

Examining Sufism and Space Through Ego-Documents: *Tekke* (Dervish Lodge) and Everyday Life in the *Sohbetnâme* (1661-1665) by Seyyid Hasan

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*Ben-Anlatıları Üzerinden Tasavvuf ve Mekânı Okumak: Seyyid Hasan'ın
Sohbetnâme'sinde (1661-1665) Tekke ve Gündelik Hayat*

Öz ■ Bu makale on yedinci yüzyıl İstanbul'unda bir Halveti şeyhi tarafından yazılmış bir ben-anlatısını, *Sohbetnâme* (1661-1665) adlı metni mekân analizi yaparak incelemeyi, Sufilerin mekân kullanımları üzerinden onların gündelik hayat pratiklerini aydınlatmayı ve tekkelerin Sufilerin hayatında oynadığı rolü tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır. Seyyid Hasan'ın günlüğünün bu bağlamda değerlendirilmesi derişlerin gündelik hayatlarının yalnızca tekkelerin içinde ve odağında şekillenmediğini, aksine, farklı evlerde, bahçelerde ve dükkanlarda geçen son derece hareketli bir gündelik hayat pratiği sürdürdüklerini göstermektedir. Bununla birlikte, bu makale mevcut akademik literatürde Sufilerin ve Sufiliğin tarihi çalışılırken kullanılan tekke odaklı yaklaşımına bir alternatif sunmaktadır ve kapsamlı bir tasavvuf tarihi yazılmasında tekke dışı mekanların ayrıntılı incelenmesi gerektiğini savunmaktadır. Son olarak, bu makale, ben-anlatıları metinlerinin mekân çalışmalarında da ilginç bulgular ortaya çıkarabileceğini ve bu nedenle ben-anlatılarının mekân çalışan tarihçilerin radarına girmesi gereken kapsamlı metinler olduğunu göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Tasavvuf, *Sohbetnâme*, Ben-Anlatısı, Tekke, Mekan, Gündelik Hayat.

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Introduction

The spatial turn, a methodological development which puts emphasis on space and place, has received considerable attention in social sciences in the twentieth century.¹ The developments of mapping technologies, such as GIS (Geographic Information Systems), have paved the way for further inquiries focusing on space. Despite gaining a widespread attention in other fields, the notion of space in the field of Sufism is an un(der)studied topic. The scholars who have examined the spatial² aspects of Sufism have predominantly focused on dervish lodges (*tekke* in singular)³ to explore the spatial distribution, numbers, size, architecture, functions, and material culture of these lodges.⁴ The GIS mapping

- 1 Henri Lefebvre's triad on space, which focuses on the production of space and its link to social practice, along with the writings of prominent thinkers such as Michael de Certeau and Michel Foucault, became the pioneering studies on space and they provided a theoretical background on the issue for future scholars. For further readings, see Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Chicago; Illinois: Blackwell Publishing Limited, 1991); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 91-110; Michel de Certeau, "Practices of Space", *On Signs*, ed. Marshall Blonsky (Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University, 1986), pp. 122-145; Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heteropias", trans. Jay Miskowicz, *Diacritics*, 16/1 (1986), pp. 22-27.
- 2 I use 'spatial' in its literal meaning 'relating to space, occupying a space' as it emerges in the dictionaries. I use 'spatial' as an adjective and 'spatiality' as a noun referring to the same meaning based on their place in the sentence. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/spatial>; <https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oia/authority.20110803100521647;jsessionid=F5C213E622385D934FFFC628073F7342>.
- 3 In this article, I will be using *tekke* and lodge interchangeably.
- 4 Some examples include Nile Green, *Making Space: Sufis and Settlers in Early Modern India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012); Hasan Karataş, "The City as a Historical Actor: The Urbanization and Ottomanization of the Halvetiyye Sufi Order by the City of Amasya in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" (doctoral dissertation), Los Angeles: University of California, 2011. For some examples of the lodge literature, see Raymond Lifchez (ed.), *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey* (University of California Press, 1992); Mustafa Kara, *Türk Tasavvuf Tarihi Araştırmaları: Tarikatlar, Tekkeler, Şeyhler* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005); Mustafa Kara, *Bursâ'da Tarikatlar ve Tekkeler* (Bursa: Uludağ Yayınları, 1993); Ethel Sara Wolper, *Cities and Saints: Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003); M. Baha Tanman, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Tarikat Yapıları/Tekkeler", *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf ve Sufiler*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar Ocak (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2005); Zeynep Yürekli, "A Building between the Public and Private Realms of the Ottoman Elite: The Sufi Convent of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in İstanbul", *Muqarnas*,

systems have also been integrated into the field; however, these studies, once again, have focused almost exclusively on the lodges.⁵

As abundant number of studies conducted on “dervish lodges” emphasized the centrality of the lodges in Sufism, the dominant tendency in the field has been considering the *tekke* as the central venue in the spatial organization of Sufis. For example, Daphna Ephrat and Paulo Pinto argue that while the mystical tradition of Islam flourished initially in private houses and mosques, from the tenth century onward, the *tekkes* became the primary sites for Sufis.⁶ Lucy Garnett has stated that dervishes stayed in their rooms in the *tekke* for hours busy with contemplation and worship and did not go out for long periods of time.⁷ Nathalie Clayer’s study on a *Cerrahi tekke* in eighteenth-century Istanbul has also examined the daily practices and devotional routines of Sufis occurred mainly within the walls of the *tekkes*.⁸ Ethel Sara Wolper, in her examination of the dervish lodges in medieval Anatolia, has asserted that “[i]t was in these buildings [dervish lodges] that the details of ritual life and communal practice were worked out.”⁹ Given their heavy emphasis on the lodges, it would not be misplaced to label this corpus as “the *tekke* literature.” While the *tekke* literature has made a commendable contribution to the field, the supposed undeniable centrality of the *tekkes* for Sufis, however, has caused a recognizable gap in the academic scholarship for non-*tekke* spaces while studying Sufis and Sufism.¹⁰

XX (2003), pp. 159–86., Serpil Özcan, “XIX. Yüzyıl Tekkeleri ve Mekansal Konumlanışları” (MA Thesis), İstanbul: İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi, 2020; A. Yusuf Yüksek, “Sufis and the Sufi Lodges in Istanbul in the Late Nineteenth Century: A Socio-Spatial Analysis”, *Journal of Urban History*, 49/4 (2023), pp. 767-796.

- 5 Serpil Özcan, “XIX. Yüzyıl Tekkeleri”; Yüksek, “Sufis and the Sufi Lodges in Istanbul”.
- 6 Daphna Ephrat and Paulo G. Pinto, “Sufi Places and Dwellings”, *Sufi Institutions*, ed. Alexandre Papis (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021), p. 105.
- 7 Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Dervişler ve Abdallar*, trans. Hanife Öz (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2010), p. 85.
- 8 Nathalie Clayer, “Life in an Istanbul *tekke* in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries according to a “*menakibnâme*” of the Cerrahi Dervishes”, *The Illuminated Table, The Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Wüzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2003).
- 9 Wolper, *Cities and Saints*, p. 4.
- 10 One of the reasons for this extensive emphasis on the *tekke* must be searched in the types of sources studied in the field that constituted mostly material sources such as the *tekkes* themselves or *tekaya defters* where ample information about the Sufi lodges were recorded.

Expanding the study of Sufis' spatial and daily practices to encompass the broader urban environment would enable scholars to better understand their relevance for society at large. Rather than overemphasizing the *tekke*'s central role, which risks isolating Sufis from other spheres of activity, approaching Sufis as active participants in the urban environment provides a more solid foundation for investigating their urban, spatial, and socio-cultural experiences, and for constructing a comprehensive history of Sufism. Furthermore, "as Sufis were influenced by both local and global transformations and experienced changes by engaging with new forms of urban sociability or tensions,"¹¹ situating them within the larger urban sphere opens up new research avenues, including the interplay between Sufis and broader socio-cultural and urban developments. By challenging the role of the *tekke* in Sufis' lives and highlighting their wider participation in the urban environment, this article aims to accomplish the overdue task of showcasing and emphasizing Sufi practices on a broader urban scale. One way of achieving this is to move away from traditional sources, such as *tekaya* registers and material culture, and instead explore new sources, such as ego-documents (sources written by the self about the self). This is where Seyyid Hasan's diary, titled the *Sohbetnâme* (*Book of Conversations*), emerges as rich source for researching Sufism and its spatiality in an urban setting during the early modern Ottoman Empire.

Seyyid Hasan, a venerated Halveti dervish, was born in Istanbul in 1620 as the son of Seyyid Mehmed, the sheikh of the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge, one of the most prestigious *tekkes* of the Halvetiyye Order. At the age of forty-four in 1664, Seyyid Hasan ascended to the seat of the sheikh of the Ferruh Kethüda Lodge, also known as the Balat Lodge, and for the next twenty-four years, he continued his duty as the sheikh of the lodge, as well as the preacher of the neighboring mosque until his death during the plague of 1688.¹² Between the years of 1661-1665, Seyyid Hasan penned a diary, the *Sohbetnâme*, full of details on people, places, daily activities, and food. Owing to Seyyid Hasan's detailed records, the *Sohbetnâme* is a great source to implement space as an analytical tool, illuminating

11 Nathalie Clayer, "Sufism, Urbanisation and Sociabilities in Cities", *Sufi Institutions*, ed. Alexander Papas (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021), p. 232.

