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Ahmet Yaşar Ocak

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OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE AND THE SUFI ORDERS: DERVISH LODGES

M. BAHA TANMAN

A glance at studies of the history of Ottoman architecture will reveal that very little attention has been given to buildings associated with the religious orders as compared with other types of buildings, and that even in some comprehensive studies the subject is either not touched upon at all or the description of a few important examples is reckoned sufficient. This "silence" in our history of Ottoman architecture arises from the negative attitude apparent in the cultural policy of the Republican period and in the general intellectual environment, the failure on the part of religious buildings, apart from a few exceptions, to attract attention or become the subject of serious study because of their modest dimensions and unpretentious designs, as well as some problems related to the terminology and architectural vocabulary encountered in any study of these buildings.

1. A Question of Terminology

The buildings associated with the religious orders in the Ottoman world have come to be variously referred to as *khānqāh*, *qādirikhāna*, *qalandarkhāna*, *mawlawikhāna*, *tekke* or *zāwiya*. Of these terms "*gulshanikhāna*, *qādirikhāna*, *qalandarkhāna* and *mawlawikhāna*" indicate their association with a certain religious order or body. The terms "*āsītāna*" and "*zāwiya*" indicate the status of these religious buildings within the religious order to which they belong. *Āsitāna* referred to in the sources as "*Āsitānā-i tarīqat-i 'aliyya-i...*" or "*Pishwāy-i tarīqat-i 'aliyya-i...*" are centres of a certain religious order or branch.¹ As these *āsītāna*, generally large-scale institutions, housed the tombs of the founders of the religious order or branch they were also termed "*pīr evi*, *pīr maqāmi* or *huḍur-i pīr*". The

¹ Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarihi Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, İstanbul 1971, I, 94; "Āsitāne", *DBİSTA*, II, 1108; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdab ve Erkânı*, İstanbul 1963, 13-14; Gölpınarlı, *Tasavvuf'tan Dilimize Geçen Deyimler ve Atasözleri*, İstanbul 1977, 28-29; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, İstanbul 1983 (2nd impression), 334. For important *āsītānes* in Ottoman territories, see: Tanman, "Āsitāne", *TDVİA*, III, 485-487.

zāwīyas were generally smaller buildings attached to the *āsītāna*.² This definition of the term *zāwīya*,³ the meaning of which varies in the Islamic world in accordance with time and place, is valid for the Ottoman cultural environment, more particularly after the XVth century.⁴

Of the above-mentioned terms, "*dargāh*", "*khānqāh*" and "*tekke*" indicate neither a definite religious order nor the function of the institution nor an architectural form arising from these. One frequently encounters the same building referred to in different terms in inscriptions, documents, publications and in popular speech.⁵ Moreover, the adoption of ambiguous terms such as "*buḡ'a*" and "*imārat*", more particularly in the early period, which do not refer to any particular type of building and which could be applied to a variety of different types, added to the confusion of the already chaotic character of the existing terminology.⁶ The reason for our preference in this study for the term "*tekke*", apart from a few *zāwīyas* of the Early Ottoman period, is its applicability to every type of religious building from large-scale *āsītāna* to the humblest *zāwīya*, and its use in popular speech in a much more comprehensive and widespread connotation than the other terms.⁷

² Pakalın, *op.cit.*, III, 648; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdab ve Erkânı*, 13-14; *Tasavvuf'tan Dilimize Geçen Deyimler ve Atasözleri*, 28-29; *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 334-338.

³ Ocak, "Zaviyeler", VD, XII (1987), 247-269.

⁴ For example, the comprehensive institutions founded in rural areas by those referred to by Ö.L.Barkan as "kolonizatör dervişleri" (colonizing dervishes) who took part in the movements of conquest in the Early Ottoman period (1300-middle of the XVth century) were known as "zaviye". See: Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Vakıflar ve Temlikler. I. İstila Devirlerinin Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri ve Zaviyeleri, II. Vakıfların Bir İskan ve Kolonizasyon Metodu Olarak Kullanılmasında Diğer Şekiller", VD, II (1942), 279-365.

⁵ For example, in the Yenikapı *Mawlawikhāna* in Istanbul, the 9th line in the verse renovation inscription dated 1253 (1837/8) over the entrance to the imperial gallery contains the term *dargāh*, the first line in another renovation inscription dated 1232 (1816/17) over the main entrance door contains the term *tekke*, the 3rd line *hankah*, the 19th line *Mawlawikhāna* and the 20th line *dargāh* (*dargah*).

⁶ Doğan, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları, Tekkeler, Zaviyeler ve Benzer Nitelikteki Fütuvvet Yapıları*, Istanbul 1977, 58-97.

⁷ Doğan, *op.cit.*, 58: "The word *tekke* has entered the language as a term referring to various buildings associated with the dervish institution in Turkey to a much greater extent than in the other Islamic countries, covering a wide range of buildings from the largest institutions to the smallest branches and entering popular speech in positive or negative connotations, sometimes outside the institutional equivalent."

2. Problems of Architectural Definition

2.1 The Period. "Which" Ottoman?

Another problem encountered in defining the Ottoman tekke is the change in this definition in accordance with the main stages through which Ottoman architecture passed in the course of time together with the political identity of the state. For example, there is an obvious resemblance between some of the tekkes belonging to the period known in the history of architecture as "The Early Period" or "Foundation Period" (1300-1453), during which the Turcoman Emirate retained its identity, and the mosques with tabhanes / zāwiyas connected with the conquest movement, which had been strengthened by political and socio-economic conditions. The closed courtyard medreses of the Seldjuq period have survived, together with the buildings attached to the *khānqāh*⁸ and the double-unit *turba-zāwiya* buildings from the same tradition.

In the centuries of the "Classical Style" in architecture that arose from the re-organization of the institutional superstructure and the strengthening of the central bureaucracy following the conquest of Istanbul, and which, accompanied by the dissolution of the traditional structure, was to last until the 1740s, the traditional forms of the Early Period tekke disappeared, to be replaced by an increasing number of masdjid-tekkes or mosque-tekkes resembling the "mosque centred" architectural complexes that symbolized the period, while some tekkes are characterized by the employment of the open courtyard medrese plans that reached maturity in the classical period.

In spite of the Western influences to be observed in the façade arrangements, architectural details and decorative programmes in the period of Westernisation (Reform), which can be seen in the attempts at remodelling in architecture in accordance with Western prototypes, as in the institutional superstructure that extended from the Tulip Period to the Republic, the plans that were approved in the classical period still survived, producing a tekke type that differed from the others and resembled the civil architecture of the late period.

⁸ Doğan, *op.cit.* 72-77; Bilgin, "Über die Tekke-Architektur des 13. Jahrhunderts in Anatolien", *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, Budapest 1978, 183-199; Emir, *Erken Osmanlı Mimarlığında Çok İşlevli Yapılar: Kentsel Kolonizasyon Yapıları Olarak Zaviyeler*, İzmir 1994, I, 25-33, 42-50; Tanman, "Hankah / Mimari", *TDVİA*, XVI, 43-46.

2.2 Region. "To what extent" Ottoman?

Another question is, which of the tekkes scattered over the vast expanse of Ottoman territory, all reflecting the style of the particular region in which they were located, could be regarded as representing Ottoman architecture in the true sense of the word. In our opinion, the answer to this question, which is valid for Ottoman culture as a whole, is to be found, to a large extent, in the administrative link between province and capital. With the Bursa-Edirne-Istanbul triangle as the centre, the parts of Thrace inhabited by Muslims adjoining Anatolia (territories outside Walachia, Moldavia, Transylvania and Montenegro), as well as the areas directly under the rule of the state that had been settled by the Turks (Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, etc.), are all territories that had adopted Ottoman cultural identity. In spite of the intensification of regional styles as the distance from the capital increases, one can quite properly refer to a "common architectural discourse" applicable to the tekkes.

On the other hand, the Middle-Eastern and African territories that had been annexed by the Ottoman state from the first quarter of the XVIth century onwards, had already, hundreds of years previously, created their own particular architectural identity within the context of the various different forms of Islamic civilization. In these lands, to which historians have applied the term "Arab provinces", architecture, apart from a few exceptions, was dominated throughout the Ottoman period by regional styles. Thus most of the Sufi buildings in these Arab provinces cannot be described as truly "Ottoman".

2.3. Buildings Later Converted into Tekkes:

In describing the architecture of Ottoman tekkes, it should be born in mind that many buildings designed for other purposes were converted into tekkes, referred to in the old sources as "*wad'i mashikhat*" (seat of a sheikh). For example, in Istanbul, several of the earliest of the "converted" tekkes, which, together with those originally built as tekkes, amounted to quite a considerable number, were actually Byzantine monasteries or churches that had been converted into mosque-tekkes during the reign of Mehmed the Conqueror (1453-1481) after the conquest of Istanbul and, more particularly, under Bāyazid II (1481-1512).⁹ This ensured that, on the one hand, the buildings necessary in the city for mystical life were rapidly

⁹ Eyice, "Fetih'ten Sonra İstanbul'daki Kiliselerin Durumu", *TY*, 307 (Ocak 1965), 33-34; Ötügen, "İstanbul kiliselerinin Fetih'ten Sonra Yeni Görevleri, Banileri ve Adları", *HÜBBD*, X/2 (June 1979), 71-85

procured, while, at the same time, the "urban embellishment" policy of the old Turkish states (particularly the Anatolian Seldjuqs) was continued, with buildings that had become embedded in the public consciousness as religious centres surviving in an Islamic form.¹⁰

The buildings acting as the seat of a sheikh included mosques, mesjids and dwellings that, though more recent than the monasteries and churches, were, at the same time, far more numerous. Besides the medrese and dārūlhadis buildings that had been converted into tekkes, one also sometimes encounters a building such as the Dügümlü Baba Tekkesi¹¹, which had been converted from the foundations of a palace (İbrāhīm Pasha Palace) at Sultanahmet in Istanbul.

In short, it is impossible to form a single and definitive definition of the "Ottoman tekke" without taking into consideration the period and region, as well as the original function of the building itself. For that reason, in giving examples of typology, reference will be made to the changes undergone by a certain type of building in line with the stylistic periods of Ottoman architecture. At the same time, mention is made only of those tekkes in the Arab provinces that can be classified within the category of Ottoman architecture, while, in the case of buildings later converted into tekkes, attention has been concentrated on modifications and additions of importance from the purely religious point of view.

3. Function and the Resulting Architectural Programme:

The functions performed by buildings of this kind lie at the basis of the architectural programme to be seen in tekkes of the Ottoman period. These functions may be arranged in order of importance as worship, education, pilgrimage, accommodation, distribution of food, hygiene and transport. However, before listing the various functions and the units corresponding to them, great stress should be laid on the fact that the functions of worship, education, pilgrimage and shelter, particularly the first two, formed an integral whole and were normally carried on in the same buildings. This interesting feature of the functional programme can be said to have arisen from the education system practised in the dervish lodges. Indeed, education in these establishments, in contrast to either the traditional

¹⁰ Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, 2 vols.

¹¹ Tanman, "Dügümlü Baba Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, III, 107-108.

medrese education or secular education in the Western style, was based on practice rather than theory, the aim being not so much to teach the student a body of facts as to mould and perfect him, with the application of an "initiatique" type of education that could only be achieved through "life" rather than "instruction", and which remained a secret between the sheikh and the dervish. This type of education, referred to as "*ışılāḥāt-i şūfiya*" and, in Sufi terminology, as "*seyr u sulūk*", was composed of interconnected elements such as affection, worship, service, friendly intercourse, religious retreat and mystical ecstasy. This education could be given in religious orders characterized by the same essence and aim but differing in methods, with priority given to one or another of these elements.

3.1. *Worship and Education:*

Apart from the Bektashi lodges and independent meşjids such as mevlevīhanes, the religious centres combining worship and education, in which the namaz (ritual prayer) was performed, the ritual of the order known as "*āyīn / āyīn-i sharīf / āyīn-i awliyā Allah / muqābala*" was conducted, educational activities such as commentaries on the Mesnevī in the Mawlawikhāna were practised, a number of gatherings were held, for *mawlid* and *hatim* groups, the ordination of a dervish as assistant to the sheikh, the confirmation of a sheikh in his post and the '*āshūra* gathering in the month of Muḥarram, while several meetings were held by the leaders of the order in the space referred to by the Bektashis as *maydān / maydān evi*, by the Mawlawis as *semahane* and by members of the other religious orders as *tawḥīdkhāna*.¹² Besides this, there was the *Maydān-i Sharīf*, employed for a type of meditation peculiar to the Mawlawikhāna known as "*murāqaba*", the *kiler evi* in Bektashi lodges, in which liturgical objects used by the order were stored, and also the *khalwatkhāna*¹³ in buildings belonging to religious orders, principally the Khalwatīya, who observed the practice of "*khalwat*" (religious seclusion).

3.2. *Pilgrimage:*

The tombs in the dervish lodges in which the *pīrs* or *postnīshīn* (chiefs or heads of a dervish convent), their family or leading members were buried,

¹² In Istanbul, the term "*samā'khāna*" was widely used not only by the Mawlawis but also by the other orders apart from the Bektashis. The same is true for the term "*maydān*".

¹³ Tanman, "Halvethane", *TDVİA*, XV, 388-383.

as well as the *ḥaḏīra* (graveyard) containing the graves of certain dervishes and their disciples, constituted places of pilgrimage. As will be touched upon below, the tombs of *walīs* (saints) recognized as places where *ḥayḏ* (spiritual power) was emanated by the members of the order, played, in addition to their role as places of pilgrimage, an important part in the spiritual training of the dervishes.

3.3. Accommodation:

The accommodation units in the dervish lodges were divided, just as in ordinary domestic architecture, into two main sections, the *harem* and the *selāmlık*. The harem was the section occupied by the sheikh and his family, and was also used for the accommodation of women visitors to the lodge, whether or not they belonged to that particular religious order. In line with tradition or the conditions laid down in the deed of trust,¹⁴ the harem apartments in dervish lodges in which the sheikh was unmarried would be more accurately termed "sheikh ikametgāhı" (the sheikh's apartments). It would be a mistake to refer to the tekke harem apartments, which could vary from a humble dwelling consisting of a couple of rooms to a magnificent mansion, simply as an accommodation unit. The sheikh's wives, known by such titles as "Wālida Bādji, Bādji Sultān" and "Sheikh Ana", who exercised an important, though at first sight invisible, role in the life of the lodge as a sort of "spiritual mother" of all the dervishes in the tekke, both male and female, concentrated their activities of communion (*soḥbat*) and prayers (*dhikr*) in the harem section. This was the place where "darwīsha" (female *muḥibbas*), "muḥibbes" (female friends) and female visitors learned in practice the tekke ceremonial (*khurda-i tarīq*) and the collective aspect of tekke life. In addition to the *sofas* (halls), rooms and toilets, the harem apartments also contained a small kitchen, quite apart from the large tekke kitchen, as well as a small bath and *ghasalkhāna* (wash-place for ritual ablutions).

The *selāmlık*, which contained the *sheikh odası*, *maydān odası*, *dhākirbashı odası* and coffee kitchen, comprised a number of different functions. The sheikh *odası* was the room in which the sheikh received his

¹⁴ For example, in Bektashi lodges under babas conforming to the "*mudjarradlık arkānı*" established by Bālm Sultān, as well as in the *Qalandarkhāna* (Özbekler) Tekkesi attached to the Naqshbandiyya order at Eyüp in Istanbul. (Zarcone - Tanman, "Kalenderhane Tekkesi", DBİSTA, IV, 398-400.

male visitors and played an important role in the mystic training, with communion and musical (*mashq*) gatherings. The meydan odası was a room in which the dervishes could change their clothes and engage in conversation. The room in which the *dhākīrbashī*, who was in the charge of the music performed in the rites in all the orders apart from the Mawlawiya, could rest, receive visitors and give music lessons, and in which the musical instruments employed in the religious rites were kept, was known as the *dhākīrbashī odası*. The coffee kitchen was where the coffee to be offered in the selamlık was prepared under the supervision of the *qahva naqībī*. Apart from these, in some cases, the inmates of the lodge were housed in dervish cells in the *selamlık*. In the larger tekkes, the *selamlık* generally contained a section in which male visitors were received, known in Bektashi tekkes as *mihman evi*, and in other tekkes as *mūsāfirkhāna* or *mihmānkhāna*. The *mabeyin odası* was a room connecting the *selamlık* and the harem in which the women arranged their veils.

All the various units listed above were to be found only in large, fully equipped lodges. The *selamlıks* in lodges of more modest dimensions and architectural programmes usually contained one or two multi-purpose rooms used for conversation, music lessons, dervish accommodation and the entertainment of visitors.

3.4. Kitchens:

Meals for those living in the lodge and for those who arrived on various occasions such as the weekly services, *kāndil geceleri* (feast nights), Ramaḍan evening meals, *aşure cemiyetleri*, *mevlit*, (celebration of the Prophet's birthday), *khatm* (recitation of the Qoran), *khilāfat djam'ıyyeti* (ordination meetings), as well as for those eating in the lodge and the destitute in the neighbourhood, were cooked in kitchens known as *maṭbakh-i sharīfs* in mawlawīkhāna and as *aş vvi* in Bektashi tekkes, located, as they were run by men¹⁵, in the *selamlık* section. The "*maṭbakh-i sharīfs*" in the mawlawīkhānas were used for the primary education of novices entering the order and for training in *samā'* (ritual) music.

¹⁵ Men were employed in the kitchens in the tekkes, just as they were in large scale residences such as palaces, *konaks* (mansions) and *yalis* (waterside residences). The man responsible for the preparation of the food was known in the Bektashi tekkes as "*aşevi babası*", in Mawlawīkhānas as "*ser-ṭabbākh*" and in other religious orders as "*aşçı*" or "*aşçı dede*".

The *harem mutfağı* (harem kitchen) was a small kitchen calculated to meet the needs of the inmates of the harem, which was connected to the large kitchen by means of a revolving cupboard. Here the food sent to the harem through this revolving cupboard was heated, and here, too, the women could prepare delicacies such as jam, syrup and milk puddings. Other units connected with the provision of food included the *kiler*, known in Bektashi tekkes as *arzâq evi*, in which provisions were stored and which was more or less complementary to the large kitchen, the *firin* in which bread was baked and which was known in the Bektashi tekkes as *ekmek evi*, the *ta'âmkhāna* / *yemekhāna*, known in *mawlawīkhānas* as *sumâṭkhāna*, where meals were eaten in common, the *sharbatkhāna*, in which sherbets were prepared and, in some of the tekkes in rural areas, a cow byre, sheep pen, poultry house or beehives.

3.5. Hygiene:

Architectural units in the *selâmlık* and *harem* sections connected with hygiene comprise the hamam (bathhouse) or *ghaslkhāna*, places for ritual ablutions ranging from simple tap and *bâsin* to full-scale *shadīrvan*, toilets and laundry, as well as water tanks, cisterns and wells supplying water to the lodge.

3.6. Transport:

Transport was usually by horse, donkey or horse-drawn vehicles. In lodges in rural areas, the *at ahır* (horse stable), known in Bektashi tekkes as "*at evi*", was a unit performing a very necessary function. Dervish lodges on the shore would possess an *iskele* (landing-stage) and *kayikkhāna* (boat house).

3.7. Secondary Functions:

Some tekkes in the form of "*tariqat külliyesi*" (religious complexes) comprised units serving other needs of the community quite unconnected with tekke life and *tariqat* architecture, such as the *muwaqqitkhāna* (chronometer room), library, primary school, Qoran school, fountain and *sabīl* (fountain for the distribution of water).

3.8. Lodges with Special Functions:

In the Ottoman period there were also a number of religious institutions with special functions, which, though not devoted primarily to

training in mysticism, were known as "tekkes" because they came under the supervision of the *tariqat* personnel. For example, in Istanbul, one encounters institutions in the nature of guest-houses and information centres aimed at providing accommodation for wandering dervishes, mostly bachelors, coming from areas outside the Ottoman Empire, and at establishing political and diplomatic contacts with these territories by means of sheikhs acting as honorary consuls. This group includes the Özbek, Indian and Afghan tekkes.¹⁶ Outside Istanbul, tekkes of this type can be found in cities such as Bursa and Jerusalem.¹⁷

There were also a number of tekkes that specialized in a certain field, like the Çarşamba Mathnawikhānasi in Istanbul,¹⁸ which, although attached to the Nakshibendiyye order, was founded as a centre of *Mathnawī* education. It should not be forgotten that the *Khātūniya Tekkesi*¹⁹ at Eyüp gave shelter to homeless old women, while the *Pehlivanlar Tekkesi* (Wrestlers' Lodge)²⁰ in the vicinity of Unkapanı and the *Okçular Tekkesi* (Archers' Lodge)²¹ at Okmeydanı were important Ottoman sports centres. There were also a number of lodges that could be described as "recreation areas", or perhaps, more accurately, as rural centres entrusted to the *tarikāt* personnel for maintenance and servicing. The Dja'farābād and Ḥasanābād tekkes²² on the Sütluçe slopes and the *Akbaba Tekkesi*²³ on the Beykoz-Dereşeki road are examples of this type of establishment in Istanbul.

