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MA THESIS

“HAMDIM, PIŞTİM, YANDIM”: THE OUTER AND INNER
ROLES OF THE MEVLEVÎ KITCHEN

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ABSTRACT

“HAMDİM, PİŞTİM, YANDİM”: THE OUTER AND INNER ROLES OF THE MEVLEVÎ KITCHEN

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This thesis starts with the conviction that the strong role of food in traveling can be applied to historical spatio-temporal traveling. Our overarching research question is: what were the different roles played by the kitchen in Ottoman *Mevlevîhânes*? And our answer which formed the core of our framework was that the *Mevlevî* kitchen had both inner and outer roles. These roles were reflected in both the functions and the physical presence of two different kitchens in big *Mevlevî tekkes* known as *Âsitâne*. As such, Chapter One is a literature review of global food history and a comparison with the specific case of Ottoman food history. Chapter Two covers the outer role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen through a casestudy of the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî in the context of multiple crises which hit Central Anatolia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. Chapter Three covers the inner role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen known as *matbah-ı şerif* through a reading of major primary and secondary sources and a comparison with the relevant miniatures from an early Seventeenth century non-published *Mesnevi* manuscript.

Keywords: Central Anatolia; Matbah-ı Şerif; *Mevlevî* tarikat; *Mevlevîhâne*; Ottoman Food History; *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî

ÖZ

“HAMDİM, PİŞTİM, YANDIM”: MEVLEVÎ MUTFAĞININ ZÂHİRÎ VE BÂTİNÎ ROLLERİ

TAIAL, SOUHAYLA

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Bu tez evrensel yemek tarihinden başlarayarak ve Osmanlı yemek tarihini örnek alarak şu soruyu cevaplamayı hedeflemektedir: Osmanlı Mevlevihânelerinde mutfağın rolü nedir? Araştırmamızın sonucunda, bu sorunun cevabı iki başlık altında verilebilmektedir. Çünkü Mevlevî mutfağının biri zâhirî ve diğeri bâtinî olarak tanımlanabilecek iki ana rolü vardır. Zâhirî rolü normal ve her tekkede bulunan mutfakta gerçekleşirken bâtinî rolü sadece Âsitâne diye bilinen büyük Mevlevihânelerin *matbah-ı şerif* diye adlandırılan mukaddes mutfağında gözlemlenebilir. Tezimiz bir giriş ve üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Birinci bölüm bir literatür taramasıdır. Bu bölümde evrensel ve Osmanlı yemek tarihlerinin gelişimi analiz edilmiştir. İkinci bölüm Mevlevî mutfağının zâhirî rolünün araştırmasıdır. Bu bölümde Konya Mevlevihânesine bağlı olan Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî Vakfını örnek alarak iç Anadolu bölgesinin onaltı ve onyedinci yüyillarda maruz kaldığı çeşitli krizlerin kapsamında vakfın muhasebe defterleri analiz edilmiştir. Üçüncü bölüm Mevlevî mutfağının bâtinî rolünün araştırmasıdır. Bu bölüm iki kısımdan oluşmaktadır. Birinci kısımda Mevlevî tarikatını konu alan birincil ve ikincil kaynaklar kullanılarak *matbah-ı şerifi* tanımlanmıştır. İkinci kısımda ise birinci kısmın bilgileri onyedinci yüzyıla ait ve henüz basılmamış olan bir Mesnevî nushasındaki miniyatürlerle karşılaştırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İç Anadolu; *Matbah-ı Şerif*; Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî Vakfı; Mevlevî tarikat; Mevlevihâne; Osmanlı Yemek Tarihi

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“Hamdım, Piştim, Yandım”

The Outer and Inner Dimensions of the *Mevlevî* Kitchen

INTRODUCTION

When we travel to new and different lands, food is one of the cultural components which strike us the first and the most. Discovering the local food becomes an important step in making our way into the new places and cultures. Our experience becomes richer as we see, smell, and taste different flavours. Our memories become more vivid as we remember, remake, and retaste the newly discovered recipes. Our emotions, either positive or negative, become stronger as we encounter similar smells again. This thesis starts with the conviction that the strong role of food in traveling can also be applied to historical spatio-temporal traveling. As such, it aims to use the key of food to open the gates of history for a travel which, we hope, would make historical events look richer, more vivid, and stronger in the eyes of interested audiences. Our travel will take us from a relatively short description of contemporary food history as a starting point before embarking into a trip to our destination. The journey will get more specific in terms of space and time as we zoom into food history in Ottoman studies, further down into our specific case-study which is the food culture and the role of the kitchen in the *Mevlevihâne* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî of Konya in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, and finally down into a description of an additional dimension which is the inner role of the Mevlevi kitchen for residing dervishes.

Our journey is made possible through a combination of archival, primary, and secondary sources.¹ The archival data consists of miniatures and *Vakıf* account books. Two miniatures are

¹ In addition to archival data, primary sources consist of personal diaries such as *Aşçı Dede'nin Hatıraları* by Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Çilehane Mektupları* by Tahirü'l-Mevlevî, the Divan of Şeyh Galip, etc. It is worth noting that the primary sources date from the 18th, 19th, and even 20th centuries. As such, they are used as further supporting rather than direct evidence on the *Mevlevî* food culture and the role of the kitchen in *Mevlevihânes* in the period under study. Finally, a part of the main secondary sources consists of works which are directly related to the *Mevlevî tarikat* such as the books by Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevilik* (1983) and *Mevlevî Adab ve Erkanı* (1963); *Tarihi Simalardan Mevlevi* by Muhittin Celal Duru, and the more recent *Mevlevilikte Manevî Eğitim* (2015) by Safi Arpaguş. Others are more recent books, and mainly collections of articles, on Ottoman food history such as *Feeding People, Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* edited by Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann, and Amy Singer, *The Illuminated Table, The Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture* edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, *Earthly*

from a non-published manuscript of the *Mesnevî* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî dating from early Seventeenth Century. It is currently kept at the manuscript section of Beyazit public library in Istanbul. *Vakıf* account books are from the *Mâliyeden Müdevver* section in the Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey (*T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı*). They pertain to the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî in Konya during the Sixteen and Seventeenth centuries.

A natural question which may come to mind at this point is: what are the reasons behind the choice of the *Mevlevî tarikat* as a point of focus? The answer is manifold. While the interest in food history of the Ottoman empire is growing, most studies have so far focused on palaces, *imarets*, and urban dwellers. *Tarikats* can be considered an important component of the socio-economic structure of Ottoman society. They are places of gathering, networking, educating, preaching, and eating. Studies of the *tarikats* in general and *Mevlevihânes* in particular often fall under architecture and restoration studies. Even from their physical and architectural aspect, the kitchen is often, as we shall see, the most central and prominent area of the *Mevlevihâne*. This indicates that there is room for research into the food culture and history in the *Mevlevihâne*. Additionally, the *Mevlevihâne* as a center for a *tarikat* creates an apparent paradox between the Sufi teachings on limiting consumption and the importance given to the kitchen. This made it more urgent to dive into the research question on how the two were combined. Finally, the availability of archival data on the subject made the research possible. More specifically, it became possible to underpin some aspects of the role of food and kitchen in the *Mevlevihâne* through the archival and primary sources as well as the specific case study of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî's *Mevlevihâne* in Konya during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries.

In short, the scarcity of studies on Sufi food culture during the Ottoman time combined with the prominent role of the kitchen in the *Mevlevihâne* and the availability of archival data make the endeavour of answering the following question possible: what was the role of the kitchen in the Ottoman *Mevlevihânes*? To answer this question, we asked two more specific questions. The first specific question, which is on the outer role of the kitchen, is: how did the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî deal with the agricultural and demographic crisis which hit central

Delights: Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, c. 1500-1900, edited by Angela Jianu and Violeta Barbu, and *Foodways from Kebab to Ćevapčići and Their Significance in and beyond (Post) Ottoman Europe* By Arkadiusz Blaszczyk and Stefan Rohdewald.

anatolia, and particularly Konya, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth century? The second specific question, which is on the inner role of the kitchen, is: based on primary and secondary sources, what was the role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen in the spiritual education of the residing dervishes, and how was this role reflected in miniature paintings from the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth century?

Chapter one is a literature review where we present a short overview of what is just meant by food history as a global historiographical discipline, the place of studies on the Ottoman empire within it, and some major gaps which this current study will be addressing. Since we are concerned with tekkes in general and *Mevlevîhânes* in particular, we added a further section on some important information about the *Mevlevî* tarîkat, *Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî*, and Ottoman *Mevlevîhânes*. Our research question on the role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen will be separated into two parts, namely an outer role and an inner role. Chapter two will delve into the external aspect of the *Mevlevî* kitchen as a socio-economic institution within the food distribution network. For this, we will take the *Vakf* of *Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî* as a case-study and answer the following question: how did the *Vakf* of *Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî* deal with the agricultural and demographic crisis which hit central anatolia, and particularly Konya, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth century? Chapter three will, on the other hand, delve into the internal aspect of the *Mevlevî* kitchen as an educational institution for residing dervishes. For this, we will provide information such as the physical description of the kitchen, a listing of all the tasks involved in the division of labour, the rules for admission and exit, and the general rules, manners, and codes of conduct which were to be followed. Finally, we will have an artistic journey whereby we look for which elements from all of the above were present and absent in a miniature representation of a *Tekke* and a *Mevlevî* kitchen in the Sixteenth century.

CHAPTER 1

GLOBAL FOOD HISTORY: A SHORT OVERVIEW

Delving into researching a topic has to start first with a definition of the subject matter. For this, we will refer to the most recent literature and follow Blaszczyk and Rohdewald who deliberately used the term “foodways” instead of just food. Foodways goes beyond the solely material aspect of food into investigating more food related practices. In this context, they adopted the definition of Lawrance and de la Pena² and defined foodways as follows:

an approach to “attitudes, practices and rituals around food,” see in foodways “a critical lens to explore trans-cultural, and trans-regional mobility, locality, and local embeddedness of foodstuffs,” their production and consumption. With social mobility added to this catalogue of mobilities, studying foodways may reveal the “profound impact foods have on culture, politics and industrial practices.”³

Far from being taken for granted, this definition of foodways is a result of several efforts from the past few decades. Indeed, it took some time for food history to establish itself as a separate area of research within academic historiography⁴. Food was both present everywhere yet not specifically studied *per se* almost anywhere. From the late 19th century to the 1950s, there seemed to be a separation within the field of history between “serious” and “amateur” historians. With food history as a case in point, “an interest in the history of food as an object of study *per se* was considered the remit of amateur historians, cooks, re-enactors, and the like, “marginals” deemed to “emasculate” history as a serious pursuit, to use Jeffrey M. Pilcher’s words.”⁵ This lasted “until at least the 1950s [where] food tended to appear in historical works haphazardly as it related to other topics.”⁶

The shift in “awareness about the “seriousness” of food as a topic for the professional, academic historian” happened gradually thanks to an increasing interest of researchers from the fields of

² Carolyn De La Peña and Benjamin N. Lawrance, “Introduction: Traversing the Local/Global and Food/Culture Divides,” *Food and Foodways* 19, no. 1–2 (February 9, 2011): 1–10, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07409710.2011.544156>.

³ Arkadiusz Blaszczyk and Stefan Rohdewald, *From Kebab to Čevapčići: Foodways in (Post-)Ottoman Europe*, 1st ed. (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2018), 4, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvc4m4ftx>.

⁴ Angela Jianu and Violeta Barbu, *Earthly Delights: Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, C. 1500-1900* (Brill, 2018).

⁵ Jianu and Barbu, 1.

⁶ Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* (Oxford University Press, 2012): xix

food studies, anthropology, and ethnography⁷. The latter found in a food-focused perspective answers to raising questions and phenomena. The rising of social history in the 1960s and 1970s created new debates and raised new questions about food consumption. The developments in France and Britain were notable examples. While nutrition was a common major concern among the two lines of research, their questions and historical periods of interest were different. In Britain, the starting point was in the fields of economic and demographic history through the questions and debates about the standards of living. The main question was on “whether industrialization had led to a decline in the laboring poor’s already modest standard of living.” The answer involved the study of some food items such as meat, fruits, and vegetables whose consumption is sensitive to the changes in the levels of income as well as the trends by which the industrial working class substituted some food items such as bread-based diets with other cheaper alternatives. In France, the starting point was with the *Annales* school through a highly empirical and quantitative inquiry to verify the extent to which Braudel’s statement that “officially, the soup is always good” (*officiellement, la soupe est toujours bonne*) could hold true. The main question was on “how sailors, prisoners, recipients of public charity and other inmates of institutions were fed in the early modern period.”⁸ Therefore, both debates were concerned with nutritional habits in some way, yet each one was focused on a different period. While the British debate focused on industrial modernity, the French debate focused on the Early Modern Era.

Then, by the 1990s, food history got further enriched with the interest in a better understanding of “the quality of historic diets and health, most notably through the examination of skeletal remains”⁹. These examples can be considered as the timid starting points of a new field which would soon grow to tackle wider and further issues. “Already in the early 1970s, scholars had begun to question the deterministic assumptions behind economic studies, thus setting the stage for a culturally attuned political history of food.”¹⁰ This is notable in the studies by E. P. Thompson¹¹ on the “moral economy” through an “anthropological approach to the politics of

⁷ Jianu and Barbu, *Earthly Delights*, 1.

⁸ Suraiya Faroqi, “Introduction,” in *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture*, ed. Suraiya Faroqi and Christoph K. Neumann (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003), 9–34.

⁹ Pilcher, *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* : xix

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ “One starting point was E. P. Thompson’s essay on the “moral economy” of the crowd and food riots in England during the transition to capitalism. Rather than chart the rise of food riots as a “spasmodic” response of hungry people to rising prices, Thompson sought to understand the cultural logic used to justify rioting at a time when a new commercial economy began to violate the long-standing rules of an older moral economy that were intended to protect the most vulnerable members of society”; see Pilcher.

hunger” and Amartya Sen’s “economic theory of entitlement” who “demonstrated more generally that hunger has resulted not from food shortages alone but primarily from failures of distribution.”¹² This created a new theme of research whereby “scholars have examined the links between food distribution and political legitimacy in a wide range of societies.”¹³

At this point, the food historian has gained more self-confidence and continued to learn from, but also inspire, other disciplines such as structuralism, archaeology, anthropology, sociology, and psychology¹⁴ on the promises of using food as a perspective for their respective studies. In the academic realm, food studies was moved from being connotated with “the mere reconstruction of historical recipes” towards serving as a “gateway for many sets of [wider] questions.”¹⁵ This interest in foodways reached a heyday when prominent scholars such as Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu started using food and eating as an instrument to answer far reaching questions such as the civilizing process¹⁶ of the former and distinction¹⁷ of the latter.¹⁸ This usage of food as a building block for wider theories created an increasing awareness among academic historians of the *Geschichtsmächtigkeit*, i.e. the historical power, of food¹⁹. Eventually, “the history of food soared quite rapidly towards the heights of academic respectability to become a growing area of research and an established sub-discipline of history which is currently recruiting increasing numbers of professional practitioners.”²⁰ In other words, an increasing number of historians came to the realization that “looking at food is a way of sneaking up from behind to startle long lasting historical narratives [and] not looking at food is like missing a secret (or not so secret at all) ingredient”²¹.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid: xix-xx

¹⁴ “Food studies, of course, operate within a well-established tradition, with major early contributions from structuralism (Claude Lévi-Strauss, Mary Douglas), from archaeology (for instance, the study of Kwang-Chih Chang, *Food and Chinese Culture*, 1977), from anthropology (for example, Sidney Mintz, with his material-cultural approach to the study of sugar in *Sweetness and Power*, 1985), from sociology (for example, Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson, who has analyzed the discourses of food), or psychology (for instance, Elisabeth and Paul Rozin, who focus on the sensorial aspects of food)”; see Jianu and Barbu, *Earthly Delights*.

¹⁵ Blaszczyk and Rohdewald, *From Kebab to Čevapčići*, 2.

¹⁶ Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation: Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, 27th ed. (Frankfurt a. M: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1976); Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 2nd edition (Oxford ; Malden, Mass: Wiley-Blackwell, 2000).

¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction : Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979)

¹⁸ Blaszczyk and Rohdewald, 2.

¹⁹ Ibid, 3.

²⁰ Jianu and Barbu, *Earthly Delights*, 2–3.

²¹ Blaszczyk and Rohdewald, *From Kebab to Čevapčići*, 2–3.

Overall, we can fairly describe the chronology of the development of food history as a sub-discipline within historiography as the formation period of the discipline. However, we cannot really claim that it is over. To the contrary, there seems to be an ongoing period of discovery of all the possibilities offered by this new field, of the sources available to the researcher, and of the methodologies to be followed.

The large scope of food studies, the wide range of influencing disciplines, and the various levels of analysis led naturally to diverse approaches taken by contemporary historians of food and society. “Some authors focus in depth on illustrative topics [... while] others survey the entire sweep of world history by way of fundamental thematic categories such as human mobility, labor, and the environment.”²² A tentative thematic categorization of food studies could include studies on the five following themes: political history, cultural change over time, food and identity, industrial transformation, and nutritional health.²³ However, this list is far from being exhaustive with all the new possibilities offered by sources and methodologies.

The diversity of the sources available to the researcher of cultural food history stems from two main reasons. The first reason is the diversity within the different dimensions of the subject matter itself, i.e. food, which often has both material aspects and symbolic meanings. The second reason is the diversity of the sources which make mention of food. These include the archives, travel accounts, and culinary literature. However, “the real promise of cultural history lies in the innovative use of new types of sources, not only in the documentary record but also in material culture, oral histories, sensory perceptions, and kitchen repertoires.”²⁴ As such, an endeavour into food cultural history would mean an innovative combination of various sources and a successful association of both material and symbolic meanings attached to food as a subject matter.

At this point, it may be useful to provide an example of a study by Nicholas Trepanier whereby the author the gift by Marcel Mauss as an existing idea in sociology, applies the same logic to food studies, and shows how one can move from the material to the symbolic role of food in a

²² Pilcher, *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*: xviii - xix

²³ Ibid, xxii

²⁴ Ibid, 55.

society. To use the author's own words, it is a study which aims "to serve as a methodological model, using food as an organizing principle to present the general picture of a society."²⁵

As such, food history is at a formation stage whereby questions, definitions, sources, methodologies, themes, and questions are still being set. A possible contribution from historians to this growing field could be an innovative combination of the aforementioned sources and ideas into a narrative of how cuisines have developed over time and by situating them within particular social and cultural contexts of production, distribution and consumption.²⁶ Luckily, the increasing interest in food history is reflected on the ground with the creation of academic peer-reviewed journals for food history such as *Food and Foodways* in 1985, *Food and History (Revue de l'Institut Européen d'Histoire de l'Alimentation)* in 2003 and *Global Food History* in 2015. The latter's editors describe the aim behind creating "a disciplinary journal dedicated to global food history [...as a] hope to encourage research that broadens our understanding of a fundamental element of human experience and that reconnects historical research to the field of food studies."²⁷ Hopefully, the academic journals will help in bringing together all research streams under food history so as to build a better idea about the promises offered by this research area in the future.

Now that we have a general idea about some of the main themes discussed in global food history, it is equally important to look at which geographies and cultures are present the most in the previous studies. Based on a summary provided in Pilcher's introductory chapter in the *Oxford Handbook of Food History*²⁸, we can make a rough categorization of the mentioned

²⁵ His main argument was summarized by Amy Singer as follows: Trépanier's discussion is organized around the proposition that food, as a necessary precondition for life, constitutes a "total social fact" (un fait social total, une prestation totale) comparable to the gift in Marcel Mauss' conceptualization of the organization of human societies. Such a "total social fact" creates social bonds between the people who stand in the relationship of giver and recipient. Trépanier, by analogy, posits that food works in as powerful a way as Mauss' gift by weaving a web of necessary, and constantly reinforced and tested bonds among people, in dyads and more complex networks. They became linked by food into relationships of producers and consumers (and all the subcategories of each, including land owners, tax authorities, transporters, cooks, etc.). These relationships themselves define and are in turn defined by political, economic, social and cultural influences. This is Trépanier's key into a world utterly remote from the contemporary one, yet one from which he can offer real insights for understanding both the fourteenth century and the twenty-first. Trépanier's proposal that food can be a theoretical and methodological key in this way is a challenging one and combines productively with the less than dense empirical base offered by his sources, see Amy Singer, "Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia. A New Social History," *Global Food History* 2, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 91–94, <https://doi.org/10.1080/20549547.2015.1113377>.

²⁶ Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, Megan J. Elias, and Jeffrey M. Pilcher, "Editorial Introduction: Writing Global Food History," *Global Food History* 1, no. 1 (September 1, 2015): 5–12, <https://doi.org/10.1080/20549547.2015.11435409>.

²⁷ Ibid, 5.

²⁸ Pilcher, *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*: xviii - xix

studies into two. The first category are studies which addresses specific events and geographies with relation to food. The second category are studies which draws from the philosophical, cultural, and intellectual heritage of how past civilizations and intellectual movements perceived food.

The specific geographical locations included the United States, Arabia, Western Europe²⁹, and Russia, Caucasus, and Siberia. As for the past philosophical and intellectual movements, they included Ancient Chinese philosophy, Ancient Greek philosophy, Renaissance Humanism, and Enlightenment philosophes.

