CITIES AND SAINTS

Sufism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Medieval Anatolia

Ethel Sara Wolper

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CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xi

GLOSSARY OF ESSENTIAL TERMS xiii

A NOTE ON USAGE AND TRANSLITERATION xv

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xvii

Introduction 1

PART I BUILDINGS AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY IN MEDIEVAL ANATOLIA

CHAPTER 1 . . . . . Visual Authority and Sufi Sanctification
Negotiating Elite Survival After the Mongol Conquest 16

CHAPTER 2 . . . . . The Patron and the Sufi
Mediating Religious Authority Through Dervish Lodges 24

PART II DERVISH LODGES AND URBAN SPACES: SIVAS, TOKAT, AND AMASYA

CHAPTER 3 . . . . . Dervish Lodges and the
Transformation of City Spaces 42

CHAPTER 4 . . . . . City Streets and Dervish Lodges
Constructing Spiritual Authority in Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya 60

PART III AUDIENCES AND DERVISH LODGES: PROCLAMATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

CHAPTER 5 . . . . . Dervish Lodges and the
Transformation of Resident Populations
Christians, Craftsmen, and Akhīs 74

CHAPTER 6 . . . . . Women as Guarantors of Familial Lines
Dervish Lodges and Gender Representation in
Pre-Ottoman Anatolia 82

CHAPTER 7 . . . . . Islamization and Building Conversion
Epic Heroes After the Bābā Rasūl Revolt 92

EPILOGUE 99

NOTES 103

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 119

INDEX 127

PREFACE

The successive houses in which we have lived have no doubt made our gestures commonplace. But we are very surprised, when we return to the old house, after an odyssey of many years, to find that the most delicate gestures, the earliest gestures suddenly come alive, are still faultless. In short, the house we were born in has engraved within us the hierarchy of the various functions of inhabiting.

—GASTON BACHELARD[1]

IN THE PAST decades, interest in Sufism, Islam's main form of mysticism, and in the thirteenth-century poet and saint Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273) has reached new heights.[2] In the United States alone, there are two Rūmī festivals per year. A growing portion of his poetry is available in translations and interpretations, many of which are performed live and sold as recordings. As part of this trend, a number of recent publications have shown an interest in illuminating the works of this great Sufi poet. These illuminations often mix poetry and images. The poems are Rūmī, yet the images have been taken from every time period and geographic location. They are meant to evoke the spirit of Rūmī. What we gain from these publications is obvious. I write this book, however, out of a concern with what these books can obscure. As we spend more and more time divorcing Rūmī and other Muslim mystic poets from their historical context, it becomes easy to forget why artistic greatness flourishes in some periods and not in others. We also obscure the influence of other mystics on Rūmī's thoughts, his belief and training in Islam, and the adjustments that he made in his life to the massive changes in the world around him.

This study seeks to recover these historical contexts by focusing on the physical place that produced this influential man. I begin, therefore, with some general definitions of Rūmī's world. He came of age in Anatolia in the late Seljuk and early Beylik period, a period that is understood in this study as beginning in 1240 and ending in 1350. The ruling dynasties of the period were Turkish groups that followed Persianate traditions in government. Their religion was Islam, and their major sultans sought to bring Muslim scholars from all over the Islamic world to their courts in Konya and Sivas. Those that

came found themselves in a land where Muslims were the minority and the Byzantine and Armenian legacy was still strong.

When we understand Rūmī and the whirling dervishes as an intrinsic part of the Islamic world, we help construct a more accurate picture of Islam as a dynamic and multifaceted faith. After this monotheistic faith arose in western Arabia in the seventh century, with the revelations of the prophet Muhammad, it was enriched by a variety of philosophical and intellectual movements, an enrichment that continues to this day. Sufism is one of those movements. Like other mystical movements, the central goal of Sufism is knowledge of God. The methods by which that knowledge is achieved form a main focus of Sufi literature and practice.

Although Rūmī has entered the consciousness of the West as an ecumenical love poet, embraced by New Age movements, he was a devout Muslim. He came from a long line of Muslim clerics and gave legal judgments before his introduction to Sufism. He, and the other religious scholars of his era, lived at a time when the practice of Islam was changed by the proliferation of Sufi communities. These communities tested the outward manifestations of Islam to find new ways of achieving an intimate knowledge of God. Rūmī's ecumenical message, which is so appealing to today's followers in the West, grew out of this search and is reflected and reaffirmed by other Sufi writers of the period.

The Sufis in this study were often called "dervishes," a Turkish variant of a Persian word signifying those who have renounced the world. Although such a term emphasizes poverty, it came to be associated with members of a variety of urban movements. Rūmī's followers, commonly known as the whirling dervishes, are shown in this book's frontispiece, engaged in their ritual whirling. Although this is one of many photographs circulating in the West that have helped create a picture of Sufism as a timeless world of arcane spirituality, Rūmī and the dervishes in the photograph are separated from each other by close to seven centuries, each of which brought major changes to the Islamic world and to the practice of Sufism.

This study focuses on one of these periods of change through an examination of the complex relationship between religious authority and the visual world during Rūmī's lifetime. The careers of Rūmī and other Sufi leaders, such as Bābā Ilyās Khurāsānī and Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāqī, are set against the spatial networks—urban, topographical, and spiritual—commanded by the buildings in which they lived and worshiped. Such a focus

allows me to reintroduce Rūmī in the context of the unusual time and place in which he and his disciples lived. Although nothing remains of a portrait of Rūmī that was painted during his lifetime, there are rich source materials and building remains from the large number of Sufi buildings constructed during this period, and these help us reconstruct his world.[1] By focusing on these buildings and the cities in which they are located, we can not only consider how the borders and spaces available to Sufis helped form their sense of themselves and their community, we may also learn something about how the borders and spaces available to us help form our sense of ourselves and our community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MY WORK ON this book began in the summer of 1985, while traveling from Istanbul to Erzurum with a group of fellow students from the summer language program at Bosphorus University. As we traveled by bus from Amasya to Tokat and then to Sivas, I saw how medieval Islamic buildings worked in sequence within cities and from one city to another. Given the importance of this trip in the development of this book, it seems appropriate to begin by thanking my fellow travelers—David Hirsch, Mark Stein, Lorna Tate, and Alexander Whelan—for their insights, enthusiasm, and humor.

Writing a book about architecture and cities is as much about where people travel as where they rest. Since my first trip, I have been fortunate to find homes, both abroad and in the States, in a number of institutions and universities that provided me with financial support and intellectual stimulation. I would like to express my gratitude to the National Gallery of Art, the Society for the Humanities at Cornell University, and the Center for the Humanities at the University of New Hampshire. For supporting archival research in Istanbul and Ankara, I am indebted to Fulbright Hays, the American Association of University Women, and the vice president's office at the University of New Hampshire.