¹⁶ Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitâbeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, Istanbul 1976, I, 420; Tanman, "Afganiler Tekkesi", *TDVİA*, I, 400; Zarccone, "Histoire et croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul", *Anatolia Moderna-Yeni Anadolu / Derviches et Cimetières Ottomans*, II (1991), 137-200; Zarccone-Tanman "Afganiler Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, I, 86-87; Zarccone-Tanman, Buhara Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, II, 325-327; Zarccone, "Hindiler Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, IV, 74-75; Tanman, "Özbekler Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, VI, 199-202.

¹⁷ Jerusalem contains an Afghan, Özbek and Indian tekke. For the Bukhara (Özbekler) Tekkesi in Bursa, see: Mehmed Şemseddin, *Bursa Dergâhları (Yadigâr-ı Şemsî)*, I-II, Kara - Adansoy, Bursa, 1997, 299-302.

¹⁸ Tanman, "Mesnevîhane Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, V, 408-409.

¹⁹ Tanman, "Hatuniye Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, IV, 20-21.

²⁰ This institution is referred to in the sources as "*Güreşçiler Tekkesi*" or *Güreşçiyan Tekkesi*. (*İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrîr Defteri - 953 (1546) Tarihli*, Barkan-Ayverdi, Istanbul 1970, 47, 176).

²¹ İşli, "Okçular Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VI, 124.

²² Turnalı-E.Yücel, "İstanbul'daki Bazı Tekkelerin Yerlerine Dair Bir Araştırma", *VD*, XVIII (1984), 141-163; "Hasanâbâd Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VIII, 190.

²³ Tanman, "Akbaba Tekkesi", *TDVİA*, II, 221-222; Tanman, "Akbaba Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, I, 153-154.

4. Building Layout:

The principal factor influencing the building layout is the functional plan of the tekke. In buildings in the nature of masdjid-tekke or mosque-tekke, the units used for prayers by the people of the neighbourhood were divided off from the rest, with the "public" section clearly separated from the life of the tekke, which demands a certain amount of privacy. In the same way, in order to facilitate as far as possible the intense and many-sided human traffic constituted by the sheikhs, the inmates of the *harem*, male and female visitors and the dervishes themselves, the prayer hall was located in close proximity to the *selâmlık* and *harem* sections, with, in most cases, a direct connection between them. At the same time, in order to avoid collision between men and women, in the jargon of the time "*kaçgöçe halel gelmemesi*" (to avoid infringement of the rules covering the veiling of women), a number of design elements were introduced, such as an independent entrance for women and a "*mabeyin odası*" (antechamber between the two sections), and, in the large-scale tekkes in Istanbul, a separate entrance to the imperial galleries. Furthermore, the location of the *şerbethane* (section in which sherbet was produced) in close proximity to the unit of worship; the connection in Bektashi tekkes between the "*kiler evi*" and the "*maydân evi*"; the location, as in palaces and *konaks*, of the kitchen, which was situated in the *selâmlık* and was under the direction of male cooks, near the dining areas in the *selâmlık*, *harem* and the *maydân-i sharîf*, the location of the water tanks beside the toilets, washrooms etc. so as to facilitate organization, as well as innumerable minor details arising partly from the complex relationships governing the functional plan of the tekkes, partly from regional customs and traditions (*'urf-i bâlda*), as well as from a general concern for comfort and utility.

Another important factor governing the relationships between the various units in the dervish lodges springs from considerations arising from the constitution of the religious orders and the traditions associated with them. For example, the close connection to be observed between the prayer halls and the tombs, which, at least in the Ottoman period, distinguishes a large proportion of the tekkes from other places of worship, arises from the approach of the Sufis to death and to the *walîs*, (saints). This will be dealt with in more detail in the section on tombs.

Other factors influencing the layout of the *tekkes* included the topography and dimensions of the site, the relationship with the main arteries of communication, the view onto which they opened and the height of the buildings in the neighbouring plots. For example, on a lightly inclined site, the sections forming the tekke could, if necessary, be gathered within the same complex or arranged in steps in conformity with the slope. On the other hand, in the case of a steeper slope, the tekke could be arranged in the form of independent buildings on terraces formed by retaining walls. In some cases, as, for example, in the case of the *Yahyâ Efendi Tekkesi*²⁴ in Beşiktaş, Istanbul (c. 1538 ~1st quarter of the XXth century), the tomb is placed to the north (the rear), in contrast to the usual custom, in order to allow the prayer hall to open onto the view. In the case of the *Yıldız Dede Tekkesi*²⁵ at Bahçekapı in Istanbul (1730-1775/76 ~ 4th quarter of the XIXth century) which is set in the midst of a number of business premises, the application of an extremely complex and organic design and the recourse to expedients such as a lantern and a ventilation shaft in order to facilitate illumination and ventilation constitute interesting examples of the influence of environmental factors.

The size of the lodge, the architectural programme and the quality of the construction and decoration are greatly influenced by the revenues received through endowments or donations, while other factors governing design and decoration include the plans developed over the centuries in Turkish-Islamic architecture and the dominant style of design and decoration in Ottoman architecture to be observed in the period in which these tekkes were built.

5. The Problem of Classification and an Experiment in Typology Based on the Building Layout:

The dervish lodges of the Ottoman period can be classified in accordance with their forms and dimensions. The first idea to occur to one would be to classify them in accordance with the religious order to which they belong, but, though such a classification would undoubtedly be of interest for any research into mystic life in the Ottoman period, it has a

²⁴ Tanman, "Setting for the Veneration of Saints", *The Dervish Lodge, Architecture, Art and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, Berkeley, 1992, 130-171 (149, 152, 154); Tanman, "Yahya Efendi Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 409-412.

²⁵ Tanman, "Yıldız Dede Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 516-5XVII).

number of drawbacks from the architectural point of view. Apart from a relatively few examples influenced primarily by symbols peculiar to the order in question, in the great majority of the dervish lodges the layout of the building and the main principles of the design are based on a functional scheme transcending the religious order to which they belong. A large proportion of the lodges have been given a cumulative architectural identity arising in the centuries following their original foundation as a result of changing hands between the various orders, re-building, modifications and additions, with some of these taking place in periods when the lodge was in the possession of a different religious order.

The classification of Ottoman *tekkes* as *āsītānas* and *zāwīyas* can also lead to errors in definition. For causes referred to above, the distinction between *āsītāna* and *zāwīya* generally fails to reflect the architectural programme and layout. A *zāwīya* possessing a strong economic foundation and social environment can sometimes far transcend the *āsītāne* to which it is attached.²⁶

In conclusion, the acceptance, in the typology we suggest, of the building layout as a criterion and the grouping of the examples in accordance with the relations between the sections they contain will prove very much more reliable from the point of view of architectural history.

Group I

In layout, the group I *tekke* complexes display a close resemblance to the Ottoman medreses with open courtyard and portico and the mosque-medreses with central courtyard which constitute a special category of these. It is interesting to note that the comparatively few examples of this type of *tekke* were founded by members of the ruling class (sultans, mothers of the sultans, grand viziers, sheikhülislams, chief black eunuchs, etc.), which must have been a factor in the similarity between these *tekkes* and the *medresse* founded by members of the same class and representing the, in a sense, "official" state architecture.

In all the examples, the prayer hall and the cells allocated to the accommodation of the dervishes were grouped around an open courtyard.

²⁶ An example of this is 'Abd al-Salām Tekkesi at Koska, the *āsītāna* of the order (Tanman, "Abdüsselām Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, I, 55-56, and the *Ḥaṣırizāda Tekkesi* at Südüce (Tanman, "Ḥaṣırizade Tekkesi", *op.cit.* IV, 6-9) a *zāwīya* belonging to the same religious order.

In some cases, the cells surrounding the courtyard on one, two or three sides formed either a single "U" shaped block or a double "L" shaped block on the axis of the *mihrāb* /main entrance of the prayer hall, while in other cases they extended along the whole of one side of the courtyard. This courtyard, which constituted the nucleus of the whole plan, on the one hand creating the inner world of *tekke* life and, on the other, creating a communication between the various units, also ensured an adequate supply of illumination and ventilation to all parts of the complex. The colonnade or eaves running along in front of the cells served to protect the inmates from sun, rain or snow. The colonnade had masonry domes, a vault or a sloping roof.

Another characteristic common to *tekkes* in group I is the location of the harem, the residence the sheikh and his family, at some distance and quite separate from the main building occupied by the dervishes, who were always single. The harem apartments, wooden structures characterized by the features typical of the secular architecture of the period, were furnished with an independent garden with high walls that hid the harem from prying eyes. At the same time, a *shadirvan* or a row of ablution taps was placed in the courtyard in the centre of the main building. As for the toilets, these, for obvious reasons, were located around a small, independent courtyard quite cut off from the prayer hall, the accommodation and the dining areas.

Most are contained within the limits of a complex. Some of these complexes, like the Qodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, Sheikh Wafā, Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha, Piyāla Pasha and 'Atīq Wālida complexes in Istanbul and the Ghāzī Khusraw Bey complex in Sarajevo, are planned on a very generous scale, while others, like the Küçük Ayasofya, Bayram Pasha, Çorlulu 'Alī Pasha and Hādji Bashīr Agha complexes in Istanbul, are on a smaller scale. If the imaret and hamam sections in the complexes still survive they will be used by the inmates of the *tekke*, with the result that the units devoted to food and washing requirements no longer form part of the architectural programme of the *tekke*. Otherwise, these needs are met within the structure of the *tekke* itself, with offices such as kitchen, pantry, hamam and gusūlhane sometimes housed in the block surrounding the courtyard, while in others they remain quite separate.

In some of the *tekkes* included in this group, such as the Sheikh Wafā, İbrāhīm Gulshani, Ghāzī Khusraw Bey, Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha, 'Atīq

Wālida, Bayrām Pasha and Hādji Bashir Agha *tekkes*, the dervish cells, in contrast to the medrese cells in the same complex, are closed to the outside. This feature may be regarded as a reflection of the difference in the type of education provided in the *tekkes* and *medreses*, in other words a reflection of the introversion required by the mystical approach to life. However, in spite of these common features, the type in question can be divided into two sub-groups.

Sub-group I-A:

In the specimens forming this sub-group, the area set aside for the liturgical rites is, at the same time, planned as a mosque for the use of all, and this dual function is clearly stated in the deeds of trust. The earliest examples in Istanbul of these institutions, which can be described as "mosque-tekkes", included the Sheikh Wafā Complex (c. 1476-77-1490), which took shape during the reigns of Meḥmed the Conqueror and Bāyazid II, as well as religious buildings belonging to the Byzantine era modified in line with their new functions and furnished with additional buildings, such as the Küçük Ayasofya Complex (1486-1490) (fig. 1) and the *Khalwatīya-Sunbulīya Āsitānasi* in the Qodja Muṣṭafa Pasha Complex (beginning of the XVIth century ~1st quarter of the XXth) (fig. 2).²⁷ The same design continued to be applied in the XVIth century in the Piyāla Pasha Complex at Kasımpaşa (1573) (fig. 3), in the XVIIIth century in the tekke belonging to the Çorlulu 'Alī Pasha Complex at Çemberlitaş (1707-1709) and the Muṣṭafa Pasha Tekke outside Edirnekapi (1753) (fig. 4).²⁸

²⁷ *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, 16, 159, 366-69; Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fâtih Devri*, III, İstanbul 1973, 502-506; Yüksel, *Osmanlı Mimârisinde II Bâyezid-Yavuz Devri*, V, İstanbul 1983, 258-269, 273-281, 294; Tanman, "Şeyh Vefa Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 173-176; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie İstanbuls*, Tübingen 1977, 172-183; Eyice, "Kapu Ağası Hüseyin Ağa'nın Vakıfları", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi*, IX (1978), 170-185; Eyice, "Küçük Ayasofya Camii", *DBİSTA*, V, 146-149; Tanman, "Küçük Ayasofya Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, V, 149-150; Bacqué-Grammont-Laquaur-Vatin, "Stelæ Turcica, I. Küçük Aya Sofya", *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, 34 (1984), 141-503; Eyice, "İstanbul'da Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii ve Osmanlı-Türk Mimarisindeki Yeri", *TD*, V/, 89 (1953), 153-182; Yazıcı, "Fetih'ten Sonra İstanbul'da İlk Halveti Şeyhleri: Celebi Muhammed Cemaleddin, Sünbül Sinan ve Merkez Efendi", *İED*, II (1956), 87-113; Eyice-Tanman, "Koca Mustafa Paşa Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, V, 30-34; Tanman, "Sünbül Efendi Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, VII, 105-107.

²⁸ Tanman, "İstanbul / Kasımpaşa'daki Piyale Paşa Külliyesi'nin Medresi ve Tekkesi için Bir Restitüsyon Denemesi", *Sanat Tarihinde Doğudan Batıya - Ünsal Yücel Anısına Sempozyum Bildirileri*, İstanbul 1989, 87-94; Demiriz-Tanman, "Piyale Paşa Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, VI, 254-258; Tanman, "Çorlulu Ali Paşa Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, VIII, 371-373; Tanman, "Çorlulu Ali Paşa

In some cases, like the Sheikh Wafā Tekkesi and the Piyāla Pasha Tekkesi, the cells surrounding the courtyard were shared by the dervishes and the medrese students, with the prayer hall being furnished with a third function to form a "mosque-classroom-tawhīdkhāna (hall where the sema is performed). These mosque-tawhīdkhāna, apart from additional units²⁹ to be observed in some cases introduced by the leaders of the religious order, may be classified within the category of Ottoman mosque architecture and are generally located on the kible (south) side of the shadirvan courtyard. Two exceptions to this rule may be mentioned. In the Çorlulu 'Alī Pasha Complex the mosque-tawhīdkhāna is located on the west of the courtyard, while in the Muṣṭafa Pasha Tekkesi it is located on the east. The separation of the block or blocks formed by the cells surrounding the courtyard from the mosque-tawhīdkhāna by means of the courtyard side-entrances, strengthens the relation of this building, which is not at the disposal of the tekke members, to its environs.

Sub-group I-B:

In the specimens in this sub-group, the *masdjid-tawhīdkhāna* unit, which meets the requirements of both worship and ritual was planned for the use of the dervishes resident in the *tekke*, as well as of the friends of the tekke and visitors (*zuwwārān*) come to follow the rites. Of the specimens reflecting the style of the classical period one may mention the Çoban Muṣṭafa Pasha Tekkesi at Gebze (1522), the Ghāzī Khusraw Bey Tekkesi at Sarajevo (founded 1531) (fig.5), the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Tekkesi at Kadırga in Istanbul (c. 1573/74) (fig. 6-7), and the 'Atīq Wālida Tekkesi at Üsküdar in Istanbul (1579). (fig. 8).³⁰ The last two are located within

Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, II, 527-529; Haskan, Eyüp Tarihi, Istanbul 1993, I, 70-73; Tanman, "Mustafa Paşa Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, V, 564-565.

²⁹ In this connection, one may mention the *khalwatkhāna* (room for private meditation) later placed in one of the piers in the mosque-tawhīdkhāna in the *Qodja Mustafa Pasha Tekkesi*, a converted church building, and the *khalwatkhāna* in the *Sheikh Wafā Tekkesi* placed behind and entered through the mihrab.

³⁰ Sözen, *Türk Mimarîsinin Gelişimi ve Mimar Sinan*, Istanbul 1975, 163-165; Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimârî Eserleri - Yugoslavya*, II/3, Istanbul 1981, 350; İbrahim, "Gazi Hüseyin Bey Külliyesi ve Bosna-Hersek'teki Son Durum", *X. Vakıf Haftası Kitabı / Türk Cumhuriyetlerindeki Kültür Varlıkları ve Değerleri*, Bosna-Hersek'deki Vakıf Varlıkları ve Yılmaz Önge Restorasyon Seminerleri (7-10 Aralık 1992 Ankara), Ankara 1993, 181-206; Tanman, "Sinan-ın Mimârî / Tekkeler", *Mimarbaşı Koca Sinan, Yaşadığı Çağ ve Eserleri*, Istanbul 1998, I, 313-319; Kuban, "Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 32-24; Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London 1971, 288-291; Yücel, "Eski Valide Camii ve Külliyesi". *İSTA*, X,

complexes designed by Sinan. The Hādji Sinān Tekkesi in Sarajevo (reign of Murād IV: 1623-1640), and, from Istanbul, the Bayrām Pasha Tekkesi at Haseki (1634-35) (fig. 10) and the SheikhuIslam Tekkesi at Eyüp (1744/45) (fig. 11), continue to display the characteristic features of the classical post-Sinan period,³¹ while the Bābī'ālī Hādji Bashīr Agha Tekkesi³² (Khalwatiya-'Ushshāqīya / Şalāhiya Āsitānasi) (1760/61) (fig. 13) at Haydar in Fatih displays the characteristic features of the Ottoman Baroque.

Several examples belonging to the sub-group I-B in Egypt and Libya characterized by features differing from the examples from the Anatolia-Istanbul-Rumelia zone are also worthy of attention. For example, the İbrāhīm Gulshani Tekkesi³³ (Gulshaniya Āsitānasi) (1519-1524) (fig. 14a-b), the first Ottoman tarikat building in Egypt and the first Sufi building to be described as a "tekke", despite the local style displayed in the facades and superstructure, breaks away from the Mamluk tradition in its basically Ottoman courtyard plan. At the same time, its raised position and the unusual location of the tomb is at variance with the principles of Ottoman architecture. In accordance with a tradition that survived to the Fatimid era, the edifice is placed on a high platform with vaulted shops underneath. The tomb of the pīr rises up in the centre of the courtyard, with the *tekke* units forming a circle around it.

5300-5303; Müller-Wiener, *op.cit.*, 402-404; Kuran, "Üsküdar Atik Valide Külliyesi'nin Yerleşim Düzeni ve Yapım Tarihi Üzerine", *Suut Kemal Yetkin'e Armağan*, Ankara 1984, 231-248; Kuran, *Mimar Sinan*, Istanbul 1986, 175-192; Tanman, "Sinan'ın Mimarisi / Tekkeler", 319-322; Tanman, "Atik Valide Külliyesi", *STAD*, 2 (April 1988), 3-19; Tanman, "Atik Valide Sultan Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, IV 68-73; Tanman, "Atik Valide Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, I, 407-412.

³¹ Ayverdi, *op.cit.*, 387-389; Gökürk, "Bayrampaşa Medresesi, Mektebi, Sebili, Tekkesi, Tekke Mescidi ve Türbesi", *İSTA*, IV, 2306-2308; Nayır, "İstanbul Haseki'de Bayrampaşa Külliyesi", *Ord. Prof. Dr. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan*, Ankara 1976, 397-410; Tanman, "Bayram Paşa Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, V, 267-268; Tanman, "Bayram Paşa Külliyesi", *op.cit.*, II, 101-103; Haskan, *op.cit.*, I, 93-97, 290-291; Tanman, "sheikhülislam Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 177-178.

³² Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci*, İstanbul 1975, 52-53; Goodwin, *op.cit.*, 377-379; Tanman, "Hacı Beşir Ağa Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, III, 469-473; Tanman, "Tahir Ağa Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, VII, 189-190.

³³ Behrens-Abouseif-Fernandez, "Sufi Architecture in Early Ottoman Cairo", *Annales Islamologiques*, XX (1984), 103-114 (109-10); Behrens-Abouseif, "The Takiyyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani in Cairo", *Muqarnas*, 5 (1988), 43-60.

The Süleymān Pasha (Süleymaniye) Tekkesi³⁴ (1543) (fig. 15) and the Maḥmūd I Tekkesi³⁵ (1750) resemble the İbrāhīm Gulshanī in being placed on a raised platform. The Süleymāniya Tekkesi possesses a hybrid plan consisting of a combination of the courtyard and eyvan layout of the Mamlūk hankah with the courtyard-portico plan of Ottoman origin. The same combination can be seen in the sebilküttāp located in the right-angled corner of the site, as well as in the facades of the two buildings, details and decoration. The Zāwiya of Sidi Amura³⁶ (1721) (fig. 16) in the Zanzur oasis near Tripoli, the layout of which allows its inclusion in this category, possesses an interesting superstructure.