Be it as it may, there is almost no mention in the studies which deal directly with global food history and which we had the chance to read on other geographies such as Africa, Eastern Europe (other than Russia), Anatolia, the Middle East, and Central Asia, not, for that matter, of empires which have expanded across the aforementioned geographies. The Ottoman empire is a case in point. The following question is thus inevitable: what is the state of the art in food history pertaining to the Ottoman empire?

FOOD HISTORY ABOUT THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: A SHORT OVERVIEW

The importance attached to food culture by the Ottomans means that there is a wealth of primary material in sources of many kinds, including descriptions of royal celebrations, court records, endowment deeds, kitchen accounts, lists of fixed retail prices, medical books, poetry, folklore and miniature paintings³⁰

While food history is still in its formation period as a sub-discipline of global historiography, food was more widely used in Ottoman history as a lens to access historical events and answer wider questions. In fact, some authors would claim that food is a particularly appropriate vehicle

²⁹ Here, there seems to be a confusion in Pitcher's introductory article between the French and British debates. In fact, as mentioned earlier, the two debates focus on different eras. The French debate is strongly empirical and focuses on the early modern era. The British debate, on the other hand, focused on the modern era. That is, it was more concerned with the improvement question of the standards of living and the lifestyle of the industrial working class. These matters were more of a concern for England than France because the peasantry in England became weaker after the industrial revolution, and a new industrial working class emerged, while the peasantry in France was still relatively strong and independent.

³⁰ Priscilla Mary Isin, *Bountiful Empire: A History of Ottoman Cuisine* (London, UK: Reaktion Books, 2018), 8.

for accessing Ottoman history, given “the long and celebrated reputation of Ottoman and Turkish cuisines, and their rich legacy to the post-Ottoman lands of the Balkans, Anatolia, the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean in general”³¹. Now that the scope is clearer and relatively more limited than the wider global history, it is easier to trace the main themes and questions of interest among Ottoman food historians, or Ottoman historians in general who decided to access Ottoman history from the food perspective.

When we think of the Ottoman empire in this context, it would be particularly useful to think of it in terms of the diversities in, firstly, its geographical space and, secondly, in the available historical sources. The geographical diversity allows for a comparative analysis of topics such as the main themes researched in each region but also on a comparative analysis between those parts of the empire which are studied versus those which are either understudied or not studied at all. The diversity in sources makes the aforementioned task for historians to combine various sources in their research all the more possible. The following sections will provide a brief overview of the chronological development of Ottoman food history in addition to its spatio-temporal scope and its main themes and questions.

Ottoman food history started rather indirectly with a study where Ömer Lütfi Barkan tried to trace price history back in time through a reconstruction of a consumption basket which would be typical to Ottoman İstanbul.³² So far, the study would easily fall under economic and price history of the Ottoman empire. However, its relationship to food history does not only lie in the fact that the consumption basket is mainly composed of food items, but also from the source that Barkan used in his study. Indeed, he found in the kitchen accounts of the palaces in the imperial cities of Edirne and İstanbul a rich source with its detailed description of the main kitchen foods and items. While he could not eventually finish his initial endeavour, his study was further developed by Şevket Pamuk after him.³³ Nonetheless, Barkan’s work holds the great merit of tracing the path for other historians who realized the usefulness of the palace

³¹ Singer, “Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia. A New Social History”, 91.

³² It is worth noting that Barkan was part of the editorial board of the *Annales*. His studies therefore benefitted from some major themes and methodologies of the *Annales* school. He could therefore transfer them from the context of Spain, France, and Italy which were the main focus of the *Annales* school and apply them to the Ottoman context.

³³ Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

kitchen accounts³⁴ in answering further questions about the development and changes in eating habits and food distribution across many centuries of Ottoman history³⁵.

While Barkan's use of the kitchen accounts may have provided a kickstart for Ottoman food history, dealing with Topkapı palace alone would have answered a rich yet relatively limited set of questions which would mainly pertain to the capital city of İstanbul and its most proximate region. However, when we think of Ottoman cuisine, we can relatively easily claim that "these culinary traditions developed and flourished in the broad geography that defined the Ottoman Empire, in part due to its incorporation of a rich spectrum of agrarian ecologies and in part due to its control of trade routes via which flowed basic foodstuffs, delicacies, and spices together with talented chefs and food lore of all types."³⁶ As such, studying Ottoman food history should also go beyond the focus on the capital and the palace alone to incorporate further geographies and answer wider and various sets of questions. So, how far in space did Ottoman food history go? and what are the main themes it had addressed so far?

The initial beginning of Ottoman food history on the basis on economic price history evolved into a richer spectrum of themes related to differences in geographies and social classes. The nature of food as an item to be consumed made its study appropriate under the wider heading of consumption studies. Then, focusing on Turkish small town societies and their anti-consumerist attitudes made *abstention* from consumption, rather than an interest in food and drink, a principal focus of research.³⁷ Eventually, the "civilizational discourse" around food consumption and eating habits came into play and took a large part of the literature in Ottoman food studies. A direct comparison was thereby made between the 'modern' and the 'traditional' "as viewed by members of the late Ottoman elite. Additionally, the civilizational discourse was also "encoded in multiple forms, starting with the antagonism between mobile and sedentary lifestyles, bread and non-bread eaters, the labels of Barbarism, raw and cooked (in the Chinese case), Occidentalism vs. Orientalism, Balkanism, etc."³⁸ More recently, other themes have

³⁴ A more detailed explanation of food studies on Ottoman imperial palaces is provided in a separate section.

³⁵ Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, eds., *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003), 19.

³⁶ Singer, "Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia. A New Social History", 91.

³⁷ As demonstrated by the popular saying "*bir lokma, bir hırka*" see Faroqhi and Neumann, *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*, 11.

³⁸ Blaszczyk and Rohdewald, *From Kebab to Čevapčići*, 4.

emerged within Ottoman food history. For instance, a newly emerging theme was “the (re)production of hierarchies and social positionality through food.”³⁹ Another theme was the “relation between territorial conquest and imperial administrative control.”⁴⁰ An additional idea was on how “food defined status in terms of both variety and quality, and the capacity to distribute food regularly was one identifying marker of both a stable and capable government and a wealthy and generous person”⁴¹. Here, the question of food supply comes into place, and several studies tried to analyze the food distribution networks. A specific focus was on the Ottoman capital city of Istanbul on questions concerning the supply of grains and meat, especially sheep meat.⁴²

When it comes to the geographical scope of Ottoman food history, earlier literature seems to have a focus on “the metropolitan and Eastern area of the empire. Central areas such as Anatolia and the Balkans remain largely understudied, with the notable exception of German scholarly explorations into the culinary culture of Ottoman Turks in Balkan areas”.⁴³ The potential for a rich contribution from studies focusing on the Balkans to the wider Ottoman food history stems from the consideration that “the Ottoman Balkans were territories of vast -- spontaneous as well as enforced -- movements of populations, which led to multiple interactions and acculturations, as well as to the construction of social networks which channelled exchanges of foodstuffs, spices, household implements, and the transmission of practices, tastes, and trends.”⁴⁴ Luckily, more recent scholarship seems to remedy for this inequality in focus. There seems to be indeed an increasing combination of Ottoman and Balkan historiographies through food-centered narratives and perspectives as demonstrated by the two recently published volumes in 2018 *Earthly Delights: Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, c. 1500-1900*, edited by Angela Jianu and Violeta Barbu and *Foodways from Kebab to Ćevapčići and*

³⁹ Blaszczyk and Rohdewald, 5.

⁴⁰ For example, in the case of the Balkans, the authors describe them as “territories of vast - spontaneous as well as enforced - movements of populations, which led to multiple interactions and acculturations, as well as to the construction of social networks which channelled exchanges of foodstuffs, spices, household implements, and the transmission of practices, tastes and trends.” See Jianu and Barbu, *Earthly Delights*, 6.

⁴¹ Singer, “Foodways and Daily Life in Medieval Anatolia. A New Social History,” 91.

⁴² Lütfi Güçer, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi Ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler* (İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1964); Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1962); Ahmet Uzun, *İstanbul'un İaşesinde Devletin Rolü : Ondalık Ağnam Uygulaması (1783-1857)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2006); Antony Warren Greenwood, “Istanbul’s Meat Provisioning: A Study of the Celepkeşan System” (PhD Thesis, University of Chicago, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1988); Rhoads Murphey, “Provisioning Istanbul: The State and Subsistence in the Early Modern Middle East,” *Food and Foodways* 2, no. 1 (April 1987): 217–63.

⁴³ Jianu and Barbu, *Earthly Delights*, 10.

⁴⁴ Jianu and Barbu, 6.

Their Significance in and beyond (Post) Ottoman Europe By Arkadiusz Blaszczyk and Stefan Rohdewald.

The former book is a set of publications which aims to answer the following broader question: what is the specific contribution of food history to the understanding of the socio-cultural dynamics of the Balkans and South-East Europe compared to the more established approaches of social and economic history, or religious anthropology?⁴⁵ As for the latter book, it is a product of a symposium which “aimed to recontextualize, reflect and expand upon recent approaches in foodways studies in the framework of an “Ottoman Europe.” Among other matters, the contributors were asked to contribute on questions of religion (fasting), diplomacy (gifts, banquets), discursive history (travel journals, cookbooks), spatial history (coffee houses, market places), social and military history, heritage, prosopography (cooks, food critics) and even archeological finds.”⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the same developments did not apply to Central Anatolia which is still by and large an understudied region within Ottoman food history. Trying to fill this gap in Ottoman historiography is therefore one of the main aims of the current study.

INSTITUTIONS FOR FOOD DISTRIBUTION AS OTTOMAN FINGERPRINTS

While all of the above provide a general idea on the main themes and questions tackled in Ottoman food history, an equally important way of analyzing the subject matter can be done through a focus on food distribution networks. More specifically, this research stream is concerned with those institutions which could gather food from rural areas and distribute them in urban settings. Based on the differences in clientele and functions, and in addition to domestic household food consumption⁴⁷, we will focus on three main institutions: the palace, the *imaret*, and the *Tekke*. In the following section, we will provide a short overview of studies on food history under these three main institutional heading. This will give us further ideas on both the state of the art in the topic and the existing gaps in the current literature.

⁴⁵ Jianu and Barbu, 6.

⁴⁶ Blaszczyk and Rohdewald, *From Kebab to Čevapčići*, 2.

⁴⁷ These include the houses of rich families and administrative dignitaries who would often offer food to their neighbors, acquaintances, and other city-dwellers.

Imperial Palaces:

Palaces hold a special place in the social organization in the imperial cities of the Ottoman empire. Ömer Lütfi Barkan focused, for instance, on the kitchen accounts of the palaces in Edirne and İstanbul for his aforementioned study on price history. Nonetheless, it is the Topkapı palace and other sultanic residences along the Bosphorus shore of İstanbul which attracted the largest size of research on the topic. Arif Bilgin took the study of the kitchens in Topkapı Palace even further by providing a more detailed description of the meals as well of the internal organization and division of labour.⁴⁸ Explaining the focus of extensive studies by historians on food consumption in Ottoman palaces can be at least a twofold. Firstly, there is the existence of the aforementioned highly detailed, systematic, and continuous⁴⁹ set of kitchen accounts and “registers of foodstuffs entering the Topkapı pantries and larders [which] have been astonishingly well preserved and probably will provide material for many future publications.”⁵⁰ Secondly, palaces are settings for various ceremonies, events, and social gatherings which bring together both local and foreign guests.

As an example of the guests who frequently attended palace ceremonies, it is worth taking a close look at ambassadors. The latter are relevant to Ottoman food history because embassy reports constitute another source through which interested historians can access the food history, eating habits, and consumption patterns of the Ottoman court⁵¹. As a consequence, “we know not only what was served and how, but also, at least in some instances, how the recipients judged the meal in question.”⁵² Researchers who are interest in Ottoman court foodways and the role of the palaces in food distribution can refer to studies by Günay Kut, Tülay Artan, Stephane Yerasimos, and Marianna Yerasimos.⁵³

⁴⁸ Arif Bilgin, “Ottoman Palace Cuisine Of The Classical Period (15th-17th Centuries),” in *Türk Mutfağı (Turkish Cuisine)*, ed. Özge Samancı (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2008), 71–92.

⁴⁹ “Beginning with the eighteenth century, the sultans admittedly began to spend less time in the Topkapı Palace, which they visited mainly on ceremonial occasions, while summer residences on the Bosphorus and elsewhere came to be preferred. But this ‘decentralization’ did not prevent the responsible officials from continuing to keep careful records not only of the foods used in the sultanic kitchens, but also of the pots, pans, glassware, and flatware purchased for the use of the Ottoman rulers, their families and their servitors”: see Faroqhi and Neumann, *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*, 24.

⁵⁰ Faroqhi and Neumann, *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*, 24.

⁵¹ Faroqhi and Neumann, *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House*.

⁵² This is particularly present in Polish embassy records as affirmed by Faroqhi and Neumann, 24.

⁵³ Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, eds., *The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2003), 19. See, among others, Tülay Artan, “Aspects of the Ottoman Elite’s Food Consumption: Looking for “Staples”, “Luxuries”, and “Delicacies” in a Changing Century,” 2011; Tülay Artan, “Ahmed I’s Hunting Parties: Feasting in Adversity, Enhancing the Ordinary,” in *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History*, ed. Amy Singer (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2011), 93–138, <http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/15496/>; Tülay Artan, “Ahmed I and

Imarets:

While the kitchen of Ottoman imperial palaces provides valuable archival and other direct sources for studying Ottoman food history, the nature of the institution and its location made them limited in scope to their immediate surrounding physical and social environment. Physically, the scope is limited to large urban centers such as Edirne, İstanbul, or Bursa where such palaces existed. Socially, the scope is limited to those people who had close ties and easy access to the palace. Fortunately, there is another institution of food distribution which is called an *imaret*, and which is often translated as a public soup kitchen.⁵⁴ These institutions were usually founded as *Vakıfs*. Their presence in most Ottoman urban centers combined with their *Vakıf* revenues enabled *imarets* to enlarge their role in food distribution to a wider scope through their support of “imperial palaces, military campaigns, cities, and annual hajj caravans.”⁵⁵

In terms of architecture, Baha Tanman focused on the *imarets* built by Mimar Sinan and classified them into two groups, namely “free-standing buildings with an interior courtyard of their own, and *imarets* that share a courtyard with the mosque to which they have been appended.”⁵⁶

The wide involvement of *imarets* in the Ottoman state is reflected in their diverse clientele. Existing literature defines three main categories. The first one comprised clients who had “institutional ties” to the *imaret* such as employees, scholars, and local *medrese* students. The second one comprised clients with a “temporary status” such as travellers. The third one comprised clients who had lower socio-economic status, such as “the pious poor and other indigents”. It is worth noting that indigents did not make up most of the clientele of the *imaret*. First described by Barkan as “government guest houses”, later studies confirmed his

‘Tuhfetü'l-Mülûk ve's-Selâtin’: A Period Manuscript on Horses, Horsemanship and Hunting,” in *Animals and People in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 2010), 235–69, <http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/14686/>; Marianna Yerasimos, *500 Years Ottoman Cuisine*, trans. Sally Bradbook (Istanbul: Boyut Publishing, 2005).; Stéphane Yerasimos and Belkis Taskeser, *A la table du Grand Turc* (Actes Sud, 2001).

⁵⁴ While the soup was usually served, *imarets* showed higher levels of variety in their menus. This was especially the case in festivities and special occasions. For a more detailed description of the menu offered in several *imarets* see Amy Singer, *The “Michelin Guide” to Public Kitchens in the Ottoman Empire* in Amy Singer, ed., *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2011).

⁵⁵ Nina Ergin, Christoph K. Neumann, and Amy Singer, *Feeding People. Feeding Power: Imarets in the Ottoman Empire* (EREN, 2007).

⁵⁶ Ergin, Neumann, and Singer, 27.

assessment, when researchers looked more closely at the list of beneficiaries receiving food from various *imarets*.⁵⁷

In addition to their wider scope of action in Ottoman society, *imarets* have the advantage of being an institution unique to the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, “the daily distribution of cooked meals to large numbers of urban dwellers year-round from a special building designed for that purpose thus appears to have been an Ottoman innovation, at least outside the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, and of Hebron”⁵⁸. As such, understanding the network of *imarets* and their function in food distribution is a valuable key for “exploring Ottoman vision of conquest, empire-building, and imperial rule.”⁵⁹ So, how was the development in the research on *imarets* in Turkish and Ottoman historiography? The answer is presented by Christoph Neumann, Amy Singer, and Nina Ergin as follow:

Scholarly articles on *imarets* are relatively few, although early work was done by some of the pioneers of Ottoman historical research in the twentieth century. The works of Osman Nuri Ergin were published in the 1930s. After him, A. Süheyl Ünver, a physician and historian of medicine at Istanbul University, also paid systematic attention to *imarets* in his writings. However, it was Ömer Lütfi Barkan, the pioneer of Ottoman archival research, who first devoted the most concentrated attention to this institution in a series of articles and in the two large volumes he published about the founding of the Süleymaniye mosque and *imaret*. Additionally, scholars published articles with the word “*imaret*” in the title, and many of their articles may be found in the journals *Vakıflar Dergisi* and *Belleten*. Usually, however, their focus was the foundation document of a particular complex or an entire complex, and not specifically the public kitchen. Research was thus generally idiosyncratic, not systematic, with no real consideration of the *imaret* as a group or type of buildings, as a cultural phenomenon, or as a political, social or economic institution. As in the encyclopedia articles about various cities, *imarets* are mentioned regularly in the large number of local histories of Anatolia, yet simply among the lists of buildings to be found in a particular city or town.⁶⁰

Then, the next question is about just how studies could shed more light on the various roles of *imarets* as a cultural, social, political, and economic institution of food distribution. The answer lies in the sources available to historians. Like food history in general, and thanks to the variety of sources available for the Ottoman food historians, studying *imarets* also involves a

⁵⁷ see Amy Singer, “The ‘michelin Guide’ to Public Kitchens in the Ottoman Empire” in Amy Singer, ed., *Starting with Food: Culinary Approaches to Ottoman History* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2011).

⁵⁸ Ergin, Neumann, and Singer, 17.

⁵⁹ Ibid

⁶⁰ Ibid, 19.

combination of various direct and indirect sources. The direct sources are archival documents on endowment deeds, institutional account registers of income and expenditures, and, importantly, “thick distribution registers with detailed lists of the recipients of food, bread, or cash equivalents.”⁶¹ The indirect sources are literary and administrative sources⁶² as well as architectural studies on the physical presence and location of *imarets*⁶³. The combination of these sources allows the historian to write a study on *imarets*, which is also a study on “society and everyday life (diet, food preparation, prices of basic goods, salaries, and the division of labor)”. In addition, it becomes possible to gain some understanding of “Ottoman society by recording the distribution of entitlements according to profession, gender, age, or rank”; and by “institutional ideologies at work in the empire and their changing nature over time.”⁶⁴

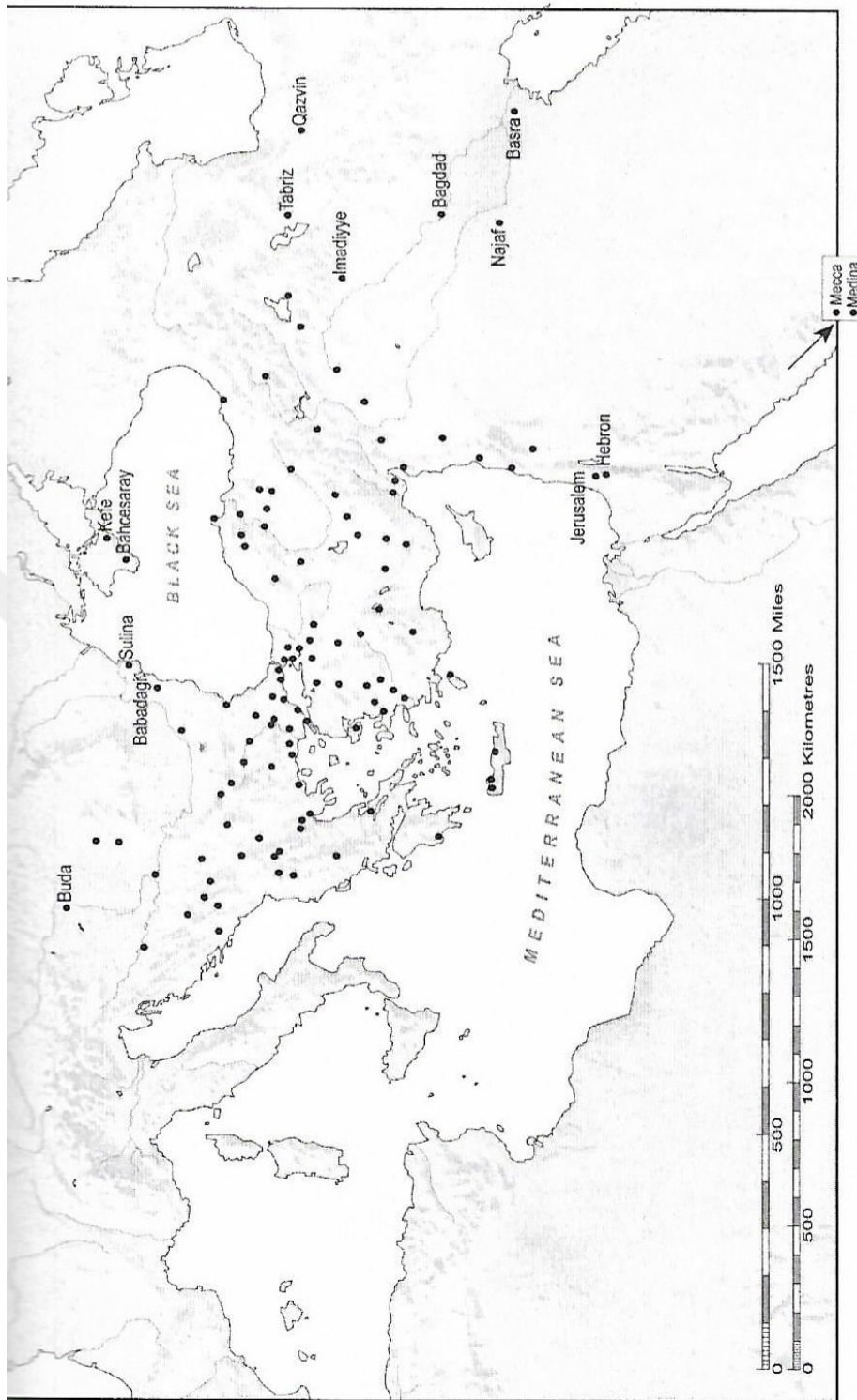
Far from being restricted to one geographical region the empire, *imarets* were spread all over the Ottoman lands as shown in the following maps constructed by Amy Singer:

⁶¹ Ergin, Neumann, and Singer, 17.