12 Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, *Vekâiyü'l-fudalâ, Şakaiku'n-nu'mâniyye ve Zeyilleri*, nşr. Abdülkadir Özcan, v. IV (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları 1989), fols. 24^b-25^a; Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmani*, v. II (İstanbul: Matba'a-i Âmire, 1308), p. 142.

the role of the lodge in their lives as well as wider spatial practices of Sufis in an urban setting.

This article consists of two parts; the first part provides a detailed discussion of the author, Seyyid Hasan and his diary, as well as an overview of the literature on ego-documents also known as self-narratives. The second part, then, moves on to the main analysis and contribution of this article on the role of space, including lodges and other venues, in the lives of Sufis where I examine the relationship between the Sufis in the *Sohbetnâme* and the spaces around them with an analysis of used space that goes beyond the lodges. This research demonstrates that Ottoman Sufi spatiality consisted of multiple venues, rather than Sufis confining themselves to lodges, and that brought a high level of mobility in the everyday lives of Sufis in seventeenth-century Istanbul. Moreover, writing a comprehensive history of the Sufi spatial/daily practices requires expanding and diversifying the scope of spaces by introducing new types of sources such as ego-documents. This article is therefore a contribution to the existing literature on ego-documents, Ottoman Sufism, and the social history of space.

1. PART I: Seyyid Hasan and the *Sohbetnâme*

Ego-Documents in the Ottoman Literature and Seyyid Hasan's *Sohbetnâme*

Ego-documents or self-narratives as a concept refer to sources about the self and produced by the self. This genre conventionally includes but not limited to diaries, memoirs, letters, and autobiographies. Although the use of these sources in secondary literature is not new, grouping them under one category and conceptualizing them as ego-documents or self-narratives is rather a novel phenomenon. Jacques Presser coined the term ego-document; some scholars, however, have preferred to use “self-narrative” instead of “ego-document” which, according to them, connotes Freudian usage of the “ego.”¹³ Setting aside the nuances of this debate, in this article I choose to use these two terms interchangeably because both of them are used in Ottoman studies.¹⁴

13 Kaspar von Greyerz, “Ego-Documents: The Last Word?,” *German History*, 28/3 (2010), pp. 273–82; Selim Karahasanoğlu, “Ottoman Ego-Documents: State of Art,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 53 (2021), pp. 301–308.

14 However, because the title of this special volume is “ego-documents”, I prefer to use this term more frequently than self-narratives.

Since the term ego-document entered Ottoman studies, it has created a fruitful field for new research due to the high number of self-narratives produced by Ottoman subjects from different walks of life (or background). Thus far, plenty of memoirs, diaries, dream records, and autobiographies have been found, transcribed, and examined by Ottomanists. Among others, the dream letters of Sultan Murad III (d. 1595), seventeenth-century mystic Asiye Hatun and Ibnül Emin Mahmut Kemal (d. 1957); the diaries of renowned individuals such as Niyazi-i Mısri (d. 1694), Aziz Mahmud Hüdai (d. 1628), Sıdkı Mustafa, (d. 1790–1), Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi as well as the captivity memoirs of Macuncuzade Mustafa Efendi and Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa can be given as examples of Ottoman ego-documents studied by a number of scholars.¹⁵

The *Sohbetnâme* of Seyyid Hasan was among the well-known Ottoman self-narratives that have attracted considerable attention. Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu was the first person to write about the *Sohbetnâme*, publishing two newspaper articles in the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper in July 1956 with the titles of “17. Asırda Bir İstanbullu’nun Notları” (Notes of an Istanbulite in the 17th Century) and “17. Asır’da İstanbul” (Istanbul in the 17th Century).¹⁶ In these articles, Şehsuvaroğlu mostly focused on how Seyyid Hasan described Istanbul’s houses, streets, feasts at gardens, and the limited political events that he made note of. Later, Orhan Şaik Gökyay published an article on the diary in 1985, mostly listing the food and people, and providing introductory information on the author and his writing style.¹⁷ The first group of scholarly studies on Seyyid Hasan’s *Sohbetnâme* were Cemal Kafadar’s article in 1989 titled “Self and Others” and Suraiya Faroqhi’s

15 Özgen Felek (ed.), *Kitabül-Menamat: Sultan III. Murad’ın Rüya Mektupları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014); Madeline C. Zilfi, “The Diary of a Müderris: A New Source for Ottoman Biography”, *Journal of Turkish Studies*, 1 (1977), pp. 157–74; İbrahim Öztürkçü, *İbnülemin’in Rüyalari* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2018); Selim Karahasanoğlu, *Kadı ve Günlüğü: Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi Günlüğü (1711–1735) Üstüne Bir İnceleme* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013); Halil Çeçen (ed.), *Niyazî-i Mısri’nin Hatıraları* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2014); Ziver Tezeren, *Seyyid Aziz Mahmûd Hüdâyi, I: Hayatı, Şahsiyeti, Tarikatı ve Eserleri* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1984); İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, “Bir Türk Kadısının Esaret Hatıraları”, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi*, 5/8 (1953), pp. 77–84; İrvın Cemil Schick (ed.), *Avrupalı Esireler ve Müslüman Efendileri: “Türk” İllerinde Esaret Anlatıları* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005); Cemal Kafadar, *Kim Var İmiş Biz Burada Yoğ İken* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2019).

16 Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, “17. Asır’da Bir İstanbullu’nun Notları” and “17. Asır’da İstanbul” *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*, 1956.

17 Orhan Şaik Gökyay, “Sohbetnâme”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, 3/2 (1985), pp. 56–64.

chapter in German, “Ein Istanbuler Derwisch des 17. Jahrhunderts”.¹⁸ Following Kafadar and Faroqhi, there was a time of relative silence until recently. In the last decade, various master’s theses have studied this diary from a number of angles.¹⁹ Although these studies have introduced the *Sohbetnâme* to the field and provided valuable scholarship on Seyyid Hasan’s Sufi bonds and social network, there is still much to be studied given the fruitful details in the diary on food, city landscape, and the characteristics of everyday life. While benefiting from the growing body of work on Seyyid Hasan and his account, this article aims to expand this literature by illuminating the spatial activities of Sufis in the diary.

Seyyid Hasan’s Motivations to Keep a Diary

Before moving on the detailed analysis of the diary, it is worth exploring the question of what led Seyyid Hasan to record a diary full of people and their mundane daily activities? Rudolf Dekker has pointed out that “in times of crisis, more people kept diaries than in happier times.”²⁰ In fact, reading the secondary literature on seventeenth-century Istanbul, some of the themes scholars have significantly explored were ‘transformation’ and ‘crisis’. In political terms, revolts, regicides, and the limited power of the sultans have been the focus of much attention.²¹

18 Cemal Kafadar, “Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature”, *Studia Islamica*, 69 (1989), pp. 121–50. Suraiya Faroqhi, “Ein Istanbuler Derwisch des 17. Jahrhunderts, seine Familie und seine Freunde: Das Tagebuch des Seyyid Hasan”, *Selbstzeugnisse in der Frühen Neuzeit, Individualisierungsweisen in interdisziplinärer Perspektive*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), pp. 113-126.

19 Aykut Can transliterated the first volume, “Seyyid Hasan, Sohbetname, I. Cilt,” (MA thesis), İstanbul: Marmara University, 2015. Then I finished my MA thesis, “The Use of Space by Sufis in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul in Light of Seyyid Hasan’s Diary, The Sohbetnâme” (MA thesis), Budapest: Central European University, 2018. One year later, three more MA theses were written on the diary: Tunahan Durmaz “Family, Companions, and Death: Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi’s Microcosm (1661-1665)” (MA thesis), İstanbul: Sabancı University, 2019; Gülşen Yakar, “Individual and Community, Public and Private: The Case of a 17th-Century Istanbulite Dervish and His Diary” (MA thesis), Ankara: METU, 2019; Ayşe Akkılık, who transliterated the second volume of the diary, “Seyyid Hasan’ın Günlüğü II. Cilt” (MA thesis), İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2019.

20 Rudolf Dekker, “Jacques Presser’s Heritage: Egodocuments in the Study of History”, *Memoria y Civilizacion*, 5 (2002), p. 35.