In these buildings, some of the prayer halls of smaller dimensions than the mosque-tevhidhanes in sub-group I-A (e.g. those in the Ghāzī Khusraw Bey, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, 'Atīq Wālida, Ḥādji Sinān, Ḥādji Bashīr Agha and Ṭāhir Agha lodges) reflect the characteristic features of Ottoman mesjids. These square or rectangular units are surmounted by domes, vaults or gable roofs. Those in the Bayrām Pasha and Sheikhlulislām tekkes resemble Ottoman tombs in their octagonal bodies and domes, while they are in perfect harmony with the choreography of the rites of the order. *Masjdīd-tawḥīdkhāna* rarely used by those unconnected with the tekke are closed on the outside and are contained within the same block as the other tekke units, with a single entrance opening on to the courtyard. The mesjdīd-tevhidhane in the Bayrām Pasha Tekke differs from the others in consisting of an independent block rising up in the centre of the courtyard, while that in the Ḥādji Bashīr Agha Tekke also differs from the others in being elevated on a platform.

Group II

In tekkes in group II, the prayer hall is located on the south of the shadirvan courtyard quite independently of the other tekke units, while the sections remaining outside the harem are distributed over the other sides of the courtyard. In most of these buildings in the form of small complexes

³⁴ Pacha, "L'Influence Ottomane sur l'Architecture Musulmane en Égypte", *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists held in Istanbul*, September 15th to 22nd 1951. II. Communications, Leiden, 1957, 645-650 (646); Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo - An Introduction*, Cairo 1989, 158-160.

³⁵ Pacha, *op.cit.*, 647

³⁶ Messana, *L'Architettura Musulmana della Libia*, Castelfranco Veneto 1972, 155-156.

with a scattered layout the harem section is quite independent of the courtyard surroundings and possesses a harem garden with a separate entrance. In most cases, the western, eastern and southern sides of the worship-ritual buildings are reserved for graveyards and tombs. This main group can be divided into two sub-groups:

Sub-group II-A:

In these specimens, the great majority of which were also intended to be used as mosques, the mosque-tevhidhane buildings are quite separate from the rest. In the institutions in question, only the tombs and the section used as a mosque remained standing after the closure of the tekkes, while, in most cases, the other tekke units, bereft of any function, simply disappeared. Partly for this reason, partly because Ottoman *masdjid* with stone walls and gable roofs displayed the same characteristic features as small mosques and were referred to in the great majority of sources as mosques or mesjids, practically no reference has been made up to now in the literature of the history of art to the dual function performed by these buildings.

The Ya'qūb Tchelebi Zāwiyesi in Iznik (4th quarter of the XIVth century) (fig. 17), the Abū Ishāq Kāzarūnī Zāwiyasi in Bursa (1389-1399) and the Tokat Hamza Bey Zāwiyasi (beginning of the XVth century) are early examples of this type.³⁷ These buildings with the characteristic plan of a mosque with *tabkhāna* / zāwiya, reflect the close resemblance between this mosque type in the Futuwwa tradition and the tarikāt buildings, with the *tekke* representing a variety of the tekke type peculiar to early Ottoman architecture.

This type is represented in Anatolia in the early and classical periods of Ottoman architecture by buildings on the scale of a tariqat complex with wide-ranging programmes³⁸ such as the Hādji Bayrām-ı Walī Tekkesi

³⁷ Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinin İlk Devri*, I, Istanbul 1966, 201-204, 328-332, 396-398.

³⁸ Kiel, "Bulgaristan'da Eski Osmanlı Mimarisinin Bir Yapıtı Kalugerevo-Noca Zagora'daki Kıdemli Baba Sultan Bektaşî Tekkesi", *Belleten*, XXXV / 137 (1971), 45-60; Kiel, "A monument of Early Ottoman Architecture in Bulgaria: The Bektashi Tekke of Kıdemli Baba Sultan at Kaligerovo-Noca Zagora", *Studies on Ottoman Architecture in the Balkans*, Variorum 1991, 53-60; (Sezer) Acar, *Bulgaristan'ın Deliorman Bölgesi'ndeki Babai ve Bektashi Tekkeleri*, Istanbul Technical University Science Faculty unpublished post graduate thesis, May 1999, 20-45, 77; Eyice, "Varna ile Balçık Arasında Akyazılı Sultan Tekkesi", *Belleten*, XXXI / 124 (1967), 551-600; Babinger, "Das Bektaschi-Kloster Demir Baba", *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante von Franz Babinger*, I, München 1962, 88-96.

(Bayrāmīya Āsitānasi) (1427/29 ~1st quarter of the XXth century) in Ankara and the Sha'bān-i Walī Tekkesi³⁹ (Khalwatīya-Sha'bānīya Āsitānasi) (end of XVth century ~1st quarter of XXth century) in Kastamonu; and, in the Balkans, more particularly in rural areas of Bulgaria (Rumeli-i Şarkī), by tekkes such as the Qıdamlı Baba Sultān Tekkesi (reign of Mehmed I: 1413-1420), the Aqyazılı Sultān Tekkesi (reign of Bāyazid II or Selim I: 1481-1512) and the Demir Baba Tekkesi (XVIth century).

However, the most widespread variant of this type in the classical period consisted of meşjid-tekkes and mosque-tekkes with the worship-ritual section in the form of a typical Ottoman meşjid with stone walls and gable roof. Of the several examples in Istanbul we may mention the Dıraman Tekkesi (1541) in Fatih, designed by Sinan, the Farrukh Ketkhudā (Balat) Tekkesi (1562/63) at Balat, the Hādji Awḥad Tekkesi (1585) at Yedikule, and the Bāzırgān (Ramaḍan Efendi) Tekkesi (Khalwatīya-Ramaḍānīya Āsitānasi) (1586) (fig. 18) at Kocamustafapaşa, as well as the Takkeci Tekkesi (1591/92) outside Topkapı. The basic features of this type of tekke, which remained widespread throughout the period of Westernisation, can be seen in various establishments in Istanbul, such as the Merkez Efendi Tekkesi (1514 ~1st quarter of the XXth century) at Mevlanakapı, the Selimiye Tekkesi (beginning of the XIXth century ~ c. 1835) (fig. 19) at Üsküdar and the Dawatı Muştafa Efendi Tekkesi (1650/51~1886/87) in the same locality.⁴⁰

³⁹ Tanman, "Hacı Bayram-ı Velī Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, XIV, 448-454; Çifçi, *Kastamonu Camileri-Türebeleri ve Diğer Tarihi Eserler*, I, Ankara 1995, 35-48.

⁴⁰ Tanman, "Dıraşman Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, III, 49-51; Konyalı, *Mimar-Koca Sinan'ın Eserleri*, İstanbul 1950, 85-88; "Balat Camii", *İSTA*, IV, 1965-66; Müller-Wiener, *op.cit.*, 381; Kuran, *Mimar Sinan*, 28, 34, 36, 115, 125, 252, 259-260, 276; Tanman, "Balat Camii ve Tekkesi", *TDVİA*, V, 7-8; Tanman, "Ferruh Kethüda Camii ve Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, III, 294-295; Tanman, "Hacı Evhad Külliyesi", *op.cit.*, III, 473-475; Eyice, "Mimar Sinan'ın İhmal Edilmiş Bir Eseri: Ramazan Efendi Camii (Hacı Hüseyin)", *Kültür ve Sanat*, Türkiye İş Bankası, 2 (April 1989), 12-18; Eyice, "Bezirgānbaşı Camii", *TDVİA*, VI, 104-105; Tanman, "Ramazan Efendi Camii ve Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VI, 301-303; Yüksel, "Takkeci İbrahim Ağa Camii", *op.cit.*, VII, 194-195; Tanman, "Merkez Efendi Külliyesi", *op.cit.*, V, 396-400; Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitâbeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi*, İstanbul 1976, I, 264-269, 294-296, 344-347; II, 403-404; Tanman, "Selimiye Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VI, 516-518; Yılmaz, *Aziz Mahmūd Hüdâî ve Celvetiyye Tarikatı*, İstanbul 1982, 278-279; Tanman, "Devatı Mustafa Efendi Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, III, 42-43.

On the other hand, the Kharābātī Baba Tekkesi⁴¹ (XVIth century ~1st quarter of XIXth century) at Kalkandelen (Tetovo) in Macedonia attests to the survival in Rumelia of the tradition of the large-scale Bektashi tekke with decentralized plan. The high walls surrounding the site and the pavilion in the nature of an "observation post" over the main entrance are relics of the semi-military character of the Bektashi tekkes of the period of conquest in Rumelia. The tekke buildings, skilfully arranged amid the centuries-old trees with lean-to-roofs between them, constitute the most attractive examples of Ottoman tekke architecture in Macedonia.

Sub-group II-B:

The difference between the specimens making up this particular sub-group and the others lies in the location of the tombs immediately adjacent to the ritual units. As a result, the tekkes in question emerge from the general category of meşjid or mosque architecture and assume the peculiar characteristics of a tekke building. The layout of the ritual units, when viewed separately, is reminiscent of the meşjids with high walls and with either domes or gable roofs. In the case of some specimens of a later date, the main building housing the semahane and tomb closely resemble the secular buildings of the period in their wooden materials, details and façade arrangement.

In early Ottoman architecture, the Postūnpūsh Baba (Seyyid Mehmed Dede) Zāwiyasi (fig. 20) at Yenişehir in Bursa and the Geyikli Baba Zāwiyasi (fig. 21) at Babasultan, also in Bursa, both dating from the Orhan Gazi period, are representatives of this type with two quite different layouts.⁴² Although, at first glance, the Postūnpūsh Baba Zāwiyasi, with its inverted "T" plan, has the appearance of one of the mosques with tabhane of the period, the dispersal area in the mosques with tabhane and the "sofa" included within the building are replaced in the zāwiya in question by domed passages branching off from the cradle vaulted entrance eyvan. A square, domed ritual space, referred to by Ayverdi as a "maydān odası" is located on the eyvan axis, while a rectangular, domed room used for dialogue,

⁴¹ Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimārî Eserleri - Yugoslavya*, III, 3, Istanbul 1981, 78-80; İbrahimi, "Kalkandelen'deki Harabatî Baba (Sersem Ali Baba) Bektaşî Tekkesi", *Millî Kültür*, 49 (July 1985), 54-59.

⁴² Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri*, I, Istanbul 1966, 22-29, 208-216; Tanman, "Geyikli Baba Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, XIV, 47-49.

accommodation, eating and drinking is to be found at the end of each of these passages. As for the Geyikli Baba Zāwiyasi, the masjid-tawhīdkhāna and the tomb contiguous with its southern wall are furnished with separate entrances, while a niyaz penceresi (salutation window) is to be found in the wall behind. This window, and the sections displaying in themselves the characteristic features of the Ottoman mesjid and tomb, produces a layout peculiar to tarikat architecture.

On the other hand, the Abdāl Ata Tekkesi at Abdalata in Çorum⁴³ (end of XVth – beginning of XVIth century?) with its square, domed, interconnected mesjid-tevhidhane and tomb units, represents an interesting implementation of this sub-group in the early classical period. In spite of Mamluk influences in the superstructure, the sheikh Sinān Tekkesi⁴⁴ (1585) in Cairo can be included in the development process of Ottoman tekkes on account of the indigenous Anatolian type plan.

Istanbul contains quite a number of examples of the type in question. In the Shāh Sulṭān Tekkesi⁴⁵ (1555) (fig. 22) at Eyüp the tomb is immediately adjacent to the southeast corner of the mosque-tawhīdkhāna; in the Hāshimī 'Uthmān Efendi (Saçlı Emīr) Tekkesi in Kasımpaşa (end of XVIth century) (fig. 23) and the Djamālīzāda Tekkesi (Khalwatīya-'Ushshāqīya Djamālīya-i Thāniya Āsitānasi) (end of XVIth ~ 4th quarter of XIXth century) (fig. 24) it extends along the kible (south) façade,⁴⁶ and in the Ḥaṣīrīzāda Tekkesi at Sütlüce (1784/85 ~1888/89) it occupies a portion of this façade,⁴⁷ while in

⁴³ Drawings showing a number of design variants of the tekke in question are to be found in the Topkapı Palace Museum Archives. (Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "Plans and models in 15th and 16th century Ottoman Architectural Practice", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XLV/3 (September 1986), 224-243. This tekke, the construction date of which is uncertain but whose architectural features are reminiscent of the Bāyazid II (1481-1512) or Selim I (1512-1522) periods, is the subject of a study undertaken by myself in collaboration with Gülrü Necipoğlu and Cemal Kafadar.

⁴⁴ Behrens-Abouseif-Fernandez, *op.cit.*, 113.

⁴⁵ Kuran, *op.cit.*, 34, 255, 264, 302; Haskan, *op.cit.*, I, 85-89, 263-265; Tanman, "Şah Sultan Camii ve Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 125-127.

⁴⁶ Tanman, "Settings...", 163; ____n – Tanman, "Saçlı Emīr Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VI, 383-385; Haskan, *op.cit.*, I, 79-82, 276-279; Tanman, "Cemālīzāda Tekkesi", *TDVİA*, VII, 318-319; Tanman, "Cemaleddin Uşşakī Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, II, 399-400.

⁴⁷ Tanman, "Hasırızade Tekkesi", *STY*, VII (1977, 107-142; Tanman, "Relations entre les semahane et les türbe dans les tekke d'Istanbul", *Ars Turcica / Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Türkische Kunst*, München 1979, 312-322 (316-317); Lifchez, "The Lodges of Istanbul", *The Dervish Lodge*, 73-129 (88-94); Tanman, "Hasırızade Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, IV, 6-9.

examples such as the Seyyid Nizām Tekkesi (2nd quarter of the XVth century ~1872) (fig. 25) outside Silivrikapı and the Nūr al-Dīn Djarrāhī Tekkesi (Khalwatīya-Djarrāhīya Āsitānasi) at Karagümrük, (1703 ~1st quarter of the XXth century) (fig. 26) it is contiguous with the western side of the *Tawhīdkhāna*.⁴⁸ The 'Aziz Maḥmūd Hūdāyī Tekkesi⁴⁹ (Djalwatīya Āsitānasi) at Üsküdar in Istanbul (end of XVIth century ~1855) (fig. 27) is one of the complexes with a comprehensive functional programme typical of the late period that can be included in this group because of the contiguity of the tomb with the east wall of the mosque-*tawhīdkhāna*.

Group III

In group III, represented by the most numerous examples in Ottoman architecture, the sections connected with worship and pilgrimage (*tawhīdkhāna/samā'khāna/maydān* and tomb), the sections connected with daily life (dervish cells, *selāmlık*, *harem*, kitchen, refectory, etc.) are all located partially or wholly within the same block, in a form necessitated by the functional scheme.

More particularly in the late period, these buildings, which display a close resemblance in their façade arrangements and details to domestic architecture of the regions and periods to which they belong, can, apart from a few exceptions, be referred to as "house-tekkes". If we consider that the first *tariqat* buildings originated in the "houses of the sheikhs", these buildings, which reflect in the most striking fashion, the fusion of education-worship-accommodation, are the most strictly bound to tradition of any of the tekkes in the Ottoman period.

One of the earliest examples that can be included in this group is the Ya'qūb Pasha Tekkesi⁵⁰ (beginning of the XVth century) (fig. 28-29). In a tekke of this kind belonging to early Ottoman architecture constructed in line with the demands of the Khalwatīya order and peculiar to "a particular identity", the ritual, educational, accommodation and pilgrimage units are

⁴⁸ Tanman, "Seyyid Nizam Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VI, 544-545; Tanman, "Nureddin Cerrahî Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, VI, 97-99.

⁴⁹ Konyalı, *op.cit.*, I, 104-107; Yılmaz, *Aziz Maḥmūd Hūdāyī*, 246-258; Tanman, "Aziz Mahmud Hūdāyī Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, IV, 340-343; Tanman, "Aziz Mahmud Hūdāyī Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, I, 507-510.

⁵⁰ Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri*, II, İstanbul 1972, 26-33.

housed in the same block, the various units being connected by means of a corridor running the length of the building from east to west with an entrance at each end. The *tawhīdkhāna* in the form of a domed eyvan on the northern side of the corridor is flanked on the west by the tomb and on the east by the sheikh's room, while the *masdjid* is located in the centre on the south, with the halvethane flanked by dervish cells on the eastern and western sides. The Muṣṭafa Bey Zāwiya⁵¹ at Havza (1429/30) (Fig. 30) from the same area, while resembling the mosques with tabkhāna/zāwiya in having the "sofa" and mesjid units arranged along the *qibla* axis, displays a highly unusual type of plan with the sofa on the eastern façade, the entrance in the form of a domed eyvan and three cells, one located to the north of this eyvan and two located to the north of the sofa. The sheikh Faṭḥ Allah Djāmi'-Tekkesi⁵² in Gaziantep (founded 1559) (fig. 31) is one of the very rare specimens from the Anatolian classical period. The opening of the dervish cells into the *tawhīdkhāna* on the eastern side of the mosque demonstrates that the khānqāh plan with covered courtyard characteristic of pre-Ottoman Anatolian architecture still survived in regions unaffected by the style of the capital.

The sheikh Ḥasan Kāfi Efendi Tekke-Medresesi⁵³ in Bosnia-Akhisar (Prusac) (beginning of the XVIIth century) is an interesting specimen from the far western extremity of the Ottoman Empire. The founder was a Khalwatiya sheikh, and the programme of the building was obviously influenced by his membership of the 'Ulamā class. The building is unique in Ottoman architecture in having the accommodation and conversation units on the ground floor and the *tawhīdkhāna-derskhāna* (great hall and lecture room) on the upper floor, with the two-storey tomb at the back. Another note-worthy specimen from Rumelia is the Ḥayātī Tekkesi⁵⁴ (Khalwatiya-Ḥayātīya Âsitānasi) in Ohri, Macedonia. The complex is composed of a *selâmlık* wing adjoining the mosque-tawhīdkhāna on the east, the harem building a little beyond this, the tomb on the north and the shadirvan in one

⁵¹ Ayverdi, *op.cit.*, II, 497-503.

⁵² Sözen, "Eine Moschee von seltenem Typ in Anatolien: Die sheikh Fethullah Moschee in Gaziantep", *Anatolica*, III, (1969-1970), 177-185; Topkaraoğlu, "Gaziantep Fethullah Camii ve Zâviyesi", *VD*, XIX, (1985), 207-232.

⁵³ Eyice, "Ohri'nin Türk Devrine Ait Eserleri", *VD*, VI (1965), 137-152; Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mîmârî Eserleri - Yugoslavya*, II/3, Istanbul 1981, 6-7.

⁵⁴ Ayverdi, *op.cit.*, III/3, 142-144.

of the corners, all combining with the medrese and imaret units to form an architectural complex.