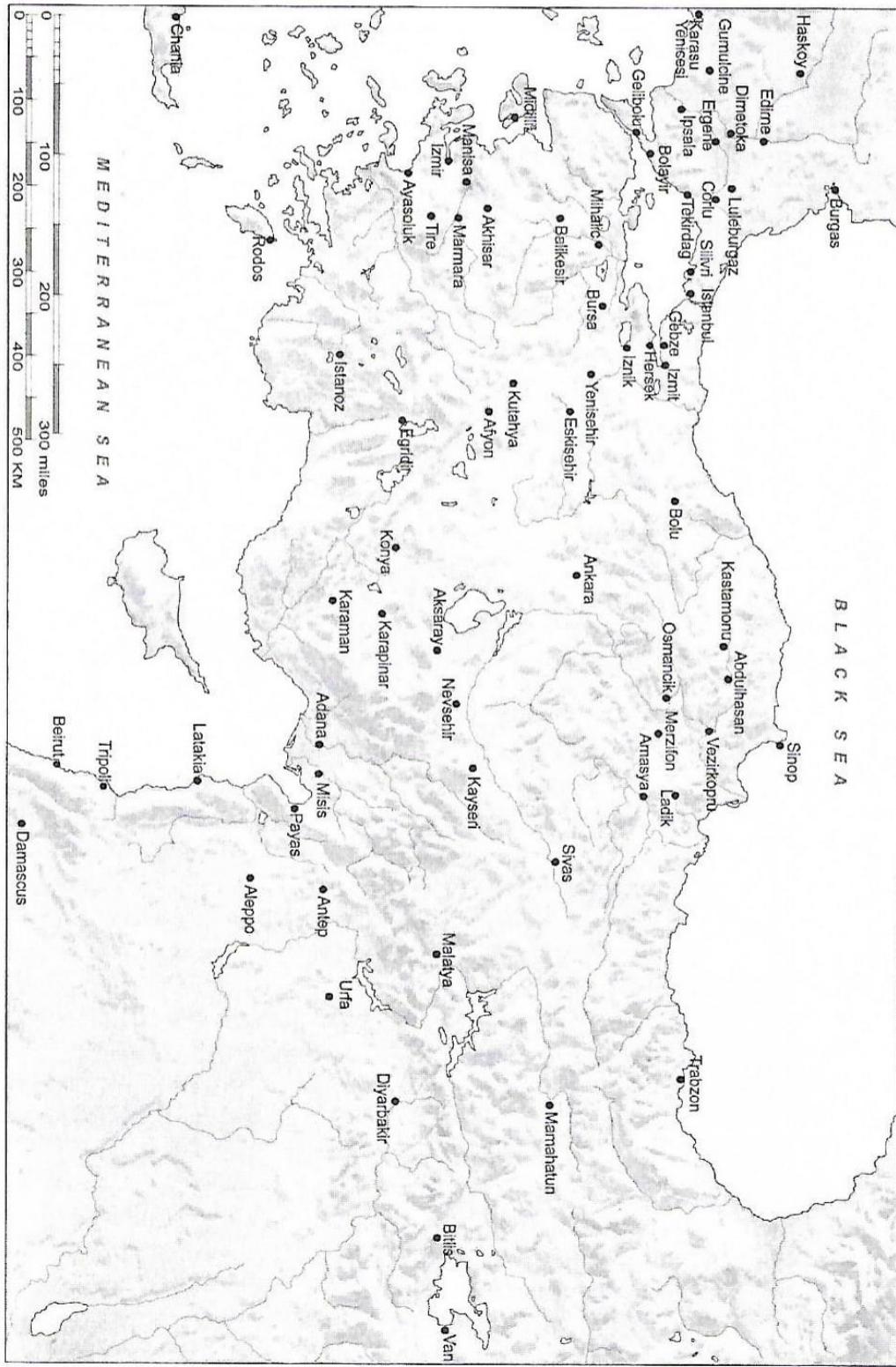
⁶² Ibid

⁶³ See studies by Halil İnalcık for *imarets* in Istanbul, Baha Tanman for a typology of *imarets* built by Mimar Sinan, and Michael Kiel for *imarets* in the Balkans.

⁶⁴ Ergin, Neumann, and Singer, *Feeding People. Feeding Power*, 17.



Source: Singer, Amy. "Mapping Imarets" in *Feeding People, Feeding Power*, 43-55. Eren, 2007.



Source: Singer, Amy. "Mapping İmaret" in *Feeding People, Feeding Power*, 43-55. Eren, 2007.



Source: Singer, Amy. "Mapping İmaret" in *Feeding People, Feeding Power*, 43-55. Eren, 2007.

Thus, studying *imarets* is a way to access Ottoman history through an institution, which was almost like a fingerprint of Ottoman expansion and state management. In addition, compared to imperial palaces, the role of *imarets* in the web of food distribution was both wider and more continuous. It was wider because of the more diverse clientele as well as the dispersion in a larger number of urban settings. It was continuous because the administrators provided food on an almost daily basis, and not just on special occasions and for ceremonies. Therefore, and whether we look at it from the perspective of power establishment or from that of charity distribution, we can safely claim that the relationship of an *imaret* with its clientele was most likely stronger and more continuous than any relations that the palace might form. Nonetheless, it was still a relationship established only at the specific moments of food distribution and reception, because the clients of an *imaret* were not living in it. Rather, they would only come when they had the right to receive a serving of food. In what way was the situation different, if the institution offered both food and shelter? These, and more, are some of the functions performed by another set of Ottoman institutions, namely the Sufi lodges often referred to as *Tekkes*. The following section aims to explain the socio-economic role of Ottoman *Tekkes* as institutions whose function in food distribution on the one hand, resembled that of the *imarets*, and yet was significantly different in others.

Tekkes:

A Tekke is a multi-functional space devoted to a combination of ritual, instruction, hospitality, and relief.⁶⁵

The socio-economic role of a *Tekke* as an institution for social gathering and food distribution becomes apparent from the following story from the *Mesnevî* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî.⁶⁶ Abdûlbaki Gölpınarlı has retold it in the section related to *Semâ*' in his book known as *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*.⁶⁷ We present it here because we can view the story from the perspective of food sharing and distribution. Our focus on this particular story is due to the existence of a miniature painting in a seventeenth century *Mesnevî* manuscript containing a visual version of this tale.⁶⁸ For the moment, our initial description will focus on the plot of the story. The original

⁶⁵ Ergin, Neumann, and Singer, 1.

⁶⁶ The original story is found in the second volume of Mevlânâ's *Mesnevî* and it titled: *Furûhten-i sûfiyan behîme-i müsâfirrâ cehet-i semâ*'. Gölpınarlı gives the following reference: "II. cilt, *Furûhten-i sûfiyan behîme-i müsâfirrâ cehet-i semâ*"; Reynold A. Nicholson basımı; Londra - 1925, s. 275-279." See Abdûlbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1963), 62.

⁶⁷ Abdûlbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1963), 62.

⁶⁸ We will provide both the miniature and its analysis in Chapter Three.

version is a long story for the *Mesnevî* and Abdülbâki Gölpinarlı has provided the following summary:

Sûfinin biri, bir hânkaaha konar; eşeğini ahıra bağlar; yemini, suyunu verir; kendisi de içeriye girer, mihmân olur. Dervişler, günlerden beri açmış. Eşeği satarlar, yiyecek alırlar. Yenir, içilir, semâ'a başlanır. Mutrib, yâni çalgıcı çalmaya, dervişler, "eşek gitti, eşek gitti" diye çağırmaya koyulurlar. Sûfi de onlara uyar; kimi ayak vurarak, kimi secde ederek sabaha dek semâ' eder. Sabahleyin sûfi, gideceği yere yetişmek için erkenden kalkar; ahıra gidince görür ki eşeğin yerinde yeller esiyor.⁶⁹

*The Story in English*⁷⁰: it is the story of a sûfi traveler who stopped over to spend the night in a *Hankah*. He left his donkey in the stable, gave it food and water, and went inside. He found a group of dervishes who were hungry for days. They decided to sell the man's donkey and exchange the proceedings with food. And so it happened. They spent the night in a festive atmosphere between eating and performing *semâ*. At some point, the musician started playing with his musical instruments and the dervishes started singing "the donkey is gone, the donkey is gone". The traveler, unaware about his misfortune, joined suite and this festive atmosphere lasted until late in the night. The next morning, the sûfi woke up very early to continue his travel and reach his destination on time. He went back to the stable and found out that his donkey was all gone.

Focusing on the role of the kitchen and food distribution as distinctive factors, architect Baha Tanman has investigated the parallelism between *imaret* and *Tekke* and reached the following conclusion: "We can explain the relatively limited number of *imarets* in Istanbul, always a populous city with many destitute people, by the sizeable number of local *Tekkes*, whose kitchens fed many bodies, 'in addition to the souls'". To understand the similarities and difference between *tekkes* and *imarets*, we need to undertake a multi-layered analysis. While the two institutions may look the same at the socio-economic dimension of food distribution, they are catering for different clientele. The beneficiaries from the *Tekke* are usually the Sufis who are living there temporarily, the "resident sheikh and his family", and the "poor people living around the *Tekke*."

⁶⁹ Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1963), 62.

⁷⁰ The translation is my own.

In terms of architecture and physical presence, there is some evidence for an initial phase in which the two institutions were joined as a part of the wider mosque complex. Then, a separation occurred, and the *imarets* lost their additional functions as dormitories to serve as “free-standing *imaret* building[s] solely devoted to the purpose of preparation and distribution of food.”⁷¹ Early examples of the two cases were found in İznik. An early example of the *zaviye-imaret* type of institutions is the Nilüfer-Hatun *zaviye-imaret*, which was built by Murat I in 1388. An early example of the separate *imaret* type of institution was built in 1339 as a part of Orhan Gazi’s mosque complex in Bursa and was destroyed in 1935.⁷² From 1339 onwards, “*imarets* were almost always conceived as dependencies of mosque complexes and never as self-sustained and independently administered buildings”⁷³

When it comes to Ottoman *Tekkes*, Baha Tanman is suggesting a dichotomy based on the presence and absence of a kitchen. The changes among the different types goes in parallel with a rough chronology of the Ottoman Empire. A *Tekke*, which does not have its own kitchen is usually attached to *Kulliyes* which had an *Imaret*. The latter ensures supply of food to the *Tekke*. As for the other case, Ottoman *Tekkes* with kitchens can be divided into three main types. The first type, before 1700s, are *Tekke* where the kitchen forms an individual unit or forms a unit together with other spaces where water was circulating. During the 18th and 19th Centuries, the kitchen came to be in the “same building or aisle as other *selamlık* units (i.e. southwest of courtyard). Finally, the late Ottoman period witnessed further homogenization of the different parts into one homogeneous building mass. However, this typology does not apply to all Ottoman *Tekkes*. The role of the *Tekke*, which goes beyond feeding people and imparts a spiritual education to its disciples, is reflected not only in the role of the kitchen, but also in its physical and architectural features and presence. This applies particularly to the *Mevlevî* and *Bektashi Tekkes* who “display some architectural features that distinguish them from the kitchens of other orders due to the particularities of the educational system and rituals.”⁷⁴

⁷¹ Ergin, Neumann, and Singer, *Feeding People. Feeding Power*, 26.

⁷² Ibid, 26.

⁷³ Ibid, 26.

⁷⁴ For an architectural analysis of *Bektashi tekkes* see Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age*, 1 edition (Farnham, Surrey : Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2012).

GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

From the above literature review, we can reach the following four conclusions:

- Studies on global food history did not focus so far on Ottoman food history
- Studies on Ottoman food history did not focus so far on Central Anatolia
- Studies on Ottoman food history did focus on *Tekkes*, but not as much as they focused on palaces and *imarets*.
- The role of the kitchen in Ottoman Mevlevi and Bektashi *Tekkes* was more prominent than other Sufi *tarikats*.

This thesis will help in closing some of these gaps by focusing on the role of the kitchen in Ottoman *Mevlevihânes*. The focus on the *Mevlevihâne* will contribute to the history of the *Mevlevî tarikat*. The study of both the external and internal dimensions of the kitchen will contribute to the *Tekke* studies under Ottoman food history. Taking the *Mevlevihâne* of Konya as a case-study will contribute to fill in the gap of Central Anatolia under Ottoman food history. Finally, the combination and placement of all the above under global food history will highlight the existence and importance of including Ottoman food history as an additional political, social, and geographical unit of study.

SOME INFORMATION ON THE MEVLEVÎ *TARİKAT*

WHAT IS A *MEVLEVIHÂNE*? WHAT IS THE *MEVLEVÎ TARİKAT*?

In this section, we will delve more into what distinguishes the kitchen of the *Mevlevî Tekkes*, i.e. *Mevlevihâne*. We will first clarify the difference between *Âsitane*, *Zaviye*, *Hanqâh*, and other commonly used (and sometimes confused) nominations of the *Tekke*. Then, we will proceed with the other chapters on the physical, socio-economic- and spiritual particularities of the *Mevlevî* kitchen.

A Typology of *Mevlevihânes*

A *Mevlevihâne* is the specific name for the *Tekkes* of the *Mevlevî tarikat*. The different nominations mainly depend on its size and functions.⁷⁵

- *Dergâh* (from Persian درگاه: means doorway): It is a relatively general term for the whole complex where the Dervishes and Sheikh live. The most important *dergâh* is the one which holds the *türbe* of the *pîr* or of an almost equally important figure of a particular *tarikat*; in which case it comes to be called “âstan” or “âstâne” (from Persian آستان, meaning door sill).⁷⁶
- *Tekke* or *tekye*: literally means support, base, or floor. It is also a general term, which is used interchangeably with *dergâh* to name the place where the Sufis gather, stay, and conduct their various ceremonies.⁷⁷

Note: both *dergâh* and *tekye* are general terms, which can be used to designate both *âstâne* as well as smaller and less important Sufi lodges and shrines.

- *Zâviye*: literally means corner in Arabic. It refers to the places where Sufis gather and which are too small to be considered a *dergâh*.⁷⁸ It also refers to the *Tekkes*, which have been built outside urban and rural settlements for hosting travelling dervishes.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Arpaguş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eđitim*, 85.

⁷⁶ Gölpinarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 13.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 13.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Arpaguş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eđitim*, 85.

- *Âsitâne*: in addition to having the *türbe* of the *pîr* or other important figures as a general distinguishing factor, the term *âsitâne* holds a more particular meaning for the *Mevlevîs*. It refers to the *Mevlevî Tekke* where the newly admitted dervishes can undergo their spiritual education (*çile*) in the kitchen known as *matbah-ı Mevlânâ* or *matbah-ı şerif*. Physically, this distinction is reflected in the existence of two different kitchens in the *Mevlevî âsitânes* as opposed to the smaller *Mevlevihânes* referred to as *zâviye* whereby the two kitchens have been merged into one single unit and where fulfilling services does not count as a part of the spiritual education.⁸⁰
- *Hanqâh*: خانقاه: a Persian word which means monastery, convent, abbey, house, or simply inhabitation.

The number of *Mevlevihânes* in 1925 is estimated to be around 300.⁸¹ With these definitions in mind, Ottoman *Mevlevihânes* have been classified into three categories, namely *âsitâne*, urban *zâviye*, and rural *zâviye*.

A list of *Mevlevî Âsitânes*:

- **The most important *âsitâne*: Konya *Mevlevihânesi***

Also referred to as *Âstâne-i Aliyye*, this *Âsitâne* was financed by the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî. From the available documents, we can see that the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî existed at the time of the conquest era (Fatih Devri)⁸², but the buildings itself go back to the time of the Karamans. A more recent document reported by Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı provides a list of documents found in the *Vakıf* archives in Konya.⁸³ The archival document No 18 which dates from the time of Şeyh Mehmed Arif Çelebi (d. 1159 AH / 1756 CE) provides more details of the various components and positions within the *medrese* and *cami-i şerif* of the overall *Vakıf* referred to as *evkaaf-ı şerîf-i Âsitane-i Hazret-i Mevlânâ Celâleddin-i Rûmî*⁸⁴. As for the most relevant part to our current study which is the *Mevlevihâne*, the positions have been

⁸⁰ Arpaguş, 130; Arpaguş, 85.

⁸¹ Muhittin Celâl Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî* (Kader Basımevi, 1952), 155.

⁸² For a detailed listing of the *Vakıf* components in the 15th century, see Feridun Nafiz Uzluk, *Fatih devrinde Karaman eyaleti Vakıfları fihristi*. (Ankara: Doğuş Limited Şirketi Matbaası, 1958), 9–10. A more recent description of the villages and farms belonging to the *Vakıf* can be found in İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi* (Yeni Kitap Basımevi, 1964).

⁸³ See Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, “Konya’da Mevlana Dergahının Arşivi,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 17, no. 1–4 (October 6, 2011): 156–78.

⁸⁴ See Ibid, 159–60.

divided into two. The first one concerns the *Semâ*’ ceremony and includes a *Reîs-i nây-zen*, *deffâf*, *nâyî*, *dümbelek-zen*, *duâci ba’dessemâ*’. The second one concerns *hademe-i matbah* (i.e. the kitchen) and includes a *vekîl-i harc*, *kâtib-i kilâr*, *kilârî*, *anbârî*, *tabbâh*, *nakiyb-i nan*, *mühürdar*, *kendüm-kûb*, *emîn-i kurban*, *ferrâş*, *bevvâb-ı matbah*, *nakiyb-i aş*, *mi’mâr-ı evkaaf*, *keyyâl*, *habbâz*, *balta-keş-i heyme*.⁸⁵

Apart from Konya, there were also other *Âsitânes* in the following cities:

- 1) Bursa, 2) Eskişehir, 3) Gelibolu, 4) Halep⁸⁶, 5) Kastamonu, 6) Karahisar, 7) Kütahya,
- 8) Manisa⁸⁷, 9) Mısır⁸⁸, 10) Yenişehir (Rumeli)⁸⁹

According to Gölpınarlı, the second most important *Âsitâne* after Konya is Karahisar, followed by Manisa and Halep.⁹⁰ As far the capital city of İstanbul is concerned, four out of the total five *Mevlevîhanes* were *âsitânes*.⁹¹ As for the *Mevlevî zaviyes*, they are estimated by Muhittin Duru to be around 300 in 1925 at the time of closing the *Tekkes*. Gölpınarlı provided a list of seventy-six *zaviyes*⁹², many of which have been studied by researchers.⁹³ We also learn from Gölpınarlı that the most important of all *zâviyes* is the *Tekke* of Karaman. It contains the türbe of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî’s mother and is therefore also referred to as “Mâder-i Mevlânâ”, or “Mâder Sultân”.⁹⁴

⁸⁵ Gölpınarlı, “Konya’da Mevlana Dergahının Arşivi”, 160.

⁸⁶ See Küçük, S. “Halep *Mevlevîhânesi*”, *İLAM*, C.III 2 (Temmuz-Aralık): 73-106;

⁸⁷ See Nuran Tezcan, “Manisa *Mevlevîhanesi*,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 14, no. 14 (December 1, 1994).

⁸⁸ For some details on the existence of a *Mevlevîhane* in Cairo by the 16th century see Klaus Kreiser, “Evliya Çelebi ve Başka Kaynaklara Göre Arap aleminin Doğusundaki Büyük Şehirlerde *Mevlevîhaneler*,” trans. Semih Tezcan, *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 14, no. 14 (December 1, 1994).

