

IDEAL AND REAL SPACES OF OTTOMAN IMAGINATION:
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN OTTOMAN RITUALS OF POETRY
(ISTANBUL, 1453-1730)

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

BAHAR DENİZ ÇALIŞ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
ARCHITECTURE

SEPTEMBER 2004

Approval of Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.

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Bahar Deniz Çalış

ABSTRACT

IDEAL AND REAL SPACES OF OTTOMAN IMAGINATION: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN OTTOMAN RITUALS OF POETRY (ISTANBUL, 1453-1730)

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September 2004, 501 pages

Ottoman poetry comprised different genres, each reflecting an attitude towards Ottoman social order, gave rise to ritualized practices. *Gazel* poetry, performed in gardens, was an expression of the Orthodox Ottoman society. *Şehrengiz*, performed in city spaces, was an expression of heterodox groups following after the 13th c. philosopher Ibn al-'Arabî who proposed a theory of "creative imagination" and a three tiered definition of space: the ideal, the real and the intermediary. In *gazel* rituals, Ottoman Orthodox society reasserted the primacy of the group over the individual, in ideal and real garden spaces. In *Şehrengiz* rituals, on the contrary, marginal groups from the early 16th c. to the early 18th c., emphasized the autonomy of individual self and aimed at reconciling orthodox and heterodox worlds, and thus their spaces and inhabitants in ideal spaces of Sufi imagination and real spaces of the city. In the early 18th c. liminal expressions of these marginal groups gave rise to new urban rituals adopted by the Ottoman court society and by affluent city dwellers and expressed in the poetry of Nedîm. However, this cultural revolution of the Ottoman court came to an end with the events of 1730, marking a turning point in the modernization of Ottoman culture

that had its roots in the early 16th c. as a marginal protest movement and pursued itself afterwards until the early 18th c. as a movement of urban space reform.

Keywords: Ottoman space culture, Ottoman poetry, imagination, rituals.

ÖZ

OSMANLI HAYALGÜCÜN İDEAL VE GERÇEK MEKANLARI: OSMANLI ŞİİR MECLİSLERİNDE SÜREKLİLİK VE DEĞİŞİM (İSTANBUL, 1453-1730)

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Eylül 2004, 501 sayfa

Farklı türlerde gelişen Osmanlı şiiri, Osmanlı sosyal düzenini farklı şekillerde irdeleyen tutumlar sergilemiş ve farklı şiir meclislerinin gelişimini etkilemiştir. Gazel şiirinin okunduğu meclisler bahçelerde düzenlenmiş ve toplumun bireyden üstünlüğünü vurgulayan Osmanlı ortodox dünyasının bir ifadesi olmuştur. Şehrengiz şiirlerinin okunduğu meclisler ise şehirlerde gerçekleştirilmiş, ve, 13. yy İslam filozofu Ibn al-‘Arabî ‘nin geç takipçileri olan ve bireyin önemini vurgulayan marjinal Sufi gruplarının bir ifade biçimi olarak gelişmiş, ve, Ibn al-‘Arabî ‘nin “yaratıcı hayalgücü” kavramı ile kavramın ideal mekan, gerçek mekan ve ara mekandan oluşan üçlü mekan anlayışını irdelemiştir. Gazel meclislerinde bahçe mekanı ideal bir mekan olarak sunulmuş, buna karşıt olarak, 16.-18.yüzyıllar arasında gelişen Şehrengiz meclislerinde, şehir mekanının bir ara mekan olarak toplumun farklı eğilimlerini barış içinde barındıran bir mekan olması gerektiğine dikkat çekilmiştir. 18. yüzyıl başında, bu marjinal Sufi gruplarının Osmanlı sarayına kadar yükselen etkileri çerçevesinde, şehrengiz meclislerinde idealize edilen şehir kavramı ve benzer meclisler, Osmanlı saray erkânı ile saray çevresinde oluşmakta olan yeni yüksek zümre tarafından benimsenmiş ve bu yeni gelişmekte olan şehir

kltr de Nedm'in Őiirlerinde hayat bulmuŐtur. Ancak, bu yeni Őehir kltrnn geliŐimi 1730 Patrona Halil İsyanı ile son bulmuŐtur. Bu alıŐma, 18. yzyılda baŐlayan Osmanlı modernleŐmesinin kkeninin 16. yzyıla dayandıĐını, marjinal Sufi gruplarının Őiir meclislerinde ifade bulan ve bireyselliĐin nemini vurgulayan bir mekan kltrnn, 18. yzyılın ilk yarısında, Lale Devri'nde geliŐip deĐiŐerek toplumun daha geniŐ kesimleri tarafından benimsenen bir Őehir kltrne nasıl dnŐtĐn sorgulamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Osmanlı mekan kltr, Osmanlı Őiiri, hayalgc, Őiir meclisi.

To the memory of
Hatice Kübra Ulubay
(1911 – 2001)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first like to thank my advisor Prof. Jale N. Erzen. Throughout my undergraduate and graduate studies, her inspiring personality and varied works motivated not only my own work, but many others in environmental studies and as well in the studies of Ottoman art and architecture. She introduced us to other worlds and to other people, provided means to broaden our horizon. Apart from her invaluable criticism and support regarding this particular work, I would also like to thank for her anticipation in making us free individuals encouraging in our far away travels.

I am thankful to my co-advisor Dr. Michel Conan for his support, criticism, and advice in establishing the framework and the methodology of this research. Since the first time I have been introduced to Dr. Conan in 2001, it has been a pleasure to work with him. I believe that the questions Dr. Conan posed during our long discussions will also guide my future research in Ottoman space culture.

I would like to thank all the members of the thesis committee who contributed to the development of this research throughout the course of this study and who participated in the process; Assoc. Prof. Emel Aközer, Prof. Nurhan Atasoy, Prof. Ömür Bakırer, Dr. Michel Conan, Assoc. Prof. Güven Sargın, Prof. Talat Halman and Asst. Prof. Zuhale Ulusoy. I am grateful to Prof. Haluk Pamir, Assoc. Prof. Selahattin Öner, Prof. Vacit İmamoğlu, Assoc. Prof. Zeynep Mennan, Prof. Belgin Turan and Dr. Namık Erkal for their academic support.

I would especially like to thank Prof. Nurhan Atasoy for her interest, support and generosity in providing and sharing all kinds of resources and material, apart from sharing her cheerfulness and her family with me.

I would like to thank the participants of the Middle Eastern Garden Studies, Dede Ruggles, Mahvash Alemi, Abdul Rehman and Muhammed El-Faiz, whom I met quite late during the course of this study, but whose interest encouraged the final

development of this work. I would also like to thank Dr. Michel Conan and Prof. Nurhan Atasoy for allowing my participation in this study group.

I would like to express my gratitude to all the staff of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and all the librarians, Linda Lott, Bridget Gazzo, Deb Brown, Ludmila Gordon, Regina Koehler and photographer Joe Mills. I would like to express my gratitude to all the senior fellows of Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, especially Prof. Erik de Jong who provided visual material used in this study. I would like to thank my fellow friends at Dumbarton Oaks; Elizabeth Lebas, Christine Miller, Katleen Christian Wren and Ralph Behrwald who read and commented on parts of this study, and former fellows Hui Wu, Ayshe Malek and Philip K. Hu for their invaluable questions. I am especially grateful to the Assistant Curator of the Contemporary Landscape Collection Xin Wu for her critical perspective and her company.

I would like to express my gratitude to Havva Koç from the Library of the Museum of Archeology, Zeynep Çelik from Topkapı Museum Library and Andreas Riedlemayer from Harvard Fine Arts Library in providing material and sources.

I would like to thank Prof. Gül İrepoğlu from Istanbul University and Prof. İlgi Yüce Aşkun from Mimar Sinan University, for their sincere interest. I would like to thank Prof. Mine Kadiroğlu, Sheila Gagen and especially Dr. Michel Conan who edited parts of this study and provided supervision in writing. I would also like to thank Muteber Erdağlı and Pakize H. for their assistance in bureaucratic correspondences and their patience in assisting.

I would also like to express my indebtedness to my former principals Mustafa Türkmen and Ali Lütfi Öncel for supporting the development of this study throughout my occupation at Enternasyonal Tourism Investment Company, and, my friend Gülcan Gürel who always took good care of me.

Finally I would like to express my gratitude to my family and friends. I would like to thank my friends Namık Erkal, Ebru Özdemir and Defne Ülgüray who participated

in this long process with me. There are no words to express their support. I would like to convey my appreciation to my friends Burcu and Mehmet Kütükçüoğlu who provided different resources for my academic vocation. I would like to thank Maria Evangelatou for her friendship, generosity and especially her company in the final year of my study.

All the members of my big family Ayşe, İhsan, Can, Neşe, Alev, and others from Çalış, Ulubay, Akbaba, Mutlugil, Kural, Orbey, Ergun and Arıkoğlu families, especially my grandmothers and my grandfather; my former roommates Neşe Ulubay and Azade Arslaner; my guarantors Prof. Rûmeysa Demirdamar and Prof. Sevim Dalkara; I owe them my peace of mind and endurance, that was essential in this long journey. Finally, I would like to thank my husband Ali Kural who has generously devoted his years in supporting this research and providing me the most pleasant work environment.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Islamic garden is considered to be the representation of the paradise garden promised in Koran and further elaborated in religious texts. According to the Islamic tradition, paradise garden is the highest level of cosmography bestowed to the human kind in the afterlife. It is the beginning and end of all creation, the abode of the divine being and thus the source of all divine knowledge.

In Orthodox Ottoman tradition, both real and imaginary gardens were representations of the paradise garden promised. Gardens which were manifestations and display of the supreme divine presence were also the setting where the Ottoman court asserted itself; since the two were integrated in the authority of the Ottoman Sultan, as the leader of the Orthodox Muslim community since the early 16th c. Thus gardens were reminiscent of religious order and monarchy at the same time. Furthermore, rituals performed at the gardens were tools to control and sustain social order under the rule of the religion and the imperial authority.

Contrary to the Orthodox tradition where the gardens and garden rituals were display of divine presence and courtly authority, some marginal groups in the Sufi tradition asserted the importance of gardens as a source of inquiry for divine knowledge. Instead of using gardens as a symbol of the religion or the monarchy, they challenged the use of gardens. Contrary to the imperial use of gardens as a tool of social control, these marginal Sufi groups practiced the use of gardens a tool of individual enlightenment. While the court imposed social control over its subjects by means of gardens and garden rituals, these marginal Sufis practiced the use of gardens and other kinds of open spaces for the liberation of individuals.

Spaces developed, built, planted, used, employed by the court represented paradise gardens on earth as the manifestation and display of imperial power. Imperial gardens, gardens of the elite, and all kinds of garden representations in Ottoman court art became displays of imperial authority. However, spaces of the city beyond courtly gardens and their representations became alternative spaces proposing an adventurous journey for the individuals to search and to experience new horizons. These spaces of the city were not concrete spaces built or defined under one roof, or they were not walled gardens. But they were parts of city spaces brought together in the minds and rituals of marginal Sufi groups. These spaces can be defined as individual landscapes mapped, shared and experienced by marginal Sufi groups. These experiences in the city space ended suggesting modernization of the society by emphasizing the individual experience in the perception and construction of space. Thus, while rituals in the gardens supported the solidity of the social order, rituals of marginal Sufi groups in the city challenged the social order and initiated the modernization of the society.

This study aims to map the changing rituals in gardens and city spaces of Istanbul from the 16th c. to the early 18th c. with respect to the ideals of a marginal Sufi group, whose development and continued existence corresponds to the same period of this two hundred years, proposing to understand the changing symbolism of space and spatial practices with respect to the conflicting ideologies of the Orthodox Ottoman court and marginal groups in the heterodox Sufi society.

PRESENTING THE PROBLEM:

“HOLY PARADISE! IS IT UNDER OR ABOVE THE CITY OF ISTANBUL?”

1730 marks the end of a very significant period in Ottoman history. On early October in 1730, a few days after the execution of the Grand Vizier, a poet died falling from the roof of his house in Beşiktaş, Istanbul. He was horrified, and fearful of getting killed. He was running away from the rebels who had slaughtered almost

all of his beloved friends, including the Grand Vizier, and who, during this 50 days rebellion, demolished all the gardens where the poet and his beloved friends used to meet. The poet's name was Nedîm. The rebellion that led to his death is known as the Patrona Halil Revolt terminated the twelve years of service of the Grand Vizier. Later in the next century, these twelve years came to be called the Tulip Period after the epoch's passion for flowers and gardens. During this period the craze for flowers and gardens reached such an extent, that Nedîm depicted the city as a garden similar to paradise:¹

Holy Paradise! Is it under or above the city of Istanbul?
My Lord, how nice its atmosphere, its water and weather!
Each of its gardens is a pleasing meadow,
Each corner is fertile, a blossoming assembly of joy.
It is not proper to exchange this city for the whole world

....

Or to compare its rose gardens to Paradise!
Quality of these novel festivities
Only a book will be able to tell about!

Nedîm's portrayal of the period as a book of novel festivities in a paradise-like city enjoyed in the gardens and meadows was due to the Grand Vizier's reformatory projects that instigated launching new urban pleasures by taking initiatives in restoring the various spaces of the city and the countryside. His reformatory initiatives were not only effective in the domains of culture, but also in imperial self representation, and international diplomacy.

During the Tulip Period, the Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad Ibrahim Pasha aimed at establishing a new imperial rule based on peace. Classical Ottoman rule had

¹ Translated from Nedîm in Ahmet Atilla Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*. (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 599-580.

been geared towards warfare.² Ibrahim Pasha considered the situation, and employed it as a means to ensure peace and stability. Under his supervision, the imperial policy favored the pursuits of a settled life in peace and prosperity. As the frontier culture was replaced with a new culture of immobility, the capital city regained its importance as a space for engaging in cultural and intellectual life. The city was refurbished; its monuments restored, public waterways recovered and improved. The first fire department was initiated. Public use of urban space was emphasized with extensive building of over 200 fountains, each becoming a gathering spot. In this period, the first press, printing in Ottoman Turkish was established; the first two public libraries founded; historical anthologies and philosophical works, originally in Arabic, Persian, and Greek, translated into Ottoman Turkish; special discussion groups of scholars, intellectuals and poets were organized for exchanging ideas in the arts, philosophy, politics, and public problems.

² Since 1683 the army was not as victorious as before. Signing the 1699 Karlofça Treaty, after four unsuccessful attempts to capture Vienna (1683-1699), Ottoman Empire lost significant amount of land to the Austrian, Russians and Venetians. Following the defeat at the Austrian border, with the 1718 Pasarofça Treaty, they also lost Eflak, Bogdan, Belgrad, and north Serbia (1715-1718) at the western frontier. On the contrary, the Ottoman Empire was in a superior state at the northern and the eastern frontiers. Russians neighboring the empire at the north and the Safavids at the east were in vulnerable conditions. Russians were fighting with the Swedish. Safavid Dynasty was surviving hardly for the last years of its power. However the Ottoman regime preferred not to try taking advantage of circumstances; or simply was not able to so. Since the Ottoman sultans were not able to sustain the imperial agenda by extending their power over new territories, by the end of the 17th c. they had also abandoned the city of Istanbul which was the symbol of imperial tradition. The court preferred to stay out of sight and they retreated back to the Edirne Palace; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* I-IV (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956); Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ 1300-1600*. 1973, translated by Ruşen Sezer (Istanbul: YKY, 2003); Donald Quartet, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

While restoring Istanbul, as the center of the empire, diplomacy was given more importance than before with the purpose of confirming peace at the periphery. Diplomats were sent to Austria, France and Iran. In 1719, Ibrahim Pasha was sent to Wien, in 1719; in 1720, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi was sent to France, and in 1721, Ahmed Dürri Efendi was sent to Iran. These diplomats documented their journeys in chronicles, comparing the visited countries to the Ottoman land. The Austrian countryside was depicted as neat and very well kept, with all its villages enjoying in prosperity. The French palaces and gardens were described as “the paradise of infidels” allowing men and women to enjoy an extraordinary festive life. However the Persian country was presented as poor and deprived.³ It was evident that, then, the Ottoman observers found western superior to eastern civilizations.

As a consequence of these travels, the imperial library was provided with books illustrating the European gardens and palaces.⁴ Shortly after the Ottoman envoy’s return from France, a new imperial palace was built in Kağıthane, accompanied by forty neighboring mansions of the Ottoman elite, each with splendid gardens. Kağıthane and its gardens became symbols of the period.

Sultan and his court traveled from one garden to another, from the gardens of Kağıthane, to palaces on Golden Horn and Bosphorus, enjoying themselves in the serene atmosphere of each garden, celebrating marriages, circumcisions, entertaining diplomatic envoys, intellectual assemblies, commemorating religious holy days, organizing feasts and parties during the daytime and at night. Some of

³ For the Ottoman diplomacy during the early 18th c. see, Baki Aslıtürk, *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa* (Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2000); Hadiye and Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Sefaretnameler* (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 1997); Abdullah Uçman, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi Sefaretnâmesi* (Istanbul: Garanti Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat, 1975); *Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi’nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, ed. and trans. by Şevket Rado (Istanbul: Hayat Tarih Mecmuası Yayınları, Doğan Kardeş Yayınları, 1970).

⁴ I am thankful to Prof. Gül İrepoğlu who referred to European printed books in the Topkapı Palace Archives.

these gardens were, the “Garden of the Vizier” and the “Promenade of Good Spirits” within the city; the “House of Eternal Happiness” and the “House of Eternal Beauty” at Kağıthane; imperial gardens of Tersane along the Golden Horn; on the banks of Bosphorus at the European side, the House of Eternal Security at Fındıklı, the “Palace of Light” and the gardens of the “Vizier’s Palace” at Beşiktaş, the “House of Eternal Gaiety” at Defterdar Burnu, the “Pavilion of Stars” at Kuruçeşme, the “House of Eternal Rule” at Bebek; and on the Anatolian side, the “House of Eternal Honor” at Üsküdar, the “Garden of Pleasure” at Beylerbeyi.⁵

A new elite class emerged engaging in garden activities similar to those of the Imperial court. They employed construction of gardens and numerous public works and became the new patrons of urban space.⁶ And for the general public, gardens and promenades became more favorable than before. Nedîm’s poems illustrated this festive life of the Tulip Period.

However different in architectural form, gardens of Istanbul became used in a way that obviously resembled the festive life as observed in French gardens.⁷ As well,

⁵ For the development of the festive life along Bosphorus and the detailed study of the shore palaces over the course of the 18th c., see Tulay Artan, “Architecture As a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus.” Ph.D. diss (MIT, Cambridge, MA, 1989).

⁶ For the study on the transformation of urban space and urban practices in the city of Istanbul during the entire 18th c. in relation to the emergence of a new elite class who became new patrons of art and architecture, see Shirine Hamadeh, “The Cities Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in 18th Century Istanbul.” Ph.D. diss. (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1999).

⁷ Istanbul was always planted with numerous gardens, in which, not only aristocracy, but all ranks of Ottoman society used to enjoy. The gardens were always an important part of the Ottoman culture. For the city of Istanbul, the 17th century traveler Evliya Çelebi mentions forty imperial gardens, and numerous gardens and open spaces favored among the public, which are even larger in number than the imperial gardens. See Mehmed Zillîoğlu Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, trans. by Zuhuri Danişman (Istanbul: Çetin Basımevi, 1971).

representations of European gardens in books might have had an important effect in stimulating the circulation of garden models during this period. Thus, the Tulip Period initiated two major changes in the Ottoman garden tradition. First, private gardens, open to public view, gave way to conspicuous consumption, pomp and festivity in public spaces. Apart from the expenditures for hosting garden parties, consumption of common commodities had reached such an extent that purchase of luxury materials, like silk were forbidden to some of the social groups. As well, tulip bulbs were sold for a fortune. Second, it gave rise to a display of gardens, and encouraged the dissemination of garden models, similar to the circulation of books printed.

For the celebration of the 1720 circumcision festival, four sugar gardens were constructed. The miniatures in Levni's Surnâme depict these four different gardens.⁸ These sugar gardens may have served as garden models displayed, either of existing gardens, or of types suggested to be built. Though, it is evident that they also displayed the scope of Ottoman imagination flourishing in gardens. Within a couple of years after the display of sugar gardens, the former meadows of the Kağıthane developed into a festive site favored by all groups of the society, by the building activity of numerous private gardens that was surrounded by a public promenade. An imperial palace was built surrounded by imperial gardens. Over forty private gardens were planted. These private gardens belonged to members of the elite class. Both the imperial and the private gardens were surrounded by a promenade open to all citizens of the city. Thus, along with these private gardens, the festive life in the private gardens was also displayed to the eyes of the public.

⁸ Esin Atıl, "Surname-i Vehbi: An Eighteenth Century Ottoman Book of Festivals." Ph.D. diss. (University of Michigan, Michigan, 1969) and *Levni ve Surname Bir Osmanlı Şenliğinin Öyküsü* (Istanbul: APA Tasarım Yayıncılık ve Baskı, 1999); Nurhan Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan Gardens and Flowers in the Ottoman Culture* (Istanbul: Mas Matbaacılık, 2002).

An Orthodox group of conformists was deeply disturbed by the display of an emerging elite class enjoying a festive garden life, under the gaze of the larger Muslim community. In 1730, this Orthodox group engaged in a successful revolution. They demolished most of the gardens and promenades which were the symbols of the epoch; terminated the Tulip Period and destroyed the lives of the prominent figures of its cultural renewal – most of them killed, or sent to exile; including Nedîm, the poet; and Nevşehirli Damad Ibrahim Pasha, the Grand Vizier.

Most scholars would date the efforts at modernizing Ottoman culture to the Tulip Period, and describe reforms of the military, educational and administrative spheres, as attempts at westernization. However, these attempts are known to have failed, resulting in the fall of the Ottoman Empire. This perspective sees the Ottoman culture as unchanging, incapable of any transformation, innovation or internal dynamics. Of course there are exceptions, but any innovation in the arts or sciences is generally evaluated as an instance of individual talent, devoid of any cultural source. It attributes changes prior to the Tulip Period, to the imitation of the Persian-Islamic traditions, and after them, the western civilizations. The following quotation from a literary critic provides a typical example:⁹

In all literary matters the Ottoman Turks have shown themselves as singularly uninventive people, the two great schools, the old and the new, into which we may divide their literature, being closely modeled, the one after the classics of Persia, the other after those of modern Europe, and more especially of France.

This view has been challenged during the last fifteen years. A few studies that aim to explore the internal dynamics of cultural transformations focus on urban practices of the Ottoman elite culture. These studies are mainly unpublished doctoral dissertations conducted at Harvard University, or MIT. Tülay Artan and Shirine Hamadeh focused on public arts and architecture of the 18th century

⁹ Gibb quoted by Victoria Holbrook, *The Unredeable shores of Love Turkish Modernity and Mystic Romance* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1994), 18.

Istanbul.¹⁰ They have considered the entire 18th century, as a uniform period of innovation in order to stress internal dynamics of the Ottoman culture and a certain continuity. They have demonstrated the establishment of new social, cultural and spatial models in the 18th century, by studying Ottoman archival documents. Their methods stress the importance of studying the Ottoman society from an internal point of view. However, they have ignored the significance of the Tulip Period that they took as a starting point.

On the contrary, this research aims to show how the Tulip Period was the climax of more than two centuries of different changes; arguing that modernization as observed in some urban practices, the development of self consciousness and individuality can be traced back as early as to the early 16th c.

To make clear the cultural changes that the gardens of the Tulip Period revealed to the eyes of orthodox Muslim people, it is necessary to reassess the period by returning back to Nedîm's poem. Nedîm depicted the city as a garden similar to Paradise:

Holy Paradise! Is it under or above the city of Istanbul?

Comparing the city to Paradise may sound a very bland and conventional comparison. However, the paradisiacal qualities attributed to the city, and the

¹⁰ Tülay Artan's and Shirine Hamadeh's unpublished thesis studies examine the internal dynamics of the Ottoman culture in different periods. However, these works treat independently the arts, architecture, literature, religious or political history, and do not show how culture develops through the interaction between different spheres; Tülay Artan, Artan, Tulay. "Architecture As a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," Ph.D. diss. (MIT, Cambridge, MA, 1989); Shirine Hamadeh, "The Cities Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in 18th Century Istanbul," Ph.D. diss. (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1999).

delight individuals took in the constant and vivid appraisal of its numerous gardens and promenades, were actually intolerable from an Orthodox point of view.

Allusions to paradise in Ottoman classical culture denote a confined space symbolizing the cosmological hierarchy. This cosmological hierarchy was extremely important since it located all aspects of society within a religious ordering, covering the domains of spiritual, ideological, social, cultural, and individual worlds. When in 1517 and onwards, the Ottoman Sultans became the religious leaders of the Orthodox Muslim community, the empire was reorganized as a centralized authority, as the center of the Orthodox Islamic world. The Ottoman cosmology was mainly based on the Orthodox Islamic Law - the Islamic texts, but it also borrowed from the imperial mythologies of the Near and Middle Eastern cultures. Thus Ottoman cosmology was constructed in order to relate individual existence to the Universal World - that was acknowledged as the world of God - and further, to the imperial authority. The cosmology was basically composed of different world levels. Each level comprised an interior and an exterior. The interior was always invisible and superior to the visible exterior. (Tables 1, 2 and 3.)

The interior of the Universal World embodied the True Reality whose knowledge was invisible and inaccessible to human being. The exterior of the True Reality was the World, where the visible human world was located.

The World also had an interior and an exterior. The Typal World was its interior, and, the Phenomenal World, its exterior. Typal World housed images originated in the Universal World, as images of the True Reality. However, these images were not directly borrowed from the Higher Realm; they were mere reflections of it. These reflections were distorted fractional images of the actual truth. This realm was constructed upon the Islamic texts and upon the imagery of the paradise garden. It also accommodated imperial mythologies borrowed from the Persian, Mogul, and Indian cultures, and accommodated the legendary Garden of Iram.

The Phenomenal World, exterior to the Typal World was also divided into an interior, and an exterior. Within the interior of the Phenomenal World, there was the House of Islam, and to its exterior there was the House of War. Thus geographically, Muslim states were conceived as within the House of Islam. The House of Islam, as an interior embodied a center, The Ottoman state, and more precisely, the city of Istanbul, as the Ottoman capital. Thus it empowered all the surrounding land within the rule of Islamic Law. Other cities and peripheral provinces were exterior to this center. The city of Istanbul had the imperial palace as its interior, and rest of the city as its exterior. The participants of each realm were also precisely defined. In the interior, there were the residents of the palace, the Sultan, his court, and his army. They were the rulers, called *askerî*. Exterior to the palace, there was rest of the public, called *re'âyâ*. The public were subjects of the ruling class. The main body of the public was made out of guilds. Each guild was delineated with different trades, crafts or arts. The number of the guilds was fixed; their location within the city was static. They had their own cosmological hierarchy; each modeled after the principal Ottoman cosmology. These cosmologies also had Typal worlds, housing religious-mythical figures as masters of each guild.

The palace of the Sultan also had an interior and an exterior. The interior embodied the private garden, and the exterior, the semi-public administrative spaces. The garden of the Sultan was invisible to the eyes of the public, and it housed the private life of the court. Thus gardens in Ottoman cosmology were always private interior spaces, well protected from the exterior world.

Each of the levels of the cosmology was acknowledged as a space, as the world, the house, the city, the palace, and the garden.

All interior spaces were symbolically considered as a garden. Whatever the level of the cosmology they evoke, interior spaces could be compared to the Typal World, thus to the Paradise garden, or to any of the private gardens. Gardens as private interiors embodied all the blissful qualities. However, exterior spaces were not to be compared to gardens without compromising the duality of interior and exterior

worlds. Public spaces were not to be compared to any of the gardens that made up the interior of the Ottoman cosmology.

The city of Istanbul as the center of the House of Islam was an interior space as opposed to other cities. However, if it was compared to a garden, then those characteristics of the city which particularly displayed imperial or religious authority was to be emphasized. Thus, either the mosques as places of religious practice, or the palaces of the Sultan, would be the only appropriate spaces to be compared to the gardens of Paradise. And thus, public city walks, meadows, promenades, bazaars and market places, even of Istanbul could not be compared to paradise, and urban life could not be compared to life in paradise, or in a garden.

Comparing the whole city to a paradise garden, as Nedîm did, constituted a violation of this classical cosmology. This was a serious offense that could not be imagined by an Orthodox mind. The fact, that in the Tulip Period the whole city was publicly compared to a garden, implies a large cultural change had taken place. It is likely that the news coming from France and Austria allowed a hidden current of cultural change to break into the open. But this cultural change had little to do with western practices, and with western forces of urban or garden space. This development threatened Orthodox Muslim culture by calling into question fundamental aspects of its cosmology. How did this happen? Was this open development a momentary reform in urban life taking place only in elite culture? Or, was it a change more deeply embedded in the practices of different groups of society, other than the elite?

Returning to Nedîm's poem:

Quality of these novel festivities
Only a book will be able to tell about!

Nedîm portrays of the festive life enjoyed in gardens by all ranks of the society as a novelty.¹¹ Novelty was a quality attributed to all practices developed outside the domain of orthodox traditions. It was a term not only used in the domains of arts and architecture, but also in the domain of spiritual practices, implying Sufi practices. Since the 16th c., all the Sufi practices were regarded as novel, as Sufism developed outside the mainstream conventions of orthodox faith and practices. It carried practices of faith outside the holy book Koran.

Sufism developed upon interpretations of Islam, Christianity, neo-Platonism, Buddhism, Shamanism, and other esoteric traditions of Near and Middle Eastern cultures. Apart from the orthodox Islamic traditions, Ottoman culture was also under the influence of heterodox beliefs. Where the Orthodox Islamic Law recognized human beings as subjects of God, the heterodox orders perceived human beings as friends of God. There were many Sufi orders established in the Ottoman Empire. Sufism developed under the control of imperial authority within the designated institutions called *tekke*. These institutions, being private spaces, could well be compared symbolically with other private spaces, with other interior realms of the cosmology, such as the private gardens of the Ottoman cosmology.

Among different schools of Sufism, Ottoman culture was more prone to philosophies with an emphasis on mystic love. Ottoman Sufism on mystic love was deeply influenced by the ideas of the 13th c. Sufi master Ibn al-'Arabî.¹²

¹¹ Hamadeh argues that novelty means originality in terms of form and type. She portrays the Tulip Period as an era of inventions and novel forms; Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization" in *JSAH* 63:1 (2004), 32-51.

¹² In 1517, when the Ottoman Sultan Selim I conquered the city of Damascus, he immediately ordered the construction of a mausoleum for a 13th c. philosopher, called Ibn al-'Arabî (1165-1240). Ibn al-'Arabî was born in Andalusia, traveled in North Africa, Anatolia, and died in Damascus. Also called Şeyh Ekber Muhyiddin-i Arabî in Turkish, which the latter *Ekberîyye* tarîqat was founded referring to his name. Arabî was invited to the Seljuk court and he lived in Malatya and Konya for a short while. Though later

Orthodox cosmology ordered all spaces hierarchically, either pertaining to the qualities of the interior or the exterior. However Ibn al-‘Arabî’s philosophy gave emphasis to a third kind of space which took form between the interior and the exterior spaces. This intermediary space brought together the exterior and the interior realms, enabled to question their existence in relation to one another and enabled to question all the qualities that they designate in response to one another. In this intermediary space, all the superior and divine qualities of interior spaces would be questioned in relation to all the worldly qualities of the exterior spaces.

Ibn al-‘Arabî’s neo-Platonist philosophy named this intermediary space as the space of “creative imagination” and defined spaces of creative imagination in different levels of the cosmology. His philosophy, largely disseminated in the Ottoman world, proposed a three-tiered definition of space: the ideal space, the real space, and the space of the human body. All these spaces housed the meeting of divine essence with the worldly form, either in terms of separating the divine element from a worldly element; or in terms of unifying fractions of divine essence to worldly forms. Thus, this intermediary space enabled both deconstruction and construction of all things in the universe; both the analysis of existing things and the synthesis of novel ones.

This intermediary space was also acknowledged as the space where the act of mystic love would take place. Ibn ‘Arabî’s followers in the Seljuk and Ottoman courts introduced a well structured philosophy on mystic love, upon the conviction that a sparkle of God is present in all things created; allowing a commonality and a base of communication for each human being, enabling their affection and

considered as an infidel by some Sunni scholars, he was much respected by many Seljukid and Ottoman intellectuals. Arabî is the author of over 400 works. Two of his major works are *Futuhat* and *Fusus al-Hikam*. Many Seljukid scholars and the Ottomans have composed commentaries about Arabî’s works through the 13th c. to the 20th c. For further information on the life of Ibn al-‘Arabî, see Appendix 1, for his philosophy see Chapter II.

attraction to one another, to the whole universe, and to God. This philosophy was named *Wahdat al-Wujud* (The Unity of Being). Since God was beyond grasp of man's understanding, Ibn al-'Arabî proposed that in order to address God, it was necessary to address God's sparkle in one's individual self, or in every other men. Then 'Arabî reached this paradoxical conclusion of discovering Actual Truth in human self:¹³

I am the one I love
And the one I love is I.

In order to address this common phenomenon it was necessary to be able to communicate the divinity that resided in each human being. Thus it was necessary to be able to separate the divine essence from the worldly form. 'Arabî proposed that the process of the separation of divine from worldly took place in the intermediary spaces of imagination.

Equating the affection and love for human beings to the love for God was very paradoxical since Islam was predicated upon God's demand that he be the only object of believer's love. 'Arabî's emphasis on individuality was a threat to the Ottoman cosmology. Ottoman cosmology denied individuality in favor of community, locating community within the general structure of cosmology, as an exterior space of supremacy.

Moreover, suggesting the superiority of an intermediary space was a threat to the ordered structure of the Ottoman cosmology and social order which assured the supremacy of the interior spaces over the exterior.

In the Ottoman world, two different tendencies developed in the interpretation and practice of Ibn al-'Arabî's doctrines, varying radically from one another. First, the

¹³ See William Chittick, *The Self Disclosure of God Principles of Ibn al-'Arabî's Cosmology* (NY, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), 80.

Ottoman rule assimilated 'Arabi's doctrines on mystic love and the concept of intermediary space by disseminating them in garden rituals which were practiced by the whole society within the limits of Islamic Law and within the controlled spaces of the Ottoman cosmology. However some marginal Sufi groups practiced mystic love in city spaces outside the gardens, proposing these spaces to be spaces of creative imagination.

Sufi traditions were also practiced and assimilated by the Ottoman court and society by rituals in private garden parties. Walter Andrews, an Ottomanist from the University of Washington, who has studied the dissemination of Sufi practices in private gardens, showed that besides many other uses, private gardens were also sites for private parties, enjoyed by a selected group of people who were the members of specific social groups; either members of the court, of one of the guilds, of an elite group, or of scholars.

Garden parties were usually arranged after sunset under moonlight, and lit with candles and lanterns. The host, usually the owner of the garden, invited several guests and poets. The host also provided musicians, wine servers and dancers. Food, fruits and wine were the main servings, and perfumes were used to enrich the atmosphere; with music and dancers in the background. In these private parties, Orthodox members of the community practiced, or pretended to practice mystic love, indulging in a special genre of poetry called *gazel*, originally a Persian genre.

The general theme of the *gazel* poetry was the desire of a lover for the Beloved. *Gazel*, addressed to a beloved, chosen among the participants of the garden party, who metaphorically represented God. Beginning with the wish for the union with the beloved, *gazel*s always ended as the lover is separated from the Beloved, recalling the Orthodox state of mind, where the lover and the Beloved are located in different spheres of the cosmology, which were not supposed to unite.

The garden party was a display of the cosmological hierarchy. The music played in the party was defined within the cosmological hierarchy having twelve modes

similar to the twelve constellations of the zodiac; four tones compared to the four elements of fire, air, water, and earth; seven derivative modes akin to the seven planets, and twenty-four kinds of compositions as in twenty-four hours of the day.¹⁴ They evoked sophisticated metaphors about the gardens of the cosmological hierarchy. In *gazel*, all the interior gardens of the cosmology collapsed onto the space of the private garden party, allowing comparisons of all these gardens to one another.

Gazel called upon a masterly use of clichés in an artful language, borrowing from Persian and Arabic poetry and languages. Turkish, considered as vernacular, was inappropriate to use. Each realm of the cosmology was described according to an art of clichés. Even the beauty of the beloved was illustrated in a single unchanging description. The poet was expected to use clichés; he was not permitted to question them, or the levels of cosmological order which they evoked. He was not allowed to introduce any novelty into any of the gardens inhabited or cited, since any novelty had to proceed from God. Thus garden parties were not conducive to cultural innovation.

Different groups of the Ottoman society were engaging in private parties restricted to the members of their own communities. The Sultan had his own parties, dervishes, poets, guilds; military corps had their own private parties within gardens, or within other spaces classified as gardens. These people followed the Orthodox ritual practices in everyday life. During the garden party, however, they broke momentarily away from ascetic principles, and engaged in sensual pursuits and drinking. This was part of a kind of ritual of inversion, in which they pretended to be mystics engaged in the quest for God. Thus they adopted attitudes that were frowned upon in public life, engaging in ritualized deviant behavior as a group. These behaviors allowed each group to experience moments of anti-structure (to borrow a phrase by Victor Turner) as a shared secret that reinforced group

¹⁴ Howard Crane, *Risale-i Mimariye An Early Seventeenth Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture* (Leiden; NY: E.J. Brill, 1987), 26-27.

members' mutual bonds. Besides, by the recurring clichés of the *gazel*, the group identity was further linked to the Ottoman cosmology. So, the garden party reinforced the internal cohesion of each group and linked its existence to Ottoman official doctrine without disturbing any daily public practices of Islam. Thus, the classical garden party contributed to the homeostatic reproduction of the Ottoman state hierarchy, and, anchored the self-representation of its participants in their own community as members of the cosmological hierarchy hinged to the Ottoman rule. These activities made any cultural changes apparently unthinkable since they reproduced the political, religious and social orders of Ottoman society.

In these respects, Nedîm's poetry was surely inventive. By describing real places, recalling the public gardens and promenades as paradise, he challenged the *gazel* tradition. He introduced his real friends as new "beloved" ones living in the city. He carried the theme of mystic love from private gardens into public city-spaces. However, long before Nedîm, back in the early 16th c., there had emerged a truly Ottoman genre of poetry, as reformist and challenging as Nedîm's. This genre is called *Şehrengiz*.

Şehrengiz treated the city as Paradise; exactly as *gazel* would treat the gardens. *Şehrengiz*, however, is a neglected genre in Ottoman studies. It is classified as non-metaphysical poetry, artless in form, and morally corrupt in context.

It simply accounted for the journey of the poet in the city. The city unfolds in a realistic manner, as the poet wanders along the different neighborhoods; watches around; utters affection for beautiful young men of the guilds; and broods over urban culture, daily life, architecture, gardens and nature. Traveling, exploration, visuality were major themes, and the city was a source for joy, pleasure, and wonder.

These poems depicted not only Istanbul, but also thirteen other provincial cities¹⁵ outside Istanbul as paradises. The first *Şehrengiz* is about the city of Edirne, composed by the poet Mesîhî. The poem compares the city of Edirne to paradise and describes several realistic scenes from the city.

The genre developed until early 18th c. with poems mapping the poets' experiences in the city of Istanbul, going back and forth to other provinces, especially to Edirne. The genre that originated by narrating rituals of marginal Sufi groups in real spaces of different cities and ideal spaces of the Sufi imagination and was established using Sufi symbolism in the experience and depiction of spaces, further developed narrating rituals practiced in real spaces of the city of Istanbul.

The sources of realism in the *Şehrengiz* genre are diverse. Traveling, documenting, and, mapping contributed to the development of realism. Instead of the clichés of cosmographical hierarchy, realistic accounts of *Şehrengiz* called to mind the sense of place as displayed in the arts of painting, valued natural and man-made elements, and represented the cities and landscapes in detail. The consciousness and realism of depicting actual places are major characteristics of other discourses developed during the 16th c. to the late 17th c. such as in the arts of painting, geography, and engineering. The 1537 maps of the Iraq military excursion by Matrakçı Nasuh; 1579-80 Kırkçeşme Waterway Maps, and the 1582 Beylik Waterway Maps are examples of growing realism in Ottoman arts.¹⁶ Another

¹⁵ There are *Şehrengiz* poems dedicated to cities; Istanbul, Edirne, Vize, Bursa, Belgrad, Yenice, Rize, Gelibolu, Amid, Siroz, Manisa, Sinop, Antakya, and Kashan; Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk edebiyatında şehir-engizler ve şehir-engizlerde İstanbul* (Istanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1958).

¹⁶ See Nurhan Atasoy, "Türk Minyatüründe Tarihi Gerçekçilik," in *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı I* (1965); *1582 Surname-i Hümayun An Imperial Celebration* (Istanbul: Koçbank Publications, 1997); and Ahmet Karamustafa, "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," and J. M. Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories," in *The History of Cartography vol 2 Book 1 Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*,

group of paintings from the 16th c. illustrate guilds displaying their crafts in a festival. This set of paintings depicts an urban festival, in which the procession of guilds lasted for 21 days.

In the first *Şehrengiz*, the poet addresses to God and apologizes for his addiction to love; he describes parts of Edirne, and continues citing the names of over forty guildsmen. He presents each one of them as a Beloved, describes their beauty, each one different from the others. He also specifies their trades.

The guilds were the largest body of urban subjects of the ruler, maintaining the sustainability of central authority, both practically, and metaphorically. The Ottoman regime considered them as one of the major pre-requisites in establishing the urban order.¹⁷

At the same time as the *Şehrengiz* genre was emerging, a secret society was developing among the guilds of Istanbul. This secret society was not an institution. It did not have a specific school, dress code, or any established practices to the difference of Sufi orders that had become institutionalized. The participants of this secret society were called Bayrami-Melâmîs.¹⁸ Bayrami-Melâmîs adopted a protest

ed. by J.B. Harley and D. Woodward, (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹⁷ The body of guilds was the main body of subjects to the imperial authority. They also enabled its economic sustainability. The Ottomans used to transfer guilds in the newly conquered cities and provinces in order to repopulate the land by subjects of the Ottoman order; Halil Inalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ 1300-1600*. 1973, trans. by Ruşen Sezer (Istanbul: YKY, 2003).

¹⁸ Other than being the subjects of any ruler, the Melâmî philosophy suggested each individual as the ruler of his own life by stressing religious and economic freedom; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler* (Istanbul: Gri Yayınları, 1992, c. 1931); Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler 15.-17. Yüzyıllar* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998) and Cavit Sunar, *Melâmîlik ve Bektaşılık* (Ankara: AÜ İlahiyat Fakültesi, 1975).

philosophy established among the guilds of Anatolia since the 14th c., following Ibn al-‘Arabî’s doctrines of love and of the “Unity of Being”. Melâmîs advocated Islamic individualism and claimed that individuality embodied true reality. The following verses from the 14th c. Melâmî-Bayrami poem illustrate the importance given to individuality in relation:¹⁹

He found the enlightened in himself
He found himself

Melâmîs were considered infidels for giving such importance to the individual self that it came to be treated as equal to God. Throughout the 16th and 17th c., some prominent Melâmî figures were executed, for threatening the cosmological hierarchy as they offered its total destruction, by pointing the human being as the ultimate Beloved. As members of a secret society, Melâmîs however identified themselves by the shape of their tombstones. Thus we can learn from looking at their tombstones that Nedîm, and his close friend, the Grand Vizier of the Tulip Period, as well as most of the *Şehrengiz* poets were Melâmîs.

Melâmîs valued each human being as a beloved reflection of God. They regarded every single citizen as deserving objects of mystic love. As the early 16th c. Melâmî poet said:²⁰

Lovers desirous to watch the beloved
Watch carefully every human being you see

Mesihi and other *Şehrengiz* poets emphasized human love as a means to enlightenment, to unify them with God. *Şehrengiz* poets allowed all members of the guilds, thus the inhabitants of the city to be seen as the Beloved. However, the beloved never was a single individual, but rather several ones representing the

¹⁹ Hacı Bayram Veli translated from Turkish in Gölpinarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 36-37.

²⁰ Ahmet Sarban, translated from Turkish in Gölpinarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 59.

variety of participants of the market place. The poet himself engaged in a personal relationship with these diverse members of the urban community. In their poetry, Melâmî poets, *Şehrengiz* poets, and Nedîm, all used simple Turkish, understandable to all ranks of the urban community.

In *Şehrengiz* poetry, the city was treated as an interior, a garden; and no longer a space exterior to the House of Islam. Thus the city became the stage for new poetical attitudes towards life, paralleling and displacing the relationship between the garden party, the gazel, and the Ottoman order of city life. *Şehrengiz* poems, if not read in the private garden parties, were cited in public gardens, and promenades, at the market place, in coffeehouses, wine-houses, or taverns. Thus, urban spaces instead of private gardens were enjoyed by the public engaged in the discovery of this ultimate value of individuals. The privacy of mystic love had been transformed into a public event where pleasure could be pursued and experienced publicly.

There were some other poems written in the late 18th c. which were also classified in the genre of *Şehrengiz*. It is worth noting that these poems depicted the lives of social groups different from the guilds and they depicted cities outside the Ottoman dominion. These poems narrated the life ordinary women and dancers living in the city of Istanbul and in other cities from India to America.

This research proposes that a mystical innovation of the 13th c. set into motion religious changes that were successfully marginalized for a long time. Two developments seemed to have played a major role. First, the creation of a secret society that covertly practiced individualism and self-determination, and second the invention of realism that broke away from the conventions of Persian art, and language. As a consequence, a new kind of realistic poetry developed which treated the city as a place of pleasure, and its inhabitants as a community of individuals. Expressed in simple Turkish, understandable to all city-dwellers, this covert culture shed new perspectives on urban life. It did not gain official acceptance, however until the early 18th c, when the Sultan shifted the aim of the Ottoman rule from military development through warfare, to social development in

a peaceful empire, and decided to emulate the leisurely garden life of Paris, in the city of Istanbul, while reinventing both its content and its urban settings. This was the spread of a kind of individualism, a form of self-cultivation totally foreign to European endeavor, but deeply rooted in the Turkish subversion of Ottoman culture. Thus, modernization of the society, during the Tulip Period followed from an open development of the cultural attitudes illustrated by the *Şehrengiz* poets, since the early 16th c. And finally, since then, Ottoman poetry have created an image of the city as paradise.

METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

This study uses Ottoman poetry as source material. It uses different genres of Ottoman poetry; *gazel* as an expression of Ottoman court culture; *Şehrengiz* as an expression of a marginal Sufi group; song, *kasides*, and *chronograms* by Nedîm as an expression of both public and court in the early 18th c. Tulip Period.

Though the *gazel* genre and Nedîm's poetry have been examined by many scholars, the *Şehrengiz* genre has never been studied extensively. This study aims to introduce the *Şehrengiz* genre as an important agent in the mutual development of Ottoman modernization and urban culture. It aims to show that their performative representation of landscapes - including, cities, gardens, countryside meadows, open and closed spaces - informs about poets' experience, construction, and transformation of Ottoman culture.

The Şehrengiz genre has been recognized as non-metaphysical narrations about the beauty of guild boys in the background of the city, its language simple and artless. Agah Sırrı Levend's 1958 dated anthology titled *Türk Edebiyatında*

Şehrengizler ve Şehrengizlerde İstanbul is the only work conducted on the genre.²¹ It is a list of poems, with short entries informing about dates and poets, with archival references. The book also contains transcription of parts of the poems, particularly the ones about the city of İstanbul. Apart from Levend's work, there are few entries of the genre in encyclopedias, and anthologies of Ottoman poetry, which will all be examined in the related chapter. In the studies of Ottoman art and architectural history Tanındı, Terzioğlu, Kafadar and Hamadeh, roughly refer to the urban content of the genre. (See Appendix 1 – *List of Şehrengiz Poems*)

This study aims to focus on the performative qualities of the *Şehrengiz* genre, aiming to examine the pragmatics of the poems. Pragmatics is a subfield of linguistics. It studies performative qualities of texts. The tradition of pragmatics can be traced back to the ancient Greek rhetorics, and to the arts of ekphrasis. Ekphrasis is generally described as an extensive textual description of an image. Most of the contemporary studies on the tradition of ekphrasis focus on the contrast between image and text emphasizing that visual imagery is superior to textual narrative. However, the tradition of ekphrasis neither favors text nor image. It aims to create a lively scene where the writer aims to trigger the imagination of the audience/reader to a point that he would be able to experience the text more vividly than its actuality. This performative quality of ekphrasis is explained by "energeia." The arts of ekphrasis involve pragmatics, imagination. It requires the involvement of an audience. The famous rhetorician Quintilian of 1st c. discusses the importance of imagination in the arts of ekphrasis by explaining the term "energeia" which is "produced when the orator uses his own power of imagination to conjure up a scene in his mind."²²

²¹ Agah Sırrı Levend, *Türk edebiyatında şehir-engizler ve şehir-engizlerde İstanbul* (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1958).

²² Ruth Webb, "Ekphrasis ancient and modern: The Invention of a genre" *Word and Image* 15 no. 1 (1999): 7-18. For further studies on ekphrasis see Andrew S. Becker, *The shield of Achilles and the poetics of ekphrasis* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1995); David Carrier "Ekphrasis and Interpretation: Two Modes of Art History Writing" *British Journal of Aesthetics* 27 no. 1 (1987): 20-31; Christopher Caudwell, *Illusion and*

The study aims to shed light on Ottoman experience of space as depicted in different genres of Ottoman poetry. The study might even inspire literary discourses to reconsider the syntax and semantics of *Şehrengiz* poems, which have long been considered artless in form, and perverted in content.

In order to understand the experience, perception and representation of spaces in *Şehrengiz* poems, and in other genres of the Ottoman poetry, this study will make use of the theories of “experience” developed by Victor Turner within the discourse of post-structural anthropology. Turner defined “experience” by asserting its performative qualities, as something lived through. “Experience” is more than an abstract concept. It involves both body and soul, apart from thought. Turner argues that, for a simple experience to be note-worthy and significant, such experience has to be communicated and shared. Thus, such “urge to display” an experience necessitates representation and restructuring of the past experience. This process of communicating the past experience in a performative way which has a certain structure, resembles that of a ritual to be lived through.²³ Thus such restructuring

Reality (NY: International Publishers, 1955); James A. Heffernan, *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993); John Hollander, “The Poetics of Ekphrasis” *Word and Image* 4 no. 1 (1988): 209-219; *Icons, texts, iconotexts : essays on ekphrasis and intermediality*, edited by Peter Wagner (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 1996); Murray Krieger, *Ekphrasis: The Illusion of Natural Sign* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992); George Kurman, “Ekphrasis in Epic Poetry” *Comparative Literature* 26 (1974): 1-14; *Pictures into words: theoretical and descriptive approaches to ekphrasis*, edited by Valerie Robillard and Els Jongeneel (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1998); *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance : seeing as others saw*, edited by Robert S. Nelson. (Cambridge, UK ; New York, NY, USA : Cambridge University Press, 2000);

²³ Victor W. Turner, “Dewey, Dilthey, and Drama: an Essay in the Anthropology of Experience” in *The Anthropology of Experience*, edited by Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 34-37. Also see Alexander Thomas M., *John Dewey’s Theory of Art, Experience and Nature The Horizons of Feeling* (Albany, NY: The State University of NY Press, 1987).

and communication of any experience lived through results in the re-experience of the past experience. The performative quality of the re-structured and communicated experience then becomes a script to be played and lived through by those who communicate, and those who are communicated to. Thus, reality as perceived by a subject has three phases, where reality is captured in an experience, represented into an expression, and, finally developed into a performed text. According to Turner, these texts are used as scripts to perform rituals. Representations, performances, objectifications, poetry theaters, narratives, hunting stories, curing rites, murals, parades, and carnivals are rituals which are shared through re-experience, or performance, of past accounts in present time. Turner claims that texts performed into rituals have the power to sustain and transform culture. However, in order to understand the importance of rituals, it is necessary to examine the whole ritual process.

Rituals are used as tools to communicate ideas and ideals between different groups of the social world. Turner examines the social world as a product of culture in constant flux, movement, change, and dynamism. Turner explains the concept of social world in various ways. He makes use of Kurt Lewin's "field theory" where the social field involves the key concepts of "field", "vectors", "phase-space", "tension", "force", "boundary", "fluidity." He also makes use of I.A. Richard's "interaction view" which shows the importance of "communication process."²⁴

In the experience of rituals, Turner restructures the concept of sociability into two opposing modalities: *society*, and *communitas*. In rituals, *society* and *communitas* stand for different ways in which people relate to one another. According to Turner, the endurance of a culture is sustained by the dynamic interface relating "hierarchical structured" relationships in society and "unstructured, or rudimentarily

²⁴ Victor Turner, *Dramas, fields, and metaphors : symbolic action in human society* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), 27; 29; 36-37.

structured” *communitas*, both of which contribute to a complex order which is called the social order.²⁵

The social order of any culture is sustained by the co-existence of structure and anti-structure. Turner, who studied the interface between structure and anti-structure, explains the cyclical dynamic of the two opposing modes of sociability in terms of rituals. Cultures sustain their social order by allowing their members to experience both states of structure and anti-structure. The structure sustained by any society imposes a prevailing order and a dominant culture upon its members. Rebellions and cultural changes can be understood as a result of new ideals developed in *communitas* that deconstruct the structure imposed by society. Diffusion of ideals through different modes of communication such as poetry, mystical circles, fraternities, may take place within limits posed by the social structure, thus slowing down or preventing culture change. However rebellions might bring public recognition to the ideals of *communitas*. However, the same ideals might also become assimilated, interiorized and adapted within the existing social structure, for instance in the form of rituals of inversion, allowing the experience of *communitas* to be repeated and re-experienced on a derisive mode under the control of the dominant culture.

In his study of rituals, Victor Turner, studies different kinds of rituals, from tribal ceremonies to social drama, theater, and pilgrimage. Turner describes rituals as experienced in three stages, pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal.²⁶ He stresses the analysis of the liminal phase, which is a state of “separation” and “re-aggregation” into society of people who undergo a specific experience of *communitas* outside

²⁵ Turner, Victor Witter. *The ritual process structure and anti-structure* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 96; 140. Turner classifies *communitas* in three different kinds: existential spontaneous *communitas* – “happening;” normative, and utopian models – ideological *communitas*.

²⁶ Turner borrows the term “liminal” from Arnold van Gennep; Turner, *The ritual process*, 94-95; 166-67.

the control of the larger society. Turner asserts that the liminal experience is observed in different cultures, from primitive tribal societies to industrialized postmodern civilizations: ²⁷

Liminality, marginality, and structural inferiority are conditions in which are frequently generated by myths, symbols, rituals, philosophical systems, and works of art. These cultural forms provide men with a set of templates or models which are, at one level, periodical reclassifications of reality, and man's relationship to *society*, nature, and culture. But they are more than classifications, since they incite men to action as well as to thought. Each of these productions has a multivocal character, having many meanings, and each is capable of moving people at many psychological levels simultaneously. ²⁸

In rituals, the psychological states indicated by the *society* and the *communitas* represent different modes and different ideals carried by different groups of the social order. *Communitas* represent the ideals of a group of people marginal to the centralized order represented by the *society*. Bergson calls such groups "open" which have an "open morality." These groups act as agents to introduce different motivations and ideals beyond the limits of the structured closed *society*. They constitute the evolutionary "life-force" of cultures. ²⁹ *Communitas* have communal ideals and motivations to attain a common good. *Communitas* stand for lower classes of the *society* who in the rituals would act with the "fantasy of structural superiority."³⁰ Rituals communicate ideals in which social status of higher and lower ranks are altered. Turner explains this switching over of positions as "elevation and reversal of status." Turner describes the liminal experience as transgendered and chaotic which involves the experience of existence and

²⁷ Turner, *The ritual process*, 113.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 128-29.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 110-11; 128; 132.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 168.

ecstasy.³¹ Rituals employ common themes like universal love and unity of universe in the expression of communal ideas. Turner uses the below poem as a clear example of universal unity as expressed in Hindu rituals:³²

Hindu, Muslim- there is no difference,
Nor are there differences in caste.
Kabir the bakhta (devotee) was by caste a Jolâ,
But drunk with prima-bhakti (true love)
He seized the Black Jewel's feet (i.e. Krishna's feet).
One moon is lantern to this world,
And from one seed the whole creation sprung.

Apart from the rituals, Turner acknowledges some other forms of human activities as liminal experiences. According to Turner, social drama is also a liminal experience.³³ Turner introduces the term "social drama" as an aharmonic phase experienced by "conflicting situations" in temporal structures. Social drama portrayed as a liminal stage is a means to experience "creative imagination."³⁴ Turner compares and contrasts the states of harmonic and aharmonic experiences. Harmonic experience is acknowledged and experienced, built through reason, cohesion, harmony, atemporality, and central authority. However,

³¹ *Ibid.*, 188.

³² *Ibid.*, 154-165; 138.

³³ Turner explains the experience of the social drama in four consequent stages; breach, crisis, redressive action, and consummation. Social world sustains its survival by the aesthetics and social dramas, which made up the "cosmos;" Victor Witter Turner "Are there universals of performance in myth, ritual, and drama?" in *By Means of Performance Intercultural studies of theatre and ritual*, ed. by Richard Schehner and Willa Appel (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 8-18.

³⁴ Victor Witter Turner, *Dramas, fields, and metaphors: symbolic action in human society* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1974), 51-52.

aharmonic experience, which is a liminal stage, in case of the social drama, is associated with intuition, conflict, discord, temporality, and marginality.³⁵

Pilgrimage is another liminal experience, an “expression of the *communitas*.” Pilgrimage involves movement through several routes, mapping several sacred nodes, consecutively defining them as cultural symbols. It embodies varying temporal experiences. It embodies and generates legends, mythology, and folklore. Turner defines pilgrimage as an anarchical activity. It can be expressed as a desire to break free from the central static structure of the *society* into an individual journey which transgresses space and time. Pilgrimage concerns communally shared ideals that are represented by the unity of faith. However the spiritual development articulated by communally shared ideals pertains to individual achievement.³⁶ Thus pilgrimage encourages individuality as superior to the orthodoxy of *society*. The pilgrim displays a different social modality than regular conformist participants of the *society*:

...release from mundane structure; homogenization of status; simplicity of dress and behavior; *communitas*; ordeal; reflection on the meaning of basic religious and cultural values; ritualized enactment of correspondences between religious paradigms and shared human experiences; emergence of the integral person from multiple personae; movement from a mundane center to a sacred periphery which suddenly, transiently, becomes central for the individual, an axis mundi of his faith, movement itself, a symbol of *communitas*, which changes with time, as against stasis, which represents structure, individuality posed against the institutionalized milieu....³⁷

This study will try to examine rituals as narrated in different genres of Ottoman poetry in terms of their experience, construction, and transformation of the culture in terms of rituals.

³⁵ Turner, *Dramas, fields, and metaphors*, 32-37; 46-47.

³⁶ *Image and pilgrimage in Christian culture: anthropological perspectives*, edited by Victor Turner and Edith Turner. (NY, NY: Columbia University Press, 1978), 32.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

The Ottoman social order is studied in three different approaches. First perspective emphasizes the centralized imperial power of the Ottoman Empire, and studies it as a static social and cultural construct. In this prospect Ottoman social order is defined in two opposing static realms; *askerî* as the domain of rulers, and *re'âyâ*, domain of subjects. The rulers constituted of members of the palace, military offices, corps of gardeners who served for the maintenance and protection of all land which belonged to the Sultan, thus all palaces and public places in cities; governmental and administrative offices like grand viziers, viziers, participants of the Imperial Council and The Imperial Treasury, supreme court of Shariah (Sheikh-ul-islam), clerics (muftis), court officials (kadis), etc. Most of the scholars of Shariah (ulemâ) were employed by the palace, and they were categorized in the ruling class. Outstanding members of the society who served the Sultan in a significant way were called notables and they were also exempt from tax-paying. The *re'âyâ* constituted all the population who were not rulers. It included guilds, merchants, farmers and herdsmen. Evliya Çelebi draws an outline of the Ottoman social and cultural world in his 17th century chronicle. He informs about the existence of 1100 different types of guilds in 57 categories. In Çelebi's account, the guild of poets are listed along with the guilds of painters, manuscript illuminators, cartographers, carpenters, bread-makers, street cleaners, gardeners, postmen, doctors, dentists, students, fortunetellers, pimps, homeless people, immoral young men, Sufis, and masters of Sufi orders. Social mobility between the two social classes was possible. An ulemâ would be considered as *re'âyâ* if he was employed by any participants of the *re'âyâ*, likewise a poet would be exempt from tax-paying if anyone from the ruling class be his patron.³⁸

³⁸ See Evliya Çelebi, Evliya Çelebi, Mehmed Zillioğlu. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*. Trans. by Zuhuri Danişman (Istanbul: Çetin Basımevi, 1971), vol 2, 23; 169-287; Stanford Shaw; *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 112-168.

Stanford Shaw bases this two-poled structure on economic and military maintenance of the imperial family, and the imperial order they have imposed. Halil Inalcık discusses the construction of Ottoman social order with respect to cultural and religious concerns apart from the economic and military motivations. Inalcık explains the Ottoman social order with reference to ancient Near Eastern and Islamic traditions, where the leader of the community was required to sustain justice and ethics by governing their subjects. Franz Babinger asserts the submissive quality of the *re'âyâ*, as opposed to the dominance of the *askerî*. *Re'âyâ* is depicted as a passive group of people who did not have any individuality, or any creative power. Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı examines the social circles of the *askerî* in detail, however refers to *re'âyâ* roughly presenting it as a working group of subjects under the control of the monarch.³⁹ This classical approach also defines the Ottoman arts in two separate and disconnected categories; first as higher elite arts of the court; and second as the lower arts of the folk culture.

The second perspective carries a nationalistic approach emphasizing a central Turkish-Muslim background, regardless of diverse social and cultural affiliations and motivations that were carried out by numerous groups which were embodied in the Ottoman society. Studies which can be classified in this category study the construction of Ottoman identity under the influence of three main traditions; nomadic and Islamic-Persian for the formation and classical periods of 13th c. - 17th c.; and European, for the latter periods of 18th c. - 20th c. Such nationalistic and modernist approaches to the history, evaluates the arts of the Ottoman empire formally with respect to the restricted and generic categories of arts of the Central Asian nomadic civilizations, Persian, Islamic, or French.

³⁹ Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 112-168; Inalcık, Halil. *The Ottoman Empire The Classical Age 1300-1600* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 65-103 ; Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the conquerer and His Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978, c. 1953); 432-461; Ismail H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1961), vol 1, 501-518.

The third perspective aims to examine the complexity of the Ottoman social and cultural worlds with respect to different ideological and political motivations of different groups, tribes, ethnicities, associations. This postmodern approach does not necessitate grounding itself to any meta-narrative. It portrays a dynamic representation of the Ottoman social and cultural worlds. The works of Cemal Kafadar, Stephanos Yerasimos and Derin Terzioğlu are important in this respect. Kafadar studies the construction of Ottoman state identity in the early 14th c. by intertextual reading of oral folk literature, epic stories and hagiography with diverse religious and ethnic references to different heterodox orders like Baba'îs, Shi'î Bektaşîs, Mevlevîs, Hamzavîs, and Melamîs. Yerasimos focuses on the construction of Ottoman imperial identity after the conquest of Istanbul in early historical chronicles written by individuals who represent the ideals of imperial or anti-imperial circles with contrasting political ideals. Terzioğlu analyzes the changing dynamics, confrontations and conflicts between the agents of centralized state power associated with Islamic law, and the heretic tendencies of a 17th c. Halveti-Melâmî poet and scholar in the 1999 doctoral thesis titled *Sufi and dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Misri (1618-94)*. These studies examine the dynamics of heterodox orders, and their interface with the orthodox law in specific case studies.

One of the best examples analyzing Ottoman society through literary sources is Kafadar's study of a 17th c. diary *Sohbetname*, written by Seyyid Hasan. Covering a short period of four years, between 1661-1665, the diary acknowledges the social life of the writer, informing about the social circle of a Sufi dervish in Ottoman Istanbul. Seyyid Hasan narrates his daily life, making a list of different groups he takes part in, with different participants pursuing various activities. In this way, as each one of the mentioned groups perform a different ritual within a different setting, the diary maps urban places of encounter within the city, such as the neighborhood, barbershop, public bath, seashore, graveyard, bazaar, or dervish convent⁴⁰:

⁴⁰ *Sohbetname* is studied in Cemal Kafadar, "Self and others: the diary of a dervish in the seventeenth century Istanbul and first person narratives in Ottoman literature" in *Studia*

From *Sohbetname*, 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: most notably, the *esnaf* (shop owner artisans) and mid-level members of the *askeri* (military administrative) class. Numerous tradesmen (spice sellers, grocers, bakers, book binders, quilt-makers, and other) are recounted at various social gatherings in Seyyid Hasan's diary. We also read of *kethüdas*, *çavuşes*, or *beşes* (titles for various positions in the military administrative class) on those gatherings...Occasions that bring these people together are not limited to dinner parties; our diarist also records post-dinner get-togethers; festivities like weddings and circumcision ceremonies; or sad ones like funerals inevitably followed by the helva-eating and prayer ceremonies; joint visits to graveyards; friendly walks; coffee parties; social calls to other Sufi orders; visits to shops for errands or socializing; and certainly zikr sessions.

Kafadar argues that *Sohbetname*, as a first person narrative, is different from the western examples in terms of lacking the subject's viewpoint. Studied in relation to the historical background of the Ottoman Empire in the 17th c, Kafadar argues that the writer who was a Sufi dervish at the same time was not able to acknowledge his position explicitly due to the growing opposition towards the Sufi orders. Instead he accounted for the events, social groups, places he had attended. The narrative should be considered as a map of the world of a dervish in the 17th century Istanbul. It constructs the self as an element of the community, not as an individual detached from the community. Self is constructed as its presence is mapped among different social groups.

Islamica 69 (1989), 121-150. Among other first person narratives, Kafadar lists 17th century traveler Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*, *Vakiat* by Şeyh Mahmud Hüdai (in Arabic, 16th-17th c.), Sunullah Gaybi's *Sohbetname* containing his conversations with the Melâmî Şeyh İbrahim Efendi (17th c.), Melâmî şeyh and poet Niyazi Mısri's diary *Sohbetname* (17th c.), Telhisi Mustafa Efendi's diary (1711-1735), müderris Sıdkı Mustafa's diary (1749-1756), Asiye Hatun's autobiographical dream diary (18th c.), and Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi's ambassadorial chronicle (1720-21).

In his study of the “ecology” of *gazel* genre in Ottoman literature, Walter Andrews also asserts the importance of literature in the understanding of the Ottoman society and culture.⁴¹ He argues that the relationship between the “text” of the *gazel* and its “context” requires an intertextual reading of the society and its culture, whose poetic tradition was based on different layers of meaning:⁴²

Poetry is an area of communication which these many voices are free to sing and be heard in all their complexity.... They are the products of uniquely talented individuals embedded in a vastly complex socio-cultural context, reflecting numerous and often conflicting motivations and needs.

Andrews claims that Ottoman poetry and Ottoman society mutually constructed one another. Andrews asserts that “one might replace the word “poet” with the term “Ottoman subject” and “poetry” with “Ottoman life” (or, more particularly Ottoman urban life) and still have a meaningful and accurate statement.”⁴³

Both Andrews’s and Kafadar’s arguments displays the association between literary practices and dynamics of the society, as expressions of conflicting realms of orthodox or Sufi circles. However neither of them examines the real spaces of this cultural dynamism.

Following Walter Andrews’ line of argument, Shirine Hamadeh makes use of literary sources in the study of space. She mainly uses *kasides* and chronograms in order to examine the transformation of the city space and urban rituals. She argues that poetry was used as an expression of urban space and its experience. She studies the evolution of a new social class as the patrons of new urban inventions, yet she disregards the conflicting spheres of the society. Her thesis

⁴¹ Walter Andrews *Poetry's voice, society's song, ottoman lyric poetry*. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1985), 143-174.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 11.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 65.

presents urban space as shaped by privileged classes, as an expression of their growing power and patronage.

However this study will use different genres of poetry as artifacts of a social order which was in constant transformation. The poets themselves will be studied as models of individuals who represent participant of different groups that made up the society.

The thesis aims to understand the dynamics of the Ottoman social order and its spaces with respect to transformations in the performative arts of poetry. This thesis aims to examine Ottoman social world as a dynamic field of interaction in which different groups conflict and clash with one another to communicate their own values and used poetry as a tool of communication. Thus these poems indicate different uses of different spaces conveying diverse ideals. As Bruner argues “there are no silent texts” and it is the aim of this study to examine different genres of poetry as “performed text”.⁴⁴

It is in the performance of an expression that we re-experience, re-live, re-create, re-tell, re-construct, and re-fashion our culture. The performance does not release a pre-existing meaning that lies dormant in the text...Rather the performance itself is constitutive. Meaning is always in the present, in the here -and - now, not in such past manifestations as historical origins or the author's intentions. Nor are there silent texts, because once we attend to the text, giving voice or expression to it, it becomes a performed text, active and alive.

In order to understand the conflicting forces within Ottoman society, and their spatial expressions, the second chapter will begin by examining Sufi philosophies that assert a different understanding of space than that of the orthodox traditions. In this respect, heterodox tradition will be traced back to the 13th c. Sufi philosopher

⁴⁴ Edward M. Bruner, “Experience and Its Expressions” in *The Anthropology of Experience*, ed. by Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 6-7; 11-12.

Ibn al'Arabî (d. 1230). The impact of 'Arabî's doctrines in the Ottoman world will be examined from the 13th c. to the end of the Tulip Period by the early 18th c.

The third chapter will study rituals performed in private gardens as expressions of the Ottoman orthodox society and culture. This chapter will use *gazel* genre and try to understand its performative qualities and discuss how garden rituals were used to interiorize heterodox philosophies within an orthodox structure. This chapter will mainly make use of Walter Andrew's study on the *gazel* genre which has examined one hundred and sixty gazels, composed from 1453 until 1730. Andrews studied *gazels* from the anthologies of four court poets, the last being Nedîm (d. 1730).

The fourth chapter will examine *Şehrengiz* genre as an expression of marginal Sufi groups and will try to understand the concept of space and its transformation as depicted in *Şehrengiz* rituals from 1512 to 1674. In this chapter, eleven *Şehrengiz* poems will be examined, translated into English and analyzed from Agah Sırrı Levend's transcriptions in his anthology of *Şehrengiz* poems. In this chapter, all the translations of the *Şehrengiz* poems are done by the author.⁴⁵

Finally, the fifth chapter will discuss the conditions under which *Şehrengiz* rituals of marginal Sufi groups were transformed into new urban rituals practiced both by the Ottoman court and elite along with the public during the Tulip Period from 1718 to 1730. This final chapter will analyze Nedîm's poetry as an expression of the epoch's urban rituals, covering three hundred poems from his anthology.

⁴⁵ About the multivocal quality of Ottoman poetry and the nature of translations, see Walter Andrews, "Ottoman Lyrics: Introductory Essay," *Intersections in Turkish Literature Essays in Honor of James Stewart Robinson*, ed. By Walter Andrews (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997), 3-25.



Figure 1.

“View of Istanbul from the Dutch Embassy” by Vanmour (ca. 1730), reproduced from *The Ambassador, the Sultan and the artist An Audience in Istanbul* (Amsterdam: Rijswijk, ICN Collection, 2003), 43.



Figure 2.

"Patrona Halil" by Vanmour (ca. 1730), reproduced from *The Ambassador, the Sultan and the artist*, 13.



Figure 3.

“Ahmed III’s reception room in the Palace”, reproduced from Nurhan Atasoy, *Hasbahçe* (İstanbul: Koç Yayınları, 2002),121.



Figure 4.

A page from one of the French books found in Topkapı Palace Archive, TSM H2587.

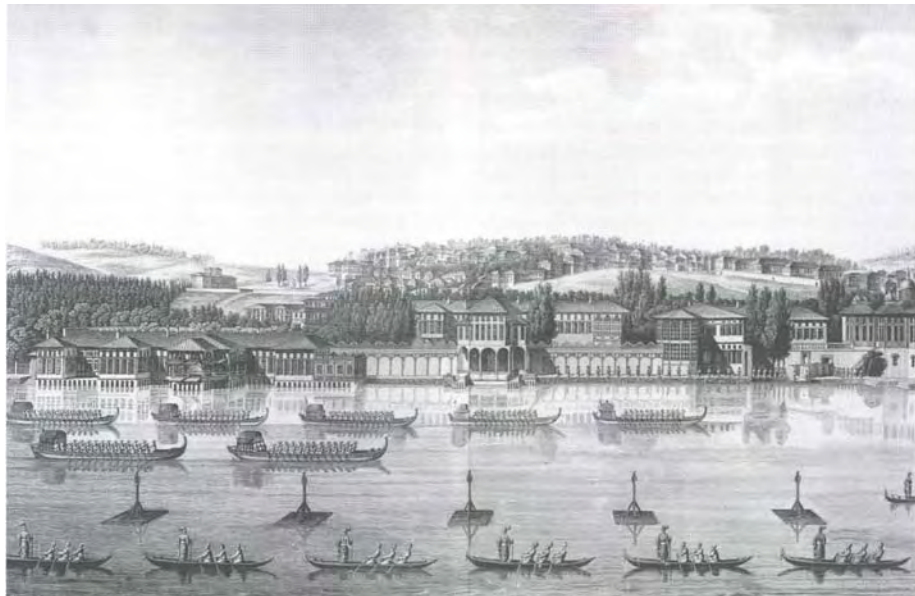


Figure 6.

"Imperial *binis* along Bosphorus," from D'Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'empire Ottoman* (1787), reproduced from Maurice Cerasi "Town and Architecture in the 18th Century" in '*Istanbul, Constantinople, Byzantium*' *Rassegna* 72 (1997), 47.



Figure 7.

"Turkish Courtiers feasting" by Vanmour (ca. 1730), reproduced from *The Ambassador, the Sultan and the artist*, 41.



Figure 8.

"A Turkish Wedding" by Vanmour (ca. 1730), reproduced in *The Ambassador, the Sultan and the artist*, 39.



Figure 9.

"Sugar gardens produced for the 1720 circumcision festival," in *Surname-i Vehbi* (1727-33), TSM A.3593, folio 7a; reproduced from Atıl, *Vehbi ve Surname*.



Figure 10.

"Sugar gardens produced for the 1720 circumcision festival," in *Surname-i Vehbi* (1727-33), TSM A.3593, in *Surname-i Vehbi* (1727-33), TSM A.3593, folios 161a, 161b, 162 a, 162b, reproduced from Atıl, *Vehbi ve Surname*.

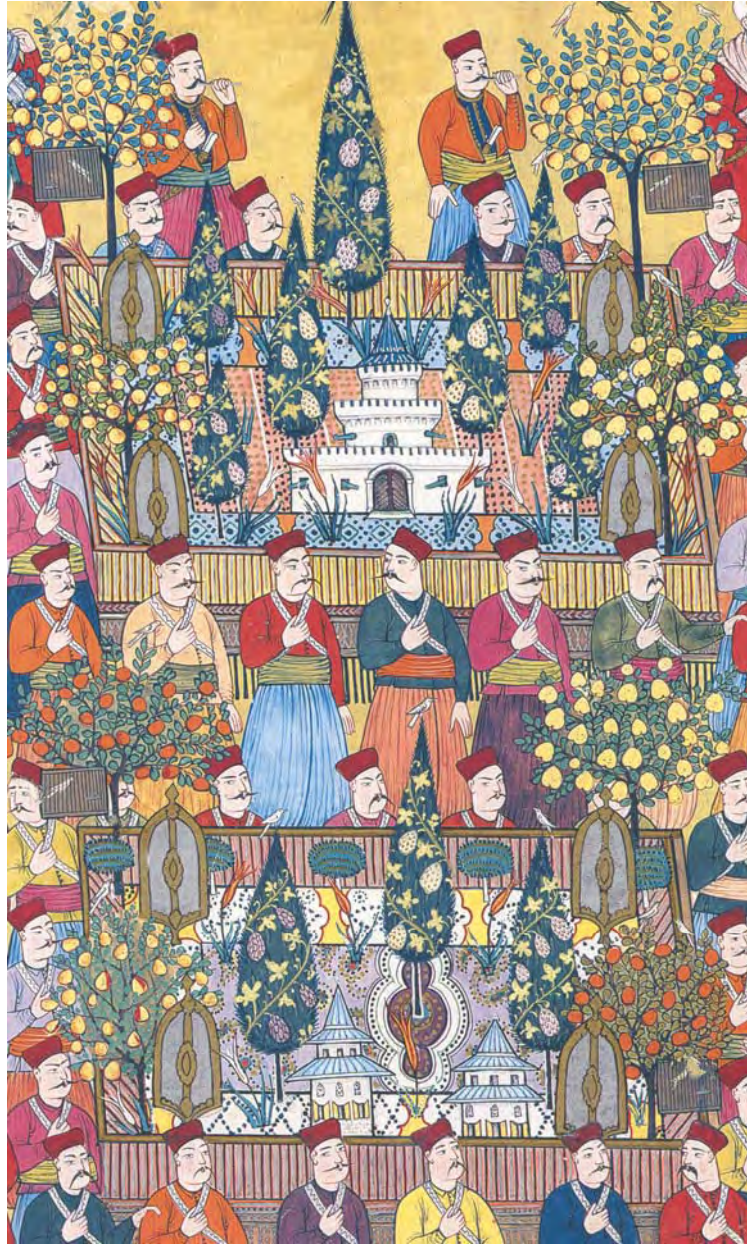


Figure 11.

“Sugar gardens,” from *Surname-i Vehbi* (1727-33), TSM A.3593, detail from folio 161b, reproduced from Atıl, *Vehbi ve Surname*.



Figure 12.

"Sugar gardens," from *Surname-i Vehbi* (1727-33), TSM A3593, detail from folio 162b, reproduced from Atıl, *Vehbi ve Surname*.

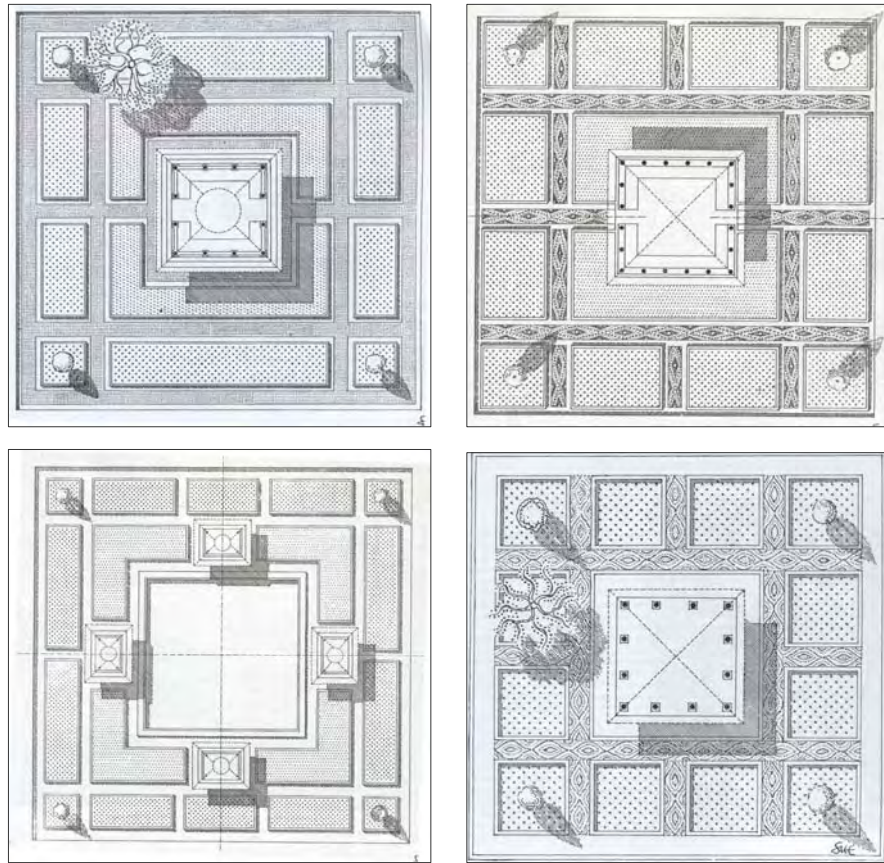


Figure 13.

Eldem's study of garden models from Vehbi's 18th c. miniatures, reproduced from Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1978), 211- 215.



Figure 14.

"Whirling Dervishes in the Mevlevi tekke," by Vanmour (ca. 1730), reproduced from *The Ambassador, the Sultan and the artist*, 38.

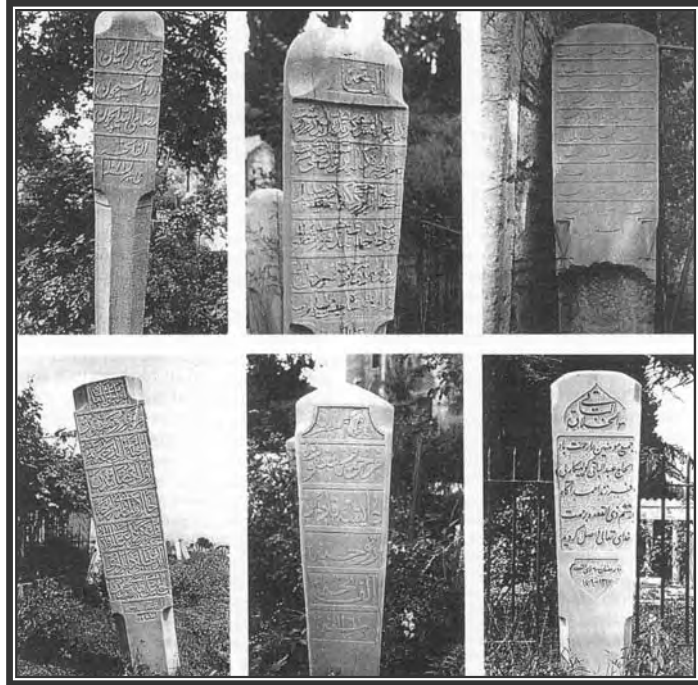


Figure 15.

Melami tombstones “ ‘Bî ser ü pâ’ (without head and legs),” reproduced from Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi vol. 5 (1994), 385.

Pictures, top/middle: Tombstone of Poet Nedim (d. 1730), Karacaahmet Cemetery;
top/left: Tombstone of Grand Vezier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa (d. 1730),
Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa Complex.



Figure 16.

“Map of Istanbul,” in *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn* by Martrakçı Nasuh (1537), İÜ T5964, folios 8b and 9a.



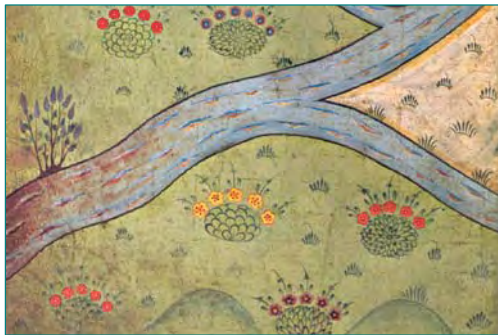
Kısahan Bridge, detail from
Folio 10a.



Karye-i Agi around Erciş, detail from
Folio 25b.



Berriye-i Kufe, detail from
Folio 66a.



A destination after Kerkük, detail from
Folio 75a.

Figure 17.

Landscapes from different destinations (“manzar” from various “menzil”) in *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn* by Martrakçı Nasuh (1537), İÜ T5964.



Sultaniye, detail from
Folio 10a.



Tebriz, detail from
Folio 25b.



Mahruse-i Hille after Kufe,
detail from Folio 66a.



Tetimme-i Dergezin:
Bağçe ez Dergezin,
detail from Folio 90a.

Figure 18.

Depiction of different cities in *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn* by Martrakçı Nasuh (1537), İÜ T5964.

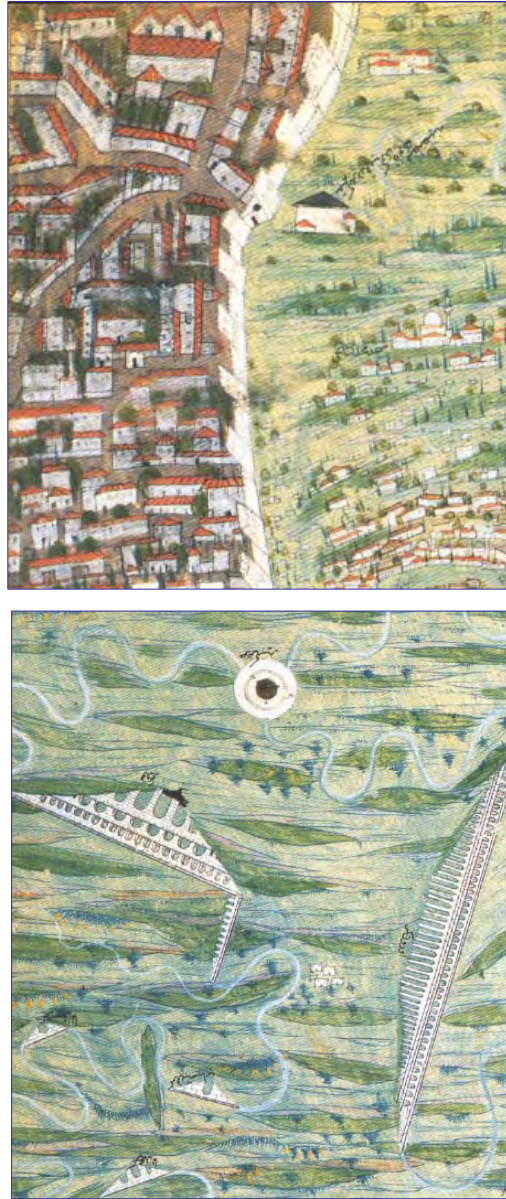


Figure 19.

Depiction of the city and countryside of Istanbul in *Kırkçeşme Waterways Map* by Nakkaş Osman (1579-1580), Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS. 413, reproduced from Kazım Çeçen, *İstanbul'un Osmanlı Dönemi Suyolları*, ed. by Celal Kolay (Istanbul: Omaş Ofset A.Ş., 2000).

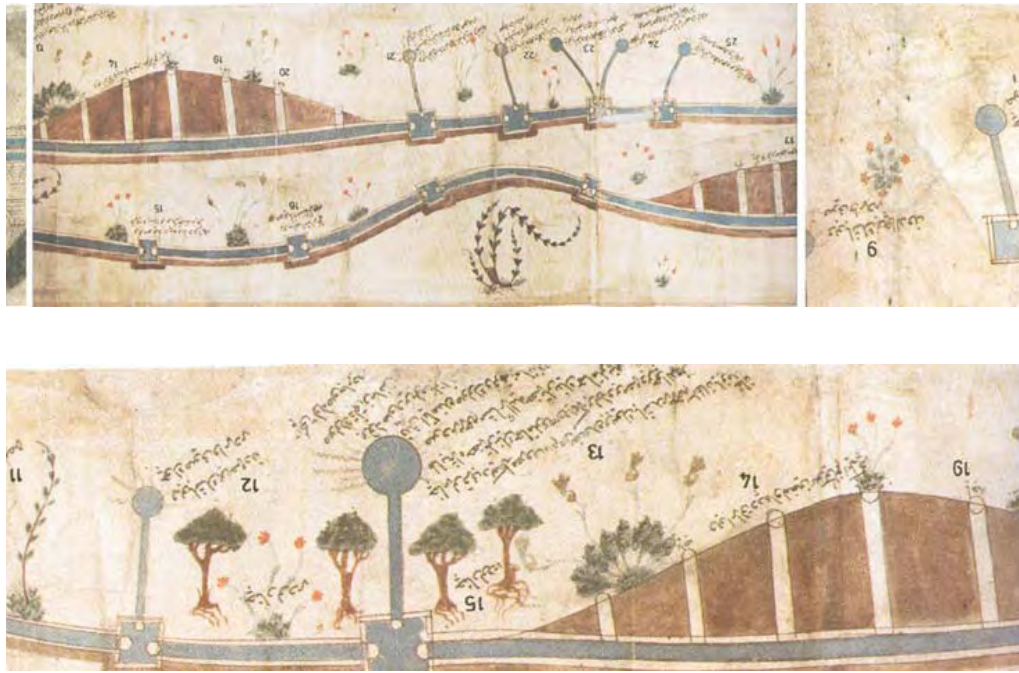


Figure 20.

“Beylik Suyolu” (1582), TSM E12431, reproduced from Çeçen, *İstanbul’un Osmanlı Dönemi Suyolları*.

CHAPTER II

PHILOSOPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: MAPPING THE IMPACT OF SUFI EPISTEMOLOGY IN THE CONSTRUCTION, DEVELOPMENT AND TRANSFORMATION OF OTTOMAN IMAGINATION AND IDEOLOGY

By the end of the 12th c. the meeting of Abu' Walid Ibn Rushd (Averroes) with Ibn 'Arabî was a brief encounter of two contrasting realms of philosophy, the western Latin school, and the Islamic. Ibn Rushd¹ (1126 - 1198), known as the Commentator of Aristotle (384 BC - 322 BC), requested to meet young Ibn 'Arabî² (1165 Murcia -1240 Damascus), who later came to be called as the son of Plato (429 BC - 347 BC).³ This meeting that took place in Cordova demonstrates Ibn 'Arabî's neo-platonic influence in the Islamic world, and his position within world philosophy.⁴ Ibn Rushd, the commentator and translator of Aristotle's works, had

¹ For an introduction to Ibn Rushd, see, Kemal Salim, *The philosophical poetics of Alfarabi, Avicenna and Averroes: the Aristotelian reception* (London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), and Oliver Leaman, *Averroes and his philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York : Oxford University Press, 1988). For the contradictory position of Ibn Rushd among Islamic scholars, see Bello, I. A. *Ijma' and Ta'wil in the conflict between al-Ghazali and Ibn Rushd*. Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis (Canada: University of Toronto, 1985). For Ibn Rushd's influence to the western philosophy, see Therese-Anne Druart, "Averroes: the commentator and the commentators" in *Aristotle in late antiquity*, ed. by Lawrence P. Schrenk (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, c. 1994).

² See Appendix 3 for a brief summary of Ibn 'Arabî's life and bibliography on 'Arabî.

³ Steffen Stelzer, "Ibn Rushd, Ibn 'Arabî, and the Matter of Knowledge," *Alif* 16 (1996), 19-55.

⁴ The following remark by Nasr explains the importance of these two scholars and their influence on the latter Christian and Islamic societies explicitly: "*In an encounter which is*

composed numerous books on science, medicine, law, philosophy, and religion. He claimed that philosophy and religion belong to different domains of study. He acknowledged knowledge as the study of visible objects in nature. However he was challenged by Ibn Arabi's confidence in the reception of both physical and metaphysical worlds as sources of knowledge. 'Arabî argued that "vision" was a means to acquire knowledge. Ibn Rushd argued that "reason" was the only means to acquire knowledge. Ibn Rushd discussed about the concept of the "creative intellect." 'Arabî introduced the concept of "creative imagination." Ibn 'Arabî is the first Sufi philosopher who had established a well-structured cosmology involving both physical and metaphysical worlds. It connected the phenomenal and the universal worlds. It related the individuality of the subject to the universality of the cosmology.

Ibn Rushd introduced Aristotle to the Latin world of Western Europe. He is accounted as one of the most important figures whose work had accumulated Aristotelianism, the development of natural sciences, and, thus the birth of Renaissance in Europe. Philosophers of antiquity had been reintroduced to the Western world by the Byzantine scholars, who had migrated to Italy throughout the 15th century. One of these scholars was George Gemistos (d. 1452). Gemistos named himself Plethon after Plato. Gemistos had given lectures in Florence about the differences between the philosophies of Aristotle and Plato, and argued the superiority of Plato over Aristotle. However, Gemistos observed that the western world was interested in the studies of Plato only in the domain of arts. He wanted to establish neo-platonism in the domains of philosophy and sciences. Gemistos explained his neo-platonic arguments in relation to Islamic and other ancient near eastern philosophies. He claimed that in the future the world would be dominated

full of significance, for in it two personalities meet who symbolize the paths to be followed in the future by the Christian and the Islamic worlds;" Seyyed Hossein Nasr, Three Muslim sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardi, Ibn Arabi. (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1964c, 1969), 93.

by a single religion. Scholaris, who was appointed as the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church by Mehmed II after the conquest of Istanbul, accused Gemistos for associating Platonism with paganism. Scholaris claimed that Gemistos' association of Platonism with paganism was a result of his education from a scholar, who was a subject of the Ottoman rule. In the major research conducted on the life and philosophy of Gemistos, Woodhouse argues that Gemistos did not have any knowledge of Arabic or Persian. He adopted the ideas of his teacher directly. Gemistos even became a disciple of this Ottoman subject. Though the identity of this Ottoman scholar still has not been truly identified,⁵ Gemistos himself stands as one of the major indications that by the 15th century, neo-platonism was adopted and practiced in the intellectual circles of the Ottoman rule in Asia Minor.