In Istanbul there are a large number of *tekkes* in this group that were either originally constructed or received their final form in the XIXth century. Of these, the Qādirikhāna Tekkesi (1630 ~1823/24) (fig. 33) at Tophane, the Kasımpaşa Mawlawikhānasi (2nd quarter of the XVIIth century ~ 1834-35) (fig. 34-35), the Kāshghārī Tekkesi (1744 ~1843) in Eyüp, the Ūmmī Sinān Tekkesi (c. 1550 ~2nd quarter of the XIXth century) and the sheikh Hüsayn Efendi Tekkesi (1854/55 ~1916/17) at Beylerbeyi have the external appearance of 19th century konaks (mansions);⁵⁵ the Shāhquḷū Tekkesi (1854/55-1916/17) at Merdivenköy (1329? ~c. 1850) and the Oghlanlar Tekkesi at Aksaray (reign of the Conqueror ~ 1870/71) (fig. 36) of the masonry konaks of the Tanzīmāt period,⁵⁶ the Bahāriya Mawlawikhānasi (1877) (fig. 37) at Eyüp, the Durmuş Dede Tekkesi (1528 ~2nd half of XIXth century) (fig. 38) at Bebek of a yalı (waterside residence); the more modest buildings, the sheikh Nawrūz Tekkesi (3rd quarter of XIXth century) at Havuzbaşı in Beylerbeyi, the 'Abd al-Rahmān Shāmī Tekkesi (3rd quarter of the XIXth century) at Sultanahmet, the Qayghūsuz Tekkesi (1863/64) (fig. 39a-b) in the same district, the Derūnī Mehmed Efendi Tekkesi (end of XVIIIth ~2nd half of XIXth century) (fig. 40) at Vezneciler, the Hālwa'ī Tekkesi (c. 1550 ~ end of XIXth century) at Süleymaniye, the Kırkashacı Mehmed Amin Efendi Tekkesi (1885 ~ end of XIXth century) at Aksaray, the Kōrükçü Tekkesi (? ~ 1863 ~ end of XIXth century) at Silivrikapı, the 'Aynī 'Alī Baba Tekkesi (1902) in Kasımpaşa, the

⁵⁵ Tanman, "Kadirihane Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, IV, 369-372; Zarccone, "Histoire et croyances des derviches turkestanais et indiens à Istanbul", *Anatolia Moderna-Yeni Anadolu / Derviches et Cimetières Ottomans*, II (1991), 137-200 (164); Zarccone-Tanman, "Kaşgarî Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, IV, 485-487; Kreiser, "Kaşgarî Tekyesi – Ein istanbuler Nakşbandi-Konvent und sein stifter", *Varia Turcica*, XVIII, *Nakşbandis. Cheminements et Situation Actuelle d'un ordre mystique Musulman. Actes de Table Ronde de Sèvres (2-4 Mai 1985)*, Istanbul-Paris 1990, 331-335; Tanman, "Relations...", 316; Tanman, "Settings...", 149-151; Tanman, "Ūmmī Sinan Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 336-338; Haskan, *op.cit.*, I, 143-144; Tanman, "Sheikh Hüseyin Efendi Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 167-168;

⁵⁶ Akin, "Merdivenköy Bektaşî Tekkesi'ndeki Dünya Ağacı", *STAD*, 4 (April 1989), 68-74; Lifchez, *op.cit.*, 117-124; Tanman, "İstanbul, Merdivenköy'ndeki Bektaşî Tekkesi'nin Meydan Evi Hakkında", *Semavi Eyice Armağanı / İstanbul Yazıları*, İstanbul 1992, 317-342; Tanman, "Şahkulu Sultan Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 128-132; Bacque-Grammont – Dumont – Eldem – Saint-Laurent – Vatın – Zarccone, "Le Tekke Bektachi de Merdivenköy", *Anatolia Moderna-Yeni Anadolu*, II, (1991), 29-135; Tanman, "Oğlanlar Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VI, 123-124.

Kashfi 'Uthmān Efendi Tekkesi (1689 ~1902) (fig. 43a-b) at Vezneciler of humble dwellings of the period.⁵⁷

Of the late "house-tekkes" in Rumelia belonging to the XIXth century, the sheikh Meḥmed b. İsmā'il Efendi (Haznedar Baba) Tekkesi at Üsküp consists of a single storey block housing the tevhidhane, tomb and *selāmlık* units, while the Ḥayātī Baba Tekkesi at Kiçevo, the Kukli Meḥmed Bey Tekkesi at Prizren, the 'Adjiza Baba Tekkesi and the Rifā'i Tekkesi at Yakova reflect the secular architecture of their respective regions.⁵⁸ The Şārī Saltūq (Açıkbashi) Tekkesi⁵⁹ (middle of the XIXth century) (fig. 44a-b), in the vicinity of the country town of Bilagay in the province of Mostar set against an enormous body of rock and projecting into the small lake beside it, occupies, with the natural beauty of its surroundings and its design and proportions in perfect harmony with the natural environment, a unique place among all Ottoman tekkes.

Group IV:

These are buildings with a confused plan that cannot be included in any of the types. The Mawlānā Tekkesi (fig. 45) in Konya and the Ḥādji Bektāsh-i Walī Tekkesi⁶⁰ (fig. 46) at Hacıbektaş in Nevşehir and the Seyyid Battāl Ghāzī Tekkesi at Seyitgazi in Eskişehir are "cumulative", organic building complexes formed over the centuries by the addition in the Emirate and Ottoman periods of a number of units around a Seldjuq nucleus. They resemble the buildings of group I in the manner in which the units are

⁵⁷ Tanman, "Durmuş Dede Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, III, 106-107; Tanman, "sheikh Nevruz Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, VII, 500; Tanman, "Abdurrahman Şamī Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, I, 19-20; Tanman, "Kaygusuz Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, IV, 500; Demirel-İşli - İşli, "Kaygusuz Baba Tekkesi", *Arkitekt.* 425 (May 1965), 66; Tanman, "Derūn î Mehmed Efendi Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, III, 37-38; Tanman, "İstanbul Süleymaniye'de Helvāi Tekkesi", *STY*, VIII (1978), 173-201; Tanman, "Relations...", 317; Tanman, "Settings...", 156, 159; İşinn-Tanman, "Helvāi Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, IV, 49-51; İşli, Mehmed Emin Efendi Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, V, 361; Demirel-İşli - İşli, "Kırkaşacı Emin Efendi Tekkesi", *Arkitekt.* 424 (April 1995), 50; Tanman, "Körükçü Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, V, 95-96; Demirel-İşli - İşli, "Körükçü Tekkesi", *Arkitekt.* 427 (July 1995), 54; Haskan, *op.cit.*, I, 137-140; Tanman, sheikh Selamī Efendi Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 170-172; Tanman, "Aynī Ali Baba Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, I, 486-488; Demirel-İşli, "Osman Keşfi Efendi Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VI, 163-164; Demirel-İşli, "Vakıflar İdaresi'nin Günümüze Ulaştırdığı Bir Ahşap Yapı: Keşfi Osman Efendi Tekkesi", *VD*, XXI (1990), 115-128.

⁵⁸ Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimâri Eserleri - Yugoslavya*, III/3, İstanbul 1981, 84, 211, 292-293, 316-317.

⁵⁹ Ayverdi, *op.cit.*, II/3, 63-66.

⁶⁰ Tanman, "Hacı Beştaş Veli Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, XIV, 459-471.

grouped around colonnaded courtyards, the buildings of sub-group II-B in the relations between the ritual and pilgrimage units and those of group III in the manner in which almost all the functions are gathered together in adjoining units. Of the *tarikāt* complexes belonging to a later period, the Bâlâ Tekkesi⁶¹ (c. 1455 ~1862/63) at Silivrikapı in Istanbul with *selâmlık* with courtyard quite independent of the main building housing the mosque-*ṭawḥīdkhāna*, tomb and *ḥarem* sections, the *sabîl-muwaqqitkhāna* (chronology room)-*çeşme* (fountain)-shadirvan complex and school, may well be included in this group I.

6. Design of the Units:⁶²

6.1. Ritual Spaces⁶³

In treating the architectural characteristics of the ritual spaces attention must be given to factors shaping and lending significance to the layout.

Function-Design Relations:

As *tevhidhanes* generally perform the functions of a *masdjid* and, in some cases, of a mosque, the most important factors governing the layout of the units in question are the principles of Islamic religious worship and their general implementation. Apart from a few exceptions in which no attempt is made to meet the needs for worship of the local population (for example, the Nûr al-Dîn Djarrâhî Tekkesi (fig. 26) and the Mehmed Amin Efendi Tekkesi, both in Istanbul) the great majority of *tevhidhanes* are placed on the kable axis, with the *mihrâb* in the centre of the south wall.

In this context, the *tevhidhane* belonging to the *tekke* (fig. 6) in the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Complex at Kadirga in Istanbul forms an interesting exception, with the *mihrâb* (or rather the niche resembling a *mihrab*) in the centre of the north wall and with the entrance occupying the position that would normally be occupied by the *mihrâb*. This unusual arrangement can be explained by a number of factors, such as the provision of an

⁶¹ Tanman, "Hacı Bektaş-ı Velî Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, XIV, 459-471.

⁶² Tanman, "Bâlâ Tekkesi", *TDVİA*, IV, 554-556; Tanman, "Bâlâ Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, II, 6-9.

⁶³ In this section, in order to avoid an undue extension of the text, detailed treatment has been restricted to the ritual spaces, tombs and *khalwatkhānas* (*tchilakhānas*) bearing directly on *tarikāt* architecture.

⁶⁴ As the *mawlawīkhānas* are treated in a separate section no attention has been given here to the *samā'khānas*.

independent entrance to the *tekke* on the kible side, the alignment of the *tawhīdkhāna* on the same axis as the entrance, the possibility, due to the fact that the need for a prayer hall for the dervishes is satisfied by the mosque included in the complex, of devoting the *tawhīdkhāna* entirely to ritual purposes, resulting in the purely symbolic nature of the *mihrab*.

In *tawhīdkhānas*, the entrance is usually placed on the axis of the north wall with the *mihrab* directly opposite. In some cases, the entrance is moved to the right (west) or to the left (east), while in others, due to the topography of the site or lack of space, it is placed in one of the sidewalls.⁶⁴ In the case of mosque-tekkes, the great majority of which belong to group II, the portico is placed on the entrance façade of the ritual/prayer hall. Most of these are closed. The open ones are generally furnished with wooden columns and eaves. In some cases, they were closed in later. In house-tekkes in group III, the function of portico is performed by an entrance vestibule. As in domestic architecture, the portico or entrance vestibule is furnished with a shoe stall where worshippers can remove and deposit their shoes.

In group I masonry tekkes dating from between the end of the XVth century and the 1st quarter of the XIXth, the window arrangement resembles the pattern to be seen in both religious and secular architecture of the classical Ottoman period. In the lower part of the walls we find a row of rectangular casement windows with frames of hewn stone, iron grilles and wooden shutters. Above, there is a row of fixed arched windows with plaster frames. In some buildings we find round head windows of the type known as "elephant eyes". Almost all the group II specimens in the mosque-tekke or masdjid-tekke categories possess the same type of window arrangement. After the Tanzimāt period, in which the old Ottoman architectural traditions died out, the double tier window arrangement was replaced in most tekkes by a single row of arched windows.

As for wooden tekkes, the majority of which belong to group III with a certain number belonging to sub-group II-B, knowledge is somewhat

⁶⁴ Examples from Istanbul of *tawhīdkhānas* in which the entrance is placed at the side are to be found in the 'Atıq Wālidā and Sheikh 'Alī Efendi tekkes and the Rifā'i Āsitānāsī at Üsküdar, the Hādji Bashīr Agha Tekkesi at Bābīālī, the Amīr Bukhārī Tekkesi at Eğrikapı, the Seyyid Nizām Tekkesi outside Silivrikapı, the Hāşirizāda Tekkesi at Sülûce, the Khwādjazāda (Paşa Baba) Tekkesi at Sıraselviler, the Yahyā Efendi Tekkesi in Beşiktaş, the Sinān Ardabili Tekkesi at Sultanahmet, the Kashfī 'Uthmān Efendi Tekkesi at Veznecilar and the Altundjzāda Tekkesi at Şehzadebaşı.

restricted on account of the obvious disadvantages of wood as a building material. In XVIIIth century pictures of the Galata Mawlawīkhānasi (fig. 47), the best documented of them all, the double row of windows characteristic of the pre-Tanzīmāt period is particularly worthy of note.

In ritual halls in the wooden tekkes built or renovated after the first quarter of the XIXth century the double row of windows is replaced by a single row of generally rectangular sash windows. It is noteworthy that in the *tawhīdkhānas* in the Buhara (Özbekler) Tekkesi renovated in 1900 and the Sinān Ardabili Tekkesi⁶⁵ that attained its final form in the first quarter of the XXth century there is a return to the traditional window arrangement under the influence of the first national architectural style (fig. 48).

The plan of the area occupied by the ritual space and its connections with the other parts of the tekke are governed by the nature of their use and function. For example, in the ritual spaces, apart from the areas allocated to those actually taking an active part in the rites, separate sections were created for those performing or directing the music, together with those singing the hymns (*ilāhī*), songs of praise (*qaṣīda*), *duraks*, elegies (*marthiya*), etc., the *nevbezens*, the dervish performing the litanies (*dhākirbāshi*) or, in *Mawlawī* ceremonies, the singers and musicians (*muṭrib*), the spectators, whether male (*zuwwār*) or female (*bādjīlar*), and, particularly in the capital, for the sultan and his retinue come to observe the rites. The essential ritual space always occupies the centre, with the spectator galleries for men (*zuwwār maḥfili*, *maqṣūra*) and the galleries for the women (*badjīlar maḥfili*, / *maqṣūra qafaş*) raised above them on one, two, three or four sides. The *zuwwār* galleries on the ground floor are interrupted by the main entrance while the raised galleries are also interrupted by the *miḥrāb*. The columns, usually of wood, set between the ritual space and the ground floor galleries and supporting the raised galleries, are connected by balustrades. Between the columns on the level of the women's galleries there are wooden lattices at least the height of a man.. In most cases, the raised galleries have rectangular or curved projections at a point directly opposite the *miḥrāb* in the centre of the north wall (fig. 49). As the Bektashi rites were never observed by those not belonging to the order the tekkes never

⁶⁵ Zarcone-Tanman, "Buhara Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, II, 325-327; Tanman, "Sinan Erdebili Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, VI, 567-568.

possessed a spectator's gallery. In some of the *tekkes* belonging to the other religious orders there is insufficient space for galleries of this kind.⁶⁶

The musicians' galleries in the *semahanes* in the *Mawlawīkhānas* resemble the *mu'adhdhin* galleries in mosques and *masdjid* in being located opposite the *mihrab*, usually over the entrance (fig. 50). In *Bektashi* *tekkes* there are no separate galleries for musicians. Similarly, in the case of branches of the *Naqshbandī* order (*Khālidiya* etc.) which have adopted a silent litany and in which the ceremony is not accompanied by music, there is no need for this type of gallery. In other religious orders (*Khālidiya*, *Qādiriya*, *Rifā'iya*, etc.) the dervish recites the *dhikr* on his knees in the *dhākirler* gallery, and, should he rise for prayer or *devran* (the turning of dervishes with their arms on the shoulders of one another to the accompaniment of *tekke* music) they leave the gallery and enter into the centre of the *dawrān* circle or the *dhākir* rows. Thus, in the *tekkes* belonging to the religious orders in question, the *dhākirler* gallery, unlike the musicians' gallery in the *mawlawīkhānas*, in which the gallery is located at a certain distance from the ritual space, consists of a raised platform surrounded by wooden railings immediately beside the *mihrab*.

Besides the main entrance into the ritual spaces used by everyone, there is also an entrance reserved for women leading directly into the women's gallery (*bādjīlar maqşūrası*). In buildings immediately adjoining the ritual unit in the *harem* apartments, this special entrance for women is replaced by a door opening directly from the *harem* into the women's gallery. In the same way, there are also doors allowing the sheikh *Efendi* and the male members of his family, as well as men residing or being entertained in the *harem*, to enter directly into the ritual hall. In some cases, as, for example, in the 'Aziz Maḥmūd Hudāyī Tekkesi at Üsküdar in Istanbul, there is a second entrance into the ritual space for dervishes resident in the *tekke*.

The *āsītānas* located in Istanbul and the *tekkes* connected to the palace contained imperial galleries from which the sultan and members of the imperial dynasty, together with their entourage and servants, could observe the rituals. This architectural element, which distinguished the *tekkes* of the

⁶⁶ The 'Atıq Wālida Tekke at Üsküdar, the Hādji Bashir Agha Tekke at Babiāli, the Özbekler Tekke at Sultantepeşi in Üsküdar and the Baba Saltuq (*Mimar Sultan*) Tekke at Haydar in Fatih (Tanman, "Mimar Sinan Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, V, 469-470) may be cited as examples from Istanbul.

capital from those in the provinces, always consisted of a raised gallery in the south-west or south-east corner of the ritual arena (i.e. to the left or right of the mihrab) furnished with wooden lattices on the side towards the prayer hall (fig. 51). Behind the imperial galleries there was a section where the sultan could rest before and after the *muqābala* (whirling ceremony), and where, if necessary, he could meet the sheikh Efendi. In the *salāṭīn* (imperial) mosques, it would be more accurate to refer to this particular section, which was always more modest than the imperial galleries, as the "*khunkār dā'irasi*" (imperial apartment). These apartments, which were always of wood and generally projected beyond the building itself, consisted, on the average, of two rooms opening on to a sofa between them and a toilet-ablution chamber (fig. 52). This particular arrangement may be said to have passed from the *salāṭīn* mosques to the *tariqat* buildings.

In this context, the location of the *khunkār dā'irasi* added in 1836/37 by Maḥmūd II to the Merkez Efendi Tekkesi outside Mevlanakapı in Istanbul is of particular interest. Surrounded on three sides (east, south and west) by the graveyard, tomb and *tchilakhāna*, the *tawḥīdkhāna* is completely separated from the imperial gallery, taking the form of an L-shaped structure at the end of the *selāmlık* wing on the edge of the *shadirvan* courtyard behind the tomb and to the south-east of the mosque-*tawḥīdkhāna*.

The superstructure of the ritual spaces varies in accordance with the group to which they belong. In masonry structures belonging to group I the buildings in question possess various roof systems such as domes, half domes or vaults,⁶⁷ while the great majority of *tekkes* in groups II and III have wooden gable roofs.⁶⁸ In some cases, domes with wooden framework overlaid in wood or lath and plaster, generally referred to in Ottoman sources as "*tchārprusha*", can be found concealed under the gable roof. In the Dıraman (1541), Farrukh Ketkhudā (1562/3), Hādji Awḥad (1585) and Bāzırgān (Ramadān Efendi) (1586) *tekkes* in Istanbul, all designed by Sinān, the mosque-*tawḥīdkhāna* units are thought to have originally possessed

⁶⁷ The masdjid-*tawḥīdkhāna* in the *Tāhir Agha Tekkesi* at Haydar in Istanbul, with its masonry walls and wooden gable roof may be cited as an exception.

⁶⁸ In the Hākimoglu 'Alī Pasha Mosque, the mosque-*tawḥīdkhāna* with dome supported by eight pillars, which may be classified apart from the *khalwathāna* units as belonging wholly to mosque architecture, may be cited as an exception.

wooden domes, but these were later replaced by wooden ceilings. The wooden dome in the Takkeci Tekkesi, another building belonging to the school of Sinān, is the only known example to have survived from the XVIth century with its original features intact. (fig. 53).

The wooden roof tradition to be found in the XVIIth century in the *samā'khāna*⁶⁹ of the Beşiktaş Mawlawīkhānasi was to survive up to the XXth century in buildings such as the Sheikh Hasan Tekkesi⁷⁰ (1781/82) in the city of Berat in Albania, and the Yenikapı Mawlawīkhānasi (1816/17) (fig. 55), Kartal Maarifi (1818) (fig. 56), Küçük Efendi (1825) (fig. 57), Qayhusūz (1863/64) (fig. 39a), Yahyā Efendi (1873), İsmā'il Haqqī Efendi (sheikh Türölü) (1877) (fig. 58), Unkapanı Shādhali⁷¹ (end of XVIIIth century ~1886/87), Qırqashadji Mehmed Amīn Efendi (end of XIXth century) and Kasımpaşa 'Aynī 'Alī Baba (1902) tekkes in Istanbul. This type of dome may be said to have originated in secular architecture, more particularly in köşk design, and to have been transferred thence to religious architecture.

Another architectural element to be almost universally encountered in tarikat buildings of the mosque-tekke type is the minaret. These minarets, which had no direct relation to tekke architecture and were wholly confined to mosque/mesjid architecture, reflect the characteristic features of contemporary minarets in the same region in material, building technique, design and style. The minaret dated 1900 in the Buhara (Özbekler) Tekkesi⁷² at Kadirga in Istanbul merits treatment under a separate heading. The minaret above the main entrance has very small doors with bridge-passages connecting it to the raised *tawhīdkhāna* and the *selāmlık* wing on the other side (fig. 49). This unusual design may be explained as being inspired by several Mamluk buildings with minarets in the same position.

The structure in the nature of a "*mukabbira*" from which the call to prayer was made in a number of buildings designed purely as tekkes is much more interesting. In the Tāhir Agha Tekkesi in Istanbul, the Üsküdar Mawlawīkhānasi, the 'Aynī 'Alī Baba Tekkesi (fig. 59) and the sheikh Rāshid

⁶⁹ Tanman, "Beşiktaş Mevlevīhanesi'ne İlişkin Bir Minyatürün Mimarlık ve Kültür Tarihi Açısından Değerlendirilmesi", *17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Kültür ve Sanatı-Sempozyum Bildirileri (19-20 Mart 1998)*, Sanat Tarihi Derneği, İstanbul 1998, 181-216.

⁷⁰ Kiel, *Ottoman Architecture in Albania 1385-1912*, İstanbul 1990, 62-64.

⁷¹ Tanman, "Şazeli Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 138-139.

