi from the position of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge and also his will to live in Denizli, which is outside of the capital city, can be seen as a clue to his consciously keeping away from the imperial family.[381]

In the light of this information, the marriage of a princess and a shaykh is not impossible. As in the case of Bayezid I's daughter Hundi's marriage with shaykh Emir Sultan, this one also may have taken place.[382]

4.1.3 An evaluation of Şah Sultan's architectural patronage

As it is explained before, there is no doubt that there was a women's legacy in the urban place via architectural patronage. During the early years of the empire, it had limitations in a large sense, but later architectural patronage of elite women transcended these borders. Şah Sultan represents a crucial point in the history of Ottoman women's legacy in public. Actually, her acts of architectural patronage correspond to the beginning of royal women's increasing public visibility through architectural patronage, which was initiated by the prominent figure of Hürrem. Elite women of the Ottoman court continued this process with some key actors such as Nurbanu, Safiye Sultan and Hatice Turhan Sultan.

In order to understand and also to make an evaluation of her projects I want to ask some questions regarding her role of agency in the architectural patronage, her

[381] Hulvi, *Lemezat*, 449.

[382] Algül and Azamat, "Emir Sultan," 147.

position in the imperial family, the source of her power, features of her buildings and her motives to build.

Above all, her status in the imperial family is the most influential thing that affects the potential of Şah Sultan's public presence. In terms of her patronage, Gülru Necipoğlu underlines the simplicity of Şah Sultan's complexes and says;

> at the outskirts of the capital befitted her status as a relatively minor princess, the reigning Sultan's half-sister, born from a different mother. Her pious foundations conformed to codes of decorum observed in the domeless, single-minaret mosques that Sinan designed for other princesses who did not belong to Süleyman's nuclear family.[383]

Laying emphasis on the issue of her status in the imperial family, it can be said that half-sister of reigning Sultan and as a princess of the "golden age" she seems like came to the forefront among other princesses. Çağatay Uluçay mentions six daughters of Selim I; Beyhan Sultan, Fatma Sultan, Hafsa Sultan, Hatice Sultan, Şah Sultan and Hanım Hatun.[384] If we look at the patronage issue and marriage links of these daughters, Fatma Sultan, who was married with Kara Ahmet Pasha[385] commissioned a mosque around Topkapı (Ahmet Pasha Mosque).[386] Moreover, Hatice Sultan, wife of İbrahim Pasha, and Hafsa Sultan, wife of İskender Pasha, did not have any building project.

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[383] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan,* 296.

[384] Uluçay, *Padişahın Kadınları ve Kızları*, 31-34. For a detailed study about the Ottoman Dynastic Lienage, see Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty*. He gives the number of daughters of Selim I as ten and gives the names of Hatice, Fatma, Selçuk, Hafsa and Şahhuba (Şah Sultan) with five unknown name. However, I prefer to use Çağatay Uluçay's findings as he based upon the documents from different sources.

[385] Ayvansarayi claimed that he is famous vizier Kara Ahmet Pasha. Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 214.

[386] Öz, *İstanbul Camileri*, 59.

The vizier Çoban Mustafa Pasha married with Hanım Hatun and the couple was granted many properties by Bayezid II, Selim I and Süleyman I.[387] Hanım Sultan's complex in Koğacı Dede neighborhood built by her son Osmanşah includes a mosque and a madrasa. It was completed five years after Hanım Sultan's death in 1543.[388] Before Selim I, Bayezid II's daughter commissioned a mosque listed among Sinan's works in Yenibahçe.[389] All of them are humble structures and so they conform the codes of decorum in the age of Sinan.

The domeless mosques of the Şah Sultan in Eyüp, Davutpaşa and also Merkez Efendi complexes have an unassuming character in terms of both their architectural features and the locations. Each of them having only one minaret and pitched-roofed superstructure has no imperial claim. In terms of location, two of the princess' complexes were sited outside the city walls while the Davutpaşa complex was located within the walled city but not at a central place. Considering her agency in these pious foundations, locations were most likely chosen by Şah Sultan because both Eyüp and Davutpaşa complexes were next to her palaces. Since the princess was a devotee of Sünbüliye, she might have preferred to be close to the dervish lodges. On the other hand, Merkez Efendi complex is a re-modeling project, so this fact may diminish her role of agency in the process of re-construction and removes it in terms of location choice. In sum, her complexes attract the attention for the number of projects that is relatively high compared to her sisters.

[387] In the documents, she is referred as Sultanzade or Şehzade Sultan. Uluçay, *Padişahın Kadınları ve Kızları*, 33.

[388] Uzunçarşılı, *Hanım Sultan ve Torunu Kara Osman Şah Bey Vakfiyeleri*, 472-473. The complex listed among architecht Sinan's works is now lost.

[389] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 296.

As I mentioned before, the Ottoman architectural patronage culture was transformed especially after Hürrem. This change in the locations and sizes of the buildings/complexes also can be seen in the projects of princesses. For instance, Mihrümah as only daughter of Süleyman I was also rule-breaker like her mother. Her two complexes in Edirnekapı and Üsküdar with their remarkable domes have a quite outstanding character. Mihrümah's Üsküdar complex with two minarets and a dome flanked with three half-domes has imperial claim and shows her different status as daughter of reigning Sultan. Furthermore, it should also be underlined that her mother was legal wife of the Sultan. Mihrümah's special status in Süleyman I's nuclear family was supported by her husband Rüstem Pasha's position as grand vizier.[390]

In 1547-48, the first complex of Mihrümah in Üsküdar was completed next to her garden palace.[391] The choice of location shows similarity with Şah Sultan's complexes of Eyüp and Davutpaşa that were commissioned next to the princess' palaces. However, Edirnekapı project of Mihrümah was erected on a hilltop and on the Divanyolu, striking in terms of its special site in the city.

The loss of her husband increased Mihrümah's wealth thanks to inheritance from Rüstem Pasha. The rich and powerful women, Mihrümah, got six hundred *akçe*s (the chief monetary unit of the Ottoman Empire) during her retirement in the Old Palace, the highest stipend awarded a princess in the classical period.[392] Nevertheless, since the completion of Edirnekapı complex which dates after death of her mother and father, Mihrümah's architectural program affected this new status of

[390] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 299-300.

[391] Orman, "Mihrimah Sultan Külliyesi," 40; Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 300.

[392] Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 127-128.

the princess: sister of reigning Sultan, Selim II, not daughter of reigning Sultan anymore. As a result of this, Mihrümah's mosque has only one minaret and it does not have an imperial claim.[393]

Şah Sultan's status as half-sister of reigning Sultan is clearly a lesser position compared to Mihrümah whose father was on throne during much of her lifetime. Therefore, the monumentality of Mihrümah projects is not surprising.

Regarding the Ottoman princesses' architectural patronage culture, we might also note the daughter of Süleyman's successor Selim II, İsmihan Sultan who married with Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. The couple commissioned palaces and mosque complexes in the imperial city. İsmihan Sultan's endowment deed lists two Friday mosques and one of them is in the Kadırga complex that bears the name of her and Sokollu and the other one is in Mangalya, in a province.[394] Furthermore, another daughter of Selim II, Şah Sultan who married with Zal Mahmud Pasha built a mosque complex in Eyüp with her husband. Being reigning Sultan's sister, her mosque could have only one minaret.

The projects of these two princesses are similar in terms of being joint patronages. In this situation, to make an evaluation of these complexes becomes complicated regarding two patrons of different statuses. However, apparently, husbands suppressed the princesses' names and hence their self-images because autobiographies of chief architect Sinan listed their complexes under name of their husbands.[395]

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[393] There are some speculations about the date of its completion but archival documents supports that the project was completed in the reign of Selim II. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 306-307.

[394] For a discussion about the patron/patrons of the Kadırga complex see Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 331-344.

[395] Ibid., 337, 372.

It has been known that the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries did not witness powerful princess patrons of architecture, but Mihrümah became the first one who built a monumental mosque complex at the imperial city when her father was the reigning sultan and her status was sultan's daughter, and also her husband was grand vizier at that time.[396] İsmihan and Selim II' daughter Şah Sultan stand on a different position after Mihrümah's powerful mark on the history of Ottoman architectural history as the only daughter of the Sultan. Necipoğlu thinks that greater number of princesses may diminish their privileges during Selim II's sultanate, and drives attention to the lack of twin minarets in their mosques.[397]

If we think about Şah Sultan's (daughter of Selim I) position among Ottoman royal women as half sister of the ruler, she could build three relatively small complexes and they are lesser when compared to projects of her successors in terms of size and monumentality. Nonetheless, Selim I's daughter became the prominent princess among her sisters with her three imprints on the cityscape. The patronage is a matter of self-representation in the public sphere, so the viewer is also important. She used dervish lodges to represent herself in the urban space.

In terms of source of power, her brother Süleyman I granted some lands in Dimetoka to Şah Sultan who used them to support her donations. In addition, the princess endowed her pious foundations with extensive urban real estate, partly located in the vicinity of her own palace in shores of Eyüp.[398]

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[396] Ibid., 301.

[397] Ibid., 332. Fatma Sultan (built a madrasa and a primary school in Edirnekapı) and Gevherhan Sultan (a madrasa in Cağaloğlu neighborhood) are also daughters of Selim II and built modest structures. Uluçay, *Padişahın Kadınları ve Kızları*, 41-42.

[398] Faroqhi, "Shah Sultan," 200.

About her motives to build, it can be said that beneficence had a significant role for a Muslim women. Besides, her will to public display as a part of elite privilege and also her devotee identity influenced intentions of the princess.

Regarding the issue of beneficence, the Qur'an says to help someone that in need is an essential duty of a Muslim. It might be said that there are many ways to help people and to establish charitable waqfs is one of these numerous ways. Waqfs, has an Islamic basis, are institutions, which established for pious endowments. Amy Singer explained endowments in her book as:

> Endowments existed throughout the Islamic world, serving as the agents of everything from small-scale beneficence to large public welfare projects, building anything from mosques and schools, to roads and bridges, to neighborhood water fountains. Their beneficiaries included, equally, scholars and students, Sufi dervishes, indigents and family members. Differences in size and purpose shaped them, as did the skill and sincerity with which they were managed and the effects of their immediate environment.[399]

Founding of waqfs mostly have religious reasons aiming heaven, trying to please God, making charitable act and leaving a mark after his/her death in the history. They are also tools of patronage in order to spread power, to legitimize and consolidate the sovereignty.[400] Considering all these different motivations, Ottoman women builders were in competition of pious endowments via waqfs. Furthermore, gender is a determining factor in waqf-making. Only the person is a member of imperial family because princes were not allowed to found waqfs. On the other hand, women do not have any restrictions.[401] So, Amy Singer asks if we can say that the beneficence of Ottoman women more outstanding than that of their male counterparts. For the imperial family, her answer is both yes and no because the

[399] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence,* 4.

[400] Ibid., 25-26.

[401] Ibid., 93.

sultan obviously commissioned the most featured and sumptuous buildings and donations of his reign. However, while women members of the royal family could build numerous complexes at any time, the sultan was the only man of the royal house who could endow.[402]

In Şah Sultan's case, her building complexes including madrasas and primary schools served to students, scholars and also her attachment to Sünbüliye shaped the character of these pious foundations that served to dervishes.

Looking at details of Şah Sultan's *vakfiye*, the overseer of waqf was herself and she appointed her niece, Süleyman I's daughter Mihrümah to execute her will of adding one third of her inheritance to her waqf following her death. Some women including herself were assigned daily stipends; her daughter İsmihan, daughter and the grand-daughter of Merkez Efendi, Ümmi Hatun and Selime Hatun, her freed slave Belkıs and her father's freed slave Nazperver Hatun and Hasna Hatun who was *daye* of Vasfihan Sultan.[403]

The obvious emphasis on women in Şah Sultan's *vakfiye* is not a special to her; rather other examples can be seen in the *vakfiye*s of elite women. Nurbanu Sultan also assigned daily stipends to some of her freed female slaves and food from her hospice to widows who had served her husband and herself.[404] Another fundamental point of her *vakfiye* is the comparison of her with women mystics Rabia al- Adawiyya (d. 801) and Meryem al-Basriyye.[405] Mentioning names of women

[402] Ibid., 96.

[403] VGMA, Şah Sultan's endowment deed.

[404] VGMA, Defter 1766, 164. As cited in Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan,* 287.

[405] *"... zühüdde Meryem-i Basriyye salah-ı takvada Rabia-i Adeviyye..."* VGMA, Şah Sultan's endowment deed.

mystics stresses Şah Sultan's piety, but it should also be said that it is not an exceptional thing because Hurrem and Mihrümah also compared to Sufi Rabia.[406]

Merkez Efendi complex stands apart in three projects of Şah Sultan due to its different patronage. Since the princess was the second patron of the complex, it has a special dimension. With this architectural program, she wanted to do something for her shaykh and maybe for her ex-husband. Merkez Efendi as a famous shaykh of his time affected two other royal women of the Ottoman court. According to her *vakfiye*, Hürrem Sultan was attracted to his mystic aura and supported the convent-mosque of Merkez Efendi at the village of Sarı Mahmudlu in Denizli and also the convent of Merkez Efendi's son Ahmet Çelebi's in Uşak with endowed funds.[407] As it is stated before, the shaykh also served in the dervish lodge of Hafsa Sultan's complex in Manisa upon the request of Hafsa Sultan.[408]

Lastly, to ask how society understands these acts of the royal member of dynastic family will be beneficial. In my opinion, imperial women's patronage in the Ottoman Empire is a supportive act to the Sultan in terms of helping him to create links with the subjects. The philanthropic projects of Ottoman household bring together palace and society, capital and province. Moreover, these multifunctional complexes provide some opportunities for people such as soup kitchens for poor, new madrasas and primary schools for education, and also dervish lodges. They are all about generating a favorable public opinion and maintaining it through the centuries as personal imprint in the city. Furthermore, the visual existing in society

[406] Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 302.

[407] Ibid., 271.

[408] Yusuf b. Yakub, *Tezkire-i Halvetiye*, 54-55.

with the physical products of patronage allowed subjects to evaluate the level of influence of the imperial patron.[409] It also provides legitimacy to patron/patroness as a representative of dynasty's philanthropic projects. In other words, the act of patronage is not only individual and but also a dynastic policy.

In this part of the chapter, I have tried outline aspects of women's participation in architectural patronage in the Ottoman Empire, highlighting their status in the hierarchical system as a significant issue that shaped their building complexes. It can be clearly seen that women's gradual institutionalization had an important place in the Ottoman history. In a general perspective, it is not wrong to say Ottoman women builders gained strength in time after the second half of the sixteenth century. They started their projects in provinces; later they could build in the capital. Moreover, their first buildings were modest, but the hugeness and magnificence of the later projects are noteworthy. One must question how their patronage differed from that of men. For our case study of Şah Sultan's three complexes, however, gender is not the sole tool of analysis, as it was not the only issue that determines characteristics of the complexes. Pierce's statement about Ottoman royal women's patronage explains this point well " ... the Ottoman case suggest that gender should be understood not an essentializing category of analysis (female patronage), but rather as a dynamic and nuanced element in the religiously, socially, and politically complex act of patronage in Islamic societies."[410]

In this culture of complex acts of patronage, Şah Sultan left a personal imprint on the capital city and showed her devotion to his shaykhs Merkez Efendi

[409] Peirce, "Gender and Sexual Property," 54.

[410] Ibid., 66.

and Yakub Germiyani with her architectural programs. Giving credit to imperial or political dimension of architectural projects does not mean that they do not have an individual dimension. As Baha Tanman points out rulers and elites, like the subjects of the society, were also devoted to shaykhs either in their childhood or later, under the influence of their families and their environment. The attachment to the holy and the abstract derived from instincts inherent in all societies.[411] An interpretation that highlights both public and private aspects of patronage might be helpful for an understanding of Şah Sultan's motives and intentions. As a way of expressing herself through architecture, Şah Sultan erected buildings to convey her messages for the present and the future. The projects were supported by endowments, which guaranteed their continuity and the patron's spiritual presence in these sites.

4.2 The participation of urban women to dervish lodges

Although most studies on Ottoman women, particularly with respect of architecture and patronage, focus on the imperial court, commoner women also took part in the daily lives of these foundations and they have left documents behind. The limited sources about this subject have been waiting to be studied. In our case, it is assumed that non-royal women as subjects of the state had a voice and a relatively active role in relation with the Sufis thanks to the waqf system. Despite biased opinions about women of Islamic societies, in fact they could own businesses, they lent money and traded, but the only thing they were legally discriminated against was the issue of inheritance. According to Islamic law, women get one-half of what men of the same

[411] Tanman, "Setting for the Veneration of Saints," 167.

family receive as inheritance and this probably has an affect on the size of waqfs founded by women.[412]

The Koran encourages Muslims to spend their wealth on charities.[413] Therefore, motivated Muslims spent their money for the sake of people and their souls by using waqfs as one of the best ways of conducting acts of charity. Women are not subject to a discrimination or limitation regarding the waqf foundation according to Islamic law. Concordantly, there was no difference in terms of access to the waqf sources; women as well as men could establish waqf in their own name and a woman could become *mütevelli* (overseer of the waqf).[414] Both men and women are active figures of charitable acts and waqfs stand at the center of this social practice. The tax-free institutions were controlled on the state level by qadi who is the representative of the government.[415]

In the sixteenth century, the sources reveal a considerable amount of connection between urban women and Sufis. The waqf registers of the imperial city dated 1600 list many names of women waqf owners. The identity of founders is so significant because gender and status highly influence the economic capacity, hence the character of their philanthropic foundations.

Many questions can be asked concerning the religious practices of Ottoman women through the centuries and an interesting question in this respect is how urban women participated in dervish lodges. Further research is needed on this significant topic regarding the history of Sufi orders, as a dimension of the social and religious

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[412] Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence*, 93-94.

[413] Koran 2/195 "And spend in the way of Allah and do not throw [yourselves] with your [own] hands into destruction [by refraining]. And do good; indeed, Allah loves the doers of good"

[414] Deguilhem, "Consciousness of Self," 105-106.

[415] Zarinebaf, "Women, Patronage, and Charity in Ottoman İstanbul," 91.

experiences of women in the early modern Ottoman era. In order to find some answers to the questions at hand, this part of the chapter focuses on commoner women, a part of the society that the scholars have less knowledge about. Like all parts of this study, the issue will be also investigated in the context of the three mosque complexes I focus on. However, due to the limited nature of available sources, my findings are admittedly limited. At the same time, we do not have the same amount of information for each complex, and hence the overall picture is not a balanced one. From a general point of view, I will concentrate on *vakfiye*s and waqf surveys in order to understand the roles of women in Sufi organizations.

Randi Deguilhem drives attention to the individuality of the act of founding a waqf. According to Islamic law, the establishment carried out by a free person who is sound mind, at the age of majority and is debt-free.[416] To this respect, she adds that those subjects of the empire who meet these requirements also had a consciousness of the self, owned property, and chose waqf as a mode of self-representation. They defined the property that would be endowed, chose both administrators and beneficiaries; their endowment deeds included biographical information and the names of witnesses. So such foundation document gives clues about the individual characteristics of the founder.[417]

Furthermore, as an instrument of self-representation in society, pious endowments were not only tools of elite women but also of urban women in spite of their relatively limited economic power. The foremost rule of the waqf institution was that the endowed property must be privately owned. So, the records reflect also

[416] Deguilhem, "Consciousness of Self," 104.

[417] Ibid., 107.

the economic level of the founder that can differ according to his/her identity and gender.[418]

The waqf surveys of Istanbul are rich records that are the most obvious proofs of women's participation in the waqf system. The waqf survey of 1546 lists all waqfs in the walled city except the ones founded by the sultans. It also includes some basic information about the foundations; the founders name, endowed property or properties, incomes, expenditures, and the conditions for the functioning of waqf. Gabriel Baer wrote an article that examines the details of women's role in those waqfs recorded in the earlier 1546 survey by randomly selecting five hundred waqfs.[419] He notes that women founded 36.8% of all waqfs and this proves women's significant role as property holders in the economic life of sixteenth century Ottoman world. One may ask if half of the population were women why this was not reflected in waqf registers. We may assume that women owned less than men. On the other hand, it is also noted that they have mostly small sizes in terms of their assets. Endowed properties are similar for both men and women. Another observation of Baer is about waqf employees. He noticed that the position of *mütevelli* could also be given to women but its examples are very few because even women founders often assigned men as waqf overseers. In terms of beneficiaries, the percentage of women is 27.8, more than their share in the percentage of *mütevelli*s.[420]

After this general framework about women and the waqf issue, I turn to the relationship between commoner women and the Sufi establishments. Unfortunately,

[418] Zarinebaf, "Women, Patronage, and Charity in Ottoman İstanbul," 91.

[419] The article is about a detailed research of randomly selected 500 waqfs in 1546 survey and part of a vast investigation that aims to picture the status and function of the waqfs in terms of social and economic terms in the history of Turkey, Iran and the Middle East in sixteenth and twentieth centuries. Baer, "Women and Waqf," 9-27.