21 The political aspects of the seventeenth century have been studied in detail and the ‘decline paradigm’ has long busied scholars. Many studies have so far challenged this paradigm. For example, see Cemal Kafadar, “The Question of Ottoman Decline”, *Harvard Middle*

In urban terms, although the level of urbanization continued to increase, the city also witnessed a decline in status as the royal dynasty moved to Edirne resulting in a decrease in infrastructure and investment.²² In climatic terms, a global crisis caused by the Little Ice Age changed the dynamics of politics, economy, social order, and more.²³ In socio-cultural terms, as opposed to the literature on the crisis, the immense level of coffee consumption and tobacco, the popularity of the coffee houses, and emerging new means of leisure and pleasure such as shadow theatre and *meddah* plays characterized the city.²⁴ In religious terms, there was the emergence of the puritanical reform movement known as the *Kadızadelis*, who attacked mainly Sufism.²⁵ Recently, an emerging literature, the Sunnitization paradigm,

Eastern and Islamic Review, 4 (1997-8), pp. 30-75. Baki Tezcan has written one of the extensive histories in the political transformations in the seventeenth century, Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

- 22 Many have written on this issue so far. For example, Shirine Hamadeh and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu (ed.), *Early Modern Companion to Istanbul* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2021); Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman (ed.), *The Early Modern Ottomans* (Cambridge: CUP, 2007).
- 23 Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013); Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
- 24 Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark Is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul," *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Arzu Öztürkmen, Evelyn Birge Vitz (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 243–69.
- 25 The Kadızadelis was a puritanical reform movement that emerged in three different waves and spanned the seventeenth century. This topic has been studied in detail from different angles. For more information, see Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age 1600-1800* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988); Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 45/4 (1986), pp. 251–69; Marinos Sariyannis, "The Kadızadeli Movement as a Social and Political Phenomenon: The Rise of a 'Mercantile Ethic'?", *Political Initiatives "from the Bottom Up" in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete VII, a Symposium Held in Rethymno 9-11 January 2009*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Crete: Crete University Press, 2012); Ali Fuat Bilkan, *Fakihler ve Sofular Kavgası: 17. Yüzyılda Kadızadeliler ve Sivasiler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2016). Also, a very recent article written by Baki Tezcan argues that the Kadızadelis did not disappear after the 17th century, but their ideas prevailed. Baki Tezcan, "Esrarını Yitiren İslam Ya da Erken Modern Bir Sıyiti-mi", *Tarih ve Toplum Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, 19 (2022), pp. 9-74.

which strives to elucidate the shift from ‘confessional ambiguity’ to strong Sunni-oriented tendencies in the state and society, gained prominence.²⁶

Of all the factors mentioned above, it seems that the only recurring theme that directly, and deeply, affected Hasan and his social circle, was the plague, as it is the only factor discussed in his diary. One cannot know the extent to which the other developments impacted him in ways which are not immediately evident from the text. The plague, on the other hand, was personally detrimental to him; it was after losing most of his family members to it, including his children and his wife, that he started to write his account. Thus, plague seemed to play the central role for his desire to keep records of both his life and that of his beloveds who survived the plague. In the words of Cemal Kafadar, “family and friends were dying off, there were losses to be grieved over. This may well have been what prompted Seyyid Hasan to keep a diary.”²⁷

The fact that Hasan started writing a diary after losing his wife to plague bolsters this point. A quick glance at the text gives the impression that Seyyid Hasan started his diary on the first day of the new year, 1072 (1661) as he commences, “the month of *Muharram* [the first month of the year in Islamic calendar] has arrived. On the first of *Muharram*...”²⁸ However, a cautious reading of the text demonstrates that Hasan did not start recording a diary on the first of the month but after his wife’s death around the 8th -10th of *Muharram* and recorded the first week of the month retrospectively. There are various other indicators for this possibility; first, he does not provide as much detail in the first week of the month as he provides in the rest of the diary. Second, on the second page of his diary, he mentions that “I went to Alibeyköy . . . and stayed there for seven days.”²⁹ After mentioning how long he stayed there, he summarizes the events that happened in these seven days. Moreover, his literary tone changes strikingly after his wife’s passing.³⁰ While

26 Tijana Krstic and Derin Terzioğlu (ed.), *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire 1450-1750* (Boston: Brill, 2020); Vefa Erginbaş (ed.), *Ottoman Sunnism: New Perspectives* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 2019).

27 Kafadar, “Self and Others”, p. 143.

28 *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 1^a.

29 *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 2^b.

30 On the other hand, it is noteworthy that Hasan’s reactions are contrasting and surprising at times. For example, he praises the taste of *helva* (traditional dessert offered to the guests at the funeral house) mentioning that it was beyond comparison right before he mentions that he could not sleep but kept crying. *Sohbetnâme*, I, fols. 5^b, 6^a.

initially writing in prose and plain text without any subtitles or distractions as if noting chains of events, following the death of his wife he switches to a standard writing style dividing the daytime and night-time by adding titles, listing, and enumerating many things such as food and people. After witnessing many beloveds defeated by the plague, and after his wife's passing, which coincided with the arrival of the new year, it seems that Seyyid Hasan decided to keep a diary to leave a written record of his social circle, to conserve their memory, and recorded the first week of the month retrospectively. Whatever Seyyid Hasan's motivations, his diary has left us a fruitful source to examine and illuminate various aspects of Sufi life in seventeenth-century Istanbul.

A Discussion on the Genre: The *Sohbetnâme* as a Diary

Scholars have considered the *Sohbetnâme* as a diary; and yet, neither the author Seyyid Hasan nor his contemporaries have called it such. In fact, Seyyid Hasan uses the term *sâlnâme* (literally year-book) when he commences a new year in his account. Also, on the last page of the text, there is a note written by Hacı Mehmed Hâşim (d. 1785), stating, "this *sâlnâme*, which was written by the venerable Seyyid Hasan Nuri, has been given to me in 1175 [1756] in the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge." Mehmed Hâşim was the sheikh of the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge between 1757 and 1785 and he was the great-grandson of Seyyid Hasan.³¹ This end note written by Seyyid Hasan's great-grandson elucidates that Sufis in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries considered this source to be a yearbook. *Sâlnâme* was far from being a generally accepted term as there were plenty of terms used for day-to-day records. For instance, Selim Karahasanoğlu has shown that *ceride*, (proceedings or minutes), was another term used by the authors of self-narratives, in his study of Telhisi Mustafa Efendi.³² Additional terms included *jevmiye* (journal), *tarih* (annals), and *muyavamat* (diary).³³ All in all, while the urge to record daily occurrences has always been present; there was a lack of consensus on how to name these accounts in the pre-modern era.

Seyyid Hasan did not only record his personal activities, but also included records of his larger social circle in his detailed account. There are, for instance, many

31 Fatih Köse, "İstanbul Halveti Tekkeleri" (doctoral dissertation), İstanbul: Marmara University, 2010, p. 58; Durmaz "Family, Companions, and Death", p. 23.

32 Karahasanoğlu, *Kadı ve Günlüğü*, p. 1-13.

33 Karahasanoğlu, "Ottoman Ego-Documents", p. 302; George Makdisi, "The Diary in Islamic Historiography: Some Notes", *History and Theory*, 25/2 (1986), pp.173-185.

entries where Hasan shares important developments in the lives of his Sufi fellows including deaths and births.³⁴ In many cases, he switches his tone from narration to record-keeping, particularly when creating detailed lists of the names of people on an occasion and the food they consumed. Seyyid Hasan would often put numbers under the lists of people and food in a way to enumerate them.

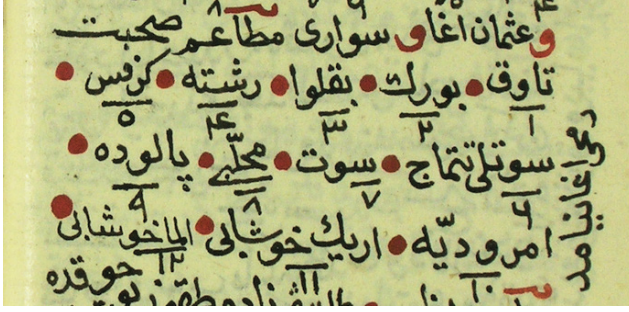
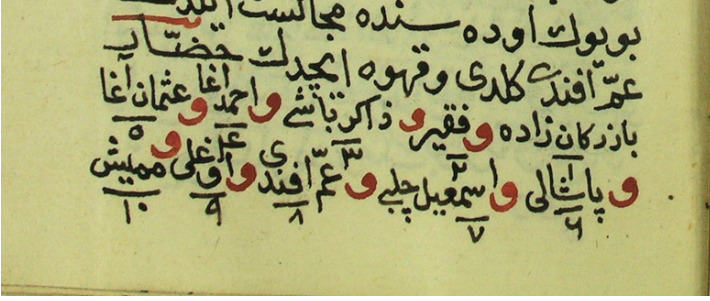


Image I-II: Sample pages for Seyyid Hasan underlined and enumerated food (below) and people (above)

From this perspective, the account resembles a record-keeping for his social circle in addition to the personal details. In fact, it lies somewhere in between: too many personal details and day-to-day records to be a record-keeping; plentiful information about his fellows and directly addressing to an audience to be a personal diary.

³⁴ "It must be known that İmam Efendi informed us about the death of Kavukçu Durmuş Çelebi" *Sohbetnâme* I, fol. 78^a; "It must be known that Yusuf Ağa's son was born at six o'clock today." *Sohbetnâme*, II, fol. 49^a. Furthermore, there are a few occasions where Hasan added a new title and shared important information such as the death of the grand vizier Köprülü. *Sohbetnâme*, I, fols. 37^b; 38^a.

Regardless of Seyyid Hasan's and his great-grandson's preference to use the term *salnâme*, Kafadar mentions that he came across with the *Sohbetnâme* under *hatırat* (memoirs) category in Karatay's catalogue of the Topkapı Palace Library.³⁵ The Topkapı Palace Registers Committee (*Topkapı Sarayı Tahrir Komisyonu*) labelled this work as *Sohbetnâme*, which literally means *Book of Conversation*, in the early twentieth century.³⁶ Overall, the author and his great-grandson considered it as a *salnâme* or yearbook, and the archivists catalogued it as a memoir, modern scholars have so far engaged with this source as a diary in the secondary literature probably due to the day-to-day entries in the account that makes it reminiscent of modern-day diaries. It is imperative to clarify that the present discussion on the genre does not revolve around the inquiry into whether the *Sohbetnâme* qualifies as a self-narrative because irrespective of this genre-related variety, this source stands as a perfect example of an ego-document. The objective is rather to show the variety surrounding the classification of the *Sohbetnâme* as well as other self-narratives in this era. Moreover, I will continue to refer to *Sohbetnâme* as a diary in this study for two reasons; firstly, the style of the *Sohbetnâme* is closest to the diary format in terms of its content and style; and secondly, diary is taken as the genre in the scholarship so far and the goal here is to conduct a spatial analysis rather than making a new claim about its genre.