⁷² Zarcone-Tanman, "Buhara Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, II, 325-327.

Efendi Tekkesi at Şehremini (fig. 60) this architectural feature is set against the outside wall of the ritual halls, forming a polygonal or square projection surmounted by a conical roof. Structures similar to these miniature minarets, which originated in the mükebbires on the north wall of the prayer hall in some Ottoman mosques of the classical period and which can be encountered in a number of *masdjid*, were designed solely for the benefit of the dervishes who were to make the call to prayer.

* * *

The choreographic (formal) characteristics of the tariqat rituals were a very largely decisive factor in the design of the ritual spaces, particularly in tekkes that lacked the mosque-tekke character and were designed purely for the use of the tariqat members. In this context, the religious orders that proliferated throughout Istanbul can be roughly divided into two groups, based upon the cultural roots of the orders. In religious orders that had sprung from the Turkish environment or may have been modified under the influence of that environment (Bayrāmīya, Djalwātīya, Khalwātīya, Mawlawīya as well as the Ashrafiya and Rūmīya branches of the Qādirīya) the dominant motif in the rituals is the circle. Of the religious orders in question the Khalwātīya and the Bayrāmīya and the Gulshanīya branch springing from this, the Ashrafiya branch produced by a combination of the Qādirīya and Bayrāmīya, and the Rūmīya branch of the same order moulded by Khalwatī influences were known as "Dawranī tariqatlar" on account of the most striking feature of the rituals. In the "Dawranī tariqats" the dervishes form a circle and chant prayers and formulas from the beginning to the end of the ritual⁷³ (fig. 61- 62).

In Central Asia and North Africa, on the other hand, the Badawīya, Rifā'īya, Shādhiliya and Sa'dīya orders that had developed among the Arabs or peoples that had adopted Arab culture, together with branches of the Qādirīya founded outside Anatolia, produced another group known as the "qiyām orders". In these orders, in which "qiyām dhikrī" constituted the most important part of the religious service, the dervishes lined up in rows parallel or perpendicular to the mihrāb wall, with "ṣaff-i dhikr" taking the place of the "ḥalqa-i dhikr" and "ḥalqa-i dawrān" of the dawranī orders (fig. 63).

⁷³ The motif of the circle also dominates the rites in orders not included in the "circle tariqats" such as the Bektashiya, Mawlawīya and the Naqshbandīya.

It is, however, impossible to classify all the ritual spaces in accordance with the difference between "dawrānī" and "qiyāmī", or rather to relate architectural forms to this classification. For one thing, ritual forms were not the only factors governing the design of spaces that were also used as *masdjids* or mosques. Moreover, the interaction between the various sufi orders that can be observed in the Ottoman world and, more particularly, in Istanbul, from the XVIIIth century onwards, led to the transfer of ritual forms from one order to another. In several of the *tekkes* belonging to the *davranī* orders the space allotted to ritual practices is polygonal, circular or elliptical, while in most *tekkes* belonging to the *qiyāmī* orders a preference was shown for the square or rectangle.⁷⁴

The Reflection of Sufi Symbols in Architecture:

Another important factor in lending significance to and, in some cases, shaping the design of the ritual spaces was the manner in which the members of the orders regarded these spaces as consisting of a microcosm representing universe consisting of a spiritual/eternal world and the material/transitory universe of it is a reflection, together with their expression through a network of symbols. In the rites practised in these spaces a number of mystical and cosmic symbols were manifested through the medium of the layout of the space and the choreography. This resulted in a fusion of meaning and expression with the form of the spaces allotted to the practice of these rites.

The connection between the Sufi approach to ritual spaces and their design is made at two different levels, the material and the immaterial. In other words, the relation in the ritual spaces between the architecture and doctrine/belief is realized on two levels of meaning. In the first of these levels of meaning, a number of immaterial elements existing only in the context of Sufi symbolism and not included in actual architectural composition come into play. As esoteric and symbolic elements play a greater role in Bektashi doctrine and rites than in the other Sufi groups, immaterial elements tend to be concentrated more particularly in Bektashi *maydāns*. All of these will be treated in sections devoted to these spaces, but, meanwhile, we can quote as an example the fact that the centre of the

⁷⁴ Tanman, "İstanbul Süleymaniye'de Helvâî Tekkesi", *STY*, VIII (1979), 173-201 (181-182); Tanman, "Relations...", 317; Tanman, "Settings...", 156, 159; Işın-Tanman, "Helvâî Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, IV (1994), 49-51.

"maydān" is called "*dār-i Maṣṣūr*" in memory of *Ḥallādji Maṣṣūr* (d. 922) the "Ana al-Ḥaqq ṣehidī", (condemned to death for declaring that he was God) and the acceptance that the vertical axis passing through this point (in a sense the axis mundi) is the shortest path leading to God⁷⁵ (fig. 64).

Of the examples we have been able to verify, the "*dār-i Maṣṣūr*" in the meydan evi (c. 1850) in the Shāhquḷū Tekkesi in Merdivenköy in Istanbul and in the *maydān evi* (XVIIIth or XIXth century) in the Softa Baba Tekkesi in Tutrakan on the banks of the Danube ceases to be purely imaginary and takes its place as an architectural element supporting the superstructure. These two examples display the urban and rural variants of the same practice. In the Shāhquḷū Tekkesi, the most "aristocratic" Bektashi centre in Istanbul, the column in the middle of a twelve-sided meydan evi in the Empire style of the Tanzīmāt period supports an umbrella vault covering the whole space (fig. 65). In the Softa Baba Tekkesi, which is on a much more modest level than the Shāhquḷū Tekkesi as regards material, workmanship and design, the centre of the irregular octagonal meydan evi is occupied by a wooden column supporting the rafters in the roof⁷⁶ (fig. 66).

In orders other than the Bektashi, the centre of the ritual space, known as the "*quṭbhāna*", represented the "*Quṭb al-zamān*" (or simply "*quṭb*"), who occupied the highest point in the hierarchy of the saints and who was regarded as the shadow of God on earth and the true inheritor of the "*Ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiya*" (the true essence of Islam). In the sheikh Faṭḥ Allah Mosque-Tekke⁷⁷ (founded 1559) in Gaziantep, which is attached to the Naqshbandiyya order, columns rise up from the centre of the square mosque and the *tawḥīdkhāna* supporting the vaulted roofs over the spaces (fig. 31). A similar arrangement can be observed in the İskāndariyya Abū 'Alī Tekkesi (XVIIth century) (fig. 67).⁷⁸ The interesting layout in question could be regarded as the realization in local architectural forms of the "*quṭbhāna*". This centre, in which, in all the various religious orders, the symbolic

⁷⁵ Doğan, 119.

⁷⁶ (Sezer) Acar, *Bulgaristan'ın Deliorman Bölgesi'ndeki Babai ve Bektaşî Tekkeleri*, Istanbul Technical University, Faculty of Science, unpublished post-graduate thesis, May 1999, 56-62.

⁷⁷ Sözen, "Eine Moschee von seltenem Typ in Anatolien: Die sheikh Fethullah Moschee in Gaziantep", *Anatolica*, III (1969-1970), 177-185.

⁷⁸ Pacha, *op.cit.*, 648.

meaning was concentrated, occupied an important place in the ritual choreography.⁷⁹

On the second level of meaning covering the two variants, the beliefs and theories peculiar to the Sufis and the symbolic numbers springing from these (3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 18 etc.) sometimes have a direct bearing on the design and create a type of architecture peculiar to Sufi buildings.⁸⁰ Owing to the characteristic feature of Bektashism touched upon above it is in the meydan evis in Bektashi tekkes that the greatest number of examples reflecting the symbolic numbers can be found. One of the most striking examples is the wooden corbelled dome of the square meydan evi in the Hādji Bektāsh-i Walī Tekkesi. This dome, which was constructed in 1367/68 and, after undergoing a series of repairs, survived until the beginning of the XXth century, has seven squares, one inside the other, corresponding to the seven stages of the seyr ü sülük (special training of a dervish in a religious order) (*shahādat – barzakh – ḥaqīqat – arkān – ghayb – kathrat – wahdat*) (fig. 68). The rectangular muhabbet divanı on the south side of this area is surmounted by a smaller version of the corbelled dome in the meydan evi.⁸¹

The space with the three eyvans in the north of the mesjid in the zāwiya in the vicinity of Mecidözü in Çorum, apparently founded in the middle of the XIVth century during the Eretnaoğlu period by or in the name of Alwān Tchelebī, a descendant of Baba İlyās-ı Khorasānī, and which survived, after having undergone a number of repairs, throughout the whole period of Ottoman hegemony, was probably used, at least during the foundation

⁷⁹ In devranī religious orders, at a certain point in the ritual, the postnişin (head of the order) representing the kutb (or standing in for the quṭb in the litany) takes up his position at the *kutubkhāna*. In the 4th selām of the *Mawlawī muqābalası* (whirling ceremony) corresponding to the stage of "*ḥaqīqat*" (immediate experience of the essence of reality) in the *sayr u sülük*, the *postnişin* "holds the post" i.e. turns around his own axis for a certain time. The place of the dār-i Manşūr in Bektashi rites will be touched upon below in the section on Bektashi "meydans".

⁸⁰ The three spouts on the *Üçler Çeşmesi* (1902) and the *Arslanlı (Lion) Fountain* (1554/55) in the Hādji Bektāsh-i Walī Tekkesi may be cited as design details connected with the number 3. One of the spouts is in the mouth of the lion and the other two under the line of the arch placed symmetrically in relation to the lion. As for the number 5, one may note the five "teslim taşı" of Hacıbektaş stone, a variety of onyx, are inserted in the façade of the *Arslanlı Çeşme*.

⁸¹ Doğan, *op.cit.*, 129-134; Tanman, "Hacı Beştaş-ı Velī Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, XIV, 459-471; Akın, "Tütekli Örtü Geleneği: Anadolu Cami ve Tarikat Yapılarında Tüteklikli Örtü", *VD*, XXII (1991), 323-354.

period in which the *zāwiya* remained in the service of the Babālik, for ritual and *sohbet*. In the centre of the domed courtyard there is the pool of a heptagonal *shadirvan*⁸² (fig.69). At the same time, one should remember that the formation of the Bektāshiya was completed at the beginning of the XVIth century as a result of its absorption of a certain number of heterodox elements, more particularly the Babālik,⁸³ and the number 7 represented in the *shadirvan* may be regarded as an example of the "symbolic" vocabulary common to the two traditions.

The number symbolism that originated in Anatolia spread together with the various dervish groups (*Bābā'i*, *Qalandarī*, *Haydarī*, *Rūm Abdalları*, Bektashi, etc.)⁸⁴ that participated in the work of conquest and settlement and it is interesting to note that the number 7 was used more than the others in the *tarikāt* buildings, particularly those in Thrace. For example, the *meydan evi* and tomb in the Qıdamlı Baba Sultān Tekkesi (reign of Meḥmed I: 1415-1420) in Kalugerovo in southern Bulgaria (northern Thrace) are built on a heptagonal plan (fig. 70), and the same heptagonal plan appears in the *meydan evi* and tomb in the Aqyazılı Sultān Tekkesi (reign of Bāyazid II or Selim I: 1481-1512), one of the most important Bektashi centres in Rumelia in the north-east of the same country (south-east of Dobrudja) (fig. 71). The heptagonal pool with fountain in the *dār-i Maṣṣūr* of the *meydan evi* repeats the same heptagonal plan of the *maydān evi* on a smaller scale.

A number of tombs attached to the Bektashi order, all of them in Rumelia, including the Qıdamlı Baba Sultān Türbesi and the Aqyazılı Sultān Türbesi mentioned above, are also built on a heptagonal plan (see the section on tombs). Rumours to the effect that Ḥusām Shāh (1378/79-1478) (generally known as "Otman Baba")⁸⁵, who is known to have taken part with his dervishes in the conquest of Rumelia and who was later, in spite of his originally being a *Qalandarī* Sheikh, included in the "Bektashi pantheon",

⁸² Eyice, "Çorum Mecidiözü'nde Âşıkpaşa-oğlu Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi", *TM*, XV (1969) 211-246; Eyice, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi", *TDVİA*, XI, 65-67; Gürbüz, "Elvan Çelebi Zâviyesi'nin Vakıfları", *VD*, XXIII, (1994), 25-30.

⁸³ Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Marjinal Sufilik: Kalenderiler (XIV.-XVII. Yüzyıllar)*, Ankara 1992, 205-215.

⁸⁴ Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La Vita de Seyyid Ali Sultan et la Conquête de la Thrace par les Turcs", *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh International Congress of Orientalists* (Ann Arbor Michigan 13-19th August 1967), Wiesbaden 1971, 275-276.

⁸⁵ Ocak, *op.cit.*, 99-102.

wore, together with his adherents, a crown with seven segments, and that, furthermore, Aqyazili Sultān was one of Otman Baba's halifes,⁸⁶ serve to explain the use of the heptagon in Bektashi buildings in particular. It would therefore appear that the Rumelian Bektashis who, in the course of time, created a cultural environment distinct from that in Anatolia, practised over the centuries a cult of Otman Baba, whom they regarded as the founder of the order in that region, and his halife Aqyazili, and the number 7, to which they gave greater importance than the "pīrdaş" in other parts of the Ottoman territory, is reflected in the design of several of their buildings.⁸⁷

The close relation with the *Hādji Bektāsh Ocağı* established by the Gazi Mikhāloğhulları,⁸⁸ one of the most famous of the Rumelia warrior families, would appear to merit more detailed attention. On finally regaining his freedom after being imprisoned by Mehmed I Tchelebī for having taken the side of Mūsā Tchelebī during the Interregnum, Ghāzī Mikhāloğhulları Mehmed Bey visited the Alwān Tchelebī Zāwiyasi and, joined by Alwān Tchelebī's nephew, Darwish Aḥmad 'Āshiqī (d. 1481), the famous historian and author of *Tawārīkh-i Āli 'Uthmān*, joined Murād II in the war against the Pretender Muṣṭafa.⁸⁹ Ghāzī Mikhāloğhulları Mehmed Bey may well have contributed to the repairs carried out in the Alwān Tchelebī Zāwiyasi in the XVth or XVIth century⁹⁰ and may even have been responsible for the plan of the heptagonal pool. Finally, between the end of the XIVth and the beginning of the XVIth century, the family in question engaged in intense architectural activity in the Seyyid Baṭṭāl Ghāzī Tekkesi near Eskişehir,⁹¹ one of the most important Bektashi centres in Anatolia. The interesting point is that the Aqyazili Sultān Tekkesi, which contains a pool similar to the one in the Alwān Tchelebī Zāwiyasi, was built in the same

⁸⁶ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra...*, 429; Ocak, *Bektaşî Menâkıbnamelerinde İslam Öncesi İnanç Motifleri*, Istanbul 1983, 17.

⁸⁷ Tanman, "Yunanistan'da, Katerin'de Abdullah Baba Tekkesi", *STAD*, 9 (December 1990), 28-29.

⁸⁸ Gökbilgin, "Mihal-oğulları", *İA*, VIII, 285-292.

⁸⁹ Aştık Paşazade, *Tevārīh-i Āli Osman*, Atsız, Istanbul 1949, 157.

⁹⁰ Eyice, "...Elvan Çelebi Zāwiyasi", 235.

⁹¹ The Seyyid Baṭṭāl Ghāzī Türbesi was built by Ghāzī Mikhāloğlu 'Ali Bey (d. c. 1500) in 1493/94, and buildings were added to the tekke by his sons Ahmed Bey and Mehmed Bey in 1511, and by Khıdır Bey, who belonged to the same family, in 1500/01. See: Wulzinger, *Drei Bektaschi-Klöster Phrygiens*, Berlin 1913, 8, 78; Menzel, "Das Bektaschi-Kloster Seyyid-i Ghazi", *MSOS*, XX-VIII, (1925), 92 ff.; Erdmann, "Zur türkischen Baukunst seldschukischer und osmanischer Zeit", *İstanbul Mitt.*, VIII (1958), 11-16; Eyice, "...Aqyazılı Sultan Tekkesi", 566.

period by the Ghāzī Mikhāloghullārī.⁹² Although the main centres of the Ghāzī Mikhāloghullārī were located in the eastern part of Rumelia (Plevne, Niğbolu, Sofya and Semendire) they are known to have had branches in Anatolia (Amasya and Bursa) and to have undertaken architectural activity in various Bektashi centres, which would appear to have resulted in the transfer of certain architectural influences between Anatolia and Rumelia.

On the other hand, the plan of the meydan evi (c. 1850) (fig. 72) in the Shāhqulū Tekkesi at Merdivenköyü in Istanbul, together with the superstructure, details and decoration connected with this interesting design, reflects the number 12, which was regarded as sacred by the Bektashis because of its association with the cult of the Twelve Imams. The column rising up from the *dār-i Maṣṣūr* in the centre of the twelve-sided *maydān evi*, rests on a base in the form of a twelve-sided prism with a "tcharāgh" in relief representing the Twelve Imams (fig. 73). The plaster mouldings springing from the twelve-sided column capital adorned with acanthus leaves divide the umbrella vault into twelve segments (fig. 65), while twelve marble panels bearing the names of the imams are placed on the surface of the walls, and twelve-sided *teslim taşı* in relief are to be found in the corners of the panels. At the same time, twelve sconces in the centre of which candles can be placed are mounted in hollows in the metal ring surrounding the column in the centre (fig. 74). No other example of tariqat symbols governing all aspects of the architecture (design, detail, decoration) to the same extent as in the meydan evi in the Shāhqulū Tekkesi can be found in any of the Ottoman *tekkes* to have survived to the present day.

In Aydın, on a slope to the south of the town, vestiges of a twelve-sided structure can be discerned amidst a group of remains now surrounded by a shanty town but which was formerly located outside the zone of habitation. There can be no doubt that this complex, popularly known as the "samā'khāna" but whose original name and function remain uncertain, formed part of a *tekke*. The humble location of the buildings suggests that the complex in question was a Bektashi lodge, strengthened by the possibility that the twelve-sided building was actually a *maydān evi*.⁹³

⁹² Eyice, "Akyazılı Sultan Tekkesi", 565-567.

⁹³ Our examination of these remains is not yet completed. The group of buildings in question can only be definitely identified as the result of excavations on the site and archival research.

The rectangular *tawhīdkhāna* in the Ma'ārifi Tekkesi⁹⁴ (1818), the āsitāna belonging to the Ma'ārifiya branch of the Rifā'īya at Kartal in Istanbul, contains a circular ritual space surrounded by 12 wooden columns (fig. 56). The fact that Pir Seyyid Aḥmad al-Rifā'ī was a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī as regards both his family tree and tariqat genealogy found expression in the 12 segments of the *tādj-i sharīf* to be observed in the Rifā'īya, while his attachment to the 12 imams must have been decisive in the choice of the twelve columns in this building. During the development of the Rifā'īya in Rumelia and Anatolia from the XIVth century onwards, the close connection with various heterodox Sufi groups, as well as with the Bektashi, which they later absorbed within their own organization, and particularly the strong Bektashi influence to which the Ma'ārifiya was exposed, explains that, of all the Rifā'ī *tekkes* whose architectural characteristics we have been able to establish, this is the only *tekke* to reflect the number 12 in its design.

The Ya'qūb Pasha Tekkesi in Amasya, one of the most important Khalwatī centres in Anatolia, contains a total of twelve cells, of which the four without windows were definitely used as halvethanes (cells for religious retreat) (fig. 28). The connection of the Halvetī genealogy with the Caliph 'Alī and the existence among the members of this order of a devotion to 'Alī and the Twelve Imams to a degree not incompatible with the beliefs of the *Ahl-i Sunnat* (orthodox Sunnis) suggest the possibility of a connection with the number of cells in the building.

In another variant of the second level of meaning, several architectural elements in other types of building having no connection with Sufism take on different meanings in the ritual spaces. For example, in all the religious orders, the threshold at the entrance to the ritual space is taken to mark the boundary between the exoteric and esoteric worlds, and is to be crossed with proper salutation,⁹⁵ the ritual space being entered on the right foot without actually stepping on the threshold.

⁹⁴ Tanman, "Maarifi tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, V, 232-233.

⁹⁵ The form of this salutation may vary in accordance with the sufi order and the regional cultural influences. For example, in the case of the Bektashis, the dervish prostrates himself and kisses the threshold, referred to as the "*rehber eşiği*" (guide threshold), while in the case of the Mawlawis and most of the other orders the salutation consists of lightly placing the lips on the right-hand jamb of the door or by "sealing the foot" towards the "*post*" (placing the big toe of the right foot on the big toe of the left foot), and saluting by bowing with the right hand over the heart.