In this respect, it is noteworthy to briefly summarize the history of Asia Minor through the 13th c. to the 15th c., between 'Arabî's visit to Konya and the conquest of Istanbul in 1453. Asia Minor was a land of invasions in the 13th century. In the northwest, the Byzantine capital was been invaded and destroyed by the Latins (1204-1261). The central and eastern peninsula was under the rule of the Seljuk Empire. The Seljuk culture was flourishing when the Mongols defeated them at Köseadağ in 1243. After this date Asia Minor was not only invaded by Moguls, but also by thousands of migrants who were running away from the impelling force of Moguls. These flow of refugees included Türkmen tribes, and as well many individual immigrants including prominent Sufi scholars. Due to the intellectual flow, Kalenderi (following Melamîs of Horasan), Vefai, Haydari, Yesevi, Kübrevî, Sühreverdî, Rifai, Kadiri orders established themselves in Asia Minor early in the 13th century. Parallel to the establishment of different Sufi orders, Türkmen tribes had begun to establish themselves in small principalities by the end of the 13th century. Türkmen dervishes became spiritual masters of their communities each

⁵ C. M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). I am thankful to Prof. John Monfasani, Director of the Renaissance Society of America, for his reference to Gemistos Plethon.

possessing political power.⁶ Thus, in the 13th century, west and central Anatolia had experienced the cultural and political appropriation of Anatolia, by Sufis, and Türkmen tribes; whereas, in the northwest Anatolia the Byzantine Empire was fighting against the Latins. Türkmens rebelled against the Seljuk power, and encountered against one another; Seljuk princes disputed amongst themselves and with the Mongol appointees; Byzantines struggled against the Latin invaders. Meanwhile, some of the Byzantine principalities were separated from the empire.

Ibn al-'Arabî entered this scene in the early 13th century while he was traveling from Andalusia to different cultural centers and pilgrimage sites of the Middle East. Upon Keyhusrev I's invitation to the Seljuk court, he had visited Konya, Malatya, and Diyarbakır in 1210. He lived in Konya for a brief period, and then he continued his travels; finally settled and died in Damascus in 1240. Despite the fact that his stay in Anatolia was quite short, his influence in the latter Ottoman philosophy and culture had been significant. Though 'Arabî's reputation and his ideas were already recognized in Andalusia even when he was a teenager, his works were incomprehensible to many. They had a complex structure with diverse references, and multivalent arguments. His step-son Sadreddin Konevi whom 'Arabî had adopted while he was living in Konya, had re-structured his philosophy by following an analytical and comprehensible order. Following Konevi, 'Arabî was reintroduced to the Islamic philosophy through the works of other Ottoman scholars. Thus the

⁶ Ibrahim Kafesoğlu, *Selçuklu Tarihi* (İstanbul: MEB, 1972), 151-186; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California State), 60-151; Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge; London: Cambridge university Press, 1976), 1-11; M. F. Köprülü, *İslam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion*, trans. by Gary Lesier (Salt Lake: University of Utah Press, 1993), 3-31; Speros Vryonis Jr., "Nomadization and Islamization in Asia Minor," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 29 (1975), 41-71; Mikail Bayram, *Ahi Evren ve Ahi Teşkilatının Kuruluşu* (Konya: Damla Matbaacılık, 1991), pp. 11-31, 129-160; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, "İslam ve Türk İllerinde Fütüvvet Teşkilatı ve Kaynakları," *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* X (1949-50), 6-354; Cemal Anadol, *Türk-İslam medeniyetinde Ahilik Kültürü ve Fütüvvetnameler* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000).

Seljuk-Ottoman scholarship re-structured 'Arabî's philosophy into a school of thought recognized as the Unity of Being (wahdat al-wujud). 'Arabî's philosophy has always been a subject of dispute. His doctrines have been recognized in two extreme fashions both by his followers, and his commentators throughout history. Due to his diverse references from conflicting domains of various religions - from Orthodox Islamic tradition, various heterodox orders of Sufism, and other world religions outside the realm of Islam, his work has been associated with either the highest level of religion, or pantheism.

PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND: IDEAL AND REAL SPACES OF IMAGINATION

The philosophy of Abu Bakr Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-'Arabî is important for the studies of architecture, because it does not only underline some of the most crucial points regarding the cultural and social values of Ottoman society for a deeper consideration of the history of Ottoman architecture and landscape cultures; but because it also proposes a significant understanding of space. 'Arabî structured a complete theory on the concept of intermediary space. This intermediary space was called "barzakh." He discussed this concept in relation to the domains of ontology, epistemology, and hermeneutics; and his commentaries examined it accordingly. Ibn 'Arabî's philosophy develops at an intermediary domain as well. Epistemology encounters ontology at this intermediary domain. Their encounter is experienced and interpreted in terms of hermeneutics.

The concept of "barzakh" as an intermediary space reconciles ontology and epistemology in Islamic philosophy. Among many other Islamic scholars who had dwelled on the problem of explaining the concept of knowledge as of this world, and/or as of God, there had been different perspectives developed, which favored ontology or epistemology to one another. Scholars were not able to propose a consistent philosophy of Islamic thought, combining all domains of knowledge. Ibn

Rushd argued for studying the two domains disconnected from one another, and his work had been interpreted to separate ontology and positive sciences. Ghazali was interpreted to propose the superiority of ontology to positive sciences. The lack of any proper explanation, or understanding of ontology and epistemology, with respect to one another, in terms of Islamic philosophy led the Islamic world into confusion. As Henry Corbin also acknowledges, this confusion, guided most of the intellectual contemplation to an either/or state, which resulted in favoring one, or the other. Thus, when 'Arabī discussed the existence of both of domains as equivalent, it provided an insightful explanation for most of the scholars:⁷

The magnitude of the loss becomes apparent when we consider that this intermediate world is the realm where the conflict between theology and philosophy, between faith and knowledge, between symbol and history, is resolved.

Ontology covers the study of religious cosmology. Islamic cosmology is born out of one single entity that is God. The domain of God is acknowledged as the realm of existence which houses absolute reality. The realm of existence manifested the creation of all things. This second domain is the realm of non-existence which designates everything that is not God. Neither existence, nor non-existence can be observed. They are invisible (batīni). Thus a third realm is manifested as the realm of relative existence. It is the realm of possible things, which is visible (zahīri).⁸

The realm of existence contains true knowledge. The essence of true knowledge is acknowledged as a body (wujūd) since it is recognized that only God exist and there is no reality outside his existence. Outside the realm of existence there are all things. All things also have bodies. However bodies of things are acknowledged as spaces in which the body of god manifests itself. Thus, bodies of things are

⁷ Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn' Arabi* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 13.

⁸ William Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God: principles of Ibn al-Arabi's cosmology* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1998), 79.

spaces, where the body of god is represented. The body as depicted in realm of existence has no form. It is pure essence. Bodies in the realm of non-existence are epiphanic forms. Bodies in the realm of relative existence are corporeal bodies.

All things in the realms of non-existence and relative existence are bodies portrayed as spaces where the body of god is manifested. These things or bodies are called existent (*mawjûd*). All things, or all bodies manifested are acknowledged as signs that embody knowledge of the body of god. All things, or all bodies manifested are spaces which are denoted as "locus of manifestation."⁹ Bodies are manifestations (*Zahîri*) of the hidden essence (*Batîni*): "To see God in his Self-Disclosure is to see a perpetual and never repeated display of novel forms."¹⁰

All corporeal and epiphanic forms are signs, and all signs embody the knowledge of God. All signs are acknowledged as marks of God. Knowledge is attained by unfolding signs. Accordingly, Chittick explains 'Arabî's cosmology as "a science of signs, an account and a narration of the significance of marks."¹¹

'Arabî explains epistemology as the knowledge of God.¹² However, associating human attainment of knowledge to the invisible realm of existence contradicts Orthodox Islam. Orthodox Islam acknowledges that the knowledge of the realm of existence, thus the knowledge of God is only accessible to God himself. Orthodox belief asserts that the only knowledge available to the human is attained by learning religious texts (Koran and Hadith) and by repetition of traditional practices (Sunna). However, Sufi mysticism argues that the knowledge of God is accessible

⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 57-60.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3; 8; 23.

¹² *Ibid.*, 91.

to the friends of God.¹³ Thus, the friends of God, who are the mystics, acquire knowledge by special training.

The mystic believes that the knowledge of God is not limited to the religious texts or orthodox practices. It is inherited by every other human being. However its recognition is disclosed by special training. This training is acknowledged as the path of Sufism. Acquiring knowledge is regarded as “recognition and recollection” of the already inherited knowledge of God. Thus, it is considered as divine vision or theophanic inspiration.

‘Arabî puts emphasis on the importance of individual self who receives theophanic inspiration. ‘Arabî argues that all human beings are entitled to attain true knowledge. However the attainment of knowledge from one self to another would differ dramatically with regards to the capacities of each individual. The capacity of individual enlightenment is explained in terms of hermeneutics. Though content and quality of knowledge would change from one individual to another, the essence of the knowledge would not change. In a physical metaphor, it can be explained that even if the shadows of each object differs from one another with regards to their different positions, or their mass; the quality of the light source would not change.

‘Arabî also argues that all existence is in constant renewal of itself. Universe is considered to be in constant movement. Movement is one of the qualities of creation. It is not things themselves that create movement. Things enter, or in other terms experience different states of movement: ¹⁴ “Know that there is no stillness whatsoever in the cosmos. It fluctuates endlessly and perpetually from state to

¹³ For a contradictory discussion about Sufi episteme, see, Syed Jamaluddin, “Epistemology in the Sufi Discourse,” *Islam and the Modern Age* vol. 26 issue 2/3 (1995), 137-148.

¹⁴ Movement can observed through traces which will be left on things; Chittick, *The Self-Disclosure of God*, 59.

state.” Since all existence, as the source of knowledge, constantly renews itself, the whole creation and its knowledge are also in constant “transmutation” and renewal.

Hermeneutics, then, can be explained as a compilation of momentarily intersections of the two realms- ontology, and epistemology, which are simultaneously in constant transmutation. It becomes the experience of an encounter between meaning and form in simultaneous transmutation. Ibn ‘Arabî, explains each meeting of the manifest and the non-manifest as a representational encounter which takes place in different levels of the cosmology, regardless of the hierarchy of the cosmology.

Since everything is in constant transmutation, then the attainment of knowledge is actually the collection of instants by the individual self. It is the unfolding of the signs by the individual self. It is a constant interpretation, construction, and deconstruction of signs by the individual self. Thus, Ibn ‘Arabî’s philosophy explains the encounter between the God and the individual self. However, since God cannot be encountered directly, everything else becomes proof of his existence, including the individual human self itself. Ibn ‘Arabî is the principal Islamic philosopher who emphasized the individual self with such assertion, and related the attainment of knowledge to the individual. It is noteworthy to emphasize that ‘Arabî considered his own individuality as an important derivative of his philosophy. Among many other Sufi masters with whom ‘Arabî has associated himself, there is one legendary figure whose authenticity explains ‘Arabî’s assertive discussions underlining the concept of the self. It is the legendary figure Khidr (See Figure 21), whose link to ‘Arabî gives insight about ‘Arabî’s aims to achieve individual enlightenment:¹⁵

Khidr is the master of all those who are masterless, because he shows all those whose master he is how to be what he himself is he who has attained

¹⁵ Henry Corbin, *Creative imagination in the Sufism of Ibn El-Arabi*, trans. by Ralph Manheim (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), 60- 61.

the Spring of life, the eternal Youth... he who has attained haqiqa, the mystic esoteric truth which dominates the Law and frees... from the literal religion.... He leads each disciple to his own theophany, the theophany of which he personally is the witness, because that theophany corresponds to his "inner heaven" to the form of his own being, to his eternal individuality...

Ibn 'Arabî discusses three types of cognition for the attainment of knowledge. Responding to these three domains, there are three different types of cognitive faculties. These are the sensual, intellectual, and imaginative faculties. The organs of sensual cognition are the five senses of the body. Sensual cognition is empowered by the five senses of the human body, and activated by the soul. The organ of intellectual cognition is the mind. Spiritual cognition is empowered by the spirit, and related to the rational thinking. Imaginative faculty is empowered by the organ heart. Heart is furnished with intellectual and spiritual abilities. However the faculties of heart should not be understood as emotional. The faculties of heart enable the individual to communicate beyond the apparent body.¹⁶

...its nature is rather intellectual than emotional, but whereas the intellect cannot gain real knowledge of God, the heart is capable of knowing the essence of all things, and when illuminated by faith and knowledge reflects the whole content of the divine mind.

Imagination is considered superior to rational thinking. The rationality is only able to discriminate a static Truth learned from written reports, and fixed by the traditions of Sunna. However, imagination allows an ever-shifting correspondence between form and meaning, allows dynamism, motion, and transmutation. Imagination also surpasses sensual cognition, because it communicates beyond the mere apparent from.

'Arabî considered the imaginative faculty superior to the other two faculties, because it embodies both of them. It is a divine state of inspiration towards the understanding and realization of true knowledge. It is a creative process which enables the interaction of two different worlds. Faculties of imagination enable the

¹⁶ Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* (Beirut: Khayats, 1966), 68.

human being to unfold signs, and to attain knowledge. Corbin describes the faculty of imagination as the heart. Heart is able to communicate the relationship between the signified and the signifier, questions the relation between essence and form. Corbin explains the creative powers of heart that is called *himma*¹⁷:

...*himma* is an extremely complicated notion which cannot perhaps be translated by any one word. Many equivalents have been suggested: mediation, project, intention, desire, force of will; here we shall concentrate on the aspect that encompasses all the others, the "creative power of the art....The active Imagination serves the *himma* which, by its concentration, is capable of creating objects, of producing changes in the outside world....If the heart is the mirror in which the Divine Being manifests his form according to the capacity of this heart, the Image which the heart projects is in turn the outward form, the "objectivization" of this image.

Imaginative faculty explores the relationship between form and meaning. The attainment of knowledge is the construction and deconstruction of signs made out of a signifier and a signified. Construction of signs is the meeting of essence with form. Deconstruction, however, is the deciphering of the signs. Imaginative faculty enables to perceive beyond the apparent body of a sign.¹⁸ Corbin calls the hidden structure of signs as idea-images:¹⁹

Between the universe that can be apprehended by pure intellectual perception, and the universe perceptible to the senses, there is an intermediate world, the world of idea-images, of archetypal figures, of subtile substances, of "immaterial matter." This world is as real and objective, as consistent and subsistent as the intelligible and sensible worlds; it is an intermediate universe "where the spiritual takes body and the body becomes spiritual," a world consisting of real matter and real extension, though by comparison to sensible, corruptible matter these are subtile and immaterial. The organ of this universe is active Imagination; it is the *place* of theophanic visions, the scene on which visionary events and symbolic histories *appear* in their true reality.

¹⁷ Corbin, *Creative imagination*, 220-224.

¹⁸ Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 346-49.

¹⁹ Corbin, *Creative Imagination*, 3-4.

The unfolding and folding; deconstruction and construction of idea-images reveal true knowledge. This process is the attainment of knowledge. Corbin also discusses the contemporary relevance of the study of imagination as a way to attain knowledge:

Today with the help of phenomenology, we are able to examine the way in which man experiences his relationships to the world without reducing the objective data of this experience to data of sense perception or limiting the field of true and meaningful knowledge to the mere operations of the rational understanding. Freed from an old impasse, we have learned to register and to make use of the intentions implicit in all the acts of consciousness or transconsciousness. To say that the Imagination (or love, or sympathy, or any other sentiment) induces knowledge, and knowledge of an object which is proper to it, no longer smacks of paradox.²⁰

'Arabî also emphasizes importance of the locus of this unfolding of signs, and names this space as the realm of imagination. The realm of imagination exists at three different scales. First it exists between the invisible domains of non-manifest things (realms of existence and non-existence) and the visible domain of manifested things (realm of relative existence). Second, it exists between the realm of existence and non-existence as the realm of relative existence. Third it exists between body and spirit. First is the realm of idea-images. Second is the realm of the phenomenal world. Third is the human self.

In the realm of imagination, a part of the divine knowledge descends where it meets with the ascending form which has lost its density. The realm of imagination is a place of encounter: "The imagination is the scene of the encounter whereby the supersensory divine and the sensible descend at one and the same abode."²¹ The realm of imagination is acknowledged as an ever changing domain, where the same form (since the form does also change by passing time from one state into another) will not be able to meet the same meaning again. This dynamic relation

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 156.

between form and meaning²² that is staged within a space which has no density is actually a space of representation, the domain of true knowledge.²³

'Arabî portrays signs to be read and deciphered like letters. The below poem describes the attainment of knowledge as a process, as an act of questioning, as an act of communication between essence and form by deconstructing the apparent meaning and body of the letter. Thus the act of deconstruction is the unfolding of true knowledge, the knowledge of God.²⁴

He is a letter you are the essence of it
I have no intentions other than Him
Letter is an essence, its meaning attached to it
The eye does not see anything else than this meaning
The heart will come and go due to its nature
Once to its body, once to its meaning
God is magnificent no body can contain him
Though we can embrace him in our hearts

Corbin argues that in 'Arabî's perspective, unfolding of knowledge, or in other words, theophanic vision is activated and communicated by metaphors.²⁵

²² Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 260-61.

²³ *Ibid.*, 259-262.

²⁴ Ibn Arabi, *İlahi Aşk*, trans. by Mahmut Kanık (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2002), 21; translated from:

Varlık bir harftir sen onun anlamısın /Hayatta bir emelim yok ondan başka/ Harf bir anlamdır, anlamı kendindedir/ Göz görmez o anlamdan başka hiçbir şey/ Kalb gider gelir fitratının bir gereği/ Kah şekline o harfin kah anlamına/ Tanrı yücedir, Hiç kimse onu içeremez/ Ama biz O'nu kalbimize sığdırırız

²⁵ Corbin, *Creative imagination*, 14.

Allegory is a rational operation, implying no transition either to a new plane of being, or to a new depth of consciousness; it is a figuration, at an identical level of consciousness, of what might very well be known in a different way. The symbol announces a plane of consciousness distinct from that of rational evidence; it is the “cipher” of a mystery, the only means of saying something that cannot be apprehended in any other way; a “symbol” is never explained once and for all, but must be deciphered once and for all, but calls for ever new execution.

This communication is possible because beyond the multiplicity of the apparent world, the whole universe is sustained in unity which speaks a common language. That reality is the knowledge of the true reality bestowed to all the participants of the universe. This common reality enables sympathy and attraction between things, enables their communication and interaction. All the elements of the universe are attracted to one another because they are carrying the same essential life substance. ‘Arabî names this attraction as love. In ‘Arabî’s philosophy, all the creation was enabled by love.

Love is dynamic and enables the sustainability of life: “If there were no love, the world would be frozen.”²⁶ Love enables communication beyond the sensible and intelligible worlds. ‘Arabî defines “love” as a-priori, and permanent (*ma’dum*). The imaginative faculty is activated by the act of love. Since the domain of imagination was considered as a space, this space was constructed metaphorically as a domain of exchange and communication, between the God, and the human being. Ibn ‘Arabî illustrates this communication as a ritual of “love”.

‘Arabî also defines “love” in three kinds. First is the divine love. It is the love between God and human beings. The second is spiritual love, between the lover and the beloved, where the lover is in full pursue of the action of loving. The third one is natural love between the lover and the beloved, where the lover is aiming to

²⁶ Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 293.

fulfill his sensual desires.²⁷ In all levels of the cosmology, human beings carry the act of love with respect to their capacities. Schimmel describes visuality as an agency of love, “looking becomes, then, one of the central topics of mystical love experience.”²⁸ Divine love arouses through natural-bodily love: “Conjunction of spiritual love and the natural love it transmutes is the very definition of mystic love.”²⁹

Using the metaphor of love, ‘Arabî defines the whole cosmology in terms of a lover and a beloved. The beloved symbolizes the essence, and the true knowledge. The lover symbolizes the whole universe desperate to unite with this essence, longing to acquire divine knowledge.

Form is defined as an instant image in the mind of the lover. It is the image of the beloved. It is an image of the loved one in the lover’s imagination. Forms are dynamic, because they would never stay in a single state, but transform from one state into another. For example the human body will grow old by the passing time. As well, the body will be experiencing one state after another, either posed still, in a state of immobility, or moving, in a state of motion. The changing states will leave a trace on the body, and eventually the form will change by the passing time. There will not be a static definition and depiction of any form as a single image. The state of love also encourages the formlessness and transformation of body from one state to another. For the true lover, the image of the beloved will also change, as the form of the beloved will always be transmuted.

The attainment of knowledge takes place in an intermediary domain called barzakh. Ibn ‘Arabî reintroduced the concepts of “barzakh” as “imagination”; which he borrowed from Sufi terminology, and totally restructured into a new philosophy.

²⁷ Ibn-i Arabi, *İlahi Aşk*, 64.

²⁸ Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 290.

²⁹ Corbin, *Creative imagination*, 151.

The concept of “barzakh” embodies an understanding of “both/and” instead of “either/or.” The presence of a “barzakh” enables the co-existence of ontology and epistemology; so far it enabled metaphysical and physical worlds as equally important; and, discussed the significance of the individual self, as equal to God. Thus, in each case, “barzakh” is portrayed as a space of encounter, as a third space which the other two different domains meet. In this respect the act of imagination also takes place at barzakh. It is called as the realm of imagination. Barzakh or the realm of imagination is portrayed in the form of an ideal or real space. This space is depicted to be the only place to attain true knowledge. It exists in all levels and at all scales of the cosmology. It places the individual human self at the center of understanding the whole creation. It is a space created by the act of communication, act of imagination. Thus it is a space created by the attainment of knowledge. ‘Arabî explains the concept of “barzakh” and “imagination” as such: ³⁰

A barzakh is something that separates (fâsil) two other things while never going to one side (mutatarrif), as, for example, the line that separates shadow from sunlight. God says, ‘He let forth the two seas that meet together, between them a barzakh they do not overpass’ (Koran 55:19); in other words, the one sea does not mix with the other. Though sense perception might be incapable of separating the two things, rational faculty judges that there is a barrier (hâjiz) between them which separates them. The intelligible barrier is the barzakh. If it is perceived by the senses, it is one of the two things, not the barzakh. Any of two adjacent things are in need of a barzakh which is neither one, nor the other but which possesses the power (quwwa) of both. The barzakh is something that separates a known from an unknown, an existent from a non-existent, a negated from an affirmed, an intelligible from an unintelligible. It is called barzakh as a technical term, and in itself intelligible, but it is only imagination....Imagination is neither existent nor non-existent, neither known, nor unknown, neither negated, nor affirmed.

³⁰ William Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge: Ibn al-Arabi's metaphysics of imagination* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989), 117-118.

‘Arabî basically proposed the application and experience of this understanding of “barzakh” in three different scales; in macrocosmic, cosmic, and microcosmic levels. In microcosmic scale, which is the scale of the individual human being, “barzakh” corresponds to the soul, which operates between body and spirit. In macrocosmic scale, “barzakh” had been discussed as an intermediate world between the existence, and non-existence. It is a space between God, and everything that is not God. Existence contains the essence of the True knowledge, Non-existence embodies the epiphanic forms. Between them lies cosmos as the barzakh. In the cosmic scale, “barzakh” is the equivalent of the realm of imagination.

‘Arabî’s cosmology valued the realm of imagination above all other levels of the hierarchy. However the Orthodox cosmology had a different structure. It was made up of three main realms where each is structured into different levels. First and lowest realm of Orthodox cosmology was the phenomenal world of human beings. Second was the domain of planets as observed in the skies. Third was the divine world. Following after the domain of the phenomenal world, first seven stages in the domain of planets were represented by seven planets - Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and finally the sphere of fixed stars - each level acknowledged as a “celestial” heaven. Each of these levels were believed to embrace one of the holy characters as mentioned in Koran; Adam, Abraham, Khidr, and else. The “celestial” heavens were followed by the domain of divine world made out of three “theological” heavens which were acknowledged as the Paradise Garden. First of the last heavens had a lotus tree, second had the temple of Jerusalem, and third the throne of God.³¹ Each level of the Orthodox cosmology was associated with a different kind of cognitive faculty.³² Intellect was associated

³¹ Edith Jachimowicz, “Islamic Cosmology,” *Ancient Cosmologies*, ed. by Blacker and Loewe (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1975), 143-155.

³² Divine essence (*hadrat al-dhât/ hâhût*- stage of selfhood, or the world of Absolute Mystery), Presence of Divinity (*hadrat al-ulûhiyya/ lâhût*- Divine names), this second stage is also associated with the Universal Intellect (*al-akl al-kullîy*) Third stage is called as Presence of Masterhood (*hadrat al-rubûbiyya/ djabarût*) followed by the fourth stage of

with the highest level of the cosmology, the divine world. Imagination was associated to the second level; and human perception to the lowest level.³³

However, different than the Orthodox cosmology, 'Arabî's cosmology altered the order of cognitive hierarchy of the Orthodox tradition and emphasized the superiority of the "realm of imagination" to the other two. Meanwhile, 'Arabî's cosmology valued each domain in the hierarchical order of the cosmology as a realm of imagination with varying capacities. 'Arabî discussed these different realms of imagination in all the domains of cosmology with regards to the concept of "barzakh" having spatial qualities; as a garden, pool, meeting place, abode.³⁴

Barzakh is illustrated as an ideal space in the macrocosmic level; and real in the cosmic. The ideal gardens are the representations of heavenly Paradise garden. The real gardens include all the cosmos, natural and man made environments. Both real and ideal gardens are having the same qualities as that of existence. There is nothing static about paradise,³⁵ and nature is renewed constantly. In

world of imagination (barzakh), and finally by the plane of sensible experience (*mushâdada*); Jachimowicz, "Islamic Cosmology," 156-171.

³³ All Sufi cosmologies differed from one another. As an example to a Sufi cosmology, Ardalan and Bakhtiar gives the following cosmological order. However it had not been informed the source of this hierarchy. The seven stages of being first the Divine Essence ('*âlam-i-hâhût/ latîfah haqîqa*, the sphere of Thruth), second Divine Nature ('*âlam-i-lâhût/ latîfah khafiya*, inspiration), third ('*âlam-i-jabarût/ latîfah rūhiyya*, spirit), fourth the world of imagination ('*âlam-i-malakût/ latîfah sirriya*, superconsciousness), fifth the world of spiritual perception, ('*âlam-i-ma'nâ/ latîfah qalbiyya*, the hearth), sixth the world of forms ('*âlam-i-sûrat/ latîfah nafsiyya*, vital senses), and finally the lowest and the seventh as the world of nature ('*âlam-i-tabî'at/ latîfah qâlibiyya*, body); Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 3-10.

³⁴ Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 116-117.

³⁵ Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge*, 151-156.

substantial parts of his argument, 'Arabî portrays these differentiated ideal and real spaces as parts of a harmonious unity: "The cosmos, all of it, is a heaven and an earth." ³⁶

Garden is portrayed as a place to see the truth. The Paradise garden is the last abode before total illumination. The Koran also cites the Paradise Garden as a screen between the Divine and the human sight. It is this screen that differentiates between the divine and the human existence. It is depicted as the only place where the vision of God himself is available.³⁷ Arabi also compares the cosmos to an image on the screen; which stands between the God, as the creator, and subject as the viewer. This representation is similar to the depiction of the Garden as a veil between the Real and the subject.

At this point, the faculty of imagination becomes a virtual space, a virtual garden, an imaginary screen, where the subject as the viewer tries to identify the forms on the screen, or in the garden with respect to his selective will, with regards to his "appetite", which will be discussed in the following pages.³⁸ "The garden is named 'Garden' because it is a curtain and a veil between you and the Real for it is the locus of the appetites of the souls."³⁹

'Arabî illustrates the location of the ideal garden in two different ways. In the first one, the ideal garden occupies a section in the realm of the barzakh. So the barzakh is not only merely composed of a garden, but the garden is only one part

³⁶ Arabi quoted in Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 255.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 393 n. 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 344. Contrary to Arabî's positive evaluation of the Soul, as an agency that can be used to acquire knowledge, the generic Sufi belief is towards accepting the Soul as an organ embodying evil for its inhibition by worldly forms and desire; R. W. J. Austin, *Sufis of Andalusia* (London: Ruskin House, 1971), 53.

³⁹ Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 395 n.18.

of it. In the second argument, the human world is surrounded by a garden, which can only be perceived during the act of imagination. The garden becomes apparent when the act of imagination is performed. Form meets essence in a garden. The essence that is going to join the form for a single moment during the act of imagination descends the heavens in the form of light. So this illumination made possible by traveling light illuminates a garden, which had already been surrounding the world. This ever present garden is perceived only by those who are able to imagine, and thus who are able to see by their hearts.⁴⁰

‘Arabî discusses the concept of garden as such:⁴¹

Know my brother-may God take charge of you with his mercy- that the Garden that is reached in the last world by those who are its folk is witnessed by you today in respect of its form. Within it you undergo fluctuations in your states, but you do not know that you are within it, because the form within which it discloses itself to you veils you. The folk of unveiling, who perceive that from which the people are absent, see that locus, if it is a Garden, as a green garden plot. If it is a Gehanna, they see it in keeping with the descriptions that are within it- its bitter cold and its burning heat- and what God has prepared within it. Most of the folk unveiling see this at the beginning of the path. The Shariah has called attention to this with the Prophet’s words, “Between my grave and my pulpit is one of the gardenplots of the Garden (paradise garden).” The folk of unveiling see it as a garden plot as he said. They see the Nile, the Euphrates, the Sarus, and the Pyramus as rivers of honey, water, wine and milk, as they are in the Garden. After all, the Prophet reported that these rivers belong to the Garden. When God has not unveiled someone’s eyesight and he remains in the blindness of his veil, he does not perceive this and is like a blind man in a rose garden. He is not absent from it in his essence, but he does not see it. The fact that he does not see it does not necessitate that he is not within it. No, he is within it. The vision of God does not take place through seeking and is not reached through recompense, in contrast to the blessings in the Garden.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 362.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

In another argument 'Arabî explains real garden(s), originally part(s) of the heavenly Paradise Garden as bestowed gift(s) to the human world. Then the garden originally a divine creation is given as an ornament to decorate the mundane world⁴². In this argument, 'Arabî stresses the symbolic value of the real garden as a reflection of the Heavenly Paradise. The multiplicity of different kinds of gardens on earth, all refer to the Original Paradise Garden:⁴³

Hence from the heaven, becomes manifest the earth's ornament. Thus the heaven draped the earth with its reckoning, and the heaven stripped its ornament from it through its reckoning. From the earth's ornament, its names became many, because of the various classes of fruits, trees, and flowers within it. But from its becoming stripped and cleared, its name was made one. Its names disappeared within the disappearance of its ornament. Surely we have appointed whatever is on earth as an ornament for it. In the metaphorical interpretation, the earth is nothing but what is called "creation" and its ornament is what is named "Real." Hence through the Real it is ornamented, and through the Real it is cleared and stripped of the garments of number and it becomes manifest in the attribute of the One.

Thus, contemplation of gardens would reveal knowledge about the Paradise garden. Ideal gardens are ideal places where essence meets epiphanic forms. They enable construction of knowledge in idea-images. Real gardens are repository of signs, which enables deconstruction of idea-images as embodied beyond the apparent visualization of the sign.

Forms are either manifested in dreams, or by imagination. They reside in the "pool of imagination" or at the "Market of the Garden." 'Arabî refers to spaces occupied

⁴² Chittick interprets Arabî's interpretation on the creation of the earth (the witnessed world/ the mundane world of the human beings) both as "corruption" (*arada* in Arabic means a woodworm damaging the pages of a book), and as an ornament (*sūs*); Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 254-255.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 255.

with bodies, or signs are called as the “Market of the Garden.”⁴⁴ The world of imagination, *barzakh*, is imagined to embody part of the Garden known as the “Market”⁴⁵. This Market is portrayed as a “pool” as well. It is a pool, storage of signs waiting to be unfolded: ⁴⁶

This then is the turbidity that joins with knowledge. When this becomes manifest for people, they need a divine faculty that will take them from this form to the meaning that has become manifest in this form and has troubled them. The occasion of this is the Presence of imagination and imaginalization and the reflective faculty. Its root is this natural body, which in this way station, is called the “pool”. The depth of the pool is everything that imagination and imaginalization remove from its own form.

The faculty of imagination is able to depict the novelty of forms ever changing. These forms are either bodies or places. ‘Arabî illustrates the multiplicity of forms and different places as things to be contemplated. He uses the metaphor of traveling between the multiplicity of these ever changing novel forms; bodies and places: “The names are diverse because of the diversity of the loci and the forms.”⁴⁷

Similarly, ‘Arabî explains traveling from one garden to another as a quest for the attainment of knowledge: ⁴⁸

Heavens wisdom in the earth is its traveling to bring together thereby all its
scattered things
For God built it for us and designated through the traveling its moments

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 357.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 358

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 348.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 256.

This travel is a kind of pilgrimage which is the journey of both the heart and the body.⁴⁹

Soul is also an intermediary space between the form of the body, and the intellect of the spirit. Soul is between spirit and body. Body has sensory organs which perceive all natural phenomena. All things perceived fall onto the space of the soul. Spirit is the intellectual power which is supposed to assess this collection gathered by the body. Spirit is associated with reason, and it is an agency to differentiate between good and bad, between light, and darkness, between bliss, and sin. Spirit is the guide of the soul. The soul (*nefs*) is like a vessel where “the light of the spirit” and “the darkness of the body” encounters. All the impressions from the outside world are stored within the soul, as undifferentiated. It is like an unclassified library, which accumulates information perceived from the outside world, similar to the domain of imagination portrayed as the market of the garden, or a pool.⁵⁰ “Soul is that dimension of man and other animals which stands between the disengaged spirit and the corporeal body; it is the domain of imagination, which is neither the pure light of spirit nor the darkness known as clay.”⁵¹

The soul is divided into three in itself, as, the vegetal (controls nourishing and digestive needs and activities of the body), the animal (performs the “wrathful” inheritance like displaying vulgar, anger, rage, slaughter), and the appetitive soul (faculties aimed at pleasure by the senses of taste and desire).⁵² Soul is generative of human desires which are called appetite. Appetite is different than divine desire. It is the aspiration for things phenomenal. It is the “desire for food, sexual

⁴⁹ Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*. (Beirut: Khayats, 1966), 90-91.

⁵⁰ Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 339.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 162.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 393-95.

gratification, and all forms of pleasure.”⁵³ Human soul has a constructive ability as far as the self is able to perform activities as desired by the soul. This skill of creativity is similar to the creativity of the imagination performed by the heart. Soul is a place where appetite will meet with the “possibility”⁵⁴ its actualization. Since appetite is attached to the natural forms in the natural world of the human being, soul becomes a domain of imagination where natural forms become signs. Thus in this level of imagination, the beauty of the natural forms communicates with the self.⁵⁵ With the metaphor of love, the desire to unite with the beautiful, representing the divine love motivates the soul as in the realm of imagination.

For the soul, its space of operation is the human self and the natural world. It interacts with natural world forms. ‘Arabi discusses that appetite is basically the desire for beautiful things, which are representations of the beloved: “As for the appetitive soul its ruling authority in this frame is seeking what is beautiful in its view.”⁵⁶ Divine beings don’t have appetite.⁵⁷ They don’t possess things. They don’t have an interest in forms. However, that does not mean that appetite is a worthless and shameful kind of desire. According to Arabi appetite is a positive faculty that gives strength to the human being.⁵⁸ Appetite is a means to practice a certain intensity of the faculty of imagination in the phenomenal world. The appetitive soul would crave to have pleasure in anything which he would appreciate as beautiful

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 339.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 345.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 346.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 340-43.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 339.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 341-42.

with respect to its form, its image.⁵⁹ Chittick explains the virtue of the appetite, as such:

The fact that appetite becomes attached to things in the natural world does not detract from its inherent eminence and worth-if it did, there would be no appetite in paradise. Ibn al-Arabi repeatedly cites the Koranic verses telling us that the felicitous will be given everything for which they have appetite. After all, appetite is the soul's desire to take pleasure, and pleasure is found on the natural, bodily level.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: GEOGRAPHIES OF OTTOMAN IDEOLOGY AND IT'S SPACES OF IMAGINATION

'Arabî's philosophy had deeply influenced both the development of Ottoman Orthodox cosmology, and as well, a number of general trends in Ottoman mystical thought.⁶⁰ With respect to the context of this study, Ibn' Arabi's influence on Ottoman cultural and intellectual world can be summarized in two major periods.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 344.

⁶⁰ For basic reading on the followers of 'Arabî in Anatolia see the following works; William C. Chittick, "The Five Divine Presences: From al-Qunawi to al-Qaysari," *The Muslim World* 78 (1998), 51-82 and Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler 15.-17. Yüzyıllar* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1998); and the unpublished Ph.D. thesis by Derin Terzioğlu; Mehmet Bayraktar, *Kayserili Davud* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1998); Mustafa Aşkar *Molla Fenari ve Vahdet-i Vücut Anlayışı* (Ankara: Muradiye Kültür Vakfı Yayınları, 1993); Michel Balivet, *Şeyh Bedreddin: Tasavvuf ve isyan (İslam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans : vie du Cheikh Bedreddin le "Hallâj des Turcs" 1358/59-1416)*, trans. by Turkish Ela Güntekin (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000); and Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Simavna Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin* (İstanbul: Eti Yayınevi, 1966).

First period is 13th c. - 15th c., which coincides with the rise of the Ottoman state into the establishment and development of an empire. Second period is 16th c. - 18th c., which coincides with the centralization of the Ottoman Empire. According to changing phases of development of the Ottoman culture from a peripheral state into a centralized power, the location of the discussion concerning the influence of Ibn 'Arabî also changes. In the first phase, the argument considers Ibn 'Arabî's influence and interpretations that had taken place in multi-central cultural centers of Anatolia, like the cities of Konya, İznik, Bursa, Ankara, or Edirne. In the second phase, the argument focuses on the city of Istanbul. First period spans 13th c. - 15th c., covering the interpretation and analytical analysis of 'Arabî's work by the Seljuk and Ottoman scholars. This period can simply be called as the initial period of the development of first major commentaries on Ibn 'Arabî. Ibn 'Arabî's short visit to Anatolia, in the cities of Malatya, Konya, and Diyarbakır, in c. 1210 had left behind major advocates, who later interpreted 'Arabî's work and established his fame not only among the mystics of Anatolia, but as well in Iran, and other Islamic societies. The second period spans 16th c. - 18th c., covering the practice and conception of Ibn 'Arabî's interpretations by the agents of power in the city of Istanbul. These agents of power include the centralized authorities of the Ottoman Empire, thus the political social groups and scholars of religion.

The first phase of the discussion covers the interpretation of Ibn 'Arabî's thoughts by individual scholars, and mystics; who had both popular and elite recognition. Some of these individuals include Ibn 'Arabî's step-son Sadreddin Konevi (1210-1274) of Konya, who was the founder of the Ekberriye order; the first Ottoman scholar commissioned by the Ottoman authority, Davud b. Mahmud el-Rumi el-Kayseri (d.1350) of İznik Medresesi; the first Ottoman Şeyhülislam Molla Hamza Fenari (1350 -1431); the famous Ottoman scholar Şeyh Bedreddin (1358-1420), who was also known as a heretic; and the popular mystic Hacı Bayram Veli (1352-1429) of Ankara, who was the founder of the Bayrami order, latter followed by Bayrami-Melâmîs. These individuals were important characters who constructed the objectives of the Ottoman mystic culture. The second phase of the discussion covers mainly the contrasting perspectives of 'Arabî's influence in the city of Istanbul. In this second phase 'Arabî's influence is traced mainly by means of

studying the development of the Melâmî- Bayramiyye order in Istanbul, and its criticism by the agencies of power.

Interpretations of 'Arabî's work and his doctrines on love gave rise to two distinctly different practices in Ottoman culture. The first one was called as the Unity of Being (*Wahdat-i Vücud*), and the second as the Unity of Presence (*Wahdat-i Mevcud*). The philosophy of the Unity of Being considered the phenomenal world and all the phenomenal existence as an allegorical and distorted image of the Universal Truth. It argued that contemplation of the phenomenal world would unfold knowledge of the Universal Truth. However, the Unity of Presence considered the phenomenal world as confined within itself without any further reference to any Universal Truth. Thus, this second perspective insisted on the contemplation of the phenomenal existence as the only Truth itself. These two contrasting perspectives portray the range of 'Arabî's interpretation in Ottoman land. The Unity of Being was considered as the highest level of mystic contemplation regarding all existence as an evidence of God's existence beyond the phenomenal world. However, the Unity of Presence was considered as a dissident faith neglecting the existence of God beyond this world. By the late 13th c., the interpretations of the Unity of Being, was widely accepted both in the popular public sphere and in the intellectual spheres of Sufism. In the popular sphere, folk literature conveyed the ideals of the philosophy. In the scholarly tradition, two contradicting perspectives developed. First one practiced the doctrines of love within the limits of Shari'ah. They were obedient to a central authority. The second perspective interpreted doctrines of love to the extent of the "Unity of Presence" that they had become known as dissidents. This second group consisted of mainly some of the fractions, or individuals from *Melamîs*, *Hamzavis*, and *Gülşenis*. The Ottoman rulers were always alert of their activities, and often inspected them. This two-phased mapping of Ibn 'Arabî's influence in Ottoman land, in particular; also explains, the construction, composition and the operation of the Ottoman culture and society from the 13th c. to the 18th c. In the first phase of the argument which concentrates on multi cultural centers of Anatolia, this study describes the complex structure of the peripheral folk culture. The second phase that considers the developments in Istanbul, displays both the changing

perspectives of the Ottoman central authorities of power and the conflicting intellectual debates among the scholars of religion; for and against the teachings of 'Arabî, and the practices of his advocates, who were considered either as true believers, or as dissidents. This study argues that, neither in the first phase, nor in the second phase there isn't a single explanation, or a single perspective of any specific authority that explains the dynamics of the culture. The Ottoman social order which seems to be simple at first sight, is actually rather complex when its terms of operation is considered. It is necessary to map the complex dynamics of the Ottoman social order in order to map the development of Ottoman culture and its understanding and use of ideal and real spaces.

MULTIPLE CENTERS OF ANATOLIA AND TRACIA BEFORE 1453

Seljuks were Sunnites. Mongols admired Sunni thought, but later adopted Shiah. Both Seljuk and Mongol courts protected and admired the development of mystic thought. Türkmen tribes interacting with such different gnostic philosophies also gave birth to different mystic orders. Türkmen dervishes were called *bâbâs*, *abdals*, or masters of Khurasan (*Horasan erenleri*). Baba'î order was founded by Türkmen mystics, which later developed into the Bektashi order. At the 13th century, when the Ottoman principality became a growing power, they employed the Türkmen groups on the frontier of their expansion. Throughout the 14th century, and first half of the 15th century, the Ottoman power possessed to rule two major regions. One was the Balkans and the Thrace. Other was Anatolia. The dynamics of military and political campaigns in these regions mutually influenced the social and cultural developments. At all times of political or military unrest, major cultural centers of these centers gave birth to new forms of cultural and social expressions, either in form of rivalries, or establishment of new mystic orders. Beginning with the first conquest of Gallipoli in 1354, Ottomans gained significant power in the Balkans and Anatolia, from Danube to Euphrates by the end of the 14th century. They conquered Edirne in 1361, and turned the city into the capital of military

campaigns to the west. On the other side of the framework, Timur defeated Ottoman forces in Ankara in 1402. This resulted in a period of unrest between 1402 -1413. The Ottoman princes agreed to become vassals of Timur governing different territories. Upon Timur's death, Ottoman princes began to conflict one another. Çelebi Musa based at Bursa and Amasya sought after moving towards Edirne. Çelebi Süleyman based at Edirne sought after moving towards Anatolia. Mehmed I came into rule and united both territories under his control. Second period of unrest was at 1416, Mehmed I's uncle Mustafa rivaled in Thrace supported by the Byzantine princes. The third period of unrest was between 1421 - 1424 after the death of Mehmed I. The power was divided between Mustafa - Mehmed I's uncle, and Murad II. Mustafa was based in Edirne. He was again supported by the Byzantine principalities. Murad II was based in Bursa, and was supported by the ulemâ. Murad II defeated Mustafa in 1422 and gained the control of Thrace region. However, at the same time the principalities in Anatolia rivaled and began to take back the control of their former states. Murad II reestablished his power in Anatolia, Balkans and the Thrace for the rest of his reign. He left a wealthy powerful state to his son Mehmed II in 1444. Türkmen groups led by gazî lords were the major force in conquest of new territories. By the conquests, Turkmen tribes also begin to inhabit the Balkans, either settling in existing villages, or establishing new ones. However, Ottomans began to structure a new army by the end of the 14th c. The establishment of the Ottoman army pushed the gazis to the background in the political and military domination of the growing Ottoman state. Thus, frontier culture of Türkmen tribes and dervishes, and mystic communities related to the gazî culture gained unfavorable status in favor of urban developments. However, 'Arabî's philosophy found adherents in both of these conflicting political domains; both among the Türkmen gazis and their communities, and among the scholars of the rising Ottoman regime.

The Türkmen tribes and the surrounding communities ruled under the Türkmen rule had a multicultural mosaic. These communities were composed of Türkmens, Moguls, Greeks, and Armenians. They represent the varied mosaic of the local population that had been diversified by migration and flees throughout centuries. The Türkmen culture is described best in Türkmen literature developed in both oral

and written literature from 13th c. to 15th c. These stories were both warrior epics and hagiographies at the same time. They document the Türkmen striving for political power and a harmonious life in a multicultural society. Cemal Kafadar, in his study of the construction of the Ottoman state emphasized the importance of these epic stories in understanding the dynamics of the Ottoman culture, and society. These epics are numerous. *Dânişmendnâme* was compiled under the patronship of Seljuk court, but it was about the legendary stories of Danişmends who belonged to a frontier culture, and were the rivalries of the Seljuks. *Dânişmendnâme* was about the encounter and conflict of the local population composed of Christian communities, Turkmen tribes, and infidel Mongols with authorities who hold extreme orthodoxy of Islamic religion. According to Cemal Kafadar, the narrative suggested crossing “religious, ethnic, and gender boundaries.” *Hamzanâme* was about the same holy horse belonging, first to Muhammed’s uncle, then to legendary gazîs Seyyid Battal and Sarı Saltuk. *Düsturnâme* was compiled in 1465. *Battalnâme* was about the life of Seyyid Battal, an Arab warrior who was a friend of the Greeks. The *Story of Dede Korkut* embraced the themes of war and love at the same time. The desire for power accompanied with the desire for a beloved was one of the major themes of gazî literature. *Menakıbü’l-Kudsiye* was composed by Elvân Çelebi - the grandson of Baba Ilyas in 1358-59. The story suggested that, both Baba Ilyas, who was the founder of Babai order in the early 13th c. and his followers, were able to unite all communities with different religious backgrounds. *Saltuknâme* depicted the life of the 13th century legendary gazî Sarı Saltuk. It was compiled under the patronship of Sultan Cem in 1473-1480.⁶¹ The story of Sarı Saltuk which was the most popular gazî epic story, suggested the city of Edirne as the capital of gazîs.

Followers of ‘Arabî in Anatolia were numerous. Sadreddin Konevi (1210-1274) of Konya was the step son of Arabi. He was a respected scholar lived during the sultanate of *Aleaddin Keykûbad*. He founded the *Ekberrîye* tariqat, after the teachings of ‘Arabî. The commentaries by Konevi and el-Kayseri are more explicit

⁶¹ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 60- 151.

and analytical works than the original texts of 'Arabî's.⁶² Davud b. Mahmud el-Rumi el-Kayseri (d.1350) was the first scholar and president (*müderres-i 'am*) of the first Ottoman educational institution, İznik Medresesi founded by Orhan Gazi in 1336. He is the author of the *Mukaddimat* - an analytical explanation of Ibn-i Arabî's *Fususul-hikem* in 12 chapters. Persian commentaries on *Fusus* refer to Davud el-Kayseri's work. Molla Hamza Fenari (1350 - 1431) was the first *Şeyhülislam* appointed to the Ottoman court in 1424, during the reign of Sultan Murad II (1421-1444). He established the structure of the Ottoman academy of intellectual studies (medrese).⁶³ Şeyh Bedreddin (1358-1420) was a scientist, saint, and scholar, whose work was the influence after the Şeyh Bedreddin Revolt. Hızır Bey Çelebi (d. 1459) was a student of Molla Fenari; he had been the kadı to Istanbul after the conquest. He was known to be the mentor of Hayali and Tacizade who were *Şehrengiz* poets. İbrahim Gülşeni was the founder of the *Gülşeni* tarikat; Hacı Bayram Veli (1352-1429), the founder of *Bayrami* tarikat; Camî (d. 1492) the famous Persian poet of Tabriz, who was invited several times to the Ottoman court by Fatih Sultan Mehmed. Şemseddin A. İbn Kemal Paşazade (1468-1534) who lived in Edirne and Tokat, was a scholar, kadı, and a şeyhülislam. He was the author of many religious works. İsmail Hakkı Bursevi (1653 -1726) who lived in Istanbul, Bursa, and Aydos, were also a well-known author of over hundred works on Sufism. He was also the founder of the *Celvetiye* tarikat.

⁶² He was a friend of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi. He later became the student of Evhadüddin-i Kirmani (d.1238), who was a close friend of Arabî. The famous Sufi mystic Abdülrezzak Kaşani (d.1329) was a disciple of Konevi. Among his many works, he was the author of *Nüsûs*, *Hukûk*, *Mefâtîh-ül-Gayb*, *Fâtîha Tefsîri*, *Şerh-i Ehâdis-i Erbaîn*; William C. Chittick, "The Five Divine Presences: From al-Qunawi to al-Qaysari," *The Muslim World* 78 (1998), 51-82.

⁶³ Author of *Misbahu'l-uns*, *Aynü'l Ayan*, *Talikat ala Tefsiri'l-Keşşaf*, *Haşiyetü Hırzî'l- Emanî fi'l-Kıraat's-Seb'*, *Tefsiri Sureteyi'l Kadrve'l Feth*, *Enmüze'ül ulum*; Mustafa Aşkar Molla Fenari.

This study will focus on four individuals, who were all well recognized and respected Ottoman scholars of Orthodox Law, and sciences. The influence of these four prominent figures among different populaces of the Ottoman state in terms of territory and population represent the composite composition of the Ottoman society and culture. The first two scholars, Davud b. Mahmud el-Rumi el-Kayseri (d.1350) the first appointed Ottoman scholar, and Molla Hamza Fenari (1350 - 1431), the first Ottoman *Şeyhülislam* constructed Ibn al-‘Arabî’s teachings into an analytical scheme recognized as the “Unity of Being.” These two scholars represent ‘Arabî’s interpretation and recognition by the central agencies of Ottoman state, authority, and institutions.

The second couple of scholars, Şeyh Bedreddin (1358-1420) and Hacı Bayram Veli (1352-1429/30) represent ‘Arabî’s interpretation and recognition by the population outside the central Ottoman authority, namely in the provincial settlements of west Anatolia, northwest regions of Thracia, and in central Anatolia. Both Bedreddin and Hacı Bayram Veli were well known scholars of Orthodox Islam in the former years of their lives. They had later become Sufi mystics, and both become eminent characters in the history of heterodox tradition. Şeyh Bedreddin, coming from a wealthy family, who had served in Seljuk and Ottoman courts, and who had been the leaders of a Türkmen tribe, represents the diverse composition of the provincial population made up of former landowners, mystic dervishes, and common public of mainly Christian, and Islamic origins. Hacı Bayram Veli, as a public celebrity, a Sufi mystic, and as a farmer, represents the values and common interests of the common provincial working public, through the doctrines of the Melâmî-Bayrami order which he had founded.

The works of these four individuals also acknowledge different mediums of representations that were used to convey ideas. Each social group within the Ottoman society became aware of the interpretations of ‘Arabî through different channels of knowledge, varying from scholarly treatises to conversations, and folk poetry. Both Davud b. Mahmud el-Rumi el-Kayseri and Molla Hamza Fenari had composed scholarly treatises on the “Unity of Being” and commentaries on ‘Arabî’s works that were among the curriculum of the Ottoman institutions. Their works

were well known and widely read among the Ottoman scholars. Şeyh Bedreddin's most recognized ideas on the "Unity of Being" was a compilation of his conversations. Hacı Bayram Veli's communicated his ideas to the public by his poems which were akin to folk literature. All the four individuals made use of different discourses using different terminology and techniques for explaining their ideas. In his treatises, Davud b. Mahmud el-Rumi el-Kayseri made use of positive sciences, especially physics in explaining the "Unity of Being." Molla Hamza Fenari used allegorical metaphors discussing the related concepts. In his conversations, Şeyh Bedreddin gave de-mystifying explanations for the conventional metaphors which had been used for spiritual concepts. Davud b. Mahmud el-Rumi el-Kayseri constructed the philosophy of the "Unity of Being" by giving explicit and analytical explanations. He discussed the concept of unity in terms of "energy" of "atomic particles" common to all "things." He introduced the concept of "thing" referring to all creation, covering everything whether considered as living and non-living. Molla Hamza Fenari deconstructed the concept of "thing" as made up of two different components; body and essence. He discussed the relationship between the body and essence as means of gaining knowledge. Following el-Kayseri's discussion of unity with respect to energy common to all things, Fenari introduced the concept of multiplicity. He discussed multiplicity of things with reference to the multiplicity of bodies; contrary to the unity of essence in all things. Şeyh Bedreddin introduced the concept of "public" in the discussion about multiplicity of things. He highlighted the presence of the public as one of the things to contemplate, thus to love. Hacı Bayram Veli presented the concept of "individual" as another thing to contemplate to gain True Knowledge. Different than the anonymous body of public, Hacı Bayram Veli's presentation of the individual stressed the identity and consciousness of the individual Self. As a brief summary, these four scholar introduced the following keywords in the study and interpretation of concept of "Unity of Being," which will be discussed in detail in the following pages: Journey, text, garden, paradise garden, energy, thing, thingness, experience, encounter of things, body and essence, love as contemplation, unity, multiplicity, city, public, and individual.

Davudu'l-Kayseri structured a cosmology upon the doctrines introduced by the Unity of Being.⁶⁴ He explained harmony and oneness of all the creation in terms of energy. He was not only interested in metaphysical world, but also studied the physical world introducing a convincing doctrine about the Unity of Being, covering both the divine and phenomenal worlds. According to him, all nature was pure energy. He considered all living and non-living things made out of atomic particles carrying energy. These particles were organized in different numbers and in a different order in every other thing. Thus this variety of atomic order created the multiplicity of things. Energy was common to all divine and phenomenal existence. Time was an empirical experience exchanged between things.

Davudu'l-Kayseri argued all things to be alive, however explained that human intellect considered things whose life was not understandable to him as non-living. Thus according to el-Kayseri, these things considered to be non-living were in fact living things. Things were existent in either spiritual or physical worlds. Things in spiritual world contained the knowledge of thingness. However things in the

⁶⁴ Davudu'l-Kayseri (d. 1350) was one of the first scholars who explained the philosophy of the "Unity of Being" explicitly. His analytical studies and commentaries made the doctrines of Ibn 'Arabî understandable to a larger audience. Later in Ottoman, Persian, Indian and Arab worlds, scholars learned the philosophy of Ibn 'Arabi mainly by referring to Davudu'l-Kayseri's commentaries on his work. Davudu'l-Kayseri was the first Ottoman scholar commissioned by Orhan Gazi; as the first scholar (*müderres*) to the Iznik Medresesi. Davudu'l-Kayseri influenced the construction of the Ottoman scholarly tradition which followed from his ideals. He is considered as a direct disciple of Ibn 'Arabî; the third caliph of the Ekberriye tariqat, following 'Arabî and Sadreddin Konevi. Davudu'l-Kayseri's most important works were his commentary on Arabî's *Fusus*, titled *Matla'u Hususi'l-Kelim fi Maani Fususi'l-Hikem*; and a treatise on the concept of unity in multiplicity as explained by the philosophy of the "Unity of Being." Among many other works, he also had a treatise on time, a treatise on the prophet-hood of Khidr. See, Henry Corbin, *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth From Mazdean Iran to Shî'ite Iran*, trans. by N. Pearson (London: Taurus Publishers, 1990), 144-148.

physical world had a reflection of distorted knowledge of their thingness. Thus, in the physical world, between the thing and its true being- its knowledge which acknowledges its thingness, there was a gap. The things of the physical world did not portray a true vision of what they refer to in the spiritual realm. This gap between the thing and its true essence was considered as a space of contemplation. This space was aimed to be mapped in order to match the things to their true knowledge. This practice was a spiritual journey for the quest of true knowledge. Mapping the space between a thing seen and its true knowledge was considered as a spiritual journey from the physical to the spiritual world. It was a quest to find the true meaning of things.

This spiritual journey was described in stages of spiritual evolution. True knowledge required by the spiritual journey from the physical to the metaphysical world was considered as a quest for Universal Truth. Universal Truth was common to all the creations of God. It was the basic knowledge that underlined the whole being. This basic and universal knowledge was metaphorically explained as "The Water of Life". Drinking from the Water of Life was meant to be illuminated by the ultimate knowledge of creation, thus the knowledge of God. However, different from the readings of Ibn al-'Arabî, regarding this spiritual journey, Davudu'l-Kayseri considered human soul as desiring. It was an obstacle; which was to be trained, and eliminated.

Molla Fenari explained the world as a book made out of divine letters.⁶⁵ Divine letters carry the essential truth and knowledge of God. These letters combine to make words, sentences, phrases, and texts, all of which are divine. The human being called *insan-ı kamil* is the most perfect creation of this book.

⁶⁵ Molla Fenari was the kadî of Bursa (k. 1393, 1415), and the first Ottoman Şeyhülislam (1424). Among his more than hundred works, Molla Fenari had written a commentary titled *Misbahu'l-Üns Beyne'l-Makûl ve'l-Meşhûd fî Şerh-i Miftâhü'l-Gayb el-cem ve'l-Vücûd* on Sadreddin Konevî's *Miftâhü'l-Gayb*. He included both Konevî's work and his commentary within the curriculum. He also had a treatise on the Unity of Being called *Risâle fî Beyân-ı Vahdeti'l-Vücûd*; Aşkar, *Molla Fenari*.

Fenari explained being as composed of a physical visible body, and metaphysical invisible essence. He described body as a form (*wujûd*), and essence (*zât*) as the fundamental nature, the hidden truth within this body. All essence was one and unified, and referred to the oneness of unity (*el-Ehadiyye*). However bodies manifested were illusions and they referred to the multiplicity of unity (*el-Vâhidiyye*). Fenari declared that God was the only thing whose essence and body were equal to one another. There was no representational space between God's essence and his body that would allow for any illusion, or interpretation. Fenari acknowledged that the essence of God was different than the essence of all other things. However his body participated in the manifestation of other bodies, the body of things. According to Fenari, body was not a real quality attributed to the essence. It was a metaphorical quality attributed to the essence. Thus if body was considered as a quality of the essence, it would mean that essence would always require the presence of a body.

The essence of God was described according to its qualities (*sıfat*). These qualities were listed as Life, Science, Will, Power, Audition, Sight, Speech and Creation (*Hayat, İlim, İrâde, Kudret, Semi', Basar, Kelâm, Tekvin*). They were neither static descriptions of the essence of God, nor images reflecting it. Fenari explained these qualities as relative natures with respect to the essence of God. These qualities were then manifested in names of God. Finally, the names of God were manifested in things. This representation taking place in three stages, evolving from the True Being and finally completing in things, in the sequence of essence-quality-name-thing, could not be traced back to the essence of God. Thus the thing would never be considered as equal to the name, the quality, or to the essence of God itself. According to Fenari, qualities were not directly illustrated in names, or they were not equal to them. As well, the names once manifested in the presence of things, became hidden, and invisible to the eyes of the human being. Though those people who trained themselves, who were illuminated were able to see the presence of the name of God, and his qualities in things created.

Apart from his scholarly significance, Şeyh Bedreddin was also a political and military figure. He was a *kazasker* to Çelebi Musa in 1405-1412 during the “interregnum” after the Battle of Ankara in 1402.⁶⁶ However when Çelebi Musa was defeated by Mehmed I in 1413, he and his powers were perceived as rival forces in opposition to the Ottoman power. In 1416, Şeyh Bedreddin was accused of manipulating the public towards disorder and heresy. Especially his followers’ dissident agenda abandoned the traditional Muslim practices, and foreseen the unity of religions, and thus, the union of the members of all religions, and sharing property on communal basis. He was charged for being a heretic; acting against Orthodox Law by announcing his prophecy. A group of Bedreddin’s disciples rebelled against the central authority in various regions of Anatolia. When Bedreddin was in Edirne, Börklüce Mustafa in Karaburun, İzmir (1415), Torlak

⁶⁶ Şeyh Bedreddin was a famous scholar of Islamic Orthodox law, and Islamic mysticism. He had composed about 30 books on the interpretations of Shari’ah, Arabic language, and mysticism, with a commentary on Arabi. However, he is most well known through the collection of his conversations compiled in *Varidat*. He came from a family who had political military and intellectual significance. His grandfather was a high ranking Seljuk officer. His father was an Ottoman gazî and religious officer. His mother was the daughter of a Byzantine commander. Bedreddin’s wife and daughter-in law were also Christian. Sadreddin traveled to Konya, Cairo, Mecca, and Tabriz he became a distinguished scholar of sciences of astronomy, chemistry, and philosophy. He was a distinguished scholar of Islamic Law, and as well as mysticism; including Hurufi philosophy. Bedreddin considered himself as a follower of Abû Madyan-ı Mağribî who was also the master of Ibn ‘Arabî. He was educated within the circle of intellectuals who considered themselves as disciples of Ibn ‘Arabî (1240), and Hacı Bayram Veli (d. 1429/30). Influenced from Molla Fenari (d. 1430/31), and especially from Fenari’s student Abdurrahman ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Ahmad il-Bıstâmî, Bedreddin in the latter centuries were cited and studied along with Ottoman scholars like Melâmî-Bayrami Atayi (d. 1634), poet Necâtî (d. 1508), Katip Çelebi, and Niyazi-i Mısri (d. 1694). The father of Şeyhülislam Ebusuud, Muhyiddin Muhammed (d. 1516), and late Melâmî-Nûriyye Sheikh Muhammed Nûr ül-Arabi (d. 1888), Seyyid Kemâleddin (d. 1882) had composed commentaries on Bedreddin’s *Varidat*. There had also been a number of translations of the *Varidat* into Turkish, from 19th c. to mid 20th c.; Gölpinarlı, *Simavna Kadısoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin*.

Kemal in Aydın and Aygıloğlu Kazova gathered local population to rebel against the Ottoman authorities. At the same time as his dissidents rebelled, Bedreddin fled to Dobruca and announced his prophecy. He rebelled in Dobruca, not only with the support of provincial villagers- as it was the case in first Türkmen revolts in Anatolia, but with the additional provision of land owners, prior Christian feudal landlords and Sufi dervishes; who were all in pursue of regaining their status.⁶⁷ These rebellions for creating anarchy were called as one of the Kızılbaş rebellions. Bedreddin was executed in 1416. During his trial before his execution, he was acknowledged as one of the most prominent intellectuals of his time, though he had to be executed for acting against the Ottoman authority.⁶⁸

Vâridât is a collection of Bedreddin's Sufi conversations compiled in 1407, mainly about the Unity of Being. He tried to explain the creation in a logical method. Bedreddin acknowledged invisible creatures like angels and devils to be things imagined by human intellect. Thus angels metaphorically represented good wills, and power; while devil represented evil desires. Similarly paradise and hell were described to have symbolic existence. The trees, rivers, fruits and houris promised in the present garden were explained to be mere metaphors, similar to the symbolic fire of hell. In *Varidat*, he made five different interpretations of the paradise, from the most literal explanation to the least. The most literal was his portrayal of the paradise as the garden promised in afterlife. However, the least literal explanation presented the perspective of a mystic and a heretic at the same time. Bedreddin argued that paradise was meant to be a spiritual station either in the hereafter, or in the phenomenal world. The human being would arrive at these spiritual stations whenever he would lose himself within the unity of being. Bedreddin's agenda strongly emphasized the importance of the phenomenal world. He stressed the human being as the "caliph" of God, as an evidence of God's presence in the phenomenal world. The public also had an important place in his agenda. He acknowledged public as the multiplicity of human beings, who the real

⁶⁷ Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, 174-180.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 201-202.

Sufis should take pleasure in as they do in the unity of God. Public was also a part of the being. Thus, Bedreddin argued that there was no contradiction in enjoying the unity of God or the multiplicity of public. He described a true Sufi, as the son of time, who would not worry for his past, or for his future, but glorify the present time by enjoying the unity of Being, in God, or in public.⁶⁹

There is a famous commentary composed by Nûreddin-zâde (d. 1573) disapproving the content of *Varîdat*. The below quotation is from Nûreddin-zâde criticizing Bedreddin as a dissident:⁷⁰

Part of the public was become perverted, and influenced some others who had faith in them; part of the public stayed mute due to their lack of knowledge on the basic principles of Islam; moreover these people even considered an eminent man like Şeyh-i Ekber (Ibn 'Arabî) as carrying the same faith as him (Bedreddin). God forbid!... Sufis should clearly know the truth and the issues of dispute; in this treatise I would like explain the true knowledge of the Holy Book and the Orthodox practices as recognized by the scholars of tradition, therefore those who are reasonable and desiring for truth should not be able to display any power to pervert or slip.

An anonymous reader called Can wrote a long commentary on the margins of the page criticizing Nûreddin-zâde. This reader acknowledges that Nûreddin-zâde was himself an admirer of Ibn 'Arabî that he used to instruct his students about the works of 'Arabî and especially requested the study of *Fusus al-Hikem*. This anonymous reader can argue that, such a person who understood 'Arabî should have also understood and respected other scholars like Bedreddin. Therefore, according to Can, the commentary of Nûreddin-zâde on Bedreddin was not fair, thus it was probably written for the sake of gaining publicity of the conformist population.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Gölpinarlı, Abdülbaki. *Simavna Kadısoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin*, 51-88

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

Hacı Bayram Veli (1352- 1429/30) was also a poet apart from being a Sufi dervish.⁷² Following him, Melâmî-Hamzavi line of thought developed in the poems of Yunus Emre (1250-1320), Dukaginzade Ahmed (d. 1557), Sârbân Ahmed (d. 1545), Kaygusuz Vizeli Alâeddin (d. 1563), Bosnalı Abdullah (d. 1645), Oğlanlar Dergahı Şeyhi İbrahim Efendi (d. 1655), and Sarı Abdullah (1584-1660), Eşrefoğlu (1353-1469), Seyyid Sayfullah (d.1601), Mısrî-i Niyazî (1618-1694).⁷³

The following poem by Hacı Bayram Veli acknowledges his perspective on the composition of the Ottoman faith as diverse within two worlds, the Orthodox and the heterodox traditions.⁷⁴

My Lord has created a city
In between two worlds.
One sees the beloved if one looks
At the edge of that city

⁷² He was a scholar of Kara Medrese in Ankara. However, he left his position as a scholar to become a mystic, and he had traveled to Mecca, and Damascus, and later returned back to Ankara. He had then founded the Bayrami order. His fame for being a former scholar, and his mystic ideology reflecting the latter ideals of the Melâmî order had brought into being a lot of adherents from the public. In order to understand his growing recognition among public, Murad II (1421-1444) wanted to learn more about him, and invited him to Edirne. The Sultan was overwhelmed by Hacı Bayram Veli's wisdom, and his teachings. The Sultan insisted him to stay in Edirne, but he returned back to his home town Ankara, after a short stay in the city of Edirne. Hacı Bayram Veli was a a former scholar, a farmer, a poet and a Sufi master His ideology united arts and crafts. He advised working and having pleasure out of work. He encouraged singing songs while working; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 33-39.

⁷³ Frances Trix, "Oral Muslim Saint Tales of Rumeli: A socio-Structural Analysis of Narrative," In *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, ed. by Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul: Isis), 27- 47.

⁷⁴ Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, vii.

I came upon that city
And saw it being built
I too was built with it
Amidst stone and earth

The city metaphor also stood for the esoteric sciences.⁷⁵

I am the city of science, Ali is its door.

The city metaphor was also used extensively in mystic folk poetry of Yunus Emre and other poets. Metaphor of pilgrimage was also a common one accompanied the metaphor of the city. Thus, pilgrimage in the city stood for a spiritual development through esoteric sciences.⁷⁶

ISTANBUL AFTER THE CONQUEST (1453-1730)

By the early 16th c., when the Ottoman Empire had established its authority as a centralized Sunni order, all traditions outside Islamic orthodoxy were considered as threats to the Ottoman ideology. Among with other Sufi orders, the philosophies of Ismaili Gnostics and Shiah made their way into Asia Minor. While most of the Sufi orders of Asia Minor were pursuing mystic practices under the dominant Sunni law; Ismaili and Shiah influence accelerated the growth of mystic orders under the

⁷⁵ “*Ben ilim şehriyim, Ali kapısıdır*” (Hadis el-Aclûnî, 2000:I, 235 no:618); Mehmet Yılmaz, *Edebiyatımızda İslâmî Kaynaklı Sözler* (İstanbul: Enderun Yayınları, 1992), 40.

⁷⁶ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, “Alevi Bektaşî Edebiyatı,” in *Tekke Siiri : Dini ve tasavvufi siirler antolojisi*, ed. Ahmet Necdet (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1997), 28-36; Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Yunus Emre ve Tasavvuf* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1961); Abdullah Uçman, “Tekke Şiirinin Gelişimi,” in *Tekke Siiri* , 37-47.

Shiah principles. Thus, Later Ottomans named the adherents of Sufi orders under Shiah influence Kızılbaş with respect to their red outfits. Kızılbaş groups became a revolting population. Thus when the Ottomans adopted Sunni Law as an imperial conviction, they became extremely conscious about the activities of mystic orders, observing and controlling their development, and condemning their associations with any other theological philosophy outside the domain of Sunni Law, especially with Shiah beliefs. Fatih's period (1444-1481) overtaken with conquests was a tiring period for the army, and, as well exhausted all the public, especially the rural population in terms of taxes getting higher to support the military campaigns in the East and the West.

After Fatih, during his son Beyazıd's sultanate (1481-1512), despite Beyazıd's peaceful attitude compared to his father, the Türkmen tribes residing off center in the rural areas were in demand of sustaining their survival and economic sustainability regardless of a higher authority asserted by the centralized power of the Sultan. These Türkmens protested the taxing system and the authority by dressing in red outfits, and they were called after the color red, as "Kızılbaş" (Redheads). These tribes supported by Shah Ismail of the Safavids, revolted in East Anatolia under the leadership of the rebellion "Şahkulu". After Selim (1512-1520) had ascended to the throne, his army had won the Çaldıran Victory against Shah Ismail in 1514, and after then he was able to sustain order in East Anatolia for a while.

The conflict and confrontation as defined between the drive and wish for a governing centralized Islamic law, and the heterodox traditions inherited, had always been brought up as a problematic during times of unstable political and economic periods of the Empire.⁷⁷ These circumstances forced the development of mystic movements in urban centers under the control and inspection of the central Shariah Law. So, the following pages that aim to study the influence of 'Arabî's philosophy throughout 16th to 18th centuries, will map 'Arabî's followers in urban

⁷⁷ İnalçık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ*, 40.

centers. This study will also include the development of Melâmî philosophy in Istanbul following after Bayrami order founded by Hacı Bayram Veli in Ankara.

Islam constituted two different worlds. Orthodox Islamic tradition (Shari'ah) formed the exoteric teachings of the religion; Islamic mysticism (Tariqat) formed the esoteric teachings. Shari'ah was the teachings of the religious text, tariqat was the teachings of the Gnostic enlightenment. Shari'ah had been studied in schools of Law (*madrasa*). Tariqat developed by various means; among mystic brotherhoods, practiced in Sufi lodges (*tekkes*, and *zawiyas*) by individual mystics, institutionalized orders, or secret societies.⁷⁸ The unconventional Sufi practices had usually been targets of disapproval, criticism and attack. There were three main Sufi practices practiced communally; dancing (*devr*); singing (*sema*), and remembrance (*zikr*). At many instances of the Ottoman history, various Orthodox scholars of Shariah condemned different Sufi practices, arguing that they were not known at the time of the Prophet. Thus, they were invented by the Sufis themselves, and they were not acceptable practices in a Muslim community. Sufi practices of "listening to music, singing and chanting" are called *sema*. Sufi dance is called *devr*. *Devr* stands for rotation and dancing in a circle. In Kadiri, Rufai, Halvati, Gülşeni, Uşşaki orders dancing was as part of the mystic practices. Every Sufi order practiced dancing in a different way. Dancing was a means to stir up the emotional and bodily involvement. It was the movement of both the body and the soul.⁷⁹ Though most of the Sufi dance rituals took place in Sufi lodges, some were recorded to be performed in open air. For example, a European traveler to

⁷⁸ After institutionalized in the 11th c., Sufi schools (*zaviyes*, *tekkes*) had taught esoteric (*batini*) knowledge, parallel to the exoteric (*zahiri*) practices taught in schools of Shariah (*medrese*). Following the establishment of the first Ottoman *medrese*, there had been established a *tekke* besides it; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîler*, 169.

⁷⁹ Metin And, *A Pictorial History of Turkish Dancing from Folk Dancing to Whirling Dervishes, Belly Dancing to Ballet* (Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 1976), 32-36; Macdonald, B. Duncan. "Emotional religion in Islam affected by Music and Singing," *Journal of the Royal Society* (1901); 195-252; 705-748.

Samarkand documented Sufis practicing dance at the meadows. At the beginning of the ritual, Sufis were seated around their master. By the end of ritual, they were dancing freely all around the meadow. Though most of the Sufi rituals were open to communal display; the Mevlevi dance was the most popular. In the 1582 festival, dancing Mevlevi dervishes participated in the parade of the guilds.⁸⁰ Another controversial Sufi practice *zîkr* was the remembrance of God by repeating his names. *Zîkr* combined language, bodily movement and breathing into a rhythmic practice.

Gölpınarlı argues that many Sufi orders were influenced by Batîni (*Bâtîniyya*) concepts, and thus they were associated with Shi'i doctrines,⁸¹ and influenced from Indian-Persian religions and Greek philosophy. Like Sufi orders, Bâtînî orders were multiple and they differed from one another. However, there were two common principles Bâtînîs carried out. First, they accepted a human being as a messiah as equal to God. This messiah could be either the prophet himself, or another religious personality of significance. Thus Bâtînîs were known to acknowledge the leaders of each different order as prophets themselves. Second, they practiced intentional misinterpretation (*ta'wil*) of the religious text Koran. They have argued that the laws of Shariah would not be relevant for those who were able to decipher the true meaning, the essence of Law. During 9th c. with respect to anarchist practices of members of the Bâba-î order that had a red flag and were in red attire, Bâtînîs were came to be called Red-Heads (Kızılbaş). Among the Sufis, Alevi and

⁸⁰ And who has studied the Sufi practices in terms of their performative quality, explains the multivocal quality of dancing in circles with respect to various influences, and diverse symbolism. He argues that the Sufi dance resembled the movement of the planetary system. The rotation represented seasons of the year. The circle also symbolized the perfection and "harmony of the God's creation;" And, *A Pictorial History of Turkish Dancing*, 37.

⁸¹ On discussions about Bâtînî practices, see Gölpınarlı, *Şeyh Bedreddin*, 12-29; M. Fuat Köprülü, *Islam in Anatolia after the Turkish Invasion (Prolegomena)*, trans. by Gary Lesier (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

Bektashi orders, Melâmîs, Nusayrîs, Baba'îs, Kalenderîs, Haydarîs, Celâlîs were also strongly influenced by Bâtînî concepts. Thus, in history members of these orders were also called as Red-Heads from time to time. As acknowledged by Yaşar Ocak, there are two main groups in Heterodox Islam, who had practiced the doctrines of wahdat al-wujud; Gülşeni order and Melâmî philosophy. From 16th c onwards, there was an increasing interest in the works of Ibn al'Arabî reaching a climax during the mid seventeenth century: "extreme" interpretations, or misinterpretations, of the teachings of wahdat al-wujud, attributed among others to some Melâmî sheikhs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."⁸²

From the 15th c. to the 18th c., the relationship between the ruling class, elite ulama, and the Sufis illustrate three different periods; appreciation and protection of Sufism, a balance, and finally prohibition. By the first quarter of the 16th century, the Ottoman elite culture was beginning to get separated between two opposing tendencies, one following a desire to establish an Orthodox Muslim community associated with the salafi movement, other dwelling a growing interest in Islamic mysticism. By the early 16th c. higher ranking scholars like Sarı Kürz (d. 1521-23) kadî of Istanbul, and Gürz Seydi, a müderris, were the first scholars who opposed to the Sufi practices, as noted in the research of historian Derin Terzioğlu⁸³. The chief muftis of early 16th c. had conflicting attitudes towards Sufis and Sufi practices. Zenbilli 'Ali Cemali (d. 1525), the chief mufti, a Halveti Sufi himself, was defending Sufi practices, while his descendant Kemalpaşazade (d. 1537), had forbidden Sufi dance, and especially attacked Melâmî practices in particular. However Kemalpaşazade was a protector of Sufis and a devotee of Ibn 'Arabî. He advised building of a mosque complex honoring Ibn 'Arabî when Selim I had conquered Damascus.⁸⁴ Another chief mufti Çivizade Mehmed (d. 1547) was

⁸² Derin Terzioğlu, "Sufi and dissent in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Misri (1618-1694)" Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1999), 242 -3.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 139-166.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 223.

against both the Sufi practices, and teachings of Ibn 'Arabî, and even Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi. The latter chief muftis of the late 16th and early 17th c., Ebussud Efendi (1545-1573), Sunullah Efendi (hold the office several times between 1599-1606/8) Esad Efendi (hold the office several times between 1615-1625) and Zekeriyazade Yahya (hold the office several times between 1622-1644), generally tried to establish a “harmony” between mystic practices and Orthodox laws. Thus they were praised as “the unifier of the seas of the shari’a and the sufi path (*mecma’ü’l-bahreyn-i şeri’at ü tarikat*).”⁸⁵

By the end of the 16th century, the hostility between the Sufis and Sunnis was growing. A group of scholars aimed to imitate the life of Mohammed and thus practice Orthodoxy in its most original state, conflicted with all Muslim traditions which they argued that were not initiated at Muhammed’s era. They called Sufi practices novel inventions contradicting with the fundamental traditions of the religion. They claimed that Sufi practices were not performed by Mohammed, and argued for their abandonment. This extremist movement was called the Salafi movement. It was instigated by Kadızade Mehmet Efendi (d. 1635) who was a preacher and Birgivi Mehmed Efendi (d. 1573) who was a scholar. The advocates of the Salafi movement were called Kadizadelis, and they were numerous amongst the preachers, public lecturers, provincial scholars, and the guilds. Thus the chief muftis of the late 17th c. under the influence and compelling force of the salafis were severe with Sufis and Sufi practices compared to their predecessors of the earlier periods. Kadızadelis of the mid 17th c. and Minkarizade, the chief mufti of the late 17th c. were aggressive towards Ibn al-‘Arabî’s doctrines whose popularity was expanding in the ulema and elite circles during the 17th c.

The following quotation from Terzioğlu explains the efforts of the Sufi circles following the doctrines of ‘Arabî in their struggle to reconcile Sufism with Shari’ah. The metaphor of reconciling the two seas was a common metaphor both in

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 229.

‘Arabî’s work and his followers, such as Niyazi-i Mısırî (1618-1694) Ottoman Sufi writer and poet, who explains the metaphor as below:⁸⁶

In his explication of the Quranic verse “He has set two seas in motion that flow side by side together/with an interstice (barzakh) between them which they cannot cross.” (Rahman, 19-20), Mısırî explained that the relationship between the two seas was analogous to the relationship between shari’a (the religious law, the object of the study of the ulama al-zahir) and hakika (divine reality, the object of the quest of the ‘ulama al-batin). Just as the two seas were prevented from mixing by the barrier between them, these two groups were prevented by a similar barrier from realizing that they were in fact searching after the same truth, and remained at odds. Only a minority of people from both sides who managed to climb to the top of that barrier could see and verify that exoteric and esoteric knowledge are in fact one, and these were the people to whom Mısırî referred as the “people of the A’raf” and as the meeting-place of the two seas” (*majma’ al-bahrayn*).

Ibn al-‘Arabî’s teachings were also quite influential in the Melâmî society. Sarı Abdullah (d. 1644-45) had written a commentary on the *Fusus-al-Hikam* of Ibn ‘Arabî. Despite the growing antagonism towards Melâmîs, their philosophy found more adherents among the intellectual groups of the elite due to their secret activities. By the beginning of the 17th century, there were Melâmîs among high ranking officials, including the posts of chief mufti and grand vizierate. Among these officials were chief muftis Ebulmeyamin Mustafa Efendi (m. 1603/4-1606) and Paşmakçızade Seyyid Ali Efendi (who hold the service several times in 1704-1712); grand vizier Halil Pasha (1617-19 and 1626-28). By the early 18th c. Şehid ‘Ali Pasha (1713-1716) who was the grand vizier, was also the leader of Melâmî society (Melâmî kutb). In the early 18th c., grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Paşa, court poet Nedim, Habeşizade Mevlevi Abdürrahim Efendi known as poet Rahimi, La’lizade Abdülbaki, Reisülkütab Mustafa Efendi, Ahmed Arifi Paşa, Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, historian Mehmed Raşid, Mustafa Sami, Osmanzade Taib were all Melâmîs.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 270.

⁸⁷ “Melamîlik,” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* vol. 5, 380-386.

The first phase of Melâmî values had been initiated and developed among the guilds and tradesmen in the cities of Horasan, Merv and Belh in the 9th c. By the 14th c. as a result of the interaction with *Hurufis*, the philosophy had adopted the tradition of wahdat al-wujud, and entered a second phase called Melâmî-Bayrami philosophy. Ocak defines Melâmîs as a semi-political mystic philosophy.⁸⁸ In Anatolia, Melâmîs developed as a separate fraction derived from the Bayrami order which was founded by Hacı Bayram Veli. (See the related appendixes showing the development of Bayrami order and Melâmî philosophy).

Ottoman Melâmîs, also acknowledged as Bayrami-Melâmîs formed a secret society⁸⁹. Though they stressed that they were not an institutional society and they abandoned all kinds of institutional affiliations, dresscode, or ritualized ceremonials like other Sufi orders, yet they were organized around a central figure called pole (*kutb*) who had assistants called guides (*rehber*), and, ones who look after the heart (*kalbe bakıcılar*).

Melâmîs rejected Sufi practices, especially *zîkr* which was the remembrance of God by continually reiterating names of God. Despite, they favored conversing as the principal Melâmî practice. The most important Melâmî practice was to clean one's heart from pride, desire and lust, in order to let it get filled with the love of God. This activity was called the Cleaning of the Heart. The way to clean one's heart was enabled by conversing about Truth. Melâmîs were required to be honest and to live on blessed earning.⁹⁰ Following Hacı Bayram, Melâmîs also stressed the presence of God in human being, and thus the importance of self and self-

⁸⁸ Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, 252.

⁸⁹ See Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler* and Gölpinarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*.

⁹⁰ Cavit Sunar, *Melâmîlik ve Bektaşilik* (Ankara: AÜ İlahiyat Fakültesi, 1975), 18-19.

knowledge. The following poem by Hacı Bayram Veli acknowledges his philosophy on the importance given to self:⁹¹

He whoever knows about his own desires
He knows about his own qualities.
He recognized himself in His image.
You should know yourself, you, yourself!
Bayram learned about his essence
He found the enlightened in himself,
He found himself.
You should know yourself, you, yourself!

Melâmîs earned their own life, had their own business. Some of the prominent Melâmî figures like Yakub-i Helvai (from the guild of desert makers), or Melâmî poles Ahmed-i Sârban (from the guild of camel traders) and Hasan-ı Kabâdûz (from the guild of tailors) were from the guilds. In order to hide their association with the Melâmîs, they became members of other Sufi orders. They made use of the institutionalized Sufi orders and the established organizations of the guilds both to conceal and to expand Melâmî philosophy. It was common tendency of the heterodox groups to hide their development within the organization of guilds: "Sufis who adopted guild terms for their meetings, to account for the collection together in any one place of a number of people who did not want to appear to be a subversive group."⁹²

⁹¹ Gölpinarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 37; translated from:

Kim bildi ef'âlini/ Ol bildi sıfâtını/ Anda gördü zâtını/ Sen seni bil sen seni!" and in the following verses "Bayram özünü bildi/ Bileni anda buldu/ Bulan ol kendi oldu/ sen seni bil sen seni"

⁹² Idries Shah, *The Sufis* (NY, NY: Anchor Books, 1990, c. 1964), 158.

Founded in central Asia Minor, Melâmî thought openly entered the city of Istanbul when the Sultan invited the pole İsmail Maşuki (d. 1539) to the city. Maşuki influenced the expansion of the Melâmî philosophy in Istanbul among the guilds and the army (*Sipahiler Ocağı*). However, he was accused of acting and behaving against the Islamic Law and executed with several of his disciples in 1539 after a court held against him in 1538-39.⁹³ Maşuki guided his disciples to be their own masters, not subjects of another master.⁹⁴ At the same time when Maşuki was preaching in Istanbul, another prominent Melâmî figure Ahmed Edirnevi (d. 1591) was engaged in Melâmî practices in the city of Edirne. After Maşuki's execution, the Melâmî order shifted its center out of the city of Istanbul to the provinces. They continued developing and expanding in concealment. They established themselves in Edirne and its environs, and further expanded towards the Balkans to Bosna. By the third quarter of the 16th c., Melâmîs had a significant number of advocates in Thrace and the Balkans. Already by the early 15th c., Hacı Bayram Veli's visit to Edirne had been shaped following the Bayrami order. And at the same period,

⁹³ He was accused for his accounts: "The human being is eternal. There is no sin on this world for the human being after he was born as a human. Everything signified as bad and sinful (haram) by the Islamic Law is good and is a blessing. (helal). Wine is a joy of lovers and it is not a sin but a blessing (helal). Eating, drinking, sleeping, resting are all regarded as religious practices. Feasting, pilgrimage to Mekke, sharing of the income with the poor has no meaning. A true believer only practice namaz twice a year. Intercourse is not a sin- it is an act of love. Every men is God himself. Soul travels from one body to another. There is no questioning after death. Daughters and sons are created by human beings. Children are creations of human beings, not of God. Those practice for the sake of a Heaven, which we would not even leave our donkey at;" Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler* 219; 286-87.

⁹⁴ Ocak and Gölpınarlı argues that İsmail Maşuki directed his disciples to repeat "Allah'ım Allah'ım" (I am God, I am God) as opposed the traditional Sufi practices of remembrance by repeating the name of God as "Allah Allah" (God, God). Ocak, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, 288; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 49.

Edirne and Dobruca regions and their vicinity had housed the advocates of Şeyh Bedreddin. As well, since the late 13th century, Balkan states were also the house of Türkmen tribes. In their development in Thrace and the Balkans, Melâmîs encountered these local communities and mutually inspired one another.

By the early 17th c. Melâmî-Bayramî poles returned back to Istanbul, and the development of the community continued until the first half of the 18th c. After the end of the Tulip Period, until the second half of the 19th century, there is a gap in the documentation and history of the community. Thus, when the Melâmî thought was revised in the 19th c. it was established as an institutionalized Sufi order under a different name, which will not be studied in this thesis.

Though the Melâmî poles were positioned out of the city of Istanbul, the philosophy continued developing in the city of Istanbul, attracting more adherents. The first known Melâmî lodge was founded in 1548-1555 in the countryside of Istanbul, within the vicinity of Bozdoğan Aqueducts. It was called the Helvai Lodge. By the end of the 16th c. and early 17th c. Saçlı Emir Lodge in Kasımpaşa, and Şah Sultan Mosque in Davutpaşa had become gathering places of the Melâmîs. However at the same time, during late 16th century, Melâmîs were also in favor of meeting at places outside the lodges, or places with religious affiliation. At the time, houses, and bazaars and shops at Kapalıçarşı, Beyazıt, Unkapanı, and Eminönü became their meeting places.⁹⁵

⁹⁵ "Melamîlik," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* vol. 5, 380-386.

CONCLUSION

Ibn al-'Arabî argued that the attainment of knowledge was possible by contemplation. Contemplation implied understanding the order of the cosmos and by doing so participating in this order. It involved all things existent in physical and metaphysical reality. 'Arabî explained all things as signs made of two parts; an invisible essence and a visible form. Contemplation aimed at understanding the relationship between the parts of a sign.

Contemplation, thus the attainment of knowledge was enabled by the faculty of imagination. 'Arabî also asserted the importance of the space in which the attainment of knowledge takes place. He defined such spaces as gardens. The garden became an ideal representation of the realm of imagination. 'Arabî also defined real spaces as realms of imagination. He defined a three-tiered definition of the realm of imagination; the human self, the phenomenal world and the world of idea-images. Each one of the ideal and the real spaces, be it a garden, the human self, the city, or the world of idea-images, each space was defined as a realm of imagination where the attainment of knowledge took place. Furthermore, 'Arabî defined each one of these spaces as a "storehouse" of signs. 'Arabî also asserted the importance of individual involvement in the attainment of knowledge. Since, each individual was able to contemplate according to his individual capacities.

'Arabî argued that all the things in the cosmos were attracted to one another. Thus, he defined the philosophy of the Unity of Being, where each thing and each individual was contemplated as a participant of the cosmic order. He explained the cosmic order as all things attracted to one another and he defined participating in the cosmic order as an act of "love". The doctrines of 'Arabî were extremely influential for the development of Ottoman Sufism. However, Sufi orders which asserted individualism were considered as heretics. Such orders developed as marginal philosophies. One of these Sufi orders was the Melâmis.

Melâmis believed in the importance of individuality and the human self in the attainment of knowledge. Melâmî philosophy developed as a protest culture that was expressed thru a new way of life. Melâmi society became a marginal group developed in seclusion in spaces peripheral to central authority. However, by the late 17th c., it was carried to the center - though in covert practices, when some high ranking officials in the Ottoman court came to practice the Melâmi philosophy.



Figure 21.

"Khidr and Ilyas at the Fountain of Life Giving Water," reproduced from Mehdi Khansari, M. Reza Moghtader and M. Yavari, *The Persian Garden Echoes of Paradise* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 1998), 72.

CHAPTER III

SPACES OF GARDEN RITUALS (1453-1730)

Gardens and garden parties constituted an important part of the Ottoman arts and culture. Garden parties displayed vivid images of the Ottoman cultural life. They were represented in the arts of miniature painting and depicted in poetry.

Garden parties anchored Ottoman social order. They asserted divine and imperial cosmography by means of rituals. Garden parties acknowledge how gardens became expressions of divine and imperial orders according to the Shariah Law. Thus, gardens and their representations became expressions of imperial ideology and places of its practice.

In his extensive study of the poetic genre of *gazel*,¹ Walter Andrews presented private garden parties as the “ecology” of the genre. This chapter will first reconsider Walter Andrews’ study of private garden parties in the light of Victor Turner’s definition of rituals, identifying the temporal structure of these rituals and their participants. Second, it will analyze the ideal and real spaces of the city of Istanbul as suggested by these garden rituals.

¹ For, the associations between Ottoman gardens, garden parties and Ottoman poetry, see; Walter Andrews, *Poetry’s voice, society’s song, ottoman lyric poetry* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1985), and Harun Tolasa, *Sehi, Latifi, Aşık Çelebi tezkirelerine göre 16. y.y.’da edebiyat araştırmaları* (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1983); Halil İnalçık, *Şair ve Patron Patrimonyal Devlet ve Sanat Üzerine Sosyolojik Bir İnceleme* (Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2003), 23-35, 43-44; Nurhan Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan: Gardens and flowers in the Ottoman Culture* (İstanbul: Mas Matbaacılık A.Ş., 2002), 50-53, 70-73, 146-147, 154-160, 126-127, 170, 231-232.

GARDEN RITUALS

Through the 15th to the late 18th c. private garden parties were represented extensively in Ottoman miniature art. Most of these parties take place in gardens. However, during winter times private parties took place in garden kiosks decorated like gardens themselves. The participants of the party are usually seated in a circle, surrounding offerings. The host of the party has the most privileged position. Sometimes he is seated in a small kiosk, or in an elevated pavilion. In the Sultan's parties, there are examples depicting him on his throne. If the party takes place in a countryside garden, the site of the party is usually marked by two cypress trees. The party usually takes place by the riverside, or around an ornamental fountain.