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There are a number of people for whom it is impossible for me adequately to express my gratitude. My parents, Alyce and Edward Wolper, have shaped and supported my intellectual endeavors since I was born. From my father I learned a love of travel and adventure, while my mother's thoughtful guidance taught me how to think about the world. Jake Viebrock was instrumental in every step of this project. He asked the right questions and encouraged me to think about nuances of the material only he could spot. It is for him that I wrote this book, and I hope it reflects my deep affection and admiration. To him and Natalie Viebrock, who continues to remind me of everything that is wonderful in the world, I dedicate this work.

akhī	(lit. "brother") member of a mystical-artisanal organization
amīr	military commander
Ayyūbids	Muslim dynasty that ruled in Egypt (1171–1250) and Syria (1174–1260)
Bābā	(lit. "father") honorific title, often used by Türkmen tribes to designate a religious leader
baraka	blessing
beylerbey	military governor
buqʿa	(lit. "place") lodge or convent
caravansaray	inn, large commercial building
Dānishmendids	Turkish dynasty that ruled central Anatolia from 1071 to 1177
dergāh	lodge or convent
dervish	"one who has renounced the world," an exponent of Sufism
dhikr	(lit. "repetition," "remembrance") commonest term for Sufi meditative exercises
Eretnids	Muslim dynasty that ruled central Anatolia from 1343 to 1380
Evliya Çelebi	famous Ottoman traveler of the seventeenth century who wrote the *Seyahatnāme*
faqīh	(pl. *fuqahā'*) anyone possessing knowledge (*fiqh*) of a thing; a technical term for a specialist in religious law
faqīr	(lit. "poor") in mystic terminology, a person who lives for God alone; in popular terminology, a beggar or poor man
ghāzī	"warrior of the faith," a person conquering non-Muslim territories
Ilkhānids	Mongol successor dynasty in Persia, 1256–1349
ʿimāra	(lit. "building") lodge, convent, or soup kitchen
iqṭāʿ	land grant from a ruler for military or administrative services rendered by a client
īwān	recessed room usually enclosed on three sides, with the fourth opening onto a courtyard
khān	travel lodge, caravansaray
khānqāh	lodge or convent
madrasa	school for higher learning, especially for Islamic law
maidān	square, open place, field, or large hall where *dhikr* is performed
Mamlūks	Muslim dynasty that ruled over Egypt and Syria, 1250–1517
manāqib	legend, book of epic deeds
masjid	any Muslim place of worship where the prayer is performed in a group
Mawlawī	member of a Sufi order centered at Konya and organized by the followers of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), often referred to as the "whirling dervishes"
miḥrāb	niche in the *qibla* wall of the mosque, indicating the direction of Mecca
mudarris	teacher, professor in a *madrasa*

Ottoman	Muslim dynasty based in Anatolia, 1281–1924
pervāne	(lit. "moth") title used to designate a high office in the Seljuk administration
qāḍī	Muslim judge
Qaramānids	Muslim Turkish dynasty that ruled over central Anatolia, 1256–1483
qibla	direction of prayer for a Muslim
ribāṭ	Sufi hospice, originally designated a military garrison
samāʿ	distinctive whirling dance performed by followers of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī as part of their *dhikr*
sayyid	(lit. "master," "lord") honorific title for Muhammad's descendants
Seljuks	Muslim dynasty, originally a family of the Oğuz Turks; a branch of the Seljuks, the Seljuks of Rūm, ruled Anatolia from 1037 to 1300
Sufi	exponent of Sufism, Islam's main mystical tradition
ṭarīqa	fully developed hierarchical orders
ʿulamāʾ	(lit. "learned men") those men versed in Islamic legal and religious texts
waqf	pious endowment for the upkeep of a mosque, hospital, or the like
waqfīya	deed setting out the conditions of the *waqf*
wazīr	officer (minister) to whom a ruler delegated the administration of his realm
zāwiya	lodge or convent

THIS BOOK QUOTES Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turkish source material. Because many words common to all three languages are pronounced differently, I have had in each instance to decide which pronunciation system to privilege over the others. Since the primary source material on Anatolian dervish lodges is in Arabic, I have chosen to follow the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* guidelines for Arabic transliteration, with the exception of the hamza, which is indicated by an apostrophe. Although the names of sultans and other figures are rendered according to Arabic usage, titles like *pervāne*, which are of Persian origin and Turkish use, are rendered according to a simplified system of transliteration. For the sake of simplicity and clarity, commonly used words such as "Seljuk," "Sufi," and "sultan" are rendered without diacritical marks. To further simplify matters, I have used modern Turkish to designate the cities and rivers of Anatolia. For similar reasons, plurals of foreign words are rendered according to the rules of English.

While the problems of transliteration and of geographical names make it impossible to please everyone, I hope that the approach outlined here will accurately reflect the way words are used in *waqf* documents and building inscriptions.

FIGURE 1 Anatolia: major cities (Karen Alexander and Chris Brest).

FIGURE 2 Anatolia, Dānishmendid territory (Karen Alexander and Chris Brest).

FIGURE 3 Anatolia in the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād (Karen Alexander and Chris Brest).

FIGURE 4 The Bābā Rasūl revolt (Karen Alexander and Chris Brest).

FIGURE 5 Anatolia and its neighbors (Chris Brest).

FIGURE 6 Tokat, Sunbul Bābā lodge: portal (author).

FIGURE 7 Tokat, Sunbul Bābā lodge: façade (author).

FIGURE 8 Tokat, Sunbul Bābā lodge: reconstructed façade (Emir, *Erken Osmanlı*, pl. 73).

FIGURE 9 Tokat, Khalif Ghāzī lodge: tomb windows (author).

FIGURE 10 Tokat, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib lodge: tomb window (author).

FIGURE 11 Amasya, Gök Madrasa lodge: tomb window with inscription (author).

FIGURE 12 Sivas, Seljuk hospital: view from the west (courtesy of Aegean/Project Dendrochronology, Cornell University).

FIGURE 13 Sivas, Turkey: reconstructed plan (Chris Brest).

FIGURE 14 Sivas, Çifte Minare Madrasa (on the left) and Seljuk hospital (on the right) (courtesy of Aegean/Project Dendrochronology, Cornell University).

FIGURE 15 Sivas, Gök Madrasa (courtesy of Aegean/Project Dendrochronology, Cornell University).

FIGURE 16 Tokat, Turkey: reconstructed plan (Chris Brest).

FIGURE 17 Tokat, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib lodge (author).

FIGURE 18 Tokat, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib lodge: façade (author).

FIGURE 19 Amasya, Turkey: reconstructed plan (Chris Brest).

FIGURE 20 Amasya, view to the north (author).

FIGURE 21 Amasya, Gök Madrasa lodge (Gabriel, *Les monuments turcs d'Anatolie* [1934], I, by permission of L'Institut français d'etudes anatoliennes).

FIGURE 22 Tokat, interior of Gök Madrasa lodge (author).