On the other hand, the "post" (the sheepskin on which the sheikh sits), which symbolizes the spiritual trust handed down from Muḥammad through the whole genealogy of the order to the sheikh directing the ceremony, is spread out in front of the mihrab, except in the case of the Bektashi order, in which there is no mihrab. Thus, in orthodox orders, the *miḥrāb* symbolizes the door opening on to the "*Ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiya*" (the true essence of Islam). In *khilāfat* gatherings, the candidate for the sheikh's crown advances towards the "post" on which the "murshid" (spiritual leader) is seated, along the "*sirāt-i mustaqīm*" (the true path) following the axis of the *miḥrāb*. Although it may not be quite as clear cut, the domes or the central bosses in the wooden roofs covering the ritual chambers are regarded by the Sufis, not as simple architectural features, but rather as elements invested with mystical and cosmic significance.

Architectural Traditions Influencing Design

A number of practices quite unconnected with *tarikāt* architecture that have developed into a tradition can be seen to have played a part in the design of a number of the ritual spaces. For example, the fact that the octagon is the most widely used of the various polygons in the plans of the ritual spaces can be attributed, not only to the mystical and cosmic symbolism of the number 8, but also to its roots in pre-Islamic Middle Eastern and Turkish-Islamic architecture. The octagonal plans to be observed in certain churches that differed from ordinary churches in being the scene of circular processions, as well as in martyrions devoted to the cult of a saint, may well have entered *tekke* architecture through the medium of the Church of SS Sergius and Bacchus (Küçük Ayasofya Mosque-Tekke) (fig. 1), which was used by the Khalwatīs as a *tawḥīdkhāna* from the beginning of the XVIth century onwards. At the same time, the octagonal *Qubbat al-Ṣakhra* in Jerusalem, which symbolized the Ascension, to the Sufis an event of particular sanctity, and in which, as in the *tekke* rites, circular processions took place, may have exerted a certain influence on *tarikāt* architecture.

On the other hand, the existence may be noted in two *tekkes* erected in Egypt during the Ottoman period – the Cairo Ḥasan al-Rūmī Tekkesi⁹⁶ (1522/23) (fig. 75) and the Abū 'Alī Tekkesi (XVIIth century) (fig. 67) in

⁹⁶ Pacha, *op.cit.*, 648; Behrens-Abouseif-Fernandes, *op.cit.*, 111-112.

Alexandria – of a multi-segmented plan not to be observed in any *tariqat* building in Anatolian Turkish architecture but widely employed in mosques.

* * *

Having considered all the influences touched upon above, one may propose a typology based on the forms of the ritual spaces in Ottoman tekkes. In making this classification, a number of examples can be evaluated in accordance with the space to which the performance of the rites is directly ascribed.

Group I – Square and Rectangular: The Hādji Sinān Tekkesi (fig. 9) in Sarajevo, the Sheikh Faṭḥ Allah Mosque-Tekke (fig. 31) in Gaziantep and the Abū 'Alī Tekkesi (fig. 67) in Alexandria all possess square *tawḥīdkhānas*. In the case of the last two examples there is a column in the centre of the *tawḥīdkhāna*. The most widespread type of plan to be found in the ritual spaces is a rectangle bordering on a square, which is almost always aligned breadthwise i.e. east to west. An exception is to be found in the long, narrow rectangle developing lengthwise in the İbrāhīm Gulshani Tekkesi in Cairo (fig. 14a).

Group II – Square with bevelled corners: For example, in the Bahārīya Mawlawīkhānasi at Bahariye in Istanbul the corners of the square are softened by means of quarter circles, while in the Kasımpaşa Mawlawīkhānasi (fig. 34) and the Ḥasirizāda Tekkesi at Söğütözü in Istanbul (fig. 76) the corners are bevelled at an angle of 45°.

Group III – Polygonal (seven-sided – eight-sided – twelve-sided): The Aqyazili Sultān Tekkesi and Qıdemli Baba Tekkesi in Bulgaria are examples of the octagonal meydan evi (fig. 70-71). Of the polygons, the most widely used is the octagon, examples of which can be found in Istanbul in the Bayrām Pasha Tekkesi at Haseki (1634/35) (fig. 10), the Sheikhulislām Tekkesi at Eyüp (1744/45) (fig. 11), the Bālā Tekkesi at Silivrikapı (1862/63) (fig. 77), the İsmā'il Ḥaqqī Efendi (Sheikh Türölü) Tekkesi at Edirnekapı (1877) (fig. 58), the Ertuğrul Tekkesi at Yıldız (1887) (fig. 78) and the 'Atā' Allah Efendi Tekkesi⁹⁷ at Kanlıca (3rd quarter of the XVIIIth century – beginning of the XXth century). Examples from outside Istanbul

⁹⁷ Demirel-İşli, "sheikh Türölü Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, VII, 172-173; Tanman, "Ertuğrul Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, III, 196-198; Tanman, "Atā Efendi Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, IV, 36-37; Tanman, "Atāullah Efendi Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, I, 397-398.

may include the Softa Baba Tekkesi (XVIIIth or XIXth century) near the city of Tutrakan in Bulgaria and the Kukli Mehmed Bey Tekkesi (XIXth century) at Prizren. In the Ertuğrul Tekkesi the octagonal ritual space is located in the centre of a rectangle, while in the others it is designed so as to be perceptible from the outside. The *maydān evi* in the Shāhquḷū Tekkesi at Merdivenköy in Istanbul (c. 1850) (fig. 72) and the building known as the "*samā'khāna*" in Aydın, possibly a Bektashi tekke, may be cited as examples of the twelve-sided ritual space.

Group IV – Circular and elliptical: In examples such as the Ma'ārifi Tekkesi at Kartal in Istanbul (1818) (fig. 56), the Qarabāsh Tekkesi in Bursa and the Ḥalwā'i Tekkesi at Vezneciler (fig. 79) the circular ritual areas are set in the centre of a square or rectangular building block, with galleries or, as in the last two examples, tombs placed between the row of wooden columns or railings surrounding the circle and the outer walls. On the other hand, the Khalwatiya Sunbuliya Küçük Efendi Tekkesi⁹⁸ (fig. 57), the only example of a religious building in Ottoman architecture belonging to the period of Westernisation to display truly "baroque" features in the design of the mosque-*tawhīdkhāna* with its elliptical plan and elliptical dome, is worthy of note for its successful creation of a synthesis in the practice of the order to which it belonged of the circular devran zikri and halvet with the elliptical plan of Western origin, in other words, between the old-fashioned leaders of an order that held an important place in Ottoman society and the demands of an "official architecture" that aimed at a "European" identity.

Bektashi Maydans / The Architectural Layout Peculiar to Meydan Evis and their Symbolic Structure:

The essential differences between the meydan in Bektashi tekkes and the ritual spaces (*tawhīdkhānas* and *samā'khānas*) belonging to the other orders spring from the heterodox and syncretic structure affecting the whole of the ritual and the religious practices, which results in a very definite line separating the order in question from the others.⁹⁹ For example, as the Bektashi rites are not confined to the namaz (ritual prayer) the meydan is not aligned on the *qibla* axis, while elements such as the *mihrāb*, *minber*

⁹⁸ Kuran, "Türk Barok Mimarisinde Batı Anlamında Bir Teşebbüs: Küçük Efendi Manzumesi", *Belleten*, XXVII/107 (July 1963), 467-470; Tanman, "Küçük Efendi Külliyesi", *DBİSTA*, V, 150-152.

⁹⁹ Ocak, *Alevî ve Bektaşî İnançlarının İslam Öncesi Temelleri*, İstanbul, 2000.

and pulpit representing the Shari'a are not to be found in *tawhīdkhānas* and *semahanes*. Moreover, because of the concept of mystery dominating Bektashi doctrine, the rites cannot be observed by those not belonging to the order, and the lack of any discrimination against women means that there are no separate galleries for men and women.

On the other hand, there is a close connection between the *maydān evi* and the kitchen, pantry and, in some cases, the *hamam* not to be observed in the *tekkes* belonging to other religious orders. The reason for the close connection between the *maydān evi* and the kitchen is the existence in the Bektashi *maydāns* or, in some *tekkes*, in the "*muḥabbat dīwāns*" connected to the *maydāns*, of tables at which the dervishes could partake of food and alcoholic beverages such as wine or *rakı*. The use of the kitchen for the storage of goods employed in the rites of the order and the ablutions taken under the supervision of the guide of the aspirant in rites of initiation into the order, made it essential that the kitchen and washroom should be located as close as possible to the *maydān evi*.

The architectural layout of the Bektashi *maydan* and the divisions of the interior can be briefly described as follows:¹⁰⁰ As the entrance, which, in conformity with pre-Islamic Turkish tradition, opened onto the east, corresponded to the first of the four stages of the *sayr u sulūk* (special training of a sufi order) it was known as the "Shari'a door" or "*ba'th* (resurrection) *door*", dedicated to 'Alī in accordance with the hadith "I am the city of knowledge and 'Alī is the gate to that city". In the *maydān evi* there is no real necessity for any door other than the "*Shari'a door*", but the other three walls may contain three "imaginary doors" not corresponding in any way to the material (architectural) layout.¹⁰¹ Of these, the door to the west is known as the door of "*tariqat/ḥashr u nashr*" (the teachings of the religious order), the door on the north as the door of "*ma'rifat/khilqat*", (the mystic knowledge of God) and the door on the south as the door of "*ḥaqīqat/ḥayāt*" (the immediate knowledge of the Essence of Reality) (fig. 80). In the initiation rites in which a solemn vow is received from the

¹⁰⁰ Doğan, *op.cit.*, 115-129.

¹⁰¹ In most of the *tekkes*, there is at least one other door besides the main entrance (Shari'a door) opening on to the units connected with the *maydān evi*, such as the kitchen, pantry, *muḥabbet dīwāni* and *hamam*. However, this additional door in line with the function of the space should not be confused with the three imaginary doors of purely symbolic significance mentioned in the text.

candidate applying for initiation into the order, the guide, holding the novice by a "*tighband*" (belt) around his neck, leads him in turn to the *sharī'at*, *ṭarīqat*, *ḥaqīqat* and *ma'rifat* doors on the eastern, western, northern and southern sides where he salutes each of the four doors symbolizing the four stages of the *sayr u sulūk*, each time "sealing the foot" (i.e. placing the big toe of the right foot on the big toe of the left). At the beginning of the rite, after saluting the threshold of the Sharī'a door and making the obligatory recitation of the "*tardjamān*" he goes up to and salutes the "*dār-i Manşūr*" in the centre of the *maydān*.

In Bektashi meydan the illumination is of a very special character. The light sources known as "*tcharāgh*" consisting of all types of candlestick, standard oil-lamp and pendant oil-lamp, are more symbolic than functional, reflecting a rich world of symbols. The "*tcharāgh*" represents the holy light that tears open the heart and illuminates the path to God. The "*takht-i Muḥammed*", (throne of Muḥammad), which, in a sense, takes the place of the *mihrāb* in Bektashi *maydāns*, is located directly opposite the Sharī'a door on the axis of the western wall. The "*takht-i Muḥammad*" is in the form of a wooden divan with steps leading up to it. On the steps are arranged twelve candlesticks representing the sanctity of the twelve imams, which are lit during the rites in accordance with certain rules. This arrangement expresses the manifestation of the twelve imams as descendants of the "*nūr-i Muḥammadi*" from the family of Muḥammad and the true heirs of the "*ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiya*" (the true essence of Islam).¹⁰² In front of the "*takht-i Muḥammad*" there would be a fairly large oil lamp with three wicks known as the "*qānūn tcharāghi*" or "*Khorāsan tcharāghi*" with a base composed of four sections and the upper part with the twelve segments characteristic of the crest of the "*hüseyni crown*" worn by the Bektashi babas. The four segments in the base represent the four stages in the "*sayr u sulūk* (*sharī'at-ṭarīqat-ḥaqīqat-ma'rifat*), the twelve segments in the crown the twelve imams, the button in the centre of the segments unity and the three wicks the three-in-one of "Allah-Muḥammad-'Alī". The reference to the oil lamp as "*Khorāsan tcharāghi*" originates in the belief that truth can only be

¹⁰² The place immediately on the left of the "*Takht-i Muḥammad*" where the candidate for initiation swears during the "*iqrār*" rites that he will not swerve from the true path is known as the "*paymāntcha*".

attained by following the path traced by Hādji Bektāsh-i Walī, one of the *Khorāsan Erenleri*, people who have arrived at spiritual truth.

At the entrance to the meydan there is a single oil lamp known as the "*sirādj-i munir*" representing the holy light emanating from the Caliph 'Alī. At the beginning of the rites, when everyone has taken his place, the "*tcharāgh-i murshid*" salutes the "post" and picks up a "*dalil*" (candle or wick). Lighting this "*dalil*" from the "*sirādj-i munir*" he makes his way to the "takht-ı Muḥammad" and lights first the "kanun çeraşı" and then the twelve "*tcharāqh*" on the throne. This symbolizes the attainment of the unity of "Allah-Muḥammad-'Alī" by the grace of the Caliph 'Alī and the twelve imams through the intercession of the mürşid.

The four sheepskins known as the "cihār gūşe-i post" spread out in the four corners of the meydan occupy an important place in Bektashi religious symbolism. The sheepskin generally spread out on the south-west corner of the "takht-ı Muḥammad" representing the office of Hādji Bektāsh-i Walī is known as the "Khorasan postu", while the other three representing the Caliph 'Alī and certain other venerable Bektashi are known as the "sultan postu" (Seyyid 'Alī Sulṭān), "rehber postu" (the Caliph 'Alī) and "naqib postu" (Qayghusuz Abdāl).

The Bektashi meydan with its divans and hearth in the style of a room in a traditional Turkish dwelling is utterly different from the ritual spaces in other religious orders (fig. 64). The meydans are generally surrounded by wooden platforms on which are spread the twelve sheepskins marking the positions occupied by the *murshid* (spiritual guide), *kilerci* (butler) *aşçı* (cook), the *ekmekçi* (baker), the *mihmancı* (dervish responsible for the entertainment of the guests), the *atçı naqib* (groom), the *meydancı* (dervish in charge of the housework), the *türbedar* (curator of the tomb), the *kahveci* (dervish whose job it was to prepare the coffee), the *kurbancı* (dervish in charge of sacrifices) and the *ayakçı* (messenger). At the same time, the hearth known as the "*küre*" was more symbolic than functional. The "*küre*" representing Fāṭima and the office of imam (Ḥasan and Hüseyin), in other words the "*Ahl-i Bayt Odjaghi*" continues to express, in an Islamic guise, the sanctity of the hearth and fire, which is as old as the history of mankind.

6.2. *Khalwatkāna* / *Tchilakhāna*¹⁰³

The *khalwatkānas*, also known in Sufi terminology as "*khalwat*", "*khalwatgāh*" and "*tchilakhāna*", were used in the Islamic world, first by the "*zāhids*" (ascetics) and later, from the VIIth century onwards, by the Sufis who succeeded them, for the "*tchila*" a period during which the dervish retired for prayer and meditation in order to achieve self-discipline and to advance to new stages in the *sayr u sulūk*.¹⁰⁴ However, although the wide diversity of local cultures makes it impossible to reach a definition of the *khalwatkāna* valid for the whole of the Islamic world, the main outlines of the said structures were formed long before the first development of Ottoman architecture. From the middle of the XIth century onwards, with, to a certain extent, the encouragement and support of the Great Seldjuq administration, the manner in which the halvet was to be used in line with a set of strict principles governing the hierarchy, educational systems and ceremonies and the features that it was essential that the *khalwatkāna* should possess were decided upon by the leading Sufis of the period. For example, the famous '*Awārif al-Ma'ārif*' by sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 1234) contains a detailed description of the *khalwat*, while Baba İlyās-ı Khorasānī (d. 1240) gives the following description of the characteristic features of the *khalwatkāna*: "Pes ol halvetde şart budur anı bil * Küçirek bir karanı hāne bulgıl * Yüceliği ola mikdār-ı kaamet * Uzunı secde yeri ol ādet."¹⁰⁵

The ideal *khalwatkāna* could be described as the smallest possible space in which a single dervish could perform the *namaz*, and preferably as a dark cell that prevents the dervish who enters it from having his attention distracted by details of the outside world. As the dervish who has entered the halvet may, on condition that he speaks to no one, leave the cell in order to relieve nature, to perform his ablutions and to perform the *namaz* along with the congregation, most of the *tarikāt* buildings are designed with a direct link to the prayer and ritual spaces. In most of the examples that have survived from the Ottoman period the *khalwatkānas* have doors and windows opening only onto the ritual and prayer halls, while, in some cases,

¹⁰³ For more detailed information see: Tanman, "Halvethane", *TDVİA*, XV, 388-393.

¹⁰⁴ Pakalın, *op.cit.*, II, 370-373, 713-716.

¹⁰⁵ Esin, "Merkez Efendi (H. 879 / 1465 Sıraları - 959 / 1551) ile Şah Sultan Hakkında bir Hâşiye", *TM*, XIX (1980) 65-92 (69-72).

the *khalwatkāna* has a small window opening onto the outside to permit the entry of a certain amount of light and fresh air. At the same time, the Sufis would sometimes use rooms designed for other purposes (e.g. *ayazma* / sacred spring) as *khalwatkānas* if they possessed the required features.

The *khalwatkānas* of the Ottoman period can be classified in accordance with their horizontal (linked or not linked to the prayer halls) and vertical (above ground or underground) locations. According to the Sufis themselves, considering the practice of *halvet* or *i'tikāf* (retreat) observed in the lives of the prophets, e.g. the forty days spent by Moses on Mt Sinai, or, more particularly, the practice of retreat regarded by the Prophet Muḥammad as part of the *Sunna*, the origin of the connection of *khalwatkānas* to the prayer and ritual spaces lay in the retreat practised by Muḥammad, particularly in the month of Ramaḍān, in the interior of the Masjd-i Nabawī, while the origin of the independent *khalwatkānas* can be regarded as a legacy of the retreat practised by Moses on Mt Sinai and that of the Prophet Muḥammad on Mt Hira.

The *khalwatkānas* identified in the Ya'qūb Pasha Tekkesi (beginning of the XVth century) in Amasya, one of the first Khalwatiya centres of activity in Anatolia, are among the earliest examples of this architectural feature (fig. 28). On the kible side of the *masjd* facing the *tawḥīdkhāna* there are twelve cells in two rows of six cells each. The six cells ranged along a narrow corridor in the direction of the kible opening directly onto the interior of the *masjd* – particularly the four without windows – are quite definitely *khalwatkāna* units. As for the others, each illuminated by light from a small window, they are obviously cells for permanently resident dervishes which could, however, be used if need be as *khalwatkānas*. In the Muṣṭafa Bey Zāviyesi (1429/30) at Havza in the vicinity of Amasya, the two cells entered from the “sofa” (central hall), each of which receives a small amount of light from a small head window, are almost certainly *khalwatkānas* (fig. 30).

The earliest identifiable *khalwatkāna* in Istanbul is to be found immediately adjoining the projection with half dome containing the *miḥrāb* in the mosque-*tawḥīdkhāna* in the complex erected in 1476 in the district of Vefa by Mehmed the Conqueror in the name of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafa Efendi (d. 1490), known as “Sheikh Wafā, one of the leading members of the Zeniyye order and one of the most distinguished Sufis of his day (fig. 81). The *khalwatkāna* is illuminated by a small window in each of the side

walls, and an interesting feature is the manner in which the *khalwatkāna* is entered through the *miḥrāb*. This access through the *miḥrāb* to a *khalwatkāna* belonging to a velī who had dedicated himself to the path to God through the *miḥrāb*, to which the worshippers turn during their prayers, becomes particularly significant when one remembers how, in Sufi symbolism, the *miḥrāb* represents the door opening onto the *ḥaqīqat-i Muḥammadiya* (the true essence of Islam). In the Qodja Muṣṭafa Pasha (Sünbül Efendi) Tekkesi, which played an important role in the development of the Khalwatīya order in Istanbul and served as centre of the Sunbulīya branch of that order, the *khalwatkāna* in the mosque-*tawḥīdkhāna* resulting from the modifications to the monastery church of St Andrew in Krisei carried out in 1486-1490 is placed inside one of the piers on the eastern side.