[420] Ibid., 9-20.

only a few numbers of studies have tackled this issue. At this point, John Curry's article in which he discusses a newly discovered hagiography that reveals information about commoner women's mystic experiences and their interactions with dervish lodge and the shaykh should be noted.[421] The source is a hagiography of the seventeenth century Halveti shaykh Hasan Ünsi, written by one of his disciples, İbrahim el-Has, who was introduced to the order by his mother. This biographical source supported by supernatural elements, includes some events that took place between women and the shaykh Hasan Ünsi, which are unusual in some respects. The author İbrahim el-Has mentions his mother as master of ascetic services and among the noted female Sufis of the shaykh. Events narrated in the source are obvious evidences of other women dervishes and also the contact of ordinary women with the shaykh.[422] Briefly, these women figures of the seventeenth century shows that females like males were involved in mystic experiences, and they could even be devotees of the shaykhs.

Unfortunately, there is no account that concerns urban women's connections with the shaykhs of the three Halveti lodges this thesis focuses on. However, *vakfiye*s and waqf surveys as rich sources of social life in the Ottoman world will hopefully provide other types of information about connections between commoner women and the Halveti order. In this part of the thesis, I bring together different types of documents that I have been able to find, which shed light on relations between urban women and Koca Mustafa Pasha, Merkez Efendi and Şah Sultan dervish lodges.

[421] Curry, "Hagiography As a Source For Women's History," 50-58.

[422] Ibid., 52-56.

Documents from a private archive that belongs to the son of the last shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha convent, Kutbettin Yücesümbül, provide interesting insights in this regard. These documents concern the waqfs founded by women and related to Koca Mustafa Pasha complex. Among them is the *vakfiye* of Hafsa Hatun ibneti Kasım, written in Arabic, dated 1584, and affirmed by the qadi of the Davudpaşa court, Ali b. Mustafa. She endowed her house in the district of Arabacı Bayezid to the lodge. As long as she was alive her sibling, and upon her death, Piyale bin Abdullah would recite sura al-Yasin and sura al-Mülk one time and sura al-İhlas three times each day for the soul of prophet Muhammad, for the soul of prophet's children and wives, and finally for the soul of Hafsa Hatun's husband. The nazir of the waqf will be the shaykhs of the Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge.[423] Hafsa Hatun's waqf including the endowment of a single house was relatively small and the duty of management was given not to the present shaykh of the dervish lodge but to the shaykhs of it, so the appointment would continue with every new shaykh. Obviously, her choice reflects a connection with the Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge and Sünbüliye sub-branch of the Halvetiye path.

Another waqfiyye written in Ottoman Turkish belongs to İsmihan Hatun ibneti Muhammed and was registered in 1660 by the qadi of Davudpaşa court Mehmed bin Mahmud. She endowed her house and an anteroom that was located above a butcher shop, and was surrounded by trees and a water-well in her garden. During her lifetime she would live in the house and after her death her servant Gülistan and Gülistan's children would reside there. Should their family line die out, Abdullah and his children would be new residents of her house. If the line becomes extinct, the right of tenure would be given to the imam of Koca Mustafa Pasha

[423] Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliyye Tarikatı*, Kutbi / Belge-992 :71, 147.

mosque. The imam could reside in the house or if he wanted he could rent it. In case of need for maintenance of the house, the one who resides in it would do the fixing. In return for the right of tenure given to imam, he would recite three sura al-Ihlas and one sura al-Fatiha for the soul of İsmihan Hanım. This waqf is another example of a modest foundation directed to the complex, but this time the founder names the imam of the Koca Mustafa Pasha mosque among the beneficiaries.

Another woman waqf-founder Ayşe Hanım ibneti Abdurrahman who was wife of Yusuf Kutbeddin (d. 1756), a former shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge buried in the courtyard of the complex. Ayşe Hanım established a waqf in 1799 that was affirmed by qadi of Davudpaşa court es-Seyyid Abdulkerim and signed by sixteen witnesses. Ayşe Hanım endowed her house, which was in the district of Ali Fakih, with quilt maker, thread chooser, barber shops built adjacently to each other and a coffee house for God's sake. The position of nazir was assigned to the shaykhs of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge. The nazir of the waqf would rent the shops monthly and make annual accounts of waqf with *mütevelli* in the presence of *mürtezika* (beneficiaries). In return for this, the shaykh and *mütevelli* were paid one *akçe* every day.

The dervish who stays in one of the dervish cells of the convent, Ahmed Dede would be *cüzhan* (people charged with reading Koran). He would recite one *cüz* (a section of Koran) everyday before the noon prayer from the Koran that Ayşe Hanım put in the tomb of Kutbeddin Efendi. So, he would read the whole Koran every thirty days for the soul of Prophet Muhammad, companions of him, famous *veli*s, and of Muslim believers. The *cüzhan* would be paid four *akçe*s a day for his service. After Ahmet Dede's death, a proper dervish would be chosen for the duty. Moreover, one person would be assigned to paint the symbolic coffins' crowns of

the shaykhs that were buried in the garden of the complex, starting from that of shaykh Kutbeddin Efendi. He would also be paid one *akçe* as daily wage.

Until the death of Ayşe Hanım, she herself would be *mütevelli* and paid one *akçe* stipend. Upon her death, her son Mustafa would be charged as *mütevelli* of the waqf and after him the position would be given to the eldest son or daughter of the family. Should the family line die out, one of *dedes* (elders) of the lodge would be appointed as *mütevelli*, he would be chosen by the nazir who was also the shaykh of the lodge. The remaining money from the service would be lent with a reliable guarantor at a ten percent rate and the nazir, shaykh of the lodge, would use the profit to purchase new properties and he would add them to the assets of the waqf. If one day it were impossible to fulfill these conditions, the purpose of waqf would only be helping the faithful poor.[424]

Compared to the first two waqfs, Ayşe Hanım's foundation, with its numerous shops reflecting her economic status, is not a small one. Seemingly the good amount of income enabled her to appoint a painter for crowns of the shaykh's symbolic coffins, an act that might be regarded as luxurious. The revenues were more than the necessary amount for payment and it also enabled an increase in waqf assets. Being the wife of a former shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge is the most prominent aspect of her identity in this context. Beyond an ordinary connection, she was clearly a follower of Sünbüliye sub-branch with intimate ties to the lodge. With the establishment of this waqf, Ayşe Hanım continued to associate her name with this specific dervish lodge.

[424] Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliyye Tarikatı*, Kutbi Belge 1214 : 21, 148-149.

Apart from these, we also learnt from a document that Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge's shaykh, Muhammed Razı Efendi was *mütevelli* of Zahide Hanım's waqf and he carried out the sales of the foundation.[425]

Furthermore, according to the documents of this private archive, women inherited the tenure of some endowed shops of the Koca Mustafa Pasha waqf in the nineteenth century. Following the death of the *mütevelli* Murtaza Efendi, two endowed coffee houses near Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge were inherited by his granddaughters Nesibe and Hatice. In another example, the silk seller and tobacco seller shops in the Mercan bazaar in Istanbul's commercial district were transferred to Fatma Hanım.[426] Women were involved in the waqf of Koca Mustafa Pasha and benefitted from it through the inheritance system as well.

In terms of beneficiaries, we can note Şerife Vahide and then Fatıma binti Ayşe who took a pair of loafs of bread everyday from the waqf of the lodge.[427] Upon her request from the lodge, Şerife Hanım was assigned four *akçe*s as daily stipend that would be paid monthly.[428] Finally, since Düriye Hanım scraped a living she was paid 196 *kuruş* monthly from the waqf.[429] These different sources from the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries show that Koca Mustafa Pasha waqf supported the poor and it is noteworthy that all the mentioned beneficiaries in this context were women.

Evaluating these documents from different dates, all related with Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge, we can conclude that women could choose the lodge's shaykhs

[425] Ibid., Kutbi / Belge 1245:22, 148.

[426] Ibid., Kutbi/Belge 1238:92 and Kutbi/Belge 1241:68, 144.

[427] Ibid., Kutbi/Belge 1214:48, 146

[428] Ibid., Kutbi/Belge 1240:88, 146.

[429] Ibid., Kutbi/Belge 1278:17, 146.

and imams as nazirs, or *mütevelli*s of endowed properties of their waqfs. The documents show that the founders chose the shaykhs or imams of Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge for these duties because there was a personal network between them and the waqf founders.

Furthermore, the waqf survey of 1600 lists 3265 waqfs and women founded 1330 of them, which corresponds 40.73%.[430] The records included the foundation of Selçuk bint Abdullah, registered on the seventeenth Şevval 944, in 1538. She endowed a house, a cell, a water-well, a little garden, and a toilet. According to her *vakfiye*, during her life herself, then to her sister Gülnaz's son Ahmed and daughter Ümmi would reside in the house. Should their family line become extinct, residents of the neighborhood would select a faithful person as next beneficiary of the endowed property and he/she would recite sura al-Yasin in every Friday night. She would be the *mütevelli* of the foundation, and after her, the shaykh of Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge would be appointed to this position. The *mütevelli* would be then responsible for selling products of the garden in order to use its income for the maintenance of the waqf properties. If the amount were not sufficient, users of the properties would cover the costs.[431] The endowed properties were in the district of Koca Mustafa Pasha, very close to the lodge.

Again in 1600 waqf survey, Emine Hatun ibnet Şeyh Erdebil Sinan established a waqf in 983 and endowed a vault and a two-story building including a shop in the ground floor and a house upstairs. In her *vakfiye*, she wanted a suitable and pious person who would recite sura-al Nebe for the soul of the waqf founder in Koca Mustafa Pasha mosque, for which he would be paid one *akçe* daily. In

[430] İpşirli, "İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, 1009/1600 Tarihli," 825.

[431] Canatar, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 1009 (1600) Tarihli*, 606.

addition, a dervish of Merkez Efendi lodge would recite sura al-Yasin after the morning prayer everyday for the soul of her children and he also would be paid one and a half *akçe*s as stipend. Should her children's line die out, the revenue would be used to offer food to the poor of her father's dervish lodge near Ayasofya in return for which they would recite three sura al-İhlas. It is also stated that whoever becomes a shaykh in her father's dervish convent, he would be *mütevelli* and be paid two *akçe*s daily. Money remaining from maintenance expenses would be spent to feed the poor.[432] Emine Hatun was daughter of a Halveti shaykh, Sinan Erdebili who was a *halife* of Cemal Halveti. Her close connection with the Halvetiye order points to a private network, like in the case of Şah Sultan, and the presence of such networks are very significant an for evaluation of the charitable acts that are discussed here.

All in all, the pious establishments of imperial women may have created a trend and become a model behavior for non-royal women; commoner women may have followed this way. Royal women waqfs may have acted as sources of inspiration and as guides for non-royal women, at the same time they may have legitimized the waqf act of women in public.[433] Ottoman urban women founded waqfs and put their stamps on history as minor patrons of the Halvetiye order. Their choices of administrators or beneficiaries reveal affiliations between the waqf founder and the Sufi order. Besides, the documents indicate their power to choose the administrative staff of their waqfs and the beneficiaries, and to define the stipends. Whether by establishing small or big waqfs, women could represent themselves in public space, and also could associate themselves with a Sufi order.

[432] Ibid., 74-75.

[433] Zarinebaf, "Women, Patronage, and Charity in Ottoman İstanbul," 94.

4.3 Gender and Space: The special case of the Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex

Considering all sieges of Constantinople by Muslims including 1453, such as those of Umayyad's in the seventh and eighth centuries, of Abbasids in the eighth century, and of Ottomans in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it is not surprising that many Muslim graveyards were located across the city; the most prominent ones among them were to be found outside of city walls, especially in the regions between Ayvansaray and Edirnekapı, the ridge of Üsküdar, some regions of today's district of Beyoğlu, Kasımpaşa and also Maltepe, which is close to Topkapı.[434] The companions of the Prophet Muhammad who joined the two sieges of the Umayyad army became the key figures of the spread of Islam.[435] So, the Ottoman state actively supported the locating of these graves of highly praised figures in various places of the new capital, as in the case of miraculously discovered grave of Eyüb el-Ensari.

The spatial reflection of the sieges has taken a very pivotal place both in the layout and the history of the city. The numerous graves of companions became part of a collective memory. While Süheyl Ünver gives the number of twenty-seven for the companions' mausoleums in İstanbul and noted that in Hasan-Hüseyin and Çifte Sultanlar mausoleums two companions are believed to be buried each, so that makes the number of companions twenty-nine, Necdet İşli corrects it as twenty-six.[436]

As a part of Ottomanization policy of İstanbul, these places were meant to become veneration centers for society as a part of city's history. Significantly, it must be underlined that these sites were of two types; *makam*s, the places devoted to

[434] İşli, *İstanbul'da Sahabe Kabir ve Makamları*, 10.

[435] Here I use the term companion for Muslims who saw the prophet Muhammad so, these people died before circa 728. For Islamic debates about the definiton of companion see, Efendioğlu, "Sahabe," 491-500.

[436] Ünver, *İstanbul'da Sahabe Kabirleri*. Necdet İşli says, two of them were recorded as companions mistakenly and one of them widely known as a companion but he is not. İşli, *Sahabe Kabir ve Makamları*, 16.

a saint or a person but do not include a corpse rather the spirituality of him/her is believed to be there, and graves.[437] During the reign of Mahmud II, the sultan held a massive renovation project of companions' graves. According to Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, after the abolition of Janissary corps by Mahmud II in 1826, the morale of İstanbul has shaken as people thought that the state now lacked an army, so Mahmud II renovated the graves and the *makam*s of companions and also the graves of the soldiers who joined the conquest of Constantinople in order to please the society.[438]

Within this framework, Koca Mustafa Pasha complex signifies a special place among those venerated sites. It has been one of the most attractive places of religious significance in Istanbul due to the legends, stories, myths that are connected to it and also due to the popularity of the order. One of the prominent aspects of this mosque complex in this regard is its gendered character, owing to four women's graves in the courtyard, the Çifte Sultanlar mausoleum, the grave of Katherina (Sarı Sıdıka), the tomb of Daye Hatun and the mausoleum of Safiye Sultan. It is my aim to find out how this gendered identity has been constructed and how it affected the aura of Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge by focusing on the history of these graves and their narratives.

Initially, I will start with Çifte Sultanlar mausoleum that is located opposite the mosque and very close to the chained cypress tree. About the mausoleum, it is believed that granddaughters of Ali b. Ebu Talib, i.e. daughters of Hüseyin b. Ali, whose names were Fatıma and Sekine were buried there.[439] Another version told in

[437] There are also differences in terms of the shapes of graves such as having only grave stone and generally no-date but of course not every maqam fits with these features. İşli, *Sahabe Kabir ve Makamları,* 11.

[438] Ünver, *İstanbulda Sahâbe Kabirleri*, 9.

[439] A risala titled "*Asitane-i Aliyye'de Medfun Olan Ashab-ı Kiram Efendimiz Hazeratının makam-ı alilerin Mübeyyen Risale*" says, there was another companion buried there at right of Çifte Sultanlar

Sefine-i Evliya that reveals the lack of information in historical records and highlights the story's oral character, states that the daughters of Imam Zeynel Abidin were buried here. According to the story, they escaped from the oppression of Umayyad and joined the companions of Prophet Muhammad who departed for the conquest of Constantinople. In this way, the daughters both served to army and escaped from the undesirable situation that they were in. When they arrived in the city, they wanted to live in Constantinople. In those times, the *tekfur* (landlord) of Rum wanted to marry them with his sons and gave them forty days to decide on the matter, but the daughters, not wanting this marriage, prayed to God to die, and then, they died. The story also mentions Cabir b. Abdullah (d. 697) who was one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad. He was said to come to Constantinople for the siege and he is believed to be the person who buried Çifte Sultanlar there. Until the conquest of Constantinople, the location of their graves was not known, and later this location was miraculously discovered by Çelebi Halife or Sünbül Sinan. Hüseyin Vassaf says that Sünbül Sinan wanted to be buried very close to them and his will was carried out.[440]

The second narrative relates that after Karbala, granddaughters of Ali b. Ebu Talib were sold in a slave bazaar and were brought to Byzantine lands. When the emperor realized who they were, he placed them in a monastery. The daughter of the emperor, Katherina was concerned about these girls, and this close relationship ended with the conversion of Katherina to Islam. Her father gave Çifte Sultanlar forty-days to become Christian and the girls prayed God to die. After the death of daughters of Hüseyin b. Ali, because Katherina loved girls so much she also begged

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mausoleum. In addition, it mentions four more companions were buried in the hazire of the mosque. As cited in Yılmaz and Yılmaz, *İstanbullu Sahâbeler*, 303-304.

[440] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 352.

God to die and she died.[441] It is said that the grave in front of the mosque and at the opposite of the Çifte Sultanlar mausoleum belongs to her.

Describing the mausoleum, it is elevated on a platform and is surrounded with iron cage that has sixteen arms and is approximately two meters high. The late source *Sefine-i Evliya* defines the mausoleum with its four fountains at four corners and the author describes the ceremonies by the folk who believed in the curative features of the mausoleums fountains. People also went there to make a wish.[442]

The mausoleum was ornamented with the inscription of Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet Efendi in the reign of Mahmud II.[443] Apart from that, two different panels, which were placed on the chained cypress tree but were removed later, are mentioned in sources and they also refer to Çifte Sultanlar as daughter of Hüseyin b. Ali.[444]

Another poem by Mesnevihan İlmi Efendi, which refers to the daughters, was located on the panels of the wooden structure around the cypress tree. The inscription is written in *Sefine-i Evliya*.[445]

Apparently, there are two possibilities about the identities of the daughters; whether their father was Hüseyin or Zeynelabidin. The first poem refers to them as

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[441] Bayrı, *İstanbul Folkloru*, 159.

[442] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 353.

[443] Süheyl Ünver says the sultan built the cage upon his dream. Ünver, *İstanbulda Sahâbe Kabirleri*, 43.

[444] *İmam-ı çârümînün duhter-i sa'd-ahter-i pâki/Bu câya geldi bunda meshed meşhûd u müsbetdür/Bu serv-i ahzar altında mülâkî oldılar Hızr'a/Bu cây-i pâkde rûhaniyân vakf-ı ibâdetdür.*The word "çârümînün" connotes "the fourth". So, the poem refers to the girls as daughters of İmam Zeynel Abidin. Gülgün Uyar states the poem is listed in Pertev's Divan. Uyar, "Bir Risale, Bir Türbe, Bir Menkıbe," 239.

[445] *Zihî Şâh-ı rusûl neslinden iki gevherîn-vâlâ/Hemîşe bu makama ruhları oldu şeref-efzâ/Ne hoş gül goncalar gül-zâr-ı cennetten açılmışdır/Bu sünbül-zâra bûy-efşan olmuş dû-melek-sîmâ/Hüseyin hazretleri duhterlerinden Fatıma, Zeyneb/Behişt-âsâ olur medfenleri câna ferah-bahşâ/İki sultan-ı zî-şân ile pîre istinadından/Bu bir zencirli servidir kıyâm üzre durur hâlâ*. Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 354.

daughters of Zeynelabidin and the second says their father is Hüseyin and giving the name Zeynep, instead of Sekine. In historical sources, it is narrated that Hüseyin's son, daughters and sister survived in Karbala and Yezid sent them to Medina. His daughters' names are recorded as Fatma and Sekine.[446] The names of Zeynelabidin's children could not be found in the sources, and even their number is not precise.[447] *Sefine-i Evliya* is not the only source that referred to Çifte Sultanlar as daughters of Zeynelabidin. A document from the Prime Ministry archives includes the records of a restoration project that also mentions them as daughters of Zeynelabidin.[448]

About their burial places, I could find an undated *risala* (treatise) titled Iraq Ziyaretnamesi that gives a list of places to visit by Muslims in the region of Iraq including the grave of Sekine, daughter of Imam Hüseyin.[449] Necdet Yılmaz writes about a rumour that states the daughters' burial place in Cairo near the grave of Seyyide Nefise, but he does not give any source for that. So, in the light of this information, we cannot be sure about either the identity of these girls nor the location of their graves.

Furthermore, the prominent sources of history of Istanbul did not mention the mausoleum such as Ayvansarayi, the author of the eighteenth century work *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, did not record anything about either Çifte Sultanlar or Katherina. Moreover, the famous itinerant of the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi dates the site of Koca Mustafa Pasha back to the fifth siege of Constantinople in the eighth century led by caliph Ömer b. Abdulaziz (d. 720). After reaching a peace agreement

[446] Fığlalı, "Hüseyin," 520-521.

[447] Kılavuz, "Zeynelabidin," 365.

[448] *"imam zeynel abidin efendimiz hazretlerinin kerime-i ..... sultan efendilerimizin şebekesinin yaldızı içün muhafazasına ...."* EV. D. 13467.