In the late 15th c. album *Külliyât-ı Kâtibî* (TSM R. 989, folio 93a) prepared at the court of Mehmed II, one of the scenes depicts a garden party hosted by the Sultan (Figure 22).² The Sultan is seated at a slightly elevated pavilion listening to a group of musicians playing various instruments. In front of him there are some containers of wine or other drinks, and a goblet. One of his pages is offering him a cup of dish. There are other wine containers placed among the musicians. The Sultan's party takes place in a garden, but the activity is bounded by a low partition which seems to be made of a stretched fabric. Beyond the fabric partition, other people watch the garden party under trees in blossom. The *Iskandarnâme* of Ahmadî (IÜ T6044) was also dated to the late 15th c. The front page of the album depicts a private party scene that takes place in a garden kiosk. The garden kiosk is a "domed iwan attached to a two storey structure... the iwan has a central window opening onto a garden in the background."³

² Zeren Tanındı, *Türk Minyatür Sanatı* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1996), 9-10; Ernst Grube, *Studies in Islamic Painting* (London: The Pindar Press, 1995), 446.

³ Esin Atıl, "Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984), 159-171, 161.

In his 16th c. literary chronicle, Aşık Çelebi depicts the garden of Sirkeci Bahşı as a remote place celebrated for private garden parties:⁴

On holidays it was a seat of friendly gatherings for the learned and at other times, a place for carousing for the elegant folk, wise ascetics and learned poets. Like the evil eye troublemakers, kept their distance from the garden's outskirts, and the common folk and the illiterate...away from the garden gathering.

Aşık Çelebi describes another garden named the Garden of the Paper Cutter (Efşancı Bahçesi). It was a private garden renowned for reading poetry during garden parties that was frequently visited by the elite, including Sultan Süleyman I and his Vizier İbrahim Pasha.⁵

In the 16th c. Album of The Paper Cutter Mehmed (Efşancı Mehmed Albümü, İÜ F1426, folio 47a), a little garden is represented in a 180 cm. square (Figure 24). It is a garden made out of cut papers of various colors.⁶ Verses adorning the spring surround the gilded borders of the rectangular garden. This garden representation, that appears disorganized and wild at first sight, is planted with cypresses and blooming fruits trees. Various flowers in different colors cover the lawn. Rose bushes, with flowers of varying colors in bloom, climb upwards and encircle trees. Among many other uses of gardens, Nurhan Atasoy also portrays garden parties as illustrated in Ottoman arts. Atasoy argues that the paper cut representation of the garden might represent the real garden of the Paper Cutter Mehmed.

In an early 16th c. album *Gharâ'ib al-Sighar*, a “young prince is entertained” in a garden party. The party takes place at a hillside. The whole party is organized into a circle around the young prince. The pages are serving drinks and food. All the

⁴ Hamadeh, “Architectural Sensibility,” 187; from Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'ir üş Şu'ara*, 294a.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 187; from Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'ir üş Şu'ara*, 160b-161a.

⁶ Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 73-89.

participants are depicted listening to two persons engaged in a conversation. There are other people beyond the party scene who are peeping at the party.⁷

In the *Süleymanname* (TSM H1517, folio 477v), Süleyman I and his son Mustafa are depicted in a party (Figure 25). They are seated at an elevated pavilion looking below at a fountain. There lies a green meadow and hills, planted with trees and flowers. They are listening to two musicians sited beside the fountain.⁸ This party most probably takes place during a hunting campaign of Süleyman since he is holding bows and arrows. The location of the fountain and the musicians is noteworthy in this picture since they are located at the same level below the audience. The sound of music, the sound of water and the sound of nature must be expected to blend into one another to be appreciated by the audience.

Divân of Baki from the 16th c. depicts a garden party scene (Or. 7084, folio 1a). The painting depicts the court poet Baki among other poets in a garden kiosk. Eight poets are grouped around a circle. Some poets are holding books. They either read poems from these books to one another, or, by themselves. Two of the participants are conversing and two others are writing, probably composing poems.⁹ There are many other miniature paintings from different periods that depict poets in the gardens where they either contemplate, converse with a companion, read or compose.

Divân of Hafiz is another 16th c. album that depicts several garden party scenes (TSM H986, folios 11b, 156a and 170b). One miniature illustrates a “poetry gathering” in a garden. (TSM H986, folio 11b). A young man is seated in a garden pavilion. The young man who is the host of the party is surrounded by other

⁷ Norah Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting and Its Influence on the Art of Turkey and India The British Library Collections* (London: The British Library, 1983), 143.

⁸ Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 156.

⁹ Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 139.

companions, playing music, conversing or reading poetry. The poet who is reading poems from a book is located between the musicians. The garden is green with flowers and trees. The site is marked by two cypresses that are painted in the background.¹⁰

In the early 17th c. album of Ahmed I, there are several miniatures depicting garden parties. One of them (Figure 27), which Atasoy portrays as a “drinking party scene” depicts a party on a green lawn planted with colorful flowers (TSM B408, folio 16a). The site is identified by three trees by a riverside, where a blooming tree stands in between two cypresses. The party is enjoyed by three figures. A young man is seated on a carpet, and two other figures are sited around a table which is set with various dishes including chicken, fruits, and wine. There are two servants serving the table and two others waiting behind.¹¹ The second miniature (Figure 28) from the *Album of Ahmed I* depicts a harem enjoying a garden party, drinking wine and reading poetry (TSM B408, folio 14a).¹² The party is set by the riverside on carpets and cushions. At the background there are a couple of cypresses with a blossoming tree in between. Another miniature (Figure 29) depicts a couple listening to a group of musicians and drinking wine (TSM B408, folio 19r).¹³ Similar to the spatial arrangement of the garden party at *Süleymanname*, there is a fountain between the musicians and the listeners. As well, at the background there are birds singing. The setting is enclosed with cypress trees planted in couples with flowering trees between each couple. During the sultanate of Ahmed I, a certain treatise informs about group gatherings discussing flowers. These gatherings

¹⁰ Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, “Remarks on Some Manuscripts from the Topkapı Palace Treasury in the Context of Ottoman-Safavid Relations,” in *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), 132-148.

¹¹ Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 50-51.

¹² *Ibid.*, 157-158.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 157.

included Lâlezarî Şeyh Mehmed, the chief gardener, Solakzade Çelebi, the first secretary and poet Rüşdi Efendi, among other members of the elites.¹⁴

In another 17th c. miniature (Figure 31), Sultan Murad IV hosts a garden party (TSM H21488, folio 11v). The party takes place on a carpet, laid on a green lawn planted with red tulips and roses. The Sultan is seated and drinking wine. On the table placed in front of him, there are fruits, cut flowers arranged in vases, and wine goblets. There are also two candles lit on the table. Apart from the pages serving or waiting to serve, there is a musician playing a long flute.¹⁵

In the early 18th c. album of *Hamse-i Atayi* (Figure 32), Atasoy describes a party in a walled garden (Baltimore Walters Art Museum W666, folio 138a). The participants of the party are seated under a semi-open wooden structure that is located beside a fountain with several sprouts. The base of the structure resembles a real flower bed. It is ornamented with floral motifs and enclosed by a very low red fence. In this party, participants include Christian nobles. They are eating from individual plates and drinking wine.¹⁶ The table is decorated with cut red flowers, individually spread on the white table cloth.

Private garden parties were called *bezm* (party), *‘ayş*, *sohbet* (conversing), *meclis* (gathering), or *devr* (passing cup). These assemblies usually took place at nights lit by the moonlight, *‘şem* (candle) or *çerağ* (lanterns). The parties continued until sunrise. Musicians played music and singed songs. The musical instruments played were the *çeng* (harp), *ney* (reed-flute), *tabl* (drum) and *saz* (long flute).¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 146-147.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 70-73.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 50-53.

¹⁷ Andrews, *Poetry's voice*, 48.

Perfumes were used to enrich the atmosphere. These intimate parties were enjoyed by close friends.¹⁸

Fruit and dishes were served with various drinks. A court poet lists various kinds of foods served at these parties, such as; chestnut, walnut, almond, pistachio, hazelnut, cherry, plum, fig, strawberry, melon, water melon, apple, peach, caviar, fish eggs, fish-pickles, pastrami, lobster, mussels, sardine, cheese and kebab varieties.¹⁹

Wine was one of the major servings at private parties. It comprised different kinds of wine with a variety of names: *âb-ı engür* (grape juice), *arak* (rakı), *bıkr* (wine), *bâde* (wine), *mey* (wine), *mül* (wine), *rah* (wine), *bâde-i gülgün* (red wine), *âteş-i seyyale* (red wine), *dide-i horos* (red wine), *hun-i ketuber* (red wine), *sahbâ* (red wine), *bâde-i sadsâle* (aged wine), *gül'arak* (rose wine), *şerab-ı cül* (rose wine), *kümeyt* (dark red wine), etc.²⁰ The wine cup was also called with different names such as *ayağ*, *câm*, *câm-ı billûr*, *câm-ı cem*, *câm-ı lebriz*, *câm-ı mey*, *câm-ı musaffâ*, *çanak*, *desti*, *fincan*, *gûze*, *mina*, *kadeh*, *kap*, *kâse*, *peymâne*, *piyâle*, *ritl*, *sâgar*, etc. Wine containers were called *sûrahi*, *abgîne*, *bağ*, *sebu*, etc.²¹

Among all the servers, the person who was serving the wine had utmost importance. Wine server was called *sâkî*. *Sâkîs* were one of the central characters of the garden parties because they were the ones who intoxicated the guests by serving wine.²²

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 143-174.

¹⁹ Agah S. Levend, *Divan edebiyatı : kelimeler ve remizler, mazmunlar ve mefhumlar* (Istanbul: Inkilap Kitapevi, 1943), 319-320.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 323-335.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 336-342.

²² *Ibid.*, 320-21.

Private parties took place in gardens called *gölşen* or *gölistan* (rosegarden), *bağ* or *ravza* (garden), *gölzar* (rose plot), *çemen* (lawn), *cennet* (paradise), *sahn* (yard).²³

Reading poetry was an important part of these parties. Walter Andrews argues that in these private parties a specific genre of poetry was read or cited. This genre is called *gazel*. *Gazel* poetry both described the garden party and was used as a tool to order its arrangement. To illustrate a vivid image of the party scene, Andrews translates lyric quatrains from Hayreti (d.1535) that describe the site of the garden as similar to the paradise garden, and compares it to the legendary garden of Iram whose beauty exceeds the former. He illustrates the participants of the gathering. He stresses the wine served during the party. He also describes the musicians and their instruments:²⁴

It is a chat with rudy wine or highest garden of skies?
Perhaps the garden of Iram or rosy mead of Paradise?
Or gathering of fairy fair, of heaven's maids with coal black eyes?
Hurrah! And praise a thousand times this party that revivifies?

Some party-goers like Hüsrev, some of them Ferhat's forlorn,
Some lovers true and others still beloved of the Houris born,
The blue stell cup passed round therein is from the domes of heaven torn.
Hurrah! And praise a thousand times this party that revivifies?

From transitory earth they take their vintage pleasures constantly;
To one another full they raise their cups of healing chemistry,

²³ Andrews, *Poetry's voice*, 46.

²⁴ Walter G. Andrews, "Literary Art of the Golden Age: The Age of Süleyman," in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, ed. by Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1993), 353-368.

Yet not a word that's said therein offends against propriety.
Hurrah! And praise a thousand times this party that revivifies?

Musicians catch the fevered mood where ever their tuneful anthems start;
Each like a nightingale to each in unison performs his part
The long necked lutes play endlessly and sing the language of the heart.
Hurrah! And praise a thousand times this party that revivifies?

Who once observes this revelry is freed from taint of grief and woes,
His soul released, though sad of eye, his heart a joyful fullness knows,
And from the ruins of his breast, a stately, spacious mansion grows.
Hurrah! And praise a thousand times this party that revivifies?

ANALYSIS OF GARDEN RITUALS

CONSTRAINED ORDER OF GARDEN RITUALS

Garden parties were rituals in the sense Victor Turner proposes. According to Turner's definition, rituals always follow pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal phases. Garden parties similarly took place in three tiers. Entering into the secluded space of the private garden corresponds to the pre-liminal phase. The party members' experience of exchanging with other participants, enjoying the offerings of the party, their intoxication and citing poetry constitutes the liminal phase. Leaving the garden space, and returning back to the daily life that took place outside the garden space concludes the ritual's post-liminal phase.

The poet Aynî describes the order of a private party. He acknowledges that parties took place in every season. With changing seasons and climatic conditions, the location of the parties would change from open spaces to indoors. He states that

first the drinking cups would be arranged, and then the participants would arrive. The party would continue with servings of fruit and wine, while at the same time musicians were playing music and singing songs. The participants would converse and cite poems while listening to the music and enjoying the servings. The party would last until sun shine. Aynî mentions that all the participants were expected to know how to behave in a party. There were certain manners to be followed. The guests would kneel down sitting on their heels. They were expected to sit straight. They were not allowed to support their bodies, bend or rest. They were not allowed to bend their heads downwards, cough, sneeze, yawn, or stretch. The guests were not supposed to hold wine cups for a long time.²⁵ It was not tolerable to display emotional states in the extreme. It was not tolerable to cry, to display anger, or discontent.²⁶

In order to participate in the party, individuals were required to relinquish their daily routines. Daily life was organized and controlled by the laws of Shariah. The party space was completely disconnected from the spaces of daily life. The party took place either in a garden, a meadow, or a garden pavilion, which was the representation of an ideal garden. Garden parties lasted until sunrise. Leaving the garden space constituted the final stage of the garden party ritual. As the participants left the garden space, they returned back to their daily routine. The liminal phase of the ritual will be discussed in the following pages, as well as the reasons why the experience of the garden party rituals differed from that of the daily routine.

Garden parties stimulated all the cognitive faculties of its participants; the body, the intellect and the imagination. In the garden parties, the body was sited among a group of close friends in a tranquil environment, in a garden, or in a garden kiosk. It

²⁵ Levend, *Divan edebiyati*, 309-310.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 311.

was spoilt with endless offerings appealing to all the senses. It was filled with pleasure. The desiring soul was satisfied with delicious foods and fruits; stirred with pleasant perfumes, and intoxicated with wine full of flavor. It was carried away with music and songs. The sound of music blended with the sound of running water, singing birds and voices of conversing friends. The vision was challenged with handsome young men serving wine and food, dancers moving in harmony, and, with the beauty of nature, flowers, trees and animals, and, with the beauty of architectural edifices, garden pavilions, kiosks, fountains, flower vases, carpets, wine cups and even costumes.

The cognitive faculties of the spirit were challenged by participating into this event according to the pre-established rules of conduct. Each one of the ceremonial practices of the ritual contributed building up of a memory shared by all its participants.

Finally, engaged in poetry, the heart, the most superlative faculty of cognition, surpassed all the other faculties and guided the experience of the ritual into a make-believe travel into the realm of imagination. The heart experienced a kind of pilgrimage from one station point of the imagination to another. This pilgrimage was enabled with words uttered and images dreamed. It was guided by the recitation of poetry that was the most elevated experience of the gathering.

TEXT OF GARDEN RITUALS: THE GAZEL GENRE

The special genre of poetry read or cited at the garden parties was called *gazel*. It is important to give a brief description of the genre of *gazel* that formed the central focus of the garden parties as the text which describes and orders the ritual at the same time. *Gazel* was a short poem, whose theme was love, beauty and wine; and whose most important characteristic was its artful form and language. It was

originally a Persian genre. Encyclopedia of Islam gives information on the pre-Islamic origin of the genre that developed both in Arabic and Persian languages:²⁷

A short poem of more than four but less than fifteen lines. The first two have the same rhyme, which is repeated at the end of the fourth, sixth, etc. lines. The poet usually mentions his own name in the last line....The form should be the most perfect possible, especially from the point of view of language; vulgar and cacophonous words are to be most rigidly avoided.

Originally introduced to Anatolia in Persian, Andrews argues that the genre was adapted to the Ottoman culture through the 15th c. to the 19th c. becoming an essential part of the Ottoman poetry, society and culture: ²⁸

During the more than four hundred years (1453-1860 C.E.), which span the mature life of the Ottoman Turkish classical tradition, virtually every poet of note-and countless poets of lesser acclaim- wrote *gazel*s. It can be said with much conviction that the *gazel* was the heart and soul of classical Ottoman literature, a central focus for a centuries-long expenditure of labor and talent, and a major voice in the song of Turkish culture.

The theme of *gazel* poems was love. Each poem would tell about love experienced in an ideal garden. They narrated the experience of love between a lover and a beloved. The narration of love also gave emphasis to the beauty of the beloved.

Gazel poetry rested upon a set of conventions. Its themes of love; cast of characters that took part in short anecdotes of love; its use of language and vocabulary; its depiction and illustration of spaces; its construction, its structures

²⁷ Andrews, *Poetry's voice, society's song*, 3-18; *Encyclopedia of Islam* vol. II (1927), 146; *Islam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 4 (1945), 730-32; E.J. Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi* (Istanbul: Akcag), vol I , 1-70.

²⁸ Though it had been recognized as a form of high-art practiced by the elite circles due to its artful language which comprised a high percentage of foreign words, it was also adapted to the understanding and enjoyment of the Turkish speaking common public by the efforts of Turkish speaking dervishes; Andrews, *Poetry's voice, society's song*, 4-5.

were all established according to rules set by the tradition. Even the depiction of beauty was established by set cannons:²⁹

The beloved has a slender belly, with black hair like the fate of love and the night of sorrow; like the worry of reunion with the beloved, his/her hair is intricate and twisted into curls; neck white and transparent like the balm acquired from the cheery laurel of the far East; with black eyes; has an Indian-style mole on his/her cheek, and a dimple like a dagger, with a well on his/her chin; has a posture like a cypress tree.

The art of the *gazel* demanded the mastery in using these signs in order to compose a poem, harmonious in essence, musical in hymn, and aesthetic in vision. The artist was not permitted to create anything different than the predetermined clichés. The poet was not permitted to question the cosmological order. He was not able to introduce any novelty into any of the gardens. Novelty was a deed of God, so that individuals were not supposed to create, but to imitate and to appreciate the creation. Apart from listening to the meaning of the verses, and the harmonic musical tone achieved by the use of rhyme, poetry almost became an art for watching. It became a theatre of images.

The language of *gazel* was made up of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic words, which used Arabic phrases, with Turkish syntax, making Persian compounds. *Gazels* were composed for and understood by cultivated, learned, and literate circles, like the people of the court, the elite, simply the *askerî*.

SOCIETY AND GARDEN RITUALS

According to the Islamic mythology, the first group assembly was hosted by God after the creation of the human being. According to the mythology, God invited all

²⁹ Translated from Gölpinarlı, *Nedim Divanı*, p. XVIII.

his angels to this assembly and asked them to consent that he would be the creator. Upon their approval, God created the universe and the world. This archetypal gathering was called *bezm-i ezel* (party of the infinity).³⁰

Following the pattern of this archetypal model of *bezm-i ezel*, private parties became gatherings that located the power of its host within the cosmological hierarchy. Different groups within the Ottoman society hosted parties and invited guests and poets to their parties. The sultan hosted his own private parties inviting the prominent members of his court and court poets. Sultan's parties used to take place in imperial gardens. Members of the elite used to become patrons of poets, and they hosted their own circle of friends. The elite parties were hosted in private gardens.

Members of the guilds each had their own private parties. Each sub-group of the guilds had a principal, who would also master their gatherings. These principals represented the legendary characters who were acknowledged as creators of each profession and they were acknowledged as disciples of Islamic figures who performed their trade for the first time, in the age of the prophet Mohammed. For example, Adam was acknowledged as the master of bread makers. Amir bin Imran from Medina, who was a baker at the time of the prophet, was acknowledged as the Islamic master of bread bakers.³¹ Thus the cosmology of all guilds followed after both the Near Eastern mythology and the collective memory of the Islamic tradition.

The guild gatherings took place in meadows. Guilds would gather in a meadow either once a year or once every 10-20 years. The guild gatherings would last for two to ten days. During these gatherings the guilds would enjoy themselves in the meadow playing games, enjoying food and drinks. They would also converse and

³⁰ Şemsettin Kutlu, *Divan Edebiyatı Antolojisi* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1983), 501.

³¹ Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Tarihte İstanbul Esnafı* (İstanbul: Doğan Yayınları, 2002, c. 1970), 11-14.

read poetry.³² At the military gatherings, the Bektashi dervishes supervised the assembly. In *tariqat* congregations, the leader of the group or the order (*şeyh*, *baba*, or *kutub*, etc.) directed the meeting.³³

PARTICIPANTS OF GARDEN RITUALS

Participants of the private garden party were called *dostan* (beloved friend), *yanan* (friends), *ehl-i dil* (master of the tongue), *eshab-i dil* (owner of the language), *ehl-i batın* (master of mystery), *eshab-ı kemal* (master of perfection). The participants simply constituted a host and his guests, including one or several poets. Sometimes poets were invited to compete with one another.

Apart from the guests there were the servers. Among them, the most important was the *sâkî* who used to serve wine. Garden parties also included musicians, singers and dancers.

The guests of the private garden parties knew the rules of conduct. It was important that they would be able to pursue the ritual of the garden party by conversing, attending to discussions and citing poetry. Neither too serious, boring or gloomy, nor carefree or bad-mannered people were invited to private parties of the elite. The guests were well educated. They were the masters of language since *gazel* poetry cited in these garden parties called upon a difficult language and was exceptionally artful. Since *gazel* poetry included Persian and Arabic words, its language was not understandable to the common public who used vernacular Turkish.

³² "Esnaf Gelenekleri" in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 3, 218.

³³ İnalcık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Klasik Çağ*.

In conclusion, it would be necessary to recognize that private garden parties and *gazel* genre were enjoyed by the court and the elite groups. However, gatherings of other social groups like the guilds or the mystic orders resembled garden parties in terms of arrangement and purpose of the ritual.

ROLE PLAYING IN GARDEN RITUALS: SUFI AND RIND

The theme of the *gazel* poetry was love. Each participant of the party reciting *gaze/s* would become a lover. He would recite *gaze/s* addressing the Beloved. When reciting *gaze/s*, the poet would become a lover. The beloved could be God, the Sultan, the host of the gathering, or the *sâkî*, the wine server who was present in the garden party and, who was responsible for the intoxication of the poet with beauty.

Each time the participants of the party cited verses from a poem, they would also become lovers like the poet himself. Playing the part of the lover by citing poetry is the most important part of the garden parties. Andrews calls this role playing a game. Role playing gives the flexibility of engaging in an imaginary persona for the predetermined period of the play. In Victor Turner's terms, it can be identified as the reversal of social status and constitutes the climax of the liminal phase.

Playing the role of lover, a participant of the party also played the role of mystic. In the garden party, he would play as if he were a mystic even if he was a severe ascetic in the real world. Thus, the *gazel* poetry would lead the participants of the party to behave as mystic lovers. They acted as if they were friends of God. An ascetic would practice his faith according to the rules of Shariah as codified by religious texts and conventional practices. This implies a deep departure from the rules of everyday life for an orthodox believer or for an ascetic. An ascetic would value the intellectual faculties of recognition above all the others and would turn

away from any novel form of practice that were outside the conventions of the orthodox faith. On the contrary, a mystic would practice his faith by means of his imaginative faculties.

Intoxication stimulated the mystic in his quest for the divine. However intoxication was severely prohibited for an ascetic. So, by a reversal of status, the participants of the garden party enjoyed being mystic lovers even if they were severe ascetics in their daily life. In the Ottoman poetic tradition, the mystic lover was signified by the character *rind*, and the ascetic by the *zahid* or *sufi*. The *rind* was a protest character, a dissident. *Zahid* or *sufi* was an ascetic. The *rind* considered himself as a friend of God, as opposed to the *zahid*, who considered himself as a slave of God.³⁴ By playing the role of *rind*, one engaged in protest attitudes towards the institutionalized worship and public display of faith in order to get admired and recognized. *Rind* was a character criticizing and opposing the *sufi/zahid*³⁵. *Rind* refused to adapt the public forms of Heterodox Islamic faith. He disapproved both the distinguishing apparel of the *sufi/zahid* and the institutionalized ceremonials of worship and their hierarchy. Opposite to *sufi/zahid* wisdom and reasoning, *rind* contemplated love and acknowledged love as a practice of loyalty. In contrast to the *sufi/zahid*'s appreciation and expectation of the Heavenly Paradise, the *rind* admired worldly beauty, and craved for worldly pleasures. Intoxicated, disapproved, and displeased with himself, the *rind* always criticized himself at the opposite of the *sufi/zahid*'s display of wisdom and anticipation of public approval.

³⁴ Metin And, *A History of Theater and Popular Entertainment in Turkey* (Ankara: Forum Yayınları, 1963).

³⁵ For detailed information on the opposition between the *rind* and the *sufi*, see Ahmet A. Şentürk, *Klasik Osmanlı Edebiyatı Tiplerinden Sufi yahut Zahit Hakkında* (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1996), and Mine Mengi, *Divan Şiirinde Rindlik* (Ankara: Bizim Büro Basımevi, 1985); Harun Tolasa, *Sehi, Latifi, Aşık Çelebi tezkirelerine göre 16. y.y.'da edebiyat araştırmaları* (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Matbaası, 1983).

Corruption in Sufi society was a common concern in all Muslim societies. Schimmel argues that poets had a critical idea of the Sufis as early as the eleventh century, and that poets differentiated between corrupted and true Sufis. The true Sufi was defined as a true lover. Sufis themselves recognized that the sincerity of the ascetic tradition was threatened by those “heedless savants, hypocritical Koran-readers, and ignorant pretenders to Sufism.” Some Sufis preferred not to be called Sufis, in order not to be associated with the degeneration of the Sufi society. Schimmel cites the below verses by a sixteenth century Sufi poet:³⁶

The Sufi is busy with deceiving men and women,
The ignorant one is busy with building up his own body,
The wise man is busy with coquetry of words,
The lover is busy with annihilating himself.

However the experience of love expressed by Sufi poems never ended in union with the beloved. The union with the beloved was not possible. Since the beloved represented the God and union with God was not possible. Thus all poems ended with grief and sorrow.

Garden party, poetry and mystic love are also common themes in Persian culture. In a 16th c. Persian miniature from Sultan Ibrahim Mizra's *Haft Awrang*, there are several illustrations of mystic love and its expressions by poets. First one (Figure 33) depicts a garden party (folio 52a). A prince converses with his father about the essence of love. In the background, a poet is painted on the walls of the garden pavilion (Figure 34). The verses that accompany the figure of the poet explain the “pain of love” since union with the beloved is not possible:³⁷

³⁶ Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 20-21.

³⁷ Mariana Shreve Simpson. *Persian poetry, Painting and Patronage Illustrations in a Sixteenth Century Masterpiece* (Washington, DC; New Haven: Freer Gallery of Art, Yale University Press, 1998), 26-27.

I have written on the door and wall of every house about the grief of my love for
you.

That perhaps you might pass one day and read the explanation of my condition.

In another folio from the same album (Figure 35), poetry is described as a medium to attain divine knowledge (folio 147a). The poet attains divine knowledge by revelation, through angelic illumination. The painting conveys the idea that poets “have the capacity to create works of great spirituality and assuage the doubts of those seeking enlightenment.”³⁸ The painting depicts the poet as a mystic lover, and his abode as the garden of paradise. On the door of the garden pavilion in which the poet Sa’di is composing a new poem, the below verse from Koran (Koran 38:50) is written:³⁹

Gardens of Eden, whereof the gates are opened for them

Sultan Süleyman I’s anthology of his own poems signed by his pen name Muhibbî is also a good example to illustrate the close connection between poetry, mystic love and gardens (Figure 36). The below verses from *Muhibbî Divanı* (İÜK T5476) is an expression of the Sultan’s mystic love and quest.⁴⁰

I am the Sultan of Love, a glass of wine will do for a crown on my head,
And the brigade of my sighs might well serve as the dragon’s fire-breathing troops.
The bed room that’s best for you, my love, is a bed of roses,
For me, a bed and a pillow carved out of rock will do.
My love, take a golden cup in your hand and drink wine in the rose garden;

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 44-45.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁴⁰ Talat Halman, *Süleyman*, 32-33.

As for me, to sip blood from my heart, it is enough to have the goblets of your
eyes.

....

The heart can no longer reach the district where you live
but it yearns for reunion with you,
Don't think Paradise and its rivers can satisfy the lover of the adorable fan.

Muhibbî Divanı as a book combines poetry and gardens (Figure 36). The poems are on pages which represent gardens planted with tulips, violets, poppies, iris, roses, peonies, hyacinths, calendula, and cypress trees.⁴¹

The below verses from the 19th c. poet Şeyh Galip's *Beauty and Love*, is another example, illustrating the close connection between garden spaces and poetry. The below verses portray one of the main characters of Galip's story. The character is "Poetry." He resides in a garden. This garden is called the "Garden of Meaning." In this illustration of Poetry is personified as a "gracious person." Poetry embodies all the dual qualities, both the good and bad states that are all fashioned by Creation. He becomes lover and Beloved at the same time; plays both of the roles of the Sultan and the subject; and as narrated in the poem once he becomes "the sprite", or "the devil":

That gaily blooming garden was, in short
Alike to the talent of a pure poet
A sage young at heart and sprightly of limb
Welcomed the guests to that pleasure place in
Poetry by name, gracious his person
His life preceded heaven's creation

⁴¹ Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 134; 140-142; 135-139; Yıldız Demiriz, *Osmanlı Kitap Sanatında Natüralist Üslupta Çiçekler* (İstanbul: Acar Matbaacılık Tesisleri, 1986), 278-280; 281- 303.

He was both the question and the answer
Prophecy's miracle and messenger

....

He could be a sprite, he could be a devil
Now aquatic, and then terrestrial

....

He could be a poet, or a scholar
Now an ascetic, or now sorcerer is with him,⁴²

SPACES OF GARDEN RITUALS

There was a close association between arts of poetry, garden space and order of the garden ritual. They carried two contrasting intentions. First they stimulated imaginative faculties. Second they anchored the participants of the garden party in society. Thus, while imaginative faculties supported the development of individuality, the organization of the garden rituals suppressed it.

The organization of the garden, the order of the ritual and the content of *gazel* poetry stimulated the imaginative faculty of individual participants. Gardens in which garden parties took place were designed in such a way that they triggered imagination. They had a complex organization which did not reveal its order at first sight. Poetry cited in gardens also called for a complex order that involved the whole Ottoman cosmology. Garden rituals stimulated the imaginative faculties by intoxication and poetry after arousing all senses by perfumes, delicious food and fruits, music and dancers. Simply organized around a circle, participants either surrounded a fountain, or they sat on a river bank. Circle represented the ideal

⁴² Victoria Holbrook, *The Unredeable shores of Love Turkish Modernity and Mystic Romance* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1994), 83-84.

form and resembled the cosmological order. The water element stood for the fountain of life, the symbol of the source of divine knowledge and the origin of all creation.

The 16th c. Garden of the Paper Cutter (Efşancı Bahçesi) illustrates the close association of poetry, gardens and garden rituals. 16th c. literary critic Aşık Çelebi describes a certain garden called Garden of the Paper Cutter. It was a private garden renown for garden parties for reading poetry which was frequently visited by the elite, including Sultan Süleyman I and his Vezier İbrahim Pasha.⁴³ As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, in the 16th c. Album of The Paper Cutter Mehmed might represent the real garden of the Paper Cutter Mehmed (Figures 40-41).⁴⁴

Despite the fact that the representation of the garden seems to follow no order at first sight, it encloses a very complex arrangement of trees. The order is maintained by the type, size, color and location of the trees and flowers. The geometry of the garden is suggested the decorations on the margins creating a symmetry axis. The center is regulated by a small cypress tree. Two of the cypress trees which seem to govern the composition at first sight are symmetric with respect to an unseen axis, but this axis is shifted from the axis of the page that is governed by the small cypress tree. The whole composition is a complex organization of games of symmetry and asymmetry.

Trees in bloom, rose bushes, flowers further complicate the simple vertical appearance of the cypress trees. At first sight, they complicate the vision, but their locations are also definite. Blooming trees are planted inbetween couples of cypresses. Different types of flowers are arranged according to a hidden order, and their location is identified with respect to the position of various kinds of trees.

⁴³ Hamadeh, "Architectural Sensibility," 187; from Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'ir üş Şu'ara*, 160b-161a.

⁴⁴ Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 73-89.

The vision achieves complexity on purpose. In Ottoman optical treatises, the perception of objects is portrayed in three different levels. For example, in the sixteenth century optic treatise revised from Ibn al-Haytham's *Kitâb al-manâzir*, perception is ordered according to the three levels of "pure sensation," "glancing perception" and "contemplative perception."⁴⁵ "Pure sensation" is described as the sensual cognition of light and color. It involves sensual faculties. "Glancing perception" is cognition by remembrance. It involves the mind, and the memory. "Contemplative perception" involves imaginative faculties that enable seeing beyond the apparent form of the object, and contemplating to its novel qualities which the mind or the memory cannot recognize and the eye cannot distinguish. Necipoğlu argues that Islamic decorative arts made use of such optic doctrines and created complicated patterns that required contemplation of the individual and triggered imaginative faculties. "Contemplative perception" required the subjects individual involvement in the process of perception, contemplation and cognition. It valued the individual taste of the individual and defined beauty of the object contemplated as subjective and contextual. "Complication of vision" in Islamic arts was an affirmative quality accomplished on purpose. In the below paragraph, Necipoğlu, who examined abstract patterns in Islamic art, claims that such "complication of vision" was a willful effort of the artist:⁴⁶

Another implication of Ibn al-Haytham's psychological theory of optics is that the willful complication of vision by intricately decorated surfaces was a calculated way of inducing contemplative vision, a "way of seeing" which often is referred to as the scrutinizing gaze" (*im'ân-i nazar*) in Ottoman texts. Elaborately patterned surfaces, covered by multilayered geometric designs interlaced with geometrized vegetal, calligraphic, and occasionally figural motifs, constituted magnetic fields to attract the gaze with their bewildering vertiginous effects. Their infinitely extendable, nondirectional patterns of line and color, with no single focal point or hierarchical progression toward a decorative climax, required the insertion of subjectivity into the optical field; they presupposed a private way of looking.

⁴⁵ Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll*, 197 - 216.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 203.

Such surfaces seduced the eye to alight on harmoniously combined colors and abstract patterns that could stir up the imagination, arouse the emotions and create moods.

Similar to the arts and crafts, Islamic tradition also considered poetry as a medium to trigger the imagination. In various treatises, the arts of poetry is exemplified with metaphors from arts, crafts, and architecture; such as “patterned brocade,” “rhythmic arabesque,” “necklace,” “wall paintings,” “tile work (*kâşîkâr*),” and “pomp (*alayîş*) of a house, referring to the art of homophony as *tarşî*” (lit. “tarsia,” or “to inlay with pearls and precious stones”).⁴⁷ Al-Ghazali compared the creative powers of a poet to that of God:⁴⁸

Just as the greatness of a poet, writer or artist becomes all the more notable the more you know of the wonderful works of poetry, writing and art; in the same way miracles of the creation of God are a key knowledge of the Greatness of the Creator.

Likewise, the arts of *gazel* poetry suggested that the poetic medium also constituted a visual space. This visual space enabled contemplation, and further triggered imagination. The below verses of the 16th c. poet Zati quoted by Andrews illustrates that the choice of vocabulary and choice of letters, or words had a very important part in the arts of *gazel* poetry. Andrews argues that Zati’s verses are the perfect example showing how the poet mastered the tools of his art.⁴⁹

Kaşı med kaddi elif yâruñ öñinde Zâtî
Düşmanuñ kâmetini dâl idüben ad itdüm

translated as

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 185; from 13th c. Shams-i Qays and 16th c. Muslih al-Din Mustafa Sururi.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁴⁹ Andrews, *Poetry’s voice, society’s song*, 173.

Before the beloved, with her eyebrow like a *med* and body like an *elif*
By bending the enemy's body like a *dal*, I made a name for myself

In Zati's two lines, Thus by using the visual image of the Arabic letters of *med*, *elif*, *dal*, the poet suggested the poem as a visual field to meditate. He described how he handled these images, by bending, twisting, changing their shape, almost like giving form to a sculptural object, he created a name (*ad*) for his fame. Thus, the word name (*ad*) when written in Arabic alphabet, is made out of the letters *med*, *elif*, and *dal*. Zati's poem invites its reader to imagine every one of the letters and words as images. Thus, the images and meanings suggested by a letter, or a word suggests individual's communication with the poem itself. This relationship gives life to the poem, and the poem begins to be built in a space where imagination begins to travel (Table 4).

IDEAL SPACES

In order to understand *gazel* poems, it is important to understand the structure of the world within which *gazel* poetry was composed. The world was strictly organized into a hierarchical cosmology that ordered every single thing, metaphysical and physical that is considered to have real or imaginary, real or ideal, this-worldly or after-worldly existence, as a thing, a concept, an idea, a form, or meaning. Everything had a place in the cosmological hierarchy.⁵⁰ The earth and

⁵⁰ On Islamic cosmography see, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964); *Islamic Ecology*, ed. by R.C. Foltz, F. M. Denny, and A. Baharuddin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Angelis, M.A. and Lentz, T.W. *Architecture in Islamic Painting Permanent and Impermanent Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: Acme Printing, Fogg Art Museum, The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1982); Ardalan and Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity*. Even the music played followed conventions similar to the layering of cosmology. In music, there were twelve modes (makam): *Rast*, *'Irak*, *Isfahan*, *Zirefkend*, *Büzürg*,

the heavens were constructed according to seven levels. There were seven levels under the ground. The levels of the earth above ground level were called *Demga*, *Hulde*, *Arfe*, *Cerba*, *Melsa*, *Siccin*, and *'Acıba 'Acıba*. The seven layers above the earth were each symbolized by a different color and planet:⁵¹

The first being the sphere of the moon which is the beryl-green lower heaven called *Berkı'a*, the second being the ruby-yellow sphere of Mercury called *Kaydum*, the third being the ruby-red *M'un* which is the sphere of the Sun called *Erkalut*, the fifth being the red-gold sphere of Mars called *Retka*, the sixth being the pearl-white sphere of Jupiter called *Raki'a*, and the seventh being the sphere of Saturn called *Gariba* of pure light.

Following these layers of the seven of the planets were the eight heavens, also ranked along a hierarchical order; *Darülcelal* as a white pearl, *Darüsselam* as red ruby, *Cennet-ül Mevahir* of green crystal, *Huld* of yellow coral, *Naim* of white silver, *Firdevs* of red gold, *Karar* of musk; and above all there was the highest of all the heavens, which was considered to neighbor all the others -with a huge castle surrounded by walls - the *Cennet-ül Adn* of white sweating pearl. The roots of the *Tuba* Tree were in the *Cennet-ül Adn*, and its branches ascended through all the other seven heavens. All these heavens were depicted as paradise gardens one after the other.

Beyond the highest garden of paradise *And*, the domain of *Kürsi*, made out of pure light, was located. Above it there was *Arş*, the throne of God, as the origin and

Şernegule, *Revahi*, *Hüseyini*, *Hicaz*, *Buselik*, *Neva*, and *Uşşak*, similar to the twelve constellations of the zodiac of the eight heavens; *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo*, *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*, *Capricorn*, *Aquarius*, and *Pisces*. And the four tones of music *Yegah*, *Dügah*, *Sergah*, and *Çargah* were compared to the four elements of creation which were known to be fire, air, water, and earth. There were seven derivative modes akin to the seven planets, and twenty-four kinds of compositions as there are twenty-four hours of the day; Howard Crane, *Risale-i Mimariye An Early Seventeenth Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture* (Leiden; NY: E.J. Brill, 1987), 26-27.

⁵¹ Crane, *Risale-i Mimariye*, 19.

beginning of everything.⁵² In order to reach a better comprehension of the cosmology, it would be necessary to construct each one of these terms into a structure.

As already discussed in the chapter concerning the theories of Ibn Arabi, Ottoman cosmology considered the origin and beginning, and the Absolute Reality of the God as incomprehensible to the human beings. Thus, *Arş*, the throne of God, was beyond human cognition, and it constituted the True Reality. *Kürsi*, however, embodied everything created, thus the whole world. *Kürsi*, in the dictionary meant a table, or a folded space in which the created world was contained within. Thus the folded space of *Kürsi* contained all the explanations of the creation of the world, all the layers of cosmology, fixed stars, seven planets, seven layers above and below the earth, and human beings, all civilizations, all religions, myths and legends, lives of the prophets, all of history - past, the phenomenal world as present, and future.

Ottoman cosmology was based on Islamic cosmology which was constructed in order to relate the individual existence to the Universal World, which was acknowledged as the World of the God. However it should also be noted that Ottoman cosmology also had to relate the Sultan to his subjects. Thus, it not only expounded Islamic imperatives; but also included imperial accounts for other civilizations; lives of rulers and warriors of Mogul, Persian, Mani, or Indian origin; stories of legendary kings; characters from the Old and the New Testaments. The late sixteenth century manuscripts of *Zübdetü't-Tevarih* produced under Ottoman rule narrating the Ottoman cosmology clearly illustrates this (Figures 42-45; 46-51). As seen in the different pages of the two different copies of 1583 and 1598, the Ottoman rulers not only linked their kinship to Islam, but also to pre-Islamic and non-Islamic traditions.

⁵² Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, vol 1, 44-47; E. J. W. Gibb, *Osmanlı şiiri tarihine giriş* (İstanbul: Köksal, 1999), 41-79.

In his deconstructive analysis of the genre of Ottoman *gazel*, Walter Andrews restructures the Ottoman cosmology. By replacing all these free flowing terminology into an explicit structure. Andrews also suggests that Ottoman cosmology was based upon a two-poled structure, which consisted of interior and exterior spaces. Each level of the cosmology was formed of interior and exterior spaces. Basically, this cosmology had an interior and an exterior; in which the interior realm was always superior to the exterior. (Tables 1-3)

The interior of the Universal World embodied the True Reality whose knowledge was inaccessible to the human Being. Exterior to it, there existed the World within which all creation was located. The World embodied the Typal world within its interior realm, and the Phenomenal world to its exterior. Typal world housed images that originated in the Universal World. However, these images were not direct depictions of the True reality, but they were distorted reflections of it. So, the accounts of the paradises, layers of above or below the earth, life of the prophets, legendary characters and ancient rulers resided in this Typal world.

The Typal world housed the main characters of “Persian tradition, Greek legends, in the pursuit of Ptolemy (Batlamyus), or individuals of the jewish mythology” like “Dârâ, Ferîdun, Nûşîrevân, İskender, Rüstem, Efrâsyâb, Sûhrâb, Siyâvûş, Keykubâd, Behrâm, Kahrâman-ı Kaatil, Süleyman, Âsaf, Hârûnürresîd, Fazl, Hâtem....”⁵³ These legendary characters were Faridun and Jamshid, kings of Iran; Khusraw and Bahram (Gur), rulers of the Sassanian dynasty; Bahman, known as Artaxerxes Longomanus; Dara, as Darius, the Achaemenid king; Rustam, son of Zal; Yusuf, son of Yakub; Kaykhusraw, the ruler of the Kayanids; Faruk, the Caliph Omer; Karrar, and Haydar, as Ali; Mani, the 3rd c. prophet of the Mani religion; Bihzad, the 15th c. Persian painter; Solomon, the legendary king.

The Phenomenal world was exterior to the Typal world, and it also had an exterior and an interior. Within the interior of the Phenomenal world, there was the House

⁵³ Gölpinarlı, *Nedim Divanı*, XXIII.

of Islam, and outside of it was the House of War. The House of Islam, had the Ottoman Empire central to it. Peripheral to this center was the other Islamic states. Within the House of Islam, the capital city of the Ottoman Empire was the centre, and other provinces were peripheral. So, there was one ruling center, the capital city, which empowered all the land, within the rule of the Islamic Law. Even the capital city had an exterior and an interior. The palace was the interior, and the rest of the city as the exterior world. The residents of the palace, the ruling elite, Sultan and his court was within the interior domain of the palace, were classified as *askerî*. They were spatially differentiated from the public who was exterior to the palace, and classified as *re'aya*. The palace, the space of the Sultan also had an interior and an exterior. The interior embodied the private life, and the exterior embodied the public life. The private life was practiced in the gardens, and it displayed the emotional side of individual world. The exterior domain of the space of the Palace was associated with the public service activities of the ruling court which housed the public ceremonies and assemblies. The garden of the Sultan also had an interior and an exterior. The interior was the individual Self, and the exterior was the garden itself. And the human breast which housed the human heart was the interior realm of the Self, and the whole human Body with the exception of heart was the exterior.

Thus this cosmology placed society within a religious, imperial, and social ordering, where the hierarchy was precisely defined covering all the domains of spiritual, ideological, social, cultural, and individual worlds. Each world was interiorized by another expanding domain superior to the former one. Consecutively, each world unfolded into another domain. From the individual heart to God, each and every thing belonging to different levels of Creation was defined.

However unified this construction seems to be, with all its elements ordered in an unchanged strict hierarchy, it embodied diverse worlds. Walter Andrews, reading the genre of Ottoman *gazel* poetry, deconstructs this seemingly unified structure mainly into three different worlds. This deconstructive attitude enables the reading of each different world in reference to different sources that made up the Ottoman society and culture, and at times which could lead to contradictory results.

These three worlds, as Andrews suggests, expressed the “mystical-religious voice”, “voice of power and authority” and “voice of emotion” that matched to the three domains of existence; “the universal,” “the earthly” and “the personal.”⁵⁴ The relationship between these three domains suggests an intertextual study of Ottoman culture and society. In this way *gazel* poetry anchors the individual existence of the single person to the earthly authority, and then to the universal order, thus to religion.

The intertextual experience as a journey between the different realms begins in the heart of the individual. In the following example, the 16th c. poet Yahya expresses his individual experience and his emotions. He expresses his pain for the ultimate separation from the beloved. He intoxicates himself with wine. The poet uses the garden space and the garden ritual as a means to express his personal emotions.⁵⁵

Oh Saki, give me wine for the days of spring are soon gone out of hand
The time of the seal of the cup of pleasant tasting wine will soon be gone out of
hand

....

Oh Yahya, union with the Beloved is the motive of separation
Do not be heedless, for the skirt of union with the beloved goes from hand

The private garden is located within the dominion of the ruling authority. The poet as an individual and the garden he uses as medium are anchored to the power of the Sultan within the cosmological hierarchy. Repeatedly, in many *gazels*, the eminence of the monarch is asserted:⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Andrews, *Poetry's voice, society's song*, 62-142; 152.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.

I am the monarch of love, the smoke and sparks of sighs
Have become a gold parasol over me in the wilderness of grief

....

Since I came to realize the amazement of the secret of loving you, oh Monarch!
The wind of annihilation has turned the structure of my body to dust

The garden of the monarch was imagined in the center of the garden of Islam, in which the beloved addressed would be the God in his unparalleled, unimaginable, and inconceivable being, greatness and beauty:⁵⁷

The people of the world are on one side, this impassioned one on another
I will not give up being near to you for all the world

If you say never let anything harm perfect beauty
Oh, ruler of the world, do not withdraw alone by yourself, like the sunset

Though they looked they did not find anything matching your graceful way of
walking

The tree of Paradise went one way, the heart captivating cypress went another

Each one of these levels of Ottoman cosmography was acknowledged as a space, as the world, the house, the city, the palace, and the garden. And each one of the interiorized spaces could be illustrated with gardens as metaphors and explicit examples of the respective category. The security and ideal of the garden analogy was practiced in all levels of hierarchy. The interior of the garden embodied all blissful qualities. The world of the garden was considered as a perfect mimesis of

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 75.

the divine order, and of the Ottoman court, who considered itself as the representative of the Divine order on this world.

The Ottoman *gazel*s each constructed a garden in poetry in accordance to Arabi's discussions about the realm of imagination as a garden. These gardens representing ideal gardens of the cosmology, or the real gardens of the city, became spaces where imagination, the highest of all the cognitive faculties, was practiced. Thus every reference to another different garden, in a single *gazel* poem carried the poet, or his listeners to another level of the cosmic hierarchy. In these gardens made out of the words of the *gazel*, the individual Self had to put into practice the his cognitive powers of his imagination.

Each garden in the cosmic hierarchy was made out of signs: gardens of eight paradises, the myths of the House of Islam, Sultans of the Palace, friends, music, dance, intoxicification, wine-server, and natural elements of the private garden. Each was a sign used together with others in constructing the poetry of the private garden party. A hero from a love story was a sign just like a single Arabic letter. The stature of the beloved could for instance be portrayed by depicting the body as the letter *elif* in the Arabic alphabet; or as the *tuba tree* of the Paradise Garden.

Since, the imagery of the *gazel* poetry was an established set of conventions, the poet used elements whose symbolism was fixed by the literary tradition. These sets of fixed images became sets of signs. By the development of the genre of *gazel* in Ottoman poetry, each sign engaged in a static relationship between the signifier, the word and the signified, as its meaning. Thus, by the establishment of tradition, signs, chosen from the pre-determined set were comprehensible to all those who cited enjoyed or *gazel* poems. The use of signs in such an illustrative manner, which did not allow any representation, prohibited the artist to claim an interest in the production of knowledge. Each sign was chosen from the interiorized worlds, the gardens of each cosmic level.

Each garden became a representation of the promised paradise garden. Sandys, who traveled to the Ottoman Empire and to Istanbul in the early 17th c., illustrated the concept of the Islamic paradise garden:⁵⁸

It is to be more than conjectured; that Mahomet grounded his devised Paradise, upon the Poets invention of Elisium. For thus *Tibullus* describeth the one:

*For that my heart to love still easily yields,
Love shall conduct me to the Elisian fields.
There songs and dances revel: choice birds flie
From tree to tree, warbling sweet melody.
The wild shrubs bring forth Cassia: every where
The bounteous soil doth fragrant Roses bear.
Youths intermixt with Maids disport at ease,
Incountering still in loves sweet skirmishes.*

And Mahomet promiseth to the possessors of the other, magnificent Palaces spread all over with Silk Carpets, flowry Fields, and crystalline Rivers; Trees of Gold still flourishing, pleasing the eye with other goodly forms, and the taste with their fruits;

*Which being pluckt, to others place resign
And still the rich twigs with metal shine.*

Under whole fragrant shades they shall spend the course of their happy time with amorous virgins, who shall alone regard their particular Lovers: not such as have lived in this world; but created of purpose; with great black eyes, and beautiful as the Hyacinth. They daily shall have their lost Virginities restored; ever young, (continuing there, as here at fifteen, and the man as at thirty) and ever free from natural pollutions. Boys of divine shall minister unto them, and let before them all variety of delicate Viands.

⁵⁸ Sandys, George (1578 – 1644) *Sandys travels, containing an history of the original and present state of the Turkish Empire...A Relation of a Journey begun An Dom: 1610 Fovre Books the sixt edition* London: Printed for Philip Chetwin, 1610, 7th ed (London: Printed for J. Williams Junior, 1673), 46.

There were two different features that enabled the intertextuality of the *gazel* genre. First one, as discussed above, is the presence of the seemingly unified fusion of the three realms of the religious, political, and the personal worlds. This view suggests an interiorized reference system that made use of interior spaces of Ottoman cosmology, thus the gardens of all levels. Gazel poems enabled to compare and associate all the interior spaces, especially the gardens of the cosmological hierarchy to one another. These gardens include the gardens of paradise, gardens of Islam, gardens of the worldly authority, private gardens, and even the breast of the human being in which the heart resides as if in a garden. The private garden became a space where the friends of the assembly meet and enjoy themselves, converse, recite poetry, in the background with the *Tuba* Tree, the *Kevser* river of the Paradise *And*, and the legendary characters of *Iskender*, *Yusuf*, *Leyla* or *Noah*. Poetry enabled the juxtaposition of the different layers of the cosmic order. The private garden unfolded into the other gardens, enabled a journey within all the interiorized spaces of the cosmology.

The best example to illustrate the association of the different orders of the cosmological order is a Persian miniature painting from the 16th c. Divan of Hafiz (Figure 38). The painting titled “The Allegory of Drunkenness” (Private collection, TL 17443-5) illustrates a “ceremonial ritual” of the mystics in a garden.⁵⁹ While the intoxicated mystics are dancing, playing music and conversing in the garden below, the angels are enjoying themselves and getting intoxicated at the roof terrace above the garden. Both the mystics and the angels quest for the divine knowledge, and both of the spaces that they reside, the garden and the skies can be compared to one another.

⁵⁹ Angelis, and Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Painting*, 20-21; *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*, ed. by Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom (New Haven: Trustees of Dartmouth College, 1991).

This intertextual association and comparison of different interior spaces of different hierarchical levels done by calling attention to similarities is called *tashbîh*. In mysticism, it stands for the act of attaining divine knowledge through studying the similarities of all the creation. Ibn 'Arabi explains *tashbîh* as a means to draw similarities between the unity of True Knowledge, and its reflections in the multiplicity of things created.⁶⁰

The second method used is the opposite of the arts of *tashbîh*. It is the exercise of trying to identify the beloved by pointing out the qualities that he does not embody. It is called *tanzîh*. Where *tashbîh* is comparison with respect to similarities, *tanzîh* is comparison with respect to differences. *Tanzîh* is also a common term used in mystic philosophy. *Tashbîh* admits that all things are reflections of the divine being, and thus their qualities can be compared. However, the arts of *tanzîh* practice the differences between things created and the divine being asserting their dissimilarity and incomparability. 'Arabi explains *tanzîh* as a means to attain knowledge by studying its opposites.⁶¹ Thus divine knowledge can be attained both by means of *tashbîh* and *tanzîh*. 'Arabi identifies the intermediary realm of the garden as a curtain that veils divine knowledge. Thus contemplating the images on this veil to understand what it veils is called *tashbîh*. However the images reflected on this metaphorical curtain does not actually stand for what is behind it. This consciousness is called *tanzîh*.⁶²

His words are correct that there is "what no eye has seen" in the "Garden," that is, in the "curtain" –on the basis of the metaphorical interpretation, not exegesis. Were an eye to see it, it would not be curtailed. Were someone to see it, he would speak about it and it would be "heard." Were it heard, it would be limited. Were it limited, it would pass into his heart and be known.

⁶⁰ Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 12; 16; 91; 149; 169; *The Sufi Path*, 68-76.

⁶¹ Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 8;13; 53; 106-107; *The Sufi Path*, 68-76.

⁶² Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 106-107.

This is an affair that veils us from Him through a veil that is not known, for He is in the curtain called “the Garden.” Since his Entity is identical with the curtain, nothing veils us save the fact that we see a curtain, so our aspiration attaches itself to what is behind the curtain, that is, the curtained. This comes to us from us, and nothing makes us do it save *tanzîh*. Hence along with *tanzîh* the prophets brought the attributes of *tashbîh*, so that these might make the affair nearer to the people and call the attention of those who are nearest to God- those who are in nearness itself along with the veil of the actual situation. Thus, in calling attention through *tashbîh* is lifting of the coverings from the eyesight, and the eyesight comes to be qualified as “piercing,” just as does the eyesight of the person near death. God says, *We have unveiled from you your covering, so your eyesight today is piercing* (50:22). The person near death sees what those who sit with him do not. He reports to his sitting companions what he sees and perceives and he reports truthfully, but those present see nothing, just as they do not see the angels and spirituals who are with them in the same session.

The arts of *tanzîh* in poetry suggested the definition of the garden space and all the qualities it stands for by means of its opposites. The below verses from the 16th c. poet Zati’s *gazel* are a good example to explain the arts of *tanzîh*.⁶³

*Kaşı med kaddi elif yâruñ öñinde Zâtî
Düşmanuñ kâmetini dâl idüben ad itdüm*

is translated as;

Before the beloved, with her eyebrow like a *med* and body like an *elif*
By bending the enemy’s body like a *dal*, I made a name for myself

These verses suggest that the poet tries to identify the garden space and everything it houses by things that are actually exterior to the garden space. In this particular example, the poet makes use of the body of the enemy from outside the

⁶³ Andrews, *Poetry’s voice, society’s song*, 173.

garden. Zati uses the form of the enemy's body and molds it into a new form that stands for his own name.

Andrews suggests that the poet's use of an element outside the protected world of the private garden was a very common tradition. Thus, gazel poems, depicting the protected ideal worlds of the Ottoman cosmology, the interior spaces of the ideal gardens; also suggested the presence of other spaces exterior to them. According to Andrews, this way of giving exterior reference to an interior realm, had become one of the most important motives of Ottoman poetic tradition. It also suggested the existence of opposing worlds, the interior and the exterior, to acknowledge and to explain one another.

Returning back to Yahya's *gazel* already quoted, by illustrating the wine serving "Saki", "pleasant tasting wine" served, wine "cup" and "days of spring," the poem portrays the blessed qualities of the interior space, the garden, and as well the private garden party. However, the poet also reminds their temporality, suggesting their absence in the exterior world. In the next two verses, Yahya uses the word of the "Beloved" and the "union" with the terms of "separation" and "going from hand". Here he again suggests the ideal concept of the union with the Beloved within the garden as opposed to the absence of this union in the exterior realm.⁶⁴

Oh Saki, give me wine for the days of spring are soon *gone out of hand*
The time of the seal of the cup of pleasant tasting wine will soon be *gone out of*
hand

....

Oh Yahya, union with the Beloved is the motive of *separation*
Do not be heedless, for the skirt of union with the beloved *goes from hand*

This action of referring the interior and exterior realms is even more obvious in Necati's gazel with mystic and religious connotations. Here, in order to express his

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 123.

love for the Beloved, Necati compares Him, “the impassioned one” to the “people of the world.” He uses the opposing terms of “harm” of the exterior realm together with the “beauty” of the interior. He compares the imaginary posture of God, the beloved and his “graceful way of walking” to the humble postures of the “tree of Paradise” and “the heart captivating cypress.” Necati simply illustrates the perfect realm of God as an interior domain, to the imperfect realm of the world, which is the exterior domain.⁶⁵

*The people of the world are on one side, this impassioned one on another
I will not give up being near to you for *all the world**

*If you say never let anything harm perfect beauty
Oh, ruler of the world, do not withdraw alone by yourself, like the *sunset**

Though they looked they did not find anything matching your graceful way of walking

The tree of Paradise went one way, the heart captivating cypress went another

The best example to illustrate the association of the opposing domains of the cosmological hierarchy is a painting from the 16th c. Persian miniatures from Sultan Ibrahim Mizra's *Haft Awrang* (folio 179b).⁶⁶ This painting portrays the interior-exterior duality explicitly (Figure 39).

The painting shows a garden enclosed by high brick walls. Inside the walls there is a blissful garden planted with cypresses, fruit trees and all kinds of flowers. Exterior, the painting depicts a beggar who represents the misery of the outside world. The owner of the garden invites a “city-dweller” to his garden to attend a garden party. In the background, beautiful young boys enjoy a garden party. The city-dweller who is surprised by the beauty of the garden gets jealous. Instead of

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁶⁶ Simpson, *Persian Poetry, Painting and Patronage*, 52-53.

attending the garden party, he damages the garden. He tries to tear down the trees and breaks their branches. The city-dweller is dressed as a vulgar person, while the owner of the garden is well-dressed and elegant.

This painting clearly portrays the two opposite domains of the cosmological hierarchy, the interior and the exterior. The interior realm is symbolized by a paradise like garden and it houses all the blissful and superior qualities. The interior world is prosperous. The ones inside the garden are well-mannered and beautiful. The exterior realm is symbolized by the deprived city and it houses all the deprived and inferior qualities. The ones in the exterior realm are bad-mannered and hideous.

REAL SPACES

The Sultan's palace was a well protected garden symbolizing his authority. It displayed imperial power in its gardens. All the elements within the imperial garden add up to the representation of the paradise garden on earth, ruled by the Ottoman Sultan. Other places, other imperial gardens and imperial mosques also displayed the power of the Ottoman rule by using garden metaphors. Thus, each one of the spaces commissioned by the Ottoman court became expressions of the imperial power and the Ottoman cosmology that anchored earthly order to the celestial order; subjects of the Sultan to his rule.

Evliya Çelebi narrates that there were forty imperial gardens, but he only lists about twenty of them as the foremost known gardens: Sarayburnu "has bahçe" with eighty thousand gardeners, Fitneköy Garden built during the Beyazıd II (1481-1512); gardens of Siyavuş Paşa, Davud Paşa, Silivri, Harami River, İskender Çelebi, and Halkalı Garden built by Architect Sinan on the European side during the sultanate of Süleyman I (1520-1566); Tokat, Sultaniye, Çubuklu, Kandilli, Haydarpaşa gardens on the Asian side; İstavroz, Üsküdar, Fener gardens built by

architect Sinan; Mir-gûne Garden in Kağıthane built by Murad IV (1623-1640); Tersane Garden, Karaağaç Gaden, Dolmabahçe, Büyükdere, and Çamlıca gardens. The imperial Tersane Garden was located in Hasköy, and was a favorable site since the Byzantine period. Evliya Çelebi describes the garden with many pavilions, pools, fountains, rooms, and records that twelve thousand cypress trees were planted on this imperial garden in grid pattern. Fatih Sultan Mehmed had planted seven cypresses himself. Tokat and Sultaniye gardens of the Sultan were located at Beykoz. Fatih Sultan Mehmed, who heard the news about the capture of Tokat while he was hunting in Beykoz, ordered the building of a garden “similar to the Garden of Iram” to be named as the “Garden of Tokat.” Evliya Çelebi records that a low pavilion, pool and an ornamental fountain was built at the site which was surrounded by fenestration similar to the city walls of Tokat. Evliya gives us evidence that the garden was probably located on a hillside that was approached by a road in the valley, with trees planted on both sides. Further down in the valley, there were other promenades; Akbaba Sultan, Âl-i Bahâdır, Alemdağı, Koyun Korusu, Yûşâ nebi. The sultaniye Garden, described as a “rosegarden similar to the paradise” by Evliya Çelebi, was built by Beyazıd II (1481-1512) on the shoreline of Bosphorus. During the sultanate of Murad III (1574-1595), a pavilion was constructed with the building materials of a former pavilion that was located in one of the Turcoman provinces close to Tabriz. A commanders of Murad III had had carried all these materials from the east and presented the dome, windows, window frames and shutters of the Turcoman pavilion to the Sultan. The new pavilion, which had illustrative paintings of animals, and other “artful” decorations inside was overlooking the sea, and was surrounded by a garden⁶⁷.

Ogier de Busbecq, who had been to Istanbul several times during the period of 1554-1562 records his excursions in Istanbul and its environs. In 1555, he

⁶⁷ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, vol 1.

accounts for lavender fields at Üsküdar⁶⁸ and describes imperial “country-houses” and “parks”.⁶⁹

I had a delightful excursion, and was allowed to enter several of the Sultan's country-houses, places of pleasure and delight. On the folding doors of one of them I saw a vivid representation of the famous battle of Selim against Ismael, King of Persia. I also saw numerous parks belonging to the Sultan situated in charming valleys. What homes for the Nymphs! What abodes of the Muses! What places for studious retirement!

Salomon Schweigger, who traveled to Istanbul in the late 16th c. also recorded the numerous imperial gardens of Istanbul, and the Sultan's travels to these gardens by the imperial boat.⁷⁰ Lubenau who traveled to Istanbul at the end of the 16th c. also accounts for numerous gardens along the Bosphorus.⁷¹

On my tour I saw on both shores of Bosphorus many exquisite and beautiful gardens built in the Turkish manner with palaces (palatio) and pleasure houses (lustheuser), which were planted with exteremly beautiful tulips (tulipanis) in a medley of colors and an abundance of Turkish flowers. These gardens and palaces, which lie beneath beautiful mountains and hills, belong to the pashas and grandees...

From a 16th c. anonymous European album (*a watercolor (1588) from Oxford University, Bodleian Library, ms. Bod. Or. 430, fol. 2r.*) Necipoğlu identifies seven gardens along the Bosphorus, both on the European and the Asian sides; the Topkapı Palace gardens planted with cypresses, Üsküdar Garden surrounding the

⁶⁸ *The Turkish Letters of Ogier de Busbecq Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554-1562*, tran. From the Latin Elzevier Edition of 1633 by E. S. Forster (Oxford, UK: The Clarendon Press, 1968, c. 1927), 43.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

⁷⁰ Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in *Gardens in the Time of Great Muslim Empires*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden, New York; Koln: Brill, 1997), 32-33.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

Kavak Palace built in 1550's out of independent kiosks and pavilions, Tower Garden at Çengelköy, Kandilli Garden, Karabali Garden at Kabataş built during the reign of Sultan Selim (1566-74), gardens of the Palace of the Grand Admiral Hasan Pasha at Beşiktaş, and royal gardens at Rumelihisarı. The Tower Garden (Kule Bahçesi) and the Sultaniye Kiosk were both dated to the time of Süleyman I. The Tower Garden which was used as a hunting garden mainly, was deconstructed in 1722 and stones from its walls were reused in the construction of the Sadabad Palace at Kağıthane. Antoine Galland who traveled to Istanbul in 1672-73, was impressed by the splendor and original plan of the Sultaniye kiosk and described it as "This pavillion has no equal in the world, it owes its beauty to its position at the edge of the sea." ⁷²

The Topkapı Palace is an example for the garden of worldly authority. From the most private to the most public, the palace is made out of three enclosed courtyards. At the end of the third courtyard, there are two passages to a cascaded garden. The top part of the cascaded garden is a continuation of the Sultan's Private lodge, his living quarter, known as the Privy Chamber (Figures 55-58).

A larger garden surrounds the whole palace complex, including the cascaded private garden of the Sultan, stretching from the central palace complex to the outer periphery defined by the fortified walls of the palace, *Sur-i Sultani* of 1400 meters, which forms the boundary between the city (both the built fabric, and the sea, Golden Horn and the Marmara) and the central palace complex.

The gardens, like the palace are refurbished with all kinds of macrocosmic references, in an attempt to embody all the gardens of the macrocosmic hierarchy, from the Universal world, to the individual world. Just like the walls surrounding the whole complex had twenty-eight towers resembling the twenty-eight days of the moon calendar, the fourth court, as the most private garden of the Sultan, attached to his bedroom complex, the Privy Chamber was once surrounded by a perforated

⁷² *Ibid.*, 37.

wall which had seven belvedere towers, again associating the space with astrological connotations. The private garden of the Sultan embellished with pavilions and belvedere towers, located on the top of a cascaded garden, refers both to the story of the Persian legend Bahram Gur's love stories in seven pavilions within an imperial garden as depicted in the Haft Paykar⁷³, and to the hanging gardens of Babylon.

The resemblance of the palace garden to the Paradise Garden, or to the King Solomon's Garden of Iram was repeated many times by the Ottoman historians, and poets.⁷⁴ The 15th c. historian Idris Bidlisi illustrates the Sultan and his pages, and his harem, enjoying the terraced gardens ornamented with all kinds of fountains, vineyards, and pavilions, that the gardens resemble the heavenly Paradise Garden adorned with all kinds of wonders, in which the *houris* and *ghilman* enjoy themselves. Evliya Çelebi cites this garden as the "Garden of Iram", built and organized surrounding the whole palace complex, in which "twenty thousand cypress, plane, juniper, and pine trees, box plants had been planted together with hundreds of fruit trees."⁷⁵ Other historians, Tursun Bey, Kemalpaşazade, poets Cafer Çelebi, and Hamidi compares the gardens of the

⁷³ In the legendary story of Haft Paykar, which main character, the emperor Bahram Gur travels in his imperial gardens, visiting his seven lovers, each day of the week, who are living in seven different pavilions of seven different colors of black, yellow, silvery green, red, turquoise blue, sandal-wood colored, white pavilions. The weekly journey of Bahram Gur symbolizes the Sufi idea regarding the "progress of soul" through seven stages. So each pavilion visited one after another on consequent days of the week addresses to the seven planets (Saturn, sun, moon, mars, mercury, Jupiter, venus) establishing a macrocosmic order within which the soul progresses from darkness to purification. Grace Guest, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, DC: The Lord Baltimore Press), 43-44

⁷⁴ Gülru Necipoğlu *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 201.

⁷⁵ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 1, 113-114.

palace to the Paradise garden, referring to the different elements that made up the garden. The well watered garden with its decorated fountains, marble pools; with a variety of flowers, roses, cultivated and wild tulips, hyacinth, jasmine, fragrant herbs, and fruit trees, cypresses, and pines occupying the same garden with floral ornamentations of the lavishly decorated pavilions located freely in the garden resemble the Paradise Garden.⁷⁶

The palace garden was also the garden of Islam itself. The garden was used for the expression of the imperial power, embracing elements of all the different worlds, as a collection of all the natural and cultural realms, which the Ottoman rule covers. This garden called “Paradise Garden” by many historians and poets, had different artifacts symbolizing the lands captured. It was recorded that Mehmed II had built three pavilions on the west side of the garden, overlooking the city and the Golden Horn, around a courtyard called Kumlu Meydan. These three pavilions were believed to symbolize the three kingdoms, which the Ottoman embodies, and named after the three kingdoms of the Greek, the Turkish, and the Persian. Similarly Revan Köşk was completed in 1636, after the capture of Erivan, captured in 1653. Bagdat Köşk was built after the second capture of Baghdad in 1638. Similarly, when the Ottoman culture was under the influence of European cultures, Mecidiye Köşk was designed in European style, built by Abdülmecid, in the late 19th century.⁷⁷

The garden also accommodated Byzantine heritage with a display of several artifacts and architecture like, monastery of St. Demetrius, a Byzantine chapel - probably the Church of St. John, the column of Goths and various sarcophagi.

The natural world ruled under the Ottoman rule was also displayed in the gardens. The three worlds of the natural realm, the minerals, animals, and plants were also a part of the garden. There were a variety of animals, wild or tamed, that were kept

⁷⁶ Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, 201.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 201.

in different parts of the bigger garden surrounding the palace complex in three dimensions. Domesticated birds, fowls, deer, does, roe deer, foxes, hares, sheep, goats, Indian cows were among the kind of animals to be found in the palace gardens. In a special marshy pond, there were ducks and geese. The horses were kept in the stables.⁷⁸

There were many kinds of plants, including fruit trees and vegetables. Just like the flowers were sold together with baskets of fruits in the market, outside the palace, fruit trees were occupying the same garden with the various kinds of tulips, roses, hyacinth, and carnations. Various types of these flowers are known that had been imported from other provinces outside Istanbul, by order of the Sultan.⁷⁹ Flowers were mainly grown in beds surrounded by red wooden fences. Different flowers of different colors were cultivated within the same bed. The flowers were also a part of the imperial collection, the treasury. Orange trees and grape vines were among the most preferred fruits. Travelers accounted for different types of grapes grown in the palace garden that it was possible to taste from the variety of grapes every season.

The palace garden had its own ecology. The interior of it was considered as a depository of all the territory – in terms of nature and culture, under the Ottoman-Islamic rule. Second it was a stage for the display of the new character of the Ottoman authority, compiled from the Persian, Greek, and Turkish cultures. Third,

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 201.

⁷⁹ Ahmet Refik cites two imperial orders in the late 17th century requesting for the import of 50,000 white, and 50,000 sky colored hyacinth (gök sümbül soğanı) bulbs from the plains and mountains of Maraş, 400 kantar red rose (kırmızı gül) and 300 kantar white rose (sakız gülü) to the gardens of the Palace; Ahmet Refik, *Hicri Onbirinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı* (1000-1100) (Istanbul: Devlet Matbassı, 1931), 3, 9. Earlier accounts from the era of Süleyman I accounts for the orders to bring in tulip bulbs from Caffa (1527-28); pomegranate trees from Aleppo and Diyarbakır. Another financial record of 1579 cites importing hyacinth bulbs from Uzeyr; Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, 202.

it accommodated garden spaces, where the Sultan would host parties overlooking the rest of the city, from the belvederes, or pavilions built in the new Ottoman heritage. Fourth, it included the Sultan's most private garden, entered from his bedroom, the Privy Chamber, where he enjoyed himself with his household. The Sultan would expel gardeners from gardens, when he wanted to enjoy privacy with his concubines.

The interior of the garden space was a dynamic world in harmony. This harmony was maintained partially by the service of the gardeners of about 200 young men in total. These gardeners were grouped into nine corps, each one identified with a different colored belt. The dormitory located within the walls surrounding the palace.⁸⁰

The best example to illustrate Zati's poetic artistry is the building of a pavilion in the gardens of the palace, whose style is composed as an eclectic composition out of the styles of the imperial friends and enemies of the Ottoman. It is still debatable whether the kiosk resembling a paradise in the garden refers to this or that culture. The Persian pavilion named the Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk, Sırça Saray*) completed in 1472, was built in the style of the Timurid palaces with a cruciform plan, inscribed in Persian, and ornamented with the cut-tiles probably by Khurasani tile-cutters, or the masters of Tabriz who were brought from Tabriz. It was a large pavilion and some historians refer to it as a palace. The Tiled Pavilion resembles the Timurid Hast Bihest (Eight Paradises) in Tabriz, built in the honor of ruler Uzun Hasan of the Akkoyunlu Dynasty. As according to the accounts of travelers, it had narrative murals painted on its walls depicting "reception ceremonies, hunting scenes, military campaigns."⁸¹ It was used for the Sultan's parties.

⁸⁰ Each corp had a separate kitchen and a bath; Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, 207.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 217.

The below poem by Ahmed Pasha claims the Tiled Pavilion to be superior to the paradise garden:⁸²

O celestial pavilion! O exalted vault!
In every respect, the paradisaical sanctuary resembles its gate
There is no roof in heaven as prosperous as yours
There is no court in paradise as lofty as yours
The noble rank of your threshold is the exalted seat,
And your gate, the eternal destination, is the ultimate aim
The seven skies are a footing to your palace of ascent
The nine great (celestial) domes, a vault to your iwan
The cypress on your wall that the artist painted
Was likened to the Tuba Tree of Paradise
Is this a pool, or the fountain of the sun which warms the world?
Is this a court, or the polished glass which sees the world?

The garden was separated from the city by the hierarchical use of space within the palace complex and by walls. The palace walls were the literal boundary between the interior and the exterior of the garden space. They were built for reasons of security, for seclusion and privacy.

In *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyan*, Sinan acknowledges the role of architecture in the Muslim tradition. He asserts that like the Kaaba, architecture should guide the human being from the phenomenal world to the gardens of paradise. He stresses the architect's duty to lead the society through his architecture like building a bridge between the two worlds, here and after as "the bridge leading from this world to the

⁸² Hamadeh, "Architectural Sensibility," 226-27; translated from "Kaside beray-ı saray-ı cedid," dated 1456 or 1465.

gardens of paradise.”⁸³ Architecture becomes like a poem where each architectural element, either columns, fountains, domes, vaults or other elements act similar to words in a poem. Each element in space incites imaginative faculties and encourages the individual to pursue his quest for divine knowledge, similar to words which each initiates a journey between meaning and form. The below verses express the writer’s concern about poetry in a book of building:⁸⁴

Words are the fruits of the garden of meaning
Words are a river of exuberance
Words are meaningful and measured
Enchant whoever might listen
These are the words of generous men
He who is perfect appreciates the worth of the perfect man
Knowledge is a bottomless sea
Its accompaniment a bright pearl
Those who journey by ship find mother of pearl in the depths
Others gather pots and jars at its edge
If divers descend to the seabed
If they fill bags with pearls
Sometimes pearls of eternal beauty
Sometimes the flotsam of the sea is revealed
Likewise original poetry is the gift of God
Can every drop of April rain be a pearl
No poem is perfect and beyond reproach
No rose without thorns blooms in the world’s garden

⁸³ Sâî Mustafa Çelebi, *Book of Buildings Tezkiretü’l-Bünyan and Tezkiretü’l-Ebniye Memoirs of Sinan the Architect*, trans. by Hayati Develi (Istanbul: MAS Matbaacılık A.Ş., 2002), 29.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

Necipoğlu, also presents architect Sinan with qualities of a poet in reference to the tectonics of his architecture. Though her argument develops with different paradigms and concerns than this study, where she studies the eclectic style of the architect with his references to historical works of architecture like Hagia Sophia, her claim to consider the architect as a poet who refers to other poems, questions the association of the arts of poetry and the arts of space:⁸⁵

His imperial mosques can therefore be seen as architectural counterparts of emulative poems called *nazîres*, which were composed on the model of admired exemplars in order to invite a competitive comparison. Built during the Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire, they proclaim imperial achievement, the triumph of Islam, and the role of the architect in codifying the canons of a historically conscious architecture expressing a glorious epoch.

Şehzade Mosque “*Zehî â’lî binay-ı Cennet-âsâ*” completed in 1548, is compared to the “paradise” with its refreshing air and pure water.⁸⁶ The mosque is described having colorful vaults, which the architect compares to the rainbow, and its serene interior is compared to the delightful space of *mesire*. The progress of the construction and the high-rising domes are described similar to the waves of the sea.⁸⁷ The columns represent cypresses in a garden:⁸⁸

Do not mistake the marble pillars erected in the garden
They are cypresses of beloved countenance rising to watch

⁸⁵ Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, “The Emulation of Past in Sinan’s Imperial Mosques,” *Uluslararası Mimar Sinan Sempozyumu Bildirileri Ankara Ekim 1988* (Ankara: TTK, 1996), 177-189.

⁸⁶ Metin Sözen and S. Saatçi, *Mimar Sinan ve Tezkiret-ül Bünyan* (İstanbul: Emlak Bankası, 1989), 63.

⁸⁷ Sönmez, *Mimar Sinan*, 40-41; 60-62.

⁸⁸ Sâî Mustafa Çelebi, *Book of Buildings*, 43; Sözen and Saatçi, *Mimar Sinan*, 62.

Süleymaniye mosque is compared to a book. When the mosque is completed, the architect presents it to the Sultan as a book to guide the ones who are in quest for the divine knowledge.⁸⁹

Thank be my Sultan that God
Made for you an illustrious mosque
Take this, the key of the house of God
It is the guide to enlightened travelers
Each of its double doors is like a book
Through which surely a door will open for you

The building of the Süleymaniye mosque is again depicted with metaphors of paradise garden. The construction of the central space is compared to a cypress tree growing in the garden of Islam. The four columns supporting the main dome represent the four caliphs. The domes are described as similar to the waves decorating the sea, and its central dome similar to a painting drawn on the sky. Further the interior space of the mosque is illustrated as a beautiful garden of spring, where the colorful and ornamented glass of the windows similar to the rainbows as they glitter in different colors by the changing sunlight throughout the day.⁹⁰ The mosque is described as a paradise garden that would host the meeting of the lovers, thus the mystics, the friends of the divine being.⁹¹

The mosque has become a place where lovers of pleasure meet
A place like paradise that gladdens the spirit

Similarly, Selimiye Mosque in Edirne is also compared to paradise garden:⁹²

⁸⁹ Sâî Mustafa Çelebi, *Book of Buildings*, p. 75.

⁹⁰ Sönmez, *Mimar Sinan* , 50-51.

⁹¹ Sâî Mustafa Çelebi, *Book of Buildings*, 71.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 96.

Every corner is a (rose) garden of paradise, with spring adornments
Its cursive inscriptions like the river of *selsebil*

The praying time is also depicted with reference to a garden. The minarets are depicted as cypresses endowed with birds nests. The prayer's call as if sung by the angels is heard from these nests, like a nightingale's chanting in a rose garden:

When the beautiful angels of resounding voice gather
To nest like doves at the summit of the cypress trees
From all four minarets melodies in the modes of *neva* and *pençgâh*
Like nightingales invite the world to this rose garden

The tomb of Sultan Süleyman in the garden of Süleymaniye is accounted for as "a dome within the vineyards, fruit gardens, and rose plots, similar to the paradise garden"⁹³ Similarly, the inscription on the tomb of Murad III, which is located in the garden of Hagia Sophia, also identifies the space as a paradise garden.⁹⁴

There are also allusions to the paradise garden in the 17th c. Mosque of Sultan Ahmed I. In *Baharriye Kasidesi*, the Sultan Ahmet Mosque is cherished for giving more pleasure than a rose garden, or a *mesire*.⁹⁵ The below poem composes celebrates the entrance of the Sultan to the mosque, depicting the interior as a paradise garden:⁹⁶

How can I not call this place of worship the rose garden of paradise?
When seeing its form, the forlorn heart blossomed open like a rose

⁹³ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, 43.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁹⁵ Crane, *Risale-i Mimariye*, 73.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

The mosque is depicted with allusions to a real garden planted with cypresses, plane and fir trees, fruit trees and palm trees, with colorful flowers of tulips and jasmine, where at one of its corners there is a rose garden : ⁹⁷

It is like the garden of heaven to the community of worshipers
Its every joy-filled corner gives pleasure to the heart
The sacred excursion spot is a charming rose garden
Oh God, the flowers in the marble are the image of the beloved
Within are the flames of the lamps not tulips?
Is not the lamp a bush of Iram, are not the lights the leaf of the jasmine?
The spouted fountain is a caged nightingale
For like the nightingale, it continually produces a pleasing sound
Its columns in their stature are the cypress or the fir
The throne of the high *mahfil* is the spreading branch of the plane tree
Each of its columns is a tall palm trunk
And the appearance of its clusters of lamps is like fruits

In the *Essasiye Kaside* in *Risaletü-l Mimariye*, the architectural features of the mosque are compared to the elements of the typical world; sun, rainbow, stars, Mount Sinai, nightingale, and the rose garden:⁹⁸

Lightning struck the golden realm of the sun and the revolving sphere with gold
And caused the vault of heaven again to manifest a halo of light
The rainbow assumed the delightful form of the mihrab

....

You might suppose that Mount Sinai became an artfully fashioned *minbar*
In which illumination from God was made manifest
The lofty mountains became here and there rare *mahfils*
The beautiful-voiced *hafiz* is the nightingale of the rose garden

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 73-76.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 65.

The Sultan's breast is depicted as a garden, and his heart as a rose. The individual breast, which symbolizes the most private sphere in the cosmological hierarchy of gardens, is mentioned as a locale in the structure of spheres, where the space of the mosque is also depicted within the Garden of Islam:⁹⁹

May his heart blossom like an open bud
So long as the sun traverses the garden of this world

The mosque, the abode of Islam as protected by the Sultan is presented in the center of the world of Islam¹⁰⁰:

The world became like a mosque with its star candles
The sun and the moon are the two bright candles to the mosque of the world

....

The mosque of the ruler of the World made known his image
The Shadow of the unique and eternal God, His Majesty Sultan Ahmed

And as located in the city of Istanbul, which is considered as an interiorized space within the cosmological hierarchy:¹⁰¹

This abode became pleasant and airy like paradise
From time to time the gentle morning breezes visit it
Its qibla is the sea, it faces the Hippodrome
In addition on every side is the prosperity of the city and the bazaar
And beside the mosque there remain many more (fine) places (in the city)
Where quarters like that might be built and great cities might be

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 66.

What is left outside the circle of the House of Islam, are the non-believers, the rebels, or the heretics of other Islamic orders:¹⁰²

When, along with your majesty, they saw your success and faith and sword
Bans, and kings and unbelievers prostrated themselves before you
And if the heretic Shah accepts not the true religion
If he asks not forgiveness for his crime and mutiny
Our hope is that with the help of God severing his head
With the blow of a sword, the commander causes him to prostrate himself in
worship

In *Baharriye Kasidesi*, the space of the Sultan Ahmet mosque, referring to its decorations, the choice and quality of building materials, its architectural elements, and the underlying geometry, is depicted as being a “symbol” for the garden of paradise:¹⁰³

The entire artifice is naught but a symbol
In it are many of these unique sorts of creations

The interior space of the mosque with all its inscriptions is compared to a poem. The space, with the presence of the verse, is transformed into a paradise garden, similar to the perception of the other architectural features, which represent the natural elements of the Paradise. The author reminds the legendary poems that were written in gold, and hung from the door of Ka’ba, that were called the Suspended Odes.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 74.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 75.

Now those who see this pure verse (the mosque) would think it to be a garden plot
Purple violets became letters and the lily a scroll
This is not a garden plot but the Suspended Seven Odes

The verses inscribed within the dome within a circle represent the borders of the mosque and its perfected symbolism: ¹⁰⁵

None (but the Aga) can give such splendor to the flowers of the rose garden
He who seized the pen drew the border as though a compass were in hand
Let none write a single letter in addition to this description
Such rubbish would simply become a fetter to the rose garden

CONCLUSION

Private gardens and private garden parties anchored imperial authority and social hierarchy in order to sustain the social order. In this understanding, gardens were described as enclosed private spaces which stimulated imagination that would only serve to sustain a static cosmological order. Gardens and representations of gardens in different mediums, in the decoration of mosques, tombstones, and even clothing became symbols of imperial ideology, asserting imperial authority associated with divine power as asserted by the Shariah Law and practiced by the Ottoman monarchy.

Istanbul as the capital of the Ottoman Empire, planted with numerous gardens and decorated with representations of gardens and floral ornamentation, turned into a space of this ideological manifestation. It suggested the imperial and religious

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

spaces of the city as a paradise, as interior and blessed spaces of the cosmological hierarchy.

Garden rituals enabled real gardens to accommodate ideal gardens. Gazel poems read in garden rituals depicted imaginary gardens of other Near Eastern imperial traditions, as depicted in story books, Ottoman genealogies, and in different kinds of art form and as well brought ideal gardens of the Paradise as narrated in religious texts. Garden parties constantly referred to the real world as an exterior space. They created a duality between interior spaces and exterior spaces. Though garden rituals were considered to be activities to practice the faculty of imagination, their static order hindered novelty and innovation, failed supporting the development of individuality.

Table 1: Hierarchy in Ottoman Cosmology According to Walter Andrew’s Analysis of Ottoman Gazel Poetry

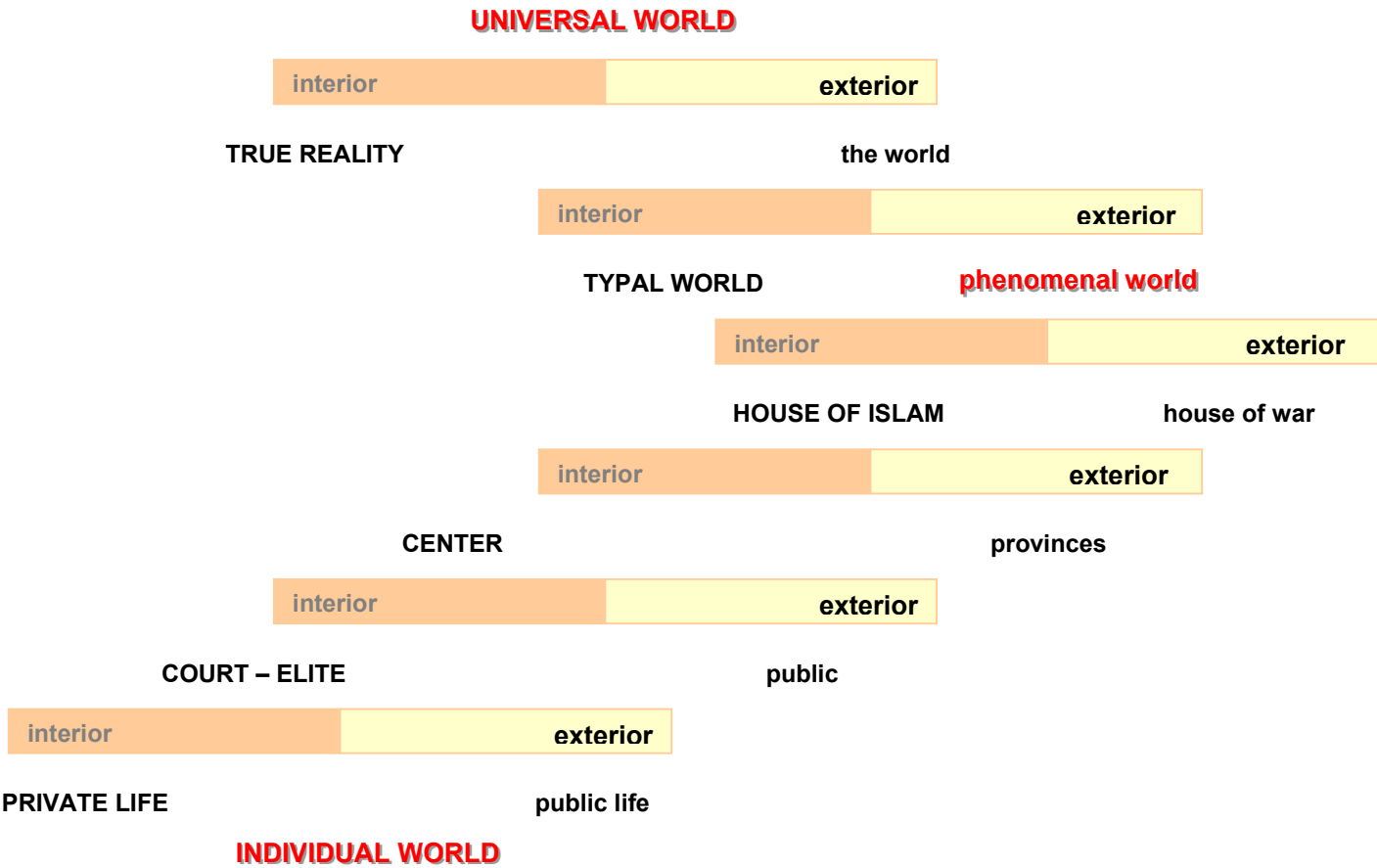


Table 2: Ideal Spaces of Ottoman Cosmology According to Walter Andrew’s Analysis of Ottoman Gazel Poetry

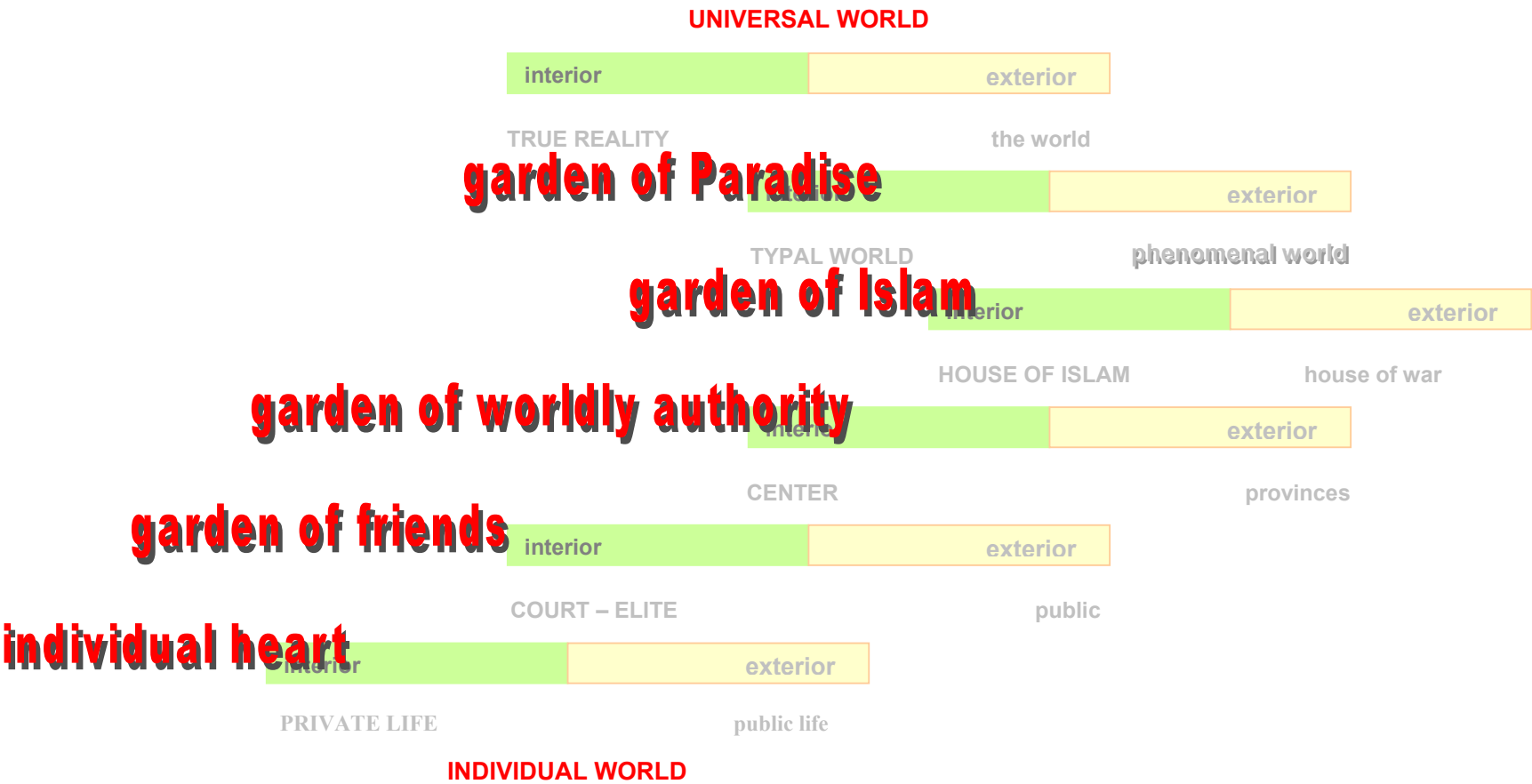


Table 3: Real Spaces of Classical Ottoman Cosmology According to Walter Andrew’s Analysis of Ottoman Gazel Poetry

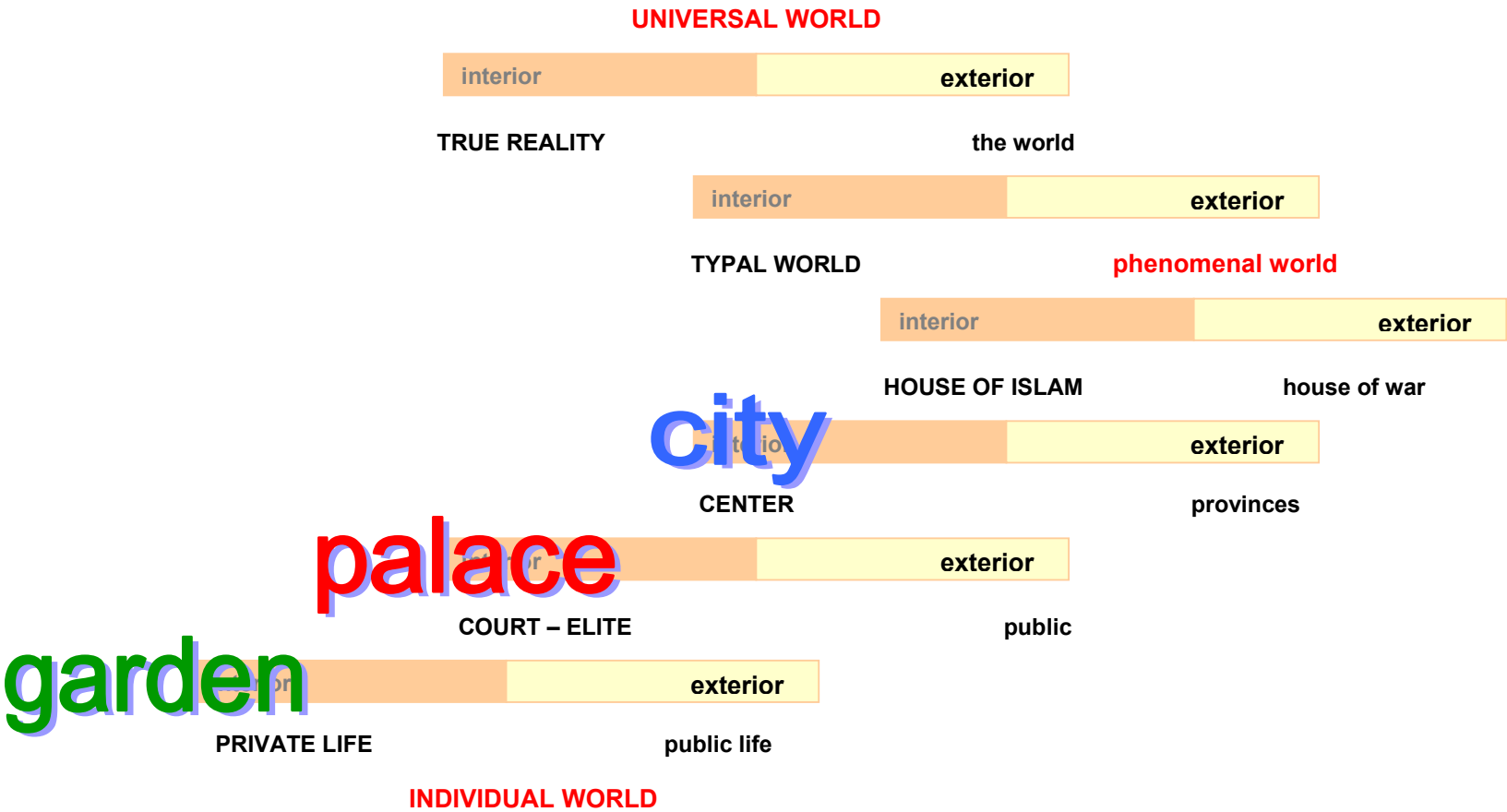


Table 4: An Example Illustrating the Arts of Gazel in Zati's Verses According to Walter Andrew's Analysis

Kaşı **med** kaddi **elif** yāruñ öñinde Zātī

Eyebrows like **med**

body like **elif**

whom Zati stands in front of

Düşmanuñ **kāmet**ini **dāl** idüben **ad** itdüm

Bending enemy's

body

like a **dāl**

I did make a

name

for my fame

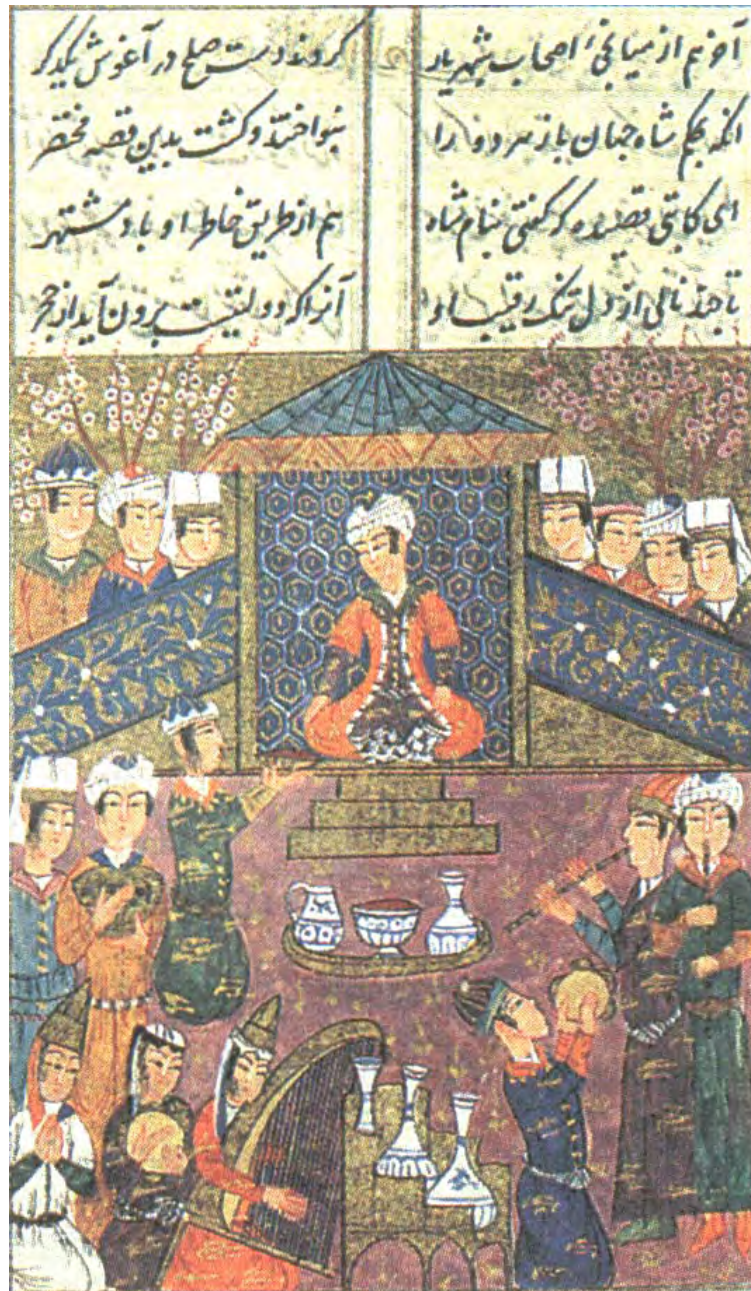


Figure 22.