General Features of the *Sohbetnâme*

The *Sohbetnâme* is currently preserved at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. The manuscript consists of two volumes in 418 folios in total. Each page has thirteen to twenty-four lines and Hasan's writing style and the size of his letters change from one page to another. It is written in *nesih* script in Ottoman Turkish, although Seyyid Hasan is eager to use Arabic and Persian words and even sentences on some occasions. Hasan always divides his day into two parts; daytime and the night-time, and records the course of events and the venues where they have taken place. Overall, his diary covers a period of four years, from the 1st of Muharram in 1072 (27 August 1661) to 29th of *Zilhicce* in 1075 (13th of July 1665).

As for the general characteristics, there are two explicit features in Seyyid Hasan's account. First, Hasan mostly recorded mundane details of daily outings, food, and friendly gatherings, while paying rather limited attention to prayers and

35 Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 124.

36 Durmaz, "Family, Companions, and Death", p. 26.

devotions.³⁷ From this perspective, the content of the account looks like a deviation from general trends in Sufi narratives, which usually focus on mystical stages, hagiographies, and strong master-disciple relationships. Hasan's focus on worldly activities, however, should not be surprising. As Derin Terzioğlu has pointed out, although in the medieval period Sufis were known mostly for writing about their spiritual experiences, Ottoman Sufis of the early modern era included more ordinary activities in their writings as they became progressively more integrated into the social, political, and economic structures of "this world."³⁸ It is this broader framework that Hasan's diary must be evaluated. Moreover, Hasan mainly recorded the intimate relationship with his Sufi fellows, and nurturing strong bonds between companions was one of the main principles in Sufism. Therefore, abstaining from a dichotomous view of this-world-oriented vs. spiritual writing,³⁹ I argue that it is possible to construe Hasan's dull anecdotes as part of his transcendent Sufi vision and life because all these activities acted on the substantial Sufi principle of building meaningful connections among Sufi fellows. This, then, brings us to the second predominant feature in the diary; the evidence of strong bonds of companionship and collective life.

Although the diary belonged to Seyyid Hasan, the account often reads like a story of a group of people rather than one individual figure, as the Sufis in the diary share almost every moment of their lives together. Traveling, wandering, eating, taking naps, swimming, and sleeping together constitute almost all the content of the diary. Kafadar has explained that in a codebook of this Sufi order,⁴⁰ the principle of "showing more affection to one another [among Sufi fellows]

37 For example, Hasan records himself or his *ihvan* (Sufi fellows) rarely doing their regular daily prayers. There are only four examples when he notes someone entering or exiting the *halvet* (seclusion), a common practice among the Sufis, especially among the namesake Halvetiyye Order.

38 For example, Terzioğlu mentions Şahidi, Hüdayi, Seyyid Osman and Niyazi-i Mısri who included many details on their everyday life in their writings. Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (1618-94)", *Studia Islamica*, 94 (2002), p. 148, 165.

39 Derin Terzioğlu herself argues for this in her "Man in the Image of God": "a completely this-world- oriented text like the diary of his contemporary and fellow Halveti Seyyid Hasan" (p. 165), "Halvetis like Seyyid Hasan recorded in their diaries nothing but such mundane occurrences" (p. 153).

40 Kafadar here refers to a codebook appended to the hagiography written by Seyyid Hasan's father. For more information, see Kafadar, "Self and Others", p. 141.

than to their full brother” was highly encouraged.⁴¹ Seyyid Hasan and his fellows represent a perfect archetype for this principle. Then, the question becomes who these people were that formed such strong bonds with our diarist Seyyid Hasan.

The social circle of Seyyid Hasan can be divided in two; an inner circle comprised of thirty to forty frequently mentioned people and an outer circle that constitutes the rest of the individuals who appear in the text once or twice. In both circles, one finds imams, sheiks, scholars, judges, bureaucrats, numerous shopkeepers, preachers, chief mufti, scribes, artisans—whose titles included *çelebi*, *ağa*, *efendi*, *beşe*. There are more than five hundred names only in the first volume of the diary, revealing a wide network of people with whom Seyyid Hasan interacted in varying capacities. As Kafadar has pointed out, by reading *Sohbetnâme*, “we learn of the intricate web of relationships established, on the basis of family ties as well as order affiliation and *mahalle* solidarity, between that social world and other sectors of Ottoman society.”⁴²

It is important to note, however, that almost all of the people mentioned in the diary are Muslim male adults, despite the fact that Muslims and non-Muslims did not necessarily live in segregated neighborhoods in Istanbul. In fact, archival documents clearly demonstrate that there were contemporary non-Muslims residing in the Koca Mustafa Paşa neighborhood where Seyyid Hasan and his Sufi brothers lived.⁴³ As for women noted in the diary, two figures play a central role in Seyyid Hasan’s life; his two sisters. Because Hasan’s wife was deceased when he recorded his diary, he might have preferred to spend more time in his sisters’ houses rather than his own house. Moreover, both of his sisters and their families were part of the same Sufi circle. Apart from his sisters, Seyyid Hasan mentions only a few other women who were mostly his neighbors and relatives. For example, in one instance a certain Selim Kadın is mentioned as the one who helped Hasan with his errands after the death of his wife. Seyyid Hasan comments on Selim Kadın’s cooking with noting: “the taste and flavor were more than great,

41 Kafadar, “Self and Others”, p. 141. In addition to countless instances of group activities, on a few rare occasions Seyyid Hasan noted his alone times with the word *münferiden* (alone). “It happened that we together had food in Hariri’s new room, and I slept alone.” *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 87^a.

42 Kafadar, “Self and Others”, p. 142.

43 For example, an archival document was issued in 1667 to solve a conflict between two people from Kocamustafapaşa neighborhood: an Armenian woman who inherited her brother’s estate and another non-Muslim who interfered with her estate. TSMA.e /221- 50-0 (15 Rabi’ül-Ahir 1078 / 4 October 1667)

and it was beyond comparison.”⁴⁴

While attempting to paint a picture of Seyyid Hasan’s social networks based on the people he interacted with, one important issue to address is how and when to use the term “Sufi” as a label. In other words, I refer to people noted in the diary as Sufis; but were all of them, in fact, Sufis? Here, it would be beneficial to borrow from Ata Anzali’s differentiation of ‘Sufism proper’ from ‘Sufism entangled.’⁴⁵ Anzali uses ‘Sufism proper’ to refer to a distinct mode of piety where a strong master-disciple relationship was central; and ‘Sufism entangled’ to refer to people who do not identify as Sufis but have an entanglement with Sufism in terms of their mode of piety and social formation.⁴⁶ It is a useful categorization to implement in the case of the *Sohbetnâme* where “Sufis proper” are the people who had a room in Sufi lodges and attended Sufi gatherings noted in the diary on a regular basis, while “Sufis entangled” refers to people who spent time with the Sufis proper and attended/hosted their Sufi rituals from time to time. Considering the extent to which people recorded in the diary participated in this collective life and mystic rituals, the majority of people in the diary were either Sufis proper or Sufis entangled which makes them Sufis ultimately.⁴⁷ Furthermore, because the *Sohbetnâme* is not a self-narrative centered only around Seyyid Hasan, but more a story of a group of people who shared spatial preferences and characteristics due to their collective lifestyle, my findings apply to all the Sufis in the diary.

All in all, the *Sohbetnâme* is a fruitful source that illuminates various aspects of life in seventeenth-century Istanbul. One of these aspects is the analysis of use of space by the Sufis in the diary, which is the topic of the subsequent part of this article. In what follows, I review the venerated and highly prestigious role of the Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge in Istanbul, in the area around which Seyyid Hasan and his fellows resided. Later, moving to an analysis of the use of space by Sufis in the *Sohbetnâme*, I argue for a revised understanding of the role of the *tekke* in the lives of Sufis, as the diary shows that they did not center their lives in and around the lodge but expanded their activities in the larger urban sphere that brought them a mobile way of life.

44 *Sohbetnâme*, I, fols. 5^b, 6^a.

45 Ata Anzali, “Sufism in the Safavid Period”, *The Safavid World*, ed. Rudolph Mathee (New York: Routledge, 2022), pp. 349-373.

46 Anzali, “Sufism in the Safavid Period”, p. 350.

47 Durmaz argues that Hasan’s social circle did not only consist of Halvetis but also Mevlevi. Durmaz, “Family, Companions, and Death”, p. 62. Yet, the majority of the Sufis mentioned in the diary were Halvetis.

PART II: Use of Space by Sufis in the *Sohbetnâme*

The Koca Mustafa Paşa Tekke

*I returned to my neighborhood from Koca Mustafapaşa late at night
But for a time, my heart did not leave that beautiful dream.*⁴⁸

Among the hundreds of Sufi lodges all around the Istanbul, the Koca Mustafa Pasha Lodge, a part of a larger Koca Mustafa Pasha complex, was one of the most prestigious due to its central role in the Halvetiyye order. Converted from a ruined monastery in 1489, some of the most venerated Sufis in the Halvetiyye order such as Sünbül Sinan (d. 1529) and Merkez Efendi (d. 1552) served as sheikhs in this lodge. The Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge served both as a devotional and residential center by including the dervish rooms, a garden, a whirling hall, a refectory (*ta'amhâne*), the refectory's garden, a water cellar, a bath, a fountain, and a soup kitchen. Nazif Velikahyaoğlu has estimated roughly thirty rooms and twenty dervishes resided at this lodge in the nineteenth century based on the *tahrir* registers.⁴⁹ Seyyid Hasan's diary proves his estimation right, as he records around twenty people having a room in the lodge, although there may have been more people who were not mentioned in the diary.