⁸⁹ Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ’dan Sonra *Mevlevîlik** (İnkılap Kitabevi, 1983), 334.

⁹⁰ This was also reflected in *Şeyh* appointment whereby the *Mevlevîhâne* of Halep, Kütahya, and Manisa were often given to Çelebi lineage while the *Mevlevîhâne* of Karahisar was exclusive to the lineage of Divâne Mehmed Çelebi, see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ’dan Sonra *Mevlevîlik**, 334–35.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 334.

⁹² *Ibid*, 335.

⁹³ Several studies can be found in the fourteenth issue of the journal *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*. For instance, we can list studies on the following *zaviyes*: Jasna Samic, “Le *Tekke* *Mevlevî* De Bembasa à Sarajevo,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 14, no. 14 (December 1, 1994); Nathalie Clayer, “Trois centres *mevlevîs* balkaniques au travers des documents d’archives ottomans : les *Mevlevîhâne* d’Elbasan, de Serez et de Salanique,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 14, no. 14 (December 1, 1994); Gabor Agoston, “Macaristan’da *Mevlevîlik* ve İslam Kültürü,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 14, no. 14 (December 1, 1994); Frederick De Jong, “The *Takiya* of the *Mawlawiyya* in Tripolis,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 14, no. 14 (December 1, 1994); Liliana Masulovic, “Le *Tekke* *Mevlevî* d’Üsküb (Skopje),” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 14, no. 14 (December 1, 1994); In addition to the previously mentioned articles dealing with some *mevlevîhanes*, some details on founders and dates of many other *tekkes* can be found in Kreiser, “Evliya Çelebi ve Başka Kaynaklara Göre Arap aleminin Doğusundaki Büyük Şehirlerde *Mevlevîhaneler*,” namely Amasya on p.104, Antep on p.105, Bağdat on p.110, Halep on p.107, Kilis on p.106, Kudüs on p.109, Medine on p.109, Mekke on p.109, Şam on p.108, Trablusşam on p.108, and Tokat on p.104.

⁹⁴ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ’dan Sonra *Mevlevîlik**, 335; also see Hasan Özönder, “Karaman (Larende) *Mevlevî-Hanesi*,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 14, no. 14 (December 1, 1994)..

A Short Biography of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî

Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî was estimated to be born around 604 AH/ 1207 CE in Balkh and to have died in D.672 AH/ 1273 CE in Konya. He introduced himself in the *Mesnevî* as Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Hüseyin el Belhî and Celâleddin is his common other name. He was also known as Belhî from his origins, as *Rûmî*, *Mevlânâ-i Rûm*, *Mevlânâ-i Rûmî* from his lifetime spent in Anatolia, and as *Molla Hünkâr*, *Mollâ-yı Rûm* from his profession as a scholar in a *medrese*.⁹⁵ He started acquiring knowledge at an early age first by memorizing the Qur'an and learning Islamic disciplines from his father Mehmed Bahaeddin who was himself a scholar, then from his teacher Bürhaneddin as well as from an interaction with prominent scholars in his original land of Khorasan, Anatolia, the Levant, and the Hijaz. In the end, he was a well-rounded scholar in Islamic disciplines such as *fıkıh*, *kelam*, *tefsir*, *hadis*, and *tasavvuf*. His good command of Arabic and Persian of the time enabled him to write both scholarly books and literary *divans* in both languages. Below is a list and a brief description of his most famous works are:

The Mesnevî:

It is a collection of six books comprising stories and pieces of wisdom written in poetic format. The *Mesnevî* derives its name from the literary type of poetry whereby the verses are written in pairs. The language is Persian. More specifically, it was originally written in the Persian spoken in Mevlânâ's homeland of Khorasan. It is perhaps the most famous work of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî and is also very important for the current study. As such, we will provide some more details about its main structure before listing the other main works. In terms of dates, Mevlânâ started the *Mesnevî* in 658 AH and finished in 666 AH. To relate it to an important event in the life of Mevlânâ, the starting point of the *Mesnevî* was 15 years after he got separated from Şems-i Tebrizi. In terms of structure, we can divide the work into three parts, namely the introduction known as *dibâce*, the first 18 verses, and the rest until the end. The *dibace* provides a general idea about the purpose and the underlying ideas of the *Mesnevî*. The first eighteen verses are distinguished because they have been written by Mevlânâ himself. As for the rest of the *Mesnevî*, dictated by Mevlana Celâleddin Rûmî to his disciple Hüsameddin Çelebi. The meaning of the first eighteen verses is so profound that some would consider all the remaining

⁹⁵ This is a partial translation of the entry "Mevlânâ celâleddîn-i rûmî - TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi," accessed May 1, 2019, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/mevlana-celaleddin-i-rumi>.

six volumes as interpretations and illustrations of the initial eighteen verses. Their importance is further highlighted by some scholars who have produced works dedicated only to the explanation of the *dibace* and initial eighteen verses.⁹⁶ A case in point is İsmâil Rûsûhî Ankaravî (D.1630) who is also known as Hazreti Şarih for his expertise in *Mesnevî* interpretation.⁹⁷ His work *Mesnevî'nin sırrı* is dedicated to the interpretation of the introduction and first eighteen verses of the *Mesnevî*.⁹⁸

Divan-ı Kebir:

The name literally translates into “big divan” and is a collection of poems written by Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî. In toto, the number of verses exceeds 40,000 and is mostly in Persian.

Mektûbât:

The *mektûbât* is a collection of 147 letters written by Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî to Seljuk governors and other people in power as pieces of advice or answers to their questions on various scholarly matters. It is characterized by a writing style, which is more simple, direct, and closer to the normal spoken language than it is to the literary style of the first two works.

Fihî Mâ Fîh:

Fihî Mâ Fîh is a collection by Mevlânâ's son Sultan Veled of the different conversations and talks by his father with his disciples and other fellows.

Mecâlis-i Seb'a:

The title can be roughly translated as the seven assemblies. It comprises a collection of several *Hadîs* (narrations from the Prophet Muhammad) which were selected and grouped by Mevlânâ into seven parts or chapters. It had been reported by his son Sultan Veled and his disciple Hüsameddin. There is also a strong probability that Mevlânâ checked the written text for a final approval.

A final point which can be highlighted in this short overview of Mevlânâ's biography is the following: like other *tarîkats*, Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî is **not** the founder of the Mevlevî *tarîkat*. Rather, he is the *pîr* of the *tarîkat*. In other words, he is the spiritual master whose teachings inspired his disciple to found a *tarîkat* where the teachings would be institutionalized, preserved, and transferred to other generations. That is to say, the practices and manners, which we attribute today to the Mevlevî *tarîkat* did not exist at the time of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî, but were an embodiment of his teachings by his immediate disciples. From where did Mevlânâ

⁹⁶ Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 51–52.

⁹⁷ İsmail Rusûhî Ankaravî, *Mesnevî'nin Sırrı*, ed. Semih Ceyhan and Musatafa Topatan (Hayy Kitap, 2008).

⁹⁸ For further details see Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevî Eğitim*, 63; and Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 148.

get this knowledge? And to whom did he transfer it? To answer this question is to answer a question on the authenticity of the knowledge and its transmission system. This is evaluated by recurring to what is called a *silsila*.

The Silsila of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî:

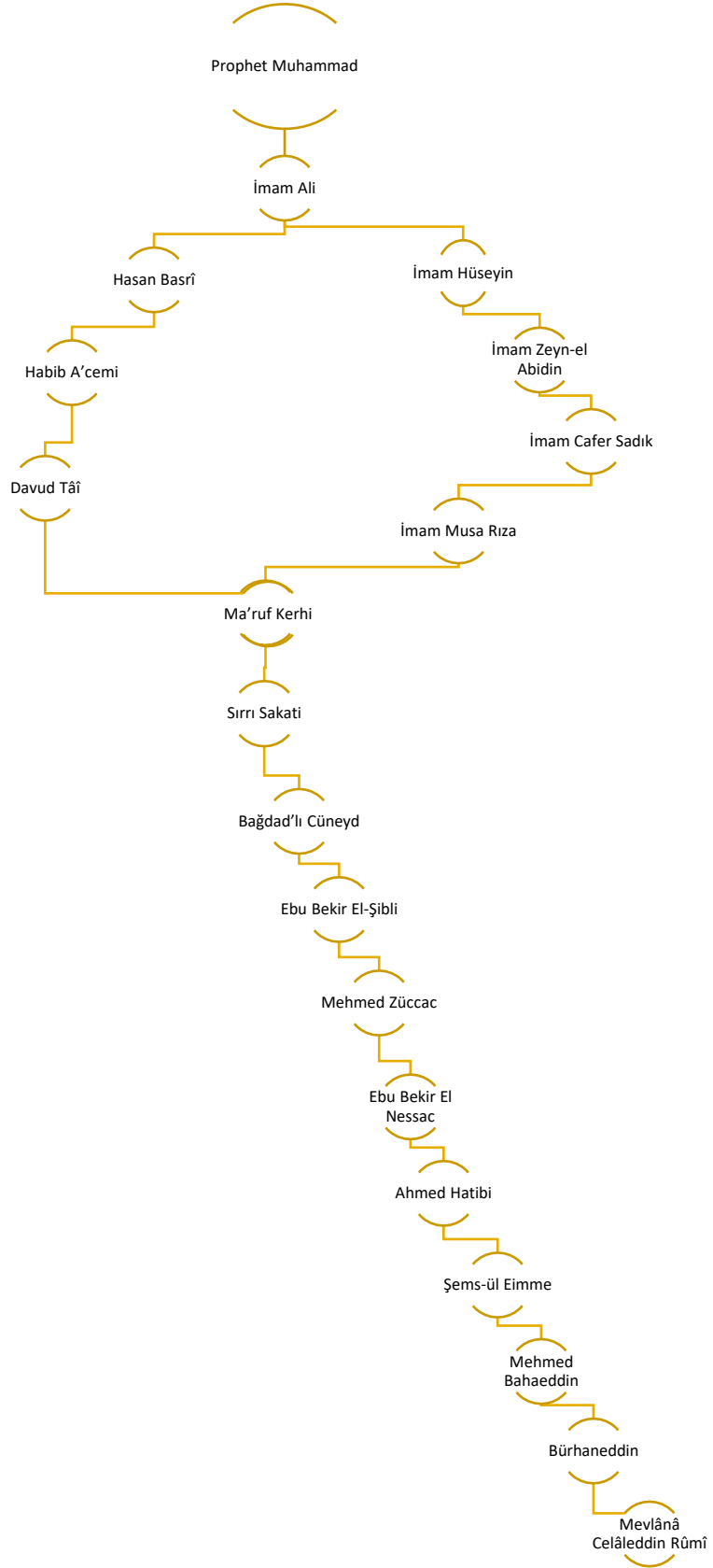
Literally meaning the chain, and sometimes referred to as the golden chain, a *silsila* is a reported list of all teacher-disciple relationships up until the scholar of Sufi master in question. A valid *silsila* is one which goes all the way back and ultimately reached Prophet Muhammad. Such a *silsila* would be considered valid and will give the Sufi master who is part of it both validity and credibility in teaching and guiding other people. Similarly, a *silsila*, which does not go back to the Prophet Muhammad, is invalid because the chain of knowledge inheritance has been broken. Within this context, we would like to emphasize two main points concerning Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî. Firstly, he is not the official founder of the *Mevlevî tarîkat*. Rather, he is considered the *pîr* (i.e. spiritual master) whose teachings have inspired his disciples and followers to institutionalize them into a *tarîkat*. Secondly, with respect to his *silsila*, there is evidence that Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî's chain of knowledge transmission goes all the way back to the Prophet Muhammad. As such, instead of providing a bare chronology of the development of the *Mevlevî tarîkat* after Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî, providing the *silsila* fulfills the task of listing both his predecessors and successors or inheritors.

The *silsila* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî can be divided into two part. The first part are the list of names before him. The second part are the list of names after him.

The Silsila before Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî:

There are two versions of the *Silsila* in the literature. Starting from Prophet Muhammad, there are two ways to each Ma'ruf Kerhi. After Kerhi, both chains follow the same path to Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî. A compact visual representation of both paths is provided in the following page.

The *Silsila* Before Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî⁹⁹



The Silsila After Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî:¹⁰⁰



This literature review has discussed the state of the art in global food history, the place of Ottoman studies in it, the main gaps in the existing literature, and a general overview of some important concepts and ideas pertaining to *Tekkes* in general and to the *Mevlevî tarikat* in particular. With all of these in mind, we are ready to embark into a more detailed analysis of the inner and outer roles of the kitchen in a *Mevlevihâne*. We will first start with the outer role which mainly consists of the socio-economic functions of the *Mevlevî Tekke* as an institution for food distribution. This information can be accessed through quantitative data from the archives. Then, we will use other sources to create a more vivid image of both the physical architectural features and the internal roles and rituals of the *Mevlevî* kitchen because “just as the food historian must bridge the divide between written menus and the fleeting tastes of the table, there is an equally wide gap between cookbooks and the labor of the kitchen.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 23.

¹⁰⁰ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 202.

¹⁰¹ Pilcher, *The Oxford Handbook of Food History*, 52.

CHAPTER 2: THE KITCHEN IN NUMBERS

The *Vakıf* Accounts of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî in Konya - from 1596 to 1651 CE

The empire of the 1590s found itself at a critical juncture. Population pressure had squeezed supply, and the growth of cities and the military had raised demand for basic commodities. Moreover, an unprecedented drought was bringing famine to the same core provinces presently called upon to meet the extraordinary exactions of war – and not just any war, but a drawn-out war of sieges and counter-sieges.¹⁰²

The aim of the following case study is to provide an actual and quantifiable example of the socio-economic importance of the kitchen in a *Mevlevihâne*. The quantitative analysis is made possible with the existence of *Vakıf* account books, which provide some relatively detailed list of revenues and expenditures of the foundation. Most importantly, the account books contain data from 1004 AH / 1596 CE to 1042 AH / 1632 CE on an almost annual basis as well as the following additional three more years: 1048-9, 1059-6, and 1061-2 AH which respectively correspond to 1639, 1650, and 1651-2 CE. The existence of accounting data over successive years provides the opportunity for a longitudinal analysis, which goes beyond what happened in a specific date into incorporating the changes, which have occurred in the institutions over time. This study builds on past endeavors, previously undertaken by Suraiya Faroqhi in 1988¹⁰³ and Kayhan Orbay in 2012¹⁰⁴. This study will use the same archival data and focus more on the specific accounts related to the kitchen and storehouse of the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî in Konya. By taking the latter *Vakıf* as a case-study, we will try to answer the following research question: how did the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî deal with the agricultural and demographic crisis which hit Central Anatolia, and particularly Konya, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth century? In the following section, we will first present answers to the main ‘what, when, why, and how’ questions in order to gain a better understanding of the agricultural and demographic crisis before proceeding with the analysis of *Vakıf* accounts.

¹⁰² Sam White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 144.

¹⁰³ Faroqhi, Suraiya. “Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing: The Worldly Affairs of the *Mevlevî* Dervishes (1595–1652),” *Turcica* 22 (1988): 43–70

¹⁰⁴ Orbay, Kayhan. “Financial Development of the Waqfs in Konya and the Agricultural Economy in the Central Anatolia (Late Sixteenth – Early Seventeenth Centuries)” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 55, (2012), p.74-116;

WHAT: MEVLÂNÂ CELÂLEDDİN RÛMÎ VAKFI IN KONYA

The importance of studying the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî is manifold. To begin, it is a *Vakıf*, and thus, this study will both benefit from and contribute to the existing literature on the role and importance of *Vakıf* institutions in the Ottoman economy¹⁰⁵. In so doing, I hope to contribute to the understanding of Ottoman economic history¹⁰⁶. Secondly, the *Vakıf* was in an urban setting in Central Anatolia. Its revenues depended on the agricultural products collected from the villages under its control. Its expenses, especially related to the kitchen, were highly depending on the changes in the price of agricultural products. As such, it is a *Vakıf* whose revenues and expenditures depended on the agricultural situation in the surrounding area. In other words, it is a *Vakıf* whose center is in an urban setting but which is operating in an overall peasant economy. As such, this study will both benefit from and contribute to the existing literature on the agricultural history of Central Anatolia. Thirdly, its specific location in Konya by the *Türbe* of the *Pîr* of the *Mevlevî tarikat* (i.e. Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî) is of a particular interest. In fact, the *Mevlevihâne* of Konya was taken as an example to be followed when building the *Mevlevihânes* in other cities and regions. Studying its structure and internal processes therefore provides a general idea of how things are most likely to be done in other places all over the Ottoman Empire. As such, this study will benefit from and contribute to the existing literature on the institutional history of the *Mevlevî tarikat* in the Ottoman era.

WHEN: SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Appropriate to the size and scale of its provisioning systems, the empire had developed fairly comprehensive methods of famine management; yet even these measures proved

¹⁰⁵ For a state of the art of *Vakıf* studies see Miriam Hoexter, “Waqf Studies in the Twentieth Century: The State of the Art,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 4 (1998): 474–95.; for a detailed description on how to read and analyze *Vakıf* account books see Kayhan Orbay, “Account Books Of The Imperial Waqfs (Charitable Endowments) In The Eastern Mediterranean (15th To 19th Centuries),” *The Accounting Historians Journal* 40, no. 1 (2013): 31–50.

¹⁰⁶ For others examples on the importance of *Vakıf* accounts in understanding the economic and demographic history of the same period see the *Vakıf* of Mahmut Pasa in Suraiya Faroqhi, *A Great Foundation in Difficulties: Or Some Evidence on Economic Contraction in the Ottoman Empire of the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Centre d’Études et de Recherches Ottomanes Morisques, de Documentation et d’Information, 1988).; the *Vakıf* of Seyyid Gazi in Suraiya N. Faroqhi, “Seyyid Gazi Revisited- The Foundation as Seen Through Sixteenth and Seventeenth- Century Documents, *Turcica*, XIII (1981), 90-122,” 1981.; on the Zaviye of Sadredin-i Konevi in Suraiya Faroqhi, “*Vakıf* Administration in Sixteenth Century Konya: The Zaviye of Sadreddin-I Konevî,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 17, no. 2 (1974): 145–72, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3596330>.; also see the *Vakıf* of Sultan Murat II in Bursa in Kayhan Orbay, “Bursa’da Sultan II. Murad Vakfi’nin Mali Tarihi (1608-1641),” 2011.; also see Stéphane YERASIMOS, “Le Waqf Du Defterdar Ebu’l Fazl Efendi et Ses Bénéficiaires,” *Turcica* 33 (January 1, 2001): 7–34, <https://doi.org/10.2143/TURC.33.0.479>.

to have severe limitations that would become all too apparent during the Little Ice Age crisis.¹⁰⁷

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were hard times for the Ottoman Empire. After the expansion and growth under the reign of Sultan Suleiman, the empire witnessed a series of difficulties towards the end of the Sixteenth century. Central Anatolia was particularly affected by the events. While most studies focus on the political and social upheavals, which came to be known as the Celali rebellions; we will also shed light on another important dimension to be considered in the context of a peasant economy, namely the climatic conditions. As such, the following sections will provide a geographical description as well as three chronologies of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. The first chronology is a list of the sultans, who came to power during the period under study. The second chronology is a description of the main socio-political events with a special focus on the Celali rebellions. Finally, the third chronology is a description of changing climatic conditions, and it will help us understand how they have affected various regions of the empire in this period.

The Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries: a Geographical Description

The Ottoman expansion of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries led to an empire comprising thirty-two provinces by the late sixteenth century. The geographical and cultural differences among the various regions led to a socio-political system whereby each region is connected to the capital. Yet, at the same time, each region is having “its peculiarities with regard to revenue and organization.”¹⁰⁸ All regions can be put under a simplified categorization of a core and two peripheries. The following map represents the Ottoman Empire by 1600 CE.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 79.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 26.

¹⁰⁹ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*.



Source: Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300 – 1914* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

As for a description of the core and peripheries,

the core, generally speaking, consisted of lands within easier reach of the capital and under more direct Ottoman control. Administratively, these provinces received officials appointed from the capital, they shouldered the greatest share of land revenue and wartime taxes, and their settlement and landholding systems were regulated from the center. Geographically, these were Mediterranean lands: present-day Greece and southern Bulgaria, western and central Anatolia, Syria and Palestine – lands of sufficient rainfall for pasture and the dry farming of cereals, but often little besides. More fertile territory along rivers or streams, or those in rich alluvial valleys, might provide some diversity of crops and some surplus for provisioning, but scarcely enough to feed a great empire.¹¹⁰

As such, the peripheries comprised the remaining regions such as the Arab provinces to the Southeast and East and parts of North Africa to the South. Far from being a mere socio-political or economic distinction only, defining some regions as an administrative and geographical core had several further repercussions. On one hand, the core regions enjoyed the fastest economic

¹¹⁰ White, 26.

growth, which in turn led to a demographic growth. However, the latter goes hand in hand with a stronger population pressure. Therefore, when we think of the difficulties involved in providing food and commodities to an increasing population in the context of a peasant economy; we can also make a parallel link with the higher risks involved in the case of environmental or climatic adversities. The climatic conditions known as the Little Ice Age, which hit part of Europe as a freezing cold and parts of the Eastern Mediterranean as severe droughts are a case in point. In other words, the regions known as the administrative and geographical core of the Ottoman Empire came to be the regions, which “suffer[ed] the worst effects of the Little Ice Age to come.”¹¹¹ In the following sections, we will provide more details about the chronological development of the various climatic and socio-political of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. We shall start with the simplest chronologies of all, namely the list of sultans, others important figures, and major events, which characterized the period under study.