"Sultan's garden party," in *Külliyyât-ı Kâtibî* (1444-1481), TSM R. 989, folio 93a, reproduced from Tanındı, *Türk Minyatür Sanatı*, 9.



Figure 23.

“Garden party at the Edirne Palace,” in *Hamse-I Hüsrev Dehlevî I* (1498), TSM H799, folio 186b, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 232.



Figure 24.

“Paper Cut Garden” (detail), in *Efşancı Mehmed Album* (1565), IÜK F1426, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 73.



Figure 25.

"Sultan Süleyman and his son enjoying a garden party," in *Süleymanname* (1520-1566), TSM H1517, folio 477b, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 156.



Figure 26.

"The Amir Osman with his court," from Private Collection of Hans P. Kraus (Istanbul, c. 1550), folio 56b, reproduced from Grube, *Islamic Paintings*, 224.

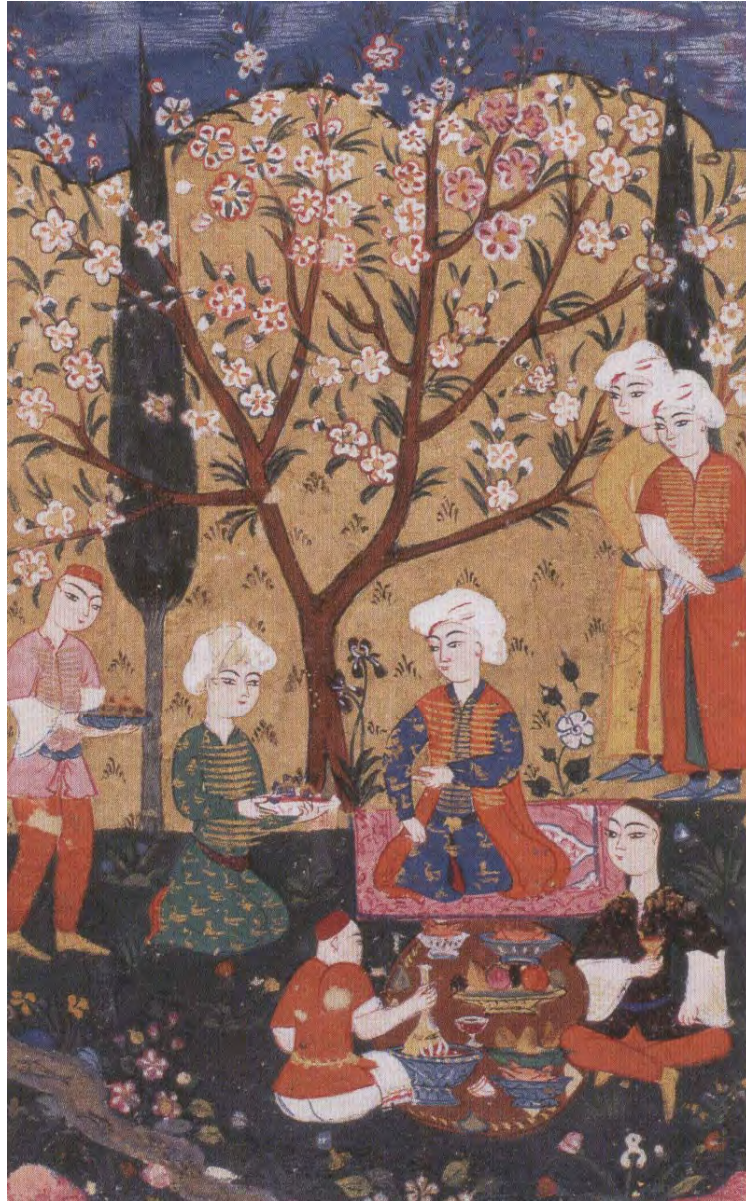


Figure 27.

"Garden party,"

in *Album of Ahmed I* (1603-1617), TSM B408, folio 16a, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 50.

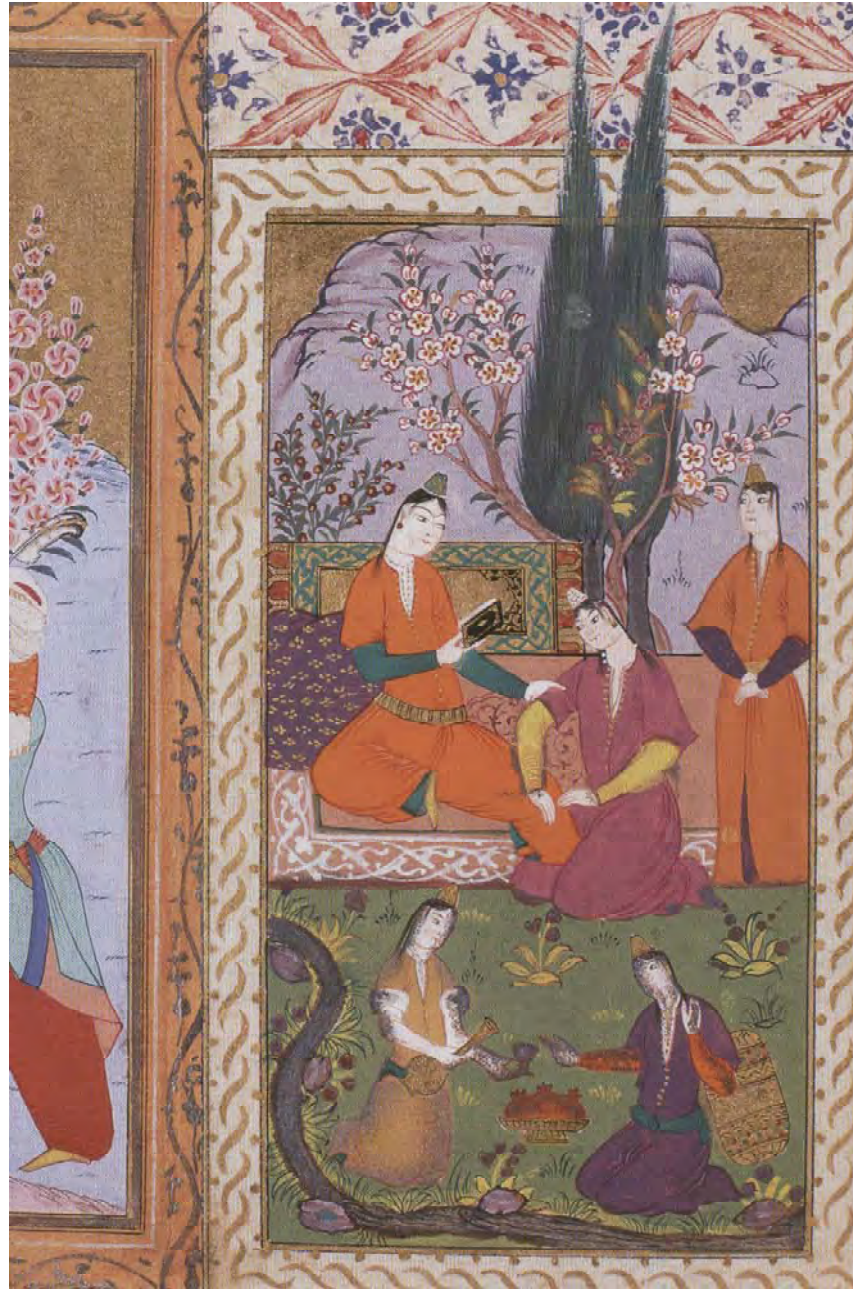


Figure 28.

"Harem enjoying a garden party," in *Album of Ahmed I* (1603-1617), TSM B408, folio 14a, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 158.



Figure 29.
 "Garden party," in *Album of Ahmed I* (1603-1617), TSM B408, folio 19a,
 reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 157.



Figure 30.

"Poetry reading at a meadow," in *Album of Ahmed I* (1603-1617), TSM B408, folio 28a, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 159.



Figure 31.

"Sultan Murad IV hosts a garden party," in *Album of Ahmed I* (1603-1617), TSM H21488, folio 11b, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 71.

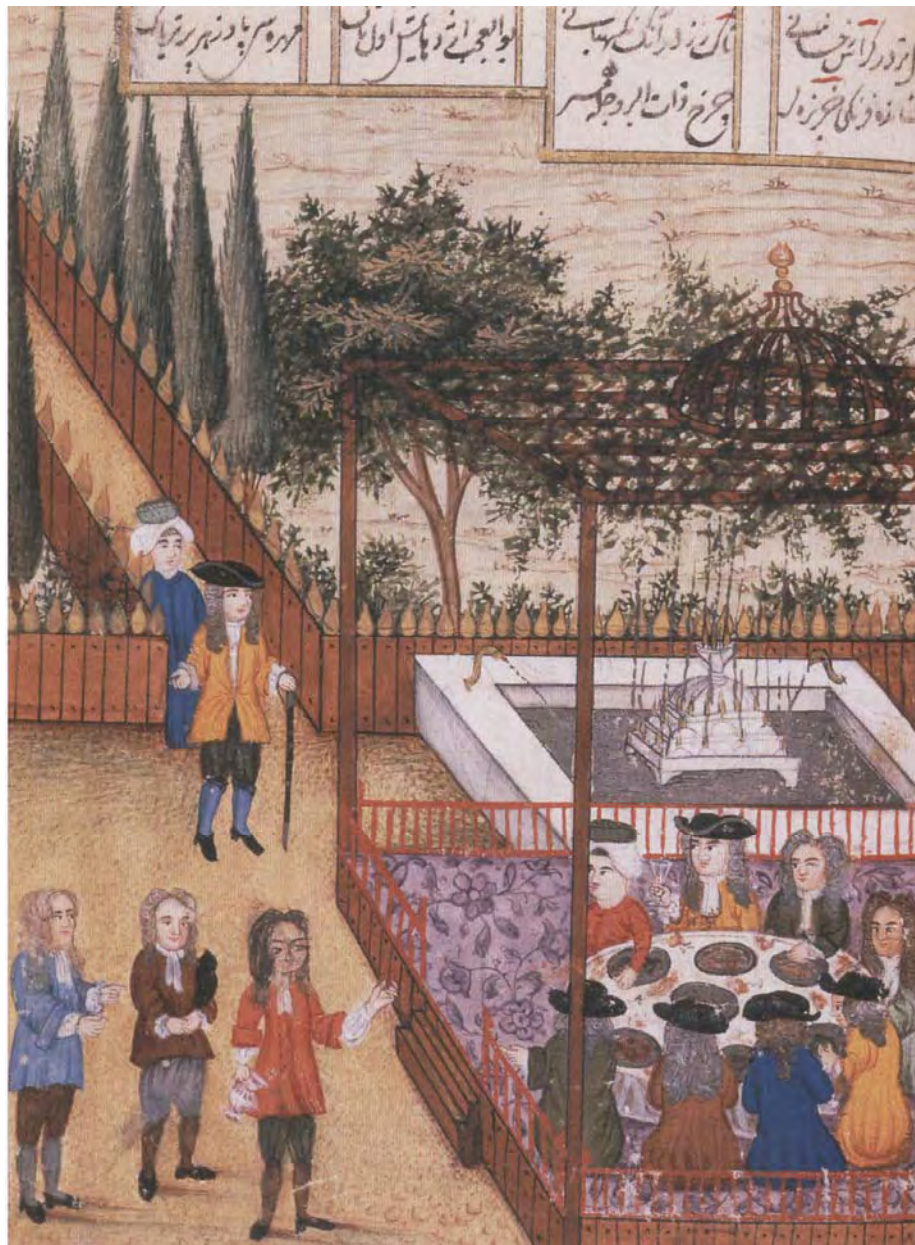


Figure 32.

"Garden party hosting Christian nobles," in *Hamse-i Atayi* (1721), Baltimore Walters Art Museum W666, folio 138a, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 53.



Figure 33.

"A father advises his son about love," in Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's *Haft Awrang*, folio 52a, reproduced from Shreve Simpson, *Persian Poetry, Painting and Patronage*, 26.

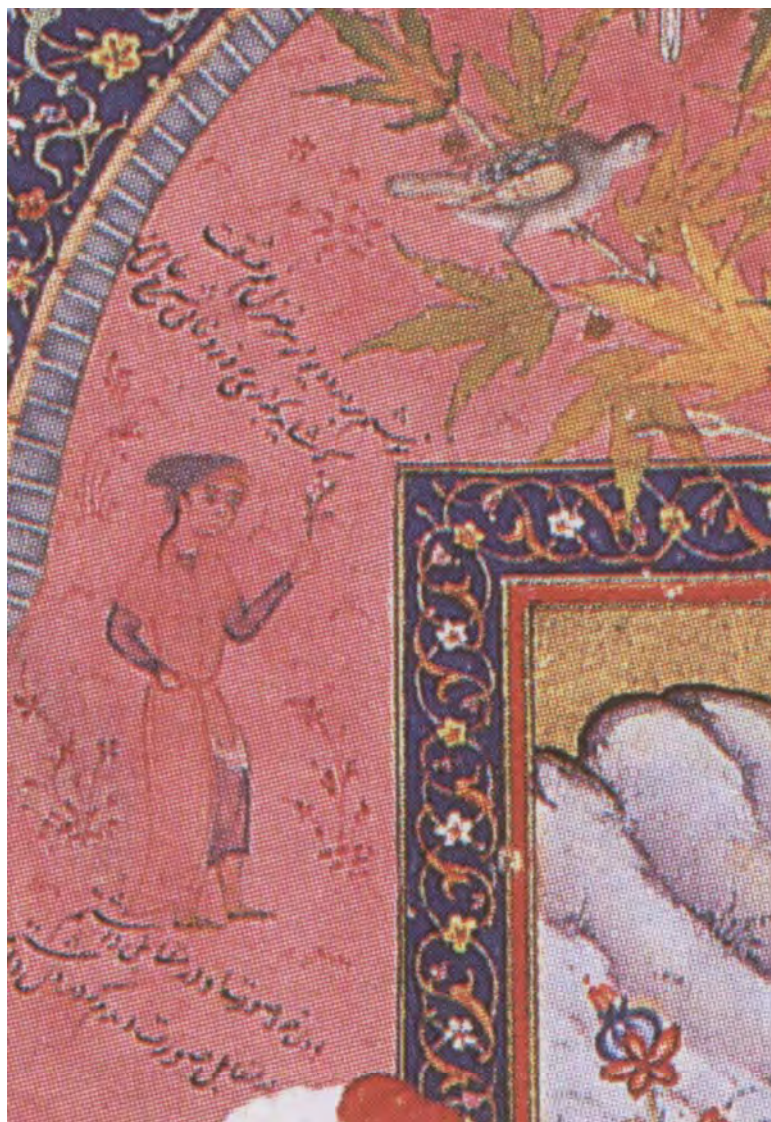


Figure 34.

"A father advises his son about love" : The Poet (detail), in Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's *Haft Awrang*, folio 52a, reproduced from Shreve Simpson, *Persian Poetry, Painting and Patronage*, 26.

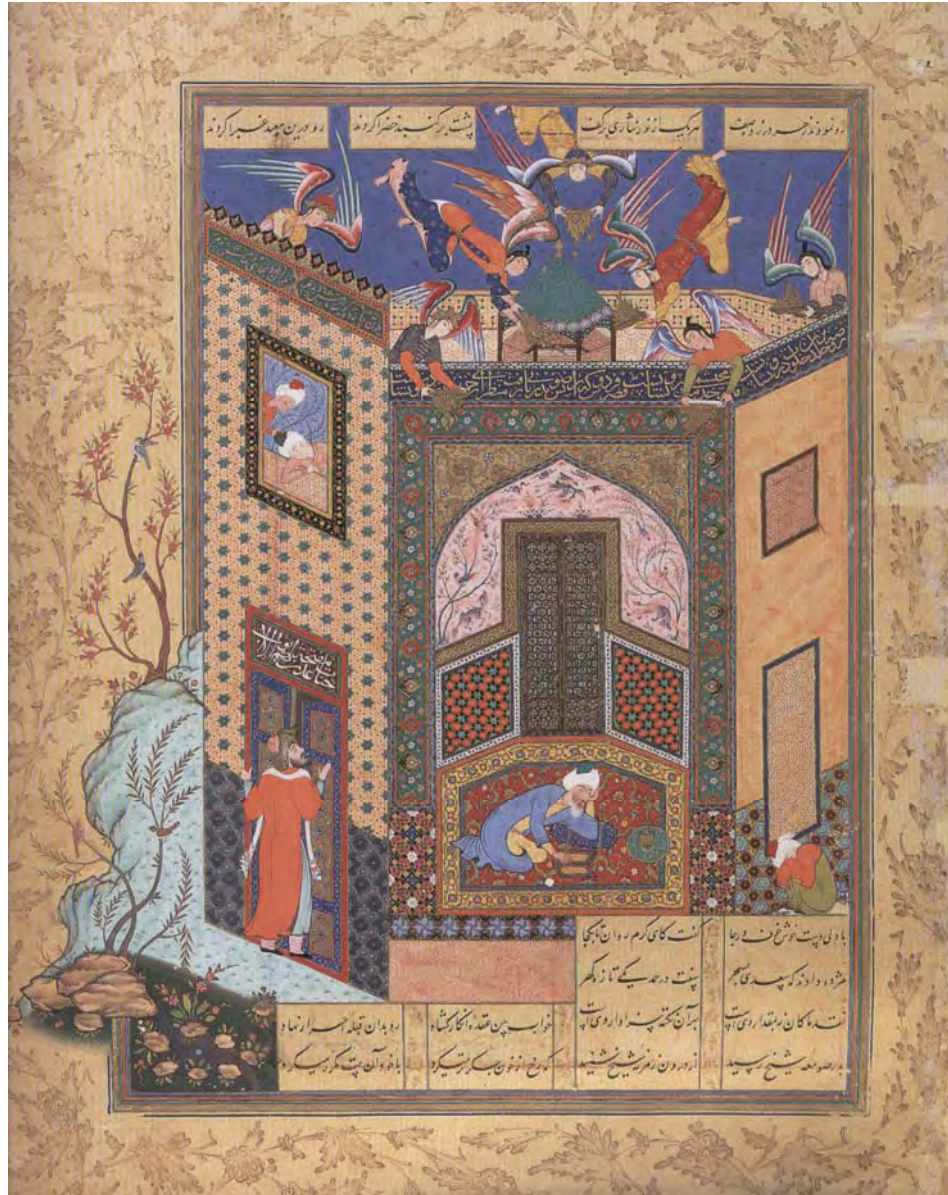


Figure 35.

"The gnostic has a vision of Angels carrying trays of light to the poet Sa'di," in Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's *Haft Awrang*, folio 147a, reproduced from Shreve Simpson, *Persian Poetry, Painting and Patronage*, 44.



Figures 36.

Pages from *Muhibbî Divanı*, İÜK T5467, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 137.



Figure 37.

"Thoughtful Man" : An Intellectual at a Garden, Mughal painting of 1610 in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, reproduced from Desai, *Life at Court*, 23.

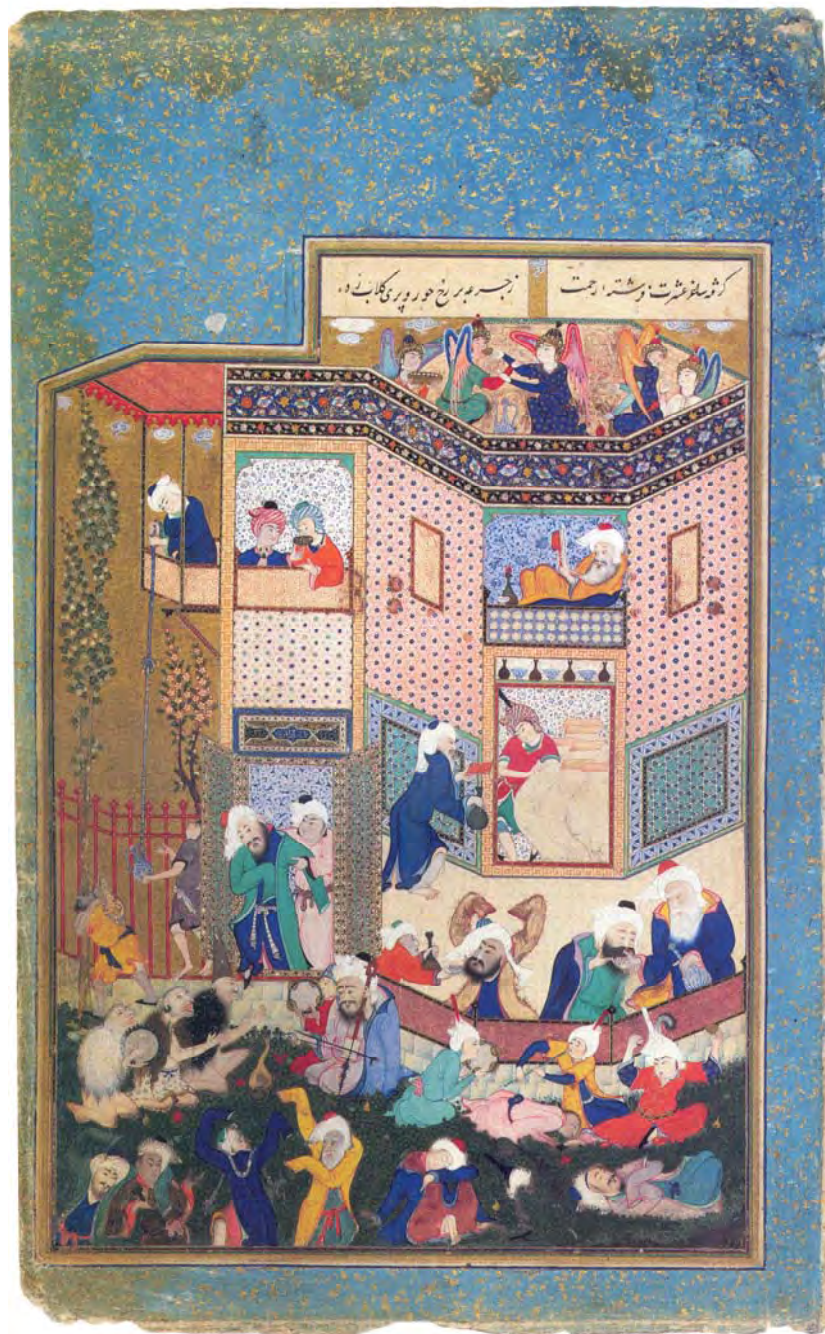


Figure 38.

Arts of *Tashbih* (Comparison by Similarities): Angels and mystics enjoying in the garden. "Allegory of Drunkenness," in *Divan of Hafiz* (16th c.), Private collection, TL 17443-5, reproduced from Angelis and Lentz, *Architecture in Islamic Painting*, 21.

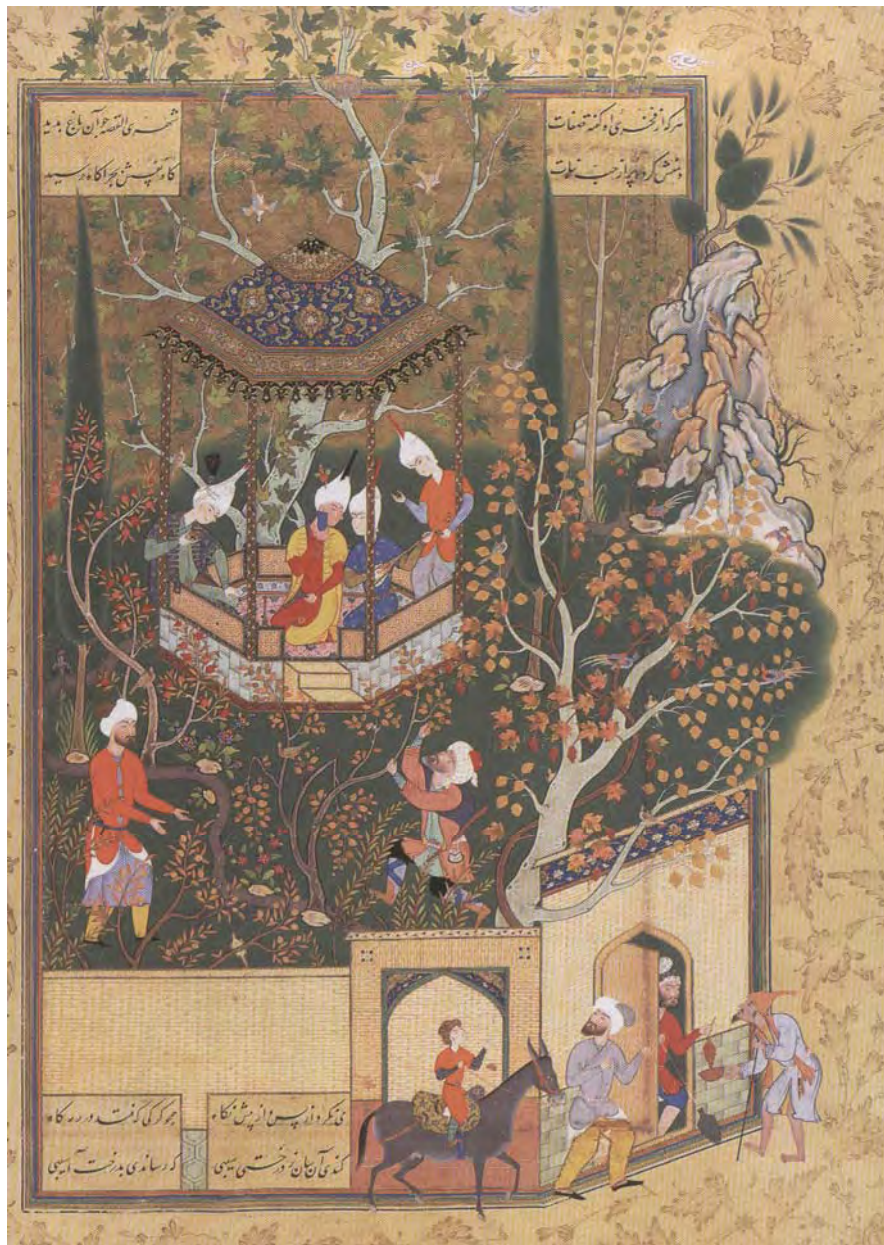


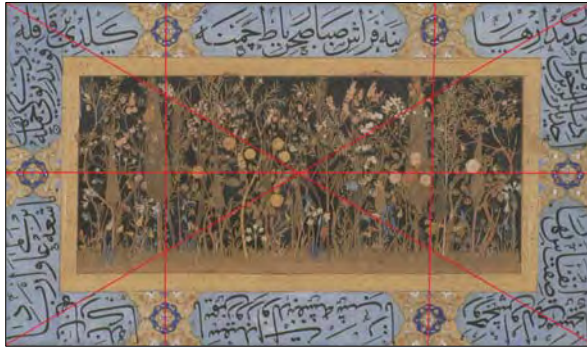
Figure 39.

Arts of *Tanzih* (Comparison by Negation): Destruction of the Garden, in Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's *Haft Awrang*, folio 179a, reproduced From Shreve Simpson, *Persian Poetry, Painting and Patronage*, 53.



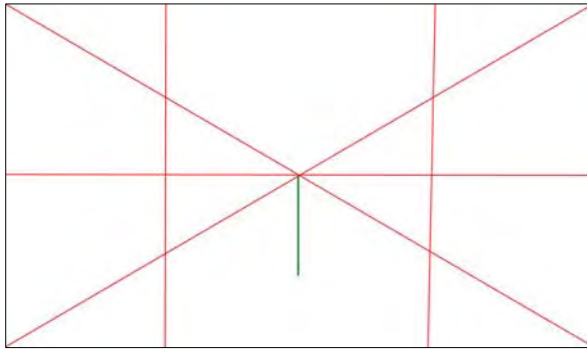
Figure 40.

"Paper Cut Garden" in *Efşancı Mehmed Album* (1565), IÜK F1426, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 73.



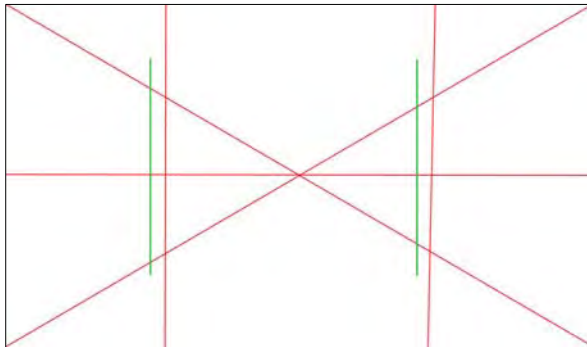
I.

Intersecting axis of
the page and the
garden space.



II.

Main axis and
the cypress tree
in the center.

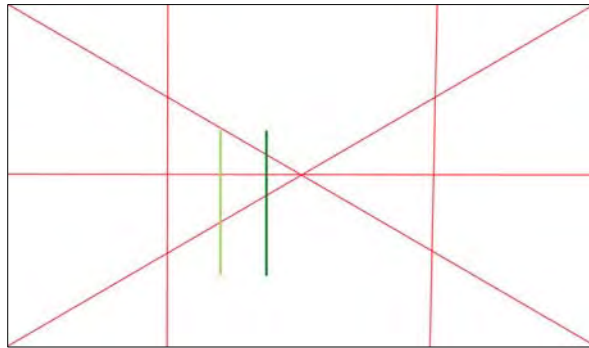


III.

Main symmetry axis
and the cypress
trees shifted from
the axis.

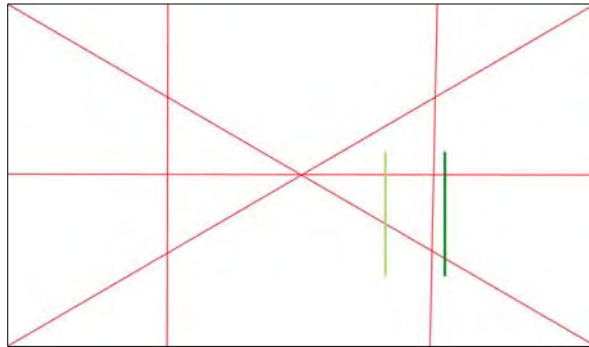
Figure 41; I-III.

“Complication of Vision.” Analysis of “Paper Cut Garden” in
Efşancı Mehmed Album (1565), IÜK F1426.



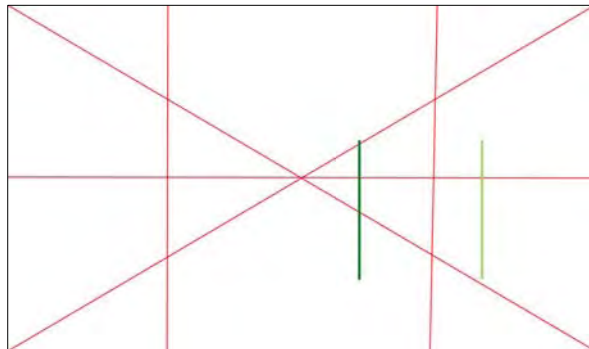
IV.

Main symmetry axis
and a first couple of
cypress trees.



V.

Main symmetry axis
and a second
couple of cypress
trees.

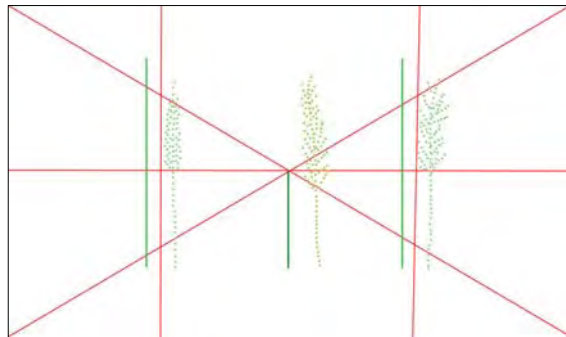


VI.

Main symmetry axis
and a third couple
of cypress trees.

Figure 41; IV-VI.

"Complication of Vision." Analysis of "Paper Cut Garden" in
Efşancı Mehmed Album (1565), IÜK F1426.



VII.

Location of
cypresses and
other kinds of trees
in relation to main
axis.

Figure 41; VI.

“Complication of Vision.” Analysis of “Paper Cut Garden” in
Efşancı Mehmed Album (1565), IÜK F1426.



Figure 42.
"Celestial Map"



Figure 43.
"Adam and Eve"



Figure 44.
"Joseph and Jacob"



Figure 45.
"Noah's Ark"

in Lokman's *Zübde't - Tevârih* (1583), TSM H1321.



Figure 46.

Section from Ottoman Genealogy. “Hz. Hıdır and Hz. İlyas,” in Mustafa Sâfi’s *Zübdetü’l – Tevârih* (1598), Chester Beatty Library.



Figure 47.

Section from Ottoman Genealogy. "Hz. Idris reading who invented writing and reading, Hz. Cemşid holding a wine cup who invented wine, and Hz. Nuh," in Mustafa Sâfi's *Zübde't-Tevarih* (1598), Chester Beatty Library.



Figure 48.

Section from Ottoman Genealogy. "Yusuf of Egypt, Hz. Eyyub, Hz. Yusuf, Rüstem Zal," in Mustafa Sâfi's *Zübde'tü't - Tevârih* (1598), Chester Beatty Library.

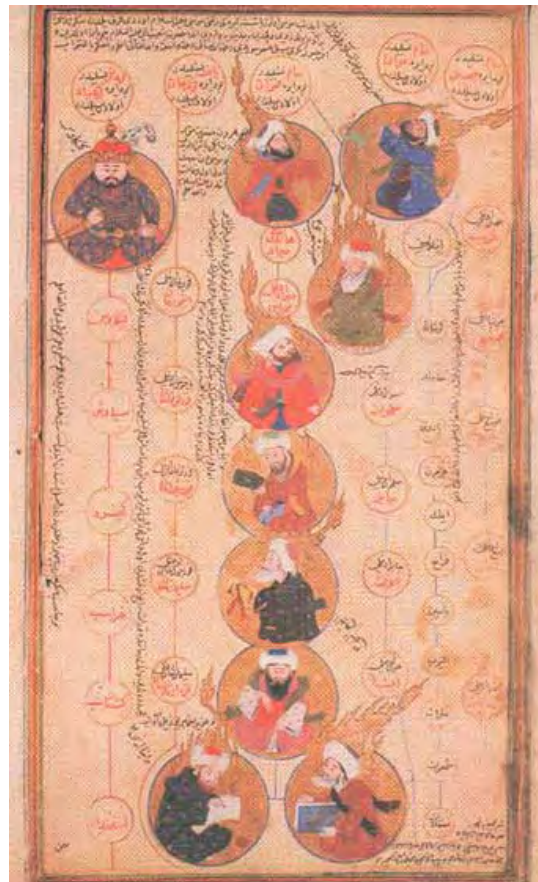


Figure 49.
Section from Ottoman Genealogy. "Prophets," in Mustafa Sâfi's *Zübdetü't - Tevârih* (1598), Chester Beatty Library.

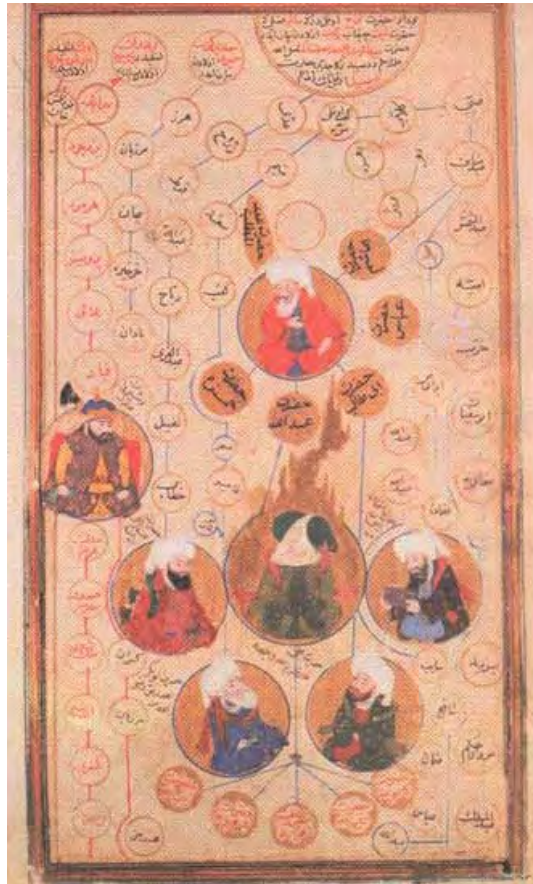


Figure 50.

Section from Ottoman Genealogy. "Hz. Mohammed and his caliphs," in Mustafa Sâfi's *Zübdetü't - Tevârih* (1598), Chester Beatty Library.



Figure 51.

Section from Ottoman Genealogy. "Ottoman Sultans; Orhan Gazi, Murat I, Beyazıt I, Mehmed I," in Mustafa Sâfi's *Zübde't- Tevârih* (1598), Chester Beatty Library.



Figure 52.

Body as Garden. "Sultan Selim II, arching, wearing a floral kaftan," TSM H2134, folio 3a reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 88.



Figure 53.

Palace as garden. "Topkapı Palace Second Court" in Hünernâme (c. 1584), TSM H1524, folio 237b, in Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 247.



Figure 54.

City as garden. "İstanbul," in *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn* by Martrakçı Nasuh (1537), İÜ T5964, folios 8b and 9a.

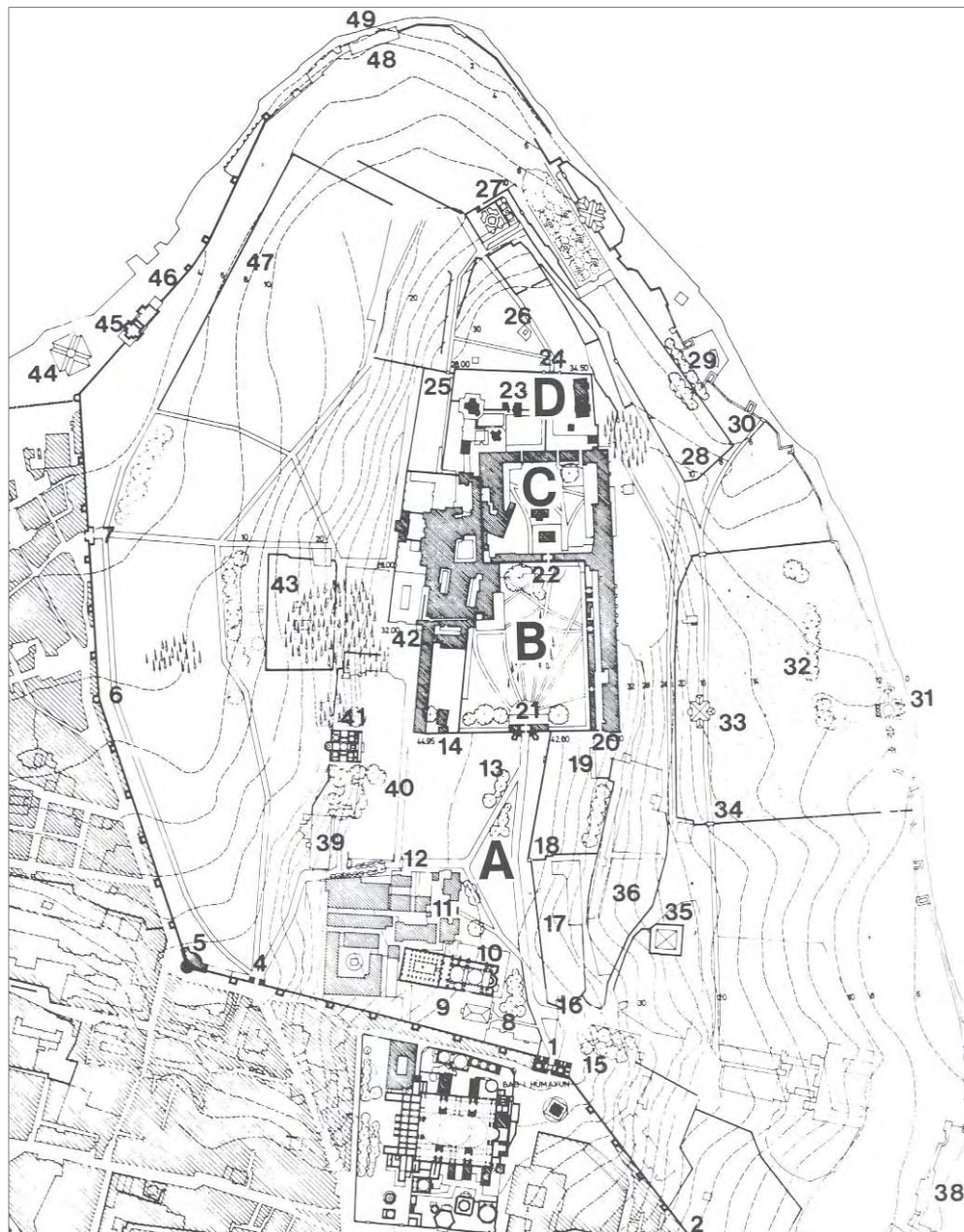


Figure 55.

Plan of the Topkapı Palace. "Hypothetical Reconstruction of the palace grounds in the nineteenth century. Drawing from Eldem and Akozan, *Topkapı*," reproduced from Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), 270.

Key to the plan of the Topkapı Palace:

Courts from the most public to the most private:

A: First Court; B: Second Court; C: Third Court; D: The Terraced Hanging Garden

1: Imperial Gate; 2: Octagonal Tower; 3: Gate of the Stables; 4: Gate of the Cool Fountain; 5: Dodecagonal Tower; 6: Octagonal Tower of the Royal Band; 7: Iron Gate; 8: Dormitory of Novices; 9: Wood storehouse and workshop of mat makers
10: St. Irene; 11: Imperial Warehouse; 12: Gate; 13: Tower; 14: Gates of the Stables; 15: Site of the hospital for pages and the launderers; 16: Gate; 17: Royal Bakery; 18: Water Tower; 19: Waterworks and related workshops; 20: Gate connecting the first court to the kitchens; 21: Middle Gate; 22: Gate of Felicity; 23: Gate from the Sultan's private garden to the lower terrace garden; 24: Gate connecting the hanging garden to the outer garden; 25: Gate to the outer garden; 26: Goth's Column; 27: Site of a late summer palace and gardens; 28: Site of Ishak Pasha Pavillion; 29: Site of the Corps of the Windmill; bakery, hospital for gardeners, and the gardener's mosque; 30: gate of the Windmill; 31: Pearl Kiosk and the Holy Spring of Christos Sotiros; 32: Sports open area; 33: Gülhane Kiosk; 34: Gülhane Gate; 35: antique cistern used as an arsenal; 36: Menagerie; 37: Former Byzantine chapel converted into aviary; 38: Fishing Station; 39-40: Site of the recent Archeological museum; 41: Tiled Kiosk; 42: Harem gate opening to the Tiled Kiosk; 43: Hanging garden; 44: Shore Kiosk; 45: Basketmaker's Kiosk; 46: Workshops; 47: Dormitory of gardeners and the Green Tiled Mosque; 48: Cannon Gate; 49: Marble Kiosk.

Figure 56.

Key of to the plan of the the Topkapı Palace, reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 271.

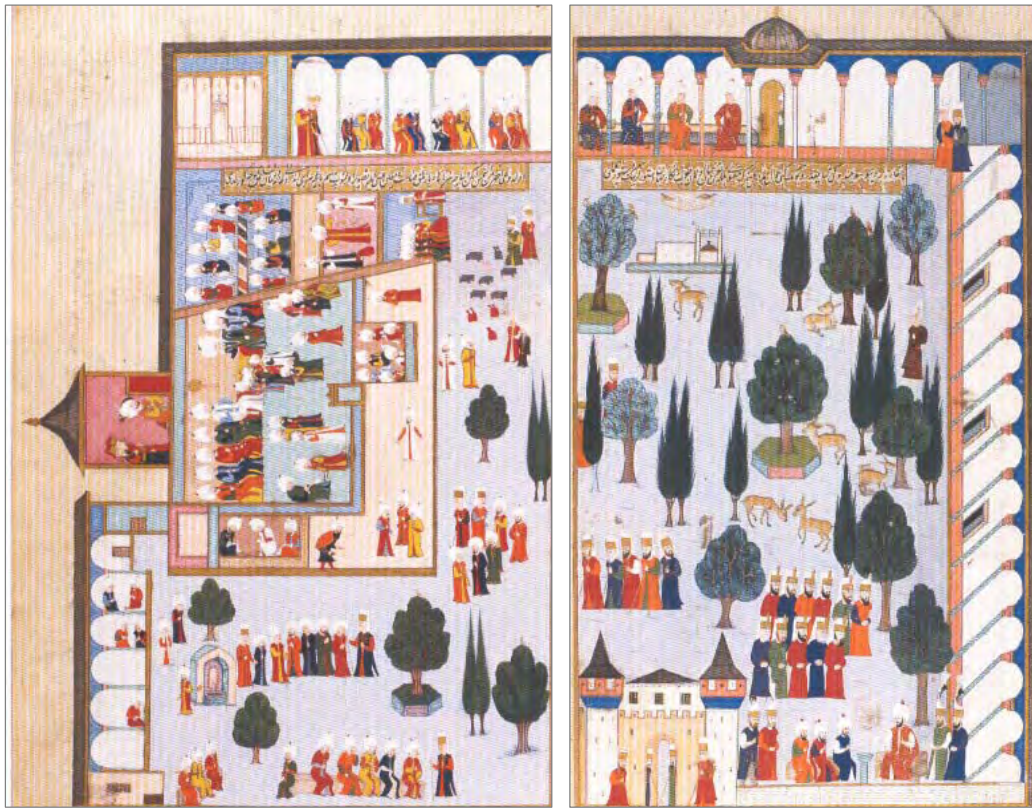


Figure 57.

"Topkapı Palace, 2. Court" in *Hünernâme I* (c. 1584), TSM H1523, folios 18b-19a, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 246.

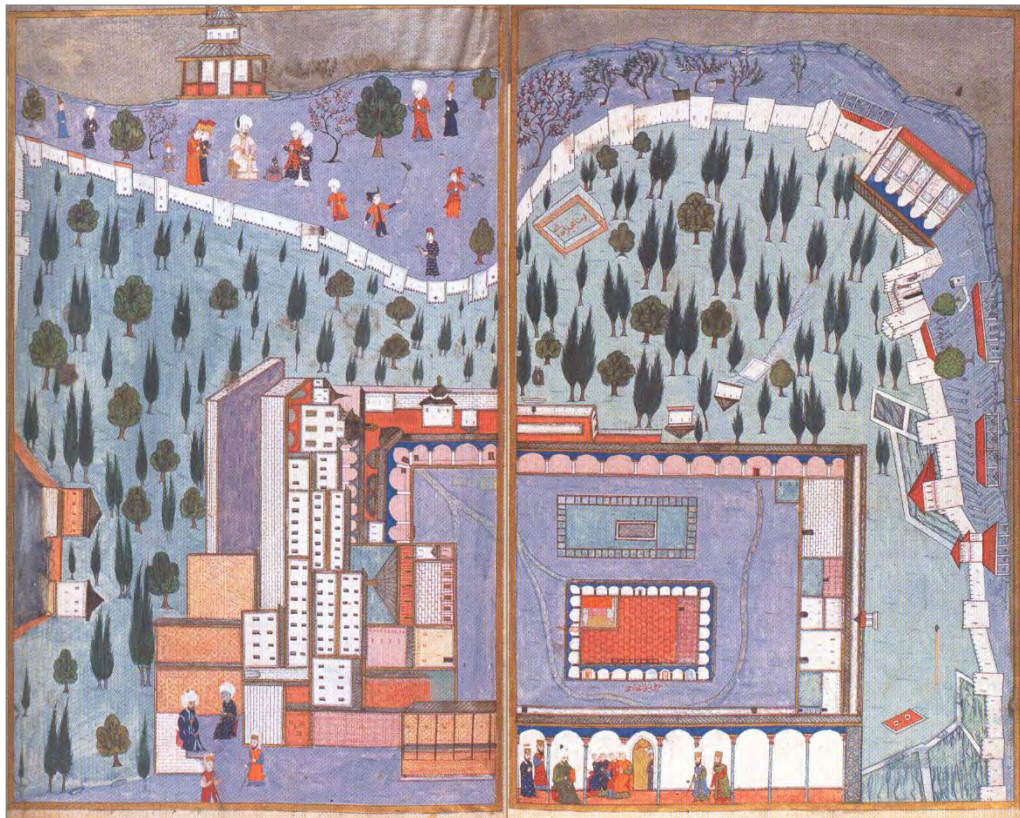


Figure 58.

"Topkapı Palace, Harem," in *Hünernâme I* (c. 1584), TSM H1523, folios 231b-232a, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 251.

CHAPTER IV

SPACES OF CITY RITUALS (1512-1732)

The *Şehrengiz* genre offers poems depicting cities and their beautiful young guild boys. They are written in the *mesnevi* form. Agah Sırrı Levend lists forty-nine *mesnevis* classified as *Şehrengiz* poems. The first *mesnevi* composed in 1493 and the last four *mesnevis* composed at the late 18th c. do not actually belong to the genre. They are only similar to *Şehrengiz* poems. In this perspective, there are forty-four *Şehrengiz* poems in total, narrating seventeen different cities and provinces.

The first *Şehrengiz* was composed in 1512 and the last one was composed around 1732. Out of forty-four poems, eleven poems depict the city of Istanbul. One of the eleven poems about Istanbul is in Persian, and two others are lost. Thirteen poems depict cities and provinces of Thracia and the Balkans, including Edirne, Siroz, Yenişehir, Yenice, Vize, Çorlu, Gelibolu and Belgrad. Fifteen poems depict cities and provinces of Anatolia and further east, including Bursa, Antakya, Manisa, Rize, Sinop, Beray-ı Taşköprü, Kashan and Diyarbakır. Five poems depict unidentified cities.

The first and the last *Şehrengiz* depict two cities to the west of Istanbul. The first one depicts the city of Edirne. The last one depicts the city of Yenişehir. In the last *Şehrengiz* which was written before 1732, the poet Vahid Mahtumi Mehmed describes his discontent concerning the period and explains that he was forced to flee to Yenişehir. Though this study aims to focus on *Şehrengiz* poems about the city of Istanbul, it will also investigate the reasons why the genre was established and finalized outside the city of Istanbul, in a specific geographical region of the Thracia and the Balkans.

CITY RITUALS

Table 5: List of *Şehrengiz* Poems Analyzed

Date	Poet	Related City, or Cities
1512	Mesîhî	Edirne
1513	Katib	Istanbul, Vize, Çorlu
1520s	Taşlıcalı Yahya	Edirne
1520s	Taşlıcalı Yahya	Istanbul
1534	Fakiri, Kalkandelenli	Istanbul
1540s	Taşlıcalı Yahya	Istanbul
Before 1562	Tab'î Ismail	Istanbul
Before 1566	Anonymous	Istanbul
1564	Cemali	Istanbul
Before 1585	Azizi	Istanbul
Before 1674	Neşati Ahmed Dede	Edirne

Edirne was the major city among the provinces to the west of Istanbul and it was the city of the *gazîs*. Throughout history, Edirne represented heterodox groups of the *gazî* tradition. It embodied anti-imperial tendencies and housed anti-imperial

groups that were hostile towards the growing power of the city of Istanbul. Istanbul, which became the capital city after Edirne, constituted a central position in the Ottoman cosmology as the house of the Ottoman authority. It was an imperial city. It represented the orthodox community and Shariah. This chapter will analyze eleven poems written about the cities of Istanbul, Edirne and the provinces of Edirne in order to understand how the two cities in conflict shaped the experience and perception of the city of Istanbul from 1512 to 1732. (See Table 5).

ŞEHRENGİZ OF EDİRNE BY MESÎHÎ (1512)

Mesîhî's *Şehrengiz* is about the city of Edirne. The poem is composed in five main parts;¹ prayer (*münacat*), depictions of the day and night, depictions of young men, *tetimme*, and the final part as the *ihititam* that is made up of two *gazels*.² Most of the *Şehrengiz* poems, follow the same order. They begin by a prayer, continue by recalling general themes of Islamic legendary, depict city space, make a long list of young men who were supposedly the beautiful members of the guilds and conclude by one or more *gazels*. Mesîhî's *Şehrengiz* begins with a prayer and ends with a *gazel* about Hacı Bayram Veli.

Acknowledging that he faces the mihrab wall in the beginning of the poem, and his reference to Hacı Bayram Veli at the last part, it is probable that Mesîhî is telling this story at a Sufi lodge, among those people who are prone to Bayrami-Melâmî philosophy. The whole story is an account of Mesîhî's former experience in the city

¹ Mesîhî's *Şehrengiz* has three major parts, like most of the latter examples of this genre: Introduction (*Dibaçe*); Names of the city boys - 46 different characters are presented in this part; and the third part as the Final (*Mukaddime*); Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, 451.

² Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 17-18.

of Edirne, his travels in the city, at the bazaar, guild shops, at the gardens and meadows, by the riverside.

In the first part of the poem, Mesîhî presents himself as an individual within the larger cosmology, portrays a poet confronting God. This first part is important since it paints the picture of an individual. It visualizes an individual alone by himself. Thus, it suggests the study of self according to the mystic tradition. It directs the reader to contemplate on the constituents of the self. It enables one to contemplate the material and spiritual constituents of self, his cognitive organs and faculties.

The second part of the poem about night and day, each in ten verses, depicts the transformation of the skies from the sunset until the sunrise. This part symbolizes the invisible divine world at the night time and the visible human world of manifested bodies in day time. Though there is a third instant inbetween day and night, the transition from the day to the night; or from the night to the day. This transitory period corresponds to the concept of *barzakh*. It is an intermediary time period and it symbolizes the realm of imagination.

The third part of the poem illustrates the city of Edirne and narrates the Tunca River passing through the city. The fourth part is the longest. The beautiful young men of the various guilds are evoked, appreciated and acknowledged with respect to their names and associations. The third and the fourth parts will be studied in order to understand the perception of the microcosm, the world of manifested bodies. These bodies comprise both the architectural edifice that makes up the space of the microcosm as it is perceived by humans, and the human inhabitants of this space who are considered as natural forms. The discussions concerning these parts refer to the attainment of knowledge as a means to comprehend and interpret the Universal Reality. In the final part, the poet once again presents himself as a viewer upon the scenery he has just narrated.

In the first part, the poet concentrates on his body and his sensual desires. He presents his material body and desiring soul and apologizes for his addiction to love, beauty, and worldly pleasure. The poet converses about himself in this first

part, as he does in the final *gaze/s*. As a poor worshipper, as a *rind*, he admits that he pursues his faith in mystical piety rather than following the orders of the orthodox law. As a sinful worshipper, he admits that he believes in Love. He is enchanted by the beauty of the beloved. He pleads himself sinful for his attraction to the beloved ones that is forbidding him from worshipping, as the image of the beloved ones would always bear in his imagination. His vision is distracted by pleasure and longing, his body is stirred with the passion to touch the beloved. He expresses that all his attempts to practice worshipping are transformed into cravings for love:³

If I ever intend to fast for a couple of days
The image of the beloved will hinder my intend

If I raise my hands to pray
I believe, with my arms open, I will embrace the beloved

If I turn to the direction of prayer in the holy shrine
The mihrab wall will turn into an image of the beloved

He describes moments of his sensual and sexual arousal out of pleasure, as he is charmed by the image of the beloved.⁴ Mesîhî uses the adjectives of “mourning, weak, sinful, wrong, eager, mad, and wild” when he mentions his soul.⁵ His

³ Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*, 138:

Beş on gün eylesem ger savma niyyet/ Bozar ol niyyetim ger ‘ıyd-i vuslat; Elüm
kaldursam illerle du’âya/ Sanuram el uzattum merhabâya; Çü mescid içre tutam
kıbleye yüz/ Cemâl-i yar olur mihrâb düpdüz

⁴ *Ibid.*, 138:

Ne katre kim akar bu çeşm-i terden/ Meniydür kim gelür hazz-i nazardan

manifestation as a craving subject with desires suggests a certain understanding of space, where this body interacts with the surrounding environment.

Portrayed as a human being with a material body, a desiring soul, and a rational spirit, under the skies, Mesîhî in the second part of the poem narrates the arrival of the darkness of the mystic night that will be followed by the illuminating daylight of the morning. Day time is associated with the witnessed bodily world; and night time with the absent divine world. Night symbolizes the heterodox practices. Day symbolizes orthodox practices. Instants of transition from one to the other- from day to night, or from night to day, are considered to be the important instants which are associated with the *barzakh*, the higher world of imagination.

In this second part of the poetry, Mesîhî elaborates moments of sunset and sunrise, each in ten verses. He narrates the stars and the planets as they change their locations one day after another. As Mercury can be observed either on Sunday night, or on Wednesday; the planets change their location day after day, the sky is not the same sky one day after another. As the evening falls, Mesîhî describes the sky by using layers of resemblances. The changing colors of the skies as the sun sets each tells a different story, each color, the gilded yellow, the red, the twilight shade with interfering dark lines, and the blackness of the dark night become metaphors referring to various allegories of the Islamic tradition. The changing sky announces the transition from day to night time. The exact timing of the instant of transformation from day to night, or from night to day were debated constantly both by the scholar of orthodox law, and the mystics of Sufism. The

⁵ In the first part of his *Şehrengiz*, complaining about his soul (*nefs*), Mesîhî uses the following expressions “Giriftar-ı kemend-i nefis-i dûnam”, “nefs-i şerîr”, “nefs-i sâhî”, “seg-i nefsum”, “şîr-i şerze.” Similarly Arabî refers to the soul, especially the appetitive soul which will never give comfort to the human; Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 344.

following quotation from 'Arabî also illustrates the significance of Mesîhî's verses on the changing colors of the skies symbolizing the instant of transformation:⁶

The ulemâ of the Shariah have disagreed on the moment of the night salat in two places concerning the first of its moment and the last of its moment. Some say the first of its moment is the absence of the red dusk. I agree with this view. Others say the first of its moment is the absence of the white that is after red.

The exact timing of this natural transformation had a crucial importance since it dictated the timing of daily practices. The order of daily mundane life was organized after the visible and invisible orders of macrocosm. Orthodox practices follow the movement of the sun. Similarly, heterodox practices follow the order of creation. This harmony between the divine and the man enabled the unity of the whole creation.

As the planet Mercury is observed in the daytime before the sunset, and the horizon appears to be gilded in yellow color, the sky is illustrated where Mercury becomes a pencil writing the beauty of the Beloved onto the skies, as if a pen is writing on a gilded page. As the sun sets and the color of the sky begins turning into red, the story of Yusuf is reminded. In Islamic mythology Yusuf symbolizes beauty. Yusuf symbolizes an enlightened person according to 'Arabî. However, his imaginative faculties are limited to the capacity of an ordinary human being. He can never become a real mystic.

The redness of the sky becomes a metaphor for the blood on Yusuf's shirt. Yusuf's sorrowful story engages the whole theme of the night time as the darkness surrounds the horizon. The glittering stars become tears shed as the skies weep for Yusuf's unfortunate faith. And by these tears, the skies are transformed into dew falling upon the earth. The sound of the night occupied with the nature

⁶ For a further information on the discussions related to the day-night relation see; Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 262-265.

screaming and howling becomes metaphors for the sorrow of Yusuf's father who thinks his son is killed. However, according to the legendary story, Yusuf was not killed. He was only imprisoned in a well.

Mesîhî refers to the misleading appearance of the sky with all the stars and the planets, standing as static picture. Thus he reminds the reader about the dynamism and change in time. As the sky is depicted in transforming colors; revolving as a wheel, each planet changing its location, air as transformed into dew changing its state of matter, the poet reminds of the dynamism of the cosmos and of the concept of transmutation.

As the night passes, and when it is time for the sunrise, the poet again recalls the story of Yusuf. The brightness that will appear on the east of the sky just before the dawn is the herald of good news from Yusuf, as well as the messenger for the approaching morning. And when the sun rises above the ground, like a gilded pattern drawn on the sky, it appears as a golden coin, as if another day gifted to the human beings - as another portion of their stipend in this world.

So, like the whole universe, the night transforms into the day, darkness into daylight, sorrow into good news as the golden color change into purple, to red and then to black. The air changes its state of gas into liquid. The whole world transmutes. Each moment of this transformation is presented as another page opened. The movement of the pages following one another also suggests the movement of the universe.

Mesîhî portrays the universe made out of opposites that transform into one another in constant transmutation. This dynamic and circular transformation of the day into night, night into day, air into water, water into air, sorrow into happiness and happiness into sorrow is narrated by allegorical stories. The order of the cosmos, tradition and daily rituals are presented in harmony. Knowledge of the stars, story of Yusuf, order of religious practices unite in the harmony of the cosmos. Science, tradition and religion are contingent to one another.

Out of this dynamic order of the universe, the city of Edirne unfolds. In the third part, Mesîhî illustrates the city of Edirne broadly. The most apparent theme in the narration is his constant comparison of the city to the paradise garden. He mentions gardens, mosques, the arts of ceramics, the Tunca River running through the city and its pleasant weather. The river, and the beautiful men swimming; the gardens relieving the hearth, a sight of minarets compared to the cypress trees, or the sights of the beloved with beautiful bodies going for a swim appear as detached fragmented scenes.

The narrative jumps from one scene to another in the depiction of a city. However, each one of these scenes is animated lively. The poem illustrates gardens, rivers, clouds, minarets one after another. It is as if there were a screen in front of the poet and he would narrate changing images on this screen. It is important to remind here that the very first of these images was the mihrab wall which Mesîhî depicted in the first part of the poem. Thus after the image of the mihrab wall, this virtual screen reflects one picture after another. It is hard to attain a unified panoramic image of the city from such fragmented descriptions. However, these parts are all depicted as if they were located in front of a continuous background of the paradise garden:⁷

Such a city that its gardens and meadows
Gives the individual the serenity of Paradise

Its waters handsome and flowing with charm
Clouds flowing by are refreshing

⁷ Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*, 138:

‘Aceb şehir ol ki anuñ bîg u râgu/Virür kişîye cennet ferâğı; İçinde suları mevsun u
reftâr/ Bulutlar başı ucunda hevâdâr; Temâşâ eyleseñ her bir minaret/ Dönüpdür
serv-kâmet bir nigâra; Soyunup Tuncaya girer güzeller/ Açılır ak güğüsler ince
beller; Gören bu şehri bu resme kıyâmet/ Sanur bunuñla tokuz oldı cennet;
Zihi cennet ki girer her güneş-kâr/ Görür ‘âsi vu ‘âbid anda didâr

If you watch every one of these minarets
Turn into a beloved with a posture like a cypress

Beauties getting naked go into Tunca
Unfolding their breasts, tiny bellies

One seeing this city, with reference to this picture
Would think that the number of paradises has become nine

Such a celebrated joyful paradise where all the sinful ones would enter
See the dissident with the conformist together represented in it

Mesîhî's depiction of the fragmented parts of the city on a screen, in the background of the paradise garden recalls 'Arabî's description of the realm of imagination as a garden, as a veil, as a screen between the human being and divine knowledge: "The garden is named 'Garden' because it is a curtain and a veil between you and the Real for it is the locus of the appetites of the souls."⁸

In the fourth part of the poetry, Mesîhî tells about the beauty of forty-six young men each one with a name such as *Mahmud*, *Halil*, *Haydar*, *Abdi*, and or with a family name such as *Ferraşoğlu*, *Semercioğlu*, *Tuzcuoğlu*, and or with the name of the trade he is associated with as the tailor, fruit-seller, barber, moneylender, needle maker, sweeper, mercer, felt-seller, salt-seller, camel-rider, musician, silk-embroiderer, cap-maker, cotton-fluffier, sherbet-maker, oil-seller, or saddler. These men listed have different names of Muslim, Jewish, Armenian, or Greek origin. They come from lower middle class guilds. The poem concludes by referring to a

⁸ Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 395, n.18.

specific beloved who is called Hacı Bayram Veli. This acknowledges Mesîhî's associations with the Melâmî-Bayramis.⁹

As if recalling 'Arabî's reference to the "heart as place of constant fluctuation,"¹⁰ Mesîhî acknowledges his fluctuating heart. He describes his admiration for the multiplicity of beloved ones. Since he is never satisfied with a single beloved, he falls in love with one beloved after the other. However, he acknowledges that he still carries the desires to unite with the real beloved.

'Arabî explains the multiplicity of beloved ones by the dynamism of love. Love is dynamic and it enables the sustainability of the macrocosmic life: "If there were no love, the world would be frozen."¹¹ The dynamism of love is sustained by the forces of attraction and separation. The force of attraction aims to unite the whole cosmos as one entity. Attraction is enforced by the will to attain divine knowledge. However, the attainment of divine knowledge also necessitates "separability."

During the attainment of divine knowledge, things from different realms would meet in a different medium of the imagination. Meaning, form, and the imagining subject are all separate things and belong to different realms. The imagining subject would compare, contrast and interpret the meeting of a meaning and a form. In this way, he will get closer to the divine knowledge. However, the subject would not attach himself to a single form or a specific meaning. Attachment would disable the

⁹ Riehle acknowledges Mesîhî's tendency to *Melametiye* in his own verses; Klaus Riehle, *Leben und Literarische werke Mesîhîs = Mesîhî'nin hayati ve edebi eserleri* (Prizren: BAL-TAM, 2001), 128:

Sinsa Mesîhî câm-ı vakârun 'aceb mi kim/ Seng-i melâmeti ana ol yâr-ı cân atar

¹⁰ Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge*, 106.

¹¹ Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 293.

dynamism of this interactive process. The subject is expected to separate himself from that meaning and that form, and continue his search with others. Attachment to a particular meaning or form is called fantasy or illusion and it would result in an understanding of a static form-meaning unification. Thus only when the heart is not attached to a single beloved, but it flows from one beloved to another, the self would be able to continue to attain divine knowledge.

The city will become a place of seeking for the divine love and truth, a place where imagination is nourished from, a pool of bodies which the appetite will desire one after the other, where the heart will look for the divine beauty in each thing, but never attached to a single one. And by stirring the city, the city will become a pool of bodies to be contemplated by imagination in the process of gaining divine knowledge. Then the heart would become a mirror reflecting divine knowledge. When the heart would reflect divine knowledge, it would become a space for the illustration of truth in the phenomenal world. Thus, the heart would reflect concepts and idea-images from the realm of imagination to the phenomenal world. This would suggest the creation of new ideas, new forms and new concepts. Corbin names this process of “objectivization” and explains it as the creative power of the heart or as the “creative imagination” (*imaginatrix*).¹²

Representation of the unity in multiplicity enables attainment of divine knowledge, but also enables the creation of novel forms and ideas. The city provides a storehouse for the faculty of imagination to contemplate. Thus, the city becomes an intermediary realm where the faculty of imagination is practiced. By studying the variety of loci, things, and beloved ones in the city, Mesîhî introduces novel concepts. Mesîhî describes the shop of a blacksmith compared to a mosque decorated with horse-shoes hanging all over its walls along with portraying the meadow of Edirne compared to the paradise garden. He acknowledges a tailor, a fruit-seller, a barber as beloved ones along with the legendary character Yusuf from the Islamic mythology and the Bayrami master Hacı Bayram Veli. Going

¹² Corbin, *Creative imagination*, 224.

beyond the visual imagery of the classical Ottoman cosmology, Mesîhî introduces other spaces and unknown beloved ones for contemplation.

ŞEHRENGİZ OF ISTANBUL, VIZE AND ÇORLU BY KATÎB (1513)

Kâtib's *Şehrengiz* is a mystical love story. The main character of this story is the poet himself. The story begins with a *gazel*. The *gazel* indicates that the story is told in a garden, if not, in a private garden party, or a private party, where poetry is cited, and other stories are told. The significance of Kâtib's *gazel*, is that, he uses the word rose to make the arts of pun in his *gazel*. Thus it becomes a rose *gazel*. The main story is introduced after the rose *gazel*. This rose *gazel* directs the reader, or the listener of the poem into imagining a rose garden. After constructing this symbolic rose garden, the poet introduces the main story and his aim for telling this story. The following verses clearly indicate that this mystical love story is to be imagined against the background of a symbolic rose garden:¹³

I have used roses to compose a beautiful *gazel*
To build up a text where God is the beloved of lover

At the second part of the poem, the poet challenges the scene of the rose garden, with an image of the earth. The image of the earth, as the poet describes, is like a picture, adorned by many. In this picture the earth is painted as bejeweled. The poet refers to the beauty of this celebrated image of earth with enthusiasm. This joy enables him to celebrate life and all creation. In order to see and learn more

¹³ Levend, *Şehr-engizler*, 20:

Redif itdüm güli didüm gazel hûb/ Gele inşae Rahman yâra mahbub

about life, he decides to go on a journey, and sets himself on the road. His journey brings him to the city of Istanbul:¹⁴

Lord has bejeweled the earth as such
One would assume the world has enlivened better as such

Many desired to praise it
Hence (*the painter*) Mani would die to depict it

At once I set myself on the road
I found myself in the city of Istanbul

He begins to tell about his travels in the city of Istanbul. He acknowledges that the city had been conquered by Fatih Sultan Mehmed II. The poet is amazed that the city is populated by so many people.¹⁵ He observes the variety of people walking in the city. Then, very briefly he tells about certain monuments. First, he depicts his visit to Hagia Sophia. He describes the site as a picture. In this picture, the city becomes the background, and the mosque is located in front of this background. He compares this scene to the gardens of Paradise, and asserts several times that whoever would see this setting would think that this is the second paradise. He then walks around the monument, and tells about its courtyard and gardens. He describes the fountain in the courtyard compared to the rivers of paradise. The below verses describes his impression of the scene:¹⁶

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20:

Zemini eyle zînet itdi Yezdan/ Sanasın yiğ ki can bulmuşdı devran; Nice methidebile
kişi anı/ Ki Mâni can virüp yazmaya anı; Heman dem yollara girdüm durışdum/
Gelüben şehir-i İstanbula düşdü

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 94:

There is nothing comparable to account for it
There is nothing similar to it in this universe

Fashioned this magnificent mosque in the city
Mâni won't be able to inscribe as such in the city

Those who see it say this it is the second Paradise
It smiles as if it is alive

See the fountain of Paradise flowing in its courtyard
Thus the rivers of Paradise are flowing together with this water

All attributes are impotent to describe its qualities
In reverence the paradise cannot utter a single word

After informing the reader about the magnificence of Hagia Sophia, the poet travels to Fatih and Beyazîd mosques. He talks about these mosques briefly, in reference to their patrons, Fatih Sultan Mehmed II (1444-1481) and Beyazîd II (1481-1512). He mentions the recent Sultan, then, Yavuz Selim I (1512-1520). The poet then commemorates the memory of two celebrated religious figures, Ebu Eyyub-i Ensari and Sheikh Vefa (Sheikh Musliddin Mustafa Vefa). After, he travels to Galata and cites beautiful young men that he meets in the Galata region.

The poet mentions a significant beloved. Since one part of the poem is missing, it is not possible to identify this significant beloved. When the poet meets this significant character, his travels turn into a journey chasing after the beloved. On

Anun misli beyan hergiz serpilmez/ Ana benzer dahi âlemde olmaz; Bir ulu câmi'
itmiş şehir içinde/ Ki Mâni yazamaz hiç şehir içinde; Görenler dir budur firdevs-ı sâni/
Güler güldükçe vardır sanki canı; Akar sahnında görün havz-ı kevser/ Ki kevser
birle ol sudur beraber; Bunun vassafında âciz cümle vassaf/ Bunun katında cennet
uramaz lâf

the one hand, he describes the city with pleasure. Thus he has begun his journey joyfully to celebrate the beauty of the “bejeweled earth.” On the other hand, he falls in to a deep longing and sorrow after meeting this significant beloved. Thus, his travel becomes a desire to see the beloved again and again. He conducts a lonesome search walking in the streets of the city. Some time later he finds his beloved, as depicted in the following verses:¹⁷

With misery I recognized this charming beloved
Again sighed in sorrow

On the road that I had set myself, flowing like water
Met this slender beloved walking

The poet realizes that his beloved attends the prayer ceremony at the mosque of Yeniciami, everyday, throughout the month of the Ramadan. Thus he would be able to see him for the whole month. However after Ramadan, he loses sight of the beloved. So, he continues traveling. From Istanbul, he goes to the provincial town of Vize. He is accompanied by a friend. In Vize, they stay at another friend's house. The story tells about the province and the beautiful young men living in Vize. Hearing that his beloved has been seen in the town of Çorlu, the poet travels to Çorlu with the desire to see the beloved. However, upon his arrival to Çorlu, he realizes that his beloved had already returned to Istanbul. Chasing after him, the poet also gets back to the city. Finally the story is concluded as the poet meets his beloved in Istanbul.

The poet illustrates spaces as pictures framed but shifts from one space to another. He uses the term “picture” whenever he refers to a different scene. He elaborates the definition of a picture as the depiction of a place adorned in front of

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 20:

Girü yâdeyledüm ol nâzenîni/ Figan ile yine itdüm enîni; Başım alup yola oldum
revâne/ Yetişdüm geldüm ol serv-i revâna

the eyes of the beholder. Picture is not static. It is depicted as having life. In the beginning of the poem, he constructs the image of a garden with roses. Referring to the rose garden, or making the word “rose” as a pun is one of the various conventional uses of natural elements in the arts of poetry. However, there are other possibilities of interpretation. There are three different ways of explaining why the poem starts with a rose *gazel*. First possibility is that the story was told in a rose garden. Second, the individual roses collected into a garden, was compared, to the structure of the whole story made up of words, thus the story is metaphorically associated to a rose-garden. Third, the rose garden is a symbolic garden. It is introduced with the purpose of setting up a background for the rest of the story, similar to the imaginal realm represented as a garden by ‘Arabî.

Thus, illustrating a symbolic rose garden in the beginning of the narrative, leads the rest of the story to be imagined in a rose garden. However, after describing the rose garden, the story continues in various kinds of real places, and in symbolic gardens, such as the paradise garden. These shifts from one imaginary space to another, from imaginary spaces to real spaces, designate an experimental realm which was outside the circle of traditional arts of poetry. The traditional arts of poetry would depict gardens or imaginary ideal spaces of divine or historical significance. However, Kâtib first illustrates an imaginary rose garden, then a generic image of earth as “bejeweled”, and then the provinces of Vize and Çorlu, along with the city of Istanbul and its various spaces. To put it in more simple words, the poet describes events, or objects as if on a stage. The background of this stage always changes, from gardens to city spaces, from symbolic gardens to real places; or the change occurs in the opposite direction from real to ideal gardens or to symbolic spaces.

Kâtib's *Şehrengiz* maps a territory that includes several locations, within and outside the city of Istanbul. The poet travels in two different scales. One, he travels within the city of Istanbul. Second, he travels within a larger geographical area from one city to another. The first route in Istanbul depicts places of pilgrimage in the city. The second route connects the city of Istanbul to a larger web of routes, including Vize and Çorlu.

Vize and Çorlu were small provincial settlements in the Thrace region. This second route might be considered as a larger pilgrimage route, especially of Melâmîs, who might possibly be visiting their masters in those provinces. These provinces accommodated considerable amount of Melâmî-Bayrami adherents in the 16th century. Melâmî pole and poet Sârbân Ahmed's dervishes Alâeddin Efendi and Gazanfer Efendi were living in Vize in the first quarter of the 16th century. Sârbân Ahmed was living in another province called Hayrabolu close to Vize.¹⁸

As well, parts of Kâtib's *Şehrengiz* can be compared to other Melâmî poems written in the same century. Kâtib's below verses:¹⁹

Sultan Mohammed has conquered it
Inside full with "Ahmed" (Human being/ light) of various kinds

recalls Sârbân Ahmed's verses where the multiplicity of human population is acknowledged as reflections of the beloved one:²⁰

Those lovers wishing to see the beloved

¹⁸ Melâmî dervishes felt safer not to go to the city of Istanbul after the execution of the Melâmî master Oğlan Şeyh in Istanbul in the early 16th c.; Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 55-68.

¹⁹ Levend, *Şehr-engizler*, 94:

Anı fethylemiş Sultan Muhammed/ İçi topdoludur envâr-ı Ahmed

²⁰ Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 59:

Ey talib olan âşık seyretmeğe cânânı/ Dikkatla temaşa kıl her gördüğün insânı!;
âyinei insanî bil sureti Rahmandır,/ Bu âyineye gel bak; gör anda o sultan!; Surette
görünmez can ger derse münaфіklar;/ Sen cana nazar kılsun görmek dileyen anı!/
Esrar sözün "Ahmet" keşfeyleme nâdâna

Watch carefully every human being you see
Know that the body of the human being is a reflection of God
Come look at this body; see the Beloved in it
Your secret word “Ahmed,” don’t expose it to the ignorant

Kâtib’s *Şehrengiz* that is probably told in private party that takes place in a rose garden narrates the travels of the poet in and out of the city of Istanbul. In Istanbul, the poet travels to those places which are acknowledged as the pilgrimage sites for the orthodox Muslim community. These sites are Hagia Sophia, imperial mosques of the sultans and the tombs of Eyyub-i Ensari and Seyh Vefa. Each one of these monuments had significant importance in the transformation of the Byzantine Constantinople into an Islamic city and the capital of the Ottoman Empire.²¹ Outside Istanbul, however, the poet travels to provinces which did not have any significance except being important places for the development and expansion of the Bayrami-Melâmî philosophy. These provinces housed heterodox communities who carried an anti-imperial agenda and who were under the threat of the orthodox authority.

Kâtib’s journey between the imperially significant places of the orthodox capital and peripheral provinces which house anti-imperial heterodox communities is an attempt to reconcile these two opposed worlds and their adherents within the imaginary realm of his poetry.

²¹ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, “The Ottoman capital in the making: The reconstruction of Constantinople in the fifteenth century,” Unpublished Ph. D. diss., Harvard University (Cambridge, MA: 1996).

ŞEHRENGİZ OF EDİRNE BY TAŞLICALI YAHYA (1520s)

Yahya's *Şehrengiz of Edirne* is a beautifully written story about the poet's travel to the city of Edirne. It is one of the most explicit *Şehrengiz* poems, which portrays the stand point of the poet in clarity. In the beginning of the story, Yahya explains his ideas about mystical love. Then he tells about his disappointment in a recent love experience. He describes how he suffers in pain, because his beloved would not respond and respect his love.

Yahya, in a miserable condition, arrives to the city of Edirne. In Edirne, late at night, as he is walking in by himself with misery, he sees a total stranger coming out of a populated house. The stranger who has a bright and enlightened expression also catches the sight of Yahya. This stranger upon seeing the poet realizes that he suffers the pains of love. He approaches the poet and begins to talk to him. The stranger tries to comfort the poet by telling him stories. Yahya portrays this stranger as a story-teller. So, the story-teller recounts stories all night long and throughout the next day. The following verses depict the poet's encounter with the stranger:

As I was staying in the city of Edirne sad
A sun-faced came out of a populated house

Immediately, to this poor
He said "You, the wise traveler of world!" ²²

....

"How come this shameful beauty would appreciate you?"

²² *Yahya Bey Divanı*, ed. and trans. by Mehmed Çavuşoğlu (İstanbul: İÜEF, 1977), 231; translated from Taşlıcalı Yahya's *Şehrengiz* of Edirne:

Tururken Edirne şehrinde mahsûn/ Gelüp bir âfitâb-ı rub-ı meskûn; Fakîre kendü
lutfından hemân-dem/ Didi ey zû-fünûn-ı devr-i âlem

Thus he has never been able to appreciate himself?"

That day and night, engaged to me with concern
He comforted me a great deal this way

I told "wisdom is your share, you, moon-faced,
Don't stop or the city of flesh will go up in flames" ²³

The stories told by the story-teller constitute the main body of Yahya's narrative. Yahya conveys the following stories as if told by him. The story-teller's story begins as he acknowledges himself as a mystic lover like Yahya:²⁴

Like myself, rivers run through this city
All spirits glowing with the light of love walk their heads down

He tells Yahya that there are many beloved ones in the city of Edirne and that he would inform him about all of them. He would convey the pleasant conversations which take place in the assemblies of these beautiful people in the city of Edirne. Edirne is portrayed as "the house of *gazîs*."²⁵

²³ *Ibid.*, 231:

Ne bilsün kadrüni ol mâh-ı garrâ/ Ki bilmez kendünün kadrini katâ; O gün ol gice
idüp bana meyli/ Tesellî itdi bu vech ile haylî; Didüm hikmet Hakundur ey kamer-
veş/ İnende urma ten şehrine âteş

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 232:

Benüm gibi o şehir içinde enhâr/ Yürür boynın burup 'ışk ile her bâr

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 232:

Bize kıl hûblar vasfını takrîr/ Marîzü'l-kalb olanlara şifâ vir; Cihânda var mîdur ol
denlû mahbûb/ Ola bir nüktedânun sözleri hûb;Güzeller sonbetinden vir haberler/
Ki zikru'l-ayş nısfu'l-ayş dirler; Zebân-ı kışsa-perdaz-ı maânî/ Bu resme kıldı bu

Tell the news from the conversing of the beauties
Thus they say recognition of life is actually the experience of it

The storyteller of tales
Told this delightful story with respect to this picture

Hence, by no means, in this universe
There is an identical to the city of Edirne

Place for dervishes of the divine truth, terrain of lions
The eternal city, house of *gazîs*

The story-teller first gives a physical description of the city. From his accounts, it is understood that the poet and himself must be at a neighborhood in the vicinity of the old castle. He accounts for the meadows of the city, in summer and winter. He, then, describes the practices of the common folk and how they spend their Fridays almost like a ritual activity. He tells in detail about these ritual activities which begin after the usual Friday prayer that takes place at noon time. Then, he gives a long list of the beautiful beloved ones of the city.

Finally, when the stories are concluded, the poet acknowledges that listening to these stories made him imagine the beautiful people of the city. His imagination has been stirred up with respect to descriptions and events that are told throughout the stranger's narrative. His heart has become a mirror reflecting many forms. Thus poetry becomes an imperative for imagination:²⁶

şîrîn beyânı; Ki cümle kâinât içinde aslâ/ Bulınmaz Edrine şehrine hem-tâ; Erenler
yiri arslanlar yatağı/ Kadîmî şehir gâziler ocağı

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 242:

Sınuk âyînedür bu kalb-i meyyâl/ Göründi anda nice dürlü eşkâl

This loving heart is like a mirror
A variety of images is reflected on it

In his story, after describing the city of Edirne and mentioning its old castle briefly, the story-teller depicts the meadow along the Tunca River. He playfully illustrates the meadow. Among various other flowers, he portrays daffodils and violets ornamenting the green lawn. Cypressess and juniper trees are planted along the riverside. There is one plane tree, and there are many roses in this lively scene. There are water lilies on the river and nightingales are singing. The story-teller portrays nature praying as it is challenged by the joy of life. This scene, as the story-teller asserts, can only be truly perceived by the eye of the heart.²⁷

After illustrating a picture of the Tunca meadow, the story-teller illustrates a series of events. According to his story, a group of common folk used to go to a Sufi lodge after the usual Friday prayer:²⁸

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 233:

Kaçan kim irişe fasl-ı bahârî/ Çiçeklerle tolar Tunca kenârı; Ne vaz eyler çemende
bûlbûl-i zâr/ Tevâzu birle dinler anı eşcâr; İbâdet üzredür cümle nebâtât/ Zebân-ı
hâl ile eyler münâcât; Kıyâm içre olup her serv ü arar/ Benefşe hâlikına secde
eyler; Çınâr el kaldurup eyler niyâzı/ Nihâl-i gül kılur turmaz namâzı; Döküp zerrîn-
kadehler jâleden yaş/ Tefekkür birle salar aşğa baş; Sararup benzi Zünnün gibi
gûyâ/ Sâlar su üzre nîlüfer musalla; Yüri var cân gözini eyle bîdâr/ Rükû u secde
durur her ne kim var

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 233-34:

Kılup Cuma namâzın halk-ı âlem/ Giderler seyr-i mevla-haneye hem; Okuyup
mesnevîsin mesnevi-hân/ Takar gûşına halkun dürr-i meknûn; Sipihre benzer ol
tâk-i mualla/ Sevabîtdür ana ehl-i temâşâ; İçinde sâyiri seyyârelerdür/ Hevâ-yı ışk
ile âvârelerdür; Bunun n'idüğünü bilüp müretteb/ Dönerler gird-i bâd-ı ışk ile hep;
Felekdür halka-i sohbet hemânâ/ Meleklerdür dönen ashâb-ı takvâ; Avâmü'n-nâs

All the public after the Friday prayer
Go to the Sufi lodge to view

The story-teller informs about going to the lodge, describes its architecture, its circular dome, illustrates the dance performance and portrays the audience. It is evident that the story-teller attends this performance as an audience along with many others who listen to the Mesnevi and watch the whirling dances of dervishes performed under a dome. The dancers would turn around along a circle, which represents the world (*felek*) as acknowledged by the story-teller. He comments further on this performance as actual worshipping, not a metaphorical dance as some others would consider it. So, as told in the story, after the dance ritual is concluded, the crowd continues enjoying the rest of the day together. If the weather is nice, everybody goes to the meadows along the Tunca River: ²⁹

After viewing the ceremony at the Sufi lodge
They would go the promenade of Tunca one by one

içinde hâşlardur/ İbadet bezmine rakkâşlardur; Bilür mest-i Elest olan bu râzı/ Bu
cevlâna dimez raks-ı mecâzî

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 234-35:

Çü mevlâ-hâne seyri ola âhir/ Giderler Tunca seyranına bir bir; Bu şehrin içi
zînetlerle tolmuş/ Meric u Tunca yüzi suyu olmuş; Suyu girer nice mihr-i cihan-gîr/
Görinür sanki mirât içre tasvîr; Siyeh fûteyle her mihr-i münevver/ Hemân nısfı
tutılmış aya benzer; Ne vuslatdur bu kim her zâr u giryân/ İde uryan iken cânânı
seyrân; Perîler cûft olup ider anı zeyn/ Kırân eyler sanursın gökde sadeyn; Temâşa
eylesen her mâh-peyker/ Suyu konmuş gül-i ranâya benzer/ Perî-sîmâlar âb-ı dil-
güşâda/ Görinür sanki yıldızlar semâda; Ol ortalıkda niçe âşık-ı zâr/ Yürürler
Tunca üzre hâr u has-vâr; Yürür şu üzre uşşak-ı belâ-keş/ Sanasın cem olur âb ile
âteş; Merice irüp olmuş Tunca cârî/ Olupdur şân Alinün Zü'lfikârı

This crowd accommodates poets and citizens of upper social status along with a lot of young intimates, most of them coming from poor families. These people would stroll down to the riverside. At the meadow, most commonly, they walk barefoot on water, swim naked in the river, and converse with one another. The association with the river, swimming naked and walking barefoot on water are represented as activities that relieve the sorrowful state of the lovers - the fire of their burning heart as described by the story-teller, who are in misery longing for the beloved.

