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The City as a Historical Actor:
The Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the
Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

By

Hasan Karatas

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of

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in

Near Eastern Studies

in the

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University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Hamid Algar, Chair
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Spring 2011

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by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

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Abstract

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This dissertation argues for the historical agency of the North Anatolian city of Amasya through an analysis of the social and political history of Islamic mysticism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Ottoman Empire. The story of the transmission of the Halvetiye Sufi order from geographical and political margins to the imperial center in both ideological and physical sense underlines Amasya's contribution to the making of the socio-religious scene of the Ottoman capital at its formative stages. The city exerted its agency as it urbanized, "Ottomanized" and catapulted marginalized Halvetiye Sufi order to Istanbul where the Ottoman socio-religious fabric was in the making.

This study constitutes one of the first broad-ranging histories of an Ottoman Sufi order, as a social group shaped by regional networks of politics and patronage in the formative fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A prosopographical approach to the earliest Ottoman biographical works on Sufi orders brings the regionalist coloring in the rivalry between major Sufi orders to the fore. The ancient socio-political rivalry between two Anatolian regions surfaced in the strife between different Sufi orders in the socio-religious scene of the nascent imperial capital Istanbul. One of the contending Sufi orders, the Halvetiye was the product of the north central Anatolian city of Amasya. At the outset of the fifteenth century, the local landholding practices in Amasya in combination with contemporary political developments resulted in the proliferation of a particular type of Sufi architecture and the concurrent urbanization of Sufi activities. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the Halvetiye Sufi order, which originated in the rural areas of Azerbaijan, was appropriated by the city and assumed an urban identity. In Amasya, the Halvetiye, which was challenged by more established urban orders elsewhere in the Islamic world, found a safe haven and established its first contacts with the Ottoman elite. The final phase in the "Ottomanization" of the Halvetiye order took place in the second half of the fifteenth century. During the succession struggle of the late fifteenth century, the Halvetis joined a political faction led by Prince Bayezid (d.918/1512) who eventually succeeded to the Ottoman throne. Through association with one of the contending political parties via Halvetiye order,

Amasya made a bid for influence in the socio-religious domain in the Ottoman core lands, especially in the imperial capital at its formative period.

This dissertation concludes by problematizing the modern perception of the early Ottoman Anatolia as unified and monolithic, and a backwater to the rising Ottoman world. In so doing it attempts to shift the formative process of the Ottoman polity from the “core lands” covering Western Asia Minor and Southern Balkans to the Anatolian provinces.

To Kevser

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures and Tables	v
Abbreviations	vi
Note on Transliteration	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Introduction	1
Chapter One:	
The Ottomanization of Amasya and the Urbanization of the Sufi Activities	16
Part One: Pre-Ottoman Background (468/1075-789/1387)	17
Urban Lodges	18
Rural Lodges	19
Concluding Remarks	20
Part Two: The Establishment of the Ottoman Rule (789/1387-825/1421)	21
The Arrival of the Ottomans	22
Lodge- Mosques	23
The Sufi lodges constructed in the first period	27
Concluding Remarks	38
Part Three: Autonomous Amasya (825/1421-870/1465)	39
Consolidation of Yörgüç Pasha's Rule	39
The Sufi lodges constructed in the second period	40
Trouble in the East: Rise of Amasya as the Eastern Ottoman capital	42
Yörgüç Pasha Waqfiya: A Collective Endowment?	43
Ottoman-Amasyan Destruction of Karaman	46
After Yörgüç Pasha (845/1441-870/1465)	48
Concluding Remarks	49
Part Four: Marginalization of Amasya (870/1465-886/1481)	50
Dynastic Struggles and the Fragility of the Princes' Treasure	52
Patronage of Sufis through Alternative Channels	53
Concluding Remarks	55
Chapter Two:	
The Urbanization of the Halvetiye: Amasyan Gümüşlüoğlu (807/1405-870/1465)	59
Part One: Pir İlyas and the Foundation of the Gümüşlüoğlu Community (804/1402-815/1412)	60
Pir İlyas in Shirvan	61
An Attempt at Reconstruction of the early History of the Halvetiye before 1400	62
Sadreddin-i Hıyavi (after 1400)	64
Back to Pir İlyas's Story: The Foundation of a Community	67

Urban Context: Urbanization of Sufi Activities via Lodge-Mosques	68
Part Two: The Çilehane: A Dervish Factory?	69
Location and Plan of the Çilehane	70
Part Three: Gümüşlüoğlu Halvetis under the leadership of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami	73
A Historical Riddle: Who was Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami?	74
First Zeyni Challenge: The Arrival of Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni	75
Coping with the Zeynis: Invention of Dreams	79
Coping with the Zeynis: Appropriation of Zeyni Methods of Training?	79
Part Four: Gümüşlüoğlu Halvetis in the court Prince Bayezid (870/1465-887/1482)	81
Conclusion	83
Chapter Three:	
The Ottomanization of the Halvetiye: Halvetis as members of Political Factions (870/1465-886/1481)	85
Part One: Istanbul: The Sultan Mehmed II and the Zeynis	86
The second Zeyni Challenge: Abdüllatif-i Kudsi and the aggressive turn	87
The Zeynis of Istanbul and Shaykh Vefa	89
Part Two: Amasya: Prince Bayezid and the Tale of Two Halveti Shaykhs	92
The Coming of Age of Prince Bayezid and the Sufis of Amasya	92
Çelebi Halife: The Initiator of the Rumi Branch of the Halvetiye	95
Konya and the Shaykh in Black	95
Tokat and the Illiterate Turcoman Shaykh	97
Erzincan and the Shaykh of the Mantle	98
Habib-i Karamani: The Initiator of the Karamani Branch of the Halvetiye	100
Part Three: The Dynastic Struggle of 886/1481 as the final phase in the Ottomanization of the Halvetiye	103
Amasya in the winter of 1481	104
Habib-i Karamani's tough decision	105
Habib-i Karamani's Dreams	106
Habib-i Karamani's Mystical Experiences	108
Çelebi Halife, Shaykh Vefa and the Third Challenge of the Zeyniye	109
Taşköprüzade's Twist	110
Conclusion	111
Chapter Four:	
The Ottoman Halvetiye: A Sibling Rivalry between Two Dynastic Struggles (886/1481-969/1561)	114
Introduction: Who are the Rumi and Karamani Shaykhs?	114
Bayezid II (886/1481-918/1512) and the Friendly Years	117
Selim I (918/1512-926/1520) and the Grim Years	118
Lami'i's Criticisms: Echoes of the Zeyniye?	119

The Arrival of the Old Foe: Karamani Halvetiye in Istanbul	122
Süleyman I (926/1520-974/1566) and the Magnificent Years	125
Conclusion	128
Conclusion:	
The Role of the Rival Anatolian Geographies in the Formation of the Ottoman Empire	130
Bibliography	133
Appendix: Halvet, Halvetiye, Practice and Doctrines	143

FIGURES AND TABLES

The plan of the Yakub Pasha Lodge-Mosque (Çilehane)	32
The plan of the Bayezid Pasha Lodge-Mosque	36
The plan of the Yörgüç Pasha Lodge-Mosque	44
The plan of the Hızır Pasha Lodge-Mosque	49
Çilehane positions and distribution of the endowment income	69
Approaching Amasya from Samsun or a view from southeast in 1915	71
Approaching Amasya from Tokat or a view from Northwest in the nineteenth century	72
Seventeenth century depictions of Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni and Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami	78
Topographic map of the major buildings before 886/1481	84
Map of the Sufi orders in Anatolia before 886/1481	92

ABBREVIATIONS

Balābil	Mustafa Vazih Efendi (d.1247/1831), “al-Balābil al- Rāsiyya fi Riyad al-Masā'il al Amāsiyya” (Istanbul Suleymaniyye Library, n.d.), 34b-35a, Yazma Bagislar 3267.)
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives), Istanbul
Lemezāt	Mahmud Hulvī (d.1654), <i>Lemezāt-ı Hulviyye ez Leme'āt-ı 'Ulviyye</i> , trans. Mehmed Serhan Tayşi (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 1993)
Menākīb	Yusuf b. Yakub (d. ca.1577). <i>Menākīb-ı şerīf ve tarīkatnāme-i pīrān ve meşāyih-i tarīkat-ı 'aliyye-i Halvetiye</i> . Istanbul, 1874
Shaqā'iq	Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561). <i>al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'mānīya fī 'ulamā al-dawla al-'Uthmānīya</i> . Istanbul: Jāmi'at İstānbūl, Kullīyat al-Ādāb, Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Sharqīyah, 1985.
TDİA	<i>Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi</i> . İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1999
Terceme-i Nefehāt	Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532). <i>Futūh al-Mucāhidīn li Tarwih al-Mushāhidīn</i> . Edited by Süleyman Uludağ. Istanbul: Marifet Yayınları, 1980.
Tevārih	Aşıkpaşazade (d. ca. 1502), “Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Osmān,” in <i>Osmanlı Tarihleri: Osmanlı Tarihinin Anakaynakları Olan Eserlerin, Mütihazsıslar Tarafından Hazırlanan Metin, Tercüme veya Sadeleştirilmiş Şekilleri Külliyyatı</i> , ed. Nihal Atsız, vol. 1 ([Istanbul]: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949)
TSA	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi (Topkapı Palace Museum Archives), Istanbul
VGMA	Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (The Archives of the General Directorate of Endowments), Ankara

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Making the text more accessible in a consistent and scholarly manner is the main concern in the transliteration system of this study. Therefore, I chose the common Anglicized forms of terms, names of places and dynasties. For instance, I use *shaykh*, not *şeyh* or *şeyh*, *Azerbaijan* not *Azerbaycan* or *Ādharbāydjān* and *Karamanid* not *Karamanlı*. The exceptions are;

- Names of people and Sufi orders, and the terms of *ijaza* and *shaykh al-Islam*, where the Modern Turkish orthography is preferred. For example, *Halvetiye*, not *Khalwatiya*, *Yahya-yı Şirvani* not *Yahya al-Shirvani*, *Gök Medrese Vakfiyesi* not *Gok Madrasa Waqfiya*, and *icazet* not *ijaza*.
- Book titles and lunar months, where the system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* is adopted. For instance, *Jumada al-Uhra* not *Cemaziyelevvel*, and *Lemezāt-ı Hulviyye ez Leme'āt-ı Ulviyye* not *Lemazat-ı Hulviyye ez Lemeat-ı Ulviyye*.

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Introduction

This poor one of many faults, and suffering from the calamity of sins, Yusuf b. Yakub, presently... wishes to compile a pleasant tract in order to make known my devotion to the Imperial Stirrup and the proximity and auspiciousness of the Imperial Majesty of the Esteemed Sultan. And that [shall tell] which people were the reason and cause of the coming and spread of the Halveti tarikat in the lands of Rum [Ottoman Empire]. And who are the most famous ones [among them]? Let me explain fully and describe also the well-known names among their successors.¹

These words belong to Yusuf b. Yakub (d. circa 989/1581), the brother of the head shaykh of the central Halveti lodge in Istanbul, who compiled the oral traditions of his order and presented them to Sultan Murad III (982/1574-1003/1595) a few years after his accession to the throne. This study has the same aim as that put forward by a Halveti dervish more than four hundred years ago: to provide an account of the story of the Halvetiye's Ottomanization. And located at the center of this story is the north Anatolian city of Amasya.

The city of Amasya was known as a home to scholars, poets, princes and artists throughout its history. It was initially inhabited by pagans and Christian monks who founded a number of monasteries. The city also served as an ecclesiastical center during the Byzantine era.² The local population was also aware and proud of the scholastic past of their city. For instance, Mustafa Vazih, the late eighteenth-century mufti and a historian of Amasya, lists the names of twelve monasteries in pre-Islamic Amasya.³ Vazih also narrates a folk tradition tying the city to Islam, in which the Byzantine emperor consults the priests of Amasya after receiving a letter from the Prophet Muhammad inviting the emperor to become Muslim.⁴ Early modern and modern travelers alike called Amasya “the Oxford of Anatolia,” “Baghdad al-Rum/Baghdad of Anatolia” and “Medina al-Hukema/The City of Philosophers.”

Amasya also has a unique geostrategic location, and hence history. It is situated in north-central Anatolia (six hundred kilometers east of Istanbul) at the junction of trade routes stretching from

¹ Most of the translation belongs to John Curry. John J. Curry, “The Growth of Turkish Language Hagiographical Literature within the Halveti Order of the 16th And 17th Centuries,” ed. Hasan Celal Güzel, *The Turks* 3 (2002): 912. I made some additions based on the version I use in this study.

² “Amasea,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01380c.htm>. “Amasea: A titular see and metropolis of Pontus in Asia Minor on the river Iris, now Amasiah. Its episcopal list dates from the third century (Gams I, 442).”

³ Mustafa Vazih Efendi (d.1247/1831), “al-Balābil,” 34b-35a. Kani Kuzucular, “Amasya Kenti'nin Fiziksel Yapısının Tarihsel Gelişimi” (Ph.D, Istanbul: Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 1994), 24-32.

⁴ Mustafa Vazih has also an ulterior motive in praising the scholastic tradition of his native city. As a scholar presenting his work to the newly appointed Ottoman governor of the region, he is indeed underlining his own value by honoring the past Amasyan scholars. Vazih's knowledge about the non-Muslim past comes from his knowledge of Latin, which he learnt while he became acquainted with a friend in Galata, Istanbul, and utilized his library. Mustafa Vazih Efendi (d.1247/1831), “al-Balābil,” 35b-36a.

the Black Sea to Syria, and from the Iranian plateau to Istanbul.⁵ The city lies on the banks of the Iris River in a narrow valley surrounded by almost vertical cliffs that provide natural defenses. Such a location made it a significant garrison city along an ancient military road from Istanbul to Armenia.⁶ The tops of the two cliffs housed two castles, likely explaining why Amasya earned the nickname Khayber-i Rum, referring to a strong fortress at the time of the Prophet.⁷ Moreover, a nearby Kazovası (literally, “plain of the geese”) provided large armies a place to camp while their leaders safely enjoyed the amenities of the city, devised war strategies and received emissaries.⁸

Throughout its history, Amasya served as either a regional center of large empires or the capital of local kingdoms or emirates. The city was first inhabited by Pontic kings, and then became the ecclesiastical and administrative center of the Roman and later Byzantine province of Pont. At the turn of the first Gregorian millennium (circa 468/1075), the Turcoman Danishmendid principality captured the city, along with the rest of the province.⁹ One century later (571/1175), the city was annexed by the Anatolian Seljukids. After two centuries of Seljukid and Ilkhanid/Eretnid rule, Amasya enjoyed its independence for a brief period of time (762/1360-789/1387) before it was forced by its threatening neighbors to join the eastward expanding Ottoman polity toward the end of the fourteenth century. The Ottomans kept the administrative boundaries of this province intact and named it “Rumiyye-i Suğra,” meaning “the little Rome,” Ottomans themselves being the larger one.

Amasya and the Ottomans

During Amasya’s first century under the Ottomans, the city enjoyed a privileged relationship with the sultans. Almost a decade following its integration, following the Ottoman defeat by Timur, Amasya became the headquarters of one of the Ottoman princes vying for the throne. This young prince, Mehmed I (816/1413-824/1421), had the least chance of success among all his brothers, but he managed to become the sultan. In exchange for its support in tough times, the Ottomans made Amasya the administrative center of the Rum province (including the cities of Sivas, Tokat, Çorum and Amasya) and rewarded it with numerous pious endowments, such as madrasas (colleges), soup kitchens and Sufi lodges. As a special privilege, the city was entrusted with young Ottoman princes to be trained as future sultans. All four of the fifteenth-century Ottoman sultans were trained in Amasya. Each sultan maintained a special relationship with the

⁵ For the city’s location on the silk trade route between Bursa and Azerbaijan, see Feridun Nafiz Emecen and İlhan Şahin, “Amasya,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1991), 1-2. The city was also located on the slave trade route between the Black Sea port of Samsun and the Mamluk Aleppo in northern Syria. This must have been a lucrative enterprise considering the role of slave soldiers in the Mamluk Empire. I thank Sara Nur Yıldız for reminding me of this.

⁶ Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*, 4th ed. (New York: Meridian books, 1960), 168.

⁷ Mustafa Vazih Efendi (d.1247/1831), “al-Balâbil,” 34b.

⁸ See Giovanni Angiolello, *Seyyahların Gözüyle Sultanlar ve Savaşlar : Giovanni Maria Angiolello, Venedikli Bir Tüccar ve Vincenzo D’Alessandri’nin Seyahatnameleri*, trans. Tufan Gündüz (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2007).

⁹ For a detailed pre-Ottoman Islamic history of the city see Kuzucular, “Amasya Kenti’nin Fiziksel Yapısının Tarihsel Gelişimi,” 33-45. Adnan Gürbüz, “Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı” (Ankara Üniversitesi, 1993), 17-25.

city. These sultans granted a certain degree of autonomy to the city, rewarded its population and honored its scholars and Sufis (Muslim mystics) with lucrative endowments, and employed its elites in prestigious positions in the Ottoman capital.

In exchange for autonomy and patronage, what did the city of Amasya give back to the Ottomans other than a safe haven during dynastic struggles and a garrison city on the eastern frontier? In other words, how can one fully portray the nature of the relationship between the Ottoman center and the Amasyan periphery? Within such a portrait, to what extent ancient regional rivalries between political geographies do play a role? And what does it tell us in terms of the role of regionalism in the formation of empires and center-periphery relations? I contend in this study that one can indeed attribute particular socio-religious and historical characteristics to cities, and such characteristics are key components in understanding their relationship with both the imperial center and their regional rivals. Moreover, certain cities that established a privileged bond with the imperial centers, such as Amasya, can have a direct role on the formation of empires, especially during critical junctures in imperial histories.

There are three such critical junctures in the fifteenth-century Ottoman history. The first two are the dynastic struggles at the beginning and end of the fifteenth century, which also mark the chronological limits of this study. The third critical juncture began in the middle of the century and continued into the next one; the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1453 and its ensuing evolution as the center of Ottoman Empire. Dynastic struggles are critical turning points in the course of Ottoman history not necessarily because of the centrality of the reigning sultan's personality and court in the Ottoman world. I argue in this study that the dynastic struggles, especially of the fifteenth century, enabled the Anatolian provinces a political leverage in the Ottoman capitals when their candidates for the Ottoman throne succeeded. In other words, dynastic struggles of this century should be seen not only as competition between different political factions in the Ottoman capital, but also as a struggle between different political geographies in Anatolia where competing candidates for the Ottoman thrones are based. For example, the ascendancy of the Halvetiye Sufi order in the Ottoman capital in the late fifteenth century is conventionally attributed to its close relationship with Bayezid II, which was established during the latter's governorship in Amasya. But the alliance between Bayezid II and the Halvetiye is better understood if one situates the dynastic struggle of the period within centuries-long regional rivalry between the cities of Amasya and Konya, and the orders of Halvetiye and Zeyniye respectively based in these cities. This study, by looking into the local Anatolian context that decided on the composition of Bayezid II's political faction, aims to shift the historical agency from the sultans or the factions of the Ottoman capital to the Anatolian cities where they were trained in the fifteenth century.

Two valuable dissertations written in the past decade on the dynastic struggles of this period are welcome contributions to this understudied field. Dimitris Kastridis's work on the Ottoman interregnum (804/1402-816/1413) reconstructs the chronology of events and is interested in representation and legitimation in historiography.¹⁰ Kastridis does not focus on regionalism in

¹⁰ Dimitris Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-1413* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2007). Kastritsis kitapa referans

the center-periphery relations, because it is simply impossible to talk about a single imperial center in the pre-Istanbulite Ottoman history, let alone during the civil war between different factions. Erdem Çıpa's study of the succession struggle of the early sixteenth century between the princes of Bayezid II, employs the center-periphery paradigm as the Ottomans by that moment had an imperial center, Istanbul.¹¹ As Çıpa skillfully argues, this imperial center is still not quite developed enough to be the main determinant of the outcome of the succession struggle. This study revolves around the dynastic struggle that is situated in the middle of the two studied in Kastridis's and Çıpa's works. And in the period under study, the Ottoman center, especially its socio-religious scene was in the early years of its formative phase, which makes it more susceptible to the influence of the Anatolian periphery.

The role of the Anatolian periphery in the formation of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century is a rather novel perspective. Ottoman historians conventionally explain the trials and tribulations of the fifteenth century, a dramatic period of empire building, through a discussion of the social and political dynamics of the Ottoman "core lands" comprised of two provinces that cover Western Asia Minor and the Southern Balkans. The composition and nature of the sources studied so far account for current historiography's depiction of political figures and groups as primary agents of historical change and therefore their representation of these two provinces as the core Ottoman lands. My research uses previously untapped sources and takes a more comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach to the formation of the Ottoman Empire by introducing religious actors. The methods and analytical tools borrowed from architecture, urban and network studies and Sufism reveals the role of the third Ottoman province, the *Rum* centered on the northern Anatolian city of Amasya, in the empire building process.

My conviction about Amasya's role is particularly inspired by three studies done in the mid-twentieth century. Paul Wittek, the first to point out the role of Amasya in his famous article on the dynastic struggle following the Battle of Ankara at the beginning of the fifteenth century, depicted Amasya as an ancient frontier city where the Ottomans were reminded of their original Turkish and *ghazi* characteristics.¹² A few years later, Sidney N. Fisher, in his article on the dynastic struggle following the death of Mehmed II (848/1444-850/1446 and 855/1451-886/1481) towards the end of the fifteenth century, underlined similar characteristics for Amasya as opposed to traditional Islamic features of Konya where the other princely faction was based.¹³ The third study is Franz Babinger's monograph on Mehmed II, in which Amasya appears as a center for oriental mystics and bigots where the future sultan Bayezid II's mind and personality were formed. Bayezid II in turn changed the course of Ottoman history when he became sultan.¹⁴

¹¹ Hakkı Erdem Çıpa, "Centrality of the Periphery: The Rise to Power of Selim I, 1487-1512" (Ph.D, Harvard University, 2007).

¹² Paul Wittek, *De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople un demi-siècle d'histoire Ottomane*. (Paris: [P.]Geuthner, 1938).

¹³ Sydney N. Fisher, "Civil Strife in the Ottoman Empire, 1481-1503," *The Journal of Modern History* 13, no. 4 (1941): 449.

¹⁴ Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, trans. William C. Hickman (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1978).

Each of these three historians has been criticized in many ways.¹⁵ Some have described their methodologies as crude and unacademic.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is my contention that they do have a valid argument when attributing a certain degree of agency to Anatolian cities and the rivalry between them.¹⁷ In this dissertation I attempt to test and fine tune their argumentation by limiting my scope of study to a more workable framework: the socio-religious aspect of Amasyan regional identity and its significant contribution to the religious scene in Istanbul, the Ottoman imperial center in the making. I argue that the religious aspect of Amasya's contribution to the Ottoman imperial fabric transpired in the context of the city's role in the urbanization, institutionalization and "Ottomanization" of marginalized Halvetiye Sufi order. The city of Amasya, by transmitting the Halvetiye Sufi order from geographical and political margins to the imperial center in both ideological and physical sense, exerted a certain degree of agency in the making of the Ottoman capital.

Halvetiye and the Ottomans

Halvetiye, like many of other Sufi orders, was introduced to the Ottoman world in the fifteenth century. And in conjunction with the evolution of many Ottoman social and political institutions during this century, these Sufi orders went through formative stages that resulted in relatively institutionalized Sufi orders of what we know today. Here I employ the term "institutionalization" in order to describe the organizational centralization of a Sufi order, usually around an endowed lodge and shaykhly family, along with the creation of common identity and self-consciousness, and standardization of doctrines and practices. However especially during the period under study one can talk neither of the above about the Halveti dervishes, hence Halvetiye as an institutionalized Sufi order. And the process of the institutionalization of the Halvetiye order is closely related to its incorporation to the Ottoman world of politics.

The political support was especially critical in the context of the formation of Sufi orders and the making of the Ottoman imperial capital Istanbul in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Ottoman state during its formative period had an unmatched control over rural land and urban property. Full private ownership of rural land was quite rare in the core lands of the empire. If

¹⁵ For instance, see Halil İnalcık, "Mehmed the Conqueror (1432-1481) and His Time," *Speculum* 35, no. 3 (1960): 408-427. Colin Imber, "Paul Wittek's "De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople"," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 5 (1986): 65-81.

¹⁶ For Imber's criticism of Wittek, see Ibid. For a more balanced discussion of Wittek's legacy, see Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). And Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 12-22. As a solution to the problem, Kastridis proposes that a "solid, source-based understanding of the political and institutional history of the Ottoman state going back at least as far as the reign of Bayezid I, and ending with that of Mehmed II the Conqueror (855/1451–886/1481)" is needed. This dissertation is a response to this need. Yet such a "solid, source based" study could only be achieved on smaller scales, which is the reason I chose to focus on the socio-religious aspect of the relationship between the Ottoman center and a critical city in Anatolia.

¹⁷ Both Wittek and Fisher do not directly pronounce "agency." And I don't agree with the characteristics that Wittek and Fisher attributed to Amasya or other cities for that matter. Yet, the idea of a city or a region having a particular socio-religious character and being able to impose those characteristics on the imperial core lands is quite appealing to me. Also my understanding of regional characteristics, unlike that of earlier authors, is based on the nature of social, political and religious networks that is dominant in a particular region.

one considers the significance of endowment of land revenues or urban property in financing Sufi orders, having the support of the political authority was critical for the foundation a Sufi community.

Halveti dervishes, especially in the first two hundred years of their existence in the Ottoman lands, frequently became subjects of or actors in political controversies, a fact which distinguishes their history and its representation from those of other prominent Ottoman Sufi orders. I argue, at the risk of sounding state-centric and a bit cynical, that public opinion about the Halveti dervishes were always parallel with that of the political establishment. Especially certain sections of the Ottoman ulema and the rival Sufi orders always remained critical of their practices. This uneasiness in turn led Halveti dervishes to seeking for political protection, which would make condemnation of Halveti practices less openly pronounced. And when this protection was lifted, Halveti dervishes became vulnerable to criticisms, if not to serious political encroachment.

Related to these two facts, the history of Halvetiye in the first two hundred years was largely influenced by the ebb and flow of Ottoman dynastic favor. In the fifteenth century, Mehmed II tried to keep them out of his nascent capital, while his son Bayezid II treated them with the highest regard as they were bestowed a nice lodge in Istanbul. Bayezid II's reign (886/1481-918/1512) was followed by that of terror for the Halveti dervishes in the sixteenth century, which began with Selim I's (918/1512-926/1520) attempt at demolishing their central lodge. They gained back the favor of the Ottoman dynasty as the influential Merkez Muslihiddin (d. 959/1551) established close connections with the mother of Süleyman I (926/1520-984/1576). This alternation of dynastic favor and disfavor continued in the seventeenth century as the Kadizadeli movement twice challenged their existence.

Despite their overtly political nature, Halvetiye order still does not receive enough attention from the academic community; a fate shared by the cultural and religious aspects of the Ottoman history. Following the pioneering article of Hans Joachim Kissling in 1953, there is a forty years long hiatus in the study of the Ottoman Halvetiye until the publication of Nathalie Clayer's work on the Halvetiye in the Balkan provinces.¹⁸ Clayer mainly argues that the Halvetiye worked in cooperation with the Ottoman state in the Islamization of Balkan territories.¹⁹ This view is recently challenged by John Curry, whose recent monograph traces the transformation of Halvetiye in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by focusing on its Şabaniye sub-branch.²⁰ Another welcome study in this field is a dissertation written by Side Emre on İbrahim-i Gülşeni (d.940/1534,) the charismatic founder of the Gülşeniye branch of the order, who resided mostly in Cairo. Emre relates the story of İbrahim-i Gülşeni within the context of the city of Cairo and

¹⁸ With the exception of Martin's article which appeared 1972. However Martin's article mostly summarizes what Kissling had written two decades earlier. B. G. Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes," in *Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East since 1500*, ed. Nikki Keddie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 275-305.

¹⁹ Nathalie Clayer, *Mystiques, Etat et société : les Halvetis dans l'aire balkanique de la fin du XVe siècle à nos jours* (Leiden ;New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), 363. Clayer, 363

²⁰ John J Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire: The Rise of the Halveti Order, 1350-1650* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010).

its incorporation by the Ottoman Empire in the early sixteenth century. Unfortunately none of the later studies significantly add to the information provided in Kissling's article about the initial transmission of the Halvetiye order to the Ottoman lands in the fifteenth century. Kissling however heavily depends on narrative sources and usually fills in the information gaps with informed speculation.

This study fills this gap in the history of the Halvetiye in the Ottoman lands by attempting at two things; (1) bringing in the urban environment and political geographies in Anatolia to the study of the early Halvetiye and (2) focusing on inter-Sufi order rivalry, thus achieving a better understanding of religio-political networks in the period. In this way, I hope to explain the story of Halvetiye's subscription to Ottoman networks; a process named *Ottomanization* in this study. Halvetiye's rivalry with the Zeyniye order often overlapped with the respective competition between the cities of Amasya and Konya. However, Zeyniye was much more welcomed to the Ottoman core lands because of the influence of their regional network among the Ottoman ulema. This situation translated into marginalization of the Halvetiye for the good part of the fifteenth century. In such a context, the sui generis land tenure system and the privileged autonomy of Amasya made the city a safe haven for the Halvetiye order, where it subscribed to the princely faction of Bayezid and eventually became part of the Ottoman core lands.

Sources and Approach

A widely shared conviction in the field of the Ottoman studies is that the centuries preceding Suleyman I's reign (926/1520-973/1566??) does not easily lend itself to field research. The situation gets worse if one moves his/her scope away from the "core lands" of the empire, which covers both sides of the Marmara Sea. One frequently feels like an archeologist in the archives of Istanbul when making research as especially the documentary evidence is scarce, hard to locate and often inaccessible due to regulations or inconsistent cataloguing. Ottomans too did not leave much historical evidence in this period as their legendary recording practices began only at the turn of the sixteenth century. In this study I demonstrate that this obstacle can be overcome through a methodological innovation that is the fusing of the study of architecture, urban and network studies and Sufism.²¹ Studying Sufi orders as the products of a particular urban context and tracing their networks and transformation along with the history of that city and opens up a wide array of sources. In this study sources are classified as soft, hard and hardest evidences according to the receptiveness of the information they provide to the effects of time and authorial intentions. Therefore the narrative sources, i.e. the hagiographies, biographical dictionaries and chronicles constitutes the soft evidence, while the archival documents such as endowment deeds or land surveys are the hard evidence. The hardest evidence is the architectural evidence, epigraphic material, and the geographical position and layout of the city.

Narrative Sources: Soft Evidence

²¹ This methodology is employed by the historians of pre-Ottoman Anatolia as illustrated by Wolper. See Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (University Park, Pa: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003).

Four major narrative sources employed in this study. The earliest of all, the *Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Osmān* (Histories of the House of Ottoman) was authored by Aşıkpaşazade Derviş Ahmed (d. ca. 907-8/1502,) who was a member of the oldest shaykhly family of Amasya region. Aşıkpaşazade is the first author to use the moniker *Halveti* as a collective name for the dervishes under study. At the end of his history, Aşıkpaşazade provides biographical entries about the shaykhs and holy men of the early Ottoman world. In this sense, his work should be treated as the first Ottoman biographical dictionary. Moreover, being a son of Amasya where the Halveti order flourished, Aşıkpaşazade gives accurate and critical information about the early Halvetis.

The second source, which is also the most comprehensive and reliable account of the early Halvetis is the *Futūh al-Mucāhidīn li Tarwih al-Mushāhidīn* (The Warriors' Conquests of for the Respite of the Hearts of the Witnesses) of Lami'i Çelebi (d.938/1532.) Lami'i's work is the translation of Abdurrahman Jami's (817-898/1414-1492) biographical dictionary, *Nefehāt-al'Uns min Hadarāt-al'Kuds* (Familiar Breezes from Holy Presences) hence its Ottoman nickname, *Terceme-i Nefehāt-al'Uns* (Translation of *Nefehāt-al'Uns*.) Abdurrahman Jami was a celebrated scholar, poet and a Nakşibendi shaykh who lived in the Timurid Empire.²² He was very well known and respected in the Ottoman world. Lami'i Çelebi was in fact called *Jami-i Rum* (the Jami of the Ottoman lands) because of his translation of Jami's work and their shared Sufi order affiliation. In his translation, Lami'i adds biographies of a number of Ottoman shaykhs, though relatively small amount compared to the 567 counted by Jami. Lami'i Çelebi wrote in the first decades of the sixteenth century when the institutionalization and public visibility of the Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire intensified. This can be seen in the format of *Terceme-i Nefehāt*. Lami'i Çelebi organizes the biographies of the shaykhs around the initiatic chains of the orders instead of chronology.

The third narrative source is the *al-Shaqā'iq al-nu'mānīya fī 'ulamā al-dawla al-'Uthmānīya* (Red Anemones among the Scholars of the Ottoman Empire) of Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.968/1561). Taşköprüzade's work contains the biographies of 502 scholars and Sufis (including himself) who lived in the reigns of the first ten Ottoman Sultans. Although he does not clearly acknowledge his debt to Lami'i Çelebi, it is clear that for the biographies of pre-1500 Sufis, *Terceme-i Nefehāt* served as the main source for his work. However, Taşköprüzade, as the progeny of an old scholarly family, had an access to a mine of knowledge untapped before. Moreover, he spent a considerable time in Amasya during his education. All these factors make his work a credible and critical source for the study of the Sufi orders of the period.

The fourth major narrative source employed in this study is the *Menākīb-ı şerīf ve tarīkatnāme-i pīrān ve meşāyih-i tarīkat-ı 'aliyye-i Halvetiye* of Yusuf b. Yakub (d. ca. 985/1577.) This is the first Halveti hagiography, written by a Halveti dervish and exclusively devoted to the biographies and miraculous deeds of the Halveti shaykhs. Curiously enough, the members of Halvetiye, despite all the commotion about their practices, did not write about their history, until the last quarter of sixteenth century. Yusuf b. Yakub was the son of the head shaykh of the central lodge of Halvetiye in Istanbul. In his work, one finds him penning down the oral tradition

²² For Jami see, Hamid Algar, "Jāmi and Sufism," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2008, <http://www.iranica.com/articles/jami-ii>.

within the Halvetiye and revealing details about the Halveti perception of their own history and surroundings in the sixteenth century. Yusuf b. Yakub's work does not add to our knowledge about the history of Halvetiye in the fifteenth century. He simply reiterates what is provided in Lami'i Çelebi's *Terceme-i Nefehāt*. However he supplies very critical information about the rivalries within the Halvetiye order.

In addition these four narrative sources, a variety of Ottoman hagiographies and biographical dictionaries are consulted in this study. These sources, when properly contextualized and cross-checked with each other, communicate more than biographical data, but also significant information about the contemporary mentalities, perceptions and especially the scholarly and Sufi networks. The general tendency among the Ottomanists is to treat these sources as modern reference works by limiting their research with a particular biographical entry and placing too much trust on the information provided. However a more holistic treatment is required when using biographical dictionaries. One usually finds information about a Sufi or scholars in the entries about other people. Such an approach also reveals the author's attitude towards particular social groups, networks and even sultans. For example, Mehmed II negatively depicted in *Shaqā'iq*, probably because Taşköprüzade's great grandfather had a disagreement with the sultan.

There are other methodological challenges in dealing with the soft evidence due to the fact that the earliest narrative sources for the emergence of the Halvetiye were produced after the order institutionalized. These sources represent Halveti dervishes more unified and monolithic than they originally were. They reflect their contemporary issues and perceptions in retrospective when reconstructing their early history. They also tend to suppress the rivalries between the shaykhs or political controversies for various reasons, such as their respect for the past figures or fear of being unnecessarily provocative. Finally, one should never lose sight of the fact that these sources narrate the vitae of the shaykhs, not the history of their followers. One cannot really be sure about how a certain deed of a shaykh was received amongst his followers unless it is very explicitly mentioned by our sources. Our characters are mostly silent except when they were made speak in the hagiographical/biographical literature. Also the intellectual output of the main characters in this story is untreated as these works require to be contextualized in a long tradition of Sufi writings in order to detect their distinct qualities; a task that is beyond the limits of this dissertation. Such qualities, when socially and politically situated in their time period will definitely talk much about their authors and the intellectual milieu. Otherwise the content of these works would appear repetitive or derivative to an untrained eye.

These challenges are of course not limited to the historiography of Halvetiyye. Similar problems are encountered by the researchers of the history of other orders. However the abovementioned political relations of the Halvetiye make its history rather idiosyncratic. It is imperative to locate narrative sources chronologically as well as to assess the personal leanings of the author before utilizing a source. To overcome these challenges a researcher should let the narrative sources engage in a dialogue with "harder evidences" such as archival documents, physical remains etc.

In other words, the hard evidence provides us historians the metaphorical skeleton²³ to our narratives, which is lacking in some modern Sufi studies.²⁴

Documentary Sources: Hard Evidence

Halvetiye Sufi community was a *community* before anything else. And contrary to what their moniker indicates, they were not isolated from the society, in which they flourished. Similar to other social entities of the period, they had collective or private political interests, belonged to social and economical networks and were subjects to/agents of larger historical change. And it is equally imperative to trace the Halveti experience in its totality by using the sources of social historians, i.e. the archival material. For the city and the period under study archival sources can be grouped into two as those belonging to the central and local archives. The documents in the Ottoman central archives are located in the Prime Ministry and Topkapı Museum archives in Istanbul. These are mainly composed of land and tax survey registers, imperial orders, royal correspondences and bookkeeping account of Bayezid II's princely household in Amasya. Local archives on the other hand are the endowment records produced in Amasya and currently being kept in the archives of the general directorate of endowments in Ankara.

The most rewarding research experience of the present researcher took place in the archives of the Topkapı Museum. These archives include a variety of documents, among which is the royal correspondences. This study brings two of such letters under academic scrutiny for the first time. These letters are critical in understanding the incorporation of the Halvetiye order into the Ottoman world and the dynastic politics in the fifteenth century. Both of these letters were addressed to Mehmed II around 885/1480. The first letter is written by Mehmed II's spy in the princely household of his eldest son Bayezid in Amasya.²⁵ Mehmed II's relationship with his eldest son became increasingly tense towards the end of the sultan's life. This letter shows that Mehmed II kept surveillance of and was very much disturbed with his son's activities. More importantly, the letter implies that one of the aims of Mehmed II's last military campaign in the spring of 886/1481 was eliminating Bayezid and his household. Mehmed II did not declare the direction of this campaign and died on the road. This is a widely discussed subject in the works of contemporary and modern authors. This letter partially answers this question. The author of the letter is unknown. His observations not only enlighten a question about the dynastic politics of the period, but also significant information about Mehmed II's deteriorating health. Plus we learn from this letter that the entourage of Bayezid fell into a great panic after learning the direction of Mehmed II's campaign.

²³ Cornell H Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire the Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1986), 4.

²⁴On the other hand, the failures of placing too much trust in the archival evidence has its own trappings. Some of these sources are not only formulaic, repetitive and prescriptive but also to some extent constructed and mostly representative of the political authority's perspective. Plus exclusive dependence on the archives would dry up the narrative.

²⁵ Topkapı Palace Archives (TSA) E.8335

The second letter is the product of this aura of panic and provides significant information about the political history of the early Halvetiyye.²⁶ The letter is signed by Seyyidi (or Seydi) Halife (d.940/1533-34), who lived and died in a Halveti Sufi lodge in Amasya.²⁷ This letter discloses very critical information about the Halveti attitudes during the dynastic struggle around the time of Mehmed II's death in 886/1481. It is a statement of support for Prince Cem, the rival and brother of Prince Bayezid. This letter demonstrates that Halveti dervishes of the period, contrary to the widely held belief in the secondary literature, did not fully support Prince Bayezid against his brother. And it shows that Halveti dervishes of the period were not a monolithic social entity devoid of inner conflicts. Moreover, the letter is signed as "the wretched and the poor Halveti Seyyidi."²⁸ His presentation himself as "halveti" is also the earliest written example of such self-labeling. This seems to be a bit early for the Ottoman Sufi orders in general, since these orders, with the notable exception of Mevleviye, were not sufficiently institutionalized yet. The contents of the letter, in relation with the personal connections of its author will be subject of a more detailed analysis in the third chapter.

The central Ottoman archives also include registers of land and tax surveys done as a result of the Ottoman expansion and centralization policies. Two of these surveys that cover the region under study are dated from 881/1476 and 937/1530.²⁹ One learns from these surveys that the predominant land holding practice in the region is *malikane-divani*, which is the double ownership of land or land tax by the central authority and local notables. This land holding practice is nearly exclusive to the *Rum* province because of region's idiosyncratic history. It allowed the local elite a relative independence from the centralistic land policies, especially towards the end of the Mehmed II's reign.³⁰ Survey registers not only provide the names and incomes of tax payers but also the list of tax-exempt endowments, their properties and beneficiaries. They are especially critical in understanding the network of income flow between the city's rural hinterlands to the urban elite through the medium of endowed institutions. Unfortunately the 881/1476 register is in abridged form and only includes the revenues of Prince Bayezid and his household. The 937/1530 register however lists all the endowed institutions with their properties and beneficiaries and is extensively used in this study.

These survey registers form the basis of a legion of dissertations written on urban history in Turkish universities today.³¹ However only a small portion of these registers survived from the fifteenth century and they are mostly in abridged form as exemplified above. The scarcity of these registers as well as the dearth of legal records, the most helpful aide of an Ottoman urban

²⁶ Topkapi Palace Archives (TSA) E.6451

²⁷ Mehmet Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani* (Beşiktaş, İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996), 1499.

²⁸ "el-hakir el-fakir Halveti Seyyidi"

²⁹ BOA, TT 15 (881/1476) and BOA, TD 387 (937/1530)

³⁰ See Oktay Özel, "Limits of the Almighty: Mehmed II's "Land Reform" Revisited," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42, no. 2 (1999): 226-246.

³¹ However descriptive and source oriented these works are, they provide a systematic and often quantitative analysis of the Ottoman survey registers and facilitate further research in the field of urban studies.

historian, is an important setback for the purposes of this study.³² Nevertheless a unique feature of Amasya avail a new set of sources, i.e. the endowment deeds (*waqfiya*). The city of Amasya had a privileged relationship with the Ottoman dynasty, thus was spared from the destruction caused by the Ottoman expansion in Anatolia and at the same time became a significant site of urban development in the fifteenth century. The amount of the fifteenth century construction activity in the city can only be surpassed by those of Bursa, the ancient Ottoman capital in northwest Anatolia.³³ The construction activity mostly focused on lodge-mosques (*zaviyeli camiler*) and almost exclusively coupled with establishment of an endowment for their expenses. The frequent endowment activity in Amasya left modern urban historians an unmatched document trail, through which one can trace the incorporation of the city to the Ottoman enterprise, the relationship between the Ottoman center, the local elite and increasingly urbanized Sufi activities.³⁴

There is also a very local trait in the endowment activity. Endowments that were made by the local elite were usually geared towards protecting property from the encroachment of central authority in the form of confiscation or taxation. This is the reason why the *waqfiyas* are very well protected and reproduced by the local families for generations. They were very precious sources of information about the control of endowments and were frequently consulted in legal disputes. In this respect, endowment deeds tell us the story of the formation of the Ottoman empire from the perspective of the Ottoman periphery; the central concern of this dissertation and a novel point of view in the fifteenth century Ottoman historiography.

Lastly the social and economic aspects of the history of Halveti dervishes can be grasped better by utilizing the *waqfiyas*.³⁵ These dervishes were the residents of endowed institutions. The *waqfiyas* of these institutions provide a tangible link between the Sufis and the local notables, the city and its rural hinterland, and socio-economical and relationship with the imperial center. The stipulations and the name of the witnesses included in these documents provide very valuable data about the daily lives of its residents, local power networks etc. Finally, they enrich and sometimes invalidate the information provided in narrative sources and secondary literature. A good example can be given from the endowment deed of the Yakup Paşa Lodge (*Çilehane*), which was built in 815/1412 for the Halveti dervishes. This lodge has a significant place in the transmission of Halvetiye to Anatolia and its concurrent urbanization in the fifteenth century. However its construction date was subject to discussion. Hüseyin Hüsameddin Yaşar, who has seen the document, correctly date the construction of this lodge and because he does not refer the location of the endowment deed later historians either used this information with caution

³² The earliest surviving court record is dated from 1601. See Fikret Yılmaz, “Amasya'nın Bir Numaralı Şer'iyeye Sicili” (MA, İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi, 1987).

³³ Ekrem Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri [Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 806-855 (1403-1451)]* (İstanbul: Damla Ofset, 1989).

³⁴ Perhaps it is no surprise that one of the translators of these documents, Hüseyin Hüsameddin Yaşar became one of the pioneers of the Turkish urban historiography.

³⁵ Adnan Gürbüz's comprehensive survey of the endowment activity in Amasya in the fifteenth and sixteenth century is a great contribution to the field. See Gürbüz, “Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı.”

[unfortunately sometimes without caution] or completely ignore it.³⁶ As a result of a fortunate coincidence, I was handed the original document in the archives of the general directorate of endowments in Ankara. This document is subjected to scholarly inspection for the first time in this study. As will be elaborated in the second chapter, the information provided in the endowment deed of Yakup Paşa lodge sheds light on what is properly called as “the Halveti dark ages.”³⁷

Physical Remains: The Hardest Evidence

History is pretty much written on stone in the period under study. The architectural and epigraphic evidence is abundant for the history of the fifteenth century Amasya. The epigraphic evidence consists of tombstones and the building inscriptions of lodge-mosques. They include a variety of information from biographical data of historical personalities to the endowed properties of a particular institution. The titles or nicknames employed for the founder of a lodge-mosque or the deceased buried in a tomb complex also provide significant clues about the social relations, local networks and to some extent the mentalities. These materials are easily accessible to researchers thanks to an early twentieth century survey done in the region by İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı.³⁸ One also finds the epigraphic material deciphered in monographs done on a particular lodge-mosque or in more general works on the city’s epigraphic legacy.³⁹

One of the findings of my study is that Amasya’s Sufi tradition, unique private land-ownership practices, and privileged connection with the Ottoman center translated into a shared architectural design in religious structures. This is most evident in the frequency of the construction of lodge-mosques in both the Ottoman core lands and Amasya in the fifteenth century. Nearly all of the lodge-mosques constructed in this period are intact in modern day Amasya. In addition to the density of their construction activity in this period, the plans and locations of these lodges are also telling evidences of the initial stages of the formation of Sufi communities and their social and political connections. The abovementioned Yakup Paşa Lodge (*Çilehane*) again gives us a perfect example in this matter. The organization of space in this lodge indicates that this building was specifically designed for the practice of *halvet*, i.e. ascetic retreat. The layout of the halvet cells around the main prayer hall and their double-gated design reveals much about the idea of communality versus individuality among the early Halveti dervishes. Moreover the location of this lodge, its placement on a hill overlooking the road to Azerbaijan, where Halvetiye order originated and its proximity to princes’ residence are important signifiers. This lodge is central to the history of Halvetis in Amasya. Not only its architectural features and location, but also its inhabitants, patron and their relationship with the Ottomans is critical in understanding the initiation of Halveti activities in the city. The sketch of the lodge, along with the city map will be presented further in the second chapter.

³⁶ Wolper dates the building in the fourteenth century. Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 58.

³⁷ Curry, *The Transformation of Muslim Mystical Thought in the Ottoman Empire*, 28.

³⁸ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler* (Istanbul: Milli Matbaası, 1927). Ali Yardım, *Amasya Kaya Kitabesi: Bayezid Paşa İmareti Vakfiyesi*, 1st ed. (Ankara: T.C. Amasya Valiliği, 2004).

³⁹ Günnur Aydoğdu, “Amasya Mezartaşları” (MA, Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi, 1997).

Lastly, the city of Amasya today provides a seldom opportunity for researchers, since its fifteenth century landscape is almost crystallized because of various factors. The flourishing of the city ceased as it lost the favor of the Ottoman dynasty in the sixteenth century and became one of the centers of Celali uprisings in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. And when the city began to prosper again, its unique topography pushed new settlements outside the boundaries of the old city. Most of the monuments of the fifteenth century remain intact and for those few that are lost, there is a very useful travel literature and secondary sources from sixteenth century onwards. The architectural features of the physical remains of these monuments accompanied with their location in the layout of the city fulfills more than the expectations of an art historian. Sara Wolper's ingenious reading of the monuments of the greater region of Sivas, Tokat and Amasya in relation to the local power struggles and the urban space in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can more easily be applied to our context.⁴⁰

Chapter Organization

Utilizing the waqfiyas the first chapter of this study attempts to reconstruct the political and economic basis of regional Sufi identity in the context of fifteenth-century Amasya. The type, benefactors, locales and beneficiaries of these endowments, as well as the composition of the endowed properties all point to the existence of a regional infrastructure and network of endowments, which facilitated and later homogenized Sufi activities to a certain extent. This infrastructure was a product of the combination of the existing landholding system in Amasya and the process of the establishment of "Pax Ottomanica" in central Anatolia. Its manifestations were the proliferation of a particular type of Sufi architecture called lodge-mosques and the concurrent urbanization of Sufi activities. In the first half of the fifteenth century, the Halvetiye Sufi order, which originated in the rural areas of Azerbaijan, was incorporated by this regional infrastructure and assumed an urban and Amasyan identity.⁴¹ Amasya provided a safe haven for the Halvetiye Sufi order, which was challenged by urban and more established rival orders in the East and West.⁴² The formation of a regional Sufi identity through the fusing of Halveti and Amasyan identities is the subject of the second chapter. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Halveti/Amasyan regional identity overlapped with that of a princely faction led by Prince Bayezid who eventually vied for the Ottoman throne. The third chapter is about the Halveti/Amasyan bid for influence in the religious domain in the Ottoman imperial core lands, especially in the imperial center at its formative period, through association with one of the

⁴⁰ Wolper, *Cities and Saints*.

⁴¹ For the doctrine and practices of the Halvetiye, see Appendix.

⁴² J Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 91. The story of the Halvetiye's survival thanks to the city of Amasya has implications on a larger historical background. In the post-Mongol fifteenth century and the wake of the three large early modern empires (the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal), the Islamic world witnessed urban growth and rise of Sufi orders. Among these orders, those originating in the major intellectual centers of the Islamic world, such as Bukhara or Cairo, had better chance to reach out to urban population and the elite, while others were either marginalized or incorporated by the urban orders. The Halvetiye, which originated on the mountainous northern frontiers of the Islamic world (Azerbaijan and the South Caucasus), went through the same challenges. And while the Halvetis of the east were marginalized by the Kübrevis (read Zeynis in the fifteenth century Ottoman context) and Nakşibendis, the Western Halvetis managed to survive thank to the safe haven provided by Amasya.

contending political parties. The fourth and last chapter of this dissertation draws on the narrative sources and demonstrates regionalism in the Ottoman Empire as experienced in the rivalry between the Sufi orders of the Ottoman capital in the sixteenth century. It is an attempt to underline the conflict between two branches of Halvetiye order, which belonged to competing political/regionalist factions. This chapter concludes that regional Sufi identities significantly contributed to the formation of the socio-religious domain in the Ottoman capital Istanbul and persisted until after Istanbul became a hegemonic imperial center in the late sixteenth century.

In conclusion, the religious contribution of Amasya to the rising Ottoman world against the backdrop of political factionalism, interregional rivalry and Sufism challenges some of the key assumptions about the center-periphery relations in the process of empire building in the early Ottoman period. The city exerted a degree of historical agency as it urbanized and Ottomanized the Halvetiye order. In the process, it eliminated a Sufi tradition that had a close connection to its historical rival: the Zeyniye Sufi order of Konya. This leads us to question the modern perception of fifteenth-century Anatolia as unified and monolithic, and a backwater to the rising Ottoman world. The regionalist colors in Istanbul's socio-religious fabric indicate that the Anatolian provinces played active roles in the formation of the Ottoman Empire to a great extent.

Chapter One

The Ottomanization of Amasya and the Urbanization of the Sufi Activities

Introduction

This chapter sets the socio-religious scene in the north central Anatolian city of Amasya in the fifteenth century as a background to urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye. What is attempted below is the reconstruction of the infrastructure and the network of the political and economic basis of regional Sufi tradition through a close study of endowment activities. Utilizing *waqfiyas*, the richest yet still understudied sources for the fifteenth century Ottoman Empire, I extracted information about the types, locales, patrons, administrators and beneficiaries of these endowments, as well as the composition of the endowed properties, all of which enable one to explore the processes, conflicts and outcomes of the incorporation of the region by the Ottomans and the subsequent urbanization of Sufi activities.

This chapter is organized chronologically and limited to the period between the Islamic conquest of Amasya in the twelfth century and the enthronement of Bayezid II in 886/1481, the latter date marking the end of the first century of Ottoman rule in Amasya and the transmission of the Halvetiye Sufi order to the imperial capital. After an introduction on pre-Ottoman Sufi activities in the city, this chapter details the history of the patronage of Sufism in Amasya under Ottoman rule.⁴³ The pre-Ottoman period, which is briefly narrated in the first part, is marked by the activities of the Turcoman shaykh Baba İlyas-ı Rumi (d.638/1240), whose legacy influenced regional Sufi orders in later centuries. The Turcoman shaykh Baba İlyas-ı Rumi might simply be called the founder of the regional Sufi tradition. The second part covers the period between 789/1387 and 825/1421. This period was a very turbulent one since it witnessed the arrival of the Ottomans in the region (789/1387), the Timurid invasion (805/1402-807/1405), the Ottoman interregnum (805/1402-816/1413) and the reign of Mehmed I (816/1413-824/1421.) In this part there is also a discussion of the lodge-mosques, which became the dominant mode of endowment in the Ottoman lands until 886/1481. The proliferation of these types of buildings has multiple implications concerning the center-periphery relationship. The subsequent period in Amasyan history, which is treated in the third part of the chapter, is marked by the privileged autonomy of the city. During this period, which stretches from 825/1421 to 870/1465, patronage activities were led by the local ruling family, that of Yörgüç Pasha. The rest of the benefactors of the Sufi lodges, or any other endowment for that matter, were local figures, a fact underlining the autonomy of the city. Also in this period, Amasya took on the role of a diplomatic center as the Ottomans became increasingly involved in the politics of their eastern neighbors.⁴⁴ In the last

⁴³Beside the scope of this study, there is also a technical reason why I chose to concentrate on the patronage of Sufism; the relative lack of primary sources other than *waqfiya* (endowment deeds). And because of the nature of the richest sources at hand, i.e. *waqfiyas*, historians build up their narratives around endowment activities and their participants. This is observable in all the urban histories of Amasya. See Hüseyin Hüsameddin Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, vol. 3 (Dersaadet [d.i. Istanbul]: Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası, 1927).; Mustafa Vazih Efendi (d.1247/1831), “al-Balābil.” This study follows the tradition of urban history writing in Amasya.