[449] The risala studied by Hacı Yılmaz and the author thinks it was written in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Yılmaz, "Irak Ziyaret-nâmesi ve Kerbelâ Şehitleri," 1-11.

with the *tekfur* of the city, Ömer b. Abdulaziz placed Muslims in various neighbourhoods of the city and one of them was the site of Koca Mustafa Pasha near Yedikule. Then, in the ninth century the Abbasid caliph Harun Reşid (d. 809) commanded the eighth siege of the Constantinople and at the end of the siege he wanted a piece of land as big as a cowhide inside the city walls. It was again the same place mentioned in the fifth siege, the district of Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge, and built a castle where some of companions were buried. Harun Reşid assigned soldiers to this castle and gave them provisions; he also paid them yearly tribute. In another section of his travel book, Evliya refers to the building in Koca Mustafa Pasha, noting that Harun Reşid built the convent and the castle there.[450] Evliya Çelebi says that following Harun Reşid's siege of Constantinople some of heathens killed Arabs in the city including the soldiers who stayed in the castle built in Koca Mustafa Pasha.[451]

Significantly, in the section he writes about the complex's Ottoman years he says as many companions and the children of the companions who were martyred in the time of Mesleme b. Abdulmelik (d. unknown), Eyüb el-Ensari and Harun Reşid were buried around its courtyard.[452] The narratives about Harun Reşid has accuracy in the history about his campaign to Constantinople between the years of 163 (779-780) and 165 (781-782) but there is no information about this particular site or a castle in the city.[453] Briefly, the considerable amount of the accounts regarding Koca

[450] Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 44-46, 351-352, 429-430.

[451] Upon this event, Harun Reşid arranged the ninth siege of the city, and charged Battal Ghazi (Cafer Gazi) as the commander of the army , they went to Constantinople. Ibid., 47-50.

[452] Ibid., 263

[453] Bozkurt, "Harunürreşid," 258-259.

Mustafa Pasha lodge and the companions and soldiers of sieges, makes us think that the site was quite likely a place of Muslim burials.

The narrations of Evliya Çelebi have given a wide publicity to the issue of early campaigns to the city. The site of Koca Mustafa Pasha complex was associated with the Muslim sieges of Constantinople. However, before Evliya Çelebi, the earliest source about the subject was written by Hasan el-Herevi in the twelfth century, recorded during his travel to Constantinople. Herevi mentions a big mosque built by Mesleme b. Abdulmelik inside the city walls and adds that there is a grave of a person who is from Imam Hüseyin's lineage.[454] The name of the mosque that he referred to is not known, but this twelfth century source talks about a sayyid grave in Istanbul.

The mausoleum took its current form after the restoration undertaken by Mahmud II. Visits of the Sultan Mahmud II to Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex are known from the account of Cabi Efendi, a contemporary of him. It is written that after the *selamlık* (sultan's procession to mosque) of Mahmud II, the sultan visited the tomb of Sünbül Sinan and those of other *veli*s.[455] According to Cabi, the complex was famous for the grave of the daughters of Hüseyin b. Ali and when the sultan heard it, he asked the chronicler Asım Efendi whether the story is true or not. Then, the chronicler said that there is no record of such a campaign to Rumeli in the time of Hüseyin b. Ali''s daughter. Nevertheless, he recommended the Sultan to revive

[454] Eyice, "Bazı İslam Yazarlarına Göre Fetihten Önce İstanbul," 2.

[455] Cabi Ömer Efendi, *Cabi Tarihi*, 436, 445, 504.

the grave due to the possibility of one of the descendants of Hüseyin b. Ali was buried there.[456]

Moreover, in one of the late sources, the nineteenth century work of İsmail Beyzade Osman Bey in which he lists the tombs of the companions in İstanbul, the mausoleum is listed as Kerimeynül Mükerremeyn-i İmam Hüseyin.[457] Besides, an undated *risale* that records the locations of companions' mausoleums in İstanbul, ranks Çifte Sultanlar at the second one in importance, and gives the names as Fatıma and Zeynep, giving Imam Suyuti as the source.[458]

After all of this, I want to examine closely the most detailed study about the subject. Gülgün Uyar made an elaborate survey about the Çifte Sultanlar mausoleum and focused on the translations of a *risale* written by Imam Suyuti in Arabic. Noting that she could not find the original *risale*, she introduces six translations of it in her article, the earliest one among which was written in the last years of the seventeenth century.[459]

Imam Suyuti's full name is al-shaykh Celaleddin Abdurrahman b. Ebubekir es-Suyuti and he was a religious scholar in Egypt. [460] The subject of the *risale* in question is the coming of Hüseyin b. Ali's daughters to Istanbul, underlining Koca Mustafa Pasha Mosque's glorious location. Suyuti died in 1505, at a time the Ottomans had not yet conquered Egypt. However, as Uyar states the conquest of

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[456] Ibid., 991-992. This account is interesting in terms of mentioning only one of Hüseyin's daughters. Süheyl Ünver says Mahmud II built the mauseloum upon his dream about it. Ünver, *İstanbulda Sahâbe Kabirleri*, 43.

[457] Osman Bey, "Mecmua-i Cevami," 118-119 as cited in Uyar, "Bir Risale, Bir Türbe, Bir Menkıbe," 236.

[458] Risala, "Asitâne-i Aliyyede Ashâb-ı Kirâm Efendilerimizin Makam-ı Alileri radıyallahü tealâ anhüm ecmain Hazretlerinin Medfun Oldukları Mahallerinin Beyanıdır," 2.

[459] Uyar, "*Bir Risale, Bir Türbe, Bir Menkıbe."*

[460] Özkan, "Süyûtî," 188.

Constantinople might have caused reactions in Egypt and Suyuti could have written a *risale* about this significant site.[461]

As I stated before, Vassaf says that Sünbül Sinan miraculously discovered the location of daughters' graves. The dates of Suyuti's death and the arrvival of Sünbül Sinan in Egypt after taking his *icazet* (permission to teach Sufi path) fits with a possibility of a meeting taking place between Imam Suyuti and Sünbül Sinan.[462] In other words, it makes possible that Imam Suyuti learned about Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge and the graves of Çifte Sultanlar through Sünbül Sinan.

Despite the fact that the original *risale* has not surfaced yet, several translations of it show us the graves of Çifte Sultanlar were known in the sixteenth century. There are small differences in translations, but the content is almost the same. Regarding the identities of these girls, the translations did not name them, instead used the definition "daughters of Imam Huseyin". An exception is the manuscript in the Ataturk Library Osman Ergin Collection that gives the names of Fatıma and Zeynep. The story of the daughters in the *risale* is as follows:

Hüseyin b. Ali was martyred in Karbala and Yezid saw his daughters as a danger as they could be used as a tool for a social uprising. So, he exiled them to Egypt with the companion Cabir b. Abdullah. However, the route of the ship was changed due to weather conditions and they were lost. Then accidentally they found the fleet of the king of Spain, who held them as captives. Then, the king asked them who they were and when he found out about their identities, he wondered what had happened to Ali. The daughters narrated the events and the king of Spain, becoming a Muslim, sent the girls to Istanbul. The *tekfur* of Istanbul wanted the daughters to

[461] Uyar, *Bir Risale, Bir Türbe, Bir Menkıbe*, 242.

[462] Ibid., 242.

marry with his two sons and gave them forty days time to think about the suggestion. They were placed in Kızlar Kilisesi. After a while they died there and a cypress tree was planted on their graveside.[463]

In two of the translations, it is narrated that after Cabir b. Abdullah's death and they thought to bury him near the daughters but an ascetic woman resident of the *Kızlar Kilisesi* did not give permission for that and so he was buried in Ayvansaray.[464] Why did this woman prevent his burial here? If we think about the present situation in the courtyard of Koca Mustafa Pasha complex, the legendary graves all belong to women (Çifte Sultanlar, Sıdıka Hatun and Daye Hatun). The reason for the opposition of woman ascetic does not seem to be Cabir b. Abdullah's religion because the daughters were also Muslim. As the site was a women's monastery, can the reason of the refusal be Cabir b. Abdullah's sex? In my opinion, this is possible.

Following the capture of Constantinople by Ottomans, the city with its buildings, churches, monasteries and palaces became home to new residents. Koca Mustafa Pasha complex, as part of the program for flourishing the city, symbolizes the relatively early Islamic elements of the newly conquered city. A significant aspect of this process is the creation of a memory within the newly conquered city, which would relate a non-Islamic place to an Islamic one and also attach people to the new place of settlement. I interpret the Çifte Sultanlar Mausoleum in this context. Even if the mausoleum is not a grave but a *makam*, its past in social and cultural life of Ottoman Empire and also of Turkey makes it special.

[463] Uyar, "Bir Risale, Bir Türbe, Bir Menkıbe," 246-254.

[464] Ibid., 255, 257. Atatürk Library, Osman Ergin Collection 1293/13 and 1190/4.

Our second mausoleum belongs to Daye Hatun, which stands in the shade of the cypress tree. There is not enough information about her. She is known as the wife of the companion Cabir b. Abdullah,[465] who might have joined the siege of Constantinople by Umayyads under the command of Yezid between the years of 674-678. He might have come there with his family, but there is no record about his wife.

In the seventeenth century, Evliya Çelebi mentioned the cypress tree but he did not record anything about the grave there. Necdet İşli says it is a very low probability that the tomb belongs to a companion due to the lack of documents about it. He is likely right, as even a later source, Hüseyin Vassaf defines the wooden structure as "it was built for the protection of the cypress tree" without mentioning anything else.[466] Moreover, he says wife of Cabir b. Abdullah washed the dead bodies of Çifte Sultanlar but he does not give her name. Besides, he mentions another grave that was separated from the place with grab rails (probably he is referring the grave of Katherina/Sıdıka) and underlines two rumours; they are either two companions or the wife of Cabir b. Abdullah.[467] Necdet Yılmaz and Coşkun Yılmaz support the second narrative by Vasssaf and assert that the gravestone of Konstantine's daughter Katherina is put there incorrectly. They claimed that there are some photos before 1980 that proved Daye Hatun was buried there.[468]

[465] In Hadikatü'l Cevami, Ayvansarayi gives two different names in different copies for the grave in the mosque of Atik Mustafa Pasha, Cabir b. Abdullah (d. 697) and Cabir b. Semure. Ayvansarayi, *Hadikatü'l Cevami*, 229.

[466] Vassaf, *Sefine-i Evliya*, 352.

[467] Ibid., 359

[468] Yılmaz and Yılmaz, *İstanbullu Sahâbeler,* 295-296.

Regarding the translations of Suyuti*'s risale*, the late versions mention Daye Hatun's name[469] but there is not enough evidence to believe that the tomb in the shade of cypress tree is Daye Hatun's. This place can be considered as a *makam*.

What I find interesting in this case is that a pasha commissioned two projects at two different places of the city; Koca Mustafa Pasha neighborhood and Ayvansaray, and these two projects are connected through legends. According to the story, Cabir b. Abdullah was the person who planted the cypress tree in the courtyard of Koca Mustafa Mosque Complex and he was also the person who buried the claimed daughters of Huseyin b. Ali there. Despite the fact that we cannot be sure about the source of the legends, the context of their first appearing and their authenticity, Cabir b. Abdullah's grave in the Atik Mustafa Pasha complex connects these two complexes to each other in a very interesting way.

The source of information about Katherina's grave is generally late folkloric work. According to the story included in the book by Mehmet Halit Bayrı,[470] she was the daughter of the emperor who placed the daughters of Hüseyin b. Ali in Kızlar Kilisesi and who wanted them to convert to Christianity in forty days. The girl met with them and they became friends. When the time was up, emperor's daughter knew that her father would kill the sisters, so she prayed to God to die with them. These three friends died at the same time. However, the author does not mention the name of emperor's daughter but states that her grave is located in front of the Koca Mustafa Pasha mosque.[471] In the last instance, there is no reason to associate this

[469] Uyar, "Bir Risale, Bir Türbe, Bir Menkıbe," 265.

[470] Gülgün Uyar says, the earliest work that mentioned daughter of the emperor is Bayrı's book on Istanbul's folklore. Uyar, "Bir Risale, Bir Türbe, Bir Menkıbe," 268.

[471] Bayrı, *İstanbul Folkloru*, 158-159.

grave with a daughter of a Byzantine emperor. However, Katherina's story contributed to the popularity of the Çifte Sultanlar mausoleum.

Another mausoleum in the courtyard of Koca Mustafa Pasha is that of Safiye Sultan. The building does not have an inscription panel and her identity is not known precisely. There are two possibilities about her identity: Koca Mustafa Pasha's daughter or wife of Sünbül Sinan.

In his book *Istanbul Folkloru*, Bayrı describes the rituals around the mausoleum without giving any source: there is a water-well near to the tomb of Sünbül Sinan and during the month of Muharrem, the well overflows. Bayrı notes that although for the last fifty years the well did not overflow, the tomb keeper takes water from the well, bottles and distributes it to people at night before the tenth of Muharrem. In the morning people knock the door of Rahime Sultan's (Safiye Hatun's) mausoleum, and they hear the sound of clog. Then, the tombs of Sünbül Sinan and Rahime sultan are opened and the crowd visits these places. There are many headscarves on her grave and if one wants take one of them and she puts a new one in its place. If the headscarf is taken for any kind of wish, it is hung towards the qiblah side, for illness it is placed under patients' head and it is brought back to the tomb next year.[472] Apparently, the tomb attracted people and gained popularity.

Consequently, women's graves and tombs in the courtyard of Koca Mustafa Pasha complex was a point of attraction for visitors. It is striking that the complex has four women's tombs and three of them are related each other through stories. Since the love of *ehl-i beyt* (people of the House) is a fundamental part of Islam, people placed much importance on Çifte Sultanlar mausoleum, including the Sultan

[472] Bayrı, *İstanbul Folkloru*, 164-165.

Mahmud II. In the case of Safiye Hatun, the context of the visitation was different from that of saints.

4.4 Concluding remarks

The Ottoman Empire seems like a world dominated by men, and this is also valid in terms of architectural culture because the architects and most of the patrons were men. However, this general picture does not mean that women did not have a presence in public space. As they were a part of the power relations, Ottoman women also used architectural patronage as a tool of legitimacy in the public eye was. In the empire, the ultimate source power is the sultan, so being a member of the imperial family, having blood link to it, or creating relative links via marriage gave one a significant status.

In our case, Şah Sultan as half-sister of reigning emperor could have a chance to built three complexes in the imperial city. There were many motives for these acts of patronage but in general the patroness probably wanted to represent herself in public space, and also to support the image of the Ottoman court in the eyes of society as a pious and philanthropic princess. As Ruggles observes, as monumental and space occupying structures buildings are agents of their patrons.[473] The mystic character of Şah Sultan was a very important part of her architectural projects and it provides proof for her connection with Sünbüliye sub-branch of Halveti order. In other words, the princess' building programs has both religious and political dimensions.

Moreover, it can be clearly seen that gender was not the only factor that determines the patronage of Şah Sultan, it is a part of her identity as a member of the

[473] Ruggles, "Vision and Power: An Introduction," 5.

ruling dynasty and a sufi woman, and both aspects are significant in delineating the character and the boundaries of her projects.

Whether an elite or a commoner, a woman could found waqfs in different parts of the Ottoman realm. The philanthropic act of endowment was open to all women who had enough economic power. Of course, the sizes of the pious endowments vary according to waqf owners' wealth. My research about urban women aimed to see their relationships with the three Halveti lodges. However, due to the lack of sources this aspect of the study is limited to the Koca Mustafa Pasha dervish lodge. Investigating waqfs of women reveals that the shaykhs of the convent were preferred as administrators of other, smaller waqfs. In addition, women like Emine Hatun who had a close connection with the Halveti order could have special wishes regarding two centers of the Sünbüliye sub-branch. Obviously, her relations with Sufis via her father effect Emine Hatun's identity and also her waqf foundation.

Lastly, the gendered character of Koca Mustafa Pasha complex regarding five women's burials in its courtyard has nothing to do with the idea of sainthood. Two of them are members of prophet's family and one of them is thought to be a companion. These three have a different place among the others in terms of their status, as members of *ehl-i beyt* or a companion, in the generally accepted idea of veneration in Islamic thought. Moreover, the grave of Katherina and of the unknown Safiye Sultan also have their place within the aura of the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex. Apart from the obvious religious dimension of the visits to these sites, the cultural dimension of the issue is also very significant. People go there voluntarily and expect spiritual benefits from the dead bodies of these women. The multilayered historical site of the complex produced its loci of veneration through the Ottoman centuries.

I should also note that the exceptional and dominant female presence in the complex likely dates back to Byzantine times, because we know of the presence of a women's monastery on the site. To think that the women's' monastery is not influential on the identity of the site in the years following the conquest and also the following centuries would be wrong. Instead of assuming a clear distinction between the Byzantine and the Ottoman eras, we should consider continuities.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis focused on three mosque complexes, which include Halveti-Sünbüli dervish lodges, built in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries: Koca Mustafa Pasha, Merkez Efendi and the Şah Sultan. By choosing three representatives of this particular Sufi order, I tried to see presence of women in these convents. The main subjects of this study are the history of Halvetiye order in the Ottoman realm, architectural features of the complexes regarding the gender and patronage issue, elite and urban women participation in dervish lodges and also women graves in the courtyard of Koca Mustafa Pasha complex as a kind of women presence.

The imperial city and its situation after the conquest by Ottomans constitute the background of this thesis regarding the political, social, urban and religious dimensions. The Ottomans took the inheritance of the Byzantine Empire and re-built the city and this building process obviously includes both absorption and exclusions. One aspect of the project of rebuilding the city concerns religious life. In this respect, the Sufi orders became significant actors in shaping the spiritual climate of the city in the shadow of the rising ulama class as representatives of the state's religious ideology. The Halvetis, although Mehmed II did not support them, could move to the capital thanks to Çelebi Halife's close relationship with Bayezid II, who was said to have a Sufi character, in Amasya. According to Raymond Lifchez, Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge is an award by the sultan to the dervishes, in the process of the Ottomanization of Istanbul.[474]

[474] Lifchez, "The Lodges of İstanbul," 80.

The Halvetiye experienced difficulties during the reign of Selim I, largely due to suspicions about their Shii origins and their rituals, in the context of the emergence of Safavid polity in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Yet, the Halvetiye could survive and beyond that, it put its stamp on Ottoman history because of the increasing popularity of the order both at the palace and also in the society through the centuries.

In the context of architectural patronage, Ottoman sultans, as patrons of mosques, madrasas, palaces, baths, and hospitals did not commission any Halveti dervish lodge in the fifteenth and the later decades of the sixteenth centuries, until the reign of Murad III. It is not wrong to assume that all building projects have an agenda and convey a message, so the absence of any building activity of Halveti dervish lodges by the Sultans is also meaningful. The absence of sultanic patronage of the Sufi orders may indicate an aim of establishing a distance between them and the state, but on the other hand sultans encouraged members of the imperial family and the ruling elite by endowing lands for their projects.

In terms of the identities of the patrons of these three complexes, hierarchical structure and gender issue are at stake; a *kapıcıbaşı,* a shaykh and a half-sister of the sultan commissioned them. Besides, the wife of Süleyman, Hurrem Sultan endowed funds for Merkez Efendi's convent-mosque in Denizli and his son's convent in Uşak, while Süleyman's mother built a dervish lodge and invited Merkez Efendi to Manisa. The patronage of these members of the Ottoman household and the elite class were clear indicators of an apparent support of the Halvetiye order on the part of state agents. These acts of patronage also suggest that Sünbüliye sub-branch was favored in comparison to other sub-branches of the order. On the other hand, dervish lodges

could also be products of individual initiatives, such as the case of Merkez Efendi Complex's initial construction, undertaken by the shaykh himself.

The increasing number of dervish lodges in the conquered city can be read as contributions to religious life both in the first years of their establishment and through the following centuries. Among the three spatial representatives of Sünbüli sub-branch of the Halveti order this thesis has focused on, Koca Mustafa Pasha complex is outstanding compared to the princess' acts of patronage as founder of Davutpaşa and Eyüp complexes and the second patron of Merkez Efendi complex. While Şah Sultan's complexes are symbols of modesty, Koca Mustafa Pasha complex as a project of a member of the administrative elite was more extensive. Of course, Koca Mustafa Pasha's project included the conversion of a church, but its overall program, too, was broader than Şah Sultan's undertakings, and its course of development presents further differences. Having many additional buildings, graves, mausoleums of shaykhs and also legends and mysteries, Koca Mustafa Pasha complex has attracted the society. Through the years, veneration has been a very significant factor of its popularity. Housing numerous shaykh mausoleums and the *makam*s of members of *ehl-i beyt* encouraged people to build there and to visit the site.