In the winter time, when the weather is cold, only the young people travel to the Tunca riverside after the Sufi performance. Most of the others go to a closed place, the story-teller calls as "Sırça Saray." The young ones who prefer to go to the riverside would have a lot of fun. They would skate on the frozen river. The story-teller acknowledges that it is quite delightful to watch these people playing on ice, gliding smoothly, or falling on one another. He describes this activity as a play. But the lovers would consider this as a metaphorical play which provides the opportunity to get closer with the beloved ones. This leisurely play of skating is considered as a washing out the sins of the lovers. These activities performed in the meadow along the Tunca riverside is considered to be purifying.³⁰ In the story, the riverside is called "*güzergah*," "*seygah*," "*cennet*" and "*ol yir*."

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 235-36:

Kaçan kim erbaîn iriše ol dem/ Döner sırça saraya cümle âlem; Güzeller bu
zamannı hoş görürler/ Derilüp Tunca üzre yüz ururlar; Bu demde gösterüp halka
kerâmet/ Yürür su üzre her ehl-i velâyet; Buz üzre her perî-ruhsâr dildâr/ Uçup
uçup gelür gökde melek-vâr; Oyunda gâh olurlar kim şaşarlar/ Biribirinün üstine
düşerler; Olurlar gül gibi handân u mesrûr/ Görenler dir ana nûrûn ala-nûr; Niçe
âşık olan rind-i cihâna/ Ara yirde olur oyun bahâne; Güzergâha gelüp bî-kibr ü kîne/
Olur dildâr ile sine-be-sîne; Kamu gamnâkler ol yirde mesrûr/ Kamu güstâhlıklar
anda mazûr; Görüp cennet didüm ol seygâhı/ Ki anda kimsenün olmaz günâhı

The long story told by the story-teller is concluded with a narrative describing the beautiful young men of Edirne. The stranger cites thirteen men with their names and portrays their different natures. The story-teller himself is portrayed as a gardener. The city is compared to a rose garden and the flowers to the common folk:³¹

There is no end to the beauties of this city
I have witnessed those who I have seen

Watch, go find a gardener,
Flowers worth a rose-garden

The purpose of alluding to a number of young men is explained as way to understand the unity of being through meditating the multiplicity of its reflections. Those, who would be able to appreciate the multiplicity of creation on this world, would be able to get closer to comprehend the knowledge of the divine world:³²

The beauties of this city are many
There is no equal to it in terms of the beauty of public

Listen to this conversation of love
If you desire for the taste of the two worlds

³¹ *Ibid.*, 242:

Bu şehrin hûbına yokdur nihâyet/ Gözüm gördüğüne itdüm şehâdet; Melekler
vasfın itdüm eyleyüp cuş/ Umarın cânib-i Hakka gelem hoş; Temâşâ eyle var bir
bâgbâna/ Çiçekler kim deger bir gülistana; Safâ ile bezensen ögsen anı/ Sevinüp
şad olur cisminde cânı; Cihanda bir kişi girmez günâha/ Ögerse kullarını pâdişaha

³² *Ibid.*, 236:

Bu şehrin dilber-i ranâsı çokdur/ Güzellikde kamunun misli yokdur; Kulag ur dinle
bu cân sohbetini/ Dilersen iki âlem lezzetini

In the first part of his *Şehrengiz*, Yahya gives an explicit account about his ideas on mystical love. He argues that metaphorical love is the preliminary stage for the mystical love. The whole creation, and especially the human beings, who reflect the essence and beauty of the universal truth, should be contemplated and loved in order to develop a better understanding of this truth. The following verses convey his ideals:³³

Watch the beloved with the eye of your heart
Look at the reflection of beauty and observe

Go, recognize the Sublime
Thus the reflection of His beauty has developed into two worlds,
here and hereafter

The spirit of the beloved cheers this world
This is why He displays Authority in creation

What is the reason of Mecnun's (*lover*) heart burning?
What is this expression on Leyla's (*beloved*) face?

Yahya's accounts are like a short summary of 'Arabî's doctrines on mystical love. There are also many references to the Melâmî-Bayrami poetry. Yahya explains the principles of divine love as embodied in the human being. He illustrates the mutual relationship between the creation and the creator. He discusses how they need

³³ *Ibid.*, 227:

Gönül gözüyle rûy-ı yârı gözle/ Bakup âyîne-i dîdârı gözle; Yüri zikr eyle nâm-ı
Zü'lcelâli/ Ki kevneyn oldı mirât-ı cemâli; Ruh-ı cânân virür dünyâya behcet/ İder bu
yüzden ol izhâr-ı kudret; Nedendür kalb-i Mecnûnda harâret/ Nedendür çihre-i
Leyîde hâlet

and necessitate one another.³⁴ And, as if with reference, to Molla Fenari's explanation about poetry as the best medium for the expression of love, Yahya informs language as the best medium to express this ideal. The following verses portray this thesis explicitly:³⁵

Thus when the one with black eye-brows is desired
The reflection of language is filled with love

If you burn a candle from the light of God
Everywhere there will be a station of paradise for you

The ones who acquired the True knowledge would stay away from this world
Their body flashes light in a divine way like lightening

This unknown mystery associated with God
Is not known to anyone but to God

In his poem, Yahya briefly illustrates the three different groups which represent different religious preferences within the Ottoman society. He mentions the esoteric teachings of the mysticism, the exoteric practices of the Orthodox Islam, and idolatry which stands outside the sphere of Islam:³⁶

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 228:

Kamunun hâlıkı bi'z-zât sensin/ Kamuya kâdîyü'l-hâcât sensin

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 227:

Çü ebrû-yı siyaha oldı mail/ Tolar sevdâ ile âyine-i dil; Yakarsan nûr-ı Mevlâdan
çerâğı/ Olur her yer sana cennet turagı; Yakîn ehli taallukdan olur dûr/ Vücûdı
Kabesinden berk urur nûr; Bu esrâr-ı nihanı mâ hüve'l-hak/ Hudâdan gayrı bilmez
kimse mutlak

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 229:

My heart would always prefer the esoteric
Some hearts prefer idolatry to (orthodox) prayer

Then, successfully he describes the co-existing practices of the mysticism and the Shariah. He compares the esoteric practice of mystic love with the exoteric worshipping of prayer. In this comparison, he uses the metaphors of the body, language, vision, meditation and space. According to Yahya, the body, vision, and real spaces are related to exoteric teachings. Language, poetry, contemplation and love are related to esoteric practices. Thus language is used to construct imaginary realms the heart would contemplate and travel into:³⁷

My flesh is here, my tongue together with the beloved
My eye at the mihrab, my mind is far-off

During of the 16th c. and 17th c., most of the orthodox scholars and jurists viewed Melâmîs outside the sphere of Islam due to their extensive assertion of individuality and their extreme interpretation of Ibn al'Arabî's doctrines. Melâmî masters were considered heretics, and their adherents as dissidents. However, Melâmîs struggled to portray themselves within the world of Islam and the world of the Ottoman authority. They presented their philosophy as a Sunni way of life. They asserted many times that they were not prone to idolatry; they did not have Shi'i or Ismaili inclinations.³⁸

Bu gönlüm her zamân bâtıllıg eyler/ Namâza kalb olur câhıllıg eyler

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 228:

Tenüm bunda dil-i âvâre cânda/ Gözüm mihrâbda aklum yabanda; Vücudum nefis-i
dûnumdan zebûndur/ Bana tesbîh zencîr-i cünûndur

³⁸ Ismail E. Erüsal, "Abdurrahman el-Askeri's Mir'atü'l-Isk: A New Source for the Melâmî Movement in the Ottoman Empire during the 15th and 16th Centuries," in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 84. Band (Wien 1994), 95-115.

Even though, it is not certain whether Yahya was a Melâmî or not, he most probably had Melâmî inclinations, or participated in groups which had philosophies similar to that of the Melâmîs; he participated in a community who practiced the doctrines of Ibn al'Arabî. These associations were enough for orthodox jurists to accuse him for being a heretic. However, Yahya chose to present his art as a medium to reconcile orthodox and heterodox tendencies. He presented his account of the guild boys as an attempt to introduce them to the Sultan. Thus by his poetry he claims that he presented the house of gazîs, the city of Edirne and the ordinary guild boys to the imperial court.

ŞEHRENGİZ OF ISTANBUL BY TAŞLICALI YAHYA (1520s)

Following Yahya's *Şehrengiz of Edirne*, his *Şehrengiz* on Istanbul does not have an explicit story as the former. The activities suggested in the poem do not necessarily refer to specific ritual activities or specific places as in the previous *Şehrengiz*. Though, again the first part of the poem is extremely clear in posing the poet as a mystic lover and portraying his aim to stir up the imagination of lovers by his poetry. Yahya uses the metaphor of two worlds several times.³⁹ In this first part of his poem, he cites mystic practices and especially the remembrance of the name of God as a way to attain the knowledge of the universal truth:⁴⁰

³⁹ *Yahya Bey Divanı*, ed. and trans. by Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, 244; 245; 250:

"Elifdür birliğine râst şâhid/ Ki olur Pâdişah-ı Ferd ü Vâhid;" "Zihî zât-ı 'ulüvv-ü sân-ı a'zam/ Anun bir kulıdır Fahr-i dü-'âlem;" "İki alemde bir ma'bûdsın sen/ Eger Ahmed disem Mahmûdsın sen;" "Sehî-katmerler ile zeyn olupdur/ Kenârı mecma'ü- l bahreyn olupdur"

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 244:

Those masters of mystic language who utter the name of God
Would open a way to the science of mystery

Who repeats this Glorious Name
Would hear mysteries by revelation inspired by the Creation

To a companion on the way to mysticism
It is enough for the individual, single word of Allah

Yahya describes the creation as it originated from the water. Then he compares the beauties of creation to the precious stone pearl. He acknowledges that beauty, originated from water and embodied in things, is only revealed by individual enlightenment and that individual enlightenment is made possible by the arts of poetry. Thus poetry triggers imagination and cognitive powers of the heart: ⁴¹

Out of a drop of water, the creates a beautiful form
His cheeks shining like moon rose colored

....

By will, the individual becomes a bright pearl
By pure understanding and by the power of poetry

Derûn-ı dilden ol kim diye Allâh/ Açar 'ilm-i beyân esrârına râh; Bu ism-i a'zamı kim
kılssa tekrâr/ Tutar ilhâm-ı Rabbânîden esrâr; Tarîkat râhına olmaga hem-râh/ Yiter
insane zikr-i lafzatu'llâh

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 245:

Yaradur katradan bir sûret-i hûb/ Kamer-fer 'ârızı gül-reng mahbûb; Nigârün kâkûlin
dâm-ı dil eyler/ Belâ-yı 'ışkı gayet müşkil eyler; Olur kadr ile merdüm dürr-i
meknun/ Virür idrâk-ı pâk ü tab-ı mevzûn

Poetry, which constantly plays with the multiplicity of forms and meanings, is a practice to comprehend and attain divine knowledge. Contemplating creation by means of poetry will reveal universal knowledge:⁴²

Watch all creation, constantly
The power of God will unfold like daylight

He swears that his purpose for writing this poem is not to cite the names of the beloved, but to remember and understand the unknown knowledge of God himself, in the recognition of the oneness of God in the multiplicity of his subjects. He proposes that every other name of the beloved is the name of the God himself.⁴³ Though, not only does he acknowledge the importance of contemplating the individual beloveds, but he also refers to the significance of other creations, other things such as nature, rivers, wells and cities that deserve to be appreciated and adorned, just like the prophets, or the ordinary people:⁴⁴

All of Ahmed and Mahmûd and Âdem (human being)

⁴² *Ibid.*, 245:

Nazar kıl cümle mevcûdâta her gâh/ Olur gün gibi zâhir kudretu'llâh; Zihî Rezzâk-ı
mahlûkat-ı 'âlem/ Zihî Tevvâb-ı ma'siyyat-ı âdem

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 250:

'Inayet eyle 'afvüni sened kıl/ Gönül derdine lutfundan meded kıl; Çü sırrı-ı
kudretündür dilde fikrüm/ Güzeller adı olsa n'ola zikrüm; İki alemde bir ma'bûdsın
sen/ Eger Ahmed disem Mahmûdsın sen; N'ola 'afvünle cânım gelse vecde/
Namâzı bâtil itmez sehv secde

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 250:

Bi-hakk-ı Ahmed ü Mahmûd u Adem/ Bi-hakk-ı Yeşrib ü Bathâ vü Zemzem; Bi-
hakk-ı rif'at-ı İdrîs ü 'İsâ/ Bi-hakk-ı mâcerâ-yı Nûh u Mûsâ; Bi-hakk-ı ârzu-yı vuslat-ı
yâr/ Bi-hakk-ı iştiyâk-ı ruy-ı dildâr

All *Yeşrib* (the city of Medine) and *Bathâ* (a river around Mekke between two mountains) and *Zemzem* (a well around Kabe)

All the higher ranking Idris and *Isa* (Christ)
All the adventures of *Nuh* (Noah) with *Musa* (David)

All desire for the beauty of the beloved
All are longing for the beloved

After explaining that his purpose for writing this poem is to acknowledge mystic love, Yahya cites the prophet and his four caliphs -Ebu Bekir, Ömer, Osman, and Haydar, and then he honors Sultan Süleyman, and his Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, locating his poetry within the orthodox world of the Ottoman authority. If the *Şehrengiz of Istanbul* is compared to the *Şehrengiz of Edirne*, the part where Yahya meets the mystic story teller in the city of Edirne is replaced by the appraisal of the prominent figures of the orthodox tradition, and the Ottoman court. In the *Şehrengiz of Edirne*, the story-teller refers to Edirne as the city of *gazîs*. However, in *Şehrengiz of Istanbul*, the poet replaces the memory of *gazîs* with a tribute to the prominent figures of the Shariah.

The poet again acknowledges his desire for love and the beloved. He prays for his metaphorical love to be developed into true love. Thus he prays for his poem to be enjoyed by all the lovers. He wishes that the multiplicity of the beloved ones depicted in this poem will eventually turn into the delight of comprehending the unity of the single beloved.

Before beginning to tell the central story of the narrative, namely the part on the multiple beloveds, Yahya, describes a pleasant spring day where nightingales are singing and different kinds of flowers -daffodils, roses, and tulips in blossom, ornamenting the grass paving of a meadow. He acknowledges that he has decided to write a beautiful story upon seeing this beautiful sight and picturing this stimulating spring day.

So, the story begins with a depiction of the city of Istanbul. He describes the city as prosperous in every respect and superior to paradise. He illustrates it as populated with a lot of beautiful people. He depicts the city as a place where the two worlds meet, where the esoteric and the exoteric worlds, the Tariqat and the Shariah meet, similar to the meeting place of two seas. Like many other mystics, especially those who consider themselves as disciples of Khidr,⁴⁵ Yahya uses the metaphor of the meeting of two seas when illustrating the city.⁴⁶

Graceful and slender lovers like the young bodies of plants ornament the city
Two seas merge into one another at its edge

He compares the city with the paradise garden:⁴⁷

Such a city that all its verses are prosperous
The houris of the Heaven realized their shortcomings looking from the Heaven

Yahya carries on using Sufi metaphors. As if to represent the Sufi lodge, and the Sufi dance performance, he represents the city in the form of different objects which are all circular. He illustrates the city as a silver anklet or as the ring of the king Solomon.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Hugh Talat Halman, "Where Two Seas Meet": The Quranic Story of Khidr and Moses in Sufi Commentaries as a Model for Spiritual Guidance," Unpublished Ph. D. diss. (Duke University, 2000).

⁴⁶ *Yahya Bey Divanı*, ed. and trans. by Çavuşoğlu, 250:

Sehî-kametlerle zeyn olupdur/ Kenârı mecma'u'l-bahreyn olupdur

⁴⁷ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 95:

Ne şehir ol kim anun her beyti ma'mur/ Kusurın bildi cennetden görüp hûr

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 95:

As a beautiful lover
The waters has become an anklet around her ankle

Her body as the ring (the stamp-ring of the Sultan) of Süleyman
For her the sea has become a silver circle (ring)

or, as a belt.⁴⁹

The ones who are watching its elongated walls
Said it resembles a lover with a silver belt

Instead of particularly depicting a significant event where poetry is read, he mentions that the beautiful beloved ones of this city are acquainted with a lot of poems, and that they cite these poems in wine and music assemblies. Yahya illustrates these beautiful beloved ones swimming naked.⁵⁰

Taking off their clothes get into the water naked
Breasts like rose-buds, silver bodies unfold

Upon seeing them naked in the water

Açılmış bahra anun nice bâbı/ Kanad açmış sanasın murg-ı âbî; Ne hüsnile bir
mahbûb-ı zîba/ Gümüş halhâldur pâyinde derya; Vücudı hâtem-i mühr-i Süleyman/
Ana bir halka-i sîm oldu umman

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 95:

İdenler sûr-ı memdûdını manzar/ Didi simin kemerlu hûba benzer

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 96:

Soyunup suya gireler sera-ser/ Açılır gonca-lebler sim-tenler; Görürsün anları suda
soyunmuş; Sanasın taze güller suya konmuş

One may take them for fresh roses on water

Though, again unlike his *Şehrengiz of Edirne*, the narrative does not mention any particular river, riverside, or meadow. It does not indicate a specific location where the beloved ones might be swimming.

Then, as conveyed by Yahya, these beloved ones would sail to Galata in small boats. In Galata, they would stroll and enjoy themselves. Then, he cites the names and occupations of fifty-eight young men. The young men are from all over the city, from the neighborhoods of Eyüp, Yedikule, Galata, from the bazaars: “*Astarsuz Mehmed Beg-oglu*,” “*Nakkaş Bâlî-oglu Rahmi*,” “*Yeniçeri Safer Bâlî*,” “*Biçakçızâde*,” “*Lokmân*,” “*Hammâmcı-zâde*,” “*Bostancı-zâde*,” “*Katib Hamza Balî*,” “*the anonymous lad from one of the Sufi lodges*,” “*Tozkoparan-oglu*,” “*Helvâcıbaşı-oglu*,” “*Hasırcıbaşı*,” “*Attar*,” “*Hallac*,” ... a doctor,” “Janissary corps,” “a painter,” “an officer,” “sherbet-maker,” etc.

Among these fifty-eight young men, three of the characters suggest further interpretation. These characters are, a janissary who was responsible for the public peace of the common parks and gardens, a musician, and a certain figure called Hamza Bali.

The janissary corp (*Bostancı*) is the gardener and the guardian who is responsible for the maintenance and control of open spaces like gardens, vineyards, or meadows. Yahya portrays him as someone who would neither participate nor interfere with the party, but who would simply watch the assembly.⁵¹ Yahya informs a musician called Ca’fer. Ca’fer plays music in the assembly.⁵²

⁵¹ *Yahya Bey Divanı*, ed. and trans. by Çavuşoğlu, 261:

Bostancı-zâde didükleri serv-i bâladur; Biri Bostancı-oglu serv-i dil-cû/ Akar kaddine
gönlüm nitekim su; Eger 'âşıkların buldukca her gâh/ Yalınız seyr ider gün gibi ol
mâh; Bizümle birlige yitmez ne çâre/ Gerekdür ektilige de sitâre

⁵² *Ibid.*, 265:

The third character has the same name with a prominent Melâmî character Hamza Bali, the Melâmî master of the Balkan Peninsula, who was well known in the second half of the 16th century. This part of the poem, citing the name of the Melâmî pole Hamza Bali could even be an invocation in the honor of his name, or a reference of sympathy to the Bayrami-Melâmî order.⁵³

Yahya refers his poem as a notebook of beloved ones, or as a rose garden.⁵⁴ He explains that it has been composed to bring joy to all lovers.⁵⁵ He conveys the wish that his poem would become famous and be cited in assemblies of lovers. He also wishes that it would also be recognized and appreciated by the mystics. Finally Yahya expresses his wish is that his words would come true and the mystics would approve his poem. Then the mystics allow his poem to be recognized in the city and Yahya to become famous because each of its verses that make up the story is

Bir gûyende dilber-i garrâdur; Biri Sâzende Ca'fer oldu nâmı/ Müşerref kıldı sâzı her makâmı; Kaçan kim sâza dem-sâz ola bî-bâk/ Olur çarh üzre Zöhre zehresi çâk; Makâm-ı gamda oldu kâmetüm çeng/ İdelden perde-i 'uşşâka âheng"

⁵³ *Yahya Bey Divanı*, ed. and trans. by Çavuşoğlu, 265:

Biri bir hûb kâtib Hamza Bâlî/ Ki olmaz hüsn-i hattınun misâli; Yazar 'ışk ehlinün hâlini her bâr/ Kirâmen kâtibîn olmışdur ol yâr; N'ola alnında olsa hâl-i hindû/ Yazılır evvel-i ser-nâmede hû

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 272; 272; 273;

"Kitab-ı Çâr k'oldı çâr gevher/ semâdan nâzil olmuşdur mukarrer" ; "Nitekim devr ide bu devr-i 'âlem/ Bu defterden birisi olmasun kem" ; "Okınmağa açılma bu gülistân/ Sabâ-veş dahl iderse ana nâdân"

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 250:

Görelər cân gibi her yirde makbûl/ Ola 'âşıklarun eglencesi ol; Okındukca bu nazm-ı silk-i gevher/ Sadef gibi kulak tutsun güzeller

like a jewel to be appreciated. Upon hearing the decision of the scholars regarding the success of his poem, Yahya becomes quite excited and happy. First he mentions that upon accepting this approval, he goes to a holy lodge, to a Sufi lodge. Then, in the following verses, he rephrases that this holy lodge is actually the abode of the Sultan. And the story concludes, as the poet feels happy and cheerful for his accomplishment.

In the *Şehrengiz of Istanbul*, the story seems to take place on a more abstract level. To the difference of the *Şehrengiz of Edirne*, composed by the same poet, there is no suggestion of performance or whirling. There is no explicit indication of a Sufi lodge that can be located within the city. There is no description of a specific riverside meadow, where the common folk would go and enjoy themselves, wash out their sins by bathing in the river, joyfully playing or mediating in the arts of poetry and conversing. There is no reference to a particular pavilion, kiosk, or any covered space that the participants of this group used to meet for poetry parties.

However, the narrative clearly refers to each one of these activities without referring to their particular spaces. *Şehrengiz of Istanbul* becomes a similar account of the Friday afternoons as told in the *Şehrengiz of Edirne*, however devoid of any reference to particular spaces.

It is most probable that by constantly repeating the circle metaphor, Yahya tries to evoke a Sufi gathering. His account of boys swimming gives the idea that he is by a riverside. It is most probable that Yahya alludes to a Sufi gathering at a meadow by the riverside. The poet and the guild boys gather in this open space. They dance, swim, listen to music and read poetry. The Bostancı who is responsible for taking care of this open space notices them, but he prefers not to interfere with the party. He only watches this gathering from a distance.

ŞEHRENGİZ OF ISTANBUL BY KALKANDELENLİ FAKİRİ (c. 1534)

Praying for his sins, Fakiri introduces himself as a lover. He praises the Sultan Süleyman and the prophet Mohammed. After portraying a spring scene, he begins to tell about the city of Istanbul. He mentions a single lover, again returns back to the depiction of the city, cites 43 beloved ones, and concludes his story.⁵⁶

In Fakiri's *Şehrengiz*, city is represented in circular shape:⁵⁷

Such a city with a beautiful view like a bride
The throne of the Sultan of the seven worlds

Its darkness (gardens, vineyards, meadows, fields) is a land to seek refuge
Its brightness is where the two seas converge

With a circular wall, the city of the Sultan
Captured all the months within

Regarding the invitations of the Heavens or the Angels
Drawing a circle upon the ground

⁵⁶ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 31-33; 97-101.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 97:

"Ne şehir ol bir arûs-ı hûb-manzar/ Serîr-i padişah-ı heft-kışver; Sevâdî Melce'-i
kevneyn olupdur/ Beyazı mecmau'l-bahreyn olupdur; Müdevver sûrile bu şehir-i
şâhî/ İhata eyleyüpdür cümle mâhî; Felek yahut perîler da'vetine/ Çeküpdür dâyre
levh-i zemine; Ya bir simin kemerlû dil-rûbadur/ Ki halk-ı âlem ana mübtelâdur; Ya
bir mahbûbdur bu şehir-i zîbâ/ K'ayagina sürer yüzini derya; Ya sâk-ı arşa derya
takdı halhâl/ Ya mürg-i devlete bir sîm-gûn bâl; Yahud bir halkadur takdı zamâne/
Arûs-ı gerden gûş-i cihana; Nazîri yok güzelliğe bu şehrin/ Giripdür gönline berrile
baharun

Either this city is a lover with a silver belt
That all its citizens are addicted to

Or a lover this bejeweled city is
That the sea rubs its face upon his feet

Either the sea has put on an anklet on his slender wrist
Or it is a silver colored bird from the kingdom of birds

.....

There is no similar to it in terms of beauty
Has won the love of the lands and the sea

Istanbul is compared first to the paradise garden, second to a Sufi lodge, third to a Sufi dervish. The city is described to have a beauty above the Paradise garden. Surrounded by walls on one side and the sea on three sides, it is depicted in a circular form, as a Sufi lodge. Then, the whole city is depicted as the body of a dervish. The interior of the city is described as a paradise garden. Thus, entering the city from its doors, one feels that he is entering the paradise garden.⁵⁸

If the Holy Spirit had seen the festivities of this city
He would complain about the Holy Pavilion

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 97-98:

Bu şehrin Ruh-ı kudsi gorse sûrın/ Bulurdı Beyt-i ma'mûrun kusurın; Çû sûrını bu
şehrün itdü seyran/ Açup ağzın kapılar kaldı hayran; Zihî dergeh ki derya sâhilidür/
Mıyan-bendinde keştî keçkülidür; Alup etrafını sîmîn-bedenler / Bu şehre gice
gündüz hizmet eyler; Temaşa eylesen her bûrc ü bâru/ Açupdur cennetün kasrına
kapu

Thus watching the festivities of this city
Doors have opened with amazement

A charming lodge, it is a coast to the sea
Tied to its belt, its ships are the prayer's bowl

The radiant bodies encircle
Worship this city night and day

If you watch the city walls and fortifications
Doors open to the palace of the paradise

Throughout the poem, dwellers are depicted as happy and satisfied in a paradise like city compared to the legendary Garden of Iram:

Like the Iram Garden, all its places are prosperous
A tender breeze makes all its citizens happy and pleasant⁵⁹

Every sinful getting into this prosperous state
Watch and adore this paradise like place⁶⁰

There is nothing similar to it, it is the one and only in this world

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 98:

İrem bağı gibi her beyt-i mamur/ Nesim-i hulki eyler halkı mesrur

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 98:

Zihi devlet girüp her bir güneş-kâr/ Bu cennet içre eyler seyr-i didâr

Such a gracious such a beautiful city⁶¹

Beloved ones are compared to beautiful trees and rose blossoms: ⁶²

Whenever it is spring time, cypress and pine trees
Graceful bodies like lovely blossoming roses

They either scroll in the fields, or swim in the river: ⁶³

They either scroll out in the fields bashfully
Or, like a rose utter their desire for the sea

Fakiri describes the recreational activities related to the sea at length. He describes people enjoying themselves in rowing boats. As they sail to the place of gathering, they watch their reflection in the water. Each one of them is like the sun in the darkness of the dark water, or the moonlight reflecting on the river. Those who sail watch their environment and the city in pleasure. They also swim in the sea. People watch and admire this joyful setting. The city forms the background of

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 98:

Naziri yok cihanda bidedeldür/ İken nâzûk iken şehri güzeldür

⁶² *Ibid.*, 99:

Bahar oldıkça her serv ü sanavber/ Lebi gonce gül-i nazûk-bedenler

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 99:

Çıkıp Eyyubiler seyran iderler/ Varup âşıkların hayran iderler; Binince keştiye bir mâh-peyker/ Kıran eyler hilâle mihr-i enver; İderler naz ile geh seyr-i sahra/ Kılurlar gül gibi geh azm-i derya; Girürler gül gibi âb-ı revâna/ Olup can câna vü gönlek yabâna; Talup deryaya her yana yüzerler; Deniz malikleri olmuş güzeller; Nazar kılsan suda her mâh-tâba/ Güneşdür gûyya girmiş sehâba

the setting. In the foreground, the beloved ones sail and swim in the sea, resembling precious stones.⁶⁴

The beautiful view of this city is the mother of pearl
Beauties are pearls and jewels within

Nevertheless the one who has the wisdom of the present-day lovers
Has depicted some of them into a string of pearls

Thus the mind falls short of comprehending
The wise man has not seen anything comparable

With meaning and pearls, this view
Becomes almost like the essence lined on string of pearls

Composing jewels into a text, the wise man of this world
Has narrated one by one this city

Fairy-faced angelic-scenes
Beauties with elongated posture, tulip cheeks

Thus every one of them is an amulet for the essence

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 100-101:

Sadefdür işbu şehr-i hûb-manzar/ Dür ü gevher içinde güzeller; Velî sarrâf-ı uşşâk-ı
zamâne/ Getürmiş bir kaçın silk-i beyâna; Ki ta'rîfinde kasır akl-ı insan/ Nazîrin
görmemiş sarrâf-ı devran; Maâni dürlerle bu mazâhir/ Olupdur gûyya silk-i cevâhir;
Güherler nesr idüp sarrâfı dehrün/ Getürmüş nazma bir bir işbu şehrün; Perî-
peyker melek-manzarlarında/ Sehî-kâd lâle-had dilberlerinde; Ki her birisi anun
hîrz-ı candor/ Dilümde rûz u şeb vîrd-i zebandu

Day and night has become a riddle on my tongue

Fakiri illustrates the city by using Sufi metaphors. He recalls the dancing of dervishes along a circle, the circular layout of Sufi lodges, the prayer bowl of the Sufi dervishes and the dervish belt. He describes the city as an object, as a space, as a body by using Sufi metaphors. These descriptions suggest that the poet proposes an image of the city. This image is both an ideal representation and a real one. Ideally the city within the city walls is represented as a garden, either similar to the paradise garden, or similar to the legendary Garden of Iram whose magnificence preceded the beauty of the former. As well, the geographical location and the topography of the city are described. The city is presented as a real space.

In Fakiri's *Şehrengiz*, there is a constant emphasis on visuality. Similar to the ideal and real images of the city, visuality also develops in ideal and real realms. The poem narrates the vision of the angels as they see the city from above. It also narrates the vision of ordinary people watching the city and its environs. The poem uses a variety of words to describe a setting, a scene, or a panorama (*manzar*, *suret*, *hûb-manzar*, *mazâhir*, *melek-manzarları*) and the act of watching (*itdi seyran*, *temaşa eylesen*, *temaşa eyleyen*, *seyran iderler*, *eyler seyr-i dîdâr*). Throughout the narrative, there is a constant emphasis on watching the city, watching the city in the background, watching a view, an event, or people.

It is most likely that the poet is seated on one of the hilltops overlooking the city. He could either be in the Galata region, Sütlüce, or above Eyüp overlooking the Golden Horn. The city with the seven hills is in the background as the poet describes it. In the foreground there is the canal where beautiful young guild boys are sailing. Some are swimming and some are traveling to the meadows at the skirts of this hilltop.

ŞEHRENGİZ OF ISTANBUL IN “ŞAH U GEDÂ” BY TAŞLICALI YAHYA (1540s)

His famous collection of five stories includes the story called *Şah u Gedâ* which is listed under the category of *Şehrengiz* by Levend. *Şah u Gedâ* is a love story that takes place in Istanbul. It narrates the platonic love of *Gedâ* (the beggar) for the *Şah* (a boy who is actually called Ahmed and personified as an emperor). Yahya's story is about metaphorical love. It mentions that True Love can only be attained after experiencing metaphorical love.⁶⁵

The poem illustrates the city of Istanbul where the story takes place, talks about a Friday afternoon when the congregation takes place at Hagia Sophia. It describes the building and its environs, displaying the dynamism of this city space vividly. After some spatial descriptions, it evokes four beloved ones. Later, in the poem begins the story of *Gedâ* and *Şah*.

The city of Istanbul is represented in Sufi metaphors similar to those in the previous poems. However, the city is also represented as the throne of the Ottoman Empire. The name for the city is given “*Konstantınıyye*.” It is represented as a space where the two seas meet. The poem depicts the city as surrounded by walls; some of the city doors open to the sea. The beauty of the city precedes the beauty of paradise garden. It is populated with countless buildings. Domes resemble vessels in the sea.

The poem narrates a Friday prayer at Hagia Sophia. On Fridays, people flow to this space like water. The space and the congregation also resemble the paradise garden. It illustrates the eight doors, the dome as seen from the interior and the exterior, arches, minarets, pillars, the minbar, and the Sultan's prayer space. In a couple of verses, it also mentions various kinds of marble used in the building;

⁶⁵ Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, vol. 2, 92-102.

describes their color, value and properties. The narrative animates architectural features of the space with metaphors from nature. Marble columns resemble cypress trees, glowing oil lamps resemble yellow flowers, and the worshippers resemble roses in a garden.⁶⁶

How extraordinary like the gardens of Paradise
That place has eight doors

As if it has become the rose garden of the Heavens
Cypresses are the green columns there

Oil lamps burn glowing
Like yellow tulips and daffodils

Worshippers wearing white caps
Ornament this garden like white roses

The poem also illustrates the Hippodrome, as it becomes a populated place on Fridays with people flowing there from all the surrounding streets. People who are going to Hagia Sophia gather at the Hippodrome. The poem compares the open space to a tent accommodating travelers as guest. He further describes the Hippodrome, the Serpentine Column, the column of Constantine and the Egyptian Obelisk; and refers to the view of the Marmara Sea as it can be seen from the end of the Hippodrome. The poem describes the Hippodrome and the city similar to the paradise garden.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 103:

Ne acebdür ki bağ-ı cennet vâ/ Ol makamun sekiz kapısı var; Gül-şen-i cennet
oldı ol gûyâ/ Servilerdür yeşil direkler ana; Anda kindîller yanar par par/ Sarı laleyle
nergise benzer; Mü'minün başı üzre destârı/ Ak gülile bezer o gül-zârı

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 105:

The Hippodrome is very nice with the fountains
Fountains has become similar to the rivers of the paradise garden

....

This city has almost become the garden of paradise
Thousands of young men filled it at once

ŞEHRENGİZ OF ISTANBUL BY TAB'Î ISMAIL (BEFORE 1562)

Tab'î Ismail's *Şehrengiz* calls the city "Stanbol" and depicts its four neighborhoods briefly. These four sites resemble four columns supporting the city. First one is Eyüp, the second one is Kağıthane, the third, Yenikapı, and the fourth one is Beşiktaş. Kağıthane and Yenikapı are acknowledged as meadows.⁶⁸ The dating of the poem is not certain. Levend argues that it must be composed before 1562. However, it is also possible that the poem could have been composed before 1636, or 1653.

ŞEHRENGİZ OF ISTANBUL, ANONYMOUS (BEFORE 1566)

The story begins as the poet illustrates a rose garden. He narrates the roses talking to one another. The anonymous poet becomes so extremely excited about

Hûbdur çeşmelerle mabeyni/ Çeşmeler oldı kevserün aynı; Oldı bu şehir sank bağ-ı
cihan/ Vardürir anda nice bin gılman

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

the garden scene he is illustrating that he begins to portray the city with pleasure. He compares the city to paradise. He states that this city could have been the paradise itself, since it is as beautiful and as pleasing as the paradise. Thus all of its places are populated with beloved ones and with God. He describes the whole city as a pearl in the vast universe.

The poem calls the city “*şehr-i Stanbul*” (city of Istanbul). He compares the sight of the city with its numerous monuments to a scene depicted in a well known legendary anecdote which takes place before the flood. This legend narrates the pavilion of the seventh heaven “*Firdevs*” as located within the area around Ka’be. According to the story, this pavilion was relocated on earth together with Adam, as he was descended from the Heavens. The poet reminds the reader about this story, and compares the buildings of the city of Istanbul to the heavenly pavilion, and Kaaba. He describes each one of the mosques in the city as divine as Ka’be, and equates the Sultan’s palace to the heavenly pavilion of the tale. He further describes the fountains of the city. He personifies the numerous fountains with their gushing water evoking them as lovers who are burst into tears. Then he acknowledges that the city of Istanbul has become a site of pilgrimage. Thus it has become a true path for the friends of God. He briefly refers to the beloved ones walking in waters without illustrating any specific or location within the city. Then he discloses twenty-five beloved ones from the city and concludes his story. The below verses renders part of the poet’s depiction of the city of Istanbul:⁶⁹

If Adam had ever seen that bejeweled location
The heart would have forgotten the Paradise

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 105:

Göreydi âdem ol zîbâ makamı/ Unudurdu dilâ Daru’s-selâmı; Anun her câmi’i bir
Ka’be-i nur/ Saray-ı şah olupdur Beyt-i ma’mur; Olup âşüfte her bir çeşme-sârı/
Gözinden yaş döker gördükçe yârı; İder halk-ı cihan dayım ziyaret/ Olupdur san bu
şeh-rah-ı velâyet; Girer suya güzeller anda gâhî/ Düşer bahra sanasın aks-ı mâhî

Every one of its mosques is a divine reflection of Ka'be
Sultan's palace is Beyt-i ma'mur

Its numerous fountains are passionate
Burst into tears upon seeing the beloved

The people of the world at all times visit
As if it turns into a spacious path for the friends of God

The beloved ones walk into the waters
You would take them for the reflection of fish on water

ŞEHRENGİZ OF ISTANBUL BY DEFTERDARZADE CEMÂLİ AHMED (1564)

Cemâli's story begins as he talks about his divine love for the Beloved. Cemâli describes himself as a sinful person. He reveals that his desire and passion for the beloved ones disable him from performing daily prayers as requested by the religion. Like Mesîhî, he narrates day and night, and then begins to tell his story about sailing in the waters of Bosphorus.

The main story begins as the poet recounts his arrival to the city. He acknowledges the geographical location of the city with respect to the two seas merging into one another, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean:⁷⁰

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 106:

O gün çün göz açup dünyaya geldüm/ Beni ben bir ulu şehir içinde buldum; degül
şems ü kamerle merkez-i hâk/ İki gözile bakdı hake eflâk; Acep şehir-lî lâtif ğ nakş ü
zînet/ O denlu halk cem' olmak vilâyet; Şimali mecma'u'l-bahreyn-i ra'nâ/ Yedi tâğ-ı
musavver hûb u zîbâ

That day my eyes wide open I have been born into this world
I have found myself in a glorious city

It is not the sun or the moon, but still the center of the world
The skies have looked upon this world with two eyes

How wonderful this nice city ornamented with jewels
How populated it is as the assembly of friends

To its north, seas converge delightfully
Its seven hills are beautiful and handsome

All belong to it, both the Black Sea and the Mediterranean
The sea of trees and the sea of men

As if the poet is sailing, he portrays the panorama of the city from the sea. He describes the city with numerous minarets extending beyond the skyline of seven hills.

The poem describes activities that take place either on the Golden Horn or at Bosphorus. It acknowledges a festivity performed by rope-dancers and acrobats. A group of guild boys watch the performance and enjoy themselves. The poem also narrates people swimming. The poem describes the panorama of the numerous boats and ships, maritime vessels sailing. Then, it portrays the sultan and his court sailing. As well, it tells about common people who enjoy sailing. The poem states that with these activities the city becomes more festive than the paradise:⁷¹

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 107:

İderse anda beğlikile âlem/ Dahi uçmak hevâsın itmez âdem

If ever participate in the festivities there
One will not even desire to ascend to the heavens

The poem talks of numerous boats sailing from one station to another, as lovers wandering after beloved ones. Boats carry beautiful young boys. Lovers are delighted to watch them. The poem refers to neighborhoods along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, which are landing points for the ones sailing. It lists these in the following order; Kağıthane, Göksu, Anadolu Hisarı, Anadolu Kavağı, Kadıköy, Üsküdar, Tavşan Island, Eyüp, Sütlüce, Beşiktaş, Galata, Yenibahçe, Davudpaşa. City dwellers bath and swim in the muddy waters of Kağıthane. The new castle and its environs are acknowledged as favorable sites to visit, surrounded by imperial gardens. Göksu, Kavak and Kadıköy are depicted as paradise like places. Eyüp is recognized a site of pilgrimage. Greeks prefer traveling to the Tavşan Island. Galata is represented as a foreign country.

The city is described as a garden. The streets resemble flower beds and city dwellers resemble a grove:⁷²

Such a garden this bright city is
Streets are beautiful flower beds

The beauty of the city surpasses the beauty of all the other cities of Egypt, or the city of Damascus. It resembles the paradise garden with its beautiful coastline and its cypress groves:⁷³

⁷² *Ibid.*, 109:

Heman bir bahçedir ol şehir-i mahsun/ Sokaklar oldu anda tarh-ı mevzun; Leb-i
derya vü servistan-ı zibâ/ Budur firdevs ger varise hemtâ

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 109:

Leb-i derya vü servistan-ı zibâ/ Budur firdevs ger varise hemtâ

Its coastline and ornamented cypress groves
This is the paradise garden if there is anything similar to it

The narration of the city concludes as the poet acknowledges that by traveling to this city and contemplating its beauties, he thinks he has seen the whole world:⁷⁴

I have completed my voyage watching and journeying in the city
Believed I have traveled the whole world at that moment

Of all the numerous things that are beautiful and cherished
I have contemplated and watched them carefully

After the portrayal of the city he praises the beauty of the guild boys and concludes his poem by acknowledging his wish that his festive *Şehrengiz* shall be cited in the assemblies of the wise, and thus it shall become famous within the city of Istanbul.⁷⁵

The story must be told in a bath house, since throughout the story, the narrative is constantly interrupted by scenes from a bath house. The poem occasionally depicts scenes from a bath house. It describes hot and cold spaces of a hammam, its water system, architectural details, courtyard and people bathing.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 112:

Temamet eyledim bu şehri seyran/ Bütün dünyayı san geştirdüm ol an; Ne denlû
var ise makbul ü ra'na/ Varup karşısına kıldım temaşa

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

Cemâli, who composed the *Şehrengiz* of Istanbul, also composed another poem for the province of Siroz. In the *Şehrengiz* of Siroz the poet acknowledges that he was suffering in pain because of his beloved and he left Istanbul and traveled to Siroz. Cemâli accounts for twenty-four beloved ones in his *Şehrengiz*. At the end of the poem, he wishes that his accounts will be gathered as a book of divine love leading the ones to divine knowledge.⁷⁶

Collect all my divine words into a book
Open a door for me to the world of love

Turn the sea of language into the sea of divine
Turn the text of heart into the meadow of knowledge

ŞEHRENGİZ OF ISTANBUL BY YEDIKULELİ MUSTAFA AZİZİ (BEFORE 1585)

Aiziz's *Şehrengiz* is different from all the others since it is the only *Şehrengiz* poem that depicts women as the beloved ones. The poem narrates a private party gathered at the poet's house. The poet Azizi hosts this party. He acknowledges that his friends have honored him visiting his house. They were joyful and they brought happiness to his sorrowful house. As each one of the guests took a seat and sat without any purpose, they have suggested that that they should make use of this meeting and organize a party. Thus, with this convincing proposal, they

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 44:

İlahi her kelâmum bir kitab it/ Bana ışk aleminden feth-i bâb it; İdüp dil nehreini
deryâ-yı umman/ Gönül yazusun it sahrâ-yı ırfan

began to enjoy themselves drinking wine and conversing. They sing many songs and cite many poems. They either cite poems or *Şehrengiz* poems. Upon citing a certain *Şehrengiz* poem, one of the guests initiates a discussion. He suggests that there should also be one *Şehrengiz* describing the beauty of different women. Different nature, characters, qualities and beauties of women should also be illustrated and learned. He wonders that if all things created reflect the beauty of the divine being, the beauty of women should not be ignored. It should also be contemplated. He asserts that if there were no women and no beloved ones, the world would have been devoid of any meaning. While discussing on the beauty of women, the guests insist that Azizi should compose a new *Şehrengiz* on women. First the poet refuses to accomplish his guests' wish. However, upon their assertion, he begins to compose a new *Şehrengiz*. He tells about fifty women with different names, different character traits and different beauties. Some of these women are the daughters of the guilds. Some practice their own professions.

Names of the women given appear to be symbolical, such as : *Zaman* (Time), *Cennet* (Paradise), *Penbe* (Cotton), *Alem* (World), *Ak Alem* (White World), *Küçük Kamer* (Little Moon), *Ak Güvercin* (White Pigeon), *Eğlence* (Festivity). The beauty of the women is described with natural metaphors. A variety of character traits are displayed. The below verses are examples from the depiction of three different ladies. The names of these ladies as *Meryem*, *Cennet*, *Fatımane* can be transcribed as Iris, Paradise, and Shining:

One is Iris, the most insane of all women
I have become a lace to tie her mad hair⁷⁷

One is known as Paradise, her lips like wine

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 125:

Biri divane Meryemdür zenânun/ Saçı zencirine bendoldum anun

Let me my Lord experience this moment with comfort⁷⁸

One is Shining, the daughter of the candle-maker
I have become dust burning with her light⁷⁹

ŞEHRENGİZ OF EDİRNE BY NEŞATİ AHMED DEDE (1674)

Neşati was a Mevlevi dervish from the Edirne lodge. He was also a Melâmî sheikh. In his poem, he states that he has written this poem to give please the world, to enjoy and to intoxicate the ones who are fond of conversing. His poem does not have any spatial references or depictions to any particular place. His language is rather difficult compared to other *Şehrengiz*. He recalls fourteen beloved ones. The last beloved is called Bayram. The poem dwells longer upon Bayram than upon the other ones.⁸⁰

Neşati's *Şehrengiz* is important since it suggests that *Şehrengiz* poems were acknowledged in Mevlevi assemblies or Melâmî circles. His reference to the joy of conversing is also important. Because conversing was one of the Melâmî practices which was acknowledged as leading the mystics on the path towards God. It should also not be unintentional that his *Şehrengiz* concludes recalling a beloved named Bayram. Similar to Mesîhî's *Şehrengiz* which concludes by recalling Hacı

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 126:

Birinün namı Cennet la'lii kevser/ Huda itsinanı bana müyesser

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 127:

Birisi mumcu kızı Fatimane/ Kül oldum ışkî ile yana yana

⁸⁰ *Neşati Divanı*, ed. by Mahmut Kaplan (İzmir: Akademi, 1996).

Bayram Veli, Neşati might also be recalling the leading figure of the Melâmî tradition.

ANALYSIS OF CITY RITUALS

LIBERATED ORDER OF CITY RITUALS

We have learnt from a reading of these poems that *Şehrengiz* rituals took place in the spaces of a sufi lodge (*Şehrengiz of Edirne* by Mesîhî, 1512); in a blossoming garden (*Şehrengiz of Istanbul* by Taşlıcalı Yahya, c. 1540s); in a rose garden (*Şehrengiz of Istanbul, Vize and Çorlu* by Katib, 1513); in a populated house (*Şehrengiz of Edirne* by Taşlıcalı Yahya, c. 1520s); at a meadow (*Şehrengiz of Istanbul* by Taşlıcalı Yahya, c. 1520s; *Şehrengiz of Istanbul* by Fakiri, 1534), at a private house (*Şehrengiz of Istanbul* by Azizi, before 1585), or at a *bath house* (*Şehrengiz of Istanbul* by Cemâli, 1564).

Şehrengiz poems present two different aspects concerning rituals. There is a common theme and motive concerning all the poems, however events don't follow a specified order. The common theme in all *Şehrengiz* poems is traveling and experience of city spaces. However, it is not possible to define a specific order of spaces or events experienced. Though some poems suggest similar patterns of discovery, there is no specific sequence of events that concerns all the poems.

Şehrengiz rituals include diverse experiences such as; praying at a mosque, praying at a Sufi lodge, dancing rituals at Sufi lodges, walking down the hills from a Sufi lodge to the meadow, traveling from one city to another, visiting different cities and provinces, staying at friend's houses, walking in the streets, visiting guild shops at the bazaar, visiting imperial mosques, tombs, attending private parties at gardens, attending parties at meadows, going to bath houses, visiting populated

houses, visiting private spaces for friendly gatherings and reading poetry, going to bath houses, storytelling, skating on a frozen river, walking by the river, walking in rivers, playing at meadows, swimming in rivers and canals, sailing, watching the city and its beauties, talking about the city and about the prominent figures of the city, acknowledging about the arts and crafts of different guilds, recounting the names and nature of guild boys.

Şehrengiz poems frequently illustrate that the citizens are in favor of journeying to and within the city. Like in Fakiri's Istanbul, different types of movement in various city spaces are depicted, whether in the fields or at the sea:⁸¹

They either scroll out in the fields bashfully (seyr)
Or like a rose utter their desire for the sea

In Yahya's *Şehrengiz*, the beautiful young men of the common public are depicted wandering in the city space and traveling to Galata:⁸²

Getting on a ship many beloved ones
Go to Galata for a visit (*ayak seyranı*)

Or, in Lami's Bursa, strolling and watching the beauties of the city is portayed as part of the imperial tradition:⁸³

⁸¹ Ibid., 99:

İderler naz ile geh seyr-i sahra/ Kılurlar gül gibi geh azm-i derya

⁸² Ibid., 96:

Binüp keştiye dahi nice dilber/ Kalatada ayak seyranın eyler

⁸³ Ibid., 26:

Haber aldum ki Şahenşah-i devran/ Gelürmiş Bursa şehrin ide seyranı; Salup zıll-i saadet-güsterini/ Temaşa itmel için her yirini

I have been informed that the Sultan
Would come to visit and see the city of Bursa (*seyran*)

Let his high spirited shadow that offers happiness
To stroll and watch it all over (*temaşa*)

Experiences recollected in different examples of the *Şehrengiz* genre changes from one poem to the other. Even though the poems more or less follow a specific structure, which will be studied in the following pages of this chapter, the events and spaces experienced don't follow a specific order. *İlahi*, which is a genre in mystic literature initiated by Hacı Bayram Veli and later flourished during the same period as the *Şehrengiz* genre, also share this lack of a definite composition.⁸⁴

The rituals of *Şehrengiz* are accounts of individuals' experience in the city. This experience is both a metaphysical and a physical journey that take place in the ideal and real spaces of the city. The rituals portray the city as a place of pilgrimage. Sufi literature accounts for metaphysical and physical journeys that take place mutually. In many examples, individual enlightenment aimed by way of spiritual journeying actually corresponds to a physical journey.⁸⁵

Hagiographies also narrate physical and spiritual journeys. In the 16th c. there is an increase in the genre of dervish hagiographies (*menâkıbnâme*). Among many, there is one Melâmî hagiography called *Mir'ât'ül-Işk* by Abdurrahman el-Askeri. It maps the development of the Melâmî society between Edirne, Istanbul and Aksaray, in the first half of the 16th c. Concerned with the growing hostility towards

⁸⁴ Walter Feldman, "Mysticism, Didacticism and Authority in the Liturgical Poetry of the Halvetî Dervishes of Istanbul," *Edebiyât* n.s. 4.2 (1993), 243-265.

⁸⁵ Miriam Cooke, "Introduction: Journeys Real and Imaginary." *Edebiyât* n.s. 4.2 (1993): 151-154; Julie Scott Meisami, "The Theme of the Journey in Nizami's Haft Paykar" *Edebiyât* n.s. 4.2 (1993): 155-172.

the Melâmî society, this hagiography aims at portraying Melâmî philosophy within the restrictions of the orthodox law. It defines Melâmî philosophy as an "orthodox mystical system based on pantheism, while severely criticizing those sheikhs and dervishes who have wandered too far from the path of the sharia."⁸⁶

In Islamic tradition, traveling is associated with the attainment of knowledge. Whether in the form of "pilgrimage, trade, scholarship, adventure" as Gallens argues, the Islamic civilization is accumulated by a "constant movement":⁸⁷

Travel in its myriad forms- pilgrimage, trade, scholarship, adventure- expanded the mental and physical limits of the Muslim world, and preserved and nourished the various contacts that Muslim perennially maintained with one another.

"Abundant journeying" is one of the common Sufi doctrines. Journey is the path followed to unify the Self with God. Sufis were obliged to travel: "For departing from their homes they were called "strangers"; for their many journeyings they were called "travellers"...."⁸⁸ Sufi literature narrates symbolic journeys from one garden to another. In the famous Persian epic tale *Haft Paykar* by Nizâmî, the hero Bahrâm travels from one garden to another in the course of the story. Traveling from one garden to another symbolizes his "inward journey."⁸⁹ Arabî also defines traveling as an endless action which covers both the spiritual and the bodily

⁸⁶ Ismail E. Erûsal, "Abdurrahman el-Askerî's Mir'atü'l-Isk: A New Source for the Melâmî Movement in the Ottoman Empire during the 15th and 16th Centuries," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 84 (Wien: 1994), 100.

⁸⁷ Sam I. Gallens, "The Search for Knowledge in Medieval Muslim Societies: A Comparative Approach," in *Muslim Travellers*, ed. by D.F. Eickelman, J. Piscatori (NY; London: Routledge, 1995, c. 1990), 51.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁹ Meisami, "The Theme of the Journey in Nizami's Haft Paykar," 164.

journeys. By the initiation of creation, since the first instant when things are manifested, the journey begins:⁹⁰

You will never cease being a traveler as you are now. You will never reach a place of rest, just as you never ceased traveling from *wujûd* to *wujûd* in the stages of the cosmos as far as the presence of *Am I not your Lord?* (7:172) You never ceased undergoing transferal from waystation to waystation until you came to dwell in this alien, elemental body. You will travel through this body each day and night, crossing waystations of your lifespan until a waystation named 'death.' Then you will not stop traveling....

In the same way you will never stop traveling through your bodily deeds and through breaths, from deed to deed....

The path followed in each *Şehrengiz* is different from one another. However, it can be argued that there are grand journey and subordinate journeys. The grand journey takes place between cities and provinces: between İstanbul and Edirne, Siroz, Yenişehir, Yenice, Vize, Çorlu, Gelibolu, Belgrad, Bursa, Antakya, Manisa, Rize, Sinop, Beray-ı Taşköprü, Kashan, Diyarbakır. Subordinate routes take place within each city or province. The significance of the routes will be studied in the following pages of this chapter under real and ideal spaces. The order of events in the subordinate routes changes from one poem to another.

Yahya's *Şehrengiz* of Edirne has an explicit order. It narrates the order of events which takes place on a Friday afternoon. It depicts the experience of a group of people composed of dervishes, educated intellectuals and poor guild boys. The inventory of events consists in 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 to enjoy being together.

Yahya's *Şehrengiz* suggests two kinds of movement within the city that most of the other poems follow. The first type of movement is circular. It explicitly concerns the Sufi lodge and the Sufi dance ritual. It narrates the architectural features of the

⁹⁰ Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 68.

lodge and depicts it in circular forms. The dance is also depicted to follow in a circle. The symbolism of the circle is referred to in almost all the other poems. Second type of movement is free movement. The poem depicts free movement of individuals by the riverside. It depicts people running, walking on the river, by the riverside, skating on the frozen river, collapsing on one another, holding one another.

The narration of these two types of movement also divides the narrative into two parts. The first part includes the prayer at the mosque and the dance ritual at the Sufi lodge. The second part includes play by the riverside and conversation at the private place. In the first part of the ritual, the orthodox and Sufi faiths are associated with one another since they both constrained the movement of the individuals by imperative patterns. The second part of the ritual is concerned with the free movement of the individual in space. The circle represents the unity of the cosmic rhythm (Figures 59-64).⁹¹ It represents the order of creation. It is acknowledged as the most perfect form. The center of the circle is acknowledged as the origin of all things, thus the divine being. The symbolism of the circle is used in most *Şehrengiz* poems. For example the city is depicted with circular metaphors:

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As a beautiful lover

The waters has become an anklet around her ankle

⁹¹ Keith Critclow, *Islamic Patterns An Analytical and Cosmological Approach* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 150-171; Ahmet Karamustafa, "Cosmographical Diagrams," in *The History of Cartography vol 2 Book 1 Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. by J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 71-89.

⁹² Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 95:

Açılmış bahra anun nice bâbı/ Kanad açmış sanasın murg-ı âbî; Ne hüsni bir
mahbûb-ı zîba/ Gümüş halhâldur pâyinde derya; Vücudı hâtem-i mühr-i Süleyman/
Ana bir halka-i sîm oldı umman

Her body as the ring (the stamp-ring of the Sultan) of Süleyman
For her the sea has become a silver circle (ring)

or, as a belt:⁹³

The ones who are watching its elongated walls
Said it resembles a lover with a silver belt

or, the city is represented as a circle housing opposites within its body:⁹⁴

Its darkness (gardens, vineyards, meadows, fields) is a land to seek refuge
Its brightness is where the two seas meet

With a circular wall, the city of the Sultan
Captured all the months within

Sufi dance (*devr*) is also composed of circular movements dancing in a circle.⁹⁵ Different Sufi orders had different rules concerning Sufi practices and the Sufi dance (Figures 66-69). Rufai, Kadiri, Halveti and Gülşeni orders practice dancing in circles while the participants of the dance hold hands with one another. Nakşibendi members don't practice dancing, but they still seated in the form of a

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 95:

İdenler sûr-ı memdûdını manzar/ Didi simin kemerlu hûba benzer

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 97:

Sevâdı Melce'-i kevneyn olupdur/ Beyazı mecmau'l-bahreyn olupdur; Müdevver
sûrile bu şehri-şâhî/ İhata eyleyüpdür cümle mâhı

⁹⁵ Metin And, *A Pictorial History of Turkish Dancing from Folk Dancing to Whirling Dervishes, Belly Dancing to Ballet* (Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 1976), 32-36.

circle during their rituals.⁹⁶ Early Sufi treatises portray Sufi dance as a free movement of the body expressing spiritual outbursts. However, all kind of movements in Sufi dances were determined by strict regulations by the 16th c. There were no place for free movements of the individuals anymore.

In a late 13th c. treatise, Sufi dance is illustrated to allow for free movements of the body. Jumping, hoping, holding another person in ones arms, inviting public to the dance, tapping, hitting one another are portrayed as normal practices of the dance ritual. In the later centuries, such free body movements became unacceptable and the whole dance ritual was ordered into a strict conformity.⁹⁷ In a 15th c. treatise on Sufi dance (Istanbul Fatih Library 5335), the spiritual birth of dance is dated to the creation of the world, together with music. This manual describes four kinds of dancing that illustrate four different kinds of movement patterns. *Çarh* (wheel) is whirling. *Raks* is (dance) dancing while the torso stays static. It is the moving of the arms, hands, legs, and the head. *Muallak* (hanging object) is moving vertically, leaping or jumping. *Pertav* (physical forward projection) is moving horizontally.⁹⁸ The treatise explains the movement of the body in relation to the spiritual movement and the order of the universe. The whole dancing ceremony is full of symbolism. The dancing space symbolizes the year. The leader of the group symbolizes the sun while the dancers become stars and the planets turning around him. The four types of dancing symbolize the four seasons and the four substantial elements of all creation. The music played which has twelve tonalities stand for the twelve months of the year.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Metin And, "Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi," in *Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi and the Whirling Dervishes*, ed. by Talat Halman and Metin And (Istanbul: Dost Publication, 1983), 49-50.

⁹⁷ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 2nd edition (Istanbul: İnkılâp ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1983), 380-81.

⁹⁸ And, "Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi," 68.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

According to the Mevlevi tradition, the circle is also acknowledged as the course of divine movement. Mevlevis assume that the circle is divided into two equal parts. The right half of the circle embodies the realm of the manifest, the left half of the circle embodies the non-manifest. The circle joins the two realms within its circumference. Thus, metaphorically, the circle unites the invisible realm of God to the visible realm of human beings. The turning of the circle enables the two realms to unite. Within the circle, these two realms are divided by a line bisecting the center. Thus this line is the diameter of the circle. The point of the diameter that intersects the circumference at the top of the circle symbolizes the beginning of the creation. The bottom point symbolizes the end of creation. The top point is where the divine being is located, and the point at the bottom houses the human being.¹⁰⁰ Mevlevi rituals follow the geometry of the circle. Mevlevi rituals are performed in circular spaces called *semahane*. *Semahane* is divided into two halves axially, similar to the metaphorical division of the circle. There is an invisible line that bisects the circular room into two. This line is called *hatt-ı istiva* (equator). The master of the ceremony is seated at the top point of this linear axis, the equator. The seat of the master symbolizes the divine nature. Correspondingly, the bottom point of the axis symbolizes the human nature. The equator line symbolizes the shortest distance between the human being and God. Thus, it is the shortest distance between the lover and the beloved. The dancers don't step on the equator line. The right half of the *semahane* symbolically houses the manifest world, the world of the human being. The left half of the *semahane* houses the nonmanifest world, the divine being.¹⁰¹ The circle is acknowledged to embody concentric circles. Each concentric circle represents different stages of the spiritual journey ascending from the circumference towards the center. Correspondingly, dance ceremony is also performed in successive stages in spaces of successive concentric circles.

'Arabî's definition of the circle is rather complex (Figures 62-63). The circle represents the movement of all things manifested. Once a thing is manifested it

¹⁰⁰ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 385.

¹⁰¹ And, "Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi," 70-71.

moves away from its source of creation. However, the course of movement continues as the manifested thing returns back to its point of origination. Thus, all movement in the universe is circular and it represents the unity of the universe:¹⁰²

The affair occurs (with an inclination toward circularity) because things proceed from God and return to Him. From him it begins and to Him it goes back. In the world of shape the affair has no escape from taking the form of a circle, since it does not go back to God by the path on which it emerged from Him, but extend until it reaches its place of origin.

'Arabî defines the center point of the circle as the locus of the nonmanifest. Thus, the center point is the beginning of all creation and it houses the divine being. All creation is manifested in concentric circles growing out from a single center. The circumference of the circle represents the realm of manifest. However, since all manifest things embody the knowledge of the nonmanifest, each point on the circumference of the circle also acts like a center. Thus, each of these centers also stands as a locus of the nonmanifest. All creation is represented as contained within the body of different circles moving away and towards the divine being. 'Arabî portrays these circles as storehouses where all the species and genera are contained. These storehouses are numerous. They are like sets that embody nonmanifest essence in different degrees, as well as the manifested things in different realms as according to their properties. The below quotation from 'Arabî explains the concept of storehouses:¹⁰³

The storehouses are restricted according to the restriction of the species of known things. Although the storehouses are many, they all go back to two—the storehouse of knowledge of God, and the storehouse of knowledge of the cosmos. In each of these storehouses are many storehouses, such as the knowledge of God in respect of His Essence by rational perception and in respect of His Essence by traditional (*sam'î*) Shari'ite perception; knowledge of God in respect of his names; knowledge of Him in respect of His descriptions,....

¹⁰² Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 224.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 230-31.

The other storehouse, which is the knowledge of the cosmos, also comprises many storehouses, and within each storehouse are found other storehouses. The storehouses are first, knowledge of the entities of the cosmos in respect of its possibility, in respect of its necessity, in respect of its essences that abide through themselves, in respect of its engendered qualities, in respect of its colors, in respect of its colors, in respect of its levels, and in respect of its place, time, relations, number, circumstance,....

In another explanation of the cosmos as a circle, 'Arabî illustrates concentric circles that encompass one another. Circles closer to the center house "precedent attributes." Circles closer to the circumference house "secondary and subsidiary attributes." Moving towards the center symbolizes enlightenment. Moving towards the periphery symbolizes moving backwards in the stages of creation. However, backward movement is also positive and creative. Since the light of the center displays itself by means of the peripheral circles.¹⁰⁴ The cosmos, made out of "a series of intersecting circles and semicircles," facilitates movement in two different direction; centripetal and centrifugal.¹⁰⁵

In their study of symbolism in Sufi tradition, Ardalan and Bakhtiar give an explicit definition of this two-fold definition of movement in the symbolism of the circle. All human beings, constituting centers of their own existence, orient themselves towards the absolute truth by surpassing their limits. This creates a centrifugal force and enables an outward movement. However, the absolute truth, as the center of all creation, orients all creation towards itself and attracts all things towards the center. This creates a centripetal force and enables an inward movement.¹⁰⁶

In the first, God as Manifest (Zâhir) is the reality of universal externalization. From within the concentric circles of the macrocosm, there is an outward movement from the earth as corporeal manifestation through

¹⁰⁴ Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge*, 25.

¹⁰⁵ Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God*, 229.

¹⁰⁶ Nader Ardalan and Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture* (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 11.

an all-pervading soul to the enveloping Heavens, viewed as the seat of Divine Spirit. In the second complementary view of God as Hidden (Bâtin), there is an inward movement within the macrocosm of man, beginning with his physical presence and moving towards his spiritual center, the "Hidden Treasure."

'Arabî's definition of the cosmic order, made out of various circles intersecting one another, illustrates a complex diagram. This diagram, proposes multiple centers for each one of the circles which represent different storehouses. Thus, according to this diagram, the movement of the universe does not follow a single path around a single center, but there are different paths of movement that governs different storehouses. Similar to Ibn al'Arabî's explanation of a complex pattern of circular movements around multiple centers, *Şehrengiz* poems also suggest different patterns of movement within the city space. Each *Şehrengiz*, proposes a different path within the city space.

TEXT OF CITY RITUALS: THE *ŞEHRENGİZ* GENRE

There are few studies on the genre of *Şehrengiz*. The genre has generally been considered as artless and dull in form. It uses simple vernacular Turkish understandable to the common public.

The most important study on the genre was conducted by Agah Sırrı Levend. Levend made a list of all *Şehrengiz* poems and transcribed parts of the poems on the city of Istanbul.¹⁰⁷ The genre has been discussed with respect to two different arguments. First, it is portrayed as a genre carrying pornographic content because they depict beautiful young men of the guilds extensively. Second, it is acclaimed for its lively depictions of the city life. Within the line of the second argument, it has

¹⁰⁷ Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler ve Şehr-engizlerde İstanbul* (İstanbul: Baha Matbaası, 1958).

also been classified as travelers' chronicles.¹⁰⁸ Emergence of the *Şehrengiz* genre in the 16th c. has been discussed in relation to the emergence of a new genre in miniature painting. The emphasis on realism and on the extensive depiction of guild boys in *Şehrengiz* poems is compared to the twenty one day procession of guilds in the Hippodrome during the imperial circumcision festival and its depiction in the *Book of Festivities* (Figures 78-83; *Surnâme-i Hümayun*, 1582, TSM H1344).¹⁰⁹

The first *Şehrengiz* poem was composed by Mesîhî in 1512.¹¹⁰ There are many discussions about the origin of the genre, whether it is an original Ottoman invention or a canon derived from Persian poetry. Mine Mengi cites Browne and Hammer's suspicion that the *Şehrengiz* genre was originated by Fakiri.¹¹¹ She refers to two Persian poems; Vahidi's poem about the city of Tebriz, and Harfi's poem about Gilan, which carry similar characteristics to that of the *Şehrengiz* genre.¹¹² However Riehle acknowledges that most of Mesîhî's contemporaries

¹⁰⁸ İskender Pala, "Şehrengiz," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, 150-151; İskender Pala, *Ansiklopedik Divan Şiiri Sözlüğü* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1989); Baki Asiltürk, *Osmanlı Seyyahlarının Gözüyle Avrupa* (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2000).

¹⁰⁹ Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation," in *Muqarnas* 12 (1995), 84-100; Walter Andrews, "Literary Art and the Golden Age: The Age of Süleyman," in *Süleyman the Second and His Time*, ed. by Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (İstanbul: Isis, 1993), 353-368.

¹¹⁰ Mesîhî's *Şehrengiz* is called "*Şehrengiz Der Medh-i Cuvanan-ı Edirne*" written in 1512, during the last year of Beyazıd II's (1481-1512) reign. According to Levend, Mesîhî had followed the Sultan's campaign from Istanbul to Edirne for the sake of looking for a patronage to sustain his life after the loss of his former patron Hadım Ali Pasha; Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 16-18.

¹¹¹ Mine Mengi, *Mesîhî Divanı* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 1995).

¹¹² "Shahrangîz, or Shahrâshûb" *The Encyclopedia of Islam New Edition* Volume 9 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 212 – 214; G Scarcia, "Lo 'Sehrengiz-i maglup' di Mirza Shafi'," in *Studia*

envied him for the originality of his poetry, and that even Persian poets had copied him.¹¹³

According to Gibb, the originality of Mesîhî¹¹⁴ came from his liberated standpoint differing from the conventional and traditional framework of Persian poetry: "...it deserves attention for being the result of mere personal observations of the objects and landscape."¹¹⁵ Gibb classifies the genre as non-metaphysical poetry. Levend argues that *Şehrengiz* poetry is not necessarily written for the purpose of depicting mystical love. However he also remarks that in some of the poems there are explicit references to "metaphorical love" as a guide to the "true love".¹¹⁶

There is no doubt that the feeling of love the poet talks about is not related to the mystic love. The poet does not feel any obligation to hide this or, curtain his love by the veil of mysticism. However, from time to time he wishes from God that this "metaphorical" love would lead him to True love.

Fashioned by Mesîhî in 1512, the literary critics of the 16th c. acknowledged the originality of the genre and the art of Mesîhî. Ottoman poets admired him as the master of the genre, and practiced *Şehrengiz* poetry referring to Mesîhî, and his art. The literary critics of the period refer to the concept of love in Mesîhî's poetry

Turcologica Memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata, I. U. O., Seminario di Studi Asiatici: Series Minor, XIX, ed. by A. Gallotta and U. Marazzi (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1982), 481-485.

¹¹³ Klaus Riehle, *Leben und Literarische werke Mesîhîs = Mesîhî'nin hayati ve edebi eserleri* (Prizren: BAL-TAM, 2001), 268.

¹¹⁴ Levend acknowledges that Mesîhî, as a poet, had been depicted in more than fifteen times in Ottoman literary anthologies and in historical chronicles by Sehi, Latifi, Aşık Çelebi, Beyani, Niyazi, Katip Çelebi and others; Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 18.

¹¹⁵ Gibb, *Osmanlı şiiri Tarihi*, vol. I, 448.

¹¹⁶ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 13.

as a measure of perfection. Admiring the work of Mesîhî, Gibb criticizes Mesîhî's poetry for being formless, coarse and dull in form. The most peculiar characteristic of this poet as according to Gibb is its simplicity that can be understood even by the most humble members of the uneducated groups of the society, its use of daily Turkish language as opposed to using artful phrases made up of Persian and Arabîc. Gibb questions whether *Şehrengiz* poetry talks about the real characters of the city under the name of forty six young boys or if these characters are mere products of Mesîhî's imagination.

Gibb examines Mesîhî's *Şehrengiz* in three major parts, like most of the latter examples of this genre. The first one is the "Introduction" (*Dibaçe*); the second one is the part citing names of 46 city boys; and the third part is the "Final" (*Mukaddime*).¹¹⁷ Levend examines Mesîhî's *Şehrengiz* into five main parts; prayer (*münacat*), depictions of the day and night, depictions of young men, *tetimme*, and the final part as the *ihitâm* that is made up of two *gazel*s¹¹⁸. Most of the other *Şehrengiz* poems follow the same order, they begin by praying, continue by recalling general themes of Islamic legendary, depict city space, make a long list of young men who were supposedly the beautiful members of the guilds and conclude by one or more *gazel*s.

Mesîhî's poem was composed in the form of "mesnevi." Other *Şehrengiz* poems were also composed in mesnevi form. In order to get introduced to the context of *Şehrengiz* poems, it is important to have general knowledge about the mesnevi form. Holbrook argues that different examples of the genre from the 13th c. to late 18th c. are intertextually related to one another.¹¹⁹ Accordingly, the study will try to locate the *Şehrengiz* genre within the general historiography of the mesnevi form.

¹¹⁷ Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, vol. I, 450-51.

¹¹⁸ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 17-18.

¹¹⁹ Victoria Rowe Holbrook, *The Unreadable shores of love: Turkish modernity and mystic romance* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1994).

It will mainly use the literary studies conducted by Holbrook, Levend and Gölpinarlı.

The mesnevi form was used in the composition of long poems mainly written about mystical love stories. In this line of development from 13th to late 18th c., different examples of mesnevis cover three main domains; mystic love, metaphorical love, and health. Mesnevis of five different poets from 13th to late 18th c. stress these different topics: Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi's *Mesnevi*; Şeyh Galip's (1757-1779) *Hüsn-ü 'Aşk*; Tâcizâde Câfer Çelebi's (1452-1515) *Heves-nâme*; Fuzuli's (1480-1556) *Sıhhat ü Maraz (Hüsn-ü 'Aşk)*, and finally Fâzıl-ı Enderûnî's (1756-1810) *Defter-i Aşk, Hûbân-nâme, Zenân-nâme* and *Rakkas-nâme (Çengî-nâme)*.

Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi's *Mesnevi* and Şeyh Galip's *Hüsn-ü 'Aşk* depict mystical love stories. Victoria Holbrook studies the two texts intertextually.¹²⁰ Tâcizâde Câfer Çelebi's *Heves-nâme* and Fâzıl-ı Enderûnî's works depict metaphorical or real love stories. Agah Sırrı Levend classifies works of the both poets carrying similar qualities to the genre of *Şehrengiz*.¹²¹ Fuzuli's *Sıhhat ü Maraz (Hüsn-ü 'Aşk)* depicts the importance of health and human body. It stresses the harmony of all cognitive faculties with respect to the experience of love.¹²²

Rumi and Şeyh Galip's mesnevi depict mystic love, but they have different viewpoints approaching the text of love. Rumi emphasizes the impossibility of the union with the beloved. Galip emphasizes the possibility of the union with the beloved. Both illustrate symbolic spaces. For example, Galip's story takes place at symbolic spaces called the Garden of Meaning, Fortress of Form, School of Proper

¹²⁰ Holbrook, *The Unreadable shores of love*.

¹²¹ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 59-64.

¹²² *Şeyh Galip: Hüsn ü Aşk*, ed. by Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı (Istanbul: Altın Kitaplar, 1968).

Conduct, Castle of the Heart in Galip's story. Căfer Çelebi's mesnevi depicts metaphorical love. The poem narrates the lover's attraction to a beautiful young woman. The story illustrates real spaces of the city of Istanbul; Kağıthane meadows, Hagia Sophia, Topkapı Palace, Hippodrome, Fatih's mosque complex. Enderûnî depicts both the city of Istanbul and other countries from India to the American continent.

Rumi narrates a series of stories in his mesnevi. One of them, which is about three brothers' love for a Chinese Princess, is taken as a model by Şeyh Galip in the construction of his own mesnevi. In Şeyh Galip's story there are three main characters, a girl called Beauty, a boy called Love, and a friend called Poetry. The story begins as the girl falls in love with the boy who at first is indifferent to her love. Poetry introduces love in the heart of the once indifferent beloved, where the characters of the lover and the beloved exchange positions. In an encounter in a garden, Poetry, acts as an interface between the Lover and the beloved. The former beloved, Love, becomes the lover of the Beauty. Throughout the story Love experiences several difficult tests on a journey. During his journey, Poetry guides Love away from misconception and attachment to false beloved ones. At the end of the adventurous journey, Poetry again guides Love to the Palace of Beauty, where he unites with his beloved within the premises of his life time. The main idea of the narrative is that true love is attained by improving cognition. Intellect and spirit would mislead the self by the premise of the apparent bodies, but heart will always be able to comprehend true love beyond apparent bodies.¹²³

In Rumi's Mesnevi, which had been a model of reference for Galip's Mesnevi, the end of the story is left without a conclusion. The lover appears in the form of three characters. Each one symbolizes one of the intellectual faculties; intellect, spirit, and heart. And as well, this multiplicity can also symbolize the multiple lovers of a single beloved. Though in each case, none of the lovers unites with the beloved princess to the difference of the conclusion of Galip's story. There are three lovers

¹²³ Holbrook, *The Unredeable shores of Love*, 49

in Rumi's story; two of the lovers are killed. The story reminds the reader that lovers would only be able to unite with the Beloved in the afterlife. The story concludes without an end about the fate of the third lover. As according to the critics of Mesnevi, the two lovers killed symbolize the Intellect, and the Spirit, and the third one, who was able to survive, symbolizes the Heart. In Galip's story, there is one lover, who at the end of the story unites the beloved. Galip's story is made out of abstract characters, places and events, similar to Mevlana's Mesnevi. Galip strongly criticizes the use of literal references in poetry. He argues that reference to real places precludes the imagination, thus the purpose of poetry.¹²⁴

The story of Galip, narrated in the spatial world of a tribe's daily life, illustrates two different garden spaces. The first one is a real garden occupied by worldly bodies of which the reality leads the self away from True love. The second one is an abstract garden in which the lover encounters the beloved with the help of poetry. Poetry becomes a perfect medium for exercising imagination.

Schimmel elucidates the agency of mysticism in Islamic poetry where the interaction between the profane and sacred orders are resolved into a unique image by the use of the arts, and cites the art of poetry as a medium relating religious narratives into a virtual imagination of aesthetic quality:¹²⁵

...certain religious ideas that form the center of Islamic theology, certain images taken from the Koran and the prophetic tradition, or whole sentences from the Holy Writ or the hadith can turn into symbols of a purely aesthetic character. Thus poetry provides almost unlimited possibilities for creating new relations between worldly and otherworldly images, between religious and profane ideas.... the tension between the worldly and the religious interpretation of life is resolved... in a perfect harmony of the spiritual, psychic and sensual components.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 40-44.

¹²⁵ Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 288.

Câfer Çelebi's *Heves-nâme* is an account of a real love affair with the wife of a man from the ulema. Câfer Çelebi who was devoted to beautiful women dedicated his mesnevi to all the pretty girls.¹²⁶ Şentürk acknowledges *Heves-nâme* as the origin of a new genre narrating adventures (*Sergüzeşt*). The poem is considered a contribution to the literary changes since its theme was different than those repeated love stories of the classical Persian tradition.¹²⁷ It also informs about daily life in Istanbul. It presents the poet's thoughts regarding women, literature and poetry. It illustrates monuments of Istanbul.¹²⁸ The atmosphere of the city is depicted as relieving the heart, and its refreshing air as keeping away the spirit from all kinds of ennui and boredom with its rose smelling water, its soil fragrant with delightful musk and amber pampering the Spirit and caressing the Heart:¹²⁹

Its air refreshing the heart and nourishing the spirit
Water like rosewater, soil smells musk and amber
Beautiful places are lands charming the heart, with pleasing buildings
Lands with ample gardens, meadows, and trees akin to the Paradise
The Paradise garden surrenders its Preeminence
Seven climates are housed in one of its corners

¹²⁶ Ismail E. Erünsal, *The Life and works of Taci-zade Cafer Çelebi with a critical edition of his divan* (Istanbul: Istanbul University, 1983), LVII.

¹²⁷ Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*, 121-122.

¹²⁸ Erünsal, *The Life and works of Taci-zade Cafer Çelebi*, XLVIII.

¹²⁹ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 68-71:

Hevâsı dil-guşâ vü ruh-perver/ Suyı mâverd ü hâki misk ü anber; Güzel yerler dil-
âra buk'alardur/ Kamu cennet misâli ravzalar; İder rûchânını firdevs teslim/
Sığar bir gûşesine yidi iklim; İç kat kat binadur gonca asa/ Miyân-ı lâle denlu yok
tehî câ

The pleasant ambience of the urban space is almost an illustration of the paradise depicted in Koran as the promise of the calm garden under the shading trees:¹³⁰

There is no equal to her in the whole universe
There has not been a similar city in the entire history
Beautiful places are heart embracing spaces
Paradise gardens like those favored of Heavens

The superiority of the city is expressed by evoking its magnificent kiosks and palaces, its splendid festivities, and delightful atmosphere relaxing the Spirit, enjoying the Heart, and embracing the body with its delightful air, and enjoying the vision with its scenery. The below verses from *Heves-nâme* compare the palace with the Paradise garden:¹³¹

To some its dome is the dome of the Heavens
To some its field is the finest of the Paradise garden (6th *garden of the Heavens*)
Its fountain and the central pool is similar to the *Kevser*
All its doors are more blessed and fortunate than the eight gardens of the Paradise

Heves-nâme employs realism and symbolism at the same time in the depiction of the countryside meadows. The poem refers to real places Kağıthane and Göksu, but illustrates these real places in allegorical stories.¹³²

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 68-69.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 71-73:

Kemîne kubbesi çarh-ı muallâ/ Kemine ravzası firdevs-i a'lâ ; Miyân-ı havz ü çeşme
ayn-ı kevser/ Bihişt-i heştiden bir bâb her der

¹³² *Ibid.*, 92-94.

Spacious terrain surrounded by mountains/ Trees and orchards and rose gardens;
Trees offering shadow/ Their trunks hand in hand; Cypresses holding hands with
box/ The wind blows over them watching; Festivals, performances and

The 16th c. chroniclers Latifi, Aşık Çelebi and Hasan Çelebi criticize Câfer Çelebi. Though the poet was known to be an “intellectual and academic,” he was accused for lacking “sincerity” and “true love”.¹³³ It is very interesting that Aşık Çelebi accuses Câfer Çelebi’s poetry for lacking in true love, because he expressed an interest for women. As quoted from Erünsal below, his contemporaries

entertainments/ Enjoy their whole life with pleasure; Day and night pleading to the Lord/ That nothing should damage this orchard; In the middle a river is running/ Its infinite perimeter furnished with grass; Meadows flourished with roses and tulips/ Roses are fireballs tulips sparkle; Blossoms laugh upon seeing/ The passion between the rose and the river; You are seen once in a year says the space/ Washes the rose’s feet with cool waters; Water and the willow makes life pleasing/ Sincerely devoted to the river with his soul; Whether strong or mild/ Yavuz would not like the wind blowing; That’s why even when there is a gentle breeze/ Willows tremble upon the river running; Birds waking up sing in harmony with the wind blowing/ All over their blood shed flowing; As our eyes have seen this location/ We have forgotten the Garden of Paradise; Presenting our gratitude to our Lord/ That he has carried us to another Spring.

Geniş sahrası çevre yanı kuhsar/ Dirahistan ü sebzistan ü gülzar / Diraht-ı sâye-
perverler irişmiş/ Budaklar birbirini el verişmiş/ Dutarlar el ele servile şimşad/
Seyirdüp kalkar üstinden geçer bâd / İdüben dahi nice lub ü bâzî/ Sürerler zevkile
ömr-i dirazî/ Ki rûz u şeb niyaz idüp İlaha/ Gezend irişmeye bu sebze-gaha/ Aralık
yerde bir ırmak revâne/ Çemenlerdür kenar-ı bîgerane/ Çemen pür lâle vü güldür
serâ-ser/ Gül âteş-pâredür her lâle ahker/ Gülişir gonceler idüp nezâre/ Güllile
macerâ-yi cûy-bâra/ Ki yılda bir görünürsüz diyü cû/ Döker verdün ayağına soğuk
su/ Suyile bîd idüp hoş zindegânî/ Sever cânı gibi âb-ı revânı/ Anun üstinden er irü
eğer kiç/ Yavuz sel esdüğini istemez hiç/ Anunçündür ki bâd oldukça cünban/ Olur
ab üstine her bid lerzan/ Dirülüp kuşlar ider ana ahenk/ Gider zârileri ferseng
ferseng/ Çü gördi gözlerimiz ol makamı/ Unutduk ravza-i Darü’s-selâmı/ Biraz
şükreyleyüp Perverdîgâra/ Ki irgürdi bizi yine bakara

¹³³ Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, vol I, 476.

acknowledged and depreciated Câfer Çelebi because he preferred to express his love for women, thus he preferred metaphorical love to divine love:¹³⁴

He defends the idea that metaphorical love is a means to divine love, throughout the *Hevesname*, he seems content to pursue the means with scant attention to the end, and the passion he describes is explicitly carnal. He feels that those who suffer because of love are fools; no man of good sense would choose such a course.

Though *Heves-nâme* narrates the poet's love with a woman, it also accounts for a multiplicity of beautiful young men as ornaments of the urban space:¹³⁵

Graceful and slender lovers like young plant bodies ornament the city

Câfer Çelebi declares his desire that the city of Istanbul would become the place of reconciliation between esoteric and ascetic ideals. This ideal also embodies the poet's wish that such reconciliation would also reconcile divine and natural love. Thus the poet's portrayal of a beautiful woman and his representation of the beautiful young men in the same story represent the desire to unify the experience of the divine and natural love. The appreciation of the multiplicity of beautiful young men represents the contemplation to apparent bodies where natural love would lead the poet to divine love. The desire for a woman represents natural love which would only satisfy of the poet's worldly desires:¹³⁶

Two seas merge to one another on its edge

The late 18th c. poems of Fâzıl-ı Enderûnî also depict the multiplicity of the beloved ones. *Defter-i Aşk* depicts the adventures of the poet concerning his love affairs. *Hûbân-nâme* and *Zenân-nâme* depict, consecutively, beautiful young men and

¹³⁴ Erünsal, *The Life and works of Taci-zade Cafer Çelebi*, LIX.

¹³⁵ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 95: "Sehî-kametlerle zeyn olupdur."

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 95: "Kenârı mecma'u'l-bahreyn olupdur."

women of the world from India to America. *Rakkas-nâme* (*Çengi-nâme*) depicts the dancers of the city of Istanbul.¹³⁷

Fuzuli's mesnevi emphasises the importance of health in love different from the other two themes of the mesnevi form. The human being is made out of four parts, spirit (intellect), soul (desires), body (form) and heart. Health is explained as a harmonic balance between these different parts. His story takes place at spaces called Land of the Body, Castle of the Mind, City of the Liver, City of the Heart, Garden of Self-Depreciation and Valley of Betrayal.¹³⁸

The depiction of the human body as a space is a common theme in Islamic culture. The dynamics of the human body and the whole universe is represented by spatial metaphors. The 15th c. Ottoman health treatise called *Hazâ'inü's-Saâ'dât* (Treasures of Happiness) acknowledges health as the only treasure of happiness. Health is seen as the harmony of body, soul, spirit and heart. In this treatise, the sustainability of health is related to the harmony of the whole universe. The treatise depicts this harmony through a metaphor of the "city."¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*, 633-636.

¹³⁸ Holbrook, *The Unredeable shores of Love*, 131.

¹³⁹ Health Eşref bin Muhammed, *Hazâ'inü's-Saâ'dât* (1460), ed. Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu (Ankara, Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1961), 1-4 (1b-4b); 7-8, (6a-6b):

amma adem vücudunun sağlığı, sayruluğu dört nesnesindedir. Ol dört nesnesi sağ olan tamam sağdır. Birisi sayru olan dürlü sayrudur. İkisi sayru olan iki dürlü nesnesi sayrudur. Dördü bile sayru olan tamam sayrudur. Evvel bedendir kim ol dört asıldan olmuştur. İkinci Candır kim ol beden sohbetinden ol dahi sayru olur. Üçüncüsü akıldır kim bu alemin sohbetinden ol dahş sayru olur. Dördüncüsü gönüldür kim gerekmez nesneleri adet edenleri görmekten ol dahi hasta olur, neuzibillahil azim. Bu dördünün her biri birmani sebeble sağlığını saklamayı başaramaz (ise) sayru olur. Bu avam (halk) arasında meşhur olub şöhrret tutan beden hastalığıdır. Kimin bedeni hast aolub yatarsa filan hastadır derler, bedeni hastadır demezler. Anıniçün kim bilmezler, can hastalığı nedir? Bilmezler, akıl

PARTICIPANTS OF CITY RITUALS: MARGINAL POETS AND GUILD BOYS

The *Şehrengiz* rituals are gatherings in which city dwellers of lower status meet others from higher status. The participants of the ritual comprised both court poets and guild boys of all ranks. The genre was developed mostly by court poets, who were competent in articulating Persian or Arabîc language and the most complicated arts of poetry. However, when composing *Şehrengiz* poems, these court poets preferred to use simple Turkish which made the poems understandable to common public.

hastalığı nedir? Bilmezler, gönül hastalığı nedir? Hemen hastalık ol beden hastalığı sanurlar. Ana ilâç etmek için tıp ilmidir kim anda bunca kitablar düzmüşlerdir. Tıbbı ebdan oldur. Ama can ilacı için ahlâktır. Zira can hastalığı oldur kim hulklar yaramaz ola. Bir adamın kim hulkları yaramazdır, canı hastadır. Zira huşk can sıfatlarındandır. Pes ilmi ahlâk can hastalığına ilâç etmekçündür. Ama akıl ilâci için ilmi tedbir, ilmi siyasettir. Akıl hastalığı tedbiri, fikri savab düşmemektir kim ehli menziliyle ya cemi' halkla dirlik nice gerek başarmiya; ol kişinin akılı hasta olmuş olur. İlmi tedbür ve ilmi siyaset anın ilâciçündür. Amma gönül ilâci için tefsir, hadis usulü din, ilmi fıkıhtır. Zira gönül hastalığı nifak, şekdir; Kimde itikat olmiya şek ve güman olur kim ol nifaktır. Yakîn gerektir.

Bil imdi kim her ademin bedeni tamam olunca kim can gelip diri olmaya layik ola, dört mertebede dört keyfiyet bulsa gerek. Evvel mertebede Erkândır kim, ana Ecza-yı evvelî derler. Hak taalâ celle celâlûhu kemali kudretinden evvel ol erkânı yarattı; Ol dörtlü: Biri od (ateş), biri hava, biri su , biri yerdir, biri toprak. Bunlara eczayı evvelî derler, Şol sebebdan kim bedenün terkibi anlardandır. Erkân derler, şol sebebdan kim asıl beden de anlardır. Od har, yabıstır, yani ısıdır, kurudur. Hava har ratibtir, yani ısıdır, yaşıdır. Su barid ratibtir, yani soğuktur, yaşıdır. Toprak barid, yabıstır, yani soğuktur, kurudur. Hak taala kemali hikmetile bu dört muhtelif eczayı birbirine karıştırdı.....İkinci mertebe Mizactır kim ana Tabiati saniye derler. Mizac demek yağrılmak manasınadır. Tabiat ile mizac bir mayadır. Amma tabiat evvelidir. Ol mananın mizac tamamıdır.

Mesîhî was called as the “city-boy” (*şehir oğlanı*). Levend mentions that Vizier Ali Pasha called Mesîhî a “city-boy” since he was used to get lost within the city. Mesîhî was known to spend most of his time in *Tahtakale*, gardens and common grounds (*mesire yerleri*) and wine-houses¹⁴⁰. Riehle acknowledges Mesîhî as a *rind*.¹⁴¹ Riehle acknowledges that during most of his life-time, Mesîhî was literally committed to worldly joy and pleasures as opposed to platonic love:¹⁴²

His poetry about wine and love is not a product of an old tradition. It is obvious that for a certain period of time, he had lost himself in worldly pleasure. He was spending his leisure time in the *Bozhane* assemblies during the winter, strolling in *Tahtakale*, and in the winehouses of *Galata*.

With his daring claims simply declaring his desire for the worldly joys, Mesîhî had a *rind* nature. The *rind* nature is a major characteristics attributed to many poets. As a *rind* (dissident), Mesîhî became a role-model for the definition of the concept of “city-boy” in the early 16th century. It should be questioned why anybody would ever love to get lost in the city, what could be the driving force for practicing worldly joys other than mere entertainment? How does a person - in such an intimate relationship with the city, would perceive the city? What is a city for the *rind*? In order to further understand the *rind*, it is necessary to analyze the poet as a subject as that takes its source in the school of ‘Arabî, constituting of different cognitive faculties empowered by spirit, soul, body, and heart.

¹⁴⁰ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 16:

Kaynaklar Mesîhî’yi ‘rind, laubali-meşreb’ bir şair olarak kaydederler. Aşık Çl.’den aldığımız şu satırlar onun bu halini çok iyi anlatmaktadır: ‘Hiç bir zamanda Paşa nesne yazmağıçün Mesîhî içün şol şehir oğlanını bulun dimezdi ki hazır buluna veya hizmeti içün muntazır oluna. Elbette kapıcılar ya Tahte’l-kal’a’da ya deyr-i muganda ya mahbublarla guşe-i gülistanda bulurlardı. Ol sebepten Paşa dil-gir olurdu. Uslana diyü terbiyet ve terakkisi their olur.

¹⁴¹ Riehle, *Leben und Literarische werke Mesîhîs*, 260-61.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 260-61; translated from Turkish.

