

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MEVLEVİ ORDER
AND THE OTTOMAN STATE IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY
NINETEENTH CENTURIES**

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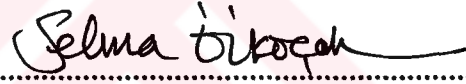
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ABSTRACT

The Relationship between the Mevlevi Order and the Ottoman State in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

by

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This thesis examines the relationship between the Mevlevi order and Ottoman State in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries within a comparative and analytical framework. It questions the nature and transformation of the Mevlevi order as well as that of the of the Ottoman state from a historical perspective.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter studies the creation of the Mevlevi order and the heritage of the thirteenth century Anatolia that contributed to the making of the Mevleviye. The second chapter questions the impact of various Sufi orders in the Ottoman state between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries in order to reveal changing policies of the government on Sufi orders. The third chapter presents us the financial basis and empowerment of the Mevlevi order through the *Celaliye Evqaf*. In the fourth and fifth chapters, I focus on the development of the relations between the Mevlevi and the Ottoman state in different parts of the Ottoman Empire in individual and institutional levels first until the eighteenth century and then between 1780 and 1840 so that it will be possible to establish the status of the Mevleviye in the Ottoman State. The sixth chapter is heavily based on the archival documents and aims to look the representation of the Ottoman sultans as the “patrons of the Mevleviye”. This thesis is complemented with a chapter on a comparison of the Mevlevi order with the Bektāşi and Nakşibendi Sufi orders, which can provide us a comparative approach within the larger context of Ottoman Sufi world.

ÖZET

Geç 18. Yüzyıl ve Erken 19. Yüzyıllarda Osmanlı Devleti ve Mevlevi Tarikatı

Arasındaki İlişkiler

Yasemin Bozođlu Erdinç

Bu tez onsekizinci yüzyılın sonunda ve erken ondokuzuncu yüzyılda Mevlevi tarikatı ile Osmanlı Devleti arasındaki ilişkileri karşılaştırmalı ve analitik bir çerçeve içinde incelemektedir. Tez, Mevlevi tarikatı ve Osmanlı Devletinin yapısını ve değişimini tarihsel bir bakış açısından sorgulamaktadır.

Bu tez yedi bölüme ayrılmıştır. Birinci bölüm Mevlevi tarikatının oluşumunu ve onüçüncü yüzyıl Anadolu mirasının Mevleviliğın oluşumuna katkısını incelemektedir. İkinci bölüm, hükümetin Sufi tarikatlerine yönelik değişen politikalarını ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla ondördüncü ve onsekizinci yüzyıllar arasında çeşitli Sufi tarikatlarının Osmanlı Devletindeki etkilerini sorgulamaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm Mevlevi tarikatının *Celaliye Evkaftı* vasıtasıyla ile sağlanan mali temelini ve zenginleşme yollarını sunmaktadır. Dördüncü ve beşinci bölümlerde, Osmanlı Devletinde önce ondördüncü ve onsekizinci yüzyıllar arasında daha sonra da 1780 ve 1840 arasında Mevleviliğın konumunu belirleyebilmek amacıyla Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun değişik kısımlarında Mevleviler ve Osmanlı Devleti arasındaki bireysel ve kurumsal seviyelerdeki ilişkiler üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktayım. Altıncı bölüm ağırlıklı olarak arşiv belgelerine dayalıdır ve Osmanlı hükümdarlarının "Mevleviliğın hamileri" şeklinde temsil edilmelerini incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu tez, bize Osmanlı Sufi dünyasını daha geniş bir bağlamda karşılaştırmalı bir yaklaşım sunabilecek olan Bektâşî ve Nakşibendi tarikatlerinin Mevlevilik ile karşılaştırıldığı bir kısım ile tamamlanmaktadır.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BA.	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
CA.	Cevdet Adliye
CD.	Cevdet Dahiliye
CE.	Cevdet Evkaf
EI.	Encyclopedia of Islam
HH.	Hatt-ı Hümayun
İA.	İslam Ansiklopedisi
İD.	İrade Dahiliye
OTDS.	Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri Sözlüğü
TAD.	Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Türkiyat Dergisi

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1. INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an attempt to understand the relationship between the Mevlevi order and the central government in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the eighteenth and in first half of the nineteenth century within a comparative and analytical framework.

The Mevlevi order was usually perceived as an “urban phenomenon addressing the urban elite” and even as a “state institution”¹ in the Ottoman Empire. This statement assumes that the Mevlevi order was a static element and had always been part of the state apparatus by appealing to upper classes throughout the Ottoman history. On the other hand, this assumption has a latent meaning too, that is a natural coalition between the Mevleviye and the government. This is rather a limited approach which prevents to comprehend the complexity of the relations in the social and political system. In my thesis, I will try to question the transformation of the Mevlevi order and its interaction with the central government, establish the position of the Mevleviye in the Ottoman Empire in comparison with other Sufi orders with particular emphasis on political, social, cultural and as well as economic conditions of the studied period.

In my thesis, I look at the relationship between the government and the Mevlevi at least on two levels. First, I deal with the Mevlevi in the Konya *asitane*, the central Mevlevi lodge; and secondly I study other Mevlevi that are scattered in various Mevlevi convents, but mainly those in Istanbul. The reason behind this classification derives from an attempt to reveal different perspectives of various groups within the Mevlevi order and their changing attitudes regarding their relations to the Porte.

¹ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, İstanbul, 1983, p.248

The first chapter deals with the emergence of the Mevleviye as a Sufi order in the thirteenth century. The political, social and economic transformations in Anatolia in the thirteenth century became very influential in the creation of several Sufi orders. I look at the Mevlevi order, which was created as a Sufi *tariqa* by the followers Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi in Konya in the last quarter of the thirteenth century in this context. It is very significant to look at Rumi's own development and his relations with the political actors in Anatolia in order to understand political and social tendencies of late Mevleviye. Then I turn to the period after Mevlana in which the Mevleviye was formulated and started to institutionalize in different parts of Anatolia within the boundaries of mevlevihanes by the followers of Mevlana.

In the second chapter, I attempt to draw a picture of Sufism in the Ottoman Empire especially by focusing on the relationship between different Sufi orders and the central authority from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. I have several concerns on the development of Sufism in Ottoman lands. First of all, I want to see what kind of Sufi groups attracted the interests of the government and why; how the central authority manipulated them for its own aims in the early periods, and how these Sufi orders established themselves as an indispensable part of the social and political network. Another issue is related to the changing preferences of the government regarding some *tariqas* especially after the fifteenth century. I studied the reasons behind this change carefully in the second chapter which can also explain us the penetration and expansion of the Mevlevi order in Ottoman society.

In the third chapter, I cast an eye on the *vaqf* institution with particular attention to the *Celaliye Evqaf* which exemplified a specific and distinguished type within the *vaqf* system and facilitated the expansion as well as empowerment of the Mevleviye. The *Celaliye Evqaf* that were controlled by Mevlevis are very important in this study because they give us an idea not only on the financial background of the Mevlevi order but also on its role in the society from a wider perspective.

The fourth chapter is designed for understanding the relations between the Mevlevi order and the government between fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. I try to illustrate the significance of the central lodge in Konya; the *çelebi*, as the head of all Mevlevis in the Ottoman Empire and the perspective of Mevlevis in Istanbul. I also take three other Mevlevi lodges, the Salonica, Aleppo and Afyon lodges, as samples to provide a different vision of the Mevleviye from the periphery and to make a comparison between the attitudes of each Mevlevi institution towards the central government. In this way, I attempt to establish the position of the Mevlevi order within the larger picture of Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire in terms of their changing relations with the central government.

The fifth chapter deals with the interaction of the government with the Mevlevis in Konya and in Istanbul from late eighteenth century to the mid nineteenth century. For this reason, I first look at the Mevlevi actors of the era, the *çelebi*, leader of all Mevlevis, in Konya, other Mevlevi *şeyhs* in Istanbul and Halet Efendi as a key figure between the two parts. The Mevlevi lodges in Istanbul provides us the perspective of Istanbul Mevlevis, the ones in the capital of the Ottoman Empire whereas the Konya lodge represented interests of the periphery. I try to get their reactions to “change” one by one both on institutional and individual levels. The main

emphasis of this chapter will be on the approaches of the Ottoman sultans, Selim III and Mahmud II in particular, to the Mevlevi order and different Mevlevi lodges.

In the sixth chapter, I will study the representation of Ottoman sultans as the “patrons of the Mevleviye” in basically four ways: Construction and restoration of *mevlevihanes*; provisioning of the Mevlevi order; supervision of the *Celaliye Evqaf* and controlling the transfer of the offices within the Mevlevi order and lastly granting special gifts or rights for Mevlevis. This chapter makes extensive use of archival documents and reveals the actual points of interaction between the central government and the Mevlevi lodges.

This thesis is complemented a last chapter on the Bektaşî and Nakşibendi Sufi orders which can be considered as sibling rivals of the Mevleviye in the nineteenth century. I will study the roles played by these Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire and question the assertion that the Nakşibendiye and the Mevleviye became alternatives for the Bektaşî order especially after the abolition of the Bektaşîye in the first half of the nineteenth century.

There are several questions to be asked throughout this thesis: First of all, is it possible to perceive the Mevleviye as an unchanging and stable institution? Can we consider the Mevlevi order as a “state institution”? What kind of relations did the central government have with Mevlevis in different parts of the empire in different eras? Did the two parts support each other; if they did, what were the reasons behind? Has it ever been a state policy to support Mevleviye? Was the Mevlevi order an alternative for the Bektaşî order after the latter’s abolition? These questions will be kept in mind and I will seek for answer throughout this thesis.

In terms of the sources and methodology, there are a lot of studies on historical aspects of the Mevleviye which can be termed as secondary sources. The most famous study belongs to Abdlbaki Glpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik* (İstanbul: 1983), and it has been celebrated as the most detailed and comprehensive study of the Mevleviye. I make use of Glpınarlı's book throughout my thesis and in some cases I am rather critical of it. Several other monographs and articles on individual Mevlevi lodges in different parts of the Ottoman Empire and on different aspects of the Mevleviye were published in recent years. There are also some new articles which looks at the Mevleviye from a larger perspective. *Osmanlı Arařtırmaları Dergisi* (v.14/1994) as well as *Selçuk niversitesi Trkiyat Arařtırmaları Dergisi* (v.2/1996) exemplifies this new approach with valuable articles on the Mevleviye. Ekrem Iřın contributed to the Mevlevi studies with several articles on the Istanbul Mevlevi lodges. I should also mention four inspiring authors, Ahmet Karamustafa with his *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period: 1200-1500* (University of Utah Press:1994); Suraiya Faroqhi especially with her article called "XVI-XVIII. Yzyıllarda Orta Anadolu'da Őeyh Aileleri" (in *Trkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri*, Ankara:1975); Christoph Neumann with his article called "19. Yzyıla Girerken Konya Mevlevi Asitanesi ile Devlet Arasındaki İlişkiler" (in *Trkiyat Arařtırmaları Dergisi* v.2/1996) and Ahmet Yařar Ocak with his several books and articles on Sufism that created a larger vision for me. In short, in the multiplicity of secondary sources, I embarked upon reviewing these sources in a critical, comparative and analytical way during my study.

The main contribution of this thesis, I hope, will be in those parts that I benefited from archival documents. I reviewed especially *Cevdet Evkaf* (CE), *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (HH) and *Haremeyn Muhasebesi Kalemi* (D.HMH.) in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. I selected the documents that are related to the provisioning of the Mevlevi order, restoration of the Mevlevi lodges, transmission of offices within the Mevlevi order as well as the imperial decrees sent from the capital to the provincial governor in Konya concerning the problems with the *çelebi*. I try to bring a new approach to these primary sources within the framework of this thesis and to read between the lines in the documents to understand what lies behind the information given in the texts.

Some of these documents were also published by some scholars like Yusuf Küçükdağ's "1251 H/1835 M. Tarihli Mevlana Türbesi ve Çelebi Efendi Konağı Tamir ve İnşası Defteri" (in *TAD*, v.2/1996) which is based on register, *Defter*, recorded after the restoration of the Konya *asitane* in 1835. Other scholars also made use of *vaqf* registers and some other archival material in their studies which became useful for me.

In this thesis, I use some poems by Şeyh Galib regarding Selim III in a critical way in order to see the relationship between the sultan and a Mevlevi *şeyh* which contributed to my understanding of the Mevleviye and the government in the late eighteenth century.

I did not have a chance to use some valuable sources in this thesis. The Mevlana Museum in Konya is one of the most important sources which contains an important archive on the Mevleviye. Other primary sources like Sakıb Dede's *Sefine-i Nefise-i Mevleviye*, Esrar Dede's *Tezkire-i Şuara-yı Mevleviye*, Ali Nutki Dede's

Defter-i Dervişan I and Abdülbaki Nasır Dede's *Defter-i Dervişan II* occupy a significant place in the Mevlevi literature which are left outside the boundaries of this master thesis.

On the other hand, I benefited some published primary sources. Ahmed Eflaki's *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri* (edited by Tahsin Yazıcı, İstanbul:1995), Aşıkpaşazade's *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, (editor Nihal Atsız Çiftçioğlu, İstanbul:1925), Ayşe Gül Başaran's *Osmanlı Mimirisi İçin Bir Kaynak: Hadikatü'l-Cevami*, (Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, unpublished M.A. Thesis, İstanbul: 2001), Mevlana Celaleddin's *Mektuplar*, (translated by Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, İstanbul: 1963), Turgut Kut's "Sheiks of the Istanbul Chapter Houses" (in *Turkish Sources*, editor, XXVII, Harvard University Press: 1995) which was based on Tabibzade Derviş Mehmed Şükri ibn İsmail's list of Sufi lodges in İstanbul.

With critical use of the primary and secondary sources, this study aims to question and understand the relationship between the Ottoman state and the Mevlevi order represented by the lodges in Konya and İstanbul in the broader context of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

2. THE MAKING OF A SUFI ORDER

This chapter deals with the creation of the Mevlevi order within a larger framework in the thirteenth century context. The Mevlevi order was established in the name of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi in the thirteenth century by the followers of Mevlana. In order to understand the early Mevleviye, it is very significant to look at Mevlana's background as well as the political, social, economic and social condition of Anatolia in the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the followers of Mevlana had been the key factors in the making of the order by creating the necessary environment for the expansion of the Mevleviye.

PRELUDE TO RUMI

Mevleviye is a Sufi order or *tariqa* that took its name from the word "Mevlana"(our master), the sobriquet of Celaleddin Rumi. Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi² (his actual name was Celaleddin Muhammed) was born in Belh in the northern Persian province of Horasan in 604/1207 as the son of Mümine Hatun and Muhammed Bahaeddin Veled, *Sultani'l-Ulema* (the sultan of the learned). Most of the family's history tracing its descendants back to Abu Bakr, the first caliph of Islam is to a large extend legendary³.

² Mevlana had some other titles: Celaleddin (the glory of religion), Hüdavendigâr (Lord), Rumi (Anatolian), Mevlana-yi Rum (Our master in Anatolia) Mevlana-yı Manevi (the spiritual master) and since he was born in Belh, an epithet of Belhi (from Belh) was also used.

³ Tahsin Yazıcı, "Mawlawiyya", *EI*, Leiden:1991, v.6, p.883; Afzal Iqbal, *The Life and Work of Jalaluddin Rumi*, Islamabad: 1991, p.49; Ahmed Eflaki, *Ariflerin Menkabeleri*, trans. by Tahsin Yazıcı, İstanbul: 1986, v.1, pp.91-92

Bahaeddin Veled (1152-1231) was a professor of theology under the sultan of Harezm, Alaeddin Harezmsah. The dignitaries and the common people largely attended his discourses yet he seems to have excited the displeasure of the Sultan and he had to leave Belh⁴. Bahaeddin Veled and his family marched towards Baghdad and then Mecca for pilgrimage. On their way, they met Şeyh Feridüddin Attar, the famous Persian poet (1142-1229) in Nişabur and Şihabettin Sühreverdi in Baghdad. After making the pilgrimage, they turned towards Anatolia via Damascus.

According to Eflaki, in Anatolia, they first arrived at Malatya and then settled in Erzincan where Bahaeddin Veled thought in a madrasa for four years with the help of the ruler of Erzincan, Fahreddin Behramşah (1162-1225), who was a scholar and his wife, İsmet Hatun. Upon their death, Bahaeddin sought for another patron and it was Emir Musa of Larende⁵. Musa built a madrasa for the newcomers where Bahaeddin started teaching. Finally, the sultan Alaaddin Keykubad I, hearing about the fame of Bahaeddin, invited him to Konya, the capital of the Seljukid state.

ANATOLIA IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

Anatolian Seljukid state came into existence following Alp Arslan's victory at Manzikert (1071) and through migrations and settlement of Turkmen tribes. It started a period of Turkification and Islamization in Anatolia⁶. After several years of political

⁴ Claud Field, *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, London: 1910, p.148. Apparently, the problem of migration rose from a disagreement among scholars of the city. The sultan supported scholars like Fahreddin-i Razi who were essentially dealing with Greek philosophy. Bahaeddin Veled as an opponent of Greek philosophy and a prominent Sufi, most probably a follower of Necmeddin Kübra (d.1145/1226) was unable to find support in Belh. Eflaki, v.1, pp.93-94; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin*, İstanbul:1999, p.41.

⁵ Erkan Türkmen, *The Essence of Rumi's Mesnevi*, Konya: 1992, pp.9-11, Eflaki, v.1, pp. 96-100; Field, 149

⁶ Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, New York: 1968, pp. 72-84, Osman Turan, "Anatolia in the Period of the Seljuks and the Beyliks", *Cambridge History of Islam*, (ed. by P.M. Holt, Ann K.S. Lambton, Bernard Lewis), Cambridge University Press: 1970, v.1, pp. 232-237.

turmoil among the newly emerging power groups, the Crusades oriented towards Anatolia brought a new aspect to the course of development in the region. Forced these groups back from the coasts to inland, changed the patterns of relationships among them and led to further instability⁷.

After the Crusades, with the achievement of some kind of political stability, economic and cultural developments resulted in a period of golden age for the Seljukids under Sultan Alaaddin Keykubad (reigned 1220-1237). However this peaceful and prosperous atmosphere came to an end with a second threat from the east, the Mongols⁸. They started to proceed in Eastern Anatolia in the 1230s. This led to a second flow of migration among Turkmen groups that were escaping from the Mongol danger. The revolt of *Babais*⁹ who were a group of heterodox Sufi dervishes deteriorated the political and social chaos in this context. It was with the Battle of Kösedag(1243) that, the Seljukids lost political control over Anatolia in favor of Mongols. Mongols conquered and sacked many cities in central Anatolia but instead of settling, they choose to return to their center in Azerbaijan after making sure that Seljukids were now their vassals.¹⁰

Mongols introduced a new system of administration in Anatolia. The Ilkhanid government carried it out by entrusting the affairs in Anatolia to a deputy who would rule in the name of Ilkhanid state.¹¹ Actually, some statesmen who had the confidence of the Ilkhanid government and who were controlling whole state affairs even acquired more power than the Seljukid sultans besides commanders of Mongol army in Anatolia. Some scholars claimed that the economy of the Seljukid state deteriorated

⁷ Cahen, pp.84-89

⁸ Türkmen, p.19

⁹ Babais were a group of "heterodox" dervishes under the leadership of Baba İlyas. For further information on Babai Revolt see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Babailer İsyanı*, İstanbul: 1996

¹⁰ Cahen, p. 269

¹¹ Cahen, p.293

day by day because of feeding the Mongol army, satisfying needs of Mongol as well as Seljukid dignitaries and paying annual tributes and sending gifts to the Ilkhanid state¹². However it should be noted that Anatolia also went through an economic evolution in the form of transferring the resources which belonged to the Seljukid state formerly to the Ilkhanid rulers and to the individual notables. There are enough evidence to assert that agriculture and commerce developed in this period¹³.

At the end of thirteenth century, Anatolia crumbled under Mongol pressure especially in urban centers but in mountainous regions and on the marches, Mongols were rarely considered as a threat. It was under these circumstances that a new period of decentralization began to appear where new tribal groups in great numbers increased the nomadic population especially on the frontiers. The Seljukid state under the suzerainty of Ilkhanid Mongols dominated central Anatolia especially urban centers. On the other hand, Turkmen tribes were influential in the periphery. In time, these tribes formed small, independent principalities, which modeled institutions of the Seljukid state, recognizing the authority of center but remaining nomadic in their essence promoting the *ghaza* spirit¹⁴.

The conquest of Anatolia by Turkmen tribes from the eleventh century onwards led to many transformations in terms of social, economic and cultural and religious structure of Anatolia. It was a highly mobilized social environment¹⁵. With the Byzantine recession and Turkish advance in Anatolia, with the introduction of Mongol protectorate, there emerged new patterns of relationship among different groups like the sedentary population, the nomadic groups and the peasants. There was a symbiosis among these groups.

¹² Fuat Köprülü, *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, State University of New York Press:1992, pp.33-34

¹³ Cahen, pp.317-318, 323.

¹⁴ Turan, pp. 250-252; Köprülü, pp.35-36.

After the Mongol invasion ethnic structure of Anatolia went through a second transformation. Mongols pushed many people, Iranians, other Turkmens and Mongols, from Turkistan towards Anatolia especially towards the frontier regions, which seemed more secure at the time¹⁶.

SUFISM IN ANATOLIA

The thirteenth century that brought the most tremendous shock to the Asia and Europe with the invasion of Mongols was also a period of mysticism¹⁷. Just at the center of the whole discussion about thirteenth century Anatolia lies the impact of migrant Sufi groups in Anatolia¹⁸. The reason of the discussion mainly derives from an attempt to explain the emergence of Ottoman principality and its transformation into an empire¹⁹.

It was Fuad Köprülü who described the social groups in Anatolia for the first time as *ghazis* (Muslim warriors), *akhis* (an organization of young men along the lines of the guild system), *bacıyan-ı Rum* (an organization of women in Anatolia) and *abdalan-ı Rum* (heterodox dervishes of Anatolia). He raises the question whether the *abdals* were “a certain order of wandering dervishes” or “does the name belong to all the dervishes who were members of different heterodox orders”²⁰. In order to give an answer to his question, he looks at the “religious policy of the Anatolian Seljuk state” and concludes that the state followed the traditions of the Great Seljuk Empire by

¹⁵ Cahen, p.143-146

¹⁶ Cahen, pp. 314-316, Neşet Çağatay, “Mevlana Devri Selçuklu Türklerinin Politik ve Sosyo-Ekonomik Sorunları”, in *Mevlana Sevgisi*, (ed. by Feyzi Halıcı), Konya: 1981, pp.45-51.

¹⁷ For a comparison of Eastern and Western mysticism in the age of Rumi, see Afzal Iqbal, *The Life and Work of Jalaluddin Rumi*, Islamabad: 1991

¹⁸ Ömer Lütfi Barkan, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler” I: İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeler”, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, II (1942), pp.279-386

¹⁹ For a comparison of all discussion on the origins of the Ottoman empire see, Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, Berkeley:1995, pp. 29-58.

²⁰ Köprülü, p.100

defending Sunni doctrine and maintaining support from Abbasids. In cities under the firm control of state, Sunni doctrine flourished in *madrasas* and among “orthodox Sufi orders”. He gives the example of Mevlevi order as an urban phenomenon addressing the “high aristocracy and the upper-and middle-class bourgeoisie”, as opposed to “heterodox groups” from its beginning and trying to “preserve the existing social and political system”. Other examples of urban orders were Rifai and Halveti orders for Köprülü and he makes a comparison between these orders and those of early Iranian Sufi orders, the Kazeruniye or Ishrakiye that also existed in thirteenth century Anatolian cities. The former orders became influential under Ottoman control, based on “petty bourgeoisie and working classes” being “protected by the rulers”, appearing under the “guise of Sunni doctrine” as other urban orders²¹.

On the other hand, Köprülü looks at the manifestations of Sufi orders in the periphery, those among nomadic Turkmen groups and in the villages where “religious life and Sufi movements were more vigorous, exuberant and sincere and more likely to be transformed into action”. These Sufi groups interpreted metaphysical ideas and abstract concepts in a more simplified way and used them as means of propagation. The Turkmen *şeyhs* called *baba* were very hostile to urban Sufis²².

Paul Wittek claims that those “holy men, *şeyhs* and dervishes who fled from Iran and Turkistan to Anatolia” were “spiritual and political leaders of the population of their countries” hence they were among leading groups in resistance against Mongols, who fled before the conquerors. They were mainly under the influence of “heretical doctrines” and were less welcomed in Seljukid cities in Anatolia than on the frontiers²³. Except from this short explanation of heretic migrations, he doesn’t go into

²¹ Köprülü, pp.100-102

²² *ibid.*

²³ Paul Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London, 1958, p.31.

detail with religious structure of Anatolia. In short, both Köprülü and Wittek agree on the “cultural transformation, acculturation and settlements of Muslims and Turks in medieval Anatolia”, the distinction between hinterland as a composition of “Persianate court circles and settled producers” and the frontier as the domain of “nomads, warriors, adventurers and dervishes who were driven by their search for pasture, booty, glory or religious vocation” which was more available for “heterodoxy, heterogeneity and mobility”²⁴.

Ömer Lütfi Barkan asserts that the religious activities of missionary Turkish dervishes on the side of “others” before the conquests of Turkmen tribes can be considered as “spiritual conquests” and constituted an important element in the creation of a mysterious religious propagation²⁵. He describes colonizer dervishes as “a group of people who came from Turkistan and established themselves in Turkish monasteries, the *zaviyes* (small lodges), with the new interpretation of the religion under the influence of their previous beliefs²⁶. He refers to *Babais* and *ahis* as rural manifestations of spiritual colonization. The dervishes came along with migrant tribes and settled down in a certain location on the frontier. They built *zaviyes* for their activities and in time these became centers of frontier expansion, which co-operated with power centers and in time adopted a systematic structure for further colonization²⁷. He concludes that their institutions (*zaviyes*) were not only centers of social assistance but also became means for prosperity for their surrounding, provided security and promoted the religion.

According to Fuad Köprülü, the Islamization of Turks in Iran region was based mainly on Sufi interpretation of the religion. The Sufi *şeyhs*, or *babas* were very

²⁴ Kafadar, p.36-37

²⁵ Barkan, p.283

²⁶ *ibid*, p.284

²⁷ *ibid*, pp.290-292

influential in converting masses into Islam with their flexible approach. As a result, Ahmed Yesevi as the spiritual ancestor of Sufi orders in Anatolia was a cornerstone in the history of Turkistan Sufism in this period²⁸.

A modern scholar, Ahmet Yaşar Ocak has a more layered explanation on the adoption of Islam by Turks discriminating Sunni (orthodox) and non-Sunni (heterodox) interpretations. The former based on the Quran and Sunna is accepted by the urban groups in Harezm, Transoxiana and Fergana region, which were scenes of urban life for centuries, and especially flourished in madrasas with books written in Arabic and created Hanefi judicial system and Maturidi doctrine. The latter was prevalent among nomadic Turkmen groups preserving the mystical beliefs of their previous religions adopted Sufi way of Islam in syncretism.

These Turkmen groups were mostly illiterate. They developed an oral culture rather than a written one. There was no place for strict regulations and rules in their highly mobilized and unstable lives. *Sunni* Islam went through three-centuries of institutionalization and created its political tradition as well developing its judicial system and theology.

The Great Seljukids seeking legitimacy from the Abbasid caliphate established madrasas and supported Islamic *ulema* within their boundaries. On the other hand, it was Ahmet Yesevi and his spiritual successors who “conquered hearts of people” especially in Anatolia by amalgamating ancient “ancestor cult” of previous religions with “saint cult” of Islam that was welcomed by masses²⁹.

²⁸ Fuat Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, İstanbul:1984. This book studies legendary and historical life of Ahmet Yesevi in detail using early sources and claims that his tariqat lays in the essence of Anatolian religious orders established by his successors (*halifes*). For a contemporary interpretation of Yeseviye, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar*, İstanbul:1996, pp.31-87

²⁹ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Türkler, Türkiye ve İslam*, İstanbul, 2000, pp.33-51

The previous classification was based on Sufi interpretations of Islam. Now Ocak goes further and discusses all aspects of Islam under Turkish societies. For Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, Islam appeared in four main styles in Turkish history. He calls them popular Islam, madrasa Islam, mystical Islam and state Islam³⁰.

Popular Islam remains loyal to basic principles of the religion but it also contains popular beliefs like superstitions. In terms of its relation to Sufism, one can find both orthodox and heterodox elements in popular Sufism. Therefore popular Islam does not necessarily mean heterodoxy³¹.

Madrasa Islam has its roots in the reaction against Ismaili movements in the 10th century. Batini doctrines and militant activities in this period were discarded in madrasas that were teaching religious sciences (Kalam, Fıqh, Tafsir, Hadith) as well as positive sciences. These madrasas became widespread in the time of Great Seljuks as Nizamiye madrasas receiving its name from the famous statesman, Nizamül Mülk. They were established and supported by the central authority and helped to the creation of state Islam³².

Mystic Islam especially developed among Sufi groups in *tekkes* (Sufi lodges) since 11th century. The general mistake is to consider mystical Islam in opposition to madrasa Islam. That is not always true. There were mainly two streams: Sufis coming from the madrasas like Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi and Sadreddin Konevi, and Sufis coming from the *tekkes* like Hacı Bayram Veli and Davud-ı Kayseri. The former has its roots in institutionalized Sufism of those *tariqats* like Kübreviye, Nakşibendiye Kadiriye and Rifaiye and the latter in those of Yeseviye, Kalenderiye and Haydariye³³.

³⁰ Ocak, *Türkler, Türkiye ve İslam*, p. 51

³¹ *ibid.*, p.52

³² *ibid.*, pp. 53-56

³³ *ibid.*; pp.56-59; Haydariye was an organization of "heterodox" dervishes as a branch of Kalenderis with its origins in Yeseviye of Horasan after a disciple of Ahmed Yesevi, Kutbu'd-din Haydar (d.1205) in the thirteenth century.

State Islam is not a coherent body of belief system. It is rather the choice of one interpretation as the “official state religion” by the political authority for judicial and political purposes. For Great Seljukids in Iran, Anatolian Seljukids and the Ottomans in Anatolia, it was mainly madrasa Islam of *sunniism* with Hanefi and Maturidi doctrines. These states employed *ulema* (religious scholars) to develop theories of statecraft, which would justify the ruler’s authority³⁴. Orthodox Sufi Islam also found supporters in state ranks whereas heterodox Sufism was promoted in conquest periods on the frontiers especially for motivating conquests.

MEVLANA CELALEDDIN IN KONYA

Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi was married to Şerefeddin Lala Semerkandi’s daughter, Gevhertaş Hatun in Larende where he lost his mother. Sultan Veled, the son of Celaleddin Rumi, was born in Larende³⁵. The family of Bahaeddin Veled arrived at Konya in 1228-1229 and he became very popular. The tutor of Alaeddin Keykubad, Emir Bedreddin Gevhertaş, became one of his followers until his death in 1231³⁶. Ahmed Eflaki says that “everybody was astonished with his piety and content therefore “the sultan of Islam”, his viziers, the dignitaries around him, and many others admired him and became his followers”³⁷.

Rumi was respected as an educated scholar and as a follower to his father after Bahaeddin’s death. It is known that Rumi’s father had appointed his own trusted and able disciple, Burhaneddin Muhakkık Tirmizi who became responsible for Mevlana’s

³⁴ *ibid.*; pp. 59-63

³⁵ Eflaki, v.1, p.100

³⁶ *ibid.*; Gölpınarlı, pp.42-43.

³⁷ Eflaki, v.1, p.102

early education as the spiritual teacher of Mevlana³⁸. He arrived at Konya in 1232. During his education, Mevlana went to madrasas in Aleppo and Damascus³⁹. Mevlana Celeleddin completed his education and served as a teacher, respected as a leading religious scholar in Konya until 1244, the year Şems-i Tebrizi visited Konya.

Şems was the disciple of a craftsman-Sufi Ebu Bekr-i Tebrizi in Tebriz. Mevlana was over fifty years old at the time. After they met, Mevlana abandoned scholarship in madrasa, preaching in the mosque and turned to seclusion, spending his time wandering about the town⁴⁰. It seems that Şems-i Tebrizi was from the type of *Melami*⁴¹ group of Sufis who emphasized love and ecstasy. Mevlana had never been the same person after that time. The new Mevlana “established the roots of *sema*⁴²(the musical ceremony), attracted people from all ranks and all classes, the poor and the powerful, the learned and the illiterate, Muslims and non-Muslims. Everybody started to read his poems, and Mevlana found himself full with the love of God.”⁴³

³⁸ Şeyh Seyyid Burhaneddin Tirmizi was born in Horasan. He was first the spiritual teacher of Burhaneddin Veled in Belh and stayed there after Burhaneddin Veled left the city until 1231. According to Eflaki, he taught Mevlana in Konya for nine years. His grave is in Kayseri. (Eflaki, v.1, p.116-124.); Iqbal, p.64

³⁹ Eflaki, v.1, p.127

⁴⁰ *ibid.*; pp.131-133; Gölpinarlı, p.74; Iqbal, pp.115-123

⁴¹ He used to wear a cap similar to that of Bektâşîs, which is called *Horasan Elifi*. Some Mevlevîs of the following generations like Sultan Abapuş-ı Veli, the grandson of Sultan Veled and Süleyman Şah of Germiyan principality and Divane Mehmed Çelebi, şeyh of Afyon lodge, used to wear that kind of caps which were called “sikke-i devazdeh künğüre-i Şemsiye”. Apparently, he was not a member so called “orthodox” Sufi dervishes but rather one of “abdalan-ı Rum” in Anatolia (Gölpinarlı, p.64). For further information on Melametis, see Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı, *Melamîlik ve Melamiler*, İstanbul:1992.

⁴² For further information about origins of *sema* ritual, see Tahsin Yazıcı, “Mawlawiyya”.

⁴³ Eflaki, v.1., p.133.

MEVLANA CELALEDDIN RUMI AND POLITICS

Mevlana Celaleddin lived during the reigns of Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev II (1237-1246), Izzettin Keykavus II (1246-1249), joint rule of Izzettin Keykavus II, Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan IV, Alaaddin Keykubad II (1249-1257), and Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan alone (1262-1266) Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev III alone (1266-1284) and the viziers like Celaleddin Karatay and Muineddin Pervane. It was a period of political turmoil and Mongol influence was still present in Anatolia.

Rumi did not participate in politics directly. As a Sufi himself, he “watched the events on the scene of the physical world with divine eyes”. Yet as a powerful leader in society, he attracted the interests of the rulers and the sultans, the viziers, the chieftains and other statesmen visited him for his spiritual help⁴⁴.

During the reign of Giyaseddin KeyhüsrevII, he did not have close relations with the royal family. However, the sultan’s wife, a Georgian Lady, became the follower of Mevlana. Mevlana treated Izzettin Keykavus II like an ordinary man. For example, one day the sultan came up to Rumi for advice and Rumi said that he was supposed to be a “shepherd” and “protector” but he acted like a “wolf” and a “thief”. Upon these words the sultan cried and began to repent. Then Rumi told him that God had forgiven him⁴⁵. It is clear that the account of Eflaki is an example of *menkıbe*⁴⁶ literature. Yet it shows us how Mevlana and his relation to the rulers was perceived and presented to the readers by his successors like Eflaki.

Eflaki mentions Mevlana’s relations to state dignitaries in detail. One day, people asked him why the dignitaries did not come to listen to him. He replied, “You

⁴⁴ Türkmen, p.23

⁴⁵ *ibid.* (quoting Eflaki)

⁴⁶ For a critical evaluation of *menkıbe* type of sources see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Kültür Tarihi Kaynağı Olarak Menakabnameler*, Ankara: 1997.

see only their absence in our meetings but not being driven away. If I allow them to come, we would have no space for our real devoted friends". The next day, Muineddin Pervane, Celaleddin Müstevfi, Eminateddin Mikail, Taceddin Mutez, and other state chieftains came to visit him and as he told the madrasa became full of these people, all his friends had to turn back without listening him⁴⁷. Here Eflaki wants to emphasize the widespread fame of Mevlana in all segments of society and Rumi's choice on common people.

Eflaki talks about the interests of rulers on Mevlana's meetings in detail. Sometimes they went to visit him or in other cases, they invited Mevlana and people around him to the royal banquets. They performed *sema* in these banquets and listened to his preaches⁴⁸. In all cases, Mevlana gives some lessons to the rulers in the worldly and other worldly affairs.

Another source on the relationship of Mevlana and the ruling elite is "the Letters of Mevlana"⁴⁹. There are one hundred and fifty letters written by Mevlana himself of which four are written in Arabic and the remaining in Persian. Most of them⁵⁰ addressed elites like İzzeddin Keykavus II, Giyaseddin Keyhüsrev's wife Gürcü Hatun, leading state officials Muineddin Pervane, Celaleddin Karatay, Alameddin Kayser, Melik el-Sevahil Bahaeddin, Emir Müstevfi Celaleddin, Eminateddin Mikail, Sahib Ata Fahreddin Ali and Ahi Gevhertaş.

⁴⁷ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin*, p.218 Mevlana's followers were mainly coming from the commoners like a dentist from Erzincan Muhammed Hadim, a Greek named Alaaddin Süryanos, the leader of Konya ahis Ahi Ahmed Şah, a peasant named Ahi Muhammed Seydaveri, the Greek artist Aynuddevle, the architect Bedreddin of Tebriz etc.; Eflaki, v.1, p.155.

⁴⁸ Eflaki, v.1, p.161, 164, 171, 194, 204-205, 219, et al.

⁴⁹ Mevlana Celaleddin, *Mektuplar*, (trans.by. Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı), İstanbul: 1963; M. Şerefettin Yalıtıkaya, "Mektubat-ı Mevlana Celaleddin, Anadolu Selçukileri Gününde Mevlevi Bitiklerinin İkinci Kitabı", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, VI, İstanbul: 1939, pp. 323-345; Mevlana Celaleddin, *Mektubat*, (trans.by. Ferudun Nafiz Uzluk, edited by Ahmet Remzi Akyürek), İstanbul: 1937.

⁵⁰ The other letters were addressing his sons, Alaaddin Çelebi and Sultan Veled, his future-successors like Hüsameddin Çelebi, his friends like Hacı Emir.

In his letters to Izzettin Keykavus II, Rumi addressed the sultan as “my son”. Rumi thanked the sultan that he favored Necmeddin whom Rumi calls “my most dear son and emir”. He says, “The greatness of a lover depends upon the greatness of his beloved. The more graceful, ingenious and clean spirited is the beloved, the dearer is the lover”⁵¹. He sometimes warned the sultan against the oppressions of governors, like in the case of Hüsameddin Çelebi who was considered as an unjust ruler by people around Rumi. In another letter, Mevlana wanted the sultan to prevent high taxation in Sivas. He congratulates the sultan for his marriage, demands the employment of his disciples in state ranks, and the forgiveness of two people by the sultan and their re-employment⁵².

In letters to Muineddin Pervane, there are similar themes. Mevlana seems to be very close to Muineddin who is the second important person after the sultan in the state. He wants for example two people, Fakih İhtiyareddin and İmameddin to be given their previous assignments in cash; some other help for specific people, the employment of his followers. He also thanks Muineddin after his demands were accepted and in case of a return from a victory, Mevlana do not neglect congratulating him⁵³.

⁵¹ Türkmen, pp.21-22

⁵² Mürsel Öztürk, “Mevlana’nın Mektupları”, *I. Milli Mevlana Kongresi*, Konya: 1986, p.89

⁵³ Öztürk, p.89-90

MEVLANA'S VIEWS ON MONGOLS

Just after the family of Bahaeddin Veled left Belh in 1220/21, Mongols conquered the city. According to Eflaki, it was a punishment of God on the inhabitants and rulers of the city because of their attitude towards Bahaeddin, "A pious person suffered here many times therefore poor Horasan should be destroyed so that it would never recover again"⁵⁴.

Eflaki also talks about Mongol advance in Horasan and Anatolia. The sack of Belh, the battle in Kösedag (1243), establishment of Mongol rule, the conquest of Baghdad and Aleppo by Hulagu Khan, the activities of Muineddin Süleyman, the marriage of Selçuk Hatun (the daughter of Rükneddin Kılıç Arslan IV) to the Mongol Khan Abaka's son in 1275, the interference of Mamlukid army to help Seljukids in Anatolia etc.

In the case of conquest of Baghdad and the death of caliph, Eflaki criticizes the attitude of caliph especially his luxurious life and finds Mongol Khan right in his behavior, which Bahaeddin Veled predicted with interpreting caliph's dream when he arrived at Baghdad⁵⁵.

When Mevlana went to Aleppo and Damascus for his education, he witnessed that people were ignorant. He warned them against Mongol threat but nobody believed in him. Yet the result was much more terrible than he predicted. "The Mongol troops reached Aleppo after him and destroyed the whole city including those ignorant people"⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ Eflaki, v.1, p.96

⁵⁵ Eflaki, v.1, pp.191-192

⁵⁶ Eflaki, v.1, p.309

Mevlana used to protect his followers from Mongols. For example, he secured the harvest of an *ahi*, Ahi Muhammed Seyyidabadi in Konya when the Mongols sacked other people's harvest⁵⁷. On the other hand after his death, Eflaki says that "the community lost its coherence, the thrones of sultans were destroyed by the Mongols, heads were cut off, madrasas and Sufi lodges deteriorated, the oppressors dominated the world"⁵⁸.

In short, Mevlana doesn't seem to be an opponent of Mongols though he abstains himself and his followers from their threat. He accepts Mongol invasion as the result of God's will and believed in the continuation of the political stability and the state⁵⁹. As a recent migrant in Anatolia, and as a *seyh* who wanted to find followers in order to establish himself as a powerful leader, he sought for political support. After the invasion of Mongols, he established fairly good relations with Mongol rulers for the same reasons. In return, aware of his power among the masses, rulers behaved accordingly⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ Eflaki, v.1, p.370

⁵⁸ Eflaki, v.2, p.49.

⁵⁹ Faruk Sümer, "Mevlana ve Oğullarının Türkmen Beyleri ile Münasebetleri", in *Mevlana Göldestesi*, Konya:1973, p.46; Müjgan Cunbur, "Mevlana'nın Devleti Değerlendirmesi" in I. Milli Mevlana Kongresi, Konya: 1986, pp.149-160. The author, quoting Mevlana's *Divan-ı Kebir*, shows us how Rumi perceived the state.

⁶⁰ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, "Türkiye Tarihinde Merkezi İktidar ve Mevleviler (XIII-XVIII. Yüzyıllar) Meselesine Kısa Bir Bakış", in *TAD*, vol.2, (May1996), pp.17-22

THE MEVLEVI WAY AFTER MEVLANA

Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi died in Konya in 672/1273. With his teachings, Rumi managed to combine Sufi ideas like *vahdet-i vücud* (the unity of the existence) of Muhyiddin Arabi⁶¹, *zühhd* (asceticism) of Necmeddin Kübra⁶² and *kalenderiye*⁶³ of Horasan in syncretism⁶⁴. Though he taught in the madrasas, preached in the mosques and became a follower to his father as a *şeyh*, he did not establish a Sufi order. It was his disciples who established the Mevlevi order in the name of Mevlana and the order took shape through many developments. Therefore we should distinguish the life and teachings of Mevlana and the Mevlevi order.

The early roots of the first Mevlevi lodge lies around the tomb of Bahaeddin Veled and a few dervish cells around it in Konya. After Rumi's death with the leadership of Hüsameddin Çelebi, the scribe of *Mesnevi* and the first successor of Mevlana, and Sultan Veled, the son of Mevlana, a tomb for Mevlana was constructed under the patronage of Alameddin Kayser (d.683/1284), Muineddin Süleyman and his wife Gürcü Hatun⁶⁵.

⁶¹ İbn-i Arabi (1165-1240) is a Sufi from Spain who has been very influential on Sufism for centuries when his basic principle of *vahdet-i vücud* (unity of existence) was accepted by many Sufi orders and educational institutions. He travelled from Magreb to Baghdad and Horasan. In 1204, he arrived at Anatolia and visited Malatya, Konya, Kayseri, Sivas and Erzurum and his understanding of Sufism shaped Anatolian Sufism in pre-Ottoman period deeply.

⁶² Necmeddin Kübra (d.1221) is the founder of Kübreviye order who lived during the age of Harzemşahs in Iran. The order was introduced to Anatolia in the thirteenth century through his disciples like Sadeddin-i Hamevi, Seyfeddin-i Baherzi. Mevlana's father Bahaeddin Veled was one of the followers of Kübreviye.

⁶³ Kalenderiye is a Sufi movement with Horasan origin in the twelfth century that dismissed the world and resisted against the rules of the society. Kalenderis revealed their ideas in their appearances and activities as wandering dervishes who have clean-shaven face, wandering naked except for loose woolen mantles, with canonical caps made of hair. For further information, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Kalenderiler*, Ankara: 1999.

⁶⁴ Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar*, p.142.

⁶⁵ Sezai Küçük, *XIX. Yüzyılda Mevlevilik ve Mevleviler*, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü (unpublished Ph.d Dissertation), İstanbul:2000, p.23; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlanadan Sonra Mevlevilik*, İstanbul: 1983, p.36; For *kasides* written by Sultan Veled to praise the patrons of the lodge see Sultan Veled's *Divan* (ed.by F.Nafiz Uzluk), İstanbul:1941.

The elite (chieftains, the dignitaries in Konya, the rich disciples) supported the establishment of the lodge by providing financial support through the establishment of *vakfs* (pious foundations), which would provide income for the dervishes. Eflaki says that the order controlled large *vakfs* and all income which came from the *jizya* (tax to be paid by non-Muslim subjects), *nezr* (the gifts), money, clothes, goods were distributed among the members⁶⁶. The new *şeyh*, Hüsameddin Çelebi, appointed some officials for the ceremonies and prayers in the new lodge and they started to have regular meetings and rituals. Sultan Veled replaced Hüsameddin Çelebi after his death in 1284.

Sultan Veled (1226-1312) was accepted as the real founder of the Mevlevi order. He was a close follower of his father and of Hüsameddin Çelebi and was educated by them. He sent his followers to different parts of Anatolia to extend the order⁶⁷. As the heir of his father, he established good relations with the rulers. He met the chieftains and preached to them⁶⁸, wrote praising poems to thank for their support, requested tax-exemptions for some of his followers and wanted to get on well with Mongol rulers and advised sultan Mesud to obey and serve them. In return, the rulers even the Mongols respected Sultan Veled and accepted his requests⁶⁹.

⁶⁶ Eflaki, v.2, p.129, 131, 144

⁶⁷ He sent Şeyh Süleyman- Türkmani to Kırşehir to establish a Mevlevi *zaviye* (small lodge). Around the village of Hacı Bektaş, they controlled twenty villages and many fields for the construction and maintenance of the lodge as well as to host the visitors (Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, p.45).

⁶⁸ Eflaki, v.2, pp.160-161

⁶⁹ Gölpınarlı, pp.36-40, 43. (The Mongol rulers Emir İrci Noyanand Abuşka Noyan visited him and were blessed by Sultan Veled)

Ulu Arif Çelebi (1272-1320) was the son of Sultan Veled, grandson and third successor of Mevlana. He spent most of his life travelling in Anatolia and the Middle East⁷⁰. During his travels, he preached for his order, met the local rulers and the Mongol rulers like Arap Noyan in Sivas, Tuman Bey in Erzurum, and many others. He negotiated with local Sufis like the “Erzurum Hacesi”, a member of *abdalan-ı Rum* in Erzurum, Hayran Emirci, a disciple of Barak Baba in Sultaniye. Wherever he went, Ulu Arif Çelebi received popularity, people joined the Mevlevi order in great numbers, and they organized *sema* rituals and established their lodges in these regions⁷¹.

He also had close contact with the leaders of newly emerging principalities in Anatolia. Mesud Bey of Menteşe principality, Şecaaddin İnanç Bey of Denizli, Yakub Bey of Germiyan principality, Muhammed Bey of Aydınogulları, Muhammed Bey of Eşrefogulları. Ulu Arif Çelebi visited all of these principalities and received the support of their leaders. He gave them his *Mevlevi külahı* (a kind of cap which Mevlevis wear) as a sign of membership and the rulers presented him gifts⁷².

Though Mevlevi order was established in Konya, the order never had good relations with the Karaman principality, which controlled Konya for some time. The Mevlevis supported the Mongols at the time claiming that “we are just dervishes, we consider God’s will and support the one to whom God gives the country. God favors the Mongols now, He took the country from Seljukids and gave it to the Mongols”. Of course there are some other considerations behind this statement. Perceiving the power of Mongols and the relative weakness of the principalities, Çelebi supported the Mongols at the expense of Karaman principality⁷³.

⁷⁰ Ulu Arif Çelebi went to Larende, Beyşehir, Aksaray, Akşehir, Karahisar, Amasya, Niğde, Sivas, Tokat, Birgi, Denizli, Menteşe, Alaiye, Antakya, Bayburt, Erzurum, Irak, Tebriz, Merend and Sultaniye (the capital of Mongols).

⁷¹ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana’dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, pp.69-73; Eflaki, p. 176-178, 191, 202, 206 et al.

⁷² Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana’dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, pp. 73-74; Eflaki, v.2, p.179, 186, 187, 194, 207, 226,227

⁷³ Eflaki, v.2, p.216; Gölpınarlı, p.75

In Eflaki, we have no reference to Ottoman principality except one case. According to one *menkıbe*, in the time of Mevlana, Rukneddin Kılıçarslan adhered to Şeyh Baba-yı Merendi and şeyh called him “my son”. Mevlana was offended by this situation and he said that if he found a new “father”, he would find a new “son”. Then Mevlana met Osman (the founder of Ottoman principality) on the way and after his respectful behavior to Mevlana, he gave his belt to Osman as a signal of new sultanate⁷⁴. However this story should be a fiction to legitimize the reign of Ottomans and to have relations with them.

Gölpınarlı says that Ulu Arif Çelebi was different from his predecessors and resembled Şemseddin Tebrizi. He used to drink wine openly and became known for his love affairs and did not follow the way of orthodox dervishes for which he was severely criticized by his contemporaries and later generations⁷⁵.

In short, he was more like a Melami dervish who had *şuttar* (a *Melameti* group who emphasized love and ecstasy and did not alienate themselves from people) tendency. He was close to members of *fütüvvet* (guild system), and *Baraklılar* (followers of Barak Baba of Babai dervishes)⁷⁶. During his reign in the central lodge in Konya, he sent his disciples to different parts of the Middle East and opened new lodges in Kütahya, Karaman, Tokat (with a female *şeyh*), Niğde and Afyon⁷⁷.

At the end of Ulu Arif Çelebi’s reign, the transmission of the post in Konya became hereditary (except Hüsameddin Çelebi who was not a member of Mevlana’s family but his disciple). The Mevleviye developed two conflicting modes of

⁷⁴ Eflaki, v.1, pp.161-162; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin*, 243-244

⁷⁵ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana’dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, p.76, 78, 82

⁷⁶ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana Celaleddin*, p.60; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlanadan Sonra Mevlevilik*, pp.83-84

⁷⁷ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlanadan Sonra Mevlevilik*, p.93; Ömer Demirel, “Sivas Mevlevihanesi ve Mevlevi Şeyhlerinin Sosyal Hayatlarına Dair Bazı Tespitler”, in *TAD*, 2(Mayıs 1996), pp.217-222; Adnan Gürbüz, “Amasya Mevlevihanesi ve Vakıfları”, in *TAD*, 2 (Mayıs 1996), pp. 287-295; Yusuf İlgar, “Afyonkarahisar Mevlevihanesi”, in *TAD*, 2(Mayıs 1996), pp.107-121; Mehmet Çayırdağ, “Kayseri

spirituality: The Şems branch which takes love and ecstasy as its basis and acts like Kalenderiye and the Sultan Veled branch which strives to remain attached to the *sharia* (the religious law). The Şemsi branch accepted the Melametiye as a principle and therefore resembled Bektaşî order or other so called “heterodox” orders. The Sultan Veled branch had a socially conformist approach and has been more influential upon orders, which conform to *sharia* like the Gülşeniye, the Halvetiye⁷⁸.

THE ÇELEBIS

The successors of Mevlana Celaleddin (from the line of his son Sultan Veled) who occupy the post of Konya as the most prominent *şeyhs* of Mevlevî order were called *çelebi*⁷⁹. The existence of *çelebi* institution had been a centralizing factor in Mevleviye yet it can be debated to what extent it prevented emergence of powerful *şeyh* families⁸⁰. The early *çelebis* were very powerful and influential among masses but in time because of rivalries to obtain this power, new and powerful *şeyhs* rose in other *tekkes* in Anatolia. *Çelebi* was responsible for appointing the *şeyh* of each *tekke* by giving an able person his sanction with a *hilafetname* or *icazetname* (a certificate of the permission granted to the new *şeyh*) or to discharge an inefficient *şeyh* therefore he

Mevlevihanesi”, in *TAD*, 2(Mayıs 1996), pp.91-95; Hasan Özönder, Kütahya Mevlevihanesi”, in *TAD*, 2(Mayıs 1996), pp.69-89; Hasan Yüksel, “Tokat Mevlevihanesi”, in *TAD*, 2(Mayıs 1996), pp.61-68.

⁷⁸ Yazıcı, p.886; Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period: 1200-1550*, University of Utah Press: 1994, p.82 (Karamustafa says that the development of uncontrolled ecstasy seemed to reach its height during the first half of sixteenth century. In addition, the chasm between the Şemsi and Veledis were very deep for him since this spiritual duality remained until modern times.); For a different evaluation of the Şemsi as a distinct Sufi order see Muhittin Celal Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan Mevlevi*, İstanbul:1952, p.111.

⁷⁹ The word *çelebi* literally means a prince, a gentlemen of the pen, a civilian or a person of polite manners. The title of *çelebi* was used for the descendents of Celaleddin Rumi to praise them as polite and gentle people.

⁸⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, “XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Orta Anadolu’da Şeyh Aileleri”, in *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi Semineri* (Metinler-Tartışmalar), (ed.by Osman Okyar), Ankara:1975, pp.197-226.

had the administrative control over all *tekkes* and the revenues coming from various endowments⁸¹.

When a *çelebi* died, the members of family and the leading dervishes of the order used to meet and elect the new *çelebi* among the sons and the cousins of the deceased *çelebi* unless he did not leave somebody in his post while he was alive. When the *çelebi* changed in Konya, the sultan in Istanbul used to send an edict to approve the election⁸².