Chronology No 1: A Chronology of the Ottoman Empire from 1596 to 1651 CE

- 1597: Safiye Sultan, mother of Mehmed III, begins the construction of Yeni Cami in İstanbul, completed by Turhan Sultân, mother of Mehmed IV, in 1664
- 1603: death of Mehmed III
- 1603-17: Ahmed I
- 1606: end of the Habsburg-Ottoman ‘Long War’ (1593-1606): peace of Zsitva Török
- 1607: rebellions of Canboladoğlu Ali Paşa and Fakhr al-din Ma’n put down by Kuyucu Murad Paşa
- 1609-20: Mimar Mehmed Ağa constructs the Sultan Ahmed Mosque for Sultan Ahmed I
- 1611 - after 1683: Evliya Çelebi, ‘world traveller’: his writings form a major source for Ottoman social history
- 1623: Baghdad, in Ottoman hands since 1534, conquered by Shah ‘Abbâs of Iran
- 1626-76: Sabbatai Sevi, who claims to be the Messiah; in 1666 he converts to Islam and becomes Aziz Mehmed Efendi
- 1638: reconquest of Baghdad by Murat IV
- 1639: treaty of Kasr-i Shirin leaves the Ottomans in possession of Iraq
- Mid-seventeenth century: Albertus Bobovius (Wojciech Bobowki), who became Ali Ufki Efendi, documents Ottoman palace music according to the European system of notation
- 1655-1716: Mustafa Naima from Aleppo, appointed official historiographer
- c.1670-1745: İbrahim Müteferrika from Transylvania, scholarly printer and publisher; he introduces the printing of Ottoman texts in Arabic characters
- 1683: second Ottoman siege of Vienna
- 1683-1699: Ottoman-Habsburg war, with the Pope, Venice and Petrine Russia as Habsburg allies

¹¹¹ White, 28.

Chronology No 2: A Social and Political Overview of the Celali rebellions

The period between the late 16th century and the first half of the Seventeenth century witnessed a number of economic, social, political, and climatic unrest.¹¹² More specifically, the Celali revolts¹¹³ combined with an inability to sustain the initial economic and demographic growth of the 16th century, “power struggles at the heart of the empire, frantic competition of ruling elites and high office holders”, and unforeseeable phenomena such as earthquakes and droughts affected various cities and regions including the region of Konya-Karaman¹¹⁴. Before going any further, it is worth noting some peculiarities of the Karaman region under Ottoman rule.

If we recall the administrative classification of Ottoman regions into core and peripheries, we would expect the location of Karaman in Central Anatolia to grant it a place in the core regions of the empire. However, while it may geographically be so,

with respect to its role in the Ottoman imperial ecology, Karaman like much of the empire was more peripheral. It was certainly never a major region of supply worthy of close imperial inspection in the manner of the Nile or Danube. Neither was it a region that could make traditional claims to the produce of other lands in the manner of Edirne or Bursa or the capital itself. The province was expected to remain mostly self-sufficient apart from the occasional imperial demand for grain, meat, or other basic goods; and its landlocked position reinforced this self-sufficiency.¹¹⁵

While self-sufficiency means perhaps an easier internal management of resources, it also means, in times of hardship, difficulties in providing access to necessities by means of external networks and distribution channels. As such, a region like Karaman with its “semi arid farmland”, simple agricultural techniques, and landlocked geography made it quick to succumb to population pressure, which further intensified with climatic fluctuations. As a result, there seemed to be an increasing trend whereby “poverty and landlessness had bred a volatile class of desperate men migrating across the countryside and into towns and cities. Generations later,

¹¹² For a description of the agricultural crisis which hit Central Anatolia in the 16 and 17th centuries see Suraiya Faroqi, “Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing: The Wordly Affairs of the *Mevlevî* Dervishes (1595-1652),” *Turcica* 22 (1988): 43–70, <https://doi.org/10.2143/TURC.22.0.2014223>; Orbay Kayhan, “Financial Development of the Waqfs in Konya and the Agricultural Economy in the Central Anatolia (Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Centuries),” 2012, <https://doi.org/10.1163/156852012x628509>;

¹¹³ For a detailed analysis of the consequences of Celali revolts in Central Anatolia see the following works by Oktay Özel, “The Question of Abandoned Villages in Ottoman Anatolia,” in *Ottoman Rural Societies and Economies*, ed. E Kolovos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2015); also see Oktay Özel, “The Reign of Violence: the Celalis, c.1550- 1700”, in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London-New York: Routledge, 2011) : 184-202;

¹¹⁴ Özel, “The Question of Abandoned Villages in Ottoman Anatolia,” 100.

¹¹⁵ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 116.

its Karamanid tradition of independence and resistance lingered beneath the surface. These factors would all come together in the outbreak of rebellion and crisis in the Little Ice Age.”¹¹⁶

This situation, which started around the 1580s, was slightly restored in 1608 by Kuyucu Murat Paşa. However, this restoration was considered “nothing more than a temporary breather” before the “machine of violence [...] generated large armies again” in the 1620s under the command of Abaza Mehmed Paşa¹¹⁷. What is more, the army of Kuyucu Murat Paşa must have been quite disruptive. After all, the nickname of *Kuyucu* means well-sinker in Turkish, and legend has it that he used to build wells to throw in the dead bodies. This re-eruption of violence led to “great flights” from villages to urban areas. In fact, “a large number of villages were abandoned, some disappearing for good.”¹¹⁸ Chronic violence continued to a lesser extent in the 1630s. By 1640s, the demographic, economic, and social consequences became even more apparent in the formation of an “army of the poor”, i.e. households “who could produce barely enough to survive and put all their life energy and power into holding on to what they had at hand”¹¹⁹. The reproduction rates naturally declined and, combined with plague, which hit the concerned region, have led to a general demographic decrease. This was the agricultural-based economy version of a financial crisis. In 1641,

“Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa: Grand Vizier of Sultan Ibrahim, who viewed the entire situation from the perspective of state finance, decided to step in to alleviate this “financial crisis” by taking certain measures [such as] coinage reform to stabilize the currency [...] and] demanded that a detailed survey of taxpaying population be conducted and that the results be recorded in a defter.¹²⁰ [i.e. tax register]”¹²¹

Chronology No 3: Climatic Conditions

A study of a peasant economy focusing on agricultural production would not be complete without a summary of the climatic conditions, which characterized the period under study. Climatic conditions of the Ottoman lands during the late Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries

¹¹⁶ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 120.

¹¹⁷ Özel, “The Question of Abandoned Villages in Ottoman Anatolia,” 106–7.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 107.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 109.

¹²⁰ According to Oktay Özel, this is the source of the detailed *avarız* and *cizye* registers of 1641-43, which provide information about demographic changes and changes in settlement patterns. See Özel, “The Question of Abandoned Villages in Ottoman Anatolia.”

¹²¹ Ibid, 109.

have followed a period of unrest and change similar to the one witnessed at the socio-political level. Indeed, “isolated incidents of extreme weather began to form a pattern of freezing winters and erratic precipitation that would come to characterize the region over much of the following century.”¹²² The wide and diverse geography of the empire did not seem to play in its advantage, as almost all of its regions suffered in one way or another from waves of droughts or freezing cold.¹²³ The situation did not really improve in the following decades, and the climatic conditions did not help Kuyucu Murat Paşa much in his restoration process.

Around the time that Huaynaputina erupted in 1600, weather grew extraordinarily wet and winter temperatures plunged even further. In 1607, severe drought struck once more, and a succession of freezing dry winters brought on the worst suffering of the entire crisis. While cold persisted over the following years, particularly during the freezing of the Bosphorus in 1621, the next serious drought came in the late 1650s. Finally, from the late 1670s to the 1700s, the so-called “Late Maunder Minimum” brought new extremes of precipitation and probably the worst winters since the 1620s.¹²⁴

It would be a historical and logical fallacy to blame climatic changes “for all otherwise inexplicable occurrences in history, especially in a period of great political and economic turmoil.”¹²⁵ As such, one needs to verify the validity and reliability of the sources used in studies on historical climatology in order to differentiate, as much as possible, between the actual

¹²² White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 140.

¹²³ The situation was described by Sam White as follows: “historical sources suggest that the drought began gradually, increasing in extent and intensity from 1591 to 1596, accompanied by the onset of Little Ice Age cold. A traveler’s description has recorded drought in Palestine as early as the winter of 1590, and the first indications in Ottoman records appeared the following spring, when the sultan complained to the inspector of water shortages in Istanbul. At the same time, drought began to destroy harvests in the more arid agricultural regions: Karabağ (near Konya) and the Peloponnese reported famine, and Libya suffered shortages and sought grain relief from the Balkans and Tunisia, perhaps contributing to the serious unrest in North Africa that year. By 1592, the Damascus region also reported “much famine,” leading the sultan to remove the current kadı. The following year, the shortages spread to Baghdad and then the Hijaz, where officials in Medina pleaded for more grain from Egypt: “Since it has not rained for a few years, there is famine . . . The poor settled in Medina are suffering a total shortage (kemal muzayaka . . .).” Yet the Nile flood failed as well in 1593, and the *deşişe* must have fallen short. Starting that winter, volcanic dust veils plunged Europe and the Near East into some of the coldest weather of the Little Ice Age. Anatolia was particularly hard hit, enduring heavy snows that closed roads and killed off livestock. By January 1595, even the new sultan Mehmed III struggled through the freezing weather on his way from Manisa to Istanbul to claim the throne. Meanwhile, as the following narrative explains, Ottoman soldiers began to suffer from floods and frosts on the Hungarian front. By that time, the drought had reached the Aegean region and into Anatolia, as described in Venetian dispatches. From 1594 to 1596, dangerous storms plagued the Adriatic, too, adding to the disruption in supplies and eventually forcing the Venetian grain administrators to begin importing from the Atlantic. In the meantime, taxes, war, and banditry came to play as much a role as Little Ice Age weather in the famines, plagues, and disorder that swept the empire from Syria to the Balkans and beyond”; see White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 142–43.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 137.

¹²⁵ P. I. Kuniholm, “Archaeological Evidence and Non-Evidence for Climatic Change,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series A, Mathematical and Physical Sciences* 330, no. 1615 (1990): 651.

climatic events and the perceptions of the populace regarding the changes. In this matter, historical climatology has been developing from initial studies with inaccurate proxies towards the use of more sophisticated variables. The work of Peter Kuniholm in the 1980s have initiated a new dendrochronology whereby “several teams have completed tree ring sequences for various parts of the Near East.”¹²⁶ The rate of tree growth would, when correlated with modern weather data, provide us with a “much more detailed measures of annual spring and summer rainfall over the past several hundred years for parts of Anatolia and Jordan and for the Eastern Mediterranean overall.”¹²⁷ As a result, researchers found it “interesting that there is such a high correlation between years of poor tree-ring growth and years reported to be years of shortage or famine.”¹²⁸ This resulted in the below figure with a “profile of tree-ring growth from 1560 to 1620 in five forests and two archaeological sites in and around west-central Anatolia. The oscillations below and above the base-line represent departures from mean annual growth.”¹²⁹

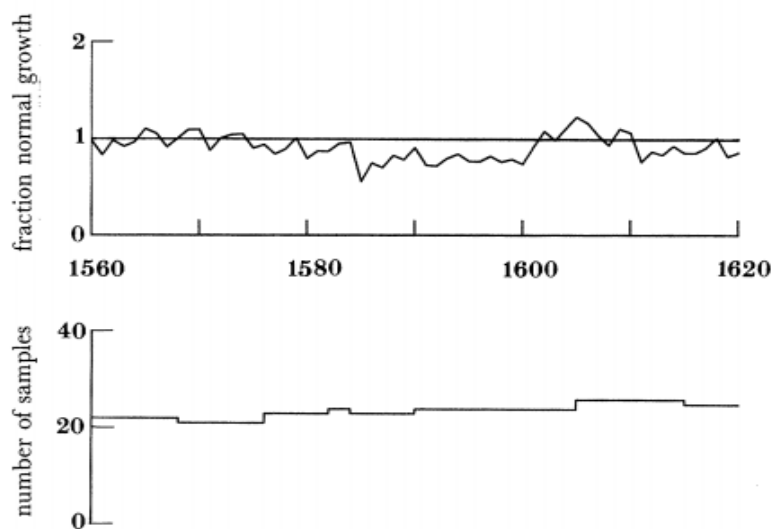


FIGURE 1. Çatacık, Elmadağ, Antalya, Grevena conifers and the archaeological oaks.

Source: P. I. Kuniholm, “Archaeological Evidence and Non-Evidence for Climatic Change,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series A, Mathematical and Physical Sciences* 330, no. 1615 (1990): 651

¹²⁶ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 135.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, 135.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 137.

¹²⁹ Kuniholm, “Archaeological Evidence and Non-Evidence for Climatic Change,” 651.

These findings have been complemented with other Ottoman and Venetian archival and primary sources to enrich our information on the historical climatology of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. For instance, Kuniholm compared the above graphical information with “archival information and travellers' reports from 1564 to 1612 compiled independently by Professor H. Inalcik and Professor W. Griswold”¹³⁰ and the result was the following table:

TABLE 2

year(s)	report of conditions	tree-ring growth (%)
1564	Widespread shortage in Anatolia	96
1565–67	Ottoman prohibitions on grain export	110 105 91
1570–71	More prohibitions. The Venetian ambassador to the Sublime Porte complains that prices have quadrupled	109 87
1574–76	Grain shortage. Famine in Anatolia and Istanbul	105 90 94
1579	Shortage in Archipelago and Syria	100
1580	Shortage in Western Asia Minor and Archipelago	79
1583	Shortage in Archipelago and Aleppo	95
1584	Shortage in Western Anatolia, Syrian coasts, Tripoli	96
1585	No rain in January and February in Istanbul; no rain in summer in Rumeli, Edirne. Shortage in Western Anatolia, Rumeli (Edirne, Berkofca, Temesvar), Lepanto, Zulkadriye in Eastern Asia Minor	55
1586	Famine in Çorum	74
1588	Shortage in Istanbul	82
1589	Great shortage in the Levant	78
1590	Shortage in Damascus. Great shortage in Italy; wheat imports from Northern countries	90
1591	Shortage in Skoplje. Re-opening of the Levant wheat market	72
1592	Fall famine in Damascus; cold January, plague	71
1594	Plague, storms, Ottoman prohibitions. Land ‘remains uncultivated because there are no farmers....’ Italy makes massive imports from Northern countries	84
1595	Famine	76
1598	Famine. Caspian area hot; rough seas in July on Mediterranean; Sir Anthony Sherey reports exceeding barrenness in Anatolia	76
1599	Unusual contrary winds in the Adriatic. Drought in Zante	78
1610	‘Unhusbanded plains for many miles together,’ says traveller Charles Robson. Plague of grasshoppers	106
1611	Famine in Anatolia. Aleppo snow awful	75
1612	French Consul ‘killed when snow broke through his house on him’	86

Source: P. I. Kuniholm, “Archaeological Evidence and Non-Evidence for Climatic Change,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series A, Mathematical and Physical Sciences* 330, no. 1615 (1990): 651

Thus, we can see that historians have been using a wide range of sources to obtain a better understanding of the social, political, and climatic conditions of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries. Most importantly, the combination of the different sources

¹³⁰ Kuniholm, “Archaeological Evidence and Non-Evidence for Climatic Change”, 651.

“provide insights into the human dimensions of Little Ice Age weather events, particularly the suffering created by spring droughts and freezing winters.”¹³¹ This dimension is directly and strongly related to our current study. The relationship shall be explained in the following section.

WHY: RELEVANCE TO THE CURRENT CASE STUDY

The history of Karaman illustrates the most troubling weaknesses in the classical Ottoman imperial ecology. By the late sixteenth century, conditions in the province were difficult at best and dangerous at worst.¹³²

The demographic changes which occurred in Central Anatolia due to the combination of economic, social, political, and climatic factors means an increasing movement from villages to cities. This, in turn, means a decrease in agricultural production because of the decrease in harvest produce and farm labour on one hand, and an increase in poor urban population because of the increase in non-commercial labour on the other hand. This becomes harder for the *Mevlevihâne* when we think of the increase in unemployed youth whose economic conditions are worsening. All of this means, on one hand, a larger clientele who are likely to knock the doors of the *Imarets* and *Tekkes* in the city of Konya; and, on the other hand, a larger difficulty for the *Imarets* and *Tekkes* in sustaining high levels of food provisions. Since *Tekkes* have the additional property of residing derviches, the sustainable food provision is even more important. Since the *Mevlevihânes* equipped with *Matbah-ı şerif* in addition require the kitchen in the spiritual teaching and training of their derviches, then, the need for a sustainable food provision is even more serious. As such, we will see in this case study how the account numbers of the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî have changed in the late Sixteenth and first half of the Seventeenth century with the hope to get a glimpse into how the *Vakıf* administration could manage this delicate situation.

HOW: ARCHIVAL DATA

Studying the financial situation of a *Vakıf* is partly made possible by “one of the primary archival sources of the waqfs”, namely its endowment deed or *waqfiyye*. However, we qualify it as partial because it does not contain all the information that a researcher may need. Kayhan

¹³¹ White, *The Climate of Rebellion in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, 136.

¹³² *Ibid*, 120.

Orbay provides a detailed description of what can be found and what is missing in *waqfiyye* accounts as follows:

The *waqfiyyes* list all the revenue sources that were initially endowed to the waqf institutions. However, the *waqfiyyes* cannot give an answer to the question of how much revenue were these sources yielding. Moreover, they do not allow us to see the actual amount of income collection and the change in income composition in time. They contained the list of all the offices of employments in the waqfs and determined the salary of each employee. Many expense items including kitchen and repair expenditures were minutely defined and specified in the *waqfiyyes*. On the other hand, the increases in the number of employees or in their salaries as well as the payments for beneficiaries cannot be seen in these documents. The amount of kitchen expenditures were stipulated in quantities, for that reason one cannot calculate the actual cash equivalent of kitchen expenditures. The *waqfiyyes* say nothing about the amount of repair costs, which would even drive a waqf into serious financial difficulty. Furthermore, the *waqfiyyes* did not mention all the expense items. In short, although the *waqfiyyes* are valuable sources for many aspect of the waqfs they were not so for the financial analysis of the waqfs.¹³³

Our main concern in this study is the kitchen account. Therefore, we will use the endowment deeds of the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî as a primary source for the analysis to follow. More specifically, the *Vakıf* account books can be found under the section called Mâliyeden Müdevver (abbreviated as MAD) in the Ottoman Archives department under the Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey (T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı).

The specific numbers of the relevant accounts are as follows: MAD 1381¹³⁴, 5574, 4521, and 5926¹³⁵.

Our analysis will be done by using graphical representations for a visual picturing of the quantitative data in the account books. We mainly focus on the kitchen expenditure and storehouse accounts. The former can be found under the kitchen expenditure entry, and the latter can be tracked to some extent by using price figures of primary kitchen foods and goods.

¹³³ For more details see footnote number 15 in Kayhan Orbay, "The Magnificent Suleymaniye Owed a Debt to the Butcher and the Grocer," *Belleten (Türk Tarih Kurumu)* 75 (April 1, 2011): 87–133.

¹³⁴ For a full transcription of MAD 1381 see Alaaddin Aköz, "Konya Mevlevî-Hânesinin 1596 ve 1602 Yıllarına Ait Muhasebe Bilânçoları (Mukayeseli Bir Değerlendirme)," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (1996): 311–35.

¹³⁵ For a full transcription of MAD 5926 see Alaaddin Aköz, "Mevlana Celadeddin-İ Rumi Külliyesinin 1651-1652 Yılına Ait Muhasebe Bilançosu," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi (SEFAD) / Selçuk University Journal of Faculty of Letters* 0, no. 7–8 (1992): 197–206.

Concerning the kitchen expenditure account, the below Graph 1 provides a general view of overall movements in kitchen expenditures, total income, and total expenditures accounts over the years.

DATA ANALYSIS



Graph 1: Total Income, Total Expenditures, and Kitchen expenditures

As we can see, account figures have been fluctuating over the whole period. However, there is an overall and relatively sharp decrease in both income and expenditures which reached its lowest level in 1016 AH / 1607 CE before a slight recovery in the following years. Given the non-continuity in the dataset, we are unfortunately unable to track for just how the initial recovery between the years 1010/1602 and 1016/1607 exactly happened. Nonetheless, it corresponds to the temporary improvement restored by Kuyucu Mehmet Pasa in 1608. The *Vakıf* could maintain a relatively stable level of income and expenditure accounts before they all dropped again in 1025-6/1616-7. A short-lived increase followed by a similar drop goes in parallel with the comeback of violence in the 1620s under the lead of Abaza Mehmed Pasa. Another gap in the dataset is also found in the decrease period of 1034/1625, 1037/1627, and 1040-1/1631. The sharp increase in the short period between 1040-1/1631 and 1042-4/1632-4 is noteworthy. Interestingly, the increase in expenditures was larger than the increase in income.