According to Gibb, the originality of Mesîhî was his liberated standpoint differing from the conventional and traditional framework of the Persian poetry, and “it deserves attention for being the result of mere personal observations of the objects and landscape.”¹⁴³ Mesîhî was a well known talented poet who lived during the reign of Beyazîd II (1481-1512).¹⁴⁴ He was acknowledged as an original character by the Ottoman literary critics. According to Gibb, he was talented, and his poetry was sincere, liberated, daring and realistic, and at the same time quite moving.

Similar to Mesîhî, who was acknowledged as a city-boy, other poets of the *Şehrengiz* genre (Figures 73-77) also display dissident characteristics. They were known for their protest attitudes against general conventions, explained in their ideas, outfits, or lifestyles. Though most of them were also court poets, they can be recognized to occupy marginal positions within the general public and court life.

Even Câfer Çelebi, whose mesnevi *Heves-nâme* was a source of inspiration for other *Şehrengiz* poems, was a protest character. He was a well known scholar, poet and was also involved in politics. His father was one of the consultants of Beyazîd II (1481-1512). He worked as a teacher and a kadı in Simav, as a teacher in Istanbul (Mahmud Pasha Medresesi), and as an administrator of the Beyazîd II Foundations in Edirne. In 1497, he was appointed to the Sultan’s court. However, his post was taken from him when he was suspected to collaborate with Şehzade Ahmed in favor of Şehzade Selim. The latter was enthroned as the Sultan with the

¹⁴³ Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, vol.I, 448.

¹⁴⁴ Originally born in a small town of Albania, he migrated to Istanbul at a younger age; and won reputation in calligraphy. Due to his talent in the arts of writing and in poetry, Mesîhî gained the patronage of Vizier Ali Paşa and appointed as the divan-secretary. Vizier Ali Pasha supported Mesîhî. After Ali Pasha’s death in 1511; Mesîhî had searched for the patronage of other royalties like Câfer Çelebi. However, he never had the prosperity of the former days he spent under the patronship of Ali Pasha and died in poverty one year after his patron; Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, vol.I, 445-46.

support of the Jannisaries, and Câfer Çelebi was executed in 1515 as a result of a slander. Erünsal, who examined Çelebi's work, acknowledges that there are similar verses in the poems of Câfer Çelebi, Mesîhî, İshak Çelebi, Zâtî and Revani suggesting a certain interaction between these poets who lived during the same epoch.¹⁴⁵

Vardar Yenice Uslu was a member of the Gülşeni tarikat. Upon the death of his Şeyh, he returned to his hometown and died in poverty refusing to accept any patronage. Uslu was known to be a believer and strong defender of the doctrines of the Unity of Being. His poetry had a didactic tone in acknowledging the priorities of the doctrines of the Unity of Being. However chronicler Aşık Çelebi accused Uslu for being a non-believer and a follower of Nesimi - the 14th century Turkish poet from Bagdad who was accused for being against the orthodox rules of Islamic Law and executed.¹⁴⁶

İshak Çelebi was a well educated person from Üsküp. He worked as a teacher in many schools of various cities. He was a man of free behaviors.¹⁴⁷ Though his poetry was tender and caressing the soul, he was well known for his outrageous and inappropriate behavior, unconventional love affairs, and liaisons, and his hatred for women.¹⁴⁸

Zâtî was a shoemaker born in a small village of Balıkesir in 1471. For the sake of being a poet, he left his home-town, and migrated to Istanbul. He had a small store in the courtyard of the Beyazıt Mosque. In his small shop he used to fortune-tell by reading the numbers and signs that appear on sand. His shop was frequently

¹⁴⁵ Erünsal, *The life and works of Tacî-zade Ca'fer Çelebi*.

¹⁴⁶ Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*, 223.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 231-232.

¹⁴⁸ Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, vol.II, 41-43.

visited by the renowned poets of the period, young and talented poets like Baki.¹⁴⁹ He was a very ugly person, almost deaf and his body was not strong. Though he won the courtship and admiration of other poets and the intellectuals of the capital city, he was not able to get the proper support in order to sustain his life, because he was not a healthy man to participate in the courts of the elite regularly. Thus, he stayed as a self employed poet during his whole life time.¹⁵⁰

Both the *Şehrengiz* poets and the guilds formed the participants of the city rituals. It is quite obvious that the *Şehrengiz* rituals both included people and depicted the presence of city dwellers of different social status. The recognition of the multiplicity of city-dwellers within the city with reference to their different professions recalls the procession of guilds in the 1582 festival; rope-dancers, glassmakers, bedquilt-makers, silk-workers, bath-cloth weavers, yarn-dealers, mat-weavers, sword-makers, paper-galzers, comb-makers, mirror-makers, lion-tamers, archers, incense-sellers, kaftan-makers, clock-makers, stone-masons, builders, seamen, herbalists, gardeners, cooks, fruiterers of Üsküdar, greengrocers, coffeeshouse, coffedealers, barbers, jewelers, Rumelian veterans, Anatolian theological students, Koran reciters, preachers, Sufis of Eyyub-i Ensari, dervishes of Hacı Bayram Veli, dervishes of Ebu Ishak Veli, Redcaps become muslim, muezzins, scholars, crippled beggars, those imprisoned for debt, etc.¹⁵¹

The system of guilds ordered all the subjects of the Sultan into groups that anchored them to the imperial authority. Guilds formed the foundation of the Ottoman economy, but they also formed the main body of the Sultan's subjects.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 45-52.

¹⁵⁰ Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*, 235.

¹⁵¹ Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun An Imperial Celebration* (Istanbul: Koçbank Publications, 1997).

The imperial authority used guilds as a tool in re-populating and urbanizing the city of Istanbul after the conquest.¹⁵²

Şehrengiz poems represented themselves and their poetry as a medium of interaction where the subjects would encounter the Sultan. Especially Taşlıcalı Yahya, who must have also carried the fear of getting punished for promoting ordinary poor guild boys as beloved ones, declared that his intentions was only to introduce the guild boys to the Sultan. Thus, he presented himself as a delegate between the Sultan and his subjects.

Yahya also declared that *Şehrengiz* poems depict secret meetings that should not be declared openly. In his *Şehrengiz* of Edirne, Yahya advises to be confidential. He addresses the mystics who acquired knowledge of *Şehrengiz* rituals and advises them to act as “storehouses of secrecy” (*mahzenü'l-esrâr*).¹⁵³ Similarly, the Melâmî pole and poet Sârbân Ahmed also refers to confidentiality and calls Melâmîs masters of the “storehouse of secrecy” (*mahzeni esrâr ehliyüz*).¹⁵⁴

SPACES OF CITY RITUALS

Şehrengiz rituals took place in various spaces within the city. These spaces were not private gardens or spaces representing the imperial authority. *Şehrengiz* rituals suggested an image of the city like paradise. However this image was different than the generic image of the paradise garden reproduced by the *gazel* rituals.

¹⁵² İnalçık, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, 156-169.

¹⁵³ *Yahya Bey Divanı*, ed. and trans. by Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, 243.

¹⁵⁴ Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 215.

While *Şehrengiz* poetry developed representing various city spaces, the Ottoman authority was also interested in the representation of city spaces. The Ottoman authority used the arts of cartography as a tool to represent their authority and power. Most of these maps, produced under imperial authority, were highly circulated.

Ottoman maps comprised cosmological maps ("Ottoman version of the world map of Ibn Al-Wardi" in *Zübdetü't-tevârîh* by Seyyid Lokman, dated 1520-69), siege plans, maps used for engineering and military sieges, maps of holy places, pilgrimage and travels, chronicles of history, architectural plans and waterway maps.¹⁵⁵

After the conquest of the city, its representation had become a challenge both to the Ottoman and to the western artist, in terms of representing a historically loaded space which was conquered by a new culture who aimed to construct an empire. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, in her unpublished Ph.D. thesis, studies the western and the Ottoman patrons' struggle to assert an imperial perspective regarding the image of Istanbul by means of a newly flourishing genre of painting "city views."¹⁵⁶ Kafescioğlu argues that there are two maps most possibly commissioned by

¹⁵⁵ Cevdet Türkay, *Osmanlı Türklerinde Coğrafya* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1999); A. Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi. 2000, c.1943) ; Cevat İzgi, *Osmanlı Medreselerinde İlim* vol. I-II (Istanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 1997); Ahmet Karamustafa, "Introduction to Ottoman Cartography," in *The History of Cartography vol 2 Book 1 Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. by J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 206-208.

¹⁵⁶ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman capital in the making: the reconstruction of Constantinople in the fifteenth century," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (Harvard University, 1996), 213-214; Karamustafa, Ahmet. "Military, Administrative, and Scholarly Maps and Plans," in *The History of Cartography Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. By J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 209-210.

Mehmed II representing the Ottoman Istanbul; the 1480 version of the Buondolmonti map (Figures 84-92) and the map of Vavassore (Figure 95), dated c. 1520-30. These two maps represented Istanbul as an Ottoman city in two different styles. The 1480 Buondolmonti map portrayed an ideal image of the city in a symbolic manner. The latter map of Vavassore portrayed a more realistic image of the city giving more emphasis to its topography. The change in the style, as Kafescioğlu argues, was related to the birth of realism and the flourishing interest in the representation of cities in Europe, from the medieval to early modern period. Late medieval maps were called “city ideogram” and represented ideal images of the city. By the end of the 15th c. ideal images of the city were replaced by naturalistic representations; and in the early modern period, perspective plans were introduced that represented cities in a more realistic manner.¹⁵⁷

Buondolmonti view, also called Isalorio, was originally illustrated in 1410 by Christoforo Buondelmonti. It was drawn in the late medieval period style of the birds eye view. Until the 16th c., there had been several reprints of Buondelmonti’s Isalorio, which some of them are illustrated in this study. It was a highly circulated map, not only in Europe, but also in Ottoman land. 1410 copy depicted the city walls, few columns and monuments in the city. Later versions of the map reproduced after the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1453, did not depict any evidence for the presence of Ottomans in the city, with the exception of one particular copy, the 1480 Düsseldorf manuscript. Kafescioğlu claims that this copy was most probably commissioned by the Ottoman court. In the 1480 print, the city was represented with its new Ottoman identity illustrating the Ottoman monuments; the new palace, Hagia Sophia, Hippodrome, the bedestan, the whole complex of the New Mosque of Fatih Sultan Mehmed II including its madrasas, the grave of Ayyub al-Ansari; the dense fabric of Pera and “cannons” at the Bosphorus. However all the elements of the city float on the picture plane as if in the empty space. Thus, the 1480 Ottoman version of Buondelmonti’s Isalorio depicts an ideal

¹⁵⁷ Kafescioğlu, “The Ottoman capital in the making,” 219-224

image of the city. It aimed at portraying the new Ottoman identity of the city.¹⁵⁸ However, the Vavassore map dated c. 1520-1530 was drawn in a realistic way. In the Vavassore map the monuments were embedded in a densely depicted urban fabric on a precisely drawn topographical site.¹⁵⁹ Both the Vavassore map and the Buendolmonti prints were highly circulated.¹⁶⁰

Istanbul map, dated 1537, in *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i İrakeyn* by Matrakçı Nasuh illustrates an ideal image of the city as a garden (Figures 97-99). It represents the city as a garden densely populated.¹⁶¹ The Map of *Hünernâme*, dated 1584, proposes various viewpoints from within and out of the city. It suggests the ceremonial shift from within the city to the Golden Horn.¹⁶² Maps in the *Kitab-ı Bahriye* (Book of Seafaring) which was produced in 1521, revised in 1526 and reproduced until 1700, suggests the experience of the city from the sea (Figure 101).¹⁶³

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 224.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 240- 258.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 224-239. Kafescioğlu argues that later versions of the Vavassore map present the city as a prosperous “Ottoman House;” “Civitates Urbis Terranum” by Braun and Hogenberg dated 1572 which illustrated the city under the title of “Byzantium now Constantinople,” and later maps by Dilich, and Lorichs.”

¹⁶¹ İffet Orbay, “Istanbul viewed: the representation of the city in Ottoman maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,” Unpublished Ph.D. diss. (Cambridge, MA; MIT, 2001), 29-72.

¹⁶² J. M. Rogers, “Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories.” In *The History of Cartography Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, edited by J.B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 248-251; Orbay, “Istanbul viewed,” 73-116.

¹⁶³ Orbay, “Istanbul viewed,” 117-298.

The circulation of maps provided an image of the city as a representation of imperial power (Figures 84-101). They presented the city within a larger landscape; as a garden; and as a prosperous space, in relation to its surrounding neighborhoods, with respect to its topography. It provided an image of the city in birds eye view and also suggested multiple viewpoints.

IDEAL SPACES

Şehrengiz poems illustrate opposites; Edirne – the house of *gazîs*, as opposed to Istanbul - the house of imperial court; the capital city as opposed to its provinces; imperial gardens as opposed to public open spaces; night as opposed to day; spring as opposed to winter; land as opposed to sea; sultan as opposed to his subjects; the Shariah as opposed to the Tariqat. This kind of comparison of opposites is called *tanzih*. It is also used in *gazel* genre, in which the opposites are contrasted to one another in terms of superiority. However, in the genre of *Şehrengiz*, the opposites unite in harmony. The city unites opposites within its body. It becomes a space of reconciliation where the opposites reside side by side. *Şehrengiz* poems depict the city as a *barzakh*, as an intermediary space bringing together opposites. The below verses from *Mesîhî* depict the city as a place of reconciliation:¹⁶⁴

Such a celebrated joyful paradise where all the sinful ones would enter
See the dissident with the conformist together represented in it

Yahya also presents the city as place where the two worlds resides. According to Yahya, the city is a space where both metaphorical and divine love can be

¹⁶⁴ Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*, 138:

Zihi cennet ki girer her güneş-kâr/ Görür 'âsi vu 'âbid anda didâr

experienced. Thus it embodies the knowledge of both the phenomenal and the divine worlds.¹⁶⁵

Listen to this conversation of love
If you desire for the taste of the two worlds

Taşlıcalı Yahya Bey describes the city as a gathering place of lovers. The city is illustrated as a garden. The lovers are symbolized as flowers in this symbolic garden of reconciliation. Meeting of the lovers symbolize the meeting of form and meaning, hence the attainment of knowledge:¹⁶⁶

Graceful and slender lovers like young plants bodies ornament he city
Two seas merge to one another on its edge

Fakiri also portrays the city as a meeting place of the two seas. This is a metaphor portraying the city as a meeting place of the opposites. As well as it is a truth illustrating meeting of the Mediterranean Sea and the Black Sea:¹⁶⁷

Its darkness (gardens, vineyards, meadows, fields) is a land to seek refuge
Its brightness is where the two seas meet

¹⁶⁵ *Yahya Bey Divanı*, ed. and trans. by Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, 236:

Bu şehrin dilber-i ranâsı çokdur/ Güzellikde kamunun misli yokdur; Kulag ur dinle
bu cân sohbetini/ Dilersen iki âlem lezzetini

¹⁶⁶ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 95:

Sehî-kametlerle zeyn olupdur/ Kenârı mecma'u'l-bahreyn olupdur

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 97:

Sevâdı Melce'-i kevneyn olupdur/ Beyazı mecmau'l-bahreyn olupdur;

As it has already been discussed earlier, the metaphor of “the two seas” was also a common metaphor both in ‘Arabî’s work and his followers, such as the 17th c. Ottoman Sufi poet Niyazi-i Mısırî (1618-1694). Below, Terzioğlu explains Niyazi-i Mısırî’s interpretation of the concept of “two seas”:¹⁶⁸

In his explication of the Quranic verse “He has set two seas in motion that flow side by side together/with an interstice (barzakh) between them which they cannot cross.” (Rahman, 19-20), Mısırî explained that the relationship between the two seas was analogous to the relationship between shari’a (the religious law, the object of the study of the ulama al-zahir) and hakika (divine reality, the object of the quest of the ‘ulama al-batin).

In Islamic tradition, water symbolizes the origin of all creation.¹⁶⁹ In all *Şehrengiz* poems, there is a constant emphasis on water, traveling by water, river, swimming, skating at a frozen river. In a story told by Evliya Çelebi, when Edirne was proclaimed to be the capital of the Ottoman Dynasty, the Muslim community entered the city through the river, guided by Hacı Bektaş Veli.¹⁷⁰

Water is the most important element in the paradise garden.¹⁷¹ It symbolizes the source of divine knowledge. In the 3rd c. BC, king Sargon II of Assyria was born out of water and he was recognized as the “gardener of his people.” The story of

¹⁶⁸ Terzioğlu, “Sufi and dissent in the Ottoman Empire,” 270.

¹⁶⁹ Annemarie Schimmel, “The Water of Life,” in *Environmental Design* 2 (1985), 6-9.

¹⁷⁰ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, vol. 5, 304.

¹⁷¹ Emma Clark, *Underneath Which Rivers Flow The Symbolism of the Islamic Garden* (London: The Prince of Wales Institute of Architecture, 1996); John Brookes, *Gardens of Paradise The History and Design of the Great Islamic Gardens* (London: George Weidenfeld and Nicolson, Ltd., 1987); Annemarie Schimmel, “The Celestial Garden in Islam,” in *Islamic Garden*, ed. by Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Publications, 1976), 11-39; Mehdi Khansari, *The Persian Garden Echoes of Paradise* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 1998).

Gilgamesh is an account for the search of the “secret of eternal life” that is located in the far away seas.¹⁷²

Resemblance between knowledge in the form of illuminating light and the source of life in the form of water is symbolized in the rock crystal lamps of the Islamic tradition. Rock crystal lamps, ornamented with precious stones and pearls used in mosques, symbolize divine knowledge and the rivers of paradise. Shi'i tradition also uses the metaphor of water for divine knowledge.¹⁷³

Taşlıcalı Yahya acknowledges water as the source of creation of beautiful things, thus the beloved. He also stresses the association of water with divine knowledge. However, divine knowledge is attained by the individual self who is determined to do so. Thus, Yahya asserts the importance of individuality when associating the participants of *Şehrengiz* rituals to the natural elements of the city¹⁷⁴

Out of a drop of water, creates a beautiful form
His cheeks shining like moon, rose colored

....

By will, the individual becomes a bright pearl
By pure understanding and by the power of poetry

¹⁷² Khansari, *The Persian Garden*, 34-35.

¹⁷³ Avinoam Shalem, “Fountains of Light: The Meaning of Medieval Islamic Rock Crystal Lamps,” *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 1-11;5-6

¹⁷⁴ *Yahya Bey Divanı*, ed. and trans. by Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, 245; the first and the last verses from the below fragment:

Yaradur katradan bir sûret-i hûb/ Kamer-fer 'ârızı gül-reng mahbûb; Nigârun kâkülün
dâm-ı dil eyler/ Belâ-yı 'ışkı gayet müşkil eyler; Olur kadr ile merdüm dürr-i
meknun/ Virür idrâk-ı pâk ü tab-ı mehzûn

Şehrengiz poems also compare the city spaces to the gardens of paradise. However *Şehrengiz* poems portray the paradise garden as an intermediary space uniting all kinds of city spaces, different than *gazel* poems which depict the paradise garden as an interior space with superior as opposed to the exterior spaces. In *Şehrengiz* rituals each of the city spaces, meadows, gardens, rose gardens, imperial gardens, rivers, canals, seas, mosques, Sufi lodges, streets, open public spaces, populated houses, bath houses, palaces, private houses of friends and poets, castles, hills, spring waters, city walls, bazaars, guild shops, neighborhoods is represented with paradisiacal qualities. For example, Mesîhî compares the city of Edirne to the paradise garden:¹⁷⁵

Such a city that its gardens and mountains
Gives the individual the serenity of Paradise

Its waters handsome and flowing with charm
Clouds flowing by are refreshing

If you watch every one of these minarets
Turn into a beloved with a posture like a cypress

Beauties getting naked go into Tunca
Unfolding their breasts, tiny bellies

One seeing this city, with reference to this picture
Would think that the number of paradises has become nine

¹⁷⁵ Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*, 138:

“‘‘Aceb şehir ol ki anuñ bîg u râgu/Virür kişîye cennet ferâğı; İçinde suları mevsun u reftâr/ Bulutlar başı ucunda hevâdâr; Temâşâ eyleseñ her bir minaret/ Dönüpdür serv-kâmet bir nigâra; Soyunup Tuncaya girer güzeller/ Açılır ak güğüsler ince beller; Gören bu şehri bu resme kıyâmet/ Sanur bunuñla tokuz oldı cennet; Zihi cennet ki girer her güneş-kâr/ Görür ‘âsi vu ‘âbid anda didâr

Such a celebrated joyful paradise where all the sinful ones would enter
See the dissident with the conformist together represented in it

Similarly, Fakiri presents the city of Istanbul as a paradise:

Like the gardens of Paradise, all its places are enjoying
A tender breeze makes all its citizens happy and pleasant¹⁷⁶

Every sinful getting into this prosperous state
Watch and adore this paradise like place¹⁷⁷

There is nothing similar to it, it is the one and only in this world
Such a gracious such a beautiful city¹⁷⁸

The anonymous poet also places the city above the paradise garden:¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Levend, *Şehrengizler*, 98:

İrem bağı gibi her beyt-i mamur/ Nesim-i hulki eyler halkı mesrur

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 98:

Zihi devlet girüp her bir güneş-kâr/ Bu cennet içre eyler seyr-i didâr

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 98.

Naziri yok cihanda bidedeldür/ İken nâzûk iken şehri güzeldür

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.

Göreydi âdem ol zîbâ makamı/ Unudurdu dilâ Daru's-selâmı; Anun her câmi'i bir
Ka'be-i nur/ Saray-ı şah olupdur Beyt-i ma'mur; Olup âşûfte her bir çeşme-sârı/
Gözinden yaş döker gördükçe yârı; İder halk-ı cihan dayım ziyaret/ Olupdur san bu
şeh-rah-ı velâyet; Girer suya güzeller anda gâhî/ Düşer bahra sanasın aks-ı mâhî

If Adam had ever seen that bejeweled location
The heart would have forgotten the Paradise

Foreign travelers also depict the city of Istanbul. Similar to the depictions of the city in *Şehrengiz* rituals, travelers also portray the city possessing divine beauty. The below quotation is the impression of an anonymous Venetian who had been to Istanbul in 1534.¹⁸⁰

The city is about 18 miles round; it occupies seven little hills of no great height, the site of Constantinople is such that one can, not only, describe it fully but not even fully conceive its beauty. Indeed we are disposed to regard it rather as divine than anything else, nor can he who has seen it hesitate to deem it worthy to be preferred to all other places in the world.

Similarly, geographer George Braun who traveled to the city in 1575 also portrays Istanbul with natural beauty and well maintained by its citizens. He declares that “The city is so magnificent that it seems to have been raised not by the hand and labors of man, but by the felicity of nature and the aid of the elements.”¹⁸¹ Henry Austell, who was in Istanbul in 1586, praised the prosperity of the well-built city and its panorama ornamented with beautiful houses, monuments and mosques.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ *The Turks in MDXXXIII, A Series of Drawings made in that Year at Constantinople by Peter Coeck of Aelst (1502-1550)*, ed. by Sir William S. M. Bart (London; Edinburg: MDCCCLXXIII), 32; quoted from *Cose de Turchi* (Venice 1539).

¹⁸¹ *The Turks in MDXXXIII, A Series of Drawings made in that Year at Constantinople by Peter Coeck of Aelst (1502-1550)*, ed. by Sir William S. M. Bart (London; Edinburg: MDCCCLXXIII), 35; quoted from George Braun et Fr. Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* vol. 1 (1576-1621), 51.

¹⁸² *The Turks in MDXXXIII, A Series of Drawings made in that Year at Constantinople by Peter Coeck of Aelst (1502-1550)*, ed. by Sir William S. M. Bart (London; Edinburg: MDCCCLXXIII), 35-36; quoted from *The Voyage of Master Henry Austell 1586 in Hakluyt's Navigations* (London: 1599-1601), vol 2, 196.

We arrived at the great and the most stately city of Constantinople, which for the situation and proud seat thereof, for the beautiful and the commodious houses and for the great and sumptuous building of their temples, which they call Mosches, is to be preferred before all the cities of Europe.

George Sandys, who traveled to the city in the early 17th c., glorified the beauty of the city (Figures 107-108). He portrayed the image of the city as a garden with beautiful monuments embedded in a cypress grove: ¹⁸³

It stands in a cape of land near the entrance to the Bosphorus; in form triangular; on the east side washed with the same, and on the north side with the haven, adjoining on the west to the continent; walled with brick and stone, intermixed orderly; having four and twenty gates and posterns; whereof five do regard the land and nineteen the water; being about 13 miles in circumference. Than this there is hardly in nature a more delicate object, if beheld from the sea or adjoining mountains; the lofty and beautiful cypress trees so intermixed with buildings that it seemeth to present a citie in a wood to the pleased beholders, whose seven aspiring heads, for on so many hills and no more they say it is seated, are most of them crowned with magnificent mosques, all of white marble, round in form,

By the end of the 17th c., Grelot illustrates the city as an “enchanted town” set in a densely planted garden: ¹⁸⁴

Nothing can be seen or imagined more charming than the approach to Constantinople. When I arrived there for the first time, I thought I was

¹⁸³ *The Turks in MDXXXIII, A Series of Drawings made in that Year at Constantinople by Peter Coeck of Aelst (1502-1550)*, ed. by Sir William S. M. Bart (London; Edinburg: MDCCCLXXIII), 37; quoted from George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey begun AD 1610* (London: 1615), 30-31.

¹⁸⁴ *The Turks in MDXXXIII, A Series of Drawings made in that Year at Constantinople by Peter Coeck of Aelst (1502-1550)*, ed. by Sir William S. M. Bart (London; Edinburg: MDCCCLXXIII), 38-39; quoted from G. Joseph Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris: 1680), 68-71.

entering an enchanted town; I found myself in the midst of three great arms of the sea, one coming from the north east, another from the north west, and the third formed by the meeting of the other two, discharging itself into the great basin of Propontis. These great arms of the sea as far as the eye can reach bath shores rising insensibly, hill above hill, all covered with country houses, gardens and kiosks, which become thicker as the town is approached. They are set one above the other, as in an amphitheater, the better to enjoy so fair a prospect. Amidst these houses printed of various colours, there rise an incredible number of great domes, cupolas, minarets, and towers, ascending far above the ordinary buildings. ...The verdure of cypresses, and other trees of many gardens, add much to the agreeable confusion which charms the eyes of the stranger.”

Şehrengiz poems use metaphors of the paradise garden to picture the city. Though, foreign traveler accounts also acknowledge the city of Istanbul having a divine beauty, suggesting that the *Şehrengiz* poems might have not depicted an ideal image of the city, but a real image of the city which was actually beautiful.

In contrast to the natural beauty of the city of Istanbul, the *Şehrengiz* poems also criticize the status of the city for maintaining an imperial agenda and housing the imperial court. In the *Şehrengiz* poems of Edirne, there is a clear subtext that criticizes the imperial agenda for asserting central authority.

Yerasimos, who researched the intertextuality of historical texts about the city of Istanbul and its monuments after the Ottoman conquest of the city, argues that almost a century after the capture of the city - from 1453 until 1560's, the Ottoman culture proposed conflicting histories considering the newly flourishing imperial identity associated with the capture of the city of Istanbul, its monuments, and its Byzantine heritage. The official chronicles commissioned by the court, like Aşıkpaşazade, Neşri, and Tursun Bey did not depict the foundation of the city; on the contrary, the unofficial chronicles illustrated its founders, its monuments and its faith.

The early unofficial chronicles depict the foundation of the city within the circles of Rome-Alexandria- Istanbul, or Troia-Rome-Istanbul; and emphasize its pagan and Christian heritage for the sake of proposing an anti-imperial agenda during the Ottoman appropriation of the city in the second half of the 15th c. The latter

chronicles, which carry an imperial agenda, however, associate the city with that of other holy cities of the Islamic tradition; Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. They convey the faith of the city as associated with the Orthodox Islamic tradition and blessed by prophet Muhammed.¹⁸⁵

Interestingly, the anti-imperial arguments were mostly presented by authors from Edirne. The city of Edirne was a challenge to the city of Istanbul. Edirne, which represented anti-imperial tendencies, was the house of *gazîs* who wished to sustain their freedom and power. On the other hand, upon its conquest Istanbul became the symbol of the imperial agenda which subjected all the populace to a centralized authority including the *gazîs*.

Yerasimos has shown that, among these texts, the first relevant chronicles written with an anti-imperial agenda were composed by Bayrami-Melâmî authors from Edirne. Two Bayrami-Melâmî authors, Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed and Yazıcıoğlu Ahmed, were brothers.¹⁸⁶ *Dürr-i meknun*, by Yazıcıoğlu Bican Ahmed composed c. 1453, formulated the background of the anti-imperial agenda upon which the latter anti-imperial texts were constructed. *Dürr-i meknun* was a highly circulated book even in the 17th c. Its simple language enabled the text to be understood by everyone. It was used as a text-book for teaching Ottoman to foreigners. Also classified as a book of geography, *Dürr-i meknun* describes mountains, animals, cities and buildings, and concentrates on the history of the city of Istanbul. At the end, it announces an apocalypse as associated with the history of the city.¹⁸⁷ It also

¹⁸⁵ Stefanos Yerasimos, *Türk Metinlerinde Konstantiniye ve Ayasofya Efsaneleri*, trans. Şirin Tekeli (Istanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 1993, c. 1990).

¹⁸⁶ Yerasimos associates the content of the chronicles composed by these two Bayrami-Melâmî authors; *Risale-i Muhammediye* by Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed, and *Envar ül-aşikin* (dated 1451, the life of the prophet) and *Dürr-i meknun* (dated c.1453, classified as a book of geography) by Yazıcıoğlu Bican Ahmed.

¹⁸⁷ Yerasimos, *Türk Metinlerinde Konstantiniye*, 61-62.

makes a list of the monuments of the city as a huge mirror, a miraculous building that tells about the faith of the lost people, a copper hand that estimates just exchange for trading people, the Egyptian Obelisk and the Serpentine Column.¹⁸⁸

A Russian chronicle dated c. 1453, narrates the city as located between the two seas. Although this is a foreign chronicle, it also conveys an apocalyptic end for the city, and takes part within the “intertextual web” of the chronicles that compose the anti-imperial agenda.¹⁸⁹

This city will be called the city with the Seven Hills; it will have fame and fortune more than all the other cities in the world, but because it is located between the two seas, the waves of these two oceans beating upon it, it will incline once to this side and once to the other.

Since, throughout Yerasimos’ well documented work, it is assured that these chronicles were all well circulated in the Ottoman land, enabling construction and transformation of such an agenda, it is also possible to argue that these chronicles were also available to the *Şehrengiz* poets. They were most probably not only considering political-social agendas, but who like Cemali, were taking into account even the simple geographical depictions like the location of the city as inbetween the two seas of Mediterranean and Black Sea.

The 1468 dated history of the city of Istanbul by Oruç Bey, and its second version dated 1497 and the 1512 dated chronicle composed by Edirneli Ruhi were also anti-imperial accounts whose authors were from the city of Edirne.¹⁹⁰

The 1491 dated anonymous *Kuruluşundan Sonuna Kadar Konstantiniye Tarihinin Öyküsü* narrated the history of the city from its foundation until the sultanate of

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 117.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 70.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 207; 220-221.

Beyazıd II, citing each one of its founders and its rulers. Yerasimos states that the story is an original Turkish version of the history of the city. The story depicts the construction of Hagia Sophia in a very peculiar way. The emperor wishes to build a church that had no equal in the whole world. So, upon consulting a seventeen hundred years old wise man, the emperor organizes a contest to find the most talented architect for the design and building of this church. He poses a simple structural question. Among the participants of the contest, a poor young man from the guild of bath-houses is also forced to propose a solution to the problem of the emperor. This poor man who is not at all aware of any of the incidents about the emperor and his problem, is being helped by a spirit only seen to him. Thus, with the spirit's help, he not only proposes the correct answer regarding the structural problem, but he also becomes the architect of the church. Again with the help of the spirit he also proposes a "picture" of the church to be built for the approval of the emperor. The story also depicts the Arab conquests to the city and narrates the legendary story of the Eyyüb Ensari, his campaign to the city, his death, and his place of burial which had become a holy shrine. The anonymous chronicle reports that besides Ensari's burial, there was a holy spring which was also favored by the citizens of the Byzantine city. The Ottoman emperor, upon seeing his own citizens visiting the location of the burial felt himself obliged to commission the building of a mausoleum for Eyyüb Ensari.¹⁹¹

The important features of this story, as related to the discussions on the genre of *Şehrengiz* are, first, the attempt to construct an imperial identity related to the material history of the city. Second, is the criticism of this imperial attempt and accusing the imperial agenda which forces individual citizens to become subjects. This important point is that, the story constructs new characters and refers to historical persons in the history of the city. Among these characters, there is the imaginary person called Yanko Bin Madyan, who is an anti-hero. Another character is the legendary Muslim Eyyub Ensari and his tomb with its holy spring that carries divine associations even for the non-Muslim community of the city. The fourth

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 13-49.

important point is the reference to Yunus Emre¹⁹², which proposes associations with Islamic mysticism and the foundation of the city. The fifth, important point is the real occupation of the architect of Hagia Sophia, who is depicted as a poor guild boy of the bath-houses. The sixth, and the least important point for the discussion of identity, but prominent in terms of perception is the use of the concept of the “picture” of Hagia Sophia as displayed to the public and the emperor by the guild boy again directed by the divine spirit. First one of these points is discussed by Yerasimos in detail throughout his whole his intertextual study. The last two points, are introduced for their relevance to issues brought about by the genre of *Şehrengiz*, though, all six points are related to the genre.

There are two chronicles from the 15th c. which depict the topography, monuments and miraculous items of the city. Both chronicles are considered a compilation of former sources. The first one, anonymous, depicts Hagia Sophia, its interior, its courtyard, the Hippodrome, miracles of the city, manastır, and the water supply system. The second one is a compilation of Arabic texts, books of gerography, hagiography, and pilgrimage. It was composed by Ali bin Abdurrahman and called *Acaib ül-Mahlûkat*. It portrayed the city plan, city walls and the Hippodrome.¹⁹³ The diverse influence and different places of interest depicted in these chronicles resemble the depiction of different places in the various *Şehrengiz* poems.

One chronicle which depicts the foundation and history of Hagia Sophia in favor of an imperial agenda is a translation made by Şemsüddin in 1480. The author reinterprets the Byzantine texts and translates it in such a way as to be cherished by a centralized power and its Muslim community. Şemsüddin’s story locates the emperor above the architect. In this story, the emperor was divinely inspired by Khidr three times in his dreams about the design and construction of the church.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 86-87.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 105-106.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 118-129.

The anonymous *Tarih-i Bina-i Ayasofya*, written during the sultanate of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, is another chronicle of the imperial agenda which shifts the discussions about the faith of the city within an Islamic circle, different than the most of the previous chronicles association of the city with its Byzantine and Christian heritage. The text focuses on Hagia Sophia mainly through the eyes of former Islamic mythology which reflected the capture of the city by Ottomans, as predicted by the prophet Muhammed. When Muhammed had ascended to the Heavens, Gabriel had shown him all the levels of the paradise. In the Garden of the seventh paradise, Firdevs, the prophet was amazed when seeing a replica of Hagia Sophia.¹⁹⁵

By the sultanate of Yavuz Sultan Selim II, the anti-imperial arguments which depict the history and foundation of the city or its monuments became almost totally replaced by chronicles that serve for the centralized imperial agenda. The *Tarih-i Konstantiniye* by Ilyas Efendi, dated 1562, is a chronicle that represents the city as a haven totally blessed by God. It begins with a geographical description, and cites the founders of the city. The Chronicle abandons any irritating parts of the previous chronicles with their claims for an anti-imperial agenda and warning of the inevitable future apocalypse of the city. In the blissful and pleasant story of the city, Ilyas appraises the city and its monuments. He depicts the Fatih Mosque, the *medrese*, similar to Paradise; pictures the Beyazid Mosque citing its location close to the Old Palace, and, mentions the mosques that were commissioned by Kanuni Sultan Süleyman. Thus, with Ilyas story, the imperial project was made into a success story. The Süleymaniye Mosque was compared to the Kabe, the prophet's mosque at Medina and *Mescid-i Aksa*, at Jerusalem.¹⁹⁶

With respect to all the various narratives about the foundation of the city of Istanbul; there are two main chronicles which depict the importance of the city of

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 252-253.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 239-246.

Edirne as the house of gazis, in rivalry to the city of Istanbul. These chronicles are dated to from the late 15th c. to the early 16th c., parallel to the dating of the anti-imperialistic arguments, and as well parallel to the development of the genre of *Şehrengiz*.

The *Saltukname*, dated 1475-1480 narrates the capture of Edirne by the gazis, and their leader Sarı Saltuk. It conveys a story where Sarı Saltuk meets Khidr and Elias in the place called *Hıdırlık* (The Groove of Khidr) and talks about the faith and fortune of the city as the house of *gazîs* and the center of the world.¹⁹⁷

The *Hikaye-yi hekim Beşir Çelebi ve Edirne’de olan Eski Camii Tevarihi ve Yeni Saray ve Hisar-ı Edirne* dated c. 1520 by Beşir Çelebi tells about the foundation of the city of Edirne. The author conveys the city as blessed, and dedicated to Islam, contrary to the cursed city of Istanbul. In the story, Ilyas, as the founder of the city predicts that in the future Edirne will be the house of the gazis. Hadrianus, builds the first hagiaσμα of the town and predicts the future occupation of the city by a Muslim community who would conquer the whole world from this station point. In the text, four holy places of the city are narrated, first the hagiaσμα of Hadrianus, second *Hıdırlık*, third, a mosque built by Murad III, and fourth Dar-ül Hadis, a religious school. The text links the heritage of the city to Islamic legendary by referring to “two black stones that were brought back from Kabe” in the Old Mosque (1414). According to the story, Hacı Bayram Veli, who visited this mosque, had a revelation from Prophet Muhammed during his visit, ensuring that this mosque would serve his commune, and that it would never be deserted.¹⁹⁸

Edirne, the house of *gazîs*, and its provinces had a significant Melâmî population. When the central authority had threatened Melâmîs with hostility, the prominent figures of the society had chosen to live outside the city of Istanbul, in the provinces of Edirne and the Balkans. When Hacı Bayram Veli visited Edirne upon

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 223-224.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 222-23.

the Sultan's invitation, he acquired many adherents in the region. Melâmî pole İsmail Maşuki (d. 1539) and his companion Pir Ahmed-i Edirnevî traveled between the cities of Istanbul and Edirne until Maşuki was executed in Istanbul.¹⁹⁹ Melâmî pole and poet Ahmed-i Sârbân (d. 1545) was living in Hayrabolu, a province of Edirne.²⁰⁰ Melâmî pole Hamza Bali (d. 1561-62) carried Bayrami-Melâmî philosophy to Thracia and the Balkans, in the environs of Edirne, Tekirdağ, Vize, Hayrabolu, Zlovnik, Gracanica, Dolnja Tuzla, Gornja Tuzla and Hersek.²⁰¹ These regions formerly housed the followers of Şeyh Bedreddin. Bedreddin had a lot of disciples and admirers in Edirne, its provinces and the Balkans. There was also a prominent Bektaşî population in the area.

REAL SPACES

Şehrengiz poems are constructions. These constructions are stories, books, a pearl necklace, and thus a city. They construct images by words, evoke forms in imagination. While the city is being constructed in imagination, the narrative leads the reader, or the listener to experience the events of the city. This is enabled by telling stories within stories, creating different panoramas within the continuity of the same text, providing multiple viewpoints. *Şehrengiz* poems depict various scenes from different spaces, both real and imaginary. The poems as a whole demonstrate the multiplicity of characters, stories, events and the multiplicity of city spaces.

¹⁹⁹ Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 46; Ocak, *Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, 254.

²⁰⁰ Ocak, *Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, 261.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 290-304.

The *Şehrengiz* poems illustrate spaces of the city such as; meadows, gardens, rose gardens, imperial gardens, rivers, canals, seas, mosques, Sufi lodges, streets, open public spaces, populated houses, bath houses, palaces, private houses of friends and poets, castles, hills, spring waters, city walls, bazaars, guild shops, neighborhoods. The *Şehrengiz* poems also illustrate different cities apart from Istanbul.

Within the city of Istanbul, the *Şehrengiz* poems depict spaces from within the walled city and from without. Within the walled city, Hagia Sophia, its interior space and courtyard, the Hippodrome and populated streets leading to the Hippodrome, the mosques of Beyazıd (r. 1481-1512) and Fatih (r. 1444-1481) are narrated. Outside the walled city, Yedikule, Eyüp, Galata, Üsküdar, Yenikapı, Beşiktaş, Kağıthane, Anadolu Hisarı, Göksu, Kavak, Kadıköy and Davudpaşa neighborhoods are cited. The poems also depict scenes from bath houses and private residences, or shops which can't be located in the city. There is a constant emphasis on water, indicating whether, the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn or a river which could be the Kağıthane or the Göksu River.

Some of these neighborhoods and spaces were manifestations of the imperial order. In the 1537 map of Istanbul by Matrakçı Nasuh, the city representation is a display of imperial ideology.²⁰² İffet Orbay, in her unpublished thesis study, examines the 1537 map.²⁰³ Her analysis of the 1537 map is included among the illustrative material of this chapter. In the 1537 map, the real dimensions are distorted in order to present a diagrammatic ideogram of the imperial ideology. The walled city occupies half of the map. In the 1537 map, the former Byzantine ceremonial axis of the Mese is represented as the new Ottoman imperial axis furnished with Ottoman imperial monuments. Thus, Hagia Sophia, the

²⁰² 1537 maps depict territorial gains of the Ottoman ruling class who appropriated the Shi'i cities of Bagdad, Najaf, Karbala and Hilla; Rogers, "Itineraries and Town Views in Ottoman Histories," 228-255.

²⁰³ Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 29-72.

Hippodrome, the old palace, Beyazid Mosque and the Fatih Complex are drawn on a straight axis inhabiting the center of the walled city.²⁰⁴

As if using the 1537 Istanbul Map of Matrakçı Nasuh as a guide, an Italian traveler to the city also depicts the monumental imperial mosques along the main axis he visited after Hagia Sophia:²⁰⁵

There is the mosque of Sultan Mohammed, which has an imaret attached to it that is like a hostel; in which they lodge anyone, of any nation or law, who may wish to enter, and they give him food for three days,- honey, rice, bread, and water, and a room in which to sleep. ... Near this they have baths and some fountains, most beautiful and delightful to behold. There are the mosques of Sultan Beyazid, Sultan Selim, and other Signors, which are very beautiful and exceedingly well-built.

Further, the map also includes the neighborhoods of Galata across and Eyüp at the end of the Golden Horn. Üsküdar is also included across the Bosphorus. The 1537 Istanbul map illustrates the imperial image of Istanbul with its neighborhoods.

The 1537 map also announces another imperial ideal which is representing the Ottoman city as a garden. Thus, the map depicts the monuments of the city in the background of a green garden, planted with colorful trees and flowers of all kinds. However, the map emphasises Galata as a Christian neighborhood and the garden does not continue within Galata region.

Though *Şehrengiz* travels include these spaces which exhibit the imperial ideology, they are not limited to them. *Şehrengiz* poems present every corner of the city as a

²⁰⁴ Cyril Mango, "The Urbanism of Byzantium Constantinople," *Rassegna* 72 (1997), 19; Stephanos Yerasimos, "Ottoman Istanbul," *Rassegna* 72 (1997), 24-36.

²⁰⁵ Albert H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1913), 239-261; from Benedetto Ramberti, *Libri Tre delle Cose de Turchi* (Venice: 1543), 131-146.

paradise, including the Galata region. Moreover, the emphasis on the spaces outside the walled city is more than the ones inside.

Meadows are also important spaces of the *Şehrengiz* rituals. Different from gardens, meadows in the countryside along Bosphorus, or at Kağıthane provided a multiplicity of spaces where city dwellers used to enjoy themselves. Such meadows were called *mesire*. *Mesire* have always been an important part of Ottoman culture. In the 16th century, the *mesire* experience is usually narrated through the personification of natural elements. Allegorical stories are narrated depicting the rose's passion for the river, the nightingale's hopeless desire for the rose that had shed his blood all over, the shivering willow, the birds gently accompanying the wind blowing foresees a mythical atmosphere, and the space is defined in terms of Nature. The space has a Spirit of its own narrating her own stories, and with its beauty gently reflecting the beauty of the God. The countryside becomes a representation of divine aesthetics. As the poet wanders out in the countryside, *Kağıthane* and *Göksu* are presented as a favorable spots in the countryside, embracing, caressing and refreshing the spirit and the heart.

Evliya Çelebi makes a long list of private and public *mesire* areas "where everybody can stroll without any restraint"²⁰⁶. Within the city Evliya Çelebi names sixteen places as *mesire* including promonades, open spaces, and gardens of the mosques, or religious complexes. These *mesire* listed are; Atmeydanı, Ağa Çayırı, Yenibahçe, Baruthane, Vefa, Beyazıd-ı Veli, Süleymaniye, Fatih, Atpazarı, Arabacılar, Selimiye, Kadirga Port, Şehzade, Yedikule, Valide Mosque, and Ayasofya. Ten city doors including docks listed as public squares (meydan) are *Eminönü*, *Odun Kapısı*, *Ayazma Kapısı*, *Büyük Ayazma İskeleyi*, *Eyüp Ensari Kapısı*, *Kumkapı*, *Langa Kapısı*, *Samatya Kapısı*, *Murad Paşa Kapısı*. *Langa* Sea-Bath, vineyards of *Langa*, *Buçak*, *Lalezar* are the other places in Evliya Çelebi's record, among which public can visit without any restraint.

²⁰⁶ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, vol. 2, 146-147.

Outside the city Evliya lists *Süleyman Sahrası* outside the *Silivri Kapısı*. According to Çelebi's account, the place is described as a big empty space, most likely a lawn, less probably a meadow, where there is fountain of "life-giving water" and a high-rise pavilion (*yüksek köşk*). The *mesire* of the Yenikapı Mevlevihane Tekkesi; The promenades of the *Topçular*, *Otakçılar*, *Yavedud*, *Cirit Meydanı* on the way to Kağıthane; *Bayram Paşa* and *Kasım Ağa* vineyards are listed as public places outside the city. Evliya Çelebi records the village of *Alibeyköy*, with forty houses, and a mosque, "ornamented" with about seventy-eighty plane trees as a place of stroll.

Other *mesire* listed are still diverse in their typology. They are villages, open spaces, or dervish lodges.²⁰⁷ Some of these places were named after a single artifact like a pool, or a specific garden that the site accommodates. The sites of *mesire*, as depicted by Evliya Çelebi, were favorable locations for "lovers" and "friends" to meet and converse. Among these *mesire* were; the Dervish Lodge of the Indian Kalenderis; the *mesire* of *Emir Gune Garden*, which was once built in the honor of Emir Gune, the ruler of Revan captured, later became a garden for the public visit; the *mesire* of *Cendereci* village; *mesires* of *Çaybaşı*, *Sultan Osman pool*, the mountains of *Istranca*, the dairy farm of Selim Han, the *Terkos Lake Hunting Site*, *Çekmece lakes*, *Okmeydanı*.

Evliya Çelebi records the *mesire* of Kağıthane as a favored place among the citizens of Istanbul and even among the Arabs, Persians, Indians, natives of Yemen, travelers from Habesh. He praises its waters and its air. Its river is surrounded by plane trees, cypresses, and willows. It is a famous place for washing clothes in the river, whose water bleaches the dirtiest garments naturally. One of the major sites of interest was the *Mesire of Lalezar* famous for its tulips. Another well-known site was the *Mesire of Imrahor Pavilion* which had a "bejeweled timber pavilion" as Çelebi describes, it constructed on a meadow beside the Kağıthane River. Evliya recites the plants of the site, the high qualities

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 148-150.

of grass types such as “*kara karık, sarı karık*,” clover and, appreciate other kinds of various weed of this particular meadow comparing it to some other meadows in the eastern provinces of the empire, like Erzurum, Muş, Van, and Bingöl. The site was mostly enjoyed during the holidays by the old and the young “lovers” who arrived to the *mesire* by boat. These visitors used to gather in groups, converse and, enjoy themselves in parties of poetry, and music. Evliya Çelebi also portrays the large number of people who used to swim in the river, wearing blue cloths on their naked bodies. *Kağıthane Tekkesi*, is illustrated as “a place for conversing,” described having a dervish lodge which had rooms, corridors organized for “lovers” (poets), a kitchen having seventy stoves, a storage space, one oven, one coffee-house, a mosque, and a water well. Evliya records that the visitors were able to board at the lodge for about five-ten days.

Another site of stroll in *Kağıthane Mesiresi* is called the Promenade of “Jewelry-Makers” (*Kuyumcular Gezinti Yeri*). This place was identified as the gathering location of the guilds of jewelry-makers, who used to meet at the site and enjoy themselves by conversing for twenty days every forty years. Evliya Çelebi accounts the activity as an old tradition of the guilds, established during the times of Süleyman, who had himself learned the art of jewelry-making when he was a prince. The Sultan also used to participate in these gatherings. The imperial tent would be constructed at the site among the many other tents of the guild members who had traveled to İstanbul, from all the other provinces of the empire. The members of the guilds, according to the traditions would visit the imperial assembly. The Sultan was expected to offer a present to the master of the guild, and in turn the master of the guild was required to present him a set of gifts. There are accounts of other guilds who were used to gather at Kağıthane every twenty years. And the site would mostly be enjoyed by the public, who would camp in tents, before the holy month of Ramadan. This activity, which used to last for about one month was called “*şeb-bük*” as accounted by Evliya Çelebi, and within this month the public would enjoy themselves celebrating the arrival of the holy month. Located at the entrance of Kağıthane valley, Evliya Çelebi identifies *Baruthane*, which was a site of gun-powder production. This place is also listed under the title of *mesire*, for the joy and excitement of watching the sight of powder-mills. He

narrates the playful and amazing movement of the mills, the sound of the machinery and workers as a delightful sight that is located along the river.²⁰⁸

Busbecq, who traveled to Istanbul in the second half of the 16th c., describes a countryside meadow from an outsider's point of view. He illustrates a particular meadow between Edirne and Istanbul as a prosperous place ornamented with flowers:²⁰⁹

We stayed one day in Adrianople and then set out on the last stage of our journey to Constantinople, which was now close at hand. As we passed through this district we everywhere came across quantities of flowers - narcissi, hyacinths, and tulipans, as the Turks call them. We were surprised to find them flowering in mid-winter, scarcely a favorable season. There is an abundance of narcissi in Greece, and they possess so wonderful a scent that a large quantity of them causes a headache in those who are unaccustomed to such an odour. The tulip has little or no scent, but it is admired for its beauty and the variety of its colours. The Turks are very fond of flowers, and, though they are otherwise anything but extravagant, they do not hesitate to pay several *aspres* for a fine blossom.

He also illustrates another meadow in Istanbul: "The next day we left Scutari and journeyed through fields of fragrant plants, especially lavender."²¹⁰ Busbecq also narrates Istanbul and environs as ornamented with gardens of the Sultan. These gardens were housed in "charming valleys."²¹¹

I had a delightful excursion, and was allowed to enter several of the Sultan's country-houses, places of pleasure and delight. On the folding

²⁰⁸ Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, vol. 2, 144-147.

²⁰⁹ *The Turkish Letters of Ogier de Busbecq Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554-1562*, trans. from the Latin Elzevier Edition of 1633 by E. S. Forster (Oxford, UK: The Clarendon Press, 1968, c. 1927), 25-26.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

doors of one of them I saw a vivid representation of the famous battle of Selim against Ismael, King of Persia. I also saw numerous parks belonging to the Sultan situated in charming valleys. What homes for the Nymphs! What abodes of the Muses! What places for studious retirement!

Another neighborhood cited frequently in *Şehrengiz* poems is Eyüp. Eyüp is located at the end of the Golden Horn. Ebu Eyyub-i Ensari was a friend of the prophet Muhammed, and died during the Arab siege of Istanbul. According to the legend, he was buried in the skirts of the city walls, outside the city. Later, when Fatih conquered Istanbul, the exact site of Ebu Eyyub-i Ensari's tomb was located at the site.

Evliya Çelebi recounts that Eyüp, located outside the city of Istanbul, was two hours away from the main center of the city. As Evliya further describes, there was no empty land between the city and Eyüp, though it was known to be a separate town with twenty-six neighborhoods, numerous vineyards, and gardens. Fatih Sultan Mehmed had built a mosque in this town, in the honor of the Muslim Saint, who was killed during the first Arab conquest of the Byzantine Constantinople. Evliya, tells that this monumental site of Muslim pilgrimage was visited on Fridays:

Every Friday thousands of men come to visit *Hızır*, thus its bazaar and market place becomes like a sea of men. The gentlemen of pleasure are seated at the balconies of the "desert" (*kaymakçı*) shops drinking fresh milk, and eating cheese with pure honey.²¹²

Among the sites for visiting, Evliya lists Eyüp Promenade, which used to embody the *Küplüce* Hagiasma with its "life-giving water", located on a hillside overlooking the sea; *Ağa Eskişi* Promenade, a meadow looking over the Golden Horn; *Harp Meydanı* (Promenade of War), a place famous for riding and the arts of musketeering; *Kalamış*, a spectacular site favored for fishing, and traveling by boat; *Deniz Hamamı Gezinti Yeri* (Sea-Bath Site of Journeying), islands in front of the town of Eyüp, where on every Friday, friends visit by boat and enjoy themselves sitting at its serene grassland after swimming in the Golden Horn. The

²¹² Evliya Çelebi, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, vol. II, 81.

site of a well in a house located in the cemeteries, north of Eyüb was known as *Can Kuyusu Gezinti Yeri* (the Well of the Spirit). This well was known to have magical powers in guiding people for finding their lost goods, or beloved intimates, who were lost. The gardens of a dervish lodge that belonged to the Bayrami order, and called the *İdris Köşkü* (İdris Pavillion) was another site in the vicinity. This dervish lodge, as accounted by Evliya Çelebi, was demolished by Mustafa I (1622-1623) accusing the master of the order as a non-believer. Its garden, as Çelebi mentions, was still a place of pleasure with its big fountain, pool, plane trees and lawn. Evliya Çelebi says that this site was favored by the dervishes and the friends of the tariqat as a place of gathering and joy.²¹³ Other *mesires*, listed are, *Kırk Selviler* (Forty Cypresses), *Ağa Kırılığı* (The Meadow of the Ağa), and *Bülbül Deresi* (The River of the Nightingale).

The town of *Sütlüce* was famous for its prosperous gardens and beautiful palaces.²¹⁴ Evliya Çelebi lists a number of gardens such as the garden of *Ali Ağa*, *Eski Yusuf*, *Gani-zade*, and gardens of private residences; gardens of the Karaağaç water-front mansion, which belonged to the imperial household, and where Sultans used to enjoy watching people going to Kağıthane by boats; the garden of *Ebussud*, the vineyard of *Bezirganbaşı*, gardens of *İbrahim Han-zade*. Other favorable grounds of the town are listed as the gardens of dervish lodges; *Caferâbâd*, *Hasanâbâd*, *Abdüsselâm*. The *Caferâbâd Lodge* located on a hilltop and decorated with a variety of trees, was among the favorable sites which Sultan Süleyman used to visit. Evliya Çelebi presents *Hasanâbâd* as a place of gathering, where at the beginning of each month parties of reading and singing were organized, and the people of Istanbul “whoever loves journeying” were invited. The “paradise like” gardens of the *Abdüsselâm Lodge* were favored by the members of the guilds. For the town of *Kasımpaşa* on the Golden Horn, Evliya Çelebi accounts

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 82.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 90-91.

for ten sites of *mesires*;²¹⁵ *Tirendazlar Tekkesi*, *Ayazma*, *Hasan Karlığı*, *Pota Yeri*, *Divdar Çeşmesi*, *Piyale Paşa Tekkesi*, *Söğütçük Ayazması*, *Hacı Ahmet Bostanı*, *Boşnak Bağı*, *Dede Bostanı*. Among these promenades, *Hasan Karlığı*, *Didar Çeşmesi*, and *Piyale Paşa Tekkesi* are recorded as places of convivial gatherings of friends, for conversing.

Sandys who traveled to Istanbul reported about the neighborhoods of Eyüp and Kağıthane, and, their use by the imperial court. He described the sword girding ceremonies of the Sultans at Eyüp and the imperial gardens at Kağıthane where the Sultans used to hunt:²¹⁶

All the suburbs that this city hath, lie without the Gate of *Adrianople*; adjoining to the North west angle thereof, and stretching along the uppermost of the Haven. Where within a stately monument, there standeth a Tomb of principal repute in the *Mahometan* devotion: the Sepulcher of *J(E)upe Sultan a Santon* of theirs, called vulgarly and ridiculously, the Sepulcher of Job. To which the *Caption Bassa* doth repair before he sets forth, and at his return; there performing appointed Orai-ons and Ceremonies, and upon a victory obtained, is obliged to visit the fame every morning and evening, for the space of three weeks. Before this in a Cypress Grove there standeth a Scaffold, where the new *Sultans* are girt with a Sword by the hands of the *Mufti*, their principal Prelate, with divers solemnities.

Now speak we of the Haven, rather devoured than increased by a little River called formerly *Barbysez*, now by the Greeks, *Chartaricon*, and *Chay* by the Turks; much frequented by Fowl, and rigorously preserved for the Grand Signiors pleasure, who ordinarily hawks thereon; insomuch that a servant of my Lord Ambassadors was so beaten for presuming to shoot there, that shortly after he died (as it is thought of) the blows." "This falleth into the west extent of Haven: throughout the world the fairest, the safest, the most profitable.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 99-100.

²¹⁶ George Sandys, *Sandys travels, containing an history of the original and present state of the Turkish Empire...A Relation of a Journey begun An Dom: 1610*, 7th ed (London: Printed for J. Williams Junior, 1673, c. 1610), 29.

Many of the *Şehrengiz* travels included Galata. Galata was famous for its wine houses. Evliya Çelebi counts a number of wine types such as: “*Ankona, Sakoza, Mudanya, Edremit, Bozcaada*” sold in the taverns of Galata. Evliya gives the names of some of these taverns as “*Kefeli, Manyeli, Milhalaki, Kaşkaval, Sünbüllü, Konstantin, Saranda*.” The total number of taverns in Galata was about two hundred, as recorded by Evliya Çelebi.²¹⁷ There were also about two hundred taverns (*meyhane*) and places selling soft drinks (*bozahane*) in *Kara Piri Paşa*, hundred taverns in *Hasköy*.²¹⁸

Though in *Şehrengiz* poems, there is no account for drinking alcohol, it would not be daring to assume that wine was part of *Şehrengiz* rituals like that of the gazel rituals. Traveling to Galata, *Şehrengiz* rituals might propose enjoying the tavers of Galata as well. Busbecq, illustrates the scene of taverns by “accounting for drinking wine with the Turks who had enjoyed it enourmously.”²¹⁹

The drinking of wine is regarded by the Turks as a serious crime, especially among the older men; the younger men can commit the sin with greater hope of pardon and excuse. They think, however, that the punishment which they will suffer in a future life will be just as heavy whether they drink much or little, and so, if they taste wine, they drink deep; the punishment being already deserved, they incur no additional penalty, and they count their drunkenness as all to the good. Such are their ideas about drinking and others are still more absurd. I once saw an old fellow at Constantinople, who, when he had taken the cup into his hand, began to utter loud cries. When we asked our friends the reason of this, they declared that he wished by these cries to warn his soul to betake itself to some distant corner of his body or else quit it altogether, so that it might not participate in the crime which he was about to commit and might escape pollution by the wine which he was about to swallow.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 108-109.

²¹⁸ Evliya, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyâhatnâmesi*, vol. 2 , 92-93.

²¹⁹ *The Turkish Letters of Ogier de Busbecq*, 9-10.

In the *Şehrengiz* poems, there is a strong emphasis on the tradesmen and guilds. Though the space of the bazaars is not depicted directly, if the location of these bazaars are mapped on the late 15th-early 16th century maps of Istanbul, it can be understood that these spaces of trading were established around the major *külliyes*, and monuments that are mentioned in some of the *Şehrengiz*, and they constitute the continuity of city space.

Doğan Kuban gives a detailed list for the shops as accounted after the conquest until the early 16th c. There were many shops built around the Fatih complex. Sultan's Bazaar had 286, *Saraçlar Çarşısı* (leather goods and saddlers) had 110 shops. There were ironsmiths and coppersmiths located around the *Saraçhane*. Other shops were juxtaposed on top of the Byzantine commercial quarters, between the port area, and the Mese. Near Forum Tauri, there were the textile shops. Near the Column of Constantine, Fatih had commissioned the *Old Bedesten* (*İç Bedesten/Eski Bedesten*) which had 126 shops. Around the bedesten there were about 800 shops. There was no ethnic discrimination in the ordering of the Grand Bazaar. Muslim, Jew, and Christian merchants worked together within the same space. *Şimkeşhane* in Beyazıd accommodated the silver and gold embroidered fabrics, and the *Saraçhane* housed 80 shops. The bazaar of the Ayasofya had 48, *Dikilitaş* had 77 shops. Near Mahmud Paşa Complex, there were 265 shops.²²⁰

²²⁰ Kuban, *Istanbul An Urban History*, 225-226.

CONCLUSION

Şehrengiz rituals were practiced by marginal groups and involved participants from all ranks of the society; court poets, guild boys and dervishes. It aimed at introducing subjects of the Ottoman rule to see themselves as individuals.

Sufi metaphors formed the ideal content of imagination in *Şehrengiz* rituals. However, its storehouse also borrowed images from the immediate environment. Thus, Sufi metaphors which were used to define the image of the city developed with impressions nourished from the immediate environment. The *Şehrengiz* rituals proposed different spaces of the city as realms of imagination where individuals practiced the attainment of knowledge. The city also came to be used as a storehouse of signs which the individuals contemplate.

Şehrengiz rituals came to be spiritual and physical journeys of the individuals in the city. Each *Şehrengiz* proposed a different path within the city. Each path defined various spaces as realms of imagination and as storehouses. These different city spaces involved imperial spaces, but they mainly engaged in spaces beyond the imperial power. *Şehrengiz* rituals involved free movement of the body. It asserted the importance of free movement participating in the cosmic order. Free movement enabled the liberation of the self. In contrast, gazel parties enabled the liberation of self by intoxication while the body was seated in a static position.

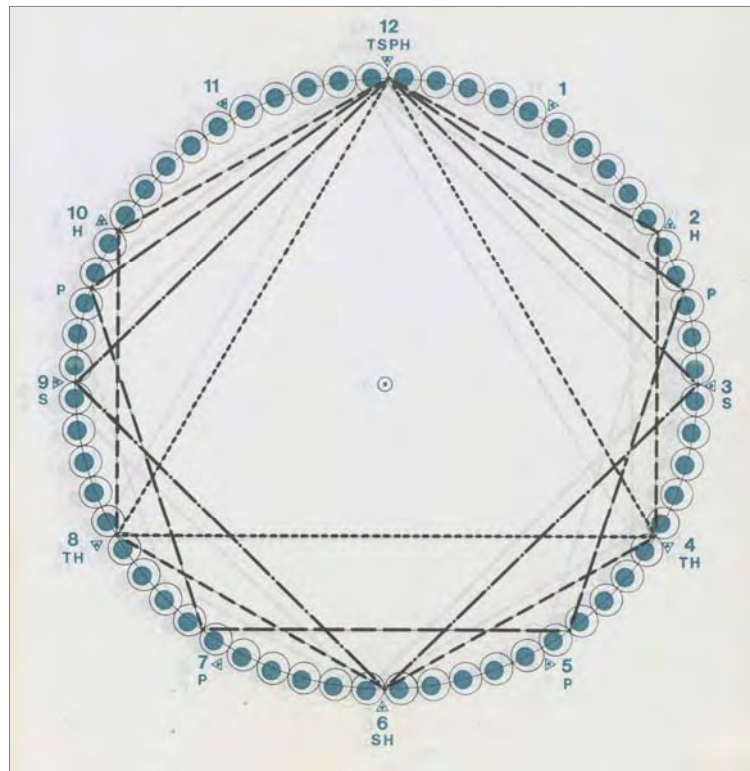


Figure 59.

"Circle, Time and Geometry." 60 equal intervals standing for the 60-year cycle, 60 minutes, 60 seconds: Nodal points on the circle regulating geometric patterns of the square, equilateral triangle, pentagon and the hexagon. Reproduced from Critchlow, *Islamic Patterns*, 157.

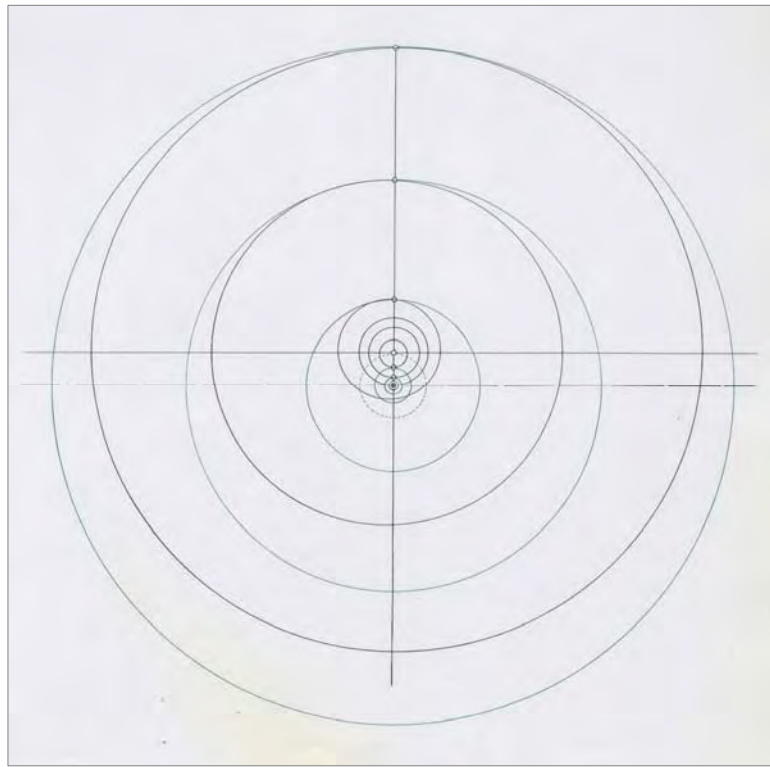


Figure 60.

"Circles: Orbital movement of the planets." Reproduced from Critchlow, *Islamic Patterns*, 153.

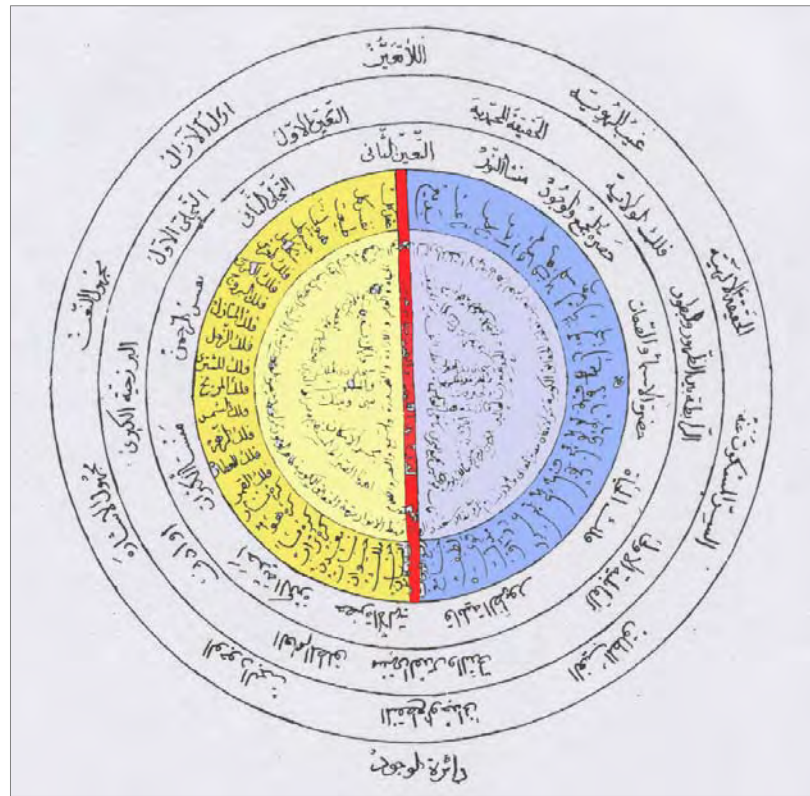


Figure 61.

"*Dâiretül vüçûd*" (Circle of Being) from a late Melâmî treatise. Concentric circles houses different storehouses in the different levels of the cosmology. Within the inmost central circle, the invisible realm of divine being (yellow) and the visible realm things reside together. Reproduced from Gölpinarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler*, 270.

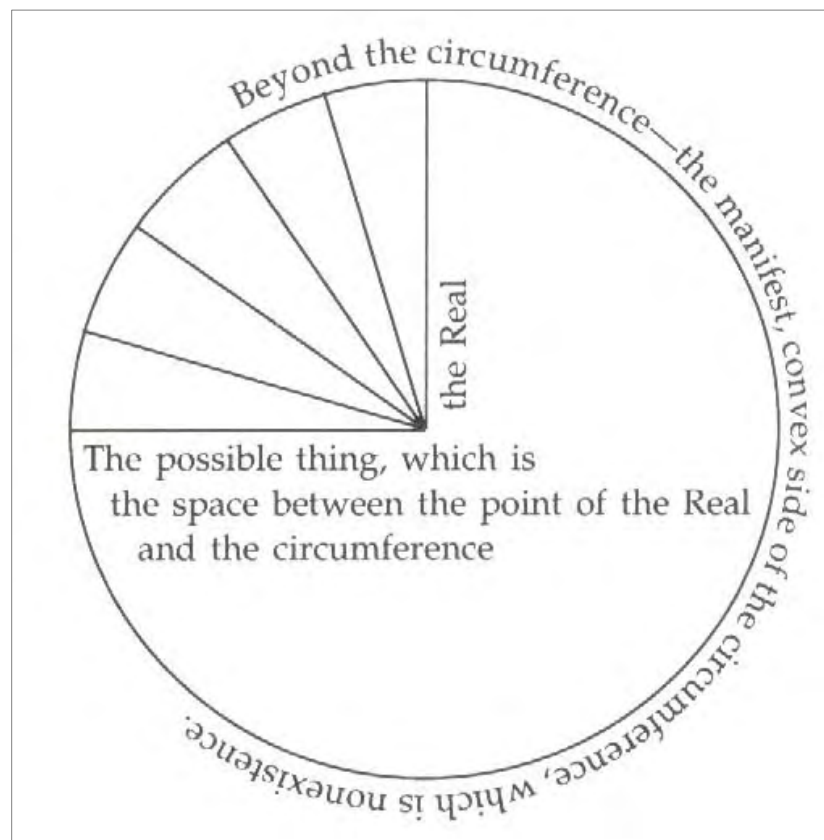


Figure 62.

The circle according to Ibn al'Arabi: Divine and cosmic relations within the body of the circle. Reproduced from Chittick, *Self Disclosure*, 229.

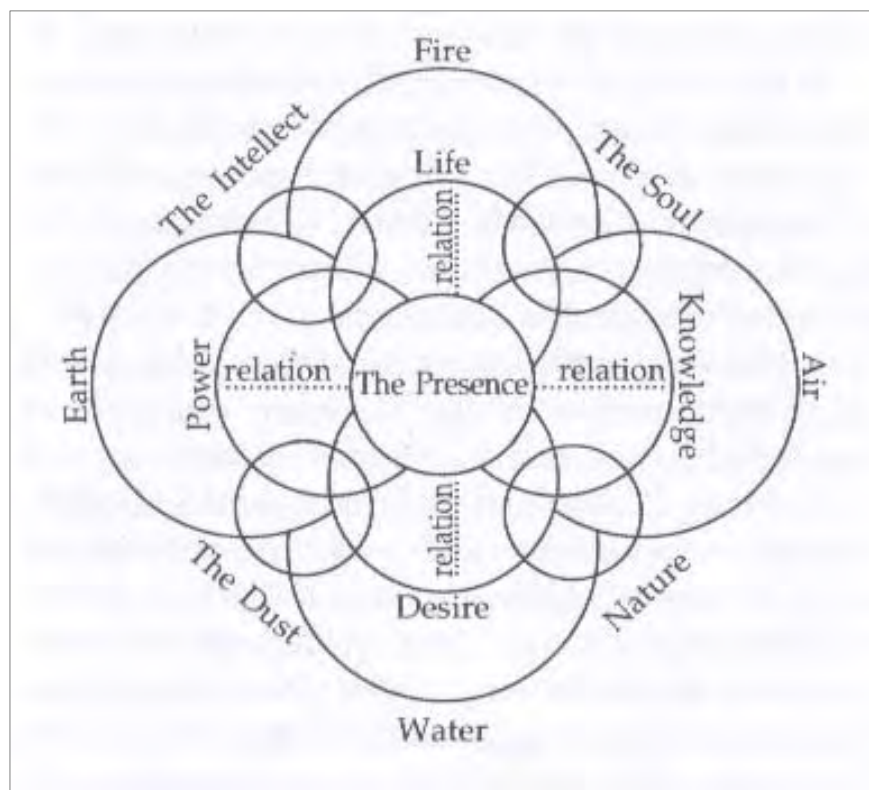


Figure 63.

The circle according to Ibn al'Arabi: Variety of circles housing variety of storehouses. Reproduced from Chittick, *Self Disclosure*, 230.

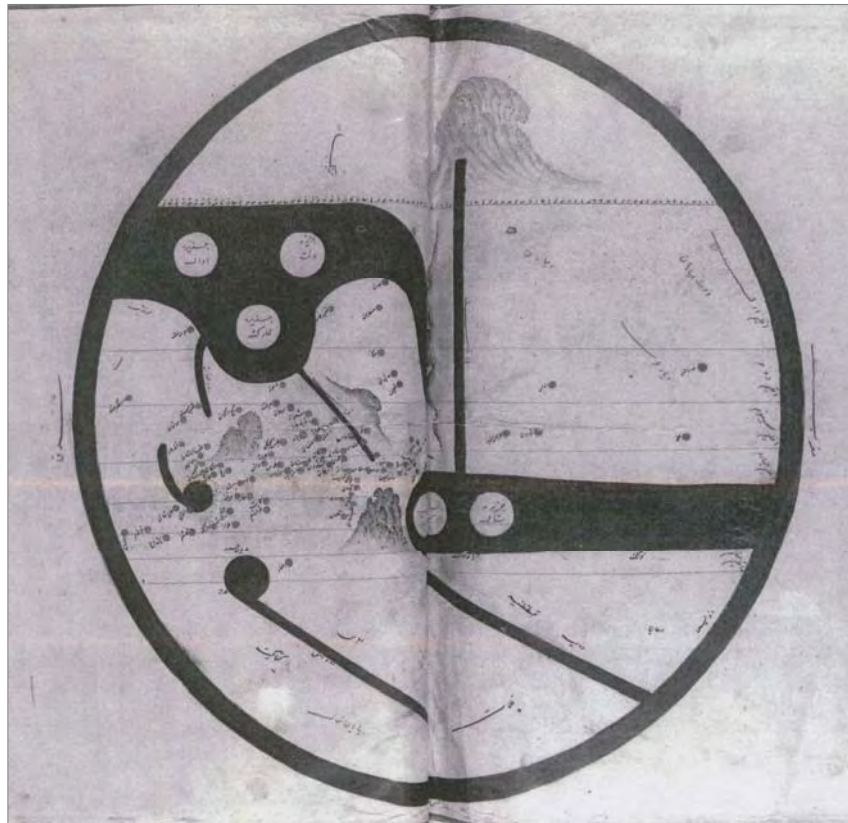


Figure 64.

"Map of the Timurid world from a scientific manuscript executed for Iskandar Sultan ibn Umar-Shaykh, Isfahan" (c. 1413), TSM B411, 141b-142a. Reproduced from Lentz, *Princely Vision*, 150.



Figure 65.

"Fixed Stars as a Sufi: The Dancer (Heracles)" in *Kitâb Suwar al-Kawâkib ath-Thâbita* (1224), Vatican Bib. Apostolica, 19b, reproduced from Richard Ettinghausen, *Treasures of Asia Arab Painting* (Washington, DC: Skira), 130.

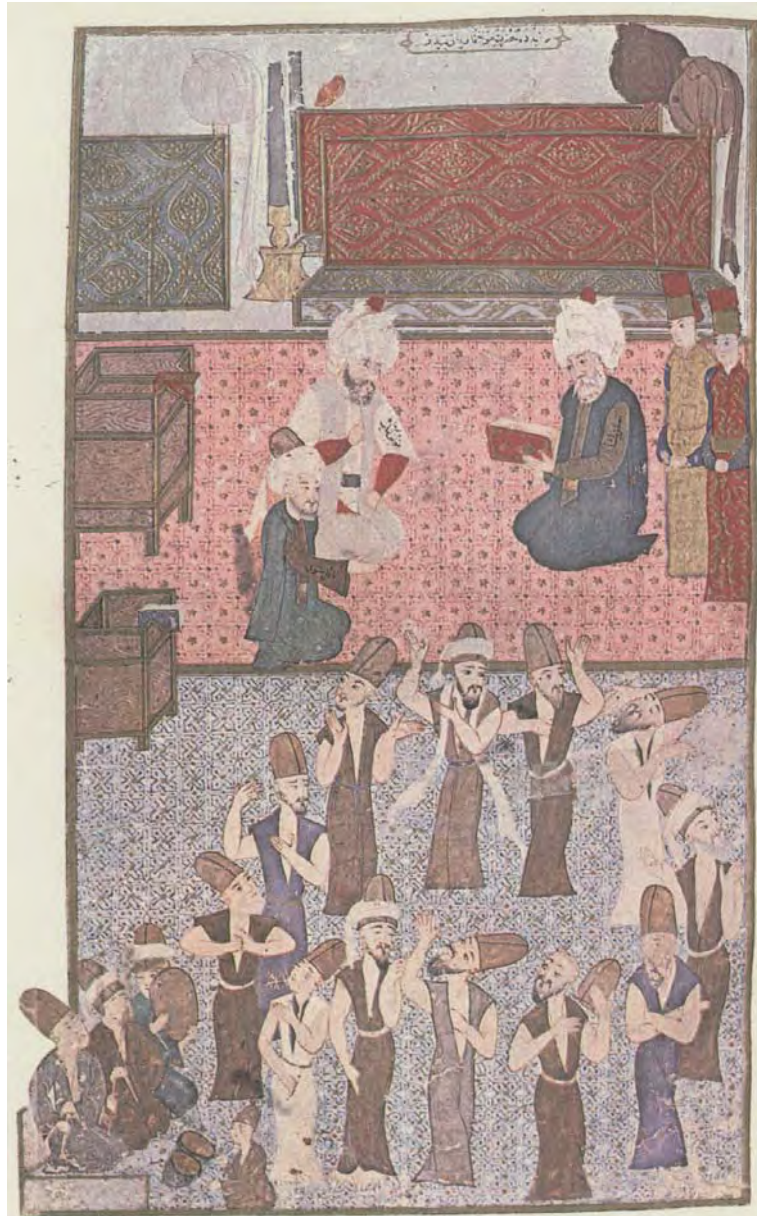


Figure 66.

Sufi dance. "The historian Mustafa Ali presenting his work to Mustafa Pasha while whirling dervishes performing their ritual dance," TSM H1365, reproduced from Halman and And, *Mevlana*, 11.



Figure 67.

Sufi dance. "After reciting from the Koran and Mevlana's Mesnevi, the dervishes whirl to musical appointment" in *Sawaqib al-Manaqib*, New York, Morgan Library, No. 466, reproduced from Halman and And, *Mevlana*, 110.



Figure 68.

Sufi dance. "Mevlana dancing at his convent" in *Sawaqib al-Manaqib*, New York, Morgan Library, No. 466, reproduced from Halman and And, *Mevlana*, 109.

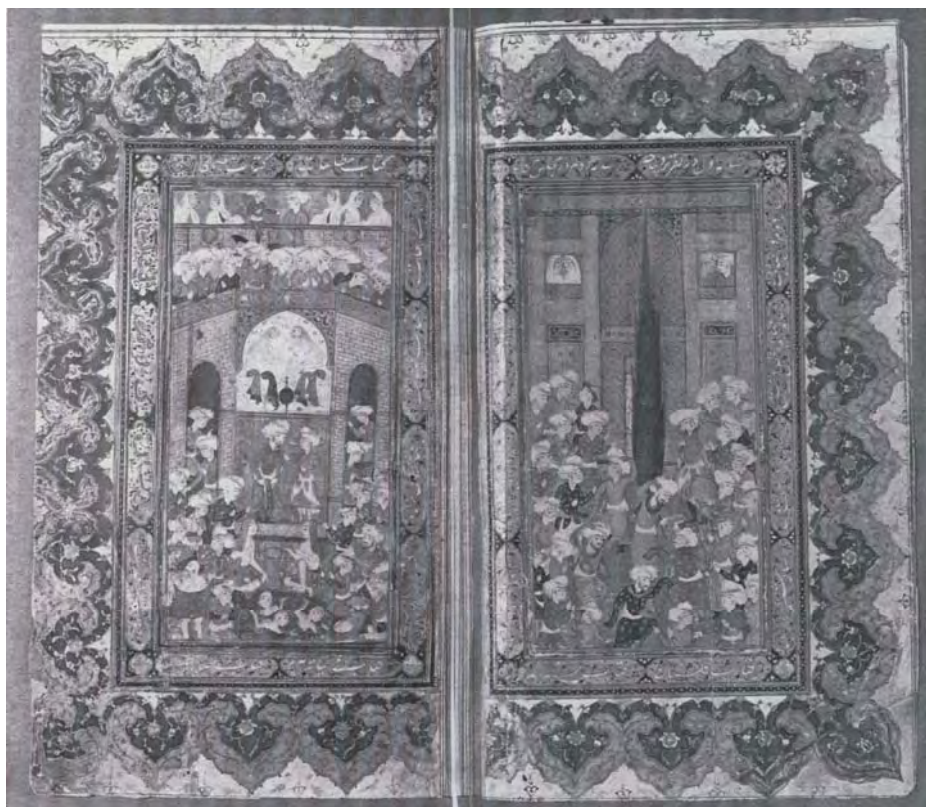


Figure 69.

Spaces of Sufi dance rituals. "Dancing Sufis and a Bathhouse Scene," Private Collection of H.P. Kraus, 1b-2a, reproduced from Grube, *Islamic Paintings*, 165.



Figure 70.

"Sufis by a Mountain Spring" in a treatise on Sufi poetry (1610-1630), reproduced from Eric Schroeder, *Persian Miniatures in the Fogg Museum of Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942), 141.



Figure 71.

Watching the swimming beauties: "Iskandar and the Sirens" in *Khamsa of Nizami* (1431), Cat No. 38, 484a, reproduced from Lentz, *Princely Vision*, 170.



Figure 72.

Watching the swimming beauties: "Iskandar Spying Upon the Sirens," Private Collection of H.P. Kraus, 315b, reproduced from Grube, *Islamic Paintings*, 101.



Figure 73.

Hayreti (d. 1535), Poet of *Şehrengiz-i Belgrad*, in *Meşa'irü'ş-şu'ara* by Aşık Çelebi, Millet K. AE 722, reproduced from Şentürk, *Antoloji*, page 192.



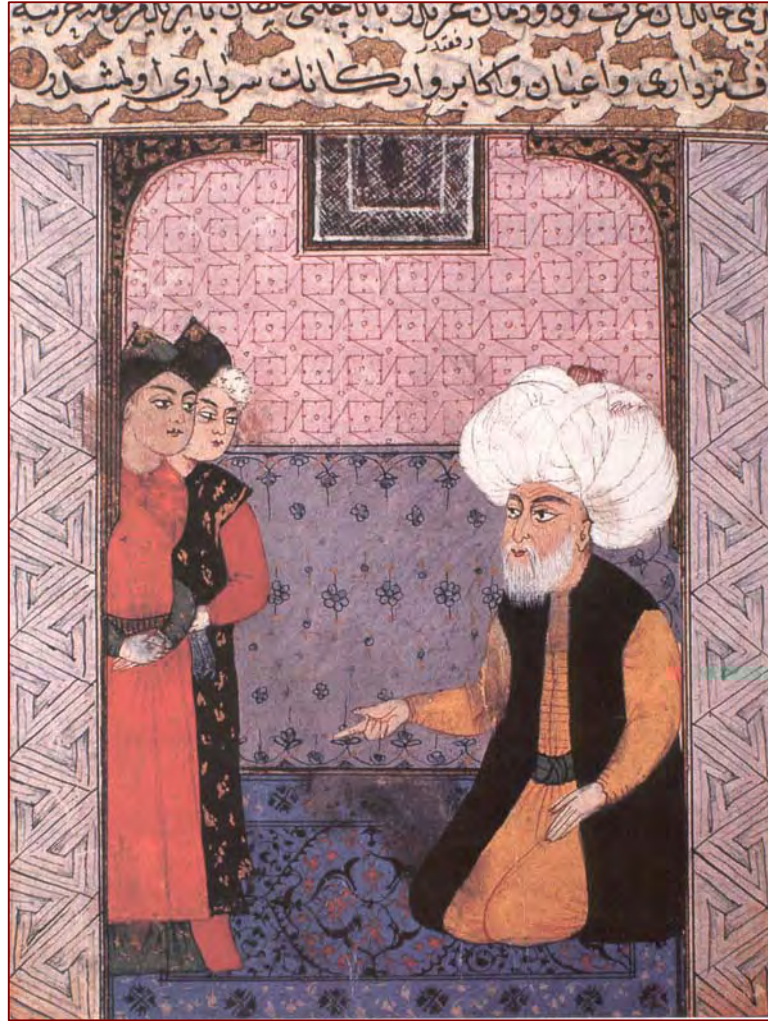
Figure 74.

Usuli (d. 1538), Poet of *Şehrengiz-i Yenice*, in *Meş'a'irü's-şu'ara* by Aşık Çelebi, Millet K. AE 722, reproduced from Şentürk, *Antoloji*, 223.



Figure 75.

Taşlıcalı Yahya (d. 1582), Poet of *Şehrengiz-i Edirne*, *Istanbul* and *Şah u Gedâ*.
in *Meşâ'irü's-Şu'ara* by Aşık Çelebi, Millet K. AE 722, reproduced from Şentürk,
Antoloji, page 390.



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Figure 76.

Lamii Çelebi (1472-1532), Poet of *Şehrengiz-i Bursa*, in *Meş'a'irü's-şu'ara* by Aşık Çelebi, Millet K. AE 722, reproduced from Şentürk, *Antoloji*, page 186.

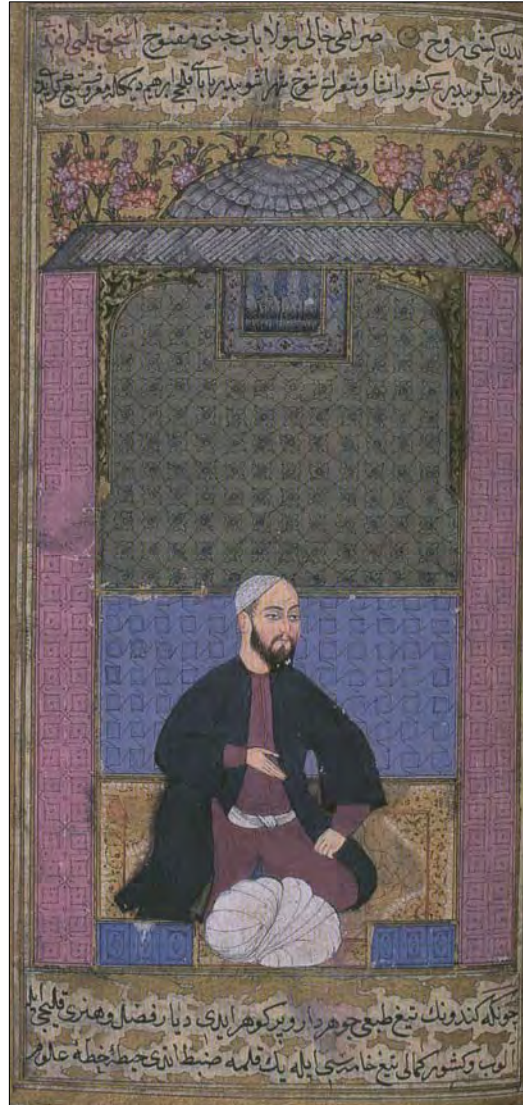


Figure 77.

İshak Çelebi (d. 1538), Poet of *Şehrengiz-i Bursa*, in *Meş'a'irü's-şu'ara* by Aşık Çelebi, Millet K. AE 722, reproduced from Şentürk, *Antoloji*, page 230.

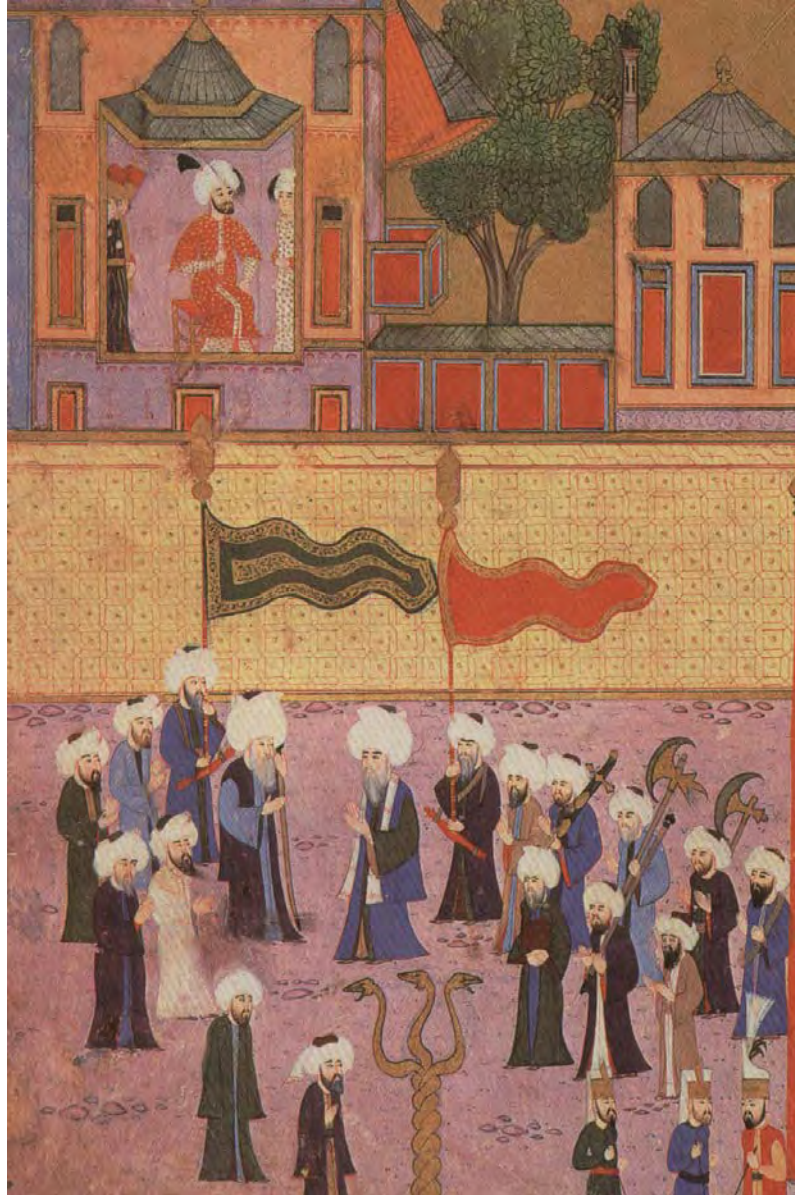


Figure 78.

"Procession of Guilds: Sufis of Eyyub-i Ensari," in *Surname-i Hümayun* (1582-84), TSM H1344, folio 53a, reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 57.