⁴⁴ Amasya maintained this status until the Ottomans consolidated their hold over Mamluk territories and pushed the borders with Iran to Azerbaijan in the mid-sixteenth century. And until that time, Amasya kept hosting the Ottoman princes as governors.

part of Amasyan history under study, that between 870/1465 and 886/1481, the glaring absence of the construction of lodges and the significantly decreased endowment activity in general are explained in the context of the aggressive centralization policies of Sultan Mehmed II and the tense political atmosphere due to the upcoming dynastic struggle. The last part concludes with a discussion of the sui generis land tenure system in the region and its role in connecting the rural hinterland of the city to its urban center through endowment activities. Such connections account for a regional Sufi identity shared by the city dwellers and the rural populations. Instead of one general conclusion, I included concluding remarks at the end of each part.

Part I: Pre-Ottoman Background, 1075-1387

One of the historical sources for the traits of the cultural/mystical environment of Amasya and the greater Rum region is also one of the earliest Anatolian hagiographies, namely Elvan Çelebi's (d. after 760/1358-59) *Manāqib al-Qudsiyya fī Manāsib al-Unsiyya*. Originally written in a village situated fifty-six kilometres west of Amasya,⁴⁵ it narrates the exploits of a Turcoman shaykh Baba İlyas-ı Rumi who lived and initiated a popular revolt around Amasya. The revolt was suppressed by the Anatolian Seljukids and Baba İlyas was executed in Amasya castle,⁴⁶ but Baba İlyas's descendants and khalifas became very influential in the following centuries. In many ways, Baba İlyas and his family provide an archetype for the shaykhly families of later centuries. The lodge of Elvan Çelebi, which was founded in the mid-fourteenth century, probably owned the lands around it. Gradually a village, most likely composed of Baba İlyas' followers, developed around the lodge. The transmission of the lodge's leadership passed through male heirs, another archetypal feature for some Sufi brotherhoods of later centuries. The foundation of this lodge is one of the earliest instances in Anatolia where the issues of family, property and mysticism intersected in the establishment of a Sufi brotherhood. Among Baba İlyas' followers were the mentor to Osman Ghazi (d.724/1324), Shaykh Edebalı (d.724/1324), and the father of the founder of the Karamanid dynasty, Nure Sofı (d. unknown).⁴⁷ Baba İlyas' Sufi tradition remained alive and was perpetuated by the followers of another khalifa, namely Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli (d.670/1271). It is highly possible that Baba İlyas himself provided an archetypal figure for later local saints - including some among the Halveti shaykhs of Amasya - both in oral and written traditions.

Baba İlyas's revolt made local rulers aware of the political potential of the Sufi lodges, either as a threat or as a means of self-legitimatization.⁴⁸ As Sarah Wolper points out, this awareness accompanied by political instability following the Köseadağ battle in 641/1243 and a new

⁴⁵ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Elvan Çelebi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 11 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988), 62.

⁴⁶ For more information on this revolt, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *La révolte de Baba Resul, ou, La formation de l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Anatolie au XIIIe siècle* (Ankara: Impr. de la Société turque d'histoire, 1989).

⁴⁷ Kemalpaşazade Şemsüddin Ahmed (d.1534), *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman: II. Defter*, trans. Şerafettin Turan, vol. 2 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1983), 64-69. ; Ahmet Şikari (d.1584), *Karamanname: Zamanın Kahramanı Karamanilerin Tarihi*, ed. Metin Sözen and Necdet Sakaoglu (Istanbul: Karaman Valiliği Karaman Belediyesi, 2005), 21.

⁴⁸ Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 11.

aggressive land regime under the Mongols, led to a new kind of building and patronage activities.⁴⁹ Both centripetal (Seljukid and Mongol governors) and centrifugal forces (old local families) began endowing property to madrasas and Sufi lodges, though with diverse motivations; the former intended to obtain legitimacy, hence local support, while the latter tried to protect their private property.

Urban Lodges

Before the revolt of Baba İlyas, there were two Sufi lodges in the city, namely Hankah-ı Mesudi (built in 545/1150 by the Seljukid ruler Sultan I. Rükneddin Mesud [510/1116-551/1156])⁵⁰ and Kuba Hankahı (built sometime before 585/1189).⁵¹ According to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, the celebrated urban historian of Amasya at the beginning of the twentieth century, the aforementioned Baba İlyas and his successors inhabited the first one, which intermittently remained open throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Kuba Hankahı, on the other hand, could have been the Sufi lodge visited and described as an Akhi lodge by the fourteenth-century Arab traveler Ibn Batuta.⁵² After the Baba İlyas revolt, the Gök Medrese lodge was built in 665/1266 by Torumtay ibn Abdüsselam, the governor general of the region.⁵³ Some scholars consider this building only the tomb of the founder,⁵⁴ but as Wolper demonstrates tombs were also locales of Sufi activities and a building's two simultaneous functions would not necessarily cancel each other out. This building must have served as a lodge until at least the late seventeenth century since Evliya Çelebi includes it among the city's Sufi lodges.⁵⁵ Wolper also dates the Yakup Pasha Lodge to this period, but a recently discovered waqfiya suggests that this lodge was built exactly a century later.⁵⁶

Another historical source, namely Shams al-Din Ahmad Aflaki's (d.762/1360) *Manāqib al-Ārifīn*, informs us about the presence of Mevlevi dervishes in the city before 683/1284. Aflaki states that Mevlana Alaeddin bin Bayram (d. after 716/1316), a pupil of Hüsameddin Çelebi (d.683/1284), came back to his native town with an *icazet* given by his master. Mevlana Alaeddin-i Amasyevi, as described by Aflaki, began preaching and sending out khalifas around

⁴⁹ Ibid., 11,25.

⁵⁰ Hüseyin Hüsameddin Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I (Mukaddime)*, trans. Ali Yılmaz and Mehmet Akkuş (Ankara, 1986), 189. Hüseyin Hüsameddin's date is confirmed by the waqfiya of Halifet Gazi Madrasa. See Halifet Gazi Madrasa Waqfiya VGMA, 610/46 p. 37

⁵¹ Kaya Paşa Cami'i Sağır Waqfiya VGMA, 582/211 p.307

⁵² Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Zaviyeler," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 12 (1978): 269. Referred in Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 58. When Ibn Batuta visited the city, he was hosted by the Rifai shaykh Seyyid Ahmed Kuçek Rifai.

⁵³ Ibid., 57.

⁵⁴ Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 166. Albert Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie.*, vol. 2 (Paris: De Boccard, 1934), 59. Kuzucular, "Amasya Kenti'nin Fiziksel Yapısının Tarihsel Gelişimi," 41.

⁵⁵ Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 70. Evliya Çelebi (1611?-1682?), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi: Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu, dizini*, trans. Zekeriya Kurşun, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and Yücel Dağlı (Beyoğlu, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), 97.

⁵⁶ This waqfiya discovered by coincidence. Here I owe special thanks to Nazif Öztürk, who graciously provided me the documents from the archives of General Directorate of Endowments in Ankara.

Amasya, which earned him a good reputation in the city by the turn of the fourteenth century.⁵⁷ He established a lodge⁵⁸ where he hosted Arif Çelebi (d.719/1320) when the latter appeared in Amasya around 1316.⁵⁹ Mevlevi dervishes were apparently respected by the city notables. For instance, the city commander Muhammed Bey b. Torumtay arranged a gathering in honor of Arif Çelebi, during which the guest of honor clashed with Mevlana Alaeddin over his wine-drinking habits.⁶⁰ Aflaki notes that although Mevlana Alaeddin came to accept Arif Çelebi's spiritual ascendance, he could not escape the calamities that would befall him, as later his lodge twice caught fire and burned down completely, and his followers left him to become disciples of Arif Çelebi.⁶¹ Among these disciples was the judge of the city, Mevlana İmadeddin bin Kurdi,⁶² who accompanied his shaykh throughout his travels in the region.⁶³ Aflaki, himself a disciple of Arif Çelebi, might not be a reliable source on the "grim" fate of Mevlana Alaeddin and his lodge. Later historical sources suggest that this Mevlevi lodge survived until the mid-nineteenth century.⁶⁴ For instance, Evliya Çelebi (d.unknown), an Ottoman traveler of the seventeenth century, counts this Mevlevi lodge as the most perfect one among all the lodges in Amasya.⁶⁵

Rural Lodges

Compared with the city center, the countryside was brimming with Sufi activity.⁶⁶ In İlyas (formerly Çat) village, located sixteen kilometers south of Amasya, a tomb and Sufi lodge were built over Baba İlyas' grave sometime after his execution in 638//1240. In the summer of 714/1314, two brothers, Mahmud and Yakup Şah Çelebis, endowed their properties to a lodge located in Geldikalan village.⁶⁷ A certain Shaykh Bahsayis b. es-Shaykh Ghazi built a lodge for himself in 745/1344 in İlisu village situated forty-five kilometers southwest of Amasya.⁶⁸ About a few kilometers north of this lodge, Elvan Çelebi, a descendant of Baba İlyas, built his own lodge in 753/1352, in the village posthumously named after him.⁶⁹ A similar association between

⁵⁷ Shams al-Din Ahmad Aflaki (d.1360), *Manāqib al-'arifin*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı (Ānqarah: Chāpkhānah-i Anjuman-i Tārīkh-i Turk, 1959), 874.

⁵⁸ Hüseyin Hüsameddin claims that a certain Alaeddin Ali Pervane Bey, allegedly a descendant of an elite Anatolian Seljukid family, had this lodge built in 714/1314. This claim is unfounded and unfortunately led some modern researchers to false conclusions. (See Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 58. and Gürbüz, "Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," 243.) The late Kani Kuzucular's dissertation, however, is the one that reminded this researcher to check *Manāqib al-'Arifin* and saved him from becoming another victim of Hüseyin Hüsameddin's imaginary Amasya. Kuzucular, "Amasya Kenti'nin Fiziksel Yapısının Tarihsel Gelişimi," 42.

⁵⁹ Shams al-Din Ahmad Aflaki (d.1360), *Manāqib al-'arifin*, 874.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 877-878.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 876, 879.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 876.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 931-932.

⁶⁴ Kuzucular, "Amasya Kenti'nin Fiziksel Yapısının Tarihsel Gelişimi," 106.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶⁶ As Wolper suggests, the urbanization of Sufi activities began after the Baba İlyas revolt. Yet the pace of the urbanization was not as fast as Wolper argues. Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 100. Such dramatic change only came with the arrival of the Ottomans at the turn of the fifteenth century.

⁶⁷ Mahmud and Yakup Şah Çelebi Waqfiya VGMA, 610/45 p.36, Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 286.

⁶⁸ Shaykh Bahsayis b. es-Shaykh Ghazi Waqfiya VGMA, 581/325 p.332, Sadi Kucur, "Sivas, Tokat ve Amasya'da Selçuklu ve Beylikler Devri Vakıfları" (Ph.D, İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 1993), 76.

⁶⁹ Gürbüz, "Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," 248.

a village and its lodge occurred in a certain Umurbey village in Ladik district, where tax revenues were endowed for the Shaykh Savcı lodge built in the mid-fourteenth century.⁷⁰ About a decade later, the Seyyid Yahya Lodge was constructed in Hakale (modern-day Yolpınar village, approximately eight kilometers northwest of Amasya) for Shaykh Seyyid Necmeddin Yahya er-Rıfai (d.771/1369).⁷¹ Along with these Sufi lodges, Adnan Gürbüz, in his study on Amasya endowments, extracts the names of three other Sufi lodges outside of the city, including those of Shaykh Bayezid, Çavırcı and Oruç Bey, from the survey register dated 937/1530.⁷² However, the exact dates of construction for these lodges are unknown.

Concluding Remarks

The locales of the lodges built in the period following Baba İlyas revolt (638/1240) and the Köseadağ Battle (641/1243) were predominantly rural. Only a Mevlevihane and a Gök Medrese lodge were built in the city center, while at least six lodges were constructed in the countryside between 648/1250 and 772/1370. The urbanization of Sufi activities, which would take place in the fifteenth century, is closely related to Ottoman incorporation of the region.

An interesting detail worth noting is that during the pre-Ottoman period, three major madrasas were constructed in the city center. Does this fact support the historiographical dichotomy between urban/high/madrasa Islam versus rural/low/tekke Islam? Not necessarily. First of all, it was the ulema of the cities that endorsed and certified the waqfiyas of all rural lodges. Second, the locale and the nature of these endowment activities do not provide us with sufficient evidence to ascribe an “ideological” motivation to the endower. As Wolper points out, endowers might very well have chosen to establish a Sufi lodge simply because it was relatively inexpensive.⁷³

The order affiliations of the Sufis that resided in these lodges, on the other hand, are rarely known. There are two primary reasons for this. The first is related to the available sources. The late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman surveys, the major source for Ottomanists working on this period, did not specify the names of the Sufi orders to which the resident dervishes belong. An exception to this practice occurred when Sufi orders occupying lodges used a more specific name for their places of gathering rather than the generic term “lodge.” For example, the Mevlevi order called their lodge “Mevlevihane,” meaning the lodge of Mevlevi dervishes.⁷⁴ We know there were two Mevlevihanes in Amasya - one in the city center and the other in the

⁷⁰ Hüseyin Hüsameddin gave 756/1355, as a date of construction. His source is certain Gazi Çelebi Waqfiya, which I could not locate. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 340. Gürbüz, “Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı,” 249.

⁷¹ For his date of death written on his tombstone, see Sadi Bayram, “Samsun-Ladik ve Seyyid Ahmed-i Kebir Hazretleri,” *Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi* 5 (1990): 11-22. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 281.

⁷² Gürbüz, “Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı,” 249-250.

⁷³ Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 25.

⁷⁴ Other examples are the term “*Kalenderhane*” for Kalenderis and Hayderis, and “*Ishakhane*” for the Kazerunis. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak and Suraiya Faroqhi, “Zaviye,” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 13 (Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1967), 468-476. Ibid.

excursion spot outside Amasya - both recorded by the Ottoman survey of 937/1530.⁷⁵ The second reason accounting for the lack of information on Sufi order affiliations for lodge-mosques in the sources is simply the absence of most of the Sufi orders at that time. The aforementioned period when lodge-mosques were frequently constructed overlaps with the second half of the era associated with “the rise of organized Sufism” which took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Halvetiye, Zeyniye, Nakşibendiye and Bayramiye Sufi orders were all in their initial formative stages at this point. Among them only the Halvetiye and Zeyniye were about to appear in a city’s Sufi scene whereas the others were absent until the sixteenth century.

Two Sufi orders proved to be exceptions to the general lack of Sufi order affiliation of lodges: the above-mentioned Mevleviye order and the Rıfaiye order. I briefly touched upon the Mevleviye order above in the context of the foundation of the Amasya Mevlevihanesi. As for the Rıfaiye order, it was founded by Ahmed el-Rıfai (d. 578/ 1182) in Iraq and became widespread in central Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁶ The Rıfaiye order happened to be very active in Amasya in particular. They had two lodges there that, similar to the Mevlevihane lodges, were located in the city and the countryside respectively. As mentioned above, Ibn Batuta visited the Rıfai lodges in the city and was hosted by the shaykh Seyyid Ahmed Kuçek Rıfai (d.752/1351). One also encounters Seyyid Ahmed Kuçek’s name in the Aflaki’s abovementioned hagiography, in which the Rıfai shaykh goes to visit Arif Çelebi, when the latter came to Amasya.⁷⁷ Mevlevi and Rıfai lodges were founded in the fourteenth century. In the following century there are three names with the sobriquet “el-Rıfai” among the witnesses of the endowment of the Bayezid Pasha lodge-mosque built in 817/1414. The fact that these names were among those of the witnesses shows that by that time Rıfais had become respected members of the urban community. It could also indicate that the Rıfai dervishes occupied the Bayezid Pasha lodge-mosque.⁷⁸

Part II: The Establishment of Ottoman Rule (789/1387-824/1421)

For almost a century Amasya remained the oldest “Islamic city” in the hands of the Ottomans.⁷⁹ Holding and cherishing Amasya and the Rum province where travelers from the East entered the

⁷⁵ Ahmet Özkılınç, ed., *Muhasebe-i Vilayet-i Karaman ve Rum defteri: (937/1530) (Amasya, Çorumlu, Sivas-Tokat, Sonisa-Niksar, Kara-hisar-i Şarki, Canik, Trabzon, Kemah, Bayburd, Malatya, Gerger-Kahta ve Divriği-Darende Livaları : Dizin ve Tıpkıbasım)* (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 1997), 355-356, 363, 365, 380. For other Sufi order affiliations, I had to resort to other sources to figure out the affiliation of a particular lodge. An example is provided in the next chapter where I match the numbers provided in a biography of a Zeyni shaykh and a contemporary waqfiya in order to reach a conclusion about the affiliation of a certain lodge in the district of Merzifon, near Amasya.

⁷⁶ C.E. Bosworth et al., eds., “Rifa’iyya,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. (Brill, 2010), <http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-6296>.

⁷⁷ Shams al-Din Ahmad Aflaki (d.1360), *Manāqib al-‘arīfīn*, 915.

⁷⁸ BOA, Ali Emiri, Mehmed I/ 2

⁷⁹ Amasya had two hundred more years of Islamic history than the oldest city in the hands of the Ottomans until the conquest of Konya in the second half of the fifteenth century. The cities of the frontier principalities, such as Ayasuluğ or Kütahya, were less developed as an Islamic city than Amasya. Hüseyin Hüsameddin Yaşar and Mustafa Akdağ, point out this feature of Amasya by underlining the Rum Seljukid heritage, hence the prestige of the city and

Ottoman realm, must have been a matter of prestige for Ottoman sultans.⁸⁰ Moreover, by sending their princes to the city, the Ottomans provided them a place where they could learn to become Islamic rulers by governing an Islamic city. Amasya had greater significance in the immediate political geography. Following Amasya's conquest, the Ottomans inherited the city's centuries-long rivalry with Konya, which was held by the Ottomans' main rivals in Anatolia, the Karamani dynasty. Akdag surmises that Amasya and Konya were the two Seljukid capitals in Anatolia, which respectively controlled the right and left frontier commands (*uç beylerbeğliği*). He also asserts that the Ottomans, who belonged to the left frontier, were aware of the significance of holding Amasya in the eyes of the political remnants of the Seljukid state.⁸¹ Although this argument needs qualification, it does help explain why the period of Amasya's rise as a urban center in the region overlaps with that of the Ottoman rivalry with the Karamanids, both corresponding to the dates between 788/1386 and 889/1483.

The Arrival of the Ottomans

In the fifteenth century - the first century of the Ottoman period for Amasya, which began with Bayezid I's (791/1389-805/1402) annexation of the city in 789/1387 and concluded with Bayezid II's accession to the Ottoman throne in 886/1481 - the urban center of Amasya witnessed an exponential increase in the number of Sufi lodges. At least twelve Sufi lodges were built in the city center, while three others were constructed in the countryside. In the first century of Ottoman rule, Amasya became the most vibrant urban center in central Anatolia. As the Ottomans began to appear as major political actors in the region, they simultaneously became the primary agent of change in the history of the city, especially in the first decades of their rule.

The Ottomans first appeared in the region of Amasya thanks to the activities of the ambitious and energetic Ottoman prince Bayezid (the future Bayezid I). Bayezid offered Amasya, which had been enjoying its independence from the Eretnid state since 762/1360, protection against its encroaching and more powerful neighbors in the east and north. Amasya in turn provided the Ottomans with a garrison city they needed to fulfill their plans to expand further east and south. Over the next few years the region became a battleground between the Ottomans based in Amasya and their rivals. Following the death of Kadı Burhaneddin (d.801/1398), the powerful rival of the Ottomans and the sworn enemy of Amasya, the region completely surrendered to Bayezid I. The youngest of Bayezid's sons, Mehmed, who was nine-years-old, became the nominal governor of the city in 801/1398.

its key significance in the eyes of the fifteenth century Ottomans. The term "Islamic city" itself is a subject of historiographical debate. By the term "Islamic city", I not only mean the comparatively older existence of Islamic institutions in the city, but also the resulting operating modes and networks of relationships established and between between the urban actors such as the 'ulema, Sufis, soldiers and non-Muslims. One should also add the comparative prevalence of the private property, hence a relatively independent local land holding elite, to this definition. Lastly, with its urban spatial and architectural order and a "perfect" blend of Muslim, Christian and Jewish population, Amasya proved to be a miniature Muslim metropolis to be ruled by a prince in training.

⁸⁰ Mehmed II's harsh reaction to the razing of Tokat (one of the urban centers of the region) by Uzun Hasan should be understood in this context. Uzun Hasan's act should have been taken as a great insult to Mehmed II's image in the Islamic world.

⁸¹ Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1959), 252-255.

But the turn of the fifteenth century proved disastrous for the nascent empire of the Ottomans. Bayezid I's defeat in the Battle of Ankara and his subsequent capture and death, spoiled his imperial project. Bayezid's sons began to fight each other and his territorial acquisitions were taken back by previous rulers. Amasya, on the other hand, chose to stick with the Ottomans despite the fact that it had only recently come under Ottoman rule. The city later became the capital of Mehmed I and remained an Ottoman capital for much of the Ottoman interregnum (804/1402-816/1413), a period of internecine strife between the sons of Bayezid I after the defeat in the Battle of Ankara.

During the Ottoman interregnum and the subsequent reign of Mehmed I, Amasya's landscape underwent a substantial change. As the bid of Amasya's candidate for the Ottoman throne proved successful, the "golden age of Amasya" began and the city became a site of patronage comparable only to the two former Ottoman capitals, Bursa and Edirne.⁸² The source of patronage was varied; there were non-local Ottomans, local non-Ottomans and local Ottomans.⁸³ However, the overarching characteristic of all of these endowment activities in this period was their heavily urban location compared to those of the thirteenth century mentioned above. In addition, the nature of patronage was almost monolithic until the end of the period under study; almost all of the endowments in Amasya were made for the lodge-mosques. A lengthy discussion about the lodge-mosques is in order because they provide architectural evidence for the connection between the Ottoman corelands and the Amasyan periphery in terms of religious practice.

Lodge- Mosques

Before analyzing the origins and significance of lodge-mosques, I should note that in the secondary literature some lodge-mosques are not put into the category of dervish lodges. Certain scholars tend to reduce the function of a particular building to a single activity and lose the totality of both the meaning of the space and the endowment activity. Wolper gives the example of the aforementioned Gök Medrese dervish lodge, which is categorized as a tomb in the secondary literature because of its architectural style.⁸⁴ Yet the building inscription does not define the building as a tomb. Although there is indeed a crypt below, the second floor of the

⁸² Another unique feature of the city is the existence of an equal amount of pre-Ottoman and Ottoman architectural patronage, which is most probably unmatched in the Ottoman Empire. Coupled with the very conspicuous pre-Islamic remains, all of these buildings provided an image to the local population, of their city that survived differing ruling polities over more than two thousand years. The notion of historical continuity in the minds of Amasyans perhaps explain why the city produced one of the earliest comprehensive urban histories in the Ottoman Empire. See Mustafa Vazih Efendi (d.1247/1831), "al-Balābil." "Golden age" is a commonplace term describing this period in the history of Amasya. For instance, see Kuzucular, "Amasya Kenti'nin Fiziksel Yapısının Tarihsel Gelişimi," 52.

⁸³ Who is an Ottoman? This question is still not quite answered. In this study, the term "Ottoman" defines people who are or have been actively in the service of the Ottoman dynasty, more particularly the household of Sultan Mehmed I. In this context, the term "local Ottomans" refer to the local elite who served Mehmed I in various positions.

⁸⁴ Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 70.

building is designated as a place where the poor and the dervishes were served food daily.⁸⁵ A more likely scenario is that the dervishes used this space for activities like reciting Quran or remembrance, all of which would not conflict with the building's dual "lodge-tomb" function.⁸⁶ Roughly four hundred years later, the Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi would name this building among the lodges of the city.⁸⁷ This shows that one of the services performed in a lodge-mosque might predominate at a certain time and become the characteristic function of the building.

The shift in the meaning and use of space, particularly in the context of early Ottoman Sufi lodges, is worth close examination. For example, a historical process similar to that of "lodge-tombs" happened with mosques, which were originally built to be more than places of prayer. Most of these mosques had a \perp shaped plan. As seen in the Bayezid Pasha mosque plan below, the rectangular main prayer hall is flanked by almost equally large and quasi-separated rooms on both sides, which gives them a reverse T shape – hence the name of the category used by Ottoman architectural historians. Semavi Eyice, the Ottoman architectural historian, objects to such a taxonomy based on the architectural layout of the building and finds modern categorization of these buildings too simplistic and anachronistic. This is similar to Wolper's approach to lodge-tombs above. Both authors build an argument in favor of the historical contingency of social uses of these spaces by using other historical sources, more specifically waqfiyas. These spaces were the sites of more than daily prayers and Friday congregations. The rooms on both sides in particular were locales of Sufi activities. One cannot call these places complexes because they are smaller in size and lack affixed buildings, such as madrasas. They also cannot be called mosques with soup houses (*tabhaneli camiler*), since this would preclude the other services performed on the premises. The best-fitting term for these buildings is therefore "lodge-mosques" (*zaviyeli camiler*).⁸⁸

What remained from the lodge-mosques by the mid-twentieth century was surveyed by Eyice in an article in which he also provides reasons for the changes in their structure. The first reason for such changes was the Islamization of Ottoman cities, thus increasing the number of people who attended congregational prayers at mosques. Eyice provides architectural evidence for the removal of walls separating the rooms that were previously used for other purposes and now would be incorporated into the main prayer hall. In fact, the vaults connecting the lodge to the main prayer hall in the Bayezid Pasha mosque below exhibit signs of exactly this transformation. The second reason is the perishable nature of construction material of the lodge-mosques. As a lodge-mosque lost its attraction as a Sufi center, its followers and benefactors chose not to patronize it, hence letting it crumble over time. The most striking example of this is the Yakutiye lodge, described in detail below. Although the Yakutiye lodge's waqfiya depicts a huge

⁸⁵ Abdüsselam oğlu Torumtay Madrasa Waqfiya VGMA, 490/2 p.100

⁸⁶ Not every tomb was a lodge-tomb. For instance in the waqf dated from thirteenth century, there is no mention of feeding the dervishes or the poor (*fuqara*). See, Emir Zeynüddin bin Berekat Waqfiya (648/1250) VGMA, 608/204, p.175. Similarly, two tombs built in the mid-fifteenth century do not appear as locales for Sufi activities. See İskender Bey oğlu Muhiddin Mehmet Çelebi Waqfiya (847/1443) VGMA 582/122 p.182 and Ali b. Aydın Waqfiya (850/1443) VGMA 608/315 p.370.

⁸⁷ Evliya Çelebi (1611?-1682?), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 97.

⁸⁸ Semavi Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini-İçtimai bir Müessesesi, Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23, no. 1 (March 1962): 55-57.

cluster of buildings that include such components as separate kitchens and a bakery, virtually nothing – not even a foundation - is left of this lodge today.⁸⁹ This suggests that the lodge-mosque had a wood structure. The last reason for the changes in structure, similar to the first one, is the change in the function of the lodge-mosque. The state or the local population sometimes converted them into madrasas. The lodge-mosque of Yakub Pasha is a good example of this. As its waqfiya clearly indicates, the building was initially designed as a lodge-mosque, but was later converted into a madrasa.⁹⁰ As it happens, the Yakup Pasha lodge hosted the first Halveti community in Anatolia.

Eyice attributes Central Asian origins to these structures by observing their layout and their use in profane architecture such as bathhouses or residential buildings.⁹¹ He argues that all of them originated from Central Asian structures with a courtyard surrounded by four iwans (a vaulted room with one side open to a court.)⁹² Anatolian Seljukids put a dome above the courtyard. Yet it was the Ottomans, who extensively built these lodge-tombs that gave the final shape by adding another dome over the prayer niche and giving the prayer hall a rectangular shape with rooms on both sides, which served as sites of Sufi activities. The changes the Ottomans initiated beg several questions: Why did they make such changes? What kind of social and political factors were operating behind their architectural choices? These questions cannot be answered easily. However, one can obtain some hints as to their answers by looking at the chronological and geographical distribution of these lodge-mosques.

Eyice notes that the earliest example of a lodge-mosque is the Sahib Ata Hankahı, built in Konya in 678/1279. This lodge-mosque is also apparently the last example of its kind in Konya and the larger Karaman region. In the following century, one can observe five other examples of these buildings, two of which were located in the region of Rum: Çöreği Büyük lodge in Niksar – approximately hundred kilometers east of Amasya - and the abovementioned Elvan Çelebi lodge in Amasya.⁹³ The dates of construction for both lodge-mosques are not quite certain but historical sources indicate they were built in the mid-fourteenth century. With the rise of the Ottomans in the mid-fourteenth century and onward, one observes an almost exponential increase in the number of lodge-mosques in Anatolia and the Balkans. This trend reached its peak in the fifteenth century despite a hiatus during Mehmed II's rule.⁹⁴ The building of lodge-mosques resumed when Bayezid II took the Ottoman throne and it continued until the mid-sixteenth century. One should contextualize the sudden appearance during this period of a large number of mosque-lodges, however, by looking at their geographical distribution. As Eyice notes, these structures were built almost exclusively by the Ottomans and spread parallel to

⁸⁹ Yakut Pasha Waqfiya VGMA, 608/334 p.388

⁹⁰ Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 252.

⁹¹ Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini-İçtimai bir Müessesesi, Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler," 17.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 16.

⁹³ These are the Mevlevihane of İshak Çelebi in the western Anatolian city of Manisa, the Seyyid Battal Gazi lodge in Eskişehir, which is located in the central western Anatolia and the Ahi Evren lodge in Kırşehir in the central Anatolia. *Ibid.*, 20.

⁹⁴ Does it have to do with Mehmed II's distaste with the Sufi orders? Or is it because of constant warfare, which affected the economy? Or is it because of the rising devshirme elite? These issues will be revisited below, in the context of Bayezid's lack of large-scale patronage activity during his governorship in Amasya.

Ottoman expansion. Their geographical and chronological distributions clearly demonstrate that they were an Ottoman phenomenon, though they did not start out as such.

These lodges are also known as the “Bursan type” mosques, a term underlining the “Ottomanness” of this type of building. However, attributing a single source of origin to them would prevent us from considering the larger socio-religious structure prevalent in the region during this period. As mentioned above, these buildings existed, though rarely before and outside the lands of the Ottomans.⁹⁵ The geographical distribution of these buildings in the periphery, especially the western and northern frontiers of the Anatolian Seljukid state, indicate that they are the product of frontier conditions, as were the Ottomans themselves. One should see the rise of the lodge-mosques and the Ottoman enterprise as concomitant to each other, instead of proposing one as the reason for another. Assessing the origins of these buildings is critical for the purposes of this study because it gives us an idea about the nature of the connection between the new frontier (the Ottoman polity established in eastern Asia Minor and the southern Balkans) and the former one (the region of Rum with Amasya at its center, see figure VIII).⁹⁶

Among the earliest examples of these types of lodges are the Elvan Çelebi and Çöreği Büyük lodges located in the region of Rum. The other three prototypes are scattered in the cities of different regions mentioned above. Two examples outside Ottoman boundaries were located between the old and new frontier in the region south of the northern Anatolian Pontic Mountain range. When the Ottomans began to build these lodges extensively later in the fifteenth century, there was a comparative density of this type of buildings in this region stretching from Bithynia to Trabzon.⁹⁷ This is another indication of the existence of a northern Anatolian Sufi tradition. These buildings, thanks to their similar systems of operation, patronage networks and sources of income, formed one aspect of a social, fiscal and political infrastructure that accounts for a regional Sufi identity, which in turn expressed itself in the rivalries between the emerging Sufi orders of the fifteenth century.

Another factor behind the proliferation of these types of lodges is the establishment of the ‘Pax Ottomanica’ in these lands.⁹⁸ The construction of these lodges ended in the mid-sixteenth century when the Ottomans finally consolidated their hold over these regions. As Eyice

⁹⁵ Only two lodge mosques built outside the Ottoman boundaries in the fifteenth century; İmaret Camii in the western Anatolian town of Kütahya by Germiyanoglu Yakub Çelebi in 814/1411 and the İsmail Bey Lodge-Mosque in Kastamonu in northern Anatolia, by Candaroğlu İsmail Bey in 858/1454. Eyice, “İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini-İçtimai bir Müessesesi, Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler,” 40-41.

⁹⁶ Sedat Emir’s work on the multifunctional mosques came to my attention after I wrote this section. Emir argues that the roots of this architectural form lies in the Rum region, specifically in Tokat, southern neighbor of Amasya. See Sedat Emir, *Erken Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok İşlevli Yapılar: Kentsel Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zaviyeler*, 1st ed. (Izmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994).

⁹⁷ Out of a total of sixty four lodges listed in Eyice’s article, ten of them are located in the Rum region, and one in Karaman region, fourteen in Bithynia and nine in the Balkans and thirty one in the rest of the empire. Eyice omits one mosque (Hızır Pasha) in Amasya and hesitates to include three others (Yakup Pasha, Bayezid II and Mehmed Pasha) in Amasya. If one counts these too, the total number of lodge-mosques built in the south of Pontic Mountain range reaches fourteen, comparable only to those built in Bursa and the larger Bithynia region. Eyice, “İlk Osmanlı Devrinin Dini-İçtimai bir Müessesesi, Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler,” 22, 54.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 52-53.

concludes, the Ottomans ceased to patronize these buildings since they no longer needed the support and legitimation of “real” and “colonizing” dervishes. I agree with Eyice’s conclusion that these institutions were closely related to the establishment of the Pax Ottomanica, though some elaboration and qualification are needed. Besides the fact that the Ottomans needed the support of the dervishes, be they real or “lowly” (sufli), until the very end, Eyice ignores the social and political upheaval during the establishment of Pax Ottomanica. Ottoman conquests displaced the local population and rearranged the local land/revenue holding regimes. Establishment of lodge-mosques should also be contextualized within the exiled/immigrant communities in the Ottoman core lands, forcefully caused to migrate by the conquerors, who increased their wealth with income from newly appropriated lands. These conquerors endowed their properties both to respond to the social upheaval caused by the recent conquests and more importantly to secure their holdings from state encroachment in the case of political misfortune or an aggressive attempt at centralization. Lastly, as the story of Yar Ali b. Siyavuş (d.812/1409-10) below demonstrates, these lodges provided positions for the Sufis and scholars of the incorporated lands. This is especially true in the case of the Ottoman conquests in Anatolia.⁹⁹

The Sufi lodges constructed in the first period (1387-1421)

The earliest building activity in the Ottoman period dates from the winter of 807/1405 that included a soup house and a school for *hüffaz* (people who memorized the entire Quran: singl. *hafiz*).¹⁰⁰ The patron of this complex was Hacı Mahmud Çelebi b. Kadı Müeyyedüddin Mehmed, a scholar and a former judge. Little is known about Hacı Mahmud Çelebi, though he probably belonged to a local scholarly family. But his complex is another example of the multifunctionality of lodges. In this case, the building functioned as a school rather than a mosque, different than the lodge-mosques discussed above. This confirms the conclusion above about the historical context of the lodge-mosques because the idea of the combination of Sufi and charitable purposes in a single building envisioned by the patron of the endowment Hacı Mahmud Çelebi, is owed, though not exclusively, to the same socio-religious context that produced lodge-mosques. There is also an immediate historical context behind these endowment activities, which is the devastation of the region by the Timurid invasion.

The foundation of a school that would train *hüffaz* also indicates there was a demand for *hüffaz* in the city and its environs. The school itself was to employ six *hüffaz*, who were hired to recite the whole Quran every week, more specifically on Mondays and Thursdays. In addition to these six positions, various endowments opened twenty-two other positions for *hüffaz* in Amasya by the time the school was opened. The number of such positions in Amasya would reach at least one-hundred-and-three by the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁰¹ There could also be a regional

⁹⁹ The best evidence for this statement is provided by the lives of founders of the two branches of the Anatolian Halvetiye, Çelebi Halife and Habib-i Karamani, both of whom were born in the Karaman region but escaped from the social upheaval by taking refuge to Amasya where they established their orders.

¹⁰⁰ Hacı Mahmud Çelebi bin Kadı Müeyyedüddin Mehmed Waqfiya (807/1405) VGMA, 594/186 p.249

¹⁰¹ Also there might be a demand from the administrators of the family waqfs, who were supposed to recite Quran periodically as a part of the stipulations set in the family endowments. For instance see Mahmud Çelebi ve Yakup Şah Çelebi Waqfiya (714/1314) VGMA, 610/45, p.36.

demand for *hüffaz*, considering that Hacı Mahmud Çelebi's school was one of the two schools for *hüffaz* opened in the greater Rum region, where at least thirty-one *hüffaz* positions opened in addition to those in Amasya.¹⁰² The foundation of this school was a response to local demand. The most significant part of the endowment for the purposes of this study is the stipulation of the endower that the administrator and teacher of the school be a Sufi shaykh with a specialty in the science of Qur'an reciting.¹⁰³ The endower did not specify a particular affiliation for the Sufi shaykh. However, the *hüffaz* educated under the supervision of the shaykh would clearly have been trained in the customs of the Sufi order to which the shaykh belonged. On graduating, these Sufi *hüffaz* would be employed by the administrators of lodges, mosques, tombs, etc., who were sympathetic to, if not adherents of, the Sufi order with which the *hüffaz* were associated. If the shaykh of the school and his prospective students were to be the dervishes of a Sufi order that was in conflict with the regional Sufi tradition or a certain established Sufi order in the region, they would not have many employment opportunities. Linked to the local Sufi network in this way, the endowment of Hacı Mahmud Çelebi's school demonstrates another instance where the endowment activities account for a regional Sufi network and identity.

One witness listed in Mahmud Çelebi's endowment is young Ali Çelebi bin Müeyyed Çelebi (d.888/1483). Ali Çelebi was the ancestor of a celebrated scholarly family of the sixteenth century and his own endowment will be treated below. The story of Ali Çelebi's grandfather, Yar Ali b. Siyavuş, is worth close examination since it demonstrates the role of endowments in Amasya in the integration of local educated elites in the Ottoman enterprise.¹⁰⁴ Known to the Ottomans as Yar Ali Şirazi, Yar Ali b. Siyavuş was a respected regional figure that had been politically active in the recent history of the region.¹⁰⁵ His family was originally from the Divriği district of the neighboring city of Sivas in central Anatolia, which was ruled by Kadı Burhaneddin in the second half of the fourteenth century. Kadı Burhaneddin was apparently influenced by this Sufi and scholar. In *Bezm-ü Rezm*, the historical account of the life and deeds of Kadı Burhaneddin by Astarabadi (d. ca 800/1398), Yar Ali emerges as Kadı Burhaneddin's şeyhülislam and trustworthy companion.¹⁰⁶ In one instance, Kadı Burhaneddin sends Yar Ali on

¹⁰² The other school is in the Turhal district of the nearby Tokat. Kucur, "Sivas, Tokat ve Amasya'da Selçuklu ve Beylikler Devri Vakıfları," 38. For the total number of *hafız* positions see Ibid., 46, 95.

¹⁰³ Hacı Mahmud Çelebi bin Kadı Müeyyidüddin Mehmed Waqfiya (807/1405) VGMA 594/186, p.249

¹⁰⁴ Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa Babanzade, *Hadiyya al-Arifin Asma al-Muallifin wa Athar al-Musannafin*, (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1955), 728. Hüseyin Hüsameddin claims that he died six years later in 818/1415-16. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:193.

¹⁰⁵ When it comes to providing more detailed biographical information, the biographical dictionaries are not very revealing. The single Ottoman source to briefly mention him, i.e. the *Shaqā'iq* presents him among the scholars of Bayezid I's reign and praises his ability to handle complicated legal matters. The sobriquet used to describe him i.e. *Shirazi*, implies that he or his ancestors might be from southwest Iran, though *Shaqā'iq* does not exactly point to a specific geography such as where he lived or from which region his family originated. Also interestingly enough, our source does not relate Yar Ali to his much renowned great-grandson, Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman Efendi. Therefore, one may safely assume that he was a rather shadowy figure to the Ottomans. Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya fī 'ulamā al-Dawla al-'Uthmāniya* (Istanbul: Jāmi'at İstānbül, Kulliyat al-Ādāb, Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Sharqiyyah, 1985), 36.

¹⁰⁶ The position of *şeyhülislam*, in the context of Anatolian emirates, was the administrative head of the scholars, Sufis and students of a city. In contrast its Ottoman counterpart, the post of *şeyhülislam* was a local one. According

a mission to arbitrate a conflict in the Amasya region. When the Mamluk governor of Aleppo shows up in front of the walls of Sivas, it is Yar Ali who concludes peace agreements.¹⁰⁷ Yar Ali also seems to spark Kadı Burhaneddin's interest in Sufism. Indeed, as noted in *Bezm-ü Rezm*, Kadı Burhaneddin decided to send two precious carpets as a gift to the tomb of Sadreddin-i Konevi (d.672/1273) thanks to a conversation between the two men on Sufism.¹⁰⁸ Yar Ali stayed with Kadı Burhaneddin until the latter's death. He was probably in Sivas when the city was annexed by Bayezid I afterwards.¹⁰⁹ This was likely the first time Yar Ali directly interacted with the Ottomans. No other sources to my knowledge, with the exception of *Amasya Tarihi*, provides information on the whereabouts and activities of Yar Ali after this point, until his name appears in the waqfiya of the aforementioned Hacı Mahmud Çelebi complex drawn up in 807/1405.¹¹⁰

Yar Ali appears in waqfiyas for a second time a few years later, as a shaykh and administrator of a Sufi lodge built by an Ottoman vizier with local roots. The words describing Yar Ali in the waqfiya of the Yakutiye Complex (810/1407) are as follows: "The pride of Islam and Muslims, the leader of the friends of God, the flower of the inquisitive scholars, a learned, virtuous and perfect shaykh..."¹¹¹ The patron of the building was Yakut Pasha (d. after 810/1407), who was among the viziers of Mehmed I when the latter was based in Amasya. Before joining Mehmed I, Yakut Pasha apparently served as the tutor of Bayezid I's son Süleyman (d.811/1411) in the nearby city of Sivas. When Süleyman succeeded to the Ottoman throne in Edirne, he took Yakut Pasha with him to the capital. In his work on Edirne, Gökbilgin lists Yakut Pasha's name as being among the founders of the city. Infact Gökbilgin notes that there is a neighborhood in Edirne named after Yakut Pasha.¹¹² In another document published in the same study, Yakut

to Mustafa Akdag, every Anatolian town had its *şeyhülislam*. For instance, the renowned scholar and shaykh Sadreddin Konevi was the *şeyhülislam* of Konya. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi*, 20-22.

¹⁰⁷ Aziz ibn Ardashir Astarabadi (d. ca. 800/1398), *Bezm ü Rezm (Eğlence ve Savaş)*, trans. Mürsel Öztürk (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990), 311, 325.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 355.

¹⁰⁹ There is a discrepancy between *Amasya Tarihi* and *Bezm-ü Rezm* on the date of Yar Ali's refuge in the Ottomans. Although *Amasya Tarihi* states that Yar Ali presented an ode to Bayezid I in 790/1388 and joined his entourage, this information does not fit into *Bezm-u Rezm*'s account of events. Ibid., 144. According to Astarabadi, Yar Ali was around Kadı Burhaneddin when the news of Murad I's death in Kosovo reached Sivas in 791/1389. Ibid., 354. Considering the fact that *Bezm-ü Rezm* is the only contemporary source, one should accept that Yar Ali stayed with Kadı Burhaneddin till the latter's death in 800/1398.

¹¹⁰ According to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, Bayezid I took Yar Ali and many other local notables with him as he left the region for Bursa. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:144. Although there is no hard proof of Yar Ali's days in Bursa, it is not too farfetched to assume that Bayezid I might have brought him back to Bursa since Yar Ali was an important figure in the "ancien regime" in Sivas, i.e. the Kadı Burhaneddin state. Besides, the fact that Yar Ali was presented as one of the scholars of Bayezid I's reign in the *Shaqā'iq*, supports this argument. And when the Battle of Ankara occurred, Yar Ali was among many other members of the central Anatolian elite who returned to their homeland. Ibid., 3:162. Here again Hüseyin Hüsameddin lists various other names who returned to Amasya, but he does not refer to any original source.

¹¹¹ Yakut Pasha Waqfiya (810/1407) VGMA, 608/334 p.338

¹¹² M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası, Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar* (Istanbul, 1952), 23.

Pasha [in this document he is referred to as Yakut the Tutor (lala)] grants a piece of land to a Sufi who lived in the Rum region.¹¹³

One can surmise that Yakut Pasha belonged to a local prominent family based on the fact that he was the tutor of an Ottoman prince.¹¹⁴ Yar Ali and Yakut Pasha probably knew about each other from the court of the aforementioned Kadı Burhaneddin. Following the death of Kadı Burhaneddin and the annexation of his lands by the Ottomans, Shaykh Yar Ali and Yakut Pasha joined the new masters of the region. During the years of turmoil after the Ankara battle, they must have decided to establish an alliance formed around the complex built in Amasya. The complex consisted of a bakery, a kitchen and multiple rooms.¹¹⁵ One of these rooms was probably devoted to Sufi activities. Yakut Pasha stipulated the appointment of a righteous shaykh whose salary was to be paid in both cash and kind.¹¹⁶ He also appointed himself, and upon his death Yar Ali followed by his male progeny, to serve as administrator, shaykh and supervisor of the complex.¹¹⁷

Another historical figure from the entourage of Prince Mehmed, his preceptor Bayezid-i Sufi, also established a lodge in the early decades of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁸ Hüseyin Hüsameddin claims that Bayezid-i Sufi lived in the Üçler neighborhood¹¹⁹ and died in Zilkade 814/January-February 815/1412.¹²⁰ He does not refer to a Sufi lodge built by Bayezid-i Sufi, but Adnan Gürbüz, by combining this information with that collected from survey registers, concludes that

¹¹³ This Sufi's name is Shaykh Aydın, whose lodge is located in the town of Kargı, which is about eighty four kilometers west of Amasya on the road to Ankara. Ahmet Kankal, "16. Yüzyılda İdari-İktisadi ve Sosyal Açıdan Kargı Kazası," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi (OTAM)*, no. 3 (1992): 234.

¹¹⁴ All of the princely tutors until 870/1465 were from local families. Hüseyin Hüsameddin constructs an elaborate story of how Yakut Pasha joined Mehmed I. According to him, Yakut Pasha comes from an Amasyan aristocratic Turkish family, which ruled the cities of the Rum in the fourteenth century. This family was the Kutluoğulları. At the time of the annexation of Sivas by the Ottomans, Yakut Pasha's brother Kutlu Şah was the ruler of Sivas. Yakut Pasha was appointed as the second tutor of the prince Mehmed, who was sent as the governor of Amasya. When Mehmed went to fight Timur, Yakut Pasha was left in Amasya as his deputy. He was then chosen as the ruler of Amasya by the local notables, when Mehmed fled to mountainous areas of the Bolu region after the Ottoman defeat at Ankara. When Mehmed came back to Amasya, Yakut Pasha joined his entourage. In 1411/814, Yakut Pasha talked Mehmed I into campaigning over his brother Musa, who declared his sultanate in Edirne in the same year. Mehmed I acted under the influence of Yakut Pasha. The two armies confronted each other in Incegiz region near Istanbul and Mehmed I was defeated. Yakut Pasha died in this battle in 1412/815. Hüseyin Hüsameddin does not reveal his sources. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:162, 188. The contemporary Byzantine and Ottoman sources do not mention a Yakut Pasha. According to these sources, it was Çandarlı Ali Pasha who encouraged Mehmed to confront his brother Musa. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 179-180.

¹¹⁵ No traces of this complex are left in modern day Amasya.

¹¹⁶ Again the particular Sufi affiliation of neither Shaykh Yar Ali nor the shaykh to be appointed is clear in the waqfiya.

¹¹⁷ In the waqfiya of the Yakutiye lodge, the positions of the administrator (*mütevelli*) and the supervisor (*nazır*) are mentioned separately, though they are combined in a single person.

¹¹⁸ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 63.

¹¹⁹ Hüseyin Hüsameddin's source for this claim is Kadı Abdurrahman-ı Muslihi's Waqfiya, dated 850/1447. (Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 87.) I could not locate this document.

¹²⁰ Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:187.

Bayezid-i Sufi was the founder of the Shaykh Sufi lodge.¹²¹ Similar to Yakut Pasha, Bayezid-i Sufi was an influence on Mehmed. He must have been a respected figure in the region considering that the young prince sent him on an “apologetic” diplomatic mission to Timur.¹²² Survey registers, the only source for the existence of the lodge, do not provide information on the layout or the Sufi order affiliation of the lodge.

In the spring of the year Bayezid-i Sufi died, in May 1412/Safer 815, the waqfiya of the Yakup Pasha Lodge (Çilehane) was drawn up.¹²³ Çilehane is one of the most fascinating, yet least studied Sufi lodges built in Ottoman lands. Its layout, with twelve small rooms on both sides of the main prayer hall for ascetic retreat (Çilehane), is unique as shown below. The architectural layout of the lodge as well as the network built around it will be scrutinized in detail in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that the Çilehane was the first Halveti lodge built in the Ottoman Empire and has similar characteristics to other lodge-mosques mentioned in this chapter.

¹²¹ Gürbüz, “Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı,” 249. The association made by Gürbüz is highly possible, though one cannot verify the date of death provided by Hüseyin Hüsameddin. Bayezid-i Sufi could have been alive when Mehmed I captured Edirne in 811/1413, because Tayyib Gökbişgin, in his abovementioned study, notes that Bayezid Sufi built a mosque in Edirne and there is a neighborhood named after him in the same city. (Gökbişgin, *XV.-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası, Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 22.) Then again he could have built the mosque in Edirne before his appointment as the preceptor of Mehmed and move to Amasya. Either way, the existence of a Sufi lodge built by Bayezid-i Sufi in the early decades of the fifteenth century is certain thanks to the survey registers.

¹²² Anonymous, “Ahvāl-i Sultān Mehmed,” in *The Ottoman Interregnum (1402-1413): Politics and Narratives of Dynastic Succession*, by Dimitris James Kastritsis (Harvard University, 2005), 338.

¹²³ Yakup Pasha (Çilehane) Waqfiya VGMA 608/23 and 608/32

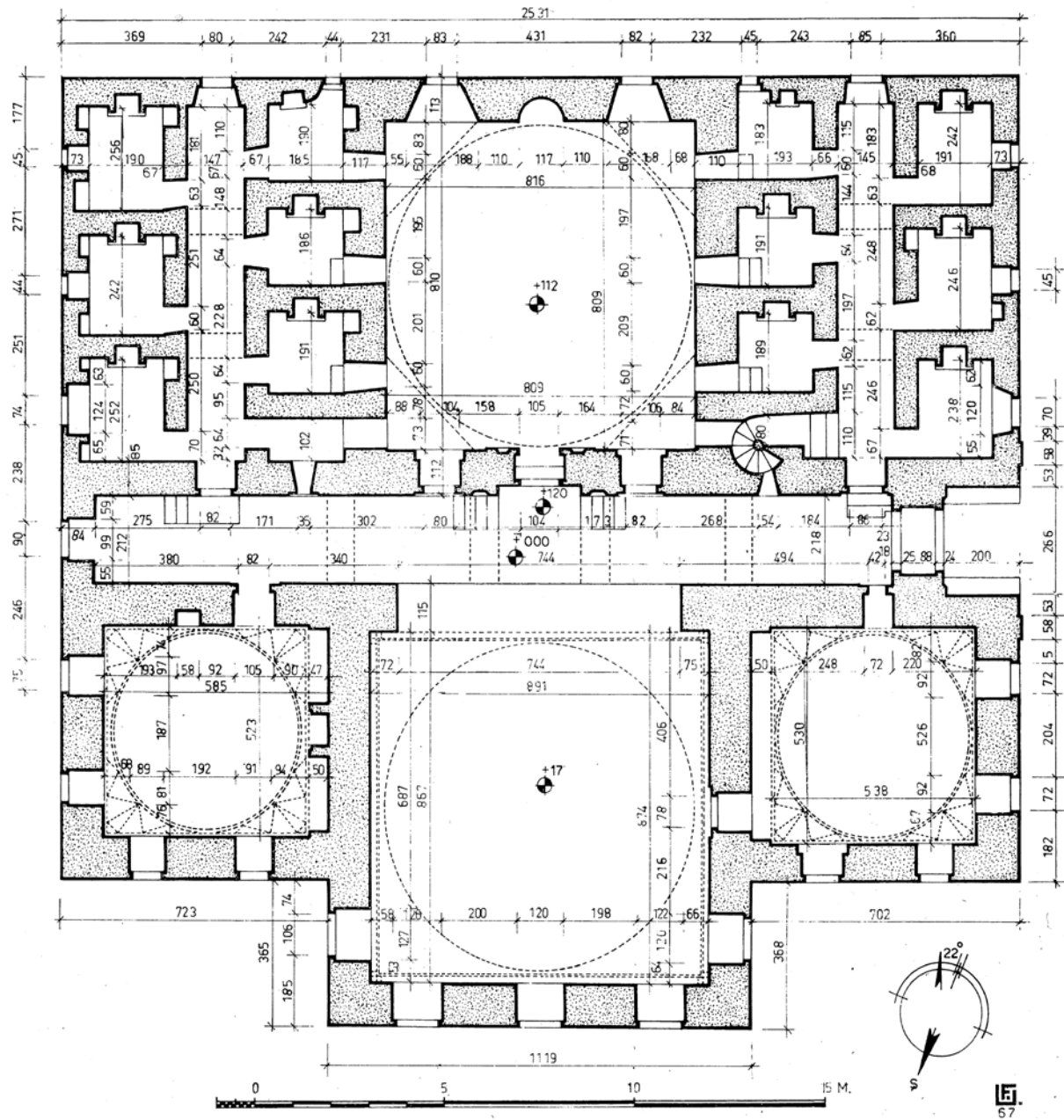


Figure I: Yakub Pasha Lodge-Mosque (Çilehane)¹²⁴

The Ottoman patron of the Çilehane, Yakup Pasha (d. after 815/1412), has an even more fascinating story in terms of the dynamics of the Ottoman interregnum and patronage relationships established in Amasya. Yakup Pasha belonged to a family of hereditary governors

¹²⁴ Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri [Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 806-855 (1403-1451)]*, 27.

of Ankara.¹²⁵ His father, Firuz Bey, was the governor of the city in 789/1387 and Yakup Pasha succeeded his father in 800/1399, ruling the city until his imprisonment in the early spring of 814/1412.¹²⁶ Following the Inceğüz defeat in the late winter of 814/1412 Mehmed I retreated to Bursa only to be informed about troubles in the region of Izmir in Western Anatolia. The Sultan immediately sent his men around to gather an army in Bursa. Yakup Pasha refused to join Mehmed's army on the grounds that Ankara could not be left unguarded as it was precariously close to the rival Karamanis. Mehmed I was furious despite the fact that Yakup Pasha later personally travelled to Izmir to apologize.¹²⁷ The sultan initially decided to execute him but the sultan's viziers objected, arguing that Yakup Pasha's death would lead to the loss of Ankara.¹²⁸ The sultan could not take action against Yakup Pasha, not before the sultan arrived and personally secured Ankara. Only then was he able to put Yakup Pasha in the prison of the city of Tokat, near Amasya.¹²⁹ The only source about the later fate of Yakup Pasha is the waqfiya of the Çilehane.¹³⁰

At the time of Yakup Pasha's imprisonment, the Çilehane had likely already begun operating. Yakup Pasha was most probably just out of prison when the waqfiya of his Çilehane was drawn up, because the waqfiya refers to him as the vizier of Mehmed I. The size and plan of the building suggest that its construction had started at least a year before the official endorsement of the waqfiya in Safer 815/May1412. Here the question arises of why someone with almost no link to the city would undertake such a sizeable construction project. The answer can be found in the waqfiya, which mentions that Yakup Pasha was a disciple of the Halveti shaykh of the lodge,

¹²⁵ Yakup Pasha is the paternal uncle of Tursun Beg (d. after 897/1491), the bureaucrat and chronicler of Mehmed II. For the family of Tursun Bey, see Tursun Bey (d. after 896/1491), *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, ed. Rhoads Murphey and Halil İnalçık (Minneapolis, 1978), 251.