As such, although the *Vakıf* accounts showed higher levels between 1630 and 1640 as compared to previous decades, it was a situation of deficit. Here again, we need to note the parallelism with the formation of an army of the poor alongside the large waves of deserted villages. Finally, although the figures decreased again in the 1640s, the deficit was closed and the *Vakıf* ended up with a (decreasing yet positive) profit. This shift corresponds to the financial measures taken by Kemankes Kara Mustafa Pasa against the economic crisis. Nonetheless, it was again a short-lived profit before a new deficit which hit the *Vakıf* in the 1650s.

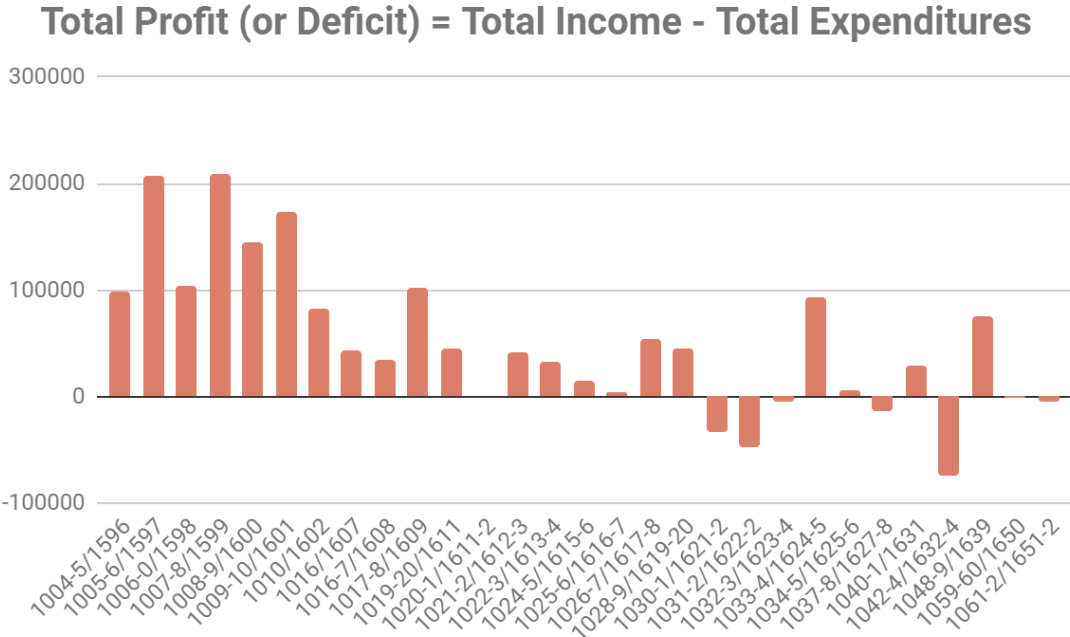
From this initial analysis, it seems that the first half of the Seventeenth Century was not as profitable as the last decade of the Sixteenth Century. We can also note a parallelism between the socio-economic events of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth century as presented by Oktay Özel and their reflection on the *Vakıf* account figures. Once more, the increase in the 1630s is noteworthy even though it ended up with a deficit. The overall recovery was limited, as the *Vakıf* did not reach the initial income levels.

The parallelism between the *Vakıf* accounts and the social upheavals of the Seventeenth century in Central Anatolia was also noticed in the case of Seyyid Gazi. The latter's accounts witnessed a drastic decrease in the levels of net income known as *asl-ı mal ma'a bakiye-i muhasabe-i sene-i maziye* from 1008/1599-1600 to 1041/1631-32. This decrease was partly explained with a decrease in the amount and prices of grains, which were 9159 *kile* in 1599-1600 and reached levels as low as 1250 *kile* in 1027/1618-19 and 2010 in 1041/1631-32. A similar decrease in the amounts of wheat received from surrounding villages and mills strengthened the possibility of "an agricultural crisis connected with the Celali uprisings".¹³⁶

In the case of the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî, while the overall trend was increasing, the first half of the Seventeenth Century was a period of intermittence between periods of profit and deficits. In Graph 1, periods of profit are the years, where the total income line is above the line indicating total expenditures. Periods of breakeven are the years, when the total income line is at the same level as the line of total expenditures; and periods of deficit are the years when the total income line falls below the line of total expenditures. The exact measures of the yearly changes in profits and deficits need more calculations and a better graphical

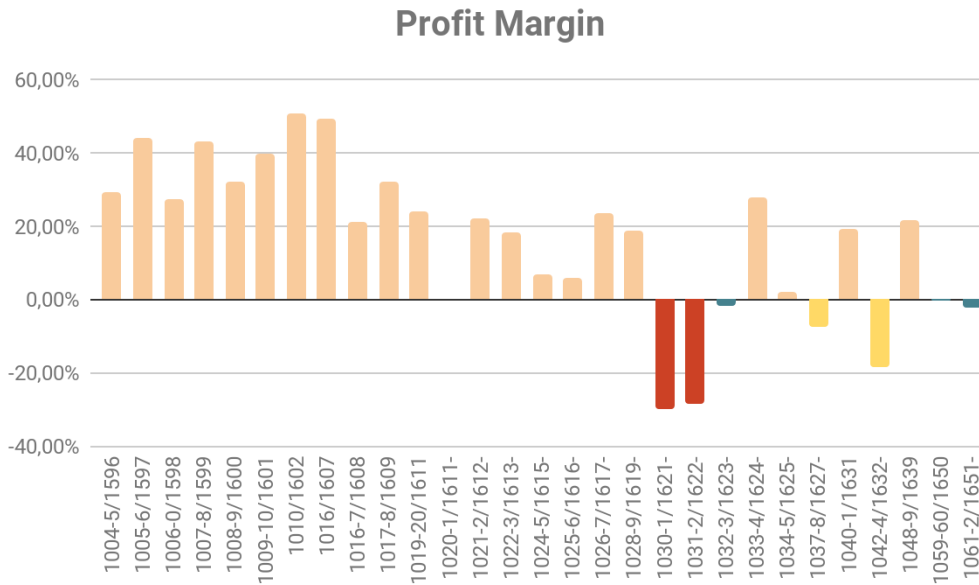
¹³⁶ For a more detailed description see Faroqhi, Suraiya N. "Seyyid Gazi Revisited- The Foundation as Seen Through Sixteenth and Seventeenth- Century Documents, Turcica, XIII (1981), 90-122," 1981, especially the following pages: 108-112.

representation. Graph 2 provides a quantifiable representation of profits, breakeven, and deficit through calculating the total profit or deficit by the subtraction of total expenditures from total income. We have deleted the entry for Receb 1026/July 1617 because it only covers a few months, therefore we will consider it in isolation rather than in comparison with the full yearly accounts.



Graph 2: Total Profit or Deficit

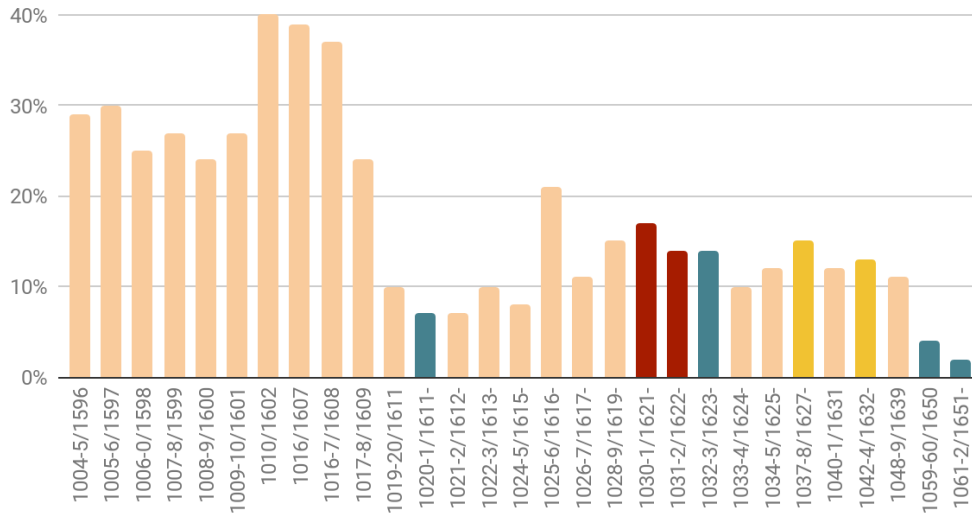
Graph 3 provides an even more detailed quantifiable analysis through the calculation of profit margin percentage as follows: Profit Margin % = (Total Income - Total Expenditures) / Total Income.



Graph 3: Profit Margin Percentage

As we can see in Graphs 2 and 3, the *Vakıf* encountered its highest deficit levels in the years 1030-1/1621-2 and 1031-2/1623-4; its medium deficit levels in the years 1042-4/1632-4 and 1037-8/1627-8; and a slight deficit in the years 1032-3/1623-4 and 1061-2/1651-2. It is noteworthy that the periods of highest deficit also correspond to the time where there were reports of a freezing Bosphorus in the capital city of İstanbul. This is a strong evidence for a harder-than-usual winter, which had negative effects on the harvest. Similarly, the breakeven of 1020/1611 corresponds with reports on a famine in Anatolia as reported in the aforementioned table by Inalcik and Griswold. Given that times of deficits are also times, when priorities are set and reset, our expectation is that the *Vakıf* administration will, in times of deficit, only keep the necessary expenditures and cut off or decrease the non-primordial ones. With this assumption as a criterion for analysis, we will see how the deficit levels have affected the specific kitchen expenditure account. In other words, we try to understand the extent to which the kitchen was important, by looking at how much the *Vakıf* administrators could curtail its expenditures. The following graph provides a representation of the changes in kitchen expenditure as a percentage of total expenditures over the period under study.

Kitchen Expenditure as % of Total Expenditures



Graph 4: Kitchen Expenditure as a percentage of Total Expenditures

As we can see in Graph 4, the years where the *Vakıf* underwent a deficit have been colored in a similar fashion with the previous graphs. Similar to the previous graphs, we can see that the last decade of the Sixteenth Century and the first decade of the Seventeenth Century had, overall, higher levels than subsequent periods. In fact, there seems to be a rough decrease of 50% in the kitchen expenditures if we compare the averages of the two periods. However, the most surprising factor comes from the years corresponding to the highest deficit levels. Instead of decreasing the kitchen expenditures, it seems that the administration had to keep them to stable or even increase them to levels higher than those observed in the years preceding the deficit. The *Vakıf* administrators preferred to cut the miscellaneous expenses¹³⁷ instead of the kitchen expenditure, which overall strengthens our argument on the important socio-economic role of the kitchen in the Ottoman *Mevlevihâne*. Just how the level of kitchen expenditures was maintained is subject to different hypotheses. If we consider the document No 37 in Gölpinarlı's list covering the *Vakıf* archives, admittedly from the nineteenth century, we see that in 1279 and 1281 A.H the *Vakıf* of Sultan Selim in Konya provided several *berâts* to help cover the food expenses (*taâmiye*) of Şems *türbedarı* in. The same foundation provided the salary of *Ser-tarıyk* in 1279 AH in addition to the food expenses of all the dervishes in Konya in 1280 AH; a

¹³⁷ According to Suraiya Faroqhi, the main expenses of the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî in Konya were the kitchen and illumination. The kitchen expenses are listed under the kitchen expenditure account. The illumination expenses are part of the miscellaneous expenses. See Faroqhi, "Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing."

further *ferman* gave help to defray the food expenses of Kudüs *Dergâhı* in 1280 AH¹³⁸. In addition, the document No 38 describes a renewal from Sultan Abdülmeçid of a *berât* given in 1255 AH/1841 CE to cover the food expenses of *Tavşanlı Mevlevihânesi*.¹³⁹ In addition, there is evidence for a grant from the Ottoman administration, which “generally amounted to about 47,000 *akçe*, but was augmented in the exceptionally difficult year of 1059-60/1649-50. At least in the mid-seventeenth century it was paid out of resources provided by the *cizye*¹⁴⁰ of non-Muslims resident in the Konya area.”¹⁴¹ These examples confirm Faroqhi’s affirmation that “accumulated reserves from the preceding years, or loans from associated institutions, could easily tide the *Mevlevî* foundation over a single bad year, so that the level of expenditure need only be affected to a moderate extent.”¹⁴² This raises the question of whether similar governmental subsidies, and loans, could help the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ in stabilizing the changes in the kitchen expenditures account.

All forms of loans and governmental grants put aside, a close look at the list of commodity prices given to *Vakıf* of Sultan Selim II and the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî between the years 1004-5 AH/1596 CE to 1010 AH/ 1602 CE is presented in the following graph.

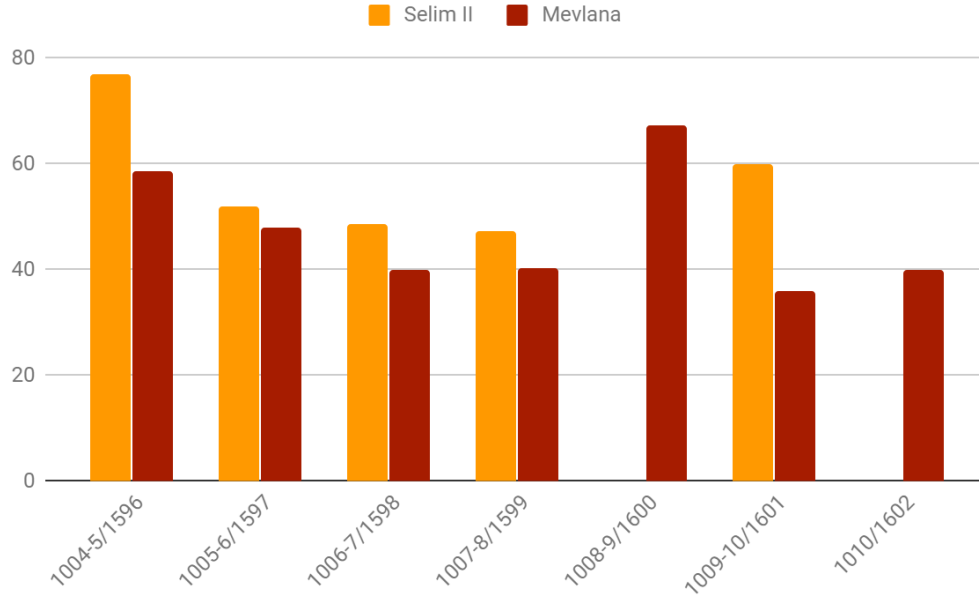
¹³⁸ Gölpınarlı, “Konya’da Mevlana Dergahının Arşivi,” 163.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 163.

¹⁴⁰ “Although the sum involved as relatively modest, the *Mevlevî* dervishes must have benefited from the fact that the *cizye* taxes - and also the rents collected from urban real estate- were not as sensitive to the vicissitudes of agrarian conjuncture as the tithe revenues collected from villagers.” see Faroqhi, “Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing,” 51.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, 51.

¹⁴² Ibid, 48.



Graph 5: Comparison of prices listed in the accounts of the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî and the *imaret* of Sultan Selim II in Konya

When we compare the list of prices for the main foods and ingredients of the two institutions, we notice that the prices accorded to the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ were lower than those of the *Imaret* of Sultan Selim II. Unfortunately, we cannot make any further speculations on this topic for several reasons. For instance, we know that they constitute “the institution derived most of its income from the sale of grain delivered into its tithe-barns.”¹⁴³ However, we do not know whether the figures represent buying or selling prices. In addition, we need further information on other costs involved in the process of food acquisition such as transportation¹⁴⁴ and logistics costs¹⁴⁵ as well as external costs such as taxes. Moreover,

one rather puzzling peculiarity of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ottoman foundation accounts is that they frequently record prices for grains consumed in the kitchen, so that the reader gains the impression that these supplies had been bought. However, it is very unlikely that *zaviyes* such as that of Seyyid Gazi or Mevlânâ Celâleddin, which provided for themselves and their visitors by selling grain, should have purchased supplies in the open market. It is likely that this arrangement was simply an accounting device; even so however, it is strange that this technique of recording should have been resorted to even where (50-51) separate larder accounts were being kept, such as in the case of the *imaret* of Sultan Selim II in Konya. Be that as it may, the

¹⁴³ Faroqhi, “Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing,” 50.

¹⁴⁴ “In an exceptional year, such as 1007-08/1599-1600, the amount of money paid out for this purpose might even exceed 9000 *akçe*”: see Faroqhi, “Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing,” 50..

¹⁴⁵ “One might also deduce that the *zaviye* marketed its own harvests from the fact that occasionally we find a record of grains, which had remained unsold at the time the yearly accounts were being prepared” : see Faroqhi, “Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing,” 50.

prevalence of this device may serve to show that the major foundations of seventeenth-century Anatolia were well integrated with the market economy, and that ‘foundation autarchy’ was in no way viewed as a desirable goal.¹⁴⁶

These issues make it difficult to make sense of the price data. However, we thought of including it here for future researchers who may be interested in investigating this difference in prices. Does this mean that the *imaret* administrators are showing overly high prices? Or else, did the Mevlânâ *Vakıf* benefit from some kind of subsidies? If this situation had continued in the Seventeenth century, then it means that the crisis was even more severe than what is shown in the account books, as the kitchen expenditures were an important part of both the revenues and expenses and that they were the most directly affected by changing commodity prices.

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS AND CONCLUDING REMARKS:

To sum up, the fluctuations in the accounts of the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî in Konya seem to move in parallel with the ups and downs of the general climatic and political conditions of the peasant economy in Central Anatolia during the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth centuries. The climatic conditions were mainly the repercussions of the Little Ice Age, which brought freezing winters in Europe and severe droughts in Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean. This resulted in periods of plagues, famine, and harvest shortages, and supplies could not keep up with the increasing demands of the population. The socio-political conditions were mainly the social rebellions and unrest known as the Celali Rebellions. The period under study was characterized by interim times of peace and violence. These climatic and socio-economic conditions were reflected on the *Vakıf* accounts by overall declining figures, several years of profit, and intermittent periods of deficits with which the *Vakıf* entered the second half of the Seventeenth century. However, as we should remember, “the correlation between these events and waqf income is not so simple. Although grain collections declined due to harvest failure, rebel plundering, or desertion of villages, increasing prices would, in some cases, produce much greater income for the waqfs.”¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Faroqhi, “Agricultural Crisis and the Art of Flute-Playing,” 50-51.

¹⁴⁷ See footnote 15 in Kayhan, “Financial Development of the Waqfs in Konya and the Agricultural Economy in the Central Anatolia (Late Sixteenth-Early Seventeenth Centuries).”

Leaving the total income aside, we now focus on the expenditures only. A natural result of an economic crisis is a cut in expenditures. In the specific case of a *Vakıf* operating in a peasant economy, we would expect a cut in agriculture-dependent expenditures such as the kitchen accounts. However, the *Vakıf* could maintain levels of kitchen expenditures, which were more stable than other expenditure accounts. In fact, even in the highest deficit times, we could see that there was minimal change in the kitchen expenditures account as compared to the immediately precedent years. This can partly be explained by the possibility of external aid coming in the forms of food *berat* and *ferman* from the Sultan or in the forms of food aid directly coming from the adjacent *imaret* of Sultan Selim II. In any case, there seems to be efforts to keep the socio-economic role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen operating.

In all cases, both the possibility of external forms of food aid and the price subsidies suggest that the figures provided in the accounts provide the least negative impact of the agricultural crisis. In other words, the impact of the crisis on the accounts of the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî, and especially the accounts, which concern the kitchen expenditures, would have been much larger if the foundation had not enjoyed external aids and price subsidies. This would have resulted in an even greater inability to distribute food to the residing dervishes, the travelers, the poor, and the needy of Konya. The price subsidies, the interaction between the *Vakıf* and the *imaret*, and the sultanic food aid through *berat* and *ferman* are all hypotheses at this stage. While these measures are on record for later periods, meticulous future studies need to dig into the available archival data, which can perhaps help us to clear up these points.

While accounting numbers can prove useful for understanding the socio-economic role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen, they remain relatively abstract and need to be complemented with further information on the internal processes from which they have originated. That is, the external dimension needs to be combined with an internal dimension for a more complete understanding of the overall role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen. In other words, the following sections will provide some insider descriptions on the physical space and the spiritual environment, which have produced the accounting numbers. We will therefore look at the physical space occupied by the kitchen in a typical *Mevlevî âsitâne*. Then, we will zoom further into the kitchen and try to glean from the available documents some information about the division of labor, the main foods prepared, the processes of admission and exit, as well as the manners of preparing and eating food.