However since the institution became hereditary, it was possible to observe the transmission of the post to children. In this case, the child was elected as the new *çelebi* but one of the elder *şeyhs* would be his deputy until he grew.⁸³

The *çelebi* in Konya, tells the duties of the new *şeyh* in his new post in these *hilafetnames*. It starts with praising the new *şeyh* as the pride of all righteous and followers of piety in the beginning⁸⁴ and continues to tell about his duties:

“... In the city of Istanbul, you are appointed to the position of *şeyh* and *mesnevihan* in Galata mevlevihanesi. When you arrived to the mentioned *tekke*, you must pray for the well-being of the sultan who is the leader of all Muslims with the poor (dervishes) of God’s door five times a day, and then you must read the Holy Qur’an and the books of our master Celaleddin Rumi, you must obey the principles of sharia and *tariqat*. May God know you as the *şeyh* and *mesnevihan* of Himself and an obedient in the lines of sharia and

⁸¹ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, “Çelebi”, in *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri Sözlüğü*, v.1, p.345; Faroqi, p.213

⁸² *ibid.*, In order to be a *çelebi*, the candidate had to come from the line of Sultan Veled’s sons and they were called “Zukur Çelebi”, descendants from the daughters of Sultan Veled were called “İnas Çelebi” and the only exception was Arif Çelebi III (d.1052/1642) who was able to be *çelebi* after some problems with Ebubekir Çelebi. For the names of reigning *çelebis* in Konya see Duru, pp.124-125; Küçük, pp.47-48; 152-153.

⁸³ Gölpınarlı, p.152, 368 (Starting with Mevlana Celaleddin, Gölpınarlı counts thirty *çelebis* until 1925 when the religious orders in Turkey were abolished and some four other *çelebis* of other *tekkes* outside Turkey which were active until 1943.), Necati Elgin, “Çelebi ve Çelebilik”, in *Konya Halkevi Dergisi*, 88(1946), p.10-14.

⁸⁴ The format of correspondence among the mevlevihanes were formulated in time in Konya. There were strict rules to address each and every *şeyh* of different mevlevihanes according to their ranks. For further information see Erdoğan Erol, “Veled Çelebi Zamanında Mevlevihaneler ve Çelebi’nin Şeyhlere Resmi Hitap Şekilleri”, in *7. Milli Mevlana Kongresi (Tebliğler)*, Konya:1994, pp.55-63

tariqat until the day of resurrection. They (the dervishes) must be obedient and tractable. You must care for the poor without leaving the sharia and *tariqat* even for a moment. You must not forget to pray for the past and present saints. May God make you happy in both worlds. (Rebii 1st 1086/ 30 May 1675-from the poor *şeyh* Abdülhalim, the son of Mevlana may God sanctify his mystery)⁸⁵

Abdulhalim Çelebi I of Konya prepared this *hilafetname* in 1676 for the appointment of Gavsi Ahmed Dede in Galata lodge. This letter was sent to the *şeyhülislam* (the chief canonical functionary in the Ottoman Empire) Çatalcalı Ali Efendi in the *meşihat* (the office of *şeyhülislam*) in Istanbul to notify the decision⁸⁶. And the new *şeyh* could start his duty only after the central government approved this appointment. It was merely a matter of formality to inform the *şeyhülislam* as the spiritual head of the society under the sultan.

The acts and rules of the Mevlevi order were regulated in the reign of Pir Adil Çelebi, in which he amalgamated the Mevlevi, Nakşibendi and Şemsi traditions. Gölpınarlı says that after him, the first period of establishment and expansion ended. After this time, other local *şeyhs* rather than Çelebi in Konya carried out the mission of expanding the Mevleviye⁸⁷

In the second period of expansion, the names of Divane Mehmed Çelebi, Celaleddin Ergun Çelebi and Yusuf Sineçak are considered as the most important figures. According to Mevlevi sources, Divane Mehmed Çelebi(844/1440-936/1529) was accepted as the grandson of Rumi from the line of Sultan Veled's daughter, Mutahhara Hatun and Süleymanşah of Germiyan principality⁸⁸. He was the *şeyh* of the

⁸⁵ CE. 887 (1 Ra 1086/30.05.1676) "Galata Mevlevihanesi meşihat ve mesnevihanlık vazifesi uhdesine tefviz olunduğuna dair Çelebi Abdülhalim Efendi tarafından Gavsi Ahmet Dede'ye hitaben"

⁸⁶ Nafiz Uzluk, "Mevlevi Hilafetnameleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, IX, pp.386-387.

⁸⁷ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, p.100.

⁸⁸ From the marriage of Mutahhara Hatun and Süleyman Şah, their daughter Devlet Hatun married to Bayezid I of Ottoman Empire. Therefore mevlevi connect their lineage to the dynasty from this line

Karahisar Mevlevi lodge. He resembled Ulu Arif Çelebi in his “heterodox” manners. Divane used to follow the line of Şems-i Tebrizi, Kalenderis and Melamis and his followers were called *abdal*⁸⁹.

The most interesting activity of Divane took place during the reign of Pir Adil Çelebi(1421-1460) when he gathered forty Mevlevi dervishes and forty Bektaşî dervishes in order to go to Irak. With his companions, he went to Necef, Kerbela, Baghdad and Samira where he visited the tombs of *Ehli Beyt* (the family of the Prophet). After this trip, he arrived at Meşhed where the eighth *imam* lived. Divane Çelebi was respected in the city by Kalenderis and received many gifts from local dervishes. When they arrived at Aleppo, they paid a visit to the *şeyh* of the Vefai order and made him a Mevlevi *şeyh* by shaving him like Kalenderis and performing *sema* ritual.⁹⁰

This story is a unique example of Bektaşî and Mevlevi alliance and it should derive from the personality of Divane Mehmed Çelebi with his close relations to non-orthodox Sufi groups. He sent many of his disciples to Egypt, Lazkiye, Algeria, the island of Sakız, Egirdir, Sandıklı, and the island of Midilli. When these disciples arrived at their destinations, they established Mevlevi lodges in accordance with the teachings of Divane Mehmed Çelebi. He also had many other followers in other *tekkes* in Anatolia⁹¹.

The most significant and well-known aspect of Divane Çelebi was his establishment of the first Mevlevi lodge in Istanbul in 1491. In the time of Bayezid II,

and claim to be relatives. Mustafa Çıpan, “Mevlevi Şeyhlerinden Divane Mehmed Çelebi”, *7.Milli Mevlana Kongresi, (Tebliğler)*, Konya:1994, pp.98

⁸⁹ Duru, p.111, Çıpan, p.101

⁹⁰ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, p.109-110, 206

⁹¹ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, p.119-120, Duru, p.114; Çıpan, pp.101-102

he came to Istanbul and was hosted in Iskender Paşa's kiosk. Paşa bestowed some of his land in Galata and he established a lodge in this area.

Though he has never been in the post of Konya, his name has been recited among other *çelebis* in the ceremonies as one of the leaders. That is because of his sincere activities like his arrival in Persia and bringing *Divan-ı Kebir* (one of the most famous books of Rumi) back to Anatolia which was lost during the Mongol invasions. When the Mamluks interrogated poet Gülşeni in Egypt, he was able to protect him and make Gülşeni a Mevlevi dervish⁹².

Celaleddin Ergun Çelebi established the Erguniyye *dergah* in Kütahya and it became the third important center of the Mevleviye after Konya and Afyonkarahisar. Yusuf Sineçak was the *şeyh* of the Edirne Mevlevi lodge. However because of some problems with the provincial governor, he left Edirne and migrated to Istanbul. Yet he spent most of his life travelling. Like his predecessors, he went to Baghdad and Kerbela, Mecca and Medina, Damascus, Aleppo and Egypt. He presented the Mevleviye wherever he went and expanded its boundaries with his tolerant attitudes⁹³.

The establishment and maintenance of the Mevlevi lodges were to a large extent supported by the elite through the *vaqfs* as mentioned before. However it is now very well known that they established Mevlevi lodges in small towns and there were even Mevlevi villages in different parts of the Ottoman Empire. For example, in the sixteenth century Muğla was completely a Mevlevi center; Lazkiye and some of its villages in Syria; Karahisar, Kütahya, Bursa and some villages around these cities contained small Mevlevi lodges. Gölpınarlı explains the penetration of the Mevleviye into small settlements in the tolerant attitudes of *şeyhs* and their presence among the masses. The early *şeyhs* and *çelebis* were more close to common people and they

⁹² Duru, p.113-114, Çıpan, p.102

shared similar beliefs. The use of music and *sema* ritual also attracted people's interest to the order. Some *şeyhs* consumed wine and opium. They also accepted women's participation to their order therefore gained women's support, too. There were many holy women disciples and some female *şeyhs*. Kira Hatun (from a Christian family), the wife of Rumi was considered to be a saintly woman, praised by the biographers as "a second Rabia" and their daughter-in-law Fatma who was taught to read and write by Rumi himself and was called his "Right Eye", daughter of Sultan Veled, Şeref Hatun, Arife-i Hoşlika of Konya was a women *şeyh* who expanded the order in Tokat. The female member of any Sufi order was called *bacı* (sister) and the Mevlevi organized their means of expanding their order through *bacıs* like the women mentioned above⁹⁴.

Gölpınarlı claims that this expansion left its place to a recession towards big towns and cities around the sixteenth century. The expansion of the Mevleviye in the sixteenth century became possible only with the efforts of ruling elite. For example, the Peçoy Mevlevi lodge in Hungary was established by Gazi Hasan Paşa in 1665, the Kayseri Mevlevi lodge by Bayram Paşa in 1675, the Kilis Mevlevi lodge by Ali Ağa of the city in 1676, the Selanik Mevlevi lodge by the vizier Ahmed Paşa in the seventeenth century, Yenikapı Mevlevi lodge by Malkoç Bey, the Beşiktaş Mevlevi lodge by Hüseyin Paşa of Ohri and there are many other examples. There were also some other *tekkes* established by the Mevlevi *şeyhs* like the lodge in Bursa by Cünuni Dede. In short, he argues that in the seventeenth century, the Mevlevi order became almost "a state institution"⁹⁵. Was mevleviye really considered a state institution at

⁹³ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, p.125-127.

⁹⁴ Gölpınarlı, pp.245-247, Lucy Garnet, *Mysticism and Magic*, London: 1912, p.173-174, Annemarie Schimmel, *My Soul is a Woman*, New York: 1997, p.44-45.

⁹⁵ Gölpınarlı, pp.247-248, 345-360; For detailed information on the Mevlevi complexes like "Kubbe-i Hadra", other mevlevi *zaviyes* and *tekkes* in Konya see İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Konya Tarihi*, Konya: 1964, pp.629-691-791-802; Şehabettin Uzluç, *Mevlana'nın Türbesi*, Konya: 1946.

the time by Mevlevi and by the statesmen? This question will be one of the most important points of questioning throughout this study and will be studied in detail in the following chapters.

MEVLEVI AND MEVLEVIHANE

Mevlevihane means the lodge that belonged to the Mevlevi order. The most important *mevlevihane* and the center of all *mevlevihanes* is the one in Konya. It was established around Kubbe-i Hadra (the Green Dome), the tomb of Mevlana Celaleddin⁹⁶. It is also called “Huzur-ı Pir” or “Asitane-i Aliyye”. According to their size and function they were divided into two categories. The first group is called *asitane* literally meaning threshold, in Mevlevi literature it refers to large lodges where Sufi disciples were educated in *matbah* (kitchen)⁹⁷, through a period called *çile* (seclusion in a dervish cell for 1001 days under the supervision of a *şeyh*).

Starting with the central one in Konya, *asitanes* in the Ottoman Empire were lodges in Karahisar, Manisa, Aleppo, Galata, Beşiktaş, Kasımpaşa, Yenikapı (İstanbul), Bursa, Eskişehir, Gelibolu, Kastamonu, , Kütahya, Egypt and Yenişehir in Rumelia.

The second category is *zaviye*⁹⁸ a term used for small *tekkes*. In *zaviyes*, the Mevlevi perform only the *sema* rituals and engage in their activities but the education of new disciples in the form of *çile* was confined to *asitanes*. There was a great number of Mevlevi *zaviyes* within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire⁹⁹.

⁹⁶ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, “Mevlevihane”, in *OTDS*, v.2, p.515

⁹⁷ *Matbah* was both a kitchen and a place for new disciples to start their 1001 day education by *Aşçı Dede* (the chief cook). Hasan Özönder, “Ateş-baz Veli ve Mevlevi Dergahlarında Ateşbaz Veli Makamının Önemi”, in *3. Milli Mevlana Kongresi*, Konya: 1989, pp.97-110

⁹⁸ The term *hankah* was also used for *zaviyes* and *tekkes*. For detailed information on different aspects of *zaviyes*, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, “Zaviyeler”, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 12(1978), pp.247-269.

⁹⁹ The number of *mevlevihanes* in the Ottoman Empire is a matter of discussion among scholars. Gölpınarlı counts seventy-six main *zaviyes* excluding those established in small villages and fifteen

The Mevlevi lodges were generally constructed for the most part “picturesque and commanding situations” out of the city or town boundaries in order to escape the routines of the urban life¹⁰⁰. They had large gardens and within the garden Mevlevi lodge contained many different units. There were cemeteries called *hamuşan* or *hamuşhane* (the silents or the house of the silents), *meydan-ı şerif* or *selamlık* (the office of şeyh), a house for the şeyh family, a *semahane* (a place to perform *sema* which had an octagonal shape), *hücre* (dervish cells), *meşkhane* (a place for dervishes to exercise whirling), *türbe* (tombs of the leading şeyhs), *matbah* (kitchen), *mescid* (a place for daily prayers) and rooms for guests, bathrooms, stores and stables. In short, *mevlevihan*es were social complexes that served all needs of their inhabitants and visitors¹⁰¹.

Though most Sufi orders were considered mendicant in accordance with the principle of poverty, in reality they were rarely poor¹⁰². In *mevlevihan*es, the revenues coming from the *vaqfs* were used by the dervishes for their needs and payment of some officers who served the dervishes like *imam* (a leader in public daily worship) and *hatib* (an official preacher who recites *hutba*), *müezzin* (a person who calls for daily prayers by reading *ezan*), *zakar* (a chanter in a meeting of dervishes), *virđhan* (a person who recites a portion of the Quran daily), *hatimhan* (a person who recites of the whole Quran), *aşirhan* (a person who reads ten verses of the Quran), *cüzhan* (a student who learns to read the Quran), *katib* (scribe), *vekilharç* (a person who deals with subsistence in a *tekke*), *kilerci* (a kind of butler) and *ambarcı* (a storehouse keeper), *nakip* (a warden

asitanes. Gölpınarlı, 334-335; Uzluk claims that there were thirteen *asitanes* and sixty-eight *zaviyes*, Uzluk, p.161-163; S. Ünver finds out ninety-nine *mevlevihan*es, Süheyl Ünver, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Mevlevihaneleri ve Son Şeyhleri”, *Mevlana Göldestesi*, Konya: 1964, pp.30-38; Mehmet Önder approves the calculation of Ünver by using a source from the Mevlana Museum in Konya, Mehmet Önder, “Konya’da Mevlana Dergahı ve Merkez Arşivi”, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, v.XIV, İstanbul:1994, p.140.

¹⁰⁰ Garnet, p.64

¹⁰¹ Pakalın, “Mevlevihane”, p.516

of the community of dervishes), *türbedar*(a keeper of a tomb), *bevvab*(a gate keeper), *tabbah*(a cook), *çeraği*(a person who lits light, *habbaz*(a maker of bread), *kayyum*(a sweeper or care-taker of the *tekke*), *kaseşuy*(a person who washes the dishes), *asyabi*(a miller), *ahuri*(a care-taker of stables) etc¹⁰³.

How did Mevlevis spend their lives within the *mevlevihanes*? One of the most famous activities was organizing rituals, which was called *mukabele*¹⁰⁴. It is performed in *semahane* on specific days of the week and in some special religious occasions. They pray and perform *sema* in specified ways. The Mevlevi dervishes composed *ayins*, hymns that were used during rituals. Therefore the order is known with its rich *Mevlevi ayinleri*, and it has educated many talented people in traditional Sufi music. For Mevlevis especially İstanbul with its five Mevlevihanes became a cultural center.

Dervishes are divided into some categories in Mevlevi understanding according to their affiliation with the order. *Muhib* is a person who participated in the order by applying to a *şeyh* and after some ceremonies he could be accepted to be a member on the condition that he would attend to the meetings and have some education under the supervision of a *dede* (a Mevlevi *şeyh*) according to his talents. Those people who went through a formal education in *matbah* with *çile* experience were called *salik*, *derviş* or *dede*. The officer dervishes would serve others while the talented novices were educated in music like playing some instruments, reading the Quran, Mesnevi and other religious sources and some other artistic activities¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰² Garnett, p.66.

¹⁰³ Ocak, "Zaviyeler", p. 265.

¹⁰⁴ *Mukabele* literally means facing each other or meeting an action with its like. In Mevlevi rituals since the dervishes face each other this term named the whole ritual. It was not yet in the form of a ceremony during the early decades of the Mevleviye. For example, in the time of Mevlana *sema* was not formulated with definite figures. It took a definite form during the reign of Pir Adil Çelebi around 1450s (Gölpınarlı, p.380-383).

¹⁰⁵ Gölpınarlı, p.390-397

The highest stage of membership in the Mevlevi order is the position of *şeyh*. *Şeyhs* occupied the post of *pir* (the leader of the order, here Mevlana Celaleddin), and represented the order. Their secondary duty was to become *mesnevihan*, a person who recites Mesnevi. The *şeyh* would educate dervishes so that they will be successors to him in free posts. They receive *hilafetname* from the *şeyh*, which prove their ability to become *şeyh*¹⁰⁶.

They wear specific garments like baggy trousers, a tunic, a vest, a short coat and a long cloak and a kind of cap called *sikke*. Despite some occasional similarities to other orders, each of these garments belongs completely to Mevlevi tradition. It is possible to point out a Mevlevi *dervish* by looking at his clothing anywhere.

In short, the Mevlevi order was established with the efforts of the followers of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi. The political, social, economic and religious transformations in the thirteenth century Anatolia and the spiritual heritage of Mevlana were the key factors in the creation of the Mevlevi order. The *çelebis* were the leading figures in the expansion and institutionalization of the Mevlevi order. Basing itself to these two sources, the Mevleviye succeeded in adapting itself to the changing conditions from the thirteenth century onwards.

¹⁰⁶ Gölpınarlı, p.398-340.

3. SUFISM AND THE OTTOMANS

This chapter focuses on the relationship between Sufi orders in the Ottoman State and the central authority. The Ottoman State used several policies towards the Sufi orders and these policies changed in time and space. In this part of my thesis, I want to study changing preferences of the government and the reasons behind this change between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.

EARLY OTTOMANS AND SUFISM

The Ottoman principality was the only political entity, which accomplished to combine historical heritage of Anatolia in a new synthesis, “a new historical composite which arose from the political and social evolution of Anatolian Turks in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries”¹⁰⁷. In this heritage, Sufism played one of the most significant roles in the political system. Wandering dervishes constantly dealt with the expansion of Islam brought by the Ottomans in the newly conquered lands under the protection of the state.

One of the dervish groups in the early Ottoman history was *abdals* of Rum who were part of the Babai movement from the early thirteenth century onwards. The location of Ottoman principality was very productive for their interests to engage in *gaza* (raid). In addition, they were far away from central Anatolia where their belief system was considered as “heretical”. From the point of view of early Ottoman leaders, they were “tolerated” and channeled efficiently. They presented these dervish

¹⁰⁷ Kafadar, p.117

groups new lands to settle and establish *tekkes* in return for their services. In this sense Sufi leaders served both spiritual, economic, politic and material needs of their followers and became leading actors in the expansion of political power of the new principality¹⁰⁸.

Early Ottoman chronicles are full of examples of dervish and ruler alliances. Rulers like Osman Bey and Orhan Bey were careful enough to support their military victories with attempts to justify themselves in the eyes of the population by constructing mosques, *tekkes*, *madrasas*, *imaret* (soup kitchen) and *karavansaray*s as part of their policies in the newly conquered lands¹⁰⁹. Taking the example of his father on building *tekkes* for dervishes, Orhan constructed a *tekke*, a tomb and a Friday mosque for Geyikli Baba¹¹⁰ who is the most famous dervish figure of early Ottoman history.

Aşıkpaşazade gives a detailed list of the early Ottomans sultans and their contemporaries among the famous dervishes (*fukara*) or religious scholars (*ulema*). Ertuğrul and Baba İlyas, Koçum Seydi (*fukara*); Osman and Dursun Fakih (*ulema*),

¹⁰⁸ Ocak, "Zaviyeler", p.256-257; Yağmur Say, "Osmanlı Devlet Mekanizmasının Oluşumunda Heterodoks Güçler", in *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*, (ed.by Güler Eren), v.4, İstanbul: 2000 v.4, p.429, 432; Mark Sedgwick claims that in the nature of Ottoman Sufism, its spiritual function comes first without neglecting its political, military, economic and social functions: Mark Sedgwick, "Dinin Sosyal Hayattaki Yeri: Osmanlı Sufiliğinin Doğası", in *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*, (ed.by Güler Eren), v.4, p.446-458; for similar arguments see Mustafa Kara, "Osmanlılarda Tekke Siyaseti", *Hareket*, İstanbul: Ocak-Şubat 1976, v.10, 109-110, pp.678-683.

¹⁰⁹ Hammer, *Büyük Osmanlı Tarihi*, (ed.by Mümin Çelik and Erol Kılıç), İstanbul, v.1, pp.115-117; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara: 1988, v.1, p.531; Barkan, pp.284-304.

¹¹⁰ Aşıkpaşazade Ahmed Aşık, *Tevarih-i Ali Osman*, (ed. by Nihal Atsız Çiftçioğlu), İstanbul:1925, p.122-123, 231. Geyikli Baba was a dervish known for his riding deers on the mountains. According to the story, he was a follower of Baba İlyas from the order of Seyid Ebulvefa. He refused an invitation by Orhan. After some time, he arrived at the palace of the sultan and planted a tree in the garden, which symbolized their sultanate. Saying "this is our grant. As long as it stands here the prayers of the dervishes are upon you and your descendants", he prayed and turned back to his own residence. It seems this story tries to legitimize the early Ottomans in their claim to sultane through the sanction of popular dervishes.

Baba Muhlis, Ahi Şemsüddin, Aşık Paşa, Elvan Çelebi (*fukara*) and Edebalı (father – in-law of Osman and an *ahi*); Orhan Bey and Davud-ı Kayseri, Taceddin-i Kürdi(*ulema*), Aşık Paşa, Geyikli Baba, Yunus Emre, Tapduk Emre, Ahi Evren and Karaca Ahmed Sultan(*fukara*); Murad I and Koca Efendi's son Kadızade-i Rumi (*ulema*), Abdal Murad and Musa Baba, Pir Hamd-i Cüsteri (*fukara*); Bayezid I and Mevlana Şemseddi-i Fenari, Mevlana Kutbeddin-i İzniki, Şeyh Cezeri-i Siruzi (*ulema*), Emir Sultan, Molla Fenari, Şeyh Fahreddin-i Mudurini, Şeyh Hamid (*fukara*); Mehmed I and Mevlana Haydar-ı Hirevi, Mevlana Fahreddin, Seyyid Mehemed-i Buhari (*ulema*), Hacı Bayram (*fukara*), Murad II and Mevlana Şerefeddin-i Kırımı, Mevlana Hayreddin-i Kırımı, Mevlana Ahmed Gürani from Egypt (*ulema*), Akşemseddin, Şeyh Abdurrahim-i Rumi and Akbıyık (*fukara*); Mehmed II and Mevlana Hüsrev, Mevlana Mehmed Zeyrek, Hızır Bey Çelebi, Hocazade (*ulema*), Şeyh Abdüllatif-i Makdisi, Gümüşlüoğlu (a Zeyni mystic), Mevlana Alaaddin (a Halveti mystic)¹¹¹.

The first thing which this list shows is obvious: Aşıkpaşazade talks about two classes: *Ulema* (the religious scholars) and *fukara* (fukara). Secondly, the number of *ulema* increases at the expense of *fukara* in time and when he talked about the reign of Mehmed II and people from religious class, most of them were members of *ulema* class or Sufis who are related to a specific religious order like Şeyh Abdüllatif-i Makdisi and Gümüşlüoğlu who were Zeynis and Mevlana Alaaddin, a Halvetiye member. In addition, they were rather different from the dervishes of the early period in terms of their education.

The most important and widespread religious organizations of central and western Anatolia in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the Ahis, Babais

¹¹¹ Aşıkpaşazade, p.234-236; Hammer, pp.202-203

and Mevlevis. Especially the Ahis and Babais were very active within the boundaries of the Ottoman principality. The Babais of the thirteenth century like Abdal Musa and Geyikli Abdal who together with the Bektâşis became very influential in the creation of early Ottoman society. Ottomans were allied with these two power groups as in the case of the marriage of Osman and Şeyh Edebalı (an Ahi leader)'s daughter. Another example is about Murad I who granted an *icazetname* to Ahi Musa in Gelibolu on Receb 767/March 1366 saying that leadership of the *ahis* were transferred from Murad himself to Ahi Musa in Malkara¹¹².

Aşıkpaşazade leaves the case of the Bektâşis at the end of the discussion after counting other *fukara* and *ulema* and says that it was because Hacı Bektaş, *pir* (founding father) of Bektâşis, did not meet any of the Ottoman sultans during his lifetime. Aşıkpaşazade talks about Hacı Bektaş's relation to Baba İlyas and his heritage on *bacıyan-ı Rum* (his successor was a women called Hatun Ana and Abdal Musa took the heritage from Hatun Ana). Abdal Musa as a follower of Hacı Bektaş¹¹³ who lived at the time of Orhan was engaged in *gaza* among Yeniçeris.¹¹⁴

There were also some other "heterodox" groups in the Ottoman principality which could not be channeled in the lines of the demands of the rulers like the Babais, Kalenderis, Torlaks and İşiks. Some of them were punished by the state for their "illegal and illegitimate" behavior in the time of Orhan. There were also other groups coming from Erdebil in Iran with their "heretic" beliefs and trying to find support in Anatolia during the reign of Bayezid I. But there were some political problems with

¹¹² "... ahilerimden kuşandığım kuşağı Ahi Musiya (musa'ya) kendü elümle kuşadıp Magalkara'da (Malkara'da) ahi diktim...". Uzunçarşılı, p.530-531; İrfan Gündüz, İrfan Gündüz, *Osmanlılarda Devlet-Tekke Münasebetleri*, İstanbul:1989, p.19.

¹¹³ Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli lived in the second half of the thirteenth century. His teachings were transmitted by a woman called Hatun Ana and Abdal Musa before the establishment of the Bektâşi order. He was a follower of Baba İlyas. According to story, his disciples, Sarı Saltuk and Seyid Ali Sultan carried Bektâşiye to the Balkans.

¹¹⁴ Aşıkpaşazade, p.237-238;

Safavids in this case¹¹⁵. And it was the first time that some Sufi groups were represented as “political opponents and rivals” supported by a rival state in the east. In this sense the Bektaşis were perceived as a “Shiite” group in a “Sunni” population. According to a *vaqf* register, Bayezid I constructed *zaviyes*, *imarets*, madrasas, hostels, bridges and hospitals for the Kazeruniye and other orders with the booties provided from raids¹¹⁶.

On the other hand we cannot find Mevlevis in the sources of early Ottoman history¹¹⁷. What lies behind this absence? Mevleviye has already been established with its institutions in Anatolia in the early decades of fourteenth century, Mevlevi *seyhs* and dervishes were travelling in different parts of Anatolia to introduce their order. They went to western, central and eastern Anatolia as well as Iran, Iraq, Egypt. They attracted interests of many leaders in different principalities. Yet the Mevlevi lodges in Edirne (1435) and Bursa (1620) would start their activities rather late. What was the problem then with the Ottoman principality? Before going into detail on the Mevleviye and its relation to Ottomans, I would like to look at other Sufi orders in relation to the Ottoman State.

What was the role played by institutional Sufism in this period? As mentioned before, starting from the reigns of early rulers, a class of educated scholars was always present in Anatolia and in the Ottoman territories. The Ekberiyeh, Bistamiye, Zeyniye orders, which contained the “unity of existence”(*vahdet-i vücud*) principle of Ibn-i Arabi were widespread in Anatolia towards the end of fourteenth century. Molla

¹¹⁵ Uzunçarşılı, v.1, p.531; Aşıkpaşazade, p. 249-252.

¹¹⁶ Gündüz, p.23; Reşat Öngören, Osmanlı Padişahları ve Tasavvuf, in *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*, (ed.by Güler Eren), İstanbul: 2000, v.4, p.486

¹¹⁷ There is only one exceptional case Hammer refers to Mevlevis in early Ottoman history. According to story, Süleyman Paşa wore a Mevlevi cap (*kılah*) in Bolayır which was given to him before the raid to Bolayır by a Mevlevi dervish as a symbol of victory and the same kind of cap was worn by some other Ottoman sultans until Mehmed II (Hammer, v.1, p.140, 146), Gündüz, p.18.

Fenari from the Ekberiyeh, Şeyh Hamid from the Bistamiyeh lived through the reigns of Bayezid.¹¹⁸

Hacı Bayram Veli (d.1430) from Ankara, established the Bayramiyeh order which seemed to have been a rural order at the beginning but then by organizing urban Anatolian population of craftsmen under the principles of *futuwwa*. Together with the Melamiyeh this order combined two mystical tendencies, basing itself to state ideology of Sunnism and the Melamiyeh of central Anatolian heritage. Hacı Bayram lived through the reigns of Bayezid I and Murad II and had close contact with them. For example, he was interrogated in Edirne palace during the Şeyh Bedreddin revolt¹¹⁹. After his innocence was established, the sultan granted *vaqfs*, *tekkes* and supposedly offered him vizirate.

A close Sufi companion of Mehmed II, Akşemseddin, was one of the leading disciples of Hacı Bayram. With the supports of dignitaries these Sufis established themselves firmly in society both spiritually and materially¹²⁰. Murad II also established a *mevlevihane* in Edirne, Mehmed II granted some rights to dervishes like tax exemptions, constructed *tekkes* for the Zeyniyeh order¹²¹.

¹¹⁸ Uzunçarşılı, p.533; Hammer, v.1, p. 147. Hammer says that Orhan benefited spiritual support of dervishes in the conquest of Bursa therefore after the victory, he became patron of Sufis, opened madrasas and paid them so generously that they became rich even were called *paşa* because of their richness. For the early Ottoman madrasas in İznik, Bursa and Edirne see, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmîye Teşkilatı*, İstanbul: 1988.

¹¹⁹ Ekrem Işın, "Osmanlı Döneminde Tasavvuf", *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*, (ed.by Güler Eren), v.4, pp.453.

¹²⁰ Edhem Cebecioğlu, "Osmanlı Kuruluş Dönemi Doğu Ucunda Sosyo-Kültürel Hareket Başlatan Bir Önder: Hacı Bayram-ı Veli", in *Osmanlı Ansiklopedisi*, (ed.by Güler Eren), v.4, pp.410-415.

¹²¹ Öngören, "Osmanlı Padişahları ve Tasavvuf", p.486; Gündüz, p.27.

SUFISM FROM THE FIFTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Ottomans created a centralized, efficient and powerful administrative system in the fifteenth century especially with the efforts Mehmed II. All of his activities served to strengthen authority of the sultan on various segments of society. At the end of his reign, he left a universal empire to his successors¹²².

In an age of state construction, it is impossible to think that Mehmed the Conqueror overlooked the status of Sufis and *ulema*. During Mehmed's reign, new institutions of higher education called *Sahn-ı Seman* madrasas were established in Istanbul. They taught religious and natural sciences in these madrasas. The centralization of education system enabled the state to control the religious class. He isolated some of the religious orders in Anatolia, which were controlled by some notable families, and none of these orders could enter Istanbul in this period. It was the *ulema* educated in the new madrasas of Mehmed II who served in state ranks but not dervish groups¹²³. The execution of some Hurufi dervish groups during Mehmed II's reign was a means of channeling Sufism towards "orthodox" ways. The participation of *şeyhülislam* into the administrative system marked another means of controlling different religious groups in the state¹²⁴.

Mehmed II ordered the investigation of *vaqf* lands to find out those, which did not meet the conditions for re-validation. It seems that the grants of earlier sultans should have amounted to a substantial part of total revenues when he wanted to revise

¹²² Halil İnalçık, "The Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600", in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, New York: 1994, Cambridge University Press, v.1, p.18; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.2, p.8-11, 144-147, 153-159.

¹²³ Uzunçarşılı, *İlmiye Teşkilatı*, pp.5-10; Hammer, v.2, pp.194-195, *Işın*, p.454; Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İktisadi Tarihi*, İstanbul:1995, v.2, pp.45-46 ; Davut Dursun, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Siyaset ve Din*, İstanbul:1992, p.151.

¹²⁴ Gündüz, pp.31-32, *Işın*, p.453.

the status of all free holdings and *vaqfs*. In addition, he abolished the rights of *vaqf mütevellis* to appoint and discharge the *vaqf* officers arbitrarily. Instead, he ordered the *divan* (central governmental functionary) to take such decisions and the sultan would send an edict to verify the decision. These radical reforms were not welcomed among the Sufi groups in Anatolia whose major source of income was *vaqf* revenues. They formed “secret opposition centers” around Amasya and Konya. The leading group of dervishes was Halvetis who considered Mehmed II’s activities as “despotic” opposing sharia. The Halvetis attempted to obtain political power by supporting Bayezid II in his claim to the throne against prince Cem after Mehmed II’s death¹²⁵.

When the new sultan, Bayezid II came to throne a kind of backlash took back all the confiscated holdings of *vaqfs* and lands were returned to their former owners by Bayezid II who was praised as the “restorer of the Islamic Law and tradition”. His construction of a *tekke*, an *imaret* and a *madrassa* in Amasya, a *tekke* and a *madrassa* for Şeyh Şemsüddin Buhari reveals his interest in restoring the status of Sufis¹²⁶. His policy on Sufi orders was just the opposite of Mehmed II. Bayezid II stopped the application of previous policies and wanted to take religious orders within the political system and in this way controlling different segments of society by using their prestige. Many different orders found the possibility of establishing lodges in Istanbul during his reign.¹²⁷ Just in the middle of this transformation, Bayezid II had to face problems concerning some dervish groups in Anatolia coming from Iran with Shiite doctrines that challenged Ottoman political power from the religious perspective.

¹²⁵ Işın, p.454; According to accounts, Bayezid II used to attend the meetings of Halveti order.

¹²⁶ İnalçık, p.125, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.2, p.146; Hammer, v.2, p.392

¹²⁷ The first *mevlevihane* was opened in Galata/Istanbul in 1491, the Kocamustafapaşa lodge of the Halvetis, the Yavsi Baba *tekke* of Bayramis, the Emir Ahmed Buhari *tekke* all started their activities in the reign of Bayezid II. (Işın, p.455)

These groups established *tekkes* in Hamid and Teke region and revolted under the leadership of Şah Kulu. The Ottoman army was able to suppress the revolt and Bayezid exiled some of them to Rumelia. He chose two other options to prevent Shiite propagation; the first one is strengthening “orthodox” orders by paying them regularly like some Nakşibendis¹²⁸. The second aimed at taking support, especially from Alevi groups by establishing the Bektaşîye as an institution like the others in the empire. He appointed Balım Sultan coming from Dimetoka to the leadership of the Bektaşî lodge in Nevşehir. His policies were fruitful in the case of getting Bektaşîs and other heterodox groups to the side of Ottoman state¹²⁹.

It was Selim I who would conclude the Shiite question Under Selim I, many convents of the heterodox dervishes (Turcoman Kızılbaş groups) were closed down and their *vaqf* properties were confiscated with the claim that they were centers of anti-Ottoman propaganda. Selim took only a few steps in his career to support Sufi orders in his reign. The first one is the construction of a complex, composed of a mosque, an *imaret* and a tomb in Damascus in the name of Ibn-i Arabî. The second and third were realized during his campaign to Iran, one is bringing water to the Mevlevî *dergah* in Konya and the other his visit to Sultan Seyyid Gazi tomb near Kütahya. He granted 100.000 akçes to the dervishes. In his time, Piri Mehmed Paşa also granted 30.000 akçes for the *vaqfs* of Mevlevî lodge in Konya¹³⁰.

Later on during the reign of Suleyman I, these the *vaqfs* of the convents were restored once more. Suleyman I was engaged in similar construction activities. He

¹²⁸ In the year 1503, 86,000 *akças* was expended to pay more than thirty scholars, poets and *şeyhs*. In addition, they sent 5000 *akças* to Nakşibendi *şeyhs* of Buhara in Iran to receive their support against Shiite Safevids. Gündüz, pp.37-39, 64-65

¹²⁹ Işın, p. 454.

¹³⁰ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.2, p.305, Ahmet Uğur, Yavuz Sultan Selim'in Siyasi ve Askeri Hayatı, İstanbul: 2001, p.62; Hammer, v.2, p.525; Konyalı, p.532; for the development of Seyyid Gazi complex see Suraiya Faroqhi, “Seyyid Gazi Revisited: The Foundation As Seen Through Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Documents”, in *Turcica*, XIII (1981), pp.90-122.

ordered the construction of a dome on the tomb of Ibn-i Arabi, a tomb and mosque an imaret for the dervishes in the name of Ebu Hanife (one of the most important theoreticians of Sunni judicial system), restored a mosque near the tomb of Abdülkadir Geylani, the posthumous founder of the Kadiri order, build an imperial mosque (Sultan Selim Camii), dervish cells, *imaret* and a *semahane* in Konya, a great *tekke*, a mosque, a *madrasa*, an *imcret* near the tomb of Battal Gazi. Therefore he received the appreciation of Sufis from the Kadiri, Mevlevi and Bektaşî orders. Şeyh Nureddinzade(d.1574) of Halvetiye participated to the Sigetvar campaign by the sultan. Supposedly, he also established a “father and son” relation with Şeyh Üftade of the Bayramiye. He gave permission to the activities of different orders, provided them with *vaqfs*, established *tekkes*. Also some *şeyhs* received salaries from the state in his time. Some *şeyhs* were appointed to some ranks like *müneccimbaşı*, *hekimbaşı*, *müfti* and *hünkâr imamı* that were formerly monopolized by the *ulema*. The close relations of sultan and Yahya Efendi(d.1571) of Beşiktaş is well-known. Suleyman I used to visit him in his *tekke*. On the other hand, there were some Sufis who were inspected, condemned or persecuted like Pir Ali Aksarayi, Hüsameddin Ankaravi and Gazanfer Dede, and the poet Gülşeni¹³¹.

Towards the end of 1527, Molla Kabız, a member of the *ulema* came up with an argument that Christ was superior to Muhammed for which he was judged in the central court, *divan*. According to Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, he was one of the representatives of a movement, which paid allegiances both to the Islam and Christianity¹³². The court decided to have the opinions of other *ulema* like *şeyhülislam* Kemalpaşazade and the chief judge of Istanbul, Sadeddin. They decided the execution

¹³¹ Hammer, v.2, pp.501-502; Öngören, “Osmanlı Padişahları ve Tasavvuf”, pp. 487-492.

¹³² Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, İstanbul: 1999, pp.228-230

of Kaabız because of his “heretical” beliefs¹³³. This event can be considered as a representative of the government’s control over those Sufi movements which were perceived as “heretical”.

In the sixteenth century, institutional Sufism has already been rooted in Ottoman society as opposed to free dervish groups. Instead of the dervish groups who fought on the borders and expanded Ottoman political power in those regions with their activities, now it was the turn of the institutionalized Sufis who established themselves in state ranks next to the elite, in educational institutions or in any part of the empire dealing with expanding their order to all segments of society¹³⁴.

Akşemseddin (d.1459), Şeyh Muslihüddin Mustafa of Konya (d.1452), Cemalüddin Aksarayı, Sümbül Sinan, Merkez Muslihüddin, İbrahim Gülşeni, Ümmi Sinan, Şaban-ı Veli were all Sufi leaders who established different orders from the late fifteenth century until mid-sixteenth century¹³⁵.

The most widespread Sufi order of the sixteenth century was the Halvetiye with its branches the Sümbüliye, Gülşeniye, Sinaniye, Şemsiye and Ahmediye. The Halvetiye resembled the Bayramiye in terms of establishing itself in similar lines in Anatolia before the conquest of Istanbul. It was accepted as the most powerful continuation of Horasan Sufism.

With the political expansion of the empire in the eastern borders, some orders of Arabic origin like the Kadiriye, Rifaiye and Sadiye also entered the Ottoman Sufi world. The Kadiriye was brought to Anatolia by Eşrefoğlu Rumi in the fifteenth

¹³³ Hammer, v.3, pp.57-58; Akdağ, v.2, pp.47-48.

¹³⁴ Between the years of 1550 and 1560, there were 342 mosques, 1055 *masjids*, 110 *madradas*, 626 *zaviyes* and *hankahs*, 1 *kalenderhane* (the convent of Kalenderis), and 1 *mevlevihane* in the Anatolian province. Their expenditures were met from the revenues of *vaqfs* and 121 *mudarris*, 3756 *hatib* and *muezzin*, 3229 *şeyh* and *mutevellis* were paid from these sources. (Gündüz, p.63; Hans Georg Mayer, “İçtimai Tarih Açısından Osmanlı Devletinde Ulema Meşayih Münasebetleri”, in *Kubbealtı Akademi Mecmuası*, (trans.by Hüseyin Zamantılı), 4 (October 1980), p.54.

¹³⁵ Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı Tarihi, v.3, pp.343-345.

century and became popular in Bursa and İznik region. The Rifaiye was present in Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, it became more influential especially towards the seventeenth century with the efforts of Şeyh Mehmed Hadidi. The Sadiye is an order of the eighteenth century in Istanbul by Ebu'l-Vefa Şami and Abdüsselam Şeybani. The entry of these orders representing Arabic cultural sphere in Istanbul is related to the Ottoman policies of provincial administration. The dervishes who were travelling all parts of the empire facilitated the interactions of different cultures within the empire¹³⁶.

On the other side of the picture, the dervish groups of Melamiye survived without the existence of any institutional umbrella. They advocated the principle of “unity of existence” with their *şeyhs* like Bünyamin of Ayaş (d.1520), Pir Ali Aksarayi (d.1538), Şeyh İsmail (d.1529) and Hamza (d.1572) who were executed with the decisions of *şeyhülislams* on grounds of being “anti-sharia” figures. In other words, there were severe problems between Melamis of this period and the central authority¹³⁷.

The sultans of this period were careful enough to represent themselves as the “leader of all Muslims”. Therefore without neglecting their basic principles in politics, they supported some orders as we mentioned before in terms of paying visits to some *tekkes*, establishing good relations with Sufi *şeyhs*, granting them some rights, constructing or repairing *tekkes*. There are many examples. Murad II, was girded the sword by Emir Şemseddin Buhari (Emir Sultan) before he besieged Constantinople in 1422. Mehmed III invited Şeyh Şemseddin Ahmed of Sivas to Istanbul before Eğri

¹³⁶ Işın, p.456.

¹³⁷ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.3, pp.347-348, for the interrogations and executions of dervish groups in the Ottoman Empire, see Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*.

campaign in 1596. After the victory, the sultan ordered the construction of a *tekke* for the followers of Şemseddin in Istanbul¹³⁸.

There is a specific instance that Murad III and Şeyh Mehmed Dağı (1537-1611) established a “father and son” relation in the 1590s. Dağı was a Halveti *şeyh* from Gelibolu who became very popular. One of the *mirahors* (stable master of the palace) visited Gelibolu and hearing the fame of Şeyh, informed the sultan. Murad III wanted to send him 24,000 *akçes* as a favor. However, since Dağı refused to accept the money it was distributed among the dervishes of Gelibolu. Apparently the contact was maintained after the event. In 1594, Mehmed Dağı arrived at Istanbul and they renewed their contact of “father and son”¹³⁹. During the reigns of Mehmed III (1595-1603) and Ahmed I (1603-1617) he was invited to Istanbul several times and hosted very kindly. They constructed a *masjid* and a *madrassa* in Gelibolu, granted the income of a village to his followers through a *vaqf*. Murad III also helped Şeyh Şüca of the Halvetis and Şeyh Hüsamüddin Uşşaki, the founder of the Uşşakiye to settle and establish their *tekkes* in Istanbul¹⁴⁰.

In the seventeenth century, Abdülmecid Şeyhi of the Şemsiye-Halvetiye, Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi of the Celvetiye-Bayramiye, Şeyh Ramazan Mahfi of the Ramazaniye-Halvetiye, Rüsuhi İsmail Dede of the Mevleviye, Hüseyin Lamekani of the Bayramiye-Melamiye, Sarı Abdullah Efendi (a state scribe from higher ranks) of

¹³⁸ Ibid; Osman Türer, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Padişah-Tarikat Şeyhi Münasebetine Dair Tarihi Bir Örnek”, in *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 25(Şubat 1984), pp.181-194; Mayer, p.54.

¹³⁹ “... çünkü azize ruk’a-i sultaniyye vasıl olur, tahmid ve tasliye ve duadan sonra nu mazmun-ı şerifi inha buyurur ki, sabıka vaki olan atalık ve oğulluk rabıtası ki, pay-i besti bezm-i eleste bağlanmış bir vasıttadır, alem-i surette ila yevmi’l-miad tekidi mukarrer ve ba’de’l-miad ila ebedi’l-abad temdihi emr-i mukarrerdir...”, from Mustafa Ali, *Risale-i Menakıb-ı Mevlana Şeyh Mehmed eş-şahir bi’-d-Dağı*, 1594.

¹⁴⁰ Reşat Öngören, “Osmanlılar’da Devlet Ricalı-Meşayih Münasebetlerinin Boyutlarını Gösteren Yeni Bir Kaynak: Ali’nin Şeyh Mehmed Dağı ile Alakalı Menakıbı”, in *İslam Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1(1997), pp.107-113; Mayer, p.55

the Halvetiye, Ahmed Sarban of the Hamzavi-Melamiye were the leading figures in the Sufi orders who also produced literary and religious works and made their orders very powerful and widespread. However, because there were innumerable Sufi orders and *şeyhs* in society, it has become very difficult to control them. Some of them were accused of behaving against *sharia* and were inspected, even punished severely¹⁴¹.

The relations between *ulema* and Sufis were playing a central role in their attachment to the state. Actually in the earlier periods the borders between the two groups were loose and there were many connections. Some members of *ulema* were also members of an order, some madrasa teachers left teaching and followed the Sufi path, some strove to combine teachings of *sharia* and Sufism. On the other hand, there were *şeyhs* taught by a *mudarris*. Sometimes *ulema* became intermediary to solve the problems of *şeyhs* like Şeyhülislam Behayi Mehmed Efendi who decided in favor of a *şeyh* in a disagreement. Some *şeyhülislams* like Şeyhülislam Ebu Meyamin (d.1604), Parmakçızade Seyyid Ali(d.1710) wanted to keep their memberships in the Sufi orders confidential. *Ulema* families produced *şeyhs* and *şeyhs* married to the members of *ulema* families In short, both parts fulfilled different necessities in the state system¹⁴².

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century between the years 1630 and 1656, the balanced relation of Sufis and *ulema* was challenged by a group of “orthodox” *ulema* under the leadership of Kadızadeli¹⁴³ and their supporters with “puritanist” claims. At the beginning, it started in the form of “scholarly” discussions

¹⁴¹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.3, p. 350-354; Mayer, p. 48-68.

¹⁴² Mayer, pp.56-60.

¹⁴³ Kadızalis are also called as “fakı” (learned in the canonical jurisprudence of Islam, a jurist). The first important figure of this group is Birgivi Mehmed Efendi of Balıkesir(d.1573). His most famous book was called “Tarikat-ı Muhammediyye”(The Ways/Orders of Muhammed). Kadızade Mehmed Efendi(d.1631) followed Birgivi’s ideas and became very popular among the people and elite when was a preacher in Ayasofya mosque. In the next generation, Üstüvani Mehmed Efendi from Damascus continued preaching in Istanbul against Sufis. Some state servants attended his lessons and lead his ideas in the palace. For details of their beliefs, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.3, p. 354-366.

through books between the two groups. In time, with the patronage of Kadızadelis by some elites from the palace, it took the shape of revolutionary and active theoretical campaigns, which divided the public into two. Katib Çelebi compared their struggle to the “Beşuş War”, a war among Arabic tribes that continued for forty years for simple reasons.

They demanded the banning of the *sema* and *devran* rituals of the Mevlevi and Bektaşî orders for which Sufis suffered for many years. They also attacked a Halveti *tekke* under the patronage of the Grand Vizier, Melek Ahmed Paşa. They wanted to attack other *tekkes* but thanks to the interference of some members of the orders from the state ranks like leading Janissary chiefs, the Sufis were able to contain their attempts.

On the other hand, the “scholarly” arguments of Kadızadelis found an echo among the Sufis like the famous *şeyh* of the time, Abdülahad Nuri Efendi. At the end, the problem was solved in the time of Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa. Consulting some other *ulema* and informing the sultan about the question, though the sultan decided the execution of the constant troublemakers like Üstüvani Mehmed Efendi, Türk Ahmed and Divane Mustafa, he confined himself to exiling them to Cyprus in 1656. This question sheds light on the status of Sufism in the Ottoman society in the seventeenth century¹⁴⁴.

A document from the late eighteenth century gives us an idea on the number of *tekkes* in Istanbul and their distribution according to districts¹⁴⁵. This register was prepared for Abdülhamid I for finding out the number of the Sufi convents in Istanbul which would be used while distributing *attiyye*, a kind of bounty from the sultan to

¹⁴⁴ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v.3, p. 364; Işın, p.457; Mustafa Kara, “Tekke-Medrese Münasebetleri Üzerine”, in *Hareket*, v.10(1976), 113, pp.152-161.

dervishes for “receiving their best prayers”, on the first day of the new year in Islamic calendar as the continuation of the “tradition”. The sultan granted ten *guruş* for each *tekke*.¹⁴⁶

The main districts were Ayasofya, Aksaray, Fatih and Edirnekapısı, Haseki Sultan, Kocamustafa Paşa, Şehremini, “Sur Harici”, Üsküdar and the shores on the Anatolian side of Istanbul, Kasımpaşa, Galata, Tophane and the shores on the Rumelian side of the Bosphorus. Orders like the Nakşibendiye, Kadiriye, Halvetiye, Uşşakiye and Rufaiye were mentioned in this register. Yet it should be noted that they referred to these *tekkes* with the names of leading *şeyhs* or with the most striking character rather than emphasizing their connections to the Sufi orders. “Ayasofya-yı Kebirde Sinan Erdebili Tekkesi”, “Aksaray kolluğu zahrında Mehmed Paşa zaviyesi”, “Karagümrük kurbinde Nureddin Efendi hankahı”, “Üsküdar’da Hüdayi Aziz Mahmud Efendi hankahı”, “Tatavlada Bedeviler Tekkesi” are some examples for this classification. Four Mevlevi lodges of the era were also counted in this register except Üsküdar which was not established at the time. From this record, we can conclude that among 203 *tekkes*, the number of the *mevlevihanes* were only four and it raises the question why the Mevlevis opened so few lodges with respect to other orders. Yet the answer is not so easy. This might have derived from an intention of the Mevlevis to establish a more centralized Mevlevi network.

¹⁴⁵ Atilla Çetin, “İstanbul’daki Tekke, Zaviye ve Hankahlar Hakkında 1199(1784) Tarihli Önemli Bir Vesika”, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 13 (1981), pp.583-590.[This is a study on a register from Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive called “Atiyye-i Seniye Müfredat Defteri” dating back to the reign of Abdülhamid I]

¹⁴⁶ “Beher Sal-i meyamin iştimalin gur-re-i muharreminde Taraf-ı Hümayunu inayet-makrun-u mülükaneve fukara-yı tarikatden isticlab-ı daavat-ı hayriye zımnında atiyye ihsanı kaide-i kadime-i müstahseneden olmağla Asitane-i aliye ve civar-ı saltanat-ı seniyyeden ola mecmu tekaya ve zevayanın, ale’l-esami defter-i müfredatdır ki zikr olunur. Fi gur-re-i muharrem Sene 99.” (1 Muharrem 1199/13 November 1784) Çetin, p.584

To sum up, this chapter illustrated a survey of the relations between various Sufi orders and the government in the Ottoman Empire from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Secondly, I revealed the changing preferences of the central authority regarding different Sufi orders in different times. The Ottoman state manipulated the Sufi orders according to the needs and policies of different eras. It can also be concluded that some of these Sufi orders accomplished to establish themselves in the social and political network while others were represented as “heretic” or “heterodox” by the state whose interests clashed with those of the government especially from the sixteenth century onwards.



4. THE CELALIYE EVQAF

...*Vakıflar, ihsanlar, atiyeler ve imtiyazlar...
Evet, Mevlevilik, yüksek zümreye mal olunca
bunları elde etmişti...*¹⁴⁷

Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı

Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik

The *Celaliye Evqaf* were one of the indispensable components of the Mevlevi order since they created the necessary financial basis for the functioning of this order and thus they provided the Mevleviye with large revenues, which would result in accumulation of considerable wealth in the hands of the *çelebis* and the Mevlevi *şeyhs*. Therefore, in this chapter, I want to draw a picture of the financial basis of the Mevleviye and the functioning of the *Celaliye Evqaf* before going into detail with the expansion of the Mevlevi order in the Ottoman lands.

Since the Sufi convents in the Ottoman Empire were maintained through *vaqfs*, the question needs elaboration. In the Ottoman State, *vaqf* meant “prevent giving and taking possession of a thing so that the substance belongs to God, while its benefits pertain to mankind”¹⁴⁸. Therefore, revenue-bearing property is taken from the condition of private ownership and endowed for some beneficent aim in perpetuity;

¹⁴⁷ Gölpınarlı, p.260

¹⁴⁸ The word *vaqf* (pl. *Evqaf*) coming from Arabic, means in its literal sense “to stop”, “to prevent or restrain” or “cause a thing to stop” and “stand still”.

the revenue generated is spent for the purpose of maintaining any religious establishment¹⁴⁹.

According to Islamic tradition¹⁵⁰, land belonged to the sovereign in the name of God and he had the right of assigning lands to individuals as *mülk*. The practice of converting the *mülk* into *evqaf* was only possible through the grant of the sultan and he preserved the right of reclaiming those lands as the ultimate owner of the property unless they were transformed into *vaqf*. The government asserted its right to supervision and control of *evqaf*¹⁵¹.

Founders of *vaqfs* were sultans, commanders, state dignitaries as well as people from other segments of society and they endowed their property for different purposes. The founder is allowed to appoint someone as trustee (*mutevelli*) of his *vaqf*, during his lifetime and after his death. He may also appoint himself and retain the right to appoint someone else. The founder, the beneficiaries, the trustees and the endowed capital are the four components of *vaqf*¹⁵².

The state controlled Sufi orders through their financial basis, the *vaqfs*. For example, the government provided lands to the Sufi orders on the condition that they were used as centers for expanding Islam. The government also granted some rights like tax-exempt lands for specific orders. With the accession of a new sultan to the throne, the *vakfiyes* were subject to revision and then either confirmed by a patent known as *berat* or abolished¹⁵³.