¹²⁶ Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 115.

¹²⁷ Yakup Pasha's fall from the favor of Mehmed I goes back to 812/1410 when the former surrendered the Ankara castle to his rival Emir Süleyman. Yakup Pasha might have decided to establish connections in Amasya after this date.

¹²⁸ Ankara was critical to Mehmed I because it possessed a fort strategically located on the road between Bursa (Ottoman corelands) and his base Amasya (the Rum province.) Both Yakup Pasha and Mehmet I's viziers underline the strategic importance of holding Ankara by saying that the city is the gate of Karaman. (*Karaman ağzıdır.*) See Anonymous, "Ahvâl-i Sultân Mehmed," 375-76.

¹²⁹ This prison is referred to as "Bedevi Cardağı" in the sources. It was the most secure prison in the region. Both Mehmed I and his successor Murad II sent important dignitaries, in one case an Ottoman prince, to this prison. For an early nineteenth century description of the prison see Mustafa Vazih Efendi (d.1247/1831), "al-Balâbil," 54. Both sultans' actions indicate that they perceived the Rum province as their secure bases where they can keep their political rivals under custody. One should consider Ottoman practice of sending princes as the governors of Amasya in this light as well.

¹³⁰ Yakup Pasha is not a very well known figure in Ottoman history. Both the primary sources and modern studies confuse him with other historical personalities, often with either the aforementioned Yakup Pasha or Hadım Yakup Pasha (d.916/1510) the grand vizier of Bayezid II. See Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 28. For the confusion between the two Yakup Pashas, see Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân," in *Osmanlı Tarihleri: Osmanlı Tarihinin Anakaynakları Olan Eserlerin, Mütehasıslar Tarafından Hazırlanan Metin, Tercüme veya Sadeleştirilmiş Şekilleri Külliyyatı*, ed. Nihal Atsız, vol. 1 ([Istanbul]: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1949), 246.; Hedda Reindl, *Manner um Bayezid : eine prosopographische Studie über die Epoche Sultan Bayezids II, 1481-1512* (Berlin: [BRD] ;K. Schwarz, 1983), 346-347. Gökbilgin also points out a similar confusion in Edirne context. Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası, Vakıflar, Mülkler, Mukataalar*, 24-26. In fact the present researcher found the waqfiya of Yakup Pasha lodge when searching for the copies of the Yakup Pasha lodge waqfiyas.

Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami (d. unknown). One can never fully know the degree of Yakup Pasha's sincerity in joining a Sufi order, but his association with a respected Amasyan shaykh clearly helped him to get his freedom back. By undertaking a considerable patronage project in the capital of Mehmed I, Yakup Pasha secured himself connections that would later enable him to exert some influence on the sultan. One could find other examples of the benefits of establishing such connections in the reign of Mehmed II (855/1451-886/1481), when dismissed pashas took refuge from the fury of the sultan in the Zeyni lodges.¹³¹

The first Sufi lodge founded in this period with a clearly stated affiliation to a particular Sufi order was, not surprisingly, the Mevlevi lodge in the village of Kelkis on the western outskirts of the city, which was used as a popular excursion spot until the beginning of the twentieth century.¹³² This is a very interesting development considering the urban nature of the Mevlevi order and the urbanization of Sufi activities in this period. As other Sufi orders began to appear in the urban centers, the Mevlevi order in the city apparently chose to isolate itself by retreating to rural areas.¹³³ The village and its environs were later named after the founder of this Mevlevihane, Shaykh Cui (d. after 817/1414).¹³⁴ Shaykh Cui, whose full name was Mehmed bin Osman, built a lodge and a stable in 817/1414. He appointed himself, and upon his death his daughter Hacer Hatun and her "scholar descendants," as administrator, and Hacı Ahmed b. Emir Ali as the shaykh and *Masnawi* (collection of the poems of the founder of the Mevleviye order) reciter of the lodge.

About half-a-kilometer north of the Yakup Pasha lodge along the banks of the Iris river, Bayezid Pasha (d. 824/1421), the rising star of the Ottoman interregnum and the grand vizier of Mehmed I, completed the building of his lodge-mosque in the spring of 817/1414.¹³⁵ Bayezid Pasha's endowment activities mark the end of the first period in the history of Amasya. An Amasyan who was initially appointed as the tutor of Prince Mehmed, Bayezid Pasha emerged as the most influential Ottoman statesmen of the period, successfully serving his Sultan through many predicaments of the early decades of the fifteenth century.¹³⁶ His appointment as lala of Mehmed suggests that Bayezid Pasha belonged to one of the notable families of the region.¹³⁷ Bayezid Pasha remained with Mehmed I throughout the challenges of the interregnum and the

¹³¹ See the story of Molla Sinan Pasha, who was saved from imprisonment thanks to his close relationship the Zeynis in Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya*, 175.

¹³² Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 67.

¹³³ One should of course keep in mind that the Mevlevi lodge in the city was still active. So Shaykh Cui's choice could be a personal one rather than reflecting a general trend.

¹³⁴ Şeyh Mehmed bin Şeyh Osman Waqfiya (817/1414) VGMA, 600/96, p.76. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:188.

¹³⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, 112. And he had the waqfiya drawn in the Dhu al-ka'de 820/January 1418.

¹³⁶ Taneri also argues that Bayezid Pasha was raised in the Ottoman palace but does not refer to any specific source. Aydın Taneri, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş Döneminde Vezir-i 'Azamlık (1299-1453)* (İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1997), 37, 62, 71, 95.

¹³⁷ Bayezid Pasha's ancestry and ethnic origin are debated. According to Mustafa Vazih, Bayezid Pasha was from a Bosnian aristocratic family. (Mustafa Vazih Efendi (d.1247/1831), "al-Balābil," 44a.) Hüseyin Hüsameddin however argues that Bayezid Pasha was Turkish and his ancestry went back to Emir Seyfeddin Sungur who died at the turn of the fourteenth century. (Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 262.) Hüseyin Hüsameddin's claim seems more reasonable considering that Bayezid Pasha's father is listed as "Yahşi Bey" in the waqfiya of his mosque. Bayezid Pasha Waqfiya (820/1418), VGMA, 605/330 p. 244

subsequent Shaykh Bedreddin revolt. He also played a significant role in the enthronement of Murad II and became the latter's governor general of Rumeli.

Before building the lodge-mosque in Amasya, Bayezid Pasha took on the repair of the Orhan Gazi mosque in Bursa and built a madrasa there in 815/1413. Nevertheless, his lodge-mosque in Amasya is the most significant, if not the only memorable legacy of his power and influence. The complex was built on the site where he and Prince Mehmed resided during the interregnum.¹³⁸ Bayezid Pasha, upon his departure with Mehmed I for the Ottoman core lands, may have decided to turn his former residence in Amasya into a complex housing a soup house, a lodge, stables and a mosque. Bayezid Pasha did not delegate the lodge to a particular Sufi order. Yet there are four people with the sobriquet "er-Rıfai" among the witnesses of the waqfiya, which might suggest that the complex was a Rıfai lodge. Another interesting sobriquet employed by five of the witnesses is "Sivasi," which indicates their recent immigrant status.¹³⁹ Similar to the story of Yar Ali above, these witnesses probably left their hometown Sivas and took refuge in Amasya either during the Ottoman conquest or the Timurid devastation that followed it. Their existence, especially in the absence of demographic sources, is significant proof of the link between the establishment of Pax Ottomanica and the proliferation of lodge-mosques.

¹³⁸ The place was the estate and residence of Bayezid Pasha (Bayezid Paşa Çiftliği), tells Vazih, and adds that Ottoman princes resided before a new one constructed by prince Bayezid in 880/1475-76. Mustafa Vazih Efendi (d.1247/1831), "al-Balābil," 44a. For the date of the construction of the new residence see the chronogram of Abdurrahman Efendi in Tacizade Sadi Celebi (d.1516), *Taci-zade Sa'di Celebi Münşe'atı*, ed. Adnan Erzi and Necati Lugal (Istanbul, 1956), 59. The following description of the complex in the waqfiya also support this argument and gives us an idea about Mehmed I's palace during the interregnum: "And the building was composed of rooms embellished from in and out, a heavenly hall, two winter quarters and two small rooms next to eachother in an elevated platform, an indoor toilet, a pool and a fountain." Bayezid Pasha Waqfiya (820/1418), VGMA, 605/330 p. 244. Kuzucular points out the interesting detail of an indoor toilet in the complex, which is unique in the architecture of the period. (Kuzucular, "Amasya Kenti'nin Fiziksel Yapısının Tarihsel Gelişimi," 57.) The existence of an indoor toilet shows a concern for privacy, which confirms that this place was the residence of the princes. The waqfiya of the complex is carved on the walls of the mosque, which is another unique aspect of the building. One could only speculate that Bayezid Pasha's decision to have the waqfiya carved on a stone shows his concern about the future of his waqf and demonstrates the degree of political instability in the region. Yardım, *Amasya Kaya Kitabesi*.

¹³⁹ BOA, Ali Emiri, Mehmed I/ 2, 3

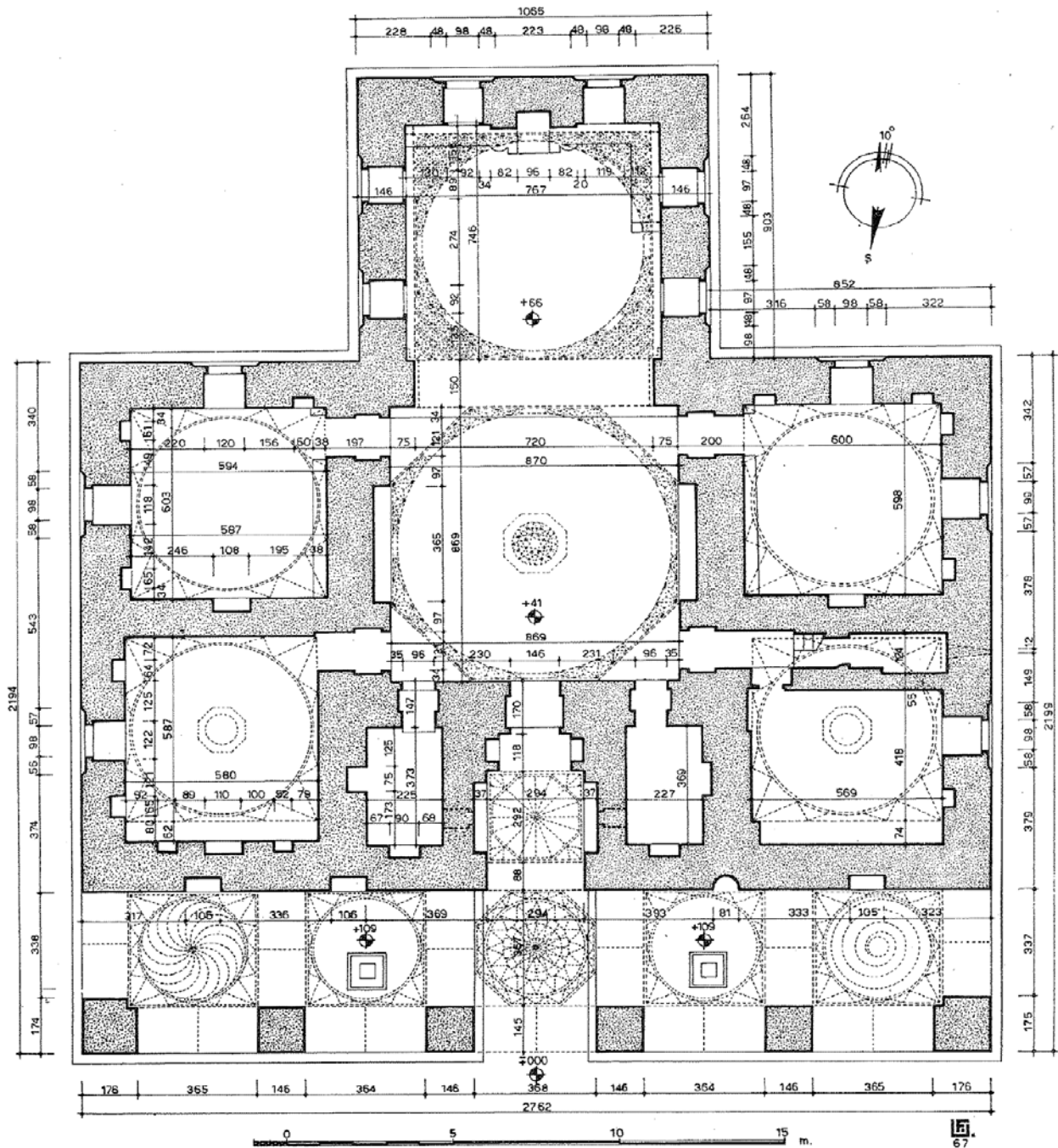


Figure II: Bayezid Pasha Lodge-Mosque¹⁴⁰

The waqfiya of the lodge-mosque was drawn up four years after the construction of the complex on 11 Zilhicce 821/19 January 1418. In the same year, Bayezid Pasha enriched his endowment twice. The first addendum, which was produced in a few months after the original waqfiya,

¹⁴⁰ Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri [Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 806-855 (1403-1451)]*, 7.

employs the term “aforementioned” very frequently.¹⁴¹ As it happens, Bayezid Pasha –mostly through marriage and inheritance – acquired the rest of the properties, a portion of which he previously endowed. He also added new shares to his endowment. The second addendum came in the fall, which added the income of a nearby village to his lodge-mosque in Amasya.¹⁴² The following winter a second set of addenda were issued. In both of the documents one encounters Bayezid Pasha purchasing and endowing the real estate neighboring the endowed properties for his lodge-mosque.¹⁴³ The years of Bayezid Pasha’s endowments (819/1417-825/1421) overlap with his most powerful years as the grand vizier.¹⁴⁴ Together with Prince Murad, the governor of Amasya (later Murad II), Bayezid Pasha, engaged in numerous military exploits, some of which took place in the vicinity of Amasya.¹⁴⁵ All of these military operations must have enriched him and in turn he must have thought to secure his properties by attaching them to an endowment.

Bayezid Pasha would probably have added more properties to his endowment if he was not executed the following winter. He was the first Amasyan figure to have a considerable political influence in the Ottoman capital and his ascendancy to power caused discomfort among the established Ottoman elite. Primary sources maintain that other viziers, among them Çandarlı İbrahim (d. 832/1429), convinced Murad II to send Bayezid Pasha against the army of Prince Mustafa (Murad II’s uncle and also known as Mustafa the Pretender [d.825/1422]), which was considerably more powerful than the one under Bayezid Pasha’s command.¹⁴⁶ Bayezid Pasha ultimately had to surrender to Prince Mustafa and was executed the next day in nearby Edirne, where he was also buried. Aydın Taneri, who wrote a monograph on the grandviziers of the early Ottoman period, is convinced of Bayezid Pasha’s Bosnian ancestry and claims that the rivalry between these two viziers was ethnically based. However Bayezid Pasha’s Turkish ancestry is quite clearly demonstrated in his waqfiya.¹⁴⁷ The rivalry between Bayezid Pasha and the other viziers should instead be explained in terms of a competition between factions representing the Ottoman corelands and the Rum province. By sending Bayezid Pasha, the representative of the Rum province, to fight Prince Mustafa, who was supported by the elite of the Rumeli (Balkan) provinces, the established factions of the Ottoman capital employed a typical imperial strategy to maintain its power over its provinces. This tension is revisited below in the context of another

¹⁴¹ Bayezid Pasha Waqfiya Addendum I (821/1418), VGMA, 605/332 p. 248

¹⁴² Bayezid Pasha Waqfiya Addendum II (821/1418), VGMA, 605/333 p. 248

¹⁴³ Bayezid Pasha Waqfiya Addendum III (823/1420), VGMA, 605/334 p. 249 and Bayezid Pasha Waqfiya Addendum VI (823/1421), VGMA, 605/331 p. 249

¹⁴⁴ Bayezid Pasha’s in patronage activities in his hometown while engaging in the military exploits on the Ottoman western frontiers has an interesting counterpart on the other side of the battlefield. A Florentine family named Scolari joined the ranks of Hungarian nobility at the turn of the fifteenth century for wealth and adventure. With the wealth they gained on the Ottoman frontier, they patronized religious institutions in Florence around the time Bayezid Pasha had his lodge-mosque built. Bayezid Pasha and the Florentine family had shared purposes: prestige and legitimation and securing family property from the laws, especially those pertaining to inheritance, of Ottoman and Hungarian polities. I thank Katyln Prada for sharing her paper titled “*Acting as one: Common Action, Collectivity and Property Strategies in the Case of a Double-rooted Florentine Kinship Network*” and presented at the European Social Sciences and History Conference at Ghent in 2010.

¹⁴⁵ Halil İnalcık, “Murad II,” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8 (Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1963), 598.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 612.

¹⁴⁷ Even if one accepts that Bayezid Pasha had “kul” origins, this date seems too early for such a rivalry as the “kul” faction were not powerful enough to challenge established Turkic aristocracy.

Amasyan figure, Yörgüç Pasha (d.845 /1441), who was the tutor of Murad II when the latter was the prince-governor of the city.¹⁴⁸

Concluding Remarks

Bayezid Pasha's death in 824/1421 signaled the end of the first period of construction as there was no endowment activity in Amasya during the ensuing decade. This period was marked by the arrival of the Ottomans in the last decade of the fourteenth century and the subsequent Ottoman interregnum after their defeat at the hands of Timur. These developments not only brought new political actors to the urban scene but also abruptly turned the landholding regime and the demographics in the region upside down. The emerging Pax Ottomanica resulted in a series of endowment activities; an argument supported by the make up of the endowers and the nature of the endowments.

Among a total number of six endowers mentioned above, two were local figures and four were associated with the Ottomans, the new rulers of the region. Of these latter four endowers, two were local figures who joined the Ottomans (local Ottomans) while the rest were foreigners who came to the city with the Ottomans. The local endowers were Hacı Mahmud Çelebi, son of the former judge of Amasya who founded a lodge-*hüffaz* school (807/1405), and Shaykh Cui, the shaykh who established a Mevlevi lodge (817/1414). The Ottomans who made endowments in the city were Bayezid-i Sufi, Mehmed I's preceptor, who founded a lodge (circa 813/1410), and Yakup Pasha, the former governor of Ankara who constructed the Çilehane in 815/1412. The local Ottomans were Yakut and Bayezid Pashas, the viziers of Mehmed I, who established lodge-mosques in 805/1407 and 817/1414 respectively. The even distribution of endowment activities between locals, local Ottomans and the Ottomans shows that the transition of Amasya from local to Ottoman rule was a gradual one. Of course the peaceful incorporation of Amasya into the Ottoman enterprise and the subsequent Ottoman interregnum played a significant role in the gradual nature of the transition. Distracted by other problems, the Ottomans were obliged to pursue a non-aggressive policy of incorporation in Amasya. The variety in the make up of the endowers is reflective of the diverse nature of their endowment motives, ranging from securing property from the encroachment of the new elite, as seen in the case of Hacı Mahmud Çelebi, the son of the former judge, gaining influence in Amasya, as seen at Yakup Pasha when his relationship with Mehmed I turned sour after the fall of Ankara in 812/1410.

In complete contrast to the diversity of the endowers and their motivations in this period, there was only one type of endowment: Sufi lodges. All six of the endowments were made for Sufi lodges, though some of the lodges differed in their secondary functions. For instance, Hacı Mahmud Çelebi's lodge also served as school for *hüffaz*, while the lodges of Yakutiye, Yakup Pasha and Bayezid Pasha were all part of larger complexes. The lodges of Bayezid-i Sufi and Shaykh Cui, on the other hand, did not have secondary functions. The concentration of building activity on lodges was the result of the social upheaval brought about by the Timurid invasion and the ensuing period characterized by the painful establishment of Pax Ottomanica. The story

¹⁴⁸ For the date of death of Yörgüç Pasha on his tombstone, see Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, 117.

of Yar Ali or that of the Sivasis in the waqfiya of Bayezid Pasha points to the fact that Amasya gained an immediate ascendancy in the region at the particular expense of neighboring Sivas, which was the capital of the region in the previous century, serving as a center of attraction for both the local population and travelers.¹⁴⁹

Part III. Autonomous Amasya (825/1421-870/1465)

Bayezid Pasha's death was the turning point for the Amasyans in the Ottoman capital. Two years after his passing, the influence of an Amasyan clique in the Ottoman center gradually faded and eventually came to an end when Murad II sent his former tutor Yörgüç Pasha back to Amasya. The elite and the army of Amasya (Amasya Leşkeri) consistently supported Murad II throughout the ordeals that helped to establish his authority.¹⁵⁰ It was Yörgüç Pasha who convinced Murad II to fight his brother Mustafa, especially after Mustafa sieged Bursa with the support of the Anatolian and Balkan emirates in the winter of 825/1422. On seeing the size of Mustafa's army the following spring, Murad II seriously pondered the possibility of retreating to Amasya, a fact that demonstrates his reliance on and confidence in Amasyan loyalty.¹⁵¹ However, after defeating his brother, Murad II fell under the influence of the aforementioned Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha and decided to send his tutor Yörgüç Pasha away from the capital by appointing him the governor general of the Rum province.¹⁵²

Consolidation of Yörgüç Pasha's Autonomous Rule in Amasya

While Murad II was occupied on the European front of the empire between 827/1423 and 834/1430, Yörgüç Pasha strengthened his grip on the Rum province. The fifteenth century chronicler Aşıkpaşazade, a contemporary native of Amasya, narrates Yörgüç Pasha's exploits in detail. The latter began his quest for influence by eliminating the nomad Turcomans led by the four sons of Kızıl Koca. According to Aşıkpaşazade, these Turcomans harassed the city folk and the general population. As a trap, Yörgüç Pasha invited the Turcomans' leaders to Amasya with a fake imperial decree, got them drunk and executed every one of them. He then attacked their base, pillaged the livestock and enslaved their families.¹⁵³ Having eliminated the Kızıl Koca Turcomans, Yörgüç Pasha next attempted to take control of a local castle called Koca Kayası

¹⁴⁹ Ronald C. Jennings, "Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7, no. 01 (1976): 25, 37.

¹⁵⁰ İnalçık, "Murad II," 600. For the term "Amasya Leşkeri" see Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân," 144.

¹⁵¹ In fact, Amasyan troops were the only Anatolian military support Murad had. İnalçık, "Murad II," 600.

¹⁵² Çandarlı İbrahim remained as grand vizier until his death in 833/1429 and was replaced by another Amasyan, Koca (or Hoca) Mehmed Pasha (d. after 844/1440) Mehmed Pasha built a lodge-mosque in his native town Osmancık, 112 kilometres west of Amasya in 834/1430. See *Ibid.*, 608-609.

¹⁵³ "A sheep was sold for a single silver coin (*akçe*)" narrates Aşıkpaşazade in order to show the amount of the livestock plundered by the Amasyan army. Apparently disturbed by the enslavement and pillaging, Aşıkpaşazade tries to legitimize Yörgüç Pasha's acts by arguing that these Turcomans were the sources of all evil and they used to instigate the neighboring dynasties to invade the region. See Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân," 169-170.

(The Rock of the Elderly), named after its aging commander who refused to serve anybody. Yörgüç Pasha eventually took the castle by bribing one of the commander's retinue into burning the treasury and provisions. After capturing the castle, Yörgüç Pasha prepared the conquest of the lands of Canik held by Alparslanoğlu. He invited Alparslanoğlu to Amasya for a wedding and the latter refused, sensing the invitation was a trap. Alparslanoğlu actually wanted to surrender to Murad II, hoping that the sultan would grant him land elsewhere. Yet, as Aşıkpaşazade notes, Yörgüç Pasha preferred a military conquest rather than peaceful surrender as the former would increase his hold in the region.¹⁵⁴ Alparslanoğlu was aware of Yörgüç Pasha's intentions and therefore in 831/1427-28 he personally showed up in Amasya to surrender. Yörgüç Pasha sent Alparslanoğlu to Bursa while keeping his household hostage in Amasya. This event marked the completion of Yörgüç Pasha's consolidation of power in the region in the 1420s. All three military ventures were in continuation of Mehmed I and Bayezid Pasha's earlier attempts to control the region in the first two decades of the fourteenth century. What was different in the case of Yörgüç Pasha's campaigns was his autonomous actions against the Ottoman center in Edirne. It must have been during this period that Yörgüç Pasha began inscribing his name on silver coins (Yörgüç Pasha Akçesi), a gesture declaring the degree of autonomy he enjoyed in the region.¹⁵⁵

The Sufi lodges constructed in the second period

It seems that the urban center of Amasya reaped the benefits of Yörgüç Pasha's military ventures, as three endowments were made in the years 835/1431 and 836/1432. The first one was, not surprisingly, by a minter named Şemseddin Akhi Ahmed Çelebi bin Akhi Mahmud. Şemseddin Ahi Çelebi perhaps increased his wealth thanks to business brought by Yörgüç Pasha Akçesi. The city had one of the few Ottoman mints thanks to a nearby silver mine in the district of Gümüş.¹⁵⁶ In his *Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Pamuk notes that the Ottomans did not have full control over the operation of the silver mines and mints until the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the autonomy of the city – and its mines and mints - when coupled with the political stability under the rule of Yörgüç Pasha, could have made the local minter wealthier. The local minter in turn secured his properties by building a lodge in the name of his father. In Jumādā al-Ākhirā 834/February 1431, Ahmed Çelebi, who was also an Akhi shaykh, stipulated that only people firmly believing in the Qur'an and sunnah (the traditions of

¹⁵⁴ If there was an army already prepared for battle, a soldier would prefer fighting to accepting submission by the enemy, in hopes of getting booty. See the story of Mehmed II's conquest of Bosnia in *Ibid.*, 171.

¹⁵⁵ Mehmed Neşri (d. ca. 1520), *Kitāb-ı Cihānnümā*, ed. Mehmet Altay Köymen and Faik Reşit Unat, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1995), 593. There is no numismatic evidence about Yörgüç Pasha coins.

¹⁵⁶ Although Evliya Çelebi praises the silver mines of Amasya, apparently they did not possess major silver deposits according to Pamuk. Evliya Çelebi (1611?-1682?), *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, 95. Pamuk notes that the only mine worth mentioning in Anatolia was the one located in Gümüşhane in the northeast. Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 38. Nevertheless, if one considers that Gümüşhane was conquered later in the fifteenth century, the importance of the silver mine and the mint in Amasya increased in the eyes of the Ottomans. Yörgüç Pasha built a mosque in this district in 833/1429. Also located in the same district was a madrasa built by Hacı Halil Pasha, former administrator of silver mines and the governor-general of Anatolia, in 818/1415. Gürbüz, "Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," 217, 232.

¹⁵⁷ Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 37.

the Prophet), and observant of Islamic law should be hosted in his lodge.¹⁵⁸ He appointed himself as the shaykh and co-administrator, the other one administrator being his full brother Hayrettin Hızır. Hüseyin Hüsameddin notes that the lodge was later inhabited by Rıfai shaykhs, and that its remains were still extant in Amasya at the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁹

Almost a year later, in Jumādā al-Ūlā 836/late December 1432, the waqfiya of Şemseddin Ahmed Çelebi b. Abdülvehhab Çelebi was drawn up. Şemseddin Ahmed Çelebi endowed his properties for the expenses of a mosque built by his ancestors, and he appointed his son Pir Mehmed, and upon his death his male and female progeny on the basis of seniority, as the administrator.¹⁶⁰ The names of these villages do appear in the list of endowments made for the Hoca Sultan Lodge in the register of the Ottoman survey completed in the sixteenth century.¹⁶¹ It seems this lodge was initially built as a lodge-mosque, but its function as a Sufi lodge dominated other functions of the building later in the fourteenth century. The remains of the lodge do not exist; neither does a description of the mosque in the waqfiya. The name of the lodge, meaning either “sultan’s teacher” or “teacher sultan,” leads to some very interesting connections. In my view, the second meaning is closer to the truth. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the prince-governor of the city Bayezid apparently befriended Şemseddin Ahmed’s aforementioned son and the administrator of the lodge, who was also known as Shaykh Mehmed. Probably as a result of this friendship, Shaykh Mehmed’s son, Bedreddin Mahmud, became the student of the prominent scholar Muarrifzade (d. after 918/1512), also the preceptor of and a great influence on Bayezid, as the prince himself admitted.¹⁶² Bedreddin Mahmud later became the prayer leader of the sultan when Bayezid succeeded to the throne.¹⁶³ His appointment was

¹⁵⁸ Bedreddin Mahmud Zaviyesi/Ahi Darbhaneci Zaviyesi Waqfiya VGMA, 605/165 p. 119. This is quite an unusual stipulation because generally the endower stipulates only the qualifications of the future employees, not those of the beneficiaries. The emphasis on observance of the Islamic law in the stipulation is also worth underlining. This stipulation is evidence of the tensions during the process of urbanization of Sufi activities, as it clearly demonstrates the urban population’s reaction to the antinomian practices and beliefs of the recently migrated rural masses. Kemalpaşazade narrates how the peasants of Bursa flocked to the city center because of Orhan Gazi’s lodge-mosque and brought Anatolian *abdals* (antinomian dervishes) with themselves. Following the complaints, Orhan Gazi had some of these Sufi figures expelled from the city. Kemalpaşazade Şemsüddin Ahmed (d.1534), *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman: I. Defter*, trans. Şerafettin Turan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1983), 90. Quoted in Ali Anooshahr, “Writing, Speech, and History for an Ottoman Biographer,” *Journal of Near Eastern studies*. 69, no. 1 (2010): 61. The Halvetiye, in this context, accommodated the demands of both urban and rural populations; one of the reasons why it became successful in the Amasya region and later in Istanbul.

¹⁵⁹ Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:192.

¹⁶⁰ Şemseddin Ahmed Çelebi bin Abdülvehhab Çelebi Waqfiya (836/1432) VGMA, Defter 608/40 p.35

¹⁶¹ Gürbüz, “Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı,” 246.

¹⁶² Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’mānīya*, 194.

¹⁶³ Kappert notes that Bedreddin Mahmud authored a thirty-volume work on mysticism. (Petra Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 1976, 48-49.) According to *Shaqā’iq*, Bedreddin Mahmud later became the judge of Bursa and advanced his career until he retired as the military judge of Anatolia. (Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’mānīya*, 310.) Bedreddin Mahmud’s story is very similar to that of another Amasyan figure, Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman (d.922/1516), who became a very prominent figure in the Ottoman academia. Müeyyedzade’s father, Ali Çelebi who is mentioned in the context of Hacı Mahmud and Yakutiye lodges above, was also among the entourage of Prince Bayezid. And similar to Bedreddin Mahmud, Müeyyedzade enjoyed the favor of the sultan throughout his career. Bayezid seems to have included the sons of the shaykhly families of Amasya in his entourage and kept his relationship with them strong after he became sultan. In this way he created a loyal group of judges and academicians to whom he could entrust

either due to his father's friendship with or his teacher's influence over the sultan. The lodge on the other hand was probably named after its connections to sultan Bayezid II, via his preceptor and prayer leader.¹⁶⁴

In the summer of 834/1430, prior to the establishment of the two endowments mentioned above, Yörgüç Pasha himself patronized a more conspicuous addition to the city's landscape: a lodge-mosque.¹⁶⁵ Similar to Bayezid Pasha above, Yörgüç Pasha did not attach any endowments to his lodge-mosque immediately after its construction. He waited seven years, a period that witnessed the rise of Amasya in Ottoman politics again. Before focusing on Yörgüç Pasha's endowments, let us take a brief look at the history of Amasya in the 1430's.

Trouble in the East: Rise of Amasya as the Eastern Ottoman capital

Three major developments in the nine years between 838/1434 and 847/1443 underline the significance of the city of Amasya in Ottoman history in the fifteenth century. During this period, an Amasyan, Hoca (or Koca) Mehmed Pasha served as the grandvizier of Murad II. And the city of Amasya served as the place of education for three Ottoman princes, a refuge for ousted political figures of neighboring states and a central command center for the military operations in the east. In 838/1434, Murad II sent his eldest son, fourteen-year-old Ahmed Çelebi (823/1420-840/1437) to Amasya as a nominal governor under the tutorship of Yörgüç Pasha.¹⁶⁶ While Ahmed Çelebi was being educated in the city, Amasya served as the capital of the Ottomans on the increasingly critical eastern frontier. These years were marked by struggles between the Ottomans (supported by the Turcoman dynasties of Dulkadirid and Karakoyunlu) and the Karamanids, who were in alliance with the Mamluks.¹⁶⁷ In 839/1435, Amasya briefly hosted the Mamluk contender to the throne, Canbek al-Sufi, before he went on to attack the Mamluk holdings in the south of the Ottoman Rum province. In the fall of the same year, the leader of a Turcoman Karakoyunlu tribe, İskender Beg, took refuge in Amasya from the Timurid army, which under the command of the Timurid ruler Shahruh's (d.850/1447) son pushed him west. Both the Ottomans and the Mamluks were anxious about the possibility of Shahruh's personal appearance in the region with an army as sizeable as that of his father Timur. Yet Shahruh embarked on a western campaign that year and spent the winter in Azerbaijan. The Ottomans realized they could no longer afford to provide protection for Shahruh's adversary, and thus Yörgüç Pasha asked İskender Beg to leave the region. When the latter refused, Yörgüç Pasha forced him out of the Ottoman lands using reinforcements sent by Murad II.

the important bureaucratic positions of the empire. Another such figure is the celebrated calligrapher Shaykh Hamdullah, whose story will be narrated in the following chapter.

¹⁶⁴ Hüseyin Hüsameddin's claims about the founder and later inhabitants of the lodge, however tempting they are, should not be trusted as he does not reveal his sources and prove self contradictory in later pages of his work. Hüseyin Hüsameddin argues that Şemseddin Ahmed Çelebi was the preceptor of Prince Bayezid and the lodge was inhabited by Çelebi Halife, one of the founders of the Ottoman Halvetiye. But a few pages before this argument, Hoca Sultan appears as one of the prominent merchants of Amasya. He is clearly confusing the founder with Şemseddin Ahmed b. Musa who died in 1475. See Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 160, 186.

¹⁶⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, 117.

¹⁶⁶ A. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, by A. D. Alderson. (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1956), 22.

¹⁶⁷ İnalçık, "Murad II." Unless otherwise noted, the source for the events of the period is İnalçık's article.

As Shahruh's western campaign began to severely restrict Ottoman actions in central and eastern Anatolia, the Karamanids, freed from Ottoman pressure, revived their hopes of expansion. In the summer of 839/1435, around the time that the abovementioned Canbek el-Sufi sought the protection of the Ottomans, an alliance of the Karamanids and the Mamluks defeated the Ottoman ally Dulkadirids and conquered the Kayseri region in central Anatolia. When Shahruh decided to return east in the spring of 840/1436, the Ottomans were relieved and freely supported the Dulkadirids against the Karamanids. In the winter of 840/1436-37, Karamanid forces went as far north as the Rum region and harassed Yörgüç Pasha's army as a response to Ottoman support for their rivals. The following spring, the Ottomans, together with the Dulkadirids, embarked on a military campaign against the Karamanids and defeated them. The Karamanid ruler İbrahim Bey (d.869/1464) sought peace, and in response Murad II sent Amasyan scholar and historian Mevlana Şükrullah to conduct peace negotiations.¹⁶⁸ During these tumultuous years Amasya's nominal governor was Murad II's eldest son Ahmed Çelebi. Ahmed Çelebi passed away in Amasya after the Karamanid campaign, when the Ottoman eastern frontiers were relatively settled. In the same year, perhaps as a result of his eldest son's death, Murad II sent his two sons, Alaeddin Ali (833-847/1430-1443) and Mehmed (later Mehmed II, 835/1432-886/1481), to the cities of Amasya and Manisa respectively.

Yörgüç Pasha Waqfiya: A Collective Endowment ?

Yörgüç Pasha remained the governor-general of the province and tutor to the princes throughout this period, and turbulent events such as these account for his decision to endow his properties on the lodge-mosques built at the start of the 1430s. A second Timurid invasion was pending and there was a constant threat from the Karamanids in the south. Yörgüç Pasha must have intended to secure his properties - most of which were acquired during his consolidation of power in the previous decade - by endowing them to the lodge-mosque that he had built seven years earlier.¹⁶⁹ In such a political context, the following words taken from his waqfiya in regards to Yörgüç Pasha's motivations for the endowment should be taken in the literal sense, not as a formula for a typical waqfiya: "The great ruler Yörgüç Pasha understood that the world is a place of illusion, not a site of happiness. It constantly changes and nothing ever stays the same." (*Emir-i kebir Yörgüç Paşa anladı ki dünya gurur mahallidir, sürur yeri değildir, daima döner, bir karar üzere durmaz.*)

Such formulas in the waqfiyas usually imply the wisdom of the endower gained by age (similarly most of the endowers seem to be elderly). The young endowers are the exceptions in these documents. Yörgüç Pasha's son Mustafa Bey (d.unknown) was young enough that his youth was seen as worth underlining in the waqfiya he drew up on 21 Zilka'de 840/27 May 1437 for the lodge-mosque he built in Havza (forty-seven kilometers north of Amasya): "the son of Yörgüç Pasha, the great ruler Mustafa Bey, in his young age understood that the world is a place of illusion, not a site of happiness." (*Yörgüç Paşa oğlu emir-i kebir Mustafa Bey gençlik çağında,*

¹⁶⁸ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 94.Şükrullah does not mention his mission to the Karamanids in his history.

¹⁶⁹Yörgüç Pasha Waqfiya (840/1436) VGMA, 747/245 p. 352

genç yaşında bildi ki bu dünya gurur mahallidir.) In the spring after he established his endowment, Yörgüç Pasha once again appeared before the Amasya court, this time with his son Mustafa Bey. Yörgüç Pasha made some additions to his endowment while his son had the abovementioned waqfiya drawn up. Although the political atmosphere was relatively calm after the defeat of the Karamanids and the departure of Shahruh from the region, Yörgüç Pasha and Mustafa Bey's endowments should be understood as an extension of their strategy to consolidate a hold on their properties. Indeed, the format, stipulations and witnesses of Mustafa Bey's endowment are the same as those of his father. The villages endowed in Mustafa Bey's endowment, on the other hand, were possibly passed on to the family during Yörgüç Pasha's abovementioned campaign against Alparslanoglu, as they are located in the vicinity of Canik.

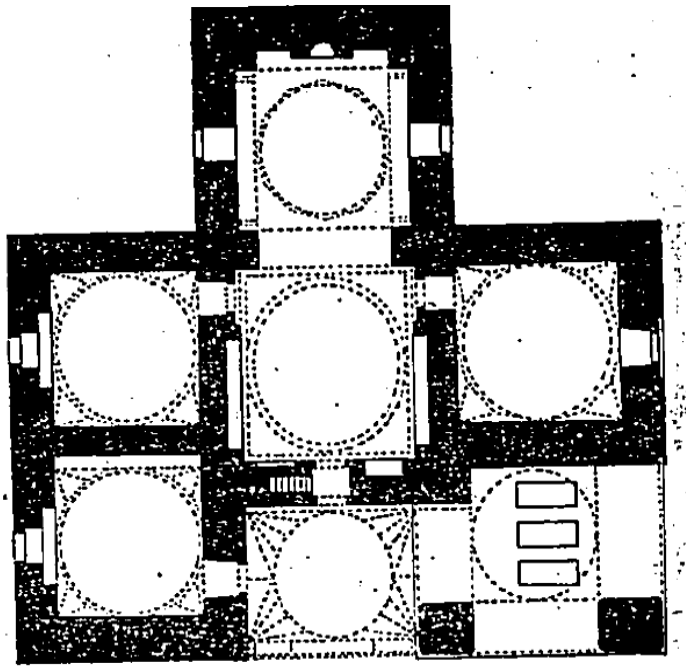


Figure III: Yörgüç Pasha Lodge-Mosque¹⁷⁰

The plan of Yörgüç Pasha's mosque is a clear example of the lodge-mosque typology outlined in Eyice's article. The space within the mosque could indeed be used as a locale for a variety of activities, but its waqfiya depicts a picture of the complex much larger than that which is left today. Surrounded by a wall, this complex included a winter house and a hall, a stable, a warehouse, a kitchen, a bathhouse and a madrasa. It is highly possible that it also served as one of Yörgüç Pasha's residences in the city. According to its waqfiya, a righteous shaykh was to be appointed as overseer of the daily activities performed by a prayer leader, a muezzin and four *hüffaz*. The kitchen staff included four people: a cook, a bread maker and their two footboys. A secretary and a warehouse manager were also to be employed in order to keep the accounts of

¹⁷⁰ Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie.*, 2:32.

the complex. The size of the staff, totaling fourteen people and the largest until that point in Amasya, suggests that it served a considerable community. Yörgüç Pasha designated himself as the administrator of the complex, and upon his death his son Mustafa Bey and his progeny. Mustafa Bey's lodge-mosque in Havza, on the other hand, was a small replica of that of his father. It included two winter houses, a porch and a warehouse, all surrounded by a wall. Again, a righteous and scholarly shaykh was appointed to host the guests and manage activities in the complex. Mustafa Bey appointed himself and his progeny as administrators who would manage a staff similar to that employed in his father's complex, though slightly smaller in size.

In both Yörgüç Pasha's and his son's waqfiyas there exists an unusual condition that deserves a few words of attention here. After listing the properties to be endowed, both documents exempt those villages that belong to other individuals, the public, or which are included in other endowments.¹⁷¹ In theory, one cannot legally endow a property that one does not own. There is only one occasion on which it actually happened in Amasya, which is mentioned in Bayezid Pasha's waqfiya, in the context of one of the villages endowed. Bayezid Pasha's exemption looks like a precaution against a possible mix-up because it is confined to only a very small portion of the properties endowed. This rule apparently applies to all the properties endowed in both Yörgüç Pasha's and his son's waqfiyas. Such a blanket exemption could be explained in three ways. First, it was perhaps the result of Yörgüç Pasha's power in the city, as he seemed to be able to endow properties the ownership of which was in doubt.

The second explanation is speculative. The impending threat of invasion might have pushed the Amasyans to resort to a collective endowment for the lodge-mosque of Yörgüç Pasha so that their properties would be safe against any prospective Muslim invaders, whether the Karamanid or Timurid. Endowing property to an already established and prestigious institution was perhaps more effective than keeping it as private property or turning it into a family endowment, since in the latter case the property was more susceptible to state encroachment as developments later in the fifteenth century would prove.¹⁷² When Yörgüç Pasha made additional endowments in the late spring, another Amasyan endowed his property to the Yörgüç Pasha lodge-mosque along with him. In the same court session the objection of the administrator of another endowment, who claimed two of the villages listed in Yörgüç Pasha's waqfiya for another waqf, was also recorded. This leads us to the third explanation: Yörgüç Pasha's endowment probably provided Amasyans a venue for a legal maneuver that would help them certify the ownership of their properties. By subjecting their properties to a legal conflict, Amasyans reasserted and recorded

¹⁷¹ Yörgüç Pasha Waqfiya (840/1436) VGMA, 747/245 p. 352

¹⁷² In the late fifteenth century, the "land reform" of Mehmed II, targeted these endowments as it reallocated them to state officials. Another example of the strategy of collective registration property in the name of village elders is seen in nineteenth century northern Syria, as a reaction to the implementation of the Land Code of 1275/1858. Martha Mundy, "Shareholders and the State: Representing the Village in the Late 19th Century Land Registers of the Southern Hawran," in *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century: The Common and the Specific in the Historical Experience*, ed. Thomas Philipp, vol. 5, Berliner Islamstudien (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992), 217-239. Moshe Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861: The Impact of Tanzimat on Politics and Society* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1968), 162.

their ownership or regency over the property in question.¹⁷³ This might have been especially preferable for those who did not have an original document of ownership or a waqfiya. Those who possessed such documents chose to have them certified in front of the court, as one sees in the case of serial certification in the court of the nearby district of Zile during the “land reform” of the late fifteenth century.

Ottoman-Amasyan Destruction of Karaman

All of the endowment activities described above took place in the court of Abdurrahman bin Muhammed Muslihi (d. unknown), the judge of Amasya during the reigns of Murad II and Mehmed II. Abdurrahman-ı Muslihi belonged to a family of hereditary judges in Amasya. A Sufi lodge named after him was built some time before the city was surveyed in 937/1530. Little is known about his life except for what the abovementioned waqfiyas and a particular fatwa (legal opinion) produced in his court tell us. The legal opinion was about the permissibility of attacking the Karamanids because of their alliance with the Byzantines against the Ottomans.¹⁷⁴ In the fatwa, the opinions of five scholars, from different parts of the Islamic world and various schools of law, were sought in this matter.¹⁷⁵ After listing these scholars’ opinions, Abdurrahman-ı Muslihi issued a fatwa on the permissibility of attacking Karamanids. The fact that the Ottomans sought the fatwa of an Amasyan scholar instead of a scholar in Bursa or Edirne where their highest institutions of learning were located is itself interesting and begs for an explanation.¹⁷⁶ Two explanations can be briefly put forward here. First, the Ottoman ulema based in Bursa and Edirne in this period maintained close relations with those of Konya, the capital of Karamanids. They may have been unwilling to issue such an opinion. As a second explanation, one may invoke the historical rivalry between the political geographies of Karaman and Rum (where Amasya is located) since the regions’ initial conquest by the Turks. One of the manifestations of this rivalry was between the Sufi orders of Halvetiye and Zeyniye, which is central to this dissertation. An Amasyan scholar might have been more eager to issue a fatwa against the centuries-long rival of his hometown.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³Here, one is reminded of Leslie Peirce’s assessment of the local court as a platform for the local population’s resistance, adaptation and ‘exploitation’ of imperial legal system during the incorporation of southern Anatolian city of Ayıntab. See Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Similar to the people of Ayıntab, who utilized court to register their public honor in an imperially recognized public venue, Amasyans could have thought of certifying their ownership of their property in the wake of a probable foreign invasion.

¹⁷⁴Ramazan Boyacıoğlu, “Osmanoğullarının Karamanoğlu İbrahim Bey Hakkı Aleyhine Aldığı Fetvalar,” in *Pax Ottomana studies in memoriam Prof. Dr. Nejat Göyünç* (Ankara, 2001), 641-657.

¹⁷⁵These scholars are Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani, Sa’d al-Din al-Dayri, Badr al-Din al-Tunusi, Badr al-Din al-Baghdadi and Abd al-Salam al-Baghdadi. *Ibid.*, 648. There is no information on why these scholars selected and how they were contacted.

¹⁷⁶The present researcher is unaware of any other extinct Ottoman fatwas against the Karamanids. Further research is needed on this topic. Of course it is presumed that Abdurrahman-ı Muslihi gave this fatwa upon the request of the Ottomans. He could very well have issued this fatwa without anybody requesting it from him. This makes the story of the fatwas even more telling in terms of the regional conflict.

¹⁷⁷The contemporary chronicles are full of evidences about the birth, development and occasional severity of the rivalry between two political geographies. See for instance Aziz ibn Ardashir Astarabadi (d. ca. 800/1398), *Bezm ü Rezm (Eğlence ve Savaş)*. ; Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), “Tevārih-i Āl-i ‘Osmān.” Ahmedi (d.1413), *Tevārih-i*

The exact timing of this fatwa is unknown, though its content and the identity of its author point to the first years of the 1440's, when the Karamanid ruler, encouraged by a series of Ottoman defeats at the hands of Hungarians, sent envoys to the Byzantine Emperor to offer a coordinated attack on the Ottomans. The peace reached between the Ottomans and the Karamanids in 841/1437 was about to be broken at the turn of the decade. Since the time of that peace agreement, Murad II was occupied in the western provinces and Amasya was relatively peaceful. In 843/1439, Murad II sent Prince Mehmed, the nominal governor of the city to the western Anatolian town of Manisa and entrusted Mehmed's elder brother Alaeddin Ali to Yörgüç Pasha as the tutor and governor-general of the Rum region, a position stationed in Amasya.¹⁷⁸ Two years later, in 845/1441, Yörgüç Pasha passed away and his brother Hızır Pasha became the tutor of the Prince Alaeddin Ali. Prince Alaeddin Ali was the favorite son of Sultan Murad II, thus the most likely candidate for the Ottoman throne. For the young prince - barely thirteen-years-old - an opportunity of demonstrating his prowess presented itself when the Karamanid forces captured some western Anatolian Ottoman towns in 847/1443. Prince Alaeddin Ali commanded the Amasyan troops when they, together with the imperial army under the leadership of Murad II, sacked the Karamanid lands in response to Karamanid actions. The severity of the Ottoman actions was unparalleled in the conflict between the two Anatolian powers. Indeed, chroniclers that were contemporaries of this attack record it as one of the two great Ottoman devastations on Karamanid lands.¹⁷⁹ Aşıkpaşazade, an Amasyan chronicler who was in the region, tried to legitimize these Ottoman actions by citing the Karamanid treachery; a discourse resembling that of the abovementioned fatwa.¹⁸⁰ Understandably, he refers neither to Prince Alaeddin Ali, nor to the role of the Amasyan army. In such a context, a legal opinion endorsed by Islamic scholars from different parts of the Muslim world could have been exactly what the Ottomans needed to legitimize their actions and mobilize their Muslim troops. The aforementioned Amasyan judge and scholar Abdurrahman-ı Muslihi was ready to deliver that legal opinion.

Prince Alaeddin emerged as the favorite candidate for the Ottoman throne after the Karaman campaign of 847/1443, a development that disturbed certain factions in the capital.¹⁸¹ Indeed,

Mülük-i Âl-i Osmân Gazv-i İşân Bâ-Küffâr (Harvard Üniversitesi: Yakınođu Dilleri ve Medeniyetleri Bölümü, 2004).

¹⁷⁸ Prince Mehmed (later Mehmed II) possibly never remembered his years in Amasya as he was five years old when he became the nominal governor of the city. He remained in the city for two years and then he and his brother Alaeddin Ali exchanged their posts.

¹⁷⁹ Aşıkpaşazade implies the mass rape of the population by the Ottoman army. (Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân," 182.) Ottoman fought with the Karamanids many times before but the historical chronicles note two great devastations of the Karaman at the hand of the Ottomans. First came in this period, and the second at the time of Mehmed II. There are interesting parallels between the two military campaigns. In both of the campaigns, the favorite princes of the sultans (Alaeddin Ali, son of Murad II and Mustafa son of Mehmed II) took active roles and distinguished themselves. And both of them died under suspicious circumstances following the defeat of the Karamanids, a development which triggered succession struggles in both periods.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ According to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, Prince Alaeddin Ali's appointment to Amasya was in fact the result of his father's fear of him taking over the Ottoman throne. I argue otherwise. At this time, Amasya was the most critical Ottoman province and by entrusting it to Prince Alaeddin Ali, Murad II demonstrated his confidence in his eldest

Prince Alaeddin was executed on his return to Amasya, as was his infant son later that year. Who or which faction was behind the execution decision is not quite clear.¹⁸² Contemporary sources are silent on this issue. What is obvious, however, is that the deep sorrow caused by Alaeddin Ali's death was one of several reasons for Murad II's abdication of the throne in the following year, 848/1444. During the ensuing fifteen years, while the Ottomans were occupied with a series of political crises and military operations in the west, Amasya did not host an Ottoman prince and its political scene appeared quite calm.

After Yörgüç Pasha (845/1441-870/1465)

The Yörgüç Pasha family maintained its hold over the region. Yörgüç Pasha's brother, Hızır Pasha (d.871/1467),¹⁸³ remained the governor of Amasya. In 848/1448, Murad II asked Hızır Pasha to send his wife to pick one of the daughters of the Dulkadirid ruler Süleyman Bey as a bride for his son Mehmed.¹⁸⁴ In fact, Murad II's mother was herself from the Dulkadirid house. By that time, it had become a tradition for Ottoman sultans to marry the daughters of the Dulkadirid house in order to strengthen ties between the two polities. These ties were critical in the power struggle in Anatolia, especially for the Ottomans in their struggle against their archrivals in the East, the Karamanids. The city of Amasya served as an intermediary between the two households since its incorporation by the Ottomans.

Three years later, in 855/1451, Murad II passed away, leaving his throne to the heir-presumptive Mehmed, who later became Mehmed II (the Conqueror.) Mehmed II immediately began preparations for his conquest of Istanbul. Shortly after the conquest, in 858/1454 to be exact, Mehmed II sent his two sons Bayezid and Mustafa to Amasya and Manisa respectively as nominal governors. Bayezid was five years old at the time. And the reigns of government in the Amasya region were to remain in the hands of the Yörgüç Pasha family for the next eleven years, as Hızır Pasha became the tutor of the prince.