As a major lodge, this *tekke* maintained its centrality for attracting people for centuries to come. The fame and prestige of this *tekke* was so high that people used to say if Hızır (Khidr in English: an Islamic figure considered with great wisdom and mystic capabilities described but not explicitly mentioned in the Quran) came to Istanbul, he would either reside in Hagia Sophia or in the Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge.⁵⁰ Well into the late Ottoman era and early Turkish Republic, the Koca Mustafa Paşa neighborhood and the complex continued to hold its prestigious status with many poems and articles glorifying the complex and its neighborhood.⁵¹

48 *Geç vakit semtim döndüm Koca Mustapaşa'dan // Kalbim ayrılmadı bir an o güzel rüyadan.* Yahya Kemal, "Yahya Kemal, Koca MustafaPaşa", *İzdiham Dergi* <https://www.izdiham.com/yahya-kemal-koca-mustafapasal> Accessed on: 11/11/2022.

49 Nazif Velikahyaoğlu, *Sümbüliyye Tarikatı ve Koca Mustafa Paşa Külliyesi* (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2000), p. 160.

50 Cited in Köse, "İstanbul Halveti Tekkeleri", p. 54.

51 For instance, Yahya Kemal's poem shared above; Sermet Sami Uysal's newspaper article, "Koca Mustafa Paşa: A Neighborhood Where We Feel Deep Inside Our Nationhood" *Taba Toros Arşivi* (<https://openaccess.marmara.edu.tr/items/bb8ce229-ac5f-4b4c-a51a-36651ae3efac>) Last Access December 16, 2022; and another article published in *Türkiye*

It was in this highly prestigious lodge that Seyyid Hasan was born, raised, and had his own room. Judging from the central role of this lodge and considering the extent to which the dervish lodges were seen as the main venue for Sufis in literature, one can presume that it was among the most central places in Seyyid Hasan's life. However, his diary proves the opposite. Instead of centering their daily lives within the lodge, Sufis exported their devotions, rituals, and daily activities into various other locations such as their homes, shops, and gardens, so that the lodges did not constitute the main spatial preference of any specific action. Accordingly, the next section examines Sufis' affiliation with the lodge by analyzing first their nighttime activities then daytime activities following Hasan's narrative style, as he recorded nights and days respectively.

The Role of the Lodge During Night-Time Activities

Hasan's and his companions' nighttime activities consisted of regular activities; dining (*ta'aşsi*), regular nightly gatherings (*'işret*)⁵² and lodging (*beytütet*). The fact that Seyyid Hasan almost always recorded the place where they gathered for these activities allows us to analyze their spatial preferences. The first part of their nighttime routines consisted of a dinner for which they convened in various locations. The Koca Mustafa Paşa Tekke included a dinner salon and a garden adjacent to it. Although Seyyid Hasan often recorded having their dinner in this garden, the *tekke* was among tens of other places where these Sufis gathered for dinner, including houses, other lodges, and even mosques. After dinner, Sufis in the diary moved to another venue for their regular *'işret* meetings. There were very few occasions where the Sufis in the *Sohbetnâme* stayed in the same location for both dinner and *'işret*.

Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Dergisi in 1953, "Sümbül Efendi'yi Ziyaret," *Taha Toros Arşivi*, (<https://openaccess.marmara.edu.tr/items/cc0d9c59-2207-4fd3-a616-63b89e5de515>) Last Access December 16, 2022.

52 *'İşret* is translated as drinking and carousing in the Redhouse dictionary. Also, Orhan Şaik Gökyay examined various dictionaries to inquire what Hasan exactly meant by these regular *'işret* gatherings because it is known that *'işret* was used for gatherings with alcohol. Gökyay, "Sohbetnâme";; See Halil İnalçık [*Has Bağçede Aş u Tarab* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010)] for more detail on the usage of *'işret* for drinking parties. However, judging by the content of the diary, I believe that what Hasan meant by *'işret* is regular nightly religious meetings where they probably had prayers and religious conversations like *halaqa*.

The importance Hasan attributes to regular meetings (*işret*) is obvious because he almost never fails to record their locations and the names of those who attended. Though he rarely specifies the content of these *işret* meetings, those present would have likely conducted prayers, sang hymns, and performed mystic rituals, as some examples suggest:

Then, *işret* took place with I sat below the podium when the *tevhid-i şerif* [invocation] was recited and the *devran* [a common mystical performance in the Halvetiyye Order: the turning of dervishes with their arms are on the shoulder of one another during the performance] was taking place.⁵³

In other instances, Hasan mentions singers (*hânende*) being present in their *işret* meetings, indicating that they probably sang hymns.⁵⁴ Although we do not know whether these mystic performances and devotions were common practices for these Sufis in their nightly meetings or a rarity, clearly for Seyyid Hasan, these *işret* meetings themselves were of central importance to Sufi life. Therefore, it was these *işret* meetings that marked both their nighttime activities, as well as their Sufi life, and it is through these meetings that one can analyze the role of the lodges in the devotional lives of these Sufis. Then, was it the *tekke*, where they held these *işret* meetings, the most central routine in their daily life?

In the year 1661, Seyyid Hasan and Yıldız, one of the most oft-mentioned names in the diary, discuss and arrange their regular nightly gatherings to conduct them three times at Yıldız's [house] and four times at Ahmed Ağa's [house], "[b]ut Yıldız consulted me by saying 'What if we make the *işret* one night in my place and one night at Ahmed Ağa's or make it one week in my place and one week in Ahmed Ağa's place' and I decided to make it three nights at Yıldız's and four nights at Ahmed Ağa's."⁵⁵ This example underpins the fact that their Sufi devotions and rituals were exported into their homes from the lodge. Yet, this agreement did not confine them within these two houses, Yıldız's or Ahmed Ağa's home, because there were also many other venues where these Sufis had their *işret* such as Ismail Çelebi's home, Ibrahim Ağa's home, Cerrah Yusuf Çelebi's home, and homes belonging to others. Over the course of the four years recorded in the diary, Seyyid Hasan notes over seventy different places where they held these regular

⁵³ *Sohbetnâme*, II, fol. 86^a.

⁵⁴ *Sohbetnâme*, II, fols. 34^b; 82^b; 178^a.

⁵⁵ *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 37^a.

'iṣret gatherings. If they did not make an agreement on holding these meetings always at Yıldız and Ahmed Ağa, probably the number of places where they had these 'iṣret gatherings would have exceeded hundreds.

After their 'iṣret meetings, Hasan and his companions move to another place to stay at night and Hasan notes the place where he stayed along with people who joined him for lodging. Seyyid Hasan owned his own home in addition to having a room in the lodge and he owned a bed in both. Despite this, neither his room in the lodge nor his own house was the primary residential site for Seyyid Hasan but numerous different places, mostly the homes belonging to his family and friends. The central among these were his sister's home and his companion Bazirganzade's house which served as ideal places to stay for Hasan as the table below indicates. Nonetheless, his residences were not limited to these two as Seyyid Hasan recorded dozens of different places where he spent the night during the four years covered in the diary, as shown in the table below.

Places ⁵⁶	1661 (Number of Nights Recorded)	1662 (Number of Nights Recorded)	1663 (Number of Nights Recorded)	1664 (Number of Nights Recorded)	Total
Seyyid Hasan's Home	6	-	-	-	6
Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge	8	3	5	-	16
Older Sister	21	31	31	28	111
Bazirganzade's Home	16	22	10	8	56
The Ferruh Kethüda Lodge	-	-	-	4	4
Other	29	54	29	24	112
Total	81	125	76	71	

Figure 1: The Number of Nights Seyyid Hasan Spent in Various Places Between 1661-1665

Only in the year in 1661, Hasan records approximately twenty-five different places where he spent the night. Moreover, Sufis in the diary usually sojourn

⁵⁶ I have chosen these places based on a) his own residential sites, i.e., his home, Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge, Ferruh Kethüda Lodge, b) the places Hasan stayed frequently, i.e., his sister, Bazirganzade. Most places he stayed at constituted various other places mainly houses belonging to his fellows.

together, and Hasan mostly notes where and with whom he spent the night, “Then, we did the *‘iṣret* gathering and sojourned in Beṣli’s house only with Ömer Çelebi and Miftahîzâde and Kadri İbrâhim Dede;”⁵⁷ “We did the *‘iṣret* gathering and sojourned at Tuğcu Hüseyin Ağa’s [house] in Tophane with Şeyh-zâde and Karakaş Mehmed Ağazâde and Ferruheş and Mehmed Çelebiyeş.”⁵⁸ If he spent the night alone, he finds it worthy to mention, “we had food together in Hariri’s new room and I slept alone.”⁵⁹

As clear in the table above, Seyyid Hasan did not record his lodging preferences for every single night but only one-third of the nights throughout the year. It is possible that he stayed in his house or his room in the lodge in the remaining days and therefore did not find it worthy of noting. However, even if this was the case, Hasan’s frequency of stays at different places, usually more than twenty different houses in a year in addition to staying at his sister’s and Bazirganzade’s houses around ten to thirty nights, clearly demonstrates that neither the lodge nor his own home were exclusive residential sites for him. Moreover, the fact that Hasan did not stay alone on many of these occasions indicates that his residential preferences were shared by his companions. For the purpose here, Hasan’s notes on his lodging preferences are adequate to indicate that the lodges did not serve as the sole residential centers in his or his companions’ lives. On the contrary, their lodging preferences were shaped by their social circle and exported into other venues rather than centered around the *tekke*.