¹⁴⁹ John Robert Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden: 1986, p.5; Murat Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World From the Seventh Century to the Present*, Istanbul: 2000, pp. 1-4.

¹⁵⁰ For the pre-Islamic roots of the *vaqf* institution see, Çizakça, pp.5-7; Barnes, p.6; Baki Kunter, *Türk Vakıfları ve Vakfiyeler*, İstanbul:1939; pp.6-19

¹⁵¹ Çizakça, p.15; Barnes, p.42

¹⁵² *ibid.*; Richard Van Leeuwen, *Waqfs and Urban Structures: The Case of Ottoman Damascus*, Brill: 1999, pp.42-43

¹⁵³ Barnes, p.41

The administration of a *vaqf* related to a Sufi order was held first and foremost by the *şeyh* of the convent who could be the *vākıf* (founder) himself and act as *mütevelli* (trustee). There were some other officers who worked in religious and administrative services like *imam*, *hatib*, *duaguy*, or tax-collector; and those who were responsible for the daily works of the convents like servants, tomb-keepers etc. The number and duties of the necessary officers were determined in the stipulations of the *vaqf* and each of them was paid a specific amount of salary daily, weekly or monthly¹⁵⁴.

There were different kinds of *evqaf* in the Ottoman Empire¹⁵⁵. *Evqaf-ı müstesna*, those *vaqfs* which were administered by their own *mütevellis*(trustees) without interference of the government are the most important type for my interest in this thesis. They were *vaqfs* either established in the name of founders of Sufi orders like Mevlana Celaleddin, Hacı Bektaş, Abdülkadir Geylani, Hacı Bayram Veli and they were called *eizze vaqfs* or those *ghazis* who led the first Ottoman conquests like Evranos Bey, Ali Bey, Mihail Bey ve Süleyman Bey. In terms of their autonomy, this group represented rather an exceptional case¹⁵⁶.

The *Celaliye Evqaf* stood in one of the most distinguished part of *eizze vaqfs*. Mevlevi order was provided with endowments in the name of Celaleddin Rumi and this specific type of *evqaf* was called as the *Celaliye Evkafı* in the archival documents.

The roots of *Celaliye Evqaf* dated back to the construction of a tomb for Celaleddin Rumi and establishment of a Mevlevi lodge in the name of the *Pir* in the thirteenth century. The elite of that era as well as many other people endowed their property for the maintenance, restoration and expansion of the Mevlevi convent in

¹⁵⁴ Ahmed Akgündüz, *İslam Hukukunda ve Osmanlı Tatbikatında Vakaf Müessesesi*, İstanbul:1996, pp. 298-341; Barnes, p.42; Demirel, pp.131-134

¹⁵⁵ See Akgündüz for details on different of types *vaqfs*.

¹⁵⁶ Akgündüz, p.557; Barnes, pp.84-87

Konya. In the following generations, *vaqfs* of the Mevlevi order became more and more powerful with additional endowments¹⁵⁷.

In Ottoman history, sultans and the elite especially after Selim I granted large revenues, constructed pious foundations for the followers of Celaleddin Rumi and always made an emphasis to the centrality of Rumi in their decisions. In the documents, Rumi is referred as the “pole of several poles, the center of the enlightenment and the guide of the right way”, “the pole of those who are skilled in mystical matters”, “pride of those who joined with God in spirit”.

An example of sultans’ endowments can be that of Selim II in the second half of the sixteenth century. He constructed a large *imarethane*, a soup kitchen in the vicinity of the central Mevlevi lodge in Konya and endowed it to the service of Mevlevis. In the *vaqf* register, the stipulations of this endowment is clearly defined:

“In the vicinity of the tomb of Mevlana Celaleddin who is the pivot of the circle of guides of the right path and enlightenment, the pole of several poles in Konya, he (Selim II) constructed a soup-kitchen, whose beauty is far from to be described by, pen for feeding the good Muslim travelling poor and to have them as guests. It is well planned. It has such a kitchen that various types of food are prepared there, it is a source of benefaction. Its storeroom is fully equipped with various kinds of utensils and foodstuff. In the stores, there are all necessary items and grains. It also has a stable and other necessary rooms. It contains a *tabhane*, guest rooms, for the comfort of the guests and toilets. The mentioned founder endowed this soup-kitchen for the service of the poor, travelers, every kind of guests who came there and sought refuge there whatever their origins are or wherever they come from.”¹⁵⁸

After this introduction, the register counts the property that was endowed for the expenditures of this soup kitchen, which comprised of thirty-one villages, eight small villages, and two other places. Then stipulations of the endowment like the titles

¹⁵⁷ Gölpinarlı, pp.24-25

¹⁵⁸ İbrahim Ateş, “Hz. Mevlana Dergahı ile İlgili Vakıf ve Vakfiyeler”, p.32

of the officers in charge, their salaries, and the kind of meals to be cooked in the kitchen, and type of foodstuff as well as the ascribed amount of foodstuff to be purchased is clearly described¹⁵⁹. This endowment is a good example of “privileged consumption” in Konya. It functioned like the great sultan *imarets* in Istanbul, which reflected a high standard of living¹⁶⁰. It can also be stated that this soup kitchen served not only to the “poor” Mevlevi dervishes but it also served to the other population in Konya and thus became a place of contact between the Mevlevis and the people of Konya.

The control and administration of the *Celaliye Evqaf* was held by the *çelebi* in Konya independent from the central authority, since the *Celaliye Evqaf* was from the type of *müstesna evqaf*. The *mutevelli*, usually the *çelebi* himself or somebody he appointed, was responsible for collecting the taxes that the endowed villages provided; he dealt with the transmission of the administrative offices and managed the *Celaliye Evqaf* independently¹⁶¹.

The *Celaliye Evqaf* were the richest endowment in Karaman province with their staff and revenue. The tomb of Mevlana, the fountain and the mosque were supported individually by different *vaqfs* granted by Ottomans. The main source of income for the *vaqfs* were taxes, *öşr* (the tithe) in particular, and other traditional taxes like *çift*, *bennak*, *ganem*, *tapu* coming from first Konya and villages around the city. The service obligation of Türbe-i Celaliye district in Konya has already been mentioned in the previous chapters. There were *mukataa* incomes, *salyanes*, which

¹⁵⁹ Ateş, pp.33-34

¹⁶⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen in Anatolia*, Cambridge University Press: 1984, p.210.

¹⁶¹ Ateş, p. 40-43

were granted in the reign of Selim I and sent to Konya directly from the capital regularly in the time of following sultans, other grants called *nezz* (gift)¹⁶².

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the status of the *Celaliye Evqaf* attracted the interests of various power groups. For example, the Darüssaade Ağası wanted to take over the control of the *evqaf* for himself but remained unsuccessful because the administrators of it were as powerful as Ağa in this period. According to Erdoğan, the Mevlevi lodge received 470.821 *akças* in the financial year of 1597/98, which was the richest era of the order¹⁶³.

According to Faroqhi, in the seventeenth century, the relations between the *çelebi* and the taxpayers in Konya were “anything but cordial”. With the collapse of the rural settlement in Anatolia, the revenues of the Mevlevi order decreased so that the Mevlevis could not afford even to maintain one of the main symbols of their order, the famous Mevlevi orchestra, which was an indispensable part of the *mukabele*. Under these conditions, the *çelebis* increased their pressure upon the taxpayers¹⁶⁴. Though there was a sharp decrease in the revenues of the order, they were far from being “poor”. Gölpınarlı says that *çelebis* went on controlling of large amounts of revenue, which had been a problematic issue for Mevlevis. *Çelebis* of different generations like Ferruh Çelebi (d.1591), Halim Çelebi (d.1679), Bostan Çelebi (d.1705), Sadreddin Çelebi (d.1711) were some of key actors who dealt with questions regarding *evqaf* with the government, the local governors, the taxpayers as well as with their fellow members.

¹⁶² Akif Erdoğan, “Konya Mevlevi Dergahının Mali Kaynakları ve İdaresi Üzerine Düşünceler ve Belgeler”, in *Belgeler (TTK)*, v.12, 21(1996), pp. 43-45.

¹⁶³ Erdoğan, p. 48.

¹⁶⁴ Suraiya Faroqhi, “Cities and Change: 1590-1699”, in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, Cambridge University Press: 1994, p.583; for the effects of provisioning the Mevlevi order at the expense of the rural population see also, Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen in Anatolia*.

The Mevlevi *vaqfs* in other parts of the Ottoman Empire experienced similar problems as in the case of a *vaqf* in Yenikapı lodge in 1814. The *mutevelli* of the mentioned *vaqf* was a women called Şerife Rukayye, the daughter of Ziyaeddin, and since she left no offspring after her demise, a person called Hüseyin one of the scribes of the *Divan* came up with the claim that the transmission of the *vaqf* was conditioned to the emancipated slave offspring of the *vāqf* and he declared that he was coming from that line. At the end, the *mutevelli* position was transferred to a *şeyh* since the *vaqfiye* did not refer to anything that Hüseyin asserted¹⁶⁵.

The Mevlevi order controlling the *Celaliye Evqaf* was still powerful in the nineteenth century with the accumulation of innumerable grants of various generations and they played a central role in determining the relations of the central government with Mevlevi order as well as in the internal transformation of the Mevleviye itself. The *Celaliye Evqaf* managed to remain as an independent institution and the supervision of the Mevlevi *evqaf* by Darüssaade Ağası was not perceived as interference but represented as a symbolic protection of the government.

The *Celaliye Evqaf* had a privileged status with the tax-exemptions since 1091/1680 and this was renewed several times until the reign of Selim III when this right granted for the last time in 1204/1790. Christoph Neumann points out that it was not possible to continue this procedure under hard financial conditions of the late eighteenth century due to wars, rebels and most importantly because of Nizam-ı Cedid project¹⁶⁶.

According to the judicial registers of Konya in 1211/1796, when the taxes of that year were divided, the people of the *vaqf* were expected to pay 1500 *guruş* to the government for “helping the province” which was approved by Mehmed Çelebi.

¹⁶⁵ Gölpınarlı, pp.262-263

However the approval of the Çelebi did not necessarily mean that he was happy with the decision of the government because the government desired to have its share from the revenues of the Mevleviye. Yet the Çelebi sought for his own solution to maintain the budget of the order with his own means. At the end, the problem remained unsettled with the departure of Çelebi for migrating to Karahisar-ı Sahib, which was reflected as a “travel” in the sources¹⁶⁷.

The real situation was far from being simple than described above. In order to understand the conflict between three actors of the problem, the government, people of Konya and the Çelebi, one should look at the context, which lead to the culmination of the problem in 1797. According to the imperial decrees, people of Konya had difficulties to pay the amount of tax they were bound to. Though the Mevlevi *evqaf* was exempt from *avarız-ı divaniye* and *tekalif-i örfiye*, the government ordered the Mevlevi order to pay one-sixth of the total amount of taxes that Konya had to pay. People would pay the remaining part of the taxes. However, this division did not include the Mevleviye in the case of *menzil* expenditures. Therefore people rose with the claims that the order had no contribution in the tax payments. People also complained about those who moved to the Türbe-i Celaliye district of Konya and settled there in order to become part of the privileged class. At the end, the taxes turned into a burden over the people who lived in other quarters. They demanded 3000 *guruş* from the Çelebi to give to the government but Mehmed Çelebi chose to leave the city instead of meeting their demands¹⁶⁸.

At the end, the government decided to have the contribution of the *Celaliye Evqaf* on *menzil* expenditures but determined an upper limit to their payments, which

¹⁶⁶ Christoph Neumann, , p.175

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*(from KŞS 67, p. 166, 167, 169)

¹⁶⁸ Nuemann, p.176

would not pass ten *kise*. In addition, a second decree defined the regular taxpayers of Konya with the exemption of ninety-seven members of Mevlana family and six hundred and sixty-five people who are bound to the *Celaliye Evqaf*¹⁶⁹.

In short, the *vaqf* system was utilized by the elite as a “public policy instrument” by founding great *vaqfs* until the nineteenth century and it meant unrestrained expansion and autonomy for the religious foundations. The *Celaliye Evqaf* enabled the Mevlevis to establish their order over a strong and powerful financial basis. With the accumulation of several individual endowments granted by people from different classes in the Ottoman State, the Mevlevi order controlled large, rich and powerful revenues and even occupied a distinctive place in terms of its revenues with respect to other Sufi orders.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.* (From KŞS 67, p.167, 169)

5. THE OTTOMANS AND THE MEVLEVIYE

In this chapter of my thesis, I concentrate on the developing relations between the Mevlevi order and the central government government between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. I present three different manifestations of the Mevleviye with respect to their relations with the government as well as in terms of their own internal development. The perspectives of the Konya *asitane*, the Istanbul Mevlevi lodges and three other Mevlevi lodges (the lodges in Afyon, Salonica, Aleppo) gives us a chance to reveal changing attitudes of the Mevlevis in different parts of the Ottoman Empire in time and space.

A sixteenth century author, Vahidi, describes Mevlevis as “beards grown and moustaches trimmed in accordance with the Law and traditions. Eyes kohled, wearing goreless, one-piece caps, over the length of which appear green lines in the shape of the letter “elif”, the lappets of the turbans wrapped over the caps reaching down to the waist, dressed in tunics and black robes with scarf around the neck, carrying banners and playing on tambourines, drums and reed-flutes, chanting hymns and prayers and engaged in *sema*”¹⁷⁰.

When Vahidi described a group of Mevlevis in their “classical” garments, the establishment of the order with its institutions was already accomplished with the efforts of early Mevlevis. Yet Mevleviye was little known by the early Ottomans with respect to other Sufi groups. Mevlevis were considered as a reliable group to be

¹⁷⁰ Ahmet T. Karamustafa(editor), *Vahidi's Menakib-ı Hvoca-i Cihan ve Netice-i Can*, Harvard University Press: 1993, p.11: In the Menakib of Vahidi, the main actor Hvoca-i Cihan, a renowned saint of Khorasan and his son Netice-i Can establish a *hankah* in the vicinity of Medina and talk to many different groups of dervishes by which Hvoca-i Cihan evaluates their approaches; Gölpınarlı, pp.207-208

supported only after the Shiite doctrines penetrated Ottoman territories when Mevlevi *şeyhs* like Divane Mehmed Çelebi, Yusuf Sineçak and Şahidi expanded the order to all parts of Anatolia and all segments of society with their populist but relatively “orthodox” approaches¹⁷¹. The accounts of Sakıb Dede¹⁷² are misleading for this period because it is full of historical fallacies.. Yet we have relatively more references to Konya *çelebis* since it is the center where Mevlana’s heritage was preserved and diffused to other parts of the empire. Therefore we start with the role played by the *çelebis*.

THE KONYA ÇELEBIS IN OTTOMAN HISTORY

Çelebis who presided over the Konya *asitane* as spiritual heirs of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi after his death strove for the expansion of their teachings in Anatolia. The early mevlevihanes were established in the regions close to Konya like Kırşehir, Amasya, Bayburt, Denizli, Kütahya, Afyon, Sivas, Karaman, Tokat, Erzincan, Burdur where the culture of Seljukid state was still alive and further oriented towards Lazkiye, Aleppo, Egypt.

Mevlevihanes in Ottoman borders in the north-western parts of Anatolia would be an introduction of the fifteenth and sixteenth century like those which were created in the name of Cemaleddin Çelebi(d.1509) in Edirne and in Bursa in the name of Cünuni Dede during the reign of Murad II¹⁷³. Yusuf Sineçak was appointed to the post

¹⁷¹Gölpınarlı, pp.269-270; Nejat Göyünç, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Mevleviler”, in *Belleten*, LV/213(1991), p.352.

¹⁷² Sakıb Dede (d.1735) who was the *şeyh* of the Kütahya Mevlevi lodge wrote a book called *Sefine-i Nefise-i Mevleviyan*. The book deals with the history of the Mevlevis, gives list of *çelebis* and famous Mevlevi *şeyhs*.

¹⁷³ According to Duru, Cemaleddin Çelebi was considered to be the *şeyh* of Murad II. He quotes a poem by Sakıb Dede where the activities of Çelebi’s contribution was praised: “Cemaleddin edüp bu şeş cihati ruşen-i vahdet/Sima’ı ba sefa verdi letafet Çar erkane/Aceb mi olsa alem cilvegah-ı sır-ri Mevlana/Ki oldu enfüs-afak yekser Mevlevihane”(Duru, p.111)

of *şeyh* in Edirne. Because of the interference of the governor of Edirne on the *vaqf* revenues of the lodge, Sineçak turned back to Istanbul¹⁷⁴.

Mehmed II respected Çelebi Cemaleddin very much after his good news about his son Bayezid's birth. Bayezid II was also an admirer of Mevlana and he renewed the clothes on Mevlana's tomb with valuable ones, repaired the necessary parts of the complex by granting some *vaqf* revenues. The interior decoration of the "Green Dome" in Konya was undertaken during his time. In short, with his new policies on the control of religious orders, the Mevleviye acquired large revenues from the *vaqfs*. A total amount of 58555 *akçes* were spent for the "Green Dome" and for the mosque of the lodge¹⁷⁵.

During the time of Hüsrev Çelebi (d.1561), Selim I ordered the Mevlevi lodge in Konya to be closed. However when he visited Konya and the tomb of Mevlana during his campaign to Iran in 1516, he granted large amounts of *vaqf* revenues, brought water to Konya lodge and constructed a fountain there with the requests of his viziers in 1517¹⁷⁶.

Süleyman I ordered the construction of a *semahane*, a mosque (Sultan Selim Camii), renewed the tombs of Mevlana and his son with marble in addition to sending the *şeyh* a "came", a kind of garment and 1000 *akçes* during the Baghdad campaign though he took back the control of Altunpa madrasa from the Mevlevi. In his reign, the revenues of the order reached to 96766 *akçes* which was coming from ten fields, three villages, three mills, two markets, five gardens, a group of six shops, taxes coming from Türbe-i Celaliye quarter¹⁷⁷. Murad III enlarged the Mevlevi complex by

¹⁷⁴ Gölpınarlı, p.124

¹⁷⁵ İbrahim Ateş, "Hz.Mevlana Dergahı ile İlgili Vakıf ve Vakfiyeler", *IX. Mevlana Haftası Kitabı*, Ankara:1992, p.31; Faroqi, p.201,210

¹⁷⁶ Duru, p.112; Ateş, p.31

¹⁷⁷ Göyünç, p.354; Gölpınarlı, p.154; Konyalı, pp.532-534; Ateş, p.32; Faroqi, p.202, 210

constructing dervish cells and revenues of the Mevleviye in Konya was still increasing¹⁷⁸.

When Ferruh Çelebi (d.1591) replaced Hüsrev Çelebi, the *vaqf* revenues of the order has already increased to such a degree that the Konya *asitane* was very rich compared to the former periods¹⁷⁹. The early conflicts between *çelebis* and other descendants of Mevlana took place in the time of Ferruh Çelebi due to the control of *vaqf* revenues. Because of conflicts, Ferruh Çelebi had to wait for eighteen years to turn back again after his dismissal with the interference of the government. After this event many dervishes left Konya. On the other hand, the control of the Altunpa madrasa was granted to the Mevlevi once more during the time of Ferruh Çelebi and the *çelebi* took his place between the local governor and the chief judge in terms of protocols¹⁸⁰.

Bostan Çelebi (d.1630), the follower of Ferruh Çelebi had good connections with the palace. He visited Istanbul to solve some problems about *vaqf* and he returned Konya with good news. Ahmed I (d.1617) was a follower of Mevlana¹⁸¹ and liked *çelebi*. A vizier granted one thousand dinars to buy coats for the dervishes in his visit to the lodge in this period. Dervishes did not hesitate much to get the sum that caused a break up between them and the *çelebi*. After some time, *çelebi* forgave the dervishes and the money was used for their expenses. During his time new mevlevihanes were

¹⁷⁸ There was an inscription over the gate of Konya lodge which was hung after the construction in 992/1584: “Şehi Sultan Murad Han bin Selim Han/Yapup bu hankaahı urdı bünyad/Olalar Mevleviler bunda sakin/Okuya her seher vird ola irşad/Görüp dil bu binayı dedi tarih/Büyut-ı cennet asa oldı abad” (Gölpınarlı, p.156); Duru, p.112; Konyalı, p.534; Faroqhi, “XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Orta Anadolu’da Şeyh Aileleri”, pp.210-211

¹⁷⁹ Gölpınarlı, pp. 153-155.

¹⁸⁰ Gölpınarlı, pp.155-156; Duru, p.116

¹⁸¹ Ahmed I wrote a *gazel*, a kind of lyric poem, in the memory of Mevlana as an example of his interest in Mevleviye: “Mesnevisin işidüp Hazret-i Mevlana’nın /Guşvar oldu kulağımnda kelamı anın/Def-ü ney nale kılup Mevleviler etti seam/Eyledikyine safasını bu gün devranın/Emr- Mevla ile bir himmet ede Mevlana/Gele ayağına kim kelleleri a’danın/Cedd-i al’lalarına himmet edegelmiştir/Ben de umsam ne aceb himmetin ol sultanın/Baahitiya bendesi ol dergeh-i Mevlana’nın/Taht-i ma’nide odur padşehi dünyanın”.

established in Damascus, Gelibolu and Yenikapı, Kasımpaşa and Beşiktaş (Istanbul). Another important development was the return of a group of dervishes from Karahisar who left Konya during the conflict with Ferruh Çelebi. According to Sakıp Dede, the number of Mevlevis reached to eighty thousand in the seventieth century with the efforts of the *çelebis*¹⁸².

After Bostan Çelebi, Ebubekir Çelebi(d.1642) was elected as the new *şeyh* to serve in the Konya *asitane* and witnessed many troubles related to Murad IV. In 1630, Konya suffered from the oppression of the local governor, Magrav Bey. A person called Seyyid İbrahim Akkaşemiroğlu and people of the city resisted the governor and imprisoned him in the castle. Another group of people went to complain to the Grand Vizier. At the end the problem was solved in favor of Konya with the execution of Magrav Bey. What was the position of Çelebi in this event? As one of the most important notables of the city, Çelebi remained neutral which meant a betrayal for Konya people. Just in the middle of these events Murad IV visited Konya during his campaign to Revan. According to accounts, the Çelebi presented the sultan a few horses and other leading people valuable gifts. In return, Murad gave him fur coats and gold in addition to new grants of revenues like 150,000 akçes for food consumption of Mevlevis in Konya coming from the taxes paid by Christian population of Bozkır-Soğla region¹⁸³.

However this nice atmosphere soon left its place to troubles by the behavior of the sultan who was considered to insult to the memory of Celaleddin Rumi by an order to open the mausoleum of Rumi. In addition the sultan, hearing the richness of Çelebi, ordered the execution of the Çelebi. Yet Ebubekir Çelebi had supporters in the capital

¹⁸² Gölpınarlı, pp.157-158; Duru, p.118.

¹⁸³ *ibid.*, Yusuf Oğuzoğlu, , "Mevlana Vakfının ve Zaviyesinin 17. Yüzyıldaki Durumu", in *Mevlana* (ed.by Feyzi Halıcı), Ankara: 1982, p.73; Faroqhi, "XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Orta Anadolu'da Şeyh Aileleri", p.211

like Şeyhülislam Yahya who saved his life and decreased his punishment to exile in Istanbul and confiscation of his property. When Ebubekir arrived at Istanbul he was hosted by the vizier Bayram Paşa and lived there until his death¹⁸⁴. It seems that the Mevlevis managed to be one of the power centers in the empire in the seventeenth century in many ways and the case of Ebubekir Çelebi can be seen as a symbol of their power in this period that established good networks within the system.

After Ebubekir Çelebi, Arif Çelebi (d.1052/1642) was elected as the new leader. Though he served for three months, it was an exceptional case that a *çelebi* coming from the female line of the Mevlana family (İnas) was elected for the position. Hüseyin Çelebi (d.1666) lived through the reigns of İbrahim and Mehmed IV. The problems of succession among *çelebis* got stronger during this period. Some dervishes favored a *şeyh* called Derviş Çelebi who became the *şeyh* of the Galata Mevlevi lodge later on. On the other hand, the most important problem of the period was the Abaza Hasan Paşa revolt. It was the first time that Mevlevis interfered in a political problem in the Ottoman Empire. Abaza reacted against execution of Osman II. Some of the Mevlevis supported Abaza and others favored the government. According to accounts, Hüseyin Çelebi went to see the Paşa and succeeded in keeping him out of Konya¹⁸⁵.

The new *çelebi* was Abdülhalim Çelebi (d.1679). Istanbul was shaking with some problems in the battlefields in addition to the internal problems caused by some people like Seyyid Muhammed from Musul and Sebetay Sevi from Izmir with claims of being the Messiah. The conflict between Sufis and Kadızadelis was also resumed in the 1670s. For the Mevlevis, the prohibition of *sema* ritual has been the worst aspect of this conflict. They called this prohibition “*yesağ-ı bed*”(the bad prohibition). Many leading Sufis of the period were exiled like Niyazi-yi Mısri(d.1694) of Halvetiye,

¹⁸⁴ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana'dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, pp. 158-164.

Karabaş Ali (d.1686) of Şabaniye, At pazari Osman Fazli (d.1690) of Celvetiye. We have no records of Mevlevi exiles but Sakıp Dede tells that after the prohibition, some Mevlevi s left their lodges with the intention of travel¹⁸⁶.

The prohibition was cancelled in 1684 and the Mevlevi s dated it with the term “nağme”(tune) in the time of Kara Bostan Çelebi(d.1711). Bostan Çelebi had to face complaints of many groups to the palace especially on matters of *vaqfs*. The chief judge in Konya tried to get a garden from their *vaqfs* but he failed. During the reign of Suleyman II, the Çelebi was invited to participate in a battle but since his companions were too many, they were sent back with an order of remaining in Konya and “praying for the victory”. Increasing complaints about the Çelebi led Ahmed I to exile him and the Çelebi received the order in a nice message: “Go to pilgrimage!”. After he left his duty to go to Mecca, the *vaqf* revenues were inspected by the state, some rights of the order was taken back and Bostan Çelebi was exiled to Cyprus. The Çelebi was forgiven after some time and continued his service in Konya until his death. In his last years, an earthquake in Konya destructed the “Green Dome”. Mustafa II ordered the repair of it by the state since it was a favorite of early sultans. The Grand Vizier Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa(d.1698), a Mevlevi, sent eighteen purses of gold for repairs and three purses of gold for the coats of dervishes to Konya¹⁸⁷.

The *vaqfs* of the Konya Mevlevi *asitane* had become very large which had been accumulated since late thirteenth century. In the records, there were 31 villages, 8 small villages and 2 other places of Mut, Konya Sahrası and Bayburt whose complete incomes were sent to the Konya Mevlevi lodge. This large grant was provided during

¹⁸⁵ Gölpınarlı, p. 165; 271.

¹⁸⁶ Gölpınarlı, 165-168; Duru, p.120

¹⁸⁷ Gölpınarlı, pp. 168-170; Duru, pp.121-122; Faroqhi, p.202

the reign of Selim II to meet the expenses of the imaret that was constructed in Konya and all details of *vaqf* conditions were determined in a *vaqf* register¹⁸⁸.

In the seventeenth century, the Mevlevi order controlled two kinds of revenues, in cash and in kind. In addition, there was another category of *vaqfs* whose revenue was granted in return for service like in the case of Türbe-i Celaliye quarter in Konya. It was the most populous quarter of Konya in the reign of Suleyman I. The dwellers of this quarter were exempt from extraordinary taxes for a long time on the condition that they serve in the mosque, fountain and the water channels. A village of Konya called "Tat" was responsible for providing fifty carriages of wood annually, some villages would send wheat, etc. In 1690, the villages included to Mevlana *vaqfs* had sent 2200 bushels of cereals and the dervishes appropriated the annual income of Suğla Mukataa, 150,000 *akçes* their food consumption¹⁸⁹.

A review of overall revenues of the Konya Mevlevi lodge in the seventeenth century gives us interesting figures. The Mevlevi received at least 442,820 *akçes* annually when a house in Konya worth 6500 *akçes*, a horse 2200 *akçes* and a loaf of bread 1 *akçe*¹⁹⁰. In short, the Konya Mevlevi lodge can be considered as a wealthy institution in the 1690s.

At the end of the seventeenth century, the order had convents all over the empire, all institutionalization efforts were fruitful and the Mevlevi proved to be a considerable power center yet conflicts on the transmission of the post increased, the number of candidates reached to thirty and forty because of the immense power *çelebis* through controlling *vaqfs*. In short, with several sources of income The Mevlevi managed to be an independent power center in Konya. In spite of increasing

¹⁸⁸ For details on Selim II's endowments see Ateş, pp.32-34.

¹⁸⁹ Yusuf Oğuzoğlu, pp.72-73,76; Akif Erdoğan, "Konya Mevlevi Dergahının Mali Kaynakları ve İdaresi Üzerine Düşünceler ve Belgeler", p.44; Faroqi, "XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Orta Anadolu'da Şeyh Aileleri", p.215, 221

revenues in Konya, which attracted most of the grants among the Mevlevi lodges, the internal affairs in Konya *asitane* were going on badly.

MEVLEVIHANES IN ISTANBUL

After the early period of expansion in central Anatolia, in the second period location of *mevlevihanes* were transferred from rural to urban centers and the number of lodges did not increase with respect to other orders and their lodges¹⁹¹.

The nucleus of the Mevlevi establishment in Istanbul dates back to the reign of Mehmed II. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the sultan ordered the conversion of Hristos Akataleptop church into a convent called *kalenderhane* where the Mevlevi dervishes would start their activities. In the *vaqf* register of the convent, the conditions were laid down as follows: “there must be a *şeyh* with a daily income of 10 *akças* and a *nazır* (superintendent) who would supervise the food service of the dwellers, a *hafız* to read Mesnevi during the *sema* ritual after Friday prayer, the ritual must end by reading *aşr* (ten verses from the Quran), and the performance of *sema* by four *mutriban* (instrument players) with other friends and forty *akças* should be spent for the meals of the dervishes daily, in addition to fifteen *akças* for hosting visitors.”¹⁹². The register clearly shows that the convent served the Mevlevi when it was created. Yet after some time we do not see this convent in the sources after the establishment of other five *mevlevihanes* in Istanbul.

There were also three other less known early Mevlevi lodges in Istanbul. The first one was established by a *şeyh* from Mevlana’s descendants but a follower of

¹⁹⁰ Oğuzoğlu, pp. 73-74.

¹⁹¹ For a critical evaluation on the number of mevlevi lodges in the Ottoman Empire, see Mehmet Önder, “Konya’da Mevlana Dergahı Merkez Arşivi ve Mevlevihaneler”, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV, İstanbul:1994, pp.137-142.

Nakşibendi order, Abid Çelebi (d.1497) in Otlukçuyokuşu in Fatih district. The background of its founder resulted in a duality in terms of the function of the convent. It served both the Mevlevis with its Darü'l-Mesnevi (the house of Mesnevi) and Nakşibendis with “hatm-i haccgan” (a kind of Nakşibendi prayer) performance. Therefore it is one of the rare examples where different orders met under a single institution. There is little information on the first Eyüp lodge (1622) and the second Eyüp lodge (1824, by Mehmed Dede) that failed to survive¹⁹³.

All Mevlevi lodges in the capital city of the empire were located out of the city walls like Galata, Beşiktaş, Yenikapı, Kasımpaşa and Üsküdar though they became part of urban life in time due to the growth of the city. They were all large complexes, which served different needs of their dwellers and visitors like education, worship, residence, and other social services. Except from the lodge in Üsküdar that was on the size of a *zaviye*, four of the *mevlevihanesh* were *asitanesh*¹⁹⁴.

The Galata Mevlevi lodge was the first large mevlevi lodge in Istanbul which was established in the hunting farm of İskender Paşa (d.1515/1516) which was formerly the monastery of St. Theodara , in Galata region during the reign of Bayezid II in 1491¹⁹⁵. It was also called “Kulekapısı mevlevihanesh”¹⁹⁶. In the *vaqf* register of

¹⁹² Küçük, p.65; Ekrem Işın, “İstanbul’un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihanesh”, in İstanbul, s. 4(1993), p. 120; Can Kerametli, *Galata Mevlevihanesh-Divân Edebiyatı Müzesi*, İstanbul: 1977, p.15; Gölpinarlı, p.336

¹⁹³ Işın, p.120; Gölpinarlı, p.338

¹⁹⁴ ibid; Muzaffer Erdoğan, “Mevlevi Kuruluşları Arasında İstanbul Mevlevihanesh”, in *Güneydoğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 4-5(1976), p.23. For the list of şeyhs in İstanbul mevlevihanesh, see, Zakir Şükrü Efendi, “İstanbul Tekkeleri Silsile-i Meşayih” (Mecmua-yı Tekaya), (ed.by Şinasi Akbatu), in *İslâm Medeniyet*, v.4,5,6, (August 1980, January 1981, June 1981), pp.51-121.

¹⁹⁵ Almost all sources on Galata mevlevihanesh shows Divane Mehmed as the first şeyh of the lodge. However basing himself on the *vaqf* register of the lodge İsmail Ünver claims that it should be corrected as Yunus Efendi. For a critical evaluation şeyhs reigned in Galata mevlevihane of İsmail Ünver, “Galata Mevlevihanesh Şeyhleri”, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV, İstanbul:1994, pp.195-219.

¹⁹⁶ “...Ve bu tekkenin tarih-i binası ‘er-rusuh’ 897(1491/1492) vaki olmuştur.. Ol eyyamda dergah-ı mezbur müşartınileeyh İskender Paşa himmetleriyle bina olunub, ibtida Sultan-i Divani Hazretleri şeyh olmuştardır.” Ayşe Gül Başaran, *Osmanlı Mimirisini İçin Bir Kaynak: Hadikatü'l-Cevami*, II vols. (Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, unpublished M.A. thesis), İstanbul: 2001, p.85; Baha Tanman, “Galata Mevlevihanesh”, in *TDVİA*, v.13(1996), p.317; Erdem Yücel, “Galata Mevlevihanesh”, in *TAD*, 1/2(1979), pp.65-66; There were gardens, hunting farms and a forest in Galata at the time. On

the lodge, the revenues of a small village called Karabürçek of Vize district in Edirne was granted to the Galata lodge and it turned into the most important source of income for the lodge¹⁹⁷. The founder, Divane Mehmed Dede was an interesting character that we mentioned before. The tendency of Mehmed Dede towards a Kalenderi spirit was reflected in the heritage of Galata lodge.

In the reign of Bayezid II, the Halvetiye was the most prominent Sufi order therefore the mevlevi lodge in Galata was controlled by Halvetis for some time in this period. It returned to serve Mevlevi in 1631 with Sırri Abdi Dede (d.1631) who established a new lodge in Kasımpaşa after his dismissal by Bostan Çelebi in the same year¹⁹⁸. Dismissal of Sırri Abdi Dede and designation of İsmail Dede also meant elimination of “heterodox” tendencies from the Galata lodge, which lay in its roots since the establishment and a search for addressing upper classes of Istanbul. The opening of other Mevlevi lodges in Beşiktaş, Kasımpaşa and Yenikapı challenged the superiority of the Galata lodge, which dominated the Mevlevi of the capital for almost one and a half century. Therefore the Mevlevi educated in the Galata lodge created powerful *şeyh* families in other lodges and a multi-centered power network in

the other hand, the region also hosted to Genovese merchants it For detailed information on Galata region see Semavi Eyice, “Galata”, in *DBİA*, v.3 pp. 348-349; Halil İnalçık, “Osmanlı Dönemi (Galata)”, in *DBİA*, v.3 pp.349-353; İlber Ortaylı, “Galata”, in *TDVİA*, v.13, pp.303-307 and Reşid Saffer Atabinen, “Galata Mevlevihanesi”, in *TÖK Belleteri*, 66, p.10.

¹⁹⁷ “... mahrusa-i Galata haricinde vaki Mevlevihanenin bina ve inşasına badi olan İskenderpaşa bin Veliyüddin Rumeli vilayeti dahilinde Edirne’ye mülhak Vize kazası kurasından Karabürçek karyesinde vaki, tevliyet-i Mevlevihane-i merkumede Şeyh olanlara ve galesi zaviye-i merkume fukarasına meşruta olan malûmü’l-hudud mezraaları mahfe-i şer-i kavm-i enverde zikrolunan vatge liecl-it tescili ve itmamı ve tekmil mütevellî-i nesb ve tayin eylediği Cami-il Mehasin Eş-Şeyh Yunus Efendi ibni Şeyh Zeynelabidin efendi mazharında ikrar- tam e takrir-i kelim edip silk-i mülkünde münselik olup zikrolunan hasbeten lillahi Raala ve taleben limerdatihi yevme yeste zillül merü tahte sadeketihi vakf ve habs-i sarîh-i meri ile vakf habsedip şöyle şart ve tayin eyledim ki...zikrolunan mezraalardan her ne hasıl olur ise Mevlevihane-i merkum-el zaviyelerine meşruta ola deyu şart ve tayin ve mezbur Eş-Şeyh Yunus Efendi’e teslim eylediğimde sair vakıf mütevellîleri gibi mutasarrıf oldu...”, Kerametli p.19; Işın, p.121; Küçük, *XIX. Yüzyılda Mevlevilik ve Mevleviler*, p.71; Yücel, p.66

¹⁹⁸ Başaran, p.86; Kerametli, p.21; Erdoğan, p.26; Tanman, pp.317-318; Yücel, p.67; Gölpinarlı, p.337; For a comparison of *şeyh* families in Istanbul with those in Anatolia see Faroqhi, “XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllarda Orta Anadolu’da Şeyh Aileleri”, pp.197-226.

Istanbul¹⁹⁹. In these years the income of the Galata Mevlevi lodge reached 18,730 *akçes* which can be an explanation of the source of power of the lodge.²⁰⁰

In the seventeenth century, we see conflicts concerning the control of the lodges and different power groups within the Mevleviye, supporting their parties. A typical example of this struggle can be observed in Derviş Çelebi's case. In 1664, Derviş Çelebi who was an open representative of opponents of Hüseyin Çelebi in the Konya *asitane* came to rule the Galata lodge. He was encouraged to obtain the post in Konya but Derviş Çelebi and his supporters failed and he was dismissed after a while²⁰¹.

In the time of Pendari Naci Ahmed Dede (d.1710), the application of a new model of appointment started. In this system, *şeyhs* were rotating to rule each Mevlevi lodge. This model transformed into a hereditary system in 1676 when Gavsî Ahmed Dede (d.1697) was appointed to the post in Galata lodge by Çelebi Abdülhalim Efendi. Gavsî Ahmed Dede was the first representative of powerful *şeyh* families in the Istanbul Mevleviye. His descendants ruled the Galata lodge until the middle of the eighteenth century²⁰².

The second family which became very powerful in the eighteenth century was coming from the line of Safî Mustafa Dede who has not been a ruling *şeyh* but paved the way for his offspring like Mehmed Şemseddin Dede (d.1760), İsa Dede (1771) and Mehmed Sadık Dede (d.1777). The most important restoration activity in the Galata lodge was undertaken in the time of İsa Dede after the great fire in Tophane during the

¹⁹⁹ Işın, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler", p.121.

²⁰⁰ Göyünç, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Mevleviler", p.353

²⁰¹ Işın, p.122; Tanman, "Galata Mevlevihanesi", *TDVİA*, v.13(1996), p.318

²⁰² *ibid*, Başaran, p.87

reign of Mustafa III in 1765. The Galata lodge was completely burnt in this fire and Çavuşbaşı Osman Ağa who was appointed as supervisor reconstructed it in 1766²⁰³.

Galata *mevlevihanesi* as an *asitane*, contained different buildings like a *semahane*, a library in the name of Halet Çelebi, two fountains one *sebil* and one *şadırvan*, tombs, a cemetery, a kitchen, one hundred dervish cells, a lodge for the *şeyh*, a *muvakkithane* (clock-room), a laundry and many inscriptions. The days for *mukabele* (*sema* performance) were Tuesday and Friday in the Galata lodge²⁰⁴.

The second *asitane* in Istanbul was established in a region out of the city walls (in the region called Mevlanakapısı today) in the year 1597 during the reign of Mehmed III by Yeniçeri Katibi Malkoç Mehmed Efendi(d.1646)²⁰⁵. After a visit to Konya and Mevlana's tomb, Mehmed Efendi became a follower of the Mevlevi way and after completing his pilgrimage, he constructed a large Mevlevi complex in Yenikapı and they opened the lodge with a ceremony where the *şeyhs* of various orders and leading statesmen were present. Malkoç Mehmed also granted many gardens and lands as income to the Yenikapı Mevlevi lodge in 1608²⁰⁶. The complex

²⁰³ : "...bunların zamanında tekke-i mezbur ile Abdülkadir Rumi tekkesi muhterik olmakla 1179(1765) senesi Sultan Mustafa Han-ı Salis Hazretleri'nin himmet-i şahaneleriyle Yenişehirli Osman Efendi bina emini nasbolunarak sene-i mezbure Şaban-ı şerifinde (13 January-10 February 1766) tekaya-yı mezbure tecdid ü tekmil olunmuşdur..." Başaran, p.88; Işın, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler", p.122; Kerametli, "Galata Mevlevihanesi", p.21; Erdoğan, p.26; Tanman, p.317; Yücel, p.67.

²⁰⁴ Tanman, pp. 319-321; Kerametli, pp.19-47; Yücel, pp.72-73; Işın, p.125

²⁰⁵ "... ve bu esnada Yeniçeriler Katibi Mehmed Çelebi Efendi sabıka perişan-hal olup hacc-ı şerife gitdiğinde hazret-i kutbi'l-evliya Molla Celaledin rumi üstüne ziyarete varduk da bir hangah yapmak nez eyleyüp Yenikapı'da teferrüçgahda bir latif tekye ve Mevlevi-hane ve erbab-ı seyr u suluke aramış ü asayiş için mekan yapup fukara-i Mevleviye Mesnevi-i manevi nakl olunacak menzil ve cay-ı dil-küşa abad eyleyüp sebeb ü bais-i hayr dua vü sena oldu. Evasıt-ı şehri Şabanda açılıp azim cemiyet olup Vezir Mehmed Paşa hazretleri ve Yeniçeri Ağası ve sair eşraf gelüp Mevlüdü'n-Nebevi okınup Mevleviler uslub-ı kadim üzre sema ü safa eylediler. Halk-ı alem mesruru ve şadan oldılar ve dualar eylediler". *Tarih-i Selaniki*; Ekrem Işın, "Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi'nin İki Vakfiyesi", in *İstanbul Araştırmaları*, 3(1997), p.91; Mehmed Ziya, *Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi*, İstanbul:1913(Tercüman 1001 Eser Serisi), p.79; Işın, p.125; Erdoğan, p.30; Gölpınarlı, p.338

²⁰⁶ The grants of Malkoç Efendi were the buildings within the lodge, a maşjid, a *semahane*, a kitchen, a *somathane*(dining hall), and twenty-four dervish cells; numerous utensils to be used in the lodge like plates, glasses, clocks, saucepans, towels, boilers etc; one fountain, five water wells, one coffeehouse, two bakeries, one barber shop, one grocery, one greengrocer; some other property within and out of Yenikapı like several fountains and some shops different districts of Istanbul. In addition he determined daily salaries of the officers like 20 *akçes* for *şeyh*, 3 *akçes* for *naathan*, 1 *akçe* for *hafız*, 5 *akçe* for *imam*, 3 *akçes* for *müezzin*, 1 *akçe* for sweeper, 2 *akçes* for dervishes carrying water, and 100 *akçes* for

consisted of a small mosque, a *semahane*, many dervish cells, a kitchen, a lodge for the *şeyh*, a library, and *imaret* ad a laundry.

The first ruler of the lodge was Kemal Ahmed Dede(d.1601) who was a figure similar to Divane Mehmed Dede. His follower, Dođani Ahmed Dede (d.1630) was a wealthy man from Konya who became a Mevlevi later on. The *vaqfs* of Yenikapı Mevlevi lodge were very large. In addition to those granted by Malkoç Efendi, there were seventy shops whose income was consumed in Yenikapı. Dođani Mehmed Dede lived through the reign of Murad IV and witnessed the chaotic conflicts of Kadızadelis and Sufis. The Sufi leaders though challenged by Kadızadelis were very powerful and influential in these decades. The Grand Vizier Mehmed Paşa was a follower of Dođani Dede who sought refuge in Sufism in that era²⁰⁷.

Sabuhi Ahmed Dede (d.1644), a Bektaşî in origin, was the next *şeyh* in the post of Yenikapı. He became a Mevlevi and served in different mevlevihanec as *şeyh* in his career. Because of his Bektaşî past, he adhered to both ways and has been one of those Mevleviis who represented dual characters in the history of the Mevleviye. After Sabuhi Ahmed, the Yenikapı Mevlevi lodge became a center for dervishes with Melamiye-Kalenderiye tendencies. Interestingly enough, in a period when music and *sema* was forbidden in the Ottoman Empire, a great composer of classical music, Buhurizade Mustafa Itri Efendi rose in Yenikapı lodge²⁰⁸.

daily expenditures of the convent. Ekrem Işın, "Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi'nin İki Vakfiyesi", pp.93-94; Ziya, p.80; Işın, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler", pp.125-126; Küçük, p.90;

²⁰⁷ Işın, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler", p.126

²⁰⁸ Işın, p.127, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler"; Küçük, p.95

The succeeding *şeyhs* tried to find support from the elite against Kadızadelis and they were successful for instance in the case of the Grand Vizier Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa, a close follower of the Mevleviye who was buried in the Yenikapı lodge. When the prohibition of the activities of Sufis was cancelled, the *şeyh* of the Yenikapı lodge, Pendari Naci Ahmed Dede(d.1711) started Mesnevi readings in Fatih mosque which signaled the end of a conflictual era in favor of Sufis²⁰⁹.

Şeyhs of the following generations were mostly coming from powerful families who were educated very well, traveled different parts of the empire and served in different mevlevihanes. Nesib Dede(d.1714) educated in astronomy and medicine, Peçevizade Arif Ahmed Dede(d.1727) from a leading family of Rumelia who had contacts with Melami groups, Kerestecizade Mehmed Dede(d.1732) who lived through an age called “Lale Devri” (the age of tulip) were examples of this generation²¹⁰.

In the middle of eighteenth century, powerful *şeyh* families like the descendants of Musa Safi Dede(d.1744) found their place in the Yenikapı Mevlevi lodge. After 1746, a second group, the family of Ebubekir Dede took over the domination until *tekkes* were closed in 1925. *Şeyhs* of this era accomplished establishing good relations with the palace as a reaction to the central lodge in Konya, in return they were favored by the state and decreased the status of the Konya lodge to an institution for the confirmation of *şeyh* appointments²¹¹.

²⁰⁹ Işın, “İstanbul’un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler”, p.127

²¹⁰ Işın, “İstanbul’un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler”, p.127; Küçük, p.94; For a complete list of *şeyhs* in Istanbul mevlevi lodges see Tabibzade Derviş Mehmed Şükri ibn İsmail, “Sheiks of the Istanbul Chapter Houses”, in *Turkish Sources*, XXVII, ed. T.Kut, Harvard University Press: 1995; Erdoğan, p.32, for a comparison see, Akbatu, v.4, pp.85-86

²¹¹ Işın, “İstanbul’un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler”, p.128; Küçük, p.95

The Yenikapı lodge underwent many constructions and restorations several times in the eighteenth century. For example, the Grand Vizier Hekim-zade Ali Paşa(d.1758) reconstructed *semahane* in accordance with its original architectural style in 1731; in 1754 Grand Vizier Abdullah Naili Paşa(d.1758), the son-in-law of Arifi Dede and a Mevlevi himself, reconstructed dervish cells; in 1774 Grand Vizier İzzet Mehmed Paşa enlarged the tomb of Doğanı Dede²¹².

Beşiktaş-Bahariye mevlevihanesi was the third large Mevlevi complex in Istanbul. It was the last lodge established by state dignitaries in Istanbul. The founder Hüseyin Paşa of Ohri (d.1622)²¹³ ordered the construction of a *semahane* and a masjid in Beşiktaş in 1621 and other parts were added in the following years²¹⁴.

The first ruler of the lodge was a *şeyh* called Ağazade Mehmed Hakiki Dede(d.1652) who was the son of a chief officer of Janissaries, the founder of the Gelibolu Mevlevi lodge. Coming from the line of elites, he left all his property to his brother and went to Konya during the time of Bostan Çelebi I(1591-1630). He first established the Gelibolu Mevlevi lodge, then accepted the invitation by Hüseyin Paşa in Istanbul and ruled the Beşiktaş lodge until the death of this protector in 1622²¹⁵.

²¹² *ibid*; Ziya, pp.83-84 (Ebubekir Çelebi of Konya who was exiled to Istanbul in the reign of Murad IV and lived in the kiosk of Bayram Paşa, was buried to the tomb in Yenikapı lodge after his death in the time of Subuhi Ahmed Dede); Erdoğan, p.31

²¹³ According to accounts, Hüseyin Paşa, the chief of the navy at the time, met Ağazade Mehmed Dede while returning from a campaign in the Mediterranean in Gelibolu and had good news of his future grandvizirate. When it was realized, he invited *şeyh* to Istanbul to be the first *şeyh* of Beşiktaş mevlevihanesi. Başaran, p.165; Ekrem Işın, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Beşiktaş/Bahariye Mevlevihanesi", *İstanbul Dergisi*, v.6, p.130; Pars Tuğlacı, "Çırağan Mevlevihanesi", in *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol. XIII, 78(Haziran1990), p.364 (44); Erdoğan, pp.35-36; Gölpinarlı, p.339

²¹⁴ "...Dergah-ı mezburun binası [1031] Cemaziyelahiresinde (13 April-11 May 1622)reside-i hitam olmuştur. Lakin matbahı olmayıp yalnız bir semahanedan ibaret idi. Bادهu vuku bunan tecdid ü tamiri sırasında tevsi kılınmıştır..." The lodge was located in the place of Çırağan palace. Başaran, p.165; Küçük, p.121; Erdem Yücel, "Beşiktaş(Bahariye) Mevlevihanesi", *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, İstanbul:1983, pp.162-163; Ekrem Işın, "Beşiktaş Mevlevihanesi", in *DBİA*, v.2, p.168.

²¹⁵ Işın, "Beşiktaş(Bahariye) Mevlevihanesi", p.131, Erdoğan, p.36

During the reign of Murad IV, Yusuf Dede(d.1669) was controlling the Beşiktaş lodge who accomplished to find a place among the protégés of the sultan and became very successful to protect his lodge from direct interference of Kadızadeli²¹⁶.

In the year 1686, Mehmed IV visited Beşiktaş mevlevihanesi in order to listen Mesnevi and watch *sema*, then he granted clothes for the garments of dervishes in addition to bread, meat, oil and rice²¹⁷.

The annual income of the Beşiktaş mevlevihanesi was provided from the *jizya* tax paid by the Armenian population in Istanbul around 1650s. During the time of Hasan Dede, it seems that the lodge received 7200 akçes annually from this source. Compared to other lodges in Istanbul, the lodge was not very powerful in the early period in terms of its revenues. In the eighteenth century, the lodge was granted revenues of large *vaqf* lands out of Istanbul that can be a signal of its increasing power. Pindari Naci Ahmed Dede(d.1710) serving in Beşiktaş, Galata and Yenikapı was one of the early representatives of the new model of appointment. He also participated in a war in the Crimea²¹⁸.

Eyyubi Mehmed Dede (d.1723) and his descendants has been an extension of powerful *şeyh* families in the case of Beşiktaş mevlevihanesi. They ruled the lodge for one hundred years. Dede also provided more income to the lodge by establishing good relations with Mehmed IV. In the “age of tulip”, when the districts around Bosphorus became very important, Beşiktaş *mevlevihanesi* benefited from its location around the leading members of the palace and became part of urban upper class culture. The rule of Eyyubi Dede family ended in 1764 and Abdülehad Dede was appointed as the new *şeyh* though his reputation was not very good because of his reign in Tokat when he

²¹⁶ Işın, p.130

²¹⁷ Tuğlacı, p.364(44); Erdoğan, p.36; Yücel, p.164

²¹⁸ Işın, “Beşiktaş (Bahariye) Mevlevihanesi”, p.130.

was a notable of the region, using dervishes as state officers and was forced to leave the city in the time of Ebubekir Çelebi²¹⁹.

In 1766, the control of the lodge was transferred to a group of şeyhs from Trablus under Ahmed Dede(d.1771). The rule of Beşiktaş and Galata lodges were even controlled by this group between the years 1810 and 1816. They preserved their power until 1853 and facilitated the penetration of the Mevlevi culture of northern Africa into the Istanbul Mevlevi culture. On the other hand, the Beşiktaş lodge faced serious financial problems in the eighteenth century and tried to collect all revenue of the lodge regularly²²⁰. It served its adherents in original location until 1867²²¹.

The Beşiktaş lodge also followed the way of the Yenikapı lodge in terms of Melami-Bektaşî tendencies and Sabuhi Ahmed in the seventeenth century was the key figure of this trend in the Beşiktaş lodge. On the other hand, as opposed to the Yenikapı Mevlevi lodge, the Beşiktaş lodge tried to remain relatively neutral in the politics of the capital city²²².

The fourth Mevlevi lodge which was the last *asitane* in Istanbul was the one created by Sirri Abdi Efendi(d.1631) in Kasımpaşa in the years between 1623and 1631 during the reign of Murad IV. With the help of his disciples, Abdi (Abdullah) Dede established a modest *mevlevihane* on his own property after his dismissal from the

²¹⁹ Işın, p.131; Tuğlacı, p. 365(45); Faroqhi, p.198

²²⁰ ibid; For the şeyhs ruled the Beşiktaş lodge, see, Başaran, pp.166-168; Erdoğan, p.38

²²¹ In 1867, the construction of Çırağan palace started. Mevlevihane was demolished and transferred to Maçka district after a *mevlevihane* was erected in 1871. Yet the lodge in Maçka was also demolished because of the construction of military barracks there. It was transferred to Bahariye in Eyüp in 1877 and survived until 1925. Işın, p.130, 133; Tuğlacı, p. 365(45); Yücel, p.164

²²² Işın, p.134; for the list of şeyhs in the Beşiktaş lodge, see Akbatı, v.5, 2, p.107

Galata lodge. The location was similar to other *mevlevihanes*, in a large garden outside the city walls²²³.

He was replaced by his descendants like İbrahim Dede(d.1638), Kasım Dede (d.1641), Abdi Dedezade Halil Dede (d.1677), Seyyid Mehmed Dede (d.1717) and Seyyid Halil Salik Dede (d.1722). After Halil Salik Dede who left no offspring, the post was transferred to Şeyh Safi Musa Dede (d.1744) who was also the şeyh of Yenikapı lodge around the same years. His successors established themselves in the Kasımpaşa *mevlevihane* like they did in other lodges of Istanbul²²⁴.