Hızır Pasha remained the governor-general of the region and the tutor of Prince Bayezid until 870/1465. In the meantime, he joined Mehmed II's Trabzon campaign. When Trabzon was conquered, it was added to the Rum province, which was at that time under the control of Hızır Pasha based in Amasya.¹⁸⁵ After the Trabzon campaign, Hızır Pasha constructed a complex on the northwestern outskirts of Amasya that included a lodge-mosque, madrasa, bathhouse, fountain and a tomb for his grandson Oruç b. Kasım. In the fall of 870/1465, probably around the time he retired, Hızır Pasha endowed his properties for the maintenance of this complex and

son. Also historical evidence points out that Murad II loved his son deeply, as he asked to be buried next to him after his death.

¹⁸² Hüseyin Hüsameddin, without referring to any source, blames the non-Turkish viziers (*devşirme*) for the plot. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:212-213. Considering that Prince Mehmed and his *devşirme* tutors profited most out of this event, there is a reasonable doubt.

¹⁸³ Hanefi Bostan, "XV-XVI. Asırlarda Trabzon Sancağında Sosyal ve İktisadi Hayat" (Marmara University, 1993), 39.

¹⁸⁴ Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân," 188-189.

¹⁸⁵ Gürbüz, "Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," 227. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 3rd ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1975), 52.

appointed himself, and upon his death his son, as the administrator of the endowment.¹⁸⁶ The mosque, bathhouse and tomb remain today. The madrasa was probably only recently destroyed considering the fact that Hüseyin Hüsameddin was able to provide the name of its professor in 1900.¹⁸⁷ The layout of Hızır Pasha's lodge-mosque and sixteenth-century survey registers suggest that the mosque was also the center of Sufi activities.¹⁸⁸

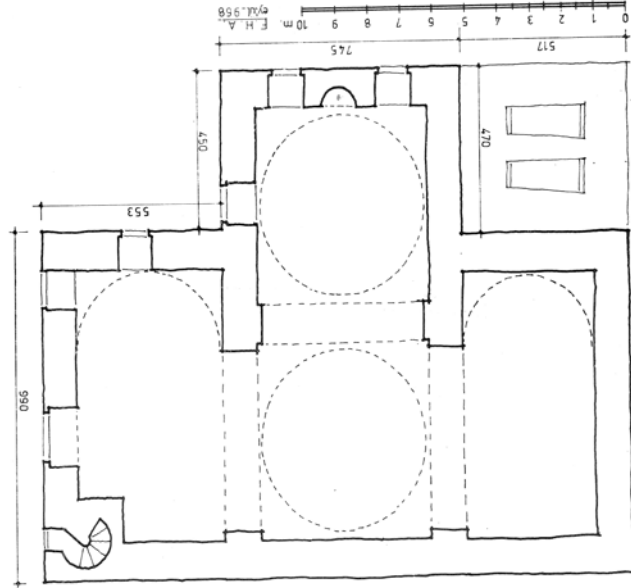


Figure IV: Hızır Pasha Lodge-Mosque¹⁸⁹

Concluding Remarks

Hızır Pasha's replacement by a centrally appointed governor and tutor in 870/1465 marks the end of the family of Yörgüç Pasha's nearly half-a-century-long rule of the region. This was a period when Amasya retained its autonomy, as the Ottoman center was occupied with internal strife and external threats. Amasya's autonomy was the product of the Ottoman political scene after the battle of Ankara. In the half century following Bayezid I's defeat at the hands of Timur, the Ottomans tried to recoup their losses in their provinces and calm down internal politics. Only with the conquest of Istanbul and the ensuing conquests did the Ottoman center become settled and thus able to more forcefully reassert its control over the provinces. Until then, Amasya remained under the control of local actors. The three Ottoman princes who lived in the city between 838/1434 and 1447/1443 increased its ties with the Ottoman center for a period of time, though this was in the way of three short-lived and unsustainable experiments. The domination of local actors in the patronage of Sufi activity or any other endowment activity in Amasya in this period clearly demonstrates this fact.

¹⁸⁶ Hayreddin Hızır Pasha Waqfiya (870/1465) VGMA, 608/367 p.337

¹⁸⁷ Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:229.

¹⁸⁸ Gürbüz, "Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," 247. Ekrem Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarısının İlk Devri [Fatih Devri 855-886 (1451-1481)]* (Istanbul: Damla Ofset, 1989), 30.

¹⁸⁹ Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie.*, 2:28.

A total of four Sufi lodges were built in Amasya in this period, all of which were patronized by local actors (two of them by the Yörgüç Pasha family) and built as a part of lodge-mosques. Aside from those endowments for Sufi lodges, five other endowments were made in this period. Two of these were for the salaries of *hiüffaz* and other expenses connected to two separate tombs.¹⁹⁰ The other three endowments were for the water fountains built in various parts of the city.¹⁹¹ These five endowments were also made by the local elite. Unlike during the previous period in Amasyan history, there were no endowments by people directly linked with the Ottoman center during this period.

As for the locales of endowment activities, one observes continuity in the urbanization process. Only three of the twelve endowments were located in the rural towns or districts of Amasya. All three nonurban endowments belonged to the Yörgüç Pasha family. Along with the mosque in the city center, Yörgüç Pasha had two mosques built in 833/1429 and 835/1431 in the districts of Gümüş and Köprü respectively. His son Mustafa Bey built a lodge-mosque in Havza in 840/1436. All of this construction seems to have been part of the Yörgüç Pasha family's effort to mark the territories under their domination and to legitimize their rule in the region.

Part IV. The Marginalization of Amasya (870/1465-886/1481)

The construction of lodges, or any other religious building for that matter, abruptly ceased after the completion of the Hızır Pasha complex in 870/1465 and did not begin again until 888/1483 when Pir İlyas's tomb was built under the patronage of Bayezid II. This is a period in which Prince Bayezid emerged as a political figure and began to form his own faction. From this point on, Bayezid's dealings with the Sufis should be seen as political moves. Bayezid's father tried to control his moves by sending tutors from Istanbul rather than entrusting his potential rival, i.e. his son to the local elite. However, Bayezid seemed to have neither the means nor the desire to undertake large-scale construction activities as a result of two factors: the upcoming dynastic struggle and the marginalization of Amasya from the eastern affairs of the Ottoman Empire due to the annexation of Konya.

¹⁹⁰ İskender Bey oğlu Muhiddin Mehmet Çelebi Waqfiya (847/1443) VGMA, 582/122 p.182 and Ali b. Aydın Waqfiya VGMA, (850/1443) 608/315 p.370

¹⁹¹ Three fountains were endowed in the period between 870/1465 and 872/1467, those of Hızır Pasha, Hoca Hacı Acem Ali and Temenna. Hüsameddin Ağa bin Abdüssamed Temenna Fountain Waqfiya (872/1467) VGMA, 586/256 p.260 and Hoca Hacı Acem Ali Waqfiya (870/1465) VGMA, 587/133 p.108. The density of the fountain endowments in this period suggests an increase in the local demand for water either because of the population growth or local drought. The increase in local population could be ruled out because some of region's population was forcefully immigrated to recently conquered Trabzon. Local drought is a more probable scenario, considering that Hızır Pasha built another fountain in the nearby city of Trabzon. For the forceful immigration see Heath Lowry, *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992), 53. For Hızır Pasha's fountain see Bostan, "XV-XVI. Asırlarda Trabzon Sancağında Sosyal ve İktisadi Hayat," 39.

It is not surprising that the benefactor of the last large-scale construction in Amasya, Hızır Pasha, was the first governor of Trabzon following the city's conquest in 866/1461. The Trabzon campaign must have been a lucrative enterprise for the Amasyans in particular since the region was part of the province that had Amasya as its capital. Moreover, the campaign involved the incorporation of non-Muslim lands in which property rights were to a certain extent less immune to state encroachment. After three years of peace, another conflict broke out in the east following the death of Karamanid İbrahim Bey in 869/1464. This conflict eventually brought the Ottomans and the Akkoyunlus onto the battlefield of Otlukbeli in 878/1473 and resulted in an Ottoman victory. However, the complete subduing of the Karamanids and the full integration of the region in the Ottoman Empire did not occur until 888/1483.¹⁹²

During these conflicts, Bayezid rarely joined the military expeditions, and he was therefore deprived of the spoils of war. When he did join an expedition, as for example during the Otlukbeli battle, there was little territorial gain. The territories gained from the Karamanids were more immune to Ottoman encroachment since they belonged to Muslims and were mainly attached to local pious foundations. Attempting to obtain them, as Karamani Mehmed Pasha did after 883/1478, would have caused a tremendous public reaction. Any gain brought about by these military operations benefited Bayezid's rival Mustafa and Cem, whose capital Konya was the headquarters of the military operations in the East after 871/1466. Bayezid simply could not afford to undertake patronage activity through large-scale construction.

Prince Bayezid had his own reasons for not patronizing a Sufi lodge construction, but what about the Amasyan elite? Why did they not endow? The answer to this question lies in the first period in Amasyan history discussed above and the fifteen-year period following Bayezid II's accession to the throne, both of which witnessed dense waqf activities. What was present during those two periods and absent between 870/1465 and 886/1481 was the Amasyan elite's influence in the Ottoman capital. From 870/1465 onward, the Ottoman Empire witnessed very aggressive centralization and simultaneous marginalization of the provincial Turkish elites. The region lost a considerable portion of its population as they were forcibly resettled in the newly conquered Trabzon region in 866/1461.¹⁹³ In subsequent years, Amasya lost all vestiges of its autonomous days when Mehmed II standardized the currency and centralized the administration of mines and mints.¹⁹⁴ There were no longer any Yörgüç Pasha Akçesi. More importantly, local silver mines and mints began to be controlled by centrally appointed officials. The opening of Sahn-ı Semaniye Medresesi in Istanbul in 875/1470 and the creation of a centralized learned hierarchy negatively influenced local educational institutions, though the madrasas of Amasya did not

¹⁹² Doğan Yörük, "Karaman Eyaletinde OsmanlıTımar Düzeninin Tesisi (1483)," *Ankara Üniversitesi DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları* 25, no. 40 (2006): 177-202.

¹⁹³ "These communities include groups from the following Anatolian towns: Niksar, Sonusa, Ladik, Amasya, Tokat, Bafra, Osmancık, İskilip, Çorumlu, Gümüş, Merzifon and Samsun. The population of these forcibly deported and resettled cema'ats (communities) accounted for 202 hanes (households), or 78.30% of Trabzon's Muslim population in 1486-87." Lowry, *Studies in Deftology*, 53.

¹⁹⁴ Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, 40-59. Two of the abovementioned endowments were made by people who were in charge of the silver mine and mints in Amasya.

immediately lose their significance.¹⁹⁵ The last stroke came when Karamani Mehmed Pasha initiated his land reform in 883/1478, which abolished many land holdings in the region that had formed the financial basis of most of the endowments.¹⁹⁶

In such a context, Bayezid's refusal to send a rich merchant to Istanbul upon his father's request should be seen as a desperate attempt at resistance to Mehmed II's policies. The construction activity resumed immediately after Bayezid became sultan. In the fifteen years following Bayezid's enthronement, one observes a very dense endowment activity matched only by the period following the Ottoman interregnum. This time, however, the composition of the endowers was different. The endowers of this period were members of Bayezid's princely household composed of the *devshirme*, in contrast with the earlier endowers who had Turkish origins. This means that the centralization process continued, though Amasya reestablished its connection with the center in a different mode or through different actors.¹⁹⁷

Dynastic Struggle and the Fragility of the Princes' Treasure

In fact, Ottoman prince-governors rarely undertook a large-scale construction project in cities where they ruled. Rather, they promised to make considerable endowments to the cityfolk in the event they became sultan. There is one such story behind Bayezid II's complex in Amasya. Bayezid was true to his word to such an extent that the complex he built had the richest endowment in Anatolia. It even surpassed similar complexes in Bursa and Konya.¹⁹⁸ Such stories behind post enthronement endowments are quite common in the sources. The truth of the matter, however, is that princes never had enough money and when they did have expendible income they spent it to muster power for a possible succession struggle.

The fragility of a prince's treasure and the concern for the future of his household is apparent in the endowment activity of his mother. Bayezid's mother, Gülbahar Hatun, was apparently quite concerned about the future of her son, and related to that, her own properties. In order to secure her properties, she endowed the incomes of certain villages and fields to the Enderun mosque in 879/1474.¹⁹⁹ Among the endowed properties was the village of Ağılcık, which was turned back into a *Timariot* village in 884/1479 during the land reform.²⁰⁰ This shows that Mehmed II, or more probably his grand vizier Karamani Mehmed Pasha, the initiator of land reform that belonged to the rival princely faction, was aware of the property strategy employed by Bayezid's

¹⁹⁵ In this context the story of Taşköprüzade's ancestor, who was a scholar in a north central Anatolian town and refused Mehmed II's offer of a position in Sahn-ı Seman demonstrates the local ulema's reaction to centralization policies. Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 121-122.

¹⁹⁶ Özel, "Limits of the Almighty: Mehmed II's "Land Reform" Revisited," 233.Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Amasya no longer sent military and administrative manpower to the imperial center. Instead it provided religious and intellectual manpower as the central bureaucracy was taken over by *devşirme* families. Of these *devşirme* bureaucrats, some who happened to be in the household of Bayezid during his governorship of Amasya, extensively built madrasas and lodges in and around the city.

¹⁹⁸ Kayhan Orbay, "The Financial Administration of an Imperial Waqf in an Age of Crisis: A Case Study of Bayezid II's Waqf in Amasya (1594-1657)" (MA, Ankara: Bilkent University, 2001).

¹⁹⁹ Gürbüz, "Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," 209.

²⁰⁰ BOA, Ali Emiri, Mehmed I/ 2, 3

mother. When Bayezid became sultan, he rescinded this order and restored the endowments of the mosque. And history repeated itself on the eve of Bayezid's son Ahmed's succession struggle three decades later, when the prince's mother Bülbul Hatun endowed a portion of her properties to the same Enderun mosque in 911/1505.²⁰¹ In 917/1512, Bülbul Hatun built another complex and endowed a significant amount of property for its expenses. She designated her son Prince Ahmed, and upon his death Ahmed's eldest daughter and her daughters, as the administrator of the endowment.²⁰² Bülbul Hatun's delegation of the regency of the endowment through the matrilineal line after his son Ahmed clearly demonstrates that this endowment was established as a precautionary measure in the event that Ahmed failed in his bid for the sultanate.²⁰³

Patronage of Sufis through Alternative Channels

Returning to the period between in 870/1465 and 888/1483, there are almost no Sufi lodge waqfiyas available for the city of Amasya, which deprives us of the most significant set of evidence for the Sufi activities in the city.²⁰⁴ In the absence of waqfiyas, biographical dictionaries provide alternative sources for the life and deeds of the Amasyan Sufis. For instance, Taşköprüzade Ahmed Efendi (d.968/1561), the author of a pioneering biographical dictionary *Shaqā'iq* spent part of his youth in Amasya and could be a reliable source on local stories about the shaykhs who lived in the fifteenth century, though these stories must still be cross checked against other historical sources. Taşköprüzade mentions the father of a certain Molla Seyyid İbrahim (935/1528-29) who lived in the 1460's in the Yenice village in the environs of Amasya. Taşköprüzade provides neither his name nor his affiliation, but he notes that Bayezid, the prince-governor of Amasya, used to frequent Seyyid İbrahim's father to ask for his prayers. Bayezid apparently used to call this shaykh "father," which gives us an idea of the respect he had for him.²⁰⁵ One also encounters in Taşköprüzade's narrative the story of Abdurrahman-ı Erzincani (d. unknown) who lived in seclusion in the mountainous areas of Amasya at beginning of the fifteenth century.²⁰⁶ He was the representative of Safiyüddin-i

²⁰¹ Gürbüz, "Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," 210.

²⁰² Bülbul Hatun Waqfiya VGMA (917/1512)

²⁰³ A comparable case of endowment is that made by the mother of Mehmed I, Devlet Hatun exactly ten months after the death of his son in 824/1421. Devlet Hatun acts with the same motive, i.e to protect her own property. In the waqfiya she explains how the property endowed is the private property of his son Mehmed and legally inherited by her. Her explanation is most probably out of her fear of confiscation.

²⁰⁴ In Amasya, two endowments were made in this period. The first one is for the Temenna Fountain, in 872/1468, built by the manumitted slave of the aforementioned Hızır Pasha. This waqfiya also proves our point that wealth and power in Amasya were concentrated in the hands of Yörgüç Pasha family in the 1460's and when Hızır Pasha retired in 870/1465, his household also sought ways to secure their property. The story of the second endowment is even more interesting. It is by Müeyyedzade Ali Çelebi (d.888/1482), the father of the abovementioned Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman. This is a mixed endowment for his family and the mosque he had built in the city. The timing of the endowment is worth highlighting. Müeyyedzade Ali endowed his properties around the time an investigation into his son's dealings with the Prince Bayezid was ordered by Mehmed II. Müeyyedzade was probably concerned about a possible confiscation and established an endowment to protect them. He proved to be right as the execution order for his son arrived in Amasya a few years later. For the details and the dating of the investigation see Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 38.

²⁰⁵ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya*, 306.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 57-58.

Erdebili 735/1334 and likely temporarily fled the Timurid invasion. Abdurrahman-ı Erzincani apparently had quite a number of descendants dispersed around modern day Malatya, Adıyaman and Antep, which explains his multiple burial sites.²⁰⁷ Similarly in the *Terceme-i Nefehât* of Lami'î (d.938/1532), there is a story related by Bayezid's prayer leader in Amasya, Molla İmam Ali (d.927/1521),²⁰⁸ who in passing mentions that his father was among the disciples of Hacı Bayram-ı Veli (d.833/1429).²⁰⁹ It is highly possible that Molla İmam Ali was raised in a Bayrami lodge in Amasya established by his father following the passing of his shaykh Hacı Bayram in 834/1430. Lastly, for the life of Çelebi Halife (d. 899/1494), the most prominent figure in the transmission of Halvetiye Sufi order to the imperial center, only narrative sources survived.

These might be the two factors behind the lack of any princely patronage activity through large-scale construction of lodges or complexes in Amasya before 886/1481. Bayezid, however, supported Sufi orders through cash donations or land grants. The respective initiators of the Karamani and Rumi branches of the Halvetiye order, Çelebi Halife and Habib-i Karamani (d.902/1496) were both the beneficiaries of Bayezid's patronage. In the famous story of his aid to Bayezid during the succession struggle in the spring 886/1481, Çelebi Halife was given three-thousand silver coins to be used for the expenses of his lodge. Habib-i Karamani, on the other hand, mentions a plot of land in the town of İskilip and the incomes of two nearby villages as gifts of Prince Bayezid in the waqfiya of his mosque built in 881/1476. Also, Muhyiddin-i İskilibi, a Bayrami shaykh, appears in the accounts of both Taşköprüzade and Lami'î as a close confidant of Bayezid.²¹⁰ All of these figures were involved in the succession struggle of Bayezid; thus Bayezid's dealings with them should also be treated as calculated political maneuvers.

The other source that could fill the void left by the absence of waqfiyas is the Ottoman survey registers. The earliest detailed Ottoman survey listing the endowments dates from 937/1530 and provides the names and incomes of five other lodges in and around the city.²¹¹ Although Hüseyin Hüsameddin attributes a date of construction that falls in the period under study and an initiatic affiliation to these places, his claims remain unsubstantiated, and hence useless, without any supporting sources. Yet one could be sure that these lodges were active when this survey was done around 937/1530. Hence, I will list them assuming that some of them were active during the period under study. Three of these lodges were located in the city (those of Selamet Hatun, Ahi Sadeddin and Hamza Bey) and the others were located in the countryside (those of Shaykh Sadi, located approximately fifteen kilometers southeast of Amasya on the road to Tokat, and Shaykh Bayezid, located several kilometers north of Shaykh Sadi lodge). Here I should note that Ottoman survey registers only record those lodges that were supported by an endowment of mostly immovable property. There might very well be other locales for Sufi activities that fell

²⁰⁷ One of his descendants, namely Shaykh Muhyiddin, founded a madrasa complex in the southern Anatolian city of Gaziantep. Shaykh Muhyiddin also appears in a local story where he helps Selim I in defeating Mamluk army in Marj Dabik. Peirce, *Morality tales*, 47, 44.

²⁰⁸ For his date of death Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 309.

²⁰⁹ Lami'î Çelebi (d.1532), *Futūh al-Mucāhidīn li Tarwih al-Mushāhidīn*, ed. Süleyman Uludağ (Istanbul: Marifet Yayınları, 1980), 685.

²¹⁰ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 343.;Lami'î Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 580.

²¹¹ Gürbüz, "Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," 241-253.

under the radar of Ottoman surveyors, such as lodges that were not supported by any endowment, or private residences of shaykhs who kept their distance from the city's notables and/or the Ottoman officials.

Concluding Remarks

In his dissertation on the endowments of Amasya, Adnan Gürbüz extracts the names of twenty other lodges from the Ottoman survey registers of 937/1530 and 984/1576. He counts them among the Sufi lodges of Amasya but because he could not date and locate these lodges he puts them under the heading, "lodges with unknown dates and locations."²¹² However, these lodges were probably established outside the boundaries of the city and are listed in the Ottoman records as the beneficiaries of the endowment made out of the tax income of a particular village located in Amasya. An example might be given from the Shaykh Nusret lodge, which Gürbüz lists as a lodge in Amasya.²¹³ Ottoman records show that the revenues of Şeyhler and Yağlağ villages of Amasya were endowed for this lodge, though other documents point out that it was located in Tokat.²¹⁴ Similarly, one finds the names of villages outside Amasya, incomes of which were endowed for a lodge in Amasya. These villages were almost exclusively located in the Rum province.

A brief word on the characteristic of the landholding practice of the region (malikane-divani) would be suitable here. This land regime required the division of land taxes between state and local landholding classes, and in some cases the double taxation of the peasantry.²¹⁵ The nature of malikane ownership, in other words the rights of malikane holders over land, is subject to historiographical debate. Still, the malikane holders of this region enjoyed a freedom and privilege unmatched in other parts of the Ottoman state. Ottomans, on the other hand, were not fond of this arrangement and never missed an opportunity to interfere in land relations, whether by imposing new obligations on landholders, abrogating the rights of some landholders or abrogating certain rights all together. However, the Ottomans never enjoyed full control over the region since its incorporation into the empire and thus never had the opportunity to completely abolish the system. Local landholders, on the other hand, were aware of the Ottomans' intentions and always tried to keep their properties away from Ottoman encroachment by establishing endowments.

²¹² Ibid., 243, 250-253.

²¹³ Ibid., 251.

²¹⁴ See BOA, Ali Emiri Bayezid I/1, Murad I/1-9, Mehmed II/51. All of these documents are waqfiyas belonging to the previous century, yet certified by certain Mehmed Behçet, the judge of Zile during the reign of Mehmed II. The format and paper quality of almost all of the documents are identical. The dates of certification are not on the documents. However, one may speculate that the Ottoman centralization attempts at reallocating land in this period might be behind serial certification as a resistance strategy. Similarly to the abovementioned collective endowment strategy to the Yörgüç Pasha lodge-mosque, the population of Zile could have planned to collectively endow their properties to a well established local lodge in order to protect them from state encroachment.

²¹⁵ This land regime is sporadically observed in the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. But at this time, those provinces were not the part of the empire yet. Moreover in none of the other provinces, was this land holding practice as common as in the environs of Amasya. For a good summary of the scholarly discussion on this land regime and its probable origins see Özel, "Limits of the Almighty: Mehmed II's "Land Reform" Revisited," 230-234.

Most of the endowed properties were in the form of malikane revenues of the villages in the region. And in many endowments, especially the sizeable ones, one observes malikane incomes of villages outside the boundaries of a particular city endowed for endowments in that city's center. For instance, in the waqfiyas of Bayezid Pasha or the Yörgüç Pasha family, the names of villages around neighboring cities and towns such as Tokat, Çorum, etc., can be found among the listed properties.²¹⁶ The result is a regional network of endowed properties organized around a Sufi lodge in the urban center, and hence the material infrastructure of regional Sufi identity.

These networks served as one of the ways in which rural surplus was channeled into cities, which in turn made the city a platform where property relations were subject to various commercial, legal and political transactions. The revenue of the village of Bağluca is the perfect example in this context. This village was exempted from the obligation of raising a cavalryman (eşküncü) for the Ottoman army and in 872/1468 given to the mother of Bayezid, Gülbahar bt. Abdüssamed by Mehmed II.²¹⁷ After six years, in 878/1473, Gülbahar Hatun sold the village to Taceddin Bey b. Hamza Bali (d. 890/1486), the book keeper of Bayezid's court.²¹⁸ In 883/1478, the village's exemption was abolished and granted back to Gülbahar Hatun probably as a result of the abovementioned land reform.²¹⁹ This order was reissued a year later at the request of a certain Mevlana Şemseddin Ahmed, which means that the village had not reverted back to Gülbahar Hatun and had likely become subject to a legal dispute.²²⁰ Another example can be provided from Aşıkpaşazade's history, where he relates an anecdote about the wasteful son of a certain Hasan Pasha. This son was designated as the administrator of his father's foundation but had to sell his share in the endowment because he became poor.²²¹ The urban environment in this context provided a market where malikane properties –endowed or private property - were being sold, bought and used as collateral for loans. The complexity of malikane holdings and the endowment strategies probably facilitated this process.²²² The city also had the political and legal institutions where these relations were authenticated, reallocated or dissolved.

²¹⁶ See Bayezid Pasha Waqfiya, BOA, Ali Emiri, Mehmed I/ 2 and Bayezid Pasha Waqfiya (820/1418), VGMA 605/330 p. 244. For the villages in Yörgüç Pasha's endowment see Yörgüç Pasha Waqfiya (840/1436) VGMA, 747/245 p. 352

²¹⁷ Ali Emiri, Mehmed II/28

²¹⁸ Ali Emiri, Mehmed II/34

²¹⁹ Ali Emiri, Mehmed II/32

²²⁰ Ali Emiri, Mehmed II/24

²²¹ Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Osmān," 240.

²²² In the waqfiyas, one usually encounters the term "*sehim*", which literally means "share." Usually some of these *sehims* were endowed, while others were given as inheritance, as gifts or were sold. For instance, in Habib-i Karamani's endowment, the *malikane* tax rights were divided into sixty shares, out of which twelve were assigned to the administrator, while fifteen were endowed for his mosque, two for the scholars of Madina and four-and-a-half for his three sons. Out of the remaining shares, Karamani gave six to his sister as inheritance, six to his daughter as a gift and twenty-three to his wife as her dower (*mıhr*). After dividing his *malikane* tax rights in this way, Karamani endowed the shares given to the female members of his family (his sister, daughter and wife) to various charitable and non-charitable ends. He endowed the second set of properties to his mosque and his son Mahmud. Such division makes the collection of income almost impossible for the people in charge. That is why Habib-i Karamani stipulated that the income of the villages should be brought to the door of the administrator. Habib-i Karamani Waqfiya (881/1476), VGMA, 601/204 No: 269

Another factor that contributed equally to urbanization and to the increase in endowment activity was the Pax Ottomanica. Amasya joined the Ottomans much earlier than other cities of Central Anatolia, which gave it an advantageous position in the region. It was left untouched by Timur, who razed the city of Sivas at the beginning of the century. Similarly, in 877/1472, Uzun Hasan chose to burn the nearby city of Tokat rather than Amasya as a result of Prince Bayezid's presence in the city. While Amasya was being kept safe by the Ottomans, it also benefited from Ottoman conquests elsewhere. As the Ottomans conquered the surrounding regions, they confiscated land from elites and the local population. For instance, Mehmed I exiled the Tatars of İskilip to the Balkan town of Filibe and confiscated their lands at the beginning of the fifteenth century.²²³ From these lands, Bayezid likely gave a gift to Habib-i Karamani before 881/1476 in order to encourage him to settle in the vicinity. Habib-i Karamani later endowed the lands for his lodge mosque in 881/1476.²²⁴

As the center of regional Ottoman operations, Amasya benefitted from these conquests. But the increasing power of the Ottomans in the region also had negative consequences for the local landholding population. The Ottomans never missed an opportunity to interfere in local property relations and always sought further taxation. Luckily for the Amasyans, the Ottomans could not muster enough power to consolidate their hold over the region for a good part of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, there existed a continuous concern on the part of the landed elite over the future of their properties. This concern is one of the factors that encouraged endowment activities. In other words, Pax Ottomanica increased endowment activities in two ways. While providing the local elite imperial courts where they can endorse their endowments, the Ottoman center simultaneously pushed them to seek strategies to protect their malikane holdings against taxation and possible confiscation.

In the first paragraph of this conclusion, I mentioned that the malikane incomes of more than twenty villages in the vicinity of Amasya were endowed for the lodges outside of the boundaries of the city. This was also true for the villages of other cities in the region. Hence, regional networks of malikane properties were woven around endowments in the urban centers. In the countryside, peasants, on various occasions, came into contact with some of the residents of a particular lodge that was supported by their taxes. They might even be hosted in that lodge when in the city for legal or commercial business. Some lodges were even engaged in commercial activities.²²⁵ It is not too farfetched to assume that peasants could associate themselves with the lodge they supported with their taxes.

The same association existed between the urban population and the dervishes. A part of the population benefited from the endowments of a Sufi lodge. The Sufi lodge was a place where many local people were employed and many families were supported. It was also a major customer for local goods. In addition to providing commercial benefits, these lodges offered the urban population spaces for social interaction. One may safely conclude that both rural and urban

²²³ Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Osmān," 153.

²²⁴ Habib-i Karamani Waqfiya (881/1476), VGMA, 601/204 No: 269

²²⁵ Ocak and Faroqhi, "Zaviye," 472.

populations were interconnected through endowment activities, which formed an infrastructure that could homogenize the regional Sufi affiliation. This infrastructure in Amasya was filled with Halveti colors in the period under study. The following two chapters are the story of Halveti coloring of the region in the context of regional rivalries, center-periphery relations and the Ottoman incorporation of central Anatolia.

Chapter Two

The Urbanization of the Halvetiye: Amasyan Gümüşlüoğlu (804/1405-870/1465)

Introduction:

In the first half of the fifteenth century, the Halvetiye Sufi order, which originated in the rural areas of Azerbaijan, became a part of Amasyan socio-religious scene and assumed its urban identity. Amasya provided a safe haven for the Halvetiye order, which was challenged by urban and more established rival orders in the East and the West for the entire fifteenth century.²²⁶ The fusing of Halveti and Amasyan identities, which is the first step in the urbanization and “Ottomanization” of Halvetiye order, is the subject of this chapter. The history of the first documented Halveti community in Anatolia until the mid fifteenth century will provide a narrative framework.²²⁷ This community is named after its founder, Gümüşlüoğlu Pir İlyas (d. before 815/1412) and did not expand beyond the boundaries of the city. It was led by a local Gümüşlüoğlu family and financially supported by the endowments made by an Ottoman vizier in the early decades of the fifteenth century. This chapter concludes that the formation and development of the Gümüşlüoğlu Sufi community is indicative of both local events and region-wide trends. The aforementioned process of the urbanization of Sufi orders following the Ottoman incorporation of the region is exemplified in the case of the first Halveti community in Anatolia. The story of the foundation and development of this community is the first step in the urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiye order.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first part is the foundation of the Halveti community (hereafter Gümüşlüoğlu Halvetis) by Gümüşlüoğlu Pir İlyas in the first decade of the fifteenth century. In this part, the life and deeds of Pir İlyas will be narrated with reference to the urban context in which he operated and the first signs of the transformation (institutionalization and urbanization) of Halvetiye order under the leadership of Sadreddin-i Hıyavi (d. circa 1420) Pir İlyas’s shaykh.²²⁸ The second part will concentrate on the foundation and architectural implications of the Yakup Pasha Çilehanesi; the Sufi lodge that is the center of the Gümüşlüoğlu Halvetis and will be referred as the Çilehane hereafter.) This lodge was constructed immediately after Pir İlyas’s death and named after its patron Yakup Pasha. The size of the lodge suggests that it was planned and possibly started to be built when Pir İlyas was still alive. All aspects of the Yakup Pasha lodge, its benefactor, architectural layout, location and the network built around it will be analyzed in this part. In the chronological sense, the first two parts overlap with the first

²²⁶ See footnote no:18 above.

²²⁷ Available narrative sources give names of various ‘Halveti’ shaykhs who were active in Anatolia and in other parts of the Muslim world in the fifteenth century. However these sources do not provide information beyond the names of the shaykhs. Moreover the authenticity of the Halveti affiliation of most of these shaykhs is questionable. The Gümüşlüoğlu Halveti community is unique in the sense that it is documented by other historical sources, i.e. the waqfiya and the Sufi lodge in which they operated. These sources give information about the dervishes, the patron of the lodge and the network built around the endowment activity.

²²⁸ Although modern authors claim that he died in 860/1455, basing their arguments on Mahmud Hulvi’s statement (Mahmud Hulvî (d.1654), *Lemezât-ı Hulviyye*, 384.), this date does not make sense when crosschecked against the biographies of his disciples.

period of the Amasyan history (789/1387-825/1421) narrated in the previous chapter. The third part is about the flourishing of this community under the leadership of Pir İlyas's grandson Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami (d.circa 1460), which falls into the second period recounted before; i.e. autonomus Amasya under the rule of the Yörgüç Pasha family between 825/1421-870/1465. In this period the Gümüşlüoğlu community faced competition from the Zeyniye Sufi order, as the first Zeyni khalifa settled in the nearby town of Merzifon. At the end of this period, a new wave of Halveti propagators appeared in Anatolia, this time the khalifas of the celebrated Yahya-i Şirvani (d.868/1463), also a fellow disciple (*pirdaş*) of Pir İlyas in the circle of Sadreddin-i Hıyavi. The fourth part covers the period between 870/1465 and 886/1481, the third period in Amasya's history which was marked by the activities of prince Bayezid. It is about the waning of this community in Anatolia, in the face of the newfound aggressiveness of the Zeyniye order and the marginalization of Amasya. This period also witnessed a very close relationship between Gümüşlüoğlu Halvetis and Prince Bayezid, the rising political actor in the region.

Part I: Pir İlyas and the Foundation of the Gümüşlüoğlu Community (804/1402-815/1412)

The Timurid invasion of Anatolia in the early fifteenth century was in many ways decisive in the later history of the region. Timur, intentionally or unintentionally circulated the local elites and populations by devastating the cities, and exiling some and forcing others to flight. The introduction of the Halvetiye to Anatolia is much related to this historical process. Pir İlyas, the Amasyan scholar who later became a Halveti elder and initiated the first Halveti community in Anatolia, met the Halvetiye path thanks to his forced residence by Timur in Shirvan located in Northern Azerbaijan.²²⁹ By that time, the Halvetiye order, which was established by Ömer -el-Halveti (d.unknown) in the first part of the fourteenth century and mostly active mostly in the rural areas, was ready to expand in the cities.

Pir İlyas was a member of a prominent local family, originally from the Gümüş district, hence the nickname Gümüşlüoğlu.²³⁰ Hüseyin Hüsameddin on the other hand, argues that the name of the family comes from its ancestor, an Anatolian Seljukid commander Gümüşlü Muinüddin Yunus-u Müstevfi who died in 670/1272. Hüseyin Hüsameddin's sources are unknown but it is still safe to assume that Gümüşlüoğlu family was an old and a quite influential one, for their mansion was located at one of the prestigious spots in the city. The site was later to be occupied by the Ottoman palace for the princes-in-residence.

One can divide Pir İlyas' life into two major phases, before and after gaining affiliation with the Halvetis. Before his exile, Pir İlyas appears as a well-known local scholar in the biographical dictionaries and chronicles. Hüseyin Hüsameddin claims that he became the mufti in Amasya in 798/1395-96, and was occupying the same position at the time of Timur's invasion. Amasya was

²²⁹ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 573.

²³⁰ The district of Gümüş is mentioned in the previous chapter, in the context of silver mines and mints during the autonomous period of Amasya. For the nickname of Pir İlyas see the epitaph on the entrance of his tomb, published in Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, 121. Osman Fevzi Olcay, "Amasya Meşahiri" (Ankara, 1942), 13, Microfilm No: A-2797, Istanbul University Library.

fortunate to be spared by Timur, who decided to go westward, directly to Ankara. Nevertheless, Timur sent a local lord with a military contingent to gain control of Amasya.²³¹ Since this local lord had a notorious history in the region, the prominent Amasyan families formed an alliance against him and sent a delegation to Timur for intervention. According to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, Pir İlyas, as the mufti of the city, was the head of this delegation, which also included a prominent shaykh, a scholar and the city's judge.²³² This delegation petitioned Timur to change his decision to send the notorious local lord to rule Amasya. As an answer to this petition, Timur decided to send his son, accompanied with a prominent scholar and a considerable military force, to inspect the situation in place and to test the academic proficiency of the local ulema. It was Pir İlyas, who stepped forward and convincingly provided answers to the questions of Timur's delegation and saved the city from ultimate devastation. In the end, as a 'reward' for his services to Amasya, Timur assigned a position/exiled Pir İlyas to Shirvan in Northern Azerbaijan.

One can neither historically verify nor completely deny Pir İlyas' feat with Timur. The earliest Ottoman sources, the biographical dictionaries of Lami'i and Taşköprüzade, clearly state that it was Timur who sent Pir İlyas to Shirvan. This fact is enough to conclude that Pir İlyas should have had a certain degree of popularity and significant political connections which made his presence in Amasya intolerable for Timur. Another reason might be, as suggested by Curry, is Timur's intention of benefiting from Pir İlyas's scholastic and political aptitude in support of his empire by assigning a position in Shirvan.²³³ In fact Timur could have taken Pir İlyas with himself when he left Anatolia in the summer 805/1403 for his Georgian campaign, as suggested by Hulvi Mahmud Cemaleddin Efendi, (d.1064/1654, hereafter Hulvi), the seventeenth century Halveti hagiographer.²³⁴ This scenario is highly possible considering that Timur spent the winter of 806/1404 around Northern Azerbaijan before he returned to Samarkand at the end of the same year.²³⁵

Pir İlyas in Shirvan

Pir İlyas, during his years in exile, made the acquaintance of the dervishes of the Halveti shaykh Sadreddin-i Hıyavi, and later became one of them. In this part, a brief detour from Pir İlyas' story is in order for a contextualization of the Sufi community under the leadership of Sadreddin Hıyavi in larger historical trends as well as in the developmental trajectory of the Halvetiye order from a rural, non-institutional group of mystics to an urbanized and institutionalized Sufi order proper.

²³¹ For the story of the defeat of this local lord, see Anonymous, "Ahvâl-i Sultân Mehemmed," 317-319.

²³² What follows is Huseyin Hüsameddin's account of the events and therefore further research is needed to substantiate this story. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:165.

²³³ John J. Curry, "Defending Islamic Mysticism in an Age of Transformation: The Foundation and Development of the Sabaniye Branch of the Halveti Order in the Ottoman Empire as Reflected in Its Hagiographical Writings, 1500-1750" (Ohio State University, 2005), 23.

²³⁴ Mahmud Hulvî (d.1654), *Lemezât-ı Hulviyye*, 393 .

²³⁵ Lami'i's grandfather, Nakkaş Ali was also among the scholars and artists who were taken by Timur back to central Asia. Barbara Flemming, "Glimpses of Turkish Saints: Another Look at Lamii and Ottoman Biographers," *Journal of Turkish Studies*, no. 18 (1994): 65 .

In the fifteenth century the Islamic world witnessed major transformations that were triggered in part by the Mongol and Timurid invasions of the preceding two centuries. These transformations contributed to the birth to the three early modern Muslim empires in the sixteenth century, i.e. the Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals. In the socio-religious domain however, some of the Sufi orders as we know today, began burgeoning in the cities. It is not a coincidence that one encounters the concentration of figures who are the eponyms and “the second founders or masters” of the Sufi orders in the first half of the fifteenth century. Among these were the eponyms of the Bayramiyye and the Zeyniye, respectively Hacı Bayram-ı Veli and Zeyneddin-i Hafi (d.838/1435.) Again around 1430s, Yahya-yı Şirvani and Hacı Ubeydullah Ahrar (d. 895/1490), two young shaykhs began passionately proselytizing, which made them in retrospect very significant figures in the histories of the Halvetiye and the Nakşibendiye in that order.²³⁶ This period is critical in the evolution of the Sufi orders, where Sufism turned into a popular movement, and Sufi masters transmitted not only doctrine and rule to their disciples but also an allegiance to the particular ‘corporation’ or ‘order’.²³⁷ This in turn, by the end of fifteenth century, led to “separate crystallization of initiatic chains”, an essential part of a Sufi order proper.²³⁸

One of the major traits of this period was the expansion of Sufi orders in the cities through an organizational innovation, namely sending out representatives (khulafa’, sing. khalifa.)²³⁹ Lami’i, in the context of criticism of the indiscriminate and excessive use of this ‘organizational innovation’ attributes its origins to Yahya-yı Şirvani.²⁴⁰ A previously unearthed historical document, the endowment deed of the Çilehane indicates that although Yahya-yı Şirvani was famous for his number of disciples in the mid-fifteenth century, the use of this organizational innovation in Halvetiye should be viewed as a result of its evolution and the urbanization of Sufi activities in the post-Mongol Islamic world.

An Attempt at Reconstruction of the early History of the Halvetiye before 1400

The Halvetiye order had its origins in the rural areas of the northwestern Iran in the fourteenth century. The foundation of the order was attributed to Ömer el-Halveti by the Halvetis of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a period from which the earliest Halveti records survive. Modern researchers have discussed the origins of Halvetiye from many perspectives. Some

²³⁶ Hamid Algar, “Bahaeddin Nakşibend,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1989), 459.

²³⁷ Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 103. Trimmingham, 103.

²³⁸ Hamid Algar, “A Brief History of the Naqshbandi Order,” in *Naqshbandis : cheminements et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman : actes de la Table ronde de Sèvres*, ed. Thierry Zarcone, Marc Gaborieau, and Alexandre Popovi ć, Varia Turcica 18 (Istanbul ; Paris: Isis Press, 1990), 3 .

²³⁹ I owe the term to Leslie Peirce, “Changing Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire: The Early Centuries,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 19, no. 1 (2004): 23.

²⁴⁰ Lami’i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 575. When asked about this habit of his, according to Lami’i, Yahya-yı Şirvani used to say that a shaykh has only one real successor who would inherit his power of spiritual guidance, and the rest of his representatives are merely for teaching the manners of the path. Partly due to this habit, Yahya-yı Şirvani’s disciples and sympathizers had reached approximately to ten thousand, which earned him the posthumous title, *pir-i sani*, i.e. the second founder/second elder.

maintained that Ömer el-Halveti could not be the founder of the order²⁴¹, while others tried to trace back the origins of the Halvetis to the *Akhi* fraternities of earlier centuries. Regarding this discussion, one must first be reminded of what John Curry elegantly states: “given the state of our sources on late fourteenth-century northwestern Iran, perhaps it would be best to avoid seeing an absence of evidence as evidence of absence.”²⁴²

Yet, the origins of this order are not completely in the dark. Very careful reading of available historical sources of later centuries provides glimpses of the foundation the Halvetiye order. For instance, in Lami‘i *Terceme-i Nefehāt* –one of the earliest sources on the Halvetiye, the silsilas (Sufi initiatic chain of masters reaching to Prophet Muhammad) of the Eastern (Iranian and Central Asian) and the Western branches (Anatolian, North African and South European) meet in Ömer el-Halveti. Lami‘i tries to disassociate the Eastern and more educated Halvetis from the Western ones, which were his rivals in the Ottoman Empire.²⁴³ Still, the silsilas provided in his work shows that certain Sufis started to identify themselves or were called by others with the sobriquet of Ömer el-Halveti; a fact sufficient in itself to prove Ömer el-Halveti’s role as the founder.

In addition, one should abandon the anachronistic and ahistorical understanding of the foundation and the development of Sufi orders. The emergence of Halvetiye as an urban and institutionalized order at the beginning of the sixteenth century was the result of a two centuries long evolutionary process not devoid of tensions and not necessarily in a linear direction. Ömer el-Halveti and his followers probably resembled itinerant antinomian dervishes, rather than urban Halveti shaykhs in the mid-sixteenth century. Below is a brief attempt at reconstructing a loose account of the Halvetiye in the fourteenth century, mostly based on the earliest available narrative source that devotes separate entries for the earliest Halveti figures, i.e. Lemezāt. In Lemezāt, a sense of evolution comes to the fore between the lines that describe the lives and miraculous deeds of the earliest Halveti shaykhs.

Ömer el-Halveti, in Lemezāt, appears more like a rural antinomian dervish than an urban Halveti shaykh. Although he was from an urban elite family, Ömer el-Halveti chose to live the life of a dervish in the mountains, adopted a vegetarian diet and spent most of his time in ascetic retreats in the hollows of trees. When his shaykh died, Ömer el-Halveti initially refused to replace him as the head of the lodge, but later was miraculously convinced. One of his khalifas, shaved off the moustache of a new initiate and puts on him a woollen cloth -markers of antinomian dervishes -- and proclaimed accordingly: “Now you look like a Sufi!”²⁴⁴ One also sees Ömer el-Halveti staying distant from political figures. In one instance, he reproaches a local ruler for hunting the gazelles of his mountain.²⁴⁵ In another instance, when initiating Ahi Mirem Halveti

²⁴¹ Hans Joachim Kissling, “Einiges über den Zejnije-Orden im Osmanischen Reiche,” in *Dissertationes Orientales et Balcanicae Collectae I: Das Derwischtum* (München: Trofenik, 1986), 312-348. Martin, “A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes,” 276-277.

²⁴² Curry, “Defending Islamic Mysticism,” 23.

²⁴³ Lami‘i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 571.

²⁴⁴ The hagiography of Seyfeddin-i Halveti in Mahmud Hulvî (d.1654), *Lemezāt-ı Hulviyye*, 352.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 349.

(d.unknown), Ömer el-Halveti convinces his disciple not to seek the favors of political figures.²⁴⁶ Ahi Mirem Halveti, who is the second figure in the Halveti silsila, is the first Halveti shaykh to clash with the ulema.²⁴⁷ Such a clash indicates that with Ahi Mirem, Halvetis began to appear in urban environments and the ulema, an exclusively urban class, were disturbed by their activities.²⁴⁸ But Halvetis, at this point in their history, discover two things essential for their survival in the city; aggressive proselytization and political protection. Ahi Mirem propounds the idea of expanding the Sufi order within the larger region of northwestern Iran, yet he still keeps a distance between himself and political authorities.²⁴⁹

It was with Ahi Mirem's successor in the silsila, namely İzzeddin-i Türkmani, that the Halvetiye order began to establish a close relationship with the political authorities and expanded the base of the order within urban classes, such as merchants. İzzeddin-i Türkmani was himself a merchant and in his hagiography one observes him or his dervishes miraculously helping the merchants in need. İzzeddin-i Türkmani is also the first figure in the Halveti silsila to establish close relations with the political authorities. In one instance, he dines with Timur, who serves the shaykh illegally acquired (*haram*) food in order to test his genuineness. İzzeddin-i Türkmani miraculously passes the test, silencing both Timur and those who criticize him for accepting royal invitations. Another incident, a more revealing one in terms of the conflicts during the urbanization and institutionalization of the order, transpired between İzzeddin-i Türkmani and his son Pirzade Muhammed Takiyüddin. Pirzade chose the life of an antinomian dervish as a reaction to his father's close relationship with the political authorities.²⁵⁰ When Pirzade's father İzzeddin-i Türkmani try convince him to give up his drinking habits, Pirzade accuses his father of hypocrisy because of the latter's lack of criticism when the local ruler in his company displayed the same behaviors. According to Hulvi, Pirzade repented of his antinomian behaviors and became the dervish and son-in law of Sadreddin-i Hıyavi, who replaced his father as the head of the lodge.

Again, until this point in the history of the Halvetiye, the only source at hand is the seventeenth century hagiographer Mahmud Hulvi's Lemezât; a fact that makes the story above to some extent speculative. However the motifs in the stories around the lives of earlier figures show a gradual institutionalization and urbanization of the order within the first three generation of Halveti masters. And with Sadreddin-i Hıyavi taking over the "leadership of the order" at the turn of the fifteenth century, historians began to have more information about the early history of Halvetiye, a fact itself indicative of the increasing presence of the Halveti order in the cities. But it would take another century for the Halvetiye to be a full-fledged urban order.

Sadreddin-i Hıyavi (after 1400)

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 358.

²⁴⁷ In the story, Ahi Mirem argues that it is the Sufis, not the ulema, are the heirs to the prophetic knowledge. Ibid., 359.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 359, 361.

²⁴⁹ Ibid., 360.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 388.

Sadreddin-i Hıyavi was an illiterate shaykh and also a weaver who lived around Mushekka village nearby the city of Shirvan in Northwestern Iran, and died near the town of Shamakhi, both located in northern Azerbaijan.²⁵¹ Sadreddin-i Hıyavi is quite significant figure in the history of the Halvetiye, as demonstrated by the fact that he is the earliest figure in the Halveti chain of initiation, to be treated in a separate entry by the earliest Ottoman biographers.²⁵² First and foremost of all, he is the shaykh who trained Pir İlyas and Yahya-yı Şirvani; two shaykhs who could be credited with the foundation of the Ottoman Halvetiye. This could be the reason why Ottoman biographers had much information about him, as most of the stories about Sadreddin-i Hıyavi, in these sources, revolve around his relationship with the abovementioned two Sufi masters.

Sadreddin-i Hıyavi's only recorded deed to these two figures is the one with a well-educated disciple. In a state of spiritual ecstasy, this disciple proclaims that the source of Sadreddin-i Hıyavi's greatness is his learned disciples. Hıyavi, offended by this statement, makes an analogy between that disciple and a child who is spoiled by his father. He also hints that his disciples will be destroyed if he withholds his mystical support from them. Three days later, that disciple dies of diarrhea. The circulation of such stories shows that Sadreddin-i Hıyavi's illiteracy was criticized in the urban educated circles. Also the story hints at Sadreddin-i Hıyavi's special treatment of the scholars who decided to join Halvetiye. Such a treatment is in fact within the realm of possibility because the appreciation of scholars of the Halvetiye could help the order to survive in urban environments.

Sadreddin-i Hıyavi appears to be the first Halveti shaykh to have moved his lodge near a city - Shamakhi the capital of the northwestern Shirvan region. In his hagiography one could find signs of the reactions that Halveti dervishes received from the urban folk. For instance, in the initiation story of Yahya-yı Şirvani, Yahya-yı Şirvani's father suspects Halveti dervishes of pederasty and even conspires to kill Sadreddin-i Hıyavi. In another instance, Sadreddin-i Hıyavi secretly visits Yahya-yı Şirvani by entering the house from the chimney. Yahya Şirvani's father, upon being warned by one of the servants asks his son Yahya: "Your shaykh presents himself as sharia-abiding. Then what is the reason for coming down the chimney while the door was open?"²⁵³ It seems that the Halveti dervishes either represented themselves as law-abiding or were perceived as pretenders by the local population, or both were the case. In all cases one observes an effort on the part of the Halveti dervishes to be accepted by the urban folk. And after Sadreddin-i Hıyavi, all the Halveti figures in various chains of initiation were all urban educated figures –another point highlighting the importance of Sadreddin-i Hıyavi as a turning point in the urbanization of the order. But still one cannot really talk about the Halvetiye as a fully urbanized order. Sadreddin-i Hıyavi himself was buried in a village on the margins of Shamakhi.²⁵⁴ It is

²⁵¹ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 572.

²⁵² The rest of the Halveti chain is given in Hıyavi's biography by Lami'i as follows; Hıyavi's shaykh Hacı İzzeddin, Ahi Mirem, Pir Ömer, Ahi Muhammed, İbrahim Zahid-i Geylani and lastly Cemaleddin-i Tebrizi. The activities of the other Sufi masters in the Halveti chain of initiation are beyond the scope of this study. The source of this chain, admits Lami'i, is from a Nakşibendi shaykh named Uzun Muslihiddin Halife (d.unknown), Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid., 574.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., 572.

highly probable that his lodge was located nearby his tomb. It was his disciples Yahya-yı Şirvani and Pir İlyas who moved the order's activities to urban centers.

Another development along with the urbanization of the Halvetiye is the institutionalization of the order around an endowed lodge as a center for Sufi activities. There is no surviving endowment deed, nor does any other specific historical evidence that would clearly point out to the existence of an endowed lodge where Sadreddin-i Hıyavi operated. Yet one may deduce a certain degree of institutionalization from Sadreddin-i Hıyavi's family relations and the events following his death. Sadreddin-i Hıyavi accepted the son of his shaykh İzzeddin-i Türkmani, the abovementioned Pirzade as son-in-law. This decision was either taken by Sadreddin-i Hıyavi or his shaykh İzzeddin-i Türkmani. In both cases, it could be aimed at keeping the leadership of the lodge/order within the family. This strategy, which was to become quite common among the Sufi orders of later centuries, was employed by the Sufi shaykhs in order to satisfy the demands of his both physical and spiritual descendants, i.e. progeny and disciples in that order. On the one hand, a shaykh desired to keep his Sufi community intact after his death by leaving a successor who is acknowledged by his disciples. The successor will at the same time control the properties endowed to the Sufi lodge, on which the family of the deceased shaykh claim legal rights through inheritance. There would not be any conflict between the family and the disciples if the deceased shaykh's son is accepted by the Sufi community founded by his father. Otherwise, the shaykh could avert a potential tension between his progeny and disciples only by taking up one of the able disciples as his son-in-law. One may in fact argue that in this way the leadership of an order passes down to generations through matrilineal line. And the establishment of an endowment for a Sufi lodge becomes a process through which the family, disciples and in some case political authorities negotiate over their respective rights over the endowments and indirectly the future of the order.²⁵⁵ The establishment of kinship between Sadreddin-i Hıyavi and his shaykh İzzeddin-i Türkmani through the latter's son could be seen in the same light, i.e. as a strategy aimed towards keeping the family, Sufi community and the endowed properties from devolution through inheritance and succession struggles. One may even speculate that İzzeddin-i Türkmani's close relationship with the political authorities might have resulted in land or tax revenue grants from the state to his Sufi community, which were endowed later to his Sufi lodge. Moreover, the dispute over the leadership of the order after Sadreddin-i Hıyavi's death, between Pirzade –his son in-law and Yahya-yı Şirvani -his most able disciple, suggests that the process of institutionalization of the order around an endowed lodge began to take place at the time of Sadreddin-i Hıyavi.²⁵⁶

Yahya-yı Şirvani had to move from Shamakhi to Baku (a port town on the Eastern shores of Caspian Sea), after his fellow dervishes in Sadreddin-i Hıyavi's lodge chose Pirzade as their next leader. These two cities, Shamakhi and Baku, flourished under the Shirvanshah dynasty, with which Yahya-yı Şirvani maintained very good relations.²⁵⁷ When somebody prayed for his longevity, it is said, Yahya-yı Şirvani asked the person to pray for Sultan Halil's (d.867/1462) life too, adding that his years are bound to the those of the latter's. After thirty years of

²⁵⁵ See the establishment of Habib-i Karamani lodge in Iskilib below.