Furthermore, as an example of elite women patronage, Şah Sultan's Sufi projects provide an opportunity to study gender. It can be said that her involvement in the Halvetiye is a reflection of her character and as well as her gender and status. To understand her patronage, it is not useful to take gender as an essentializing category; rather her status marks the borders regarding the size and location of her architectural complexes. She, as half-sister of the reigning sultan built two of her relatively humble structures outside the walls of the city; the Davutpaşa complex that

was within the city walls and next to her palace constitutes an exception to this pattern, but still fit with the codes of decorum. Şah Sultan's patronage is an example of complexity of identities. Hence, her self-representation in urban space cannot be dissociated from class and rank aspects. The issue of her marriage with a Halveti shaykh introduces an interesting dimension to her involvement with the order and her status as member of the ruling dynasty, as it was the marriage of a master and a disciple. She benefitted from her status and could personally meet and have close connections with Halveti shaykhs, Yakub Germiyani and Merkez Efendi. Especially, the probable marriage of Şah Sultan and Merkez Efendi is striking in terms of bringing together a member of the dynasty and a shaykh, a representative of a Sufi order. On the political sphere, this kind of a marriage means support and protection for the order. Yet, beyond a political ideology, it may be closely related to personal choices of the princess. Her apparent interest in the Halvetiye order, a long-term connection with the shaykhs, and three projects all include Halveti-Sünbüli lodges can be seen as hints of individual aspect. Furthermore, the terms used for master disciple relationship are representatives of centrality of desire in Sufism; disciple is *murid*, the one who desires and the master is *murad*, who is desired.[475] At this point, master is the person who holds the power of beauty and love; they are, as spiritual guides, can become beloveds for the purpose of leading disciples to the Sufi path.[476] Merkez Efendi, both as shaykh and the probable ex-husband of Şah Sultan had a spiritual charisma that affected the princess.

Urban women were also visible in these dervish lodges thanks to another mode of participation that is establishing waqfs. The *vakfiye*s of such minor

[475] Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 136.

[476] Ibid., 115.

foundations reflect the piety of their patrons. At the same time, these documents reveal connections between the founders and the order, as they state the charged officials such as *mütevelli*, *nazır* and qadi and mention special wishes of the waqf founder that might involve the Sufi order and its particular members. Such minor waqfs are also related with representation of women. Of course, these foundations cannot be compared with architectural patronage of a larger scale, but they are not totally unassuming. Foundations of urban women also exhibit the individual dimension of their participation, an issue that should not be ignored because it reflects the founders' feelings about the Sufi orders, their sense of spirituality as seekers of the love of God. The expectation of the visitors concerns both the earthly wishes and also the after-life. In a wide range of modes, urban women established connections with dervish lodges.

The gendered character of the Koca Mustafa Pasha complex is also another aspect of women visibility in the dervish lodges. The tombs are where the presence of death continues on earth and dead bodies are subjects of devotion. The mystic aura of the shaykhs, their spirituality and the popular opinion about them as representatives of the sacred, directed people to make a connection with them. Sufism provides an opportunity to people who are in search for blessing, healing, children and marriage. People need to be closer to God's love, and also to be closer to God via the agency venerated figures. Koca Mustafa Pasha complex is striking with its numerous women's graves, which were linked to each other, with the exception of Safiye Hatun's tomb. In this special case, we see how the gendered character of a Byzantine monastery found continuity in the Ottoman Empire and how narratives of the site were overtaken by Islamic ones, and remained centered on women in the context of Islamization and Ottomanization of the site. The foundation

conveys a message of continuity as well as rupture, as the former monastery as a site of ascetic practices was taken over by the Halvetiye, and as a site whose Christian identity was altered through its Islamic use.

Since this thesis limited its subject to three mosque complexes from the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries and focused on the Ottoman Empire, for a better understanding of the women's participation in dervish lodges, new studies concerning different states and centuries are obviously required.

APPENDIX A

IMAGES



Figure 1 Major sites and constructions in Constantinople/Istanbul during the reign of Bayezid II

(Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis,* XX)

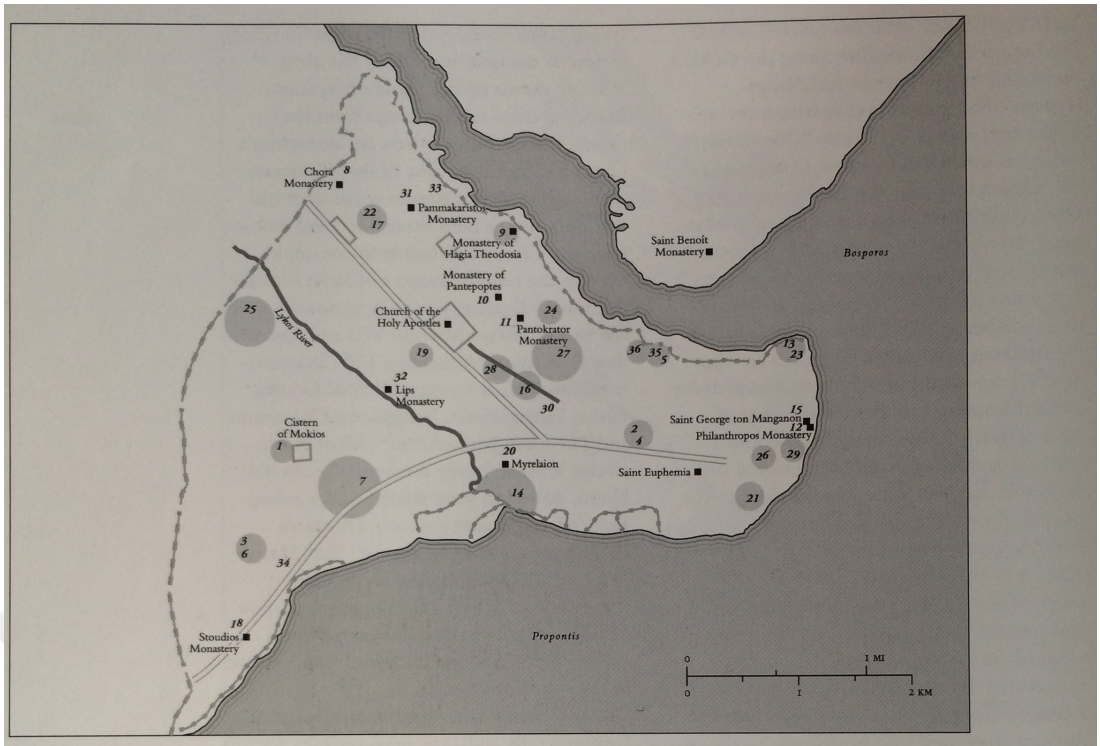


Fig. 61. Constantinople during the Palaiologan Era: Monasteries

1. Holy Anargyroi
2. Anastasis
3. Saint Andrew in Krisei
4. Monastery of the Hieromonk Nikandros
5. Monastery of Kyr Antonios
6. Monastery of Aristine
7. Monastery of Patriarch Athanasios
8. Chora Monastery
9. Christ Evergetes
10. Christ Pantepoptes
11. Christ Pantokrator
12. Christ Philanthropos
13. Christ Soter
14. Saint Demetrios
15. Saint George ton Manganon
16. Monastery of Glabaina
17. John Prodromos en te Petra
18. Stoudios Monastery
19. Monastery of Kyra Martha
20. Myrelaion
21. Nea Mone
22. Saint Nicholas tes Opaines
23. Saint Nicholas Thaumaturgos
24. Saint Stephen the Protomartyr
25. Monastery of the Domestikos Phokas Marules
26. Barangiotissa
27. Bebaia Elpis (Our Lady of Certain Hope)
28. Gorgoepekoos
29. Hodegetria
30. Kyriotissa
31. Pammakaristos
32. Lips Monastery
33. Panagiotissa
34. Peribleptos
35. Holy Trinity of Matthew Perdikares
36. Theotokos tes Agoras

Figure 2 Constantinople during the Palaiologan Era: Monasteries

(Kidonopoulos, The urban physiognomy of constantinople, 106)

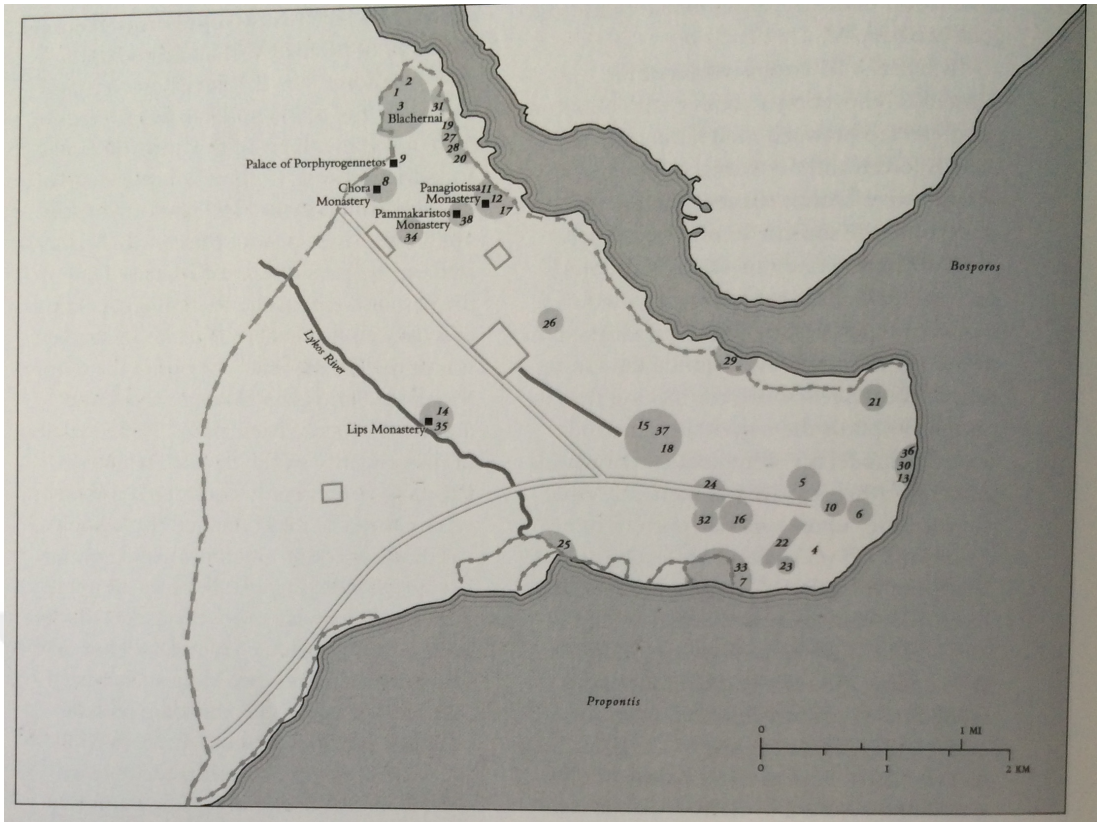


Fig. 60. Constantinople during the Palaiologan Era: Secular Buildings

1. Palace of Andronikos II Palaiologos
2. Blachernai Palace
3. Palace of the Despoina
4. Great Palace
5. Palace of Niketas Choniates
6. Palace of the Despot Demetrios
7. Palace of the Mesaritai
8. Palace of Theodore Metochites
9. Palace of Constantine Porphyrogennetos
10. Patriarchal Palace
11. Houses of George Akropolites (?)
12. Houses of Isaac Asanes
13. Houses of the Choumnoi
14. Residences associated with the Lips-Xenon
15. Houses of the sons of Theodora Synadene
16. Houses rented by the Panagiotissa Monastery
17. Residences of the Panagiotissa Monastery
18. Residences associated with the Panteleemon-Xenon
19. Houses of Manuel Rentakenos
20. Residence of Romanos and Kalogeros
21. Grammateion associated with the Church of Saint Paul the Apostle
22. Hippodrome
23. Triclinium of Justinian
24. Bakeries of the Panagiotissa Monastery
25. Tanneries of the Jews in the Blanga quarter
26. Mills of the Lips Monastery
27. House of Melitto
28. Myrepsikon of the Hieromonk Niphon
29. Mitaton of the Sarakenoi
30. Wine presses of Asanios
31. Houses of Eudokimos Straboskeles
32. Hospital of Isaac II Angelos
33. Hostel of Isaac II Angelos
34. Xenon of the John Prodromos Monastery
35. Lips Xenon
36. Xenon of the Manganen Monastery
37. Xenon of Niphon
38. Xenon of the Pammakaristos Monastery

Figure 3 Constantinople during the Palaiologan Era: Secular buildings

(Ibid., 104)

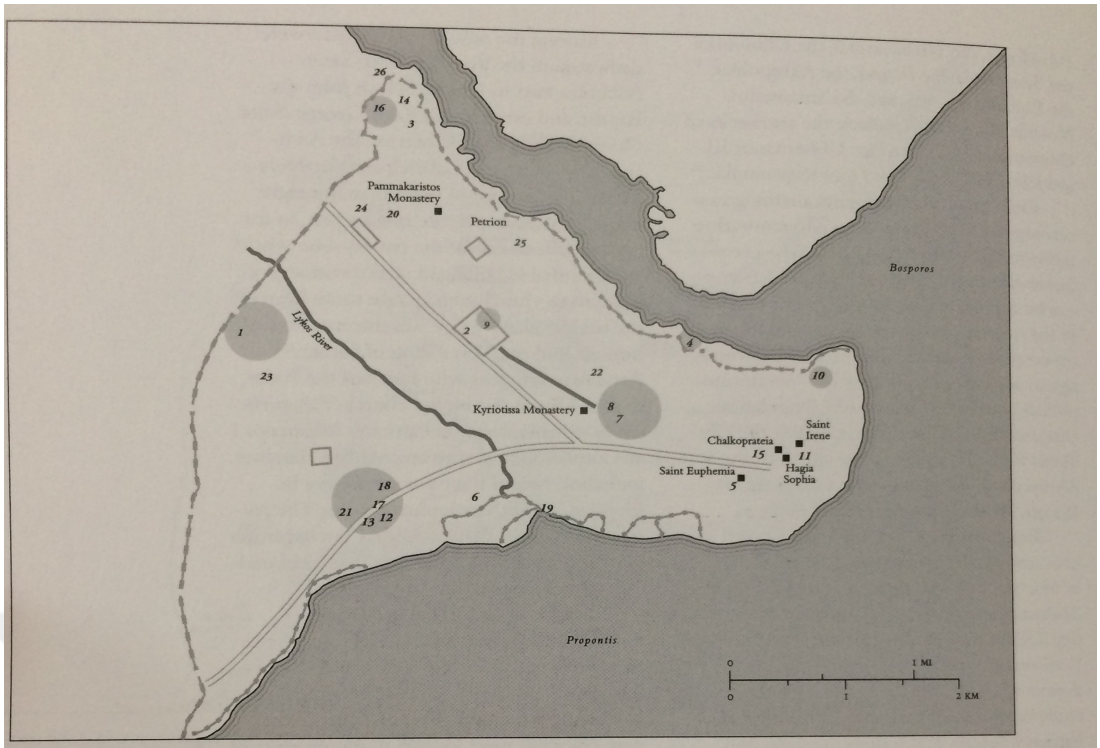


Fig. 62. Constantinople during the Palaiologan Era: Churches

1. Ascension
2. Holy Apostles
3. Saint Demetrios tou Kanabe
4. Saint Irene at Perama
5. Saint Euphemia in the Hippodrome
6. John Prodromos in the Blanga
7. Saint Nicholas by Mesomphalon
8. Saint Onouphrios
9. All Saints
10. Saint Paul the Apostle
11. Hagia Sophia
12. Archangels Michael and Gabriel
13. Panagnos Parthenos
14. Blachernai
15. Chalkoprateia
16. Theotokos Nikopoios
17. Theotokos Panachrantos
18. Zoopoios Trias
19. Jewish Synagogue in the Blanga Quarter
20. Boğdan Sarayi
21. Ese Kapı Mescidi
22. Kilise Camii
23. Manastır Mescidi
24. Odalar Camii
25. Sinan Paşa Mescidi
26. Toklu Dede Mescidi

Figure 4 Constantinople during the Palaiologan Era: Churches

(Ibid., 108)

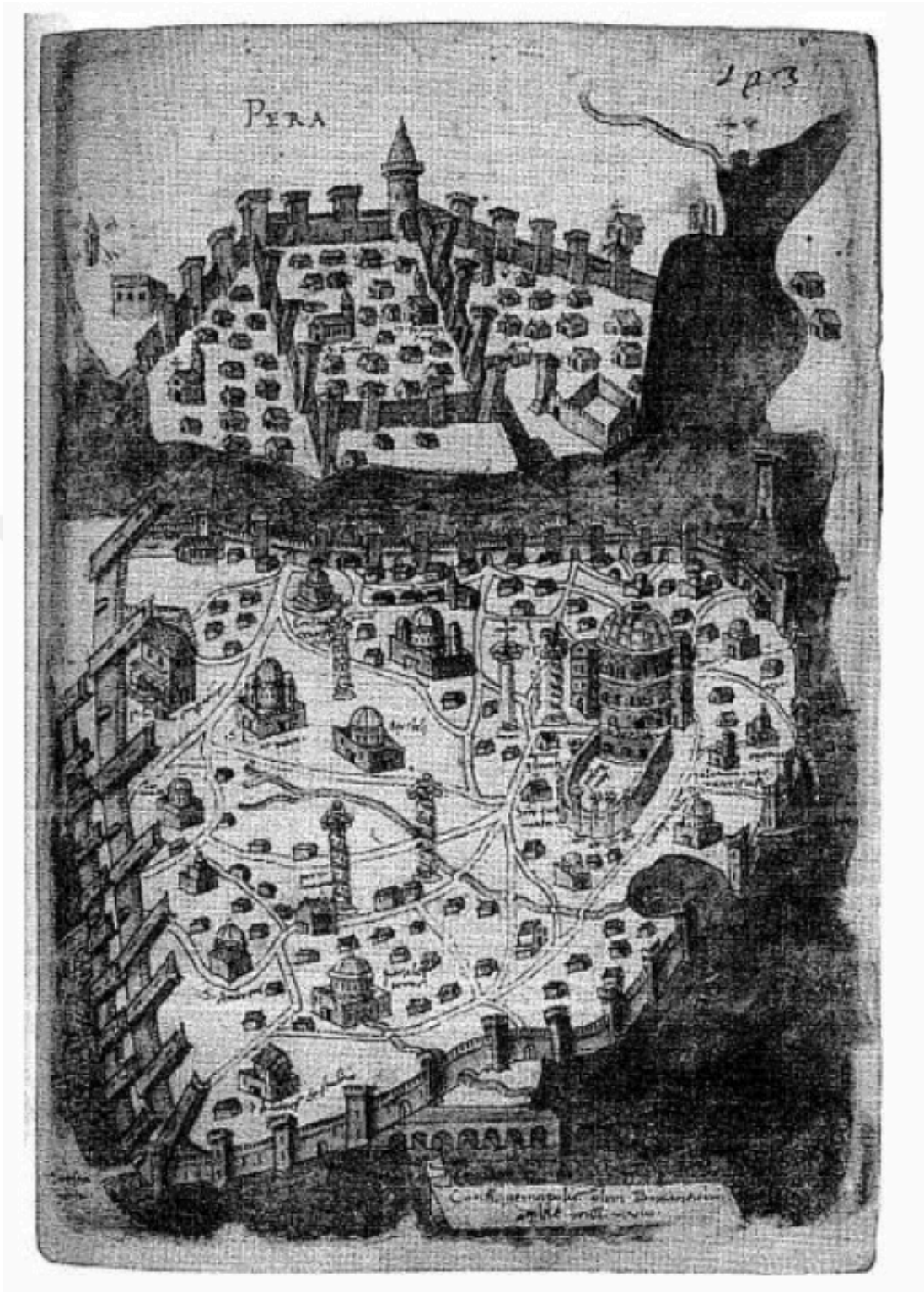


Figure 5 The map of Constantinople by Cristoforo Buoundelmonti

(Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 147)