The Kasımpaşa Mevlevi lodge was restored in the time of Ahmed III, in 1731-32 by a master called Hasan Ağa under the supervision of Kayserili Mehmed Ağa, the chief architect of the “Age of Tulip”²²⁵.

We do not have much record on the revenues of the Kasımpaşa lodge except a few cases. One of the documents dates back to 1763, when the lodge was granted one *kile* of rice daily from Filibe province and one hundred and eighty *kile* of the grant was sent in advance. A similar grant from the same source was given in 1771, too²²⁶. There were *vaqfs* for the maintenance of reading “Mevlid-i Şerif” and “Miraciye” who was established by some unknown people²²⁷.

²²³ “...Kasaba-i mezburenin vasatında olub, banisi Abdi Dede denmekle maruf eş-Şeyh Abdullah Dede Efendi’dir. Mümaileyh Galata mevlevihanesi şeyhi idi. Muahharen meşihat-ı mezkure, Şarih-i Mesnevi-i Şerif İsmail Dede Efendi’ye tevcih olunduk da, mümaileyh Abdi Dede Kasımpaşa’da malik olduğu bostam içine bu dergahı bina eyledi. Zaman-ı Sultan Murad Han-ı Rabi’de vaki olmuştur...” Başaran, p.37; Küçük, pp.144-145; Baha Tanman, “Kasımpaşa Mevlevihanesi”, in *DBİA*, v.4, p.482; Gölpınarlı, p.339

²²⁴ For a list of şeyhs in the Kasımpaşa lodge, see Başaran, pp.37-39; Akbatı, v.4, 4, pp.94-95; Küçük, p.146; Erdoğan, p.34

²²⁵ Erdoğan, p. 34; Küçük, p.147; Tanman, pp.482-483.

²²⁶ CE. 1949 (1177/1763); BOA, CE. 15958(1185/1770)

²²⁷ “.... Mevlid-i Şerif ve Miraciye ırati vakıfları vardır ki, bazı ashab-ı hayr vaz eylemişlerdir...”(Başaran, p.39)

While the other three *asitanes* had *mukabele* in two days of the week, in Kasımpaşa it was performed only on Sundays. The lodge in Kasımpaşa was relatively less important in terms of its attraction. Especially in the eighteenth century, the Kasımpaşa Mevlevi lodge was not a center where upper classes of Istanbul met but rather it addressed middle class population²²⁸.

The lodge was like a wooden kiosk with its appearance from the outside. It contained the requirements of an *asitane*, a *semahane*, and a lodge for *şeyh*, dervish cells, a lodge for the sultan, a kitchen and a *somathane* (dining-hall)²²⁹.

The last Mevlevi lodge was Üsküdar *mevlevihanesi*, the only Mevlevi *zaviye* in Istanbul by Halil Numan Dede (d.1798)²³⁰ in 1792-93. For the need of hosting travelling dervishes who came from Anatolia Numan Dede of the Galata Mevlevi lodge converted his own house into a small convent by erecting a *semahane*²³¹.

In the nineteenth century, new rooms were added to the lodge during renovations and restorations but we will deal with them in the next chapter. It was relatively less active though on Saturdays, *mukabele* was practiced in Üsküdar *mevlevihanesi*. For it became a *zaviye*, there was no education activity for disciples. According to a record from the year 1885, only fourteen dervishes dwelled in the lodge which shows its size and function clearly. The number of the *şeyhs* in the post of Üsküdar was eleven until 1925²³².

²²⁸ Tanman, p.483

²²⁹ Tanman, pp.484-485.

²³⁰ Halil Numan Dede was the son of Yeğen Ali Paşa who had been in important posts in the palace and governor of some provinces. Numan Dede went to Konya in 1787 and after finishing his education, he became the *şeyh* of Galata *mevlevihanesi* in 1786; Erdoğan, pp.37-38; Baha Tanman, "Üsküdar Mevlevihanesi", in *DBİA*, v.7, p.348; Gölpınarlı, p.339

²³¹ Erdoğan, pp.38; Tanman, "Üsküdar Mevlevihanesi", p.348; (It was renovated and restored many times in the nineteenth century but we will deal with them in the next chapter.); For the *şeyhs* of Üsküdar *mevlevihanesi* see, Akbatu, v.4, 4, pp.77-78.

²³² For a list of Üsküdar *şeyhs* see Tanman, p.348.

MEVLEVIHANES IN OTHER PARTS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The central *mevlevihane* in Konya and the five Mevlevi lodges in Istanbul played essential roles in Ottoman history. Yet *mevlevihanes* other than these two centers, in Anatolia, the Balkans and the southeastern lands of the empire cannot be neglected if we want to have a vision of the periphery. However it is not possible to deal with each and every Mevlevi lodge within the limits of this work, I will look at a few examples from different regions.

The first of them was a lodge which was a creation of late thirteenth century in Afyon. It was one of the early Mevlevi lodges in Anatolia established by Sultan Veled. He arrived at Afyon after the death of his father Celaleddin Rumi when Hüsameddin Çelebi was at the post of Rumi²³³. Though the roots of the Mevlevi lodge dates back to this period it was Ulu Arif Çelebi of Konya who accomplished enlarging it with the help of Ahmet Bey who granted a large land for the reconstruction of *mevlevihane* in 1316²³⁴.

Within the lodge, there was a *semahane*, dervish cells, a mosque, a fountain, a lodge for the *şeyh*, a water reservoir, tombs of the leading *şeyhs* and a cemetery and a kitchen²³⁵.

Yakup Çelebi I, the Germiyanid Prince, bestowed revenues of Kalecikler, Kışlacık and Deper villages in Afyon for the food consumptions of the dervishes in 1316. Bayezid I renewed the *vaqf* register of Yakup Çelebi I, when he came to the city and therefore the rights of Mevlevis on the income of those villages were also

²³³ Mevlevis acquired a considerable power in Afyon after the marriage of Veled's daughter Mutahhare Hatun and the son of Savcı Bey, Umur Bey in 1276.

²³⁴ Yusuf Ilgar, "Afyonkarahisar Mevlevihanesi", TAD, v.2, 2(May, 1996), p.107

²³⁵ The mosque of Afyon *mevlevihanesi* represents "zaviye-camii" model in which travelling dervishes dwelled for a few days, eat and pray under the same complex. For details on this model, see Semavi Eyice, "Zaviyeler ve Zaviyeli Camiler", in *İÜİFM*, XXIII, (1962-1963), pp.3-80.

confirmed him. Yakup Bey II followed his predecessors in granting *vaqfs* to the Mevlevis. In 1422, he conferred revenues of five villages to the order. His companions like Hisar Bey also made similar grants²³⁶.

According to the *vaqf* register of Emir Musa bey, he granted a large land in Egirdir in 765/1364. The *vaqf* consisted of a covered market and bazaar at the time whose revenue would be used for some dervishes like 18 *dirhems* for single Mevlevi dervishes, 2 *dirhems* for *mutevelli* and the remaining part should be sent to the dervishes of Medina. Another *vaqf* register shows that Hacı Mehmed Ağa bestowed a large income to the Afyon Mevlevi lodge in the year 1800. He left the revenues of three large commercial buildings and thirty shops in Afyon for the needs of the Mevlevis. There are also other *vaqfs* like the one by Abdülvasi bin Hızır dating to 1522²³⁷. In short, the Afyon Mevlevi lodge was a self-sufficient lodge, which provided the needs of the dervishes from its own *vaqf* sources.

The most influential *şeyh* of the Afyon lodge was perhaps Sultan-ı Divane Mehmed Semai Dede (d.ca.1550) who was mentioned before about his activities for the expansion of the Mevleviye. He was an organizer, a traveller, and a “heterodox” type of a dervish who was a charismatic character in his time. The Afyon Mevlevi lodge was a lodge on the level of an *asitane* for the Mevlevis during his lifetime. The *sema* rituals were held on Sundays, Mondays and Thursdays in the lodge and after Divane Çelebi the ritual contained elements of other lodges like reading of Bektaşî *gülbanks* (a kind of prayer or chanting peculiar to Bektaşî order)²³⁸.

Since the Afyon lodge was burnt in fires twice in 1560 and 1683, it lost its attraction in the following centuries though it was reconstructed and restored with its

²³⁶ Ilgar, “Afyonkarahisar Mevlevihanesi”p. 108.

²³⁷ Ilgar, pp.116-117

²³⁸ Ilgar, p. 120.

own revenues. Yet Afyon *mevlevihanesi* raised important figures like Muini Mustafa Dede, *şeyh* of the lodge between 1434 and 1437. He met Murad II in Afyon in 1434, translated Mesnevi into Turkish with the sultan's desire. He called this translation "Manevi-i Muradi" and presented it to the sultan. Scholars praised it as the first Turkish translation of Mesnevi²³⁹.

In the second step, we go towards the Balkans and deal with the Salonica Mevlevi lodge. Sufi orders penetrated Rumelia in the early centuries of the Ottoman empire along with raids and the Bektâşîs, Halvetîs, Rûfâîs, Kadîrîs and the Nakşîbendîs established their convents²⁴⁰.

The Mevlevîye was relatively a latecomer in the Balkans. In the seventeenth century, the Mevlevî convents in important cities like Üsküp, Manastır, Prizren, Peçoy, Serez and Sarajevo started their activities. Yet the most powerful of *mevlevihanes* in Rumelia was perhaps the one in Salonica that managed to maintain itself and survive for three centuries²⁴¹.

It was established by Ekmekçizade Ahmet Paşa²⁴² in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Like other Mevlevî lodges, it was located outside the city. According to Evliya Çelebi, the lodge hosted many Mevlevî dervishes at the time.

²³⁹ Yusuf Ilgar, *Tarih Boyunca Afyon'da Mevlevîlik*, Afyon: 1985, p.34.

²⁴⁰ Mehmet İbrahim, "Eski Yugoslavya Sınırları Dahilinde Tarikat Hareketlerinin Tarih İçindeki Gelişimi ve Önemi", in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 24(1994) pp.292-293; For different mevlevî lodges in the Balkans see, Ali Uz, "Saraybosna Mevlevihanesi", *TAD*, v.2, 2(May 1996), pp.103-106; Gabor Agoston, "Macaristan'da Mevlevîlik ve İslam Kültürü", in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV(1994), pp.1-9; Nathalie Clayer, "Trois Centres Mevlevîs balkaniques au travers des documents d'archives ottomans: Les Mevlevîhane d'Elbasan, de Serez et de Salonique", in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV(1994), pp.11-28; Liliana Marsol-Masulovic, "Le Tekke Mevlevî d'Üsküb", in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV(1994), pp.129-135; Alexandre Popovic, "Les Mevlevîhane dans le Sud-Est Européen", in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV(1994), pp.153-158, Jasna Samic, "Le Tekke Mevlevî de Bembasa a Sarajevo", in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV(1994), pp. 159-176.

²⁴¹ Mehmet Ali Gökaçtı, "Balkanlarda Mevlevîliğin Gelişimi ve Selanik Mevlevîhanesi", in *Tarih ve Toplum*, 201(September, 2000), p.48(168); Agoston, pp.5-6; Clayer, pp.13-14, 18

²⁴² Ekmekçizade Ahmet Paşa (d.1618) was born in Edirne, in a city where Melamiye was very powerful. He has been in some financial services in the state ranks. According to accounts, his construction of a mevlevî lodge in Salonica was an act against his Bektâşî rivals in state ranks. Gökaçtı, pp.50-51; Clayer, p.19

It was surrounded by high walls, contained a *semahane*, some dervish cells, a mosque, a cemetery, a fountain, tombs, an imaret and some other rooms like storage and spare rooms²⁴³.

The early history of the lodge is somehow dark since we do not have enough documents. Seyfullah Dede seems to be the first *şeyh* of the lodge. According to Selanik court records of 1714, there were eight dervishes, six other officers like *şeyh* and *imam* in the lodge. That is a modest population with respect to the previous century. It can derive from the fact that the mevlevihane was burnt in a fire in those years. The lodge was repaired several times and it reflects the architectural styles of the eighteenth century after its last restoration²⁴⁴.

The Salonica lodge was fairly in a good state financially with respect to other Mevlevi lodges in Rumelia. A document from 1779 reveals that the lodge received its revenues of the salt-mines in Beşçınar region around Salonica and the amount they got was 80.000 *akçes* in that year. However, after the revolt of Greeks in 1821, the mevlevihane lost the control over some of its *vaqfs* in Mora peninsula. This deteriorated the financial situation of the lodge. The means to recover from this situation did not prove well like borrowing from foreign merchants. Some *şeyhs* had to mortgage their private property as guarantees in return for the credits that resulted with the loss of first their actual property and then that of mevlevihane. In some cases, *şeyhs* appointed by Konya asitanesi could not get their salaries for months. In short, the Salonica Mevlevi lodge had to face political and financial problems of the nineteenth century and it failed²⁴⁵.

²⁴³ Gökaçtı, p.51(quotng Evliya Çelebi), 53(173)

²⁴⁴ *ibid.*

²⁴⁵ Gökaçtı, p.52(172); Clayer, p.27

Lastly, a lodge in the south of the Ottoman Empire, the Mevlevi *asitane* in Aleppo will be studied. It was accepted as a representative of Ottoman Sufism in Arabic lands²⁴⁶ that was considered as an important institution before *şeyh* were appointed to some important post in Konya or Istanbul²⁴⁷.

The lodge was constructed by two leading figures of the Safevid state, Mirza Fulad and Mirza Ulvan who escaped to Aleppo during the battle in Çaldıran and became followers of Divane Mehmed Dede there in 1530²⁴⁸.

The first *şeyh* of the Aleppo Mevlevi lodge was Fakri Ahmed Dede (d.1585), a descendant of Divani Mehmed and he ruled the lodge for almost half a century. It became a center where Sufis of the age met and attracted many people to the Mevlevi order²⁴⁹.

Şatır Mehmed Dede (d.ca.1705) was on the post of the lodge during the reign of Murad IV. According to accounts, Evliya Çelebi visited Aleppo during his time and visited convents in the city. Among one hundred and seventy-six convents, the mevlevihane was the best. There were several dervish cells, the *sema* ritual was worth watching with its wonderful atmosphere, and “even the fish would participate the ritual in the pool” said Çelebi.

Most of the *şeyhs* were educated and received their *hilafetnames* in Konya mevlevihanesi and were appointed lodges in great cities of the empire in the later part

²⁴⁶ For mevlevihanes in Arabic lands see Frederick De Jong, “The Takiya of the Maqlawiyya in Tripolis”, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV(1994), pp.91-100; Klaus Kreiser, “Evliya Çelebi ve Başka Kaynaklara Göre Arap Aleminin Doğusundaki Büyük Şehirlerde Mevlevihaneler”(trans.by Semih Tezcan), in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV(1994), pp.101-115; Erika Glassen, “Trablusşam Mevlevihanesi”, in *TAD*, v.2, 2(1996), pp.37-30; Teresa Battesti, “Les Derviches-Conteurs d’Iran”, in *TAD*, v.2, 2(1996), pp.43-54; Guiseppe Fantoni, “The Foundation and Organization of the Cairo Mawlawiyya”, in *Quaderni Di Studi Arabi*, 17(1999), pp.105-122.

²⁴⁷ Sezai Küçük, “Halep Mevlevihanesi”, in *İLAM Araştırmaları Dergisi*, v.3, 2(July-August 1998), p.74; Gölpinarlı, pp.334-335

²⁴⁸ It is not surprising that two persons with Shiite belief became disciples of Divane Mehmed Dede if we remember Dede’s spiritual tendencies and the reasons behind his travels in Iran; Küçük, p.76.

²⁴⁹ Kreiser, p.107, 112; For a critical evaluation of the *şeyhs* in Aleppo Mevlevi lodge, see Küçük, pp.77-92

of their career but when they arrived at Aleppo they did not isolate themselves from the local culture. They traveled to different Mevlevi lodges in Baghdad, Tripolis, Cairo, Lazkiye, Damascus etc like Safi Mustafa Dede (d.1744) who was appointed to the post in Aleppo in 1708 and became *şeyh* in the Kasımpaşa lodge in 1723 and paved the way for his family members in Istanbul as one of the powerful *şeyh* families in the history the Mevleviye. The *şeyhs* in the Aleppo Mevlevi lodge tried to maintain their relations with Konya on a good level²⁵⁰.

In terms of the revenues of the lodge, the Aleppo Mevlevi lodge controlled rich *vaqfs* especially in the nineteenth century. One of the endowments was provided by Hacı Ebubekir Ağa in the time of *şeyh* Mustafa Dede (d.1773) and the property granted consisted of all shops in the region of Antakya Kapısı and were conditioned for repairs of the lodge, reconstruction of a fountain in the garden, the salary of the fountain officer and the expenses of the dervishes²⁵¹.

The second *vaqf* register tells us about the endowments of Sandal Ağa who granted three residences outside Aleppo when Ahmed Dede(d.1585) was at the post. With the revenues of these residences, first they would be repaired and then the rent coming from the residences would be reserved for dervishes of the *tekke* who would read Quran for Sandal Ağa after each *mukabele* on Fridays²⁵².

The third register is different from the other two in terms of the creator of the *vaqf*. This time the *şeyh* of the lodge, Abdülğani Dede(1880) himself bestowed most of his own property for the lodge and his books which amounted to one thousand volumes for the use of dervishes. Among the endowments were six residences and some fruit gardens within the residences, seven other houses, several shops as well as

²⁵⁰ Küçük, "Halep Mevlevihanesi" p.81; Kreiser, p.103, 107

²⁵¹ Küçük, p.95

²⁵² *ibid.*

coffeehouses, utensils within, carpets and books. He established a library in the lodge and appointed a supervisor in charge of the library and determined his salary. The revenues coming from the endowment would be used for the restoration of the lodge, for the needs of the dervishes, for the maintenance of the tombs and salary of other officers. In this way, the Aleppo Mevlevi lodge acquired immense power in the region with its large revenue and served easily the Mevlevi dervishes²⁵³.

Lastly, the Aleppo Mevlevi lodge had a distinctive character that it was active until the 1940s. When all the dervish lodges and convents were closed down and Sufi orders were abolished, Aleppo lodge went on serving since it was out of the borders of Turkey and the center of the Mevleviye was transferred from Konya to Aleppo²⁵⁴.

In this chapter, I have examined the nature of the some Mevlevi lodges in the Ottoman Empire between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. This illustrated the fact that the relations between the Mevlevi in different parts of the Ottoman Empire and the central authority depended on the internal development of the Mevleviye, the connections they established with the government and the social developments of different eras. The Mevlevi lodges were relatively autonomous within the Mevleviye to some degree therefore they had chances to develop different tendencies according to their orientations yet they also admitted the superiority of the government and the Konya *asitane*. In short, the Mevlevi in the Ottoman State became part of the Ottoman society especially after the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the order was transforming to be an urban entity in time.

²⁵³ Küçük, pp.95-96

²⁵⁴ Küçük, p.103; Gölpınarlı, pp.363-364.

6. THE ÇELEBIS, MEVLEVI ŞEYHS AND THE SUBLIME PORTE, 1780-1840

This chapter questions the interaction between the central government and the Mevlevis in Konya and Istanbul at the end of the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century. For this reason, I first present the actors of this era: The *çelebi* in Konya, Mevlevi *şeyhs* who were in charge in the five Istanbul Mevlevi lodges; and the Ottoman Sultans; lastly Halet Efendi as a key figure between the two parts. It is very significant to take into consideration the transformations in the government and the variations within the Mevleviye in this era if we want to comprehend the meaning of the relations.

THE ÇELEBIS IN KONYA AND THE GOVERNMENT

On 13th Receb 1199 / 22 May 1785, upon the extinction of the descendants of *çelebi* in Konya (Ebubekir Çelebi II), the *mesnevihan* from *inas* (female) line of Sultan Veled who resided in Konya; the Mevlevi *şeyh* of Karaman from *zükur* (male) line; Hacı Muhammed Efendi, the son of İsmail Çelebi and some other thirty men came to Istanbul to appeal for the position of *çelebi* in the Konya Mevlevi lodge. They were accepted by a committee comprised of the Grand Vizier; Arif Molla, Arabzade Sadık Molla, and Mekki Efendi, the chief judges of Rumelia, Anatolia, and İstanbul respectively. Of the claimants, Mesnevihan Efendi and Karaman *şeyh* pleaded before the court and the Grand Vizier addressed to Mesnevihan: “You possess plenty of properties and you have an importunate nature, therefore you do not fit the position”;

to Karaman *şeyh* as: “You are from the class of *talebe*, students of learning Islam, those who do not obey the imperial orders.” “Who are those behind?” he asked. Upon the testimony of both the Mesnevihan and *şeyh* of Karaman as they were from the male line, Hacı Mehmed Efendi, the son of İsmail Çelebi, was considered to deserve the position, and conferred as the new *çelebi* by dressing him with cloak. Those supporters of Mesnevihan, who rumored against Mehmed Çelebi as “the government appointed a child to the position”, were banished to Manisa the next day by the new Çelebi.²⁵⁵

This story gives us a chance to evaluate the position of the Mevleviye on the eve of the nineteenth century in various levels. First and foremost, it is apparent that the position of *çelebi* in Konya was very attractive for claimants and there were numerous candidates whether they fit or do not. Second, it was still a significant criterion to come from the male line of the descendants of Celaleddin Rumi regardless of their age, education or other important characteristics. On the other hand, the central government had other considerations while appointing a *çelebi*. For example, being wealthy and powerful or having affiliations with any kind of decentralizing element were impediments for the sanction of the government. Third, the central authority which desired to manipulate the internal affairs of the Mevlevi order and its position with respect to the state acted very cautiously to benefit the rivalry among the claimants and appointed the best candidate which seemed close to subjugate. But this time the government failed to choose the right suitor.

Hacı Mehmed Çelebi ruled the Mevlevi order for thirty years and lived through the reigns of Mustafa III, Abdülhamid I, Selim III and Mahmud II. He was referred to as a symbol of “political and religious reaction” and a “betrayal” in an age of

²⁵⁵ Gölpmarlı, *Mevlanadan Sonra Mevlevilik*, p.170

reform²⁵⁶. That statement is not completely wrong if one looks at the question from the point view of the central government. He was an open opponent of reform and the *nizam-ı cedid* in particular.

In a letter to Çelebi on 2 Zilhicce 1218/15 March 1804, it is stated that some corrupted men in Konya acted against the order of the sultan. Abdurrahman Paşa (d.1818), the provincial governor of Karaman was ordered to correct their behavior and punish them. Though the government “approved” his departure from Konya for Karahisar or Kütahya during this turmoil, surprisingly he did not leave the city. Since it was the order of the sultan, he was advised to go to one of the mentioned cities as soon as he got the order in order to be far from this rebellion which was imputed on *çelebi* himself²⁵⁷.

A second letter dated 8 Zilhicce 1218/21 March 1804 reached Abdurrahman Paşa from the Porte and said informed him that the rebellion was organized by the Çelebi and *müfti* (the jurist-consult) of Konya. The government sent its troops there to suppress them and Cebbarzade Süleyman Bey was charged with helping Abdurrahman Paşa²⁵⁸.

On 29 Zilhicce 1218/11 April 1204, it was clear that people in Konya reacted against conscription for the new army and some of them even dared to fight against the troops of Abdurrahman Paşa, in this the Çelebi was considered to be involved.

²⁵⁶ Gölpinarlı, p.171

²⁵⁷ see HH.11978(1218/1204): “İhtilâl hengâmında Konya'da bulunmamak için Karahisar'da veyahud Kütahya'ya gitmesini isteyen Çelebi Efendi'ye yazılan.”; HH. 11835(1218/1204): “Vali Abdürrahman Paşa'yı kabul etmeyerek tardedden fesedenin arasından çıkarak Kütahya veya Karahisar'da oturması hakkında Konya'da Çelebi Efendi'ye yazılan.”

²⁵⁸ see HH.4884 (1217/1203): “Konya'ya görüp vaziyeti islahdan sonra hazırlağa başlamasının Vali Abdurrahman Paşa'ya yazıldığına, Çelebi Efendi'nin Konya'dan çıkarılacağına dair.” and HH. 11953 (1218/1204): “Konya'da fitneyi basdırmak için gönderilen Kapıcıbaşı İsmail Ağa'yı Çelebi Efendi'nin bırakmaması, muhalefette ısrar olunması üzerine Sadrazam Yusuf Paşa tarafından Karaman Beylerbeyisi Abdurrahman Paşaya yazılan.”

Abdurrahman Paşa resided in a village of Konya called Kavak, which was two hours from the city and he demanded the banishment of Mehmed Çelebi as well as the punishment of the rebels. The answer of the government was far from the one Paşa requested: “First and foremost it is a necessity to banish Çelebi Efendi from Konya since he is at the origin of the rebellion yet as the mentioned (Mehmed Çelebi) is coming from the line of the pure descendants of Mevlana, he is ordered to leave the city for Karahisar or Kütahya by himself before he was disturbed. The Şeyhülislam also wrote an order to the Müfti and it was more suitable to enter the city without fighting and only if it was not possible then they could attempt compulsion²⁵⁹.”

Mehmed Çelebi chose to remain in the city and he sent some of the dervishes with Tarikatçı Dede (deputy of *çelebi*) to Istanbul to complain about the situation with their own claims. But the Grand Vizier warned him once more not to interfere in the question. The complainants were first punished in Istanbul and then banished. The inhabitants of Konya insisted on not allowing Abdurrahman Paşa to enter the city and the Grand Vizier sent an order to Cebbarzade on this matter. This event lasted for one year and it was the Çelebi who resigned to come to terms with the government at the end²⁶⁰.

On the other hand, the Çelebi was far from having good relations with the inhabitants of Konya particularly on matters of taxes at the time. The lodge in Konya and the *vaqf* people related to the lodge, despite the fact that these people were exempt

²⁵⁹ “menşe-i ihtilal Çelebi Efendi olduğundan evvel-be-evvel mumaileyhin Konya’dan def’ olunması lazimedden ise de mumaileyh sülale-i tahire-i Mevlana’dan olduğundan...” Gölpınarlı, p.172; see also HH. 3714B. (1216/1801-1802): “Konya’da ayanlık isteyen Yeniçeri Manav Hacı Ahmed oğlu Mehmed’in ve Serturai Bekir’le Serdengeçdi Mehmed’in zulümleri sebebiyle nefyedilmeleri Hamileri Çelebi Efendi’ye de tövbihname gönderilmesi hakkında.”; HH. 11957 (1218/1804): “Çelebi Efendi’nin medhaliyle arazili ahalinin hücumu ve fesâd neticesinde Konya’dan çıkmağa mecbur kaldığı hakkında.”

²⁶⁰ HH. 1950(1219/1804-1805): “İtaat etmeyenlerin cezaları tertip edileceği hakkındaki emrin Konya’da karaati ve şehre avdet eden asi askerlerin ocaklarına iadeleri hasebiyle kasabaya girmek üzere olduğuna ve hükümet konağının yağma edildiğine dair Karaman Beylerbeyisi Maden Ermini Abdurrahman Paşa tarafından Üçüncü Selim’in Mahzuziyetine ve artık Çelebi Efendi’nin ihracı iktiza eylemeyeceğine dair hatt-ı hümayunu”

from irregular taxes, were disputing since the tax amount the taxpayers paid increased. At the end, the government ordered to take one sixth of the total taxes in Konya from the *vaqf* revenues of the Mevlevi order. Notwithstanding, the lodge did not obey the decision of the government and the Çelebi left the city for Karahisar for some time to wait for the settlement of the question in favor of Mevleviye. On the other hand, Abdurrahman Paşa warned the government that some troublemakers in Konya attempted to kill the Çelebi and some of his men and even besieged their houses. In return the government sent an order to the Paşa to suppress and punish them²⁶¹.

What were the motives behind the act of Çelebi to behave independent of the central authority? Why did he react against the reform policies of Selim III? Relying on his power based on the institution he presided, in 1801 he demanded an annual income of five hundred and six *guruş* from the villages of Tat and Sille which were part of the Mevlevi endowments of Sultan Selim and Alaaddin mosques. The subjects in these villages were already servants in the mosques and they provided fifty carriages of wood annually in return for tax exemption according to former regulations²⁶². The answer of the Porte to Mehmed Çelebi was negative by stating the order that he had no right beyond the former regulation. The provincial governor of Karaman was ordered to prevent any interference that might come from the Çelebi.

Similar disagreements ocured also in the past. The village of Soğla became a problematic issue during the times of Ebubekir Çelebi I (1630-1638) and Abdülhalim

²⁶¹ Christoph Neumann, "19. Yüzyıla Girerken Konya Mevlevi Asitanesi İle Devlet Arasındaki İlişkiler", in *TAD*, 2(May 1996), p.176 from KŞS, 67, p.9 (1211/1796); KŞS, 67, p.166, 167, 169(1212-1797), CD.1565 (1216/1802-1803); HH.12010 (1218/1804): "Karaman eyaletinin uhdesine tevcih edilerek Konya maslahatının halline ve kat'i olarak Konya'ya dnhulü ve nizamı ced'idi kabul etmeyerek isyan üzere olan Konyaluların telifi ve netice-i maslahata kadar Çelebi Efendi'nin Karahisara nakli ve Şaki Deli İsmail'in telifi olamazsa ted'ibi ve lâzım gelen muavenetin yapılması hakkında lâzımgelenlere evamir ve fermanlar gönderildiğine ve her halde Konya maslahatının hal ile Evvel Bahar'da Üsküdar'a avdeti matlub-ı padişahi olduğuna dair."

²⁶² see note 60 in Part II.

Çelebi(1666-1679)²⁶³. Mehmed Çelebi wanted to acquire more income from Soğla but he failed. The attitude of the government was trying to keep him with the existing satisfactory incomes and preventing him from getting more and more powerful. There was also a sense of revering the heritage of Rumi who was an exalted Sufi in the eyes of people and the elite. Therefore, Selim III never took a step to suppress the Mevleviye in Konya and it was too late for a sharp change in the policies of the government against the order. The lodge in Konya where the *çelebi* with the right of controlling all income, has already been a local power center, which reacted anything that could violate his dominance. In addition, collaborating with the local religious authority he accomplished to have the support of people in Konya against the reforming policies of the Porte and protected his own interests against those of the center whatever the cause was. In short, the rebellion in Konya against conscription for the establishment of a new army deserves to question the matter as something more than a "betrayal", but more like as a debate between the center and the periphery on holding power.

It was also Mehmed Çelebi who designated his eight year-old son Mehmed Said Hemdem for his position towards the end of his life by receiving support of the leading Mevlevis in Istanbul. He sent a letter to Şeyh Yusuf Efendi (d.1817) of the Beşiktaş lodge to give the letter to Halet Efendi. Reminding Yusuf Dede about Halet Efendi's favors for Çelebi on every matter, he requested to gain the support of all the

²⁶³ Soğla village was part of the imperial holdings and Murad IV granted Konya lodge an annual income of 150.000 *akças* for food consumption of the dervishes. In 1673, it was stated by the accountancy of Haremeyn that the sum which was acquired for the last few years by the order remained at the hands of Çelebi and Aşçıbaşı (the Chief cook of the lodge) and it was an unjustly act for the dervishes. The procedure was reformulated by appointing one *mütevelli* Salih to collect the money from the superintendant of the endowment, Osman Ağa and he was warned not to allow interference of anybody. Gölpınarlı, p.173

şeyhs in charge in Istanbul for the formal appointment of his son. After Mehmed Çelebi died in Konya, his son Mehmed Said Hemdem came to Istanbul with nine other family members. They stayed at the Galata and Beşiktaş lodges as well as at the mansion of Halet Efendi²⁶⁴.

On 26 Rebiülahır 1230/ 4 April 1815, Mahmud II conferred Said Hemdem to the position of *çelebi*. Three days later he was accepted by the Grand Vizier and dressed in a sable-skin coat as a sign of the appointment. His companions were also rewarded with furs of gray squirrels. There were also grants in cash. For example Hemdem Çelebi received one thousand *guruş* and other dervishes three hundred *guruş*. The sultan also granted one thousand *guruş* annually for the *zükür* dervishes from his imperial holdings in Konya for the expenditures of turbans. The Çelebi stayed in Istanbul for one month and accepted as the guest of honor in the Üsküdar Mevlevi lodge and was sent back to Konya like a sultan by the dervishes²⁶⁵.

Mehmed Said Hemdem Çelebi, as the leader of the Mevleviye for forty-three years between 1815 and 1858 witnessed the reigns of Mahmud II (1808-1839) and Abdülmecid (1839-1861). It was a critical period in which the Porte introduced new methods of government, different reforms and policies. The Porte needed the sanction of leading Sufi orders during the abolition of the Janissary army and of the Bektaşî order as well as implementing new reforms. The Mevlevi order and its leader, Mehmed Said Çelebi in this case, was considered one of the most crucial basis of legitimization for the policies of government.

²⁶⁴ Gölpınarlı, p.174

²⁶⁵ Gölpınarlı, p.175; see also Defter-i Dervişan, v.2, pp.39-41 and HH. 31768, HH. 31768 B (1230/1815)

MEVLEVIS IN ISTANBUL AND THE SULTANS

Şeyh Galib in the Galata Lodge and Selim III

It was the Galata lodge under Şeyh Galib (Mehmed Esad Dede), which had a chance to enhance its influence much more than other Mevlevi lodges during the reign of Selim III. Şeyh Galib (1757-1799) was coming from a Mevlevi family and proved himself as a talented poet and a devoted Mevlevi²⁶⁶. He became very popular in that age by writing one of the most renowned romances of Turkish literature *Hüsn ü Aşk*²⁶⁷ (Beauty and Love) at the age of twenty-six and soon took his place among the elite²⁶⁸. He finished his Mevlevi education at Yenikapı mevlevihanesi under Ali Nutki Dede and Aşçıbaşı Sahih Ahmed Dede in 1787²⁶⁹.

In 1789, he wrote a treatise called *Es-Sohbetü's-Safiyye* (A Sincere Conversation), which was a commentary on *Er-Risaletü'l-Behiyyei'l-Mevleviye* by Ahmed Dede of Trabzon (d.1777). The treatise of Galib was an evaluation of the Mevleviye and he emphasized importance of "love" rather than "devotion". In short, it was Şeyh Galib who reformulated the essence of the Mevleviye in Istanbul at the turn of eighteenth century with an emphasis on "love" and represented superiority of "Şemsi" branch against "Veledi" branch of the Mevleviye in Galata mevlevihanesi²⁷⁰.

²⁶⁶ Gölpınarlı points out Alevi tendency of Şeyh Galip with special reference to his poems. The one telling "We sacrifice our head rather than confessing, we are firm in our promise/ We are the slaves of Şah-ı Velayet (Hacı Bektaş Veli) and we are Alevi" is rather interesting to make a connection towards Alevi-Bektaşî heritage: Gölpınarlı, p.226-229.

²⁶⁷ For the text and evaluations of "Hüsn ü Aşk" see, Şeyh Galib, *Hüsn ü Aşk*, ed.by. Orhan Okay, Hüseyin Ayan, İstanbul: 2000;

²⁶⁸ Victoria Rowe Holbrook, "Poetry and Mysticism in Islam" in *The Heritage of Rumi*, ed. by Amin Babani, Richard Hovannisian, and Georges Sabagh, Cambridge University Press: 1996, p.178

²⁶⁹ Beşir Ayyazoğlu, *Kuğunun Son Şarkısı*, İstanbul: 2000, p.55

²⁷⁰ İbrahim Kutluk, "Şeyh Galib ve as-Sohbet-üs-Safiyye", in *İÜ. Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, 3(1949), pp.21-47; George Gawrych, "Şeyh Galib and Selim III: Mevlevism and the Nizam-ı Cedid", in *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 4,1(1987), pp.102-103; Ekrem Işın, "Galata Mevlevihanesi", p.362

It was an important period when Russia annexed the Crimea and people were very demoralized because of scarcity of food, frequent fires, insecurity at home and military problems abroad. Mustafa III, father of Selim III expressed the general sense of pessimism in Ottoman society in a poem as follows:

“The world is in decay; do not think it will be right with us;
The state has declined into meanness and vulgarity.
Everyone at the court is concerned with pleasure;
Nothing remains for us but divine mercy”²⁷¹

George Gawrych claims that in a context of unsettling flux, many individuals turned to Sufism for “escape, solace and answer”. Sufism has become very popular in the eighteenth century and masses adhered to one or another Sufi order for salvation. Some scholars called this period “vulgarization of mysticism”²⁷². Another interesting phenomenon was multi allegiances of people for different Sufi orders. In other words people were connected to different orders firmly or loosely and perceived this situation as something more than a matter of choice. In the eighteenth century, this led to a blurring of distinctions between different Sufi orders²⁷³.

Şeyh Galib and Selim III lived through this unsettled era. Selim III ascended to the Ottoman throne in 1789 and Galib was appointed to the *şeyh* position at Galata Mevlevi lodge two years later on 11 June 1791²⁷⁴. During the reign of the sultan, they established close connections with each other. Selim used to visit Galata lodge and

²⁷¹ Gawrych, p.94; for a comparison of the translation see Berkes, p.54.

²⁷² Gawrych refers to H.R.Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol.1 pt.2, Oxford: 1957, pp.200-201, 205

²⁷³ Gawrych, p.95

²⁷⁴ According to accounts, upon dismissal of Halil Numan Dede (d.1791) from Galata lodge, for he established a Mevlevi lodge in Uskudar without the approval of *çelebi*, Abdullah Dede was appointed by *çelebi*. However he died on the way to Istanbul. Bakkalzade filled the position at Galata but for some reasons he was replaced by Galib Dede and apparently it was Selim III who favored Galib to the position. Başaran, p.89; Ayvazoğlu, p.64; Muhammet Nur Doğan, “Şeyh Galib”, *Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: 1999, v.1, p.473.

distributed gifts to dervishes.²⁷⁵ He also gave an exclusive right of appointing all officials who are charged with Mesnevi teaching and provided new funds for the maintenance of the Mevlevi *vaqfs*²⁷⁶. Selim also wanted to send new *puşides* (a kind of cloth mostly from precious clothes to cover the tombs) to the tomb of Celaleddin Rumi just after he came to the throne and asked Şeyh Galib to write a couplet of poem to decorate the *puşide*²⁷⁷. After Selim granted that valuable gift to the honor of Rumi, Galib praised the sultan as follows:

“It is evident to religion and the world that
Sultan Selim is a renewer because of his new cloth on the grave of Mevlana”²⁷⁸

On the other hand, Selim III embarked upon reform activities after he settled political instability for some time. His policies regenerated a great deal of opposition that grew and ultimately brought his deposition in 1807. In these years, Galib as one of the most powerful representatives of the Istanbul Mevlevi and a close supporter of Selim III remained on the side of the sultan. Galib depicted Selim as a “leader destined to rejuvenate the Ottoman Empire” who hold *ruh-ı nev*, a new soul:

“It is Selim Han whose brilliant judgement is a new soul upon the world
Above all he is a new spirit to the throne of the sultans”²⁷⁹

...

²⁷⁵ “Galata Mevlevihanesine nüzul ve mahfil-i Hümayuna suüd buyurulup mukabele-i şerifeyi ziyaret ve cümle dervişane beş yüz gurus ve zaviye-i mezkurun şeyhi olan Esad Galib Dede Efendi’ye bir çıkın ve misafir meşayih bir çıkın altın ihsan ve kalup dervişani ceb birle tahsil-i himmet-i firavan buyurulduktan sonra...”, Ahmed Efendi, p.94

²⁷⁶ Gawrych, p.107; Gölpınarlı, p.249; Ayvazoğlu, p.66

²⁷⁷ Ayvazoğlu, p.62

²⁷⁸ “Müceddid olduğu Sultan Selim’in din ü dünyaya/Nümayandır bu nev puşidesinden kabir-i Monla’ya”, Gawrych, p.107; Dilçin, p.38

²⁷⁹ “Selim Han ki cihana ruh-ı nevdür pertev-i re’yi/Hususa taze candur kaleb-i evreng-i hakana”: Cem Dilçin, “Şeyh Galib’in Mevlevihanelerin Tarimine İlişkin Şiirleri”, in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, XIV (1994), pp.35-36

"My couplets have become the pure attraction of the divan of knowledge
Just like the New Army of the Şah who arranges the world.

It is that Padişah who gives the goodness of order to important matters of state
Just like the Mehdi who is the Possessor of the Appointed Time (sahib-i zaman)²⁸⁰

According to Galib, Selim III strove to reform the Ottoman Empire, the religion and the state. He also referred to the "New Order" as *nizam-ı nev*, and claimed that the reform activities of the sultan were well constructed so that even the enemies admitted. He also glorified *nev asker-i müretteb* (newly conscripted soldiers) and *nev nev sipah* (brand new troops) of Selim III²⁸¹. By sanctioning Selim III and the New Order through his poetry, Şeyh Galib showed that he agreed with the policies of the Sultan whatever the cost was.

Selim gave Şeyh Galib a valuable copy of Mesnevi compiled by Cevri (d.1655), a master calligrapher. According to Gawrych, this gift symbolized informal affiliation of Selim III to Mevleviye and especially to Şeyh Galib²⁸². Galib was located just at the center of an elite circle in the Galata lodge with innumerable followers. Galata mevlevihanesi was open to visitors especially on Tuesdays and Fridays, which were the *mukabele* days²⁸³.

Galib also had free access to the Palace and welcomed by the Valide Sultan as well as other female members of the imperial family. There were even some rumors

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²⁸⁰ Gawrych, p.108

²⁸¹ "Esasından tutup teccid ü tanzim mülk-i Osman'ı / Ser-a-ser zahir ü batında kıldı himmetin icra", "Nizam-ı nev virüp teccid ider bünyan-ı ikbali / Bunu ilhah ider daim ana tevfik-i Yezdani", "Ebyatım oldu saf-keş-i divan-ı marifet / Nev-asker-i müretteb-i şah-ı cihan gibi", "Nev nev sipah icad ider aheng-i adl ü dad ider / Ruh-ı resuli şad ider hakka budur reyi ehem.": Dilçin, pp.36-37; Ayvazoğlu, p.67

²⁸² The presumption that Selim III adhered Mevleviye is almost like *a priori* for many scholars dealing with Selim III, we should know that we have no documents but just inferences like his interest in Mevlevi music, literature and his grants to Mevlevi *şeyhs* and dervishes.

²⁸³ Gawrych, p.108

on a relationship between Beyhan Sultan, the sister of Selim III and Şeyh Galib which was a sign of his popularity in the palace²⁸⁴.

Gawrych also asserts that the relationship between Galib and Selim grew up to a “political marriage” which gave way to “political ascendancy of Mevleviye unparalleled in its long history”. Both parts strove to legitimize themselves with some assumptions. Some myths on the early contacts of Mevlevi and the Ottomans became very popular in this era²⁸⁵. On the other hand, Galib tried to further the influence of Mevlevi order by scholarly endeavors. A companion of Şeyh Galib, Esrar Dede (d.1797) wrote a famous biographical dictionary called *Tezkere-i Şuara-yı Mevleviyye* (The Biography of Mevlevi Poets) as a proof of intellectual deveelopment of Mevleviye²⁸⁶.

The Mevleviye around Galata lodge in Istanbul represented the most flexible approach to the reform policies of the sultan to such an extent that it had no counterparts in any Mevlevi lodge let alone other Sufi orders. Galata mevlevihanesi attained specific grants which were provided exclusively for this lodge. A demand of Galata lodge to appropriate revenues of the twenty-eight specific *evqaf* shops in the vicinity of the lodge was accepted by the government. It is emphasized that this application excluded all other Sufi orders and should not be taken as an example²⁸⁷.

²⁸⁴ Ayvazoğlu, pp.69-70; Gölpinarlı, p.249

²⁸⁵ The early myths were on the political heritage of Celaleddin Rumi who supposedly ruled after the last Seljukid sultan and entrusted the sultanate to Osman. Another was on the girding of Osman by Sultan Veled on his accession ceremony. The myths above seem to be false at least historically. But Mevlevi accounts tried to establish the Ottoman dynasty as legitimate successors of Seljukids in Anatolia on one hand and on the other hand, it gave Mevleviye a privileged status as the first supporter of the new dynasty and provided Mevleviye a chance to attain superiority over any other Sufi order in the Ottoman Empire. Gölpinarlı, p.274, Gawrych, p. 109

²⁸⁶ Ayvazoğlu, pp.75-76

²⁸⁷ HH. 27256 (no date): “... Galata mevlevihanesi vakfından civarda kain yirmi sekiz aded dekakine vakf-ı mezkur tarafından gedik temessükatı itası niyaz ve istida olunmuş olduğundan, emsal olmamak ve saire sirayet etmemek üzere merhameten dekakin-i mezbure gediklerinin hankah-ı şerif-i mezkur vakfı tarafından itası ve icrası ...”

Though Galib's attitude towards the sultan's policies clashed with the interests of his superior ruler, Hacı Mehmed Çelebi in Konya, Şeyh Galib did not hesitate to walk his own way. Interestingly, it might be this "informal connection" between Selim III and Şeyh Galib and the prestige of the Mevleviye provided by Şeyh Galib that enabled Hacı Mehmed Çelebi to continue serving in Konya for many years.

Halet Efendi

Halet Efendi (1760-1823) was one of the most interesting figures in the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century. He was employed in various small offices but he rose after he established himself in the service of some leading statesmen in Istanbul and especially in Galata mevlevihanesi by adhering to Galib Dede²⁸⁸. He was sent to Paris as ambassador and with a rank of the companion of Selim III in 1802. After his arrival at Istanbul, he was appointed as *reisü'l-küttab* (chief officer in charge of foreign affairs in the Ottoman Empire) under the patronage of *şeyhülislam*, Ataullah Efendi in 1807. Though he became very popular after he came back and established good relations with Mahmud II, his name has been mentioned among the plotters in the following years. He was exiled to Kütahya and sent to Baghdad and Musul later on. When he came back to the capital, he was accused for impropriety and allying with Greek community of Fener in addition to cooperating with the Janissaries against the government and his enemies in the early 1820s²⁸⁹.

He played off the power groups in the Porte very well for some time and succeeded to secure the execution of some famous figures like Tepedelenli Ali Paşa

²⁸⁸ Başaran, p.90: "... Mümâileyh Halet Efendi, Şeyh Galib Efendi merhumun inabet-gerdesi olup zaman-ı ikbalinde turuk-ı aliyye fukarasına riayet ve bilhassa kendisi Mevleviyye'den olduğundan...".

and the dismissal of many others like Salih Paşa, the Grand Vizier. He has become a key figure in appointments and dismissals and excited a sense opposition among different groups. Yet it did not prevent the sultan to banish him to Kütahya and Konya. He resided at the private lodge of *çelebi* in Konya and was beheaded with an imperial order by Arif Ağa in 1823. It was such a case that even his corpse became a sign for the punishment of a plotter when his body was buried in Konya, his head was brought to capital and buried in the cemetery of Galata mevlevihanesi due to his affiliation with Mevleviye. All his property was confiscated by the state²⁹⁰.

Though he was a Mevlevi and served the Mevlevi²⁹¹ sincerely, he was also an opponent of reform in the military sphere and reacted especially to the idea of the abrogation of the Janissary army. One could ask whether his identities as a “Mevlevi” and an “ally of the Janissaries” conflicted or not. But the answer is not easy. Perhaps he was one of those who had multiple allegiances in different spheres or he just acted in accordance with his own interests at that period whichever way would bring him power and wealth.

Şeyhs in the Other Istanbul Mevlevi Lodges and the Porte

The family of Ebubekir Dede ruled the Yenikapı Mevlevi lodge since 1746 as one of the power groups within the Mevleviye and one part of the family also controlled the Galata lodge. In the nineteenth century, the Yenikapı lodge was in favor of the reformers and therefore acquired a considerable power with the support of the

²⁸⁹ Şihabettin Tekindağ, “Halet Efendi”, in *İA*, v.5 (1948), pp.123-124; Abdülkadir Özcan, “Halet Efendi”, in *TDVİA*, v.15(1997), p.250; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, ed.by Nuri Akbayar, İstanbul:1996, v.2, p.564; Başaran, pp.90-91; Ayvazoğlu, pp.140-149; Gölpınarlı, p.250

²⁹⁰ *ibid*; Ercüment Kuran, “Halet Efendi”, in *EI*, v.1, pp.124-125; Başaran, p.91

²⁹¹ Başaran, p.90: “... bilhassa kendisi de Mevleviyye'den olduğundan tarik-i mezkura müntesip bulunanlara pek çok iltifat ü ikram edermiş. Ez cümle sabıku'z-zıkr Kudretullah Efendi'nin Galata dergahına şeyh olması mümaileyhin himmet ü ianeti sebebiyledir.”; Halet Efendi endowed a library, a fountain, a clock-house in the Galata lodge in addition to his contributions in restoration of some parts

palace. After the death of Ebubekir Dede in 1804, it was his son Ali Nutki who came to the position at the age of fourteen.

The Yenikapı lodge underwent a similar brilliant period at the time of Ali Nutki Dede and it became a center of culture in Istanbul. Şeyh Galib, Hammamizade İsmail Dede, a famous composer, were products of this lodge at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Şeyh had connections with Halet Efendi who wore *arakiyye*, a specific Mevlevi cap, as a sign of his attachment in Yenikapı lodge during Nutki's time. Şeyh Ali Nutki also left one of the most significant sources on the Mevleviye, *Defter-i Dervişan* which was a memoir of life in Yenikapı lodge²⁹².

In the times of the succeeding *şeyhs*, Nasır Dede (1821-1829), Mehmed Hüsni Dede (1829-1831) and Abdurrahim Kunhi Dede (1831-1887), the Yenikapı Mevlevi lodge turned into a music school in which new forms of Mevlevi music were created. The Yenikapı lodge with its *şeyhs*, students and adherents continued to represent its flexible approach and maintained its connections with other Sufi movements like Melametiye²⁹³.

There is a specific account on Mahmud II's visit to the Yenikapı lodge. According to this account, the sultan together with his son Abdülaziz went to the Yenikapı lodge on a snowy evening. At the gate while entering the lodge he said to Şeyh Osman Salahaddin Dede (d.1887), "Şeyh Efendi, it is the attraction of your hearth which brought us here", and pointing out his son he continued, "If they would have been in my place, they would have never come!". It is also reported that, Abdülaziz who came to the throne after his father never forgot this event and he visited the same lodge during his reign. He went to Yenikapı mevlevihanesi in a

of Galata mevlevihanesi. It was Halet Efendi who helped Said Hemdem Çelebi of Konya for his appointment to the position of *çelebi* in 1815.

²⁹² Ekrem Işın, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler", p.129; Mehmed Ziya, p.99

²⁹³ *ibid*;

similar snowy evening. Reminding *şeyh* the former event he said, “Well Şeyh Efendi, our father once told that we would have never come, is it so, could we come?”²⁹⁴.

According to this account, the reason behind the attachment of the sultans to the Mevleviye and attending to rituals even under difficult conditions was reflected as a favor of the sultan towards the Mevlevi order on one hand, however if we try to understand the act of Abdülaziz, he tried to behave like his father as the patron of the Mevlevis in the Ottoman Empire and proved his interest by coming on a snowy evening. In short, the relationship worked in favor of both sides. While the sultan paid his visit and showed his piety and interest to the Mevleviye, he was legitimized by the Mevlevis, and the latter gained more power by attracting the interests of the sultans.

The Beşiktaş Mevlevi lodge was ruled by Şeyh Yusuf Dede Efendi between the years 1771 and 1817. It should be remembered that the Beşiktaş lodge had close contacts with the central lodge in Konya during the time of Yusuf Dede. Yusuf Dede acted like a representative of Hacı Mehmed Çelebi when the latter asked him to have the support of all lodges in Istanbul and to contact with Halet Efendi for his son’s accession. The new *çelebi* Mehmed Said Hemdem was a guest in the Beşiktaş lodge when he visited Istanbul to appeal for the position in Konya and after he was conferred he could not forget the efforts of Yusuf Çelebi²⁹⁵.

The family continued to control the Beşiktaş lodge through Mahmud Efendi of Trablusşam, the son-in-law of the former *şeyh* and Mehmed Kadri Efendi in 1819²⁹⁶. With the accession of Mahmud Efendi to the *şeyh* position in Beşiktaş, this lodge started to impose its control over Galata mevlevihanesi for the first time, which was

²⁹⁴ Gölpınarlı, p.271

²⁹⁵ see note 6.

²⁹⁶ Başaran, p.36; according to Mevlevi tradition of succession, Şeyh Mahmud Dede should have been followed by his son but since his son Mehmed Said Dede was a child at the time, Mehmed Kadri Dede took the position. Mehmed Said Dede retained his right to the position in 1850; see also İD. 14092 for the appointment of Said Dede by the government.

considered a policy of Yusuf Dede to establish a hereditary system on the transmission of the positions within a multi-centered Mevlevi organization. In the reign of Selim III, Beşiktaş *mevlevihanesi* underwent a radical reconstruction due to the expansion of Çırağan palace, which was located next to the mevlevihane. The lodge of the *şeyh* and twenty dervish cells were renovated in this period to make the lodge in conformity with the architectural style of the palace²⁹⁷.

Şeyh Mehmed Kadri Efendi became a representative of a common culture shared by the Yenikapı and Beşiktaş lodges since he was educated in Yenikapı mevlevihanesi and came to rule Beşiktaş mevlevihanesi later on. In the same period, Mahmud II decided to demolish the Beşiktaş lodge with the purpose of expanding Çırağan palace. Therefore, mevlevihane was temporarily transferred to the mansion of Musahib Abdi Bey, which was located next to the other side of the palace after the new plan in 1836. It is reported that Mahmud II used to visit the new mevlevihane and Şeyh Mehmed Kadri Dede every week and participated in the rituals. In one case when he was rather sick, Mahmud went to the Beşiktaş lodge to listen to the *Ferahfeza Ayini* of İsmail Dede Efendi who was a famous Mevlevi composer in 1839²⁹⁸. It is important to look at the context behind this case as something more than a habitual act of the sultan or merely a personal interest. First of all, it was Mahmud II who deprived of Mevlevi their original lodges and transferred them to a mansion, which actually belonged to somebody else. From a larger perspective, it was a difficult period for the sultan. After the abolition of the Bektâşi order, the sultan was following policies to impose radical and intensive reforms in the Empire throughout 1830s. He introduced new applications and laws which seemed alien to people therefore he urgently needed

²⁹⁷ Işın, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Beşiktaş-Bahariye Mevlevihanesi" in *İstanbul*, p.132

²⁹⁸ *ibid*; Küçük, p.305

the sanction of the spiritual leaders and Mevleviye with its wider and tolerant perspective in Istanbul was considered the closest candidate to support Mahmud II.