FIGURE 23 Amasya, Gök Madrasa lodge (author).

FIGURE 24 Amasya, Gök Madrasa lodge: detail (author).

FIGURE 25 Tokat, Sunbul Bābā lodge: tomb room with cornice (author).

FIGURE 26 Tokat, Sunbul Bābā lodge: detail (author).

FIGURE 27 Tokat, Sunbul Bābā lodge: reconstructed plan (Emir, *Erken Osmanlı*, pl. 71).

FIGURE 28 Tokat, Shams al-Dīn ibn Ḥusayn lodge: reconstruced plan (Emir, *Erken Osmanlı*, pl. 10).

FIGURE 29 Tokat, Shaikh Majnūn lodge: reconstructed plan (Emir, *Erken Osmanlı*, pl. 17).

FIGURE 30 Tokat, Khalif Ghāzī lodge: reconstructed plan (Emir, *Erken Osmanlı*, pl. 40).

FIGURE 31 Tokat, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib lodge: reconstructed plan (Emir, *Erken Osmanlı*, pl. 118).

FIGURE 32 Tokat, Gök Madrasa, interior courtyard (author).

FIGURE 33 Sivas, Çifte Minare Madrasa: façade (author).

FIGURE 34 Sivas, Burujiyye Madrasa (Edhem and Van Berchem, *Matériaux*, vol. 3, pt. 1. © IFAO).

FIGURE 35 Amasya, Burmalı Minare Madrasa (Gabriel, *Les monuments turcs d'Anatolie* [1934], I, by permission of L'Institut français d'etudes anatoliennes).

FIGURE 36 Amasya, Gök Madrasa, main entrance (Gabriel, *Les monuments turcs d'Anatolie* [1934], I, by permission of L'Institut français d'etudes anatoliennes).

FIGURE 37 Tokat, tomb windows, plan (Chris Brest).

FIGURE 38 Tokat, Sunbul Bābā lodge: inscription (author).

FIGURE 39 Tokat, Shams al-Dīn ibn Ḥusayn lodge: inscription (author).

FIGURE 40 Tokat, Khalif Ghāzī lodge: inscription (author).

FIGURE 41 Tokat, bridge inscription (author).

FIGURE 42 Amasya, Khalif Ghāzī Madrasa and lodge (author).

Introduction

The *Vilāyetnāme* (Book of sanctity) of Ḥājjī Bektāsh recounts a meeting between a wandering dervish and a monk. In the story, the dervish was sent to deliver wheat to the Christian monk. Along the way, he sold the wheat to starving townspeople and replaced much of it with straw and dust. When the dervish turned his load over to the monk, he was impressed with the monk's hospitality and began to think that the monk would make a good Muslim. The monk, having understood the dervish's thoughts, informed him that "he was already a Muslim, but he was afraid to be such a Muslim as the dervish who had betrayed the trust of his master by selling some of the grain." At that moment, church services began, and Christians entered the church. When the service was over and the last Christian had left the church, the monk led the dervish into the church and closed the door. He then lifted a stone slab and opened a door hidden underneath. The door opened into a room holding a tall dervish cap and a *miḥrāb* (prayer niche). The monk donned the cap, prayed at the *miḥrāb*, and "informed the astonished dervish that he was himself a Bektāshī dervish." After his prayer, the "monk" removed his dervish garb and put on again his Christian garment.[1]

This anecdote underlines some of the contradictions between the nature of religious belief in medieval Anatolia and the contemporary perception of that belief. The wise Christian monk, who was also a Bektāshī dervish, understood that true religious feeling and belief were different from the appearance and trappings of faith; in this story, even contemporary beholders were easily confused by the tricky interplay of substance and shadow of religious sentiment. Not surprisingly, modern scholarship, in its efforts to understand the religious milieu of medieval Anatolia, sometimes forgets the complex historical, religious, and cultural developments that shaped it. The following study concentrates on a crucial element in these developments: the dervish lodges built in central Anatolia between the second half of the thirteenth century and the second half of the fourteenth century, when Ḥājjī Bektāsh and other dervish leaders began to have a significant following.[2] These dervishes tried to impose their understanding of the world onto a region undergoing rapid transformation by large numbers of immigrants and a breakdown of central authority. With the help of local *amīrs* (military and political leaders) and other leaders who had prospered from newly acquired landholdings, dervishes founded dervish lodges as centers for communal worship and the standardization of their practices. These dervish lodges eventually became pilgrimage sites and commercial centers where vigorous new communities came into being.

In the span of a hundred years, at least fifteen dervish lodges were built in the important trading

FIGURE 1
Anatolia: major cities.

cities of Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya (fig. 1). In comparison to the few lodges built in these cities before the mid-thirteenth century, a visitor or resident would have noticed this large number of new dervish lodges because of both their number and their prominent location within these three cities.[3] For example, by the second half of the fourteenth century, dervish lodges occupied sites along major roads leading to three of the six gates of Sivas (see fig. 13), at the eastern and western entrances to Amasya (see fig. 19), and oriented toward the single entrance and exit of Tokat (see fig. 16). There were four dervish lodges near Tokat's primary markets, two near Amasya's market, and one at each of the three markets of Sivas. Generally, as in the example of Sivas, dervish lodges, markets, and city gateways were close to each other, so that both residents and visitors would have encountered them. Furthermore, the time between these encounters with the different lodges could have been short, because these cities were near each other along well-established trade routes running from the southeast to the northwest.[4]

Beginning in the thirteenth century, Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya became major immigration and trade sites for Muslims traveling from Iran and Central Asia.[5] At the same time, these cities were located in an area that was primarily Christian. The Muslim elite who ruled these cities were expected to support a number of distinct religious and educational services for Muslim devotional activity. Yet, because these cities had large non-Muslim populations, their rulers faced a variety of challenges. Between the mid-thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth centuries, more dervish lodges were endowed in Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya than any other pious institutions, suggesting that dervish lodges were seen as a response, if not a solution, to some of the new problems facing the rulers of these cities.[6] What this study attempts to demonstrate is how these local leaders used these buildings to support and foster local communities connected to dervishes. Not only did these dervish lodges provide each community with a geographical and spiritual center, they also became the physical structures around which new urban formations were organized.

AIMS AND APPROACHES

The main goal of this book is to examine the role of dervish lodges in religious and cultural transformation. To this end, the book combines three traditionally discrete fields: the history of Islamic architecture, the history of pre-Ottoman Anatolia, and the history of Sufism.[7] It draws upon these fields to construct a picture of dervish lodges as both buildings *and* institutions and asks two separate but interrelated questions about them. The first focuses on how the placement, orientation, and structure of these buildings changed the hierarchy of spaces in three Anatolian cities between the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth centuries. The second question addresses how dervish lodges worked as places where different types of authority—religious, spiritual, and political—were mediated.[8]

As in any study of the role of architecture in social change, this book is based on a number of assumptions regarding how people interact with their environment. The most important assumption is that the organization of urban space has a major effect on one's perception and experience of the world.[9] Urban spaces are important because they form a spatial order that distinguishes a range of choices for the pedestrian by determining what buildings and sites he or she can or cannot see, and how easily. The resulting visual hierarchy helps to define the city's dominant features; in consequence, any significant change in the arrangement of urban spaces can redefine what those dominant features are.[10] Thus, major changes to urban space alter not only daily patterns of behavior but, to some extent, world outlooks.