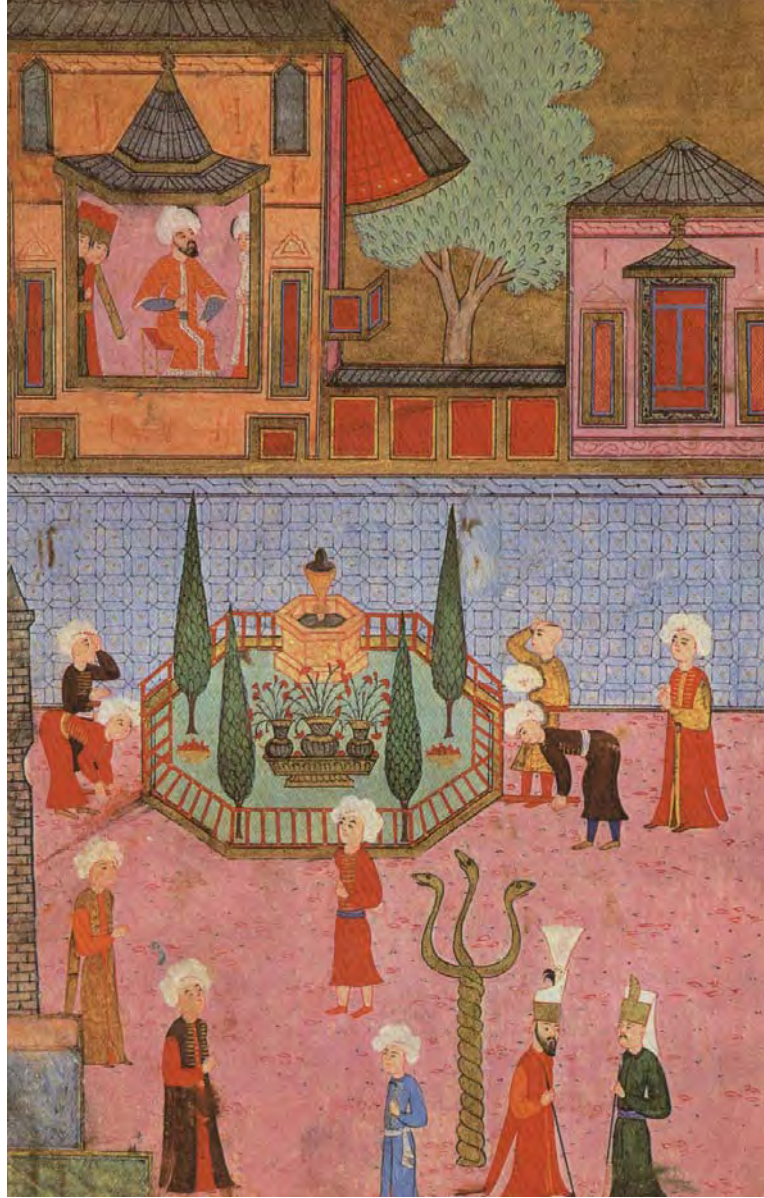


Figure 79.

"Procession of Guilds: Gardeners," in *Surname-i Hümayun* (1582-84), TSM H1344, folio 196a, reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 60.

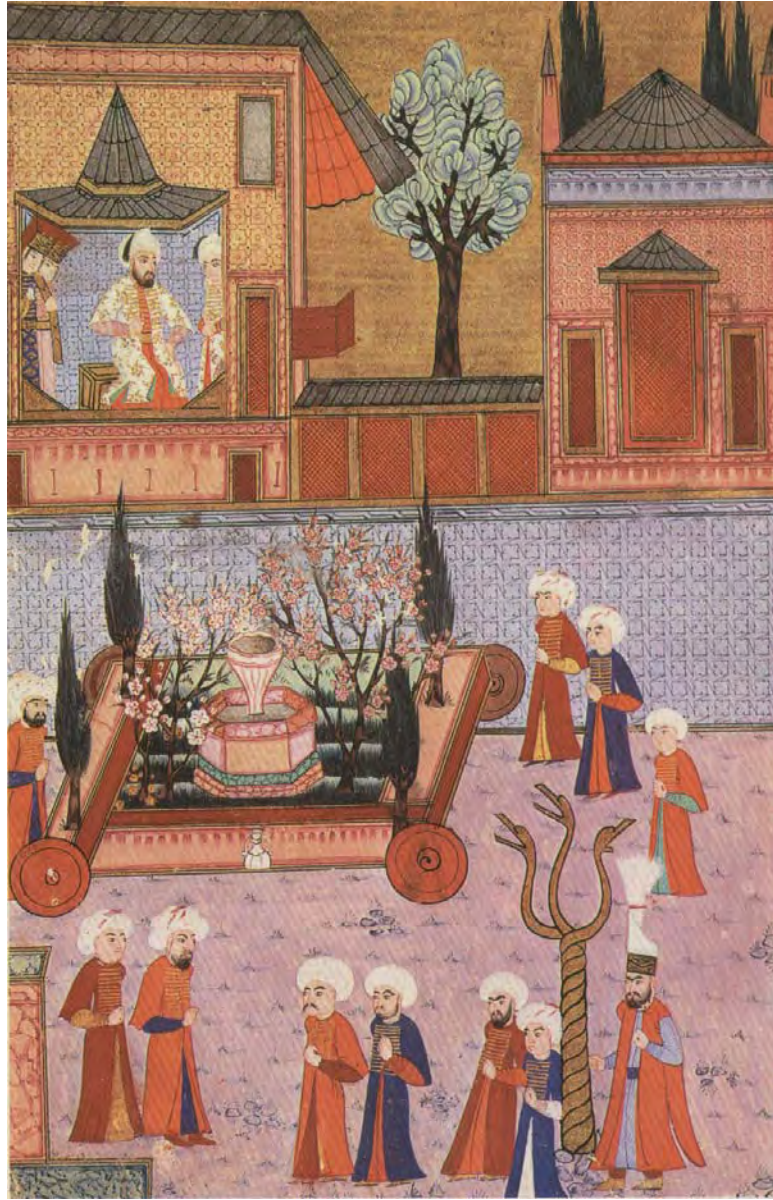


Figure 80.

"Procession of Guilds: Gardeners," in *Surname-i Hümayun* (1582-84), TSM H1344, folio 349a, reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 59.



Figure 81.

“Procession of Guilds: Kebab Cooks,” in *Surname-i Hümayun* (1582-84), TSM H1344, folio 343a, reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 44.

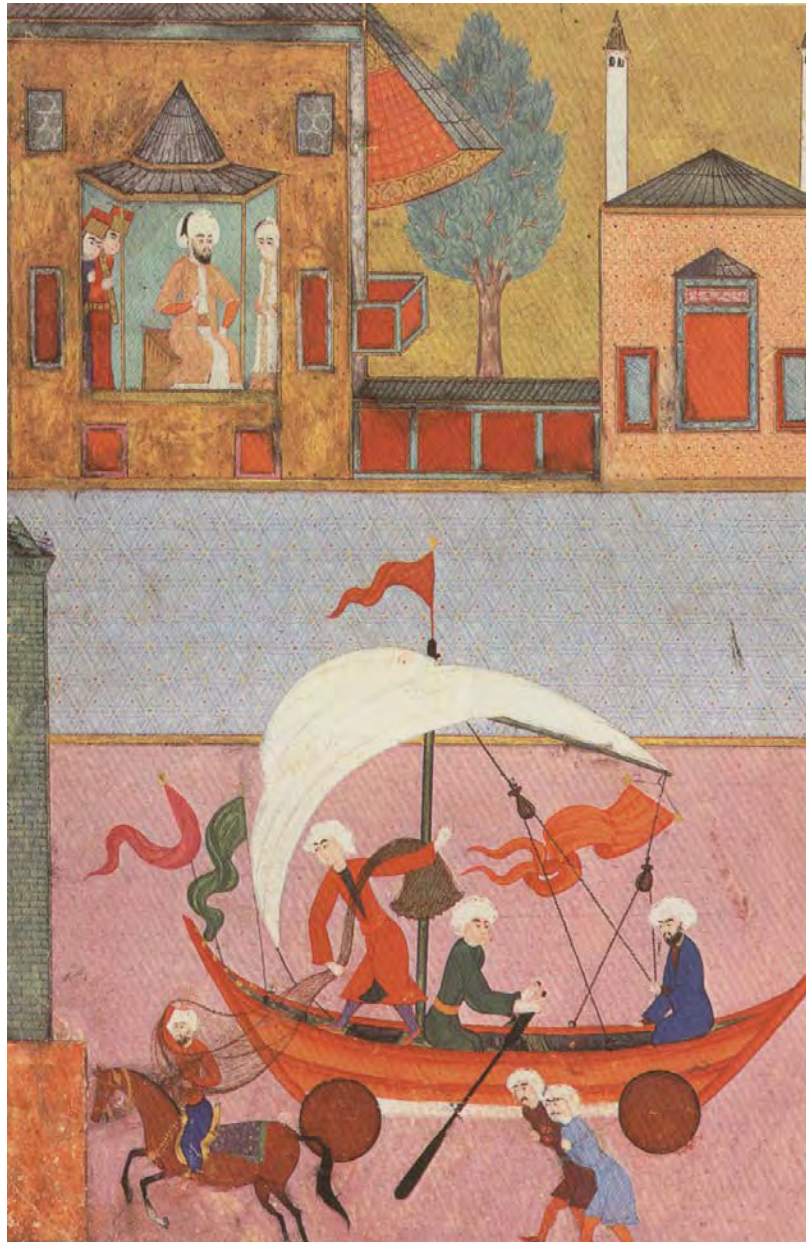


Figure 82.

"Procession of Guilds: Seamen," in *Surname-i Hümayun* (1582-84), TSM H1344, folio 137a, reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 45.



Figure 83.

"Procession of Guilds: Wrestlers," in *Surname-i Hümayun* (1582-84), TSM H1344, folio 204a, reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 77.

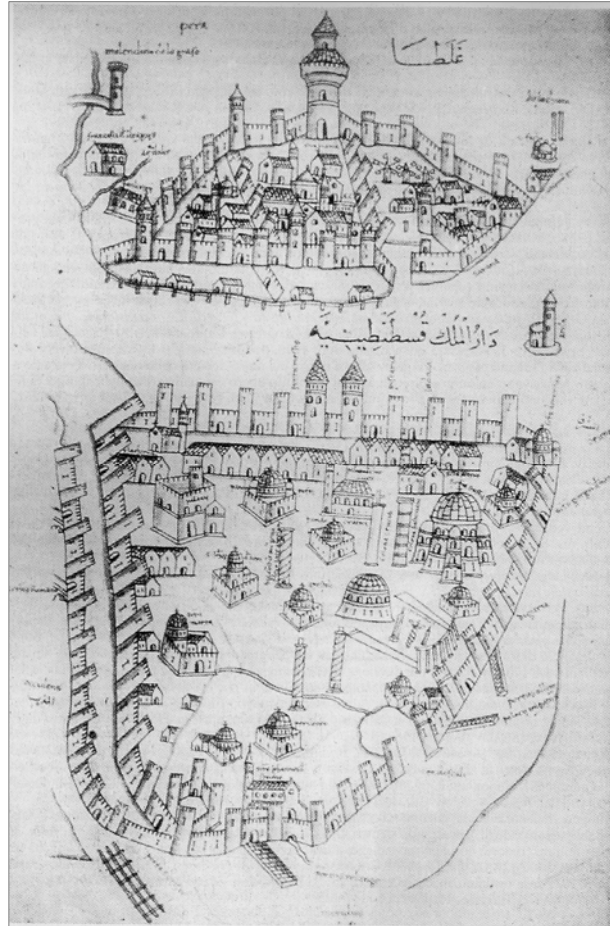


Figure 84.

Version of Buendelmonti map: Istanbul. "Galata e al-Qustantiniyya" (after 1453), Paris Bibloteque Nationale, N.A. lat. 2383a. The map also shows "Kağıthane Suyu," and "Ali Bey Suyu" with other monuments and neighborhoods of the Ottoman period, all inscribed in Ottoman. The original version of the map was printed in *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, by Cristoforo Buendelmonti, dated 1420.



Figure 86.

Version of Buendelmonti map: Istanbul. "In Liber insularum Archipelagi of Buendelmonte" (1420), Biblioteca Nazionale, Paris. Cod. Lat. 4825, fol 37. reproduced from Philip Sherrard, *Constantinople Iconography of a Sacred City* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 19.

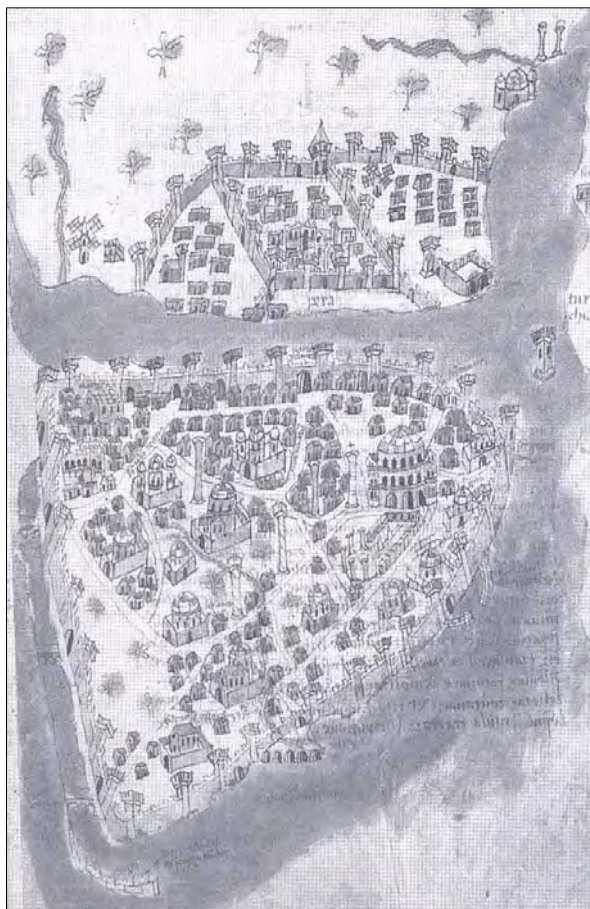


Figure 87.

Version of Buendelmonti map: Istanbul, in Biblioteca Classense, Ravenna, cod. no. 308, reproduced in Vespignani, G. *Il Circo Di Constantinopoli Nuova Roma* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano Di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo, 2001).



Figure 88.

Version of Buondelmonti map: Istanbul, reproduced in *Myth to Modernity Istanbul Selected Themes*, edited by Nezih Basgelen and Brian Johnson (Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayinlari, 1997), front page.



Figure 89.

Version of Buendelmonti map: Istanbul, in Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, reproduced from *Rassegna* 72 (1997), front page.



Figure 90.

Version of Buendelmonti map: Istanbul, reproduced from *Istanbul* (Istanbul: Istanbul Ticaret Odasi, 2003, c.1997), 17.

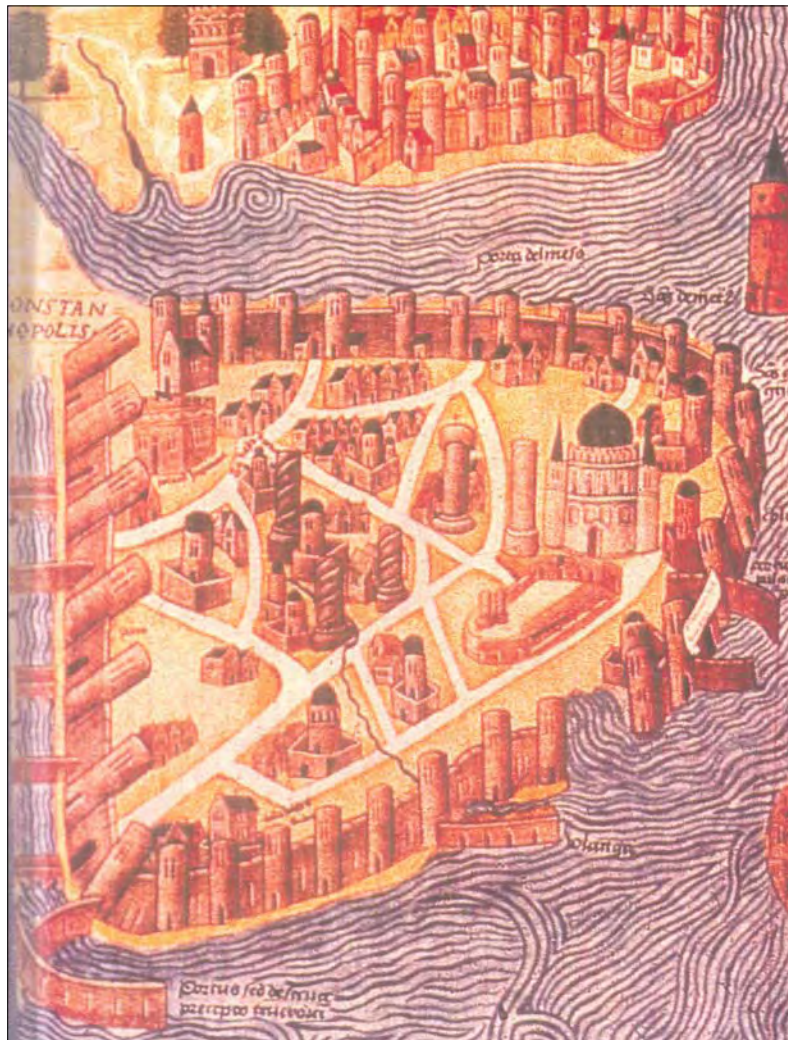


Figure 91.
Version of Buondelmonti map: Istanbul, reproduced from *Istanbul Everyman Guides*, 234.

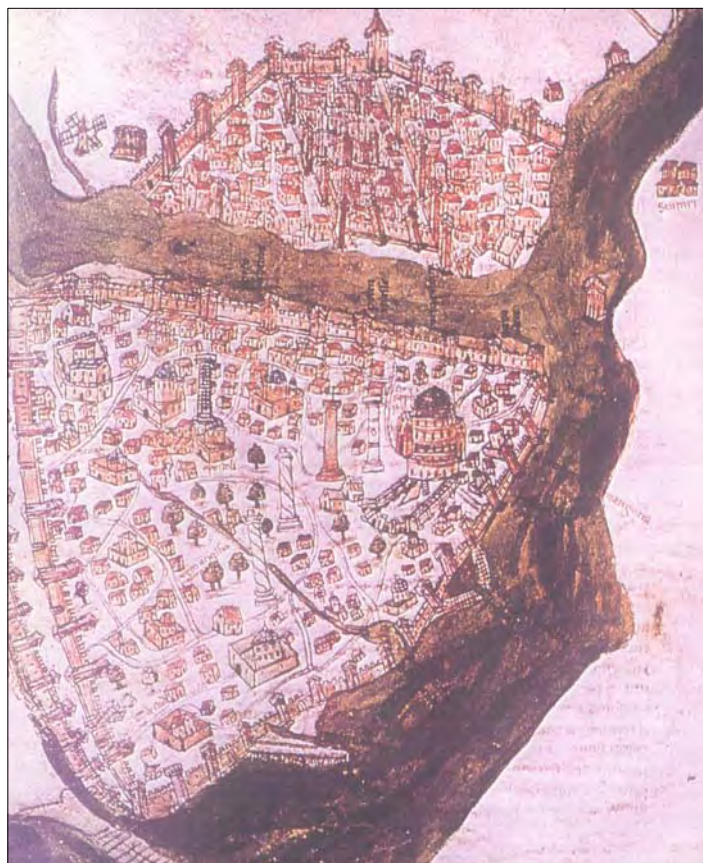


Figure 92.
Version of Buendelmonti map: Istanbul. "Constantinople" (1422) reproduced from
Kuban, *Istanbul*, 175.



Figure 93.
 "Istanbul: Version of Schedel Map" (Original dated 1493, Bildlexicon 31),
 reproduced from *Istanbul* (Istanbul: Istanbul Ticaret Odası, 2003, c. 1997), 14.

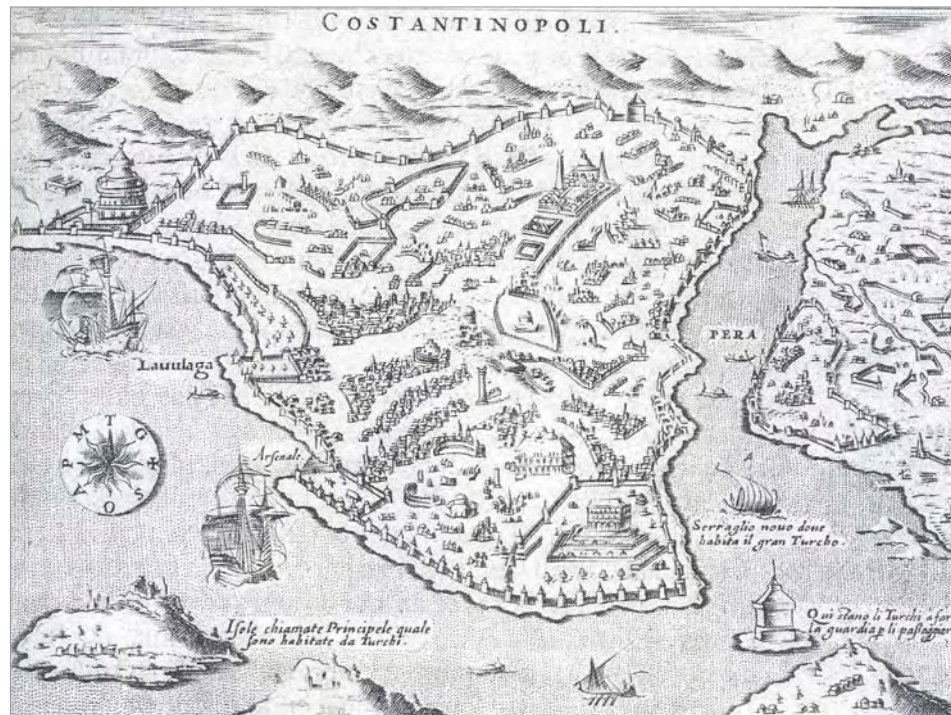


Figure 94.

"Map of Istanbul from the 15th century" reproduced from Kayra, *Istanbul*, 22.



Figure 95.
 "Plan of Constantinople" by Giovanni A. Vavassore (Venice, ca. 1520-1540),
 reproduced from Sherrard, *Constantinople Iconography of a Sacred*, 13.

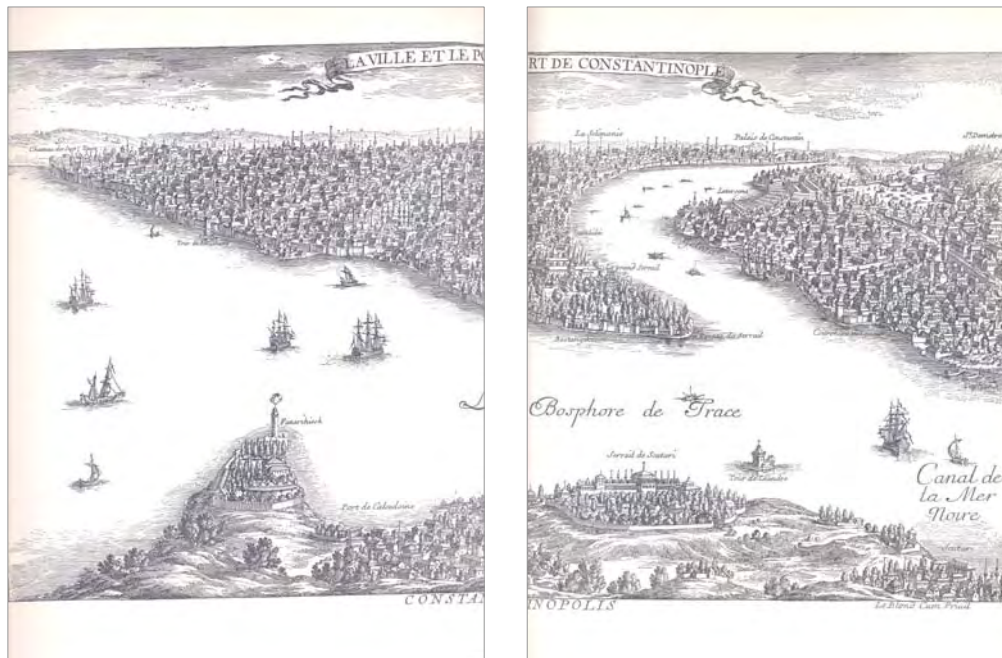


Figure 96.

"Vedute (panorama) of Constantinople" by Anselme Bandurri in *Imperium Orientale* (Paris:1711), reproduced in Sherrard, *Constantinople Iconography of a Sacred City*, 70-71.



Figure 97.

"Map of Istanbul" by Nasûh üs-Silahî el-Matrâkî, in *Beyan-ı Menazil-i Sefer-i Irakeyn* (1537-38), İÜ T5964, folios 31b-32a.

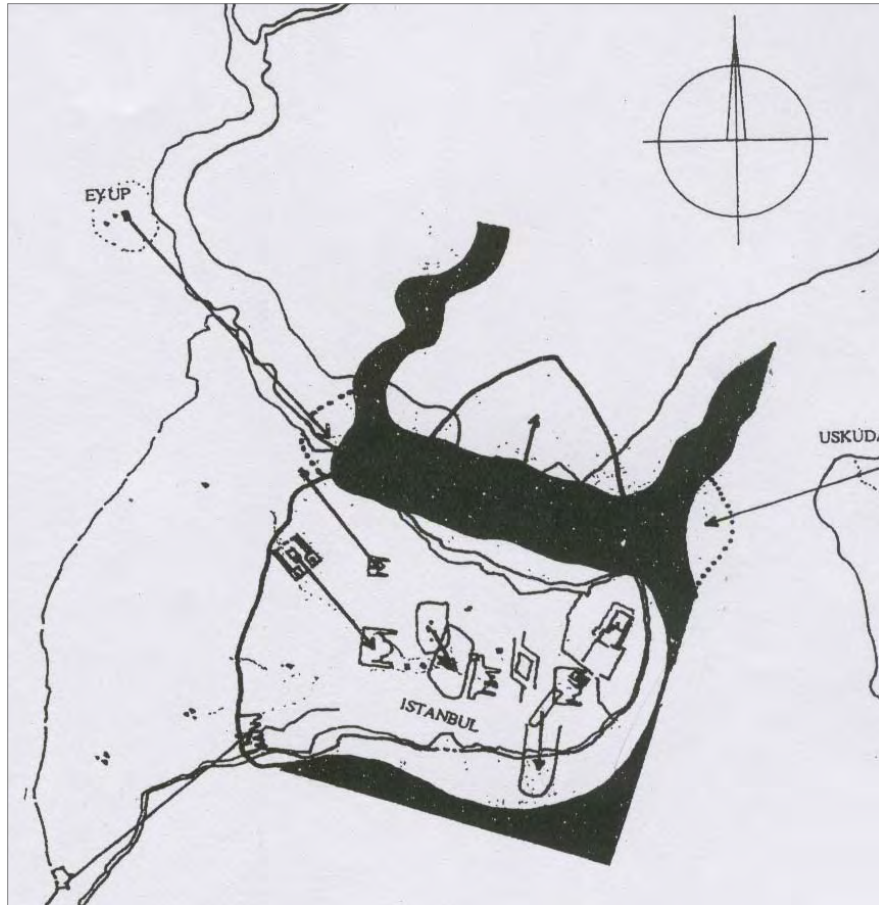


figure 98.

Analysis of 1537 Map of Istanbul. "Diagram showing the compaction of the wall area in the map of Istanbul in Mecmu'ı Menazil," reproduced from Iffet Orbay, "Istanbul viewed: the representation of the city in Ottoman maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," Unpublished Ph.D. diss. (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2001), 428.

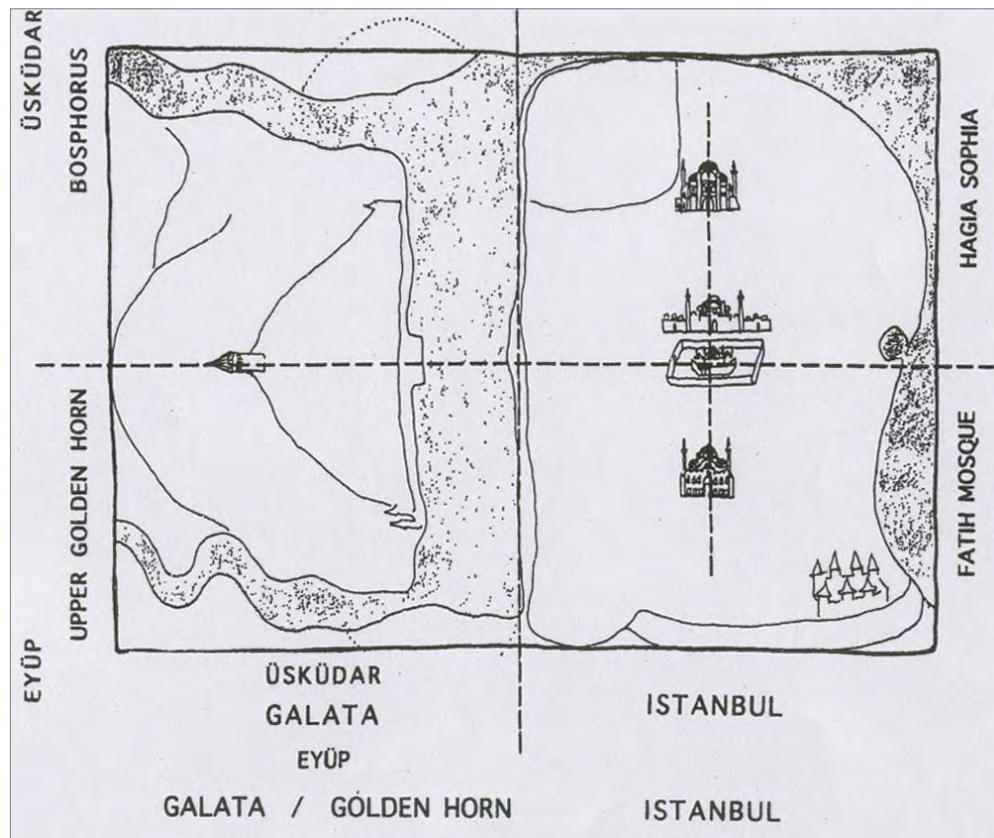


Figure 99.

Analysis of 1537 Map of Istanbul. "Diagram Showing the symmetrical arrangements in the map of Istanbul in Mecmu'ı Menazil," reproduced from Orbay, "Istanbul viewed," 429.

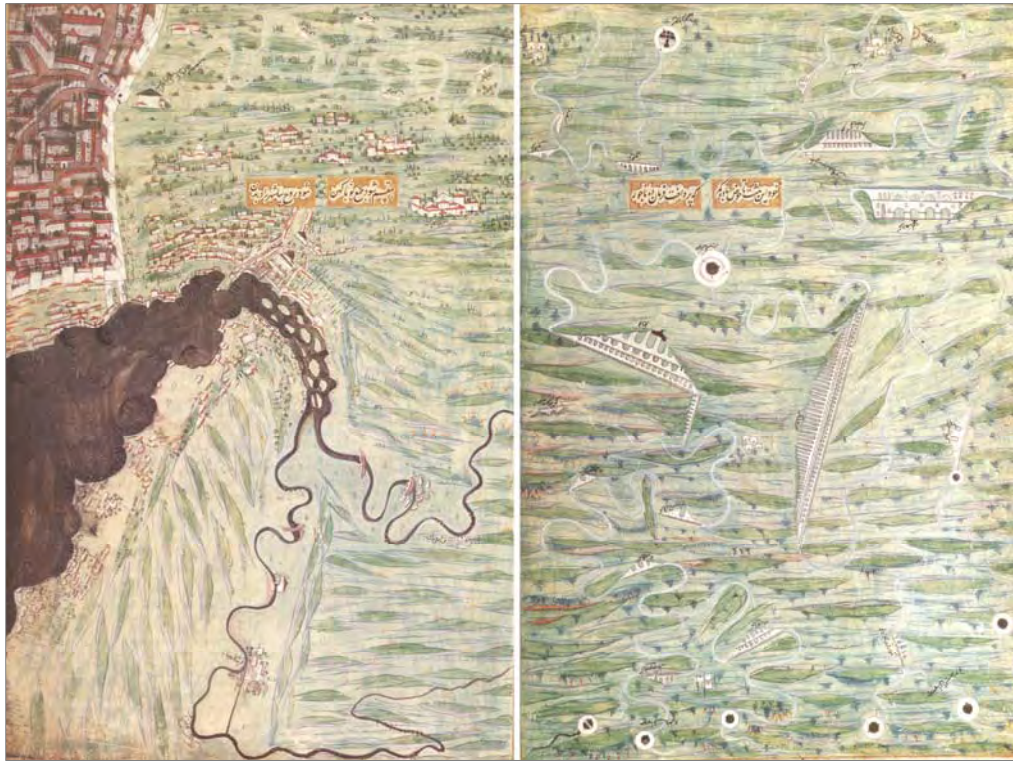


Figure 100.

"Kırkçeşme Waterways Map," in *Tarih-i Sultân Suleymân Hân* (1579-80), BL MS 413, folios 22b-23a, reproduced from Çeçen, *Taksim ve Hamidiye Suları*, 28-29.



Figure 101.

“Map of Istanbul” in *Kitâb-ı Bahriye* (ca. 1670-1720), NKC MS 718, folios 3b-4a, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden For the Sultan*, 274.



Figure 102.

Image showing the imperial barge of Murad III sailing at Bosphorus and the possible station points of his travel. "Bosphorus," (1588), Bodleian Library, Oxford Ms. Or. 430, reproduced from And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century*, 28.

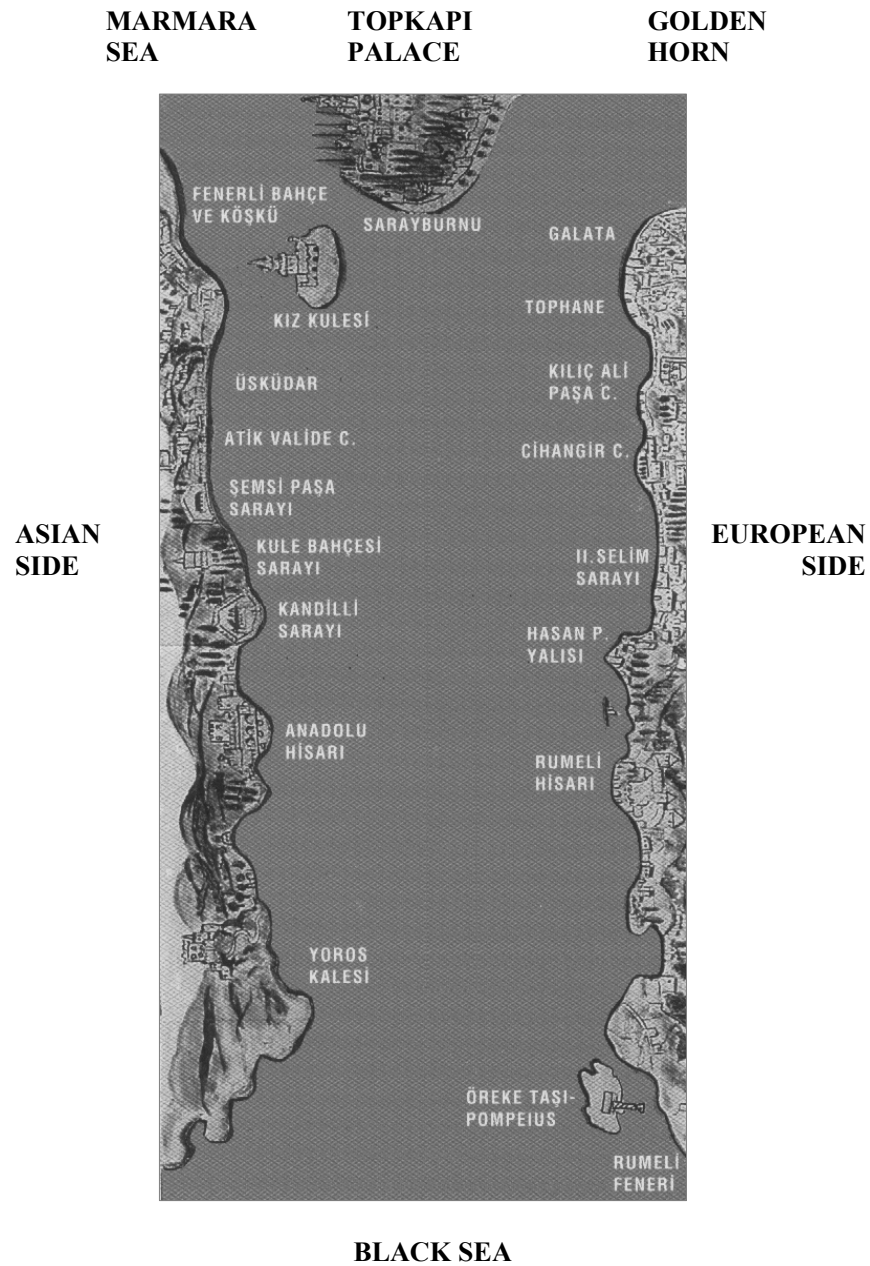


Figure 103.

Diagram showing shore palaces, neighborhoods and gardens at Bosphorus as depicted in the Bodleian album, reproduced from And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century*, 29.



Figure 104.

“Craft in the Sea of Marmara: Galleon (above left), a pereme ferry and a sail boat (above right) and Sultan’s barge (below),” in Lamberts Wyts, *Iter factum e Belgico-Gallice Voyages de Lambert Wyts en Turquie*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 3325, folio 221, reproduced from And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century*, 141.

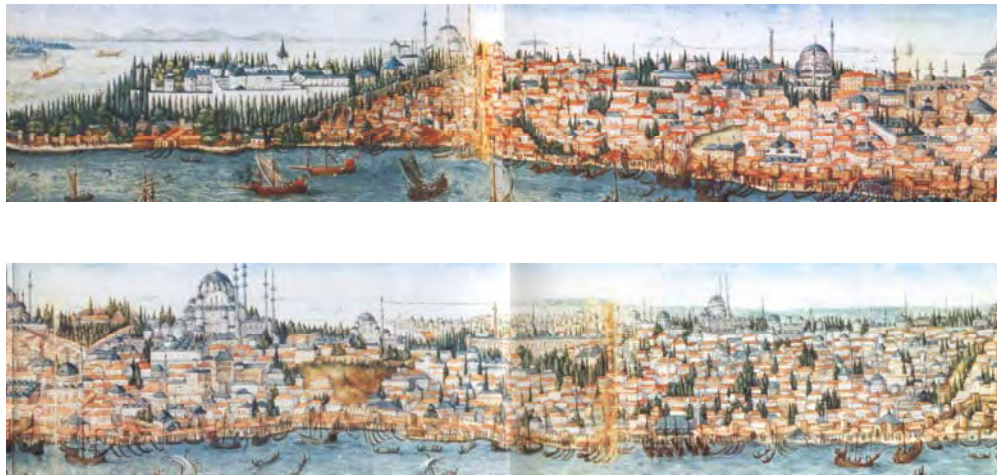


Figure 105.

"Istanbul (ca. 1590)" in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex X Vindobonensis 8626, reproduced from And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century*, 22-25. Above left beginning with Topkapı Palace showing Hagia Sophia, Çemberlitaş, Atık Ali Pasha Mosque, Mahmud Pasha Mosque, Beyazıd Mosque; continuing below from left beginning with the Old Palace and its gardens, Süleymaniye Mosque, Şehzade Mosque, Aqueduct, Fatih Mosque. The image shows the city surrounded by the Marmara Sea in the background, Golden Horn in the foreground and the Bosphorus to its left.



Figure 106.

"Galata (ca. 1590)" in Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex X Vindobonensis 8626, reproduced from And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century*, 68-69.

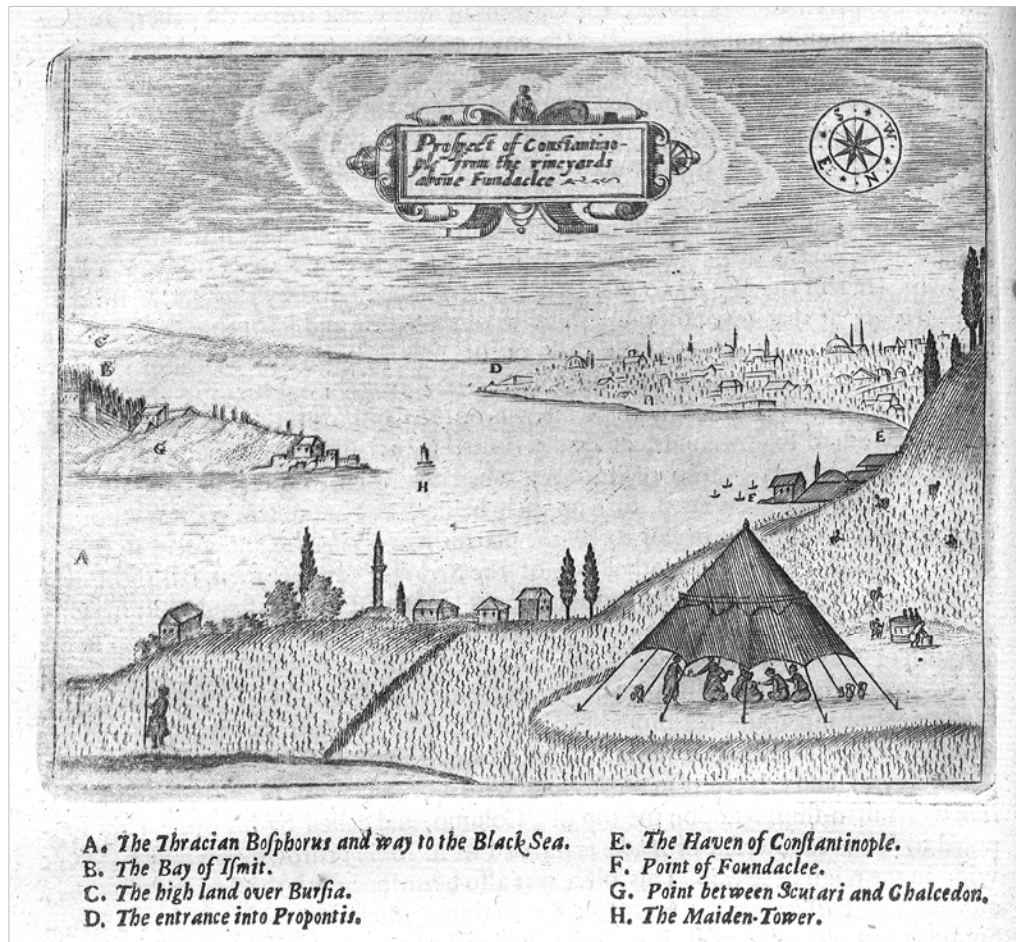


Figure 107.

City dwellers enjoying at a hillside on the European side, overlooking Bosphorus and the Topkapı Palace. Reproduced from George Sandys (1578-1644), *Sandys Travels, containing an history of the original and present state of the Turkish empire ... The Mahometan religion and ceremonies: a description of Constantinople ... also, of Greece ... Of Aegypt ... A voyage on the river Nylvs ... A description of the Holy-land; of the Jews ... and what else either of antiquity, or worth observation....* 7th Edition (London, Printed for J. Williams junior, 1673), 24.

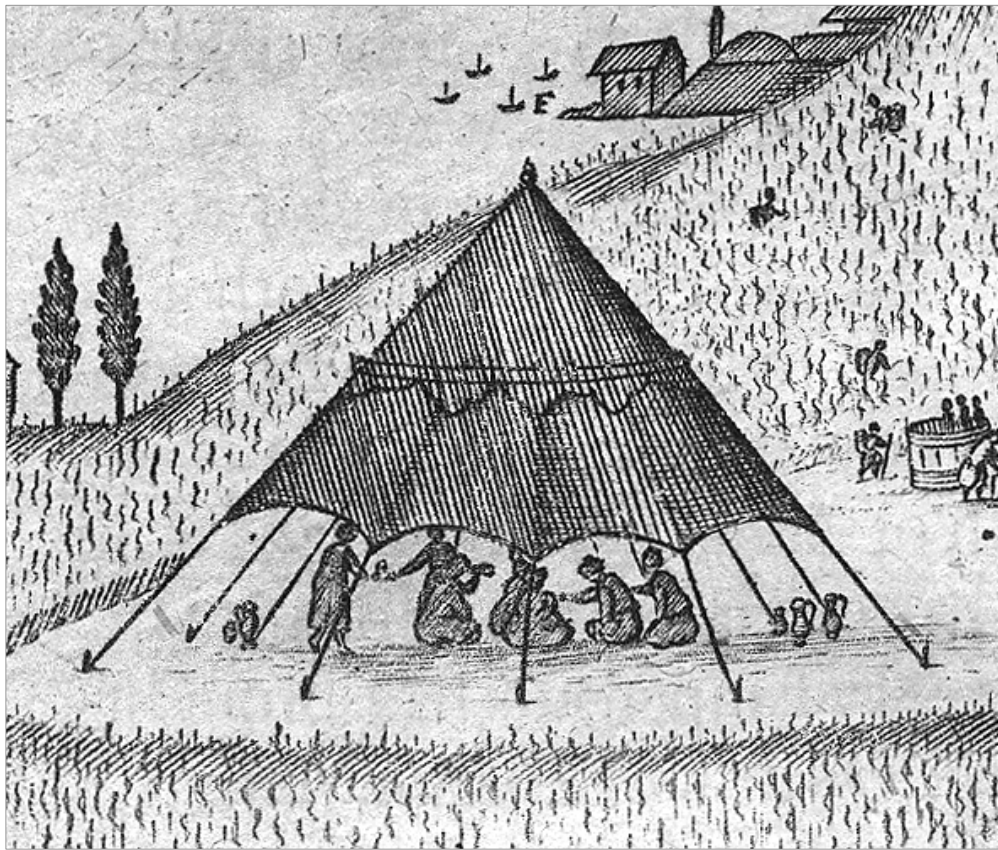


Figure 108.
Detail from figure 107.



Figure 109.

City dwellers outside the city walls. "The true situation and the quality of the city of Constantinople from without the walls, from nature. Also the pride of the Turks and their behavior after receiving any special good or joyful tidings. Also how they carry the children of the Christians to be circumscribed, various meats following in dishes and other vessels, that they may feast together in joyous banquets and collations after the circumsicion is over." in Peter Coecke, *Mæurs et Fachons de faire des Turcz* (Antwerp: 1553), British Museum, (copied from the Venice edition), Print VI, original inscribed in French, reproduced from *The Turks in MDXXXIII, A Series of Drawings made in that Year at Constantinople by Peter Coeck of Aelst* (1502-1550), ed. by Sir William S. M. Bart (London; Edinburg: 1873).



Figure 110.

The Sultan Traveling in the City. "The town of Constantinole as seen from within, with the mosques or temples, the obelisks or spires, and columns with the brazen serpent. Also how in what manner the Great Turk, having before him twelve hackbuteers or archers, and behind him two of his most noble chamberlains, goes round the town seeing, and being seen." In Peter Coecke, *Maeurs et Fachons de faire des Turcz* (Antwerp: 1553), British Museum, (copied from the Venice edition), Print VII, original inscribed in French. Reproduced from *The Turks in MDXXXIII, A Series of Drawings made in that Year at Constantinople by Peter Coeck of Aelst* (1502-1550), ed. by Sir William S. M. Bart (London; Edinburg: 1873).

CHAPTER V

GARDENS AND CITY SPACES IN THE NEW RITUALS OF THE TULIP PERIOD (1718-1730)

Tulip Period spans a short lived era of twelve years from 1718 to 1730. It spans Damad Ibrahim Pasha's entire appointment as the Grand Vizier during the final phase of Ahmed III's reign (1703-1730). During the Tulip Period, refinement of the capital city and refurbishment of urban life became a state policy in the Ottoman court. The Ottoman produced new spatial and social models, and metaphors for describing earthly happiness moving away from traditional comparisons with the promised Paradise Garden. A new model was built upon the bricolage of elements borrowed from the arts, architecture and gardens of European and Persian cultures outside the Ottoman territory. This innovative modeling brought about a prosperous urban culture. It lasted for a short period of twelve years allowing the pleasures of daily life to be celebrated by festivities in the streets and gardens of the city of Istanbul. It was named the Tulip Period for the love and craze for tulips that developed then.

Elite circles were introduced to a new awareness of the pleasures of conversation in joyful courts held in gardens dispersed all over the city. These courts reveled mainly in poetry and history accompanied with festive meals, songs and dancers. However, other parts of the society grew discontented with this new way of living, its excessive indulgence in consumption, and became concerned about the emerging appreciation of profane pleasures that entered into conflict with Orthodox customs. The turmoil these groups stirred within the Istanbul society culminated in the Patrona Halil Revolt, which lasted for forty days and put an end to the Tulip Period in 1730.

By the beginning of the 18th c., Ottoman history again experienced the enduring rivalry between Edirne and Istanbul, when the citizens of the capital reacted

against the Sultan Mustafa II's abandonment of the city of Istanbul and his political and economical negligence, in favor of a retreat in the Edirne Palace. Social groups took part in this 18th century rivalry of the two cities and their motives were different from those of social groups that fought for and against the dominance of the cities over one another. However, the constant struggle between the two cities and its impact on the establishment, development, and transformation of the Ottoman urban culture has an undeniable continuity in history that has to be stressed and studied.

In July 18 - 21, 1703 merchants and artisans joined rebelling Janissaries in front of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque in Istanbul. In August 1, 1703, scholars, students, merchants, and artisans joined the Janissaries marching towards Edirne in order to meet the lesser number of feudal forces protecting the Sultan in Edirne. In August 22, 1703, the Sultan's forces joined the rebels. Finally, Sultan Mustafa II was defeated and dethroned. Instead his nephew Ahmed III was enthroned.¹ The Tulip Period began and ended by the revolting acts of janissaries, displaying the influential and powerful status of the Janissaries vigorously transformed from conquering and maintaining land asserting imperial power out in the frontier, turned into a self-defeating system powerful in urban politics within the center of the empire. The Janissaries who acted against the Sultan in 1703 Edirne Event, in a way, yielding to the possibilities of modernization and urbanization during the Tulip Period, terminated it in 1730, yielding to retreating revolutions that had prevented the eventual transformation and modernization of the Ottoman culture for a long period of time. Janissaries, who were once established to maintain the empire,

¹ Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey Volume I: Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire, 1280-1808* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 227-29.

developed into a self-centered “war machine” that destroyed the same empire which originated it.²

Since 1683 the army was not as victorious as it had been before. Signing the 1699 Karlofça Treaty, after four unsuccessful attempts to capture Vienna (1683-1699), the Ottoman Empire lost a significant amount of land to the Austrian, Russians and Venetians. Following the defeat at the Austrian border, with the 1718 Pasarofça Treaty, they also lost Eflak, Bogdan, Belgrad, and north Serbia (1715-1718) at the western frontier. On the contrary, the Ottoman Empire was in a superior state at the northern and the eastern frontiers. Russians neighboring the empire at the north and the Safavids at the east were in vulnerable conditions. Russians were fighting with the Swedish. Safavid Dynasty was surviving hardly for the last years of its power. However the Ottoman regime preferred not to try taking advantage of circumstances; or simply was not able to do so. Since the Ottoman sultans were not able to sustain the imperial agenda by extending their power over new territories, by the end of the 17th c. they abandoned the city of Istanbul which was the symbol of the imperial tradition. The court preferred to stay out of sight and they retreated back to the Edirne Palace until the 1703 revolt.

During the Tulip Period, Damad Ibrahim Pasha employed the imperial order in a different way. Instead of battling in the frontiers, he sent ambassadors to the east and to the west of the empire. In 1719 second treasurer Ibrahim Pasha went to Vienna. In 1720-21 Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi visited France. In 1721 Ahmet Dürri Efendi went to Tehran. In 1722-23 Nişli Mehmed Aga was sent to Moscow, and in 1730 Mustafa Efendi was appointed to Vienna, and Mehmed Efendi to Poland.³ Each one of the chronicles depicting travel notes of the ambassadorial offices

² See Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guatari, *A Thousand Plateaus Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Brian Massumi (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 351-424 on the concept of “war machine.”

³ Hadiye and Hüner Tuncer, *Osmanlı Diplomasisi ve Sefaretnameler* (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık, 1997), 48-84; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 233.

frequently illustrate landscapes of the countries visited. Similar to the 16th c. maps of Matrakçı Nasuh, who had illustrated each city visited during the military campaign to Iraq, the early 18th c. chronicles narrated landscapes, cities, towns, and gardens observed by diplomatic envoys.

Ibrahim Pasha, who visited Niş, Belgrad and Vienna (*Beç*), describes towns, cities and their surrounding landscape, in the 1719 chronicle. The chronicle pictures the city of Vienna, tall buildings - with eight to nine stories, within the city walls, and depicts the Danube as artificially guided through the city. The chronicle refers to the joyful life within the city walls and illustrates the shops in details where the sight of glass lanterns hanging at front facades was creating a charming sight. It portrays living quarters of the city as picturesque and delightfully ornamented, referring to the name of each district. The villages surrounding the city are said to be like small cities in terms of planning and splendor. The chronicle also mentions prosperous and appealing vineyards and gardens surrounding Vienna.⁴

In the 1721 chronicle of Ahmet Dürri Efendi's visit to Tehran, there are interesting anecdotes to be mentioned in reference to the arguments discussed in this thesis, apart from textual illustration of landscapes. First is an important reference about a private garden party hosted by the Grand Vizier of the Persian court in the honor of the Ottoman emissary. In this party, which is described similar to the private garden parties of the Ottoman tradition where poetry was enjoyed; the chronicle acknowledges that the Persian courtiers were quite surprised to observe the Ottoman emissary's familiarity with the tradition of private garden parties, his knowledge of poetry and his proficiency in the Persian language.⁵

Second important reference is the Ottoman ambassador's description of the city of Istanbul to the Persian Shah. In this description, the Ottoman officer presents the city as a paradise. When they converse, the Persian Shah asks Ahmet Dürri Efendi

⁴ *Ibid.*, 48-56.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

if the Ottoman Sultan was living in Istanbul for the rest of his time. The ambassador receives this question in doubt, and says that he was not able to understand the underlying motive for asking such a question. The ambassador cites the Shah as he further elaborated and explained his question as such: "Some places are famous for its water, some for its fruits and weather, and some for its promenades. Which one of these the Sultan would prefer?" The Ottoman ambassador responds to Shah's question in certainty and informs him that Istanbul is the paradise on world that no human being would dare to leave it for any other place. Then he tells the shah about the atmosphere, natural beauties, promenades, palaces, gardens and wonders of Istanbul.⁶

Third, it should be noted that the Ottoman chronicle refers to the Persian landscape as impoverished in contrast to the other chronicles that depict the Austrian or French landscapes in splendor.⁷

Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, who was sent as an ambassador to France, came back, to Istanbul, bringing various novelties that influenced and accelerated the transformations of the Ottoman culture. The printing press was one of them. He also published his impressions of the French gardens and landscape.⁸ It is remarkable that, the narrative of French life in gardens seems to have inspired and transformed the Ottoman culture as much as the printing press did, since upon the same site of Kağıthane, the Sultan commissioned the construction of Sa'd-âbâd Palace as well as a paper factory, following observations by Çelebi. Traveling to Kağıthane Commons was not only a journey into the countryside, but also into the

⁶ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

⁸ Abdullah Uçman, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi Sefaretnâmesi* (Istanbul: Garanti Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat , 1975); Gilles Veinstein, *İlk osmanlı Sefiri 28 Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Anıları "Kafirlerin Cenneti,"* trans. by M. A. Erginöz (Istanbul: Ozgü Yayınları, 2002).

Ottoman dreamscape made of gardens of France. Venetian ambassadorial chronicles depict the construction of Sa'd-âbâd Palace after French models:⁹

Nothing succeeded more in holding his interest than the construction of buildings on the shore of the Sweet Waters. Mehemet Efendi had brought designs from France, among which one of Fontainebleau inspired Ibrahim to erect a kiosk 'equal to the Sultan's dignity' and a large palace.

The Venetian chronicles also refer to the French influence in the design of other gardens, like in the restoration of *Hüsrevabâd* at Alibeyköy close to Kağıthane Commons:¹⁰

Achmet delighted in flowers, gardens and everything in imitation of the designs from France. Many thousands of trees had been planted in one part adjoining Cladabut. The other part had been divided among ministers; each one, commencing with the vizier, had constructed kiosks, which were decorated with different colors and had trees and vines at sides.

At the same time, the Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha initiated new social and cultural reforms in the city. The first two public libraries, the *Enderûn Library* (1719), and the *Library of the New Mosque* were founded. Intellectual groups for discussions were formed under the court of Ibrahim Pasha. Literary works such as *Aynî Tarihi* (*İkd-ül-cüman fi tarih-i ehl-iz-zaman*, 24 volumes, from Arabic) by Antepî Bedreddin Mahmud, *Habib-üs-siyer* (from Persian, 16th c.) by Hondmir, *Cami-üd-düvel* (from Arabic) by Mevlevî Ahmed Dede, *Matla'ussa'deyn* (from the İlhanids) by Kemalüddin Abdürrezzak and works of Aristotle were translated into Ottoman Turkish as a consequence of the flourishing historical consciousness. By 1727 July, the first press printing Ottoman Turkish is founded by Said Efendi (who traveled to France with his father Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi in 1720-21, during his

⁹ Mary Lucille Shay, "The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734 as Revealed in Despatches of the Venetian Balili," in *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* vol. 27 no. 3 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1944), 20-21.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

emissary service and studied publishing in France) and the Hungarian Mütferrika Ibrahim Efendi.¹¹

During the Tulip Period, the city was refurbished with fountains, lodges, pools, libraries and gardens. As can be observed in miniatures depicting festivals of that period, all citizens were encouraged to build gardens, and cultivate flowers; and typical garden plans were displayed as models of construction. This period saw the breeding of more than 200 types of tulips, each valued as a fortune. Scenes from the royal gardens ornamented the walls of living quarters. Floral depictions ornamented fountains that were dispersed like jewels within the urban fabric. Gardens, hunting parks, vineyards were favored more than ever by all ranks of society. The city was bursting with flowers and gardens, or with their representations disseminated in fragments.¹²

Gardens, pavilions, kiosks and gardens were built on both sides of the Bosphorus and at the Kağıthane Commons, which was located at the end of the Golden Horn along the Kağıthane River (Figures 126; 128-131). Tülay Artan, who studied the building activity along the Bosphorus during the entire 18th c., argued that Bosphorus had become a social space favored by all ranks of the society by these extensive building activities. It became a promenade of spectacle.¹³

Arel makes an explicit list of these activities with the dates of building activities; initiation of building activities at Kağıthane (1720), endowment of land to the elite for building kiosks and gardens at Kağıthane Commons (1722-23); on the

¹¹ İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* I-IV (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1956), volume IV; 153 -156.

¹² Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Lale Devri* (İstanbul: Sanayii Nefise, 1932); Orhan Erdenen, *Lale Devri ve Yansımaları* (İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, 2003).

¹³ Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," Unpublished Ph.D. diss., MIT, Cambridge, MA, 1989.

Bosphorus building of Kandilli Palace and gardens (1719), Çırağan Palace of Damad Ibrahim Pasha (1719), Beşiktaş Palace (1720), Amn-âbâd Palace (1725); building activities at Ortaköy and the building of Ortaköy Mosque (1721-22), building activities at the Hümayun-âbâd Gardens at Bebek (1725), building of Neşat-âbâd Palace at Defterdar Burnu; restoration of Çubuklu Garden (1721-22); refurbishment of Fener Gardens at Üsküdar (1727-28), Vineyard of Halil Efendi at Rumelihisarı (1727-28), Pavilion of Kethüda Mehmed Pasha (1727-8), Şeref-abâd Palace (1728).¹⁴

About 216 fountains were built during the sultanate of Ahmed III.¹⁵ These fountains were larger in scale compared to the fountains of earlier periods which were embedded within the mass of a building, a mosque, within the body of another structure in general. The latter ones were free standing sculptural objects, defining a center within the city space by themselves. Shirine Hamadeh, in her study of 18th c. Ottoman urban culture, argues that these fountains became “public” meeting points. Most of these fountains were called as “meydan çeşmesi” alluding to their locations within public spaces creating a node of gathering. The term was first used in 1682 for the Silahdar Mustafa Aga Fountain in Salacak. Ahmed III’s imperial fountain built in 1728-1729 outside the Topkapı Palace is an example of this new type of monument. These fountains were ornamented with natural motifs, inscribed with religious verses and with poetry. Besides the Sultan, different members of the society were identified as patrons of these fountains; Hatice Sultan Fountain in Ayvansaray (1711), Nevşehirli Ibrahim Pasha Fountain in Şehzade (1719), İbnül’emin Ahmed Aga in Kasımpaşa (1727), Rakım Pasha in Rumelihisarı (1715).¹⁶

¹⁴ Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* (İstanbul: 1975).

¹⁵ Hatice Aynur and H. Karateke, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri* (İstanbul: 1995), 70-71.

¹⁶ Shirine Hamadeh, “The Cities Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in 18th Century İstanbul,” Unpublished Ph.D. diss., MIT (Cambridge, MA: 1999), 42-48; 105-114.

The *Kağıthane Mesiresi* (Kağıthane Commons) was a site of experiment where social and cultural projects of the Tulip Period (1718-1730) were tested. Kağıthane Commons had always been a favorable meadow housing a hagiaσμα, with its fresh air and open fields fitting for the arts of sports. There was a tradition of going to hagiaσμα in the Byzantine era in hope for a better life and good health. It was much visited by the Byzantine and the Ottoman elites and the common public for different purposes as discussed in the previous chapter.

The Kağıthane Commons was located along a river in a secluded valley outside the dense fabric of the city of Istanbul, and outside the reach of gaze away from the city. During the Tulip Period, it became a meadow flourished with more than forty mansions belonging to the Ottoman elite, each with splendid gardens. It was also surrounded by a public park. It also housed the Sa'd-âbâd Palace built in 1723 for the court. City people went there almost as in a pilgrimage in search of “a new way of life” enjoyed in pleasure and prosperity. Different social groups used the *Kağıthane Commons* with different social status, gender, purpose of visit, with varying temporality. It was destroyed altogether in 1730, during the Patrona Halil Riot that put an end to the Tulip Period.

EMERGENCE OF NEW RITUALS AND NEDÎM’S POETRY

The court and the elite lived a festive life in the city of Istanbul during the Tulip Period. Every occasion was turned into a festive celebration. Religious days like the Ramadan holidays or the birthday of the prophet were commemorated with celebrations. Imperial family organized festivities for the births, marriages and circumcisions of the princes and sultans. The court, elite and the public enjoyed winters conversing at dessert parties (*helva sohbeti*) and summers at garden parties (*lale çırağanı*). The new year’s day (*Nevruz*) was celebrated. Even the

promenade of the harem (halvet) in the city and the Sultan's visits to imperial abodes around the city became festive ceremonies.¹⁷

The most renowned celebration of the period was the 1720 festival which was organized for the circumcision of the princes Süleyman, Mustafa, Mehmed and Beyazıd; the wedding of Ayşe Sultan with the Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha; and the wedding of Emetullah Sultan with Sirke Osman Pasha. The festival is depicted in several chronicles. One of these chronicles is *Dürrî Biraderi Sa'dî'nin Sûr-ı Hümayûn Tarihîdür (Sıhhatnâme ve Sûr-ı Hıtâna Müteallik Kasâ'id*, TSM Revan No. 826, folios 31a-23b). It shows the participants of the festival who gathered at the open space of Ok Meydanı. The chronicle compares persons in the crowd attending the celebrations to roses in a garden, to rose buds in an imperial garden, and, to the date palm in the paradise garden:

Each one is a blossoming rose bud in the imperial garden
Each one is a jewel in the rose garden of the world¹⁸

Now the "Ok Meydanı" is the gathering place of beloved ones of the city
The world has become lively with the lover and the beloved¹⁹

Each firework is a comet in flames

¹⁷ Tülay Artan, "Architecture As a Theatre of Life," 55-56.

¹⁸ Mehmet Arslan, *Türk Edebiyatında Manzum Surnameler Osmanlı Saray Düğünleri ve Şenlikleri* (Ankara: AYK Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1999), 104:

Her biri bir gonca-i zibâ-yı bağ-ı saltanat/ Her birisi rub'-ı meskun gülşeninün zîneti

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 104:

Şimdi Ok Meydânı oldı mecma-ı hûbân-ı şehri/ âşık u şûk ile buldı cihân germiyyeti

Come and watch this art on the joyful sky²⁰

Variety of fruits ornament the procession
Remind the palm tree in the garden of paradise²¹

The fifteen day festival is also illustrated by Vehbi in the book of festivities (*Surname-i Vehbi*) which was completed in 1727-28. The book of the festival was widely circulated among both the elite and the public. Atıl mentions twenty-five copies still existing today.²²

In 1722, Venetian ambassadorial chronicles depict the Sultan's visit to Damad Ibrahim Pasha's shore palace. The chronicle depicts this instance as an unusual event and notes that it was not common for an Ottoman Sultan to visit his grand vizier.²³ However, during the Tulip Period Sultan's visits to the shore palaces and gardens of the grandees' are frequently accounted for. The change in the courtly rules of conduct and flexibility in the court hierarchy was also apparent in the use of urban space and urban festivities. In 1723, birth of Ahmed III's fifth son was celebrated and the festival was extended to celebrate the birth of the Grand Vizier's son. In 1724, the marriages of Ümmü, Atika and Hatica Sultans with Ali, Ahmed and Mehmed Pashas were celebrated.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 104:

Her fişek bir ahter-i dunbâle-dâr u şu'le-pâş/ âsumân-ı zevkde seyr eyle gel bu
san'atı

²¹ *Ibid.*, 105:

Dürlü dürlü miveler resmi müzeyyen eylemiş/ Andurur insâna hâkka nahl-i bağ-ı
cenneti

²² Esin Atıl, "The Story of an Eighteenth Century Festival," in *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 181.

²³ Shay, "The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734," 20.

The court poet Nedîm is closely associated with the festive life of the Tulip Period. He was a talented poet. He composed artful poems using all means of the Ottoman poetic tradition. He was a court poet. Though, at the same time he composed poems using plain Turkish. These poems were comprehensible to the common people. In his poetry, he employed daily urban themes common to and experienced by all city dwellers.²⁴

Nedîm's poetry depicted real places of Istanbul, instead of ideal places of the metaphysical world. His poetry stressed a new development in the appropriation of the Ottoman creative imagination. The real places of the city formed the "pool" necessary for contemplation by the imaginative faculty. By referring to real gardens and spaces, his poetry also challenged the Ottoman cosmology. Such appreciation of daily life and mundane physical environment was also evident in the *Şehrengiz* poetry. However, *Şehrengiz* poems were only known to members of a small group. When some of them attained more powerful positions within the Ottoman society during the early 18th c., enjoyment of daily life, real spaces and daily pleasures flourished more openly.

²⁴ See Abdûlbaki Gölpınarlı, *Nedim Divanı* (Istanbul: Inkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1972); Hasibe Mazıoğlu, *Nedim* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1988) and *Nedim'in Divan Şiirine Getirdiği Yenilik* (Ankara: TTK, 1957); Kemal Sılay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court Medieval Inheritance and the Need for Change* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1994); Ahmet Evin, "A Poem by Nedim: Some Thoughts on Criticism of Turkish Literature and an Essay," in *Edebiyat: A Journal of Middle Eastern and Comparative Literature* II/1 (1977): 43-55; Tunca Kortantamer, "Nedim'in Şiirlerinde İstanbul Hayatından Sahneler," in *Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi* IV (1985): 20-59.

Table 6:
Inventory of real places and events in Nedîm's
kasîdes, chronograms, and mesnevis

City spaces in Nedîm's Poetry	No. of Poems
Fountains	14
Private Places in the City Palaces, gardens, vineyards, kiosks, pavilions, water-front mansions, etc.	21
Public Places Bath houses, market places, bazaars.	4
Religious institutions Mosques and Sufi lodges.	5
Other Institutions <i>Küllîyes</i> , schools, caravanserais, court houses.	6
Social Events Visits to friends' houses; leisurely travels of the Sultan in the city; desert parties; private garden parties; celebrations of holy-days and new year.	15

Out of 110 poems (*Kasîdes*, *chronograms*, and *mesnevis*) in total, there are 65 poems referring to real places or events. The above table shows the classification of his 65 *kasîdes*, *chronograms*, and *mesnevis* according to different places or events referred to.²⁵

Out of 28 songs in total, there are 16 songs depicting real places (11 songs illustrate real gardens and pleasure of their experience) and events (5 songs are invitations to events or recount visits anonymous gardens, or indicate of movement and traveling in the city space). However out of 162 gazels, there are only four gazels depicting real places in the city.

Kasîde is a long poem composed for the purpose of praising; a person, a holy-day, an event, a festival, an artifact, a building or a place.²⁶ *Mesnevis*, as discussed in the previous chapter, are long poems about love stories. *Chronograms* are poems written in the honor of a particular event or of the building of an artifact. The main purpose of a chronogram is to date a particular event; the establishment or foundation of a building, fountain or garden.²⁷ *Songs* were composed to be recited

²⁵ Gölpinarlı, *Nedîm Divanı*, for fountains see pages 137, 147-48, 149; 150-51, 176-77, 181-82, 186, 190-91, 193, 201, 207, 208, 208 (2), 221; private residences and gardens in 75-78, 79-84, 85-87, 111-113, 114-115, 138, 152, 153, 154, 162-63, 164, 165-67, 167-68, 170-71, 172-73, 183-85, 196-98, 199-200, 209-10, 211, 216-17; public places in the following 38-43, 179-81, 221-22, 189-190; religious institutions in 175, 177-78, 178, 205, 211-12, other institutions in 30-32, 135-36, 169-170, 174, 179-80, 212-15; and social events in 44-47, 48-53, 93-95, 97-98, 99-100, 100-2, 103-4, 105-6, 107-8, 109-10, 118, 123-126, 158, 161-62, 225-7.

²⁶ Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, 70-71.

²⁷ For detailed information on chronograms see, Hamadeh, "The Cities Pleasures," 213-231. Chronograms are one of the major sources in the study of history of architecture. In her unpublished thesis on 18th c. Ottoman urban culture, Shirin Hamadeh makes a broad study of chronograms. Hamadeh uses chronograms as a source which informs about building types and their patrons. These chronograms, which are written in the honor of artifacts, in order to celebrate its building, date of foundation, and recalling its patron were

with music. They used plain language. Their subject matter was metaphoric and natural love, mundane pleasures. Nedîm is acknowledged as the most innovative poet in composing songs.²⁸

In his *kasîdes*, Nedîm compares the city to the heavens, and praises the Kağıthane Commons by referring to the favorable mansion Sa'd-âbâd and its gardens built as a sealing monument of the period. In the below verses written in the honor of Vizier Ibrahim Pasha with reference to the city of Istanbul, Nedîm presents valuable documentation concerning the daily life and the spirit of the period in which the use of green space was secularized and the public quest for joy replaced the contemplation of nature for the sake of its divine beauty:²⁹

Holy Paradise! Is it under or above the city of Istanbul?
My Lord, how nice its atmosphere, its water and weather!
Each of its gardens is a pleasing meadow,
Each corner is fertile, a blossoming assembly of joy.
It is not proper to exchange this city for the whole world
....
Or to compare its rose gardens to Paradise!

listed in magazines which compile the genre under the subtitles of different architectural types of buildings.

²⁸ Gibb, *Osmanlı Şiir Tarihi*, 77.

²⁹ The below verses are translated from Şentürk, *Osmanlı Şiiri Antolojisi*, 599-580:

Altında mı üstünde mîdûr cennet-i alâ/ El-hâk bu ne hâlet bu ne hôş âb ü hevâdır
(4); Her bağçesi bir çemenistân-i letafet/ Her kûşesi bir meclis-i pur-feyz ü safâdur
(5); İnsaf degüldür anı dünyaya değışmek/ Gûlzarların cennete teşbîh hatâdur (6);
Şimdi yapılan 'alem-i nev-resm-i safânun/ Evsâfı hele başka kitab olsa sezâdur
(13); Nâmı gibi olmuştur o hem sa'd hem 'abâd/ İstanbul'a sermâye-i fahr olsa
revâdur (14); Kûhsarları bağları kasrıları hep/ Gûyâ ki bütün şevk ü tarab zevk ü
safâdur (15).

Quality of these novel festivities
Only a book will be able to tell about!

One of the *kasîdes* that mention real places is the *Ramazanniye Kasîdesi*. It gives a very lively account of a Ramadan day, beginning with a description of how people used to sleep until noon time when they were fasting. In this poem, Nedîm tells about his travel plan that he would carry out after the Ramadan to go and visit Sa'd-âbâd, which he portrays as the highest level of paradise. He gives an account of particular places which he would like to visit for pleasure. He mentions the pool and the palace. Then he cites *Hürremâbâd*. He accounts for rowing in the pool. Thus, he proposes to go to the other side of the pool by boat, where he intends to spend a couple of hours enjoying himself.³⁰

Another *kasîde* illustrates the festivities of the Ramadan Holiday in detail. Nedîm portrays the court ceremonies to which foreign diplomats were also invited. He argues that, neither Alexander had envisioned such a festival in his imagination (*hûlya*), nor Feridun had ever fantasized about such a court assembly and organization in his dreams (*ru'ya*). Nedîm further describes the celebrations and he tells that all the beloved ones would soon populate the open spaces at the Hippodrome (*Atmeydanı*) and at Tophane (*meydan-ı Top-hâne*). He informs that most of the public would pay a visit to the tomb of Eyyub Ensari at Eyüp. He also lists the neighborhood of Üsküdar as another favorable place to visit and enjoy. Then he depicts Sa'd-âbâd Palace in detail.³¹

Another *kasîde* written in the honor of Sa'd-âbâd begins as Nedîm tells how he felt so joyful that he was initiated to compose this particular poem with great pleasure. With joy and willful desire, he explains how he participated in a private party, where

³⁰ Gölpinarlı, *Nedîm Divanı* , 44-47; *Kasîde IX*, titled "İbrahim Paşa'yı medih zımında Ramazaniyye."

³¹ *Ibid.*, 48-53; *Kasîde X*, titled "Bayram Törenini Anlatan ve Sultan III. Ahmed'i Öven *Kasîde*."

his host invited him to display his art of poetry by describing Sa'd-âbâd with the sweetest words. So, upon his host's wish, Nedîm explains that, he began to write about Sa'd-âbâd which is a glorious new work of art.

Nedîm begins his description by illustrating a bridge. This bridge was a semi-enclosed bridge. It was covered with an ornamental ceiling. Nedîm personifies this bridge as a lover who is watching the beautiful beloved ones walking by. Then he describes *Hayr-âbâd* (The Lodge of Mohammed) explaining that it is a place of joy and delight that had been the pilgrimage place of masters of pleasure. At this point, it is not clear whether *Hayr-âbâd* was a dervish lodge, but Nedîm cites the place as a pilgrimage lodge for those dervishes who knew how to enjoy themselves. Then he continues depicting other elements at the site. He says that it is impossible to describe the pleasure of contemplating the sight of the waterfall, that one should see it in real. Then he cites *Kasr-ı Cinân* (The Pavilion of Paradise) for having an unparalleled beauty. He further describes *Çeşme-i Nur* (The Fountain of Light) and *Cetvel-i Sim* (The Pool of the Silver Ruler). He praises *Kasr-ı Neşât* (The Pavilion of Eternal Gaiety) for its site chosen with such a careful consideration. Nedîm expresses that even though it was quite small, its fame was significant. Then Nedîm tells about another artifact in the garden, which is called *Nev-Peyda* (The New Bridge) which was probably a covered deck protruding on the pool. He cites it as an original invention. He further mentions two other pavilions. This couple of pavilions were called *Ferkadan* (The Constellation of Ursus Majoris and Beta Ursus Majoris) resembling the two brightest stars of the Ursa Minor constellation. He also designates two other pavilions; *Hürrem-âbâd* (The House of Sultan) and *Cesr-i Sürur* (The Pavilion of Happiness) which were located close to the site of *Ferkadan*. Then he tells about a very long column called *Sütun-ı Bâla* (The Tall Column) gilded at the top having an adorable sight. Illustrating the garden, Nedîm refers to Sultan Ahmed III as its owner. He further alludes to other rulers of Persia and Turan, the legendary characters of Feridun, Dârâ, Husrev, Iskender and Cem. He compares Iskender's affection for Aristotle to Ahmed III's affection for his son-in-law Damad Ibrahim Pasha, the Grand Vizier. Nedîm praises Damad Ibrahim Pasha, for all his decisions thus he became the cure for many. Finally, he

concludes his poem by stating that upon seeing Sa'd-âbâd, even Iskender would bite his fingers out of jealousy.³²

In another *kasîde*, describing Sa'd-âbâd, Nedîm portrays the site as the new construction of Istanbul, whose water and weather would prolong the life of the citizens of the city. In his long appraisal of the site, Nedîm explains the pool *Cetvel-i Sim* which would carry the ones rowing in its waters to the shores of Paradise. He argues that even though describing this sight is impossible, he would compose a gazel that would survive in the honor of Sa'd-âbâd. He concludes the poem by affirming that the court should enjoy themselves at Sa'd-âbâd, or at other waterfront mansion on the Golden Horn, or Bosphorus, while their enemies would get bored with ennui.³³

In another *kasîde* about the city of Istanbul, Nedîm describes the city as beyond comparison to any other city in the world. The city of Istanbul, by itself, would worth the whole land of East. Nedîm portrayal of the city between the two seas is similar to the earlier depictions used in the *Şehrengiz* and many Sufi poems. Further, Nedîm argues that Istanbul is superior to all the gardens of the paradise, that all of its gardens, meadows, lawns, all of its places are beautiful, and that he would not exchange the city for the whole world. In this city, everybody would satisfy their own desires. Nedîm refers to all the mosques in the city, both the grander Friday mosques, and the smaller mosques which are less significant. He appraises the hills, vineyards, gardens, kiosks, and pavilions of the city, without being specific, or naming any of them. Then he mentions Sa'd-âbâd which he portrays as the new representation of pleasure and joy. Nedîm argues that the qualities of Sa'd-âbâd would fill in a single book of its own.³⁴

³² *Ibid.*, 75-78; *Kasîde XVI*, titled "Sa'd-âbâd'ı vasfeden *Kasîde*."

³³ *Ibid.*, 79-84; *Kasîde XVII*, titled "Sa'd-âbâd'ı vasf zımında III. Ahmed'e *Kasîde*."

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 85-87; *Kasîde XVIII*, titled "İstanbul'u vasf zımında İbrahim Paşa'a *Kasîde*."

Out of eleven songs that mention real places within the city, five of them evoke Sa'd-âbâd.³⁵ Others depict kiosks and pavilions of Şevk-âbâd³⁶ and appraisal of the Sultan's kiosk at Neşât-âbâd,³⁷ the beauty of Şeref-âbâd.³⁸ Another mentions the tradition of strolling in Bosphorus³⁹ and one refers to Feyz-âbâd and Asaf-âbâd as places one must to visit on the way to Sa'd-âbâd.⁴⁰ One song cites the neighborhood of Beşiktaş.

The first song about Sa'd-âbâd, is an invitation to visit, enjoy and contemplate the palace and gardens, depicting its grounds as a promenade worth traveling to.⁴¹ The second one compares the garden of Sa'd-âbâd to the char-bagh of Isfahan, narrating the former's superior qualities and paradise-like gardens. Nedîm depicts how the place that once was a simple ground has become a prosperous garden. Illustrating the range of activities one can contemplate on its varied and expanded site. Suggesting that the organization of the site is like a book, Nedîm states that it should be appreciated from above the surrounding hills. In this way, one can see its elongated pool carved out of the ground as if precisely drawn on paper.⁴² Another song mainly about Nedîm's interest in a particular beloved, depicts the site of Sa'd-âbâd, telling how this beloved had escaped from the poet and traveled to the gardens of the palace. The song tells how the beloved enjoyed the site,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 343, 344, 345, 346, 350, 351(Bosphorus), 353, 353-355, 356-7, 359.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 344; *Song III*.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 343; *Song I*.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 359; *Song XXVI*.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 350-51; *Song XIII*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 352-53; *Song XVI*.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 344-45; *Song IV*.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 346-47; *Song VII*.

watched the Sultan's ceremonial procession to the palace; and traveled around the kiosk.⁴³

In another song about love, Nedîm compares the running river into the site of Sa'd-âbâd to the burning heart, desirous to occupy and experience the site, with many beloved wondering in its gardens.⁴⁴ The final song about Sa'd-âbâd is an invitation by Nedîm composed to convince his beloved to travel to the site. He offers to go to the site on a Friday afternoon by boat.⁴⁵ He claims that they should enjoy the gardens, and as well drink water from its new fountain designed in the form of a dragon. Then he proposes to promenade along the pool, and watch the beauty of the kiosk. He recommends to sing songs or to cite poetry in this picturesque location.⁴⁶

Let us give a little comfort to this heart that is wearied
Let us visit Sa'd-âbâd, my swaying Cypress, let us go!
Look there is a swift caique all ready at the pier below,
Let us visit Sa'd-âbâd, my swaying Cypress, let us go!

There to taste the joys of living, as we laugh and play,
From the new built fountain *Nev-Peyda* drink the water of life,
Then watch the enchanted waters flowing from the gargoyle spout of this dragon,
Let us visit Sa'd-âbâd, my swaying Cypress, let us go!

For a while we'll stroll by this pool, and then by another one

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 348-49; *Song IX*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 357; *Song XXIII*.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 356-57; *Song XX II*.

⁴⁶ Ahmet Refik Altınay, *Lale Devri* (İstanbul: Sanayii Nefise, 1932), 52-53; Kuban, *Istanbul*, 343.

Off we'll go and view the Pavilion of Paradise and be aroused by its sight
Then we will sing a ballad and become a composer
Let us visit Sa'd-âbâd, my swaying Cypress, let us go!

Upon the arrival of spring, Nedîm compares the blossoming nature to himself. He suggests that like blossoming roses and tulips, they should also begin to enjoy the gardens and the meadows.⁴⁷

There are five other songs that depict anonymous places that seem to be illustrated with reference to real places. These songs are like invitations to visit and enjoy gardens and private parties at gardens. Most of them indicate a sense of movement as suggested by the invitation. First of these songs is an invitation to enjoy the spring days, to travel and to contemplate gardens, especially tulips.⁴⁸ The other two songs announce the time for the spring celebrations, known as Light Festivals (*Çerâgan*) which were favorable during the Tulip Period.⁴⁹ The fourth one is an invitation to a private party,⁵⁰ and the fifth to a garden party.⁵¹

It is interesting that Kağıthane was recognized as a whole continuous space, and called as a single entity by the name of *mesire*; despite being composed of different elements and being extremely long four kilometers. Kağıthane was not considered as a distant place retreat from the city, but like all the other *mesire* it was one of many leisure places within easy reach from the city.

⁴⁷ Gölpınarlı, *Nedîm Divanı*, 357-58; *Song XXIV*.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 345; *Song V*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 353-54; 350; *Song XVII*; *Song XXVIII*.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 354-55; *Song XIX*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 355-56; *Song XX*.

There are forty one chronograms of Nedîm dedicated to the building of waterfront mansions, libraries, palaces, fountains, pavilions, kiosks, gardens, vineyards, bath houses, mosques, schools, bazaars, caravanserais and restoration of fountains and mosques. These chronograms cite the names, locations and properties of artifacts. They also cite the patron of each artifact. These chronograms depict the artifacts praising their splendor and beauty. The following chronogram is an example written for the Palace of Beşir Ağa:⁵²

Excellent, the captivating and exalted palace! Its charming layout
Was entirely matchless, pleasing and close to the heart
Excellent, the champion, the new house of rank and glory!
The wing of the bird of paradise was neighbor to its rooftop
Well done, the lofty celestial vault is so filled with ornament and intricate work
That it is a refuge for happiness and prosperity
The intricately ornamented pavilions are adorned with Kashan tiles
As though every one of its glass panels is a mirror showing the world
Each of its captivating rooms, the new plan of its building, were truly such
That they achieved the articulation of the meanings of joy and felicity
Being in ruin, as a result of noble endeavors it become prosperous
The attractive building enhanced the beauty of this shore

Hamadeh, who studied the 18th c. chronograms, argues that changes in the patronage of building activities sheds light upon the urban culture of Istanbul. Hamadeh argues that the variety of patrons inform about different participants in the renewal of the urban space. Previously, members of the court exercised such patronage. However, during the Tulip Period, a new elite group emerged close to the Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha. They were friends, sons-in law and

⁵² Translated by Hamadeh, "The Cities Pleasures," 230; from the chronogram titled "Tarih-i beray-ı saray-ı dil-guşa saray-ı Dar us Sa'ade Agası Beşir Ağa" in Gölpinarlı, *Nedîm Divanı*, 199-200.

relatives of the grand vizier who were appointed to high ranking governmental positions. They became the new patrons of urban space development.⁵³

As opposed to Nedîm's other poems which depict real places and events, out of his 162 gazels, only 4 gazels refer to real places. These gazels briefly depict Göksu and Çubuklu promenades, Sa'd-âbâd Palace, the city in general and compares Istanbul to Isfahan in Iran.⁵⁴

⁵³ See Hamadeh, "The Cities Pleasures."

⁵⁴ Asaf Halet Çelebi, *Divan Şiirinde Istanbul* (Istanbul: Hece Yayınları, 2002), 112; 102-3; 101-102; 102:

Göksu bir nahoş heva şimdi Çubuklu bir ziham/ Sevdığım tenhaca çekdirsek mi
Sa'd-âbâd e dek

'Uşşakın olsa nola feda nakd-i canları/ Seyr itmedin mi dünkü fedai civanları; Şevk
ateşine sen de tutuşdun mu ey Gönül/ Gördün mü dün güreş tutan pehlivanları; Ol
perçemin nazirini hatırdı mı Gönül/ Görmüş idin geçen sene sünbül zamanları;
Çeng ü çengane zevkı biraz ursun el-aman/ Seyr idelim bu seyre gelen dilsitanları;
Ma'lumdur benim sühanım mahlas iztemez/ Fark eyler anı Şehrimizin nüktedanları.

Sıkılma bezme gel bigane yok davetlimiz ancak/ Nedîma bendeniz var bir dahi
sultanımız vardır; Bir söz didi canan ki keramet var içinde/ Meyhane mukassi
görünür taşradan amma; Bir başka ferah başka letafet var içinde/ Eyvah o üç çifte
kayık aldı kararım; Şarki okuyup geçti bir afet var içinde/ Olmakda derununda heva
aşet-i suzan; Nayin dilebilmem ki ne halet var içinde/ Ey şuh Nedîma ile bir seyrin
işitdik; Tenhaca varub Göksuya işret var içinde

İran zemine tuhfemiz olsun bu nev gazel/ İr görsün Isfahana Sıtanbul diyarını

PARTICIPANTS OF NEW RITUALS: CONFRONTATION OF THE COURT AND THE PUBLIC

The court and the elite had always been enjoying private garden parties prior to the Tulip Period. However, during the Tulip Period private parties and spaces where the court and the elite enjoyed such parties became visible to the eyes of the common public. As well, the participants of the court and the elite engaged in festive activities that challenged the hierarchy of the classical Ottoman cosmology.

The court, the elite and the common public utilized various kinds of space at the same time. The 1720 circumcision festival, illustrated in Surname-i Vehbi (1727-28), provides an example. The festival brought all ranks of the society together; The Sultan, the Grand Vizier, Janissary corps, *kethüda*, *defterdar*, *enderûn*, religious scholars, pages, poets, historians, painters, various kinds of guilds, foreign ambassadors and the common public at Ok Meydanı (Figure 127). Vehbi illustrates the common public watching and enjoying the festival (TSM A3593, folios 42b-43a, 46b-47a, 51b-52a, 53b-54a, 59b-60a, 64b-65a, 83b-84a, 89b-90a, 168b-169a).⁵⁵

Similar to Vehbi's depiction of the common public peeping into the imperial festival and enjoying the processions; in an illustration of Kağıthane Commons by D'Ohsson, the court and the public are depicted mutually enjoying the two halves of the same open space split by a low garden wall allowing the participants of each side to observe the other. This illustration depicts the public meadows populated by "poets, pages, women, *mirahors*, *seyyids*, *bostancı*" overlooking imperial Sa'd-âbâd Palace and its gardens.

⁵⁵ Atıl, *Levni ve Surname*, 208-209; 204-205; 198-199, 192-193; 188-189; 174-175; 170-171; 168-169.

In her unpublished thesis, Artan also argues that during the 18th c. Bosphorus had become a public promenade where the court and the public enjoyed the spectacle of urban life and urban scape.⁵⁶

The participants of this spectacle not only observed the court and the elite groups' use of space and their festive life, they recognized the changing balance in social hierarchy. Until the Tulip Period, the Sultan constituted the center of the society. The imperial court followed him in hierarchy. However, during the Tulip Period, the Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha almost constituted a second center in terms of hierarchy. He employed a group around him similar to the imperial court around the Sultan. This new group, composed of poets, scholars, historians, court officers of high ranks and his relatives, was visible to the eyes of the common public. This group even hosted the Sultan on several occasions.

Though since 15th to early 18th century, the demography, or the harmony of the society had been transformed a lot, still all the groups who participated in shaping the Ottoman society were each fighting for their ideals, either for moral or material benefits. In different ways, each was fighting for survival, or dominance.

The society of religious scholars constituted diverse groups in terms of their socio-political standpoints. Some, like the chief juriconsult of Mustafa II was appallingly taking advantage of his powerful status and eliminating any kind of reforms by using his authority. At the same time, the supporters of the Kadizadelis were still acting against the more liberal Sufi orders like Bayrami-Melâmîs; the development of the school of 'Arabi. Fractions of the Mevlevi society supported such groups against the development of Melâmî society. Though, meanwhile, the Melâmî society, in order not to be harmed by such opponents, developed in concealment. As discussed in the chapter concerning the followers of Ibn Arabi's philosophy of the Unity of Being, by the Tulip Period the adherents of the Melâmî philosophy increased in the higher classes of the society. There were court officers appointed

⁵⁶ See Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life."

to the court service such as grand viziers, and religious scholars, such as chief juriconsults who were prominent Melâmîs, even poles. By the early 18th c. Şehid 'Ali Pasha (1713-1716) who was the grand vizier, was also the leader of Melâmî society (Melâmî pole). In the early 18th c., grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha, court poet Nedim, Habeşizade Mevlevi Abdürrahim Efendi known as poet Rahimi, La'lizade Abdülbaki, Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi, Ahmed Arifi Paşa, Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, historian Mehmed Raşid, Mustafa Sami, Osmanzade Taib were all Melâmîs, as discussed in the second chapter.

The society of guilds, as merchants and artisans was still a diverse group of society, where every other group participated in different Sufi orders and influenced by different principles of these orders.

During the Tulip Period, poetry was still enjoyed and it still constituted an important part of the Ottoman culture. The poets of the period were Mehmed Nesîb Dede (d.1714), Dürr-i Yekçeşm (d.1724), Selim (d.1725), Nedîm (d.1730), Râsih (d.1731), Arpaeminizade Sâmi (d.1733), İshak Efendi (d.1734), Enîs Receb Dede (d.1734), Mustafa Sâkîb Dede, İzzet Ali Paşa (d.1734), Râşid (d.1735), Seyyid Vehbî (d.1736), Neylî (d.1748), Nahîfî Süleyman Dede (d.1738) and Atîf Efendi (d.1742). Among all these poets, Nedîm is commonly associated with the festive spirit of the Tulip Period. His poetry also constituted the dual nature that was innate to the Tulip Period; the shared experience of the common public on one side, and the newly flourishing elite groups on the other side.

Nedîm was a court poet. He composed poems using an artful language. But he also composed simple poems using plain Turkish. He was able to employ all the conventions and canons of the Ottoman poetry artfully. But he was also able to employ the daily language and common terms of daily life. Nedîm is recognized as a participant of the *Türkî-i Basit* (Simple Turkish) Movement. *Türkî-i Basit* was initiated by Edirneli Nazmî and Tatarlı Mahremî at the end of the 15th c. Silay acknowledges the adherents of *Türkî-i Basit* Movement as rebels who tried to use simple Turkish in their poetry. Using simple Turkish was associated with being “vulgar, peasant like, rude, stupid, ignorant, artless.” Using a complex language

mixed together with Persian and Arabic words, phrases and rules was considered as “sophisticated, cultivated, clever, precious, knowledgeable and musical.”⁵⁷ The opposition between plain Turkish and artful court language had always been an issue of debate. Kâbüsnâme by Mercüme Ahmed written in the first half of the 15th c., praises using plain language understandable to common public. Sümbülzâde Vehbi’s 18th c. treatise titled “*Kasîde on Poetry*” written by imperial order and decree during the grand vizier-ship of Halîl Pasha in order to ridicule and admonish those poets of this age, who speak nonsense” criticizes using artless and plain language.⁵⁸

Nedîm was an inventive poet who introduced common phrases from public life into Ottoman poetry. He was inspired by folk literature, troubadour poetry, and especially Yunus Emre. He depicted street language and daily life. His poetry was sincere. Like the paintings of Vehbi, Nedîm’s poetry represents the emphasis on realism in Ottoman arts.⁵⁹ Nedîm didn’t accept the conventions of the idealized beauty imprisoned in the imagery of classical court poetry. Instead he looked into the city as a source of beloved ones (Figures 111-117). For him the ideal beauty

⁵⁷ Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, 57-69; Köprülü, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, *Milli Edebiyat Cereyanının İlk Mübeşşirleri ve Divan-ı Türk-i Basit* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928).