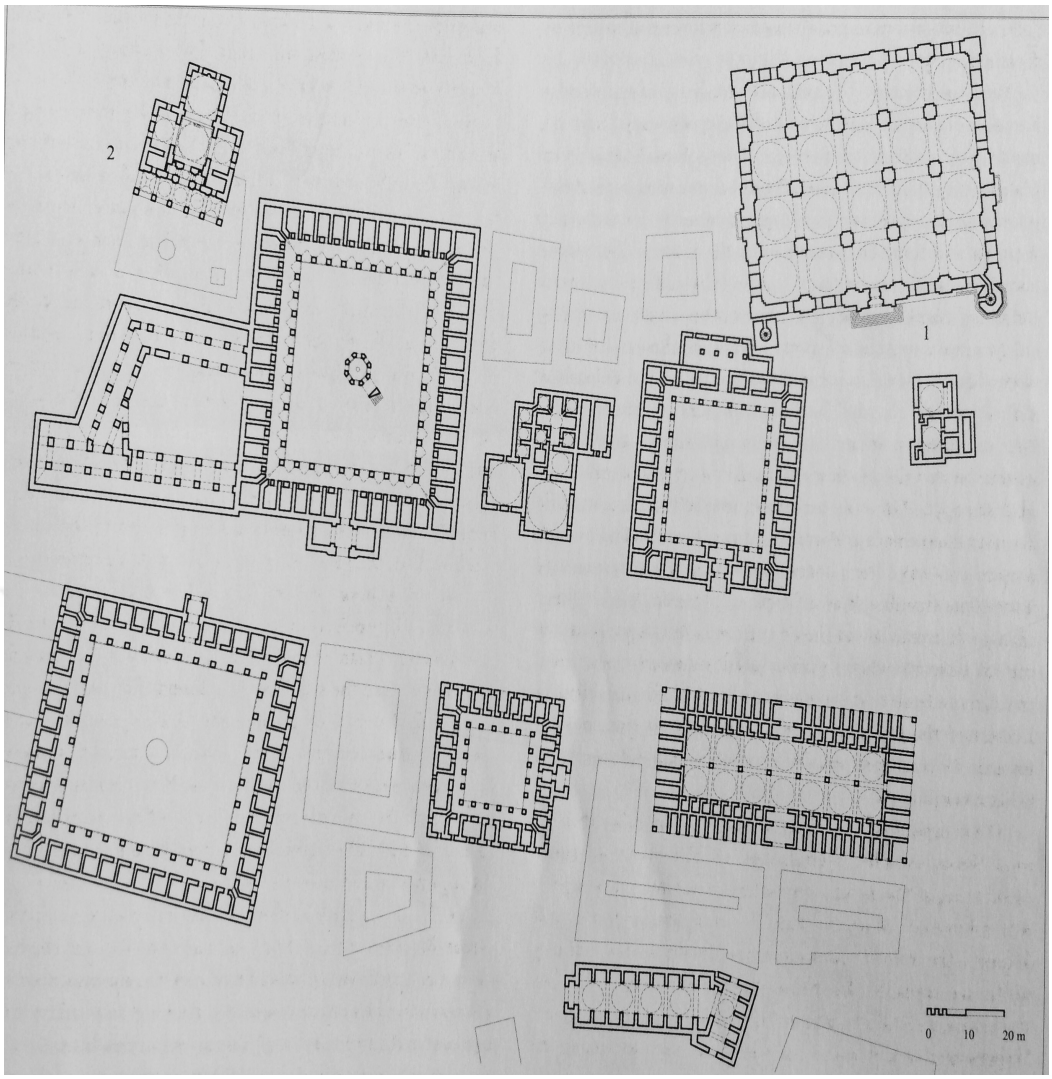


Figure 6 The convent-masjid of Orhan

(Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, 51)

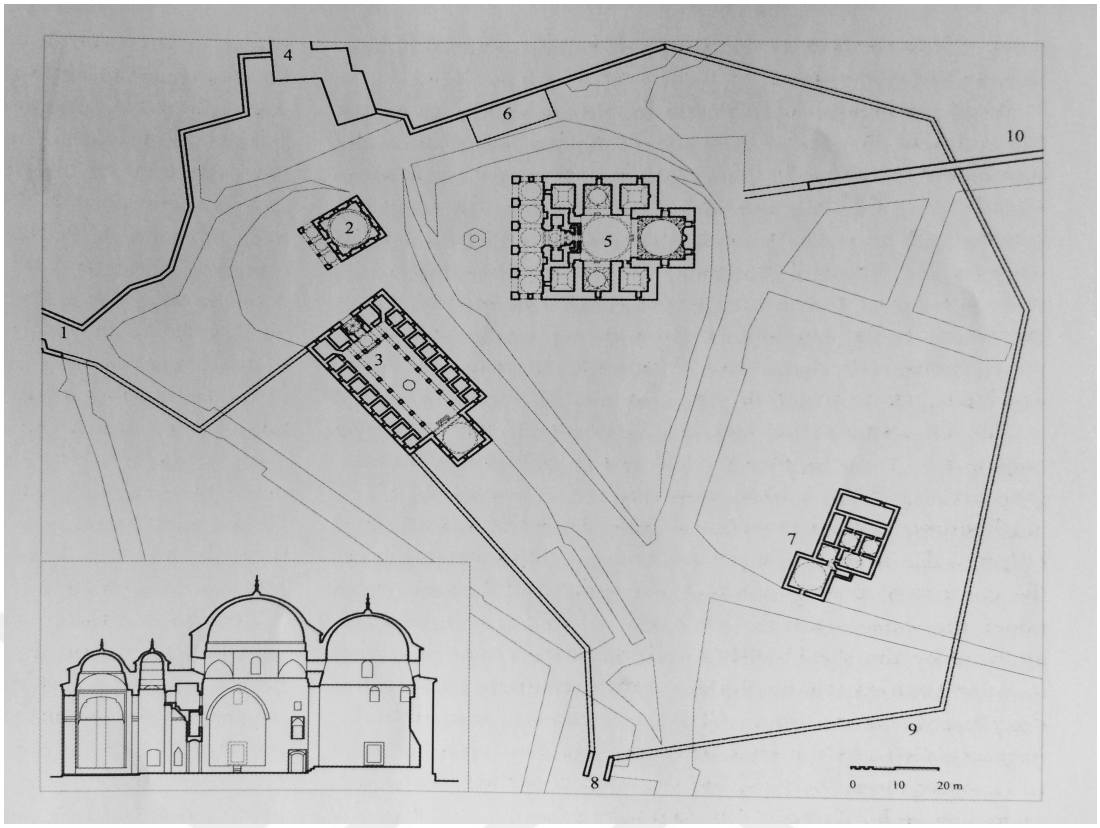


Figure 7 The plan of Bayezid I Complex

1. Gate
2. Mauseloum
3. Madrasa
4. Site of royal garden palace
5. Convent-masjid
6. Hospice
7. Bathhouse
8. Gate
9. Reconstruction of precinct wall
10. Aquaduct

(Ibid., 49)

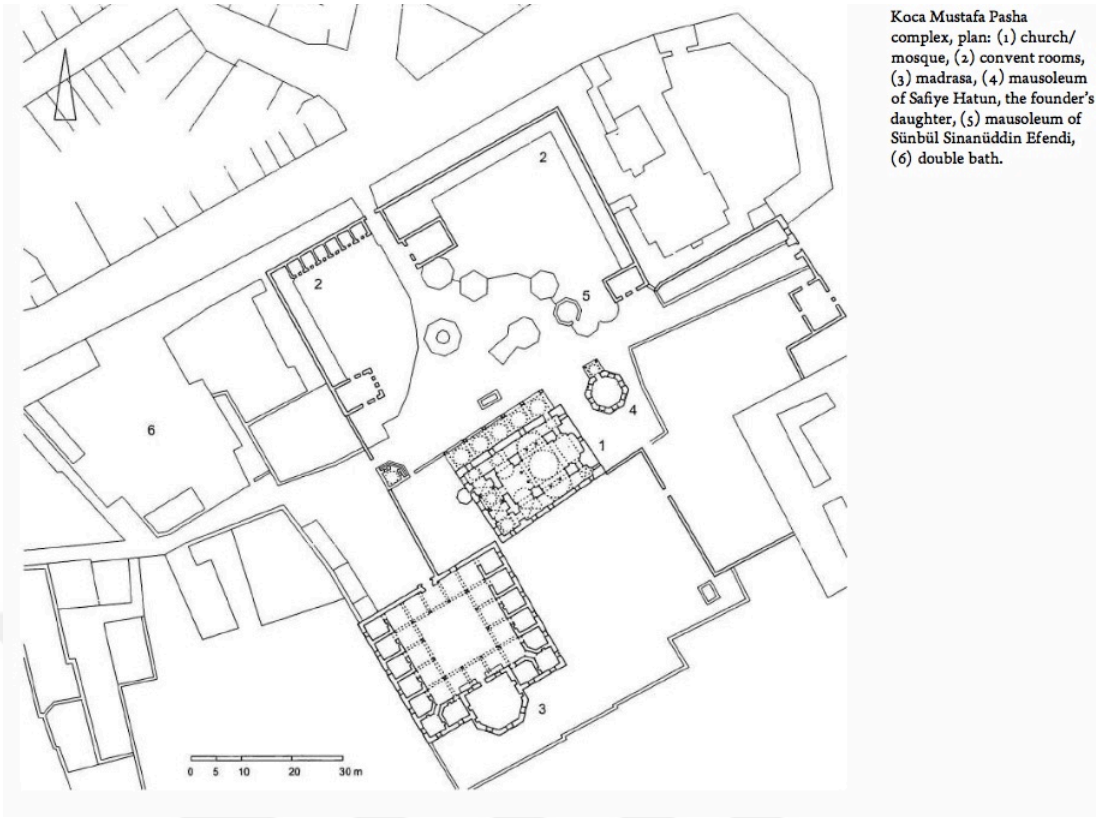


Figure 8 The plan of Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex

(Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 223)



Figure 9 The A entrance of Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex

Photography by author

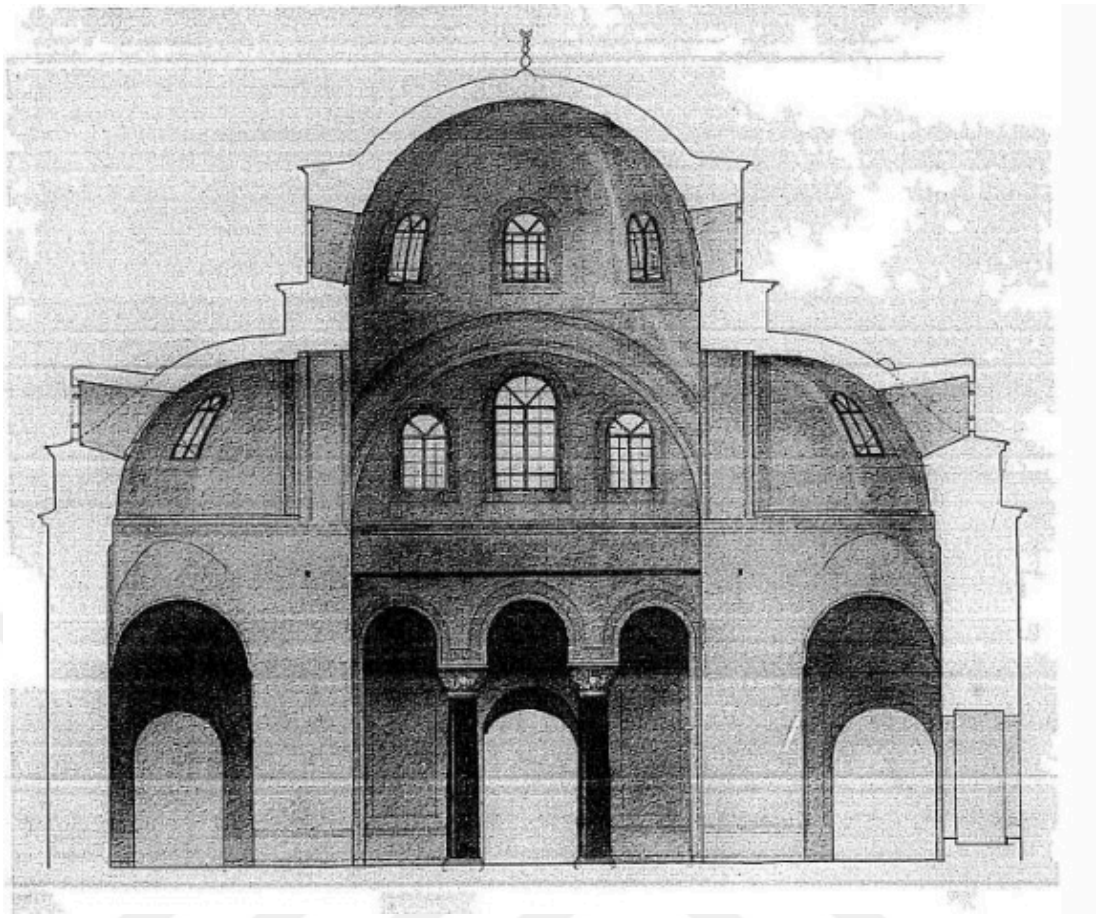


Figure 10 Koca Mustafa Pasha mosque section

(Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 222)

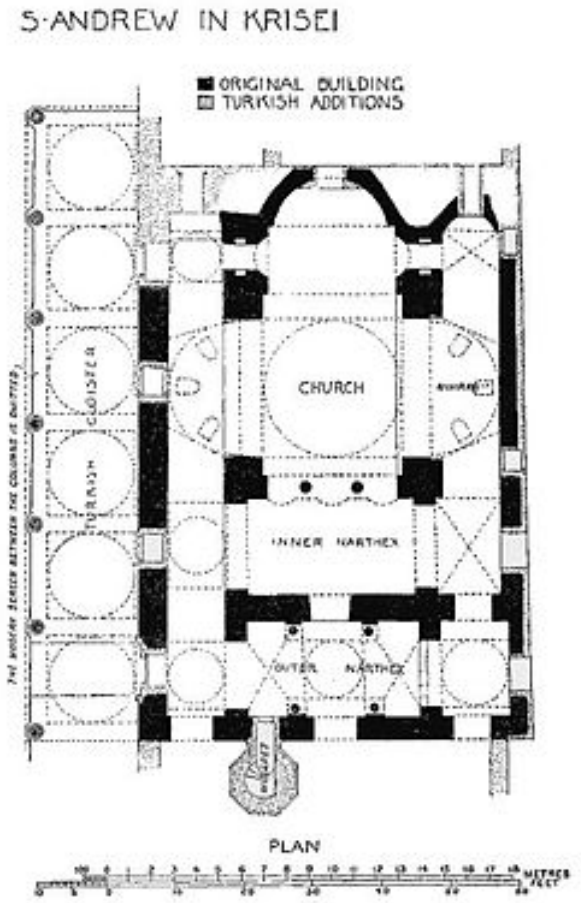


Figure 11 The plan of Hagia Andrea in Krisei

(Van Millingen, Byzantine Churhces, 119)

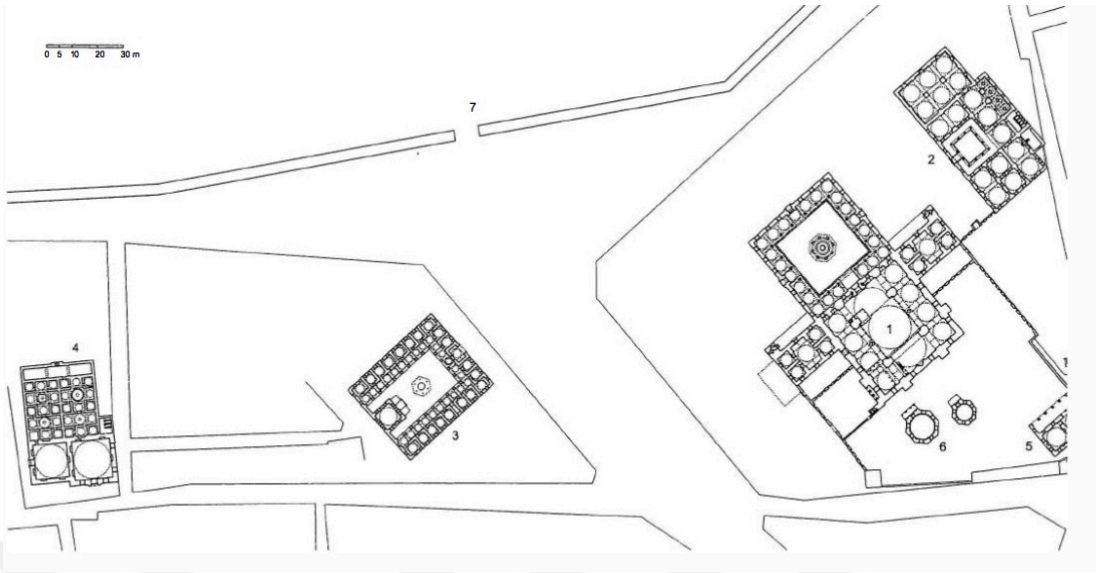


Figure 12 The plan of Bayezid II Complex

1. Mosque
2. Hospice and Cervansarai
3. Madrasa
4. Double bath
5. Elementary school
6. Mausolea of Bayezid II and his daughter Selçuk Hatun
7. Old Palace

(Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis*, 218)

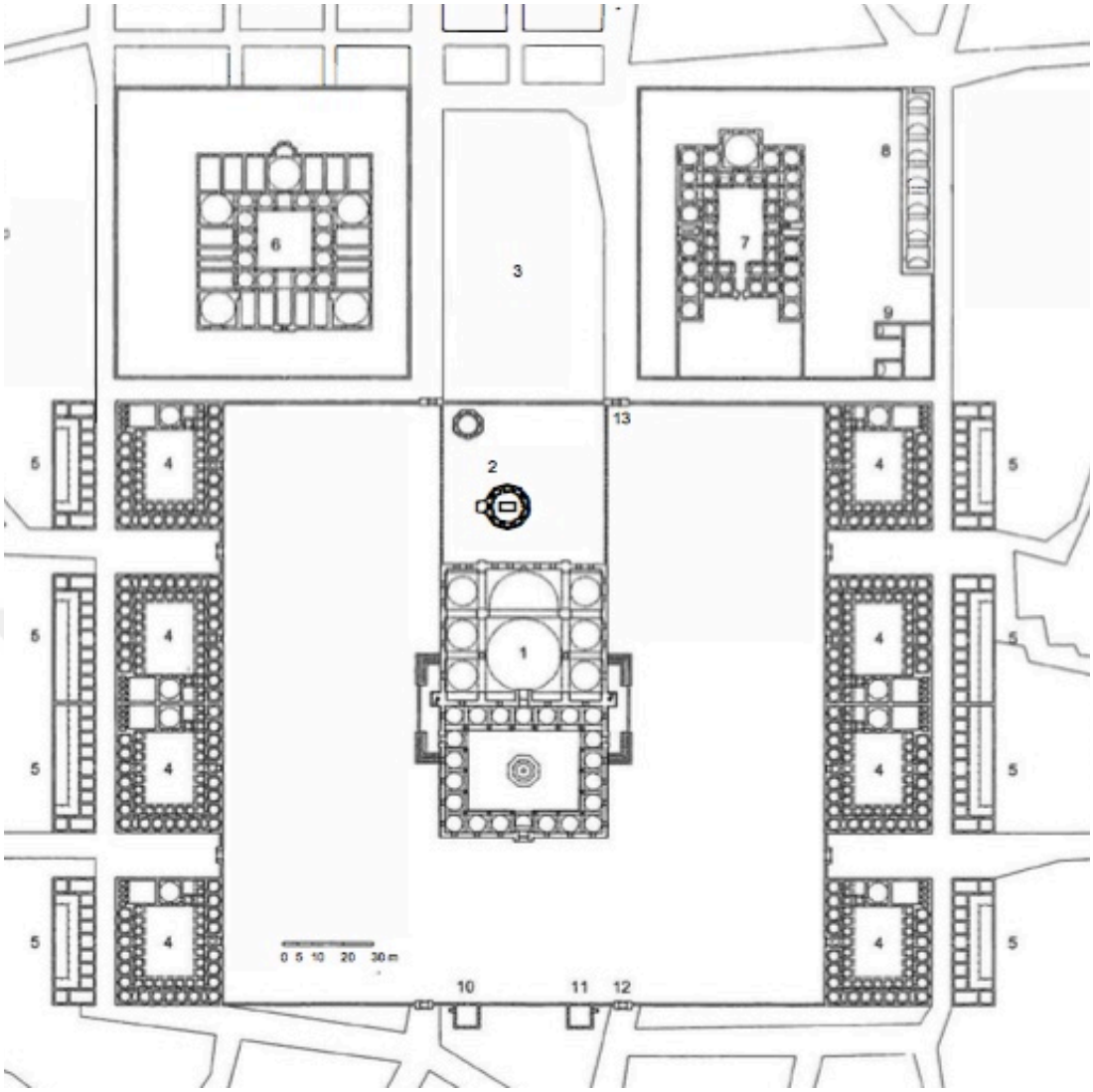


Figure 13 The plan of Mehmed II Complex

Mehmed II complex, plan:
(1) mosque, (2) mausolea of
Mehmed II and Gülbahar Hatun,
(3) garden, (4)≈madrasas,
(5) preparatory madrasas,
(6) hospital, (7) hospice,
(8) stables, (9) kitchen,
(10) elementary school,
(11) library, (12) Börekci
(Pastry Makers') Gate,
(13) Çorba (Soup) Gate.