CHAPTER 3: THE INNER ROLE OF THE *MEVLEVÎ* KITCHEN

Studying a *Tekke* as a multi-functional space requires a multi-dimensional analysis of its parts and functions. Applying this logic to the *Mevlevî* kitchen, we need a multi-dimensional analysis of the different functions performed by the kitchen. These functions can be reached by looking at its physical presence and architecture, its socio-economic roles such as food distribution, hospitality, and charity; and its internal or spiritual role of “cooking food and cooking souls”. The latter is done in the space known as *Matbah-ı şerif*. As stated earlier, we call a *Mevlevihâne* an *Âsitâne* when it contains *Matbah-ı şerif* as opposed to other nominations such as *Zaviye*. As such, the external and internal roles of the kitchen are not only differentiated in functions, but also in physical presence. This differentiation is reflected in the language used in Turkish sources. Authors differentiate between the normal kitchen and the sacred one by calling the former *Mutfak* (which is the usual Turkish word for kitchen), while the latter is referred to as *Matbah* (which is the Arabic word for kitchen). This differentiation forms the core consideration of our framework.

The socio-economic dimension has been covered in the previous section through a quantitative analysis of *Vakıf* account books. It is concerned with the overall food acquired, produced, consumed, and distributed in the *Mevlevihâne* as a whole. The next step now is concerned with the spiritual (i.e. internal) role of the kitchen whereby the education is done in the specific area of *Matbah-ı şerif*. As such, we will be referring to the sacred kitchen of the *Mevlevihâne* as *Matbah* as an abbreviation of *Matbah-ı şerif*, which is the place where the *nevniyâz* prepare meals such as *lokma* and undergo their *çile*. *Nevniyâz* is the word used for the newly admitted disciples of the *tarikat*. *Lokma* is a special type of rice which was prepared on specific occasions in *Matbah-ı şerif*. *Çile* are a set of tasks and duties, which are done as part of the spiritual education. All these concepts, and more, will be discussed in further details in the upcoming sections.

A JOURNEY TO *MATBAH-I ŞERİF*

Oğlum, hiçbir şey yakîn hâsıl olmayınca hüküm verilmez, hem de o yakîn ilim ve aynı geçip hakka'l-yakîn olmalıdır. *Matbah-ı şerife* soyunmak, çileye ikrâr vermek için sathî nazar, cüz'î tefekkür kifâyet etmez. Onun için ta'mîk-i fikir etmeli uzun uzadıya düşünmelidir. Zîra, *matbah-ı Mevlânâ*'ya vakf-ı vücûd eden Ateş-bâz-ı aşka semender olmalı, nâr-ı muhabbetle yanıp yakılmalıdır.¹⁴⁸

These are the words used by *Kazancı dede* in welcoming Tahirü'l-Mevlevî to the *Matbah-ı şerif* for his *çile* in the *mevlevihâne* of Yenikapı, İstanbul. In short, he emphasized the superior importance of knowledge by experience (*hakka'l-yakîn*) to theoretical (*ilme'l-yakîn*) and observational (*ayne'l-yakîn*) types of knowledge before judging the wisdom behind the time spent as a *çile* in *Matbah-ı şerif*. The latter was referred to hereof as *Matbah-ı Mevlânâ*. Then, he made mention of a name which holds a particular importance in the *matbah* and is known as Ateş-bâz-ı Veli. These ideas were also echoed by Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim who described his service in the *Mevlevihâne* of Kasımpaşa as follows:

Gelelim hizmet bahsine. Bu bahis böyle kalem ve kâğıt ile arz olunmak adîmü'l-îmkândır. Ancak âşıkların vicdanıyla bilinir bir madde olduğundan bunu hakikati erenlerin vicdanına havale olunup fakat bu bapta bir misâl-zâhirî iradına cesaret ederim. Meselâ vapurun ateşi çoğaldıkça eski hareketinden ne kadar ziyade hareketle ne türlü mesafe kat' edeceği ve fabrikaların ateşi çoğaldıkça makineler ne derecelerde hareket eyleyecekleri ve sefinenin yelkenlerine şiddetle rüzgâr doldukça sefinenin ne suretle sür'at-i hareketi malumdur. İşte fakirde harâret-i aşk arttıkça dâ'ire-i hazret-i şeyh dahi mumlar gibi yanmaya başladı.¹⁴⁹

All of these raise several questions such as the following: Who is *kazancı dede*? What is a *çile*? Where is the *matbah* usually located in a typical *âsitâne*? How does it look like? Who is Ateş-bâz-ı Veli? Why is he important? What are the rules for admission? What are the rules for staying? What are the consequences of breaking the rules? What are the main tasks? How is the division of labour achieved? Who has a say more than other in the matters related to the *matbah*? Moreover, of course, what was on the *Mevlevî* menu? In this chapter, we will try to answer all these questions -- and more. Since we obviously do not hold the direct experiential knowledge required for a good and profound understanding of the *matbah* and its functions, we will make use of memories left by those who did have such direct access. These are in the forms of diaries, letters, poems, and tractates written by famous followers of the *Mevlevî tarikat*. Finally, we will

¹⁴⁸ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 34

¹⁴⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı Dede'nin Hatıraları: Çok Yönlü Bir Sufinin Gözüyle Son Dönem Osmanlı Hayatı*, 1:821.

compare the information gathered from the various sources on the *matbah* with the available artistic works of miniatures from the early Seventeenth century in order to see how many elements were most likely present by then.

Main Sources:

Our sources for a better understanding of the physical and internal/spiritual roles of the *Mevlevi matbah* are a combination of archival, primary, and secondary sources. Our aim is to move from the higher level of abstraction contained in the quantitative analysis of the previous section into creating a more vivid image of the space and environment which have produced the numbers in question. Works of visual art as well as a combination of descriptive and literary primary sources make such an endeavor possible. The visual art used here as archival data consists of two miniature paintings from an early Seventeenth century manuscript held at the manuscript section of Beyazıt Public Library in İstanbul. Miniature paintings are valuable sources of information for historians. With their ability to use the given space in an effective manner, miniaturists can depict many scenes or a series of scenes on the same plan.

More Information on the Manuscript:

As is the case with most manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman languages, the date is mentioned at the very end. As such, the first image below is from the last two written pages of the manuscript, and the second image is a zoom into the triangular part where the date is mentioned.

Original Writing in Arabic:

قد تمت المثنوي المعنوي المولوي الجلالية الرومية بحمد الله و¹⁵⁰... في تاريخ يوم الخميث ...¹⁵¹ شهر جمادى الثاني
ثمان
عشر و ألف الهجرية النبوية

¹⁵⁰ I was not able to read it

¹⁵¹ The exact number is not clear

My translation into English:

This *Mesnevî-i Mânevî-i Mevlevî-i Celâlî-i Rûmî-i* have been completed, praise be to Allah, on Thursday in the Hijri Month of Jumādā Al Thāni in the year 1018 AH.

A quick conversion to the Gregorian calendar indicates that the manuscript was completed in September 1609 CE, which means that it was most likely written by the end of the Sixteenth and the beginning of the Seventeenth centuries CE.

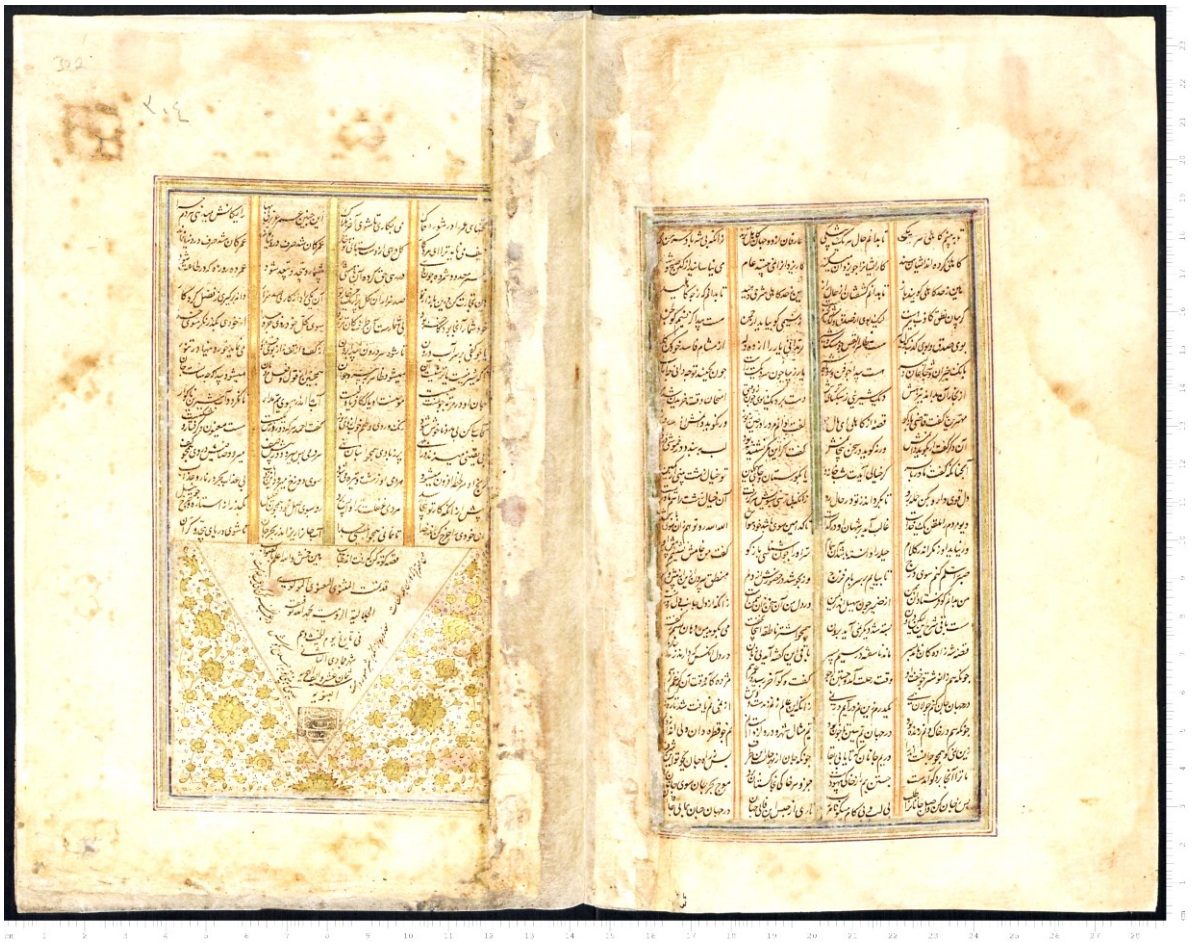


Figure 3.1: A scanned copy of the last written page of the manuscript

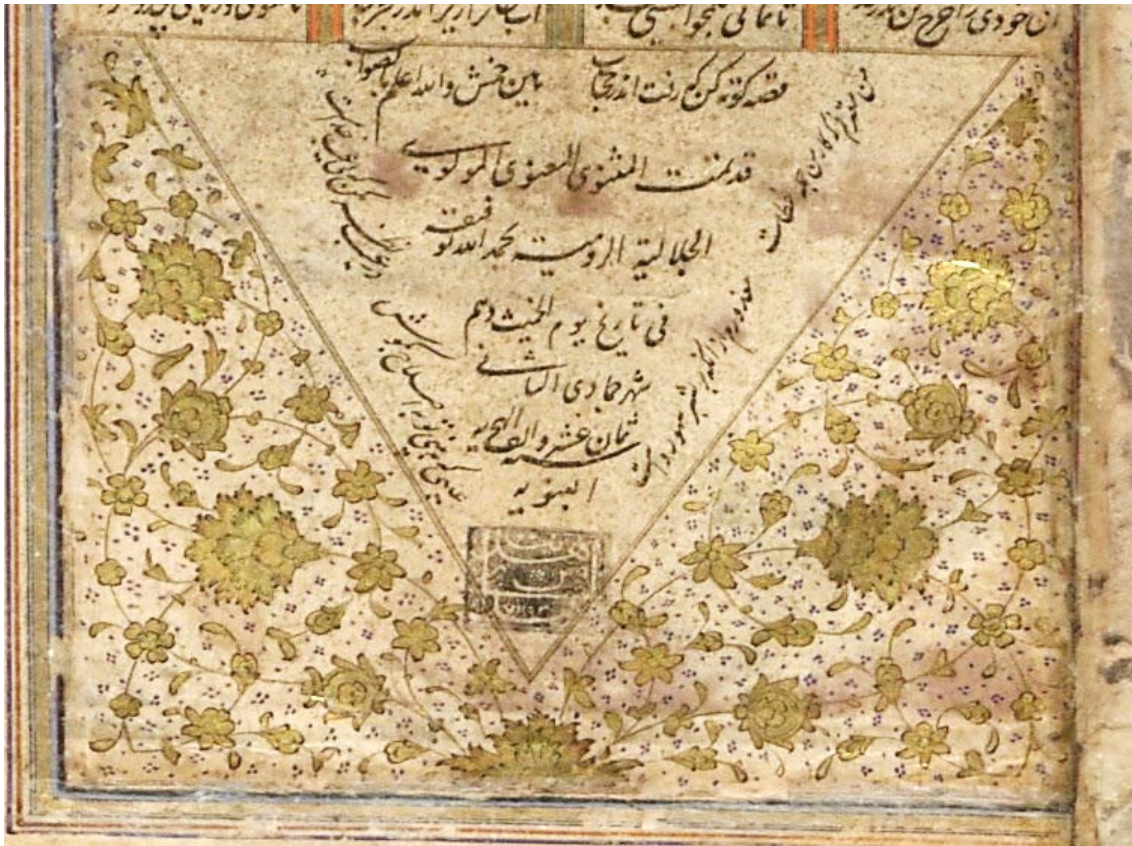


Figure 3.2: the very last sentences of the manuscript on the bottom left corner of the last written page. They indicate the date of completion.

Keeping in mind that the *Mesnevî* is a collection of thousands of stories presented in forms of poems and compiled into a *divan*, the miniatures are depictions of parts and events from some stories. Their location is often close to the most relevant part of the story they represent. While the *Mesnevî* has been written in the time of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî, the *Mevlevî tarîkat* has been institutionalized by his son Sultan Veled after his death. As such, the miniatures are not depictions of how things were done during the time of Mevlânâ. Rather, they are depictions of how things were done during the time of writing the manuscript. As a result, the similarities and differences with later centuries will provide valuable information in terms of institutional history of the *Mevlevî tarîkat* and *Mevlevî* practices. This becomes all the more valuable given the scarcity of sources available as we go further back in time from the relatively richer 18th and 19th centuries. Therefore, our method in this chapter will be one of comparing and contrasting what can be found in the miniatures with what we have in later primary sources. For this purpose, we first need to present the primary and secondary sources from later centuries, describe the *Mevlevî* rituals and practices, and then compare them with the available miniatures to see how many elements, if any, were also present back then.

The primary sources on the *Mevlevî* rituals and practices are a set of different sources pertaining in one way or another to the *Mevlevî tarikat* in terms of admission, practices, and experiences. More specifically, we will look at primary sources written by prominent *Mevlevî* figures such as the Divan of *Şeyh Gâlib*, the memoirs of Aşçı İbrahim Dede, the *Çilehane* letters (*Çilehane Mektupları*) of Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî (i.e. Tahir Olgun), and, of course, translations and interpretations of one of the most important books for *Mevlevîs*, namely the *Mesnevî*. For more recent secondary sources, we will benefit from the expertise and knowledge to which we have access thanks to the works of Abdalbâki Gölpınarlı, who happened to be a *Mevlevî* in his early years, before the closing of all *Tekkes* in the Republic of Turkey in 1925. In addition, recent secondary sources include *Tarihi Simalardan Mevlevî* by Muhittin Celal Duru and *Mevlevîlikte Mânevî Eğitim* by Sâfi Arpağuş. Short biographies of the aforementioned persons, a list of their main works, and some notes on their relevance to our topic will be presented in the following sub-section.

Some Famous *Mevlevîs* and their Relationship with the *Mevlevî* Kitchen:

1. *Şeyh Galip*¹⁵²:

Şeyh Galip was born in the years 1758 or 1759 near the *mevlevihâne* of *Yenikapı* to a *Mevlevî*-oriented family. Both his father and grandfather belonged to the *Mevlevî tarikat*, and both of his parents, namely Mustafa Reşit Efendi and Emine Hanım, are buried close to the *türbe* of İsmail Rusûhî Ankaravî in the *mevlevihâne* of Galata. This *Mevlevî* oriented family environment probably played an important role in *Şeyh Galip*'s career. Indeed, with the knowledge gained from his father and the familiarity with the writing style of the *Mesnevî*, young Galip gained enough inspiration to write his own *divan* and gather it in 1780 at the age of twenty-four. Then, in 1784, he left his home and moved to Konya, with the intention of fulfilling his *çile* there. Upon his father's request, he received a transfer to İstanbul and eventually completed his *çile* in 1787 in the *mevlevihâne* of *Yenikapı*. After spending some time in his house in Söğütözü, he got appointed in 1791 as *Şeyh* of the *Mevlevihâne* of Galata. *Şeyh Galip* was also known for his close relationship with Sultan Selim III. The latter financed the restoration of the almost crumbling *mevlevihâne*. *Şeyh Galip* passed away in 1799 at the age

¹⁵² For more information please check Gölpınarlı, *Şeyh Galip*.

of forty-two and was also buried near his parents close to the *türbe* of İsmail Rusûhî Ankaravî. Şeyh Galip is famous for using a very sophisticated language. Even when readers understand the words he uses, they may find it difficult to comprehend what the intention of his literary work, because Şeyh Galip is famous for including different layers of meaning in his works. A case in point is his most famous divan *Hüsn-ü-aşk*. The interpretations could range from a typical love story, to a more philosophical and deeper analysis where the plot becomes a story of mystical experience.¹⁵³ In this study, we are interested in one of his poems titled *matbah-ı monla* or *matbah-ı molla*, wherein he describes the *Mevlevî matbah*, where he completed his *çile*. The poem is the seventh in the divan of Şeyh Galip, is titled *Der-vasf-ı Şerîf-i Matbah-ı Latîf-i Târîkat-ı Mevleviyye Kaddesellâhu Esrârehüm*, and which starts as follows:

Mu'allâ dûdmân-ı evliyâdır *matbah-ı Monlâ*
Dil ü cânâ ocağ-ı kimyâdır *matbah-ı Monlâ*
Çerâğ-ı pür-ziyâsı sırr-ı Âteşbaz'dan yanmış
Bütün pervânegân-ı aşka câdır *matbah-ı Monlâ*¹⁵⁴

2. Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim:

Halil İbrahim Dede, known as Aşçı Dede, was born in 1828 in Kandilli, Istanbul. He joined the Ottoman officialdom in 1846 when he started working in *Rûznâmçe Kalemi*. He also joined the *Mevlevî tarîkat* at the age of twenty by joining the *Mevlevihâne* of Kasımpaşa in Istanbul. His initial phase as a *Mevlevî* consisted of making frequent visits to the *Tekke* and serving the sheikh. Later on, Halil İbrahim decided to spend his nights as well in the *Tekke*. We learn that he took this decision in 1854 from the following passage:

İşte bu tarih yani yatağı *Mevlevîhaneye* naklettiğimiz tarih ki târîh-i hicriyyenin bin iki yüz yetmiş senesi Receb-i şerîfidir [31 Mart-28 Nisan 1854], bu tarihten itibaren turuk-i isnâ-aşerden yani Cenâb-ı Hakk'a gider tarîk-i müstakîmden tarîk-i aliyye-i Mevleviyyeye intisap ederek sulân-ı aşk efendimiz hazretlerine atebe-i sa'âdetlerine baş koydum.¹⁵⁵

His job was one of continuous traveling. As such, on one hand he was a witness to many events and wars, which happened throughout the Ottoman Empire and especially in Anatolia. On the

¹⁵³ Victoria Rowe Holbrook, *The Unreadable Shores of Love: Turkish Modernity and Mystic Romance* (University of Texas Press, 1994).

¹⁵⁴ Galip, *Şeyh Gâlib dîvânı*. The whole poem can also be found in Appendix A.

¹⁵⁵ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı Dede'nin Hatıraları: Çok Yönlü Bir Sufinin Gözüyle Son Dönem Osmanlı Hayatı*, 1:321.

other hand, he had the chance to meet many scholars and to join several Sufi *tarikats*. He is most famous for his four volume diaries known as *Aşçı Dede'nin Hatıraları: Çok Yönlü bir Sufinin Gözüyle Son Dönem Osmanlı Hayatı*. Its introductory part resembles a classical book on *tasavvuf*, before the author starts to narrate events from his life ever since his childhood. Many times, the narration will be interrupted by different information on Sufi *tarikats*, doctrines, and poems. As a whole, it is a valuable source for historians because it includes various information on Ottoman social life across a vast region of the empire.

This peculiarity opens up a wide range of possible ways to approach his work. Researchers will find a lot of valuable information by focusing on either his Sufi experience or on his official administrative career. Alternatively, researchers can follow the example of Carter Findley, who found in *Aşçı Dede* a good example to analyze the more complex and intertwined aspects of his personality¹⁵⁶ as a window for a better understanding of 19th century Ottoman society. While the exact date of his passing away is unknown, it is widely believed to be after 1906.