²⁵⁶ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 575.

²⁵⁷ W. Barthold, "Şirvanşah," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 11 (Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1967), 575.

preaching and training Sufis, Yahya-yı Şirvani died (nine months after Sultan Halil's death, reports Lami'i) in Baku, leaving very able disciples through whom the initiatic chain of Halvetiye branches out into four. And when Halveti dervishes began to write their histories towards the end of the sixteenth century, they began to perceive Yahya-yı Şirvani as *pir-i sani* (the second founder or elder) as the chain of initiations of all exclusively derived from him. Yahya-yı Şirvani's prestigious status in Halveti history is largely due to his aggressive proselytization which resulted in thousands of sympathizers, disciples and representatives in Iran, Anatolia and Egypt. Thanks to his aggressive proselytization, the Halvetiye order survived into the sixteenth century. And by the time the earliest Halveti hagiographies were being penned, only those whose silsila reaches to Yahya-yı Şirvani survived.

Yahya-yı Şirvani's aggressive proselytization is attributed either to his rivalry with Pirzade or to the rise of the militant Safaviye order in the region where he operated. While both explanations are quite valid, they tend to limit this development to a particular time and geography, i.e. Shirvan in the mid-fifteenth century. However, the available sources maintain that Halvetis kept aggressively -and at times indiscriminately according to Lami'i, proselytizing in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, in places where no Safavid threat existed. In addition, the plan of the Çilehane in Amasya below suggests that the idea of aggressive proselytization existed before Yahya-yı Şirvani. The high number of "çile" cells (rooms for ascetic retreat) in the Çilehane suggests that the building was designed for simultaneous training of numerous disciples in order to expand the following base of the order.²⁵⁸ Sadreddin-i Hıyavi, being the shaykh of both Yahya-yı Şirvani and Pir İlyas, should be credited with the idea of aggressive proselytizing.

In conclusion, the relatively high acquaintance of the Ottoman Halvetis with Sadreddin-i Hıyavi by comparison with the rest of the Halveti elders of the thirteenth century may not be the only reason why Sadreddin-i Hıyavi was treated in a separate entry in *Terceme-i Nefehāt*. Sadreddin-i Hıyavi seems to stand at a critical conjunction in the developmental trajectory of the Halvetiye, after which the Halveti dervishes started to be more institutionalized, urbanized and expanded their following in the region. Sadreddin-i Hıyavi, not Yahya-yı Şirvani contrary to the conventional argument of the Ottoman Halvetis of later centuries and the modern researchers, could be regarded as the second founder of the Halvetiye order.

Back to Pir İlyas' Story: The Foundation of a Community

Pir İlyas finds the Halveti community in Shirvan in the abovementioned state, that of a quasi-urbanized and institutionalized Sufi order led by an illiterate shaykh. Perhaps because of this, he cannot not bring his ego to fully submit to training by Sadreddin-i Hıyavi. Pir İlyas decides to return to his hometown Amasya, probably after Timur's death in 807/1405, which freed him from any obligations that might have forced him to stay in Shirvan.

After twelve years of rigorous self-discipline and training in Amasya, according to the tradition related by Lami'i, Pir İlyas decided to join the dervishes of Zeyneddin-i Hafi whose fame had

²⁵⁸ For the description of "çile" see Hamid Algar, "Çella," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1990, <http://www.iranica.com/articles/cella-term-referring-to-any-forty-day-period>.

reached Anatolia. Zeyneddin-i Hafi, the founder and eponym of the Zeyniye Sufi order, was a well-educated shaykh from Khurasan who mastered both exoteric and esoteric sciences, a characteristic which should have appealed to Pir İlyas.²⁵⁹ But in the night of the day he decided to leave Amasya for Khurasan, Pir İlyas finds himself instructed by the Prophet in his dream to go back to Sadreddin-i Hıyavi. He immediately travelled back to his initial shaykh Hıyavi, who had miraculously foreseen Pir İlyas' arrival and instructed his dervishes to welcome him. After Pir İlyas kissed his hand, Hıyavi, by performing yet another miracle, revealed Pir İlyas's dream and told his repentant dervish that only a few are blessed with the direct guidance of the Prophet himself.²⁶⁰ Pir İlyas stayed with the shaykh for a long time, until before returning to his native city in order to visit his parents. He then decided to stay in Amasya upon hearing the passing of Sadreddin-i Hıyavi.

This part of Pir İlyas's story is probably altered or even completely fabricated after his death. First of all, the length of his initial stay in Amasya cannot be twelve years as suggested by Lami'i because the endowment deed of the Çilehane shows that Pir İlyas lived at most seven more years following his initial return to Amasya. Also the fact that another story with almost identical motifs too originated from Amasya in the mid-fifteenth century, does lead one to conclude that both of these stories were the products of the local Sufi culture at the time. Still, this story gives us clues about the establishment of the first known Halveti community in Anatolia. As it suggests, Pir İlyas most probably spent some time in Amasya engaged in inward struggle for self-perfection rather than reaching out to the people. His ensuing quest for another Sufi master, hence a "better" link to a commendable/popular chain of mystical authority, however, indicates that at some point circa 1410, he must have decided to form a Sufi community and began proselytizing.

Urban Context: Urbanization of Sufi Activities via Lodge-Mosques

The urban context, i.e. the flowering of the city thanks to its newfound political identity and concurrent urbanization of Sufi communities around newly established lodges, also could have contributed to Pir İlyas's decision. The concentration of building activity on lodge-mosques (three out of five buildings in nine years) indicates that the city, which was untouched by Timur, became a center of attraction, for the wretched and displaced population of the neighboring cities. Moreover, because it hosted one of the three princely courts of the Ottomans, it constantly received émigré scholars and Sufis who were looking for new patrons. For instance, the aforementioned Yar Ali bin Siyavuş migrated from Sivas, with his family and later became the shaykh of the Yakutiye lodge. In such a chaotic environment, as Wolper puts it, these lodges provided a safe social platform where "a series of compromises and cooperative agreements between their founders, benefactors and users" took place and laid the foundation for the formation of new identities.²⁶¹ In this context, the Amasyan dervish and chronicler Aşıkpaşazade Ahmed's (d.907-8/1502) complaint about the doorkeepers of lodge mosques who does not let people in because they frequented another one in the city, is quite an illustrative example of how

²⁵⁹ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 547.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 573.

²⁶¹ Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, 13.

these ‘buildings were central to the identity formation.’²⁶² Doorkeepers of lodge-mosques not only supervised the beneficiaries of their lodge-mosques, but they also watched over the boundaries between different Sufi communities that were in the making.

Part II: The Çilehane: A Dervish Factory?

The Çilehane, the first surviving Halveti lodge was built in this urban context. The Çilehane’s plan suggests that it is one of the lodge-mosques built in the fifteenth century Amasya. In terms of its ⊥ shaped plan, the Çilehane is quite typical of its age. (see figure I) What makes it unique in the history of Ottoman religious architecture, however, is its twelve small rooms located on each sides of the main prayer hall for ascetic retreat. Moreover, the endowment deed of the Çilehane is the earliest available document on the history of Halvetiye. This document provides information about the networks of patronage relations, sources of income as well as the Sufi practices and daily lives of early Halvetis. Besides its content, the endowment deed itself is the written evidence for the first contact between the Ottomans and the Halvetis. Lastly, it demonstrates the role of the lodge-mosques as the “missing links” in the evolution of the Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire, from rural group of mystics to institutionalized urban orders.

The endowment deed of the Çilehane was drawn up in Safer 815/May 1412, which suggests that its construction began circa 811/1410. The Çilehane’s benefactor was an Ottoman vizier named Yakub Pasha who was from a family of hereditary governors of the nearby city of Ankara. Yakub Pasha later became the governor of the same city until his dismissal early in the spring of 814/1412. The endowment deed of the Çilehane states that Yakup Pasha was a disciple of the Halveti shaykh of the lodge. Yakub Pasha’s biography as well his probable motives for patronizing a Sufi lodge in Amasya have been explained within the dynamics of the Ottoman interregnum and patronage relationships in the previous chapter.

The endowed properties include the tax revenues of Yıgilgan village and three fields in the environs of Amasya, and of two villages in the vicinity of the nearby city of Sivas. These properties were divided into twenty nine shares and allocated to the following positions and expenses:

Position	Shares
Shaykh and his servant	7
Accountant	4
Administrator	2
Supervisor	1
Quran Reciter	3
Preacher	2
<i>Müezzin</i> (one who calls to prayer)	2
Six Hafız	6

²⁶² Ibid., 3.; Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), “Tevārih-i Āl-i ‘Osmān,” 247.

Door keeper	1
Expenses of Candles	1

Table I: Çilehane positions and distribution of the endowment income

Yakup Pasha underlines that his rights to the tax revenues of the villages of Sivas were granted as private property (*temlik*) by the sultan; a statement that could have been necessitated by fear of confiscation. Yakup Pasha's fears might have been justified because only the tax revenues of the Yıgılğan village are listed in the sixteenth century survey registers.²⁶³ The rest of the endowed properties could either be confiscated by the state or sold by the lodge's inhabitants in the course of the fifteenth century.

The administrator, supervisor and shaykh positions are combined and entrusted by Yakup Pasha to a certain Mehmed Buhari and his male descendants, and upon their extinction to Yar Ali b. Siyavuş and his son Müeyyed and their male offsprings. Here again, for the third time, one encounters the family of Yar Ali b. Siyavuş in the endowment deeds. This family apparently was quite prestigious in Amasya during this period. And one could argue that their social capital was well invested in the rest of the fifteenth century as Müeyyed's two sons, Abdurrahman (d.922/1516) and Abdürrahim (d.944/1537-38) became influential academic and Sufi figures in the sixteenth century Istanbul. Mehmed Buhari, the designated administrator, supervisor and shaykh of the Çilehane on the other hand raised a son who would later become the founder of the Ottoman calligraphy school and known as *Shaykh al-Hattatin* (Master of Calligraphers) Hamdullah Efendi (d.926/1520.) In sum, the networks built around this Halveti lodge were the first steps in the "Ottomanization" of the Halvetiye. And as the future decades demonstrate, Halvetis not only became Ottomans, they also actively contributed to the molding of the "Ottoman identity."

Location and Plan of the Çilehane

Çilehane was built on a hill located in the southeastern banks of the Iris River, overlooking both the Ottoman princes' residence near the river and the roads to Black Sea port of Samsun and the city of Erzincan in the East. The site of the Çilehane was called *Sevadiye* gardens by the local population and belonged to the Gümüşlüoğlu family. Pir İlyas's house, lodge and tomb were all located on the site. This part of the city was also the prime spot during the first decades of the fifteenth century. Along with the Çilehane, the residence of Mehmed I, the Yakutiye and Bayezid Pasha lodges were all built in this period. The patrons of the lodges built in this area during this period (Yakutiye, Bayezid Pasha and Çilehane) were all viziers of Mehmed I. It must have been the sultan who encouraged his viziers to cherish Amasya in general and this part of the city in particular, where his headquarters were located. Or, as in the case of the construction of the Çilehane, viziers could have volunteered to patronize these lodges in order to impress the sultan. In any case, one may safely conclude that the southeastern section of the city was the locale that most benefited from the interregnum period. Mehmed I's and his viziers' choice of

²⁶³ Gürbüz, "Toprak-Vakıf İlişkileri Çerçevesinde XVI. Yüzyılda Amasya Sancağı," 236.

this part of Amasya might be related to security purposes. Mehmed I's residence was located on the other side of the city from the road to Tokat, from where Timur or a rival Ottoman prince could enter Amasya. An approaching army had to pass the city and two forts surrounding it before reaching to Mehmed I's headquarters. (See figures V and VI)



Figure V: Approaching Amasya from Samsun or a view from southeast in 1915.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ Underwood & Underwood, *Amassia with its great natural defenses*, April 21, , Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/ppmsca.05021>.

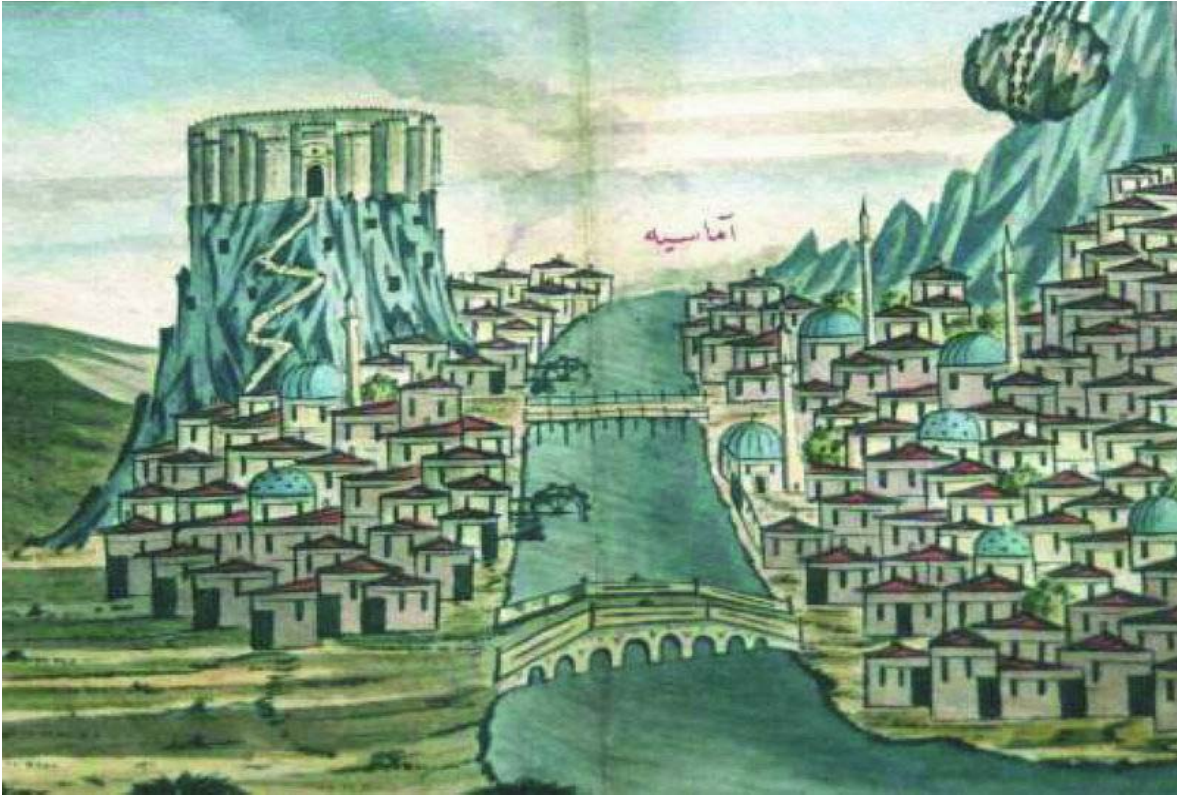


Figure VI: Approaching Amasya from Tokat or a view from Northwest in the nineteenth century.²⁶⁵

The most characteristic feature of the Çilehane is its physical layout. As seen in the plan above, (see p. 39) the main prayer hall at the center was surrounded by twelve cells for ascetic retreat. The cells adjacent to the prayer hall have two doors, one opening to the main prayer hall and the other to the corridors on both sides. Three of these rooms, the waqfiya stipulates, were for the prayer leader, muezzin and preacher, and six were for the *hüffaz*. The waqfiya also lays down the condition that all residents of these cells were to be dervishes. So we can assume that the prayer leader, muezzin, preacher and the six *hüffaz*, along with the residents of the remaining three cells, were all –most probably unmarried- disciples in training at the lodge.²⁶⁶ The varying amounts from the endowment income were allocated to these dervishes; a fact suggesting that these dervishes were resident fellows with stipends and there existed an overlapping division of labor and degrees of hierarchy between them. These dervishes, in addition to their specifically assigned duties, were supposed to join the classes of the shaykh and participate in collective dhikr al-tawhid (recitation of the formula “there is no God but Allah”) after the morning and

²⁶⁵ Bozoklu Osman Şakir, “Musavver İran Seyahatnamesi,” 1810, no: 822, Fatih Millet Library.

²⁶⁶ *Hüffaz* were most likely the first graduates of the Hacı Mahmud Çelebi lodge and school for *Hüffaz* built in 807/1405. One of the witnesses of the waqfiya of this school was the grandson of Yar Ali b. Siyavuş, who was to be the shaykh of the Çilehane in the event of the present shaykh's death without heirs. Connected in this way, both the Çilehane and Hacı Mahmud Çelebi lodge and school of *hüffaz*, demonstrate how the regional network of lodges operated.

afternoon prayers. The main prayer hall in the middle was designed for the classes and the hall in north for dhikr gatherings. One of the two rooms flanking the dhikr hall was the burial ground of the shaykhs, while the other was most probably the room where the shaykh himself resided.

In conclusion, the waqfiya of Yakup Pasha Çilehanesi provides the written evidence of three interconnected historical processes in the evolution of the Halvetiye order; institutionalization, Ottomanization and urbanization. The network established at the foundation of the Çilehane, between an Ottoman patron, local elite and Halveti dervishes was the first step in the “Ottomanization” of Halvetiye. The regulation of the hierarchy and practices of the order, which is expressed in the endowment deed and dictated by the architecture of Çilehane, indicates a certain degree of institutionalization. Finally the location of the Çilehane, i.e. its physical proximity to the flourishing urban center including political and religious institutions, suggests the urbanization of Halvetiye.

Lastly, the physical layout of the Çilehane leads one to revisit the conventional belief that Yahya-yı Şirvani initiated the Halveti habit of “aggressive proselytization,” thus to reconsider the argument that he is the second founder of Halvetiye. The unusually high amount of *çile* cells were most likely the idea of Pir İlyas. Pir İlyas, similar to Yahya-yı Şirvani but decades earlier, must have been inspired by Sadreddin-i Hıyavi to train as many khalifas as possible. Although Pir İlyas did not live to see the end of the construction of the Çilehane, his successors, thanks to Pir İlyas’s vision, became able to closely supervise the training of at least twelve disciples at the same time. One might even say that Çilehane was as envisioned by Pir İlyas as a “dervish factory” that is designed for “mass production” of khalifas in order to expand the following base of the order, which would in turn make Amasya a significant Halveti center in the Ottoman Empire and the rest of Anatolia. To sum up, this building is the architectural materialization of the most critical phase in the evolution of the Halvetiye from a rural Azerbaijani order to an urban Ottoman one.

Part III: Gümüşlüoğlu Halvetis under the leadership of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami

Pir İlyas died before the endowment deed of the Çilehane was drawn up in 815/1412.²⁶⁷ His activities in the city were probably centered on his private residence located a few hundred meters northeast of the mosque built by his family, i.e. Gümüşlüoğlu or Taciye mosque.²⁶⁸ After his death, his prominent dervishes went into retreat to look for a sign from God about their next

²⁶⁷ Although the exact date of his death is unknown, one can safely assume that he died sometime before May 1412. Both original sources and the secondary literature give diverse answers to the question of dating Pir İlyas’s death. Aşıkpaşazade counts him among the Sufis of the reign of Murad II (824/1421-855/1451), while according to Taşköprüzade he emerged at the time of Mehmed I (815/1413-824/1421.) Such categorizations, of course do not give us the exact date. Besides, since his family name, i.e. Gümüşlüoğlu, was shared by his descendants which have the Ottoman sources confuse him with his grandson Abdurrahman-ı Sani (d.903/1497-98)

²⁶⁸ Hüseyin Hüsameddin, again without giving an explicit reference to the foundation deed of this mosque gives 1325 as the date of construction. He also says that Pir İlyas established the Taciye Dergahı before his death in 813/1410-11. This date is probably an approximation of Hüseyin Hüsameddin based on the Çilehane’s waqfiya since it is absent in the available historical sources. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 194.

shaykh; a practice indicating that Pir İlyas had formed a Sufi community in Amasya which had to be sustained under a new leadership.²⁶⁹ In the end, dervishes reached a consensus on Shaykh Zekeriya (d. before 815/1412), about whom nothing but the location of his grave, the enclosure of the Saraçlar mosque in Amasya, is known.²⁷⁰ The fact that Shaykh Zekeriya was buried at a place other than next to his master does lead us to two conclusions; the Sufi community he inherited did not have a proper asitane, i.e. a center for their activities and/or he was not family.

In fact, the developmental trajectory of the Gümüşlüoğlu Sufi community following its founder's death is quite a reminiscent of the events following the passing of Celaleddin-i Rumi in 672/1273 and the subsequent formation of the Mevleviye Sufi order.²⁷¹ Rumi, for a decade, was replaced by Hüsameddin Çelebi, who was his most prominent disciple, though not related to the family. When Hüsameddin Çelebi died in 683/1284, unlike Shaykh Zekeriya whose master did not have a proper tomb, he was buried next to his master's grave over which a baldachin tomb had been built a year after Rumi's death.²⁷² Following Hüsameddin Çelebi's death, Rumi's son Sultan Veled (d.712/1312), also a disciple of his father's successor, took over his community. And under Sultan Veled's long leadership the community of Rumi's sympathizers transformed into the Mevleviye Sufi Order.

It seems that Pir İlyas did not have a son or more preferably a son in-law/disciple to take over his community of dervishes. His son-in-law, a scholar named Molla Hüsameddin, was not devoted to practicing Sufism, but Hüsameddin's son was.²⁷³ Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami (d.circa 1450), who took the penname Hüsami after his father, was among the disciples of his grandfather's successor Shaykh Zekeriya. After his shaykh died, Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami took over his grandfather's 'prayer rug,' i.e. the leadership of the order. The Sufi community founded by Gümüşlüoğlu Pir İlyas, was back under the leadership of the Gümüşlüoğlus and this Sufi community always remained a family enterprise. Yet Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami's historical persona has presented a riddle to both contemporaneous and modern authors. For the purposes of this study Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami's identity and thus his legacy are quite critical.

A Historical Riddle: Who was Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami?

The oldest and also the most reliable historical evidence at hand, the endowment deed of the Çilehane clearly states that Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami was the mufti of Amasya around 1412 and

²⁶⁹ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 573.

²⁷⁰ Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 165.Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 573.

²⁷¹ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, "Mevlevilik," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 8 (Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1967), 165.

²⁷² Haşim Karpuz, "Mevlana Külliyesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 29 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1991), 448.

²⁷³ It is highly possible that this could be Molla Hüsameddin Tokadi (d.1456 or 1460), also known as Ibn Meddas. He was the teacher of Taşköprüzade's great uncle Mehmed b. İbrahim Niksari. Although Taşköprüzade does not establish a connection between Hüsameddin Tokadi and Pir İlyas's, the facts that he was from Tokat, he authored a treatise defending the Sufi practice of *devran* and was the only Hüsameddin among the scholars of the reign of Murad II provide a weighty circumstantial evidence for his relation to this family. Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya*, 102-103. For his date of death see Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, 686.; Nihat Azamat, "II. Murad Devri Kültür Hayatı" (Ph.D, İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 1996), 61.

the successor to his grandfather Pir İlyas's post. A part of Yakup Pasha Çilehanesi was designated to be the tomb of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami in this endowment deed. This endowment deed, which until now was undiscovered, clearly settles the questions about the identity of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami. However, the tomb in the Çilehane gives 903/1497-8 as the date of death of the one buried there, who is also identified as Shaykh Hüsami, descendant of Pir İlyas. It would be a forced interpretation to accept this date as that of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami's death, because in that case he would have lived for 111 years, given that he was the mufti of the city at the age of 25. Even if one accepts such a lengthy period of life, the tombstone negates this argument by clearly stating that Shaykh Hüsami lived 63 years. In this case the person buried within the Çilehane must be the son or grandson and the successor of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami. In conclusion, it is hard to establish the succession of shaykhs after Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami, though we are positive that Gümüşlüoğlus were in charge of the Çilehane in the fifteenth century.²⁷⁴

The problem of establishing the true identity and the succession of the Gümüşlüoğlu shaykhs has implications for the treatment of two major Ottoman narrative sources at hand. The biographical dictionaries of Lami'i and Taşköprüzade, apparently deprived of the knowledge provided by the endowment deed, argue that the grave inside the Yakup Pasha Çilehanesi belongs to Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami. Moreover, they both err in explaining the nickname 'Gümüşlüoğlu' by attributing it to the geographical origins of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami's father. Such mistakes do not necessarily make these sources less credible or even useless. The fact that these sources attribute the Gümüşlüoğlu nickname to Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami, rather than to his grandfather indicates that Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami was the source of the Gümüşlüoğlu family's oral history.

According to both Lami'i and Taşköprüzade, Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami was a melancholic shaykh who loved *sema* and writing poetry. (See figure VII below.)²⁷⁵ They also add that he was matchless in dream interpretation, a skill that probably aided the first Halvetis of Anatolia to cope with the competition brought by another nascent Sufi community in Anatolia, namely the Zeyniye. The abovementioned story of Pir İlyas's longing to be a disciple of Zeyneddin-i Hafî, his subsequent dream and his final return to the Halveti way is altered or fabricated by either Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami or his dervishes around the time the first Zeyni khalifa began preaching in the nearby town of Merzifon in 1430's.

The First Zeyni Challenge: The Arrival of Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni²⁷⁶

From the 1430's on, along with the Halvetiye two other Sufi orders began to emerge in the Ottoman lands; namely the Bayramiyye and the Zeyniye. The Bayramiye, founded by Hacı Bayram-ı Veli of Ankara, not only shared a common initiatic ancestry with the Halvetiye but

²⁷⁴ This confusion persists and even augments in the works of modern authors. For instance, Uzunçarşılı who reads the tombstone in his work on the epitaphs of the region attributes the tomb to Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami. Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, 122.

²⁷⁵ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 574 .

²⁷⁶ The second Zeyniyye challenge came from the followers of Taceddin İbrahim when Alaeddin-i Halveti showed up in Bursa and Istanbul in the early 1460's. (See p.144 and 152) The third challenge was intertwined with the Ottoman dynastic struggle, as Çelebi Halife countered Shaykh Vefa in 1481. (see p.177)

also was a product of same political geography; i.e. the Rum. However the Bayramiye never grew out to be a rival of Halvetiye, despite the fact that both orders contested the same territory.²⁷⁷ But Zeyniye, thanks to its scholarly founder and connections to the rival Karaman region, did pose a serious challenge to both of these orders.

The Zeyniye Sufi order is one of the most significant socio-religious actors in the fifteenth century and it is, to the same degree, understudied in the literature.²⁷⁸ The history of the Zeyniye is better documented than that of the Halvetiye, due to latter's relatively more recent history and its more scholarly and urban character. The founder and the eponym of the order, Zeyneddin-i Hafî was a native of Khwaf in Khurasan, where he was born in 757/1356.²⁷⁹ After years of study in major centers of the Islamic world, Zeyneddin-i Hafî was initiated to the Sufi path in Egypt, by Nureddin el'Misri (d.unknown.)²⁸⁰ His activities were mostly concentrated in and around Herat, the Timurid capital in Khurasan. During his travels to Egypt and the holy cities, he established lodges and left behind able khalifas to sustain his efforts to expand Zeyniye in the heartlands of the Islamic world. These travels provided opportunities for Zeyneddin-i Hafî to establish new contacts and strengthen his relationships with scholars and other Sufi shaykhs and, as a result, increase his fame in the Islamic world in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Zeyneddin-i Hafî's first khalifa in Anatolia was a certain Shaykh Muhammed (d.unknown), who came to the western Anatolian city of Ayasuluğ at the turn of the fifteenth century. Ottoman sources mention his name in the context of the biography of his scholar disciple Şihabüddin Sivasi (d.860/1456).²⁸¹ Apparently Shaykh Muhammed was not successful in spreading the order, as one does not encounter any Zeyni activity in the city and the region later in the fifteenth century.

Another khalifa of Zeyneddin-i Hafî, also a native of Merzifon located forty kilometres northwest of Amasya, came back from his training in Khurasan towards the end of the 1430's. This shaykh, namely Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni (d.865/1461) became the first local Sufi in Amasya region with a known affiliation and a direct dynastic patronage.²⁸² Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni was from a scholarly family in Merzifon, where he was a madrasa student at the time of his decision to become one of the dervishes of Zeyneddin-i Hafî.²⁸³ He joined his shaykh

²⁷⁷ This is evident from the biographies of the Bayrami shaykhs who never took an antagonistic attitude towards Halvetis in the following centuries. The closeness between the two orders could partially be explained by their subscription to the same political network. (See the alliance between them around the dynastic struggle of 886/1481 in pp.161-165

²⁷⁸ Hans Joachim Kissling is one of the first to point out the significance of this order in understanding the networks of scholars and Sufis in the fifteenth century. Kissling, "Einiges über den Zejnije-Orden im Osmanischen Reiche." For a detailed account of Zeyniye's history, practices and doctrines see a recent monograph in Turkish (Reşat Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı: Zeyniler (Zeynis: The Sufi Order of Intellectuals)*, 1st ed. (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003).)

²⁷⁹ D. S. Margoliouth, "Zeynüddin," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 13 (Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1967), 556.

²⁸⁰ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 547-548. Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 15.

²⁸¹ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya*, 31.

²⁸² Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 75.

²⁸³ Berin Taşan, "Merzifonlu Şeyh Abdürrahim Rumi ve Vakfıyesi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 13 (1981): 91-100.; Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 553-555.

when the latter was in Egypt in the 1420's and he traveled with him back to Khurasan. His *icazetname* is dated Muharem 832/October 1428, which means that he returned to his hometown around 1430.

The town of Merzifon, in this period, is the closest urban center to Amasya. It was also the first place in the region, to have a direct dynastic patronage, as Mehmed I had his madrasa built in 817/1414-15.²⁸⁴ One of the professor of this madrasa was probably Molla İlyas-ı Rumi (d. after 821/1418-1419), a sympathizer of Sufi activities who also served as the judge and the mufti of the town.²⁸⁵ Although Taşköprüzade does not list him among the Sufis of the Murad II's reign, he implies that Molla İlyas had Sufi tendencies, and adds that he received his education in Islamic law from Hacı Muhammed Parsa, a notable shaykh in the Nakşibendi silsila. The town also hosted another local Sufi figure from the other end of the sharia-abidance spectrum, an antinomian dervish named Piri Baba (d. after mid fifteenth century).²⁸⁶ Although Bektaşî of later centuries claimed this dervish as one of their own, Piri Baba's initiatic affiliation cannot be determined. He apparently lived in the bathhouse and demonstrated ecstatic outbursts. Among his miraculous deeds recounted in the oral tradition; one of them is particularly telling for our purposes since it underlines the rivalry between Amasya and Merzifon as two urban centers. In this story, Piri Baba answers the religious question of a scholar from Iran, who was not satisfied with the answer provided by the scholars of Amasya.²⁸⁷

At the time of Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni's return, there was already a Sufi lodge existing in the town that had been operating for almost a decade.²⁸⁸ Devlet Hatun bt. Abdullah (d. unknown) had this lodge built and endowed the properties she inherited from her son Mehmed I. A certain Yusuf b. Abdullah and his progeny, and upon their extinction the person selected by the judge of Amasya, were designated as the administrator. Among the stipulations of the endowment deed was the appointment of a shaykh who would attend the guests in observance of their ranks.²⁸⁹ The lodge was composed of a porch and two separate dwellings and was adjacent to the madrasa built by the same sultan in 820/1418-19. The lodge was run by seven people; an administrator, a shaykh, a prayer leader, a nakîp who was responsible for maintenance, a cook, a bread maker and a wood cutter. These people were paid both in Ottoman silvers and multiple *müddes* (two handfuls, approximately 500 grams) of wheat. It was moderately sized community, probably served not only guests or the local indigent, but also the students of the nearby madrasa.

²⁸⁴ *Türkiye'de Vakıf Abideler ve Eski Eserler I: Adana, Adıyaman, Afyon, Ağrı, Amasya, Ankara, Antalya, Aydın* (Ankara: Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, 1972), 316.

²⁸⁵ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d. 1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 104-105.

²⁸⁶ Suraiya Faroqhi tries to determine the historical accuracy of his hagiography and concludes that he lived around mid-fifteenth century. Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Life Story of an Urban Saint in the Ottoman Empire: Piri Baba of Merzifon," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1978): 662-3.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 672.

²⁸⁸ The endowment deed at hand was drawn up approximately a year later than Mehmed I's death, exactly on 16 April 1422/23 Rebiulevvel 825. It is probably like Mehmed I's other mosques in Dimetoka and Bursa, the construction of which was completed by Murad II following his father's death. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri [Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri, 806-855 (1403-1451)]*, 191.

²⁸⁹ Devlet Hatun Waqfiya, VGMA, 746/27 p.58 .

Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni became the shaykh of this lodge. (see figure VII) Lami‘i claims to have seen the imperial order assigning Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni with a five Ottoman akca and ten müdds of wheat as a daily pay in 835/1431-32 and another one dated 843/1439-40 that increased his salary by three akcas. Among various reasons for Ottomans’ preference for Zeyni shaykhs, especially that of the Ottoman ulema, two are their urban and scholarly characters. Particularly in this period, the Ottoman ulema were composed of the alumni of the colleges in the cities where Zeyni dervishes were active. It is no coincidence that the most influential Ottoman scholarly family, the Fenaris, was both sympathizers of the Zeyniye and graduates of Cairo madrasas.²⁹⁰ Similarly, Molla Musannifek (875/1470-71) of Herat probably met Zeyni dervishes back at home. Of course this fact alone does not explain the appeal of Zeyni shaykhs; they were also scholars with academic works and pages long *icazetnames*. The fact that Lami‘i was able to reproduce Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni’s *icazetname* in the 1510s and decided to include it in his work, proves the extent of these *icazetnames*’ prestige and circulation among the Ottoman elite. The ulema and the statesmen found the Zeyniye prestigious enough to embrace. And finally such a status and support could have made the Zeyniye quite popular among lower classes since affiliation to this order could have been perceived as a social ladder.

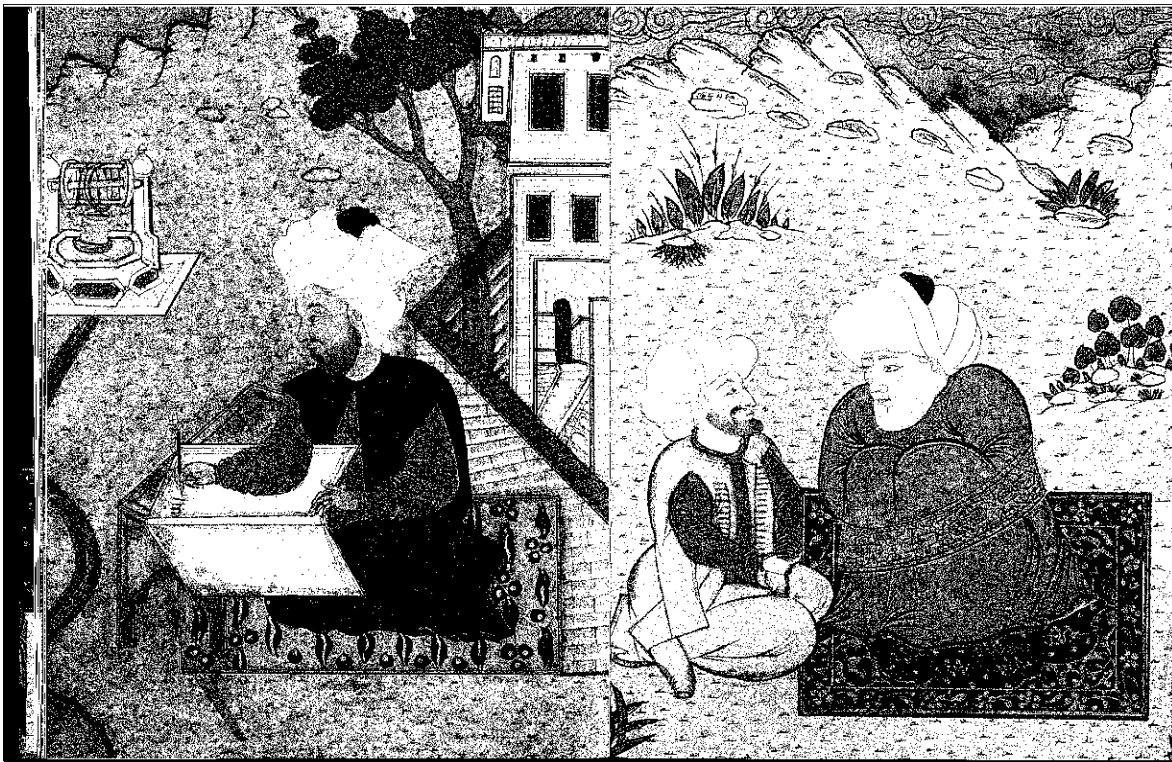


Figure VII: Seventeenth depictions of Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni (left) and Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami (right)²⁹¹

²⁹⁰ For example see Molla Fenari’s (d.834/1431) ode celebrating the arrival of one of the Zeyni khalifas to Anatolia in Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’māniya*, 26-27.

²⁹¹ Although this depiction is from early seventeenth century, its presentation of Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni as more scholarly as opposed to Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami is quite illustrative of the point made in this section. The illustration belongs to Ahmed Nakşi, who was commissioned in 1619 by the grand vizier Öküz Mehmed Pasha. The manuscript

Coping with the Zeynis: Invention of Dreams

The coping strategies of rival local shaykhs combatting Zeyni popularity were threefold; criticizing the state-sponsorship, offering dream stories as an alternative to the illustrious Zeyni *icazetnames* and lastly appropriating Zeyni methods of training. The Halveti dervishes of Amasya led by Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami most probably were not among the Sufis who criticized the Zeynis, more particularly Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni for being supported by the Ottoman dynasty, since their situation was somewhat similar in that respect. But apparently there were other critics, perhaps the abovementioned Piri Baba, to whom Merzifoni replied by saying that he merely reduced the multiple sources of income (*rızk*) to one in order to curb the demands of the ego, (*nefs*.)²⁹²

The initiation story of the Bayrami shaykh Akşemseddin is quite an illustrative example of both strategies. This story is fabricated.²⁹³ Akşemseddin (Mehmet Şemseddin Bin Hacı Hamza, d.863/1459), a young scholar in Osmancik (located 50 kilometres west of Merzifon, 100 kilometres west of Amasya) with a prestigious ancestry, initially despises Hacı Bayram-ı Veli and his dervishes for their occasional mendicancy. Upon hearing of Zeyneddin-i Hafi's fame, he decides to join his dervishes in Egypt.²⁹⁴ On his way to Egypt, he stops at Aleppo. And in the night before his departure, he sees himself in a dream, with a chain around his neck, the end of which is held by Hacı Bayram in Ankara. Akşemseddin repents of his decision and goes back to Ankara, and finds Hacı Bayram and his dervishes harvesting vetch as a means to support themselves.

Akşemseddin's story originated in Amasya in the second half of the fifteenth century. The father of one Bayezid II's military judges, namely Ali Efendi (d.927/1520-21), narrated this story to Lami'i. Ali Efendi was the prayer leader of Bayezid II, when the latter was the prince-governor of Amasya. Ali Efendi's father, who was a disciple of Hacı Bayram, told this story to his son.²⁹⁵ The similarity of Akşemseddin's and Pir İlyas's stories, in addition to the fact that they were contemporary residents of Amasya region, constitutes solid circumstantial evidence that they were fabricated by Bayrami and Halveti communities to counter the challenge posed by Zeyni shaykhs in the region. One might even speculate that Lami'i's remarks about the dream interpretation skills of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami could be an allusion to the fabrication of Pir İlyas's dream story.

Coping with the Zeynis: Appropriation of the Zeyni Methods of Training?

is located in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (H. 1263) and published in Taşköprülüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *Osmanlı Bilginleri : Es-sakaiku'n-nu'maniyye fi ulema-id-devleti'l-Osmaniyye*, trans. Muharrem Tan (Istanbul: İz, 2007), 78-79. For Ahmed Nakşi see "artnet.com: Resource Library: Ahmed Nakşi," n.d., <http://www.artnet.com/library/00/0012/t001245.asp>.

²⁹² Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 555.

²⁹³ Ali İhsan Yurt, *Akşemseddin, 1390-1459: Hayatı, Eserleri (Aş'âr, Hall-i Müşkilât, Mâdda al-Hayât, Maktübât, Makâmât-ı Evliyâ, Vakfnâme)* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, İlahiyat Vakfı, 1994), 22-23.

²⁹⁴ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqâ'iq al-Nu'māniya*, 226-227.

²⁹⁵ Lami'i , 685

This story could also be an allegory for the oscillation of the Gümüşlüoğlu Sufi community between the Halvetiye and the Zeyniye, around the time of its establishment. By the person of Pir İlyas, the Gümüşlüoğlu Sufi community could be implied. This was a period when the both the Halvetiye and the Zeyniye orders were not yet fully institutionalized. Their identities were not crystallized to the degree of mutual exclusivity. For example, one cannot find a reference to the Halvetiye in the endowment deed of the Çilehane. In fact, the earliest written record to mention “Halveti” as a Sufi affiliation is in a letter to Mehmed II, written by penned by Seyyidi Halveti (d.940/1533-34) in the late 1470’s.²⁹⁶ Moreover, some of the Sufi practices stipulated in the Çilehane’s endowment deed do resemble those prescribed by Zeyneddin-i Hafi in his *al-Wasaya al-Qudsiyya*. According to both, dervishes are expected to perform dhikr al-tawhid after the morning and afternoon prayers. Again both documents encourage study of the Islamic sciences, though the Çilehane waqfiya prescribes attendance at a lecture by the shaykh while in *al-Wasaya al-Qudsiyya* dervishes are supposed to make an individual study.²⁹⁷

In addition, Aşıkpaşazade’s history, the earliest narrative source to mention the Gümüşlüoğlu does not bring up their Halveti affiliation. And some versions of Aşıkpaşazade’s chronicle, list Gümüşlüoğlu Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami among the Zeyni shaykhs living at the time of Mehmed II. One cannot argue that Aşıkpaşazade has confused both orders since he appears conscious of the distinction between the Halvetis and the Zeynis. For example, he lists Alaeddin-i Halveti (d.867/1462-63) as the first Halveti shaykh in Anatolia, while including the name of the abovementioned Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni among the Zeynis of the mid-fifteenth century. Lastly Aşıkpaşazade himself was the shaykh of a Zeyni community when he began composing his work in 881/1476, a time when the relationship between Zeynis and Halvetis was quite strained. It would be wrong to imagine Aşıkpaşazade, eighty three years old at the time, sitting down on long Istanbul nights by himself and trying to write down what he could remember. His work was probably a result of his dictation and a process of editing by a group of his disciples headed by his son-in-law and successor Seyyid Velayet (d. 929/1523.) As the modern discussion about the original section of Aşıkpaşazade’s work suggests, this group probably kept writing even after the death of their shaykh.²⁹⁸ In sum, one should not artificially prefer one of these versions over the other or simply dismiss them all together as the tricks played by Aşıkpaşazade’s aging mind or the product of a meddling copyist. Aşıkpaşazade, an inquisitive mind who grew up in the Elvan Çelebi lodge nearby Amasya, was an eye witness to many events around Amasya and met many historical figures in person and should be considered a reliable source on many issues.

In conclusion, it is probable that under Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami’s leadership, the Gümüşlüoğlu Sufi community seriously considered associating themselves with the then powerful Zeyniye, but later decided to revert to their Halveti origins. And Pir İlyas’s dream story, in this context, could be an allegorical representation of the recent history of the Gümüşlüoğlu Sufi community.

²⁹⁶ This letter was recently discovered and is of critical importance for the bifurcation of the Halvetiye tradition.

²⁹⁷ Yakup Pasha (Çilehane) Waqfiya 608/23 and 608/32, Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 183-184.

²⁹⁸ Please see Atsız’s discussion at Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), “Tevârih-i Âl-i ‘Osmân,” 81-90. Kaya Şahin, “Ashikpashazade as Historian: A Study on the Tevârih-i Al-i Osman” (MA, Istanbul: Sabancı University, 2000), 49.

Part IV: Gümüşlüoğlu Halvetis in the court of Prince Bayezid (870/1465-887/1482)

Regardless of how Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami presented himself, he had close relations with the Ottomans, more particularly with the members of the Ottoman dynasty. The sixteenth century historian Mustafa Ali relates a story of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami and the princes of Murad II. In this story, the sultan sends his three sons to Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami in order to get the shaykh's blessings. And during their visit, Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami miraculously discovers the destinies of the princes and the conquest of Istanbul by the youngest of them, Mehmed. This story does not take place in Taşköprüzade's or Lami'i's works. Mustafa Ali probably heard this story during his sojourn in the Amasya region in 1003/1595 because earlier sources do not mention it.²⁹⁹ It is hard to substantiate details of this story from other sources, but the main theme is quite clear; Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami was a respected shaykh in the 1440s, when Murad II was the sultan.³⁰⁰

Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami's date of death cannot be established. The fact that different versions of Aşıkpaşazade's history list him both among the shaykhs of Murad II and of his successor Mehmed II points to the mid-fifteenth century as the approximate time of his death. In fact, the successors of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami do not find a place in the Ottoman biographies. Other contemporary sources are also silent. Hüseyin Hüsameddin, a local historian who lived at the turn of the twentieth century, happens to be the only available source for the leadership of the Gümüşlüoğlu family in the rest of the fifteenth century.³⁰¹ According to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami was buried next to his grandfather Pir İlyas, while his son Hayreddin Hızır replaced him as the shaykh of the Çilehane.³⁰²

Around the time of Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami's death, the eldest prince of Mehmed II, Bayezid was sent to Amasya as a nominal governor. Hayreddin Hızır must have led the Gümüşlüoğlu Sufi community during prince Bayezid's governorship in Amasya (860/1457-886/1481). Available sources do not give any information about Bayezid's relationship with Hayreddin Hızır. Bayezid is known to have close relations with the Sufi shaykhs. The silence of Ottoman sources on his relationship with Hayreddin Hızır, the head of a prominent Sufi community in Amasya, is curious.

Towards the end of Bayezid's governorship, in 881/1475-76 the *Sevadiye* gardens, the location of Çilehane, became even more prominent in the city and the larger region as a result of

²⁹⁹ Cornell Fleischer notes that Mustafa Ali was inspired by the local Sufis who were buried in Amasya. Among these Sufis were Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami to whom he addressed as one of 'the two poles of the world, the two protectors of Rum, who make the candle of my aspirations burn brightly.' Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire the Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)*, 166-167.

³⁰⁰ And considering that the youngest of princes, Mehmed II, was born in 835/1432, this story should have taken place in the 1440's.

³⁰¹ From this point until the construction of Pir İlyas's tomb, Amasya Tarihi, which does not openly refer to any archival or narrative sources, is the only source for the history of the Gümüşlüoğlu family

³⁰² Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 153.

Bayezid's decision to move his headquarters literally next door to the Çilehane.³⁰³ Some members of the Gümüşlüoğlu Halveti community joined Prince's inner circle. For instance, the son of the administrator of the Çilehane, Shaykh Hamdullah became Bayezid's calligraphy teacher. Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman, descendant of abovementioned Shaykh Yar Ali, became prince's *müsahip* (close confidant.) Kemalpaşazade (d.940/1534), the prominent sixteenth century historian and scholar whose father and grandfather were among the retinue of Bayezid in Amasya, probably spent a part of his childhood in Sevadiye; he reminisces concerning those days in the following words:³⁰⁴

The water of its stream is from the heavenly fountain of *Kawthar*
Its pure soil smells like musk and ambergris
Come and enjoy *Sevadiye*
Look and see what is inside the palace of the time
If not the pupils of the world's eye, they are
The mole on the cheek of the beauty of seven kingdoms

Perhaps in tribute to his memories in Sevadiye, or by way of offering thanks for Halveti companionship, Bayezid II, upon becoming sultan, had Pir İlyas's tomb rebuilt.³⁰⁵ Around this time Hayreddin Hızır was succeeded by his son Abdurrahman-ı Sani (d.903/1497-98.)³⁰⁶ Abdurrahman-ı Sani is the shaykh who is buried in the Çilehane and mentioned above in the context of the riddle around his grandfather's identity. He died in 903/1498 at the age of sixty three.

Conclusion

In the biographical dictionaries, the succession of Gümüşlüoğlu Halveti shaykhs ends with Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami. The rest of the shaykhs, including Hayreddin Hızır and Abdurrahman-ı Sani, are not listed in separate entries but in a scattered fashion, referred to in the biographies of other historical figures. For instance, in the *Hadā'iq al-Haqāiq fī Tekmīla al-Shaqāiq* of Nevzade Atai (d.1045/1635) one finds the biography of Yusuf Sinaneddin (d.986/1578), who is the son of Abdurrahman-ı Sani.³⁰⁷ Yusuf Sinaneddin, along with abovementioned Kemalpaşazade, became a pupil of Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman first. He then continued his career as a scholar and a judge in major cities of the Ottoman Empire until his death in Istanbul in 986/1578. Apparently the network established around the Çilehane lodge and Bayezid's residence in Amasya in the 1470's, helped the sons of the Amasyan elite to pursue major empire-wide positions in the Ottoman academic and legal hierarchy. One may speculate that the other

³⁰³ Taceddin İbrahim (d.890/1485-6), *Münşeāt-i Tācī* (Wien, Nationalbibl. H. O. 161), ed. Necati Lugal and Adnan Erzi (Istanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği, 1956), 59.

³⁰⁴ Kemalpaşazade Şemsüddin Ahmed (d.1534), *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman: II. Defter*, 2:28.

³⁰⁵ Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, 122.

³⁰⁶ The nickname "Sani" (the second) is invented by Hüseyin Hüsameddin to distinguish him from his grandfather Abdurrahman-ı Hüsami.

³⁰⁷ Nevzade Atai (d.1635), *Hadā'iq al-Haqāiq fī Tekmīla al-Shaqāiq* (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 248. Olcay, "Amasya Meşahiri," 162.

sons of the Gümüşlüoğlu shaykhs followed similar careers and chose to become judges and scholars instead of taking over their fathers' position in the Çilehane.

The influence of the Gümüşlüoğlu Halveti community in the environs of Amasya and the larger region is also unknown. One encounters the Turcoman shaykh Tahiroğlu (d.circa 870/1465) in the nearby city of Tokat in the 1460s. Muhammed Nazmi (d.1112/1701), a seventeenth century hagiographer, maintains that Tahiroğlu was a disciple of Pir İlyas. Nevizade, another seventeenth century author, notes that the above Yusuf Sinaneddin was born in the Sonisa village of Amasya, which suggests that his father was sent there around 893/1490 for propagating the Halvetiye by the shaykh of the Çilehane.

The lack of influence of Gümüşlüoğlu Halveti shaykhs in the region, despite the construction of a "dervish factory" at such an early date, is quite curious. The scarcity of available sources, and the Istanbul oriented nature of those that are available, partly account for the lack of knowledge about them. Still, one expects to see traces of a pattern of expansion documented in the available sources, even in the form of small references. The almost complete lack of reference to Gümüşlüoğlu Halveti activity in the larger region leads to the conclusion that Pir İlyas and Abdurahman Hüsami's plan to expand the order failed.

The reason for the failure of the Gümüşlüoğlu Halveti community to establish the Halvetiye in the Ottoman core lands (Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa) can be explained in terms of the developments of the second half of the fifteenth century. Some of these developments were the gradual marginalization of the city of Amasya on the imperial political scene as well as the rising competition in the cities brought by newly established orders such as the Nakşibendiye. Also the transformation of Zeyniye into a more aggressive order in the Ottoman corelands with the arrival of the third khalifa of Zeyneddin-i Hafi in Anatolia in the mid-fifteenth century did contribute to the eclipse of Gümüşlüoğlu Halveti community. As a response to these challenges, the Halvetiye order regenerated itself in Anatolia and met the challenge of the Zeyniye thanks to the khalifas of Yahya-yı Şirvani. In the absence of the similar challenges in Azerbaijan, Yahya-yı Şirvani found the opportunity to expand the Halvetiye and was able to draw disciples from Anatolia. And the Halvetiye order waited for a dynastic struggle in the second half of the fifteenth century to become a full-fledged Ottoman urban Sufi order.