(Ibid., 69)

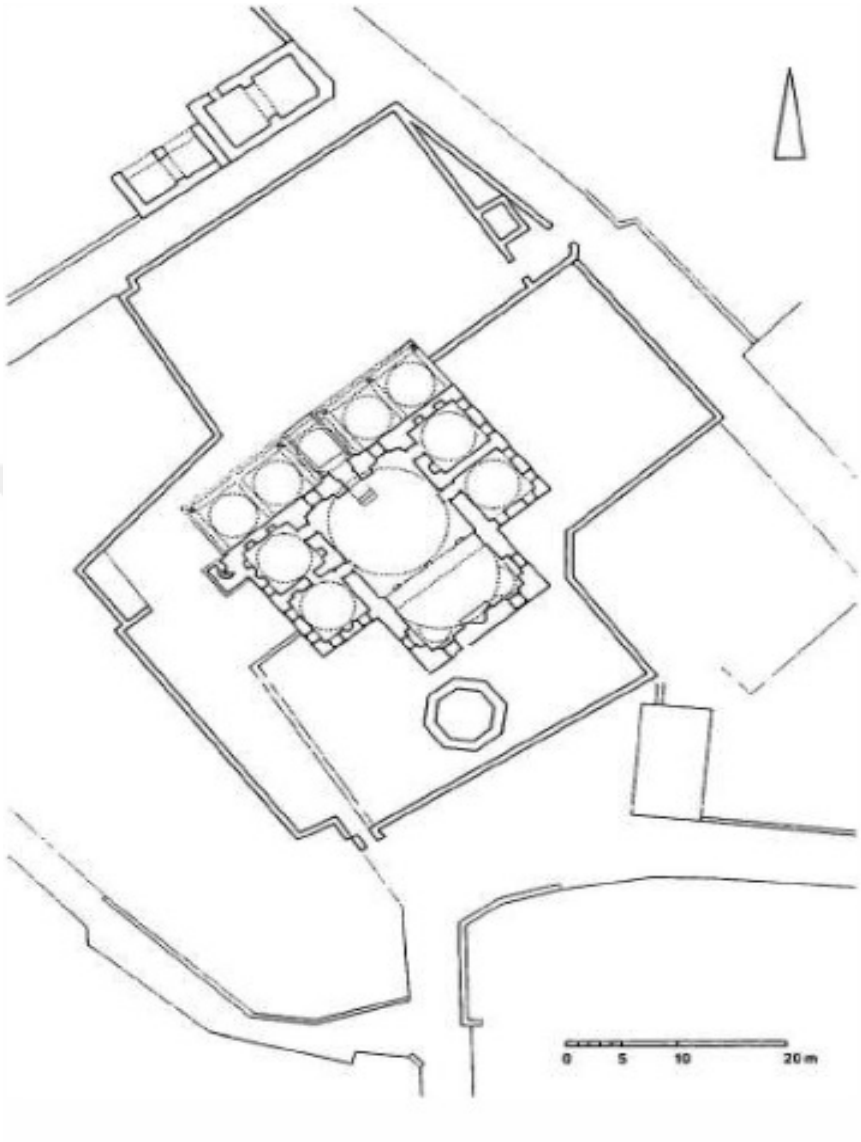
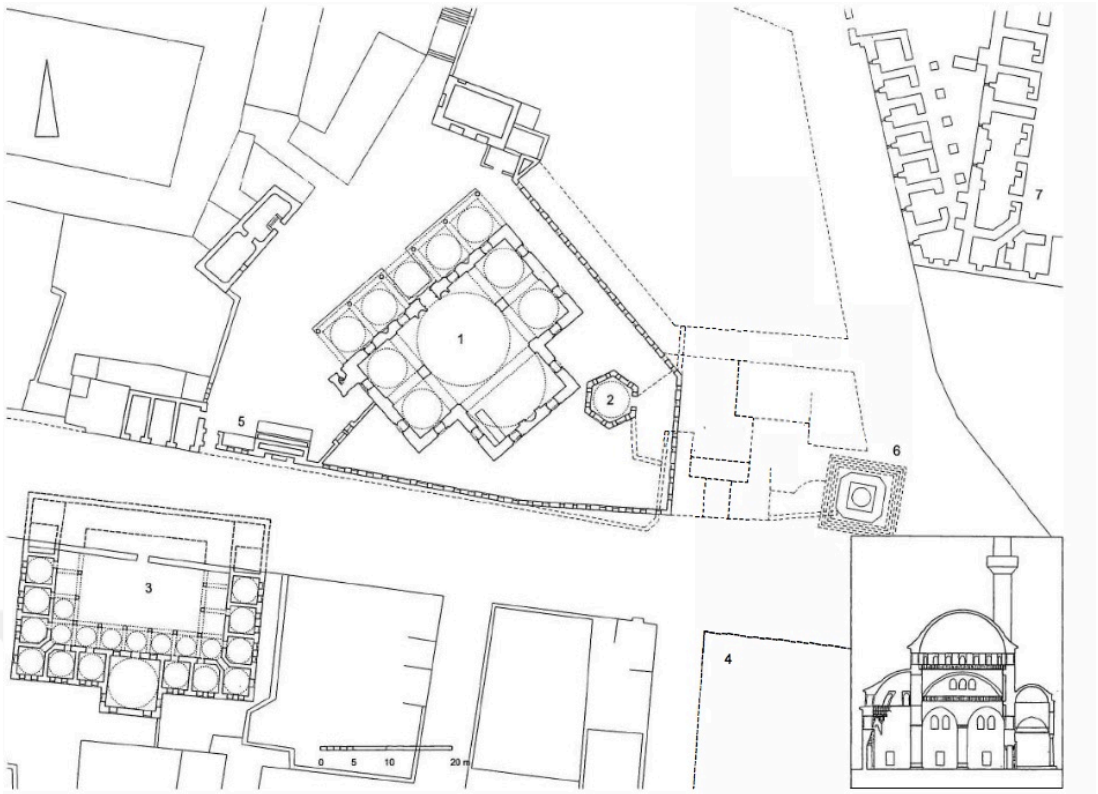


Figure 14 The plan of Rum Mehmed Pasha Mosque

(Ibid., 121)



Atik Ali Pasha complex, plan, and section of the mosque: (1) mosque, (2) mausoleum, (3) madrasa, (4) khan, (5) fountain, (6) column of Constantine, (7) Vezir han.

Figure 15 The plan of Atik Ali Pasha Complex

(Ibid., 221)



Figure 16 The interior of Koca Mustafa Pasha Mosque

Photography by author



Figure 17 Exterior view of Koca Mustafa Pasha Mosque from the southeast (Photograph by Nicholas V. Artamonoff)

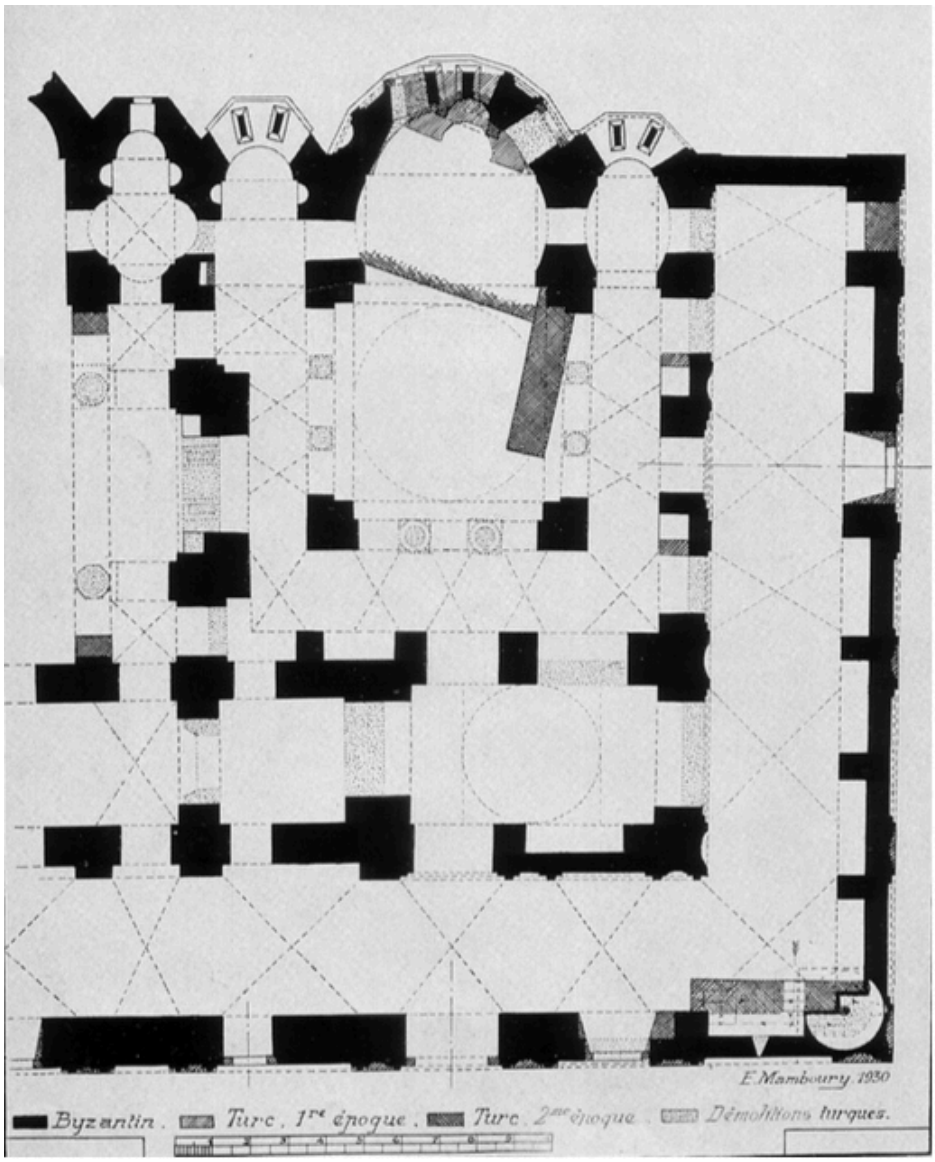


Figure 18 The ground plan of Monastery *tou Libos*, Saint John

(Marinis, Structure, Agency Ritual, 142)

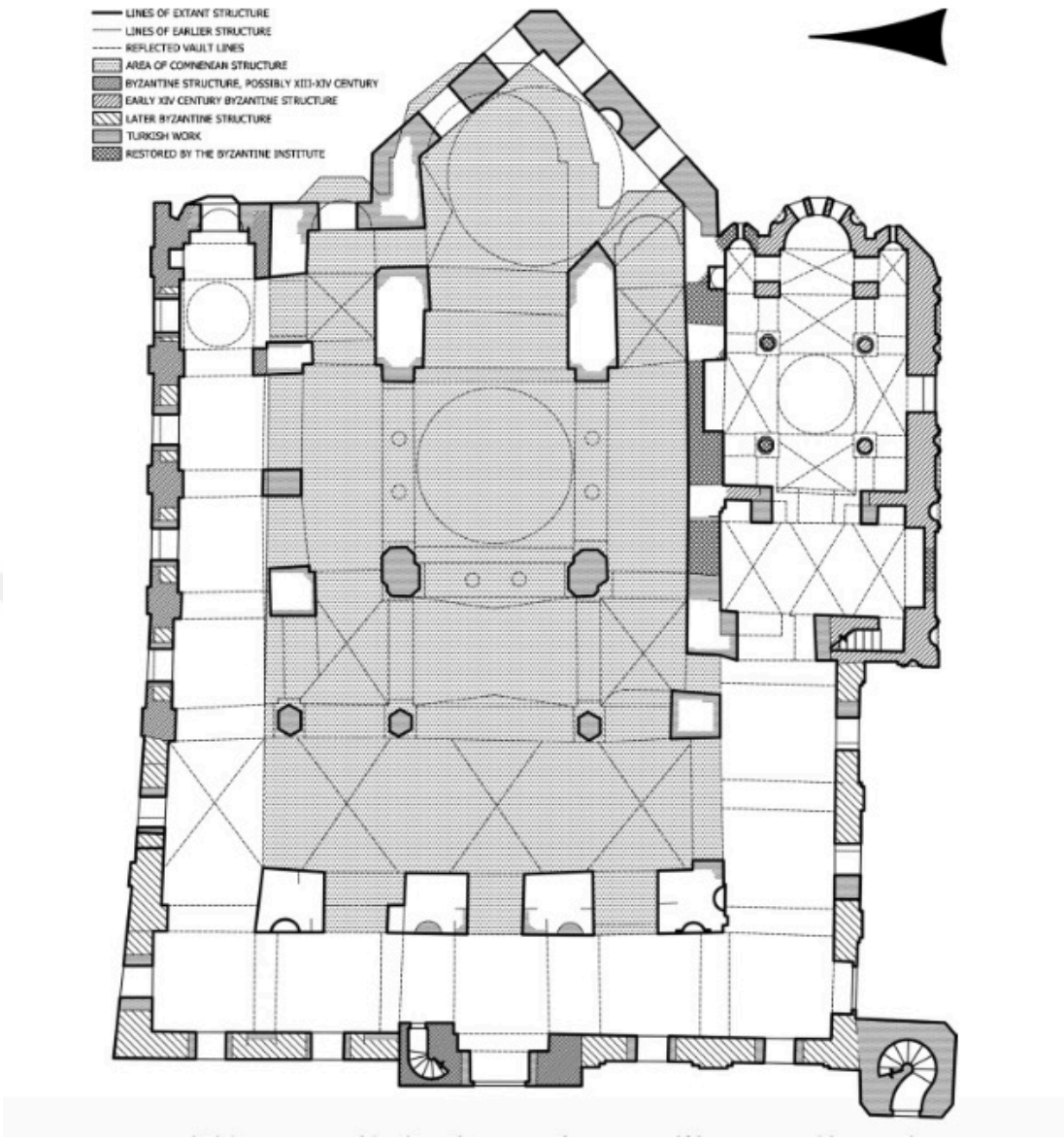


Figure 19 The plan of Pammaristos Church

(Ibid., 352)



Figure 20 The tomb of Safiye Hatun

Photography by author



Figure 21 The mausoleum of Sünbül Sinan

Photography by author



Figure 22 The interior of the Sünbül Sinan's mausoleum

Photography by author



Figure 23 The mausolea of Serasker Rıza Pasha

Photography by author



Figure 24 The Hacı Beşir Ağa fountain

(Tay, Hacı Beşir Ağa'nın İnşa Ettirdiği Çeşmeler, 23)



Figure 25 The harem building

Photography by author



Figure 26 The cypress tree

Photography by author



Figure 27 The Çifte Sultanlar mausoleum

Photography by author



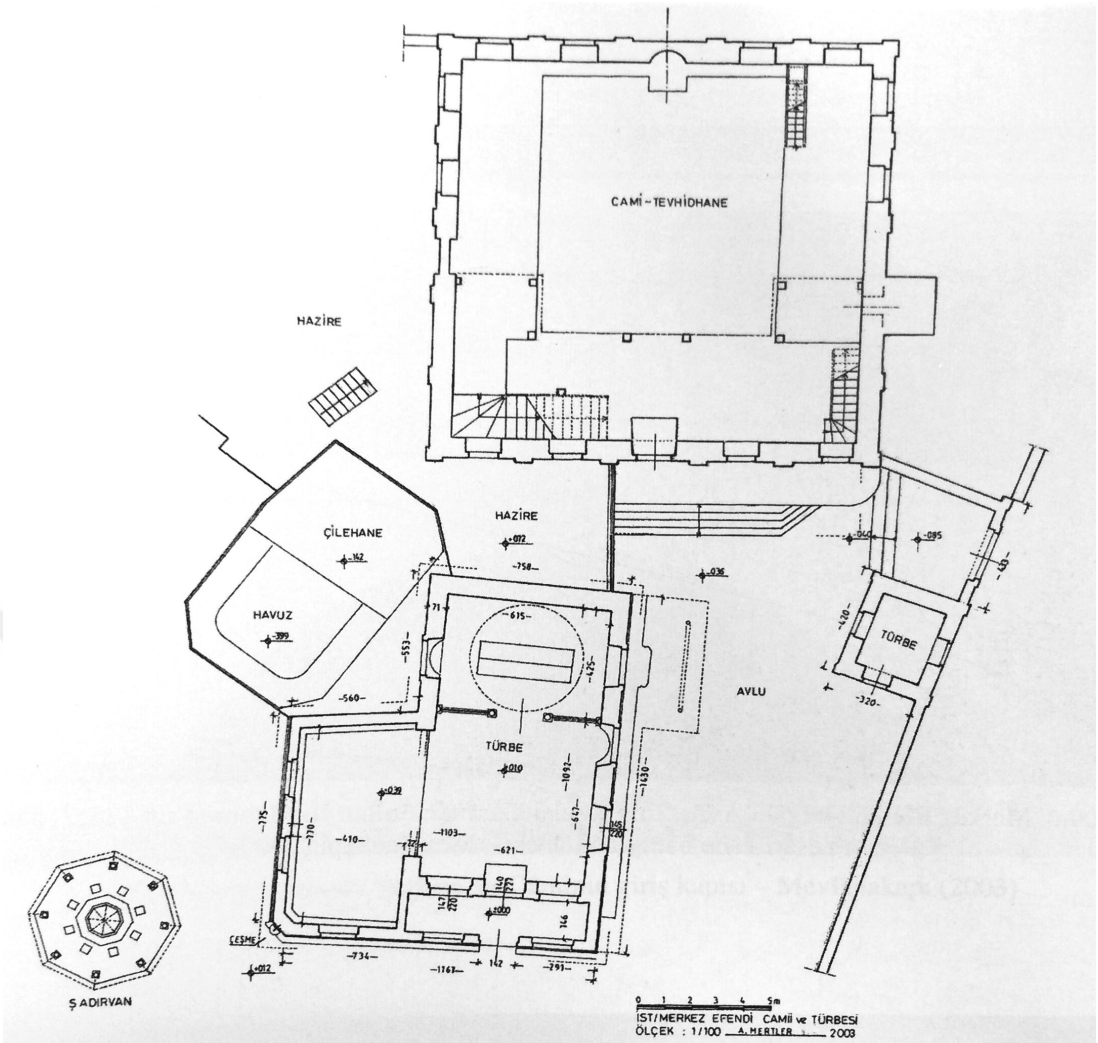
Figure 28 The grave of Sıdıka Hatun

Photography by author



Figure 29 The restoration inscriptions of Mahmud II and Abdulmecid

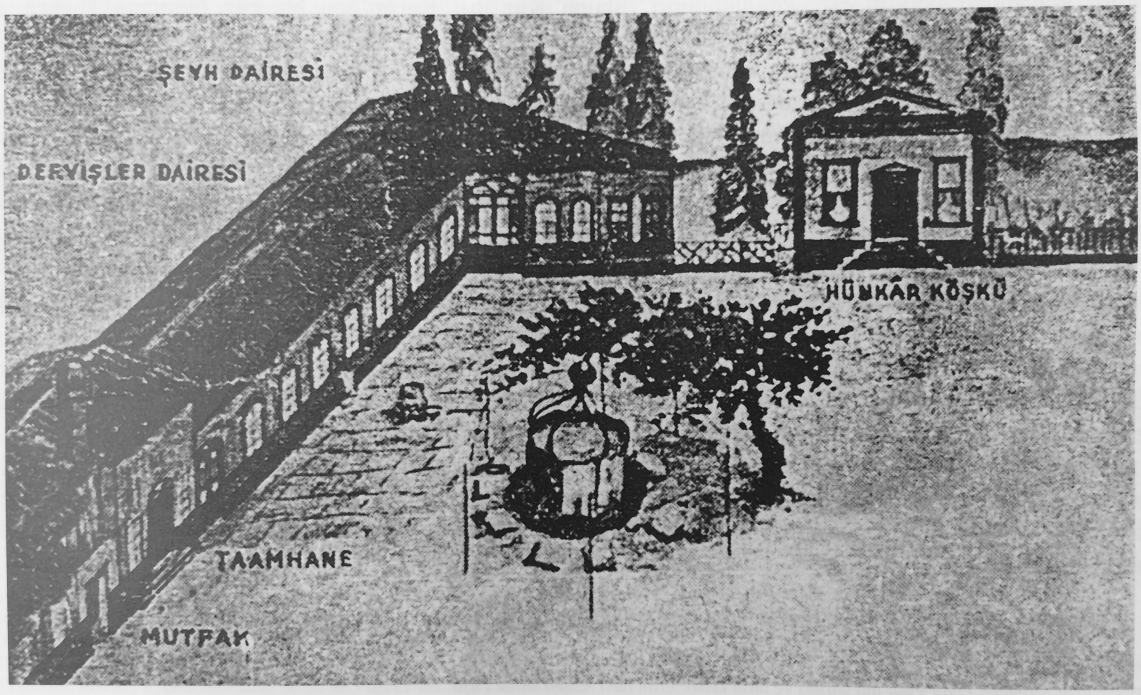
Photography by author



R.109.2 Merkez Efendi Külliyesi'nin Planı – Mevlânakapı
(Türbeler Müdürlüğündeki tarihsiz plandan faydalanılarak A. Mertler)

Figure 30 The plan of Merkez Efendi Complex

(Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Devri*, 21)



R.109.1 Merkez Efendi Tekkesi'nin yıkılmadan önceki durumunu gösteren hayali bir resim

Figure 31 An imaginary picture of Merkez Efendi dervish lodge

(Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Devri,* 20)