At the same time, this study recognizes that no matter how much society employs architecture and urban space as a means to stabilize itself, architecture's inherent confrontation between space and its use dictates that space is constantly unstable and on the verge of change. In as simple an act as navigating city spaces, pedestrians always seek to alter the spatial order to suit their own needs. In such a way, changes in the spatial order reflect the dynamic between a preconceived hierarchy of spaces and the revision of that hierarchy by the visitors and residents navigating them.[11]

This study, then, asks what made people support, live in, and visit dervish lodges and not other buildings. Although this question may seem to be a simple one, answering it requires a knowledge of how medieval audiences understood their world. I argue that the location of dervish lodges within cities, their accessibility to the public, and the literature on them worked together in constructing new meanings, as well as creating and shaping new audiences, for them.

To address the dynamic interrelationship between audiences and buildings, the book is divided into three parts, each of which focuses on a different moment in a building's history: the initial funding and construction, the moment of completion, and the succeeding years of its history. Thus, each part examines a different set of relationships between buildings and their audiences. In the first, I focus on the mystically inclined religious elites who fled to the Seljuk court after the Mongol invasions of the early thirteenth century, and argue that competition among these figures created a situation where buildings, especially dervish lodges, took on an increased importance as visual markers of religious prestige, what I call visual authority. In addition, I point out that some of the social tensions caused by the intermixing of Christian residents and Türkmen immigrants were alleviated by dervish lodges: institutions that were relatively open and provided a wide range of social services. Finally, this part explains that rulers who supported dervish lodges were eligible for unique tax benefits because of the flexibility of these institutions.

In Part II, the focus turns to the actual buildings and examines how they were integrated into the visual and social environments of these three cities. Using the layout of dervish lodges in combination with information from endowment deeds, I discuss in this part how and why formal changes were made to the structure of dervish lodges and how these changes were tied to ritual practices. In Chapter 3, I document the major building activity for four twenty-five-year intervals in Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya. I also explore changes in the spatial order of these cities by examining how the construction of new buildings and the appropriation and adaptation of existing monuments altered the experience of city residents.

Part III looks at these buildings as repositories of history and as monuments to the foundation of the Sufi communities that began to form in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. I examine such questions as how buildings appeared in Sufi literature and how this literature looked at the role of Christians. Because a large number of dervish lodges mention women in their building inscriptions, I use this part to reevaluate the role of women in the Sufi communities of pre-Ottoman Anatolia. As guarantors of familial lines, women became important emblems of regional dynastic alliances. Finally, through an examination of the spatial and spiritual networks commanded by these lodges, I conclude this section with a focus on how communal identities were extended to other regions and time periods in Anatolia and the Middle East.

ANATOLIAN DERVISH LODGES AND OTTOMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

"Dervish lodge" designates one of the most difficult categories of buildings in Islam. In this study, I use the term to refer to buildings that could be identified with a more technical vocabulary: *khānqāh* (Sufi hospice), *zāwiya* (Sufi hospice or corner of a building), *dār al-siyyāda* (house of the *sayyids* [descendants of the Prophet]), *dār al-ṣulaḥā'* (house of the pious), *buqʿa* (Sufi hospice or tomb), and *ʿimāra* (building or hospice).[12] Although it could be argued that many of these terms have region-specific connotations,[13] the buildings indicated by them share important characteristics: each housed dervishes and provided a center for communal activities, including prayer, study, discussion, conversation with visitors, accommodation of travelers, feeding the poor, and sometimes the performance of *samāʿ* (audition) or *dhikr* (repetition of certain words in praise of God).[14] In general, these buildings included tombs and main halls to facilitate these activities. Although many activities were conducted around the tombs, other activities such as providing food, shelter, and entertainment for travelers usually took place in the main hall.

Aside from supporting prominent individuals, dervish lodges provided newly formed groups with a secure place for discussion, scholarship, and ritual activity. It was in these buildings that the details of ritual life and communal practice were worked out. By providing institutional support for the evolution of Sufi groups, these buildings became a crucial element in the development of Sufi practice, particularly the sanctification of Sufi saints.[15] Whether dead or alive, charismatic leaders rose to sainthood only through the efforts of individual followers and the micro societies that formed around them. Because of their proximity to God, these saints also became models of correct behavior. It was in dervish lodges where the very narratives that shaped the identities of those who later used these buildings began to be collected.[16]

Modern scholarship's understanding of the relationship between the Sufi mystical movement and the cultural transformation of Anatolia has created a number of problems for the study of dervish lodges, primarily because the study of

pre-Ottoman dervish lodges has often been subordinated to other inquiries: the rise of the Ottoman Empire, the Islamization and Turkification of Anatolia, and the development of Sufi orders. Beginning with the groundbreaking work of Fuad Köprülü (1890–1966), a Turkish scholar known as the father of Seljuk and Ottoman studies, dervish lodges came to be understood as crucial in the rise of the Ottoman Empire because of the role of dervishes in the Islamization and Turkification of Anatolia. Although no single figure has done more to enhance our understanding of the rise of the Ottomans, Köprülü, who wrote during the republican period in modern Turkey, followed a number of Turkish scholars from the 1920s by emphasizing the importance of the nomadic Turkish tribes that had come to Anatolia in the wake of the battle of Manzikert.[17] In his writing, Köprülü exalted the individuality of the Türkmen nomads, who had fought against oppressive foreign rulers, and stressed the role of Bābās ("fathers," an honorific title used to designate religious leaders) in carrying Central Asian traditions to Anatolia. In Köprülü's writing, Bābās converted the pagan Türkmens to a Turkish form of Islam that was heavily tinged with shamanism.[18]

In his focus on defining a Turkish Islam, Köprülü divided Anatolia's Muslim residents into two groups, with one a heterodox, rural, lower class and the other an orthodox, urban, educated group. He further divided them along linguistic lines between the Turkish and the Persian and Arab intellectual traditions. Thus, the heterodox group was traced back to Aḥmad Yasawī, a Central Asian Sufi who was described as representing the Turkish element, while the orthodox group was personified by such famous Sufis as Najm al-Dīn Rāzī and Bahā' al-Dīn Walad, representing the Persian tradition, and Ibn al-'Arabī's stepson Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunawī, leading the Arab tradition.[19] Köprülü, who also wrote in reaction to European scholars who stressed the Iranian and the Greek origin of the Ottoman state, focused on the spread of Islam to pagan Türkmen groups and diminished the role of the large number of Christian residents in Anatolia. In his focus on Central Asian Turkish traditions there was little room for any discussion of how Türkmens mixed with Christian residents and other immigrants.[20] Likewise, in his evaluation of Anatolian Sufism, in particular, his ideas about pagan survivals and Turkish Bābās marginalized the Sufism of any Turkish groups by placing them outside the mainstream Sufi tradition and at the same time diminished the role of Islam in this tradition.[21]