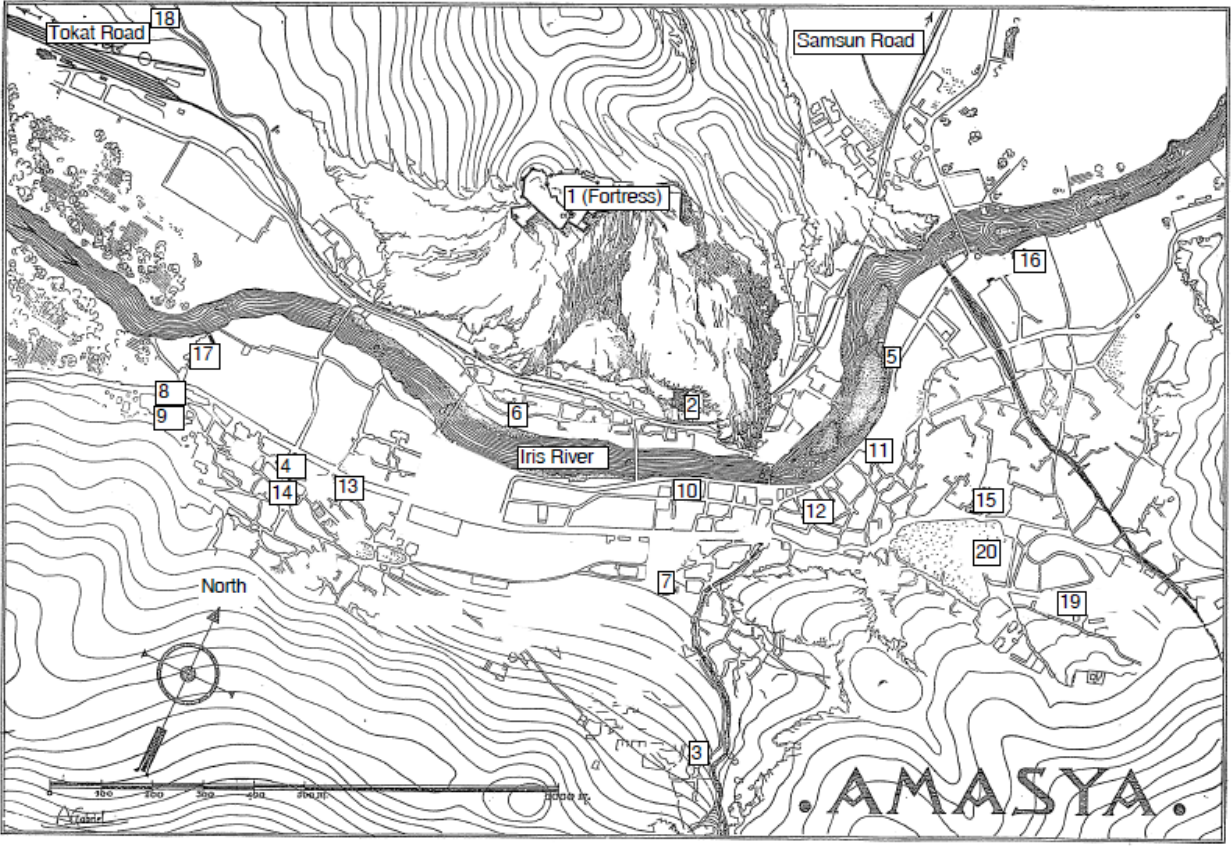


Figure X. Topographic map of the major buildings before 886/1481 [(1) Fortress, (2) Palace of the Pontic Kings, (3) Fethiye Mosque, (4) Halifet Ghazi Tomb, (5) Doğrakiye Medresesi, (6) Enderun Mosque, (7) Burmalı Minare Mosque, (8) Gök Medrese, (9) Turumtay Tomb, (10) Sultan Mesud Tomb, (11) Tımarhane (Hospital), (12) Gümüşlüzade Mosque, (13) Saraçhane Mosque, (14) Şadgeldi Tomb, (15) Çilehane, (16) Bayezid Pasha Lodge-Mosque & Princes' Residence before 881/1475-76, (17) Yörgüç Pasha Lodge-Mosque, (18) Hızır Pasha Lodge-Mosque, (19) Princes' Residence after 881/1475-76, (20) Pir İlyas Tomb]³⁰⁸

³⁰⁸ Based on Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie.*, 2:13.

Chapter Three:

The Ottomanization of the Halvetiye: Halvetis as members of Political Factions (1465-1482)

Introduction:

The second half of the fifteenth century started out with a matchless military feat of the Ottomans, the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1453. Mehmed II not only conquered the city; he also made it the central piece in his imperial designs.³⁰⁹ As this victory earned Mehmed II the title of Conqueror and signaled his rise as a powerful and autocratic monarch, it also brought a significant urban platform to the Ottoman world. The following century witnessed Istanbul's transformation into an imperial Muslim capital. And in the process of the making of Istanbul, the city became a contested space between old and new actors operating in the often intersecting social, political and religious domains. Among these actors were the nascent Halvetiye and Zeyniye orders, each of them based in different Anatolian cities.

The initial struggle between these two orders, the Halvetiye and Zeyniye around Amasya in the first half of the fifteenth century, ended up with the survival of Halvetiye in north-central Anatolia. However, the Halveti Gümüslüoğlu family and the Zeyni Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni each yielded their places to new Halveti and Zeyni actors who operated in a larger geographical setting, that included Istanbul. While the Zeynis firmly established themselves in the former Ottoman capitals of Edirne and Bursa, new Halveti dervishes, the khalifas of Yahya-yı Şirvani, travelled around the Ottoman corelands to find a niche for their order. (see figure VII below) This chapter is about the struggle between the next generation of Halvetis and Zeynis for domination in the Ottoman corelands, especially in Istanbul. The competition between the two reached its peak in the context of a dynastic struggle in late 1470's. Two Halveti shaykhs became or found themselves part of this political strife, which in turn influenced the fate of their Sufi communities in the following decades. These Halveti shaykhs, by subscribing to competing Ottoman political networks, took the last steps in the completion of the Ottomanization process of the Halvetiye. From that point on until the disintegration of the empire in the early twentieth century, the Halvetiye order remained an integral part of the Ottoman socio-religious scene.

After introducing the socio-religious scene of Istanbul during the reign of Mehmed II and the transformation of the Zeyniye in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, this chapter will narrate the stories of two Halveti shaykhs, namely Çelebi Halife and Habib-i Karamani and their subsequent involvement in the dynastic struggle of 1481. This chapter will conclude with the perception of the foundational story of the Halvetiye in Istanbul by the Sufis of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Part I: Istanbul: Sultan Mehmed II and the Zeynis

³⁰⁹ See Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, N.Y: Architectural History Foundation, 1991). Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009).

Mehmed II had a very conflicted, if not antagonistic, relationship with the Sufi shaykhs in general, and those of the Halvetiye in particular. He always shunned close association with Sufis, and did not hesitate to confront them on multiple occasions. Although the Sufi shaykhs, especially the khalifas of Hacı Bayram-ı Veli, supported Mehmed II all through his risky undertaking of the siege of Istanbul, the young Sultan gradually turned his back on them once he took hold of the reins of power.

Mehmed II's relationship with his spiritual mentor, Akşemseddin, is quite illustrative in terms of how the young Sultan treated Sufis. Before and during the conquest of Istanbul, Akşemseddin provided full support, even at times when Mehmed II himself was faltering.³¹⁰ According to the tradition, Akşemseddin discovered the tomb of one of the Prophet's companions, Halid b. Zeyd (d.576/645, better known as Eyüb Sultan), which immensely increased his prestige in the eyes of the Sultan to such a degree that he wanted to become one of the shaykh's dervishes.³¹¹ The truth of the matter, however, is that Mehmed II alienated his mentor by claiming that the conquest of Istanbul was the result of his military might when Akşemseddin ascribed this feat to the prayers of the saints.³¹² Perhaps because of this attitude, Akşemseddin's short presence in the city was limited to his academic activities as a scholar in the Zeyrek madrasa rather than as a Sufi shaykh.³¹³

Akşemseddin returned to his hometown, Göynük, and despite Mehmed II's insistence, he never came back to Istanbul. When he set foot on the shores of Uskudar on leaving the city he said: "My heart was illuminated as I crossed the Bosphorus. I was beginning to lose my inspiration because of the multitude of infidels in Istanbul."³¹⁴ Apparently such a perception of the city was common among the Sufis. The hagiography of an antinomian dervish named Otman Baba (d.883/1478) states that Mehmed II only conquered Istanbul exoterically, yet it needed to be conquered in the esoteric sense in order to be a full and complete Muslim city.³¹⁵

Otman Baba was one of the antinomian dervishes who were active in the newly conquered city. Mehmed II had an often indifferent attitude towards these dervish communities. At the beginning, as Otman Baba's hagiography relates, Mehmed II confronted or even planned to destroy them. But later the sultan changed his mind and had this group settled in a Sufi lodge

³¹⁰ In a letter to Mehmed II during the siege of Istanbul, Akşemseddin gives moral support and advice to the young Sultan. TSA, E.5584; Halil İnalçık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1954), 217-219.

³¹¹ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 687.

³¹² Halil İnalçık, "Otman Baba ve Fatih Sultan Mehmed," in *Doğu Batı / Makaleler I* (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2005), 144.

³¹³ Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinin İlk Devri [Fatih Devri 855-886 (1451-1481)]*, 537.; After Akşemseddin died in 1459, his endowed properties were confiscated by the notorious grand vizier of the time, Karamani Mehmed Pasha. Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya*, 236.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 230.

³¹⁵ İnalçık, "Otman Baba ve Fatih Sultan Mehmed," 146.

near the Silivri gate of the city.³¹⁶ Otman Baba's hagiography also provides the names of two other lodges in the city, the first belonging to a different antinomian group called the Edhemiler, and another lodge known as that of the Hindiler.³¹⁷ Kafescioğlu adds two other lodges to the list, namely those of Karaca Ahmed and Aşıkpaşazade, the latter being the only one that gave its name to the quarter where it was located.³¹⁸ The Aşıkpaşazade lodge was also the earliest Sufi lodge affiliated to the only Sufi order that remained active in Mehmed II's Istanbul, the Zeyniye. To sum up, the Sufi scene of Mehmed II's Istanbul was occupied by mostly antinomian dervish groups with a very significant exception, the Zeyniye order. Here a brief account of the transformation of Zeyniye in the second half of the fifteenth century is in order, before listing the active Zeyni lodges in Istanbul.

The second Zeyni Challenge: Abdüllatif-i Kudsi and the aggressive turn

The Zeyniye order first tried to establish itself by two khalifas of Zeyneddin-i Hafi in the first half of the fifteenth century. These khalifas were not able to establish base of followers in the Ottoman lands. One of them, Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni settled in Merzifon where he was faced with resistance by local Halveti and Bayrami shaykhs. But the Zeyniye's attitude towards rival orders took a significantly more aggressive tone with the arrival of the third Zeyni khalifa, namely Abdüllatif-i Kudsi (d.856/1452) in Konya. Originally from Jerusalem, hence the nickname Kudsi, Abdüllatif joined his shaykh Zeyneddin-i Hafi when the latter was on his way back to Khurasan from pilgrimage in 825/1421.³¹⁹ After three years of training, Kudsi was sent back to his hometown with an *icazet*. Kudsi then spent some time in Damascus, Cairo and briefly in Anatolia, and even made the acquaintance of Ottoman and Mamluk Sultans before his second and longer trip to Anatolia. In December 1447, he left Damascus for Konya, where he spent four years. During his years there, Abdüllatif-i Kudsi maintained good relations with the Karamanid rulers. He also became involved in a polemic with Shaykh Cüneyd-i Safavi, a Sufi with political aspirations.³²⁰ These activities probably gained him an excellent reputation among the educated elite of Bursa, as they welcomed Abdüllatif-i Kudsi with enthusiasm in the fall of 1451.³²¹ One

³¹⁶ Inalcik gives the name of the convent from hagiography as Kılıç Manastırı (The Convent of the Sword). (Ibid.) Kafescioğlu states that this could be the place where he was kept under custody. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century" (Ph.D, Harvard University, 1996), 326.

³¹⁷ The existence of the Hindiler lodge is confirmed by a contemporary source (the hagiography of the abovementioned Otman Baba) but the lodge's Sufi order affiliation is subject to debate. It is been ascribed to the Nakşibendiye order by two eighteenth century sources, i.e. the survey of the mosques by Ayvansarayi (d. 1786 or 7) and the history of Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856.) For the discussion see Thierry Zarcone, "Histoire et croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul," in *Anatolia Moderna = Yeni Anadolu II: Travaux Et Recherches de l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul: Derviches et Cimetières Ottomans*, ed. Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, Jean Maisonneuve Successeur, 1991), 170-174.

³¹⁸ Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century," 326.

³¹⁹ Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 78.

³²⁰ Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân," 249-50.

³²¹ Lami'i Çelebi notes that Abdullatif-i Kudsi went into a month long retreat with the ulema of Bursa immediately after his arrival in the last days of Shaban of 855/1451. Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 550.

must also add that the educated elite of Bursa was composed of scholars and judges, most whom had close relations with the city of Konya and the larger Karaman region. It is highly probable that Abdüllatif-i Kudsi began establishing contacts with the Ottoman elite while he was still in Konya. In other words, the city of Konya was the gate of the Karamani ulema network, which has considerable power in the Ottoman core lands. Shortly after arriving in Bursa, Kudsi died in the following spring, leaving behind a considerable Sufi community led by his disciple -and sworn enemy of the Halvetis- the Karamani Taceddin İbrahim.³²²

Although Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni arrived much earlier than his *pirdaş* Abdüllatif-i Kudsi, it was through the khalifas of the latter that the Zeyniye established itself in the Ottoman lands. And unlike Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni, who warded off his critics by a simple remark, Abdüllatif-i Kudsi took a more active and aggressive stance against the rival orders. He introduced the principle of “engagement for repulsing harm and attracting benefit, assisting friends and retaliating against foes”³²³ This principle, according to some Zeyni dervishes contemporary with Lami‘i, was absent from the teachings of Zeyneddin-i Hafı and Abdüllatif-i Kudsi acquired it from his previous master, Abdülaziz-i Fernevi.³²⁴ Abdüllatif-i Kudsi’s aforementioned confrontation with Shaykh Cüneyd and his initial visits to the tombs of Celaleddin-i Rumi (d.672/1273), Sadreddin-i Konevi (d.673/1274) and Şems-i Tebrizi (d.645/1247) upon his arrival in Konya should all be understood in the light of this principle. During his visit to Celaleddin-i Rumi’s tomb, narrates Kudsi, he felt completely naked. And then he visited Sadreddin-i Konevi’s tomb where the buried saint’s spirit pulled Kudsi toward his grave. Apparently Abdüllatif-i Kudsi took this as a welcoming sign and he stayed there for the next four years. His relationship with the Mevlevis on the other hand was probably a little distant, as his experience at the tomb of Celaleddin-i Rumi suggests. Still, Abdüllatif-i Kudsi avoided confronting the Mevleviye, the ever dominant order in Konya. One of his disciples, Shaykh Vefa (Muslihiddin Mustafa el-Konevi, d. 896/1491) even strengthened his ties with them by marrying his daughter to one of the descendants of Rumi, namely Abid Çelebi.³²⁵ However Abdüllatif-i Kudsi did not hesitate to clash with the less well-rooted Sufi orders, such as the abovementioned Safaviye, when it tried to establish itself in Anatolia.

Kudsi died in the spring of 1452, before having a chance to establish his order in Istanbul. But his two disciples, namely Shaykh Vefa and Taceddin İbrahim-i Karamani, with the help of the sympathetic ulema, were able to become a part of Istanbul’s socio-religious scene. Not only Istanbul’s elite, but also the newly settled Muslim populations of the city were receptive to the Zeyni dervishes. The population of Istanbul was familiar with the Zeyniye order because a considerable portion them were the Karamani communities who were exiled upon the the initial

³²² Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 95.

³²³ Lami‘i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 552.

³²⁴ Further research is needed for more information about Fernevi.

³²⁵ Franz Babinger, “Yakup Paşa: Fatih Sultan Mehmed’in Özel Tabibi Gaeta’lı Jacopo Usta’nın Hayatı, Akibeti,” in *Fatih Sultan Mehmed Zehirlendi mi Eceli ile mi öldü?*, trans. Feridun Nafiz Uzluk (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1965), 18. For Abid Çelebi’s life see Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’māniya*, 323-324.

conquest of Karaman in 872/1468.³²⁶ Regarding the rivalry with other orders, especially with Halvetiye, who tried to establish themselves in Istanbul and Bursa, Shaykh Vefa and Taceddin İbrahim followed their master Abdüllatif-i Kudsi's new rules of engagement and actively confronted them.

The Zeynis of Istanbul and Shaykh Vefa

Zeyniye was the only Sufi order that was appreciated by Sultan Mehmed II. It was perhaps because one of the sultan's tutors, Molla Ayas (d.861/1457), was a Zeyni shaykh or because of the Zeynis' cordial relationship with the ulema of the period. Throughout Mehmed II's reign, the Zeyniye order almost exclusively dominated the socio-religious scene of Istanbul. There existed four separate Zeyni communities in Mehmed II's Istanbul.

The first one was established by Aşıkpaşazade immediately after the conquest of the city.³²⁷ In 869/1464-65, a Sufi lodge was built and endowed for Aşıkpaşazade's community by Sinan the Architect (d.876/1471-72.)³²⁸ This lodge was part of a huge building cluster and gave the neighborhood its name. In this neighborhood, there was also another Zeyni community founded by Muhyiddin-i Kocavi (فوجوی, d.885/1480.)³²⁹ Kocavi came to the city upon the instructions of his shaykh Piri Halife (d.854/1460) and founded a lodge and a mosque, which was known as Karanlık Mescid.³³⁰ Also there was Süleyman Halife (d.after 904/1498-99)³³¹, a somewhat disgruntled Sufi who is reported to have said that he had not yet encountered a true seeker of God in Istanbul.³³² These words must be a reaction to the ascendancy of rival Sufi shaykhs following the death of Mehmed II, because Taşköprüzade informs us that he had at least one disciple who succeeded him at his Sufi lodge.³³³ Süleyman Halife apparently occupied one of the former Byzantine structures in Zeyrek, which later turned into a mosque named after him.³³⁴ The concentration of lodges around the Zeyrek Complex, which was also the only madrasa till the opening of Sahn-ı Seman colleges after 874/1470, reminds us of the spatial proximity between the first Zeyni lodge in Anatolia, that of Abdürrahim-i Merzifoni (d.865/1461), and the Çelebi

³²⁶ Baha Tanman, "Tarikatler," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı ve Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1993), 213-217.

³²⁷ Aşıkpaşazade was in Istanbul in 861/1457. Halil İnalçık, "How to Read Ashık Pashazade's History," in *Essays in Ottoman History* (Istanbul, 1988), 33. Inalçık, How to Read,

³²⁸ See Kafesçioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century," 328-334.

³²⁹ Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 125.

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Semavi Eyice, "Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı ile Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı'nın ortak yayınıdır, 1993), 172.

³³² Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 249.

³³³ Ibid.; Kissling, "Einiges über den Zejnije-Orden im Osmanischen Reiche," 170. Öngören does not find *Shaqā'iq*'s claim that Sinan Halife succeeded his shaykh Süleyman Halife acceptable. Considering that Sinan Halife lived at the time *Shaqā'iq* was being written, it is hard to argue that *Shaqā'iq* might refer to anyone besides Süleyman Halife. One might even argue that the information in *Shaqā'iq* about Süleyman Halife comes from Sinan Halife. Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 100.

³³⁴ Eyice, "Şeyh Süleyman Mescidi."

Sultan Mehmed Medresesi in Merzifon, Amasya. This was quite typical of the Zeyni shaykhs, who were themselves scholars and always cherished their relationship with the local ulema.

The Zeyrek Complex (formerly the Church of the Pantocrator) and the three abovementioned Zeyni lodges were located on the fourth hill of Istanbul, which was the former neighborhood of Byzantine scholars. Immediately across the valley, on the western slopes of the third hill, was located the lodge of the most prominent Zeyni shaykh of Mehmed II's Istanbul, that of Shaykh Vefa. He was initiated to Sufism by Shaykh Muslihiddin of Edirne (d.unknown), a sympathizer of the Zeynis who was known as "the prayer leader of the tanners" (Debbağlar İmamı).³³⁵ His shaykh after a while directed him to Abdüllatif-i Kudsi who was then the shaykh of the Sadreddin-i Konevi lodge in Konya.³³⁶ Probably after Abdüllatif-i Kudsi's departure for Bursa in 1451, Shaykh Vefa established his own community in the Meram quarter, located on the southern outskirts of the city, where the Karamani ruler İbrahim Bey (d.868/1463) had a mosque and a lodge built for him.³³⁷ Apparently Vefa maintained a very cordial relationship with the Karamanis, since the same İbrahim Bey saved Vefa by paying his ransom to the pirates from Rhodes when he was captured on his way to the Hajj.³³⁸ So when Mehmed II annexed Konya to his dominions in 873/1466, Shaykh Vefa was already a venerated Sufi figure in the region.

Mehmed II's close relationship with Shaykh Vefa began immediately after the conquest of Konya. The sultan left Shaykh Vefa's endowments untouched and even augmented them by granting tax privileges.³³⁹ On his way back to Istanbul, Mehmed II probably took Shaykh Vefa with himself as part of his policy of repopulating Istanbul. Mehmed II's affection for the shaykh did not escape the state dignitaries of the time. Many pashas frequented the lodge; some even became his disciples. Some of them perhaps took refuge in Shaykh Vefa's lodge from possible execution after being dismissed from office.³⁴⁰ In 1476, Mehmed had a complex built for Shaykh Vefa, which included a mosque, a kitchen, a library, a bathhouse and multiple cells for the resident dervishes.³⁴¹ The Sultan also donated the income of a village from the hinterland of Istanbul and the plot of land near the mosque, which most likely gave Shaykh Vefa an option to create his neighborhood community. The layout of the mosque, typical of the 15th century lodge-mosques and similar to those built around Amasya, also made it possible to be used as a Sufi lodge.

³³⁵ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 112.; Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 559.

³³⁶ He must have met Aşıkpaşazade in Konya, who was also a dervish in the same lodge, though the latter does not mention him in his chronicle.

³³⁷ İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Konya Tarihi* (Konya: Yeni Kitap Basımevi, 1964), 552. Konyalı, (1964); Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 130.

³³⁸ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 560.

³³⁹ Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleri ile Konya Tarihi*, 552-556.; Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 137.

³⁴⁰ Sinan Pasha b. Hızır Çelebi (d.891/1486) and Veliyüddin oğlu Ahmed Pasha (d.902/1496-97), two viziers with madrasa origins, were his disciples. For Sinan Pasha, see Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 560. And for Sinan Pasha's poem for Shaykh Vefa, see Öngören, Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 143-147.; For the poem of Veliyüddin Ahmed Pasha, see *Ibid.*, 150-152. Sinan Pasha's connections apparently paid off, since *Shaqā'iq* relates that the ulema of Istanbul protested heavily when Sinan Pasha was put in prison. Mehmed II had no choice but to let Sinan Pasha go. Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 175.

³⁴¹ Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 138.

Even with the Zeyni lodges the total number of the Sufi lodges (at most ten, compared to twelve in contemporary Amasya) established during Mehmed II's reign remains unimpressive, which is the most telling evidence of his attitude towards the Sufis. On top of the reasons for Mehmed II's distaste for certain Sufi orders, we can place his penchant for autocracy. Mehmed II never wanted an independent authority in his domains, particularly in his capital. He did not have a particular problem with unorganized Sufi communities but new Sufi orders with their standardized practices, networks and centralized hierarchies were all causes of concern for the Sultan. However, Mehmed II is not the only one on whom to put the 'blame.' The Zeynis of the period, noticeably the only active Sufi order in Istanbul, were quite territorial too. Only those who were endorsed by Shaykh Vefa could stay in the capital.³⁴² There were those who were not welcomed as well. Abdullah-ı İlahi (d.896/1491), the first Nakşibendi khalifa in the Ottoman lands then based in west Anatolian town of Simav, sent his proxy and the closest disciple, Emir Buhari (d.922/1516) to Istanbul for exploring the possibilities of founding a community. Apparently Shaykh Vefa's lodge was the best place for an itinerant Sufi to stay in the city, so the young Nakşibendi alighted there. Although Shaykh Vefa warmly welcomed his guest at first, after three nights and a cautionary dream, the young Sufi wrote his master not to come to Istanbul. Abdullah-ı İlahi waited for the death of Mehmed II, and then made his journey to Istanbul.³⁴³

The Zeynis were not similarly discreet towards the Halvetis when Alaeddin-i Halveti (d.867/1462-63), one of the first Halveti shaykhs in the Ottoman corelands, appeared first in Bursa and then in Istanbul, around 1462. Taceddin İbrahim-i Karamani (d.872/1467), the head of the Bursa Zeyni lodge, had his disciples involved in the expulsion of Alaeddin-i Halveti and his companions from Istanbul. Although Lami'i does not give the name of the Zeyni shaykh in Istanbul, other historical sources point to Süleyman Halife, the only khalifa of Taceddin İbrahim in the city. Shaykh Vefa probably was in Konya at that time, which explains why Alaeddin-i Halveti bypassed this city and settled in Larende. Most likely he was not welcomed in Konya either.

³⁴² For instance, see the biography of certain Shaykh Muslihiddin-i Kocavi (d.unknown). According to *Shaqā'iq*, Shaykh Vefa sent some of his disciples to welcome Shaykh Muslihiddin Kocavi. Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya*, 246-247.

³⁴³ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 468-69.

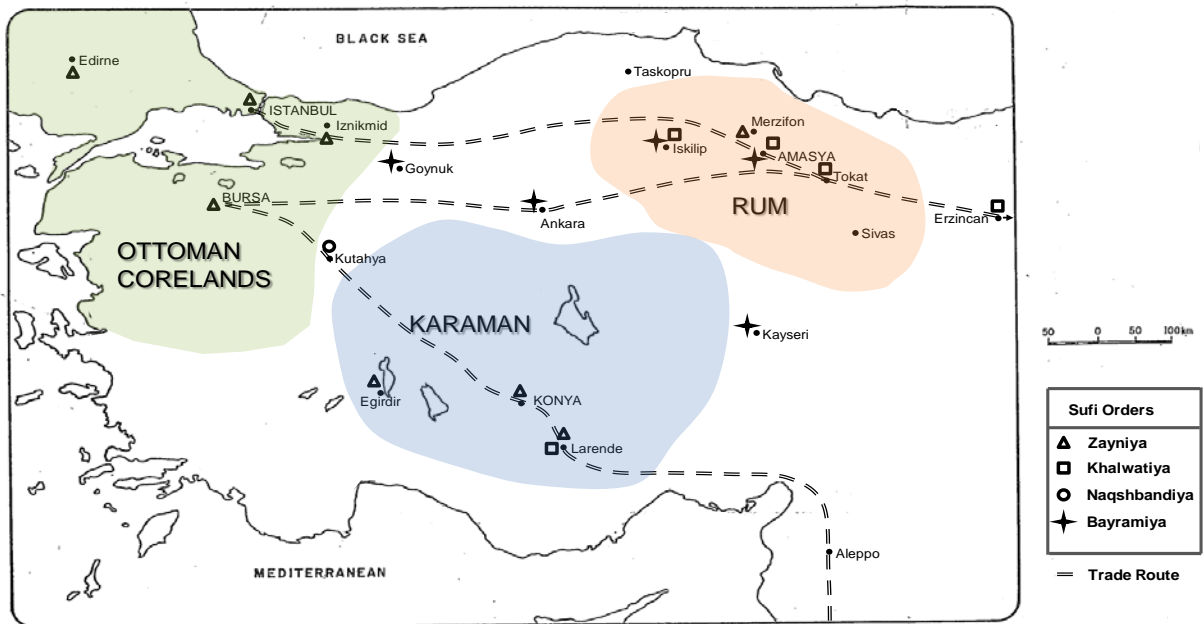


Figure VIII: Map of Sufi orders in Anatolia before 886/1481

Part II: Amasya: Prince Bayezid and the Tale of Two Halveti Shaykhs

As the Zeynis tightened their grip on Bursa and Istanbul by the late 1460's, Amasya became the only Ottoman urban center that tolerated and even encouraged the Halveti activities. The Amasya of 1465's onwards was witnessing the rise of an important political figure with the coming of age of Prince Bayezid, who turned eighteen in that year. Moreover, from this period on, the Karamanid lands began to be conquered and assimilated, while Prince Mustafa (the favorite son of Mehmed II) was appointed as the governor of Konya where he ruled until his death in 879/1474. These two developments shifted the center of power struggles towards the east, into the heart of Anatolia. Political history is beyond the scope of this study though occasional references will be made below in the context of the survival and victory of the Halvetiye in the face of the third Zeyniye challenge.³⁴⁴ Here, Prince Bayezid's rise as a political actor and his subsequent policy of befriending Sufi orders with special reference to his relationship with Mehmed II will be seen as critical in understanding the Halveti involvement in the dynastic struggle and their consequent Ottomanization.

The Coming of Age of Prince Bayezid and the Sufis of Amasya

³⁴⁴ The first Zeyniye challenge was in 1430's as Abdürrahim-i Rumi arrived in Merzifon, a district of Amasya. See above, p.116

Prince Bayezid was seven years old when he became the nominal governor of Amasya in 858/1454. The Yörgüç Pasa (d.845/1441) family had been ruling the city since the death of Bayezid's uncle Prince Alaeddin in 846/1442. Bayezid's father, Mehmed II, entrusted his son to this family as he made Yörgüç Pasha's brother Hızır Pasha (d.871/1467) the tutor (lala) of the child-prince. Bayezid, along with his brother and nominal governor of Kastamonu, Prince Mustafa, was circumcised in 861/1457. It is hard to talk about Bayezid as a political actor during his childhood and adolescent years. He probably spent his time on studying, archery and other leisure activities in and around Amasya under the guardianship of his mother and Hızır Pasha. However, in 864/1460, when he was thirteen, his first son Şehinşah was born, which signaled Bayezid's reproductive, hence political maturation.³⁴⁵ Still, if one is to pick a critical point when Bayezid began to be perceived as an independent and threatening political figure by his father, 870/1465 could be the best option. It was the year when Bayezid became eighteen, his second son Ahmed was born and most significant of all, his tutor Hızır Pasha, was replaced by Kemal Pasha (d.875/1470.)³⁴⁶

Hızır Pasha, who is mentioned in the context of his endowments in the previous chapter, was a local figure, already the governor of the city when the child-prince arrived in 1457. He was the first and only local figure to be the lala of Bayezid. After Hızır Pasha, Bayezid's lalas were sent directly from the court of Mehmed II, a fact suggesting that the duties of the lalas were redefined as Bayezid became a viable alternative to his father.³⁴⁷ Kemal Pasha, the grandfather of the celebrated historian and mufti Kemalpaşazade, was not from a local family. He served for two years and was then replaced by Şarabdar Hamza Bey.³⁴⁸ Mehmed II entrusted his son to his most reliable men because he wanted not only to protect his progeny but also to keep an eye on a potential rival. Bayezid's political career as a prince-governor of Amasya is beyond the scope of this study; our concern here is that from 870/1465 on, some of Bayezid's dealings with the Sufi shaykhs, along with his other actions, should be treated as calculated political moves, or at least that they were perceived as such by his father Mehmed II.

It is hard to pinpoint the exact dates of Bayezid's contacts with the Sufi shaykhs. They probably began in the early 1470's and gradually increased till Bayezid went through a spiritual transformation and became a devout Muslim towards the end of the decade, or he began to present himself as such. Our sources, *Terceme-i Nefehât* and *Şaqā'iq*, narrate three stories about Bayezid's encounters with the Sufi shaykhs during his prince-governorship. The first story is about the father of a certain Seyyid İbrahim, who happens to be the source of this story. Bayezid, reports *Şaqā'iq*, used to call this shaykh "father", which gives an idea of the respect he had for him. This shaykh appeared before Bayezid, during a hunting party, riding a gazelle which the

³⁴⁵ Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, by A. D. Alderson., 167.; Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 53.

³⁴⁶ Kemal Pasha is the grandfather of the celebrated jurist and historian Kemalpaşazade. However, Kappert has doubts about the relationship between Kemalpaşazade and this Kemal Pasha. Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 26.

³⁴⁷ Another reason for Mehmed's removal of Hızır Pasha from the tutorship of Bayezid might be a wish to prevent a stronger alliance between the prince and a powerful local family. Ottoman sultans frequently changed the tutors of their princes in order to keep them loyal to the central authority. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 48.

³⁴⁸ Kappert, *Die osmanischen Prinzen und ihre Residenz Amasya im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, 59.

prince tried to shoot with an arrow. He reminded Bayezid of his prior repentance from hunting and thus saved the animal's life.³⁴⁹ It is hard to substantiate this story in the historical sense and date it. Moreover, its theme and motifs are frequently encountered in hagiographical literature.³⁵⁰ Its circulation, along with other stories about Bayezid's sainthood on the other hand is much more indicative of how he was perceived in the Sufi circles during his sultanate. The second, also more famous story is much more verifiable historically. It concerns Çelebi Halife's aid against a scheming grand vizier, which is the core of this chapter and is narrated below. In this story, Bayezid mentions, in passing, the name of Shaykh Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi as his supporter, around whom the third story revolves. Bayezid met Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi circa 880/1475 in Iskilib near Amasya and granted land for his lodge. This shaykh, according to *Shaqā'iq*, assured the anguished prince that he would be Sultan, before his departure on the pilgrimage in the fall of 886/1480.³⁵¹

Two of the three stories above about Bayezid's dealings with the Sufi shaykhs are narrated in the context of his struggle for succeeding to the Ottoman throne. Two reasons account for this emphasis; the Istanbul/state-centrism of the Ottoman sources, and the fact that Bayezid became close to these Sufi shaykhs at a time when the dynastic struggle was intensifying. The second explanation is reinforced by the fact that Bayezid's father, Mehmed II was quite antagonistic towards the Sufi orders. A historian cannot determine the genuineness of Bayezid's belief in the power, be it mystical or political, of the Sufi shaykhs. Yet one might argue that he tried to capitalize on the estrangement of certain Sufi orders in order muster support for the dynastic struggle to come. Bayezid, unlike his father, was aware of the power of Sufi orders, as new urban actors shaping public opinion.

Among the rising Sufi orders in Anatolia was the Halvetiye. Although it had almost a half century history in Amasya, the Halvetiye order could not quite expand beyond the borders of the city. But from the mid-fifteenth century on, thanks to enthusiastic proselytization by Yahya-yı Şirvani, the Halvetiye order regenerated its efforts to establish itself in Anatolia and the Ottoman core lands. And after 870/1465, along with Bayezid on the political scene, the city Amasya displayed two Halveti shaykhs on the socio-religious landscape of the Ottoman Empire.

One of these shaykhs was Çelebi Halife, who can be counted as one of the most important Halveti figures in the whole of Ottoman history and culture. He is credited with the foundation of the Ottoman Halvetiye. He and Bayezid II are the first example of a long partnership between Halveti shaykhs and the Sultans. The other and less known shaykh is Habib-i Karamani. Around this time, Habib-i Karamani was the only surviving khalifa of the celebrated Yahya-yı Şirvani in the Ottoman lands. He, unlike Çelebi Halife, had a fluctuating relationship with Bayezid both during and after his governorship of Amasya. The involvement of these two shaykhs in Bayezid's struggle against his brother to succeed to the Ottoman throne marked the final phase of the Ottomanization of the Halvetiye. The stories of both shaykhs are the first detailed accounts of the the history of Halvetiye in Anatolia in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, decades

³⁴⁹ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 305-306.

³⁵⁰ Mahmud Hulvī (d.1654), *Lemezāt-ı Hulvīyye*, 349.

³⁵¹ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 343.

leading to the dynastic struggle that would catapult them to the center of the Ottoman world. Their stories, especially that of Çelebi Halife, deserve close attention as they provide information about practices of the Halvetis as well as the geographical scope of their activities between 1450 and 1475.

Çelebi Halife: The Initiator of the Rumi Branch of Halvetiye

Çelebi Halife was born at an unknown date in Aksaray in central Anatolia, as Muhammed b. Hamiduddin b. Mahmud b. Muhammed b. Cemaleddin el-Aksarayı.³⁵² He belonged to a scholarly and prestigious family.³⁵³ His great-great-grandfather, Cemaleddin el-Aksarayı (d.791/1388) was a celebrated scholar of the time; Ottoman sources relate that Molla Fenari (d. 834/1431), one of the pioneering figures of Ottoman academia, was among his students.³⁵⁴ Hüseyin Hüsameddin also claims that Cemaleddin Aksarayı briefly served as the qadi of pre-Ottoman Amasya.³⁵⁵

Çelebi Halife's life can be divided into three periods: his early Sufi training, his years in Amasya, and the Istanbul years. The following is the story of the first phase in his life, drawn exclusively from the oldest historical source, Lami'i's *Terceme-i Nefehât*. Lami'i personally met Çelebi Halife, when he was a student at the Semaniye Medresesi in Istanbul and the latter came to visit his teacher, Kasım b. Cemaleddin (d.910/1504-05) Lami'i relates that he witnessed overwhelming signs of ecstasy in the shaykh.³⁵⁶ Lami'i had a chance to listen to his subject while he was alive for he narrates Çelebi Halife's early Sufi training as he heard from him. Çelebi Halife, according to his own account, resolutely stayed with his Sufi masters until their death. Thanks this habit of his, a chronology of his Sufi training can be sketched out.

Konya and the Shaykh in Black

Çelebi Halife decided to take the Sufi path while he was reading *Muhtasar al-Ma'ānī* of Saadeddin Taftazani (d.791/1389), which indicates that he was at the beginning of his studies, probably in a minor madrasa in Larende, the capital of the Karaman region.³⁵⁷ He was

³⁵² Mehmed Serhan Tayşi, "Cemal-i Halveti," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988), 301.

³⁵³ For more information on this family, please see Yusuf Küçükdağ, *II. Bayezid, Yavuz ve Kanuni Devirlerinde Cemali Ailesi* (Istanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1995).

³⁵⁴ Mustafa Öz, "Cemaleddin Aksarayı," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988), 308.; Azamat, "II. Murad Devri Kültür Hayatı," 50-55.

³⁵⁵ Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:76.

³⁵⁶ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 570. For the biography of Kasım b. Cemaleddin see Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 285.

³⁵⁷ One can speculate on the level of Çelebi Halife at the time of his initiation by locating the aforementioned textbook in the madrasa curriculum, though the fact that the curriculum was subject to change according to time and place should be kept in mind. *Muhtasar*, which is mentioned by Çelebi Halife was taught at the introductory level. [More information on *Muhtasar*] Cahid Baltacı, *XV-XVI Asırlar Osmanlı Medreseleri: Teşkilat: Tarih* (Istanbul: İrfan Matbaası, 1976), 38.; For more on local madrasas in the region, see Hüseyin Köroğlu, *Konya ve Anadolu Medreseleri* (Konya: Fen Yayınevi, 1999).

introduced to the Sufi path by a certain Abdullah, khalifa of the celebrated Halveti shaykh, Alaeddin-i Halveti. A while later, Alaeddin-i Halveti himself shows up in Larende, dressed head to toe in black and mounted on a black horse, as described by Çelebi Halife.

Alaeddin-i Halveti was one of the five major khalifas of Seyyid Yahya-yi Şirvani (d.868/1463-64), the towering figure in the early history of Halvetiye. Alaeddin-i Halveti's younger brother, Dede Ömer Ruşeni (892/1486-87), also a major khalifa of Seyyid Yahya, is better known among the Halveti circles thanks to his able disciple, İbrahim-i Gülşeni (d. 940/1534), the founder of the Egypt based Gulseniye branch of the order.³⁵⁸ Initially a madrasa student in Bursa, Ömer Ruşeni later became the disciple of Seyyid Yahya and instead of going back to his homeland as some of Seyyid Yahya's disciples did, he stayed in Azerbaijan where he developed a cordial relationship with the Akkoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan (d.882/1478) and his wife Selçuk Hatun (d.896/1490).³⁵⁹ Selçuk Hatun became Ömer Ruşeni's disciple and had a Sufi lodge built for him in Tabriz.³⁶⁰

Alaeddin-i Halveti on the other hand was not quite welcome in the Ottoman corelands. He was criticized by the ulema of Bursa when he inspired people to imitate his ecstatic outbursts. Lami'i narrates the story of the future şeyhülislam Molla Alaeddin Arab (d.901/1496), initially objecting to and later becoming a disciple of Alaeddin-i Halveti. And his relationship with Mehmed II, was not of the same as that developed by his brother with Mehmed II's rival, Uzun Hasan. Apparently irritated by the popularity of this ecstatic shaykh, Mehmed II asked Alaeddin-i Halveti to leave Istanbul; so the Shaykh left for Larende, the capital of the rival Karamanid dynasty.³⁶¹

Alaeddin-i Halveti's decision to leave Istanbul for Larende, the capital of the Karamanid dynasty, was by no means accidental. The region of Karaman in general and the city of Konya in particular frequently served as the closest alternative urban center and source of patronage for the alienated Sufis and ulema of the Ottoman cities in the first half of the fifteenth century. Considering that hosting a prominent scholar or a Sufi was a matter of prestige for a certain city or a dynasty, there must have been a ceremonial aspect to the arrival of a celebrated shaykh. Within such a context, Alaeddin-i Halveti's black attire, as recollected by Çelebi Halife, was perhaps a way of protesting the unwelcoming attitude he faced in Istanbul. Çelebi Halife does not openly interpret Alaeddin-i Halveti's attire in this way but one can assume that as a young Halveti dervish residing in the Karamanid lands, he did not cherish pleasant feelings for the Ottoman Sultan.

Çelebi Halife relates an interesting anecdote concerning himself and Alaeddin-i Halveti. When he expressed his desire to become a dervish of Alaeddin-i Halveti, the latter offered him his mantle (*cübbe*) as a sign of making him a khalifa. Alaeddin-i Halveti's eagerness to initiate and immediately designate Çelebi Halife as a khalifa indicates that the Halvetis of the time were

³⁵⁸ For a recent study on İbrahim-i Gülşeni, see Side Emre, "İbrahim-i Gülşeni (ca. 1442-1534): İtinerant Saint and Cairene Ruler" (Ph.D, Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009).

³⁵⁹ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 576.

³⁶⁰ Mahmud Hulvî (d.1654), *Lemezât-ı Hulvîyye*, 513.

³⁶¹ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 577.

really in a tight spot and in need of able disciples. Alaeddin-i Halveti was the one of the two active Halveti shaykhs (the other being Habib-i Karamani) in Anatolia and he was on a mission to spread the Halveti path. Still, Çelebi Halife refuses this offer on the grounds that he has not completed his training, and hence does not deserve it. “From now on, you will need my disciples to have a Halveti training” replies Alaeddin-i Halveti, foreseeing his imminent death.³⁶² Alaeddin-i Halveti’s prophecy is realized when both Alaeddin-i Halveti and his khalifa Abdullah pass away, leaving Çelebi Halife without a shaykh. Taşköprüzade relates that Alaeddin-i Halveti had another khalifa named Molla Mesud of Edirne (d. around 1480) who had established a Sufi community in his hometown.³⁶³ Instead of going to Edirne, possibly because of his anti-Ottoman sentiments, Çelebi Halife chooses to go to the East, the source of the Halveti teachings.

Tokat and the Illiterate Turcoman Shaykh

Çelebi Halife’s next stop is in Tokat, a north central Ottoman border town. He becomes a dervish of Tahiroğlu, a Halveti shaykh residing in Tokat. Tahiroğlu was an illiterate Turcoman, to such a degree, Çelebi Halife narrates, that he would confuse the words *feyz* (divine blessing) and *hayz* (menstruation.) On the other hand, Tahiroğlu was spiritually quite powerful, admits Çelebi Halife. His days in Tokat give us hints about the early Halveti training practices in Anatolia. Tahiroğlu first uses Çelebi Halife as a laborer in constructing his lodge and mosque.³⁶⁴ And then he puts Çelebi Halife along with other dervishes in a hole in the ground, and exposes them to ascetic discipline and hunger. The other dervishes cannot endure hunger and they break their fast with food brought from a nearby village. When Tahiroğlu discovers this incident, he dismisses all of the dervishes including Çelebi Halife. But Çelebi Halife persists until he is about to die of hunger. When dervishes relate his situation to Tahiroğlu, the latter replies with the unsympathetic remark: “let him die.” This strict training continues till a mystical experience (*kashf*, an unveiling)³⁶⁵ happens to Çelebi Halife. When he recounts it to his shaykh, Tahiroğlu’s attitude to him changes in a positive way.

Lami’i, the reporter of this story heard this account in the late 1480’s from Çelebi Halife when he was trying to establish his order in Istanbul. Its content when combined with the historical context gives us hints about how the narrator (Çelebi Halife) perceives himself, past Halveti figures and his order in retrospect. One of the challenges Çelebi Halife faced was the reception of the Halvetiye by the ulema, most of whom were disapproving of some Halveti practices and ecstatic modes of behavior. Besides, Çelebi Halife had to compete with the rival Zeyni dervishes

³⁶² Ibid., 579. One wonders why Çelebi Halife recounts this incident.

³⁶³ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’mānīya*, 266-267. *Shaqā’iq* also mentions Shaykh Sinanüddin Yusuf from a village in the environs of Istanbul and a halife of a certain Alaeddin Abdal. (Ibid., 270.) This could be another name for Alaeddin-i Halveti, because he appears as such in the chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade.

³⁶⁴ Mescid-i Tahiroğlu, is among the names of the Tokat neighborhoods in the 937/1530 survey register. (BOA, TD 387, p.431.) The fact that the same register does not list a mosque named Tahiroğlu implies that this building was initially built as a lodge-mosque and gave its name to the neighborhood. Tahiroğlu’s lodge was still active in the late sixteenth century and trained many Sufis, among whom was the celebrated Halveti shaykh of the sixteenth century, Şemseddin Sivasi (d.1006/1597).

³⁶⁵ Lami’i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 579. *Kashf* is described as “uncovering, disclosure, revelation in its literal meaning, taking away of the veil” in the glossary provided in Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 305.

headed by the above mentioned Shaykh Vefa, who was quite popular among the ulema. Within this context, Çelebi Halife's reference to a textbook used in the madrasa curriculum, *Muhtaşar-al-Ma'ānī* suggests that the audience of Çelebi Halife's Halveti teachings in Istanbul was the ulema and he was trying to establish a rapport with the educated elite of Istanbul. His scholarly output, as Curry notes, also supports this argument.³⁶⁶

His quasi-pejorative remarks about the illiteracy and training methods of his "Turcoman" shaykh Tahiroğlu in Tokat could also be taken in the same vein, though this story has more implications.³⁶⁷ First of all, it has many elements and motifs one frequently encounters in the hagiographical literature, especially that relating to the Halvetiye. These stories are about young ulema who disdain the ignorance or even illiteracy of a Sufi shaykh at first and eventually find themselves willingly or unwillingly submitting to the training hands of that shaykh thanks to latter's spiritual power. The moral of these stories is that the ulema should not criticize the seeming deficiencies of the shaykhs and should accept their spiritual authority. What is different in this story is that Çelebi Halife bestows on himself more credit/agency than this literature gives to its average protagonists. According to Çelebi Halife, although his shaykh was an illiterate, hunt-loving and somewhat inhumane Turcoman who does not properly train him, he is the one who notices his shaykh's spiritual potency, takes a leap of faith and persists till the end. Of course, the subtext here is that Çelebi Halife is a worthy spiritual guide and his disciples should submit to his training methods.

The tension between the educated and the illiterate mentioned above was sometimes translated into ethnic terms, as in the case of Çelebi Halife describing his previous shaykh as *terakime taifesinden*, i.e. from the Turcoman people/sort. A similar ethnic tone can be detected in the episode between Mehmed II and his mentor Akşemseddin. When Akşemseddin repeatedly refused Mehmed II's wish to be put into *halvet* or to be exposed to solitary ascetic discipline for a few days, Mehmed II complains as follows; "you would put a Turk into halvet even if he asks you once, but you do not accept my wish although I asked you several times."³⁶⁸ These ethnic references should also be placed in the context of the urban/rural dichotomy. Turcoman or Turk in the fifteenth century Ottoman context meant uneducated peasants or nomads who lived in the rural areas.

Erzincan and the Shaykh of the Mantle

After earning the appreciation of Tahiroğlu, Çelebi Halife had to leave Tokat because his shaykh died. Çelebi Halife's destination this time is Baku in Azerbaijan, where Yahya-yı Şirvani's lodge is located. On the road to Azerbaijan, in Erzincan, Çelebi Halife meets Muhammed Bahaeddin-i Erzincani, otherwise known as Molla Piri (d. circa 869/1464-65), another major khalifa of Yahya-yı Şirvani. Although he was set on reaching Baku, Çelebi Halife, at some point, must have considered an offer to stay in Erzincan, since he mentions that he was not quite

³⁶⁶ John J. Curry, "The Intersection of Past and Present in the Genesi of an Ottoman Sufi Order: The Life of Cemal el-Halveti (d.900/1494 or 905/1499)," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 32 (2008): 31.

³⁶⁷ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 579.

³⁶⁸ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 229.

satisfied there and decided to leave the city. Two days following his departure, the news of Yahya-yı Şirvani's death reaches him and he returns to Erzincan to become a dervish of Molla Piri. Shortly after, Çelebi Halife was again on the road, but this time holding an *icazet* and travelling in the direction of "the center of the Rum." His first stop was the center of ancient or little "Rum", i.e. Amasya.

Molla Piri is quite an obscure figure in the Ottoman sources. He appears in both Lami'i's and Taşköprüzade's accounts within the context of his relationship with Çelebi Halife. On the other hand, Halveti hagiographers give more information about Molla Piri, though they differ from the earlier sources on his role in the training of Çelebi Halife. These hagiographers, namely Yusuf b. Yakub, Mahmud Hulvi and Muhammed Nazmi, try to downplay the role of Molla Piri for the purpose of establishing a more direct link between Çelebi Halife and Yahya-yı Şirvani. For instance, Yusuf b. Yakub claims that it was Yahya-yı Şirvani himself who guided Çelebi Halife back to Erzincan via dreams. Similarly, Muhammed Nazmi argues that Molla Piri the shaykh of the mantle (*hırka ve kisvesi şeyhi*) of Çelebi Halife and states that he was only the nominal shaykh.³⁶⁹

These hagiographers' concern was not historically unfounded. Çelebi Halife's insistence on becoming a dervish of Yahya-yı Şirvani and his attempts at bypassing two major khalifas of the latter, Alaeddin-i Halveti and Molla Piri, support this point. "To become a Sufi is to affiliate oneself with a genealogy of masters going back to the Prophet...", states Massignon.³⁷⁰ The "right" shaykh, hence an appropriate genealogy, would provide Çelebi Halife with a strong mystical authority, not to mention connections and recognition. Still, more important than that, as is evident from Çelebi Halife's attempts, is one's place in the genealogy, his relative closeness to the source of mystical authority. And the account above is the quest of an inexperienced, ambitious yet educated dervish seeking the right shaykh, who would train and subsequently link him to a respected genealogy as directly as possible. The death of Yahya-yı Şirvani left no choice for Çelebi Halife but Molla Piri as the most plausible link to the former. This also explains why Çelebi Halife chose not to go to Amasya, a city with a half-century history of Halveti activities, in the first place. Yahya-yı Şirvani must have had a very wide reputation among the Halvetis of the period.

In conclusion, the account of Çelebi Halife's travels and training is very important because it is one of the earliest records of Halveti activities in the Ottoman lands and Anatolia. Çelebi Halife's travels in pursuit of a Sufi master help us in partially mapping out the Halveti presence prior to 1500 with some certainty.³⁷¹ Çelebi Halife initially began his training in Karaman, then

³⁶⁹ "Hülasa-yı kelam, Pir Muhammed-i Erzincani, Çelebi Halifenin hırka ve kisvesi şeyhidir. Terbiye ve tesellileri, Mevlana Seyyid Yahya'nın ruhaniyetlerinden olmuştur." Muhammed Nazmi (d.1112/1701), *Osmanlılarda Tasavvufi Hayat: Halvetilik Örneği: Hediyyetü'l-Ihvan*, 1st ed. (Istanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2005), 492.

³⁷⁰ Louis Massignon, *The passion of Al-Hallaj: Mystic and Martyr of Islam*, trans. Herbert Mason (Princeton University Press, 1994), 10. One must note that Massignon assumes that these genealogies are authentic in all of their links. However their earliest links are probably not true. I thank Professor Algar for pointing to this fact. Here I am interested in Çelebi Halife's or any other Sufi's perception of these genealogies rather than their authenticity.

³⁷¹ Later historical sources, especially those of the Halvetiyye, count many other Halveti shaykhs who were active in parts of Anatolia other than the cities that Çelebi Halife visited. Still, one should approach such information with

under the rule of a dynasty with the same name. And then he traveled to Tokat, a town on the eastern frontiers of the Ottomans. Lastly on the way to Baku, which was under the rule of Shirvanshah Dynasty, he stopped at Erzincan which was governed by Akkoyunlus. As Çelebi Halife's travels indicate, the Halveti activities in this period are concentrated around the eastern margins or outside of the Ottoman polity. The concentration of the Halveti presence on the eastern margins of the Ottoman lands is definitely linked to the lack of welcome accorded them by the Ottoman elite, especially by the Sultan.

And as a Halveti shaykh, Çelebi Halife had no choice of destination but the city of Amasya. If he were to stay in Eastern Anatolia, or to travel further to the east, to Azerbaijan or Iran, he would not have had his most precious possession, i.e. his social capital, a must for an upcoming Sufi shaykh. Especially with such a prestigious genealogy, he would have had no option but to go back to his homeland if his plan was to establish a Sufi community. However, Konya and its environs were not the ideal place around 870/1465, because of the ongoing Ottoman conquest which had turned the region into a war zone between the Ottoman, Karaman and Akkoyunlu polities. This situation combined with the strong Zeyni presence in Konya made Amasya quite an appealing alternative.³⁷²

Habib-i Karamani: The Initiator of the Karamani Branch of Halvetiye

Another Halveti shaykh in the environs of Amasya circa 1470 was Habib-i Karamani. Habib-i Karamani's maternal and paternal ancestry is said to have gone back to the first and the second caliphs respectively.³⁷³ He was from Ortaköy, a village located approximately 50 kilometres north of Aksaray where Çelebi Halife was born and raised. Similar to Çelebi Halife, he decided to join the dervishes of Seyyid Yahya when he was a madrasa student. Suspicious of Sufism at the beginning, Habib-i Karamani ended up staying with Seyyid Yahya for twelve years before being sent to Anatolia for propagating the Halveti way. He initially resided in the Hacı Bayram lodge in Ankara and met with Akşemseddin, which means he was back in Anatolia some time before the latter's death in 1459.³⁷⁴ Lami'i, who had met him in Konya, states that Habib-i Karamani was on the move most of the time, traveling between the Aydın, Karaman and Rum regions, probably seeking a fertile ground to establish his community. Considering the attitude of the Ottoman elite to the Halvetis mentioned above, it is quite understandable that he never traveled to Bursa or Istanbul. Habib-i Karamani had also been to Kayseri to visit the abovementioned İbrahim-i Tennuri, in whose lodge he probably met his future father-in-law, Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi.³⁷⁵

extra caution since these sources tend to claim local saints for their order retrospectively. Lami'i Çelebi's narrative, in this context, is quite reliable on two accounts: firstly Lami'i Çelebi himself does not adhere to the Halveti path, and secondly he personally heard Çelebi Halife tell of his own Sufi training.

³⁷² According to Hüseyin Hüsameddin, Çelebi Halife was forcibly sent to Amasya upon the incorporation of Karamanid lands after 1466. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:227.

³⁷³ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 577.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 578.