Figure 32 The mausoleum of Merkez Efendi

Photography by author



Figure 33 A view to halvethane and the water well

Photography by author



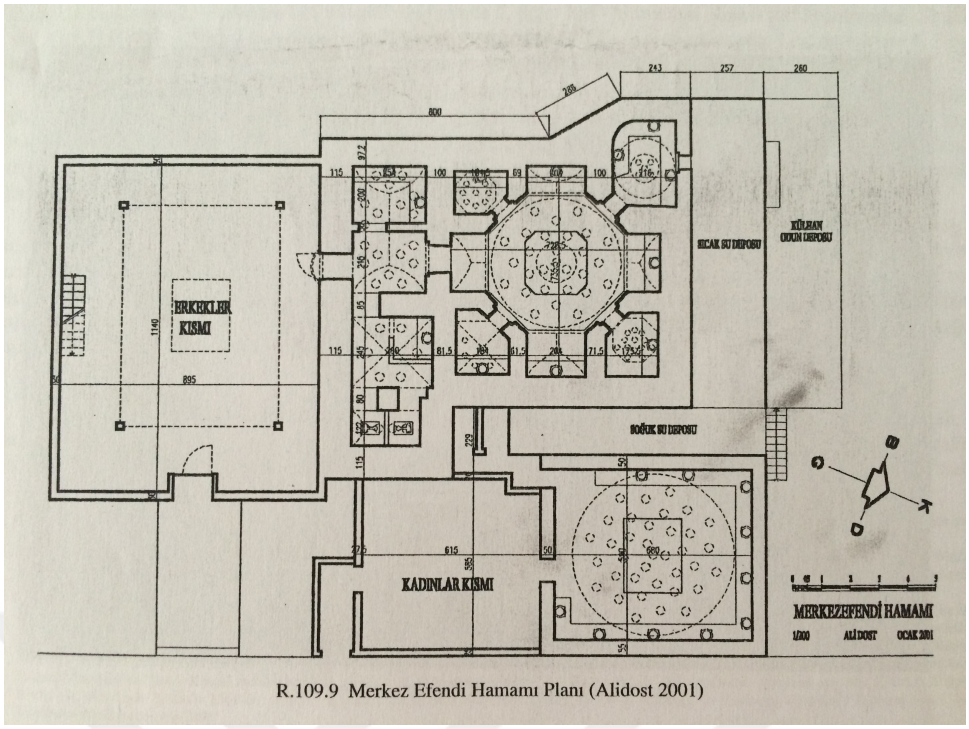
Figure 34 The *darülkurra*

Photography by author



Figure 35 The small mausoleum in Merkez Efendi Complex

Photography by author



R.109.9 Merkez Efendi Hamamı Planı (Alidost 2001)

Figure 36 The plan of Merkez Efendi bath

(Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Devri*, 324)



Figure 37 The main entrance of Merkez Efendi Complex

Photography by author

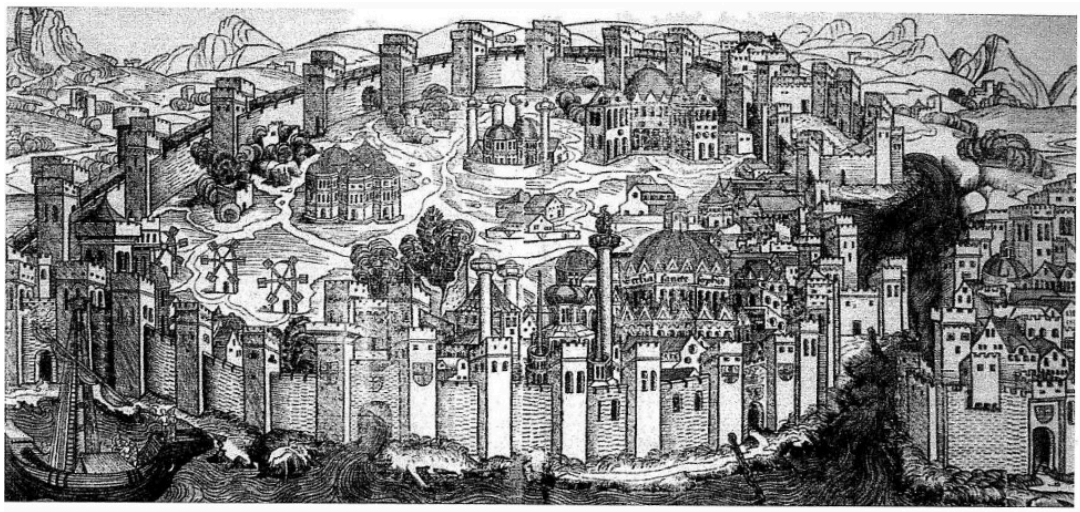


PLATE 6
View of Constantinople in Hartmann Schedel's *Liber Chronicarum,* engraving with watercolor.

Figure 38 View of Constantinople in Hartmann Schedel's Liber Chronicarum

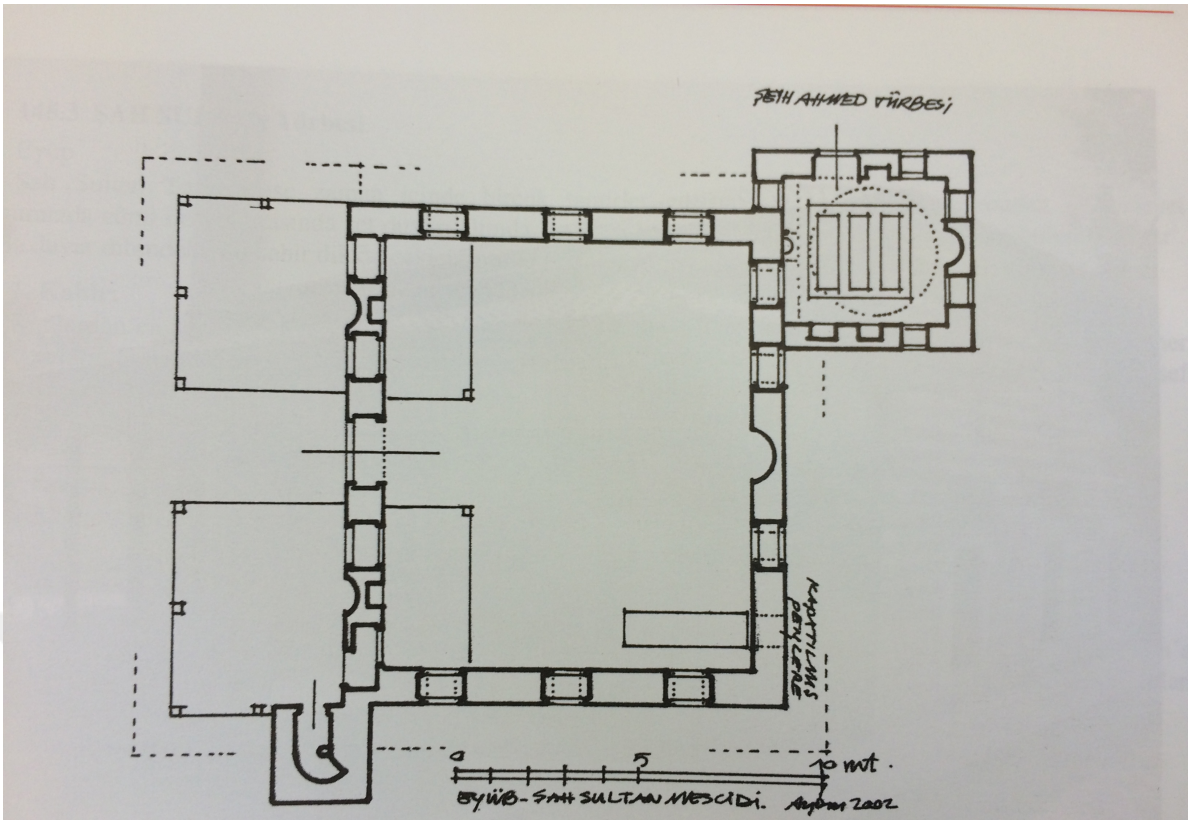
(Kafescioğlu*, Constantinopolis,* plate 6)



R.145.3 Şah Sultan Mescidi – Eyüp Bahariye (2002)

Figure 39 The Şah Sultan Complex in Eyüp

(Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Kanuni Devri*, 664)



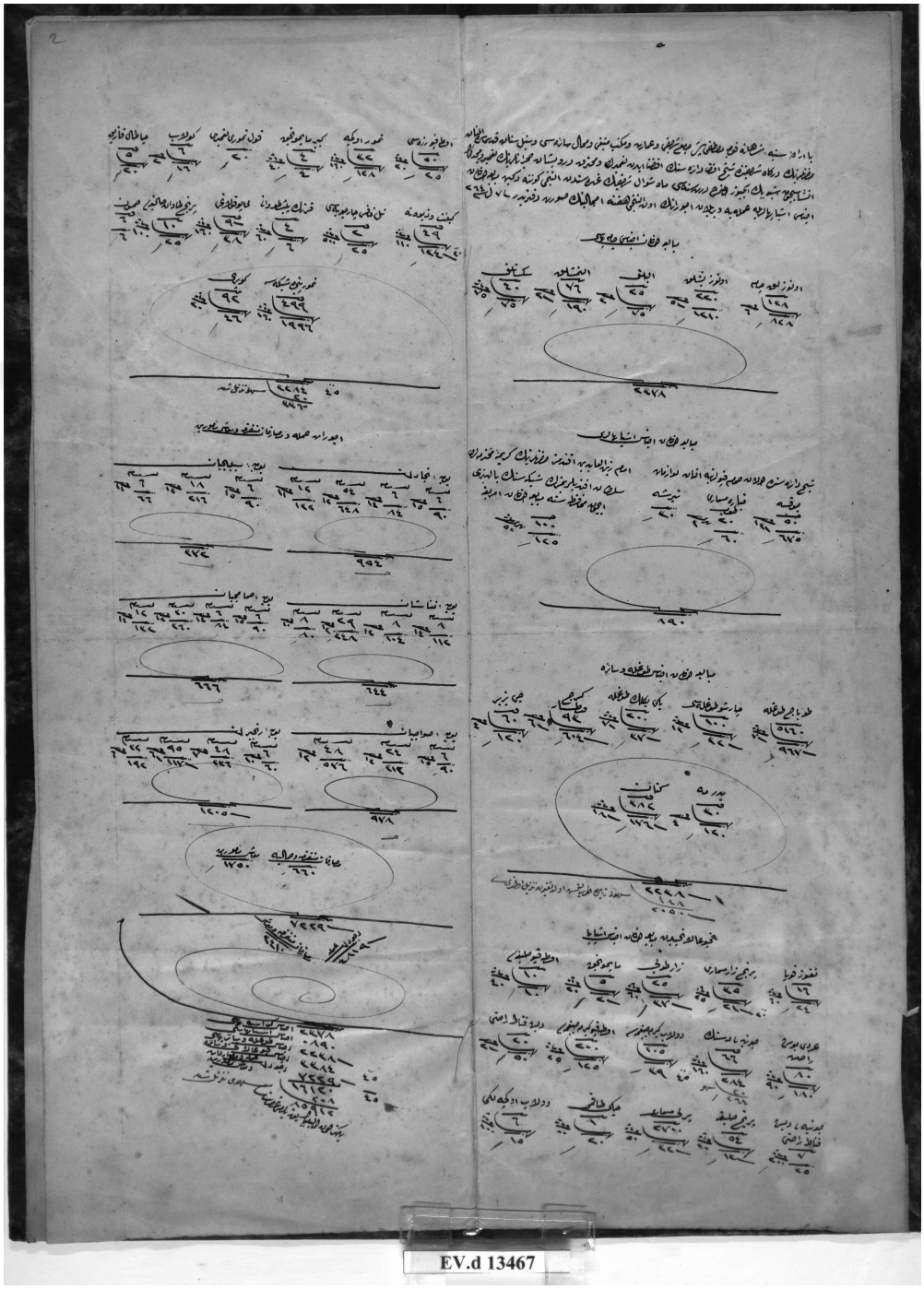
R.145.1 Şah Sultan Mescidi ve Şeyh Ahmed Türbesi planı – Eyüp Bahariye

Figure 40 The plan of Şah Sultan's Eyüp Complex

(Ibid., 663)

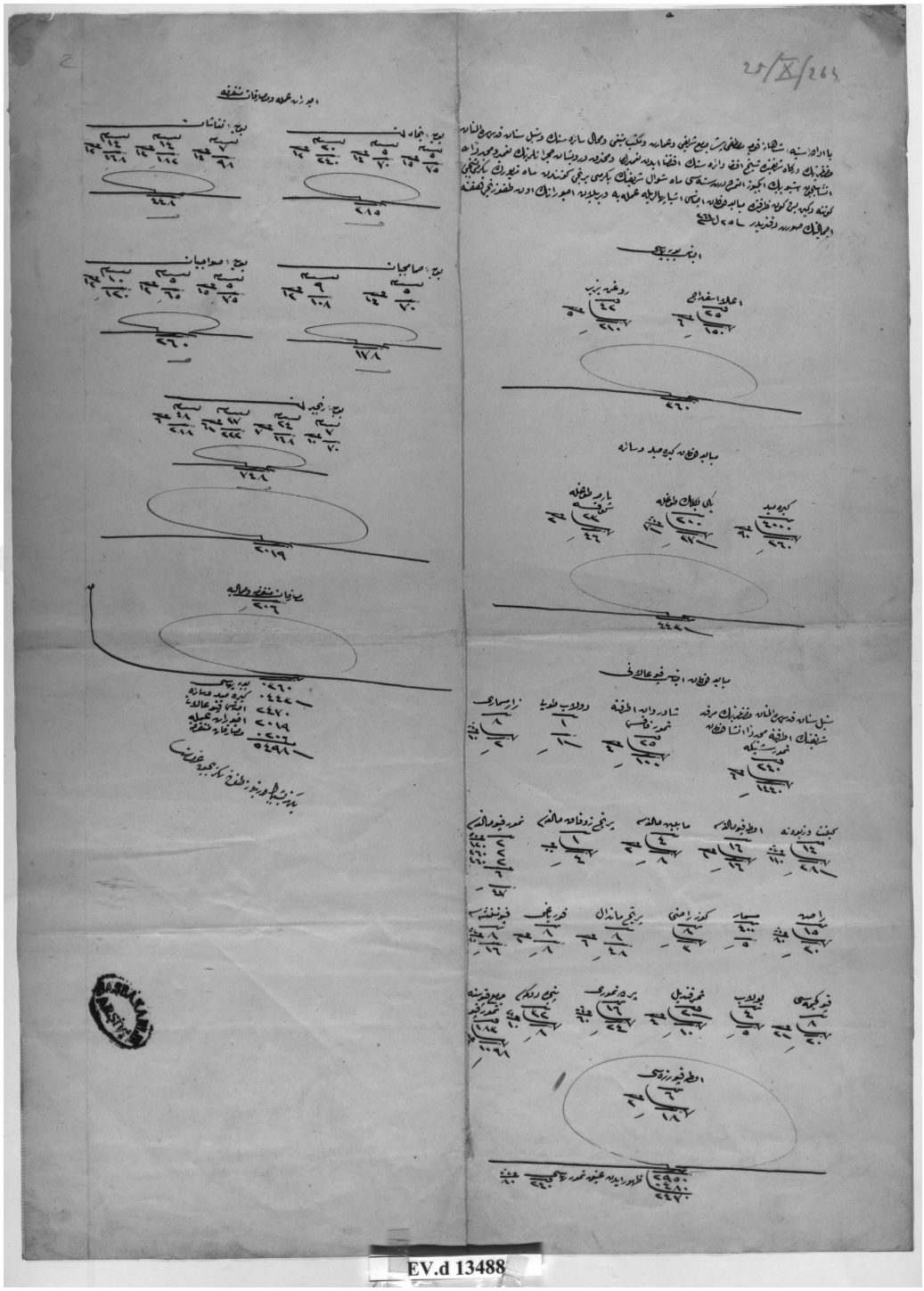
APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS



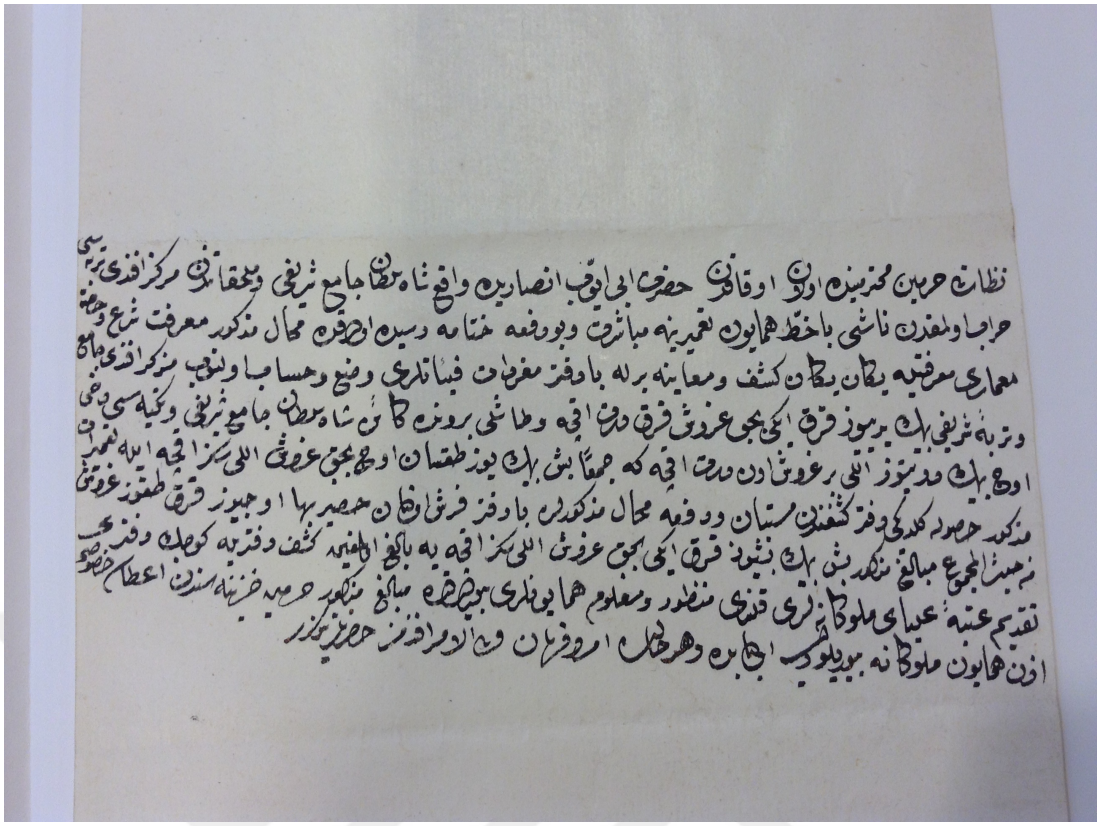
Document 1 The document about the restorations in Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex

BOA, EV.d 13467



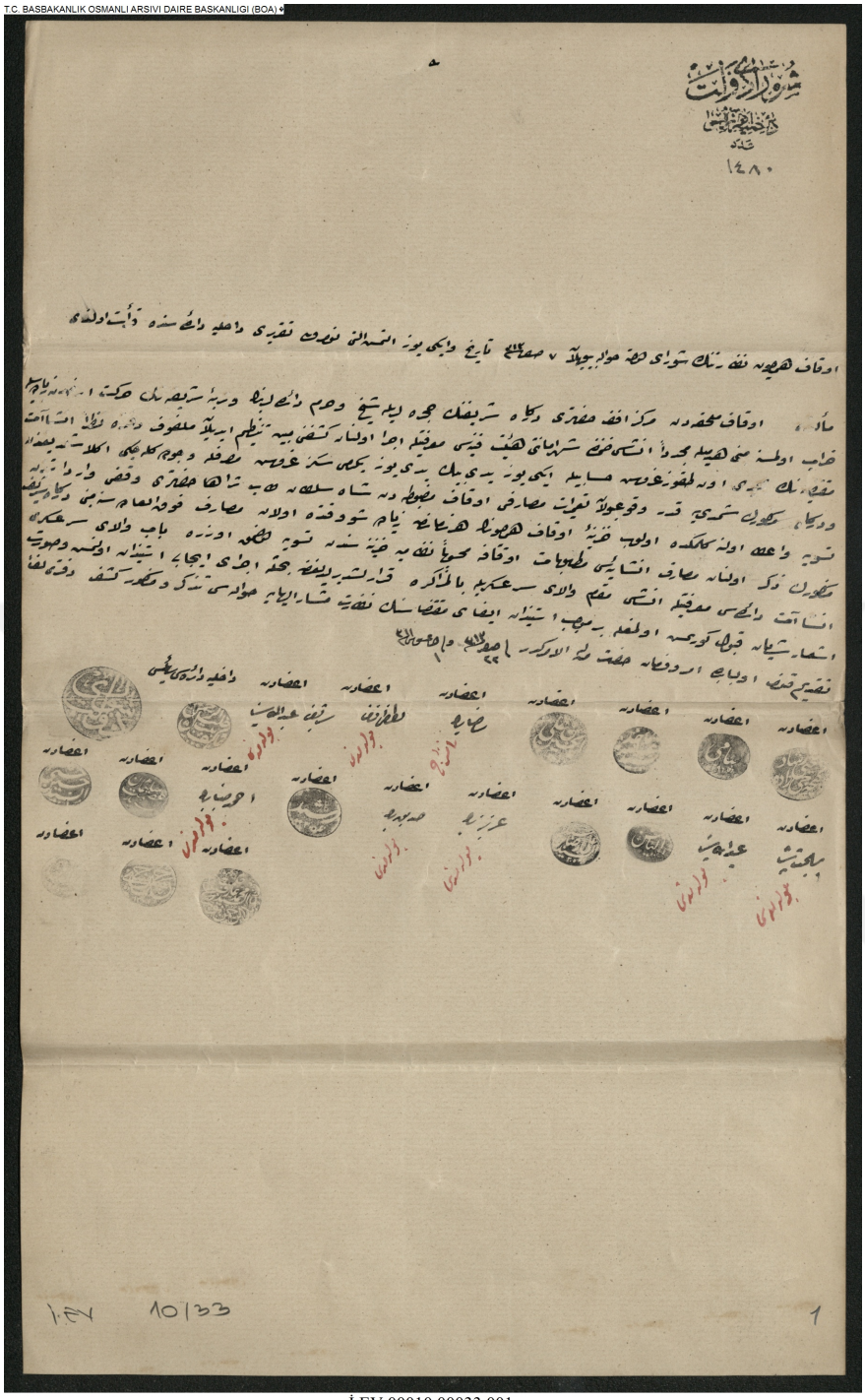
Document 2 Another document about the restorations in Koca Mustafa Pasha Complex