⁵⁸ Silay, *Nedim and the poetics of the Ottoman court*, 7-56.

⁵⁹ Silay, *Nedim and the poetics of the Ottoman court*; Ahmet Evin, “A Poem by Nedim: Some Thoughts on Criticism of Turkish Literature and an Essay;” Mehmet Kaplan, “Nedim’in Şiirlerinde Mimari, Eşya ve Kıyafet;” Tunca Kortantamer, “Nedim’in Şiirlerinde İstanbul Hayatından Sahneler,” in *Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Araştırmaları Dergisi* IV (1985): 20-59; Hasibe Mazıoğlu, “Divan Edebiyatında Sadeleşme Akımı,” in *Dil Yazıları* 1 (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1998): 44-52 and *Nedim* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1988) and *Nedim’in Divan Şiirine Getirdiği Yenilik* (Ankara: TTK, 1957).

was a mere dream. In his below gazel, he criticizes the concept of idealized beauty:⁶⁰

Nowhere in this city is the beloved you describe, Nedîm!
It was only an illusion, that appeared to you with a fairy-face.

CONSTRUCTION OF AN IDEAL SPACE: SA'D-ÂBÂD PALACE AT KAĞITHANE COMMONS

During the Tulip Period places which were favored and frequently visited by the common public were re-discovered by the members of the court. Different countryside meadows were favored by different sections of the public for different reasons throughout centuries since the conquest of Istanbul in 1453. Either grown out of an ascetic tradition for contemplation, or ordinary citizen's desire for fresh water and weather for healing purposes, visiting meadows had been a common leisurely practice for the citizens of Istanbul since the Byzantine times.⁶¹ Ritual

⁶⁰ Andrews, *Poetry's voice, society's song, ottoman lyric poetry*, 72; translates from Nedîm:

Yok bu şehir içre senin vâsf ettigin dilber Nedîm/Bir peri sûret görünmüş bir hayal
olmuş sana

⁶¹ For Byzantine suburbs and places of retreat see Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul An Urban History* (Istanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1996), 118-140. Along Bosphorus outside the city, the Byzantine had mansions, monasteries and churches. These dwellings outside the city, were either places of escape as in the case of some monasteries, or palaces of pleasure for seasonal retreats. Most of the villages, which were later identified as Ottoman suburbs were established in Byzantine times. There is a specific name given to the Byzantine suburban residence was called "proasteion". Procopius talks about lofty mansions of upper class along Bosphorus: "nobles of Constantinople spent almost the entire year in their littoral proasteia, probably their suburban mansions." A general list of settlements along Bosphorus, either identified by mansions, or religious buildings on the european shore are

journeys to the groves and meadows surrounding the earlier temples of Byzantium, later pilgrimage sites of the holy springs of Constantinople had been transformed by the Ottoman citizens and adapted to a variety of new uses. From the late 15th century to the early 18th centuries, these meadows had become spaces of leisurely joy.

Evliya Çelebi gives a brief idea about how these countryside meadows were used by common public and how they were part of the urban fabric which the citizens were used to map for leisurely purposes in the late 17th c. Evliya Çelebi's accounts about 17th c. were examined at the end of the previous chapter, when discussing urban practices which Şehrengiz poetry was influenced from and was an

Diplokionion (St. Mamas) at Beşiktaş (constituting of a palace, a sanctuary, a market and the Temple of Zeus, and later an harbour was added.); St. Phocas at Ortaköy (later identified as Anapulus where Anapulus has a specific meaning as "the European shore of the Bosphorus"); Promotus/Hestiae at Arnavutköy; Sosthenion at İstinye: There is also a church of St. Micheal; on the Asian shore are Argyronion at Macar Burnu (a monastery, a palace, which is later transformed into "a home for destitute"); Sophianeia at Çengelköy; Chalcedon (there was a small walled city with a hippodrome, theater, churches and a palace built by Constantine III by the beginning of 7th century); Eutropiu at Kalamış; Hieria at Fenerbahçe (Justinian I and Theodora built a palace in Fenerbahçe. There was also a port, bath, and a church. It is also important that there was a public garden. Kuban talks about the transformation of Hieria from a sacred place into a place of pleasure: "In the Greek period there was a hierion of Hera, hence the name. This was a beautifully small promontory where Justinian I, at the suggestion of Theodora, built a palace with a small port, a bath, a church dedicated to the Mother of God and a public garden. Heraclius after his victorious Persian campaign, used to stay in Hieria. Until the Comnenians, Hieria remained an important resort for the emperors.") Rouphinianai at Caddebostan; Bryas at Dragos; Poleatikon at Bostancı (Poleatikon was acting as a gate to the territory defined by the Constantinople. There was an imperial mansion and a port. Forests within the vicinity accommodate the mansions of royal families.); Damatrys at Alemdağı (an hunting lodge). On the Marmara shore there were Hebdomon at Bakırköy; Stronglyon at Zeytinburnu and Pege at Balıklı.

inspiration to. Kağıthane was one of those places that had multiple uses and favored by different ranks of the society.

Kağıthane was located at the end of the Golden Horn, continuing towards the Kağıthane valley along the former Barbyzes, the latter Kağıthane River. The place had been known since the Byzantine Empire, and in it had been favored both by the Ottoman elite, court, and the public since the late 15th century. It had been depicted as a place of private gathering and parties for both the elite and the public. It had been a gathering place for the private parties of the guilds. It had been a favorable retreat for Selim I and a royal hunting area for Süleyman I.⁶² Apart from merely social and joyful assemblies; it had also been used for the meeting of the ascetics and for contemplation, as discussed in the previous chapter.

In the early 18th century, the Ottoman court rediscovered places like Kağıthane, and renovated them by extensive building activities. These rediscovered places were reintroduced to the use of court and as well as the public. The court began to enjoy these meadows and countryside similar to the public who had been enjoying these sites for centuries. However the confrontation of the public and the court was a new experience in Ottoman culture. As well, the extensive luxury expenditures of court entered into visible contradiction with the modest public use of the same space.

Until the early 18th c., Ottoman historical chronicles frequently referred to the Kağıthane Commons. In 1530, the historical chronicle of Peçevi mentioned the site as “Kağıthane Open Space” (*Kağıthane Sahrası*).⁶³

⁶² Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 278.

⁶³ Münir Aktepe, “Kağıthane’ye Dair Bazı Bilgiler,” *Ord. Prof. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı’ya Armağan*. (Ankara: 1976), pp. 340; Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Sa’dabad* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1977), p. 141; from İbrahim Peçevi *Tarih* vol. I (İstanbul: 1283), 155.

In a 1614 document, the site and its surrounding neighborhoods were acknowledged for being a hunting area expanding towards the Aqueducts (*şikar-gâh olan Kağıthane ve Kemerlerde ve sair ol etraflarda olan mahallelerde*). The chronicle said that the hunting area was only open to the court of Ahmet I and those Venetians who entered the site for hunting were punished and warned not to enter the site again.⁶⁴

In a 1630-40 document compiled during the sultanate of Murad IV, visiting Kağıthane is acknowledged offering a pleasurable visit and sightseeing (*seyre giden*). "Scholars with their books, dervishes with their prayer rugs, writers with their pens, ink and other stationeries" were allowed to enjoy their sightseeing activities.⁶⁵

In the 1721 chronicle of Raşid, an interesting story is told. In 1721, the Sultan ordered the conservation and maintenance of a countryside meadow in Alibeyköy, close to Kağıthane. The chronicle names this countryside meadow as "*mesire*." The chronicle states that this meadow had long been favored and had been visited by the common public. It refers to these former visitors as the masters of strolling and leisurely pleasure (*erbab-ı geşt ü güzâr*). The site is depicted as a beautiful place with its water and weather. It had a comforting mild breeze and trees shedding soothing shadows. The chronicle states that the site was assured to be a pleasant place according to the testimony of all the public (*meşhûd-ı cümle-i efrad*) who had been enjoying the site for such a long time. The Sultan had commanded the upholding of the place like those other *mesires*, and he demanded the building of pools and sofas at the site. Sultan's unexpected ordering of the conservation of the place created a curiosity among the public. All the public of Istanbul (*bi'l-cümle*

⁶⁴ Aktepe, "Kağıthane'ye Dair Bazı Bilgiler," 342-43; *Mühimme Defteri* 80, 217; Ahmed Refik, *Hicri Onbirinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı 1000-1100* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1931), 48.

⁶⁵ Aktepe, "Kağıthane'ye Dair Bazı Bilgiler," 340-41; from Hammer, *Devlet-i Osmaniye Tarihi* IX (İstanbul: 1335), 167.

Istanbul ahalisi) who had been using the site for such a long time and who had known the place “by heart” was concerned with the new building activities at the site. Thus upon hearsay revealing that the Sultan and his Grand Vizier were having their meals at this particular location during the month of Ramadan, some members of the concerned public decided to visit the site in order to see and understand what was going on. Then, as the chronicle narrates, the public was totally amazed and overwhelmed upon seeing the newly constructions on the site. The chronicle concludes by asserting that the construction activities were completed. With respect to the new prosperous state of the site, and its new constructions of three pools, one bridge, and various settings of assembly (*sofa*); the site was named as Hüsrevâbâd. The name of the site can be translated as the Sultan’s House, or the Hüsrev’s House referring to the legendary character of Hüsrev in the mystical love story of Hüsrev and Shirine.⁶⁶

The same chronicle also tells about the conservation and reconstruction of another site which was depicted as a pleasing countryside for visiting, contemplating and visual enjoyment. The site is Kağıthane which had a public promenade (*nüzgetgâh-ı hass-ü âm olan mesire-i dilnişîn*).⁶⁷ A chronicle depicts the construction a neighborhood (*mahallât*) on this site in 1721-22. The new neighborhood was called Sa’d-âbâd, with several buildings, including an imperial pavilion called *Kasr-ı Cinan*, and its harem building called *Harem-i Hümayûn*, *Kasr-ı Hümayûn*, a marble cascade, three piers, fountains, a mosque, four bridges, and a pool.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Aktepe, “Kağıthane’ye Dair Bazı Bilgiler,” 344-45; from Raşid Mehmed *Tarih-i Raşid* V (Istanbul: 1822), 305-6.

⁶⁷ Eldem, *Sa’dabad*, 142-3; from Raşid Mehmed, *Tarih-i Raşid* vol V, 443-46; vol III, 111, 112, 113.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 143; from “Muhasabe Defteri,” TSM H1134.

1721-22 the building activity at the Kağıthane environs⁶⁹ as told by the 18th c. historian Raşid also further informs about the construction of the new neighborhood of Sa'd-âbâd. The necessary marble for the construction was carried from the dismantled tower of Kuleli Gardens which was in a derelict condition. The Grand Vizier visited the construction site frequently. There was a palace for the Sultan and the harem. It mentioned the construction of a canal and marble pools, several fountains including a peculiar one with its sprout like a dragon. As well there were many other mansions being built on the banks of the river, between Sultan's new palace and the Golden Horn. These mansions resembled the water front mansions along Bosphorus. The total number of these mansions was recorded as one hundred and seventy. All the mansions built were unique in style. They were painted in different colors. Their gardens and vineyards were planted with trees. There are several accounts ordering the transportation and planting of 450 already-grown trees⁷⁰ in the garden, and along the main pool.⁷¹

Sa'd-âbâd was portrayed as a place of strolling and spectacle (*Temaşgah-ı Sa'dabad*).⁷² The names of the new constructions on the site were as following; Pavilion of Paradise (*Kasr-ı Cinân*); Pavilion of the Head Stabler (*Kasr-ı Mir-âhur*); Pavilion of Happiness (*Kasr-ı Sürûr*); New Pavilion of the Sultan (*Kasr-ı Şehinşah-ı Cedid*); Harem (*Harem-i Şerif*), Palace of the Court Women (*Feriye-i Hürremâbâd*). Six new bridges were recorded (*Sırat, Fil, Kovanlı, Nevpeyda, Ebyaz, and Ahmer*). Four new piers were documented; Pier of the *Hayr-âbâd* Lodge, Pier of Everybody, Pier of Vizier, and the Pier of Sultan (*Hayr-âbâd, Eyyü-*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 142-3; from Raşid Mehmed, *Tarih-i Raşid* vol. V, 443-46; vol III, 111, 112, 113.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 143-46; from documents from Başbakanlık Arşivi NE7724 dated 1721-23 and Başbakanlık Arşivi NE 7737 dated 1724.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 144; from "Ziyafet-i Asafî Bicenab-ı Şehriyar-ı İskender Nihad der Temaşgah-ı Sa'dabad," in Zeyl-i Raşid Küçük Çelebizade İsmail Asım, No. B. 22 folio 18a.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 146; from "Ziyafet-i Asafî Bicenab-ı Şehriyar-ı İskender Nihad der Temaşgah-ı Sa'dabad," in Zeyl-i Raşid Küçük Çelebizade İsmail Asım, No. B. 22 folio 18a.

hennas, Vezir, Hünkar). The new neighborhood also had two dervish lodges at either site of the main garden of the Sultan's palace; The Blessed Lodge of Muhammed (*Hayr-âbâd*), The Lodge of the Vizier (*Asaf-âbâd*). Only two of the gardens that are known were bestowed with names, both within the property of the Sultan. These were called The Garden of Iram (*Bağ-ı İrem*) and the Garden of the Sultan (*Bahçe-i Has*). The pools were named as the Pool of the Sea and the Pool of the Silver Ruler, Two-headed Pool (*Havz-ı Deryâ, Cetvel-i Sîm, Havz-ı Dü-ser*). In the gardens there were also cascades, the Column of Pole/ Arrow (*Sütun-ı Tîr*) and the Dragon Fountain (*Ejder-i Cârî*), fountains of Marble and Gilded Bowls (*Kâse-i Mermer, Kâse-i Summâkî*). There were documented two seating locations; Paradise Sofa (*Sofa-i Cinân*), the Sofa of the Guests (*Sofa-i Mihmân*). There was a market place called the New Bazaar (*Sûk-ı Cedid*).⁷³

The palatial grounds were reached by boat. In previous centuries, where the Sultan would ride to the site on horseback for hunting; however the newly developing neighborhood of Sa'd-âbâd was planned to be accessed through the canal. Thus, there were four different piers serving different visitors of the palace. One pier for the use of the Sultan, one for the Vizier, and another one for the use of public; each named after its users; as the pier of Everybody, Vizier, and the Sultan (*Eyyû-hennas, Vezir, Hünkar*). The fourth pier belonged to the *Hayrâbâd* Lodge, and was named after it.

Sa'd-âbâd Palace was built in 1722/23 after the ambassador Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi returned from his travel to France. In France, Çelebi visited many palaces and their gardens during his stay (November 21, 1720 - September 6, 1721/ Muharrem 20, 1132- Zilhicce-i Şerif 16, 1133). His emissary accounts are compiled in a chronicle.⁷⁴ It is also known that he brought plans of several French palaces;

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁷⁴ See *Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, ed. and trans. by Şevket Rado (Istanbul: Hayat Tarih Mecmuası Yayınları, Doğan Kardeş Yayınları, 1970); Uçman, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi Sefaretnâmesi* and Veinstein, *İlk Osmanlı Sefiri*.

Marly, Versailles and Fontainebleau.⁷⁵ İrepoglu, in her study in the Ottoman archives identifies a large number of books of European print. Some of these books are dated prior to 1720, which might have been brought back by Çelebi from France.⁷⁶ There is also one book in German and another one in Italian dated prior to 1720 (Figures 119-125).

The common feature of these European printed books in the Topkapı Archive is that they are all about gardens. They include specific or generic plans and site plans of gardens, palaces in gardens, elements of garden design, various ways of planting of flower beds, arrangement of trees, different types of pools, engineering plans for the construction of waterways for different types of pools, various decorative elements, fountains, jet sprouts, fences, grottoes, sculptures, vases. The books also picture the festive life in the gardens in perspective engravings, illustrate decorative elements like flowers arranged in vases and even birds that enliven gardens.

Though there is such a vast amount of material on European gardens, mainly on French, general scholarship avoids the comparison of Sa'd-âbâd and French gardens and palaces, arguing that there are no formal similarities. The below argument from Sedat Hakkı Eldem illustrates this perspective:⁷⁷

The greatest and the finest example of 18th century domestic architecture is visible in the Sa'dabad Gardens at Kağıthane.... Whenever mention is made of cascades and the Sa'dabad installations, it is customary to talk about the French influence. I must admit that I am unable to find any reminiscent of French art, with the possible exception of the Cetvel-i-Sim (Silver Line).... Thus it is futile to look for similarities between Sa'dabad and Marly.

⁷⁵ Semavi Eyice "Tarih İçinde İstanbul ve Şehrin Gelişmesi." *Atatürk Konferansları 1975* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1980), 134.

⁷⁶ Gül İrepoğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine Kütüphanesindeki Batılı Kaynaklar Üzerine Düşünceler," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık 1* (1986), 56-72; 174-197.

⁷⁷ Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, page 132.

Eldem asserts that there are more similarities between Sa'd-âbâd and the Indian, or Safavid gardens in terms of architectural form and details. Recently, Hamadeh also calls attention to the importance of Persian inspiration in Sa'd-âbâd gardens:⁷⁸

We must also note the curious kinship of the newly acquired names of Ottoman imperial and grandee's palaces and gardens with those of the Safavid, like Sa'd-abad with Sa'adet-abad, one of Shah Abbas's private gardens in Isfahan, both meaning the Abode of Happiness. In an entry in his personal diary dated 10 August 1722, the bureaucrat Mustafa Efendi reported that in the wake of the construction of Ahmed III's palace the place previously known as Kağıthane was increasingly referred to as Sa'dabad. These eponymous associations with Safavid monuments and, more generally, the trend of ascribing garden palaces of the imperial and ruling elite with poetic names in the manner of their Persian counterparts, as with Feyzabad, Hurremabad, and Neşatabad, dated only to the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730).

Hamadeh asserts the Persian influence in the architectural iconography, in order to claim a counter-argument against the general conviction that modernization of the Ottoman culture during the Tulip Period is associated with westernization. Thus, she asserts the presence of an eastern model against the western one. She presents the early 18th c. as a period of innovation with respect to the early modernization. She presents the manifestation of terms and phrases "repeatedly used" in Ottoman poetry which describe innovation and novelty in architecture and arts of the period, such as:⁷⁹

...*nev* (new), *cedîd* (new), *nev-îcad* (new invention), *tâze* (fresh), *ihtirâ'* (invention), *hayâl* (imagination), *bedî'* and *ibdâ'* (original, to create from scratch), and vaguer allusions to novelty such as *hüsn-ü diger* (a different sort of beauty) and *üslub-i ferîd* (a unique style)....

⁷⁸ Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization," *JSAH* 63:1 (2004), 43.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

Hamadeh's argument about the Persian impact in Ottoman culture is correct. However, such impact was not limited to the 18th c. Ottomans not only used Persian, but all other imperial traditions of the near east as models since the 15th c. as discussed in the third chapter of this thesis. The Ottoman vocabulary on novelty was also repeatedly used since the early 16th c. in describing Sufi practices, as discussed in the second chapter of this thesis; and in Şehrengiz poetry illustrating the experience and image of the cities by marginal groups as discussed in the third chapter of this thesis. Though, Hamadeh's and Eldem's discussions, and further Evyapan's arguments regarding the formlessness of Ottoman gardens are suited in reference to formal analysis of architectural and site plans. However, it is also obvious that the festive life observed at French gardens and palaces became an essential model for Ottoman court practices during the Tulip Period.

Çelebi's textual accounts of life and narrations of different spaces have become a source of inspiration for the building and use of the Sa'd-âbâd Palace, its surrounding gardens and restoration of the Kağıthane Commons. The French gardens constituted a new pool for the Ottoman imagination. This pool of images was constructed upon both textual and visual depictions.

Both the textual accounts of Yirmisekiz Çelebi and the printed plans of the French gardens formed the new storehouse of Ottoman imagination. The court preferred to use the western iconography instead of the eastern one. The reason for this sudden fascination with the western models was limited in visual and architectural idioms. The subtext for such fascination was already produced from within the dynamics of the society since the early 16th c. Thus, the Ottoman culture produced its ideal spaces within the continuity of its artistic and social tradition. However, it borrowed forms to accommodate these ideals from different storehouses. Once it borrowed the imagery of Persian and near eastern imperial traditions, then it referred to the Byzantine tradition. Though, during the Tulip Period it also borrowed images from the French landscape.

In his chronicle, Çelebi does not use a certain method, like dating, or a thematic content, but he tells about places and events as he experiences them. The story

begins by his entrance to France and continues. The text tells about Çelebi's travels in French landscape. He arrives at a city, a village, a town, a garden; meets the French bureaucrats, the young king; he visits a palace and wanders in a garden, leaves it and travels to another one. Çelebi describes French gardens and palaces as "the paradise of infidels." He continuously stresses his amazement upon seeing different palaces, different gardens, innovations, beauties. He expresses the impossibility to imagine these novelties, the impossibility to illustrate them in words and asserts the necessity to see them in reality.⁸⁰

Canals and traveling by canals is a constant theme throughout the chronicle.⁸¹ Çelebi is impressed by traveling through artificial canals. He describes them as providing comfort for travelers and merchants carrying people and goods.⁸² The second common theme that endures throughout the whole narrative is Çelebi's experience of the French gardens. Another common theme is the portrayal of the public. Çelebi illustrates masses of people enjoying both in the gardens, and in the villages and cities he visited. He notes that both the common public and the court

⁸⁰ The following quotations are consecutively from the following pages in Rado, *Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, 32; 55; 57; 58; 63; 63:

"Görülmedikçe havsalaya sığdırmak mümkün değildir."; "Öyle güzel bir tertip temâşâ eyledik ki tabir olunmaz."; "Bir saray temâşâ ettik ki, vasfı veçhile mümkün değil."; "Gönüllere ferahlık veren bir saray ve gamlara devâ olan acaip düzen müşahede olundu ki güzellikleri dil ile anlatılamaz."; "Bahçesi dahi öyle tanzim olunmuş ki, tâbiri mümkün değil. Bunda dahi türlü türlü fıskiyeler ve şadırvanlar etmişler ki anlatılamaz."; "Öyle süslü bir keyif yeri müşahede olunmuştur ki misli yok."

⁸¹ Uçman, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi Sefaretnâmesi*, 15-19; 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 30; 31, 32-33; 34; 36-38; 49; 65; 66; 67; 87-88; 93-97.

⁸² Rado, *Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, 26.

included a lot of women.⁸³ Thus, the whole chronicle can be summarized as the story of a journey from one garden to another through canals where at the same time, both the French court and the common public - including women, were traveling freely in the open space and enjoying themselves.

Çelebi depicts the gardens and palaces of Vincennes, Villeroi, Tuileries, Meudon, Versailles, Marly, Chantilly, St. Cloud, Fontainebleau and Orleans.⁸⁴ He explains his desire to see nice buildings several times throughout the text. He especially likes Paris.

⁸³ Çelebi mentions the living population several times. See Uçman, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi Sefaretnâmesi*, 25; 27; 29; 31; 35; 36; 41-42; 44; 47; 50-52; 53, 59; 76-77; 77-78. The following quotations from Çelebi exemplify his amazement seeing crowds which included women as well, in the consequent pages of Rado, *Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, 25, 32, 38:

Halkın çokluğu, hele kadınların fazlalığı öyle haddinden aşkın idi ki, tabiri mümkün değil....Etraftan, bilhassa Monglir'den cümle kibar ve devletlusu karları ile gelüp bizi görmek için toplanmışlar.

Gece olsun, gündüz olsun halkın çokluğu, kadın ve erkek kalabalığı anlatılır gibi değildir. Kadın ve erkeğin devletlu ve kibarı, kimi tebdil, kimi aşikare gelmişler. Düğün evlerinin bu kadar kalabalık olduğu görülmemiştir.

Kralın tahtı yakınına varınca, iki tarata düğün evine konulan sedirler gibi, birkaç yüz sediri birbirinden yüksek koyup tertip etmişler. Bu sedirlerde ne kadar kibar karıları ve kralın hısımları var ise toplanup mücevherlerle süslü, pırıl pırıl elbiseler ile oturmuşlar.

⁸⁴ Uçman, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi Sefaretnâmesi*, 24-26; 27-29 (Toulouse); 29-32 (Bordeaux); 34-35 (Poitiers); 36-37 (Amboise, Chatellerault); 37-38 (Orleans); 41, 72-74, 76-77 (Paris); 49-52 (the palace and gardens of the emperor, most probably Louvre); 62-64 (St. Cloud); 64, 70-72 (Versailles); 64-66 (Meudon); 66-67 (Trianon); 67-70 (Marly); 87-92 (Chantilly); 93-94 (Fontainebleau); 57-58 (landscape models); 94-97.

He is fond of St. Cloud and its tree lined walkways. He talks about a pool on a site covered with trees, where a jet sprout springs out water to a very high elevation that he recorded higher above the surrounding trees. Then he describes a cascade and a pool with great interest. He portrays the cascade as a couple of stairs occasionally covered with the running water falling out from the pool. He notes that there were many fountains in the garden. He says that he observed many fountains in the shape of the mouth of a dragon.⁸⁵

Çelebi portrays Versailles as a single garden made out of four different gardens and four different palaces.⁸⁶ In Versailles, Çelebi is amazed with the number of the fountains he has seen. He counts thirty nine fountains. Each of these fountains is a part of a single story. Çelebi compares the story told in the garden of Versailles to the stories of *Hümayunnâme*.⁸⁷ He describes two kiosks made out of colorful marble that was located on the sides of the pool. In Marly, Çelebi illustrates another cascade, whose sight impressed and overwhelmed him.⁸⁸

Chantilly⁸⁹ is portrayed as another garden Çelebi was impressed with. He depicts the palace in a unique style, which was different from the other palaces they had visited previously. The palace was similar to a big castle with towers. On one side of the castle there was a river which was designed as a deep pool. Thus the palace surrounded by this pool was entered through bridges. From the interior of the palace, Çelebi had the impression that it looked like a water front mansion like those on Bosphorus. The garden of Chantilly was also accessed through bridges. It had many pools and was planted with different kinds of trees. Çelebi narrated a

⁸⁵ Uçman, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi Sefaretnâmesi*, 62-63.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁸⁷ Rado, *Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, 59.

⁸⁸ Uçman, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi Sefaretnâmesi*, pp. 69-70.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 87-91.

hunting party within the forests of Chantilly. He also depicted the gardens at night illuminated with thousands of candles, which he was invited to enjoy watching from a room overlooking the garden and the pool.

Çelebi depicts two different pools in the gardens of Fontainebleau; one large enough to accommodate people rowing and the other as extremely long.⁹⁰

Çelebi also describes the festive life in the French gardens. He is amazed by the festive life, how the emperor enjoys himself in the gardens. He describes joyful assemblies that take place during the daytime and celebrations at night time. He narrates his experience of an opera performance. He describes the rules of conduct and explains the seating arrangement at the opera, where everyone is seated according to his or her status within the society.⁹¹ In another anecdote, he refers to the illumination of the gardens at night time and the impressive sight of fireworks.

As in Versailles, many mansions were built along the Kağıthane River in order to accommodate Ottoman grandees accompanying the Sultan and taking part in the celebrated life of the Sa'd-âbâd Palace. The newly built palaces, pavilions, kiosks, pools and gardens were given poetic names like in the stories of *Hümayunnâme*, following Çelebi's observations about French gardens recalling stories.⁹² Thus, the Ottoman artifacts were named as if symbolizing spaces within a larger story that takes place all over the city: *Sa'd-âbâd* (House of Eternal Happiness), *Şerefâbâd* (House of Eternal Honor), *Emnâbad* (House of Eternal Security), *Hüsrevâbâd*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 93-94.

⁹¹ Rado, *Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi*, 51.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 59.

(House of Eternal Hüsrev), *Neşatâbâd* (House of Eternal Gaiety), *Hümâyûnâbâd* (House of Eternal Ruler), *Şevketâbâd* (House of Eternal Desire).⁹³

The depiction of individual elements in the gardens of St. Cloud resemble those in the gardens of Kağıthane; tree lined walkways along the grand canal, a jet sprout in the shape of a dragon and the cascade in the form of a staircase.⁹⁴ The site plan of Chantilly as described by Çelebi partially resembles the site plan of Sa'd-âbâd.⁹⁵ Çelebi depicts a castle besides a river which was built into a pool and he illustrates a palace surrounded by this pool entered through bridges. Similarly, Sa'd-âbâd was located along a river turned into a pool and it was accessed through bridges. Çelebi depicts two different pools in the gardens of Fontainebleau, one large enough to accommodate people rowing, and the other as extremely long.⁹⁶ Similarly, at Kağıthane, people used to row in the river, and likewise, the River of the Silver Pool was extremely long.

Using the elements from the French gardens, Kağıthane, however became a site which housed an ideal garden whose image had already been part of Ottoman culture for two hundred years.

Even though it is not possible to reconstruct the site plan with accuracy, the names given to the elements of design suggest a certain relationship. For example, the Garden of Iram was considered as the representation of the paradise garden on

⁹³ Translations of the names of the palaces and gardens are in Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," 62.

⁹⁴ Uçman, *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi Sefaretnâmesi*, 62-63.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 87-91.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 93-94.

earth.⁹⁷ There was also a bridge called *Al-Siraat*, or *Sirat*. Most probably, the special the Garden of Iram was reached passing through the *Al-Siraat* Bridge. In the Islamic tradition, the *Al-Siraat* Bridge is known as the bridge that would carry the believers to their eternal abodes in the afterlife, to hell or to heaven. Most probably, the Garden of Iram at Sa'd-âbâd was the paradise on earth accessed through the *Al-Siraat* Bridge.

One of the chronicles depicting the use of the new garden by the court suggest that the guests had to leave the garden grounds in a ceremonial way, following the ordering of the spaces, and passing through a certain peculiar bridge, whose name was not cited openly.⁹⁸ Sedat Hakkı Eldem has illustrated the hypothetical plan of Sa'd-âbâd according to the inventory of spaces narrated in Nedîm's poetry and other historical chronicles. However, this study will try to examine the Eldem's site plan by reordering the hypothetical location of garden elements with respect to a hypothetical ceremonial entrance (Figures 128-445).

Sa'd-âbâd Palace and gardens were located along the Kağıthane River, almost parallel to the hills bordering the Kağıthane Valley. The Kağıthane River was made into a long canal of 28 meters wide and 1100 meters long.

The palace complex stood on one side of the canal. On the other side was the public garden. The palace complex was reached through the canal and there are piers successively where the approaching guests land according to their status. When guests arrived, they followed a certain route in order to approach the gardens beyond the palace complex. Once the guests went by the palace, they reached a huge open space called *Cirit Meydanı*. This space was used for sports

⁹⁷ William Hannaway JR, "Paradise on Earth: The terrestrial Garden in Persian Literature," in *Islamic Garden*, ed. by Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Publications, 1976), 41-68.

⁹⁸ Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 146; from "Ziyafet-i Asaî Bicenab-ı Şehriyar-ı İskender Nihad der Temaşgah-ı Sa'dabad," in *Zeyl-i Raşid Küçük Çelebizade İsmail Asım*, No. B. 22 folio 18a.

activities and for accommodating huge banquets. This part of the garden must have been called the Garden of the Sultan (*Bahçe-i Has*). This open space run through the whole length of the canal, and on the other side, it was bordered by natural topography.

There were three cascades close to the palace complex. These cascades were used to join the three different pools to one another. These pools were the Two-headed Pool, the Pool of the Sea and the Pool of the Silver Ruler. The palace was sited along the Two-headed Pool. There were fountains of Marble and Gilded Bowls at the Two-headed Pool. Two-headed Pool was followed by the Pool of the Sea, and then the Pool of the Silver Ruler.

The cascades between the Pool of the Sea and then the Pool of the Silver Ruler turned into a bridge and connected the Garden of the Sultan to a smaller garden. This small garden was actually located between the huge imperial garden and the public garden. This smaller garden might be the Garden of Iram.

Iram is a renowned garden in the Islamic tradition. The Koran refers to it as the legendary garden built on earth whose beauty surpassed the beauty of the paradise gardens.⁹⁹

Shaddad, the ancient king of Yemen, South Arabia ... constructed earthly rival of Paradise by building the garden of Iram in his kingdom. The story relates that a messenger was sent by God to Shaddad, warning him not to challenge the Almighty. When Shaddad ignored the warning, God destroyed the garden.

There were water channels running underneath this Garden of Iram at Sa'd-âbâd, connecting the artificial pools to the river. The flowing channels underneath the garden space also resembled the paradise garden. Koran mentions paradise

⁹⁹ Abdul Rehman, *Earthly Paradise The Garden In the Times of the Great Muslim Empires* (Lahore: M. Shahid Adil for Dost Associates, 2001), 15.

garden more than 120 times, and for over 30 times, it acknowledges paradise as “gardens underneath which rivers flow.”¹⁰⁰

The bridge connecting the Garden of the Sultan to the Garden of Iram might be the Bridge of Al-Siraat whose name is documented in the chronicles. Thus, passing through this bridge, the guest might have accessed to the Garden of Iram overlooking the Two Headed Pool and the Pool of The Sea, both carrying resemblances to the concept of paradise garden in the Islamic tradition. The two fountains at the Two Headed Pool resembled the two fountains promised in the paradise garden. The below verses from *Sura ar-Rehman* (LV: 46-69) in Koran exemplify such a resemblance clearly:¹⁰¹

But for him who feareth the standing before his Lord there are two gardens

Which is it, of the favors of your Lord, that ye deny?

Of spreading branches.

....

And beside them are two gardens,

....

Dark green in foliage.

....

Where in are two abundant springs.

Waters of The Pool of The Sea and the Fountain of Light might call to mind the Islamic ideal that water resembled eternal knowledge promised in the gardens of paradise.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

¹⁰² Emma Clark, *Underneath Which Rivers Flow The Symbolism of the Islamic Garden* (London: The Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture, 1996).

The Garden of Iram was located between two gardens; the Garden of the Sultan and the public garden. In Kağıthane Mesiresi, the palace and its private garden were built within public grounds. As discussed in the previous pages, in an illustration of Kağıthane Commons by D'Ohsson, the court and the public are depicted enjoying their mutual presence in the two halves of the same open space split by a low garden wall allowing the participants of each side to observe the other (Figure 126). This illustration depicts the public meadows populated by “poets, pages, women, mirahors, seyyid, bostancı” overlooking imperial Sa’d-âbâd Palace and its gardens. A scene from Fazıl Enderuni’s *Zenannâme* illustrating the harem enjoying itself in the gardens of the Sa’d-âbâd Palace, the brick wall between the private and the public spheres is depicted to be quite low allowing the participants of each side to see one another. Gudenus also accounts for a “part brick and part see-through trellis fence.”¹⁰³

It is not well documented whether the public grounds were open to visit at the same time as the private garden was being used by the Sultan. However, since there were other mansions along the Kağıthane valley, other than the Sultan’s retreat in Sa’d-âbâd, it is more than likely that these smaller private gardens and the public grounds might have been enjoyed at similar times.

There are accounts of the Sultan’s and his Grand Vizier’s visit to the site on a Wednesday and the following Thursday.¹⁰⁴ A chronicle dated after the Tulip Period, accounts for the use of gardens by the Sultan, and the public at different times. However it is not known whether this was a precaution taken after the rebellions of the Tulip Period, which have totally destructed the gardens and palaces of the Kağıthane, where the public was able to see the elite in their private gardens:¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Hamadeh, “The Cities Pleasures,” 142.

¹⁰⁴ Eldem, *Sa’dabad*, 144-46; from “Ziyafet-i Asafi Bicenab-ı Şehriyar-ı İskender Nihad der Temaşgah-ı Sa’dabad,” from *Zeyl-i Raşid Küçük Çelebizade İsmail Asım*, No. B. 22 folio 18a.

¹⁰⁵ Hamadeh, “The Cities Pleasures,” 135; from Walsh and Allom I-58.

On these occasions (while the Sultan is visiting) the valley is shut up with guards, and no stranger permitted to intrude; at other times, it is open to all classes, who come here to rusticate, particularly Greeks, on Sundays, and festivals. There is a period however, in which it is the thronged resort of every person seeking amusement; and the Golden Horn is covered with caiques from all other parts of Pera and Constantinople. This occurs on St. George Days in the month of May.

CONCLUSION

During the Tulip Period, both the court and the common city dwellers enjoyed the city. The court and the elite enjoyed traveling from one private garden to another, while common city dwellers were enjoyed traveling thru the city and indulging in the serenity of different city spaces located side by side with the gardens of the court and the elite. The court poet Nedîm celebrated this festive life enjoyed in all kinds of city spaces.

During the Tulip Period, the Ottoman court built new spaces and restored old ones and engaged in a festive life. These spaces consisted of palaces, pavilions and gardens that provided new spaces for practicing garden parties. These garden parties differed from the gazel parties since their spaces were visible to the common public.

The Ottoman court was in search of a new architectural vocabulary for the expression of this new festive life. They have used French garden models and palaces as a new storehouse of images, along with the former traditional models of the middle and near eastern models, especially in the production of Sa'd-âbâd Palace and Kağıthane Promenade. They have used these images in the construction of an ideal garden of Iram between the court garden of the Sultan and the public promenade of the common city dwellers. Thus, the paradise garden of earth took place between the spaces court and the common public. The Sa'd-âbâd

Palace comprised of several gardens. One of these gardens was called the Garden of Iram representing the mythological garden on earth whose beauty surpassed the beauty of the paradise garden. The Garden of Iram was a literal representation of the paradise garden constructed between the Sa'd-âbâd Palace and the public meadow.

The subtle intervention of the Garden of Iram can be perceived as an ideal of Melâmi philosophy, following after the doctrines of Ibn al'Arabî; being an intermediary space, a garden of reconciliation between the Sultan and his subjects; between the court and the public. It was a symbolic garden representing the realm of imagination between two worlds.

Sa'd-âbâd Palace and its gardens built at Kağıthane Commons displays a significant difference compared to the gardens of the Topkapı Palace,. The Topkapı Palace was well protected with high walls from public gaze, where the Sa'd-âbâd and its gardens, surrounded by low walls was located within a public meadow. When the emperor enjoyed himself at the shores of the Topkapı Palace, the gardeners used to throw stones at the sea for prohibiting strangers coming nearer. However, Sa'd-âbâd and its gardens were visible to the eyes of the common city dwellers.

The new palaces and gardens of the Tulip Period were given thematic names, each symbolizing different stories like those narrated in *Hümayunnâme* and similar to the thematic allocation of spaces in the gardens of the French Palace Versailles, as observed and documented by its Ottoman visitors. Correspondingly, the Ottoman court and public came to play parts in these festive stories by traveling from one garden to another. Thus the city was enjoyed by all its inhabitants where each one of the newly built palaces, mansions and restored promenades were called after allegorical names resembling the stories of *Hümayunnâme*.

The below quotation from Pertusier illustrates the panorama of Istanbul appreciated both by public and the Ottoman court, mapping every corner of the city:¹⁰⁶

In the fine season, there are few points of the banks of the Bosphorus which he does not visit; employing on each excursion two days in the week. These relaxations from affairs and business, when applied to the Sultan, are termed *beniche*; but when to subjects, are called to make *keif*. This last expression, one of very common use in the Turkish language, corresponds to joy and joviality. To be in *keif*, therefore, among the orientals denotes the highest measure of satisfaction and gladness. It has, however, no relation to the delights afforded by Momus and his crew; but indicates that happy peace of heart and mind which rejects all violence of emotion; which places man, in some sort, in an intermediate state between terrestrial and celestial enjoyment.

Nedîm's poems also depicted the experience of traveling in the city. Different than the garden parties enjoyed at private gardens, Nedîm's poems also informed about different city spaces enjoyed; palaces, gardens, vineyards, kiosks, pavilions, water-front mansions, but also fountains, mosques, sufi lodges, Külliyes, schools, caravanserais, court houses, bath houses, market places, bazaars; and depicted visits to friend's houses, leisurely travels in the city and public celebrations. Such experiences shared by all the city dwellers remind *Şehrengiz* rituals where individuals used to travel and experience different city spaces. As well, similar to the *Şehrengiz* genre, Nedîm also illustrated common city dwellers as individuals.

Modernization of the society, during the Tulip Period followed from an open development of cultural attitudes illustrated by the *Şehrengiz* poets, since the early 16th c. Nedîm, who expressed the experience of the city dwellers both from the point of view of the Ottoman court and the common public and involved in an intellectual group of the Ottoman elite, mastered by the Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha. The participants of this intellectual group had important offices in the Ottoman court. Some of them, including Nedîm and the Grand Vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha were Melâmîs, and others were most probably familiar with the

¹⁰⁶ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," 66.

Melâmî doctrines. This group of intellectuals were the architects of the Tulip Period who enjoyed a festive life in the gardens of the city, but at the same time provided the visibility of the Ottoman ruler to the public and provided their reconciliation by suggesting a terrestrial role of the Sultan who traveled in the city while at the same time reminding the presence of the public to the Sultan.



Figure 111.

"Persian Dancing Woman" by Levnî (early 18th c.), reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 69.



Figure 112.

"A Rowdy" by Levnî (early 18th c.), reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 67.



Figure 113.

“Youth” by Levni (early 18th c.), reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 64.



Figure 114.

"Youth" by Levnî (early 18th c.), reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 65.



Figure 115.

"Palace maiden" by Levnî (early 18th c.), reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 62.



Figure 116.

"Persian Youth" by Levnî (early 18th c.), reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 68.



Figure 117.

"A Drunk" by Levnî (early 18th c.), reproduced from *Ottoman miniatures*, leaf 70.

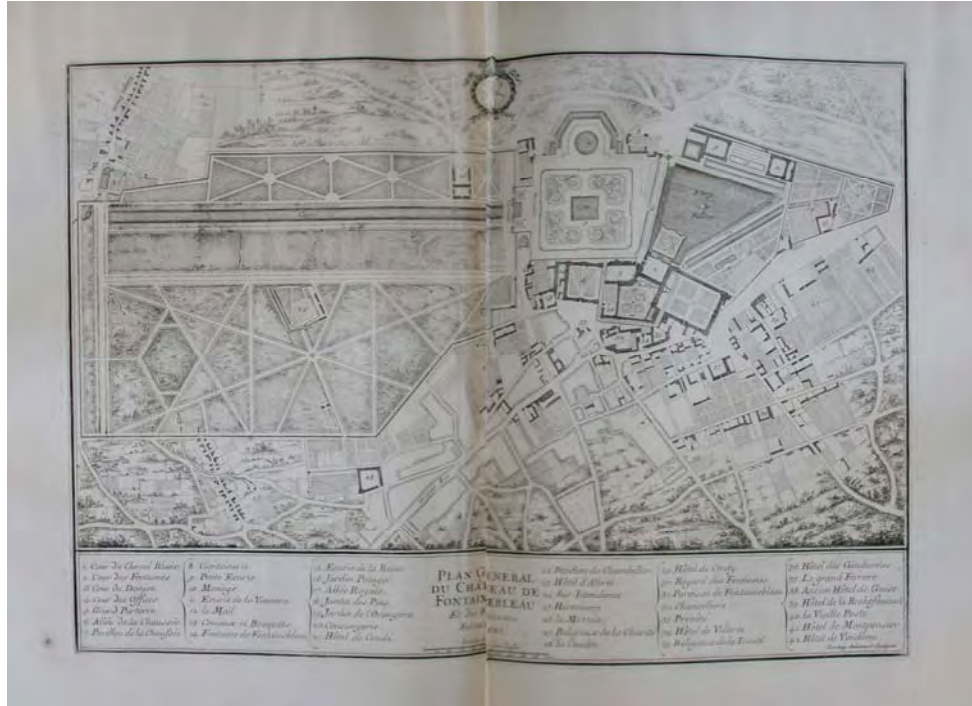


Figure 118.

The site plan of the Palace and Gardens of Fontainebleau, reproduced from TSM H2605. Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi had visited the palace grounds on August 6, 1721.

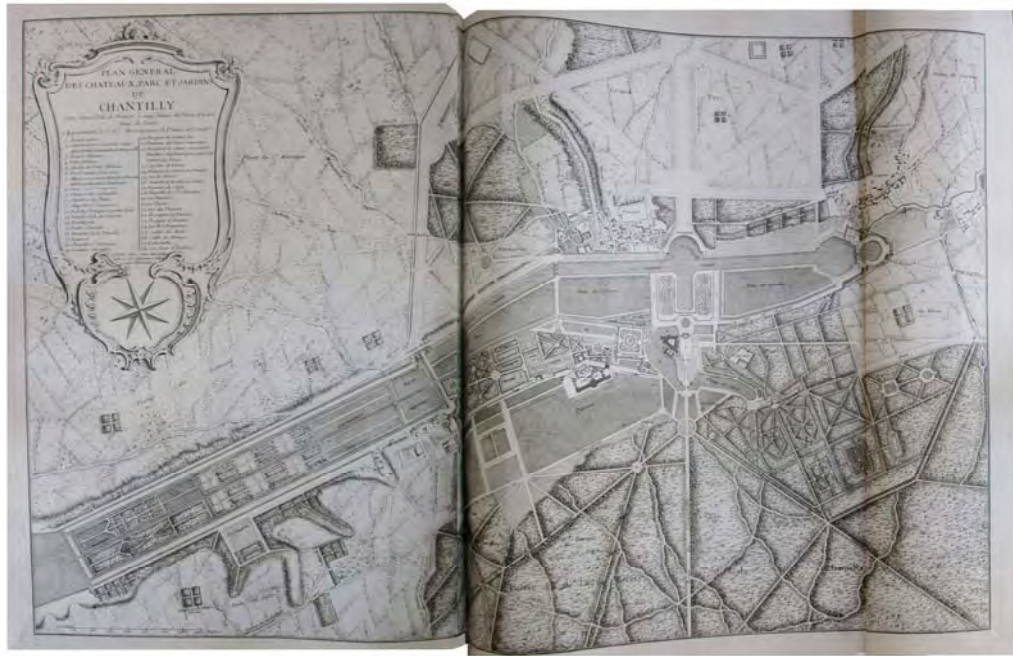


Figure 119.

The site plan for the Palace and Gardens of Chantilly, reproduced from TSM H2605. Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi had visited the palace grounds in July 29-31, 1721.



Figure 120.

The site plan for the Palace and Gardens of Meudon reproduced from TSM H2605. Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi had visited the palace grounds in June 7-11, 1721.

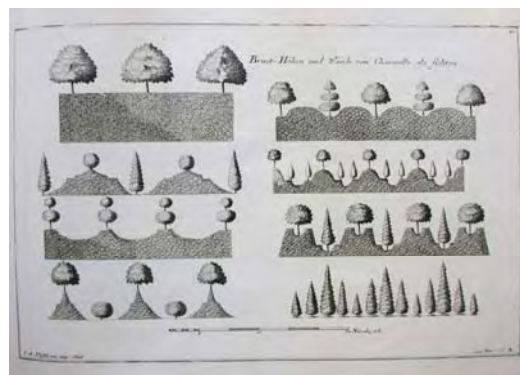
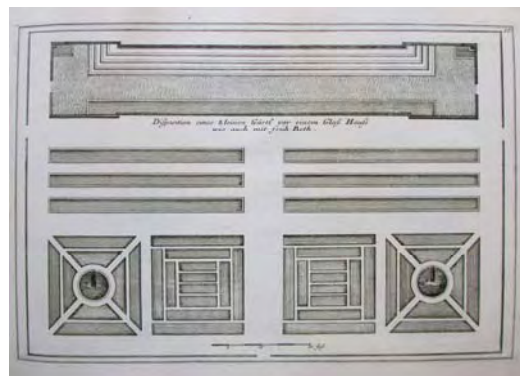
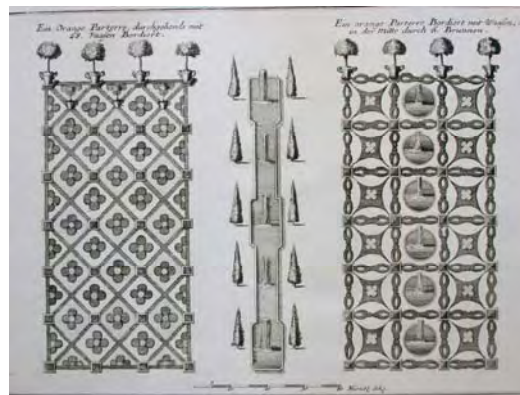


Figure 121.

Pages from *Neue Gartenlust oder Völliges Ornament*, reproduced from TSM 2986.



Figure 122.

Page, reproduced from *Utilissimo Trattato dell Aque Correnti* (1696), TSM H2988.

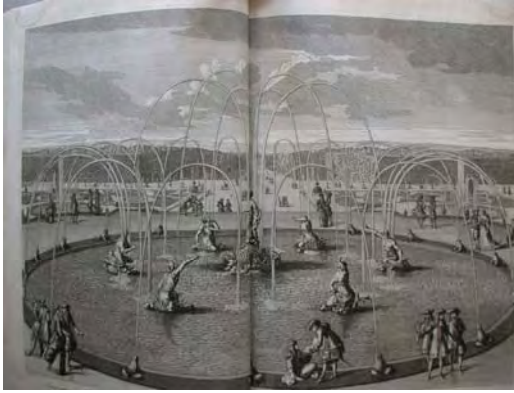


Figure 123.

Images depicting life in French gardens from books which Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi brought back from France.

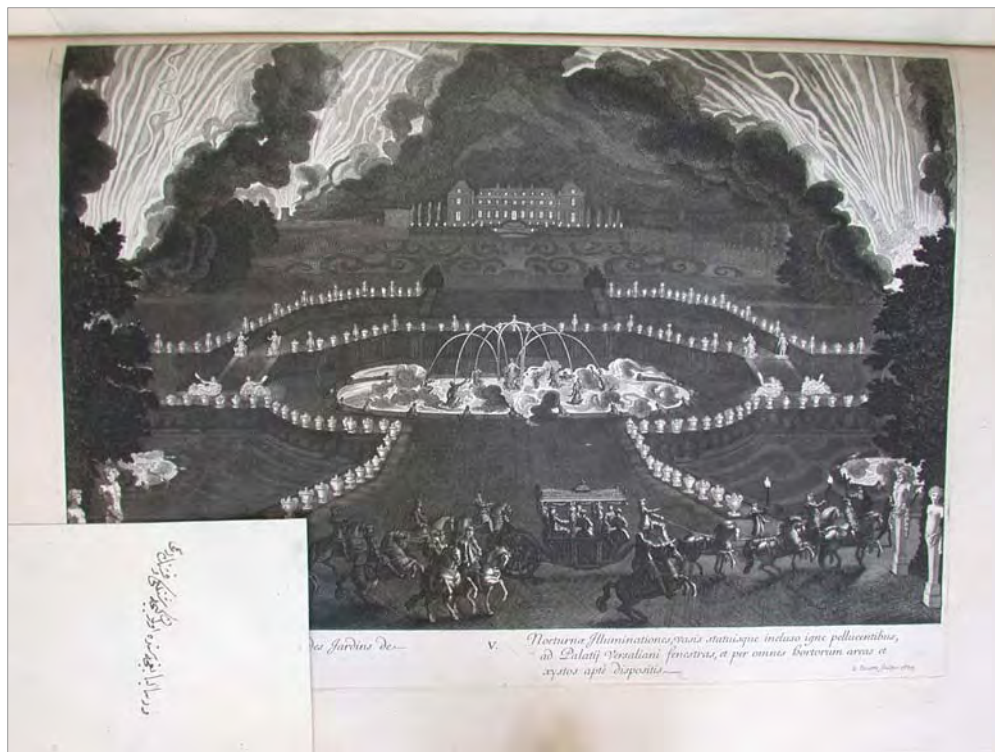


Figure 124.

"Fireworks at the Versailles" in Festes de Versailles (1675-1678), reproduced from TSM H2587, with a note in Ottoman.



Figure 125.

A page from *Plans Veves et Ornaments de Versailles* (1673-1682), reproduced TSM 2598, with a note in Ottoman.



Figure 126.

Kağıthane Mesiresi in the second half of the 18th c: Public grounds in the foreground together with the imperial gardens at the background. Etching by d'Ohsson, reproduced from Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 280.



Figure 127.

A Night Scene from 1720 Festival at Ok Meydanı: Celebrations enjoyed by the Sultan (seated at the elevated pavillion on the right folio), the Grand Vizier (seated at a tent on the right folio) and the public (on the upper part of the left folio), in *Surname-i Vehbi* (1727-28), folios 51b-52a, reproduced from Atıl, *Levni*, 200-201.



Figure 128.

Site Plan of Kağıthane Mesiresi by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, reproduced from Eldem, *Sadabad*, 8-9.

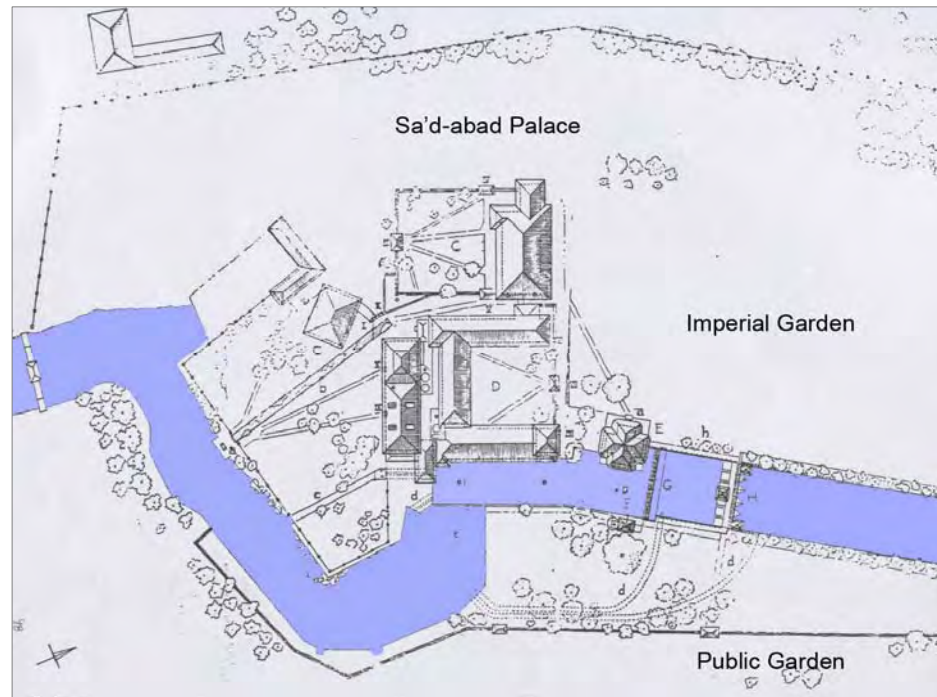
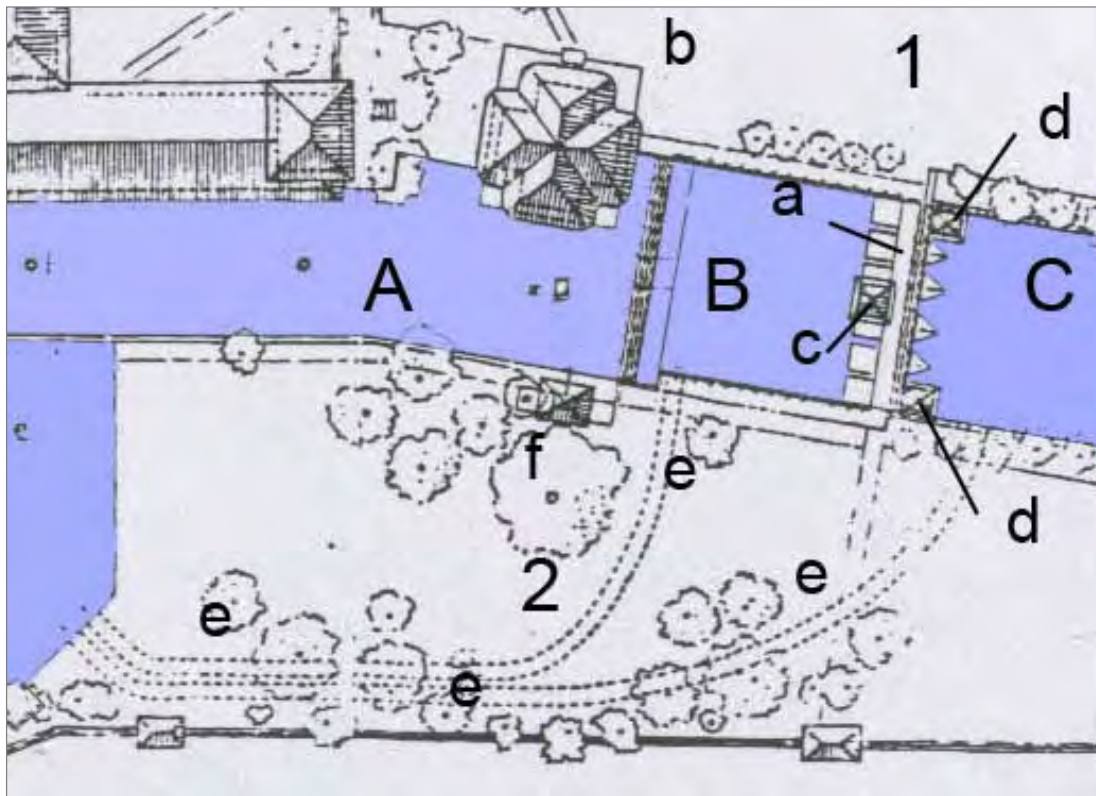


Figure 129.

Plan of Sa'd-abad Palace at Kağıthane Mesiresi by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, reproduced from Elden, *Sadabad*, 280.



Proposed Key for the Plan:

A: Two Headed Pool

B: Pool of the Sea

C: Pool of Silver Ruler

1: **Bahçe-i Has:** Imperial garden; the main open space accomodating the Cirit Meydanı.

2: **Bağ-ı Irem:** Proposed location for Garden of Iram, Paradise Garden on Earth.

a: **Al-Sıraat Bridge:** Proposed location

b: **Kasr-ı Cinan:** Pavilion of Paradise

c: **Kasr-ı Sürûr:** Pavilion of Happiness

d: **Ferkadan:** Twin Pavilions of Stars

e: **Underground water channels**

f: **Çeşme-i Nur:** Fountain of Light

Figure 130.

Proposed location for Bağ-ı Irem: "Garden of Paradise on Earth Underneath Which Rivers Flow." Base map used from Eldem, *Sadabad*, 134.

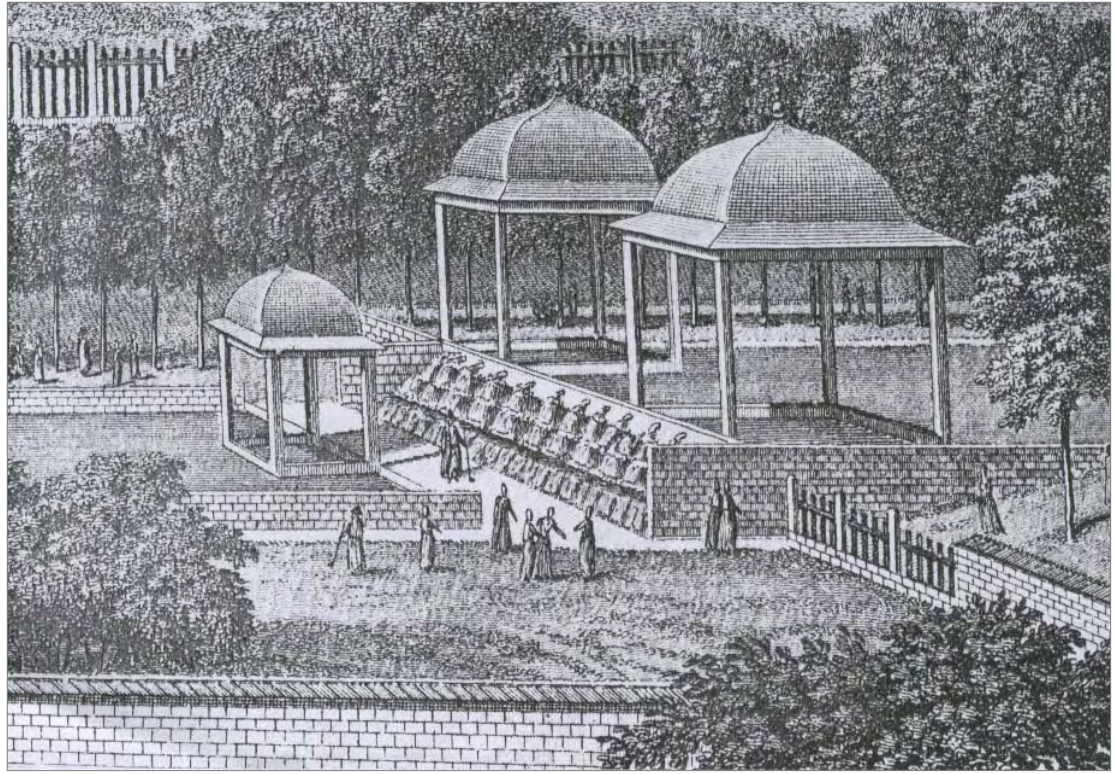
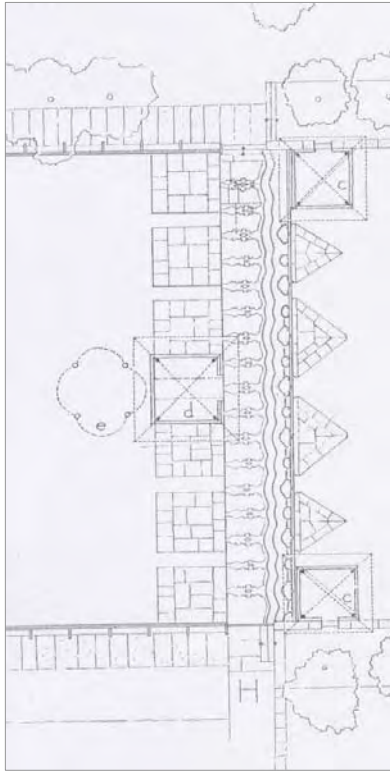


Figure 131.

Bridge and pavilions in front of the Pool of Silver Ruler in the imperial gardens of Sadabad, reproduced from Eldem, *Sadabad*, 44

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The study aimed to understand the Ottoman concept of space from an interior perspective and used the products of Ottoman culture as internal sources. In Ottoman culture, the discourses pertaining to space, urban life and urban culture developed by poetic, metaphoric and intertextual means.

The dissertation investigated different concepts of space as carried out in Ottoman orthodox and heterodox traditions and in different rituals which these traditions practiced in gardens and different city spaces; focusing on the concept of space developed mainly in the city of Istanbul from the late 15th c. to the early 18th c., from the conquest of Istanbul to the end of the Tulip Period, in parallel to the development of a certain heterodox order and a certain genre of poetry which became the expression of this order that contrasted with the court poetry produced under the rule of Orthodox traditions.

The study of different forms of Ottoman poetry shed light on understanding different concepts of space. The study of *Şehrengiz* genre which developed through the early 16th c. to the early 18th c. informed about the perception and use of city spaces in a very novel way. *Şehrengiz* poems are translated from transcriptions and studied. The analysis of *Şehrengiz* poems not only became a material that was used in understanding different concepts of space, it also called attention to the fact that the concept of space was essential to these poems and to the heterodox traditions that they illustrated. *Şehrengiz* poems accounted for the journey of the poet in the city. The city unfolds in a realistic manner, as the poet wanders along the different neighborhoods; watches around; utters affection for beautiful young men of the guilds; and broods over urban culture, daily life, and different spaces of the city. Traveling, exploration, and contemplation were major themes, and the city was a source of joy and pleasure and as well was a source of

knowledge. These poems depicted not only Istanbul, but also thirteen other provincial cities outside Istanbul. The genre developed until early 18th c. with poems mapping the poets' experiences in the city of Istanbul, going back and forth to other provinces, especially to Edirne. The thesis argues that the genre documented rituals of marginal Sufi groups in real spaces of different cities and in ideal spaces of the Sufi imagination. *Şehrengiz* poems portrayed a certain understanding of space by using Sufi symbolism in the experience and depiction of space. It illustrated rituals performed by the participants of a deviant Sufi order called Melâmîs, or and involved certain concepts of space and philosophies of individuality which this order used to employ.

The main argument of this thesis is about space; experience and perception of space; metaphors and practices that inform about space. The Ottoman understanding of space developed as a result of the ideals proposed by the orthodox and the heterodox traditions, establishing an ontological understanding of the world. The Ottoman concept of space was structured as a multilayered hierarchical understanding of spaces that informed the order of cosmography, where all the spaces of different layers comprised of an interior and an exterior. Interior was the domain of essence and God. The exterior was the domain of form and material world. The limit between the exterior and interior was itself a space reached by imaginative faculties. This intermediary space was called *barzakh*.

The orthodox and different heterodox traditions challenged the superiority of the interior, the exterior and the intermediary space, arguing the superiority of one over the other. The Ottoman orthodox tradition argued for the superiority of the interior spaces. However, following after the doctrines of the 13th c. Islamic philosopher Ibn al-'Arabî, Melâmîs argued the superiority of the intermediary space of *barzakh* to the others. Ibn al-'Arabî's philosophy was significantly instrumental in the development of Ottoman culture, though its influence was extremely diverse. Interpretations of his doctrines fundamentally differed from one another.

Ibn al-'Arabî proposed that the attainment of knowledge was possible by contemplation. Contemplation implied understanding the order of the cosmos and

by doing so participating in this order. It involved all things existent in physical and metaphysical reality. Alluding to the dual nature of the Islamic cosmography made out of an interior and an exterior, 'Arabî explained all things as signs made of two parts; an invisible essence and a visible form. Contemplation aimed understanding the relationship between the parts of a sign. Contemplation, thus the attainment of knowledge, was enabled by the faculty of imagination. 'Arabî also asserted the importance of the space where the attainment of knowledge takes place. He defined such spaces as gardens. Gardens became ideal representations of the realm of imagination. 'Arabî also defined real spaces as realms of imagination. Thus, he defined a three-tiered definition of space; the human self, the phenomenal world and the world of idea-images. Each one of the ideal and the real spaces, be it a garden, the human self, the city, or the world of idea-images facilitated the attainment of knowledge. Furthermore, 'Arabî defined each one of these spaces as a "storehouse" of signs. He also asserted the importance of individual involvement in the attainment of knowledge since each individual was able to contemplate according to his own capacities. Thus, the concept intermediary space, *barzakh*, enabled both deconstruction and construction of all things in the universe; both the analysis of existing things and the synthesis of novel ones.

The Ottoman orthodox tradition acknowledged gardens as spaces for the attainment of knowledge, thus spaces of contemplation. Gardens were designated as interior spaces allowing for communication of divine essence resided in the interior spaces of the cosmography. The heterodox tradition of Melâmîs adopted 'Arabî's three tiered definition of space and cherished the encounter of interior and exterior spaces in the intermediary space of the *barzakh* to be superior.

The second argument of the dissertation is that, the concept of the intermediary space of *barzakh* employed the development of importance given to the individual more than the importance given to the community. Melâmîs valued each human being as a beloved reflection of God. They regarded every single citizen as deserving objects of mystic love. In order to pursue this endeavor of meeting and

getting to know the individual self and other individuals, they contemplated the city offering a variety of spaces enabling an encounter with the other individuals. In different city spaces each individual became a beloved one reflecting the divine qualities of God. Thus, through *Şehrengiz* rituals, spaces of the city were recognized as intermediary spaces, each as a *barzakh*. The city was experienced as a compilation of intermediary spaces between the invisible realm of celestial and visible realm of material space.

Rituals either performed by the Ottoman elite in the gardens or by marginal Sufi groups in various spaces of the city, gave way to the production of new cultural patterns and in turn implied the production of new spatial practices and new spaces. The differences in the temporal and spatial orders of the *gazel* and *Şehrengiz* rituals, the contrast between their endeavors gave way to the production of new spatial practices, and in turn to a different understanding of space. *Gazel* rituals informed the use of garden spaces. *Şehrengiz* rituals informed the use of different city spaces including the private gardens. They carried different ideological motives and defined their spaces of performance with different political perspectives. *Gazel* rituals aimed to anchor the imperial power within the secluded spaces of the gardens. On the contrary, *Şehrengiz* rituals treated each one of the subjects of the Ottoman authority as individuals, aimed to liberate and direct them to their own theophany outside the secluded spaces of the gardens. *Gazel* rituals followed after an imperial tradition, governed strict modes of social behavior and involved pre-established cultural patterns. However, *Şehrengiz* rituals followed after a marginal philosophy and each employed a liberated order. *Şehrengiz* rituals, developed after marginal Sufi practices, also used Sufi metaphors extensively.

The contrast and the clash between *gazel* and *Şehrengiz* rituals gave way to open developments of new social and cultural patterns adapted by larger groups of city dwellers who neither pursue the imperial agenda of the *gazel* rituals, nor carry the anti-imperial marginal perspectives of the *şehrengiz* rituals.

The court poets who were participants of the *gazel* rituals performed in private gardens of the Sultan, or other members of the ruling class, also participated in *şehrengiz* rituals and acted as agents of social transformation. Though the poets, who acted as social agents, depicted *şehrengiz* rituals in different temporal orders, they maintained a fixed mindset sharing the ideal of equality.

Spaces of different rituals became spaces of manifestation. They were used as tools to express the ideals who participated in the rituals. However, in turn, rituals employ a new symbolism to these spaces. Each space came to express different ideals. Thus, spaces were in turn designed to express different ideals.

Şehrengiz poems described meadows, gardens, rose gardens, imperial gardens, rivers, canals, seas, mosques, Sufi lodges, streets, open public spaces, populated houses, bath houses, palaces, private houses of friends and poets, castles, hills, spring waters, city walls, bazaars, guild shops, neighborhoods. *Şehrengiz* rituals made use of Sufi metaphors of contemplation and traveling. However, in time, these Sufi metaphors came to be used for profane practices as well and defined spaces of profane activity shared by the common conscious of the city dwellers. By time, common folk used to perform activities similar to the practices enjoyed in *şehrengiz rituals*, like watching and adoring the beauty of different city spaces. By means of the communication process, Sufi metaphors, which the *şehrengiz* rituals made use of, came to be used for profane purposes.

Sufi metaphors of contemplation (*seyr, temaşa, teferrüc*) came to mean watching and adoring profane beauty. Even, Süleymaniye Mosque, which was once disregarded by *şehrengiz* rituals for representing the imperial power, much later in the 17th c. was illustrated by Evliya Çelebi with the same metaphors used in *şehrengiz* rituals with reference to elevated courtyard of the complex, overlooking the city as a balcony to contemplate the world. Even Sufi metaphors of contemplation (*seyr, temaşa, teferrüc*) came to be used in the identification of public promenades enjoyed by city dwellers, as places (*mesire, temaşa-gah,*

teferrüc-gah) to go for strolling and to enjoy contemplating the beauty of its sight where the heart is freed from ennui¹ In an early 17th c. document, visiting Kağıthane is acknowledged as going for a pleasurable visit and sightseeing (*seyre giden*). In the 1721 chronicle of Raşid, an interesting story is told which has already been discussed in the previous chapter. However it is important to note again that Raşid named the countryside meadow as a “*mesire*” which had long been favored and had been visited by the common public. It referred former visitors of the *mesire* as the masters of strolling and leisurely pleasure (*erbab-ı geşt ü güzâr*).²

Accordingly, the thesis also argued that the idea and the image of the city, regarding its perception and experience, were also shaped with respect to the encounter of contrasting ideals. City was shaped inbetween the encounter of opposing forces, inbetween power struggles that shaped the society and its culture. It was neither *Şehrengiz* rituals, Melâmî doctrines, individuals’ assertion to express their identity; nor *gazel* rituals, conventions of orthodoxy, or the control mechanism of the ruling class that shaped the city of Istanbul. However, their opposition and encounter constructed the city of Istanbul. Going forth between Edirne and Istanbul, between imperial and anti-imperial ideologies, between ideal and real spaces created the city and enforced a unique experience shared by its citizens. This construction can also be discussed with respect to Ibn al-’Arabî’s arguments on the concept of imagination and its spaces.

Imagination, as discussed in the second chapter of this study, was defined as an intermediary realm, a *barzakh* that takes shape between two opposing realms by their encounter. According to Ibn al-’Arabî, this encounter had creative powers and provided the attainment of knowledge. This encounter was defined as creative imagination. Thus, this study proposes that the experience of the city of Istanbul

¹ Ferit Develioglu, *Osmanlica-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat* (Istanbul: Aydın Kitabevi, 2000) 626; 945; 1072; 1057.

² Aktepe, “Kağıthane’ye Dair Bazı Bilgiler,” 340-41.

and its image was shaped in such an intermediary realm, and its consequences gave way to the creation of the city, its image, and its real spaces.

This study can be categorized among the studies conducted on landscape culture. Recently, there are many studies conducted, emphasizing the use and experience of gardens and landscapes by examining rituals performed in the gardens. These studies from various disciplines of landscape, art, architecture, agriculture, archeology, folklore, anthropology, literary studies and religious studies, are compiled together under the supervision of Michel Conan, stressing the importance of rituals in understanding the concept of space in terms of its experience.³

There are few major books on Ottoman landscape culture, focused mainly on the arts and architecture of Ottoman gardens. The most recent source on Ottoman garden art is compiled by Prof. Nurhan Atasoy under the title of *A Garden for the Sultan (Hasbahçe)* in 2002. Atasoy has researched a huge collection of archival visual material from different periods of the Ottoman history and arranged a major documentary on the representation of gardens and flowers in Ottoman arts, presenting allegorical stories of each depiction and giving a vivid experience of garden spaces, and at the same time, arguing for the development of realism in Ottoman art. Other works, which focused mainly on the form of the gardens as the final consequence of an architectural study, did not consider the particulars of the internal dynamics of the society and fall short of acknowledging the quality of life experienced in these spaces. It was Prof. Gönül Evyapan, who had first attempted to study the Ottoman gardens. Her book dated 1972, is reprinted in 1999 in English under the title *Old Turkish Gardens: Old Istanbul Gardens in Particular*. Evyapan makes a list of gardens of the cities in Bursa, Edirne, and especially in Istanbul. Her work as a frontier in the discourse attempts to define the background for understanding the general principles of the so called “Anatolian Turkish” gardens.

³ See Michel Conan’s forthcoming article on “The Significance of Bodily Engagement with Nature.”

Sedad Hakkı Eldem's 1974 dated book *Turkish Gardens* is the second major study conducted on the subject. Eldem's work is on the typology of gardens, parks, or common grounds, presents drafted drawings of Ottoman Both Evyapan's and Eldem's work, try to categorize the garden tradition within a nationalist discourse under the title of "Turkish" gardens. Besides these three studies which can be classified as major recollections on the subject, there are three other studies to be cited. First is the essay by Gülru Necipoğlu Kafadar, titled "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," which studies the 16th century gardens and palaces along Bosphorus, with reference to maps, miniatures, and traveler's chronicles. The two others are unpublished Ph.D. thesis conducted at MIT; Tülay Artan's "*Architecture As a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*" and Shirine Hamadeh's "*The City's Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth Century Istanbul*." These theses are not especially written on Ottoman gardens, but they examine the 18th c. urban life and fabric of Istanbul. Artan studies the development the culture of spectacle and mobility along Bosphorus and Hamadeh studies changes in patronship and argues for the secularization of urban space. Following after these studies, this dissertation aimed to study Ottoman space culture and Ottoman urban culture from an interior perspective, relating the use and symbolic meaning of the variety of spaces of the city of Istanbul in Ottoman rituals of poetry presenting a different panorama of the city through the late 15th c. to early 18th c.

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APPENDIX A

Life of Ibn al-‘Arabi⁴

He is also called Abu Bakr Muhammed ibn al-‘Arab or Şeyh Ekber Muhyiddin-i Arabi in Turkish - which the latter Ekberiyye tariqat is founded referring to his name. He had traveled extensively in the lands of Muslim countries. ‘Arabî was surnamed after Plato as Ibn Aflatun.⁵ In history of world philosophy, Ibn ‘Arabî has also been recognized as a neo-platonist, as the Tao of Islam.

⁴ See the third chapter in Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Three Muslim sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardi, Ibn Arabi* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964c, 1969). For more detailed arguments on ‘Arabi’s philosophy, see Corbin and Chittick, who discusses various concepts as constructed in the works of ‘Arabi analytically, and in detail; Henry Corbin, *Creative imagination in the Sufism of Ibn El-Arabi*, trans. by Ralph Manheim. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969); William C. Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge: Ibn al-Arabi’s metaphysics of imagination*. (N.Y.: State University of New York Press, c.1989); William C. Chittick, *The self-disclosure of God: principles of Ibn al-Arabi’s cosmology*. (Albany, NY : State University of New York Press, c. 1998). For the translation of parts of Arabi’s works in English see, *The Meccan Revelations (al- Futuhat al Makkiya)* ed. by Michel Chodkiewicz, trans. by William C. Chittick, et al. (New York: Pir Press, 2002); *The wisdom of the prophets (Fusus al-hikam)*, trans. by Titus Burckhardt. (Aldsworth : Beshara, c1975); *A collection of mystical odes (Tarjuman al-ashwaq)* ed. by Reynold A. Nicholson (London : Royal Asiatic Society, 1911); *The bezels of wisdom*, trans. by R.W.J. Austin (London : SPCK, 1980). For further reading on ‘Arabi, see; Murata, Sachiko, and Chittick, William C. *Vision of Islam* (New York, NY : Paragon House, 1994); Takeshita, Masataka, *Ibn Arabi’s theory of the perfect man and its place in the history of Islamic thought* (Tokyo, Japan: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1987). Elmore, Gerard. “Poised Expectancy: Ibn al-Arabî’s Roots in Sharq al-Andalus,” *Studia Islamica* 90 (2000), 51-66.

⁵ Corbin, Henry. *Creative imagination in the Sufism of Ibn El-Arabi*, trans. by Ralph Manheim. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 40 - 41.

Born in Murcia Andalusia, died in Damascus, he traveled to Andalusia and to North Africa, Fez, Tunis (1193-1200); to Mecca and Mosul (1201); Cairo; Mecca (1207). Invited to the Seljuk land by the Sultan, lived in Malatya, and in Konya, Diyarbakır (1210). He had been to Bagdad (1211); returned back to Mecca, and traveled to Aleppo (1214). Finally he settled and died in Damascus (1223-1240). Ottoman Sultan Selim I built a mausoleum for him (1517) upon the conquest of the city of Damascus. Ibn 'Arabî's way of writing, thinking, and discussing is parallel to his discussions in the domains of ontology, epistemology, and hermeneutics.

His philosophy and his life corresponds to one another in harmony. There are more than four hundred books attributed to Ibn 'Arabi. One of the most important works of 'Arabî is *Fusus al-Hikam* (The gems of the Wisdom of Prophets) written in 1229 was about the wisdoms of twenty seven prophets from Adam to Muhammed. His other most well known book is *Kitab-al Futuhat ali Makkiya fi ma'rifat al-asrar al-malikiya wa'l mulkiya* (The Book of the Revelations Received in Mecca concerning the King and the Kingdom) written between 1230-1237 was consisted of 560 chapters. It was mainly about 'Ibn 'Arabî's principles of metaphysics. The book had a complex structure with juxtaposed thoughts, both a theoretical and experimental text at the same time. As Nasr acknowledges:⁶

The Futuhat contains, in addition to the doctrines of Sufism, much about the lives and sayings of the earlier Sufis, cosmological doctrines of Hermetic and Neoplatonic origin integrated into Sufi metaphysics, esoteric sciences like Jafr, alchemical and astrological symbolism, and practically everything else of an esoteric nature which in one way or another has found a place in the Islamic scheme of things.

His style of writing can be depicted as a continuous practice of arguments lined one after another. It explains a particular way of thinking which is not linear or confined within it's a single body. It develops and unfolds into different arguments or contradictions, as it continues. It is not a text to prove any hypothesis. However it should be considered as a map of thinking which had been developed by writing.

⁶ in Nasr, Seyyed Hossein. *Three Muslim sages: Avicenna, Suhrawardi, Ibn Arabi*. (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1964c, 1969), p. 98.

Writing was his actual practice of thinking, it was a technique of representation arguing for and against different concepts. Interpretations of 'Arabi's work may lead to different directions of thoughts and reasoning, or to contrasting results. It is due to these inherent qualities of the text. It was not an illustration of any profane idea, or objective, but a representation of the process of thinking which takes place in different territories of schools of thought. Thus, as a philosopher, 'Arabi's purpose and technique of writing, the structure of his text, and its content coincide with one another as a philosophy of inquiring True Knowledge through comparing, and contrasting, discussing and explaining concepts in numerous ways, in an endless pattern. Thus, as Corbin acknowledges, Arabi's whole life, and his entire work should be considered within the line of his arguments, where everything about him becomes parts of a philosophical system compiled to respond to all phases of his life, without ignoring, but ever welcoming every other kind of logic, reasoning; welcoming the reality of both the physical and metaphysical worlds as a quest for learning: "It is the work of an entire lifetime; Ibn 'Arabi's whole life was this long quest. The decisive encounter took place and was renewed for him through Figures whose variants never ceased to refer to the same Person."⁷

⁷ Corbin, Henry. *Creative imagination in the Sufism of Ibn El-Arabi*, trans. by Ralph Manheim. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969), p.44.

APPENDIX B

Index of Related Terminology in Ibn al-‘Arabî’s Philosophy

Abode (dâr)	Essence (dhât)
Absolute (mutlaq)	
Active imagination (quwwat al-khayâl)	Faculty (quwwa)
Apparent (zâhir)	Form (sûra)
Appetite (shahwa)	Form giving (taswîr, musawwir)
Ardent Desire (harakat shawqîya)	
Assimilation/comparison between Creator and creation (tashbîh)	Gaze (nazar)
Body- corporeal (jism, jessed, badan)	Heart (qalb) Creativity of the heart (Himma)
Beloved typified (mumaththal)	Hermeneutics, interpretation of symbols (ta’wil, ta’bîr)
Combining action and passion (jâmi’a bayna’l-fi’l wa’l-infi’âl)	Hidden (bâtin)
Cosmos (‘âlam)	Human being (insan)
Desire (irâda)	Imagination Theophanic imagination (takhayyul mutlaq) Creative Imagination (Hadrat khayâlîya) Imaginative union (ittisâl fi’l- khayâl) Imaginative contemplation (mushâhadat khayâlîya)
Earth (ard)	
Epiphany (mazhar, tajallî)	
Epiphanic form (mazhar, majla)	Intellect (‘aql)
Epiphanic forms (mazâhir)	Intermediate world (barzakh)
	Intuitive mystics (ahl al-kashf)

Image-symbol (mithâl)
World of idea-images ('âlam mithâlî
nûrânî)

Knowledge, science ('ilm, ma'rifa)
Dogmatic science ('ilm al-i'tiqâd)
Science of vision ('ilm shudûdî)
Science of imagination ('ilm al-
khayâl)

Locus (mahall)

Locus of manifestation (mazhar)

Love (love, mahabba)
Divine love (hibb ilâhî)
Spiritual love (hibb rûhânî)
Natural love (hibb tabî'î)

Negation (tanzîh)

Perception (idrak)

Philosophy (falsafa)

Pure concepts (ma'ânî)

Real (Haqq)

Reason ('aql)

Reflection, typification of immaterial
realities in visible realities (tamthîl)

Report (khabar)

Representational faculty (wahm)

Revelation (wahy)

Supreme contemplated ones
(al-manâzîr al-'ulâ)

Sign ('alâma)

Symbol (mazhar, mazahir)

Symbolic theology (tashbih)

Theophany (tajallî, tajallî ilâhî)

Taste (zhawq)

Time

Instant (al-ân)

Present time (zamân hâdir)

Unity of Being (wahdat al-wujûd)

Vision (shuhûd)

Visualition

APPENDIX C

Disciples of Ibn al-‘Arabî in Bayrami and Melâmî-Bayrami orders

Bayrami order: Some of Hacı Bayram Velis’s dervishes

1. Göynüklü Salâheddin Tavil
2. Ince Bedreddin
3. Seykh Bedreddin (acknowledged as the founder of Bedreddini order)
4. Akbıyık Abdullah
5. Ak Şemseddin (founder of Şemsiyye-yi Bayramiyye order)
6. Mehmet Bican
7. Ahmet Bican
8. Ömer Sikkini (founder of Melâmî order)

Development of Bayrami Order into Melâmî Order

Hacı Bayram Veli (1352 - 1429)

Bayrammiye

Ak Şemseddin (1389-1458)

Şemsiye Order

(Şemsiyye-yi Bayramiyye)

- remembrance (*zikr*) -

Ömer Sikkini (d. 1474-6 ?)

Melâmî Order

(Melamiyye-yi Bayramiyye)

- conversing (*sohbet*)-

late 15th c. - early 18th c.

APPENDIX D

List of Melâmî Poles

<u>names of the poles</u>		<u>geography of expansion</u>
Melâmî- Bayramî		
1. Ömer Sikkini	(d. 1474-6 ?) _____	north-west ANATOLIA
2. Bünyamin Ayaşi	(d. 1522 ?)	
3. Pir Ali Aksarayî	(d. 1528) _____	central ANATOLIA
4. İsmaili Maşukî*	(d. 1539) _____	ISTANBUL
	<i>Welcomed in Sipahiler Ocağı and the guilds of Istanbul</i>	
5. Ahmed Sârbân	(d. 1546) _____	THRACE & BALKANS
	<i>Shi'i, Bektashi influence, interaction with Bedreddinis</i>	
6. Hâşimî Seyyit Osman	(d. 1594) _____	VIZE & ISTANBUL
7. Hüsameddin Ankaravi	(d. 1556) _____	ANKARA
Melâmî - Hamzavî		
8. Hamza Bâlî	(d. 1561) _____	BOSNA
9. Hasan Kabadûz	(d. 1601) _____	north-west ANATOLIA
10. Idris-i Muhtefî	(d. 1615) _____	ISTANBUL & BALKANS
	<i>Mevlevi influence, and interaction with Nakşibendis</i>	
11. Hacı Bayram Kabayî	(d. 1617) _____	ISTANBUL
12. Sütçü Beşir Ağa*	(d. 1661) _____	ISTANBUL
13. Bursalı Seyyid Haşim	(d. 1676) _____	ISTANBUL
14. Şeyhülislam Paşmakçızade Ali Efendi (d. 1711)	_____	ISTANBUL court
15. Sadrazam Şehid Ali Paşa (d. 1715)	_____	ISTANBUL court

* : executed with several of his diciples.

APPENDIX E

List of Şehrengiz Poems

16th century

1. **Şehrengiz-i Der Medh-i Cuvanan-ı Edirne**
Piriştineli Mesîhi, İsa. 1512.
İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 481; Süleymaniye Ktp. Lala İsmail No. 483.
2. **Şehrengiz-i Edirne**
Balıkesirli Zati İvaz. 1512.
Süleymaniye Ktp. Lala İsmail No. 443.
3. **Şehrengiz (İstanbul ve Vize Şehrengizi)**
Çorlulu Katib, 1513.
Nurosmaniye Ktp. No. 4086 (Aşkname'nin sonunda 27b-58a)
4. **Şehrengiz-i İstanbul**
Taşlıcalı Yahya, 1522.
İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 2982.
5. **Şehrengiz-i Bursa**
Bursalı Lamii Mahmud Çelebi, 1522.
Flügel Viyana Ktp. C.I s. 632, no. 671
6. **Şehrengiz-i Belgrad**
Yenicevardarlı Hayreti Mehmed, -1534.
Millet Ktp., manzum No. 599.
7. **Şehrengiz-i Bursa**
Üsküplü Kılıççızade İshak Çelebi, - 1537.
İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 2800
8. **Şehrengiz-i Yenice**
Yenicevardarlı Usuli, -1538.
İzmir Milli Ktp. No. 35/234.
9. **Şehrengiz**
Bursalı Nihali Cafer Çelebi, - 1543.
10. **Şehrengiz-i Rize**
Cefayi (?).
11. **Şehrengiz-i İstanbul**
Kalkandelenli Fakiri, 1534.
Köprülü Ktp., Fazıl Ahmet Paşa No. 270 (Yahya'nın Şah u Geda'sı sonunda v. 62b)

12. **Şehrengiz-i İstanbul (Farsça)**
Safi, 1537.
Nurosmaniye Ktp., No. 3383.
13. **Şehrengiz-i Edirne**
Edirneli Kerimi b. Mahmud, 1544.
İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 615.
14. **Şehrengiz-i İstanbul**
Taşlıcalı Yahya, -1582.
Şah u geda Mesnevisi başında.
15. **Şehrengiz-i Gelibolu**
Gelibolulu Vechi, -1551.
16. **Şehrengiz**
Moralı Kadı Firdevsi Çelebi, -1563.
17. **Şehrengiz-i Yenişehir**
Bursalı Rahmi Pir Mehmed, -1567.
Pertsch, Berlin Ktp. S. 406, No. 407.
18. **Şehrengiz-i Bursa**
Aşık Çelebi, Seyyid Pir Mehmed, -1568.
19. **Şehrengiz-i Amid**
Diyarbakırlı Halife, -1572.
20. **Şehrengiz-i İstanbul**
Fikri, Derviş Mehmed, Molla Maşizade, İstanbullu, - 1584.
21. **Şehrengiz-i Bursa**
Bursalı Halili (Sarı Halil)
22. **Şehrengiz-i Edirne**
Tabii (Edirneli Feyzi Ali)
23. **Şehrengiz-i İstanbul**
Kastamonulu Kadı Kıyasi,
24. **Şehrengiz**
Amasyalı Süluki Mehmed
25. **Şehrengiz**
Kemali,
26. **Şehrengiz-i İstanbul**
-, Kanuni Devri
27. **Şehrengiz-i İstanbul**
İstanbullu Tab'i İsmail, -1636.
28. **Şehrengiz-i İstanbul**
İstanbullu Defterdarzade Cemali Ahmed, 1564.

İst. Üniv. Ktp. Tü. No. 9263 (Matali'-i cemali, c. 31a-44a, baştan 15 beyit eksik)
Tü. 3770 (mecmua içinde v. 29b- 38b, eksik)

29. Şehrengiz-i Siroz

İstanbul Defterzade Cemali Ahmed, -1583.
İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 9263, 3770, 818.

30. Şehrengiz-i Siroz

?

İst. Ktp. Ty. No. 818 (v.74a- 78b)

31. Şehrengiz-i İstanbul der Huban-ı Zenan (Nigarname-i Zevk-amiz Der Şehrengiz)

Azizi Mustafa, Yedikuleli, -1585.
Pertsch, Berlin Ktp. S. 29, No. 8/18.

32. Şehrengiz-i Manisa

İstanbul Ulvi Mehmed Terzizade, 1556.
İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 1532.

33. Şehrengiz-i Sinop

Sinoplu Beyani
İzmir Milli Ktp. No. 35/132.

34. Şehrengiz-i Antakya

Galatalı Siyami, 16.yy

35. Şehrengiz Beray-i Hub-ruyan-ı Gelibolu

Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali, -1599.
Beyazid Ktp. No. 5665; Milet Ktp., Emiri, manzum eserler No. 271 (v. 143b- 146a).

36. Şehrengiz-i Bursa

Mani, Kadı Çalıkzade Mehmed, -1599.

17th century

37. Şehrengiz-i Beray-ı Taşköprü

?, -1639.
Pertsch, Berlin Ktp. Sy. 24, No. 6.

38. Şehr-i Kaşan'un Vasfı ve Medh-i Cemilidür

?

Pertsch, Berlin Ktp. Sy. 55, No. /10, v. 108b-113a).

39. Şehrengiz

Fehim-i Kadim, Uncuzade Mustafa, İstanbul, -1648.
İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 2932 (divanı içinde v. 60a-64a, v.65a-65b'de "bahr-ı tavil der çend zeban" başlıklı müstehcen bir eseri vardır).

40. Şehrengiz-i Edirne

Edirneli Neşati Ahmed Dede, -1674.
İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 545 (divanı içinde v.51b-56a).

41. Şehrengiz-i Bursa

Bursalı Konya Kadısı Nazûk Abdullah, -1686.

İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 2914; Süleymaniye Hacı Mahmud Efendi No. 3511.

18th century

42. Şehrengiz-i Cilve-resa ve Ayine-i Huban-ı Bursa

Bursalı Belîğ İsmail, 1707

İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 1653.

43. Şehrengiz-i Bursa

Bursalı Belîğ İsmail, -1707.

44. Lalezar (Yenişehir Şehrengizi)

Vahid Mahmudi, İstanbullu Mehmed, -1732.

İst. Üniv. Ktp. Ty. No. 2913; Süleymaniye Ktp., Hacı Mahmud No. 3505.

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1996-1998 TÜBİTAK (Technical and Research Council of Turkey) NATO Science Scholarship
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2002-2003 Bilgi University, Department of Visual Communication Design, Graduate Program, Istanbul. Part-time Instructor, with Mehmet Kütükçüoğlu.
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