³⁷⁵ Habib-i Karamani Waqfiya (881/1476), VGMA, 601/204 No: 269

Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi (d.920/1514-15,) also known as Shaykh Yavsi, was the son in law of the famous scholar Ali Kuşçu (d. 879/1474), the father of Ebu-s'Suud, the celebrated şeyhülislam of the sixteenth century, and the father in-law of both Habib-i Karamani and Müeyyedzade Abdürrahim, two influential Sufi shaykhs at the turn of the sixteenth century. Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi initially studied with Ali Kuşçu and following his master's death in 879/1474, he became the disciple of a Zeyni shaykh by the name of Muslihiddin-i Kocavi (d. unknown).³⁷⁶ Apparently dissatisfied with the Zeyni way, he turned to one of the khalifas of Akşemseddin, İbrahim-i Tennuri of Kayseri (d.887/1482.) The length of his Sufi training is unknown but in the sources he appears as a Bayrami shaykh giving counsel to Prince Bayezid before his pilgrimage in the fall of 1480. Most likely because of this support, he developed a very close relationship with Bayezid. The intimacy between the two increased after Bayezid sat on the throne, as the young sultan invited him to Istanbul, had a lodge built for him and hosted him in the palace on many occasions. The sultan's affection made Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi very prestigious and influential among the high dignitaries of Bayezid II's reign and earned him the nickname "Shaykh of the Sultan/*Hünkar Şeyhi*."³⁷⁷

The relationship between Habib-i Karamani and Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi and their respective connections to Bayezid are thought-provoking and worthy of close examination as they provide glimpses about the role of family and property relations in the foundation of Sufi orders. First, let us take a closer look at the alliance between the two established through marriage. It appears from the sources that Habib-i Karamani was a much older and more experienced Sufi than Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi when he married his daughter, Rukiyye Hatun, around 1476. In an endowment deed drawn up in the fall of 1476, Habib-i Karamani donates a portion of his income from a number of surrounding villages to Rukiyye Hatun, daughter of Muhyiddin-i İskilibi, in exchange for her dowry in the amount of ninety thousand silver coins. Habib-i Karamani must have been past his fifties, while his bride was scarcely fifteen, for she was still alive according to an endowment deed dated 1566.³⁷⁸ Besides, Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi must have been at most in his mid-thirties then, since he was, if Taşköprüzade is right, a student of Ali Kuşçu till his master's death in 1474. The age difference between the groom and the bride is not too odd by the standards of the time, yet it clearly suggests that it was a marriage specifically arranged for establishing an alliance between an experienced Halveti shaykh and a young Bayrami one. What could be the reason behind such an alliance?

The two probably left Kayseri together for İskilip, located 115 kilometers east of Amasya. The town of İskilip, at that time, was familiar with Sufi activities. Akşemseddin himself had briefly stayed in one of the nearby villages.³⁷⁹ One of his disciples, namely Attaroğlu Muslihiddin (d.unknown), remained as his khalifa after Akşemseddin had departed.³⁸⁰ Bayezid used to come

³⁷⁶ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 342.; His date of death, according to Sicill-i Osmani, was around 1460. Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, 1127.

³⁷⁷ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 343.

³⁷⁸ Ebussuud Waqfiya VGMA, 633/ 286 No: 101

³⁷⁹ Orhan F. Köprülü and Mustafa Ün, "Akşemseddin," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988), 299.

³⁸⁰ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 235.

to a nearby town named Katar for hunting excursions,³⁸¹ and it was probably during one of these festivities that Habib-i Karamani and Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi met the Sufi revering prince. Bayezid donated a plot of land in the town and the income of two nearby villages to Habib-i Karamani. These properties were later assigned for the expenses of the mosque Habib-i Karamani founded in the tanners' district in 1476.³⁸² Habib-i Karamani appointed himself as the administrator and supervisor of the endowment.

In the endowment deed, Habib-i Karamani, employs a very affectionate language for Bayezid; he calls him “*su ve balçık sülalesinden karındaşım*/my brother among the descendants of the one fashioned of water and clay”, referring to the creation of Adam and the brotherhood of all men.³⁸³ One would normally expect that such an affection between a Sufi loving prince and a shaykh with notable ancestry, both in the initiatic and the genealogical senses, would be transformed into a long and prosperous cooperation when the prince became sultan. But in the case of Habib-i Karamani something must have gone wrong between 1476 and 1481, the date when Bayezid came to the throne. While Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi became the sultan's shaykh, Habib-i Karamani left Amasya for Karamanid lands and started to develop better relations with the rival Zeyniye order.

Still, Habib-i Karamani's sudden move away from the orbit of Bayezid between 1476 and 1481, and his inclination to the Zeyniye, beg for an explanation. In what conditions did Habib-i Karamani, despite having founded a well-endowed mosque and a community, leave İskilip and pursue a peripatetic career? One may put forward various explanations such as Habib-i Karamani's passion for spreading his way or his distaste for worldly attachments, but these are all historically unverifiable. Lami'i hints at an answer by saying that a great conflict occurred between him and his father-in-law Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi, which in the end was resolved thanks to their spiritual vigor/*dervişlik kuvveti*.³⁸⁴ The conflict, claims Kamil Şahin, was over the control of the endowed lands, as Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi wanted to designate his progeny as the administrators, while Habib-i Karamani objected to that.³⁸⁵ Kamil Şahin does not mention his sources, and our sources indicate otherwise. In Habib-i Karamani's endowment deed mentioned above, he endows his property to his wives, sons, daughters and grandsons. He even assigns a portion of his properties (23 shares out of 60) to his wife and Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi's daughter in exchange for her dowry.³⁸⁶ Habib-i Karamani appears as the founder of a family waqf, not the one who objects it.

A recently discovered letter from the Topkapi Palace archives points to the dynastic struggle of 886/1481 as the reason for the conflict between Habib-i Karamani and Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi and

³⁸¹ TSA, E. 8335

³⁸² The approximate date is 10-29 Ekim 1476. Habib-i Karamani Waqfiya (881/1476), VGMA, 601/204 No: 269

³⁸³ Habib-i Karamani Waqfiya (881/1476), VGMA, 601/204 No: 269

³⁸⁴ Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 578.

³⁸⁵ Kamil Şahin, “Habib-i Karamani,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 14 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988), 371.

³⁸⁶ These shares, however, were to remain under Habib-i Karamani's control since he stipulated that they would be used for the salaries of Qur'an reciters in her name.

the subsequent severance of the former's ties with Prince Bayezid. But before getting to this letter, the political tensions in the winter of 886/1481 should briefly be explained.

Part III: The Dynastic Struggle of 886/1481 as the final phase in the Ottomanization of the Halvetiye

The origins of the dynastic struggle between the Bayezid and Cem factions go back to the battle of Otlukbeli with the ruler of the Akkoyunlu tribal federation, Uzun Hasan, in the summer of 878/1473, and the events surrounding it. During this battle, as the commander of the right wing of the Ottoman army, Bayezid pushed back the enemy forces. But Prince Mustafa, as many historians argue, was the man of the day as he crushed the left wing of the Akkoyunlu army and killed Uzun Hasan's son, Zeynel.³⁸⁷ This battle, however, was the beginning of the end for Mehmed II's famous grand vizier Mahmud Pasha. Mehmed II dismissed Mahmud Pasha on the grounds of his incompetence during the battle. Apparently Bayezid was closely watching all these developments. In a letter addressed to Mahmud Pasha, Bayezid cautioned him against the slanderers.³⁸⁸ Of course Bayezid was interested in capitalizing on the enmity between a powerful pasha and his potential rival thus so far.

However, in the summer 1474 these two significant political actors completely disappeared from the Ottoman political scene with the passing of Sehzade Mustafa, the favorite prince of Mehmed II, and the execution of Mahmud Pasha. Sehzade Mustafa's escapade with the wife of Mahmud Pasha and the resulting enmity between the two were common knowledge at the time. Many contemporary chronicles suggest a link between two events. Some of them recount that Mahmud Pasha's negligence in showing a proper mourning for the death of a prince angered the Sultan. Other sources, on the other hand, hint that Mahmud Pasha was the one who plotted against the poor prince.³⁸⁹ Moreover, Mehmed II chose to isolate himself in his new palace, possibly because of his gradually deteriorating health. By the end of 1474, as these two political figures vanished and Mehmed II began to isolate himself in his newly built palace, two political factions began to emerge in order to fill a possible power vacuum. And for almost a decade, these factions fought each other in a bid to shape the future of a nascent empire.

Finally, in the winter of 886/1481, a messenger bearing the news of a new military campaign of Mehmed II arrived in the north central Anatolian city of Amasya. As usual, the exact direction of the sultan's military plans was not quite certain, but in all its probability it was towards some place in the East, since Mehmed had asked his governor-generals to meet him in the city of Konya. This city was first the base of Prince Bayezid's brother Mustafa until his death in 879/1474 and then passed onto Cem, the youngest son of Mehmed II. This news was received with shock and despair in Amasya, especially in the inner circle of the princely court, and it led

³⁸⁷ Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, 371.

³⁸⁸ Tacizade Sadi Celebi (d.1516), *Taci-zade Sa'di Çelebi Münşe'atı*, 2-3.

³⁸⁹ For a detailed discussion of the enmity between the two, see Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelovic (1453-1474)* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001), 344-352.; Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, 327-332.

to a chain of events which resulted in the ascension of Prince Bayezid to the Ottoman throne on Safer 20,886/ May 20th, 1481. Among these events was the Halveti involvement in the dynastic struggle, as a consequence of which a minor Halveti community in Amasya was catapulted to Istanbul, the burgeoning heart of the Ottoman Empire. During this struggle the Halvetis, for the third time in the fifteenth century, clashed with the rival Zeyniye order; this time behind their respective candidates for the Ottoman throne.

Amasya in the Winter of 1481

Amasyans and Bayezid in particular were aware that Mehmed II's decision for an expedition to the east could only mean the elimination of the Bayezid/Amasyan faction (including the Halvetiye order), if not the execution of the prince. First of all, Sultan's personal participation in this campaign raised suspicions. For the previous three years, Mehmed the Conqueror, then at the age of forty nine, yet heavily stricken with illness, had secluded himself in his newly built palace in Istanbul and sent his generals on military campaigns. The Sultan's poor health was common knowledge in both Ottoman and Western circles.³⁹⁰ In addition to this, the Conqueror had not set foot in the Asian provinces of the empire for the previous eight years, since the time of his victory over Uzun Hasan in 1473.

During these eight years, the relationship between the father in Istanbul and the son in Amasya became increasingly strained. For instance, when the Conqueror demanded that his son should send a rich merchant to Istanbul, Bayezid refused to obey. Similarly, when his father ordered the execution of his two confidants (the aforementioned Müeyyedzade Abdurrahman and a certain Haseki Mahmud), Bayezid again challenged his father by helping Müeyyedzade to escape to Aleppo. The tension between the father and the son reached such an extent that a European account reports the rumor of a serious intention on the part of the sultan to kill Bayezid.³⁹¹ Making things worse, was the scheming of Karamani Mehmed Pasha, grand vizier to the sultan and a staunch supporter of the Ottoman prince Cem, rival to Bayezid.

A secret letter written by the Sultan's spy in Amasya informs us the level of panic observable in Bayezid's court.³⁹² According to this letter, the governor-generals of the Conqueror -among them the son in law of Bayezid and the governor-general of Anatolia- had been trying to prevent the Sultan appearing in the Anatolian provinces, since they were on Bayezid's side. When the Sultan ordered these governors to meet him in Konya, as the spy narrates, Bayezid was devastated. Moreover, upon hearing this news, most of the people in Bayezid's faction turned against him, and joined his father's party.

³⁹⁰ For instance, a book of fortunes (*Falnâme*) dated May 1480, very closely approximates the date of Mehmed II's death in the following year. "Tâli'-i Mevlüd-u Merhûm Ebu'l-Feth Sultân Mehmed Han," n.d., 86b, Esat Ef., 1997, Süleymaniye Library. Also for the grave description of the Sultan's health by his contemporary Philippe de Commines, see Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, 424.

³⁹¹ Zinkeisen, referring to a contemporary account by Tubero, in Johann Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa, etc. (Vom Anfänge ... bis zum Frieden mit Russland zu Bucharest im Jahre 1812.)*, vol. 2 (7 Bde. 1840-63., 1840), 495.

³⁹² TSA, E.8335

The Halveti dervishes, at such a critical time, were faced with a very difficult decision. On the one hand, they were needed by Bayezid, who was their most distinguished patron. On the other hand, as long as his father alive, Bayezid was the least likely candidate for the Ottoman throne, and open support for him could have dissolved Halveti hopes of ever establishing themselves in the Ottoman capital. Some of the Halveti dervishes, put in such a quandary by their patron Bayezid, chose to be loyal, and others tried to switch horses in the mid-stream.

Habib-i Karamani's Tough Decision

The same winter a letter from a Halveti dervish reached Mehmed II. It was signed by Seyyidi (or Seydi) Halveti (later known as Seyyidi Halife), a disciple of Habib-i Karamani.³⁹³ Seyyidi Halife was apparently one of his shaykh's favorite disciples, since he replaced his master as the head shaykh of the Mehmed Pasha Sufi lodge in Amasya, where he spent the rest of his life.³⁹⁴ Taşköprüzade, who probably met Seyyidi Halveti when he was a young student in Amasya, notes that Seyyidi Halveti was a person of dignified calmness with a distinguished piety and a fear of God who used to spend his days fasting and his nights praying.³⁹⁵

Seyyidi Halveti, according to a safe calculation based on his date of death (939/1533), was a young Sufi in the lodge of Habib-i Karamani at the time of the letter (886/1481). Dreams have a significant place among the methods of training in the Sufi orders. They signify the level of the disciple on his spiritual journey. The disciple rarely shares his dream with anyone other than his shaykh, let alone publicizes it via a letter to sultan. So it is hard to assume that a Sufi disciple would write and sign such a letter without the prior knowledge of his own shaykh.³⁹⁶ Moreover, the source of the unveiling experience narrated in the dream implies the involvement of others in this enterprise. In the letter, unveiling happens from the direction of the spiritual axis of the time (*kutup*), by whom is intended Seyyidi's own shaykh, Habib-i Karamani. Hüseyin Hüsameddin notes that Habib-i Karamani was among the three Halveti shaykhs of Amasya who were called the three axes, (*üç kutuplar*) around the early 1490's.³⁹⁷ In conclusion, one can safely argue that Habib-i Karamani was the real author of this political letter, and the dreams and mystical experiences all belong to him.

The content, tone and timing of the letter are quite critical in understanding the psyche of the Halveti dervishes as well as the dynamics of the dynastic struggle of 886/1481. The letter also sheds light on why Bayezid and Habib-i Karamani fell apart after the former became the sultan. This letter, first and foremost of all, is a statement of support for Mehmed II's candidate for the throne, Prince Cem. The message is communicated via four dreams and two mystical

³⁹³ Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, 1499.

³⁹⁴ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 438-439.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 439.

³⁹⁶ For more on the dreams refer to Mustafa Tatçı and Halil Çeltik, *Türk Edebiyatından Tasavvufi Rüya Tabirnameleri: Kürd Muhammed el-Halveti, Niyazi-i Mısri el-Halveti, Karabaş-ı Veli el-Halveti, Yiğitbaşı Ahmed Marmaravi el-Halveti* (Ankara, 1995).; Cemal Kafadar, "Mütereddid Bir Mutassavvif: Üsküplü Asiye Hatun'un Rüya Defteri 1641- 43," *Topkapı Sarayı Yilligi* 5: 168-222.

³⁹⁷ The other two were Gümüşlüoğlu Pir Hayreddin Hızır Çelebi (d.890/1485) and Çelebi Halife(d.899/1493) Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi*, 3:236.

experiences, i.e. an unveiling or revelation (*kashf*) and a good omen from the Prophet Muhammad (*sirr-i resul*/prophetic secret) in the World of the Spirits (*alem-i ruhaniyet*).³⁹⁸ All of the dreams and experiences recounted in the dream also reveal an anxiety on the part of some Halveti dervishes for their acceptance by the Ottoman elite, thus a better future of their order. Lastly, this letter is the first document that carries the title “Halveti” as a collective name used by a Halveti dervish for self description.

Habib-i Karamani’s Dreams

In the first dream, Murad II, the deceased father of the sultan accompanied by Şems-i Tebrizi, Seyyid Buhari (better known as Emir Sultan (d.833/1429), and Hacı Bayram-ı Veli on his right, sits across from the Prophet. Murad II asks for a prayer from Seyyid Buhari on behalf of his son Mehmed, arguing that the latter has a multitude of enemies. Seyyid Buhari and the Prophet pray for Mehmed that he be victorious wherever he turns. In the second dream, the sun prostrates itself before Mehmed II and the moon appears above his head. Following that, an elderly person makes Mehmed II mount a heavenly steed (*burak*) and then escort him to an exalted throne, a journey recalling the ascension (*mi’raj*) of the Prophet.³⁹⁹ When asked about his identity and the meaning of the prostrating sun, elderly person replies that he is the prophetic secret of Muhammad, and that the prostration of the sun represents political fortune and the conquest of the Arab lands. In the third dream, the Prophet calls for a ghaza, towards Belgrade. In the last dream, the Prophet Moses gathers an army in Filibe (modern day Plovdiv) and marches in the direction of Hungary. Suddenly the Prophet Moses disappears and Mehmed II takes his place and marches as far as *Frengistan* (probably the Italian peninsula), following the prominent saints of the time.

“Historians need to bear constantly in mind the fact that they do not have access to the dream itself but at best to a written record, modified by the preconscious or conscious mind in the course of recollection and writing,” states Peter Burke.⁴⁰⁰ One cannot question or verify the existence of Habib-i Karamani’s dream, and does not “have access to the associations of the dreamer to the incidents of the dream.”⁴⁰¹ Also, the private meaning of the dream in relation to the mystical journey of the author is beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, this dream can be located within a certain genre and its author in an historical context in order to gauge the mindset of a Halveti dervish of the mid-fifteenth century.

First, it is not uncommon in Ottoman historical writing that dream letters to the Sultans or the narratives of Sultans’ dreams should be laden with political symbols and messages.⁴⁰² In most of the Ottoman historical narratives, it is the Sultan who experiences the dream, which is interpreted

³⁹⁸ Translated as “mystery” or “secret.” Trimmingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 311.

³⁹⁹ Burak, in Islamic mythology, is the mount that conveyed the Prophet on the *Mi’raj*.

⁴⁰⁰ Peter Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, 1997, 28. Quoted in Ahmet Tunç Şen, “The Dream of a 17th Century Ottoman Intellectual: Veysi and his Habname” (MA, Sabanci University, 2008), 79.

⁴⁰¹ Burke, *Varieties of Cultural History*, 28.

⁴⁰² Elias Kolovos, “The Saints in the Sultan’s Dream,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005): 205-217. Şen, “The Dream of a 17th Century Ottoman Intellectual: Veysi and his Habname,” 3.

by a major religious figure of the time, like an influential Sufi shaykh. In these sources, Sultans' dreams are considered to contain critical signs about a future venture or a past accomplishment. For instance, when Mehmed II saw himself wrestling in a dream with Uzun Hasan and ripping a piece from his opponent's chest, it was interpreted as victory in the battle of Otlukbeli and the subsequent death of Uzun Hasan's son.⁴⁰³ The Ottoman archives are relatively rich in dream letters to the Sultan. These dreams are usually filled with good omens and signs communicated by the Prophet and/or major religious figures. The letters were usually written in expectation of a gift from the Sultan and in some instances the dreamers' expectations were met.⁴⁰⁴ Dreams such as these became more frequent especially after the seventeenth century and they rarely express a direct political message. They instead include vague auguries of a long life and rule or a military victory for the Sultan etc.⁴⁰⁵

The first part of Habib-i Karamani's letter fits in with this type of documentation, in terms of its both form and content. There is nothing, in this part of the letter, to infuriate the suspicious and unpredictable Sultan, and it seems to be written solely for providing moral support. All four dreams pertained to the foreign affairs of the Ottoman polity. The Prophet's call for a ghaza against Belgrade, the Prophet Moses's gathering of soldiers in Filibe and their marching towards Europe, are all parallel to Mehmed II's foreign policy. Similarly, the idea of conquering the Arab lands seems to have been prevalent among the ruling elite at the time. For instance, in another undated letter, Mehmed II's tutor Akşemseddin encourages the sultan to undertake the conquest of the Arab lands.⁴⁰⁶

Another way to interpret this letter is to see it as the reflection of a specific mindset, perhaps of a particular anxiety. The tone and the content suggest a certain anxiety on the part of some Halveti dervishes, who were eager to expand their influence in the Ottoman core lands, yet undecided about their position in the upcoming political struggle. For instance, the names of the saints mentioned in the first dream, Şems-i Tebrizi, Seyyid Buhari and Hacı Bayram-ı Veli seem to have been carefully picked by Habib-i Karamani. These saints, unlike those of Halvetiye of the time, were all known and venerated by the Ottomans. Especially Emir Buhari and Hacı Bayram were very close to Murad II, the father of Sultan. And lastly, the roots of the silsila of all three go back to Iran. In particular that of Hacı Bayram intersects with the Halvetiye silsila in the early fourteenth century in the person of İbrahim Zahid-i Gilani. As a Halveti dervish, by associating himself and his silsila with relatively more legitimate/established historical figures of other Sufi

⁴⁰³ Mehmet Hemdemi Çelebi Solakzade (d.1657), *Solakzāde Tarihi*, ed. Vahid Çabuk (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1989), 329.; Oddly enough, Feridun Bey (d.991/1581), who put the dream interpretation letter in his compilation, mistakenly ascribes this interpretation to Akşemseddin, though the latter died almost fourteen years before the Otluk beli battle. One explanation for such an obvious mistake might be the lack of major Sufi figures around Mehmed II. Akşemseddin almost exclusively appears in all of the mystical experience narratives about Mehmed II. Feridun Bey (d.1583), *Mecmūa-ı Münşeāt al-Selātīn (vol. I)* (Istanbul, 1858), 282.

⁴⁰⁴ Şen, "The Dream of a 17th Century Ottoman Intellectual: Veysi and his Habname," 3.

⁴⁰⁵ Şen traces back the earliest example of this documentation to the eighteenth century, to a letter of certain Mehmed Edhemzade of Niğbolu who is announcing the conquests of various castles in Balkans. Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ TSA, E.5862 These remarks prove that the Ottoman expansion to the East in the sixteenth century is by no means a coincidence, or a reaction/defensive action against the encroachment of the Mamluks or Iranian polities, but a product of decades -long planning.

silsilas, Habib-i Karamani was trying to present his own silsila as less threatening to the Ottoman polity in Istanbul.

Habib-i Karamani's Mystical Experiences

The nature and the content of the mystical experience, however, change in the rest of the letter. The messages are communicated by different means than dreams. And the focus shifts to internal politics, in other words to delicate matters, considering that it was written by a member of a Sufi silsila under suspicion to a Sultan who is extremely jealous of his rule. The rest is as follows;

And also an unveiling occurred from the direction of the spiritual axis of the time. (I saw that) all of the sufis and the souls of the deceased saints had gathered in Iznik. The sultan emerged from the sea holding the hand of Cem Sultan and said; Oh friends of God, I entrust Cem Çelebi to you.⁴⁰⁷ Moreover in an auspicious moment the Prophet Muhammad gave me the glad tidings that my Sultan will rule for seventy years, with the help of the Exalted God. My sultan knows that these dreams have outer and inner meanings. And they refer to past, present and future. And they are the result of certain actions. They are supposed to be interpreted both exoterically and esoterically. If interpreted, it would be speaking too much and revealing the secret.⁴⁰⁸

In this part of the letter, dreams are replaced by two different, perhaps more elusive mystical experiences; an unveiling and a good omen from the prophetic secret in the world of spirits. An unveiling, a lifting of the things that curtain the world of the unseen, comes to the Sufi as he polishes his heart with invocation and recitation of the Qur'an.⁴⁰⁹ It is attainable by one who has reached a certain stage on the path he has taken. Furthermore, seeing the sea in the dream, as Habib-i Karamani did, indicates that the Sufi has reached the last step in his journey and is capable of *kashf*.⁴¹⁰ Both the nature and the content of this experience imply a claim of mystical authority on the part of our author. A confirmation of this claim comes at the end of the letter as Habib-i Karamani tells the Sultan that although he could provide more interpretation of these dreams and experiences he would not do so, in order to keep the letter short and the secret safe.

Considering the content of this part, it is logical for Habib-i Karamani to change the way in which he communicates his messages. Up until to this point, the messages conveyed in the letter are less daring in terms of their subject matter. In this section, however Habib-i Karamani Halveti deals with a political controversy. By stating that Mehmed II has left or should leave the fate of Prince Cem in the hands of the Sufis, he claims a position for himself and the other Sufis

⁴⁰⁷ Literally; "I leave Cem Çelebi before your skirts."

⁴⁰⁸ TSA, E.6451

⁴⁰⁹ William C. Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, 1989, 225.; Süleyman Uludağ, "Keşf," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 25 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1989), 314.

⁴¹⁰ See the *Tabirname* of Shaykh Kürd Muhammed Efendi el-Halveti (d.1587), in Tatçı and Çeltik, *Türk Edebiyatından Tasavvufî Rüya Tabirnameleri: Kürd Muhammed el-Halveti, Niyazi-i Mısri el-Halveti, Karabaş-ı Veli el-Halveti, Yiğitbaşı Ahmed Marmaravi el-Halveti*, 11.

right at the heart of the politics of the day. At this point, Habib-i Karamani Halveti, with his Sufi identity, almost blatantly steps out of the boundaries Mehmed II had envisioned for the Sufi orders.

In the face of an upcoming dynastic struggle, Habib-i Karamani chose to make a safe bet by allying himself with the candidate more favored for the throne. The reason why he had his disciple sign the letter instead of himself is not quite clear, however. His proximity to Prince Bayezid might have caused him to refrain from openly becoming a turncoat. Perhaps he tried to play on both sides or had to do so in order to guarantee the future of his order. Alternatively, he may have been too august or venerable to engage in a prophecy pertaining to daily politics. Whatever the reason, the fact that Bayezid, once he became Sultan, did not support Habib-i Karamani clearly indicates that he was, or later became aware, of Habib-i Karamani's last minute political move.

Çelebi Halife, Shaykh Vefa and the Third Challenge of the Zeyniye

The earliest written source on Çelebi Halife's involvement in the dynastic struggle, the *Terceme-i Nefehāt* of Lami'i (d.938/1532) was penned almost forty years after the events took place. However, it relies on the report of a certain Tacizade Cafer Çelebi (d.920/1515), a military judge early in the sixteenth century. Tacizade Cafer Çelebi was the son of Taci Bey (Taceddin İbrahim d.890/1485-6), the treasurer of Bayezid's princely court in Amasya.⁴¹¹ Taci Bey, as reported by his son, was an eye-witness to the developments of the period, since he served as interlocutor between Bayezid and Çelebi Halife (d.899/1494), one of the Halveti shaykhs residing in Amasya.

According to this account, in the early days of April 886/1481, possibly upon hearing news of his father's passing over the Bosphorus, Bayezid hands three thousand silver coins to Taci Bey and orders him to give them to Çelebi Halife. "Let him feed his dervishes with these coins," says Bayezid, and he adds "I have a wish and if he (Çelebi Halife) would be so kind as to be concerned with it, I hope that my wish may be realized." When Taci Bey attempts to inquire about Bayezid's wish, the latter does not reveal it and argues that Çelebi Halife would discover it himself. Upon receiving the money, Çelebi Halife asks about Bayezid's wish. Taci Bey gives the answer Bayezid gave him. It would be good if he had described his wishes, Çelebi Halife grumbles. The following day Çelebi Halife invites Taci Bey to his lodge and reveals Bayezid's wish to be the destruction of grand vizier Karamani Mehmed Pasha (d.886/1481). "Mehmed Pasha carries a *wafq* (a square talisman) in his turban which fends off all [negative] celestial incidents (*kaza*) and Shaykh Vefa has drawn an impenetrable protective circle around him" adds Çelebi Halife. Despite this obstacle, Çelebi Halife gives "the good news" that Bayezid's wish will be realized. Yet he asks the anguished prince to wait for thirty three days till a colossal event happens.

⁴¹¹ Taci Bey's name appears in the expense account of Prince Bayezid dated 1476; TSA, D. 7591

When this news was brought to Bayezid, his face bashfully turns red at what Çelebi Halife had said; “I swear to God, I would not wish for somebody’s destruction without a reason but this oppressor [Mehmed Pasha], espousing the cause of my brother Cem and desiring my father’s scorn for me, kept maliciously reporting on me to my father.” Bayezid, impressed by Çelebi Halife’s accurate prognostication, states that another shaykh, Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi, also knew about his intention for a while and adds, “I wonder what would that colossal event be?” In fact thirty three days later, on 8 Rebiulevvel 886/12 May 1481 a messenger brings the news of the sultan’s death and invites Bayezid to succeed to the throne. On the way to Istanbul and exactly on the thirty ninth day following Çelebi Halife’s prophecy, the news of Mehmed Pasha’s murder reaches Bayezid.

According to Tacizade Cafer Çelebi, the original source of this story, this incident was verified and clarified by Karamani Mehmed Pasha’s son, though unknowingly. In a conversation between Mehmed Pasha’s son and Tacizade Cafer Çelebi, the former mentions a *wafq* worn by his father. He tells Tacizade that the writings on the *wafq* were accidentally rubbed off because of Mehmed Pasha’s excessive perspiration while he was under the stress of dealing with the situation following the Sultan’s death. Mehmed Pasha sends his *wafq* to Shaykh Vefa for repair, thus lifting the protection it provided. As his son relates, Mehmed Pasha was murdered on the same day. Apparently Mehmed Pasha’s son relates this anecdote as a sign of Shaykh Vefa’s mystical powers, but obviously our narrator Cafer Çelebi took it as evidence for Çelebi Halife’s prowess.

Taşköprüzade’s Twist

Taşköprüzade most probably heard this story when he was residing in Amasya because of his father’s teaching position at the Hüseyiniye Medresesi. He narrates the feat of Çelebi Halife with more detail and a special reference to a political controversy of the time.⁴¹² In his work, no exchange of money is mentioned and Çelebi Halife acts for pious reasons. He appears halfhearted in reacting to Bayezid’s plea at first. Later on, he cannot resist Bayezid’s dogged insistence and enters into the world of the unseen, only to see that the shaykhs of Karaman are siding with Prince Cem. These Sufis return Çelebi Halife’s attempts to sway them by throwing fires at him. One of these fires hits Çelebi Halife’s daughter and a few days later these visions in the unseen world materialize in the real world when the unfortunate girl dies. Despite the lack of success in this initial attempt, upon Bayezid’s strong insistence, Çelebi Halife once again finds himself in the world of the unseen. This time, the Karamani shaykhs inquire about Çelebi Halife’s motives and in return Çelebi Halife engages in a polemic by arguing that Karamani Mehmed Pasha had abolished Muslim pious foundations and confiscated their properties for the royal treasury. Persuaded by this answer, the Karamani shaykhs, with the notable exception of Shaykh Vefa, withdraw their support from Karamani Mehmed Pasha, thus also from Cem. Then Çelebi Halife notices a protective circle drawn by Shaykh Vefa around Karamani Mehmed Pasha. He tells Bayezid that he penetrated this circle with great effort and asks him to wait for thirty three days. The rest of the story is the same as Lami’i’s account.

⁴¹² Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā’iq al-Nu’mānīya*, 268-269.

Taşköprüzade, perhaps for the sake of authenticating his story, reports an intriguing anecdote from a relative of Çelebi Halife. This relative claims that at the time of Çelebi Halife's attempts at penetrating the aforementioned protective circle, various forms of calamities hit forty people with the name Mehmed in the city of Amasya. Among these were the narrator himself, who reportedly fell off a tree. Taşköprüzade could have mentioned this anecdote to point out the power of Çelebi Halife's piercing curse. However, the emphasis on the name "Mehmed" in the anecdote might also be taken as an allusion to Çelebi Halife's role in the death of Mehmed the Conqueror, instead of or along with the murder of Karamani Mehmed Pasha. Assuming that there was such an allusion, curiously enough, it was toned down or covered up by some of the historians and Halveti hagiographers of later decades. For instance, the earliest Halveti hagiographer, Yusuf b. Yakub, does not mention the calamities that hit the "Mehmeds of Amasya" and when talking about the scheming grand vizier he replaces the name "Mehmed" with "Ahmed"⁴¹³. Similarly in the *Kunh al-Ahbār* of the celebrated sixteenth century historian Mustafa Ali (d.1008/1600), Karamani Mehmed Pasha is executed before the death of Mehmed the Conqueror, as the his wafq/talisman breaks because of excessive perspiration while he is organizing the circumcision ceremony of the princes.⁴¹⁴

Conclusion

The story of Çelebi Halife's aid to Bayezid in succeeding to the throne is not the simple hagiographical account of a miraculous deed. It is the foundational story of Halvetiye in the

⁴¹³ Yusuf b. Yakub (d. ca.1577), *Menākīb-ı Şerīf ve Tarīkatnāme-i Pīrān ve Meşāyih-i Tarīkat-ı 'Aliyye-i Halvetiye* (Istanbul, 1874), 19.

⁴¹⁴ Mustafa Ali (d.1600), *Kunh al-Ahbār (C. II: Fatih Sultan Mehmed Devri, 1451-1481)*, trans. M. Hüdai Şentürk (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003), 247. Certain modern authors take such allusions and omissions to be part of the "circumstantial evidences" of a Halveti conspiracy against the sultan and conclude that Halveti dervishes were somehow involved in the poisoning Mehmed II. (Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, 404-405.; Hans Joachim Kissling, "Aus der Geschichte des Chalvetijje-Ordens," in *Dissertationes Orientales et Balcanicae Collectae I: Das Derwischtum* (München: Trofenik, 1986), 250-251.; Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes," 282.) However, this argumentation is not quite convincing. First, none of the contemporary sources –Ottoman, Western or Egyptian mention poisoning as the reason behind the Sultan's death. Even Taşköprüzade himself argues that Mehmed the Conqueror died because of incorrect medical treatment, for which he blames Karamani Mehmed Pasha. Also, the three thousand silver coins in question are an insignificant amount of money for poisoning the most powerful monarch of the fifteenth century. And lastly, reaching such conclusions would be an anachronistic overstatement of Halveti influence and power. Halveti dervishes were still on the margins of the main power structure of the Ottoman polity. A marginalized Halveti shaykh would not be able to achieve what the Venetian Republic, despite all its power and connections, had been trying to do for a decade. (V. I Lamanskii, *Secrets d'État De Venise; Documents, Extraits, Notices, Et Études Servant À Éclaircir Les Rapports De La Seigneurie Avec Les Grecs, Les Slaves, Et La Porte Ottomane À La Fin Du XVe Et Au XVIe*, vol. 1 (New York: B. Franklin, 1968), 25.; Babinger, "Yakup Paşa: Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Özel Tabibi Gaeta'lı Jacopo Usta'nın Hayatı, Akıbeti," 37-47. These allusions, at best, suggest the existence of a rumor in various Istanbulite circles of the time. In fact, Aşıkpaşazade's couplet attached to the description of the events surrounding Mehmed II's death, which actually attempts to negate such a rumor, points out its existence. (Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Osmān," 249.) The abovementioned changes in the accounts of Yusuf b. Yakub and Mustafa Ali, if they are not simple mistakes, should too be understood in the same manner; as an attempt to cover up a rumor, not as the report of an actual deed. In conclusion, such allusions give hints about the Halvetiyye and its perception from the sixteenth century onwards rather than factual information on their history in the period under study.

Ottoman core lands. It depicts the last phase of the Ottomanization of Halvetiye. This story, at the time of its inception, was more about the triumph of one Sufi order over another than of an Ottoman prince over his brother. What was at stake, more than Bayezid's political career, was the future of the Halvetiye in the Ottoman lands. The 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." The most intractable obstacle in their way was the Zeyniye Sufi order, which jealously guarded its prestige among the Ottoman elite. So in the late fifteenth century, when this story was being circulated in the lodges, gatherings and mosques of Istanbul, it was possibly being offered as an answer to the question about the sudden appearance of Halveti dervishes in Istanbul. Analogous to the Ottoman dynasty, these Sufi orders felt the need to explain their claim to Istanbul.⁴¹⁵ The Halvetis, by relating the feat of Çelebi Halife, declared that they deserved to be part of the new imperial center that was in the making.

Moreover, although the story was embellished with supernatural elements, its core conceals a significant historical truth about the establishment of Halvetiye in the Ottoman lands. For instance Çelebi Halife's mastery in breaking the powerful protection of the *wafq* drawn by Shaykh Vefa was probably told in the Sufi circles of Istanbul and Amasya as a proof of Çelebi Halife's spiritual vigor and thus his worth as a Sufi master. In this way, Çelebi Halife, whose initiatic chain was rather unknown and less prestigious than that of Shaykh Vefa, was able to establish his Sufi order in Istanbul thanks to his reputation for the mastery of the occult sciences. The mastery of an occult science, which could prove practical for the urban elite, was one of the ways in which a recently urbanized Sufi order, Halvetiye, engaged in the competition with the more urban Sufi orders, which had an extensive following among the urban elite. Halvetiye, in this way, demonstrated the adaptability of its message according to the needs of new audiences, or in this case, to new political configurations.

This story also narrates the survival of the order in the face of the final and the most powerful challenge of the rival Zeyniye order. This was the third Zeyni challenge the Halvetis of the fifteenth century faced. The Zeynis were able to preserve their ascendancy among the Ottoman elite in the first two confrontations. The final clash between the two orders came in the spring of 886/1481 when they supported the opposite candidates for the Ottoman throne.⁴¹⁶

Contrary to their self-presentation, these orders were neither the decisive factors in the Ottoman succession struggle of 886/1481, nor were they completely irrelevant to its outcome. The approach of modern scholarship to the extent of the role of Çelebi Halife in these events is twofold. Certain historians dismiss the account of Çelebi Halife's feat as "an ex post facto

⁴¹⁵ Perhaps the rise of Ottoman historiography in the late fifteenth century, was just not confined to the histories of the dynasty. Other groups in the capital too tried to legitimize their presence in the city through oral or written histories.

⁴¹⁶ Neither order ever formed a completely intact political bloc. There were faltering Halvetis, as mentioned above, as there were wavering Zeyni dervishes. Aşıkpaşazade, despite being the disciple of Abdullatif-i Kudsi, kept criticizing the most powerful Zeyni backer in the capital, Karamani Mehmed Pasha. Similarly, the successor of the aforementioned Taceddin-i Karamani at the Bursa Zeyni lodge, namely Hacı Halife-i Kastamoni (d.894/1489) prided himself on sending one of his disciples to the aid of Prince Bayezid in Amasya. Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'māniya*, 204.

attempt in order to weave a group's history into the fabric of the formative periods of Ottoman history and culture"⁴¹⁷ and argue that the role of the Halvetis was at best slight. Others take it at its face value and try to explain how the Halvetis did change the course of the Ottoman history by inventing conspiracies. By introducing other Sufi characters into the story and exposing political/religious parties, I have tried to argue that although carrying political overtones, Çelebi Halife's account is actually about the struggle between an established Sufi order and an upcoming one over their future on the socio-religious scene of the nascent Ottoman capital.

However, what happened in Amasya in the winter of 1481 did not stay there. The full establishment of the Halvetiye in the Ottoman core lands (Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne) was never a smooth process. The repercussions of the Halveti feat in 886/1481 continued on for almost a century. The Halvetiye order bifurcated into Rumi and Karamani branches according to the respective membership of their initiators, Çelebi Halife and Habib-i Karamani to different political networks in 886/1481. Gradually the political differences between two branches translated into divergences in their approaches to major Halveti practices and competing Sufi orders, among them the Zeyniye and the Nakşibendiye. And as the Halvetiye increasingly became an integral part of the socio-religious scene in Istanbul, it came to be directly influenced by the vicissitudes of imperial factional politics that were considerably shaped by competing regionalist networks. In other words, Çelebi Halife's feud with the "Karamani shaykhs" as an Amasyan shaykh in the world of the unseen was pursued by him and his disciples in the Ottoman imperial setting in the ensuing decades of the sixteenth century.

⁴¹⁷ Curry, "The Intersection of Past and Present in the Genesi of an Ottoman Sufi Order: The Life of Cemal el-Halveti (d.900/1494 or 905/1499)," 3. Curry argues against this point and concludes that Çelebi Halife was actually involved in these events.

Chapter Four:

The Ottoman Halvetiye: A Sibling Rivalry between Two Dynastic Struggles (886/1481-969/1561)

Introduction: Who are the Rumi and Karamani Shaykhs?

You cannot find a single decent friend among the Karamanis
Even their shaykhs are impudent and importunate rogues
Karamanis promise, assure and guarantee
Take an oath and later deny all
Their rulers, judges, professors and shaykhs
All of them are preoccupied with deception and trickery
If you boil us together in a cauldron
They would refuse to be mixed with us
If you are a believer, let us be friends, you say
And they answer: I am the oppressor of believers
Especially if you are an Ottoman
They turn even more tyrannical
Arrogant, presumptuous inept they are
That is why God the Wrathful is continuously ravaging them⁴¹⁸

These are the words of Aşıkpaşazade, the fifteenth century Amasyan dervish/chronicler in the Ottoman Empire, about the Karamanis in general and their shaykhs in particular. The unflattering content of the poem is because of Aşıkpaşazade's Rumi identity. What these identities (Karamani versus Rumi) meant in the Ottoman world in the period from Halvetiye's first move to Istanbul in 886/1481 to the composition of the first Halveti hagiography around 981/1581 is the subject of this chapter. Part of the answer to this question lies a bit in the life and chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade.

Aşıkpaşazade was born in the Elvan Çelebi lodge in the environs of Amasya and belonged to a prestigious Sufi family dating back to Baba İlyas-ı Rumi.⁴¹⁹ This family was the oldest and the most famous shaykhly family in the province of Rum. As a member of the Baba İlyas family, Aşıkpaşazade must have been welcomed by the Ottomans when he decided to join the forces of Çelebi Mehmed I in his fight against his brother Musa Çelebi in 816/1413.⁴²⁰ However, his illness forced him to stay behind the army at the house of Yahşi Fakih, in Geyve in north central Anatolia. Aşıkpaşazade there found a copy of Yahşi Fakih's chronicle, the only narrative source to describe the origins and the first hundred years of the Ottoman dynasty. In 825/1422,

⁴¹⁸ Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Osmān," 151.

⁴¹⁹ The main source for Aşıkpaşazade's life is his chronicle. The narrative above therefore deals with what Aşıkpaşazade chose to tell us about his life. However, the coexistence of different writing styles in this chronicle and the differences between the extant copies is a matter of a debate in terms of the authenticity of certain parts of the work. This debate is of course closely related to the dates of Aşıkpaşazade's birth and death. For the discussion see İnalçık, "How to Read Ashık Pashazade's History."

⁴²⁰ Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Osmān," 80.

Aşıkpaşazade once again set out to join an Ottoman expedition, this time on the side of Murad II (824/1412-848/1444 and 850/1446-855/1451) against his uncle Düzmece Mustafa. A few years later, one finds Aşıkpaşazade at the lodge of Sadreddin-i Konevi being initiated to the Zeyniye Sufi order by the aforementioned Abdüllatif-i Kudsi, before his pilgrimage in 840/1437. Upon his return, Aşıkpaşazade settled in the Balkan town of Üsküp (modern day Skopje) under the patronage of a frontier lord. From this date until the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1453, Aşıkpaşazade participated in numerous wars and expeditions, which he narrates in detail in his chronicle. After the conquest, Aşıkpaşazade turned a former Byzantine building in Istanbul into a Sufi lodge and stayed in it until his death circa 907-8/1502.⁴²¹

Aşıkpaşazade began composing his work in 881/1476 at the age of eighty three.⁴²² Yet it would be wrong to imagine him sitting down by himself through long Istanbul evenings trying to write down what he could remember. He probably completed his work through dictation and with the help of his disciples' editing, led by his son-in-law, the famous Zeyni shaykh, Seyyid Velayet. Aşıkpaşazade's history is among the sources of a more systematized and comprehensive biographical compendia and chronicles produced in the sixteenth century. His work is the first Ottoman narrative that contains a section on the Sufis of Ottoman lands and Anatolia, the brevity of which is in inverse proportion to its significance for the early history of the Sufi orders in the fifteenth century Ottoman Empire.

What could have motivated Aşıkpaşazade to list the dervishes of Ottoman Empire? His Sufi background is the first explanation that comes to mind. But the immediate historical context does also account for Aşıkpaşazade's interest in the Sufi orders. Following the enthronement of Bayezid in 886/1481, the Ottoman capital opened its gates to all Sufi orders. The dervishes of different, and frequently competing Sufi orders became increasingly visible in Istanbul's socio-religious scene. Aşıkpaşazade was likely asked at various gatherings about the authenticity of claims made by these Sufi orders. His work was in response to a demand on the part of the Ottoman educated elite who did not know much about the Sufi orders, except for Zeyniye which dominated the Sufi scene until 886/1481.

In Bayezid II's Istanbul, unlike that of his father Mehmed II, there was a great diversity in terms of the Sufi orders operating in the socio-religious domain. In terms of their affiliation with political networks these orders were organized around two camps, which could suitably be named after their affiliation to rival political geographies in Anatolia as Rumi and Karamani. Rumi camp was composed of the Rumi Halvetiye and Bayramiya, the shaykhs of whom (Çelebi Halife and Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi) supported Bayezid's bid for the throne in 886/1481 from his base in the Rum region. The Zeyniye and Karamani Halvetiye fell into the Karamani camp, which included of the representatives of the ancien regime of Mehmed II, a considerable segment of the ulema and the Karamani population of Istanbul, who were forcibly settled there after 870/1465. The Karamani camp, as seen above, supported Prince Cem, favorite son of Mehmed II who was based in the Karaman region during the dynastic struggle of 886/1481.

⁴²¹ The date of Aşıkpaşazade's death is again debated among historians, but as Inalcik clearly illustrates, he appears to have been alive as late as this date. Inalcik, "How to Read Ashik Pashazade's History," 31.

⁴²² Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevārih-i Āl-i 'Osmān," 80.

After Bayezid's succession to the throne, the Zeyniye came to be strongly challenged by the Rumi Halvetiye and the Bayramiyya thanks to the backing of Bayezid II and his court, most of whom had close relations with the city of Amasya and the larger Rum region. The Karamani Halvetiye, founded by Habib-i Karamani, however, had to wait until the end of Bayezid's reign to appear on Istanbul's socio-religious scene.

Aşıkpaşazade's work began to be composed around the time of the accession of Bayezid II, after which the competition between two Sufi/political camps was carried from Anatolia to Istanbul. And Aşıkpaşazade, although he was Zeyni by initiation, was an idiosyncratic shaykh in the sense that he supported the Rumi camp. His sympathetic approach to Alaeddin-i Halveti is a good example. When Alaeddin-i Halveti appeared in Istanbul, the Zeynis of Istanbul provoked Mehmed II into "kindly" requesting the newcomer Halveti shaykh to leave Istanbul. Aşıkpaşazade while employing a sympathetic language to describe Alaeddin-i Halveti in his work, he does not mention Taceddin İbrahim among the shaykhs of the period. Another example is Aşıkpaşazade's attitude toward Karamani Mehmed Pasha, the leader of the Karamani camp in the dynastic struggle following Mehmed II's death. While the Zeynis supported Karamani Mehmed Pasha, Aşıkpaşazade uses very harsh words in discussing the vizier's policies.⁴²³ Aşıkpaşazade's sympathy for the Halvetis and revulsion for Karamani Mehmed Pasha, along with his strong words about the Karamanishaykhs at the beginning of this chapter shows how powerful his regional affiliation was. His Rumi background was the reason he acted differently from the rest of the contemporary Zeyni shaykhs. He simply could not turn his back on the Halvetiye or Bayezid who were both the products of his hometown Amasya.

In sum, Aşıkpaşazade's case demonstrates that in this period it is not easy to categorize the Ottoman shaykhs as Karamani or Rumi according to their places of birth or Sufi order affiliation. The main determinant categorizing them in this study is rather their political affiliation which almost exclusively overlaps with the regional identities. Karamani shaykhs were the Sufis affiliated to the orders that were active in the Karaman region or had better relations with the orders originating in that region. Habib-i Karamani's branch is named as Karamani, not because of the sobriquet of its founder but for the fact that it is the only Halvetiye branch that was active in Karaman region and maintained good relations with the Zeyniye order. Similarly, the branch of Halvetiye founded by Çelebi Halife could be called Rumi because it had more powerful political and social connections to the Rum region than had the Karamani Halvetiye, despite the fact that its founder Çelebi Halife was in fact a native of Aksaray, an important town in Karaman.⁴²⁴ Mostly through these regional identities, the Sufi orders of Anatolia in the fifteenth century associated themselves with different Ottoman imperial factions, hence the agency of the Anatolian cities, especially Amasya in the Ottomanization of the Sufi orders.

⁴²³ Aşıkpaşazade's harsh words for him can be attributed to political opportunism as he wrote during the time of Bayezid II, the archenemy of Karamani Mehmed Pasha. But I believe in Aşıkpaşazade's genuineness, especially in the context of Karamani Mehmed's land reform that alienated the Sufi orders. Otherwise it would be too simplistic to explain Aşıkpaşazade's sympathy for Bayezid II with patronage relations.

⁴²⁴ Most likely the dervishes of both branches called themselves simply Halvetis. For example, see Seyyidi Halveti's letter below. However, when writing the history of these orders, both the Ottoman and modern studies name these branches after their founders. The Rumi branch is usually called "Cemali", after the first name of its founder Çelebi Halife.

Bayezid II (886/1481-918/1512) and the Friendly Years

The Rumi branch of the Halvetiye order, which was founded by Çelebi Halife, was among the newly arriving Sufi orders after the accession of Bayezid (hereafter Bayezid II). Along with Çelebi Halife arrived a significant group of Amasyan artists, scholars, statesmen and Sufis came to Istanbul. Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi, the Müeyyedzade brothers (Abdurrahman and Abdürrahim, sons of the aforementioned Müeyyed family), Shaykh Hamdullah and his cousins (sons and nephews of Mehmed Buhari, the administrator of the aforementioned Çilehane) were some of the Amasyans who would later become very prominent academic, religious and artistic personalities in the Ottoman history. The most influential son of Amasya who came to Istanbul in this period was of course Bayezid himself. Bayezid spent twenty seven years in Amasya, covering the period of his childhood, adolescent years and the formative part of adulthood. Bayezid immediately had a lodge built for Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi on one of the hills overlooking the Golden Horn. He also asked his confidant (later Grand vizier) Koca Mustafa Pasha (d.918/1512) to endow a former Byzantine nunnery in the southeast of Istanbul for the arriving Çelebi Halife and his dervishes. Koca Mustafa Pasha was among the retinue of Bayezid in Amasya and met his shaykh Çelebi Halife there. The nunnery, which became a lodge named after Koca Mustafa Pasha in the coming centuries, became one of the major Halveti lodges, if not the most influential one in the whole empire.⁴²⁵ Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge carries the characteristics of the Çilehane of Amasya in the sense that it included a high number of cells for ascetic retreat.⁴²⁶ The manifestation of the desire to spread Halvetiye in the architecture of Sufi lodges, which had its earliest example in the Çilehane, was continued in the imperial capital.

During his reign, Bayezid and his Amasyan entourage visited the lodges of Çelebi Halife and Muhyiddin-i Iskilibi regularly. Both shaykhs, however, sought acceptance among the educated elite of Istanbul. Çelebi Halife frequented the Sahn-ı Semaniye Medresesi where the future Ottoman elite was being trained. He produced scholarly works in Arabic, the audience for which could only be the ulema of the city. To a certain extent he was successful in recruiting the ulema, thanks to his skills and the royal support by Bayezid II and the patronage of the grand vizier Koca Mustafa Pasha. Following the plague of early 1490's, Bayezid II asked Çelebi Halife to pray for the Istanbulites in Mecca. Çelebi Halife accepted Bayezid II plea and left Istanbul. On

⁴²⁵ It is relatively hard to talk about the Halvetiye order as centralized organization because of its tendency to expand through the establishment of sub-branches. But at this point in history, their chain of initiation was definitely set and the practices and doctrines of the order were relatively standardized. Although the Halvetiye never had a powerful central lodge as the Mevleviye or Bektaşiyе orders did, it still had the Sufi lodge in Koca Mustafa Pasha, where some of the elders of the order were buried. This Sufi lodge served as the center for the Halveti dervishes in the core lands of the empire. For instance, when Süleyman I's mother Hafise Hatun (d.940/1534) built a Sufi lodge in Manisa, she requested a shaykh from the head shaykh residing in Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge. The shaykh that was sent to Manisa was later called back to Istanbul to succeed his master in the central lodge. Yusuf b. Yakub (d. ca.1577), *Menākıb-ı Şerīf*, 48-49.

⁴²⁶ There were forty cells in the Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge. Küçükdağ, *II. Bayezid, Yavuz ve Kanuni Devirlerinde Cemali Ailesi*, 39.; Klaus Kreiser, Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, and Paul Dumont, "Medresen und Derwischkonvente in Istanbul: Quantitative Aspekte," in *Economies et sociétés dans l'Empire Ottoman (fin du XVIIIe- début du XXe siècle)* (Paris, 1983), 114.

his way to Macca, in 899/1494 Çelebi Halife passed away in Tabuk, in Syria, where he was buried.

Çelebi Halife was replaced by Sünbül Sinan Efendi (d. 936/1529), another son of Amasya. Sünbül Sinan Efendi was initially a madrasa student who looked down on the dervishes of Çelebi Halife. After repeatedly being invited to the Rumi Halvetiye in his dreams, he finally submitted to the training hands of Çelebi Halife. After a while, Çelebi Halife sent Sünbül Sinan to Egypt to establish the order there. On his last journey to Mecca, Çelebi Halife asked Sünbül Sinan to meet him in the holy lands. Sünbül Sinan learned of the death and the last will of his shaykh in Egypt. In his will, Çelebi Halife asked Sünbül Sinan to succeed to his post in Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge and marry his daughter Safiye Hatun (d.unknown.) Sünbül Efendi accepted and successfully served as the shaykh of the Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge, especially in the second half of his tenure when the Rumi Halvetiye was once more challenged by the political authority.

Selim I (918/1512-926/1520) and the Grim Years

With the deaths of Bayezid II and his grand vizier Koca Mustafa Pasha in 918/1512, the Halvetis were left unprotected. Their support for Prince Ahmed (d. 919/1513) against the future Sultan Selim I (d. 918/1512-926/1520) did not help their situation either. And the first few decades of the sixteenth century turned out to be very unpleasant for the Rumi Halveti dervishes.