The Role of Lodges in the Lives of Sufis Over Course of the Day

This pattern of moving from one place to another was not restricted to the Sufis’ night-time activities. Although the *tekke* was always part of Seyyid Hasan’s and his companions’ daytime routines, it was only one of the many places they spent their time. For example, on many occasions Hasan noted that he started the day by paying a visit to Kandilci Dede in the lodge before moving on to pay visits to his fellows in different homes, lodges, and shops. In most of these cases, Seyyid Hasan was not alone; there were always people who accompanied him.

Similar to the *tekke*, Hasan’s own home did not constitute the focal point in his life. He records spending time in his home on just a few occasions,

57 *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 85^b.

58 *Sohbetnâme*, II, fol. 1^b.

59 *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 87^a.

approximately forty times in 1661 and fewer than twenty times in 1664. Moreover, Hasan's purpose when going to his own home was mostly to pick something up. For instance, he took a book home and then returned to his sister's house,⁶⁰ or he took money from his home to bring it somewhere else.⁶¹ Similarly, he went to his home to change into a black cloak (*sûfi*) and left.⁶² What is interesting in this picture is that Hasan's home was merely a temporary stop, and he continued to move around his neighborhood during the day. The graph below illustrates the number of occasions when Hasan records going to his own home, to the lodge and to other houses in one year, vividly illustrates that the number of visits to his own home or the lodge is dwarfed in every month by visits to other people's homes.⁶³

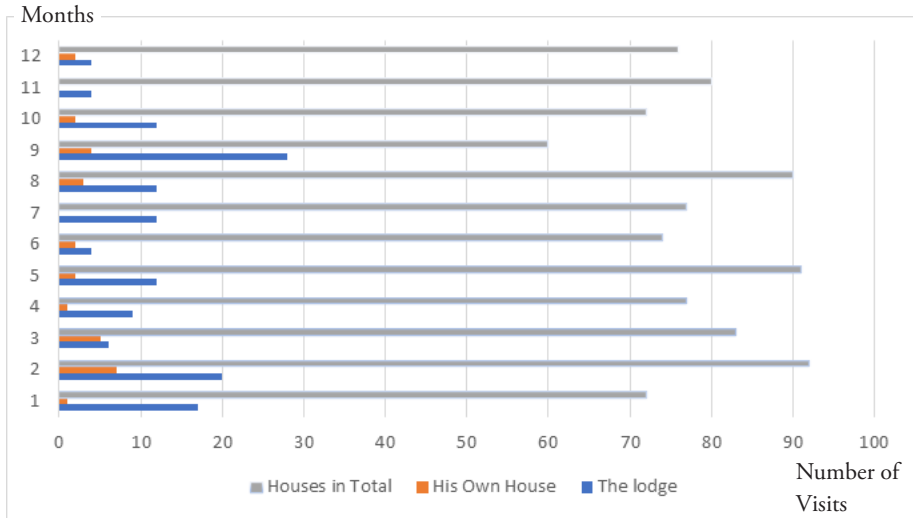


Figure 2: The Frequency of Hasan's Visits to the Lodge, His Home and Houses Belonging to Others between August 5, 1663, and July 23, 1664

As shown in Figure 2, Hasan's daily activities mostly included spending time and visits to various homes rather than staying at his own home or the lodge. Among these numerous houses Hasan visited, he favored his sister's house and his friend Yıldız's house the most. His diary also shows that he was very comfortable spending time in every corner of his sister's home, such as the *harem*, the

60 *Sobbetnâme*, I, fol. 31^a.

61 *Sobbetnâme*, I, fol. 62^b.

62 *Sobbetnâme*, I, fol. 40^a.

63 I chose the years 1663-1664 randomly. They represent Hasan's usual spatial preferences.

selâmlık, the inner yard, the edge of the pond, the main garden, his nephew's and his brother-in-law's rooms. Hasan did here everything one could do in one's own home, such as sleeping, resting, shaving, eating, napping in the daytime, picking fruit, and writing. In addition to this time spent at his sister's house, Yıldız's home stands out as a private sphere for Hasan, given the ease with which he carried out various domestic activities on his frequent visits there, such as sewing, spending leisure time, chatting, staying the night, entertaining his son Muhammed, and writing. Hasan performed these activities in different parts of Yıldız's house like the pavilion, different bedrooms, his coffee chamber, library, garden, to name a few. Once again, Hasan did not limit his visits to these two houses but spent time at dozens other houses with his fellows. Thus, neither his room in the lodge nor his own house, but houses belonging to his beloveds were more central to Hasan and to his companions' lives, who shared almost all their activities together.

In addition to the houses, various shops, bazaars, and gardens emerge as one of the most frequently mentioned places where Sufis in the diary came together and spent their time. The gardens and shops in the diary were ideal spots for social gathering, feasts, individual recreational activities, and religious rituals of Sufis. Seyyid Hasan provides vivid pictures of the moments he spent at these venues, "I slept and rested at Kazancı Ali Çelebi's shop;"⁶⁴ "And I ate, slept and ate fruit."⁶⁵ Although Hasan generally does not express his emotions explicitly except on a few occasions, his word choice when referring to time spent in gardens is worth to mention; *zevk u safâ* (pleasure and enjoyment) showing that he really enjoyed being in these places. "We went to open park (*sahrâ*) and entered Sabık Mütevelli Ağa's tent. Although we could not find Mütevelli Ağa, one of his servants called Mahmud served food and coffee. We rested and spent some time. While they [*zâkirbaşı* and *pişkadem*] had fun, I rested and slept."⁶⁶ As clear in these examples, Sufis in the diary multiplied the venues for daily routines and gatherings that pushed and pulled these Sufis into a mobile way of life. It is this mobile life practiced by the Sufis in the diary I will now turn to.

Mobility

If one strives to draw a spatial pattern for Seyyid Hasan's and his fellows' daytime activities, the only emerging pattern is the constant daily motion. Seyyid

64 *Sohbetnâme*, I, fol. 147^b.

65 *Sohbetnâme*, II, fol. 107^a.

66 *Sohbetnâme*, I, fols. 138^b-139^a.

Hasan and his companions always frequented different places throughout the day such as visiting their *ihvan* (Sufi fellows /brothers) in their houses, lodges, at their shops, or meeting them in the gardens. This high level of mobility encompassed numerous homes, gardens, shops, and streets visited for various reasons. On average, he visited or went to five or six different locations until their evening routines commenced. To exemplify their daytime itineracy:

Süleyman Çelebi took me, humble, **from Ibn Bazirgan's [house]** and served me food and drinks **in his shop**. After a while, I sat with Pişkadem in **his room [in the lodge]** and Süleyman Çelebi joined us later. Then, three of us went to **Mustafa Çelebi's house**. Then, I went to visit Kesikzade Mustafa Çelebi in **Dökmeçi Başı Madrasa**. Then, I went to the majlis in **Zal Pala Madrasa**. Later, I went to the **Kızılçeşme** with Ömer Çelebi and found Ahmed Ağa and Mehmed Çelebi there. Later, the four of us went nearby to **Altı Mermer Pastry** and went on our own ways.⁶⁷

There are many instances where Seyyid Hasan mentions over ten places he went in a duration of a few hours, after noon prayer and before the dinner:

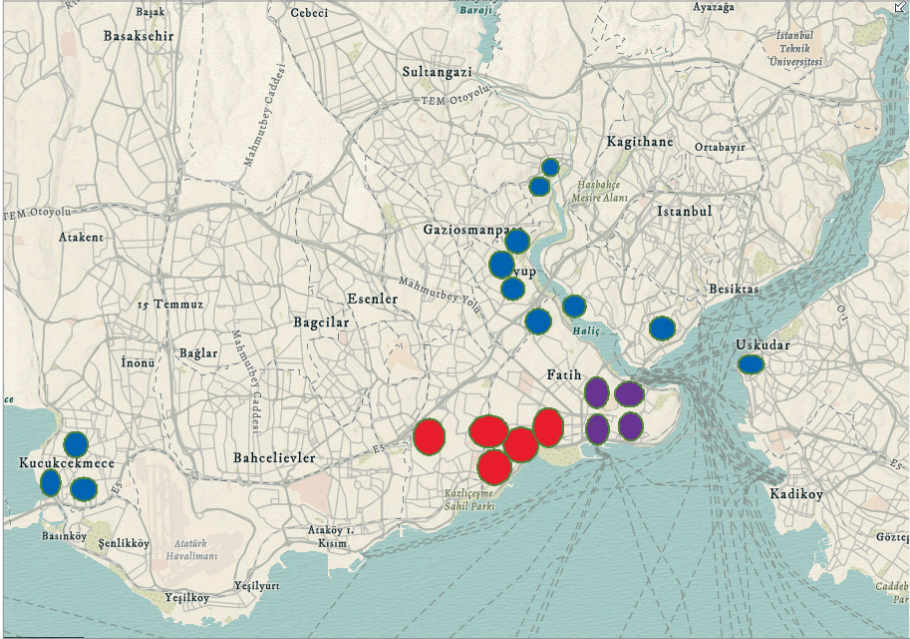
After noon, I went to **Mahmud Dede's room** and assigned him a task. I met Hariri and Hâherzâde next to the gate of **Hacı Evhad**. Then, Cinci Emir Çelebi related his dreams to [this] humble in the middle of **his garden**. Thereafter, I met the imam of the Hâtûniyye on horseback at **Etyemez**, and I met the Barber Muhammed Çelebi at **İnebeg**. I got some work done in **the shop** of my younger brother-in-law together with him and his son. Then, Damat Çelebi also arrived and sat with us for a while. And I met people for a time in **Dülbendci Hüseyin Çelebi's shop** and two times in **our Hüseyin Çelebi's shop**. Then, I passed along the seaside and near the fortress in **Kumkapı**, and along the seaside in **Yenikapı**. Then, I met Çerkes Damadı in **İnebeg**, Uzun 'Ali Çelebi's son next to **Bostan Mosque**, again Çerkes Damadı and Fincancı Emir Çelebi in front of **Sultan Bayezid-i Cedîd**. While we were taking the road to the arch, the aforementioned Emir showed up across the street, he was very kind with [this] humble under the aqueduct [**kemeraltı**].⁶⁸