The implications of Köprülü's theory that the revolutionary and ethnically pure Türkmen Bābā–*cum*–shaman figure spread Islam in Anatolia through a Sufism that was close to pagan tribal traditions had a major impact on the study of dervish lodges as institutions *and buildings*.[22] In a 1942 article, Ömer Barkan used Köprülü's approach to argue that these Bābā shamanlike dervishes were "Kolonizer Dervishes" who used dervish lodges in the Islamization and Turkification of Anatolia. The Barkan thesis was given a formal basis of support twenty-one years later, in 1963, with Semavi Eyice's article entitled "İlk Osmanlı devrinin dinî-içtimaî bir müessesesi: Zâviyeler ve zâviyeli-camiler" (Zaviyes and zaviye camis: A social religious institution of the early Ottoman period).[23] In this article, Eyice set up a developmental scheme that began with a Central Asian house form that was brought to Anatolia by the Turks. In Anatolia, this form developed into what is called a T-style or Bursa mosque: a mosque that combined the functions of a dervish lodge and a mosque by incorporating side rooms into the mosque plan.[24] With Eyice's article and that of later Turkish art historians, Köprülü's work came full circle. Köprülü had used mystics to stress the Central Asian origin of the Ottomans, and later art historians buttressed that argument by

developing a formal schema whereby the Ottoman mosque complex was formed from the Central Asian house plan. In this schema, the dervish lodges built in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anatolia became the central element in this formation, acting as the conduit through which Central Asian traditions and building forms were brought to Anatolia.[25]

From the standpoint of the history of dervish lodges, the central problem with the Köprülü/Barkan/Eyice thesis is that it rests on a sharp distinction between popular or heterodox dervish groups and those upholding an orthodox Islam.[26] Many scholars, including those writing on the conversion of Christians in Asia Minor, used these divisions to suggest that lodges presented a more accessible form of Islam to a usually rural pagan and/or Christian population. Recent work by Ahmet Karamustafa, Reuven Amitai-Preiss, and Devin DeWeese has pointed out a number of problems with Köprülü's theory of shaman traditions and Islamization: it suggests the process of Islamization was superficial and divides Sufi piety into folk and elite traditions.[27] As pointed out by Karamustafa, this theory fits into the great-and-little-tradition paradigm and suggests that there was minimal interaction between a great orthodox tradition, expressed in Arabic and Persian, and a little heterodox tradition, expressed in Turkish.[28]

The most serious challenge to this division is the large number of dervishes designated as Qalandars. These wild antinomian figures, who rightly deserve to be considered heterodox, had no relationship with shamanism. Many of them were from prominent *'ulamā'* families and were well versed in Arabic and Persian sources. As pointed out by Karamustafa, the Qalandars cannot be considered part of a popular religious movement based on minimal Islamization; instead, they were part of a new mode in dervish religiosity. They had given up the comforts of settled urban life in sophisticated Muslim centers and had set out in search of true religion. From their homes in Iran and Central Asia, they had watched different Sufi movements grow increasingly institutionalized and meaningless. Their response to the limitations of their theological and mystical training was literally to turn their backs on society and, like the early "friends of God" (*walī/awliyā'*), rely solely on God.[29]

In Asia Minor, a number of charismatic figures joined with Qalandar dervishes in what could best be called a "Qalandar" phase. The most prominent of these figures in the time period and area of this study was Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289). A study of his life indicates some of the problems in trying to fit many of the religious figures of Anatolia into elite/folk categories. Although 'Irāqī was famous for his antinomian behavior, he came from a prominent family in Hamadan and eventually settled down for a brief period in Tokat. He was a favorite of the *amīr* Mu'īn al-Dīn Pervāne, Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī (the *ṣāḥib dīwān* [minister of state] of the Ilkhānids), and the Mamlūk sultan Qalawūn. According to a number of different historical sources, Mu'īn al-Dīn Pervāne and Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī built 'Irāqī dervish lodges.[30] But even with the support of these elite politicians, 'Irāqī continued his antinomian behavior. Typically, for example, he would allow the children of Tokat to lead him around on a leash.[31]

Many Anatolian dervish orders, like the followers of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (the Mawlawīs) and the followers of Ḥājjī Bektāsh (the Bektāshīs), trace their beginning to the thirteenth century. Fully developed hierarchical orders (*ṭarīqas*), however, were rarely in existence before the fifteenth century.[32] Yet, modern scholars have discussed the thirteenth century as a time when there were standardized orders. In fact, what makes dervish movements in this period so confusing is that most of them have been understood

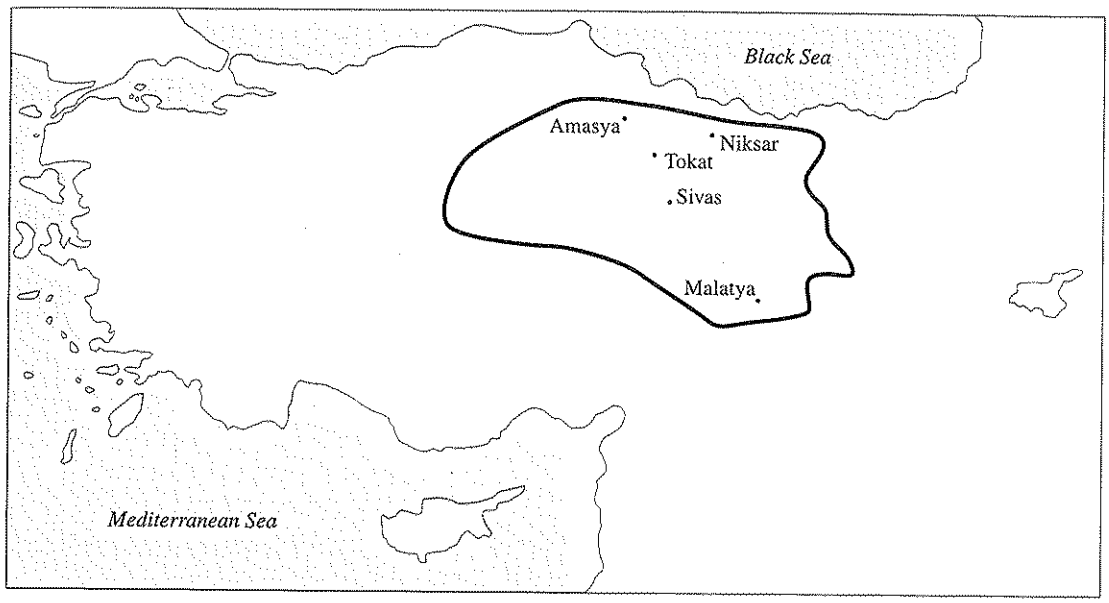


FIGURE 2
Anatolia, Dānishmendid territory.