BOA, EV.d 13488



Document 3 *Hatt-ı Hümayun*

BOA, HAT 1666-10



İ.EV.00010.00033.001

Document 4 The document about some re-constructions in the complexes

BOA- İ. EV 10/33

T.C. BASBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARSIVI DAIRE BASKANLIGI (BOA)

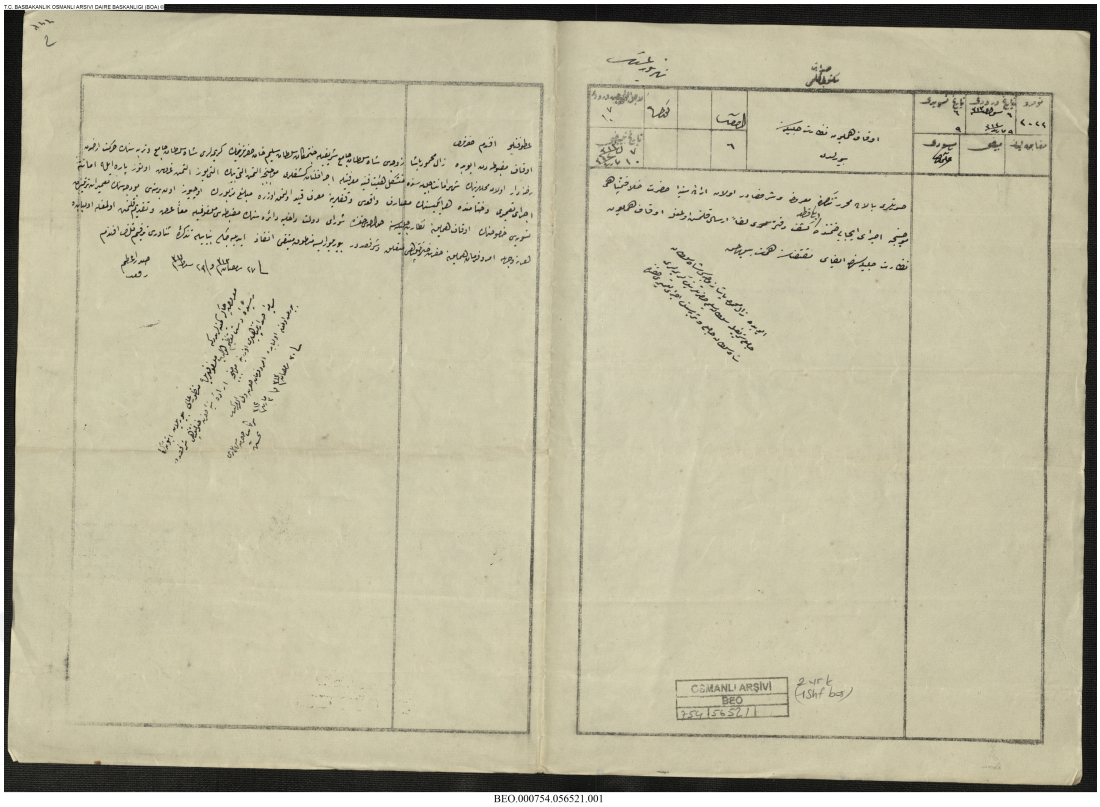
دار السعادة
دائرة صدارت
أقلام دیوان همایون
٤٢٩

عطوفتلو افندم حضرتری

اوقاف ملحقه دن مرزافوی حضرتلری درگاه شریفلرینه محرره لریله شیخ وحرم دائره لرینك وزیره شریفه نك حرف راضه ده جناب اولسه مبنی هدیه محرراً انسای صحنه سهرا مانی هیئت

فنیسی معرفتله تشخیص بالوجه انسالات مفقیه نك بحری اوزره طغوز غروسه حسابیله یکی یوز یدی بای بری یوز یدی سکز غروشه وجوده کله جکی اکلدکلسه وورقاه شریف مذکوریك

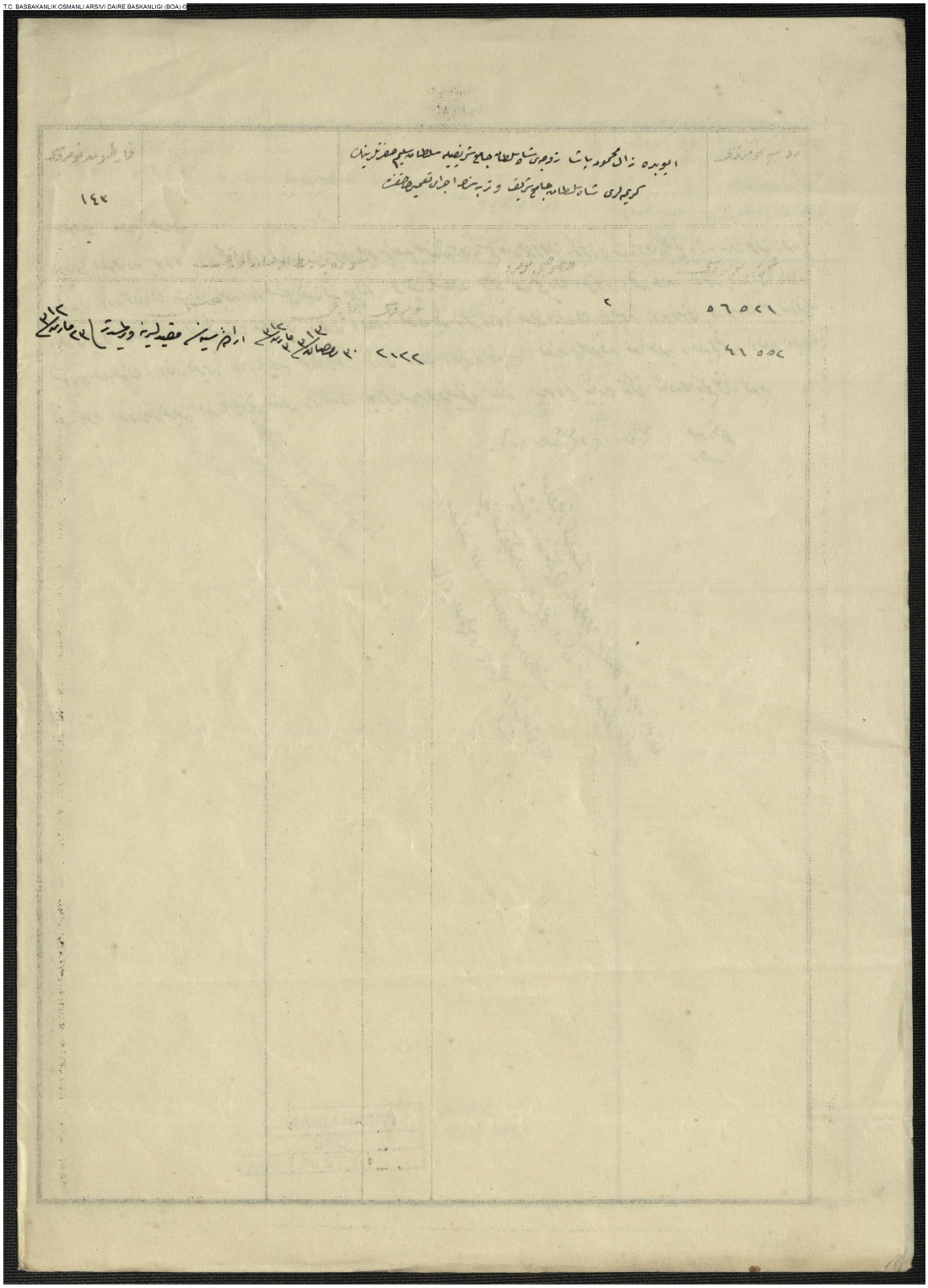
بروجه محرر مصارف انسائیه سی مطلوبات اوقاف محسوبانه مفاده حرره سنده مسطور اولمغله دائره سنك


T.C. BAŞBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARŞİVİ DAİRE BAŞKANLIĞI (BOA) İŞ
OSMANLI ARŞİVİ
BEO
754/56521
BEO.000754.056521.001

Document 5 The document about the restoration in the Şah Sultan Complex

BOA-BEO 754/ 56521

T.C. BASBAKANLIK OSMANLI ARSIVI DAIRE BASKANLIGI (BOA) G



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BOA-BEO 754/56521 – 2

TRANSKRIPTIONS

Document 1.

Bâ irâde-i seniyye-i şâhane Koca Mustafa Paşa câmi'-i şerifi ve imâret ve mekteb ---- ve mahal-i sâ'iresi ve sünbül sinan kuddîse sirruhu-l menân hazretlerinin dergâh-ı şerifinde şeyh efendi dairesinin iktiza iden tamirin ve muhterem-i dervişân hücerâtlarının tamir ve müceddeden inşâsı içün iş bu bin iki yüz atmış dört senesi mâh-ı şevval-i şerifin gurresinden altıncı gününe değin mübâya'a olunan ecnâsı eşya-yı bahâlarıyla ameleye verilen ucurâtın onaltıncı hafta icmâlinin suret-i defteridir
Fi 7 Şevval 264

Mübâya'a olunan ecnâs-ı cam bahâları
Otuzluk cam
Beher 138 tane
6
----- kuruş

Otuzbeşlik
Beher
220

Ellilik
Altmışlık
Seksenlik

Cem'en

Şeyh dairesinde olan hamam kapılarına alınan levâzemât
Çuha

İmam zeynelabidin efendimiz hazretlerinin kerime-i ------ sultan efendilerimizin şebekesinin yaldızı için muhâfazasına mübâya'a olunan -------

Document 2

Bâ irâde-i seniyye-i şâhane Koca mustafa paşa câmi'-i şerifi ve imaret ve mektebi ---- ve mahal sâ'iresinin ve sünbül sinan kuddîse sirruhu-l menân hazretlerinin dergâh-ı şerifinde şeyh efendi dairesinin iktiza iden tamirleri ve ------ ----- dervişân hüceratlarının tamir ve müceddeden inşası içün işbu bin iki yüz atmış dört senesi mâh şevval-i şerifin yirmibirinci gününden mâh-ı mezbûrun yirmibeşinci gününe değin 5 gün zarfında mübâya'a olunan ecnâsı eşya-yı bahâlarıyla ameleye verilen ucurâtın ondokuzuncu hafta icmalinin suret-i defteridir.
Fi 25 şevval sene 264

Ecnâs-ı boya bahâsı
Âlâ -----
Kile

25
150 kuruş 6 para

Rugan-ı bezir
Kile
46
210 kuruş 5 para

Mübâya'a olunan kiremit ve saire ------ ------ -----
Mübâya'a olunan ecnâs-ı kapu --------
Sünbül sinan kuddîse sirruhu-l menân hazretlerinin ------- şerifinin etrafına müceddeden inşa olunan demir şebeke şadırvan etrafına demir ------ ----- dolab ------ ------ ------- -------
Ucurât-ı amele ve mesarifât-ı ------- ------- -------- --------

Document 3

Haremeyn-i ------- itası hususu
Nezaret-i harameyn-i muhteremeyn olan evkâftan hazreti Ebû Eyyûb Ensâriye vâki Şâh Sultan câmi'-i şerifi ve mülhakâtından merkez efendi türbesi harab olmakdan naşi bağ hatt-ı hümayûn ta'mirine mubâşeret ve bu def'a hitama vesile olduk da mahal-i mezkur ma'rifet-i şer'i ve hassa mimarı marifetiyle ----- ------ keşf ve mu'âyene ---- ----- ----- fiatları vaz' ve hesap olunup merkez efendi câmi' ve türbe-i şerifinin yediyüz kırk iki buçuk guruş kırkdört akce ve taşlıburunda kâ'in Şah sultan câmi'-i şerifi ve tekyesi dahi üçbin dörtyüz ellibir guruş ondört akce ki, cem'an beşbinyüzdoksan üç buçuk guruş ellisekiz akce ile ta'mirât mezkur ---- geldiği defter keşfinden ------ ve def'a mahal-i mezkûrlara bağ defter ferş olunan hasır bahâ üçyüz kırk dokuz guruş ------ mecmu' mebaliğ mezkur beşbin beş yüz kırk iki buçuk guruş elli sekiz akçeye baliğ olmağın keşf defteri ile küçük defter-i takdim-i atebe-i ulya-yı mülûkâneleri kılındı. Manzur ve ma'lum hümayûnları ------- mebâliğ-i mezkur harameyn hazinesinden itası hususu ------ hümayun mülûkâne buyurulur ise ol babda ve herhalde emr-i ferman veliyyü-l emr efendimiz hazretlerinindir.

Document 4

Şûrâ-yı devlet
dahiliye nezareti
1480
Evkaf-ı hümayun nezaretinin şûrâ-yı devlete havale buyurulan yedi Safer ikiyüzoniki tarih ve ikiyüzatmışaltı numerolu takriri dahiliye dairesinde kıraat olundu
----- evkaf-ı mülhakadan Merkez efendi hazretleri dergâh-ı şerifinin hücreleriyle şeyh ve harem dairelerinin ve türbe-i şerifinin hareket-i arzdan ziyadesiyle harab olmasına mebni hıdemiyle müceddeden inşası zımmında şehremaneti- heyet-i fenniye marifetiyle icrâ olunan keşfini mübeyyen tanzim idilen melfuf deftere nazaran inşa'at muktezasının mecidi ondokuz guruş hesabıyla ikiyüzyedibin yediyüz yirmisekiz guruş mesarif ile vücuda geleceği anlaşıldığından ve dergâh-ı mezkurun şimdiye kadar vuku bulan ta'mirât mesarıfı evkaf-ı mazbutadan Şah sultan tâbe

serahu hazretleri ve ------ varidatıyla tesviye ve ita oluna gelmedikte olup hazine-i evkaf-ı hümayunun ----- ziyade şu vakitte olan mesarıf fevkaladesine mebni dergâh-ı şerif-i mezkurun zikr olunan mesarıfı inşa'ası matlubat evkafa muhavelen nizamiye hazinesinden tesviye olunmak üzere bab-ı vala-yı seraskeri inşaat dairesi marifetiyle inşa'ası makam-ı vala-yı seraskeriyle bil müzakere kararlaştırıldığından bahisle icrâ-yı icabı istizan olunmuş ve suret-i iş'ar –kabul görünmüş olmağla ber mucip isti'zan îfa-yı muktezasının nezaret-i müşarun ileyhaya havalesi tezkir ve mezkur keşif defteri leffen takdim kılındı. Ol babda ol ferman Hazreti Veliyyun emrindir.
Fi safer 22 sene 212 ve fi 1 ağustos sene 211

Bab-ı Ali
Daire-i sadâret
Âmedî-i Divân-ı Hümayûn
429
Atıfetlü efendim hazretleri
Evkâf-ı mülhakadan Merkez efendi hazretleri dergâh-ı şerifinin hücreleriyle şeyh ve harem dairelerinin ve türbe-i şerifinin hareket-i arzdan harab olmasına mebni hıdemiyle müceddeden inşa'ası zımmında şehr emaneti heyet-i fenniye mâ'rifetiyle keşfi bil- icrâ inşa'at mecidi ondokuz guruş hesabıyla iki yüz yedi bin yedi yüz yirmi sekiz guruşla vücuda geleceği anlaşılmış ve dergâh-ı şerifi mezkurun ber veçhe muharrer mesarıf-ı inşaası matlubat evkafa nizamiye hazinesinden tesviye olunmak bab-ı vala-yı seraskeri inşa'at dairesi marifetiyle inşası makam-ı vala-yı seraskeriyle bil muhabere kararlaştırılmış olduğundan ol vechile icrâ-yı icab hususunun vekaf-ı hümayun nezaret-i celilesine havalesi tezkir kılındığına dair şûrâ-yı devlet-i dahiliye dairesinin mazbatası melfufuyla arz ve takdim olunmuş olmağla ol babda her ne vech ile irâde-i seniyye-i hazreti hilafetpenahi ----- buyurulur ise -------- ------ infaz olunacağı beyanıyla tezkire-i senaveri terkin kılındı efendim.
Fi 27 safer sene 212 ve fi 6 ---- sene 211 sadrâzam
Mağruz-u çaker-i kemîneleridir ki
----- ------olub melfufatıyla beraber ----- ali buyrulan işbu tezkire-i resmiye-i sadâret penâhileri üzerine mûcibince irâde-i seniyye-i cenab-ı hilâfetpenâhi buyrulmuş olmağla ol babda emrü ferman hazreti veliyyül-emrindir.
Fi 1 rebiül-evvel sene 212 fi 10 ---- sene 211

Document 5

Evkâf-ı hümayûn nezâret-i celîlesine buyruldu
Sûretleri bil-an muharrer tezkire-i ma'ruza ve şerefsüdûr olan irâde-i seniyye-i hazreti hilafetpenahi mûcibince icrâ-yı icabı zımmında iki kıt'a keşif defteri leffen irsal kılınmış olmağla evkaf-ı hümayun nezaret-i celilesinin îfası mukteza-yı himmet buyrulmuş
Eyüp'de zal Mahmud paşa zevcesi şah sultan câmi'-i şerifi ile sultan selim hazretlerinin kerimeleri şah sultan câmi' ve türbesinin icrâ-yı tamiri zımmında
Atufetlü efendim hazretleri
Evkaf-ı mazbutadan Eyüp'de zal mahmut paşa zevcesi şah sultan câmi'-i şerifi ile cennet mekan sultan selim han hazretlerinin kerimeleri şah sultan câmi' ve türbesinin hareket-i arzdan ruhnedar olan mahallerinin şehremaneti celilesinde müteşekkil heyet-i fenniye marifetiyle icrâ olunan keşifleri mucibince atmış altı bin altı yüz atmış kuruş otuz para ile emanete icrâ-yı tamiri hitamında her ikisinin mesârıf-ı

vakisi vakıflarına masraf kayd olunmak üzere mebâliğ-i mezbûrun üçyüz on bir senesi bütçesinden ta'mir etdirilmiş tesviye hususunun evkaf-ı hümayuna nezaret-i celilesine himayesi hakkında şûrâ-yı devlet-i dâhiliye dâiresinin mazbatası melfûfuyla maen arz ve takdim kılınmış olmağla ol babda her ne vech ile emr-i ferman-ı hümayûn hazreti hilâfetpenâhi müteallik ve şerefsüdûr buyrulur ise ----- ---- infaz idileceği beyanıyla tezkire-i senâveri terkim kılındı efendim
Fi 26 ---- sene 212 ve fi 29 mart sene 211 sadrâzam

Maruz-u çakeri kemîneleridir ki reside-i dest tanzim olub melfuflarıyla manzur-u ali buyrulan işbu tezkire-i sermiye-i sadâretpenahileri üzerine canb-i irâde-i seniyye-i hazreti hilafetpenahi şerefsüdur buyrulmuş olmağla ol babda emr-ü ferman hazreti veliyyül-emrindir.
Fi 20 ---- sene 212 ve 2 mart sene 212

Eyüp'te zal mahmut paşa zevcesi şah sultan câmi'-i şerifi ile cennet mekan sultan selim han hazretlerinin kerimeleri şah sultan câmi'-i şerifi ve türbesinin icrâ-yı tamiri hakkında.

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