Kasımpaşa mevlevihanesi, a seventeenth century creation was a different lodge from the other Mevlevi lodges for it attracted not the elite but people from lower ranks. Therefore it was generally considered a “less effective” mevlevihane. In the nineteenth century, it was ruled by Mevlanazade Seyyid Mehmed Dede(d.1796), a former *şeyh* of the Erzincan Mevlevi lodge, his son Seyyid Ali Dede²⁹⁹ (d.1827) and his grandson Seyyid Mehmed Şemseddin Dede (d.1858)³⁰⁰. The Kasımpaşa lodge is similar to other lodges in Istanbul on one point, that in the nineteenth century it was controlled by the family of *şeyh*, that of Mevlanazade. Notwithstanding, this family did not represent interests of the urban elite since they were coming from Erzincan³⁰¹. There is another interesting aspect of the Kasımpaşa lodge that in this period, it came to be a center where Mevlevi with Bektaşî tendencies adhered mostly. It is reported that members of Kasımpaşa mevlevihanesi lived relatively free like Kalenders of the early periods who did not obey the strict *tariqat* rules. Some Bektaşîs might have also found shelter at Kasımpaşa after 1826³⁰².

Kasımpaşa mevlevihanesi was one of the lodges, which was reconstructed first under Selim III in 1796-1797 and then under Mahmud II in 1834-1835, which hold the

²⁹⁹ Seyyid Ali Dede was the representative of the Kasımpaşa lodge on the meeting, which summoned to discuss the future of the Bektaşîye on 8 July 1826.

³⁰⁰ See İD. 10189 (1858) for the assignments of salaries to the family of Şemseddin Dede after the demised.

³⁰¹ Despite the nature of Kasımpaşa mevlevihanesi as a more moderate institution in terms of its adherents, Sezai Küçük quoting from *Tarih-i Ata* (İstanbul, 1293, v.3, p.193) refers to Şemseddin Dede who started to musical performances in the palace in the time of Selim III which continued in the reign of Mahmud II, too.

³⁰² Baha Tanman, “Kasımpaşa Mevlevihanesi”, *DBİA*, v.4, p.483; Başaran, pp.38-39; Yücel, p.81

monogram of the Mahmud as a sign of his favor³⁰³. After the renovation, the lodge looked like one of classic mansions of Mahmud II's reign and became one of the largest wooden convents of the late Ottoman history. One can read the transformation that the Empire experienced during Mahmud's time through the architectural style of the Kasımpaşa lodge. It contained a "Mevlevi arması" as a decorative element in *semahane*. In a period when Ottomans made intensive use of western styles, decoration of the ceiling first with Mevlevi musical instruments and then with Ottoman standards around them arranged like they are just to whirl, has many symbolic meanings³⁰⁴. It clearly reflects the perception of the relations between the state and the Mevlevi order as two inseparable institutions, which depended on each other even by using western styles hand-in-hand.

The Üsküdar Mevlevi lodge, the latest Mevlevi establishment in İstanbul, was a creation of Halil Numan Dede(d.1798) in 1792. Numan Dede had some problems with the central lodge in Konya since he established this lodge without consulting the center for which he was dismissed from his position at Galata lodge³⁰⁵.

Since it was turned into a Mevlevi *tekke* from the house of Numan Dede, in order to take the form of a Mevlevi *zaviye*³⁰⁶, it went through several constructions and restorations in the nineteenth century. For example, Mahmud II ordered Müşir Ahmed Fevzi Paşa to reconstruct it in 1834 as the supervisor of the restoration³⁰⁷. Yet the

³⁰³ Başaran, p.39: "Tekke-i mezbur 1211 (1796-97) tarihinde Sultan Selim Han-ı Salis Hazretleri'nin himem-i şahaneleriyle tecdid olunmuşdur... Tekke-i mezburu 1250 (1834-35) senesi cennet-mekan Sultan Mahmud Han Efendimiz dahi evvelkinden a'la tecdid eyledi."

³⁰⁴ Tanman, p.484;

³⁰⁵ see note 101, 102 in Part II and 15 in Part IV and Defter-i Dervişan, V.2, p.41

³⁰⁶ see HH. 4320 (1212/1797): "Yeğen Ali Paşazade Şeyh Numan Bey'in Üsküdar'daki Mevlevihanesi'ne vakfeylediği Mahmudlar Çiftliği arazisinin Defterhane vakıf defterine kaydı istizamına dair."

³⁰⁷ Baha Tanman, "Üsküdar Mevlevihanesi", in *DBİA*, v.7, p.348

lodge was rather smaller than the other four lodges since it was only a *zaviye* that aimed to serve visitors from Anatolia. Şeyh Mehmed Ruhi Dede (d.1819) was a key figure as a host in Üsküdar *mevlevihanesi* to have Said Hemdem Çelebi for one month while he was returning to take his place in Konya after he was appointed as the new *çelebi* in 1815.

This chapter introduced the Mevlevi actors and the Ottoman sultans between the years 1780-1840. The reactions of the Mevlevis in Istanbul and Konya differed a lot especially on reform policies of the government. On one hand, Şeyh Galib, became the leading figure among the Istanbul Mevlevis and he supported Selim III in his policies. On the other hand, the Çelebi became part of a significant local rebellion in reaction to the reforms let alone collaborating with the government. It was perhaps the prestige of the Mevleviye in the eyes of the rulers which saved the Çelebi from punishment and in a sense it can also be claimed that for the Mevlevi order, this prestige reached its height in this era. However, there were also some other considerations of the government. They did not want to lose the overall support of a Sufi group, the Mevlevis as a legitimizing factor within the policies of the government.

7. THE OTTOMAN SULTANS AS PATRONS OF THE MEVLEVIYE

*Yapdırup bu hankahı resm-i nev-bünyad ile
Kurdi ervah-ı ricalu'llaha bir divan-ı aşk³⁰⁸.*

Şeyh Galib-1791

The relationship between the Mevlevi order and the central government continued in basically three forms in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. First of all, the government helped to the construction and restoration of Mevlevi lodges as it did before as a symbol of patronage on the Mevleviye. Secondly, it provided revenues to the order either in the form of supplying money for food consumption or just as gift (*nezr*) for the expenditures of the Mevlevi dervishes. Lastly, the government confirmed the accession and dismissal of *şeyhs* who acted not only as the leaders of mevlevihanes but also as the trustees of the *evqaf* they controlled. In some cases, Mevleviis appealed to the government to solve their problems with various groups. In short, all of these are points of convergence, which reveal the nature of the relationship between the Mevlevi order and the government.

CONSTRUCTION AND RESTORATION OF THE MEVLEVIHANES

The relations between the central government and the Mevlevi order represented changing patterns with respect to space and time in Ottoman history yet the ruling elite never ceased to be interested in Mevleviye for various reasons. The fact that they supported construction of the Mevlevi lodges or restoring the old ones was one of the key outcomes of their interest.

³⁰⁸ Dilçin, p.55

The central Mevlevi complex in Konya came into existence and was restored thanks to the contributions of several sultans. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Abdülhamid I started a restoration in the Selimiye mosque and the tomb of Mevlana which were components of the central Mevlevi lodge in 1199/1784-1785. The government sent 10.000 *kıyye* lead from the Bozkır mines and 4000 *guruş* from *emval-i miriye*, the imperial possessions in the region in Rebiülahir 1199/February-March 1785, which remained insufficient to cover all parts they intended to restore. Therefore *postnişin* Hacı Mehmed Çelebi requested an additional payment of 12.500 *kıyye* lead and 5000 *guruş*³⁰⁹. The demands were supplied soon in 25 Safer 1204/14 November 1789 from the same source³¹⁰ because the areas under restoration worth to deal with since “Celaleddin Rumi was one of the great friends of God and there were several moral benefits in the restoration of his illuminated grave and the mosque in its vicinity”³¹¹.

The next year, the restoration finished under the supervision of Çelebi and Mehmed Tahir Efendi went to inspect outcome of the restoration in the Selimiye mosque, the tomb of Celaleddin Rumi, dervish cells, kitchen and some other domes and witnessed that everything was very well done. Nuemann points out that spending a total amount of 22.500 *kıyye* lead and 9000 *guruş* for the restoration of the Mevlevi

³⁰⁹ CE. 10899 (17 S1204/6.11.1789), Takrir: “Konya’da Mevlana türbesinin ve Sultan Selim caminin tamiri için gönderilen on bin okka kurşun ve 4000 kuruş kafi gelmediğinden 12500 okka kurşun ile 6000 kuruş daha gönderilmesi.”

³¹⁰ Actually, the Bozkır mine did not contain necessary amount of imperial lead at the time because it was transferred to the imperial mint in Istanbul and the remaining lead belonged to the miners. Under these conditions the government decided to purchase the lead from the miners with imperial revenues that came from Konya region. CE. 1142A. (23 Ra 1204/11.12.1789): “Konya’da Celaleddin Rumi türbe ve mescidi ve sair mevazıa muktazi kurşun ve esmani”.

³¹¹ “Hazret-i Celaleddin Rumi ecille-i kibar-ı evliyauallahdan olup, merkad-i münevverelerinin ve kurbinde olan cami-i şerifin tamir ve termimi nice nice fevaid-i maneviyeyi mucib olacağı...” CE. 1140A (Undated): “Konya’da Celaleddin Rumi Türbesi ile civarındaki Sultan Selim Camii’nin tamirleri”; see also CE. 16185 (9 Ca 1205, 25 Ş 1205/14.01.1791-29.04.1791)

complex was a very generous grant at a time when the government spent 25.000 *kıyye* lead in the Nuruosmaniye mosque in Istanbul and severely needed the material and the money during the wars with Russia in the same period. In addition, Mehmed Çelebi requested 3505 *guruş* for some other restorations in the lodge, which were not undertaken by the government and the government accepted his demand³¹².

If we read the underlines in the texts, they sometimes tell more than we expected. From this kind of a perspective, Neumann reveals the affiliation of the government to the Mevlevi order not only as a personal attitude of Selim III. According to the report of Konya Naibi Mehmed Tahir Efendi, with the restoration of the Mevlevi lodge where a great saint like Mevlana-yı Rumi and several other sacred souls were at rest, and with that of the Sultan Selim mosque where the worshippers of the right way and the other community of Muslims were engaged in prayers, it would be a proof of attaining the favor of God and of the victory over enemies of the religion in particular. He also pointed out that thanks to the restoration of the lodge very well, those dervish groups, the community of Muslims, and all pious people were constantly praying for the victory of the sultan over the enemies of the religion³¹³.

Though these kinds of statements are part of the cliché that aimed to glorify the sultan for his generous act and to encourage the beneficiaries for similar ends, there was a mutual expectation on both sides. On one hand, Mevlevi wanted to gain the support of the sultan both materially and morally. On the other hand, the government needed the sanction of the Mevleviye against the “enemies of the religion” who were not clearly defined, it could be enemies outside or any group opposing the authority of

³¹² Numan, pp.170-171

³¹³ Neumann, p.171

the sultan at home under hard social, political and emotional conditions in the empire at the dawn of the century.

The Galata Mevlevi lodge was one of the most important lodges, which attracted interest of Selim III generously. When Şeyh Galib came to the position of *şeyh* at the Galata lodge, he appealed to the sultan with a poem asking for the restoration of the lodge. He talked about the former situation of the lodge when it was in ruin. According to Dilçin, a contemporary of Galib, Vakanüvis Halil Nuri Efendi (d.1798) confirmed the situation of Galata mevlevihanesi by referring the lodge as “a nest of crows and owls”. The sultan never refused Galib’s demands and in return Galib praised Selim III in every occasion by several poems³¹⁴.

Other *mevlevihanes* in the Ottoman Empire attracted similar favors in the same period. The restoration activities in the Gelibolu lodge in 1767 and 1802, the Tokat lodge in 1791-1792, the Kasımpaşa lodge in 1795, the Larende lodge in 1805 were examples of this attitude where expenditures of the restoration were met by the government. It was an important issue to finance the restoration. The government usually provided the necessary material from the surrounding regions, in the case of Konya-Bozkır mines. As for the money, it was extracted from the same region where a mevlevihane was located. For example, after a fire in Tokat *mevlevihanesi*, the restoration was financed from the budget of Tokat *voyvodalıđı*³¹⁵ and the one in Konya

³¹⁴ “Yapdırup bu hankahı resm-i nev-bünyad ile /Kurdu ervah-ı ricalu’llaha bir divan-ı aşk”, for restoration of semahane; “Bu şadırvanı icad eyleyüp derya-yı feyzinden/Velayetden nişan gösterdi dervişana aşk olsun” for that of fountain; for other poems of Şeyh Galib regarding the restoration of mevlevihanes, see Dilçin, pp. 49-76

³¹⁵ CE. 25892 (14 N 1205/17.05.1791), İlam: “Tokatta vaki mevlevihane evkafı müsakkafatından yangında yanan Kapanhamı demekle maruf hamn yanmasına mebni Tokat voyvodalıđı malından havale olunan para ile tamiri.”

was supported by the imperial possession around Konya and from some other tax revenues in Kayseri³¹⁶.

When there was a need for the restoration of any part of a *mevlevihane*, the *şeyh* of that lodge would petition the government. The government usually had a regular plan for the restoration activity. They sent an expert to find out what is exactly needed to be done and what kind of material it required and how much it would cost. Then a chief architect would be employed in the restoration and the government would entrust the activity to a person who would be responsible for the whole procedure from the beginning to the end. For example, the restoration of Gelibolu lodge in 1802 reveals this procedure very well³¹⁷.

The Gelibolu lodge was constructed by Ağazade Mehmed Efendi(d.1652) in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Şeyh Ali İzzet Efendi appealed to the government for the restoration of some parts of the *mevlevihane* in 1802. The situation of the lodge was inspected through the local judge and the report was presented to the court by the *şeyh*. The imperial chief architect in Istanbul made estimation on the expenditures of the restoration activity amounting to 8974 *guruş*. The government decided to obtain the sum from imperial holdings in the region and to purchase necessary material like lead, wood, dry, and tiles in Istanbul and appointed Kalyoncızade Mustafa Efendi who was a notable of Gelibolu as the supervisor of the affair in Gelibolu. The payments for the expenditures would be attained from imperial

³¹⁶ CE. 10260 (18 Ca 1205/ 23.01.1791), Takrir: "Konya'da Celalettin Rumi türbesinin tamiri için bazı mukataalardan mebaliğ tahsil edilmediğinden Kayseri sancağının deve bedeliyesi malından havaleten verilmesi."

³¹⁷ CE. 734 (29 L 1216/4.03.1802): "Gelibolu'daki mevlevihanenin muhtacı tamir olan yerlerinin tamiri hakkında mahallinden gelen keşif defterinin mimar-ı hassa marifeti ile tenkih ve fiatı vaz olunarak İstanbul'dan gönderilmesi icap eden kurşun, çivi, kiremit, kereste, boya ve sair levazımat mubayaası zımında şu kadar kurşun verilmesine dair defterdar tarafından"

holdings in Gelibolu that were collected by Kalyoncuzade as an *ayan* himself who was also authorized for the tax collection³¹⁸.

The restoration activities went on during the reign of Mahmud II. The contribution of Halet Efendi on Galata mevlevihanesi was so significant that the lodge was called as a creation of Halet Efendi thanks to his construction activities. The tomb, the library and the fountain date back to his period, 1819. The second important construction was undertaken after 1824 when a great fire burnt a large region in Beyoğlu including the kitchen, nine dervish cells and the masjid in the lodge. The *şeyh* in charge, Kudretullah Dede petitioned the government in 1824 that dervishes were dwelling in tents for four years since the fire and they were worn out due to natural conditions. The government's reply was far from being satisfactory. It was said that their demands would be met by providing new tents³¹⁹. It seems that the dervishes in Galata lodge have suffered a lot until a large restoration was held in 1835. The inscription, which holds the insignia of Mahmud II still survives on the gate of the lodge³²⁰.

The Yenikapı lodge in Istanbul was also restored during the time of Şeyh Nasır Dede; the tomb and the *semahane* were reconstructed under Mahmud II with the efforts of Halet Efendi in 1816. Şehremini Hayrullah Efendi was appointed as the supervisor and he estimated that 33.474 *guruş* would be required to undertake the

³¹⁸ "... Gelibolu'da kain mevlevihanesinin muhtac-ı tamir olan mahallerinin varid olan keşf defteri Mimar Ağa kulları marifetiyle tenkih ve fiyatı vaz olunduk da mesarifi sekiz bin dokuz yüz yetmiş dörd guruşa baliğ olmağla ebniye-i merkumenin mesarifi inşası canib-i miriden virilmek şartıyla eşraf-ı kuzatdan Gelibolu ayanı Kalyoncuzade Mustafa Efendi daileri marifetiyle tamir ve tecdidine irade-i seniyyeleri taalluk idüp ol babda mamuriyetini havi işbu sene-yi mübareke gurre-i Ramazan'ında derkenar ise mastur emr-i şerif ve suret-i defter virilmişdi..." CE. 734 (29 L 1216/4.3.1802)

³¹⁹ CE. 14508 (1244/1828), Arzuhal: "1240 tarihinde muhterik olan Galata mevlevihanesi matbah ve sair müstemilatının tamir ve ehyası için şeyhi (Kudretullah) imzasıyla gayet dilsuz ve aşikane yazılmış, buyrultusu ile çadır verilmesi emrinden ibaret bulunmuştur."

³²⁰ The inscription is as follows: "Himmet-i Mahmud Han bu der gehi/ Eyledi abad şevketle hemen/ Saye-i adlinde mamur olmada /Su-be-su hep cilvegah-ı aşikan/ Hakk Taala eylesün daveri/Böyle çok hayre muvaffak her zaman/ Bir hesabda düşdi mana lafz ile/beyt-i tarihin Lebib itdi beyan/yapdı bu dergah-ı zibayı cedid/bin ikiyüz ellide Mahmud Han", Ekrem Işın, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler", p.124; Tanman, "Galata Mevlevihanesi", p.363, Kerametli, p.20

restoration. The existing *semahane* was demolished and a new one was erected within five months and it was opened with a ceremony in 1817³²¹.

The largest project of Mahmud II regarding the Mevleviye was the restoration of the Konya lodge in 1835. The government decided to restore the tomb of Mevlana, the Selimiye mosque, the house of Çelebi as well as that of el-Hac Raşid Efendi from the Mevlana family. An imperial decree dating to 15 Şaban 1251/6 December 1835 gives us detailed information on various stages of this work³²².

In the first part of the decree, there are records of various items, which were required in the restoration and purchased by the *Kapı Kethüdası* in Istanbul. The items were iron for railings, paints, gate handles and taps of various sizes and qualities, locks for the doors, which amounted 36.668 *guruş*. In the second part, various types of wood and some other items, which were provided from districts and villages around Konya were listed and 117.774,5 *guruş* was spent for them. The third part, tells us salaries and travelling expenditures of Es-Seyyid Mehmed Salih who was the *Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürü Halifesi* and accompanied with seven masters. They were paid a total amount of 37.435 *guruş* by the government. The painters, stone masters and artists were brought from Kayseri and employed in the restoration. They earned 13.500 *guruş* in this work. The laborers were provided from Konya and they worked for thirty-two weeks. They were paid on a weekly basis, and their salaries were determined in accordance with the current market prices in Konya, which amounted 68.507,5 *guruş*. The last part of the decree mentions the expenditures for the restoration of the Çelebi's residence. It says, though the imperial will emanated on the restoration of the mentioned house, the Çelebi wanted to postpone the restoration to the next summer

³²¹ Işın, "İstanbul'un Mistik Tarihinde Mevlevihaneler" p.129

³²² HH. 27471 (15 Şaban 1251/04.01.1836); the study of Yusuf Küçükdağ, from KŞS 73, pp. 209-211 gives the same records with the imperial decree above and published as "1215/1835 Tarihli Mevlana Türbesi ve Çelebi Efendi Konağı Tamir ve İnsası Defteri", in *TAD*, 2(May 1996), pp.181-206

since they were already in the winter season. Therefore he was granted 3500 *guruş* for undertaking the task himself next summer. According to the figures, the government spent exactly 277.385 *guruş* for this project³²³.

It seems that the magnificent Mevlevi complex of centuries required a total restoration in this period, which leads one to think that it might have been neglected for some time or Mahmud II devoted himself to renovate the lodge. At the end, the government made a huge investment in Konya, the center of all Mevlevi establishments in the empire, in return for loyalty, sanction and support that was expected to come from members of the order during hard times³²⁴.

PROVISIONING THE MEVLEVI ORDER

One of the important responsibilities of the government was to provide provisions for Sufi orders. The Mevleviye as one of the most powerful Sufi orders in the empire succeeded in appropriating a large share in this context. There were mainly two categories in the provisions. The first one is *taamiye*, food or money allowed for food and there were other kind of assignments, which were called under different names like *mum ve traş bahası*, (money for candles and shaving), *nafaka ve elbise parası* (money for subsistence and clothes)³²⁵; or those that were given just as gifts, *nezzr*.

³²³ *ibid.*

³²⁴ Ali Gülcan gives us another example from Karaman-Larende lodge that underwent a similar restoration in 1816 under Mahmud II. He says that this lodge as one of the oldest Mevlevi establishments in Anatolia almost disappeared in time with its various buildings in addition to the appropriation of its *evqaf* by individuals. It is interesting that an important lodge in Karaman which was very important since the mother of Rumi was buried there deteriorated day by day while the central lodge continued to flourish; Ali Gülcan (ed.), Karaman Mevlevihanesi, *Mevlevilik ve Karamanlı Mevlevi Velileri*, Karaman (no publishing date), pp.25-29

³²⁵ see CE. 30951 (25 N 1181/14.02.1768), Suret: "Selanik mevlevihane dervişanına verilecek nafaka ve elbise parasına dair."; CE. 30593 (6 S 1202/17.11.1787), Hücet: "Selanik Mevlevihanesi fukara ve dervişanın nafaka ve kisve bahaları için Selanik memlihasından 80.000 akça alındığına dair."; CE. 30951 (25 N 1181/14.02.1768), Suret: "Selanik mevlevihane dervişanına verilecek nafaka ve elbise parasına dair."; CE. 11889 (17 Za 1231/9.10.1816), Suret: "Konya'da meftun Mevlana'nın erkek evladına Konya Larende mukataası malından senevi muhassas sarık bedelinin verilmesi."

The government granted a specific amount of food or the cost of food in cash for the lodges. They were usually supplied from large tax units in the surrounding regions of the lodges. For example, the *Filibe mukataası* was the principal unit, which fed Istanbul Mevlevi lodges³²⁶. The basic item that came from the *Filibe mukataası* and consumed in the five Mevlevi lodges in Istanbul was rice. The source of revenue could be a mine as in the case of Selanik mevlevihanesi whose food expenditures were met by a salt mine in Selanik Beşçınar region³²⁷. In Konya, it was extracted as *ber vech-i ocaklık*, or in some cases from *mirabiye mukataası*, Konya and Karaman jizya taxes³²⁸; in Ankara, from *damga* taxes, or *mukataa* property³²⁹; in Bursa from *ihtisap mukataası* and jizya taxes³³⁰; in Tokat from *damga-yı surh* and *boyahane kirpası mukataası*³³¹. In short, the government assessed local sources of revenue and granted some part of that revenue to the Mevlevi lodge in that region or a specific amount of food was directly sent from that area, which was bound to feed that lodge.

³²⁶ CE. 15958 (Z 1185/23.01.1776), Hücet: “Kasımpaşa mevlevihanesine taamiye olarak Filibe nezareti mukataası malından tahsis olunan pirincin alındığı”; CE. 4602 (22 L 1210/30.04.1796): “Galata Mevlevihanesinin şeyh ve dervişlerinin taammiyeleri için Filibe mukataası nezareti malından yevmiye bir kile pirincin tahsisi (takrir balaındaki hattı hümayun kesiktir)”; CE. 2132 (10 N 1241/28.04.1825): “Yenikapı mevlevihanesine taamiyye olarak Filibe nezareti mukataası malından muhassas senevi 18 kile pirincin ahzedildiğini mütezammin”; see also HHHH. 25486 (1250/1834-35), 28244 (1251/1835-36), HH. 12680 (1210/1795-96) on Filibe mukataası.

³²⁷ CE. 17516 (20 M 1189/23.03.1789), Hücet: “Selanik mevlevihanesi dervişleri yiyecekleri için Selanik Beşçınar memlihasından muhassas tuzun bir senelik bedelinin alındığı.”

³²⁸ CE.1141 (2 Ra 1204-1789): Konya’da Celaleddin Rumi dergahında sakin fukara ve dervişanın ocaklık suretiyle tayin olunan taamiye ve bal mumu ve traş bahaları için maktu cizyeler; CE. 8304 (B 1210/11.01.1796-09.02.1796), Arzuhal: “Konya’da asitani mevleviyenin dervişleri taamiyesine mirabiyye mukataası malından senevi muhassas 1246 kuruşun verilmesi; CE. 16455 (S 1215/24.06.1800-22.07.1800), Hücet: “Konya’da Mevlana Celalettin hanekahına Karaman cizyesi malından taamiye mukabil tahsis olunan meblağı müterakimin alındığı.”

³²⁹ CE. 13463 (1220/01.04.1805-20.03.1806), Hücet: “Ankara’da vaki mevlevihanenin fukarasına oranın damgası mahsulünden taamiye olarak tahsis olunan vazifenin şeyhi tarafından alındığı.”; CE. 22550 (Za 1229/15.10.1814), İlam: “Ankara Mevlevihanesi postnişini Mehmet Efendi vefat etmiş ve meşihat oğlu Mehmet Tahir Efendi’ye tevcih edilmiş olmakla Ankara (tütün dönümü) resminden dergaha mahsus taammiye için mumaileyhe berat itası.”

³³⁰ CE. 14229 (2 Ş 1252/12/11/1836), İ. Haber: “Bursa mevlevihanesi dervişlerine muhassas taamiyenin azlığına binaen Bursa ihtisap mukataasından zam yapılması”; CE. 22462 (23 B 1252/ 3.11.1836), Pusula: “Bursa mevlevihanesi ne cizyeden 250 kuruş taammiye tahsisi.”

³³¹ CE. 26468 (Z 1267/27.9.1851-25.10.1851), Temesstük : “Tokattaki Mevlevihane fukarasının taamiye bedeline (Damgayı surh ve boyahane kirpası) mukataasından muhassas bir senelik mebalığı mukataa emini yedinden aldığı dair(mütevelli tarafından)”; see also HH.27832 (1251/1825) for additional assignment demands of the şeyh, Mehmed Emin Efendi.

The required amounts for each lodge were renewed every year and they were given a permission of the sultan to take these amounts from fixed sources. A document from the early eighteenth century dated 23 M 1123/13 March 1711 shows us this procedure. Ninety- eight *hücrenişin* (dervishes) in the *asitane* of Mevlana Celaleddin received their annual assignments as *şem-i rugan ve traş bahaları* from Konya *jizya* property and for the year 1123/1711 which amounted 28.912 *akças*³³².

The annual payment to the central lodge in Konya amounted 3.280,5 *guruş* with the accumulation of Karaman *jizya* revenues, *mirabiye mukaatası* property, Niş and Konya *jizya* revenues in 1799. Since more dervishes resided in the lodge due to the war conditions in the empire and the former food assignments were not sufficient to feed them, Çelebi Mehmed asked for additional assingment. In 5 Safer 1214/9 August 1799, the government assigned them an additional 500 *guruş* from the *Samsal mukataası*, which, was the property of the Grand Vizier Yusuf Ziya Paşa. The Paşa granted this assignment in return for prayers of the dervishes since Yusuf Ziya Paşa would soon leave for a campaign against French. The Mevlevi were required to pray for the victory of the Grand Vizier, who was their benefactor³³³. Nuemann claims that the newcomers were either soldiers or those who escaped from heavy taxation and he adds that in this way the government rewarded those people who worked against their patron³³⁴.

³³² CE. 215 (23 M 1123/20.02.1711): "Konya'da Mevlana asitanesinde hücrenişin olan dervişlerin Şem'i Rızvan ve traş bahalarının cizyedar tarafından para dörder akçe hesabıyla değil üçer akçe hesabıyla verilmek için".

³³³ CE. 984 (R 1216-August 1801): "Konya'da Mevlevi dergahı taamiyesi hakkında mahalli kadılığundan"; see also CE.18976(M 1179/20.06.1765-19.07.1765), Hüccet: "Konya'da Mevlana asitanesi hücrelerindeki dervişlerin mum ve traş bahaları olarak oranın cizyesi malından ocaklık suretiyle muhassas senevi 38000 küstür akçanın alındığı."

³³⁴ Neumann, p.173; for the provisioning amounts under Mahmud II see, HHL33800 (1248/1832-33): "Dergâh-ı Hazret-i Mevlâna'daki fukara-yı dervişanın taamiyesine ilâve olunan dokuz bin kuruşun vürüdünden bahsile teşekkürü havi Çelebi Efendi'nin sadarete."

The dervishes at the Galata lodge were supplied daily one *kile* of rice in 1796 from the *Filibe mukataası*. The motive behind the grant of the sultan is clear if we look at the text. It says, “any act of reverence and help to the poor dervishes and *şeyhs*, that is glorified with their honorable attachment to Hazret-i Mevlana (may God sanctify his mystery) who is the center of heavenly friends of God, would procure the prayers to God for the sultan, who is the shadow of God on earth and bring the spiritual support of the mentioned saint.”³³⁵

The provisioning of the Beşiktaş Mevlevi lodge was provided from different sources. The most important base was of course the *Filibe mukataası*, which continued to provide rice for the dervishes in Beşiktaş for generations. Another source was the *vaqf* of İzmirlioğlu Hamza Bey in Tarakçı village in Balıkesir in the eighteenth century³³⁶. An imperial decree from 1211/1796-97 tells us about the problematic aspect of the grants. Some villages in Akhisar Geyve in Kocaeli district used to pay their regular taxes. They came up with a petition to volunteer for providing the “soup expenditures” of the Beşiktaş Mevlevi lodge. The government gave them exemption from *tekalif-i şakka*, in return for repairing the bridges over the Sakarya River and supplying some of the food requirements of the Beşiktaş mevlevihanesi. In time, after some work on the repair of the mentioned bridge, they refused to pay other taxes since they were bound to the maintenance of that bridge and providing the assigned food for the Beşiktaş lodge. At the end, the government contacted the local governor, Aziz Paşa to prevent their abuses³³⁷. In the following years, the Beşiktaş lodge suffered due to insufficient provisions. In 1253/1837-38, Şeyh Abdülkadir Efendi appealed to the government for attaining extra assignments. He claimed that the lodge was granted

³³⁵ CE. 4602 (22 L 1210/30.04.1796)

³³⁶ CE. 1845 (27 S 1180/04.08.1766): “Beşiktaş Mevlevihanesi fukara taamiyesine mahsus İzmirlioğlu Hamza Bey evkafından Balıkesir’de Tarakçı mezraası vakfının mezraadar ve tevliyet cihetleri tevcihi.”

³³⁷ HH.17242A. (1211/1796-97)

first 300 *kile* of food and 30 *kile* later on. Yet for some time, though 155 *kile* of the assignment was supplied, the government substituted the remaining part with 750 *guruş*. This change led the lodge to become indebted at least 3000-4000 *guruş* annually so that the *şeyh* was unable to pay the debts back. At the end, the government decided to provide previous assignments, which would prevent further debts for the lodge³³⁸.

The prosperous ages of the Mevlevi order came to an end especially after the 1840s with the Tanzimat project. The assignments of the lodges were either reduced or completely abolished. The Serez Mevlevi lodge is a good example, which was deprived of some its additional revenues. The lodge used to get assignments from *temettüat* and the dervishes used to be given extra food, 6 *kile* of rice, 40 *okka* of oil and honey, 8 *okka* of coffee during the month of Ramazan. However, they were unable to have the latter assignments after the declaration of Tanzimat. Upon the appeal of the dervishes, the government decided to give some money to the lodge during Ramazan. Though the government reinstated some of the former provisions as an act of imperial largess to specific lodges, it is difficult to claim that they enjoyed their previous conditions³³⁹.

Selim III, Mahmud II and some other statesmen granted money to some of the Mevlevi leaders on several occasions. Abdülbaki Nasır Dede of the Yenikapı lodge received 1000 *guruş* as gift whereas Mehmed Dede and Hammamizade Derviş İsmail were given thirty *guruş* each upon their acceptance in the palace by Selim III in 1800. When they visited the Mevlevi lodges, the benefactors presented some gifts to the

³³⁸ HH. 27199 (1253/1837-38)

³³⁹ CE. 17095 (5 Ca 1258/15.6.1842), Takrir: "Siroz mevlevihanesine şehit temettüatından verilen tayinattan başka Ramazanlarda verile gelen 6 kilo piriç, 40 okka yağ ve bal ve 8 okka kahve Tanzimat'ın ilanından sonra kesilmiş olduğundan Ramazanlarda verilmek üzere mezkûr tekke dervişamına taamiye olarak bir miktar para tahsisine dair.>"; for another exceptional example see CE.

dervishes and *şeyhs* as in the case when Selim III gave fifty *guruş* to each of the five Mevlevi *şeyhs* in charge in Istanbul lodges and four other visiting *şeyhs* in the opening ceremony of the Beşiktaş lodge after its restoration. Mahmud II also continued to provide similar grants. After he participated in a *mukabele* in a visit to the Galata mevlevihanesi, he gave the *şeyh* a cloak as well as *atiyyes* (gifts) to other dervishes³⁴⁰.

All these assignments and gifts meant something beyond providing physical needs of the dervishes. It was used as a means to gain the support of Mevlevis as in the case of the Grand Vizier Yusuf Ziya Paşa who prescribed his name to be read in *zikr* (recitation of God's names) ceremonies in return for his grant or it was considered that the spiritual support of Mevlana would be on the side of the government if they were respectful to the Mevlevi order. In short, while the government was reducing the Mevlevis to a subordinate group, which could not survive without the material support of the state mechanism in the long run, the Mevlevis benefited from the spiritual prestige of their order in the eyes of the central authority and proved themselves as a powerful element without which the legitimacy of the sultan could be difficult to ensure.

29774: Z 1262/1846.: Kütahyada Seyyid Ahmed Zemci zaviyesine tanzimattan evvel tahsis olunan taamiyenin kemakan itasına dair.

³⁴⁰ Gölpınarlı, p.259

TRANSMISSION OF THE OFFICES AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE *CELALIYE EVQAF*

The *çelebi* was the head of all Mevlevi in the Ottoman Empire and he was responsible for appointing *şeyhs* in *mevlevihanes* as well as administration of *Celaliye Evqaf*. Therefore the *çelebis* had immense authority over all Mevlevi establishments and constituted a considerable intermediary in the relations between the central government and the Mevlevi dervishes in the Ottoman Empire.

Şeyhs occupied *meşihat* (office of *şeyh*) and *mesnevihan* (a person who recites Mesnevi) positions in a Mevlevi lodge and were also called as *seccadenişin* or *postnişin* (a person who occupies the rug). Since officers in *mevlevihanes* were appointed by *çelebi* and the central government was only in a status to confirm decisions of *çelebis*; authority of the *çelebis* over the internal careers in the Mevleviye was considerable.

Unless the *çelebi* issued a *hilafetname* for appointing a *şeyh* to an unoccupied lodge, *şeyhs* could not hold the offices. When an unauthorized *şeyh* ascended to the position in Serez in 1795, both Hacı Mehmed Çelebi and the government declared his accession as illegitimate and they appointed Şeyh Mehmed Dede as the official leader of the Serez *mevlevihanesi*. After this event, Çelebi Hacı Mehmed redefined the legitimate ways of accession to the position of *şeyh*, which would be prevalent in all *mevlevihanes* in the Ottoman empire³⁴¹.

The *çelebi* also had the right to dismiss a *şeyh* from his position if he was considered an unable person or unsuitable for the job. The *Şeyh* of the Kayseri lodge, Mehmed Dede, was dismissed because of his “acts against *sharia* and the

³⁴¹ CE. 2574 (II Z 1209/20.06.1795): “Memalik- i mahsurada kain umum Mevlevi tekke ve zaviyeleri meşyehet ve tevliyeterinin Çelebi Efendilerinin meşyehet namelerile tevcihi olbaddaki hattı hümayun iktizasından iken Serez’deki mevlevihane meşyehetinin hilafı hattı humayun tevcih edilmesinden rafile Şeyh Mehmet Dede’ye tevcihi.”

Mevleviye”³⁴². Another from Eğridir mevlevihanesi was removed since he caused the decay of the *vaqf* as well as that of the lodge; the *imam* of the Tokat Mevlevi lodge was sent away since he left daily prayers and did not carry out his job³⁴³. A *mesnevihan* called Süleyman Dede who was employed in the Konya *asitane* was banished to Tokat in 1237/1821 for his improper acts. Es-seyyid Ali Çavuş from Istanbul accompanied him on his way to Tokat and Süleyman Dede was not allowed to leave the city in any way³⁴⁴. It seems there were some people who were considered to have left the “right path” and “needed to be punished” among Mevleviis.

The control of the Mevlevi *evqaf* that is endowed for a lodge was undertaken by the *şeyh* of that lodge. He could be the trustee himself or appoint someone else for this task. Though the conditions on the transmission of the control of the *evqaf* were determined in *vakfiyyes*, the Mevlevi *evqaf* seems to be a problematic issue³⁴⁵. When a trustee or any officer died and left a position in a *vaqf* conditioned to his family, his eldest son would replace him. The office of *imam* and *hatib* in a mosque attached to the mevlevihane in a village called Kalecik in the Karahisar-ı Sahib district remained unoccupied after the death of Süleyman Halife. According to a record, his eldest son, Seyyid Mustafa Halife who was considered as deserving of the positions, filled

³⁴² CE. 19374 (6 S 1215/29.06.1800), Takrir: “Şeriata ve Mevlevi tarikatine muhalif hareket ve cemi menahiye irtikap eden Kayseri’de vezir azam Bayram Paşa mevlevihanesi şeyhi Mehmet Dedenin azlile yerine Abdülkadir Dedenin tayini.”

³⁴³ 21752 (R 1125/27.5.1713-25.5.1713), İlam: “Eğridere mevlevihanesi evkafı tevliyeti şeyhlerine meşrut olup tekkenin ve vakfının harabisine sebep olan şeyhin azlile şeyhliğin başkasına tevcihine dair.”; CE. 11963 (20 M 1212/15.07.1797), İnhâ: “Tokat mevlevihanesi imamı ariki münkir ve namazı terk ederek cemaate hizmetinde olmadığından vazifesi ref olunarak tariki mevleviyeden derviş Mehmet’e tevcihi.”

³⁴⁴ CE. 20785 (8 Ra 1237/ 03.12.1821), İlam: “Konya’da Mevlana Rumi hanekahında (Mesnevihan) Süleyman Dedenin menfası olan Tokada muvasalatına dair.”

³⁴⁵ For a comparison with the administration of other *evqaf* holdings see, HHL9748 (1205/1790-91): “Ermenek’de Nevresofî Türbesi Vakfı tevliyetinin otuz altı senedenberi Seyyid Yahya üzerinde olduğundan başkasına tevcihi münasib olamayacağına dair.”; HH. 27048 (1223/1208-1209) : “Ankara’da Hacı Bayram-ı Veli Evkafı meşihat ve tevliyeti Kâsım Baba’nın hakkı iken bir suretle Mehmed Said Baba’ya tevcih edilmiş olduğundan, gene Kâsım Baba’ya verilmesi için Hatt-ı Hümayûn ricasına dair.”

Süleyman's office³⁴⁶. If he left no male offspring, then the control of the *vaqf* could be transferred to the eldest person from female line. A document dating back to Ş 1189/September-October 1775 gives us an example. The position of trustee in the *vaqf* of Yeniçeri Katibi Mehmed Efendi, which is endowed for Yenikapı mevlevihanesi was emptied after the demise of Mehmed Said Halife who worked with a daily income of 10 *akçes*. He had no children. Therefore a person who was from the line of his sister was appointed as trustee temporarily until they decided on Ahmed Halife who was chosen among nine candidates from the family of Mehmed Halife³⁴⁷.

In some cases, the office would pass to the control of the emancipated slaves of the trustee if he had no offspring³⁴⁸. Some officers abandoned their job and resigned. A petition of Numan Dede, the *şeyh* of Galata lodge dating to 21 Ş 1204/ 1 May 1790 reveals this procedure. According to this document, Derviş Mehmed Tahir who had the disposal of *kitabets*, secretarial office, with a daily income of 5 *akçes* in Hasan Ağa Evqaf resigned voluntarily. Numan Dede offered a new officer, Ahmed Hamdi and proposed his candidate to the government. After the government confirmed the appointment the rights of that official like his salary, employment status and other things were redefined and he was authorized with an imperial decree³⁴⁹.

³⁴⁶ CE. 4800 (3 Ra 1211/ 06.09.1796): "Karahisar-ı sahip kazası muzafatından Kalecik karyesinde kain mevlevihane camii vakfı imamet ve hitabet cihetlerinin tevcihi (hattı humayun var)"

³⁴⁷ "...İstanbul'da Yenikapı haricinde vaki mevlevihane vakfının yevmi on akçe vazife ile evlad-ı utaka-yı vakıfdan ber vech-i meşruta mütevellisi olan olan Mehmed Said Halife ibn mühürdar el-hac Mehmed bila-veled fevt olub tevliyet-i mezkure mahlul ve hizmet-i lazimesi muattal kalmağla müteveffa-yı mezburun li-ebeveyn kızkarındaşı oğlu ve yine evlad-ı utaka-yı vakıfdan olub tevliyet-i merkume uhdesinden gelmeğe kadar emin ve mutemed ve emr vechile layık ve müstehak olduğu dokuz nefer mazbutü'l-esami mevsukü'l-kalem kimesneler ihbarlarıyla ledi'l-şerri'l-enver-i zaman olan bais-i ilam Ahmed Halife ibni Mehmed'e tevliyet-i mezkure vazife-i mersumesiyle münüfa-yı mezburun mahlulünden ber mucceb-i şart-ı vakıf ber vech-i meşrut tevcihi ve yedine berat-ı alişan inayet-i ihsan buyurulmak babında huzur-ı alilerine ilam olundu." CE. 26698 (Ş 1189/ 10-11 1775).

³⁴⁸ For claims of imposters pretending to come from the line of emancipated slaves of the trustee, see note 79.

³⁴⁹ CE. 10907 (21 Ş 1204/06.05.1790), İnha: "Hasan Ağa evkafı kitabets cihetinin tevcihi hakkında Galata mevlevihanesi şeyhi Numan Efendi tarafından."

A document from earlier periods, dating to Rebiülevvel 1086/1676 tells us the expectations of *çelebi* from a *şeyh* after his appointment. Çelebi Abdülhalim tells that the new *şeyh* at Galata lodge, Gavsî Ahmed Dede (d.1697), must work for the poor who are at the gate of God as well as managing the *evqaf* when he arrived at the mentioned lodge; he must pray for the victory of the sultan and for the continuation of his sultanate; he must carry out regular Mevlevî performances and prayers, must not leave the path of *sharia* and *tariqa* and remember and pray for the friends of God³⁵⁰. We should recall that the appointment of Gavsî Ahmed Dede has been a turning point in Galata mevlevî lodge since he was the first representative of powerful *şeyh* families in Istanbul and whose descendants went on controlling Galata lodge until the mid eighteenth century.³⁵¹

In 1235/1820, Çelebi Mehmed Said Hemdem Çelebi appealed to the government about the transmission of the *şeyh* position in the Mecca mevlevîhanesi. He reported that upon the demise of the last *şeyh* in Mecca, the lodge turned into a ruin. Ali Efendi of Konya claimed his right over the position since he was one of those who deserved the position and he promised to restore the lodge. His demand reached the Çelebi through some dignitaries of Mecca. Though Ali Efendi was appointed as the *şeyh* of the Mecca lodge, he died soon after he got the office. His legitimate heirs appealed to Çelebi once more to attain the position and Çelebi offered İbrahim Efendi as the new candidate to the government³⁵².

Yet after some time the case turned out to be a problematic. Ali Efendi could never be a legitimate *şeyh* in the Mecca lodge since Mehmed Efendi who was a chief scribe to Şerif Yahya of Mecca established the lodge and its administration was

³⁵⁰ 887 (Ra 1086/1675) "Galata Mevlevîhanesi meşihat ve mesnevîhanlık vazifesi uhdesine tefviz olunduğuna dair Çelebi Abdülhalim Efendi tarafından Gavsî Ahmet Dede'ye hitaben"

³⁵¹ See Part II, note 73.

³⁵² HH. 27133D-a. (1235/1820)

conditioned to his family by the founder. Şerif Yahya wrote to the central government about the details of the confusion. According to the report of Şerif, the *vaqf* of the lodge was controlled by the sons and daughters of Mehmed Efendi until Ali Efendi of Konya came up with a claim that, “the lodge had no supervisor and trustee” and received the imperial consent through his intrigues. The situation got more complicated with further claims of Şemdanizade İbrahim on the position after Ali Efendi’s death. At the end, the government decided to take into consideration the report of Şerif and ordered Şerif to prevent further abuses. In addition, the government warned and informed the Çelebi about the developments with an *emirname* in 25 Zilkaade 1240³⁵³.

The *Celaliye Evqaf* was controlled by the *çelebis* and they regulated the functioning of the lodge with the revenues deriving from *evqaf*. The trustee of the *evqaf* worked with the authorization of the government, *berat-ı ali* and he would write to the government when there was a change in the offices to ask for consent. In some cases, the officers lost their authorization documents and appealed to the government to renew it. *Berat-ı ali* was very important because the only way to continue holding an office formally was to have that document. Otherwise any claimant could take over the position with intrigues. A document from 17 S 1202/28 December 1787 displays this picture very well. The trustee of the *evqaf*, Osman bin Hidayet³⁵⁴ said that a person called Hüseyin who was coming from the line of Celaleddin Rumi and worked as a *cüzhan* (a person who recites some parts of the Quran) with a daily income of one *akçe* in the *masjid* lost his “*berat-ı şerif-i alişan*”. Osman requested the renewal of the imperial authorization, which would ensure Hüseyin’s position³⁵⁵. The same *mutevelli*

³⁵³ HH. 27133D-b (no date)

³⁵⁴ He described himself as “el-abdü’ d-dai li’ d-devleti’ l-aliyyi’ l-Osman, Osman bin Hidayet min sülale-i Hazret-i Mevlana, mütevelli-i vakfi’ l-mezbur” in his petition.

³⁵⁵ D.HMH.135/13 (17 S 1202/ 28.11.1787).

appealed to the sultan in 29 M 1209/ 23 August 1794 that Derviş Mustafa who was a *katib* (scribe) with a daily income of ten *akçes*, a *türbedar* (tomb-keeper) with twelve *akçes*, a *bevvab* (door-keeper) in the tomb with two *akçes* died and Osman bin Hidayet wanted to appoint Mustafa's eldest son Derviş Mehmed to the offices of the father³⁵⁶.

On 15 May 1787, Hacı Mehmed Çelebi asked for the confirmation of the sultan for changes in some of the offices in the Konya *asitane*. Derviş Seyyid Hacı Mehmed who worked as a *hanende* (chanter) with a daily income of 24 *akçes* and a daily income of two *akçes* in return for his work as *naathan* (a person who recited eulogies praising the Prophet) died. His two sons, Es-Seyyid Derviş Abdurrahman and Es-Seyyid Abdülkadir were considered deserving of their father's positions and they were appointed to the positions. Çelebi demanded that they were given official confirmation by the sultan³⁵⁷.

In 1788-1789, a *keyyal* (an official measurer) earned ten *akçes*, a *nısf-i cüzhan* (a person who reads some sections of the Quran) two *akçes*, an *asyabi* (a miller) five *akçes*, a *nayi* (player of reed-flute) three *akçes*. These salaries were drawn from the *evqaf* of Mevlana.³⁵⁸ The total expenditures of *evqaf* in 1203/1789 were calculated by the trustee of the *evqaf* amounted 250 *akçes* annually³⁵⁹. Provided the revenues of the *evqaf*, the expenditures on the salaries of the officers were rather low.

The *Çelebis* and *Mevlevi şeyhs* had to deal with the intervention of other power groups in *Mevlevi evqaf*. Since *vaqf* revenues of the *mevlevihanes* were very rich, they attracted *ayans* in particular who wanted to appropriate these sources for their own

³⁵⁶ D.HMH.135/9 (29 M 1209/23.08.1794)

³⁵⁷ D.HMH.135/11 (27 B 1201/15.05/1787).

³⁵⁸ D.HMH.135/17 (9 Ca 1202/16.02.1788); D.HMH.135/22 (23 N 1203/17.06.1789)

³⁵⁹ D.HMH.135/25 (28 Za 1203/20.08.1789): "...işbu bin iki yüz üç senesine mahsuben ba berat-ı şerif-i alişan mütevellisi olduğum medine-i Konya'da asude ve medfun cedd-i azamımız kutbül-evliya, zuhrü'l-asfiya Hazret-i Mevlana küddise siruhu'l-azizin evkaf-ı şerifinin tekmil mesarifi için Haremeyn-i şerefeyn istirdad akçelerinden ita ve ihsan buyurulan senevi ikiyüz elli gurus sene-i merkuma mahsuben tamamen ve kamilen ahz ve kabz eylediğimi..."

interests. For example, a village called Karabürcek belonged to the *vaqf* of the Galata mevlevihane and the people in that village were exempt from taxation. At the turn of the nineteenth century, these people were hurt and disturbed by some local *ayan* and *mütegallibe* with claims of taxation, which violated their exempt status. They were in a “perakende” and “perişan” (in confusion and dispersed) status due to interference of the mentioned groups. Therefore the Galata lodge demanded first removal of their violation and then renewal of the imperial order, which would restore and guarantee their former status³⁶⁰. However it seems that the problems in this region were not resolved³⁶¹.

There was a similar problem in Adana around 1198. Kurtbayramoğlu Mehmed Paşa founded a *vaqf* in Adana, which brought annual rent of forty rolls of clothes to the Konya asitane. However, this foundation was occupied by a group of people called *tüfenkci* and for they did not recognize the *vaqf* stipulations, it was unable to provide the rent for Konya since 1188. After some time a person called Hacı Ali Bey accepted the responsibility of the *vaqf* and wanted to have the control of the *vaqf* by promising to pay the rent in front of the judge and upon the proposal of *çelebi*, Ali was appointed as the trustee of the *vaqf* with an imperial decree³⁶². Unfortunately, we don't have any

³⁶⁰ CE. 19129 (20 Z 1158/22.03.1805), İstida: “Galata mevlevihanesi vakıflarından Vize kazasının Karabürcek kariyesi reayalarına tadiyahatın men’i hakkında”.

³⁶¹ CE. 22739 (22 C 1239/ 23.02.1824), Takrir: “Galata Mevlevihanesi taammiyesine merbut Vize kazasına tabi Karabürcek kariyesi ahalişi olbabadaki hattı hümayunla tekalif-i örfiyye ve şakkadan muaf oldukları halde zaman zaman bunların mütalebesiyle rencide edildiklerinden müekked emir ısdarı.”

³⁶² CE. 1728 (16 Za 1198/01.10.1784) : “Adana’da Kurtbayramoğlu Mehmet Paşa tarafından Konya Mevlana asitanesi için senevi icarı 40 top bez getiren (bezhane) vakfedilmiş olup, mürur-ı ayyam ile bu haneyi tüfenkçiler işgal ederek icarı vakfı tanımadıklarından ahiren Hacı Ali isminde bir zat huzur-ı şeride taahhitle icarı maktuen kabul eylemekle yeniden berat itaasına.”; see also CE. 1746 (Ra 1198/01-02.1784) Adana’da Kurt Bayramzade Mehmet Paşa’nın bina ve Mevlevi dervişlerine vakf ve şart eylediği vakfiye-i mamulun bihasına mukayyet müsekkefattan Acem Hani namıyla maruf bir bap vakıf handa minel kadim tüccarla oturup icaresine Konya Mevlana derkahi dervişanına kırkar top kumaş vermek üzere vakf ve şart eyleyub ve canibi vakıfdan Adana valilerinin tüfenkçileri için de konak bina olunmuş iken merkum tüfenkçileri için de tayin olunan konakda oturmayub mezkur hanenin müste’cirlerini çıkartarak orada ikamet etmelerinde vakfın varidat zayı olduğundan şaraiti vakfın temamilâ icrası.; see also HH. 17242(1220/1805-1806): “Beşiktaş Mevlevihanesi’ne meşrûta Geyve Akhisarı kazasının Akçaşehir ve diğer iki köyü Sakarya Köprüsü’nü tamir şartıyla tekâlifden muâfiyetleri meselesine dair.”

documents by the time being, about the result of the problem but it should have been difficult to remove those people from *vaqf* and give the rents back to the *asitane*.

OTHER CHARITABLE GIFTS AND RIGHTS GRANTED TO THE MEVLEVI ORDER

It was Selim III who renewed *puşides* over the tomb of Celaleddin Rumi and those over some other leading Mevlevi in Konya in 1205/1791. Ahmed Cevdet refers to this event as one of the “benevolent acts of the sultan who never forgot to carry out his task as the protector of pious establishments” and adds that “Selim III had an affection for Mevleviye”. The *puşides* were made of satin and decorated with verses from the Quran as well as with some couplets which praised Mevlevi saints. There were also some valuable curtains among this charitable gifts which would be hang on the gates of the tomb³⁶³.

The municipality was charged with the manufacturing of the *puşides* in Istanbul. The expenditures of these grants were provided from the *evqaf* of Mustafa III and from the revenues of Hamidiye district. Ahmed Cevdet asserted that the government took 10.000 *guruş* of the total cost from the *evqaf* of Mustafa III. On the other hand, a report of the *Şehremini* reveals that he spent 38.014 *guruş* as a whole³⁶⁴. Thirteen *puşides* were sent to Konya and Çelebi Hacı Mehmed himself covered the tombs with the new *puşides* coming from the capital. The government ordered the Çelebi to send the old *puşides* back to Istanbul since they were preserved in the Imperial Treasury³⁶⁵.

³⁶³ Ahmed Cevdet, *Tarih-i Cevdet*, v.6, p.73

³⁶⁴ HH. 9884 (1205/1791)

³⁶⁵ D.HMH. 135/35 (11 C 1206/05.02.1792); HH. 11229 (1208/1793); Cevdet, *ibid.*

Nezr was another type of gift which meant a vow that required offering. It was a practice in which dervishes used to give a Mevlevi *şeyh* some money in secrecy when they visited the lodge. It could be eighteen *guruş* or some other symbolic amount that they can afford³⁶⁶. If the vow amounted to exactly eighteen, it was called “*Nezr-i Mevlana*”, a vow to the honor of Mevlana, among Mevlevi. The sultans followed this tradition and granted golden coins to different Sufi groups. In 1201/1786-87, Abdülhamid I wanted to vow for the soul of Mevlana in Konya and for that of Abdal Mehmed in Bursa which cost eighteen golden coins for each. However a document shows us that in this case the government could not decide whether to send the sum to Konya or not. The grant of Abdal Mehmed was send through a local tax collector and given to Derviş Mehmed who presided over the lodge. He distributed the money among the dervishes residing in the lodge. On the other hand, the government still thought about the one oriented towards Mevlana and asked for the order of the sultan either to send eighteen golden coins to Konya or to give it to the dervishes of the mentioned lodge in Bursa³⁶⁷.