Pro-Selim faction was composed of Janissaries, a small segment of state dignitaries in Istanbul and most of the power holders in empire's Balkan provinces. Prince Ahmed, the most formidable rival of Selim, also the most favorite son of Bayezid II, however was based in Amasya and central Anatolia and supported by almost all of the dignitaries of Bayezid's court, who also happened to have close connections to Amasya. Among the Sufi orders, Rumi Halvetiye because of its affiliation with Amasya and Bayezid II, was especially Pro-Ahmed. Selim I was aware of Rumi Halvetiye's support behind Prince Ahmed. Upon becoming sultan, Selim I executed Rumi Halvetiye's most powerful supporter Koca Mustafa Pasha and tried to demolish the Halvetiye lodged named after him. Selim I then went on to crush Prince Ahmed's faction in both the capital and the provinces, among them Gümüşlüoğlu Halvetis of Amasya. Their shaykh Gümüşlüoğlu Mehmed was imprisoned and brought to Istanbul only to get his freedom with the intercession of another Amasyan, Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi (d.967/1567.)⁴²⁷

Gümüşlüoğlu Mehmed was accused of supporting the third candidate for the Ottoman throne, Prince Korkud. Whether this accusation was true or not is not certain, however the real supporter of Prince Korkud was another Rumi Sufi community; Aşıkpaşazade's dervishes. By the time Selim I launched his campaign for the Ottoman throne, Aşıkpaşazade was long dead. However his successor and son-in-law Seyyid Velayet was the proponent of Prince Korkud's candidacy. For instance, one of the copies of Aşıkpaşazade's chronicle was presented to Prince Korkud.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁷ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Onaltıncı Asır Ortalarında Yaşamış Olan İki Büyük Şahsiyet: Tosyalı Celalzade Mustafa ve Salih Çelebiler," *Belleten* 22 (1958): 392 n.6. I thank İbrahim Kaya Şahin for bringing this article to my attention.

⁴²⁸ Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), "Tevârih-i Âl-i 'Osmân," 92.

Following Prince Korkud's execution in 919/1513, Selim I insistently invited Seyyid Velayet to his palace in order to get the shaykh's blessings. Seyyid Velayet first rejected the invitation and but later went to visit the sultan only to give him the 'good news' that his sultanate will be a short lived one.⁴²⁹

Lami'i's Criticisms: Echoes of the Zeyniye?

With the lifting of the political protection provided by Bayezid and his Amasyan friends, the Rumi Halveti dervishes began to be publicly and severely criticized. The most lucid criticism of the Rumi Halvetis is found in the earliest narrative source relating the vitae of Halveti Shaykhs, i.e. Lami'i's *Terceme-i Nefehāt*.

"Lami'i was an Ottoman Turkish poet, prose writer, and thinker of some caliber," says Günay Kut Alpay, who initially introduced him to the Anglophone academy.⁴³⁰ Lami'i (Mahmud b. Osman), was born into a distinguished family of artists and bureaucrats in Bursa. His grandfather Nakkaş Ali is accepted by some as the founder of the school of Ottoman architecture,⁴³¹ and his father Osman Çelebi was Bayezid II's finance minister. Lami'i attended the Semaniye Medresesi and became a student of prominent Ottoman scholars.⁴³² He also joined the dervishes of the Nakşibendi shaykh Emir Buhari (d. 922/1516), who had a Sufi lodge near the Semaniye Medresesi.⁴³³ Following his graduation, Lami'i served as a professor in an unknown madrasa.⁴³⁴ His teaching career must not have lasted too long since he retired with a daily salary of thirty-five akchas.⁴³⁵ On retiring, Lami'i probably settled in his native town and established a Sufi lodge of his own. He spent his time on training his disciples and literary pursuits until his death in 938/1532.

Composing *Terceme-i Nefehāt* was something of a political act for Lami'i. The work was presented to Süleyman I on the eve of the sultan's Belgrade campaign, hence its full original title *Futūh al-Mucāhidīn li Tarwīh al-Kulūb al-Mushāhidīn* (The Warriors' Conquests for the Respite of the Hearts of the Witnesses).⁴³⁶ Unlike Lami'i's other translations from Persian, all of which were commissioned, *Terceme-i Nefehāt* was completed on Lami'i's own initiative. In presenting it to the Sultan, Lami'i was effectively providing a report on the current situation of the Sufi orders to the highest political authority of his time. The work may therefore have represented in part an attempt to guide or influence the political establishment's attitude toward Sufi orders, which was extremely important for the Ottoman Sufis, and especially the Halvetis.

⁴²⁹ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 347.

⁴³⁰ Günay Kut, "Lamii Çelebi and his Works," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35, no. 2 (1976): 73.

⁴³¹ Ahmet Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 127.

⁴³² Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 580.

⁴³³ Ibid., 467., Kut, "Lamii Çelebi and his Works," 75.

⁴³⁴ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 438.

⁴³⁵ Richard Repp, *The Mufti of Istanbul: A Study in the Development of the Ottoman Learned Hierarchy*, 1st ed. (London: Ithaca Press for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies Oxford University, 1986), 20.

⁴³⁶ Flemming, "Glimpses of Turkish Saints: Another Look at Lamii and Ottoman Biographers," 63.

Lami‘i’s account includes nine biographies of shaykhs belonging to the Halvetiye order, beginning with Sadreddin-i Hıyavi and ending with Çelebi Halife. Lami‘i is respectful yet distant in his narration of the lives of these shaykhs. His sources largely include his own experiences or the accounts of eyewitnesses. The section following the Halveti biographies is a two-page long assessment of contemporary Halveti practices.⁴³⁷ In this piece, Lami‘i starts out with a warning that it is offensive, narrow-minded and not void of bigotry to vilify the Halvetiye path. He goes on to add that the denial of the way of the shaykhs is a justification for divine wrath. Lami‘i admits there are times when Halveti shaykhs acted out of negligence or worldly desires (*tehavün ve meyl-i dünya*) and some of their acts fell outside the boundaries of Islamic law. However he never explicitly mentions these acts in his section on the biographies, which shows that Lami‘i had filtered a portion of the oral tradition when composing his work. To him, although it was permissible to criticize these acts, one should refrain from doing so because such acts were tolerable when committed by those spending much of their time in prayer or practicing ascetic discipline.⁴³⁸ Even if some shaykhs might have denounced each other (*nefy eylemek*), their reasons for doing so are unbeknown to all. It is not appropriate for dervishes to emulate their shaykhs in this matter.

The last few sentences of Lami‘i’s introduction are especially meant to control the behavior of his disciples in their interactions with Halvetis. It is also geared toward legitimizing his discourse later on. Lami‘i, in typical fashion when it comes to this genre, does not extend such restraint and tolerance to the followers of those shaykhs.⁴³⁹ And what started out as a detached assessment turns into a severe criticism as Lami‘i condemns many contemporary Halveti practices.⁴⁴⁰

“However it is permissible to say that in our times the Sufi path has been altered and ascetic practice has degenerated everywhere. They began to give permission to train to women and boys for the sake of increasing the number of their followers. They allow women into their ascetic retreats. They bring innovations to their gatherings. They give more attention to being popular. They justify their acts by citing the acts and sayings of other shaykhs and respectable figures as evidences.....They confuse dance, singing, carnal passions and pleasures with sema, spiritual states and pleasures, and the love of God. They don’t have any idea about what sema is or understand its conditions. Sema has to be free from the presences of the commoners, young men and the beardless boys. All of these are the sources of sedition (*fitne*) in the gatherings. [The Prophet says that] *fitne* is asleep and may God curse whoever wakes it up. People of sema, should have dead egos (*nefsi mürde*) and alive hearts (*kulubu zinde*.) One should avoid making a habit out of it.... [Real] friends of God hid themselves, while pretenders

⁴³⁷ Mustafa Kara, in his compilation of Sufi texts representing each order, chose to include this piece under the heading of Halvetiye. His choice of this piece from a vast amount of Halveti literature is an interesting coincidence. Kara is a modern author who has written extensively on Bursan Sufis. He might even be called a “modern Lami‘i” in this sense. Mustafa Kara, *Metinlerle Osmanlılarda Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar* (Bursa: Sır Yayıncılık, 2004).

⁴³⁸ Lami‘i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 581.

⁴³⁹ Lami‘i approaches Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli and his contemporary followers in the same manner. *Ibid.*, 691. One finds similar argumentation in Aşıkpaşazade’s work too. Aşıkpaşazade (d. after 907/1502), “Tevârih-i Âl-i ‘Osmân,” 238.

⁴⁴⁰ Lami‘i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 581-582.

increasingly took the scene. They claim to be shaykhs and to train disciples. They act as if they could lead disciples to perfection, though they themselves are not trained enough. Without having attained a firm belief [in God] (*yakin*), they deceive people with lies and confused habits. May God protect us from being associated with these people. They abandoned this world [in outward appearance], but [only] for the sake of wordly gain and chose form over the meaning. Because our purpose in this compendium is not disparaging the pretenders, let us turn to biographies of real shaykhs.⁴⁴¹

Lami'i's criticisms are partly due to his belonging to the Nakşibendiye Sufi order, which was in competition with Halvetiye.⁴⁴² However, the urban environment in which Lami'i was raised also played a significant role in his distaste for Halveti ways and even his joining the Nakşibendiye Sufi order.⁴⁴³ When Lami'i was a child, it was the Zeyniye order that dominated the urban Sufi scene in Bursa. It might be useful here to briefly elaborate on the relationship between the Zeyniye and the Nakşibendiye orders and the story of their respective ascendancy in Bursa. Western Anatolian town of Bursa had long established itself among the Ottomans as "the city of scholars" (*Muhayyam al-'Ulemā*), which translated into heavy influence for the ulema in the city's social and political scenes.⁴⁴⁴ And the fifteenth-century Ottoman ulema were extremely fond of the Zeyniye Sufi order. In the fall of 855/1451, the educated elite of Bursa enthusiastically welcomed Abdüllatif-i Kudsi (d. 856/1452), the representative and successor of the founder of the Zeyniye order.⁴⁴⁵ Kudsi died the following spring, leaving behind a considerable Sufi community led by his disciple, Taceddin İbrahim-i Karamani.⁴⁴⁶ Taceddin İbrahim was later replaced by Hacı Halife Kastamoni (894/1489), and upon the latter's death, Nasuh-u Tosyevi (circa 923/1518) took over the leadership.

⁴⁴¹ On of the targets of these attacks could be Sünbül Sinan. Lami'i's words about giving permission to train to boys could also refer to Sünbül Efendi. He was a teenager when his shaykh sent him to Egypt to propagate the Halvetiye path. He could even still have been a teenager when he took over his shaykh's post in Koca Mustafa Pasha's lodge. Tahsin Yazıcı, "Fetihten sonra İstanbul'daki ilk Halveti Şeyhleri: Çelebi Muhammed Cemaleddin, Sünbül Sinan ve Merkez Efendi," *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, no. 2 (1956): 97-100.

⁴⁴² The Ottoman sources are replete with stories of Sufis choosing the Nakşibendiye order as opposed to the Rumi Halvetiye. In one instance, Abdullah-ı İlahi discredits a Rumi Halveti shaykh by making him appear in the guise of a priest to his newly initiated disciple. (Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 423.Ibid.) The disciple who related this story is Gevrelü Uzun Muslihiddin (d. unknown), who later became a Nakşibendi shaykh in Bursa. He died after forty days of reciting the Quranic chapter of *Yasin* near the tomb of the aforementioned Karamani Zeyni shaykh Taceddin İbrahim and was buried adjacent to him. This could be read as important gesture symbolizing the closeness of Zeynis and the Nakşibendiye order. (Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 363.) As Prof. Algar pointed out to me in an e-mail, many of the criticism put forward by Lami'i Çelebi are equally reminiscent of Nakşibendi doctrine.

⁴⁴³ The Halvetiye was not welcomed in Bursa for a long time. See the story of Alaeddin-i Halveti in Ibid., 264. and of Merkez Muslihiddin, the successor of Sünbül Efendi, in Yusuf b. Yakub (d. ca.1577), *Menākıb-ı Şerif*, 50-51.

⁴⁴⁴ Literally meaning "the camp of scholars." Abdurrahman-ı Bistami (d. 857/1453) *Durra al-Tāc al-Rasā'il ve Gurra Minhāc al-Wasā'il* (Nuruosmaniye, nr. 4905.) Cited in İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Şehir Tarihi Çalışmalarında Yazma Eserlerden Nasıl İstifade Edilebilir?," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 3, no. 6, TALID (2005): 523.

⁴⁴⁵ Lami'i notes that Abdüllatif-i Kudsi went into a month long retreat with the ulema of Bursa immediately after his arrival in the last days of Shaban, 855/1451.; Lami'i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehāt*, 550.

⁴⁴⁶ Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 95.

The Zeyniye order was always close to the Nakşibendiye, the order which Lami‘i subsequently joined. Lami‘i relates two instances when both Abdullah-ı İlahi and Emir Buhari, the founders of Ottoman Nakşibendiye, displayed respect for Shaykh Vefa, the most prominent Zeyni shaykh of the second half of the fifteenth century.⁴⁴⁷ The eponym of the Nakşibendiye, Hacı Bahaeddin Nakşibend visited the founder of Zeyniye in Herat on his way to the pilgrimage.⁴⁴⁸ Similarly Lami‘i notes the words of another significant Nakşibendi shaykh Muhammed Parsa, praising Zeyneddin-i Hafi in the biography of the latter.⁴⁴⁹ Zeyneddin-i Hafi corresponded with Muhammed Parsa. When Muhammed Parsa died in Madina in 822/1420, it was Zeyneddin-i Hafi who had his tombstone made.⁴⁵⁰ The close relationship between two orders continued in the Ottoman core lands (specifically in Bursa and Istanbul.) This relationship was later fostered by shaykhs who were trained in both orders. Lami‘i is the most prominent example. He had a very close relationship with the Zeynis thanks to his Bursan upbringing. As a child, his father took him to the grand shaykh of the Zeyniye in Bursa, where the young Lami‘i kissed the shaykh’s hand.⁴⁵¹ When in Istanbul for his education, he visited the aforementioned Shaykh Vefa after a Friday prayer and kissed his hand too. And after returning to Bursa, he developed such a cordial relationship with another Zeyni shaykh that the shaykh called him son.⁴⁵² To conclude, although he was a Nakşibendi at the time he compiled *Terceme-i Nefehât*, Lami‘i’s criticisms can be regarded as giving voice to the Zeyniye after thirty one years of silence during the reign of Bayezid II.

The Arrival of an Old Foe: The Karamani Halvetiye in Istanbul

Another Sufi order silent during the reign of Bayezid II was the Karamani Halvetiye, which originated with Habib-i Karamani. Ottoman sources record nothing about Habib-i Karamani’s relationship with Bayezid who is famous for his beneficence to his companions in Amasya, both before and after his accession to the throne. Habib-i Karamani, after falling out with Bayezid II, went first to Konya towards the end of the 1480’s and then to Amasya, some time before his death in 902/1496. He intentionally stayed away from Istanbul or perhaps was never allowed to enter the city. His disciples too kept themselves away from Istanbul till the end of Bayezid’s reign. His two khalifas, Davud (d.unknown) and Cemaleddin İshak (d. 933/1526), remained in Karaman region during this period. His order is the only Halveti branch that could establish itself in the Karaman region in the fifteenth century. Perhaps dictated by the political/Sufi geography in which he operated, Habib-i Karamani maintained good relations with Nakşibendi and Zeyni shaykhs. He is reported to have been influenced by some of the methods of training and rituals of both orders. Lami‘i relates that he was a believer in the paths of the Bayramis and the

⁴⁴⁷ Lami‘i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 465, 559. For the life of Abdullah-ı İlahi, see Hamid Algar, “Abdullah-ı İlahi,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1989), 109-110.

⁴⁴⁸ Algar, “Bahaeddin Nakşibend,” 459.

⁴⁴⁹ Lami‘i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 547.

⁴⁵⁰ Öngören, *Tarihte Bir Aydın Tarikatı*, 19.; Lami‘i Çelebi (d.1532), *Terceme-i Nefehât*, 433. I thank Prof. Algar for pointing out this fact.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 556.

⁴⁵² Ibid., 563.

Nakşibendis, but adds that Habib-i Karamani especially admired the Zeyni way.⁴⁵³ This method of training perhaps enabled Habib-i Karamani's disciples to switch between these orders with relative ease, as in the case of Kalenderhane İmamı (d.953/1546-47) who later became a dervish first of the Zeyni Shaykh Vefa and then of the Nakşibendi Emir Buhari.⁴⁵⁴

The passing of Bayezid II and the elimination of the Amasyan clique in the capital opened the gates of Istanbul to Karamani Halvetiye. Selim I's vizier Piri Mehmed Pasha (d.939/1532-33) had three lodges built in Istanbul for Cemalettin İshak-ı Karamani; in the districts of Zeyrek (923/1517), Fındıkzade (927/1521) and Sütluçe (before 933/1526.)⁴⁵⁵ Piri Mehmed Pasha was also related to Cemalettin İshak-ı Karamani on his father's side.⁴⁵⁶ However Mehmed Pasha's attempt to expand the following of Karamani Halvetiye in Istanbul should be attributed also to reasons beyond family connections. Building three lodges over a span of nine years demonstrates an attempt by the Karamani camp to effectively counter the challenges of the Rumi camp. Piri Mehmed Pasha was himself a native of Karaman and built numerous endowments in that region. One might say that he was fond of the Sufi orders of his native Karaman region, considering the fact that he made endowments for the Mawlawiyya order as well. The Karamani Halvetiye on the other hand with the help of the political conjuncture and an important connection in Selim I's court (Piri Mehmed Pasha,) became able to become part of the socio-religious scene of Istanbul.

The Rumi camp, of course did not welcome the arrival of the Karamani Halvetiye to Istanbul. In a gathering at the lodge of Cemalettin İshak-ı Karamani in Zeyrek, Istanbul, Seyyid Velayet, the son-in law and successor of Aşıkpaşazade, told the audience, which included Piri Mehmed Pasha that the Cemalettin İshak's lodge would cease to be a Sufi lodge after its shaykh's death. Seyyid Velayet's prognostication came true when Piri Mehmed Pasha turned Cemalettin İshak's lodge into a madrasa following the shaykh's death in 933/1526.

Among the sympathizers of Cemalettin İshak was Taşköprüzade, the author of the *Shaqā'iq*.⁴⁵⁷ Taşköprüzade was near Cemaleddin İshak-ı Karamani on his death bed and asked for advice

⁴⁵³ Ibid., 578.

⁴⁵⁴ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 551-552.

⁴⁵⁵ Reşat Öngören, "Cemalettin İshak-ı Karamani," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 24 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1989), 448.

⁴⁵⁶ Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont et al., "Deux cimetières du quartier de Fındıkzade à Istanbul," in *Anatolia Moderna = Yeni Anadolu V: Travaux et Recherches de l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul*, ed. Jacques Thobie (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve, Jean Maisonneuve Successeur, 1994), 267.

⁴⁵⁷ In his *Shaqā'iq*, Taşköprüzade neither explicitly states his Sufi affiliation nor singles out a particular shaykh as his master. Modern authors maintain that Taşköprüzade belonged to the Halvetiye. (For instance see Flemming, "Glimpses of Turkish Saints: Another Look at Lamii and Ottoman Biographers," 62.) There is also reasonable suspicion that he might have been a Zeyni, as he was buried next to a Zeyni shaykh whom he respectfully and affectionately mentions in his *Shaqā'iq*. Alternatively, in his *Hadā'iq al-Haqāiq*, the earliest Ottoman source to associate Taşköprüzade with a particular Sufi order, Nevizade Atai argues that Taşköprüzade was a Nakşibendi. Taşköprüzade, as he admits, frequented the gatherings of Nakşibendi shaykh Mahmud Çelebi (d. 938/1531-32) and speaks highly of him in his work. This must be the reason why Atai assumed that Taşköprüzade was a Nakşibendi. Of course, Taşköprüzade's long biographies of Nakşibendi shaykhs might have strengthened Atai's conviction that he was a Nakşibendi. (Nevizade Atai (d.1635), *Hadā'iq al-Haqāiq fī Tekmīla al-Shaqāiq*, 9.) The three claims do

about whom to follow after the shaykh's death. "Don't follow the path of the Sufis because there is no one left to guide on that path, where it is now hard to distinguish tawhid [repetition of the formula "there is no God but Allah"] from faithlessness (*mülhidlik*)" said Cemaleddin İshak. He then added: "If you still are interested in the way of the Sufis, look for the observance of Islamic law among the traits of your shaykh before anything else. The basis of the Sufi path is observing the laws and customs (*adab*) of Islamic law."⁴⁵⁸

The Sufi careers of Cemalettin İshak-ı Karamani's son and Taşköprüzade demonstrate that his followers obeyed their shaykh's last will. Taşköprüzade attended the gatherings of the Nakşibendi shaykh Mahmud Çelebi (d. 938/1531-1532)⁴⁵⁹ Similarly Cemalettin İshak's son Mehmed Efendi (d.993/1585) eventually became a Nakşibendi shaykh at the Emir Buhari lodge.⁴⁶⁰ The choice of Taşköprüzade and Mehmed Efendi of the Nakşibendiye orders had to do with the Nakşibendiye's particular emphasis on observing the shari'a. In sum, Cemaleddin İshak's death was a serious blow to the Karamani Halvetiye in Istanbul. His lodge in the Zeyrek district of Istanbul was turned into a madrasa. Although Cemalettin İshak's disciples established lodges in the western Anatolian town of Tire, Konya and Amasya, by the eighteenth century, only the Findıkzade lodge survived as a center of the Karamani Halvetiye in the Ottoman core lands.⁴⁶¹

By itself, there is nothing exceptional in Cemalettin İshak-ı Karamani's advice for the observance of the shari'a. The dying shaykh could very well have given advice of a general nature to his disciples. But is it also possible to take this advice as a warning for his disciples to stay away from the Rumi Halvetiye? In other words, are these words indicative of the rivalry between the Rumi and Karamani branches of Halvetiye? The textual evidence at hand, i.e. Taşköprüzade's biographical dictionary and the first Rumi Halveti hagiography written by Yusuf b. Yakub in circa 985/1577-78, suggests an affirmative answer to this question.

Taşköprüzade's treatment of the shaykhs of the Karamani and the Rumi branches of the Halvetiye in his *Shaqā'iq* is indicative of his impressions about both. A few words about Taşköprüzade's *Shaqā'iq* are in order for a better understanding of his approach to the Rumi versus Karamani rivalry. As Repp puts it, Taşköprüzade was "intimately and immediately connected with the living tradition,"⁴⁶² which was closely related to the Rum province. Such a

not necessarily contradict each other; they could in fact be reconciled and explained. I believe that Taşköprüzade joined the gatherings of various Sufi orders in different phases of his life, but never exclusively devoted himself to any particular one or defined himself as a dervish. However, his sympathy for the Sufi orders of the Zeyniye, Nakşibendiye and the Karamani Halvetiye could be explained by these orders' particular emphasis on the observation of the Islamic law in their doctrines.

⁴⁵⁸ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 371.

⁴⁵⁹ In his entry on Mahmud Çelebi, Taşköprüzade includes a conversation he had with the shaykh about the critical importance of observing Islamic law in the path of the Sufis. (Ibid., 535.)

⁴⁶⁰ Baha Tanman, "Emir Buhari Tekkesi," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 11 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1989), 125.; Küçükdağ, *II. Bayezid, Yavuz ve Kanuni Devirlerinde Cemali Ailesi*, 143.

⁴⁶¹ Öngören, "Cemalettin İshak-ı Karamani."

⁴⁶² Repp, *The Mufti of Istanbul*, 5.

connection provided Taşköprüzade with a mine of previously untapped knowledge. His narration of the life of Abdurrahman-ı Erzincani (d. unknown), who lived in seclusion in the mountainous areas of Amasya during the time of Bayezid I, is a good example of his access to Amasyan sources.⁴⁶³ He also spent considerable time in Amasya as an adolescent accompanying his father and teacher. Moreover, the additions Taşköprüzade gives in the account of the Rumi Halveti shaykh Çelebi Halife show that he was receptive to local oral traditions during his stay in Amasya. Similarly, Taşköprüzade kept in contact with the migrant Rumi community in Istanbul. When narrating an anecdote between a Sufi and Prince Bayezid in Amasya, he relies on information provided by the shaykh's son who migrated to the Eyüp quarter of Istanbul.⁴⁶⁴ He must have had numerous connections in both Istanbul and Amasya, which could have provided a wealth of information about two grand shaykhs of Rumi Halvetiye in the sixteenth century, namely Sünbül Sinan and Merkez Muslihiddin (d. 959/1551.) However, while Taşköprüzade devotes longer sections to the shaykhs of the Karamani Halvetiye, his narration of the lives these two celebrated shaykhs is conspicuously brief. Again, while he does not see any harm in relating the potentially controversial and aforementioned story of Çelebi Halife's curse on "Mehmeds," Taşköprüzade suppresses a similar anecdote between Sünbül Sinan and Selim I, which should have been quite popular in the Sufi circles of Istanbul and Amasya.⁴⁶⁵ There could be many reasons for Taşköprüzade's authorial choices. But one among them was probably his sympathy for the Karamani Halvetiye, which was in competition with the Rumi branch. Taşköprüzade's silence is indeed quite a telling statement of his own perception of the rival Rumi Halvetis. Still how can one really be sure about the degree of rivalry between the Karamani and Rumi branches? The answer lies in the text produced by the other side of the polemic, i.e. the first (Rumi) Halveti hagiography written by Yusuf bin Yakub.

Süleyman I (926/1520-974/1566) and the Magnificent Years

The Rumi Halvetiye survived the challenges of the political establishment and the competition brought by other orders thanks to the succession of two able shaykhs, Sünbül Sinan and Merkez Muslihiddin (959/1551). Sünbül Sinan wrote treatises and engaged in public polemics in order to defend the Halveti practices. One of these polemics was witnessed by Yakub-u Germiyani (d. 979/1571,) the successor of Merkez Muslihiddin and the father of Yusuf b. Yakub, the narrator of the story. Sünbül Sinan was invited to the Fatih mosque, where a group of scholars and Sufis, including the judge of Istanbul Sarı Gürz (d.927-928/1520-1522) and a professor from Sahn-ı

⁴⁶³ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 57-58. Hüseyin Hüsameddin claims that Abdurrahman-ı Erzincani's tomb is in Amasya. Yaşar, *Amasya Tarihi I*, 167.

⁴⁶⁴ Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 305-306.

⁴⁶⁵ Taşköprüzade most probably heard the story of Çelebi Halife's curse during his stay in Amasya, because of his father's teaching position at the Hüseyiniye Medresesi circa 1512. One of Taşköprüzade's classmates, Muhaşşi Sinan Efendi was the son of the Halveti shaykh the abovementioned Çilehane in Amasya. And it was around the time when Selim I crushed Prince Ahmed's faction in both the capital and the provinces, including the Halvetiye Sufi order, hence the circulation of a story with a subtext of Halveti shaykh's mystical power against an aggressive sultan or state dignitary.

Semaniye, Gürz Seyyidi (923/1516-1517).⁴⁶⁶ Sünbül Sinan, according to the reporter of the story, effectively wins the argument. He even calls Sari Gürz an idiot and imputes hypocrisy to Gürz Seyyidi by referring to his earlier sympathy for the Rumi Halvetiye when it was supported by the political establishment before Selim I.

Eventually the political pressure on the Halvetiye gradually diminished and following the death of Selim I in 926/1520, the Halvetiye once again found favor in the eyes of the Ottoman dynasty. Apparently, Selim I's immediately family did not share his views about the Rumi Halvetiye. One of his women, who also the mother of Selim I's successor Süleyman I (d.974/1566) was Hafise Hatun (d.940/1534), who built a lodge in the western Anatolian town of Manisa in 929/1523. Hafise Hatun asked Sünbül Sinan to send one of his khalifas as the shaykh of the Manisa lodge.⁴⁶⁷ Sünbül Sinan chose his able khalifa Merkez Muslihiddin, who would later succeed his shaykh at Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge and restrengthen the ties between the Rumi Halvetis and the Ottoman dynasty. The story of Merkez Muslihiddin's initiation to the Rumi Halvetiye makes the rivalry between the Rumi and Karamani branches of Halvetiye evident. Moreover because it was recorded by a Rumi Halveti Yusuf b. Yakub, it reveals their perception of the rival Karamani Halvetiye.

Here the role of Habib-i Karamani in the initiation story of Merkez Muslihiddin is very much worth underlining. According to the story, Merkez Muslihiddin initially tries to become the dervish of Habib-i Karamani. Habib-i Karamani rejects his pleas on the grounds that he is not the shaykh destined to train him. In other words, Habib-i Karamani "miraculously" discovers his inability to guide/train Merkez Muslihiddin, and hints at their future and more worthy shaykh. After a long period, the conversation between Merkez Muslihiddin and Habib-i Karamani is mystically discovered by Sünbül Sinan. Yusuf b. Yakub both praises Habib-i Karamani and argues for Sünbül Sinan's supremacy over him at the same time. Yusuf b. Yakub continues the story of Merkez Muslihiddin's initiation as follows:⁴⁶⁸

[Merkez Muslihiddin] used to frequent the gatherings of all the eminent shaykhs of Istanbul, except that of Sünbül Efendi. He used to denounce him. He criticized their *devran* and arguments in favor of unity of being (*vahdet-i vucud*.) [The reason for Merkez Muslihiddin's denial] was his earlier experience with Molla Habib [Karamani], in whom Seyyid Yahya's abstemiousness (*vera'*) was manifested. Merkez Muslihiddin's abstemiousness, ascetic restraint (*zühhd*) and piety (*takva*) used to affect his decisions.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶ For the biographies of both scholars see Taşköprüzade Ahmed İsamüddin (d.1561), *al-Shaqā'iq al-Nu'mānīya*, 297-298. Taşköprüzade has nothing but compliments for these two scholars, while Yusuf b. Yakub underlines the rude manners of especially Sarı Gürz. Yusuf b. Yakub (d. ca.1577), *Menākıb-ı Şerīf*, 41.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 48-49.

⁴⁶⁸ A similar story of initiation takes places between another Rumi Halveti Maksud Dede (d.970/1562-63) and again Habib-i Karamani. For the initiation stories of Maksud Dede and Merkez Muslihiddin see Ibid., 37, 46. For Maksud Dede's date of death see Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, 929.

⁴⁶⁹ Yusuf b. Yakub (d. ca.1577), *Menākıb-ı Şerīf*, 47. For the differing views on *vahdet-i vucud*, see the appendix.

“Despite” his background in the Karamani Halvetiye, Merkez Muslihiddin becomes the dervish of Sünbül Sinan. And after a while Sünbül Sinan appoints him as the shaykh of one of the lodges in Istanbul. And following the construction of the abovementioned Manisa lodge, Merkez Muslihiddin leaves Istanbul for the next six years until his shaykh Sünbül Sinan’s death in 936/1529. Under Merkez Muslihiddin’s leadership, the Rumi Halvetis returned to the happy days during the reign of Bayezid II when their relationship with the political establishment was nearly impeccable. Besides the one in Manisa, another lodge (Davud Pasha Lodge) with royal patronage was built in Istanbul in 950/1542-43. The benefactress of this lodge was Şah Sultan (d.980/1572), the sister of Süleyman I and wife of grand vizier Lütü Pasha (d.971/1564).⁴⁷⁰ The same year Merkez Muslihiddin was appointed as the shaykh of the Ottoman army by Süleyman I, in his expedition to Korfu in the Adriatic.⁴⁷¹

Nevertheless the tension between the Rumi and Karamani branches must have reached its peak at the time of Merkez Muslihiddin. A sixteenth-century hagiography reports that Merkez Muslihiddin used to avoid the Karamani neighborhood in Istanbul on his way to the Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge from the Fatih mosque.⁴⁷² Between the two places was located the abovementioned Fındıkzade lodge of Cemalettin İshak-ı Karamani, who had been long since been replaced by his son Mehmed Emin. In fact, the Karamani branch was more fierce in its objection to the Rumi branch as seen in the words of one of their members, who says, “we are Halvetis, not dancers!,” in order to criticize the “overindulgence” of the ecstatic branch in *sema* and *devran*.⁴⁷³

After establishing multiple lodges in the Ottoman core lands and training numerous khalifas, Merkez Muslihiddin died in 959/1551 and was succeeded by Yakub-u Germiyani (d. 979/1571.) Yakub Germiyani, a native of the western Anatolian city of Kütahya, was initially a dervish in the Koca Mustafa Pasha lodge. During Merkez Muslihiddin’s tenure, he was sent to the Balkan town of Yanya (Ionina), where he founded a lodge around 945/1539-40.⁴⁷⁴ He then moved to the Davud Pasha Lodge in Istanbul upon the request of its royal benefactress, Şah Sultan.⁴⁷⁵ Yakub Germiyani served as this lodge’s shaykh for the next eight years until Merkez Muslihiddin’s death in 959/1551.

At the time of Yakub Germiyani’s tenure at the Koca Mustafa Pasha, a political controversy took place, which is quite reminiscent of the one that catapulted Halvetiye to Istanbul eighty years earlier. This controversy is well documented thanks to Yakub-u Germiyani’s son, the aforementioned Halveti hagiographer. Yusuf b. Yakub relates that around 967/1560, Süleyman I called for a public gathering at the Okmeydanı in Istanbul to collectively pray for rain. These

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 63.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 53.

⁴⁷² Mahmud Hulvî (d.1654), *Lemezât-ı Hulviyye*, 466.

⁴⁷³ See the biography of “Molla Ahmed bin Mahmud el Esam” in Nevizade Atai (d.1635), *Hadā’iq al-Haqāiq fî Tekmīla al-Shaqāiq*, 43. Yusuf b. Yakub notes that Sünbül Sinan himself was fond of *sema* to such an extent that he used to join his dervishes during its performance. “*hazret-i shaykh ehl-i sema idi, kendu bile kalkar idi.*” Yusuf b. Yakub (d. ca.1577), *Menākıb-ı Şerif*, 41.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., 62.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 63.

gatherings were critical in shaping public opinion and provided an effective ground for propaganda. Yusuf b. Yakub notes that although Sultan Süleyman declared the reason for the gathering to be a drought, the people of Istanbul were aware of his ulterior motive: to gather support for his prince Selim (later Selim II 974/1566-982/1574), who was about to fight the sultan's other son Prince Bayezid (d. 969/1561).

Prince Bayezid was based in Amasya and began building an army with the support of the local population.⁴⁷⁶ Süleyman I, on the other hand, sought the support of the population, when he received a legal opinion from his chief jurisconsult Ebu-s' Suud Efendi (982/1574) on the legitimacy of fighting Bayezid and his followers. As people gathered in the Okmeydanı, supposedly to pray for rain, Süleyman I first requested Ebu-s' Suud Efendi to lead the prayer. Ebu-s' Suud Efendi courteously refused, telling the sultan it should be him or somebody designated by him that led the prayer. Süleyman I then requested to his soldiers bring Yakub-u Germiyani and have him lead the prayer. Hearing this, Yakub-u Germiyani secretly went into hiding. Süleyman I's soldiers sought out Yakub-u Germiyani while reading aloud to him the Quranic verse "Obey God, obey the Prophet and those in authority amongst you."⁴⁷⁷ In the end, Yakub Germiyani was forced to lead the prayer. Yusuf b. Yakub explains his father's disobedience through his humility and desire to prevent his mystical secret from being revealed. However, Süleyman I insisted that Yakub-u Germiyani lead the prayer because his order had influence over the people of the Amasya region. The same influence likely kept Süleyman I from punishing the shaykh, though he was not as tolerant to other shaykhs.⁴⁷⁸

Even eighty years after their sojourn in Amasya, the regional identity of the Rumi Halvetiye was still powerful enough to become a political liability at times of dynastic struggle in Istanbul. And through the political and social networks established around the Sufi orders over the Anatolian regions of Rum and Karaman were able to exert agency over the population and elite of the Ottoman capital.

Conclusion:

Of all [Yahya-yı Şirvani's] dervishes, four of them became distinguished as outstanding disciples among others and were chosen and given license [to initiate.] First of them is Shaykh Molla Pir Muhammed Erzincani, in whom knowledge of God (*marifetullah*) is manifested. The second one is Dede Ömer Ruşeni, in whom love of God (*aşk-ı ilahi*) is manifested. The third one is Molla Ali Halveti, in whom attraction of God (*cezbe-i ilahi*) is manifested. The fourth one is Molla Habib-i Karamani, in whom abstemiousness (*vera*'), ascetic restraint (*zühd*) and piety (*takva*) are manifested.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ Şerafettin Turan, "Şehzade Bayezid," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1989), 231.

⁴⁷⁷ Quran, 4:59

⁴⁷⁸ For the story of two shaykhs imprisoned for supporting Prince Bayezid, see Curry, "The Growth of Turkish Language Hagiographical Literature within the Halveti Order of the 16th And 17th Centuries," 920.

⁴⁷⁹ Yusuf b. Yakub (d. ca.1577), *Menâkıb-ı Şerîf*, 15.

And Molla Pir Muhammed Erzincani is a shaykh with beautiful qualities who is the most senior and comes before all [of the above shaykhs]. He is the shaykh of our fortunate pillar Çelebi Efendi.⁴⁸⁰

Dede Ömer Ruşeni states that although there was no end to the virtues of *hazret-i seyyid* [Yahya-yı Şirvani], [the abovementioned] four people received them. And all of these virtues were put in a sealed bag and entrusted to Çelebi Halife, with whom they went to the Rum.⁴⁸¹

The above quotes demonstrate the rivalry between different branches of the Halvetiye order. Yusuf b. Yakub classifies the traditions of different branches according to their emphasis or the character of their respective founders. And the perfect blend of all four traditions is personified in Çelebi Halife through his master Pir Muhammed Erzincani.⁴⁸² In the opinion of Yusuf b. Yakub, Pir Muhammed Erzincani was the most eminent of Seyyid Yahya Şirvani's successors. And Çelebi Halife by being the most able disciple of Pir Muhammed was the true heir to the Halvetiye tradition.

Nevertheless, Yusuf b. Yakub's classification of the Halveti traditions is largely arbitrary and somewhat euphemistic. There was indeed a competition between different branches of the Halvetiye order, which was in fact more influenced by the political alliances around regionalist networks, rather than doctrinal or practical differences. And the origins of the competition lie in 1470s Amasya, a time and place that are at the heart of this dissertation.

Both the Rumi and Karamani branches of Halvetiye originated in the Rum region. The Rumi branch initiated by Çelebi Halife became part of the Ottoman capital through the political network established in Amasya around 1470's. The Karamani branch on the other hand had close connections with the Karaman region with the city of Konya at its center and with the Zeynis because of the political decision made by its initiator Habib-i Karamani, again in the Amasya of the 1470's. In conclusion, these Sufi orders were more or less the product of the Anatolian regions of Rum and Karaman, with Amasya and Konya as their respective centers. Through the political networks in which these orders operated, the cities of Amasya and Konya influenced the Sufi scene of Istanbul, hence the agency of Anatolian cities in the making of the imperial socio-religious fabric.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 27.

⁴⁸² In the original text, it is *Ahmed* Erzincani. Yusuf b. Yakub replaces the names Mehmed with Ahmed for curious reasons. He does the same with the name "Karamani Mehmed Pasha." A later Halveti source, in order to reconcile Yusuf b. Yakub's confusion with other sources, argues that both Ahmed Erzincani and Mehmed Erzincani were separate historical personalities. Mahmud Hulvî (d.1654), *Lemezât-ı Hulviyye*, 411-418.

Conclusion:

The Role of the Rival Anatolian Geographies in the Formation of the Ottoman Empire

The incorporation of the Halvetiye order into the Ottoman world (Ottomanization) highlights the critical role of political geography in the formation of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century. The Ottomanization process shows how a variety of networks fostered in the competing political geographies of the periphery and later became integral parts of the imperial capital that was in the making. In the process, the ancient rivalries among different political geographies reasserted themselves in the imperial urban platform through these networks. Amidst the conflicts and negotiations between competing regionalist networks in an imperial urban setting, the Ottoman institutions were constituted.

The eastern territories of the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century were covered by two such rivaling political geographies; Rum and Karaman, with cities of Amasya and Konya at their respective centers. These two cities served as intellectual and cultural centers of Anatolia since its initial Turkish conquest in the late eleventh century. They also served as seats of competing political entities. Immediately after their incorporation by the Turkish invaders, the cities of Amasya and Konya became capitals of the the Danishmendid and Seljukid dynasties, respectively. The conflict between the two dynasties continued for a century until the elimination of the Danishmendid in 570/1174-75. After a century of relative tranquility, the most formidable challenge to the Seljukid authority once again rose from Amasya in the form of a religio-political rebellion led by a Turcoman shaykh called Baba İlyas. With much difficulty, the Seljukids were able to suppress the rebellion and execute Baba İlyas in Amasya 638/1240.. Fleeing the Seljukid persecution, some of the Babai dervishes took refuge in the Byzantine frontier, only to come back with the Ottomans one hundred and fifty years later. In the meantime, the Seljukid Empire collapsed and its capital, Konya fell into the hands of the Karamanid dynasty. The Karamanids, who fought with whoever held Amasya and controlled the Rum region in the fourteenth century, confronted the Ottomans for the first time only after their incorporation of Amasya in late fourteenth century. Throughout the fifteenth century, the Ottoman and Karamanid dynasties fought for domination in Anatolia and Amasya became a very critical center for the Ottomans. Following the Ottoman conquest of Konya in 871/1467 and the subsequent elimination of the Karamanid dynasty, the rivalry between two cities took another form as the two competing princely factions; those of Bayezid and Mustafa (later Cem) adopted these cities as their headquarters.

Against this historical, geographical, and political background, multiple networks of political, religious, and commercial nature flourished in the Rum and Karaman regions. Among these networks were the Sufi orders, which by the mid-fifteenth century emerged as a new socio-religious actor in the Ottoman urban spaces. These Sufi orders were trans-imperial organizations with connections in the major cities of the Islamic world. For example, a dervish trained in a lodge in Herat in central Asia could be hosted in Medina in the Arabian Peninsula, by the dervishes of the same Sufi order. Similarly, a scholar who met the members of a particular Sufi order in Shirvan in the southern Caucasus could socialize with the fellow dervishes in the Cairo

lodge of that order. Increasing political stability and urbanization brought by the dynasties of the Ottoman, the Akkoyunlu, the Mamluk and the Timurid also helped these Sufi orders to foster their networks. Yet, some of these Sufi orders had to subscribe to particular political networks within these empires to be able to survive through the competition with the local and more established Sufi communities.

Being a part of a political network was especially important in the Ottoman context because of state's heavy control over land ownership and taxation rights, the endowments of which was a major source of income for most of the Sufi lodges. In the fifteenth century, the cities of Amasya and Konya served as platforms where the orders of the Halvetiye and Zeyniye, respectively, subscribed to the Ottoman networks, through which they negotiated their incorporation into the Ottoman enterprise. In a sense, these cities acted as the nerve endings of the nascent *body Ottoman* in the east, which made it susceptible to the socio-religious developments of the Islamic heartlands.

In the case of Zeyniye, the incorporation process took place in Konya thanks to the efforts of Abdüllatif-i Kudsi. By the time Abdüllatif-i Kudsi of the Zeyniye appeared in Konya in 850/1447, his order had already attempted twice to establish itself in Anatolia, which proved to be failures. Abdüllatif-i Kudsi, who embodied the third attempt of the Zeyniye, was successful because of his ability to establish good relations with the local ulema and Sufi orders. Abdüllatif-i Kudsi and his disciples resided in the Sadreddin-i Konevi lodge, a major center of Sufi activities in the city and always maintained good relations with the Mawlawiya order, which was the most dominant Sufi order in the region. Abdüllatif-i Kudsi's conflict with Shaykh Cüneyd, the leader of the militant Safaviya order must have elevated his position in the eyes of the ulema. After spending three years in Konya, Abdüllatif-i Kudsi established a great reputation in Anatolia; to the extent that he was invited and officially welcomed by the Ottoman ulema when he moved to Bursa. The next thirty years witnessed Zeyniye's rise in the Ottoman world. The Zeyniye's success in the Ottoman world was mostly because of its subscription to the Karamani network, whose members included the influential statesmen, the ulema and Sufis of Mehmed II's reign. And it was this network that partially accounted for the Zeyniye's rivalry with the Halvetiye.

Amasya, on the other hand, provided more than opportunities of networking to the Halvetiye. Unlike the Zeyniye, the Halvetiye originated in the rural areas at the margins of the Islamic world; in small towns of the southern Caucasus. And the Halvetiye's acceptance as a respectable Sufi order by the urban populations of the major Islamic centers was a process full of conflicts and tensions. Roughly a century after its foundation, the Halvetiye order made its appearance in the Ottoman lands with the arrival of Pir İlyas to Amasya at the turn of the fifteenth century. Amasya was one of the earliest urban environments where the Halvetiye operated. In Amasya, the Halvetiye took its most significant step towards urbanization and made first contacts with the Ottoman polity. However, the process of the Ottomanization of the Halvetiye was disrupted by the domination of the Zeyniye in the Ottoman heartlands and marginalization of Amasya from the Ottoman power structure during the reign of Mehmed II. The Halvetiye and Amasya had to wait for the arrival of the able khalifas of Yahya-yı Sirvani and the emergence of Bayezid II as a

political actor after 870/1465 in order to become major actors in the Ottoman political and religious scene. The Halvetiye, as an urban Ottoman order, was the product of the city of Amasya. As a part of Amasyan networks, the Halvetiye naturally inherited the city's historical rivalry with Konya, and the larger Karaman region.

The rivalry between the Halvetiye and the Zeyniye Sufi orders was mostly dictated by the political geography of Anatolia in the fifteenth century. The cities of Amasya and Konya availed the Halvetiye and the Zeyniye urban platforms where they could subscribe to regionalist political networks and, subsequently, become part of the Ottoman enterprise. In other words, these Anatolian cities 'Ottomanized' these Sufi orders which were born outside the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. In so doing, these cities served as the northern and southern gates of the brave new world of the Ottomans opening to the Islamic world.

In conclusion, contrary to the implicit perception of modern historiography, Anatolia in the fifteenth century had never been a monolithic political, religious and ethnic entity, or a backwater to the rising Ottoman enterprise. By 'Ottomanizing' two Sufi orders that have origins outside the Ottoman lands, these cities played exerted agency in the formation of the Ottoman Empire.

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Appendix: Halvet, Halvetiye, Practice and Doctrines

Halvet

The term is translated as seclusion, retreat or retirement in many articles on Sufism. It comes from the Arabic root *kh-l-w*, which means, “to be alone.” In Sufism, it has the following meanings; isolation in a solitary place or a cell and involving in spiritual exercises⁴⁸³, secluding oneself and praying in a dark and isolated place on the orders of the shaykh, secretly talking to God⁴⁸⁴, conversation of the human soul with God in a place where there is no worldly possession or a person⁴⁸⁵, “isolation of the heart from what is other than the Lord, and attachment to him, thereby reaching Him and being near unto Him.”⁴⁸⁶

The word “Halvet” was first used by Dhu al’Nun al-Mısri (d.245/860) as a Sufi technical term,⁴⁸⁷ but obviously the roots of this practice goes way back before him. Although some writers tend to look for Christian origins for this practice⁴⁸⁸, most of the Sufi writers chose to explain it more as an Islamic phenomenon. According to the latter, Halvet was the practice of the Prophet Moses⁴⁸⁹. The retreat of Mary during her pregnancy could also be given as an example from Quran. In addition to them, this practice finds a basis in Prophet’s tradition too. In spite of the discussions on the nature of prophetic practices before the revelation, many of which Halvetis chose to ignore, they consider the retreat of the Prophet in Mt. Hira before revelation as a Sunnah, thus a sound support for their practice.

The normal duration of a Halvet is forty days.⁴⁹⁰ The number of forty is inspired by the practice of the Prophet Moses and it symbolizes forty stages in the mystic journey towards the unification with God.⁴⁹¹ It is thus, that in the Turkish Halvetiye, Halvet was also called ‘*erba ‘ın çıkarmak*’, which has the meaning of completing forty days in retreat. Halvet does not require a certain place but it usually takes place in a completely isolated cell, which is hardly big enough to pray

⁴⁸³ H. Landolt, “khalwa,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Islam* (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 2002), 90.

⁴⁸⁴ Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, 1964), 172.; Rahmi Serin, *İslam Tasavvufunda Halvetilik ve Halvetiler* (İstanbul: Petek Yayınları, 1984), 67.

⁴⁸⁵ Cengiz Gündoğdu, *Bir Türk Mutasavvıfı Abdülmecid Sıvasi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tasavvufi Görüşleri* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000), 169.

⁴⁸⁶ Quoted and translated from as-Simnānī, in Jamal J Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God: The Life and Thought of Alā ad-Dawlah as-Simnānī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 119.

⁴⁸⁷ Landolt, “khalwa,” 990.; Martin, “A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes,” 275.; Mustafa Kara, *Tasavvuf ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1985), 106.; Nevertheless, Gündoğdu argues that this term was first used far later than Dhu’l-Nun al-Mısri, by İbrahim Zahid Gilani (d.705/1305.) Gündoğdu, *Bir Türk Mutasavvıfı Abdülmecid Sıvasi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tasavvufi Görüşleri*, 169.

⁴⁸⁸ Martin, “A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes,” 275.; Landolt, “khalwa,” 990.

⁴⁸⁹ Quran 7/138-142; Gündoğdu, *Bir Türk Mutasavvıfı Abdülmecid Sıvasi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tasavvufi Görüşleri*, 169.; Serin, *İslam Tasavvufunda Halvetilik ve Halvetiler*, 67.; Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, 172.; Baha Tanman, “Halvethane,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 15 (İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1997), 388.

⁴⁹⁰ Algar, “Çella.”

⁴⁹¹ Landolt, “khalwa,” 990.; Gündoğdu, *Bir Türk Mutasavvıfı Abdülmecid Sıvasi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tasavvufi Görüşleri*, 169.; Serin, *İslam Tasavvufunda Halvetilik ve Halvetiler*, 67.; Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, 172.

in and in which scarcely exists any distraction even a light. These places are called ‘Halvethane’ in Turkish Sufism and they are usually in the vicinity of or even within the mosque, in order to enable murid to make his ablutions, and to attend congregational Friday prayer, while having the least interaction possible with the outer world.⁴⁹² In this way, “closing up of the external senses and the opening of the internal senses” is intended.⁴⁹³ There are eight principles in this seclusion that are attributed to Junayd al-Baghadi;

1. Controlling the external senses
2. Maintaining a continual state of ritual purity
3. Continual fasting
4. Continual silence
5. Continual repetition of the formula “There is no god, but God.”
6. Continual banishing of distracting thoughts
7. Fixing the heart totally on the mystical guide
8. Ceasing to raise objections to God.⁴⁹⁴

During this period of Halvet, the murid should report all his mystical experiences and dreams to his sheikh. Spiritual guidance is vital in this process, because these experiences may lead the murid to undesirable states.

The practice of Halvet is one of the debated points among the Sufis. Because of the hadith “There is no monasticism in Islam” and of various other Islamic factors in the Quran and the tradition of the Prophet, “spiritual seclusion” within society, which is called *halvet der encumen* by Nakşibendi order, is considered more favorable than material halvet by many other Sufis⁴⁹⁵ Also Celaleddin-i Rumi, the founder of the Mevlevi order condemns this practice and recommends his murids to undertake their mystical journey, namely *suluk*, within society.⁴⁹⁶

Doctrines and Practices of the Halvetiye Order

When talking about the doctrines and practices of such a widespread Sufi order, it is obvious that a single idea or practice is virtually impossible. Nevertheless, one can still argue for some general characteristics in their doctrine, for example, the influence of the idea of unity of being derived from Ibn al-‘Arabi’s thought. Yet, the degrees of this influence differ from one branch to another. While some branches are adhering to it altogether, some others argue that the ultimate point in a human’s mystical journey is not the unification but conjunction, since the human soul and God are separate existences.⁴⁹⁷ Although rare, one could also see some Shiite conceptions in some branches of Halvetiye, such as Üveysiye of Davud Halife in the 16th century.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹² Tanman, “Halvethane.”

⁴⁹³ Landolt, “khalwa,” 991.

⁴⁹⁴ Elias, *The Throne Carrier of God*, 120.

⁴⁹⁵ Landolt, “khalwa,” 990.

⁴⁹⁶ Serin, *İslam Tasavvufunda Halvetilik ve Halvetiler*, 68.

⁴⁹⁷ F. De Jong, “Khalwatiya,” in , New ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 992.; Mısıriye of Niyazi-i Mısri can be given as an example of adhering this principle. Süleyman Uludağ, “Halvetiye,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 15 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988), 395. For the views of

Halvet is required for a dervish in most of the branches, despite the fact that there are various sets of rules in each of them. The length of this halvet may vary from three to forty days. The rules about who may enter the halvet are also varied. While some branches recommend it for a newly recruited dervish, others do not allow it for anyone who has not reached a certain level in the mystical journey. In this journey, there are seven levels each of which is called *makam*.⁴⁹⁹ Moreover, to each makam, remembrance of one of the seven names of God (Allah, Hu, Hayy, Hakk, Kayyum and Kahhar) is attached, and these are called *usul* or *esma-yı fenaiye*. Keeping these names as their basis, some branches added other names to their list as well.⁵⁰⁰ In the remembrance ceremonies, which are done a few times a week and in a collective manner, musical accompaniment and rotation, *sema* and *devran*, has an important place. This practice is one of the points later attacked by mainstream ulema and the Kadızadelis.⁵⁰¹ Otherwise, private remembrance also has a crucial role in the mystical journey of the dervish.

Another common element in all branches is the reading of Yahya Şirvani's *Wird al-Sattār* at certain times. "It consists of three sections which glorify the oneness of God, the Prophet and his prophethood, and the Companions." It is read aloud, and listening to it is considered more beneficial than remembrance, since it is thought that these kinds of occasions of external union with the other dervishes may lead to an internal union.⁵⁰²

Niyazi Misri on *vahdet-i vücud* see Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri (1618-1694)" (Ph.D, Harvard University, 1999), 369-374.

⁴⁹⁸ Martin, "A Short History of the Khalwati Order of Dervishes," 28.; De Jong, "Khalwatiya," 992.

⁴⁹⁹ Sadık Vıcdani, *Tömār-ı Turūķ-ı 'Aliye* (Istanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası, 1919), 33-34.; De Jong, "Khalwatiya," 992.; Serin, *İslam Tasavvufunda Halvetilik ve Halvetiler*, 43.

⁵⁰⁰ De Jong, "Khalwatiya," 992.; Uludağ, "Halvetiye," 394.; Serin, *İslam Tasavvufunda Halvetilik ve Halvetiler*, 72.; Gündoğdu, *Bir Türk Mutasavvıfı Abdülmecid Sivasi: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Tasavvufi Görüşleri*, 165.

⁵⁰¹ Vıcdani, *Tömār-ı Turūķ-ı 'Aliye*, 31.; Uludağ, "Halvetiye," 394.; Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi*, 174.

⁵⁰² Vıcdani, *Tömār-ı Turūķ-ı 'Aliye*, 26.; De Jong, "Khalwatiya," 992.; Uludağ, "Halvetiye," 394.