This high-level of mobility was not restricted to their daytime activities but these Sufis were quite mobile during their night-time routines as well. For

⁶⁷ *Sohbetnâme*, II, fol. 12^a-12^b. I have truncated the original citation from the primary source.

⁶⁸ *Sohbetnâme*, II, fol. 171^a.

example, there are many instances when they had dinner in one place, went to another place for *'işret* (nightly gatherings) and ended in another location to sleep, thus, all in different venues in a few hours-period: “Dinner at Cerrah [house] with Şâkirdeş Ali Çelebi and Halil Çelebi and other participants; and *'işret* at Ahmed Ağa and another *ülfet* (friendship; probably friendly gathering) at Hüseyin Çelebi with Cârêş and sojourning at Hüseyin Çelebi.”⁶⁹



During this mobile life, Hasan and his Sufi fellows did not confine themselves within the boundaries of their own neighborhood; their mobility was city-wide. A clear picture of his mobility, which had three layers—from most to least frequented places—emerges on the city-level.

The innermost and most frequented layer (shown with red circles on the map) was Koca Mustafa Pasha neighborhood and its vicinity. The second layer (shown in purple on the map) included the heart of the city, such as the Hagia Sophia and the Sultan Ahmed Mosque (today popularly known as the Blue Mosque), while the third layer (shown in blue on the map) included the least frequented districts, such as Alibeyköy, Küçük Çekmece, Eyüp, Beyoğlu and Üsküdar.

⁶⁹ *Sohbetnâme*, II, fol. 163^b.

One of the reasons for this high level of mobility might be related to their preference not to center their life in and around the *tekke* but to be open to conducting their activities in numerous places in the larger urban setting. Therefore, Seyyid Hasan and his *ihvan* (fellows) organized their everyday life patterns according to their social circle rather than institutional affiliation that brought a high level of mobility and itinerant lifestyle that entailed Sufis' constant movement from one place to another encompassing numerous places.

Hasan's remarkable spatial freedom and unboundedness can be partly attributed to his particular circumstances, which enabled him to lead a more mobile lifestyle. As a widower, he was not limited by his wife's spatiality, and since he did not have to work in a shop or office, he was not required to be present in a designated space every day. This spatially unbounded feature provided him more flexibility for his use of space and allowed him to live a mobile lifestyle. However, the diary makes clear that this flexibility was more or less shared by all his *ihvan*, regardless of their occupational and familial commitments. Thus, whatever their marital and work commitments were, Sufis in the diary participated in this communal and itinerant lifestyle as much as they could.

The Ferruh Kethüda Lodge

The analysis made so far considered the role of the Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge in the lives of Sufis in the diary because it was in the vicinity of this lodge that these Sufis lived and went about their day-to-day activities. However, the role the Ferruh Kethüda Lodge played in Seyyid Hasan's life is also worth exploring, as he eventually ascended to the seat of the sheikh of the Ferruh Kethüda Lodge, also known as the Balat Lodge, in the last year of the diary. From then on, Seyyid Hasan continued his duty as the sheikh of the lodge and as the preacher of the neighboring mosque. Because residing in the home reserved for the family of the sheikh next to the lodge was a common practice for sheikhs, it could have been the case that Seyyid Hasan moved to the Balat Lodge when he was appointed. However, Seyyid Hasan's spatial practices and the level of mobility within his neighborhood did not change even after becoming the sheikh of the Ferruh Kethüda Lodge. Hasan did not move to the Ferruh Kethüda Lodge, unlike other sheikhs who lived in the home reserved for their families, but preferred to live in the same neighborhood and continue to his spatial patterns in the same way.

What difference did ascending to the sheikhood in the Balat Lodge make in Hasan's use of space? It constituted a new frequent destination in his highly mobile life owing to Hasan's regular sermons in the mosque of the lodge. Hasan performed 111 sermons in total until the end of his two-volume diary. Therefore, at least for the period covered in the diary, Hasan travelled between his neighborhood and Eyüp where the lodge was located, almost a hundred times if not more. As the table above shows, Hasan noted himself lodging in the Balat *tekke* only four times in total and there are very few instances when Hasan spent time in this lodge and in the home reserved for his family, mostly for the purposes of convening with people, eating and devotions. Contrary to the limited time he spent in this new lodge, Hasan chose to continue his perennial habits of lodging, gathering, and spending time in the places belonging to his *ihvan* in the Koca Mustafa Paşa neighborhood. They continued to organize their *'işret* meetings at Ahmed Ağa and at Yıldız, have their dinner at the *tekke* or homes belonging to his fellows and sojourned in the same places where they used to sojourn. Hasan's preference to continue his prior spatial activities even after being appointed as a sheikh is quite striking, considering that the distance between these two spots is approximately five kilometers. Notably, Seyyid Hasan prefers to stay in his own community and among his brotherhoods rather than move to the lodge to avoid nearly two-hour walk daily.⁷⁰ This decision also shows that even when Seyyid Hasan got spatially bounded due to his new commitments, his use of space and spatial preferences did not change but he chose his strong congregational allegiance, a pattern shared also by his Sufi fellows, some of whom had always been spatially-bounded, unlike Hasan.

Seyyid Hasan and His Companions: A Common Practice or a Unique Case?

The question worth asking is to what extent Seyyid Hasan and his fellows were representative in their choices to export their devotional and daily activities beyond the lodges to the larger urban sphere. To answer this, one can examine other Sufi orders in their use and perception of lodges to compare against the activities of Seyyid Hasan and his companions, who I will show were far from being unique in their choices to export their various practices into various venues.

⁷⁰ Because Hasan does not mention owning a horse or donkey for travel but notes borrowing horses from other people at the beginning of the diary, I assume he used to walk to travel from one to other.

In the case of the Nakşibendiyye, Dina Le Gall argues that the lodge-centered Sufi practice was not so central, rather there existed an ambivalence toward them, an approach she ascribes to Ghujduvani, the founding father of the order.⁷¹ Rather, the Nakşibendiyye sheikhs and dervishes operated in *madrastas* and mosques. Echoing Le Gall, Hamid Algar accentuates this inclination of the Nakşibendiyye by arguing that “for Mevlevis, Bektaşis, Rıfais and even Qadiris, the tekke was a cultic structure, whereas for the Nakşibendis it was a little more than a meeting place.”⁷² The cultic structure of the *tekke* in these aforementioned orders should also be questioned, but it seems that for the Nakşibendiyye, the lodge did not play a central role.

The members of the Bektaşiyiye Order also did not confine their activities to the lodges. A very surprising point here worth mentioning is the role of coffee houses as alternatives to *tekkes*. The Bektaşis were active at coffee houses as both owners and customers and they used these locations for a variety of purposes, such as having fun and discussing politics, in addition to carrying out their devotional practices, thus attributing them lodge-like functions.⁷³ Hence, in addition to the houses, shops, mosques and *madrastas* which served as alternatives to the lodges in Sufism, the coffee houses provided an alternative to *tekkes* in the Bektaşî circles.

Another example can be given from the Hamzaviyye Order. Fatma Betül Yavuz argues that “[the] Hamzaviyye was not institutionalized in the sense that they built their activities around a Sufi convent to follow their rituals”.⁷⁴ On the contrary, they rejected building communal spaces and their sheikhs continued to reside at their houses and accepted visitors there rather than inhabiting Sufi lodges, so their meetings took place at homes and in marketplaces.⁷⁵ There was even

71 Dina Le Gall, *A Culture of Sufism: Naqshbandis in the Ottoman World, 1450-1700* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005).

72 Hamid Algar, “Devotional Practices of the Khalidi Naqshbandis of Ottoman Turkey”, *The Dervish Lodge: Architecture, Art, and Sufism in Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Raymond Lifchez (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 222.

73 Cited in Ali Çaksu, “18. Yüzyıl Sonu İstanbul Yeniçeri Kahvehaneleri”, *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar*, ed. Ahmet Yaşar (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), pp. 45-80.

74 Fatma Betül Yavuz, “From Hamzaviyye to the Melamiyye: Transformation of an Order in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul”, *Ottoman Sunnism*, ed. Vefa Erginbaş (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), p. 123.