through the work of Ashıkpashazade, a fifteenth-century Ottoman Sufi who divided thirteenth-century Anatolian dervishes into the separate and distinct groups they became by the fifteenth century.[33] By assuming that there were standardized orders in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anatolia, scholars have made the orders more powerful and central than the local heterogeneous communities that surrounded important dervishes associated with particular buildings.[34]

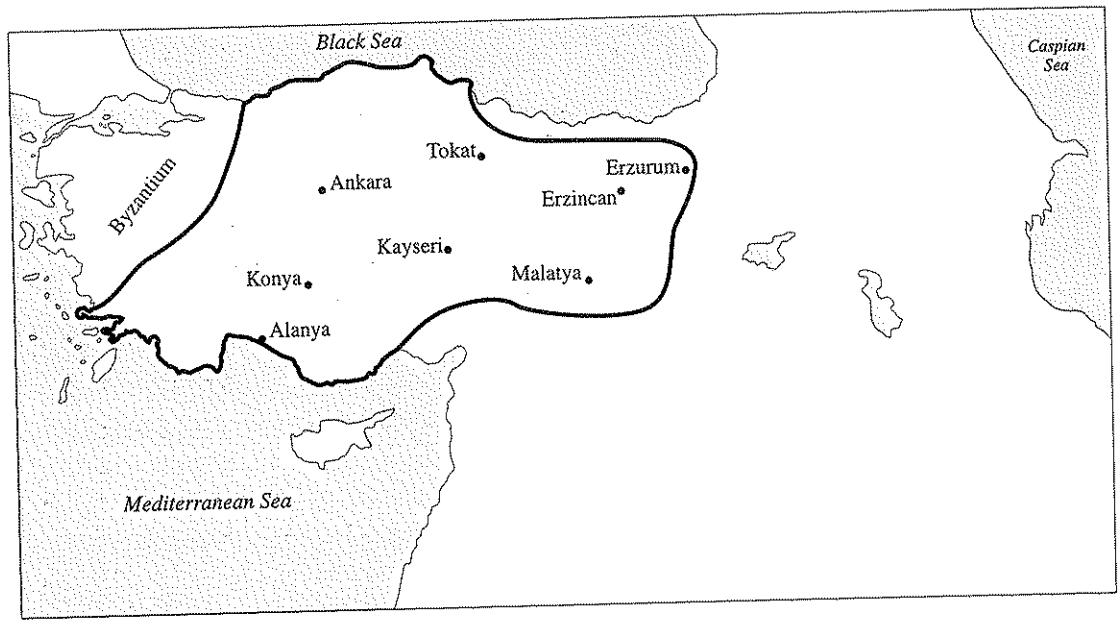
DERVISH LODGES AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF ANATOLIAN CITIES

The way audiences reacted to dervish lodges was part of the larger story of how Anatolian cities changed between the middle of the thirteenth century and the middle of the fourteenth. As this study argues, the location and orientation of these dervish lodges was a crucial part of this change. Before the mid-thirteenth century only four lodges existed in the three cities—Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya—that form the subject of this book. But to understand why the large number built between 1240 and 1350 created such a dramatic change in the organization of these cities requires a summary of the earlier events that molded their topography.

Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya are in a mountainous region of central Anatolia known as the Pontus. The region was named after the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea), which lent its name to the original Pontic kingdom set up by Mithradates I in 302 B.C., with Amasya as the capital. Up until the mid-second century B.C. Amasya remained important as the burial site of the Pontic kings. Through late antiquity the name continued to define a separate administrative unit adjacent to Armenia Prima in the Roman Empire.[35] Under the Byzantines, the area came to be associated with some important Christian martyrs, the most famous which were the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, Roman soldiers who had perished for Christianity.[36]

With the Byzantine defeat by the Seljuk Turks at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071, the region came under the control of the Dānishmendids, a Turkish Muslim dynasty that ruled in northern

FIGURE 3
Anatolia in the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād.



Cappadocia from the last quarter of the eleventh century until 1178. The century of Dānishmendid rule was marked by almost continual warfare. By the time of the first crusade, the eponymous leader of the Dānishmendids, Malik Dānishmend, had secured a territory including Sivas and Amasya. By 1142, Dānishmendid territory included two capitals: one in Sivas and one in Malatya (fig. 2). The Sivas branch ruled this region until they were conquered in 1178 by the other major Turkish Muslim force in the area, the Seljuks of Rūm.[37]

Although Dānishmendid rule lasted less than a century, the Dānishmendids had an enormous impact on the patterns of religious transformation for this region. Their pattern of conquest and adaptation followed an established tradition in the region: religious buildings that had first celebrated local cults, then Greek Orthodox and Armenian ones, were now adapted to the needs of the new rulers and so were converted into mosques.[38] As part of this pattern of adaptation, the Dānishmendids also adopted a bilingual coin that displayed a cruciform-nimbated bust of Christ and Greek inscriptions on one side.[39] Even in their epic work, the *Dānishmendnāme*, there are frequent positive references to the Christian companions of Malik Dānishmend that reveal a conciliatory and inclusive attitude toward Christians.[40]

When the Seljuks of Rūm defeated the Dānishmendids, they brought about a new mix between the local Christian populations, Türkmen newcomers, and the representatives of the Seljuk state. Unlike the short-lived Dānishmendids, barely able to get beyond acquiring new territory, the Seljuks came to the region as an established empire following the bureaucratic traditions of the Great Seljuks of Iran, who had settled there around 1081. From Konya they had consolidated their rule over large portions of Anatolia. The Seljuks of Rūm reached the peak of their power in 1178 with the conquest of the Dānishmendids, a victory that gave them control of the overland trade route through Anatolia (fig. 3). During the reign of the Seljuk sultan 'Izz al-Dīn Kay-Kā'ūs I (1210–19), the Seljuks gained power over two important ports, one on the Black Sea and one on the Mediterranean. With these conquests, the Seljuks controlled a north-south route that began

at the Black Sea ports of Sinop and Samsun and passed through Amasya, Tokat, and Sivas en route to Kayseri and Baghdad.[41]