In the interior of the mosque (1748) used as a *tawḥīdkhāna* in the tekke forming part of the Hākīmoghlu 'Alī Pasha Complex, also in Istanbul, three *khalwatkānas* can be identified embedded in the walls in such a way as not to impair the unity of the space (fig. 82-83). Two of these are connected to the projection housing the *miḥrāb*, while the third is level with the raised gallery over the unit to the west.

The most interesting of the *khalwatkānas* in the Istanbul tekkes of the late Ottoman period are to be found in the mosque-*tawḥīdkhāna* belonging to the Küçük Efendi Tekkesi in Kocamustafapaşa (end of XVIIIth century ~1825) attached to the Khalwatīya Sunbulīya. One of the five *khalwatkānas* around the interior is entered through the *miḥrāb*. Of the others, two are placed against the corners of the interior and the projection housing the *miḥrāb*, while the other two are placed on the eastern and western sides of the interior. An interesting feature is the reflection of the Baroque taste of the period in the elliptical plan of the mosque-*tawḥīdkhāna* and the layout of the component parts. The *khalwatkānas*, like the closed portico surrounding the mosque-*tawḥīdkhāna*, the *miḥrāb* section and the library unit, form projections from the elliptical plan of the main block while at the same time producing rays emanating from a central point in a manner reminiscent of the motif known as the "sun of Sulṭān Maḥmūd", which was very popular at the time the building was erected. Moreover, the sections in question can be regarded, in their layout and their relations with the prayer-

ritual space as a kind of synthesis of the *khalwatkānas* in the Sheikh Wafā and Hākāmoghlu 'Alī Pasha complexes.

The wooden *khalwatkānas* form a separate sub-group of those linked to the prayer-ritual spaces. In the Sha'bān-i Walī Tekkesi (Khalwatiya-Sha'bāniya Āsitānasi) twelve wooden *khalwatkānas* are arranged at ground level and at the level of the raised galleries along the whole length of the north wall of the mosque-*tawhīdkhāna* (end of XVth century~1580~1845) (fig. 84). The sections in question may be regarded as belonging to the repairs carried out by 'Abd al-Madīd in 1845, which gave the building its present-day form. It is interesting to note the same use of the number 12 as in the Ya'qūb Pasha Tekkesi in Amasya. In the tekke in Çerkeş (now known as the Pir-i Thānī Mosque), that served as an āsitāne in the Tcharkashiya division attached to the Sha'bāniya branch, there is a row of wooden *khalwatkānas* along the north wall of the mosque-*tawhīdkhāna* similar to those in Kastamonu, but when the tekkes were closed down these units, which no longer performed any useful function, are known to have been removed so that the size of the prayer-hall might be increased. It seems likely that *khalwatkānas* of this type were to be found in a number of Khalwati tekkes but that they disappeared after 1925.

Before going on to a discussion of the "*tahtānī*" (underground) *khalwatkānas* in Ottoman tekkes, we should dwell for a moment on the *khalwatkāna* (fig. 85) created in his tekke¹⁰⁷ in the city of Yassı (Yesi) in Turkestan by Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī (d.1169), the founder of the Turkish school of mysticism. Before the narrow, winding passage leading to the *khalwatkāna* in question, there is a mesjid in the form of a domed tent (yurt), from which one enters the halvet unit itself. At the age of sixty-three, the age at which the Prophet Muḥammad died, Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī is known to have entered this *khalwatkāna* and to have spent the rest of his life there in constant prayer and meditation. In later centuries, this tomb-like "*tahtānī*" *khalwatkāna*, whose architecture reflected "the secret of dying before one's death", formed the basis of a tradition that lived on in Turkish mystical circles from Turkestan to Anatolia.

¹⁰⁷ Senigova, "Unikal noe kul'tovo sorujeniev rayone g. Turkestana", *Proslae Kazaxstana po arheologičeskimi istoničov*, Alma-Ata 1976, 112-113; Esin, "Ahmed Yesevī Külliyesi", *TDVİA*, II, 162-163.

The *khalwatkāna* (fig. 86) in the Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī Complex in Ankara, a Bayrāmīya āsitāna and the seat of a “pīr”, located under the mosque-*tawḥīdkhāna*, which was erected in 1427/28 and would appear to have attained its final form as a result of repairs carried out at the beginning of the XVIIIth century, are among the earliest examples of this tradition in the Ottoman period. Steps lead down from the portico to a sort of miniature meşjid, which opens on to a toilet/ablution unit and a narrow corridor with four *khalwatkānas* ranged along the left hand side.¹⁰⁸

In Istanbul, the *khalwatkāna* (fig. 87) in the *tekke* (1514) erected, and actually used, by sheikh Mūsā Muşliḥ al-Dīn, known as “Merkez Efendi”, one of the leading members of the Khalwatīya-Sunbulīya, and the “niyet kuyusu” (wishing well) connected to it are unusual variants of this type. Popularly known as the “Merkez Efendi *Tchilakhāna*”, this *khalwatkāna*, which still occupies an important place in the religious folklore of the city, was very probably placed within a Byzantine “ayazma”, thus forming, as is the case with a number of other *tariqat* buildings, one of the holy places left over from an older cultural layer to be revered by Islam. The *khalwatkāna*, the floor of which was seven metres below the level of the courtyard, was placed to the south of the pool in which the water from the sacred spring was collected and which was surrounded by retaining walls of rubble with iron railings. The *khalwatkāna*, which is known to have been constructed of wood, was furnished with iron tie-beams during repairs carried out in the Republican era. A narrow passage beginning from the point at which the steps leading to the *khalwatkāna* reach the ground proceeds towards the east to reach the well in the courtyard. This passage was undoubtedly intended to allow the water collected in the pool to flow into the well without flooding the *khalwatkāna*. The well and the passage have been transformed into a sort of oracle particularly favoured by women. This well, one of the most highly respected wishing wells in Istanbul, became a resort for those who wished to get information about a loss and who believed that if, after saying certain prayers, they looked into the well they would see forms appear on the surface of the water.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Tanman, “Hacı Bayram-ı Velî Külliyesi”, *TDVİA*, XIV, 448-454; Tanman, “Halvethane”, *op.cit.*, XV, 388-393.

¹¹⁰ Bayrı, *İstanbul Folkloru*, Istanbul 1972 (2nd impression), 167.

The vaulted infrastructure belonging to the Byzantine era in the Tāhir Agha Tekkesi (1760/61) at Haydar in Fatih located to the south-east of the main building and used as a *khalwatkāna* by sheikh 'Abd Allah Ṣalāh al-Dīn (d. 1782) and the *khalwatkāna* beneath the level of the courtyard to the west, as well as the several *khalwatkānas* linked to the mosque-*tawḥīdkāna* in the Küçük Efendi Tekkesi at Kocamustafapaşa (1825), show that the "taḥṭānī" (underground) *khalwatkāna* plan that originated with Yasawī survived in the Ottoman capital until the XIXth century. At the same time, that sheikh İbrāhīm Fakhr al-Dīn (Erenden) (d. 1969), the last "postnişin" of the Nūr al-Dīn Djarrāhī Tekkesi at Karagümrük in Istanbul, should have chosen to devote himself to prayer and the praise of God¹¹¹ in a tomb that he himself erected during his lifetime and which he described as a "paradise room", proves that the tradition lived on, if not in its architectural layout, then at least in the spiritual world of the Sufis of the final period.

6.3. Tombs

Perhaps the most important feature characterising the velī (saints) tombs, which constituted one of the most important categories of *tarikāt* buildings in Ottoman architecture, as in Islamic architecture in general, and which immediately distinguished them from similar specimens in the Islamic world, including Central Asia, and which were also valid for the whole of Anatolian Turkish architecture, was their very modest appearance. The Sufi tombs, most of which belong to Sufis of the rank of "pīr" or "pīr-i thānī", like those of Amīr Sulṭān in Bursa, Hādījī Bayrām-i Walī in Ankara, Ashrafoglu Rūmī in Iznik and Sha'bān-i Walī in Kastamonu, as well as those of Amīr Bukhārī, Yahyā Efendi, Yūsuf Sinān Efendi (Sünbül Efendi), Merkez Mūsā Muşliḥ al-Dīn Efendi (Merkez Efendi), İbrāhīm Ümmī Sinān, Ḥasan Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Ushshāqī, 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hudāyī, Nūr al-Dīn Djarrāhī in Istanbul, those of Kharābātī Baba at Kalkandelen, Aqyazili Sulṭān at Dobrudja and Mehmed Hayatī in Ohri are incomparably more modest than the monumental tombs of Khwādja Aḥmad Yasawī, Khwādja Muḥammad Bahā al-Dīn Naqshibend, and Necmeddin Kübra in Turkestan, of Seyyid 'Abd al-Qādir Kīlānī in Baghdad or of Seyyid Aḥmad al-Badawī in Tanta in Egypt. This "dervish spirit", which grew up in the bosom of Anatolian Sufism and had a very large influence on the material environment as well as on every

¹¹¹ For offering me this information I should like to express my gratitude to Sefer (Dal) Efendi, one of the last of the Djarrāhī sheikhs in Istanbul, to whom I owe this information.

aspect of daily life, and which created a spiritual discipline marked by modesty and humility expressed by the poet Yahya Kemal in the form, "Bizim ruhaniyetimiz bize göredir" (Our spiritual approach is peculiar to ourselves alone), continued to thrive throughout the Ottoman period. Nevertheless, these tombs, despite their humble appearance, were capable of a strong influence on their surroundings thanks to the personality of the *veli* they contained, and to their compatibility with the natural environment and the graveyards, with the venerable trees that surrounded them.¹¹²

Although there is nothing peculiarly Islamic in the concept of the tomb, the principles of religious burial are the main influences governing the design of the tombs of the *velis*. The corpse entrusted to the ground must be buried in such a way as to form a right angle with the *kible* axis, and the same alignment is reflected in the position of the sarcophagus over the grave, and, if the topography of the site is suitable, in the structure of the tomb. In some tombs, however, when circumstances are unsuitable, the tomb may not be aligned according to the *kible* axis.

In tombs in Ottoman *tekkes* polygonal plans are used more particularly in the tombs of high dignitaries and members of the imperial dynasty. As examples of octagonal, domed buildings we may cite the Seyyid Battāl Ghāzī Türbesi (1493/94), the Amīr Aḥmad al-Bukhārī Türbesi (1816) at Unkapanı in Istanbul and the Amīr Sultān Türbesi (1868) in Bursa.¹¹³ In Istanbul, the *sheikh* Ramaḍān Efendi Türbesi (1818/19?) (fig. 18) in the Bezirgān Tekkesi and the Sünbül Efendi Türbesi (1834/35) in the Qodja Mustafa Pasha Tekkesi show a combination in their design of rectangle and octagon. In both, the sarcophagus is placed in the centre of the octagon and the whole surmounted by a lath and plaster (*başdadı*) dome. One of the XIXth century tombs of *tekke* *sheikh*s lying alongside the Sünbül Efendi Türbesi is surmounted by an octagonal dome, the other by a hexagonal truncated pyramid.

¹¹² The graveyard in the *Yahyā Efendi Tekkesi* in Beşiktaş in Istanbul inspired the following passage by A. H. Tanpınar: The holy *Yahyā Efendi Dargāhi* presents the face of a beautiful human being. Here, in a garden immediately accessible by means of two or three stairs and one or two terraces, death is so closely akin to life that it might be regarded as a kind of path to perfection or a garden of love.

¹¹³ Tanman, "Emīr Buhārī Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, III, 167-168; Tanman, "Emīr Sultan Külliyesi", *op.cit.*, II, 148-151.

Of the Sufi tombs on a polygonal plan, a group of domed tombs with heptagonal shafts, all of them in Bektashi tekkes in Rumelia, are of particular interest. This unusual form, which cannot be observed in any Ottoman tomb apart from the Aqyazılı Sultān (fig. 71), Demir Baba, Qıdamlı Baba Sultān (fig. 70) and Otman Baba tombs in Bulgaria dating from the end of the XVth century or the XVIth century, and the 'Abd Allah Baba Türbesi¹¹⁴ (2nd half of the XIXth century) (fig. 89) can be ascribed to the symbolic importance, referred to above, of the number 7 in Bektashism in Rumelia. The same is true for the twelve-sided tomb in the Kharābātī Baba Tekkesi (XVIth? century ~ 1st quarter of the XIXth century) at Kalkandelen (Tetovo) in Macedonia.

Domed tombs on a square plan are quite restricted in number. The Hādji 'Abd Allah Khalifa Türbesi¹¹⁵ (1535-1540) in the village of Tekke attached to Espiye in Giresun, the Sheikh Sha'bān-i Walī Türbesi (1611) in Kastamonu, the Merkezzāda Sheikh Aḥmad Efendi Türbesi (1812) (fig. 22) in the Shāh Sultān Tekkesi at Eyüp and the Sheikh Zāfir Efendi Türbesi (1905-1906) in the Ertuğrul Tekkesi at Yıldız may be cited as examples of tombs with masonry domes, while the 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hudāyī Türbesi (1855) (fig. 27) in Üsküdar in İstanbul and the Yaḥyā Efendi Türbesi (1570~1812) in Beşiktaş may be cited as examples of tombs with "Baghdadi" (lath and plaster) domes. The Sheikh Zāfir Efendi Türbesi designed, together with library and fountain, by the Italian architect Raimondo d'Aronco, court architect to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, is unique among Ottoman tariqat tombs in its combination of traditional forms with art nouveau style (fig. 90).¹¹⁶ The tombs of İsmā'il Rusūkhī Dede (Ghālīb Dede) (1819) in the Galata Mawlawikhānasi and Qudrat Allah Dede (c. 1871) are built on a square plan with cradle vault (fig. 91).

Although the kümbet tradition in early Turkish-Islamic tomb architecture was almost totally abandoned in the Ottoman period, interesting designs can be encountered in the old tradition reminiscent of

¹¹⁴ Babinger, "...Demir Baba"; Eyice, "...Akyazılı Sultan Tekkesi"; Kiel, "...Kıdemli Baba Sultan Bektaş Tekkesi"; Kiel, "...Kıdemli Baba Sultan at Kaligerovo - Nova Zagora"; Tanman, "...Abdullah Baba Tekkesi"; (Sezer) Acar, *op.cit.*, 21-45, 77.

¹¹⁵ Karpuz, "Giresun'un Espiye İlçesine Bağlı Tekke Köyündeki Gülbahar Hatun 'Hacı Abdullah' Zâviyesine Bağlı Yapılar", *VD*, XV (1982), 117-125.

¹¹⁶ Batur, "Yıldız Serencebey'de Şeyh Zâfir Türbe, Kitaplık ve Çeşmesi", *ASA*, I (1968), 103-138.

the two-storey kümbets, in spite of the distant past and the quite peculiar geographical conditions to which they belonged. For example, in the tomb sharing the same location as the *tawhīdkhāna* in the sheikh Salāmī Efendi Tekkesi (1798 ~ end of XIXth century) in Eyüp in Istanbul, the graves are placed in the basement, which is illuminated by small windows and has a separate door opening into the garden, while sarcophagi are aligned with the actual graves on the wooden floor of a "sham" tomb on the *tawhīdkhāna* level. A similar situation is to be found in the tomb containing the grave of the pīr in the Hüsām al-Dīn 'Ushshāqī Tekkesi¹¹⁷ (Khalwatīya-'Ushshāqīya Āsitānasi) at Kasımpaşa in Istanbul, in which stairs lead down from the wooden tomb floor on which the sarcophagi are placed to the low basement containing the actual graves. On the other hand, in some tekkes belonging to sub-group II-A, in which the ritual and pilgrimage units are combined in the same space, the ground floor is occupied by the tomb with the ritual space above it. However, in none of these examples is there any question of a crypt in the true sense of the word containing embalmed bodies.

The architectural feature consisting of a dome supported by four columns or piers known in the east as a ciborium and in the west as a baldachin, a feature that dates back to the fire temples in pre-Islamic Persian architecture and is to be observed in Anatolian Turkish architecture from the XIVth century onwards, was, apart from a few exceptions, such as the Sheikh Muḥammad al-Uzbakī Türbesi (1731/32) (fig. 92) in Jerusalem, very rarely employed in tarikat tombs of the Ottoman period. The tomb of Sheikh İsmā'il Rūmī (1823) (fig. 93) in the Qādirikhāna Tekkesi at Tophane in Istanbul, with its marble columns rising up from the corners of the square base and its dome with metal framework, represents a variant of the type characteristic of late Ottoman architecture. A number of XIXth century tombs surrounded by metal lattices and surmounted by a metal framework of the same type, such as the Sheikh Salāḥ al-Dīn 'Ushshāqī Türbesi (fig. 94) in the Tāhā Agha Tekkesi at Fatih in Istanbul, the Sheikh 'Alī Bahdjat Efendi Türbesi at Selimiye in Üsküdar and the Shāhquḷū Sulṭān Türbesi in the Sahkulu Tekkesi at Merdivenköy, form a separate group midway between the baldachin tomb and the grave with railings.

Despite the various examples mentioned above, the most widespread type of tomb observed in Ottoman tekkes may be said to be the type with

¹¹⁷ Tanman, "Hüsameddin Uşşakî Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, IV, 105-106.

square or rectangular plan, cubic body and wooden roof. The proportions, exterior appearance and architectural details of these tombs, most of which are directly connected to the ritual spaces, resemble single-storey dwellings or the single-storey wings of a large dwelling house rather than a tomb, thus clearly displaying the close connection between tekke buildings and late period domestic architecture.

* * *

The most important feature in a large number of the tombs in Ottoman *tekkes*, and one that distinguishes these from the tombs of members of the imperial dynasty or high dignitaries, is the connection between the units in question and the ritual spaces. These connections in the architectural layout sprang from the belief that the Sufi *walis* (saints) were not dead in the normal sense of the word, but rather, although dead in the body, were still living in spirit. This belief, most clearly expressed by Yunus Emre in the verse "Ölen hayvan imiş aşıklar ölmez" (It is the animal that dies, the saints live on), rests on certain verses in the Qoran¹¹⁸ to the effect that those who die in the service of God are not to be regarded as dead and that *velis* that spend their lives in the holy war are to be seen in the ranks of the martyrs. In short, the dervishes never regarded the tombs of the saints as places where one would recite the *Fātiḥa* and ask for favours from God, nor, as emphasised in notices hung on the tombs in recent years by the Department for Religious Affairs, to take warning from death. These tombs, in which the saints rest in peace, are to be visited in order to enter into their sanctity and receive inspiration from their saintly presence.

In the course of time, a detailed ceremony emerged in the Ottoman world with regard to pilgrimages to tombs. Before entering one had to seek permission, salute the threshold or the right jamb of the door, make obeisance to those buried there, stop respectfully at every third step to "seal the foot", and, on reaching the head of the sarcophagus, regarded as the "spiritual symbol" of the *wali*, respect demanded that one must not remain there and that throughout the whole visit there should be no breach of etiquette. Moreover, in quite a number of *tekkes*, the body of the sheikh or dervish would lie for a night in the tomb and then, following the funeral

¹¹⁸ For example, see the *Baqara Sūra*, "Do not describe those who die in the service of God as "dead". On the contrary, they are alive, but you are not aware of it." Also, the *Āli 'Imran Sūra*, "Do not regard as dead those killed in the service of God. No! They are alive. They survive in the ranks of the saints."

ceremony, the “*tazkiya*” would be performed in front of the “*niyāz penceresi*” (salutation window). Ceremonies of bayram greetings were performed inside the tomb or in front of the “*niyāz penceresi*”.

This approach, which had developed more particularly in Sufi circles and which lay, together with the *tekke* folklore, at the very heart of a *veli* cult characterized by special local features, was reflected in the design of the *tarikāt* buildings as regards the connections between the tombs and the ritual spaces, ensuring that the rites were performed in the actual presence of the *walīs* themselves. In a large proportion of the Ottoman lodges, the tombs were placed very close to the ritual spaces, with visible links between them in the form of doors, windows or broad arches, while in some cases the two units were combined within the same space.¹¹⁹ Apart from a few exceptions, the tomb was placed on the east, west or north sides of the ritual space, ensuring that the dervishes would not have to turn their backs on the tomb during the performance of the religious rites or the ritual prayer.