75 Yavuz, “From Hamzaviyye to the Melamiyye”, p. 123.

an open critique of the lodges among the Bayrami-Melamis. For example, Emir Dede (d. 1476), the founder of this branch himself refused to settle into convents and criticized those who did.⁷⁶

These above-mentioned examples can be multiplied with a thorough reading of different types of sources. To illustrate, after examining biographical dictionaries from the seventeenth century, Aslihan Gürbüz el argues that “[in] addition to convening at mosques, the pious and the urban populations got together at lodges, coffeehouses, or outdoor gatherings often around other forms of performance such as the Sufi ritual of *samâ’* and music.”⁷⁷ Helen Pfeifer, investigating the salons in the sixteenth century Ottoman urban centers, mostly in Istanbul and Damascus, also argues that “conversations [were] held in mosques, dervish lodges, and [in] the domestic sphere.....”⁷⁸ and “a majlis could be held almost anywhere; not only in a domestic interior, but also in a courtyard, garden, or even in a publicly accessible space like a madrasa or mosque.”⁷⁹ Moreover, both Öngören and Kafescioğlu point out that Sufi rituals performed in the mosques created tension in the sixteenth century as we read from several *fetvas*. For example, Kemalpaşazade noted that “Sufis loudly performing *zıkr* while Quran reading and interpretation continued in the masj id were to be warned and stopped.”⁸⁰ As various scholars have already pointed out, the lodges were not the exclusive venues for Sufis. Moreover, the mobile life and full-scale experience of the urban spaces were not a unique feature of Seyyid Hasan and his fellows, but an experience shared by others.⁸¹

76 Yavuz, “From Hamzaviyye to the Melamiyye”, p. 132.

77 Aslihan Gürbüz el, “Citizens of Piety: Networks of Piety and the Public Sphere in Early Modern Ottoman Cities”, *Journal of Early Modern Cultural Studies*, 18/3 (2018), p. 76.

78 Helen Pfeifer, *Empire of Salons: Conquest and Community in Early Modern Ottoman Lands* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2022), p. 198.

79 Pfeifer, *Empire of Salons*, p. 8.

80 Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, “Lives and Afterlives of an Urban Institution and Its Spaces: The Early Ottoman ‘İmāret as Mosque”, *Historicizing Sunni Islam in the Ottoman Empire 1450-1750*, ed. Tijana Krstić and Derin Terzioğlu (Boston: Brill, 2020), p. 289; For more information, see Reşat Öngören, *Osmanlılar’da Tasavvuf: Anadolu’da Sufiler, Devlet ve Ulema* (İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2021).

81 In fact, this tendency was shared among the different segments of society such as poets and other scholarly and intellectual circles. More information can be found in Pfeifer, *Empire of Salons*; and Haluk İpekten, *Divan Edebiyatında Edebi Muhitler* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1996). In his work, İpekten argues that common meeting venues for the poets

Deniz Çalış Kural who examined the *şehrengiz* poems written by Melami Sufis argues that these Sufis prayed in mosques and in Sufi lodges, stayed at friends' houses, walked in the streets, visited shops and bazaars, wandered around the hills and meadows, attended parties in gardens, went to private spaces and meadows for friendly gatherings, swam in rivers and many more.⁸² Çalış Kural further adds that the inventory of events consists of attending Friday prayer at a mosque and then a Sufi dance ritual at a lodge; enjoying themselves freely by the riverside; and finally gathering at a private place to converse, read poetry, and enjoy being together.⁸³ The first example is a great indicator of the Sufis enjoying multiple urban spaces not centering their life within the *tekke* while the latter example shows their mobility in a short period of time. Supported by these examples, Seyyid Hasan's and his fellows' spatial preferences were not unique and the lodges did not constitute the focal point in the lives of other Sufis, who exported their religious, intellectual, and mystic rituals into various other venues including private homes, shops, coffee houses, mosques, and gardens. Why, then, the *tekke* dominated the literature while these abovementioned examples clearly display the active life outside of a *tekke* for a Sufi? The answer to this question should be searched in the approaches and methods developed as well as sources used in the field.

The problem with the above-mentioned literature is that it either considered this Sufi organization outside of the lodge as an exception or it remained marginal and could not get adequate attention while the *tekke*-centered approach dominated the field. This, then, causes the existing lodge-centered thinking to prevail while these abovementioned examples are lost in the details or disregarded as exceptions. Moreover, studies in the field of Sufism and space mostly examined conventional sources such as archival documents and material culture that provide us with information on the material aspects of the *tekke* rather than lived experience of space. Varying the types of sources to study space, on the other hand, gives us a more nuanced picture as this article used ego-documents to study Sufi spaces and showed a different spatial history of Sufism.

At the same time, using a self-narrative to make a spatial analysis also has its own difficulties. To illustrate, for Hasan, the places he recorded are so connected

were houses, wine-houses, and shops in addition to the imperial palaces and mansions. I would like to thank to the anonymous reviewer who brought this book to my attention.

82 Deniz Çalış-Kural, *Şehrengiz: Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman İstanbul* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), p. 135.

83 Çalış-Kural, *Şehrengiz*, p. 137.

with people that he does not feel the need to specify their nature and function. In other words, in most cases, Hasan simply notes “at (name of person)” such as “at Yıldız”, “in Hacıkadın”. The methodological problem here is that in Ottoman and even in modern-day Turkish culture, most places such as schools, mosques, streets, and lodges, are named after people. This brings a challenge for the historian to determine the place, whether it is a lodge, a street, or shop. Yet, it is possible to overcome this difficulty brought by the intimate writing styles in the self-narratives by a thorough investigation of the street names, lodges, and other physical and material structures.

Conclusion

“Istanbulites three hundred years ago lived happy and content for years under the sky of this beautiful city in such a great peace and then they left as if they were shadows,” expressed Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu his impression after reading Seyyid Hasan’s *Sohbetnâme*.⁸⁴ Reading Seyyid Hasan’s detailed anecdotes on outings, delicious food, visits to family and friends, and dinner parties probably led Şehsuvaroğlu to get this highly positive impression from the *Sohbetnâme*. In fact, these outings, friendly visits, and gatherings are the most memorable and detailed anecdotes in the diary. Yet, going beyond these attention-grabbing details, one can draw conclusions that will provide valuable insights into the social network, activities of everyday life and spatial practices of Sufis in Istanbul in the seventeenth century.

This article used a spatial analysis framework to examine Seyyid Hasan’s *Sohbetnâme*, a self-narrative and rich record of the features of social and daily life of contemporary Halveti Istanbul-based Sufis. Looking at how Sufis in the diary moved through space, it proposed a reconsideration of the mobility of Sufis in early modern Istanbul. Accordingly, this article shows that the *tekke* did not serve as the focal point in Hasan and his fellows’ daily life but was instead only one of the nodes in the cluster of venues. The lodge was not the primary residential and devotional space around which Sufis structured their daily rhythm. The Sufis of the *Sohbetnâme* carved out their own spaces across numerous homes, shops, and gardens to carry out their social and religious rituals. Centering their daily spatial practices around people rather confining themselves within lodges pushed them to live a mobile lifestyle. As supported by various examples in the secondary literature, it was already clear that Sufis enjoyed multiple venues in the larger urban

84 Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, “17. Asırda İstanbul”, *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*, July 13, 1956.

environment rather than centering themselves in and around the *tekke*. However, these cases were considered as exceptions or remained marginal while the dominant literature continued to focus on the lodges; as such, expanding the scope of Sufi spaces emerges as a belated initiative. Furthermore, the findings in this article became possible thanks to the ego-documents which guided this research away from the traditional sources to investigate Sufi spaces and provided nuanced insights into the daily and spatial practices of Sufis. Therefore, there are two main contributions this article makes: one is to bring this disregarded aspect of the spatial history of Sufism to the fore, both by analyzing a case study in detail and by assembling relevant secondary literature on the topic; and second is to use self-narratives to study space and reach out to striking findings. Although the conclusions made here are based on a single case study, the *Sohbetnâme*, these findings provide a gateway to topics worthy of further investigation, such as research on alternative Sufi venues, Sufi experiences beyond lodges in the larger urban sphere, and the usefulness of ego-documents in investigating space in Sufism.

Examining Sufism and Space Through Ego-Documents: Tekke (Dervish Lodge) and Everyday Life in the Sohbetnâme (1661-1665) by Seyyid Hasan

Abstract ■ This article analyzes an ego-document written by a Halveti sheikh, Seyyid Hasan, in seventeenth-century Istanbul, the *Sohbetnâme* (1661-1665). By using space as an analytical category, this study illuminates the use of space in the daily practices of Sufi dervishes mentioned in the diary and discusses the role of dervish lodges in the lives of Sufis. It shows that the everyday lives of dervishes were not structured mainly around the lodge: they preferred to carry out their routines and devotional practices across various venues, such as individual houses, gardens, and shops, a preference that ultimately made these Sufis highly mobile. Given this itinerancy, this article provides an alternative to *tekke*-centered thinking and argues that the role of other spaces must also be examined in order to write a comprehensive history of Sufism. Finally, this article aims to show that ego-documents are fruitful sources for studying Sufi spaces in addition to conventional sources on this theme, such as archival documents and material sources.

Keywords: Sufism, *Sohbetnâme*, Ego-Documents, Dervish Lodge, Space, Everyday Life.

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