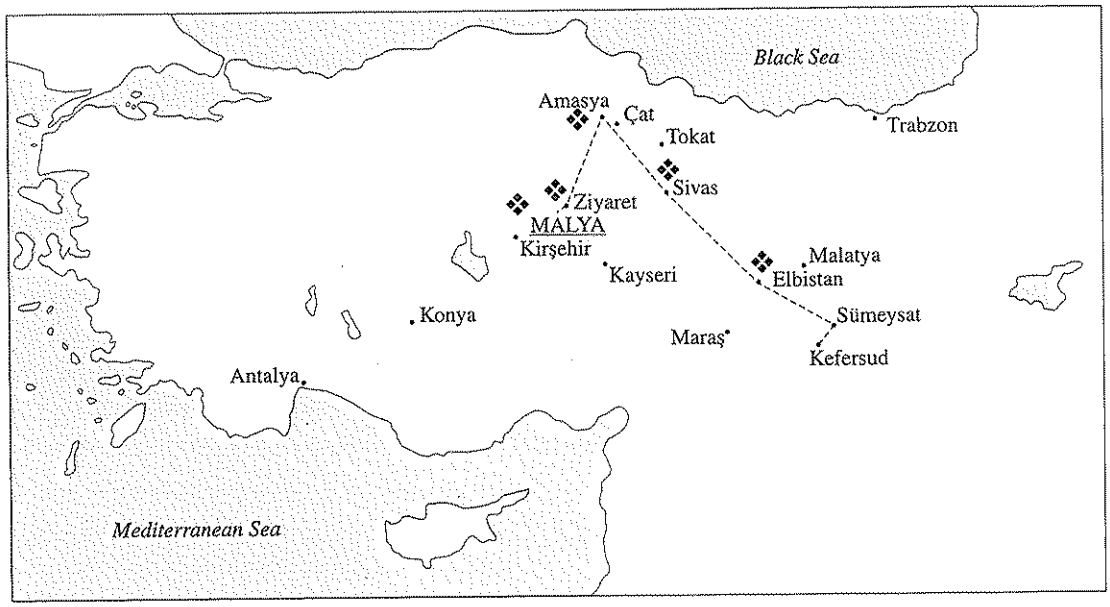
Although both ruled as aliens over a population primarily made up of Greek and Armenian Christians and various Türkmen clans, the Seljuks differed from the Dānishmendids in patronizing urban institutions that emphasized the gulf between the ruling elite and the populace.[42] These institutions were the palace and the *madrasa*, a religious college for higher studies. Within each of these institutions, Arabic and Persian were the languages of instruction, worship, and discussion. In this way, the Seljuks excluded the local Greek and Armenian populations and Türkmen newcomers from these institutions. More directly, the Seljuks removed from circulation visual symbols familiar to the Christian population. When the Seljuks conquered Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya, for example, the bilingual Dānishmendid coin types seem to have been discontinued.[43]

The Seljuks' support of the *madrasa* reinforced the social distance between the local population, especially the Christian residents, and the governing elite.[44] In particular, it supported an emergent class of *'ulamā'* (scholars or learned men of Islam), which allied itself with the secular political elite. *Madrasa* education covered all aspects of religious, political, and civil life, including *'ibadāt* (laws regulating ritual and religious observances), family law, *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), and laws of inheritance, property, and contract. *Fiqh* provided Muslims with a well-defined code of behavior that was sharply opposed to Christian religious and legal customs.[45] Thus the *madrasa* sponsored more than an elite cadre of scholars. It produced an elite group that followed a uniquely Muslim code regulating social life and administration. Finally, the *madrasa*, through its promotion of a relatively standardized code of ethical behavior, fostered a homogeneity of practice within the Seljuk elite. With the promotion and imposition of this code, the Muslim minority was able to insert itself into and eventually dominate an urban administration previously controlled by Christians.

The Seljuk policy of taxing alien subjects while excluding them from participation in government was only viable with a divided subject population and adequate land resources. There were a number of separate Christian communities in Anatolia, including Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Nestorian, and Monophysite. Many of the Christians in this region had been transferred by the Byzantine Empire from southern Anatolia to central Anatolia in the latter part of the tenth and eleventh centuries.[46] For the most part, these groups were hostile to one another, the Greek Orthodox Church drawing particular animosity from the others. Thus, the local Christian populace did not possess a unifying institution that could provide a basis of support for communal resistance to the new Islamic order.

Paradoxically, the relationship between these Christians and recently arriving groups of Türkmen immigrants from Iran and Central Asia was often closer than that between the various Christian communities. In some cases, their religious practices grew to resemble each other. During the thirteenth century, when suitable land became scarce, a hostile relationship developed between the Seljuk state on one side and the indigenous Christians and Türkmens on the other side. When the Seljuk sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (1237–45) tried to suppress the Türkmen elements within the empire, the situation in Anatolia became extremely volatile. The most dramatic consequence was the Bābā Rasūl, or Türkmen, revolt of 1240. Since Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya were together one of the main centers of this revolt, the story of the event and of the groups it brought together are crucial to the history of dervish lodges in these cities (fig. 4).

FIGURE 4
The Bābā Rasūl revolt.



According to the official Seljuk historian Ibn Bībī, the instigator was a Türkmen holy man from the Kefersud region in Syria who had lived in Seljuk territory, practicing magic and other related arts, under Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kay-Qubād (1219–37). With the accession of Kaykhusraw II, Bābā Rasūl fled to a dervish lodge in a village near Amasya. After gaining fame in that region, he traveled to southeast Anatolia and preached against the reigning Seljuk sultan Kaykhusraw. Kaykhusraw reacted by trying to have him killed. Not only did the sultan's envoy fail in his attempt, but Bābā Rasūl's followers grew so powerful that they were able to take over Tokat and Sivas. Even after Bābā Rasūl was captured and killed by the Seljuks, his following continued to grow. The movement was finally quashed by a special Seljuk force summoned from the East. According to Ibn Bībī, this force, which contained a number of Franks, massacred all of Bābā Rasūl's supporters, including women and children.[17]

Although there is a large corpus of material on the Bābā Rasūl revolt, most sources are in disagreement over such basic issues as the identity of its leader.[18] For example, a later account, written by Elwan Çelebi in 1358–59, states that the leader of the revolt was from Khurāsān. Other accounts of the revolt from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries provide different details about the instigator, but all describe a religious figure who rose up against the Seljuk state and whose supporters were brutally put down by the forces of the Seljuks.[19] Some of these authors have pointed out Bābā Rasūl's close relationship with Christians. The Ottoman historian Hüseyin Hüsameddin, drawing largely upon unnamed earlier histories, claimed that the instigator was a Christian convert named Isaac sent to the region by the Comnene family to start a Greek empire in Amasya.[20] The inclusion of Christians, albeit in a different way, also appears in the account of Elwan Çelebi, where the instigator of the revolt was imprisoned in the fortress of Amasya with a Christian monk whom he converted to Islam. According to this account, both Bābā Ilyās and the Christian monk were united in their fear of

the Seljuks. But regardless of the identity of the instigator—a Khurāsānian, Türkmen, or Christian—we know that he was from one of the many groups that had grown in strength and power by the time of Kaykhusraw II. In this instance, their common claims against the Seljuk sultan exerted a force more powerful than the divisiveness of their individual identities, which helps to explain why there was enormous sympathy for the cause of Bābā Rasūl.[51]

In a number of accounts a dervish lodge in or near Amasya served as a meeting site for Bābā Rasūl and his followers.[52] As a result, whether these accounts reflected an actual fact or were apocryphal, dervish lodges were redefined as political places and came to be regarded by the Seljuks and later rulers as constituting a threat.