Some scholars claim that the Mevlevi *şeyhs* became very prominent in *taklid-i seyf*, the ceremony of girding the sultan with swords, especially after 1826. This is a very significant tradition which symbolized ascending of a new sultan to the throne starting after Mehmed II. The new sultan was girded with swords, either with the ones that belonged to the caliphs and early Muslim leaders or with those of the Ottoman sultans. A prominent *şeyh* or *nakibü'l-eşraf*, the representative of Prophet's family in

³⁶⁶ For the importance of the number eighteen and its roots in Mevleviye see Gölpinarlı, p.436.

³⁶⁷ HH.863 (1201/1786-87)

the Ottoman Empire, or *Yeniçeri Ağası* would be responsible for girding the sultan in the ceremony. In this way, the sultan was considered to be empowered by the supreme leaders of the religion and the state as well as being sanctioned by a dignitary of that era who was perceived as the follower of those leaders.

Members of the ruling class like the Grand Vizier and other viziers, *mudarrisan* (professors of theology), *meşayih* (leaders of Sufi orders), soldiers would be present in these ceremonies with specific garments prescribed by the government. Mehmed II was girded with swords by Şeyh Akşemseddin after the conquest of Istanbul, Bayezid II by the *nakibü'l-eşraf*, Mehmed IV by Aziz Mahmud Hüdayi (the patron *şeyh* of Celvetis)³⁶⁸.

There are different claims on the girding of Mahmud II who later on abolished the Janissary army and its spiritual guide, the Bektâşi order. Sakoğlu asserts that he girded himself whereas ambassadors to Istanbul in this period left different accounts. According to Hasluck, the investiture of the sultan by a Mevlevi *şeyh* was held for the first time with Mahmud II and it can be perceived as a precaution against a possible riot in Istanbul after the problematic accession of the sultan. He also adds that Abdülmecid was also girded by a Mevlevi *şeyh* and from this time onwards, it was acknowledged as the right of Mevlevi *şeyhs*³⁶⁹. Yet we have very little evidence to claim that the right of girding the sword was exclusively limited to the representative of the Mevleviye. On the contrary, it seems this procedure developed in accordance with the transformations of each generation and the tendencies of the Ottoman sultans towards specific power groups.

³⁶⁸ Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Kılıç Alayları", in *DBİA*, v.4, pp.555-556

³⁶⁹ F.R. Hasluck, *Bektâşilik Tetkikleri* (trans. and ed. by Ragıp Hulusi and Kamil Akarsu), Ankara:2000, pp.97-104.

To sum up, the Ottoman sultans of this era like many others sultans in the previous sultans represented themselves as the patrons of some Sufi orders. This policy was not confined to the Mevlevi order, however, at the turn of the eighteenth and in the first decades of the nineteenth centuries, the Mevleviye continued to enjoy this policy and perhaps it was one of those Sufi orders, which received the most part of the grants. The maintenance and restoration of the Mevlevi lodges; the provisioning of the Mevleviye and granting the Mevlevis specific gifts meant beyond providing the physical needs of the Mevlevi dervishes. They were evidences of the “support” of the government in the eyes of the Mevlevis and other population. In the next chapter, with the comparison of the Mevlevi order with two other influential Sufi orders, the status of the Mevleviye in this period will be more clear.

8. SIBLING RIVALS: THE BEKTAŞIYE AND THE NAKŞIBENDIYE

...kesel ü hıyanet kendilerine saniye-i tabiat ve bu ana dek eyledikleri cebanet ü kabahat yanlarına kalarak, fevaid-i ocağı me'kel ittihaz ederek, hace-i bendergah-ı servet olan sanadid-i kavm-i müstehikku'l-levm-i merkum bi'l-husus kuvvet-i zorbayane ile esnaf u reayayı tağrim ü tecrim ile sahib-i yesar olan ustalar ve ulufe mahlulü ketmi ve kise deyni ve şu bu diyerek, esame sirkatine meluf olan mütevellı ve oda-eskisi gibi nema-harlar, siyyema serhadlü ulufesini ve ocaklık denilan havalatı kendiye hasr eden Ocak Bazerganı dedikleri neferat...³⁷⁰

Vakanüvis Esad Efendi
Tarih.

The Bektaşi order was established in the name of Hacı Bektaş Veli. It was one of the earliest, most widespread and populous Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire and became very influential in different segments of Ottoman society until 1826. The Bektaşi order was controlled by a *baba* who resided in Hacibektaş village in Nevşehir since Balım Sultan, the first formal *şeyh*, appointed by Bayezid II. It was Balım Sultan who institutionalized this order at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Bektaşiye was usually considered as a “heterodox” Sufi order in terms of their belief system which represented an “anarchic character” in their relations with the central

³⁷⁰ Ziya Yılmaz (ed.), *Vakanüvis Esad Efendi Tarihi*, İstanbul:2000, p.608

authority³⁷¹. However, one should keep in mind that this order was created as a formal institution under Bayezid II who supported them by establishing new lodges and granting some rights in addition to endowing revenues.

According to John Kingsley Birge, the Bektaşî order was financed by three hundred and sixty-two villages belonging to the *tekke* in Hacibektaş with revenues “running as high as 60.000 pounds sterling a year.” This revenue was divided among the Bektaşî lodges which were rather close to each other, never further than a six-hour journey between the two. The Bektaşî *tekkes* were ruled by a *dedebaba* who were appointed by an executive council of eight *babas*³⁷².

Bayezid II's his flexible policies towards Sufi orders was reflected in the Bektaşî case, too. He visited the central lodge in Hacibektaş and ordered to cover the dome of the tomb with lead and granted one hundred golden coins for *alem*, the star, on the tomb. The lodge was closed by Selim I as a measure against Shii' propagation in Anatolia and could not function officially until 1551. According to Melikoff, the word “Bektaşî” meant heretic in this period³⁷³. There were no new grants in Bektaşîye until the eighteenth century which can be compared to the endowments under Mevleviye.

On the other hand, the linkage between Bektaşîye and the Janissary army facilitated penetration of this order in the political apparatus towards the seventeenth century and onwards. According to Işın, the ceremony of conferring Bektaşî *dedebaba*, the supreme leader of the Bektaşîye, was very significant. The new *dedebaba* used to be welcomed by the Janissaries in Üsküdar and taken to the *Yeniçeri*

³⁷¹ Irène Mélikoff, *Hacı Bektaş: Efsaneden Gerçeğe*, İstanbul, 1999, p.91

³⁷² John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektashi Order of Dervishes*, London:1965, p.83

³⁷³ Melikoff, p.198, 210

Ağası and the Grand Vizier who would confirm his appointment by clothing him with a Bektaşî cap and cloak respectively³⁷⁴.

The Bektaşîye also became part of the daily life in the capital not only through the organization of Bektaşî dervishes in several convents but also in trade centers extending from Yedikule to Aksaray and Haliç region in Istanbul.

The Bektaşîye was usually represented as a decentralizing entity whose interests clashed with the interests of the central authority. Their linkage with the Janissary army was perceived as part of this tendency. An official representative of the Bektaşî order lived in the barracks of ninety-fourth chamber of the Janissary army who functioned as the representative of the *dedebaba*. The Janissaries paid their spiritual allegiances to this *baba*.

According to Suraiya Faroqhi, the Bektaşî order also exemplified powerful *şeyh* families in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Anatolia. There are very limited information on the *vaqf* revenues of the Bektaşîye in the archives. A document from 881/1476 shows that Bektaşî lodges around Nevşehir attained 5650 *akçes* from three villages and a salt mine. In the eighteen century, the sultans sent 5000 *akçes* every year as *hırka bahası*, cloak expenditure and the restoration of the central lodge was undertaken by the government. Faroqhi questions the problematic nature of the sources dating to the 1840s which gives manipulated information due to a sense of opposition against the Bektaşî order. According to her estimation, the former *evqaf* revenues of the Bektaşîye was something between 19.747 *guruş* and 12.783 *guruş* annually³⁷⁵.

³⁷⁴ Ekrem İsm, "Bektaşîlik", in *DBİA*, v.2, p.133

³⁷⁵ Faroqhi, "16.-17. Yüzyıllarda Orta Anadolu'da Şeyh Aileleri?", p.210

The Bektāṣi order enjoyed rights like tax exemption of villagers in Hacı Bektaş village in return for serving the lodge. The *evqaf* that belonged to this order had immunity against taxation in the eighteenth century and these endowments were protected under the status of *eizze vaqfs* since Hacı Bektaş was perceived as a saint to be revered in the Ottoman Empire. Yet the holding of the Bektāṣi order were far less than those controlled by Mevlevis in the same period. On the other hand, they were more independent of the central authority and had fewer problems in the administration of their endowments with respect to the Mevleviye.

The Bektāṣi order was abolished after the destruction of the Janissary army in 1826 in order to “eredicate the psychological strength of the Janissaries”³⁷⁶ since Mahmud II was determined to clear all remnants of the Janissaries; and the Bektāṣi order perceived as the spiritual guide and collaborator of Janissary corps and was the second target to be kicked out of the system. It was impossible to carry out this task without the sanction of the religious elite so the sultan invited leading *şeyhs* of the Sufi orders in Istanbul to reach a decision on the future of the Bektāṣiye. On Zilhicce 2 1241/8 July 1826, a council composed of the Nakşibendi, Mevlevi, Halveti, Celveti and Sadi *şeyhs*³⁷⁷ as well as the *şeyhülislam* Kadızade Tahir Efendi and the former

³⁷⁶ Fatma Sel Turhan, *The Abolition of the Janissary Army and Its Reflections*, (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, the Institute of Social Sciences, Boğaziçi University), İstanbul:2001, p.134

³⁷⁷ The Sufi leaders in the council were Hafız Efendi of Yahya Tekkesi, Balmumcu Mustafa Efendi of İdris Kiosk(Nakşibendi), Kudretullah Dede of Galata mevlevianesi, Abdülkadir ?? Mehmed Kadri Efendi of Beşiktaş mevlevihanesi, Ali Efendi of Kasımpaşa mevlevihanesi (Mevlevi), Zakirbaşı Şikarizade Şeyh Ahmed Efendi of Kocamustafa Paşa lodge and Şeyh Ahmed Efendi of Merkez Efendi lodge, Nasuhizade Şemseddin Efendi of Üsküdar tekkesi (Halveti), Şehapzade Efendizade Seyyid Efendi, Bandırmalızade Mehmed Galib Efendi (Celvetiye), Şeyh Emin Efendi of Koğyacı lodge (Sadiyye). Esad Tarihi, pp.648-649

şeyhülislams met under the supervision of the Grand Vizier. Bektâşis were accused not for allying with the Janissaries but especially for violating “true pillars of Islam” and acting as “infidels” and leaving the “orthodox Sunni way” yet the Sufis were careful to distinguish the way of Pir Hacı Bektaş and those decayed dervishes who were ignorant to the way at all. At the end, they decided to the execution of some Bektâşi *şeyhs* and to send others exile. The Bektâşiye was declared as an illegal institution in one day; all *tekkeler* related to the Bektâşiye should either be demolished or transferred to the service of other religious orders³⁷⁸. The *tekkeler* were classified according to their age and those which were built within the last sixty years were destroyed while the others older than sixty years would be preserved on the condition that they would be transformed into “orthodox Sunni” institutions under other Sufi orders like Nakşibendiye and Mevleviye³⁷⁹. The central Bektâşi lodge at Hacıbektaş was transferred to the control of the Nakşibendi order, its *şeyh* was banished to Amasya. Eight dervishes who did not convert to “Sunni way” were deported and the remaining sixteen dervishes chose to participate Nakşibendiye and stayed in the lodge. The

³⁷⁸ CA. 1734 (S 1242/1826): “Bir müddetten beri bazı eşhas Hacı Bektaş Veli’ye mensubiyet davasıyla hilaf-i şeriat ahvale mücaheret ederek dalalet halkı sevk etmekte olduklarından lahik ve sabık şeyhülislamlar ve kazaskerler ve ulema ile diğer tarikatlere mensup şeyhlerden mürekkep mecliste verilen karar ve sadır olan fetvalar mucibince, bu Bektâşilerden pek uygunsuz ve muzır olanların idamları ve diğerlerinin makarr-i ulema olan yerlere nefyedilmeleri ve bunlara aid tekkeler ve vakıflar zaptolunub tekkelerden kabiliyeti olanların cami, medrese ve mektep haline konulup diğerlerinin yıkılması hakkında Rumeli’de bulunan valilerle vs.”; Cevdet, v.7, pp.181-183, Goodwin, p.217; see imperial decrees like HH. 17453 (1241/1826): “Yeniçerilerin ilgası üzerine yıkılan tekke yerlerinin Vakıf olanları Bayezid Evkafı’ndan mülklerin varislerine ve mahlul olanların miriden zabtına ve türbelerin de verilecek fetvaya göre muâmele yapılmasına dair.”; HH.17386(1241/1826):“Bektâşi tekkelerinin tahkiki ahvalleriyle muhaddes tekkelerin hedmedilmekten ise, cami ve mescide tahvili münasib görülerek Anadolu ve Rumeli cehitlerine yazılan tahriratların müsveddesinin arz-ı atebe olduğuna dair.”; HH.17351(1242/1826-1827): “Eyub, Üsküdar, Boğaz içi taraflarında tekkeler ihdas eden Bektâşiye taifesinin halkı ızlal etmekde bulduklarından, altmış senedenberi açılmış tekkelerin seddiyle tekkelerinin Nakşi tekkesi yapılması arzedildikde, şimdilik Dersaadet’teki tekkelerin icrasına bakılması ve badehu Rumeli ve Anadolu Bektâşi tekkelerine başlanılması hakkında irade.”

³⁷⁹ see HH.17351(1242/1826-1827): “Eyub, Üsküdar, Boğaz içi taraflarında tekkeler ihdas eden Bektâşiye taifesinin halkı ızlal etmekde bulduklarından, altmış senedenberi açılmış tekkelerin seddiyle tekkelerinin Nakşi tekkesi yapılması arzedildikde, şimdilik Dersaadet’teki tekkelerin icrasına bakılması ve badehu Rumeli ve Anadolu Bektâşi tekkelerine başlanılması hakkında irade.”

exemption of the Bektâşî order from taxation lapsed³⁸⁰. In addition, all symbolic rights of the Bektâşî order were transferred to the mentioned “orthodox” orders. For example the official rank of colonel in the ninety-ninth *oda* of Janissaries was held by a Bektâşî *şeyh* before 1826 and after the abrogation of the Janissary army and the Bektâşî order, a Mevlevî *şeyh* was appointed as *müşîr*, the grade of marshal in the newly organized army by Mahmud II. This process was in a way part of Mahmud’s reform policies in the sense that he managed to get rid of another power group in the empire which could be a centrifugal element challenging the authority of the sultan³⁸¹.

Though the decision of the abrogation was confirmed by the leading Sufi groups in Istanbul, these Sufi leaders including the Bektâşî *babas* were part of the same system and worked hand in hand to some extent. The Bademli Tekkesi was a good example which was a Celvetî creation in essence but was transferred to the control of Bektâşîye in the second half of the eighteenth century and served both Celvetîs and Bektâşîs³⁸².

The banishment of some Bektâşîs and transfer of the Bektâşî lodges to the service of other Sufi orders could not have a far reaching impact to annihilate this order. Though the Bektâşîye lost much of its prestige for some time after the abolition of the lodges and confiscation of all Bektâşî property, this order survived with the principle of secrecy in different forms after 1826³⁸³.

³⁸⁰ See HH. 27175 (1250/1834-1835): “Hacıbektâşî Veli Evkafı’na ait karyelerin tekâliften muafiyetine riayet olunmıyarak bu tekaliften Kırşehir sancağı tarafına ita olunan üçbin altıyüz kuruşun Aziz-i müşarünileyhin Hankâhı derûnunda yapılan câmi masarifine tahsisi hakkında.”

³⁸¹ Lewis, p.78; Goodwin, pp.231-232; For the active relationship between the Janissaries and the Bektâşî order see, John Kingsley Birge, *The Bektâşî Order of Dervishes*, London:1965, pp.74-78 and Turhan, pp.134-141

³⁸² Işın, p.134

The second important Sufi order is Nakşibendiye for our interest in this study. The followers of the Bahaeddin Nakşibend (d.791/1389) existed in Anatolia since Bayezid I but they established themselves firmly towards the end of fifteenth century especially with the efforts of Bayezid II as a means against Shii propagation.

The Nakşibendiye illustrated an “orthodox” character among several Sufi orders and became very powerful in this context. The first Nakşi establishment in Istanbul was founded in a convent near the Murad Paşa mosque. The famous Nakşi *şeyh* Abdullah İlahi started his activities in a madrasa in Zeyrek and was followed by Ahmed Buhari who became very influential in the institutionalization of the order in Istanbul. Several other Nakşibendi lodges were established and supported by the dignitaries like Rüstem Paşa, Suleyman I and Murad III in the following generations³⁸⁴.

Abid Çelebi(d.1497) of the Mevleviye attached himself to Abdullah İlahi and received authorization for the Nakşibendi way, too. It was through his activities that the roots of the Mevleviye was established in Istanbul under Fatih mevlevi lodge which functioned both as Mevlevi and Nakşibendi center³⁸⁵.

The Nakşibendi order was much more powerful then any other Sufi group in Istanbul around the sixteenth century. Işın refers to an Evqaf Register dating from 1546 and says that there were forty-four *vaqfs* related to this order which were endowed by Ahmed Buhari, his family members and the followers of this order. In this way, the Nakşibendiye occupied an advantageous position in terms of the revenues controlled by Sufi orders in Istanbul since the beginning and found a chance to diffuse even to smaller neighborhoods with innumerable convents³⁸⁶.

³⁸³ Turhan, p.160

³⁸⁴ Gündüz, pp.39-58

³⁸⁵ Ekrem Işın, “Nakşibendilik”, in *DBİA*, v. 6, p.33; Gündüz, p.68

³⁸⁶ Işın, p.34

In the late seventeenth century, the Nakşibendiye evolved with the influences coming from India which was called “Müceddidi” (Renovation). This movement led to an ideological split in the order and to the creation of different branches under Nakşibendiye. Yet, the Nakşibendiye got more and more powerful by receiving interests of the upper classes. There were enough space for everybody from different classes within the organization of this order since it was established on various levels in every part of the city.

In the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, this movement was represented by the Halidiye sub-order of the Nakşibendiye³⁸⁷. According to Abu-Maneh, it represented the character of “an urban order” and “spread primarily among the upper and the more educated ranks of the society, which also stressed “a strict implementation of the *sharia*”. Though some of the Nakşibedi-Halidi *şeyhs* became very influential over the ruling elite, it is very difficult to tell that it was a constant policy of the government in the early nineteenth century. On the contrary, several Nakşibendiye *şeyhs* suffered from exiles or even executed in the fluctuating context of these decades. Selim III built a convent for the Nakşibendis in Üsküdar which was named as “Selimiye zaviyesi” next to the military compounds in the region. Another statesman, Hüsrev Paşa restored and enlarged the same *zaviye* in the 1830s³⁸⁸.

Since the origins of the Nakşibendiye went back to central Asia and continued to serve in different parts of Asia, there were Nakşi *şeyhs* in Istanbul who came from Uzbekistan, Eastern Turkistan and acted as the political representative of the khanates in central Asia to Istanbul³⁸⁹.

³⁸⁷ Butrus Abu-Maneh, “The Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya in the Ottoman Lands in the Early 19th Century” in *Die Welt des Islams*, XXII(1982), p.1

³⁸⁸ Abu-Maneh, pp. 18-22.

³⁸⁹ Işın, p.35; Necdet Yılmaz, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf*, İstanbul: 2001, p.388

In terms of administration of the Nakşibendiye, it was not so centralized compared to the Mevlevi order. On the other hand, the Nakşi lodges were controlled by powerful *şeyh* families in three major areas, the city center, Eyüp and Üsküdar from the sixteenth century onwards. Ali Behçet Efendi (d.1822) of Selimiye Tekkesi was a both a Nakşibendi and Mevlevi *şeyh* after his attachment to Alaaddin Çelebi of Afyon *mevlevihanesi* and Mehmed Efendi of Nakşibendiye. He was appointed as the *şeyh* of a lodge in Üsküdar which was created by Selim III and this lodge became a center for Nakşibendi dervishes who had Mevlevi tendencies³⁹⁰.

The Nakşibendiye had adherents from various classes and was perceived as a prestigious Sufi order by the state due to its orthodox approach. Therefore it was considered that throughout the nineteenth century, educated Muslims “interpreted Islam within the framework of Nakşibendiye”³⁹¹. After the abolition of the Bektaşî order, the Porte entrusted the Nakşibendiye the task of converting “heretic” Bektaşî lodges to the orthodox way. For example, the central lodge in Nevşehir was confiscated and turned over to the Nakşibendi administration under a Nakşi *şeyh*, Mehmed Said Efendi. Other Nakşibendi *şeyhs*, like Ahmed Hikmet Efendi in Bursa, replaced Bektaşî *şeyhs*. İlber Ortaylı points out to the possibility attachments of Sufis in more than one order which enabled transmission of the lodges smoothly³⁹².

In 1227/1812, Mahmud II passed a decree on reforming the Sufi orders which would be accomplished through internal regulations. According to this imperial decree, which addressed the Saadiye order but also became prevalent for all Sufi orders, the lodges of each order would be united under a central lodge in Istanbul with

³⁹⁰ Işın, p.38, for allegiances of the Nakşibendis to the Mevleviye, see Abu-Maneh, pp.18-19.

³⁹¹ Albert Hourani, “Sufism and Modern Islam: Mavlana Khalid and the Naqshbandî Order”, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*, Oxford: 1981, p.76

³⁹² İlber Ortaylı, “The Policy of the Sublime-Porte towards Naqshbandis and Other Tariqas during the Tanzimat Period”, in *Naqshbandis in Western and Central Asia* (edit. by Elisabeth Özdalga), İstanbul: 1999, p.70; Gündüz, p.144

the exception of the Mevleviye and Bektāşiye (before its abolition) whose centers were in Konya and Nevşehir respectively. The *şeyh* positions must be conferred by able *şeyhs* and they must not act against the religious law. The leaders of the Sufi orders must appeal to the *şeyhül-islam* to ask for his opinion on conferring *şeyhs*. The right of the local *şeyhs* to appoint their successor was transferred to the supreme *şeyh* of the order. The *Şeyhs* must not accept any money or gift from some interest groups outside the lodges, they must not hire out the property of *tekkes* under any condition³⁹³. In this way, the government tried to take the administration of Sufi orders under the direct control of the central authority and absorb Sufi establishments as part of the centralizing state mechanism of Mahmud II.

On the other hand, the traditional measures and policies came to an end under Mahmud II and the transformation of the *vaqf* system is very significant in this context. The status of the *vaqf* institution had to be revised within the new projects³⁹⁴. According to Çizakça, the pre-eighteenth century Ottoman Empire had “accommodative” policies to balance conflicting intermediate groups and institutions and tried to have a “redistributive” function. The government established a new system, which was less tolerant and accommodative of rival groups that could not fit new *raison d'être* of the nineteenth century. The former policies were far from keeping different groups together as loyal subjects of the Ottoman Empire in the

³⁹³ CE. 11874 (C 1227/06-07.1812): “Bazı tekkelerinde şeriatın hilafına hareket yapılan memalik-i Osmaniye'deki Sadiye tarikine mensup tekke şeyhlerinin bu tarihten itibaren ehliyetli olanlara tevcihi ve bunun temini için İstanbul'da Abdüsselam tekkesi şeyhi olanam riyasetinde güzide şeyhlerin seçülüb tayin edilmeleri”

³⁹⁴ There was no general policy towards subject lands on the part of the government until the mid-sixteenth century and even for the imperial holdings of the imperial family members. The imperial family entrusted supervision of the imperial *vaqfs* to the representatives of their class in this period. It was especially Darüssaade Ağası in charge who controlled imperial *vaqfs* for decades but this procedure led to exploitation of the *vaqfs* by Darüssaade Ağas. In some cases, the sultans tried to deprive them from this right yet until Mahmud II's time, the question of controlling *evqaf* remained out of direct

nineteenth century. The *vaqf* system as part of the former policies would disturb new policies to restore the integrity of the Empire and *vaqf* system was conceived as an impediment of the reform policies and their power had to be curbed while the Empire was being transformed by the reformers³⁹⁵.

Mahmud II founded a ministry for *evkaf* in 1826 and all *vaqf* holdings went under direct imperial control. In this way, the sultan reasserted his right of proprietorship what were in essence his own imperial holdings³⁹⁶.

The new policies of the Mahmud became obvious in the case of abrogation of the Bektaşî order by which all *müstesna evkaf* of the order was confiscated and this act was justified on the grounds that Bektaşî *vaqfs* were controlled by heretic dervishes:

“Acquiring lands which were *arazi-i miriye*, state lands by a *temlik*, grant and converting them into *evkaf* was invalid, since *miri* lands could never be private property or *vaqf*. The *vaqfs* established were granted to heretics therefore they were invalid and could be annulled”³⁹⁷.

Mahmud’s attempts to limit and control the amount of revenues being freely given in the provinces for the support of the dervishes was followed by the next generation of reformers during the Tanzimat era. For example, Barnes shows us an example of a decree, which clearly redefines the status of *müstesna evkaf*. The revenues of dervish groups were no longer to be administered independently but were to be tithed and collected by the officers of the government³⁹⁸. In 1840, the government issued a decree to redefine administration of lands, arable fields, and villages assigned

control and prevent abuses. For further details on the transformation of imperial *evqaf* see Barnes, pp. 67-72.

³⁹⁵ Çizakça, pp.72-85

³⁹⁶ Barnes, pp.44-45

³⁹⁷ Barnes, pp. 87-89.

³⁹⁸ From Barnes, p.92: CE. 27168: C 1256/1849): “Bütün tekke ve zaviyelerin taamiyelerine meşrut kura ve mezarın ve arazinin tanzimat usulünce mahalli idaresi tarafından teşrii hakkında”

for the provisioning of all *tekkes* and *zaviyes* according to the principles of the Tanzimat:

“All lands, arable fields, and villages recorded in the main register of revenues (*defter-i hakani*) and tied to *derstye* fees for instruction and which were assigned in the times of the former sultans for the support of the poor and dervishes of all *tekkes* and *zaviyes* in the regions within the province of Tanzimat administration henceforth will not be administered independently, but like all other *evkaf* attachments and *zeamet* fiefs and *mukataat* shares which are held in common and that are mixed (*mahlut*) with state lands, they will be administered by local officials. And the tithe expense of the revenue, whatever it may be, after it has been taken out, the remainder will be paid in kind, and nothing more than this tithe expense shall be obtained. But for Mevlevi *evkaf* and other *evkaf* which is independent, since the revenue of these is given to the poor and to the dervishes for food, it is not permitted for them to be interfered with, but these kinds of villages will be tithed by the *vaqf*, and the matter of their not being taken over or transferred has been approved by the *Meclis-i Vala* (High Council) and an imperial decree has been issued to that effect in the present year in the month of Safer, and the provincial governors will be notified of this official letter...”³⁹⁹

The effects of this decree were difficult to bear for the dervishes since these provisions were the only means of their survival, which were coming from the *vaqfs*. The new legislation of Tanzimat deprived *vaqf* beneficiaries of food and provisions, which was their livelihood, and were normally given to travelers (*ayende ü revende*), the dervishes (*dervişan*), the poor (*fukara*). The daily provisions were not supplied as they had been before. Dervishes appealed to the central government because their poverty and hard conditions but could never attain their former rights⁴⁰⁰.

³⁹⁹ *ibid.* (translation belongs to Barnes)

⁴⁰⁰ For examples of petitions, see Barnes, pp. 93-100.

In short, though *vaqf* system was utilized by the elite as a “public policy instrument” by founding great *vaqfs* until the nineteenth century, it lost its central role and came to represent a system, which contrasted the aims of the reformers. As for the Sufi orders that constituted main part of beneficiaries in *vaqf* system, they diminished in accordance with the system they relied.

The severe policies of Mahmud II on the Bektāsiye stopped under the Tanzimat bureaucrats. Notwithstanding, there was a steady development towards a different orientation in the policies of the government with respect to the Sufi orders. The Porte created a mechanism that would “restrict, supervise and control all activities of the Sufi orders” in the Ottoman Empire. This mechanism was embodied in *Meclis-i Meşayih*, an Assembly of Şeyhs in 1863. Another organ, *Meclis-i Vala*, provided financial assistance in the form of cash, food, and other necessities of the dervish lodges. The rights and assignments of each Sufi lodge was redefined under this institution and they were cut off especially just after the declaration of the Tanzimat. By using the assignments as a means to control Sufi orders, the Porte tied them to the center with the specific hierarchies, obtained their control and render them powerless⁴⁰¹.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, functioning of Sufi orders in traditional lines were transformed in accordance with the new policies of the Porte. Sufi organizations ceased to be significant legitimizing mechanisms in the empire. The provisions provided for these orders remained insufficient to meet demands of the dervishes. The Mevlevi order experienced some part of this transformation but it was never comparable to other orders since it continued to enjoy most of its former rights and privileges.

⁴⁰¹ Ortaylı, pp.71-71; Gündüz, p.155

To conclude, the Mevlevi order shared the same world with the Bektaşi and the Nakşibendi Sufi orders. The Bektaşiye is different from the other two since it is represented as an order which addressed the lower classes until the second decade of the nineteenth century. After this order was abolished, the Mevleviye and Nakşibendiye might have been used as alternatives but for the time being it seems very difficult to claim that the Mevleviye replaced the position of the Bektaşi order. It is true that some of the Bektaşi lodges were transferred to the Nakşibendis but the policies of the government on the Nakşibendiye was not either constant. On the other had, we have no evidence for the time being that the Mevlevi were entrusted the Bektaşi tekkes.

The traditional policies of the Sublime Porte regarding the Sufi orders also started to change in the first half of the nineteenth century. There was a great shift in the mentality of the governmental system which had little space for the Sufi orders in the new era. Notwithstanding, the Mevlevi order was excluded from the new applications and continued to enjoy from most of the previous rights and assignments.

9. CONCLUSION

It has almost been *a priori* to acknowledge the status of the Mevlevi order as one of the most powerful and influential Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire especially after the seventeenth century. The Mevleviye was usually studied in isolation from the historical context as if it remained more or less the same from the thirteenth century until the twentieth century. Another problem arose from disregarding different tendencies within the order itself and this approach represented Mevleviye as a homogenous institution.

In order to comprehend the status of the Mevlevi order in the Ottoman Empire, I have looked at the roots of the Mevleviye and tried to see what lies at the essence of the Mevlevi legacy. The background of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, the patron saint of the Mevlevi order, tells us much about different tendencies within this order. He was coming from Belh, a northern Persian province, and educated in "orthodox" Islam and Sufism by his father tutors. However, the Rumi we know emerged after he met Şems-i Tebrizi in Konya after 1244. He was no more just a *mudarris* and a heir to his father in Sufi teaching, but a Sufi who emphasized "love" and "ecstasy". Melamiye tendencies penetrated his belief system in this period which would continue in different forms in the following generations.

As shown throughout the thesis, the political, social, economic and religious context of Anatolia in the thirteenth century contributed a lot to the creation of the Mevlevi order. Celaleddin Rumi had fairly good relations with the Mongols both as a Sufi leader and a considerable center of power at the time. The Mevlevi order was established by his followers to endure and expand the belief system of Rumi under a

central lodge in Konya. The heritage of Rumi was transmitted by Mevlevi disciples especially in central Anatolia by using their power in various principalities.

It is interesting to note that there were no Mevlevi convents within the heartlands of the Ottoman principality in the early periods. *Mevlevihanes* in Edirne and Bursa were established in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Mevlevi order penetrated the Balkans even much later than several other Sufi orders and when the Mevlevi established some lodges there their size and function was very modest with respect to the other Sufi orders like the Bektāşīye, the Halvetiye and the Nakşibendiye. In this sense, Mevlevi dervishes were not companions of the early Ottoman sultans and they were not part of the Sufi expansion in the Balkans.

Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Mevlevi expanded their *tariqa* in central and eastern Anatolia and completed the institutionalization process. They formulated Mevleviye, settled their lodges within a centralized system and obtained considerable sources of revenues in the form of *vaqf* to maintain themselves. In this context, the role of the *çelebi* as the leader of all Mevlevi in Konya became a central element in the administration of different Mevlevi lodges and in creating a power base in central Anatolia.

Early *çelebis* were very active in the expansion of the Mevlevi order. They travelled in different parts of Anatolia or sent their disciples to open new lodges. They also represented more flexible approaches to other Sufi groups and had close connections with Melami and Kalenderi groups. In this expansion period, the Mevleviye managed to penetrate even small towns and villages in Anatolia. It was the tolerant attitudes of the Mevlevi *şeyhs* in sharing similar beliefs with the common people and presence of people from various classes within the Mevleviye that facilitated this process.

The *mevlevihane* became a center for Mevlevi dervishes where they dealt with practising their own prayers, performing rituals especially *sema*, reciting the Quran and Mesnevi. However, their activities were not limited to the spiritual experiences.

Interestingly, we do not come across with Mevlevis who engaged production or agriculture. Because maintenance of *mevlevihanes* were realized thanks to the endowments that were granted by different groups. From the early periods onwards, the Mevlevi order possessed *vaqf* revenues that were presented to their use generously. Followers or sympathizers of the Mevlevi order provided different sources of revenues to the Mevlevi order under some conditions. Elite grants usually served to legitimize the elite in the eyes of people which aimed to display “their respect to the heritage of Rumi”. The Mevlevi dervishes were expected to pray for the success of their benefactors in return. In the case of Ottoman sultans, they represented themselves as the patron and protector of the Mevlevis who would support their activities and provide legitimacy to their acts. But we should keep in mind that, the Mevlevis were just one group that would provide legitimacy among several other mechanisms.

Sufism is conceived as one of the most significant factors that helped the creation of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman sultans had several policies regarding various *tariqas* under different conditions. In the early periods, some Sufis who were considered to have had “heterodox” beliefs were manipulated for the sake of conquests in the Balkans as “spiritual conquerors”. But the government was always very careful to control them that might emerge as a danger threatening the authority of the central government. In this respect, the central authority played off Sufi orders according to the mentality that was dominant in the center.

In the fifteenth century, with the centralization of the central authority, the Sufi orders were expected to conform with the new system. Those Sufi groups whose

interests clashed with the central authority were unable to be part of this system and were declared as marginal groups. Yet the reign of Bayezid II has been a turning point for most Sufi orders. They established themselves in Istanbul as well as in provinces with the support of the government. They enjoyed the rights and revenues granted for them.

The Bektāşiye was established as a formal Sufi *tariqa* in this period in Nevşehir in order to take scattered, wandering and decentral Sufi groups under the control of the government especially against Shiite propagation in eastern Anatolia. While Selim I had strict policies for Sufis in Anatolia, the reign of Suleyman provided necessary context for their growth. The Kadiris, Bektāşis, Halvetis, Nakşibendis as well as other Sufi orders established themselves firmly in society. On the other hand, there were still some groups that were out of control and not acknowledged by the institutional Sufism in this period. While the government supported those orders that could be allies as legitimizers; marginal Sufi groups always stood against the authority of the center and they were punished since they represented decentralising aspects of the Sufism in the Ottoman Empire.

The role of the *ulema* should not be neglected in order to understand the relationship between the central authority and the Sufi orders. *Ulema* represented official perception of the religion with their education and function whereas Sufi orders were more independent creations. Actually, it would be a reduction to put *ulema* as a rival of the Sufi orders. There were many examples that members of *ulema* adhered to some Sufi orders and some *şeyhs* were educated in similar lines with the *ulema*. Yet in the seventeenth century, one can clearly observe that the two were in opposition especially throughout the Kadızadeli movement. This movement became

very influential in the policies of the central government and they even managed to strict authority of the Sufi orders by declaring their activities as “unorthodox”.

The Mevlevis acquired large amount of revenues from *vaqfs*. The sultans never neglected the Mevlevi order. The central lodge (*asitane*) in Konya which contained the shrine of Mevlana became a center of attraction for the Ottoman sultans. They visited Rumi’s tomb on several occasions especially during campaign oriented towards eastern or southern parts of the empire. Selim I, Suleyman I and Murad IV were examples of this situation in which they endowed new *vaqfs* for the Mevlevi order and presented gifts to the dervishes. They ordered construction of new buildings within the Mevlevi complex and restored necessary parts.

Çelebis of this period obtained immense power not only because they were heir to the legacy of Celaleddin Rumi but also for controlling *Celaliye Evqaf*. Due to the increasing power of this position, candidates who wished to hold that power increased and conflicts started among the descendants of Mevlana. In some cases, the government had to interfere internal affairs of the Mevlevi order which was relatively very autonomous. The *Çelebis* were elected from the descendants of Celaleddin Rumi by a group of powerful dervishes in the *asitane*. Yet it turned to be basically a hereditary system from the sixteenth century onwards. The *çelebis* were authorized to control administration of all Mevlevi lodges in the Ottoman Empire, to appoint or dismiss Mevlevi *şeyhs* and control all revenues of the order. In this sense, they were almost in a similar position to a provincial administrator and perhaps more influential from other power groups since they hold a considerable spiritual reputation. Notwithstanding, it is not possible to generalize their status for the whole history of the Mevleviye since it depended first and foremost on the personality of the sultan in reign and the historical context of the period. In the seventeenth century, the Mevlevis

like the other *tariqas* suffered from the Kadızadeli movement. They had to quit the *sema* performance for some time and many Mevlevi dervishes were exiled by the government in this period.

On the other hand, the Mevlevi order manifested itself somehow in different forms with different tendencies in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. One of the most important power bases of the Mevleviye was the capital of the empire. There were five active Mevlevi lodges in Istanbul among two hundred and three Sufi convents in the late eighteenth century . The first melevihane was established in Galata in 1491 which was followed by the Yenikapı Mevlevi lodge in 1597, the Beşiktaş lodge in 1622 and the Kasımpaşa lodge 1631. It is striking that, the Mevlevi establishments in Istanbul were very few with respect to the convents of other Sufi orders. It seems that though the Mevleviye was a powerful Sufi order in the Ottoman Empire, this power neither relied on the number of its adherents nor on the convents they established. It was their reputation deriving from Rumi, their connections with the upper class and the financial status of the Mevleviye that expanded its area of influence.

Another significant issue is the different tendencies of these lodges in terms of the belief system they had and their attitudes with respect to their target. On one hand, the Mevlevi order was channelled to become an “orthodox” Sufi order with the efforts of the Konya *çelebis* of the middle period and some Mevlevi *şeyhs* in Istanbul. On the other hand, residues of “unorthodox” tendencies which were left first by Rumi himself and some other *şeyhs* in the following generations like Divane Mehmed Çelebi, and several other *şeyhs* survived in several lodges especially under those *şeyhs* who represented multiple allegiances to different Sufi orders. It seems within a centralizing and efficient administrative system in the Mevlevi order, the Şemsi branch of the Mevleviye appeared in different forms in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The

Beşiktaş and Yenikapı lodges contained Bektaşî-Melameti tendencies in this period while the Kasımpaşa lodge attracted people from middle classes or from lower ranks.

Powerful *şeyh* families established themselves in Istanbul Mevlevi lodges in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century and there emerged a network of Mevlevi families in Istanbul in this period. Transmission of the offices in *mevlevihan*es depended on the authority of these families. The family of Gavsî Ahmed Dede (d.1697) in the Galata lodge, of Mustafa Safî Dede (d.1714) in the Yenikapı lodge, Eyyubî Mehmed Dede (d.1723) in the Beşiktaş lodge controlled Istanbul Mevlevi lodges and they became very powerful not only in internal affairs of the Mevlevi order but also in relations with the central government and the elite.

Studying *mevlevihan*es in other parts of the Ottoman Empire is not one of the central aims of this thesis but it can be stated that at least in theory, they enjoyed similar rights and grants with *mevlevihan*es in the center; but in practice their could not acquire the same amount of attraction by the government in all cases, it depended more on their own development and on their relations with power groups in the region. In short, manifestations of the Mevlevi order differed in time and space.

The main focus of this thesis was on the developments of the relationship between the Mevleviye and the government in the last quarter of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. It was one of the most problematic periods of Ottoman history since roots of the reform activities dated back to this period. The Ottoman Empire was unable to cope with the developments in Europe and far behind competing with them especially in the military sphere which led not only to territorial and financial losses but also moral crises. There was an urgent need for reforming the army which was intended by Selim III in this period. Selim III was perceived as a “renovator” by some people who supported reform. He offered a Western style of modernization in the

army which would encompass other spheres in time. The internal problems in this period can be perceived as a reflection of the moral crises in the society. Selim's innumerable imperial decrees shows us how social rules were violated by people. Abuses of power and status by the elite as well as intolerable activities like consumption of alcohol and violation of social rules were perceived as the most significant problems in the society from the perspective of the government in the social sphere. On the other hand, the central authority of the government was very loose in the case of the provinces. There were various power groups which were called *ayan*, notables that acted as *de facto*.

The creation of a new army has been a turning point which displayed the determination of the sultan in reforms. Selim III also created financial basis of this new army even at the expense of cutting down the provisioning of Istanbul. However, his reform attempts were subdued by the traditionalists whose interests were clashing with the reformers. Dethroning Selim meant in a sense restoration of the traditional interests for these groups but it would not last much.

It was Mahmud II who embarked upon an intensive reform project which would be accomplished by the elimination of some traditional institutions like the Janissary army and the Bektashiye since it was perceived as the former's collaborator and spiritual extension. Though the Porte had severe problems not only militarily, socially and economically in this period, the reforms of Mahmud II became successful since they were not limited to the military sphere. Therefore it can be termed as a larger "project".

The role of the Mevlevi order is very significant in this context. The Mevleviye which was supposed to be one of the key legitimizers of the central government in the Ottoman Empire had different reactions to the reform activities. On one hand, we have

Çelebi Mehmed as an open opponent of reform in Konya that represented the interests of Mevleviye in the periphery as a local power group at the turn of the eighteenth century. It seems that the Çelebi perceived the “New Order” and new policies of the Porte as impediments in the maintenance and continuation of his power not only in Konya but also in all Mevlevi lodges. The collaboration of Mehmed Çelebi and other reactionaries in Konya against the authority of the sultan which culminated in a revolt should be seen in this context. The Çelebi was also abusing his position with his extra demands in the Mevlevi *vaqfs*. People who resided in *vaqf* lands suffered a lot from interferences of Mehmed Çelebi during this period. Though the government knew his intentions, the Çelebi was able to continue holding his position and his opposition to the central authority was ignored by the government for some reasons. It would be a too simple to explain it with the tolerance of Selim III due to his affiliation to the Mevleviye. It was possible that the sultan did not want to lose the support of all Mevlevis in the empire by punishing Mehmet Çelebi.

If we look at the other side of the picture, the Mevlevis in Istanbul had close connections with the sultans which increased reputation of the Mevleviye in the eyes of the rulers. Şeyh Galib is the most striking example of this relationship. In an age of chaos and reform, he provided not only spiritual but also political support to Selim III. He praised the sultan for his reformist policies and sanctioned his projects. This was very vital for the sultan to continue his activities within a legitimate framework. The two had personal relations and this relationship was extended both to the governmental decisions and to the approaches of Mevlevis in Istanbul. The *şeyhs* in other Mevlevi lodges in Istanbul followed path of Galib and they established good relations with the elite of this period which increased Mevlevis’ prestige in the eyes of the government.

Mahmud II had a place for the Mevlevi in his projects. It is possible to argue that the Mevlevi order might have been considered as an alternative to the Bektaşî order after 1826 but there are no definite signs for the realization of this idea. It was true that Mevleviye represented a more “orthodox” nature with respect to the Bektaşî order and most Mevlevi were supporting the policies of the government whereas the Bektaşî were declared as “heretics” by the government because of their “anti-reformist” approaches. It was mostly the Nakşibendi order which took over several Bektaşî lodges in different parts of the Ottoman Empire and the government appointed Nakşî *şeyhs* in the administration of these lodges in most cases. If we recall Bektaşî-Melami tendencies of some Mevlevi, it would be difficult for the government to entrust the “conversion” of this abrogated Sufi order into the “righteous path” by leaving the Bektaşîye at hands of its fellows. Interestingly, some Bektaşî survived within some Mevlevi establishments and went on their activities with their support.

As for the role of the Mevlevi *şeyhs* in the girding ceremonies of the sultans with sword, there were Mevlevi *şeyhs* in the nineteenth century who girded some sultans in these ceremonies but it was not an exclusive right for the Mevlevi. The myths that claims some “legendary” connections of the early Ottoman rulers with Mevlana or his son, Sultan Veled are also part of an attempt to present the Mevleviye as part of the state apparatus from the earlier times onwards.

The Ottoman sultans of the nineteenth century chose to represent themselves as the “patrons and protectors of the Mevlevi order”. They displayed their interest in the Mevleviye by constructing, restoring and provisioning *mevlevihanes*, granting the Mevlevi specific rights, providing additional revenues and giving them some gifts. In return, they expected loyalty, support providing legitimacy. They paid specific

attention to the restoration of the central lodge in Konya. Mahmud II spent a considerable amount of money and material, which were essential needs under war conditions in that era for the restoration of Mevlana's shrine and the Selimiye mosque in its vicinity. Several other lodges were repaired in this era.

The melevihanes in the Ottoman Empire also enjoyed provisioning of their order by the government generously. Several rich *vaqfs* that were established for this purpose met all requirements of Mevlevi dervishes. The *Celaliye Evqaf* was under the status of privileged endowments whose number was very limited and possessing autonomy with respect to other Sufi establishments in the empire. The *vaqf* lands and people dwelling in these lands were exempt from some taxes. Naturally, these rich *vaqfs* were attracting interests of the notables around but the government usually sided with the Mevlevi order in cases of disagreement unless there was an abuse from the side of Mevlevis. The sultans also provided gifts like sending valuable clothes to cover the sarcophagus of Rumi or in some cases they gave the Mevlevis extra money in their visits to the melevihanes.

Traditional policies of the Porte regarding Sufi orders came to an end towards the end of Mahmud II's reign. He first passed a decree to reform Sufi orders in the Ottoman Empire and regulated functioning of the Sufi lodges under a centralized system. His policies culminated with the declaration of Tanzimat. This decree brought equal rights for different groups and classes in the Ottoman Empire and Sufis were no more a privileged class in the eyes of rulers to be supported and most of their revenues were cut off.

Mevlevis were more immune to these developments thanks to their acknowledgement by the government since the Mevlevi order was considered as an independent institution which had a different status than most of other Sufi

establishments. For now, that new situation is beyond the aims of this thesis which will be waiting for elaboration as another interesting turning point.

To conclude, the Mevleviye was far from being a homogenous Sufi order. It represented diversity within itself and changed throughout centuries by adapting itself or reacting to the developments of different eras. Mevlevis had close connections with the elite but it is not possible to claim that it was a “state institution”. There was not just one policy that aimed to support the Mevleviye under any condition throughout its history but it is more likely to look for policies of different sultans with their own interests. The relations between the Mevleviye and other Sufi orders as well as diversity of the Mevlevi order within itself was one of the key factors in the relationship of the Mevleviye and the central authority. It seems Mevleviye was far from being a static institution, neither the central authority was and it was the changing conditions of the Ottoman Empire, ups and downs that determined the key factors in the relationship of the two sides and presented us a vivid picture of the complexity in Ottoman history.

I hope this study will procure grounds for a new discussion on unquestioned and neglected aspects of the Mevlevi order and the central government; and looking at the networks in the Ottoman Empire around the nineteenth century from a different perspective.

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APPENDICES



CE. 734 c 29 L. 1216 / 04.03.1802

1. Hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırru'l..... hazretlerinin hulefalarından Gelibolu'da medfun Ağazade Mehmed Efendi kuddise sırruhu'l-azizin Gelibolu'da kain mevlevihanesinin
2. muhtac-ı tamir olan mahallerinden varid olan keşf defteri Mimar ağa kulları marifetiyle tenkih ve fiyatı vaz olundukda mesarifi sekiz bin dokuz yüz yetmiş dörd guruşa
3. baliğ olmağla ebniye-i merkumenin mesarif-i inşası canib-i miriden virilmek şartıyla eşraf-ı kuzatdan Gelibolu ayanı Kalyoncuzade Mustafa Efendi daileri marifetiyle
4. tamir ve tecdidine irade-i seniyyeleri taalluk idüp ol babda memuriyetini havi işbu sene-yi mübareke gurre-i Ramazan'ında der-kenar ise mestur emr-i şerif ve suret-i defter virilmişdi. Şimdi
5. Gelibolu tarafından vürud idüp çakerlerine havale buyurulan evrakın hulasası mefhumu ebniye-i mezkure mesarifi için ale'l-hesab hazine-i amireden beş bin beş yüz guruş
6. itası istidasından ibaret olmağla der-kenara havale olunduk da sabıkı kaydı ve havali-yi merkumede mesarif-i mezkurenin havalesine münasib emval-i miriye ve sekban ve
7. beksimad bedeliyyesi ve sair kaydı bulunamadığı baş muhasebe ve cizye muhasebesi ve mevkufat kalemlerinden ve aklam-ı saireden ve zimmet defterlerinden der-kenar olunmuşdur. Zikr olunan
8. mevlevihane seksen bir senesinde Gelibolu baruthanesi nazırı marifetiyle tamir ve tanzim olundukdan sonra iktiza iden mesarifi virilmiş olduğu der-kenardan müsteban ve mesarif-i mezkure
9. sabıkı üzere canib-i miriden mümaileyh Kalyoncuzadeye virileceği mukaddem sadır olan emr-i şerifde musarrah ve sadrı olan ferman- alileri mucibince bu husus isticlab
10. kuyuzatı muceb mevaddan idüğü zahir ve ayan olmakdan naşi mukaddem sadır olan emr-i ali mucibince ebniye-i mezkurenin bir gün evvel tanzimi ve hitamı haberini Der-saadete tahrir ve inha
11. itmek üzere tekidi havi emr-i şerif isdarı lazım gelmiş ise dahi Gelibolu cizyesinin iki yüz yirmi senesi malından mahallinde cizyedarından ahz ieylemek üzere dörd bin guruşu
12. ale'l-hesab havalesi muvafık-ı re'yi samileri ise emr ü ferman devletlü, saadetlü sultanım hazretlerindir.

CE. 984a

R. 1216/ 08. 1801

1. Arz-ı bendeleridir ki;
2. Medine-i Konya'da vaki Hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l-azizin asitanelerinde kain fakara-yı dervişanın taamiyeleri için
3. Konya cizyesi malından senevi beşyüz gurus̄ş tayin olunmuş olduğu mukayyed olmağla iki yüz on altı senesine mahsuben
4. Meblağ-ı mezburun cizye-i mezkur malından ahz ü kabz olmadığını havi hüccet zahriyedir derkenar ve hesap itdirildiği
5. Meblağ-ı mezkurun cizye-i mezkur malından mahsubu iktiza eylediği malum-ı devletleri buyurulduk da mucibince baş muhasebeye kayd
6. Ve tezkeresi ita olunmak babında emr ü ferman devletlü, saadetlü, sultanım hazretlerindir.

CE. 984b

1. Medine-i Konya'da medfun kutbü'l-evliya tacü'l-asfiya Hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l-alanın asitane-i saadet-aşiyanelerinde sakin dervişan-ı fukarasının taamiyeleri için ber vech-i ocaklık Karaman cizyesi malından
2. Yüz seksen yedi buçuk gurus̄ş ve yine Konya cizyesi malından sekiz yüz kırk altı gurus̄ş ve mirabiye mukatası malından bin iki yüz kırk yedi gurus̄ş ve Niş cizyesi malına zamm ile Konya cizyesi malından bin gurus̄ş tayin
3. Olunmuş olub ancak el-halet hakkında gala-i es'ar takribiyle ol mikdar akçe hankah-ı mezkurda mevcut olan fakara-yı dervişana kifayet etmeyüb muzayaka çıkdığından bahisle bir mikdar taamiyye dahi tertib ve tayin olunmasını
4. Hankah-ı mezkurda postnişin-i irşad olan Çelebi dame salahahu .inha itmiş olub vakıan muayyen olan mebalığ ber mukteza-yı vakt ü hal gala-i es'ar sebebiyle aziz-i müşarün ileyhın hankahından kesret
5. Üzere mevcut fakara-yı dervişanın taamiyeleri kadr-ı kifayetde olmamağla müma ileyh Çelebi dame salahahu inhası üzere münasib maldan bir mikdar müceddid itamiyye tertib ve tayini ra-yı alışanıma menut mevattan
6. İdüği ba takrirleri lede'l-vaz halen sadrazam-ı sütude-sim ve vekil-i mutlak kavıyyü'l-himem ve düstur-ı ekrem müşir-i eham nizamü'l alem, nazım-ı menazımu'l-ümem Yusuf Ziya Paşa edamallahu teala iclalehu ve iktidarahu ve ikbaluhunun
7. Ordu-yu Hümayun-ı nusret-makrunumla bi'l-lahi teala Françe üzerine azimetinde avn-ı cenab-ı Rabb-i Kadir ve sırr-ı ruhaniyyet-i Hazret-i Pir ile mazharı fevz ve nusret-i dünya ve ukbada caiz-i necat-ı selamet olması için
8. İsm-i celal akabinde nam-ı sadr-ı azam-ı müşarün ileyhi yad ve davat-ı hayriyye ile şad kılınmak şartıyla Samsal mukataasından mutasarrıf hissesine zamm ile Karaman cizyesi malından beher sene beşyüz gurus̄ş
9. Müşarün ileyhın asitanesi dervişanına taamiyye tertib ve iktiza iden mahallere kayd ve şart-ı mezkur üzere beratı itası tanzim olunmak babında sadır olan ferman-ı alışanıım
10. Mucibince ism-i Celal akabinde nam-ı sadr-ı azam-ı müşarün ileyhi yad ve davat-ı hayriyye ile şad kılınmak şartıyla salifü'z-zikr Samsal mukataasından mutasarrıf olduğu hissesine ikiyüzondört

11. Senesinden itibaren zamm ile maru'z-zikr Karaman cizyesi malından beher sene yalnız beşyüz guruş aziz-i müşarün ileyhın asitanesi dervişamına taamiyye tertib ve tayin olunmak üzere
12. Baş muhasebeye kayd olunub şurut-ı mezkur üzere beratı ve rikab-ı hümayun tarafına ilmu haberi itasını iftiharü'l-ümera ve'l-ekabir müstecmi' cemi'ü'l- mualla ve'l-mefahir bi'l-fi'l Başdefterdarım Mustafa Reşid
13. Dame uluvvuhu telhis itmekle telhisi mucibince aziz-i müşarün ileyhın asitanesi dervişanına taamiyye olmak üzere Samsal mukataasından sadr-ı azam-ı müşarün ileyhın mutasarrıf olduđu hissesine
14. Zamm ile Karaman cizyesi malından senevi beşyüz guruş tertib ve müma ileyhe işbu rafi'-i tevki'-i refi'u's-şan-ı hakani iftiharü's-süleha'is-salikin Çelebi dame salahahunun uhdesine kayd ve yedine berat-ı
15. Şerifim ve rikab-ı hümayun tarafına ilmu haberi virilmek fermanım olmağın hakkında mezid-i inayet-i padişahanem zuhuruna getürüb bin ikiyüz ondört senesi Saferinin beşinci günü tarihiyle
16. Müverrih virilen ru'us-ı hümayunum mucibince bu berat-ı hümayımı virdim ve buyurdum ki müma ileyh Çelebi dame salaha varub şart-ı mezkur üzre aziz-i müşarün ileyhın asitanesi fukarasına taamiyye
17. Olmak üzere tayin olunan senevi beşyüz taamiyye vazifesini Karaman cizyesi malından cizyedar olanlar yedinden alub mutasarrıf ola şöyle bileler alamet-i şerife itimad kılalar.