In *tarikāt* tombs, an interesting architectural feature connected with the veneration of saints and distinguishing these buildings from other tombs was the opening referred to by terms such as “*niyāz penceresi*, *muwādjaha penceresi*, *du‘ā penceresi*, *hādjat penceresi*” (salutation, manifestation, prayer, supplication window).¹²⁰ These windows, in front of which outside visitors to the tomb would pay their respects (*niyāz*) to the *walīs* and pray, would look out on to the courtyard or the street, in accordance with the situation of the *tekke*, but in either case it always looked onto the grave of the dignitary (*pīr*, *pīr-i thānī* or *sheikh*) who had founded the *tekke*. The *niyāz* windows were larger than the other windows and were distinguished from the others by certain architectural details. These included the formula “*Yā Ḥaḍrat-i Sultān Pīr...*” over the window, together with verses reminding the visitors that they were in the presence of a saint and calling upon them to behave with due respect, inscriptions consisting of verses from the *Qoran* or *hadiths* connected with visits to a tomb and concepts such as sanctity and intercession, and reliefs of headgear symbolizing the religious order.

¹¹⁹ Tanman, “Relations entre les *semahane* et les *türbe* dans les *tekke* d’Istanbul”, *Ars Turcica. / Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Türkische Kunst*, Munich 1979, 312-322; Tanman, “Settings for the Veneration of Saints”, *The Dervish Lodge*, 130-171.

¹²⁰ These windows were also referred to by terms such as “*dua penceresi*, *hâcet penceresi*, *muvaḥḥe penceresi*”. (Tanman, “Hâcet Penceresi”, *TDVİA*, XIV, 435-438).

In some *walī* tombs there is a well, in the belief that the water must be health giving. These wells, which are sometimes located in the courtyard, sometimes within the tomb itself, are connected, on the one hand, with the belief that the quality of Allah as "Shāfi" (health giver) is manifested in the prophets and their successors, the *velīs* and, on the other, with the cult of Asclepius, the ancient god of health, from which the concept of a health giving source of water (*zoodohos pigi*) infiltrated Anatolian Turkish culture through the mediation of the Greek Orthodox tradition of the "ayazma" (sacred spring). The wells in the tombs in the Yenikapı Mawlawikhāna and the Nūr al-Din Djarrahī Tekkesi may be cited as examples of this synchrétiste tradition that survived, more particularly in Sufi circles in Istanbul.

* * *

The tombs connected with Ottoman tekkes can be classified in accordance with factors such as the building material employed (masonry or wood), form (square, rectangular or polygonal) and infrastructure (open, closed). This classification is applicable to all the Ottoman tombs. Thus, the relation between the tomb and the ritual space, a distinguishing feature of the Sufi tombs, has been adopted as a criterion in the proposed typology.

Group I – Tombs totally independent of the ritual space:

Most of the tombs in tekkes of the mosque-tekke type consisting of converted churches and reminiscent of medreses with courtyards were designed as independent units. In some examples, as, for example, in the Aydinoghlu Tekkesi¹²¹ (end of XVth century ~ end of XIXth century) at Hocapaşa in Istanbul, tombs originally designed as separate units were later surrounded by an enlarged building complex.

Group II – Tombs within the same architectural whole as the ritual space:

In the tekkes classified under this heading the tombs and the ritual spaces are included within the same architectural whole, and connected in various ways. These buildings can be classified in three sub-groups in accordance with the nature of the link:

¹²¹ Tanman, "Aydinoğlu Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, I, 482-484.

Sub-group II-A – Tombs under the ritual space:

In these buildings, reminiscent of the kümbets in pre-Ottoman Turkish architecture, the tomb is located on the ground floor and the ritual space on the floor above. In the Üsküdar Mawlawikhāna (1792/93 ~1834/35 ~1872) the tomb occupies the whole of the ground floor of the raised semahane, while in the Defterdar Yā Wadūd Tekkesi (c. 1453 ~1711~1804) in Eyüp and the Bursa Tekkesi¹²² (1453 ~1830) at Eminönü, the smaller tomb units are located in a corner of the ground floor.

Sub-group II-B – Tombs in the same building and on the same level as the ritual space:

In some tekkes the tombs are immediately adjacent to the ritual space and on the same level, with connections in the form of various architectural elements such as doors, windows and wide openings. The tombs may be set against the east wall,¹²³ west wall,¹²⁴ north wall,¹²⁵ or south (qibla) wall.¹²⁶ In the Hādji Bektāsh-i Walī Tekkesi, the entrance to the XIIIth century tomb of the pīr in the kible wall of the ritual space dating from 1562/63 known as the Kırklar Meydanı, takes the place of the mihrāb in this section, which, although the namaz was never performed in Bektashi *maydāns*, is referred to in the prose inscription¹²⁷ over the entrance as “*masdjid al-mubārak*” (fig. 96).

Sub-group II-C – Tombs integrated in the ritual space:

In some tekkes, the tombs are designed to form a single unit with the ritual space without a wall between them. The following examples can be

¹²² Tanman, “Yavedūd Tekkesi”, *DBİSTA*, VII, 444-445; Tanman, “Bursa Tekkesi Mescidi”, *op.cit.*, II, 340-341.

¹²³ For example, the *Naşūhī Tekkesi* at Üsküdar (Tanman, *Nasuhī Tekkesi*, *DBİSTA*, VI, 50-51) and the *Çerkeş Pīr-i Thānī Tekkesi*, both in Istanbul.

¹²⁴ For example, the ‘*Aṭā*’ *Allah Efendi Tekkesi* at Kanlıca in Istanbul.

¹²⁵ In Istanbul, the *Yahya Efendi Tekkesi* in Beşiktaş, the *Murād Bukhārī Tekkesi* at Nişancı in Eyüp (Tanman, “Murad Buhari Tekkesi”, *DBİSTA*, VII, 514-516) and the *Bālā Tekkesi* at Silvrıkapi.

¹²⁶ In Istanbul, the *Ümmī Sinan Tekkesi* at Eyüp (Tanman, “Ümmi Sinan Tekkesi”, *DBİSTA*, VII, 336-338), the *Şah Sultan Tekkesi* at Eyüp and the *Haşirizāda Tekkesi* at Südüce, together with the *Sheikh Hasan Kāfī Efendi Medrese-Tekkesi* at Akhisar (Prusac) in Bosnia.

¹²⁷ Tarım, *Tarihte Kırşehir-Gölşehri ve Babailer, Ahiler, Bektaşiler*, Istanbul 1948, 115; Gürses, *Hacıbektaş Rehberi*, Ankara 1964, 64-65; Koşay, “Bektaşilik ve Hacı Bektaş Tekkesi”, *TED*, X (19680, 19-26 (25).

cited from Istanbul: In the sheikh Salāmī Efendi Tekkesi in Eyüp the tomb is located at the eastern end of the *tawhīdkhāna* with a row of baqhdadi (lath and plaster) arches supported by wooden pillars between them. In the Halwā'ī Tekkesi at Vezneciler the tomb eyvan beginning immediately behind the mihrāb at the eastern end of the round *tawhīdkhāna* projects out into the street (fig. 79). In the Rifā'ī Āsitānesi¹²⁸ (1732/33 ~1st quarter of the XIXth century) at Üsküdar the tomb eyvan with raised floor is placed on the western edge of the *tawhīdkhāna* (fig. 97). In the Seyyid Nizām Tekkesi (fig. 25) outside Silivrikapı and the Sertarīqzāda Tekkesi¹²⁹ (middle of the XVIIIth century ~1857) there is a row of wooden columns between the *tawhīdkhāna* and the tomb. On the other hand, in the İsmā'il Hāqqī Efendi (Sheikh Türlü) Tekkesi (fig. 58) at Edirnekapı, the Hallādj Baba Tekkesi (2nd half of the XIXth century) in Üsküdar, the Sandıkçı Edhem Efendi Tekkesi (1857/58) (fig. 98) in the same district and the Kartal Baba Tekkesi¹³⁰ (1878) (fig. 99), there is no question of an actual tomb, or even of a special tomb area, the sarcophagi being placed in a section of the *tawhīdkhāna* surrounded by a wooden railing.

In the Istanbul tekkes of Hāshimī 'Utmān Efendi, Djamālīzāda, Sheikh Hūsayn Efendi and Yıldız Dede, the tomb is placed on the kible side of the *tawhīdkhāna* and the wall between them has been removed, leaving the mihrāb block in the middle, thus ensuring that the tomb is treated "with full respect" during both the rites and the namaz (fig. 23-24). In the first two of these buildings, in which veneration of the saints (*walīs*) is most clearly reflected in the design, it is interesting to note that during the Republican period when the buildings were used as mosques a wall was built closing the opening between the *tawhīdkhāna* and the tomb, thus creating an arrangement that the "mosque congregation" would find more congenial.

7. Elements Linked to Sufi Culture in the Architectural Decoration:¹³¹

Of the various elements composing the decoration in Ottoman tekkes those directly linked to Sufi culture are of particular interest. As will be

¹²⁸ Tanman, "Rifā'ī Āsitānesi", *DBİSTA*, VI, 324-325; Demirel-İşli, "Üsküdar'da Rufai Asitanesi", *Arkitekt*, 433 (January 1996), 84-85.

¹²⁹ Tanman, "Sertarīqzade Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, VI, 533-534.

¹³⁰ Tanman, "Hallāç Baba Tekkesi", *DBİSTA*, III, 530-531; Tanman, "Sandıkçı Edhem Efendi Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, VI, 450; Tanman, "Kartal Baba Tekkesi", *op.cit.*, IV, 470-471.

¹³¹ I should like to express my gratitude to my colleague Uşun Tükel for his invaluable help in this section.

demonstrated below, the elements in question were intended to express the concepts and common values held by those using the building, while at the same time indicating the religious order to which the *tekke* belonged. In other words, they were intended to express or indicate certain ideas rather than to merely form a decoration. The decorative elements can be divided into two main categories – figurative and non-figurative:

7.1. *Figurative Elements:*

Signs

One type of figurative element belongs to the category known in the semiotics as a “sign” and now referred to in contemporary linguistic terminology as a “referent”. For example, in the Ottoman world, particularly among the Bektashi and Alevis groups, the figure of the lion, referred to as “the lion of God” (*Allah’ın arslanı*, *Asad Allah*, *Asad Allah al-Ghālib*, *Shīr-i Khudā*) was regarded by all Sufis as representing the Caliph ‘Alī. This “sign”¹³² is frequently employed in the *tekke* paintings and calligraphic pictures peculiar to the Bektashis, and is encountered in the decorative programmes of several Bektashi *tekkes*. The statue of a lion, said to have been brought from Egypt in 1853/54, stands in the centre of the Arslanlı Çeşme (1554/55) in the second courtyard (*Dergāh Avlusu*) of the Hādji Bektāsh-i Walī Tekkesi, the centre of the order (fig. 100). The lion, which is fairly realistically rendered with Western type anatomical details, is surmounted by a representation of the sword *Dhū al-fiqār* and the inscription “Yā ‘Alī”. The same type of fountain can be identified among the remains of the ‘Abd Allah Baba Tekkesi (2nd half of the XIXth century) in the country town of Katerini in Greece.

In the Hādji Bektāsh-i Walī Tekkesi, three fish motifs are placed to the right on the first band of chain patterns on the main entrance to the tomb in which the pīr is buried, along with two dove reliefs on each of the imposts in the jambs (fig. 101). The fish motif had various meanings in both Christian symbolism and pre-Islamic Turkish mythology, but the significance here remains uncertain. However, there must be some connection between the figure of the dove in the Bālim Sultān Kūmbedi in the same complex and the legend that Hādji Bektāsh-i Walī came from Khorāsān to Anatolia in the shape of a dove.

¹³² Aksel, *Türkler’de Dinî Resimler*, İstanbul 1967, 83-89.

Symbols:

The most widespread of the other figurative elements is to be found in the headgear worn by the Sufis and the "*tādj-i sharīf*" (crowns) used by the sheikhs in ceremonies. This headgear and the "*tādj-i sharīf*", which later came to be a sort of "trade-mark" of the religious order, are widely used as motifs in book decoration, panels and tomb-stones, as well as in architectural decoration in the tekkes. The earliest specimens we have been able to identify are the Qādiri-Ashrafī "*tādj-i sharīf*" crests¹³³ on the surfaces between the muqarnas band and the outer frame and the spaces between the undulating stems in the *mihrāb* of the mosque-*tawhīdkhāna* (1748) in the Hākīmoghlu 'Alī Pasha complex at Davutpaşa in Istanbul (fig. 102).

There is a remarkable increase in the use of *tādj-i sharīf* motifs from the first quarter of the XIXth century onwards. There may well have been a link between this widespread use and the fashion created by the Western style coat-of-arms, which began with the reforms initiated during the Tanzīmāt period. During the period extending from the Tanzīmāt to 1925, the tarikat headgear was employed in a number of architectural details, such as tekke inscriptions, door frames, "*niyāz*" windows, ceiling bosses, *mihrābs*, standards, balusters, fountain slabs and "*sabīl*" windows. During the same period, in addition to the "headgear" motifs to be found in compositions on the innumerable panels prepared to be hung in dervish lodges, tombs and in the houses of members of the religious orders, the crown that Sufis believed Muḥammad to have worn during the *Mi'rādj* (Ascension) and which symbolized his "*salṭanat-i ma'nawīya*" (spiritual sovereignty), was placed in the centre of the composition and mounted on a stool, as in tekke ceremonial (fig. 103).

Another feature that may be included in this category can be observed in the ceiling of the *tawhīdkhāna*-tomb building, renovated by Maḥmūd II in 1835/36, in the Nūr al-Dīn Djarrāhī Tekkesi at Karagömrük in Istanbul. An elliptical frame containing the radiating beams known as the "sun of Maḥmūd II" is inserted within a rectangular outer frame in the section of the wooden ceiling belonging to the *tawhīdkhāna*, and strips of wood depicting a quarter of the "*tādj-i sharīf*" in the corners between. On the

¹³³ Tanman, "Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Camii'ne İlişkin Bazı Gözlemler", *Aslanapa Armağanı I*, Istanbul 1996, 253-280.

other hand, in the centre of the wooden ceiling in the *tawhīdkhāna* in the İsmā'il Haqqī Efendi (Sheikh Türlü) Tekkesi (1877) at Edirnekapi in Istanbul there is a small "baḡhdadī" (lath and plaster) dome mirroring all the characteristic features of the crest of a Naqshbandī crown (Fig. 58).

A tariqat symbol known as "Qādirī roses", which takes the form of a star with various mystical meanings, placed on the summit of the Qādirī *tādj-i sharīf*, was used as a motif in tekke architectural decoration. Qādirī roses of various types and dimensions can be observed on the façade of the tomb-sebil, on the doorframes in the main entrance of the Oghlanlar Tekkesi (1870/71) at Aksaray in Istanbul (fig. 104) as well as on the façade of the tomb-sebil. Qādirī roses can also be found among inscriptions dated 1745 on the courtyard façade of the Hādji Sinān Tekkesi (1623-1640) in Sarajevo.

Besides the "*tādj-i sharīf*" a number of other tariqat objects that had assumed the character of the "trademarks" of certain orders entered the decorative repertoire. For example, the reliefs and carvings in the form of twelve-sided "taslim" stones¹³⁴ symbolizing "taslimīyat" (submission) to the twelve imams employed by the Bektashis are frequently to be encountered in all Bektashi lodges (fig. 105).

In some religious orders or branches of orders a certain plant would have a special significance in the life of one of the pirs and would, in time, be included among the symbols of that institution. The most characteristic example is the hyacinth, a flower much loved by Sheikh Yūsuf Sinān (d. 1529), who founded the Sunbuliyya branch of the Khalwatiyya, and who, because he would place a hyacinth (sünbül) in the turban of his "*tādj-i sharīf*", was popularly known as "Sünbül Efendi". It was thus that the hyacinth came to be a symbol of this branch of the order. The elliptical head windows in the Sünbül Efendi Türbesi (1834 ~ beginning of the XXth century) in the Qodja Muṣṭafa Pasha Tekkesi, Sunbaliyya āsitānesi, are surrounded by bunches of hyacinths in stucco, while the low arches in the

¹³⁴ The Bektashis would hang these "teslim" stones around their necks or use them as belt buckles. The materials most commonly employed in the production of these stones consisted of a green-yellow veined onyx known as "*Hādji Bektash Taşı*" and a rock crystal known as "nadjaf". The former was regarded by the Bektashis as sacred because it was obtained from mines in the vicinity of the *Hādji Bektash Tekkesi* and because it was thought, in accordance with a rather indelicate folk belief, to have been produced from *Hādji Bektash-i Walī's* vomit. The other stone bears the name of the city of Nadjaf where the Caliph was killed and subsequently buried.

Amina Khātūn Sabili in the same lodge are surrounded by marble hyacinth reliefs (fig. 106). In the Merkez Efendi Tekkesi, the most important Khalwatīya-Sunbuliyya institution after the āsitāne, the *tādj-i sharīf* in the centre of the fountain in the northwest corner of the tomb (1836/37) is surrounded by hyacinth reliefs.

Again in the Merkez Efendi Tekkesi, the eaves over the "niyāz" window of the tomb are of interest both as regards Istanbul *tariqat* folklore and in its reflection of its decorative programme. On *bayram* mornings, the sheikh and *dedegān* of the nearby Yenikapı Mawlawikhānasi would, after conducting the *namaz* in the Merkez Efendi Tekkesi, perform the *bayram* ceremony in the "*ḥuḍūr-i Ḥaḍrat-i Merkez*".¹³⁵ A standard in the form of a Mawlawī *tādj-i sharīf* was erected on the eaves as a symbol of the ancient friendship between the two orders, both extremely active in Istanbul, while a boss containing a hyacinth motif was nailed to the ceiling with a couplet¹³⁶ dedicated to Merkez Efendi.

Similarly, the date trees on the lattices of the women's gallery in the *tawḥīdkhāna* (1888-89) in the Ḥasirizāda Tekkesi at Sötlüce in Istanbul may be said to be a quite unusual decorative element (fig. 107). In the Sa'diyya order to which the tekke belonged, the date is known to have occupied a very special place because of the custom of making the dervish being initiated into the order swallow a date while the sheikh pronounced the "*takbīr*" (The "God is great" formula).¹³⁷

7.2. Non-Figurative Elements (Calligraphic Compositions):

The non-figurative decorative elements connected with Sufi culture can be included in the category of calligraphic art. In addition to various verses from the *Qoran*, *ḥadīth*, and the names of Allah, the Prophet Muḥammad, the Four Caliphs, Imams and '*Ashara-i Mubashshara*' to be found in mosques and *masjid* we also encounter verses and *ḥadīth* mentioning Allah, to which the Sufis give particular importance; the names of the twelve imams,

¹³⁵ I should like to express my gratitude to Fakhr al-Dīn (Kalemciöğlu) Efendi, one of the last of the Sunbuli sheikhs in Istanbul, from whom I received this information.

¹³⁶ Bes tevessül sana bu türbe-i iksir-i turāb * Bundandır sūr yüzünü Merkez-i qutbū'l-aqtāb.

¹³⁷ I should like to express my gratitude to Rāshid Efendi, one of the last of the Sa'di sheikhs in Istanbul, from whom I received this information.

pīrs and *pīr-i thānīs*;¹³⁸ the twin “Hū” and twin “Wāw” compositions that originally took shape in Sufi circles and ultimately made their appearance in mosques; formulas appealing to the Sufi outlook;¹³⁹ eulogies addressed to Muḥammad, the “*Ahl-i Bayt*” (the Prophet’s family) and the velīs, and mystical verses (fig. 108). All these formulas were applied to walls in conformity with due respect and hierarchy. For example, no writing was ever placed on the surface of the wall below the level of the central boss, and names were arranged in accordance with the “*silsila-i marātib*” (hierarchy). It would appear that after the XIXth century the mural inscriptions in paint on plaster were abandoned in favour of inscriptions on panels. In the Hādji Sinān Tekkesi in Sarajevo an interesting example of a calligraphic composition on plaster dated 1745 is to be seen on the walls of the units looking onto the courtyard.

¹³⁸ Among the Sufis, at least in the last period, place has been given to the following belief connected with panels containing the names of pīrs: the “sleeping bird” placed over the panel containing the name of a “pīr” symbolizes the awakening of the spirit, exactly like the awakening of the bird, on a call for its help. (I should like to express my gratitude to Ḥusayn Nazmī (Ceylan) Efendi, one of the last of the Qādiri sheikhs in Istanbul, from whom I received this information.)

¹³⁹ For example, “*Adab yā Hū*”, “*Amān Muruwwat*”, “*Gharīq-i baḥr-i ‘iṣyānem dakhīlak Yā Rasūl Allah*” (I am drowning in the sea of rebellion, come to my help, Oh Apostle of God!), “*Lā fatā illā ‘Alī lā sayfe illā Dhū al-fiqār*” (There is no hero like Ali, no sword like Dhū al-fiqār!)