This was a major change from before the Bābā Rasūl revolt, when dervish lodges and dervish activity had been defined through experiences and traditions outside the local landscape. Many of the dervish leaders and building patrons of the thirteenth century came from Seljuk Iran, and in many ways the Anatolian dervish lodges built before 1240 were similar to the lodges of the Great Seljuks in Iran. Before 1240, dervish lodges functioned much like way stations, housing pilgrims and travelers, or, when set along border territories, were associated with various state-sponsored military operations. The Bābā Rasūl revolt, however, gave local meaning to these buildings; as such, they became places of political dissent and armed revolt. From here, it was not a big leap to transform them from sites of political unrest to centers crucial in building the local alliances that promote security.

The Bābā Rasūl revolt and infighting among Seljuk *amīrs* weakened the Seljuks of Rūm to the extent that they were unable to defend themselves against the Mongols. In 1243, the Seljuks of Rūm lost the Battle of Köse Dağ to the Mongols and became Mongol vassals. Although the Seljuks nominally still ruled the area until 1307, semi-independent local rulers, often former Seljuk *amīrs* or their descendants, increasingly impinged upon central Seljuk authority.[53] More than twenty independent principalities, or *beyliks*, came into existence after 1243, half of which were established before the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Two of these principalities, those of the Ṣāḥiboğulları and Pervāneoğulları, competed with the Mongols for hegemony over central Anatolia. The Ṣāḥiboğulları and Pervāneoğulları dynasties, like many others ruling Türkmen principalities, were begun by local military leaders connected to dervishes. Generally, a local *amīr* would acquire land and revenue by alienating them from the Seljuks, relying on a combination of external Mongol backing and internal local support that was mustered through affiliation with charismatic dervishes. Eventually, one of the more powerful of these principalities, that of the Eretnids, was able to drive the Mongols out of Anatolia. The Eretnids ruled over Sivas, Amasya, and Tokat from 1326 to 1360. In sum, the period from the second half of the thirteenth century to the second half of the fourteenth, commonly referred to as the pre-Ottoman period by modern scholars, witnessed the breakdown of centralized rule and the rise of a largely independent local landed aristocracy.[54]

These developments gave form to a new architectural order in central Anatolia. First, they created new types of building patrons. From 1240 to 1350 there were three groups of these patrons. The first group, directly involved in Seljuk administration, was composed of *amīrs*, *wazīrs*, and *beylerbeys* (high-ranking military commanders). They were the leading building patrons in this period, the Seljuk sultans having built their last royal building before 1250.[55] These patrons endowed buildings in Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya on behalf of the Seljuk sultans until the end of the

thirteenth century. The best-known of these patrons were Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, the *ṣāḥib dīwān* of the Seljuk empire; ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Ṭurumṭay, the *beylerbey* of the Seljuk army; and *pervāne* Muʿīn al-Dīn, a high-ranking governor. Although they still supported *madrasas*, they also began to build dervish lodges, often building them close to their *madrasas*. The most prolific of these patrons were Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī and Muʿīn al-Dīn, two figures who tried to set up their own dynasties.

The second group of patrons, officials of the Ilkhānid dynasty, sponsored buildings in these three cities after the establishment of the Mongol protectorate. They also began to build dervish lodges as well as *madrasas*. For example, the *wazīr* Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī, the most prominent patron, built an elaborate *madrasa* in Sivas in 1271 and is also credited with building a dervish lodge for the prominent dervish Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāqī.[8] Juwaynī, like many other Mongol patrons who had prospered from trade in the Anatolian provinces, was encouraged to build pious structures in Anatolia.[9] Later Mongol patrons, like Nūr al-Dīn ibn Sentimūr, supported dervish lodges and tombs. The last Mongol building erected in these cities was completed in 1325.

Local aristocracy made up the third group, the most difficult group to classify. This group included local figures who, in many cases, were descendants, relations, or freed slaves of members of the house of Seljuk or were connected with the Mongols. As these individuals gained more power and wealth, they endowed more buildings. Their building activity spanned three decades from the end of the thirteenth century to approximately 1325. Although this group endowed a variety of buildings, they primarily funded dervish lodges.

During the twenty-five-year period between 1290 and 1315, when local leaders had assumed the responsibilities of rapidly weakening central rulers, all three of these groups supported building activity. This is also the period during which sponsors endowed the greatest number of dervish lodges in Sivas, Tokat, and Amasya.

Location and patronage were not the only factors that separated the dervish lodges built after 1250 from more elite and selective institutions. The dervishes associated with these buildings embraced innovative practices and beliefs. Such tolerance of and even interest in heterogeneous practices and beliefs attracted a variety of adherents. Prominent dervishes attracted followers from different groups in society. For example, the *qāḍī* (judge) of Sivas, the Seljuk *wazīr* Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, and common artisans were associated with Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.[10] In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anatolia, dervishes also had Christian adherents and sometimes incorporated Christian rituals into their devotional practices.[11] The symbiotic relationship among dervishes, non-Muslims, and Türkmen groups gave the dervish lodge prominence within the city. Dervishes followed alternative religious practices appealing to recent converts and even non-Muslims. The leaders of the new political structure, who supported dervish lodges over *madrasas*, in this way helped to displace the *madrasa*-trained bureaucratic and religious elite. As dervish lodges grew in popularity, dervishes and dervish practices regulated much communal activity in the religious, personal, and even social life of the urban residents.

In sum, this book examines the role of dervish lodges in the reformulation of religious communities in late Seljuk and early Beylik Anatolia and on that basis explains the massive transformations that took place in the pre-Ottoman period, when a breakdown of centralized rule and the rise of a largely independent local landed aristocracy translated into increasing power for local religious figures, who began to see themselves as spokesmen for the residents of Anatolia. Although their buildings are often understood as pious places of retreat

for the conversion of local Christians and pagan Türkmens, they first functioned as centers for the support, identification, and definition of religious communities formed around charismatic figures. In this way, dervish lodges served as central sites where the many relationships between the changing groups of Anatolia were mediated. Dervish lodges provided new bases of operations to recently uprooted religious leaders. They also provoked and gave shape to a series of compromises and cooperative agreements between their founders, benefactors, and users. By suggesting that it was individual lodges and not government patrons or Sufi orders (*ṭarīqa*) that provided the framework for new communal formations, I argue that buildings were central to identity formation. Placing dervish-lodge communities outside of a centralized government structure or *ṭarīqa* puts them in a local landscape. In the pre-Ottoman period that landscape had been most recently redefined by the Bābā Rasūl revolt and a number of other Türkmen uprisings and migrations.