Tahiren fi'l-yevmi'l-hamis min Safer li-sene erba aşere ve mieteyn ve elf (1214)
Be-yurd Sahra-yı Konya

CE. 1140 (no date)

1. Vezir-i mükerrerrem saadetlü Kaimakam Paşa hazretleri taraflarından varid olan bir kıta mektup mefhumunda Konya'da vaki türbe-i hazret-i
2. Mevlana ile kurbinde kain Sultan Selim Han cami-i şerifinin tamiri için bundan akdem ihsan buyurulan on bin
3. Vukiyye ve dörd bin guruş tamir olunan mevazının cümlesine vefa itmediğinden bahisle on iki bin beş yüz vukiyye
4. Kurşun ile malzeme-i saire mesarifi için on altı bin guruş dahi itası iltimasını dahi Konya tarafından varid olan tahrirat
5. Hulasa itdürülüb rikab-ı hümayun defterdarı inayetlü Efendi bendelerine havale olundukda husus-ı mezburun kaydı rikab-ı hümayunda
6. Olmayub ordu-yı hümayundan görölmeğe mütevakıf idüğünü mübeyyin takdim eylediği tahriri mebus savb-ı vala-yı hidivaneleri kılınmağla
7. Madde-i mezburenin tanzimi menut-ı rey-i sami idüğünü tahrir iderler. Medine-i Konya'da aziz-i müşarü'n-ileyhin asitane-i
8. Feyz-i aşiyanelerinin ve kurbinde vaki merhum ve mağfurun leh Sultan Selim Han cami-i şerifinin muhtac-ı tamir ve termim olan
9. Mahall ve mevazı-ı lazimesi için hankah-ı aliyyede seccade-nişin-i irşad olan el-hac Ebu bekir Efendi dailerinin istidasına mebni
10. Doksan dokuz senesi Rebiü'l-ahirinde Bozkır madeni hasılatından on bin vukiyye kurşun ve ol havalide vaki münasib
11. Emval-i miriyeden dörd bin beş yüz guruş havale olunmuş olduğu ve meadin-i hümayun defterleri rikab-ı hümayunda tevkıf
12. Olunmuş olmağla bu defa istida olunan kurşun dahi yine maden-i mezbur hasılatından havalesi hususu beherhal rikab
13. Tarafından tanzime muhtac idüğü baş muhasebeden der-kenar olunmuşdur. Hazret-i Celaleddin Rumi ecille-i kibar-ı evliyaullahdan olub
14. Merkad-ı münevverlerinin ve kurbinde olan cami-i şerifin tamir ve termimi nice nice fevaid-i maneviyeyi mucib olacağı aşikar
15. Olmakdan naşi bu defa dahi sadır olan ferman-ı alileri mucibince ol havalide vaki münasib emval-i miriyeden beş bin
16. Beş yüz guruşun havalesi tanzim ve senedatı ısdar ve terkim olunmak üzere olduğu ve der-kenar-ı natık olduğu üzere
17. Meadin-i hümayun defterleri rikab-ı hümayunda olub kurşun havalesi ol taraftan tanzime muhtac idüğü malum-ı devletleri
18. Buyurulduk da istidaları üzere kurşun havalesi rikab-ı hümayunda tanzim ve ordu-yu hümayuna ilm ü haberi ita olunmak için
19. İşbu tahrir-i çakerinin kaimakam-ı müşarüñleyh hazretlerine irsali muvafık emr ü rey-i ali ise emr ü ferman
20. Devletlü, saadetlü sultanım hazretlerindir.

CE. 1142a.

23 Ra 1204 / 11.12.1789

1. Arz-ı bendeleridir ki;
2. Medine-i Konya'da medfun kutbü'l-arifin hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l-azizin türbe-i şerif
3. ve mescid ve semahane ve sair mevazıaları ile kurbinde kain merhum ve mağfurun leh Sultan
4. Selim Han tabe serahın cami-i şerifi tamiri için bundan akdem Bozkır defter-i madeni hasılatından
5. ita buyurulan on bin vukiyye kurşun ile havale buyurulan dörd bin guruş
6. tamir olunan mevazıanın cümlesine kifayet itmediğinden bu defa dahi on iki bin
7. beşyüz vukiyye kurşun ve mesarif-i saire için altı bin guruş ita buyurulmasını
8. ma tahrirat-ı Konya tarafından lede'l-inha ebniye-i mezkure mesarifi için havalı-yi merkumede
9. vaki mütenasib emval-i miriyyeden beş bin sekiz yüz guruşun havalesi ordu-yu
10. hümayundan tanzim olunduğu beyarıyla kurşun maddesi dahi der aliyyede tesviye olunmak
11. hususu bundan akdem taraf-ı hazret-i sadaretpenahiden takrir ve işar olunmuş olmağla
12. ber vech-i meşruh onikibinbeşyüz vukiyye kurşunun sabıkı mucibince maden-i
13. mezbure hasılatından itasına müsaade-i aliyye-i erzani buyurulmuş Konevi Seyyid
14. Efendi daileri işbu arzı haliyle istida ve manzur-ı hidivaneleri buyurulduk da maden-i
15. mezkurda ol mikdar kurşun mevcut ise sabıkı üzere itası tanzim olunmak babında
16. ferman-ı alileri sudur itmekden naşi kuyud-ı lazimesi baş muhasebeden bade'l-ihrac
17. keyfiyeti inayetlü Darbhane-i Amire Nazırı Ağa kullarından istilam olundukda salifü'z-zikr
18. Bozkır madeninde darbhane malı olarak mevcut olan kurşun Dersaadete celb için
19. tamamen Alanya iskelesinden nakl olunduğu derkenarda hütür sadır olan emr-i şerifden
20. olmağla bu suretde maden-i mezburda miri kurşun olmayub mevcut kurşun var ise dahi
21. madenciyan malı olmağla ol mikdar kurşun hazret-i Mevlana-yı müşarün ileyhe hürmeten virilmesini
22. ifade buyurulduğu halde fiat-ı miriyye üzere canib-i miriden akçesi ita olunarak
23. madenciyan mübayaasından muhtac idüğünü ilam ider mucibince on iki bin beş yüz vukiyye
24. kurşunun miri fiatla bahası hesab itdirildik de iki bin beş yüz guruşa baliği
25. olmakdan naşi nazır-ı müma ileyhin ilamı ve hesap itdirildiği üzere tanzimi
26. muvafık-ı irade-i seniyyeleri ise baş muhasebeye kayd olunub meblağ-ı mezkur iki bin beş yüz guruş
27. ol havalide vaki münasib emval-i miriyyeden havalen itası için tezkeresi ve emr ve tahrir olunmak

28. lazım geldiği malum-ı devletleri buyuruldukda emr-i ferman devletlü, saadetlü, sultanım hazretlerindir.

CE. 1142b

1. Maruz-ı bendeleridir ki
2. Sadır olan emr-i şeriflerin imtisalen işbu ferman-ı ali ve derkenara nazar olundukda Bozkır madeninde darbhane-i amire malı olarak mevcut olan kurşun
3. der-aliyyeye celb için tamamen Alanya iskelesine nakl olunduğu muahharen sadır olan emr-i şerif derkenarından müsteban olmağla bu suretde maden-i
4. mezburda miri kurşun olmayub mevcut kurşun var ise dahi madenciyan malı olmak işbu arzı halde
5. istida olunan kurşun hazret-i Mevlana-yı müşarün ileyhe hürmeten virilmesi üzere buyurulduğu halde fiyat-ı miriye üzere
6. canib-i miriden akçesi ita olunarak madenciyardan mikdar-ı kifaye kurşun mübayaasına muhtac itdüğü malum-ı devletleri
7. buyurulduk da ol babda emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehü'l-emrindir.
8. 17 Receb sene 204

CE. 1142c

1. Devletlü, inayetlü, kaffe-i alemiya.. merhametlü, efendim hazretleri agar ve ikbal ile sağ olsun.
2. Arzı hal-i daileridir ki medine-i Konya'da medfun kutbü'l-arifin zahrü'l-vasilin hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sirruhu'l-azizin türbe-i şerif ve mescid ve semahane
3. ve sair mevazıları ve kurbinde kain merhum ve mağfur leh Sultan Selim Han tabe serahu hazretlerinin cami-i şerifi tamiri için
4. bundan akdem merhum ve mağfur leh Sultan Abdülhamid Han tabe serahu hazretleri on bin vukiyye kurşun ve ameliyye ve sair lazimesi
5. için dörd bin beşyüz guruş ihsan-ı hümayun idüp sarf olunub vefa itmeyüb bu defa on iki bin beş yüz vukiyye
6. kurşun ve Bozkır madeninden kurşun nakliyesi ve ameliyye ve sair lazimesi için altı bin guruş keşf olunub ve keşfini
7. müşir bir kıta ilam-ı şeriyye Asitane-i aliyyeye getirilüb ve devlet-i aliyye tarafından ordu-yu hümayun irsal ve mucibince beş bin
8. beş yüz guruş Hazret-i Pir'e hürmeten menasib-ı havaliden ihsan buyurulub ve zikr olunan kurşun darbhane-i amireye havale
9. olunub saadetlü darbhane-i amire emini ağa kulları kadimine mugayir rayici üzere bahasiyle Bozkır maden hasılatından ahz
10. olunması için ilam ve mucibince defterdar efendi daileri telhis itmekle rayici üzere bahasiyle ahz olunduk da ihsan olunan
11. meblağ kurşun için vefa idüp Bozkır'dan kurşun nakliyesi ve ameliyye ve sair lazimesi muattal olacağı malum-ı ilm
12. āraları buyuruldukda kadimi vechi üzere kurşun- ı mezkurun itasıyla hazret-i pire hürmeten türbe-i şerif ve cami-i şerif ihya
13. buyurulmak babında arzı hale cesaret olundu. Baki emr ü ferman devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü efendim sultanım hazretlerindir.

CE. 1845 27 S 1180 / 04.08.1766

1. Faziletlü, semahatlü, inayetlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim sultanım hazretleri sağ olsun
2. Vilayet-i Anadolu'da Balıkesir'de vaki İzmirlioğlu Hamza Bey evkafından Çırakçı mezraası vakfının vazife-i ile
3. mezraadarlık ve tevliyetineselefim Şeyh Abdül Ahmed mutasarrıf iken fevt olmağla merahim-i aliyyelerinden mercudur ki mahlulunden
4. selefim mutasarrıf olduğu vech üzere bu dailerine tevcih..... vermeye berat-ı alışan ihsan buyurulmak babında emr ü ferman
5. Faziletlü, semahatlü, inayetlü, efendim sultanım hazretlerindir.



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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين

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سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

CE. 4800b

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بارشام

اذن هما بونم اولمشد

عضو بنده بمقتضای در اولدند شوکلو کرانلو مرابانو قودتلو ولی نعمتم اقم

قره همصار قضا سی مضافان دن قلمه جلی فریه سنده واقع مولوی خانه جامع شریفی حاجی خطابنی کلور

اولغله و باب استحقاق دن سید مصطفی خلیفه به صدق بیورق و جاسنده قره همصار صاحب نابجی بعض

انجمله بالوسی اذن هما بونم اولمشد و بو خط هما یون عیانم قودتلو در تریب بیورق نابجی

امردولان شوکلو کرانلو مرابانو قودتلو ولی نعمتم اقم بادشاهمکدر

CE. 4800a **3 Ra 1211 /8/8/1796**
(izn-i hümayunum olmuşdur)

1. Arz-ı bende-i oldur ki şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veli nimetim padişahım efendim
2. Karahisar kazası muzafatından Kalecik karyesinde vaki mevlevihane cami-i şerifinin hitabeti mahlul
3. olmağla erbab-ı istihkakdan Seyyid Mustafa halifeye sadaka buyurulmak recasına Karahisar-ı sahib naibi arz
4. itmekle balası izn-i hümayunum olmuşdur deyü hatt-ı hümayun-ı inayet-makrunlarıyla tezyin buyurulmak babında
5. emr ü ferman şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veli nimetim efendim padişahımındır.

CE. 4800b

1. Der devlet-i mekine arz-ı dai keminelidir ki; Medine-i Karahisar-ı sahib kazası müzafatından Kalecik karyesinde vaki mevlevihane cami-i şerifi evkafi mahsulünden almak üzere vazife-i muine/muayyene ile imam ve hatib olan
2. Süleyman halife fevt olub yeri hali ve hidmet-i lazimesi mahlul ve muattal kalmağın yerine erbab-ı istihkakdan işbu bais-i arz-ı ubudiyet sulbi kebir oğlu es-seyyid Mustafa halife daileri her vechile
3. layık ve muhıl ?? ve müstehak olmağla ciheteyn-i mezkureteyn vazife-i muayyenesiyle babası mahlulünden merkum-ı dailerine tevcih ve yedine berat-ı şerif-i alişan sadaka ve ihsan buyurulmak recasıyla vakiü'l- hal
4. bi'l-iltimas der devlet-i medara arz ve ilam olundu. Baki emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehü'l-emrindir. Hurriren fi'l-yevmi's-salis min şehr-i Rebiü'l-evvle li-sene ihda aşr ve miteyn ve elf.

El-abdü'd-dai li'd-devleti'l-aliyye'l-Osmaniye Hocasade Hafız Mehmed Sadık el mevlevihane-i medine-i Karahisar-ı Sahib

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
والصلاة والسلام على
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين
الطاهرين

تو در روزی که در آن روز
تو در روزی که در آن روز
تو در روزی که در آن روز

صحنه خورشید
کتابخانه
کتابخانه

درد و فکینه عرض را عید که
نظاوت نماز او و دشمنی افغانان بنا و احیا ابله یکی او فانی شیعیان بهیبه بشی آنچه کتابت عینت سلفه اولون
دویشی محراب خلیفه متصرف اولو یعنی بشی آنچه کتابت عینت سلفه اولون
این جمله مجردا که توید و بدیدینه برلین عالیشان و بربره و جاسبله او و فرمان دونلو عنایانو
سپاسم حضرت نیکو

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

CE. 10907

(21 § 1204 / 01.05.1790)

1. Der devlet-i mekine-i arz-ı daidir ki;
2. Nezaretimizde olan Hasan Ağa'nın bina ve ihya eylediği evkaf-ı şerifin yevmiye beş akçe kitabet cihetine mutasarrıf olan
3. Derviş Mehmed Tahir halife mutasarrıf olduğu beş akçe kitabet cihetini hüsn-i rızasıyla Ahmed Hamdi ibn Şeyh Ahmed'e kasr
4. Itmekle müceddiden tevcihi ve ellerine berat-ı alışan virilmesi ricasıyla emr ü ferman devletlü, inayetlü sultanım hazretlerindir.

Mevlevihane-i Galata Şeyhi Numan Dede



۱۱۵۴
۱۱۲۱



عضوان لایحه

وزیر قضاکنده تاج فرم نورجهان نام قریه غلطه مولو بخانه
 وقفی اولوب رعایا لری تکالیفدن معاف و مسکد ایکی بزرگ
 بعضی اعیان و متغلبه معاقبتدنک معاف لری تکالیف مطابقه
 رنجین و تقدیر خالی اولد قدرته بناء رعایا قراستک
 بر اکنه و بریشان اولد قدرته باعث اولدیده اولور هر اولان
 تقدیری منع و دفع و بر لرین اولد معاقبتدنک معاف لری تکالیف
 طلبه رنجین اولفامدیجول امر شرف درک و خلیفه تبریز
 درویشان قرا لری رضیالایدر لر واقعا قریه مرقوم مولو بخانه
 مذکورک وقفی اولد قدردن تکالیفدن معاف اولوب و معاف
 ناطق مقدما تجویز افان اولد قدرته حاکم و انهم فیما بعد و خلیفه
 کشیدن قند لری موقوفاتدن حرکات اولد قدرته معاقبتدنک
 معاف قریه مرقومه رعایا لری رنجین ایدر لری تکالیف
 مراعات اولف او زوره امر شرف تجویز بلکنه امر و فرمان
 و هر سادتر سلام حضرت لری

امیر کبیر
 سلطان محمد زکی
 امیر کبیر

عزیز و محترم

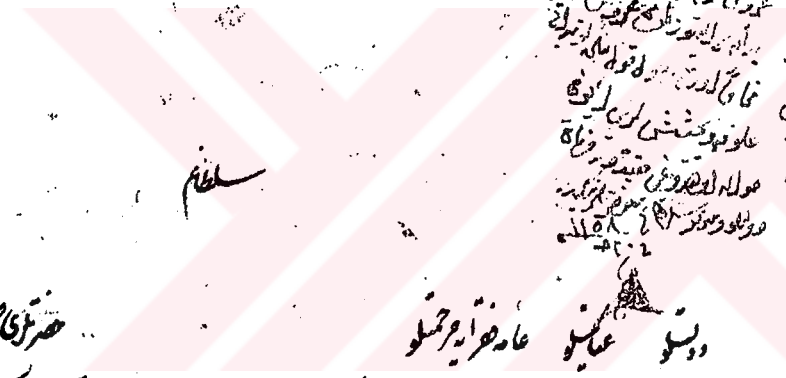
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Handwritten notes in the middle right section.



حضرتی صاحب

دینو عیانو عامه فرمایید

ورود عرصه...

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CE. 19129a

20 Z 1219 / 23.03.1805

1. Arz-ı bendeleridir ki;
2. Vize kazasına tabi Karabürcek nam karye Galata Mevlevihanesi
3. vakfi olub reayaları tekalifden muaf ve müsellemler iken Vize sakinlerinden
4. bazı ayan ve mütegalibe muafiyetlerinin mugayiri tekalif mutalebesiyle
5. rencide ve taaddiden hali olmadıklarına binaen reaya fukarasının
6. perakende ve perişan olmalarına bais olmalarıyla ol vechile evvelan
7. taaddileri men ve ref ve yedlerinde olan muafiyetlerinin mugayiri tekalif
8. talebiyle rencide olunmamaları için emr-i şerif derhal ricasıyla tekye-i mezbure
9. dervişan-ı fukaraları arzı hal iderler. Vakıa karye-i merkume mevlevihane-i
10. mezkurun vakfi olduğundan tekalifden muaf olub ve mualiflerini
11. natuk mukaddema tahrir olunan emr-i şerif-i alışanın unvanına hatt-ı hümayun
12. keşide kılıldığı mevkufatdan derkenar olunmağla kema ba'd muafiyetlerine
13. mugayir karye-i mezbure reayası rencide itdirilmeyüb muafiyet-i kadimeleri
14. muraat olunmak üzere emr-i şerif tahriri babında emr-i ferman devletlü, saadetlü sultanım hazretlerindedir.

CE. 19929b

Defter

1. Amme-i fukara merhametlü sultanım hazretleri sağ olsun
2. bu kulları Galata mevlevihanesinin dervişanı olub tekyemizin taamiyesi ancak Vize'de vaki Karabürcek nam
3. karyeciğe münhasır olub bil külliye tekalif-i örfiyye ve şakkadan muaf ve müsellemler olmak üzere selatin-i maziyyeden
4. yedlerimizde evamir-i müteaddide ve hatt-ı hümayun-ı şevketmakrun var iken bu esnada Vize sakinlerinden bazı ashab-ı ağraz
5. bil cümle feramin ve ve hatt-ı hümayunu ısfâ itmeyüb beş on nefer reaya-yı fukarasına deve, arpa ve bargir iştiralarını teklif
6. eyleyüb cümlesi fakr-ı ş-hal virmeğe kudretleri olmayub gadr-ı külli ve zulm-i sarîh olmağla hankahımız taamiyesine noksan
7. terettüb itmeğın bu kullarına her gadr-ı azim olmağla merahim-i aliyyelerinden mercu baş muhasebe ve mevkufat defterlerinden
8. derkenar olunub mezburların taddisi men ve ref olunmak babında ferman devletlü inayetlü sultanım hazretlerindedir.

صفحه دویزدهم
 کتاب
 ۱۲

دوره نیکیند عرض اعیانیند برید که قونیه در مدفون قطب عالم ازین غوث الواصلین حضرت جلال الدین رومی قدس سره کما خانقا هندق شوی خوان اولاک سیکیمت در هر کت لاجل کتاب
 مدینه نون در نئی و اجاو منی خصوصند از ایشات مانه تعلق ایلدیکند با ارجوان همایون شاه لادن اسپندعلی پادشاه با تقبله امر و اراد سینه پور دینی و چه او زود تاریخ اعداد کونی مدینه منوره
 و رود و محل اخره قشند رخصت بر لیبوب منقما مکث و ان مت ایدوب کرام عمر پادشاهی ده یکدیگر هوا طلبت و معدا و مست او زود اولدینق با سر بر اعدایه بالانیا کس عرض اعدوم الیک
 باقی امر و نومان حضرت من لدا امر کور کونی ایوم کتات و حضرتین منی شهر صفر الحیر سنه سبع و ثلثین رما هین رنف

الکتاب الیوم لک و لک الوصل
 علامه ام المصنف المرحوم ابو سعید

CE. 26698 § 1189 / 09-10.1775

1. Maruz-ı dai-yi devlet-i aliyyeleridir ki;
2. Nezaret-i dailerinde olan evkafdan katib-i yeniçeriyan-ı dergah-ı ali merhum Mehmed Efendi nam sahibü'l-hayrın mahmiye-i İstanbul'da Yenikapu haricinde
3. vaki mevlevihane vakfının yevmi on akçe vazife ile evlad-ı utaka-yı vâkıfdan ber vech-i meşruta mütevellî olan Mehmed Said Halife ibn mühürdar el-hac Mehmed
4. bila-veled fevt olub tevliyet-i mezkure mahlule ve hidmet-i lazimesi muattal kalmağla müteveffa-yı mezburun li-ebeveyn kızkarındaşı oğlu ve yine evlad-ı
5. utaka-yı vâkıfdan olub tevliyet-i merkume uhdesinden gelmeğe kadir emin ve mutemed ve her vechile layık ve müstehak olduğu dokuz nefer mazbutü'l-esami
6. mevsukü'l- elim kimesneler ihbarlarıyla lede'ş- şerrü'l- enver olan bais-i ilam Ahmed Halife ibni Mehmed'e tevliyet-i mezkure vazife-i mersumesiyle
7. müteveffa-yı mezburun mahlulünden ber muceb-i şart-ı vakıf ber vech-i meşrut tevcih ve yedine berat-ı alişan inayet-i ihsan
8. buyurulmak babında huzur-ı alilerine ilam olundu.

El – emr li veliyyü'l-emr

Fi gurre-i Şabanü'l-muazzam li-sene tis⁶ ve semanin ve mietü ve elf (1189)

CE. 20785 8 Ra 1237 / 23.11.1822

1. Der devlet-i mekine-i arz-ı dai keminelidir ki; Konya'da medfun kutbü'l-arifin, gavsü'l-vasilin Hazret-i Celaleddin-i Rumi kuddise sırrahu'l-ala hankahında mesnevihan olan es-seyyid Süleyman Dede'nin li ecli't-te'dib
2. Medine-i Tokad'a nefy ü iclası hususuna irade-i şahane taallık eylediğine binaen divan-ı hümayun çavuşlarından es-Seyyid Ali Çavuş refakatiyle emr ü irade-i seniyye buyurulduğu vech üzere tarih-i ilam günü medine-i mezbureye
3. Vürüd ve mahall-i ahire gitmesine ruhsat virülmeyüb menfiyyen meks ve ikamet idüp devam-ı ömr-i padişahi ed'ıyyesine ve muvazibet ve müdavemet üzere olduğu paye-i serir-i alaya bi'l-iltimas arz ve ilam olundu.
4. Baki emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehü'l-emrindir.
5. Hurre fi'l-yevmi's-salis ve'l-aşrin min şehr-i Saferü'l-hayr sene seb'a ve selasin ve mieteyn ve elf.

El-abdü'd-dai li'd-devleti'l-alıyyeti'l Osmaniye Celalzade İsmail.

HH. 863

1201 (1786-1787)

1. Şevketlü, kudretlü, kerametlü, adaletlü, veli-nimetim efendim padişahım.
2. Takrir-i çakeri balasına şerefyafıta-i sudur olan hatt-ı hümayun-ı şevket-makrunlarında evvel sekiz tammü'l-vezn altun
3. Ruh-ı mukaddes-i Hazret-i Mevlana'ya ve on sekiz altun dahi yine Bursa'da asude nişin gurfe-i rahmet-i rahman
4. Olan Abdal Mehmed kuddise sıruhu'l-aziz revan-ı pakına nezr-i şahane buyurulduğı tasrih ve otuz altı aded
5. Altun savb-ı bendegiye mütesayir buyurulmuş Abdal Mehmed hazretlerine olan nezr-i hüdavendigarileri cizyedar
6. Zade hakiri Bahaeddin Efendi daileri marifetiyle hadimi derviş Mehmed'e ve mahallesinde sakin erbab-ı
7. Istihkakdan fakara-yı sabirine taksim itdirülüb cevabı getürdü ancak kutbü'l-evliya ve sırru'l- asfiya
8. Mazhar-ı tecelliyat kuyumu Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi ruh-ı müşerreflerine tahsis buyurulan on sekiz
9. Altun nezr-i hümayunları aziz-i müşarün ileyh hazretlerinin Konya'da vaki asitane-i keramet-i aşiyanelerinde
10. Devvar -ı merkez-i hidmet ve pervane-i şem-i cem-i hakikatleri olan fukarasına mı gönderilsün yohsa
11. Bu dahi Abdal Mehmed türbesi hadimi ve mahallesinde mütevattin fukaraya mı irsal olunsun izn ü icazet-i
12. Mülükanelerine muvaffık olmağla istizane cesaret olundı ne yüzden irade-i tacdarileri
13. Taalluk ider ise emr-i ferman şevketlü, kudretlü kerametlü, adaletlü, vel-nimetim efendim padişahım hazretlerindir.

CE. 887 1 Rebiülevvel 1086 / 30.05.1676

Mucibince sadaka buyurulmak rica olunur.

Mucibince tevcih olunmuşdur.

Mine'd-dai aliyyü'l-fakir Ufiye anh.

[16 Rebiü'-sani 87/28.06.1676]

1. Fahru's-suleha'-i's-salik Gavsî Ahmed Dede zide salahu ve takvahu
2. Tuhaf-ı tahiyat ittihafıyla inha olunur ki medine-i İstanbul'da vaki Galata mevlevihanesinin meşihat ve mesnevihanlığı hizmeti sana tevfiiz olunmuşdur.
3. Gerekdir ki tekye-i mezbureye varub fukara-i babu'l-lah ile evkat-ı hamsede zillu'l-lahi alempenah- halleda'l-lahu hilafetehu ila yevmi'l-intibah hazretlerinin
4. Devam-ı ömr ü devlet ve kıyam-ı hıyam-ı izz ü şevketleri da'vatından sonra fukara ve ehıbbaya makbul bargah-ı kayyumi Hazret-i Monla
5. Celaleddin-i Rumi kuddise sırruhu'l-azizin mağzı Kuran-ı celilü'ş-şan ve ab-ı zülal-i teşnegan-ı bahr-i arifan olan kitab-ı
6. Müstehabların kıraat idüb adab-ı şeriat ve tarikat ile tekayyüd üzere olasın ve fukara-ı babu'l-lah kesserahum
7. U'l-İlahi teala ila yevmi'l-kıyam dahi seni kendülere şeyh ve mesnevihan bilüb umur-ı şeriat ve tarikatda kemal-i inkıyad ile
8. muti ve münkad olalar ve sen dahi şeriat ve tarikatda dakika fevt eylemeyüb fukara ile hüsn-i
9. zindegani üzere olasın ve evliya-yı kiramın güzeşte ve bakilerin dua-i hayr ile yad itmeden hali
10. olmayasın. Baki es'adekumu'l-lah fi'd-dareyn. Hurrîre fi gur-re-i şehir-i Rebi'ü'l-evvel li-sene sitte ve semanin ve elf.

Mine'l-fakir eş-şeyh Abdülhalim ibn Mevlana kuddise sırrahu.

پادشاه

کتابخانه مجلس شورای اسلامی
دفتر اسناد و کتابخانه ملی
جمهوری اسلامی ایران
تاسیس ۱۳۰۲ هجری قمری
محل استقرار: تهران، خیابان
کهنه بازار، پلاک ۱۰۱
تلفن: ۸۸۰۰۰۰۰۰

شونلو کواتلو مهابادو قدرتو ولیعهدم افتم

بودند شهرامینی ازنی قوللریک نسیج و اعمالده نامور اولدی قطب العارین مولانا حضرتلریک پوشیده ای
کذوبه بری بیک بیوز غوش اعطا اولدی اسد عثمانی جاوی تقدیم اینکی تقریری عتبه عبدای ساهان زینه عرض اولدوقده
جمه سنک بکوف قاجاه بالغ اوله جمنی افاده اولدی باینده خط هما بونلری تریناقنه صدور اولغله حفصی مرقوم
موی ایله قوللرون سوال اولمیشدی شری تقدیم اینکی برقطعه تقریرنه باش محاسبه ده مقید اولدی اوزره کسوه تقریر
روضه مطرزه مجیدینه سابقا من حيث الجميع اوتوز سز بیک اون دوق غوش صرف اولغش اولوب الحاله هذه رایج وقته
قیاساً بودنده اعمالده سابقنک اون ایکی بیک غوش قدر زیاده کنک اقتضا ایدر ایکن وقت و زمانیل ایچده ای اعطال
سابقنک اعلا اولدی اوتوز اوج بیک غوشله وجوده کله جکی و مولانا و سائر جلیان حضرتلک و شین لری
بری بیک بیوز غوشک زیاده ایل صورت پذیر اولدی باین اولغش اولغله تقریری تقدیم خاکهای عالی لری قدری منظور
بیله لوقه خزان شونلو کواتلو مهابادو قدرتو ولیعهدم افتم ختم ختم

HH. 9884

1205

Ravza-yı mutahhara kisve-i şerifesi mesarifi ve kaza-yı Hamidiye'den Mevlana türbesi puşideleri mesarifi pederim merhumun vakfından virile, lakin mesariflerine dikkat eylemesi şehremine tenbih idesin.

1. Şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veliyyü'n-niam efendim padişahım.
2. Bu defa şehremi efendi kullarının nesc ve imaline memur olduğu kutbü'l-arifin Mevlana Hazretlerinin puşideleri mesarifiçün
3. Kendüye yedi bin beş yüz guruş ita olunmak istidasını havi takdim itdiği takriri atabe-i aliya-yı şahanelerine arz olunduk da
4. Cümlesinin yekunu kaçā baliğ olacağı ifade olunmak babında hattı hümayunları şerefyafıta-i sudur olunmağla husus-ı merkum efendi-yi
5. Müma ileyh kullarından sual olunmuş idi. Şimdi takdim itdiği bir kıta takririnde baş muhasebede mutekayyed olduğu üzere kisve-yi şerife-yi
6. Ravza-yı mutahhara tecdidine sabıka min haysü'l- mecmu otuz sekiz bin on dört guruş sarf olunmuş olub el-haleti hazihi rayic-i vakte
7. Kıyasen bu defa imaline sabıkınan on iki bin guruş kadar ziyade gitmek iktiza ider iken vakt-i zamanıyla akçası ita olunur ise
8. Sabıkından ala olarak otuz üç bin guruşla vücuda geleceği ve Mevlana ve sair Çelebiyan hazeratının puşideleri dahi
9. Yedi bin beşyüz guruşdan ziyade ile suretpezir olacağı beyan olunmuş olamğla takriri takdim-i hakipayi alileri kılındı manzur-ı şahaneleri
10. Buyurulduk da ferman şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, veli-nimetim efendim padişahım hazretlerindir.

۱۳۴۱

بیت المقدس

حاو قریباً بی سنجائی تصرفی وزیرکم سعادت‌الملک الحاج عزیزباشا حضرتی طرفین داد و اودون عرض و محضک با فرما عالی طرفین
 حواله بیرون خصوصاً مفوضه نوا مزبورہ تابع الحصار کبیرہ قضائتہ تابع شکرہ و بیوزہ و مدہ اقمہ شہر قریہ ری فریبند
 وادہ اودون تکالیف لاری ادا ابدلایک فرامرفوزہ بتکالیف مولویخانہ سنک فقاوود ویشاآنک شولانغہ مربوط اولوق تقریبہ
 نرسقاریہ اوزوزہ واقع جبری قیمر و تریم ایلاک اوزوزہ تکالیف شاقون معاف لاری حاوی بر تقریباً مرعالی اصدرا و نوح حسیہ
 جسز مذکورہ بر مقدار طاق نقل تمیز ایزدہ بموقوفہ جزوی خیمی و سببہ ابدونک من کل الوجوه تکالیفہ معافت اوعا سببہ
 خذوقا مرعالی وادہ اودون سیایعہ و کراسہ و حطب و قابوچی بریکه شیلا تکالیفک اوانسده معافت و قرا مزبور دابہ
 اوجی در بروز خانہ در مجاوز اولوب وادہ اودون تکالیفی و بعد کوری حالہ فراها سازه به ضعف طاری اولوق بریشا تقاریب
 موجب اوجینی بیان بله فرا مذکورہ اھالیلی قزچی و جملہ وادہ اودون تکالیف لاری ادا ایلاری باندہ بر قطعہ امر شریف صدوقی
 شمارا به شقہ سنہ و الحصار کبیرہ فاضلی اعدوم و اھالیسی و غیر لرنہ غیر و انرا ابدولر قیودہ لری لراجمہ قریباً بی سنجائتہ و نوح
 مارانکر الحصار کبیرہ قضائتہ تابع شکرہ و بیوزہ و مدہ قریہ لرنک محمولی حضرت حوزوفا قوی سرہ العزیزک بتکالیفہ کانت
 مولویخانہ سی قفرائتک طعامیہ سنہ باخطہ ایونہ قحیم قشیش اور بقدرت ماخذ قرا مرفوزہ اھالیلی سقاویہ جبری قیمر و تریم
 ایلاک اوزوزہ کورچی قیمن اولرن لرنہ بارہ عوارض لری معاف لاری اوزوز لرنہ عقید اودون بری کراسنہ غم لری وھی مقید اوزوز
 تا دیکندہ دفع و خدمت لری معافی و سگلا اولوب جسز مذکورہ حضرتی کما هو مضمون اودو و دریت ابدولرن حکمہ تکالیف
 و عوارض طبیہ نقدی و نغیدہ اوتامق باندہ بلک ایچوز اودون برسنتی اواسط بیچ اولوزنہ امر شریف و بریش اولونجی
 و کناودن سببہ اولنہ بومورترہ قرا مرفوزہ محمولی باخطہ ایون نخبہ مذکورہ طعامیہ سنہ قحیم و اھالیسی
 کورچی قیمن برلہ عوارض و تکالیف ساروزون معاف و سگلا اولرن قریبہ بارہ مجدداً تکالیفہ احوال اولونجی خصوصاً
 مجرد اداوہ اھالیون حضرت جہان لری فوق ایرو حواوون ابدونکی موقوفہ اوزون و کناو اولونجی مضمون معلوم و اولونجی
 بود لوقہ امر و فرما و و قتل و سعادت و سلطان حضرت کبیر

HH. 17242-A 1211(1796-1797)

Defterdar efendi kullarının takriridir.

1. Hala Koca ili şancağı mutasarrıfı vezir-i mükerrerrem saadetlü el-hac Aziz Paşa hazretleri tarafından varid olan arz-ı mahzarın ba-ferman-ı ali taraf-ı hakiriye
2. Havale buyurulan hulasası mefhumunda dava-i mezbura tabi Akhisar Geyve kazasına tabi ve Akçşehir karyeleri kadimden beru
3. Varide olan tekaliflerini eda iderler iken kura-i merkume beşiktaş Mevlevihanesinin fukara ve dervişanının şurbalığına merbut olamk takririyle
4. Nehr-i Skarya üzerinde vaki cisri tamir ve termim eylemek üzere tekalif-i şakkadan muafiyetlerini havi ber takrib emr-i ali isdar olunmak hasebiyle
5. Cizr-i mezkure bir mikdar taş nakl itmiler ise de bu makule cüz'i hidmeti vesile iderek min külli'l- vücuha tekalifden muafiyet iddiasıyla
6. Hilaf-ı emr-i ali-yi varide olan mübayaa ve keraste ve hatb ve kalyoncu bedeliyesi misüllü tekalifin arasında mümaneat-ı kura-yı mezbure ise
7. Üç dört yüz haneden mütecaviz olub varide olan tekalifi virmedikleri halde kuraha-i saireye za'f tari olarak perişanlıklarını
8. Mucib olacağını beyan -ı birle kura-i mezkure ahalileri kadimi vechile varide olan tekaliflerini eylemeleri babında bir kıta emr-i şerif sudurını
9. Müşarün ileyh-i şakkasına ve Akhisar Geyve kadısı ilam ve ahalisi mahzarlarında tahrir ve inha iderler kuyuda lede'l-müraca'a Kocaeli şancağında vaki
10. Marû'z-zikr Akhisar Geyve kazasına tabi ve karyelerinin mahsulleri hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l-azizin Beşiktaş'ta kain
11. Mevlevihanesi fukarasının taamiyyesine ba hatt-ı hümayun tahsis kılınmış olduğundan ma'da kura-i merkume ahalileri Sakarya cisrini tamir ve termim
12. Itmek üzere köprici tayin olunduklarına binaen avarızları mukabili üzerlerinde mukayyed olan miri keraste semenleri dahi mukaddimen yüz on bir
13. Tarihinde def ve hidmetleri mukabili muaf ve müsellemler olub cizr-i mezkur hidmetini kema hüve hakkahu irade ve rüyet eyledüklerinden sonra tekalif
14. Ve avarız talebiyle taaddi ve rencide olunmamak babında bin ikiyüz on bir senesi evasıt-ı Rebiü'l-evvelinde emr-i şerif virilmiş olduğu
15. Der kenardan müsteban olmağla bu suretde kura-yı merkume mahsulatı ba hatt-ı hümayun tekye-i mezkure taamiyesine tahsis ve ahalisi
16. Köprici tayin-i birleavarız ve tekalif-i saireden muaf ve müsellemler olduklarına binaen müceddeden tekalife idhal olunmaları hususu
17. Mücerred irade-i hümayun-ı hazret-i cihandariye tevakkuf ider mevaddan idüğü mevkuftandan der kenar olunmuşdur. Manzur ve malum-ı devletleri
18. Buyuruldukda erm ü ferman devletlü, saadetlü sultanım hazretlerindir.

HH. 26851**Padişahım**

1. Benim vezirim
2. Takririn ve evrak-ı saire-yi manzur-ı hümayunum olmuştur kuyud-ı lazimesine müracaat ile iktiza-yı nizamına mübaderet eylemesiçün defterdara havale eyleyesin
3. Şevketlü, kerametlü, mehabetlü, kudretlü, velinimetim efendim .
4. Konya'da vaki Hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l-alanın türbe-i şerife ve hankah ve mescid-i münifleriyle civarında kain merhum ve mağfuru'n-leh Sultan Selim Han tabe serahu hazretlerinin asar-ı hayriyelerinden olan
5. Camii-i şerifin tamir ve terimleri hususuna bundan akdem irade-i hayriyet ifade-i şahaneleri müteallik olarak ol babda şeref-i efza-yı sahife-yi sudur olan hatt-ı hümayun-ı mülükaneleri mücibince emr
6. Isdar ve Halet efendi kulları tarafından Dede Mustafa Ağa tayin ve tesyar kılınarak tamirat-ı mezkure kemayenbaği tanzim ve inşa ve kaffe-yi mesarifi memur-ı muma ileyh marifetiyle rüyet -i birle bu defa
7. Deside-i hüsn-i hitam olduğunu mübeyyin Karaman valisi Mustafa Paşa kullarının bir kıt'a kaimesi ve Çelebi Efendi daileriyile Konya kadısının arıza ve ilamı vürud itmiş ve tamirat-ı mezkurenin
8. Memur-ı muma ileyh tarafından kamilen ita ve rüyet olunan mesarifi yekunu gayr-i baha altmış altı bin üç yüz otuz altı guruşa deside olduğu mübeyyin bir kıta müfredat defteri
9. Memur-ı muma ileyhın avdeti takribiyile Bab-ı Ali'ye takdim olunmuş olmağla cümlesi manzur-ı meali-mevfur-ı şahaneleri buyurulmak için arz ve takdim kılındı. Husus-ı mezkurun kuyud-ı lazimesi
10. Bi'l-müracaa iktiza-yı hüsn-i nizama mübaderet eylemesiçün defterdar efendi kullarına havale olunması muvafık irade-yi seniyye-i cihan-banileri buyurulur ise emr ü ferman şevketlü, kerametlü
11. Mehabetlü, kudretlü, veli-nimetim efendim padişahım hazretlerindir.

ولایة لؤلؤ لا کینیچی دایره مطبوعه مطبوعه مطبوعه

حالاً ایمر طکه مکرمه بیار تلو تریف بی حیزندیک بود فعه دژدته نواد و ابدن خیرانه مانده موصوم تریف
 مسود حیزندیک دیوانه کانی متوفی بیع محمد تریف مکرمه ده ان اتمی اولدی مولوی خانیک وظیفه معینی
 بر وجه تروطن اوغلدی و کیر لری طرفیه اخذ اولونور ایکی می ویندیله قوبه له علی اقری نام کنه بوندر اقم
 کله مذکورک نیک فراب اولوب نکلر و قوی بوقدر دیوخدوفانزای تقریب شیخی خصیل ایله اوزینه برکات بیره
 وظیفه معینه شی اخذ و ضبط اتمی ایله ده موالیه بوسنه فوت اولدیغنده اصول شی و جریه وظیفه سنک
 اولور واقف طرفیه اخذ و قبض اتمی بوزمه دن ایکی نه مجا و بندن محمدان ابراهیم نام کنه شی مذکورک
 طرف تریف ندره کندوب و طرح اولدیغی ادعا نکلره اولدیجی پانبله تیکه مرقوم وظیفه سنک کاغذ ایله تریف
 اولور واقف طرفیه اخذ اولونور شی ابرویک مندرج اولوب مکرمه جریه شی خنده مولوی خانیک وظیفه شی
 مانقدن بر و اجدادک حیزان طرف ندرن شیخنامه ایله بدات و تعجبه و با عرض و فریاد شی نوبه اولور
 و شیخ مذکور ایچوز او توفیق سنه کمدانک کولوندره منوفای موالیه علی اقری نوبه اتمی ایله
 مرقوم محمدان ابراهیم نوبه اولونور بینه و تریف و افرکوز تروخی اولدیجی فوتورده مسنان اولور
 حیزندیک انسانه نظر انجیه مذکورک وظیفه سنک اولور و تریف تریف تریف تریف تریف تریف تریف
 نادره ایله ده بوقوله شیخ نوبه ایله نادره اولور و جنا عرافه تا بیک بوجک ماده اولونور
 تریفات ابریک انسانه نظر انجیه اولور و منسابه اکاکور کینیجی تریفات دله حیزندیک باطل
 کینیجک انقار نه همت ایچوز شیخ تارخنده فونیه ده یوست نینه اولور شی نوبه اتمی ایله
 باطل حیزانده همت ایچوز شیخ تارخنده فونیه ده یوست نینه اولور شی نوبه اتمی ایله

HH. 27133.D

1. Halen emir-i Mekke-i mükerreme siyadettü Şerif Yahya hazretlerinin bu defa dersaadete tevarüd iden tahriratı mealinde merhum Şerif
2. Mesud hazretlerinin divan katibi müteveffa La'li Mehmed Efendinin Mekke-i mükerremede inşa etmiş olduğu mevlevihanenin vazife-i maneviyesini
3. Ber vech-i meşrutıyyet oğulları ve kerimeleri tarafından ahz olunur iken mücavereteynden Konyalı Ali Efendi nam kimesne bundan akdem
4. Tekye-i mezkurenin harab olub nazır ve mütevellisi yokdur deyu hilaf-ı inha ber takrib meşihatı sayı ile üzerine berat itdirerek
5. Vazife-yi muayyenesini ahz ve zabt itmiş ise de muma ileyh bu sene fevt olduğundan usul-i sabıkı vechile vazifesinin
6. Evlad-ı vâkıf tarafından ahz ve kabz olunması lazımeden iken yine mücavereteynden Şem'dani İbrahim nam kimesne meşihat-ı mezkurenin
7. Taraf-ı şeriflerinden kendüye virilmiş olduğunu iddia itmekde olduğu beyanıyla tekye-i merkume vazifesinin kema fi's-sabık meşrutı vechile
8. Evlad-ı vâkıf tarafından ahz olunması mültemis idüğü münderic olub Mekke-i mükerreme cemaati tahtında mevlevihane şeyhi vazifesi
9. Ma tekaddümden beru ecdadları hazeratı taraflarından meşihatname ile bi'l-işaret-i aliyye ve ba- arz ü ferman -ı aliyye tevcih olunur geldiği
10. ve meşihat-ı mezbure iki yüz otuzbeş senesinde Mehmed Efendi mahlulunden müteveffa-yı mümaileyh Ali efendiye tevcih olunmuş ise de
11. merkum Şem'dani İbrahim'e tevcih olunduğuna dair kayd ve ahir güne şuruti olmadığı kuyud ve müsteban olub şerif-i müşarün ileyh
12. hazretlerinin inhasına nazaran tekye-i mezkure vazifesinin evlada meşrutıyyeti takdirde ahirin müdahalesi
13. nadir ise de bu makule meşihatın tevcihi inhalarıyla olarak cenab-ı
..... bileceği madde olduğundan
14. şerif-i müşarün ileyhın inhasına nazaran tevcih olmak münasib ise de ana göre keyfiyet Şerif-i müşarün ileyh hazretlerine yazılmak için
15. keyfiyetin işarına himmet eylemesiçün 25 Zilkaade 1240 tarihinde Konya'da postnişin olan Çelebi Efendi'ye emr-name -i sami
16. yazılmışdır. Ferman hazret-i men lehü'l-emrindir.

HH. 27133.D –a

1. Devletlü, inayetlü, mürüvvetlü, atufetlü, kaffe-i iname, alempenah, merhametlü, veliyyü'n-niam , ümemü'l-lutf, ve'l-kerem efendim sultanım dame ma'damü'l-alem hazretleri devlet-i ikbal
2. Iclal-i sermedi ile sağ ve var olsun. Arzı hal-i dai kadim ve hayır-hah-ı müstedimleridür ki bu defa atf-ı inayet ve ihsan buyurulan emr-i sami asifaneleri bir vakt-ı
3. saad ahterde reside-i dest-i dervişanem olub düyun-ı meşihatında emr ve idrac buyurulan dürr-i yektaları mütalaasından itla'-i fakiranem meşmul olub ikiyüz otuzbeş
4. senesi Mekke-i mükerreme müsellası faziletlü Mehmed Said Efendi hazretleri tarafından bi'l-iltimas veeşraf-ı Mekke-i tarafından ba mahzar Mekke-i mükerreme vaki mevlevihanenin meşihatı mahlul olub
5. mevt-i vafe hali olduğundan harabe-i metruk olmuş olduğuyula bahs-i beyanda Konya Ali Efendinin erbab-ı istihkakdan meşihat-ı mezkureye şayan olduğuyula ve tekye-i merkume
6. tamir termim ideceğin bast-ı beyan iderek devletlü, faziletlü, veliyyü'n-niam esseyid, el-hac, Halil Efendi hazretlerine takdim eyledikleri monla-yı mümaileyh tarafından ve ehl-i Mekke tarafından
7. inhaları su-yi dervişaneme irsal ve müciblerince merkum Ali Efendi kullarına meşihatnamenin ita olunmak emr-i iradelerine imtisalen verilmiş olduğu bade haza merkum
8. Ali Efendinin fevt olub tekye-i mezkure hali kaldığıyla iş'ariyle sabık Anadolu kadiaskeri faziletlü Mehmed Sa'di Efendi hazretleri tarafından Mekke monlası olduğu hengamede
9. Tahyiri misüllü yine Ali Efendinin mahlulunden İbrahim Efendiye tekye-i mezkurenin meşihatnamesinin ita olunması iltimas itmeleriyle ve mesafe baide olduğundan mevlevihane-i
10. Mezkurenin vazife-i muayyenesi ber vech-i meşrutıyyet evladlarına verildiği ve ahz olunageldiği malumun olmayarak mukaddem ve muahhur efendi-yi müşarün ileyhanın iltimas ve inhalarıyla
11. meşihatnamenin verilmiş olduğu ifade ve işarı babında işbu arzıhal hayrül-.....dervişanem yine cesaret olundu. Emr-i ferman, lutf-ı kerem ve ihsan
11. devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü, veliyyü'n-niam aminü'l-lutf, ve'l- kerem efendim sultanım hazretlerininidir.

Mehmed Said

HH. 27199 1253(1837-1838)

1. Seniyyü'l-himema, kerimü's-sima, devletlü, inayetlü, atufetlü efendim hazretleri
2. Manastır defterdarı saadetlu efendi bendelerinin manzur-ı ali-yi cenab-ı şehinşahi buyurulmak üzere mersul-ı su-yi samileri
3. kılınan bir kıt'a takriri mealinden müstefad olacağı vechile Beşiktaş Mevlevihanesi dervişan ve fukara ve misafiranının akvat yevmiyeleri
4. zımında Filibe nezareti mukataası ocaklığından matbah-ı amire emanası taraflarından aynen virilmek üzere mukaddemian üç yüz ve muahhıran
5. otuz kile tayin ve tahsis buyurulmuş olan erzak bir müddetten beru yüz elli beş kilesi aynen virilüb maadasına dahi
6. yedi yüz elli guruş bedel ita olunmakta ise de hankah-ı şerif-i mezkur taamiyesinden dolayı senede üç dört bin
7. guruş deyne duçar olmakda olduğundan bahisle izn-i mezkurun tamamıyla aynen itası hususunu hankah-ı şerif-i mezkur
8. şeyhi reşadetlü Abdülkadir Efendi daileri ba arz-ı hal niyaz ve istida itmiş olmağla takrir- mezkurda gösterildiği üzere
9. hankah-ı mezkur dervişanı taamiyesi saire tayin olmayub ber muceb-i istida tesviyesi taraf-ı eşref-i hazret-i zillullahi davat-ı hayriye isticlabını müstelzim olacağından ol vechile itası hususuna müsaade-yi seniyye-yi cenab-ı mülükane
10. erzan buyurulur ise işari menut-ı himmet-i behiyyeleridir efendim.
11. Devletlü, inayetlü, ühübbetlü, atufetlü, refetlü, veliyyü'-niam, kesirü'l-kerem efendim hazretleri
12. Asa-yı tekrim olan işbu tezkere-i asafaneleriyle defterdar-ı müşarün ileyhin
13. Takrir-i mübarek ve mesud hakipayi hümayun hazret-i şahaneye bil takdim
14. Meşmul inzar-ı merahim-i asar-ı cenab-ı zillullahi buyurulmuş ve ber muceb istida
15. Tanzim ve tesviyesi hususuna irade-i ihsanade-i mülükane taaluk
16. Itmiş olmağla ol vechile icra-yı muktezasına himem-i vekaletpenahileri de
17. Masruf buyurulmak babında emr ü ferman hazret-i veliyyül emrindir.

HH. 27256

1. Seniyyü'l- himema, kerimü's-sima, devletlü, inayetlü, atufetlü, efendim hazretleri.
2. Evkaf-ı hümayun nazırı efendi bendelerinin manzur-ı ali buyurulmak üzere mersul-i su-yi atufileri kılınan bir kıta ilamı mealinden müstefad olduğu vechile
3. Galata mevlevihanesi vakfından civarında kain yigirmi sekiz aded dekakine vakf-ı mezkur tarafından gedik temessukatı itası niyaz ve istida olunmuş olduğundan
4. Emsal olmamak ve saire sirayet itmemek üzere merhameten dekakin-i mezbure gediklerinin hankah-ı şerif-i mezkur vakfi tarafından ita ve icrası hususuna
5. Müsaade-i seniyye-i hazret-i şahane erzan buyurulur ise iş'arı menut-ı himmet-i behiyyeleridir efendim.
6. Devletlü, inayetlü,, atufetlü, refetlü, veliyyü'n-niam kesirü'l-kerem efendim hazretleri
7. Dame-pira-yı ihtiram olan işbu tezkere-i asafaneleriyle nazır-ı mûmaileyh bendelerinin ilam-ı mübarek
8. ubud-ı ara-yı hazret-i şehinşahiye arz ve takdim ile manzur-ı meali- mevfur cenab-ı zıllullahi
9. buyurulmuş ve istizan buyurulduğu vechile emsal olmamak ve saire sirayet itmemek şartıyla merhameten
10. dekakine-i mezkure gediklerinin hankah-ı şerif-i mezkur vakfi tarafından ita ve icrası
11. hususuna irade-i mekarim âde-i mülükane taalluk itmiş olmağla ol babda
12. emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehül emrindir.

خیالها کیم ایضا فلو عنایو عاطفتاو اذم حضرت
 نوقار مورخانی سی وست نشینی بیخ سیکمردیه اذی داعلی باعالی بر فطه عرضحال تقریه مآله سولوغاز مذکور ره ساکنه فقا
 درودیشانک اطعمه نوقار فاطمسی اجاره زبسی اولره سوی دیرلره بک غرضانک ضمنی اولینی چند بر مضارعی ضمنی
 نازارینی قشغ موی ال اصحاب قلوبیه وعاطف سینه شریسته زلنده اولرینده کیف ضرخاز علمه ناطری اذی بقره لری اول
 فافاه مذکور فقا و درودیشانک ضرورتده وفایسی ضمنی الی بریزی موی غرض سنده اعتباراً بک غرضی ضمید یکی بک غرض اذی
 راهطا اولدره برسته فاطم مذکوره صابره ادخال اولسه اوزره اومرجه اصدارنی ناظری الی با اعلام افاده ایلی و فطه هر دو
 حساب لوقا بیورلده اوزره عرضحال مذکور رسول سوی عطوفتی قشغ اولط اولرجه اولری افضای موافق اوله سینه ها بیورلری
 شماری فوط همه بهر لری اذم

مجلس استماع
 ۱۳۰۳ هـ ق
 در روز پنجشنبه ۱۳ ذی القعدة
 در محل کتبخانه
 حضورت مبارکه
 حضرت مولانا
 مفتی محمد رفیع
 صاحب کرامت
 و سایر حضرات
 محترمین
 در خصوص
 احوال و
 احوال
 احوال
 احوال

HH. 27832

1. Seniyyü'l-himema, kerimü's-sima, devletlü, inayetlü, atufetlü efendim hazretleri
2. Tokad mevlevihanesi postnişini Şeyh Seyyid Mehmed Emin Efendi daileri Bab-ı Ali'ye bir kıta arzı hal takdimiyle mealinden mevlevihane-i mezkurda sakin fukara
3. Ve dervişanının it'amiçün Tokad kalhanesi icare-i zemini olarak senevi verilen bin guruşun zımna tahmili olduğu cihetle bir mikdar şey zımını
4. Niyaz itmiş ve şeyh-i müma ileyh ashab-ı kulubdan ve atıfet-i seniyyeye şayeste zevattan olduğundan keyfiyet Darbhane-i amire nazır efendi bendelerine lede'l-havale
5. Hankah-ı mezkur fukara dervişanının huzurundan vikayesi zımında elli bir senesi muharremi guresinden itibaren bin guruş zımmıyla ikibin guruşa iblağ
6. Ve ita olunarak beher sene kalhane-i mezkur hesabına idhal olunmak üzere evamir-i aliyye isdarını nazır-ı mümaileyh ba ilam ifade eylemiş ve manzur-ı hümayun-ı
7. Cenab-ı mülükane buyurulmak üzere arzı hali mezkur mersul su-yi utufleri kılınmış olmağla ol vechile icra-yı iktizası muvafık irade-i seniyye-i şahane buyurulur ise
8. İş'arı menut-ı himmet-i behiyyeleridir efendim.

1. Devletlü, inayetlü, ühübbetlü, atufetlü, refetlü, veliyyün-niam, kesirül-kerem efendim hazretleri
2. Dame-i pira-yı tazim olan işbu tezkere-i vekaletpenahileriyle nazır-ı müma ileyhin ilamı bi't-takdim manzur
3. Mekarim- mevfur hazret-i padişahi buyurulmuş ve inha ve ilam olunduğu vechile tanzim ve tesviyesi hususuna
4. İrade-i inayetade-i mülükane taalluk itmiş olmağla iktizasının icrası babında emr ü ferman hazret-i men lehül emrindir.

چو نسو غلبو عطفو رافنو علوالم افتم سلطتم حضرتی
 اگر در مولوی نه می شنیدم جوانی فونیه در ستان مولوی اندی و اخیر سینه جانب والای و کالتنا همیله بند و بود عیدری
 یاری کار برانده جواب اوله رف و دار اوله خیرات طرف عالیله بند و تذکره سایدینه انبارک و سعود جانب ایزرف
 حضرت خلافتینا همی به عرض تقدیم اولنه رف منظور ستان مولوی جواب ظل الهی بوردلده تذکره سایدینه مفضو فاصوب خالصینه
 بیوریک ار هر سنه مولکانه فی سائل جواب عالیسی و اواراق ساره دیگر بر قطع تذکره سایدینه سید سید سید سید
 شرف ارای وصول و قال محاسن ششادای قرین الطلاع اخل صتمو لدری اولوب ربحر اعالی و تقدیس سونک حرامی
 ولی نعمت بی شرف سهند جهان روداندر حضرت بزرگ محراقال همایون بزرگ جهان طور دردی بر جواب بورد سونک اعلای
 اوزره بر منظوق ار هر سنه طریقت عالیله مولوی بیعت بی اندیدند عیدری نزد مخصوصه سید سید سید سید سید سید
 تانایه نیک جناب مولانا جلالت الدین رودی حضرت بزرگ خاک عطر تانکه حرمت سانه لری اقتضای سلاله اطرا هر که
 دینی رعایت مولکانه لری در کار و تخصص جمعی اندی عقیده حرمت و رعایت همایون لری و محاسن بوجها جناب همایون
 بر کمال اولدیفند نیزه چانه سنه عده عالیله آجدر لری از نایه بورد سونک سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی
 ششختی محمد صده اقا ایدر فقط مرده شیخ عطفانه مولوی نه تذکره ایرادند سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی سنی
 اولنه جنینی و الخیر و تو عده کمی فی اب بقی جمعی اندی آجاز سایدینه اجر اولنه جنینی همکینه افاض و اعلان اولدنده
 عملیه سیمعا و طامیر اسمعی بعد الراجز باه اتفاق و عوالت خبریه جناب خلافتینا همی به سلاله اولدند عطف اولدند
 شیخ مصلح دینی باطبع نزد مخصوصه سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید
 افکار و بوند بوند و صفحال تقدیمه رکاب سانه بی شرف سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید سید
 بیورکی و اواراق مذکوره طامیر افاضوب اصفا نه لری قید بی ذریعه عرض اخل صم اولدند اولدنده اولدنده
 افتم حضرت بزرگیدر

HH. 27455. A.

1. Devletlü, inayetlü, atufetlü, refetlü, uluvvül- himem efendim sultanım hazretleri,
2. Eğirdir mevlevihanesi meşihatından dolayı Konya'da reşadetlü Çelebi efendi dailerine canib-i vala-yı vekaletpenahilerinden ve bu daileri tarafından
3. yazılan tahriratlara cevap olarak varid olan tahrirat taraf-ı alilerinden tezkere-i samilerine ifza-yı mübarek ve mesur-ı canib-i eşref
4. hazret-i hilafetpenahiye arz ve takdim olunarak manzur-ı mekarim mevfur cenab-ı zıllullahi buyurulduk da tezkere-i behiyyeleri hamışine tedebbür
5. buyurulan irade-yi seniyye-i mülükaneyi şamil cevap-ı alisi ve evrak-ı saire diğer bir kıta tezkere-i samilerine melfufen savb-ı halisanemin
6. şeref-i ara-yı vusul ve meali-i mehasin-i iştimaleri karin-i itla ihlas-ı şümulleri olub teali ve tekaddüs-i şevketmeab
7. veliyyün nimet bi-müntemiz şehinşah-ı cihanperver efendimiz hazretlerinin ömr ü ikbal-i hümayunların cihan durdukça ber devam buyursun işar-ı alileri
8. üzere bir mantuk irade-yi seniyye tarikat-ı aliyye-i mevleviye meşayih efendiler duacıları nezd-i muhlisanemin celbiyle zat-ı şevketsemat hazret-i
9. şahanenin cenab-ı Mevlana Celaledin Rumi hazretlerinin hak-i itr-ı nakine hürmet-i şahaneleri iktizasınca sülale-yi tahirelerine
10. dahi riayet-i mülükaneleri der kenar ve tahassus Çelebi Efendi hakkında hürmet ve riayet-i hümayunları ve mesahin-i teveccühat-ı cenab-ı cihanbanileri
11. ber kemal olduğundan niyaz-ı acizanesine müsaade-yi aliyye-i tacdarileri erzan buyurulub ilticası üzerine Eğirdir mevlevihanesi
12. meşihatı Mehmed Dedede ibka ile fakat merhameten Şeyh Mustafa'ya mevlevihane-yi mezkura iradından senevi bin sekiz yüz guruş ita
13. olunacağı ve inhilali vukuunda kema fi's-sabık Çelebi Efendi icazetnamesiyle icra olunacağı cümlesine ifade ve ilan olunduk da
14. cümlesi semean ve taa merasimini bade'l-icra ittifak-ı davat-ı hayriye-i cenab-ı hilafetpenahiye müsaberetkar oldukları ve mumaileyhe
15. Şeyh Mustafa dahi bittabii nezd-i muhlisanem gelmiş olduğundan dergah-ı mezkurdan senevi bin sekiz yüz guruş ita olunacağı
16. ifade ve bundan böyle arzı hal takdimiyle rikab-ı hümayunu taciz itmemesi hususları müekkid-i tenbih olunduğu rehin-i alem samileri
17. Buyurulması ve evrak-ı mezkure tamamıyla iade-yi savb-ı asafaneleri kılındığı zeria arz-ı ihlasım olunmuşdur. Ol babda irade
18. Efendim hazretlerindir.

اینه تریجف مذکورہ لازمہ بیچون اطراف قضا و قزاقون مجاہد اونان اجناس کراستہ و لوازمات ساثرہ ثلثہ مہارجات واقفہ بیانات

OSMANLI ARSIVI DA BE BAŞKANLIĞI

<p>بیشتر ملک قون تغیر اولنا بیشتر غنای ۵۹۱۷ ۱۱۸۶۶</p>	<p>بیشتر ملک قون تغیر اولنا بیشتر غنای ۷۷۷۷ ۵۸۰۰۰</p>	<p>بیشتر ملک طوان تغیر اولنا بیشتر غنای ۵۰۶۵ ۵۰۶۵</p>	<p>ایمین قضاوند تغیر اولنا بیشتر غنای ۱۶۵۰ ۱۶۵۰</p>	<p>بیشتر ملک قون تغیر اولنا بیشتر غنای ۱۶۵۰ ۱۶۵۰</p>
<p>چار کون تغیر اونان اونان ارطوقه طوقه بیشتر غنای ۷۵ ۱۷۵۰</p>	<p>دولتکے تغیر اونان سنگونک افغان بیشتر غنای ۱۲۰ ۱۸۰۰</p>	<p>ار ریج افغانی بیشتر غنای ۱۰۸۷ ۱۸۶۶۰</p>	<p>صیان اونان بیشتر غنای ۱۸۸۷ ۲۸۰۰۰</p>	<p>بیشتر ملک قون تغیر اولنا بیشتر غنای ۹۷۴۸ ۱۸۰۰۰</p>
<p>قضا حضرت اورینہ فرشی اولوق ایچون کونایه شمس افغانی بیشتر غنای ۸۰۰۰ ۵۰۰۰</p>	<p>مذکورہ چند ایچون وریلان فا طریجه ایچون تقدیه بیشتر غنای ۷۰ ۶۱۰۰</p>	<p>مذکورہ چند ایچون وریلان فا طریجه ایچون تقدیه بیشتر غنای ۷۰ ۶۱۰۰</p>	<p>مذکورہ چند ایچون وریلان فا طریجه ایچون تقدیه بیشتر غنای ۷۰ ۶۱۰۰</p>	<p>مذکورہ چند ایچون وریلان فا طریجه ایچون تقدیه بیشتر غنای ۷۰ ۶۱۰۰</p>
<p>مذکورہ لازمہ بیچون طوقه و ایندی ایچون کونایه و صومون بیشتر غنای ۸۸۱۸</p>	<p>افغانون و کونایه بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>	<p>افغانون و کونایه بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>	<p>افغانون و کونایه بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>	<p>افغانون و کونایه بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>
<p>ایچون اونان ایچون مذکورہ لازمہ بیچون طوقه و ایندی ایچون کونایه و صومون بیشتر غنای ۸۸۱۸</p>	<p>قضا حضرت اولوق ایچون بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>	<p>قضا حضرت اولوق ایچون بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>	<p>قضا حضرت اولوق ایچون بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>	<p>قضا حضرت اولوق ایچون بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>
<p>چند کون ایچون کونایه و صومون بیشتر غنای ۵۹۷</p>	<p>قضا حضرت اولوق ایچون بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>	<p>قضا حضرت اولوق ایچون بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>	<p>قضا حضرت اولوق ایچون بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>	<p>قضا حضرت اولوق ایچون بیشتر غنای ۱۸۶۵</p>

یکون ۱۱۷۷۷۶۰۰ روچه بیانات ایجابی کونایه

اداره سند حضرت شاهان زمانه و انجمن بوردین اولیٰ و بعد از آن ...
 علم زمان اولیٰ شاه حضرت شاه و احزاب و جمعی از ...
 حضرت سوه ...
 و او ...
 و مقدار ...

در عیدین قبولی از عطف و تقاضای سوه ...

درگاه ... ۶۸ ۵۵۶۷۰	تربیت ... ۱۱۵۰	نقاشی ... ۷۴۴۰	افرنجی ... ۲۸ ۲۵۴۰	سما ... ۶۱۴۰
سما ... ۱۷۷۰	سما ... ۱۰۷	نقاشی ... ۷۱۱۰	افرنجی ... ۲۸ ۲۵۴۰	سما ... ۶۱۴۰
سما ... ۱۷۷۰	سما ... ۱۰۷	نقاشی ... ۷۱۱۰	افرنجی ... ۲۸ ۲۵۴۰	سما ... ۶۱۴۰
سما ... ۱۷۷۰	سما ... ۱۰۷	نقاشی ... ۷۱۱۰	افرنجی ... ۲۸ ۲۵۴۰	سما ... ۶۱۴۰
سما ... ۱۷۷۰	سما ... ۱۰۷	نقاشی ... ۷۱۱۰	افرنجی ... ۲۸ ۲۵۴۰	سما ... ۶۱۴۰

یون	۲۸۴۹۱۲
۲۸۴۹۱۲	۲۸۴۹۱۲
۲۸۴۹۱۲	۲۸۴۹۱۲
۲۸۴۹۱۲	۲۸۴۹۱۲
۲۸۴۹۱۲	۲۸۴۹۱۲

اینه شریف مذکور در ...

بیشتر ... ۱۱۸۴۰	بیشتر ... ۲۷۷۷	بیشتر ... ۵۰۴۰	بیشتر ... ۱۲۵۰	بیشتر ... ۱۳۵۰
بیشتر ... ۱۱۸۴۰	بیشتر ... ۲۷۷۷	بیشتر ... ۵۰۴۰	بیشتر ... ۱۲۵۰	بیشتر ... ۱۳۵۰
بیشتر ... ۱۱۸۴۰	بیشتر ... ۲۷۷۷	بیشتر ... ۵۰۴۰	بیشتر ... ۱۲۵۰	بیشتر ... ۱۳۵۰
بیشتر ... ۱۱۸۴۰	بیشتر ... ۲۷۷۷	بیشتر ... ۵۰۴۰	بیشتر ... ۱۲۵۰	بیشتر ... ۱۳۵۰
بیشتر ... ۱۱۸۴۰	بیشتر ... ۲۷۷۷	بیشتر ... ۵۰۴۰	بیشتر ... ۱۲۵۰	بیشتر ... ۱۳۵۰

قد حضرا ...

HH 27471

TÜRBE-İ HAZRET-İ MEVLANA VE ÇELEBİ EFENDİ KONAĞININ TAMİR VE İNŞASI

Ba-irade-i seniyye-i Hazret-i Şahane memur ve inşa ve tamir buyurulmuş olduğu Cenab-ı Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l-ala efendimiz hazretlerinin türbe-i şerife ve hankah-ı münifeleriyle ve cennet-mekan Gazi Sultan Selim Han-ı evvell tabe serah hazretlerinin bina ve ihya buyurdıkları cami-i şerifleri ve semahatlü Çelebi Efendi hazretleri hanelerinin noksanı ikmal ve sülale-i tahire-i Hazret-i Mevlan-yı müşarün ileyhden el-Hac Raşid Çelebi hanesi tamir-i lazimesi için Kapu kethüdamız atufetlü efendi marifetiyle Der-saadet'den ve gerek mahall-i saireden bil mübayaa celb ve sarf olunan eşya-yı mütenavvia esmaniyle ücret-i nakliyeleri ve yedlerine ita buyurulan suver muciblerince tevarüd iden memur ve üstadadın mahiyye ve Konya amelesinin rayic-i belde üzere yevmiyeleri meblağlarının kemniyet ve mikdarları Defter-i Müfredatıdır. Ki ber vech-i ati zikr ve beyan olunur.

Fi 15 Şaban sene (1)251. / 6.12.1835

A. Der-i Aliyye'den Kapu Kethüdamız atufetlü efendi marifeti ile mübayaa olunup tevarüd iden eşya-yı lazime-yi ebniye beyan şüd.				
1. Dergah-ı Şerif'e inşa olunan demir parmaklıklar için çar-kuşe çubuk demiri	97 kantar	57 guruştan	5527,5 guruş	
Türbe-i Şerifin tezhipleri tamiri için altun varak 11,5 deste			100 guruş	1150
guruş				
Nakkaş lazimesi için revgan-ı nefit		402 kıyye	8 gr	3220
gr				
2. Efrenci istifdac	48 sandık	95 gr		4560
Mismar-ı baş ve sandal	825 kıyye	5 gr		4125gr
Mismar-ı yenedünya	176 kıyye	115 para (28,8gr)		506gr
Mismar-ı zagra ve tahta	576,5 kıyye	107 para(1,675gr)		1541
3. Mismar-ı Koçucu	10.000 aded	7,5 para		75
Nakkaş lazimesi için elvan boya bahası			3511,5 gr	
Ecnas-ı ayine camı	26 sandık	120gr		3120gr
Hamma için billur tepe camı	60aded	5gr		300
4. Ebniye-i şerifeler badana lazimesi için hezarfen takımı				400 gr
Lal-i miskal	15 aded	10 gr		150gr
Pirinç tahtalı gömme oda kapusu kilidi		10 aded	35 gr	380gr
Kebir pirinç sokak kapusu	2 adet	50 gr		100gr
5. Pirinç avize halkası	2 adet	6 gr		12 gr
Hammam için çifte yıldızlı musluk	1 aded			120
Pirinç abdest musluğu	2 adet	20 gr.		40gr
Darb lülesi	2 adet			38 gr.
Taşçı egesi	15 aded			75 gr.
Balada muharrer eşya bahası				-28491.5
Eşya-yı mezkureler kap baha ve masrafı				-03671.5
Eşya-yı mezkureler nakliyesi				-04505
Yekun				36668

Ebniye-i şerife-i mezkureler için etraf kaza ve kuralardan mübayaa olunan ecnas-ı keraste ve levazimat-ı sairenin masarifat-ı vakiasını beyan.

1. Beyşehir'in kapuluk tabir olunan kebir tahtası 11826	5913aded	80para(2gr)	
Beyşehir'in kapu-i semiz tabir olunan evsat tahtası 5605,5	3737aded	60para(1,5fr)	
Beyşehir'in tavanlık tabir olunan sagir tahtası 40para(1gr) 5045	5045aded		
Ilgın kazasında haraz(hizar) tahtası 100para(2,5gr) 1250	500aded		
2. Belviran kazasından iskelelik hatıl tahtası 1652	826	80p	2gr
Top giriş tabir olunan ağaç 2730	91	30gr	
Çar-kuşe tabir olunan on arşın tulunde kebir ağaç 1360	34	40gr	
Dikmenlik tabir olunan sütunluk ağaç 1800gr	120	25*gr	
3. Ardıç ağacı 60para(1,5gr) 1624,5	1083		
Saban oku ağacı 2800,5	1867	60p	
Bereketli maden-i hümayunundan mübayaa olunan kurşunlar 16047,5	9726a	66p	1,65gr
4. Mezkur kurşunlar için verilen ücret-i nakliye. Beher kantar 180 kıyye hesabı ile 2160	54 aded	40gr	
5. Kubbe-i Hadra üzerine ferş olunmak için Kütahya 5000	8000aded	25 para	
Mütesellimi Ağa marifetiyle mübayaa olunan çini		(06,25gr)	
Mezkur çiniler için verilen katırcıya ücret-i nakliye 2100	30 yevmiye	70gr	
Mezkur çiniler kap baha ve masarîf-ı saire 272,5			
Müceddeda inşa olunan hammam için bilcümle ebniye-i saireler Lazimesi için mübayaa olunan kaya kireci (0,15gr) 19781,5*	131877 kıyye	6para	
6. Hammam-ı mezkure lazimesi için tavla ve ebniyeler için kiremid ve su yolları için künk baha 9818			
Aksaray'dan ve Kiçi Muhsine'den mübayaa olunan alçı Bahası maa nakliye 1925			
7. Hamma ebniyesi vs. Bilcümle kubbeler derzleri için baha-i horasan ve sac 2350			
İnşa olunan hammam-ı mezkur lazimesi için ve Dergah-ı Şerifde inşa olunan som sütün ve divarlarına senk-i tomruk ve döşeme için Sille'den senk-i kapak bahasıyla ve ücret-i nakliye			

7967,5

Kubbe-i Hadra aleminin yaldızı ve tamiri için ücret-i kuyumcu ve yaldız

1126

8. Dergah-ı şerifde inşa olunan demir parmaklıklar için ber vech-i maktu verilen

Yalnız üstadiye-yi parmaklık 74aded 18gr

1332

Mezkur demir parmaklıklar imali için mübayaa olunan demirci kömürü

1612,5 kıyye 6 para

624gr

9. Su yolları ve nakkaş lazimesi için mübayaa olunan revgan-ı bezir

2487kıyye 110p2,75gr

6839

Çilingirden alınan kilid ve zenberek bahası

593

Kapu alatı için demirci esnafına verilen

634

10. Sıva için katık bahası 1140 kıyye 20 para(0,5gr)

570gr

Damlara ferş olunmak için Sille'den çorak bahası

172gr

Hamam için alınan nühas kazgan bahası

38,5 kıyye 25gr

962,5gr

Kurşucu ocağı için mübayaa olunan hatab

40 kıyye 9,5 gr

380gr

11. Bi'l-cümle ebniye-i şerife-i mezbureler lazimesi için mübayaa olunan kazma

ve kürek ve kova-ı ab ve kalbur-ı tûrab ve urgan ve kıl torba ve levazimat-ı

saire bahası 1426gr

B. Ebniye-i şerifelere istihdam olunmak için Der-Aliye'den tevarüd iden ebniye-i hassa müdiri halifesi ve maiyyetinde olan yedi nefer üstadının yedlerine ita buyurulan suver muciblerince mahiyye ve harcirahları amed şüdlerinde iktiza iden menzil ücretleri masarifatı beyan şüd.

Adı	Görevi	Maaş gr	Maaş adedi
Aldığı			
1. es-seyyid Mehmed Salih Halife 4750	Ebniye-i Hassa Müdürü	500	9,5
Kostantin 4750	Kalfa-i bina	500	9,5
Hacı Emin Usta 3800	Taşçı	400	9,5
Hacı Ahmed 3800	Kurşuncu	400	9,5
2. Mehmed 3325	K. Ocakçısı	350	9,5
Ali Usta 3800	Nakkaş	400	9,5
Serkiz 3800	Sıvacı	400	9,5
İstifan 3800	Hammamcı	400	9,5
31825	Balada muharrer üstadan mahiyyeleri		-
02250	Astanede verilen harcirahlar		-
01680	Astaneden Konya'ya gelince menzil ücretleri		-
	YEKUN		-
37435 guruş			

C. Ebniye-i şerifelere istihdam olunmak için Kayseriye canibinden celb olunan nakkaş ve sıvacı ve taşçı ustaları mahiyyeleri beyan şüd.

Ustalar ve görevi	Nefer	ay	Toplam ay	Aylık mik	Toplam
1. Nakkaş ustaları	3	6	18	200	3600
Sıvacı ustaları		3	6	200	3600
Taşçı ustaları	9	2	18=24	200	4800
	3	2	6		

12000

Balada muharrer ustaların mahiyyeleri

Kayseriye'den geldiklerinde verilen katırcı ücretleri	01100
Kayseriye'ye gittiklerinde verilen harcirahları	00400
YEKUN	13500gr

OSMANLI ARSIVI DAIRE BASKANLIGI

حضرت علی بن ابی طالب
 حضرت زین العابدین
 حضرت محمد باقر
 حضرت سید الشهدا
 حضرت امام رضا
 حضرت امام جواد
 حضرت امام مهدی
 حضرت علی نقی
 حضرت علی اکبر
 حضرت علی رضا
 حضرت علی محمد
 حضرت علی قاسم
 حضرت علی اسحاق
 حضرت علی احمد
 حضرت علی محمد
 حضرت علی احمد
 حضرت علی محمد
 حضرت علی احمد

دو نسلو عنا بنلو مرحومو اقدم سلطام
 روی عبودیت طالبین و جبین رفیق فرسوح فلذ قدم صکو مروض داعی مولد بر که حالا
 تحت نظارت علی بن لاری اولاد اود فادس با برات شریف عالی متولیع اولاد نم مدینه نوبه جم
 اسوج و مد فوس جد عظام قطب الاولیا و زخرا الاصفیا حضرت مولانا فادس سید القدر کز اوق
 شریفه حصولند الملق اوزر بومی اوم افی و طبفه ابی کاتب و بومی اوم ابکی افی و طبفه ابی نریه وار
 و بومی ابکی افی و طبفه ابی جوانین نریه سنده ابواب فی جهنمینه منصرف اولادس دروشن مصحیح
 فوت اولوب منصرف اولاد فی بکرمی دورت افی جهات مزبور ازم محلول اولفله محلولند
 الشوباعف رفقه عرض عبودیت متوفای مرقومک صلی کبر اولاد کا دروشن محمد
 داعبر کا هر حال جهات مزبور انه شایسته و سزاوار و ارباب استخفافند اولفله
 متوفای مرقوم بدری محلولندس نوجه و بدینه مجد و ابرات شریف عالی صدقه
 واحسان بیور لقی رجاسنه عرض شریفی کا اعطا و احسان بیور لقی باینک خاکبای
 مولدینه عرض و اعلام اولاد کا باقی امر فرما و لطف احسان دو نسلو عنا بنلو مروض
 مرحومو اقدم سلطام حضرت نریکدر
 ممد ای کدهم عمما بر صدقتم
 ممد سلالة حضرت مولانا
 الممول کومف
 المهور

محمد باقر
 سید الشهدا
 حضرت علی نقی
 حضرت علی اکبر
 حضرت علی رضا
 حضرت علی محمد
 حضرت علی قاسم
 حضرت علی اسحاق
 حضرت علی احمد
 حضرت علی محمد
 حضرت علی احمد

D.HMH. 135/9

29 M 1209

26/8/1794

1. Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü efendim sultanım hazretlerinin haki pay-i devletlerine
2. ruy-ı ubudiyet malide ve cebin rıkkiyet fersude kılındıktan sonra maruz-ı dai-yi devletleridir ki halen
3. taht-ı nezaret-i aliyyelerinde olan evkafdan ba berat-ı şerif-i ali mütevellisi olduğum medine-i Konya'da
4. asude ve medfun cedd-i azamım kutbü'l-evliya, zuhru'l-asfiya Hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l-azizin evkaf-ı
5. şerif mahsulünden almak üzere yevmi on akçe vazife ile katib ve yevmi on iki akçe vazife ile türbedar
6. ve yevmi iki akçe vazife ile cevanibin türbesinde bevvalık cihetlerine mutasarrıf olan Derviş Mustafa
7. fevt olub mutasarrıf olduğu yigirmi dörd akçe cihat-ı mezburan mahlul olamğla mahlulunden
8. işbu bais-i rik'a-i arz-ı ubudiyet müteveffa-yı merkumun sulbi kebir evladı derviş Mehmed
9. ve daileri her halde cihat-ı mezburana şayeste ve sezavar ve erbab-ı istihkakdan olmağla
10. müteveffa-yı merkum pederi mahlulunden tevcih ve yedine müceddeden berat-ı şerif-i ali sadaka
11. ve ihsan buyurulmak recasına arz-ı şerifleri i'ta ve ihsan buyurulmak babında haki payi
12. devletlerine arz ve ilam olundı baki emr-i ferman ve lutf-ı ihsan devletlü, inayetlü, mürüvvettlü, merhametlü efendim sultanım hazretlerindir.
Osman bin Hidayet min sülale-yi Hazret-i Mevlana el-mütevelli li vakfi'l-mezbur, min geda-yı

D.HMH. 135/11

27 B 1201

15 /5/ 1787

1. Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü efendim sultanım hazretlerinin
2. Haki pay-i devletlerine ruy-ı ubudiyet malide ve cebin rıkkiyet fersude kılındıktan sonra maruz-ı dai-yi devletleridir ki halen taht-ı nezaret-i aliyyelerinde olan
3. Evkafdan medine-i Konya'da asude ve medfun cedd-i emcedim kutbü'l-evliya, zuhru'l-asfiya Hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l-azizin evkafı mahsulünden almak üzere yevmi dört akçe
4. Vazife ile asitane-i şerif hanendesi ve yine vakf-ı mezburdan almak üzere yevmi iki akçe vazife ile evkaf-ı müşarün ileyhin asitanesinde camii-i şerifde na'athan olan
5. Derviş Seyyid Hacı Mehmed fevt olub cihet-i mezkurları mahlul ve hıdmet-i lazimeleri muattal kalmağla, yerine erbab-ı istihkakdan müteveffa-yı mezkurun sulbi oğulları işbu bais-i arz-ı
6. Rıkkiyet es-seyyid derviş Abdurrahman ve es-seyyid Abdulkadir nam karındaşları ciheteyn-i mezkureteyn babaları müteveffa-yı mezburun mahlulunden ale'l-iştirak tevcih ve yedlerine müceddeden berat-ı
7. Şerif-i alişan sadaka ve ihsan buyurulmak ricasına arz-ı şerifleri i'ta ve ihsan olunmak babında evvelki vakiü'l-haldir. Hakipa-yi devletlerine arz ve ilam olundu. Baki emr ü ferman
8. Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü efendim sultanım hazretlerindedir. Hurrire fi evahir-i Recebü'l-mürecceb li sene-i ihda ve mieteyn ve elf

Mine'l- abdü'd-dai es-seyyid eş-şeyh el-hac Mehmed an sulaleti Hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l-aziz.

D.HMH. 135/17

9 Ca 1202

16/2/1788

Kayd olundu.

1. Devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü efendim sultanım hazretlerinin haki pay-i
2. Saadet ihtivalarına cebin ve rıkkıyet fersudesiyle masarr-ı hakk dai çakeranlarıdır ki halen taht-ı nezaret-i aliyyelerinde
3. Asude olan evkaf-ı şerifesinden medine-i Konya'da vaki Hazret-i Mevlana kuddisallahü'l- ali hazretlerinin
4. evkafı mahsulünden almak üzere yevmi üç akçe vazife ile keyyal baliğle yevmi iki akçe vazife ile nısf-ı cüzhan
5. ve yevmi iki akçe vazife ile bevvab-ı od ve yevmi iki akçe vazife ile muri-i müverra/müra-i kelam-ı kadimi ve yine yevmi beş akçe vazife asitanesi
6. camii-i şerifinde müezzin ve yine yevmi iki akçe vazife ile türbe-i şerefinde bevvab ve yevmi iki akçe vazife sahraya tabi Çukur
7. karyesinde imam ve hatib cihetlerine mutasarrıf olanlar derviş es-seyyid Mehmed Alim ve seyyid Mustafa ve seyyid İbrahim ve seyyid Eyüb
8. ber vech-i iştirak mutasarrıflar iki seyyid İbrahim fevt olub on sekiz akçeden ve dört buçuk akçe hissesi mahlul olub
9. hıdmet muattal olmağla işbu yerine babası mahlulunden oğlu es-seyyid Osman üzere dörd buçuk akçe cihet-i mezkur tevcih ve yedine
10. berat-ı şerif i'tasına rica ve niyazi evvelki vaki haldir. Ol babda huzur-ı saadet makrun-ı aliyyelerine arz-ı hale ihtibar
11. Olundu.Ol babda emr-i lütf u ihsan devletlü, inayetlü, merhametlü efendim sultanım hazretlerininindir.

El-adlü, ed-dai, li'd-devam-i ömr Es-seyyid Ahmed min sülale-i Mevlana el mütevellı li vakfi'l-mezbur

22/1/1209

تعمیراتی

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 في هذا اليوم المبارك الموافق لـ 22/1/1209
 حضر في اجتماع مجلس إدارة الجمعية
 السيدان: محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله
 ومحمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله
 وقد تم مناقشة بعض المسائل المتعلقة
 بوضع الجمعية وتتمتع بالخير والبركات
 في شهر ربيع الأول سنة 1209
 محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 في هذا اليوم المبارك الموافق لـ 22/1/1209
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 في شهر ربيع الأول سنة 1209
 محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله

بیت ترقیم حروف بودرکه

الشیوخ ایکیوز اوج سنه سنه محسوبا بایراش شریف عالیشان
 متولبیسی اولدیوم مدینه قونیه جم السوج ومد فوج جدید نظر
 قطب الاولیا زحر الاصفیا حضرت مولانا فادیس کسر القریک
 اوفاف شریفک تکمیل مصارفه ایچون هر مین شرفین حولا
 بندن اسنرداوانجه لرندن اعطا واحسانه بیور بلاجه
 سنوی ایکیوز اللی غرضی سنه ترقومه محسوبا فاما وکاملا احد
 و فیض ابلدکی مشور طرف جفرانمدن الشو کجوبل و برلدی
 هرکده سنه المرون

محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله
 حضرت مولانا
 المولای لوف
 الکرور
 خط

D.HMH. 135/ 25

28 Za 1203 20/8/1789

1. Bais-i terkim-i huruf budur ki
2. İşbu bin ikiyüz üç senesine mahsuben ba berat-ı şerif-i alişan
3. Mütevellisi olduğum medine-i Konya'da asude ve medfun cedd-i azamımız
4. kutb'ül- evliya zuhrü'l- asfiya Hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l- azizin
5. evkaf-ı şerifinin tekmil mesarifi için Haremeyn-i şerefeyne havale
6. istirdad akçelerinden ita ve ihsan buyurulan
7. senevi ikiyüz elli guruş sene-i merkuma mahsuben tamamen ve kamilen ahz
8. ve kabz eylediğimi müş'ir-i taraf-ı hakiranemden işbu tahvil verildiği
9. Hurriret min sen fi'l-mezbure

Es-seyyid Ahmed min sūlaleti Hazret-i Mevlana el-mütevelli li vakfi'l-mezbur

فیروز محمد
محمد علی بیگ

در دو تکمیلت عرض داخلی کتب لیدر که مدینه فقیه ده مد فوله ومهر و منقلب الاولیا زخر الاقیما حصه مولا ناسم علی جبار کتف مقف منبره لربک عینی بوی
خزینت هما یون مینت معرفت و حفظه و مجددا اطلبس و درین صوم صوم اید آیت کریمه واسما، سیرت خراجی خود بوئید و عزت زینت زینت طری
بیل و بر طری کو کرا طلبه لهکار ی بر عدد برده و خلفا، سائر غزیز کتوانه وخی الوان اطلبه ان وان برده بوئید و اوج طرفه سبک کنی آنکاکت وخی برده که جمعا اول
اوج عدد بوئید هها، سیرت احا نه هها یوه بو صفتقر و نه بو یوب هرری محل مبارک سنه و شیخ کنون ترنخس صمد ورا اولان مبارک حفظ هها وادعای ان
موجبو بخرای عینی محوره بر دار لرزه خانه فقه فولدی بولید بوئید هها، مذکور له رتقها مبارک سنه مرقوم کوزت را الهکف خائفه فیض کله بر نه لری الوصول حال ان
ست را لیده سنه شین سنجف اولان ضیفنکو کرا متکی الی الحدیث کله فدی و کبریکت معرفت بوئید هها، سیرت بر مولا ناسم را اله کف کرا کتف غیر لوری و سائر
خلفا، غزیزا کتف معا ربها که لری اوزینه بالکفر وضع و بوئید و کذب سیر و ارموی لیه فولدی انجام خدمت نامور کید عورت و شیخ مومنی لیه و سائر لاری اله لیدر
و خائفه مت را لیده صغر فضا، در ویت ان بنده لری خلیف باقی لید عزت را الهکف کرم و فیه مبارک کرد و ادم عورت و خدمت اعداد وین و ملت دعوت خیزینه بوئید
اوزه اولوقدی بالانتهاس با بیه سیرت اعلا بر عرض و اعلی اولدر باقی امر و فرزان در عیبت لکف کدر فی بوم کلمش کتف نه بدجبار اولدر کتف نه بدجبار اولدر کتف نه بدجبار

الکتاب علی لیدر والعلی الخافا
عمان اداره عمده لیدر الخافا

D.HMH. 135/35

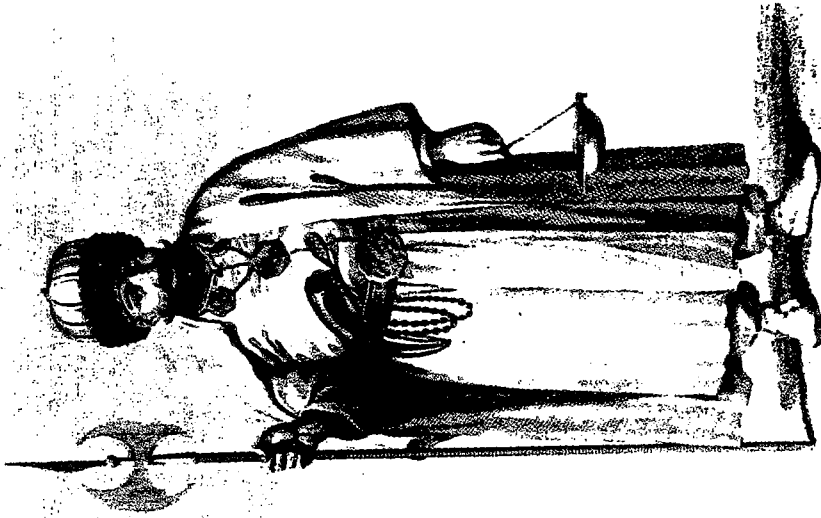
D.HMHL 135/ 35

11/15 C 1206

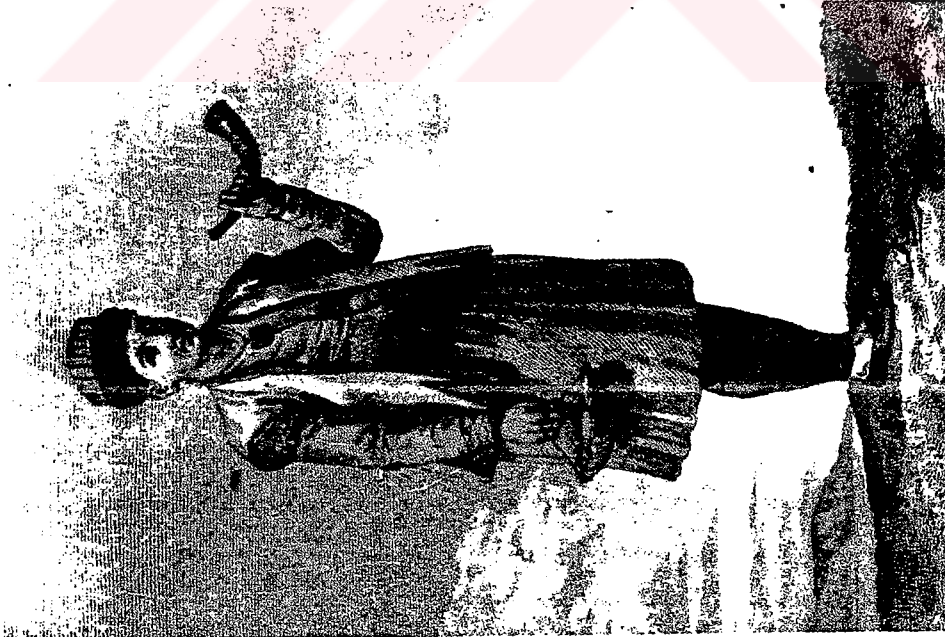
7-11/01/1792

1. Vürud-ı temkin arz-ı dai keminelere ki medine-i Konya'da medfun ve mebrur kutb'ül- evliya zuhru'l-asfiya Hazret-i Mevlana kuddise sırruhu'l- ala cenablarının makbere-i münirelerinin atik puşideleri
2. hazine-i hümayun-ı meymenet makrunda hıfz ve müceddeden atlas üzerine som sırma ile ayat-ı kerime ve esma-i şerife muharrer iki adet puşide ve aziz-i müşarünileyhin türbe-i tayyibeleri kapusına bir tarafı
3. yeşil ve bir tarafı gügez atlasdan lehkari bir aded perde ve hulefa-i saire-i azizlerçün dahi elvan atlasdan on bir aded puşide ve üç tarafına yeşil kemha eteklik dahi bir aded ki cem'an onüç
4. aded puşideha-i şerife ihsan-ı hümayun-ı mevhibet makrun buyurulub her biri mahal-i mübarekesine vaz' ve teslim için şeref- bahş sudur olan mübarek hatt-ı hümayun ve emr-i alişan
5. muciblerince sera-yı atik-i mamure türbedarlarından Hafız Mehmed kulları yediyle puşideha-i mezkureler tamamen medine-i merkumede aziz-i müşarün ileyhın hankah-ı feyz-i gahilerine lede'l-vusul halen asitane-i
6. müşarün ileyhde müsned-nişin-i meşihat olan faziletlü, kerametlü eş-şeyh, es-seyyid, el-hac Mehmed Efendi dailerinin marifetiyle puşideha-i şerifeler Mevlana-yı müşarün ileyh hazretlerinin kabre'n-nurları ve sair
7. hulefa-i azizanın mekabir-i mübarekeleri üzerine bi't-tekrim vaz u puşide kılunub türbedar-ı muma ileyh kulları itmam-ı hizmet-i memuresiyle avdet ve şeyh-i müma ileyh ve sair sülale-i müşarün ileyh daileri
8. ve hankah-ı müşarün ileyhde mukim fukara-i dervişan bendeleri hulus-ı bal ile aziz-i müşarün ileyhın ser merkad-i mübarekelerine devam-ı ömr ü devlet ve makhuriyet-i ada-i din ve millet davat-i hayriyesine muvazebet
9. üzere oldukları bil iltimas paye-i serir-i alaya arz ve ilam olundu. Baki emr ü ferman der inayetü'l-me'anıdır. Fil yevmil hamis aşr min şehri Cumadel ula sene sitte ve mieteyn ve elf
10. el-abdü'd-dai li'd-devlet-i ve aliyyetü'l-Hakan Osmanzade Abdurrahman Mevlevi.

1904



DERWISCH BEKTAŞIUS



BEKTAŞIUS DÖRTER

Figure 1: "The Bektaşi Dervishes"



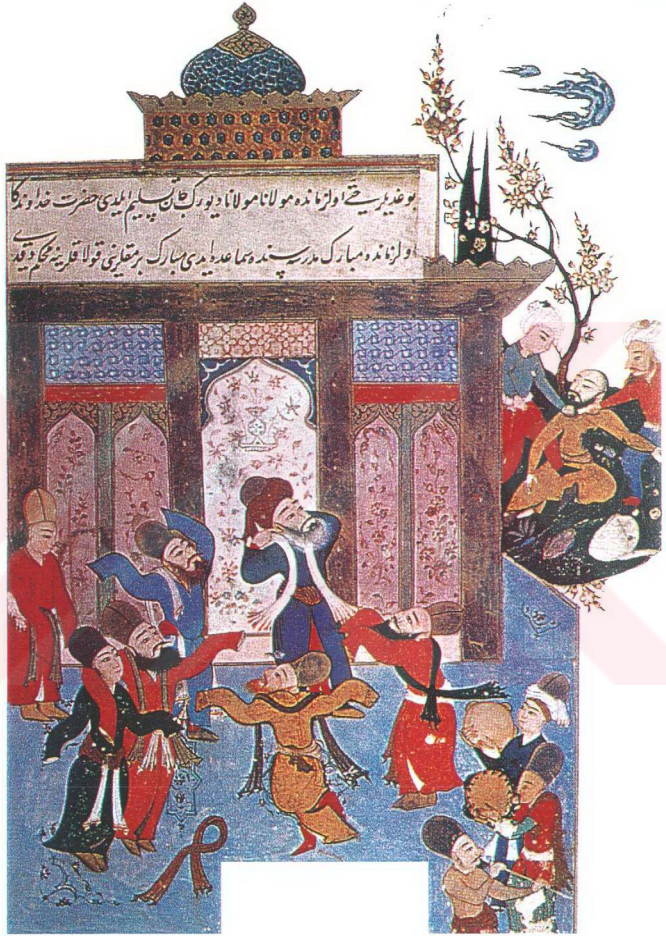
Figure 2: "The Kalenderi Dervishes" 1670)



Figure 3: "Mevlana and Şems"



Figure 4: "Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi performing the sema"



Sevâkıb-ı Menâkıb, PML 466
Aksaray'da Sultan Rükneddin'i
boğarlarken Konya'da Hz. Mevlâna'nın,
onun başını duymamak için
kulaklarını kapatması.

Figure 5: "Mevlana Shutting his ears while Sultan Rukneddin was being killed in Aksaray"



Surnâme-i Hümayun, TSM H 134-
1582 yılında Sultan III. Murad'ın önünd
bir köçeğin dansetmesi (üstte) ve bir
Mevlevi'nin sema' etmesi (altta).

Figure 6: ““A dancer dancing and Mevlevi whirling in front of the Sultan Murad III in 1582”



(üstte) Sevâkib-ı Menâleb, PML 466
Sema'.

(sağda) [Tek minyâtür], PFL
Galata Mevlevihanesi'nde sema'. Karşı
kayı Üsküdar'dır.

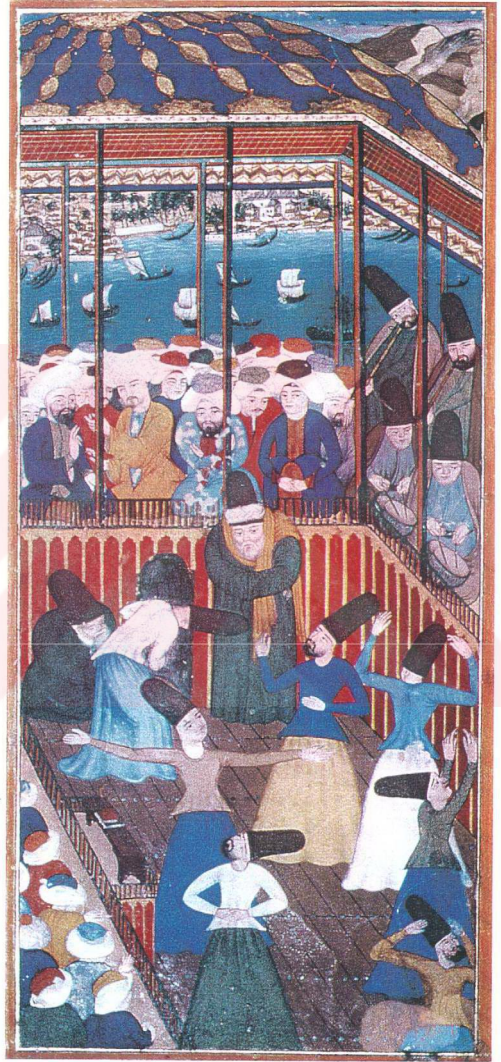


Figure7: “Whirling in the Galata Mevlevi Lodge”

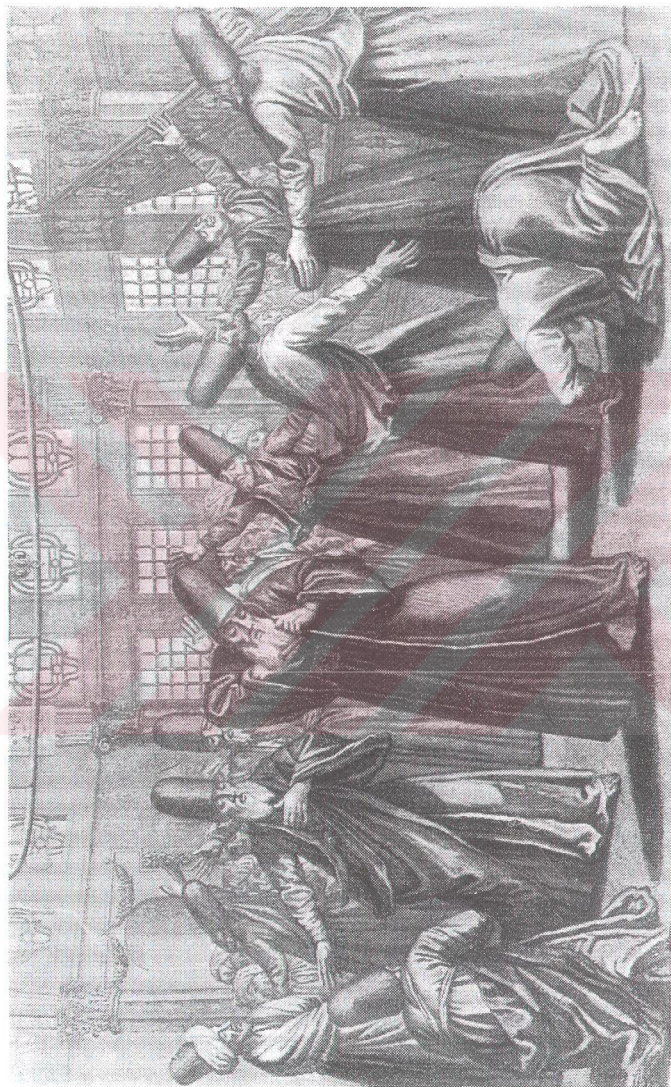


Figure 8: "The Semra"



Figure 9: “Şeyh Galib”



Figure 10: “Kudretullah Efendi, the şeyh of the Galata Mevlevi Lodge”



Figure 11: Destarlı Mevlevi Sikkesi
(Traditional cap of Mevlevis)

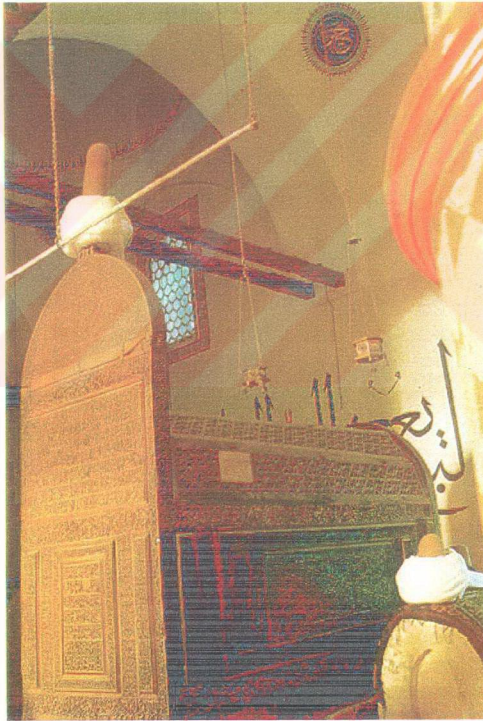


Figure 12: Mevlana'nın Ahşap sandukası
(Wooden sarcophagus of Mevlana)

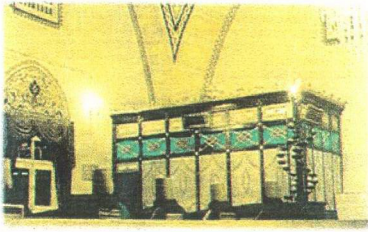


Figure 13: The tomb of Rumi's mother in Larende, Karaman

Figure 14 Mausoleum of Rumi (interior view)

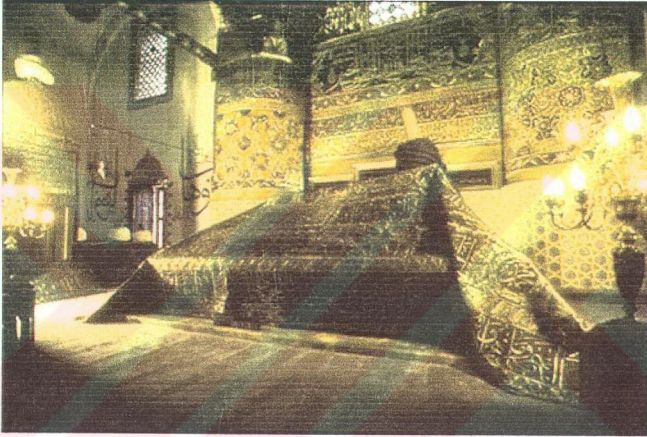


Figure 15: Mausoleum of Rumi (Exterior view)



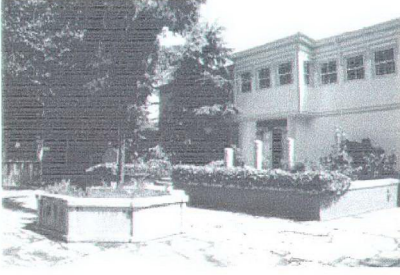


Figure 16: Courtyard of Galata mevlevihanesi



Figure 17: Entrance of Galata Mevlevihanesi
(Now a museum, "Divan Edebiyatı Müzesi")

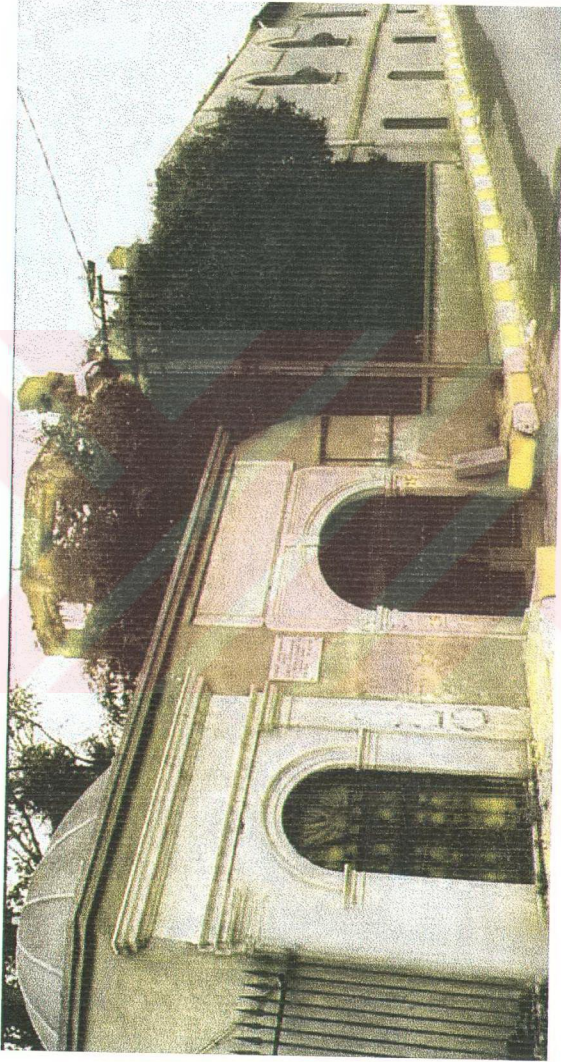


Figure 18: “The Yenikapı Mevlevi Lodge”