3. Tâhirü'l Mevlevî (Tahir Olgun)¹⁵⁷:

Tahir Olgun was born in 1877 in Taşkasap, Istanbul. He obtained his *icazet* as a *Mesnevîhân*¹⁵⁸ in 1893 from Filibeli Râsim Efendi and Mehmed Esad Dede. The latter introduced him to his to-be sheikh Mehmed Celâleddin Dede. Tâhir Olgun obtained his *icazetnâme* in the Kadiri and Rifâi *tarikats* from Mekke Şeyhülmeşâyihî Ahmed er-Rifâi. Back in Istanbul, he started his *Mevlevî çile* in the *Mevlevihâne* of Yenikapı in 1896 and completed it in 1898. He expressed the starting date in poetic format as follows:

Düştü dâl ikrârıma târîh-i cevher Tâhirâ
Matbah-ı Monlâ'da oldum çillekeş dervîş ben
1312 (1896)¹⁵⁹

His life was split between his publishing job on one hand and different positions as a scholar in *medreses* and as *Mesnevîhân* in mosques on the other hand. The situation naturally changed

¹⁵⁶ Findley, "Social Dimensions of the Dervish Life, as Seen in the Memoirs of Asci Dede Halil Ibrahim"; Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*.

¹⁵⁷ "Tâhirülmevlevî - TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi."

¹⁵⁸ *Mesnevîhân* as a title means that the person had a good command of the *Mesnevî* and could start teaching and interpreting it. These *Mesnevî* lessons were usually done in mosques. In the 17th and 18th centuries, special places known as *darü'l-Mesnevî* were created for this purpose. See Gölpinarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 150–51.

¹⁵⁹ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 31.

after the closing in *medreses* in 1924 and the closing of *Tekkes* in 1925. He eventually focused on literature, in both his job as high-school teacher and in his research and writings. Tahir Olgun retired in 1944 and passed away in 1951. He was buried upon his request in the *Mevlevihâne* of Yenikapı nearby his mother Emine Emsal Hanım. While his life and works could be approached from different perspectives, in the current study we focus mostly on his work *Çilehane Mektupları* (i.e. letters from the çilehane). It is a set of letters, which he wrote to his close friend Ahmet Remzi [Akyürek] between the years 1896 and 1898, and in which he narrates his daily life, feelings, and emotions during his *çile* time in *matbah-ı şerif*. The original title of the manuscript is *Çilehâne Mektupları: Tâhirü'l Mevlevî-nin Mevlevî Çillesi Hâtrât ve Tahassüsâtın Hâvi Olarak Ahmed Remzi Dede'ye Mektuplar*.¹⁶⁰ In this study, we have used the printed book version prepared by Cemâl Kurnaz and Gülgün Erişen in 1995, titled *Çilehâne Mektupları* as an abbreviation of the original title.

4. Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı:

Abdülbâkî Gölpınarlı's original name was Mustafa İzzet Bâkî. He was born in 1900 in Kadırga, İstanbul. Abdülbâkî's journey in tasavvuf started at the early age of seven or eight when he started going to *Bahariye Mevlevihânesi* in parallel with his regular *medrese*. His father was a journalist and his death in 1916 disrupted his education. Young Abdülbâkî had to work and study at different intervals. His official entry into the academic world was in 1931, when he completed and published his thesis on the *Melâmî tarikat* under the supervision of Professor Fuat Köprülü. He eventually completed his graduate education and received appointments in 1939 as a lecturer at Ankara University and later in 1942 at Istanbul University. Both his personal experience and his good command of the Persian language allowed him to develop into an expert on *tasavvuf*, and especially in the *Mevlevî tarikat*. After his voluntary retirement in 1949, he devoted his life to researching and writing with a special focus on Shiism and on the *Mevlevî tarikat*. He passed away in 1982 and left behind around 114 books (including textbooks from his early teaching years), 400 academic articles, and a number of encyclopedia entries. His works were a combination of original writings in Turkish as well as translations from Arabic and Persian. This publication was the start of a series of other works. Some of his works were biographies such as *Yunus Emre*, *Fuzûlî*, *Şeyh Galip*, *Pir Sultan Abdal*, and *Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî*. Other works were historical developments of some major Sufi

¹⁶⁰ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*. The original manuscripts are in Ankara's State Library (*Milli Kütüphane*) under the call numbers: İst. 1311-1315 and FB 410.

tarîkats such as *Melâmîlik*, *Mevlevîlik*, *Bektâşîlik*, and *Hurûfîlik* as well as historical developments of *futuvve* orders.

Interestingly, the wide scope of his works on various sufi *tarîkats* was not only the result of intellectual curiosity, but also of his own personal experiences. He is indeed famous for joining many *tarîkats* and for adopting different ideologies. In the end, we learn from his close acquaintances that this multicolored life gave a person with a sharp character, and intellectual authority, a superior ability to read and translate many languages, but also a person who described himself as a *garîb*, i.e. a stranger.¹⁶¹ As far as our topic is concerned, we are mostly concerned with his works on the *Mevlevî tarîkat* such as *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, *Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî*, and other works which continue to be widely used as references until today by anyone interested in the *Mevlevî tarîkat*.¹⁶²

WHERE IS MATBAH-I ŞERİF LOCATED IN A MEVLEVIHÂNE?

A typical *Mevlevî Âsitâne* would comprise the following physical units¹⁶³:

- *Semâhâne*: often times round in shape, it is usually located in the middle of the main field. Its door is usually pointing towards the *kible*.
- *Türbe-i şerîf*: it is a graveyard inside the *Semâhâne* where the main *şeyhs* of the *tarîkat* are buried.
- *Harem Dairesi*: a separate building for the *şeyh*'s family.
- *Selamlık Dairesi*: this is the place where the *şeyh* welcomes his guests, gives *sikke* and *arakkıyye* to new dervishes, and where some guests stay when they spend the night in the *Tekke*. Often times, it also includes a special place for making coffee and serving it to the coming guests.
- *Dede Hücreleri*: small rooms for residing dervishes which are placed alongside a corridor. They often have a small area right after the door where they leave their shoes.

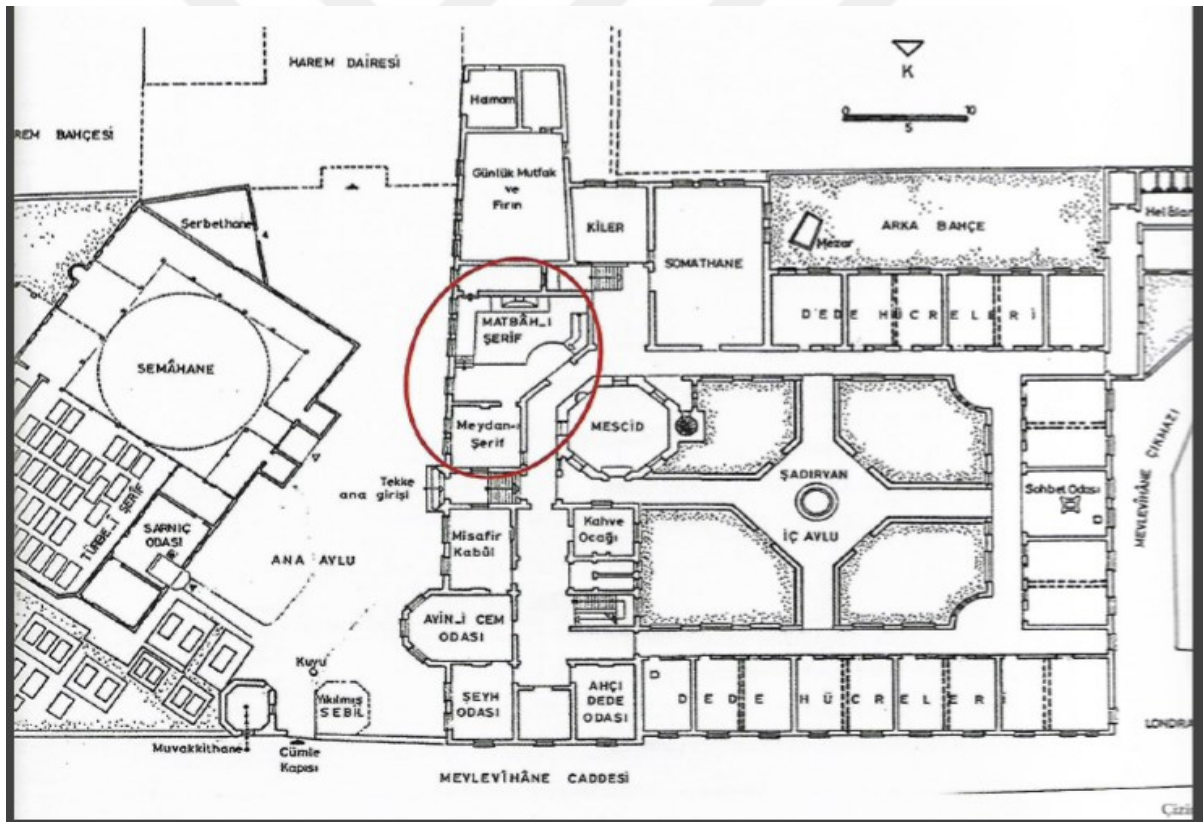
¹⁶¹ For a description of the personal character of Gölpınarlı as well as his poem “*Garîb*” see Murat Bardakçı, “Salacak'taki ahşap ev, Baki Hoca ve 'Garip,’” *Journal Turkish Studies in Memoriam Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı Hatıra Sayısı I*, 19, s. 1 (1995): VII-XX.

¹⁶² “Gölpınarlı, Abdülbaki - TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi.”

¹⁶³ This is a short and non-comprehensive description of the main physical units. The *matbah* will be dealt with in more details in the following parts. For more detailed information, check Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 340–43; Arpağuş, *Mevlevîlikte Manevi Eğitim*, 92–102.

- *Meydan-ı Şerif*: it is often a rectangular extension of the *matbah*. Its door is also pointing towards the *kible*, and it contains a red pelt for the *şeyh* (i.e. *şeyh postu*).
- *Hâmûşân*: a graveyard adjacent to the *Tekke*. The direct translation from Persian would be the place of the silent ones.
- *Matbah-ı şerif*: it is a large area which is often found at the end of the corridor. It contains a big cooking fireplace with a golden inscription “*Yâ Hâzret-i Âteş-bâz-i Velî*” on top. In some cases, the *matbah* also contains a space for eating and for teaching the *semâ*. In other cases, this space is in a separate room nearby called the *somathane*.

For instance, the location of the *matbah-ı şerif* and its extension known as *meydan-ı şerif* in relation with other units of Yenikapı *Mevlevihânesi* in Istanbul is represented in the following drawing by Barihüda Tanrıkorur:



Source: Bârihüdâ Tanrıkorur, “*Mevlevî Matbah-ı Şerîfi (Bir Terbiyenin Mîmârisi)*,”
Keşkül Dergisi, no. 33 (2015): 66–83

THE DAILY LIFE IN *MATBAH-I ŞERİF*

Ka'bet'ü'l-üşşâk bâşed in makâm
Her ki nâkıs âmed in câ şod temâm¹⁶⁴

Our description will take the form of an imaginary journey to an Ottoman *Mevlevî âsitâne*. While our quantitative analysis was based on accounts from the *mevlevihâne* of Konya; we will now move to İstanbul and focus on another famous *âsitâne* known as the *mevlevihâne* of Yenikapı. Two of our main primary sources, namely *Şeyh Galib* and *Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî*, have undergone their *Çile* in Yenikapı. Their writings and other secondary sources will help teach us some *Mevlevî* manners and answer some of our questions.

Before proceeding with the detailed descriptions of the *Mevlevî* spiritual education, we need to make some clarifications concerning the aforementioned door inscription. While it was originally found on the door of *matbah-ı şerif* in Konya, *Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî* also reported it as the door inscription in Yenikapı. However, our recent visit to the restored *Mevlevîhâne* of Yenikapı shows that the *matbah*'s main door has a different inscription as shown by the following pictures:

¹⁶⁴ This door inscription was reported by Tahir Olgun, and was translated by the editors as follows: “*bu makan aşıkların Kâbesidir; buraya eksik gelen tamam olur*”; see Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 45.



Picture 1: the main door of the *matbah-ı şerif* in the Mevlvihâne of Yenikapı, İstanbul
(Photograph taken by the author)



Picture 2: the inscription on the main door of the *matbah-ı şerif* in the Mevlevîhâne of Yenikapı, İstanbul (Photograph taken by the author)

As we can see, the current inscription on the door of *matbah-ı şerif* in Yenikapı is:

Her ki dâd ikrâr incâ mahram-i esrâr şud
Kalb-ı ân ez-aşk-ı Âteşbâzî pür-envar şud

The general meaning of this inscription is: whoever decides to join the Mevlevî *tarikât* will have access to many secrets, and his heart will become full of light from the love of Âteşbâz.

Who is Ateş-bâz-ı Velî?

Ettim âteşbâz-ı Mevlânâ'ya vakf-ı cism ü ten
Nâr-ı hestîsûzuna tanmağ' çün iklim-i beden¹⁶⁵

There are different views as to who Ateş-bâz-ı Velî was. According to Gölpınarlı and based on his reading of the *kitâbe* on the tomb of Ateş-bâz-ı Velî, his name is Şemseddin Yusuf, son of İzzeddin.¹⁶⁶ Other authors trace the nickname back to Şeyh Muhammed Hâdim. The latter is

¹⁶⁵ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 30.

¹⁶⁶ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 331–32.

believed to have accompanied Mevlânâ Celâleddin on his journey from Balkh to Konya as a close disciple of his father. Then, when Sultan Veled finished his period of isolation and offered a feast to their friends, disciples, and acquaintances; Mevlânâ Celâleddin appointed Şeyh Muhammed Hâdim as the primary responsible for all matters related to the kitchen. As such, he was granted the nickname of Âteş-bâz.¹⁶⁷

The nickname *âteş-bâz* is a small modification to the Persian word “ateşbazi”. The latter refers to a person who plays with fire, or who uses fire for artistic performances.¹⁶⁸ Similarly, the first *Mevlevî* cook was called *âteş-bâz* as a reference to his task of initiating the fire for cooking. This task apparently required a relatively high level of courage and familiarity with fire. As a result, the first *Mevlevî* cook of the *matbah-ı şerif* got the nickname of *âteş-bâz Velî*; the big fireplace found in every *Mevlevî matbah* got the name of the *ocak* of *âteş-bâz-ı velî*, and the dervishes referred to the white *post* that was part of every *Mevlevî matbah*, as the *makam* of *âteş-bâz-ı velî*. As for the original person known as *âteş-bâz-ı velî*, he passed away in 680 AH and is buried in the Meram district of Konya. A small dome as well as a *zaviye* bearing his name were built around his tomb as a commemoration.

The *Mevlevî Çile*

According to Arpağuş, the word *çile* is a modification of the original Persian word *çehl* which means forty. In the context of *tasavvuf*, it usually refers to spending forty days of worship and remembrance (*zikr*) in a place, which is totally isolated from societal distractions.¹⁶⁹ This echoes Gölpınarlı’s definition of *çile* as a period of forty days to discipline the self (*nefs*). This is usually done by increasing the time spent in worship and decreasing the time spent in eating, drinking, and sleeping.¹⁷⁰ A major difference among the *tarikats* stemmed from just how this *çile* was performed. In the case of *Mevlevîs*, Tâhirü’l-*Mevlevî* defined their *çile* as follows:

Çille-i Mevleviyeden maksat bin bir gün hıdmet ederek hücreye çıkıp oturmak değil, belki hıdemât-ı şakka ile mahv-ı vücûd eylemek olduğu mâlûm. Fakirin ise öyle hıdemât u mücâhedât-ı hestî-güdâza tahammül edemeyeceğim emr-i meczûm olduğundan pûte-i aşk ile kânûn-ı âteşbâzda erimesi lâzım gelen kalb, ona mükâbil hastalığın teb ü tâb-ı ıztrâbında mahv oluyor, fe-lillâhilhamd.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ Sahih Ahmed Dede, *Mevlevilerin Tarihi*, trans. Cem Zorlu (İnsan Yayınları, 2003), 177; Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 132; Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 126.

¹⁶⁸ Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, 102.

¹⁶⁹ Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 162.

¹⁷⁰ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 11.

¹⁷¹ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 108.

From this and other sources, we understand that the *Mevlevî çile* did not involved overly difficult tasks or excessive physical and spiritual exercises (*mücâhedât*). Instead, it consisted of spending a period of a thousand and one day in the service of the dervishes, and was done in the space known as *matbah-ı şerif*.¹⁷² This is the core focus of this chapter, and all of the following sections will provide more details on how it was done.

The Different Ranks of the *Mevlevî* Dervishes

There are two main types of *Mevlevîs*, namely those who have undergone the *Mevlevî çile* and those who have not. The *Mevlevîs* who did not complete their *çile* are referred to as *muhîb*¹⁷³. These are people who feel some sort of belonging to the *tarîkat* by sharing the *Mevlevî*'s general ideas and perspective, who would be frequent visitors to the *Mevlevihâne*, and who enjoy sharing the same environment with the *Mevlevîs*. Often times, they meet with the *şeyh*. The latter gives them their *sikke* and thus officially admits them into the *tarîkat*. In addition, they can take part in the *Semâ* ceremony. A notable example for a *Mevlevî muhîb* is Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim, whose four-volume diary work *Aşçı Dede Hatıraları* is considered a valuable source for understanding both the social and administrative environment of the Ottoman empire during his time (for he was both a *Mevlevî muhîb* and worked in officialdom as a part of Ottoman *kalemiye*).

As for the *Mevlevîs* who underwent their *çile*, they are first referred to as *nev-niyâz/ mübtedî dervîş*, later as *can/çilekeş can*, and finally as *dede*. The difference in nomination stems from the difference in the level of completion they have reached. *Nev-niyâz* or *mübtedî dervîş* are those who are willing and are asking to be accepted into the *Mevlevî çile*. *Can/ çilekeş can* are those who have been admitted and who were still undergoing their spiritual education in the *matbah*. *Dedes* are those who have successfully completed the 1001 days of spiritual education in the *matbah* and who have been granted a *hücre* in the *Mevlevihâne*. A *hücre*¹⁷⁴ is an Arabic word for room, which means that they now have the right to have their own room where they can reside in the *Tekke*. Finally, some *dedes* gain the right and obtain an *icazetnâme* to be a

¹⁷² Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 159; *ibid.*, 78; *ibid.*, 161.

¹⁷³ This term was also used in other *tarikats* such as the Bektashis, and was also used as a general Sufi term as seen in the works of Yunus Emre. See Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 28.

¹⁷⁴ For a detailed description of a typical *Mevlevî dede hücre* see *Ibid.*, 21–22.

şeyh.¹⁷⁵ The latter can either receive an appointment to an already existing *Tekke*, or they can get the permission to build their own *Tekke*. To follow suit with a metaphor commonly used in *Mevlevî* sources, *nev-niyâz* are people whose soul is still raw. *Çilekeş can* are people whose soul is being cooked. *Dedes* are people whose soul have been cooked in the *matbah* and became ripe. If we consider the *Mevlevî* figures used in this study, Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim was a *muhib*, Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî was a *dede*, and Şeyh Galip was, as his name indicates, a *şeyh*.

Within the *matbah*, the *çilekeş* or *matbah canları* were considered equal in status as explained by Aşçı Dede while addressing Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî:

Evlat, şimdi *matbah-ı şerifte* üç cân var, bir de nazarı girersen dört olacak. Edilecek tekâlif, görülecek hıdemâtta senin onlardan hiçbir farkın olmayacaktır. İlmin, şiirin, asalet ve karâbetin şimdilik sana medâr-ı imtiyâz olamaz. Seni onların fevkinde, onları senin dînunda tutacak olursam min indillâh ben mesûl olurum. Çünkü, ser-tabbâh ve kazancı dedelerin Ömer-meşreb olup ser-i mü adaletten ayrılmamaları iktizâ eder. Hülâsâ bunları arız ve amîk düşünmelisin.” ihtârında bulundu¹⁷⁶

Nonetheless, a smooth performance requires a clear division of labour. Therefore, some titles had more authorities than others. These titles were usually performed by *dedes*. In the following section, we look at how the division of labour was achieved through the main eighteen task of the *Mevlevî* kitchen.

The Eighteen Tasks of the *Mevlevî* Kitchen

While studying a kitchen, one may find valuable information by focusing not only on the product only, but also on the division of labor and kitchen management which have ensured a smooth production process. In the case of *Mevlevîs*, our sources point out to an initial division of labour based on eighteen tasks to be performed. If the number of dervishes is eighteen, then each one is assigned one task. If the number of dervishes is below eighteen, then each one can be assigned more than one task. If the number of dervishes is more than eighteen, then some dervishes may share the same tasks. Below is a list and a brief description of the main eighteen tasks to be performed in a *Mevlevî matbah*.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ For a detailed description of the different ranks see Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 166–68; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 133–37; Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 119–23.

¹⁷⁶ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 32.

¹⁷⁷ The titles were kept in original Turkish and the description was translated into English based on Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*; Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*.

1. *Kazancı Dede*: Our description of *kazancı dede* will be longer than the other tasks because he was the chief manager of the kitchen, and therefore had more responsibilities than other dervishes. He was the chief assistant of *Aşçı dede*.¹⁷⁸ A white *post* right in front of the kitchen door highlighted his status and authority. He was always present in the *matbah*. As he was the superior of the kitchen, his tasks included the overall education of *matbah canları*. On one hand, this education consisted of *Mevlevî* manners and codes of behaviour. On the other hand, it could also consist of teaching them how to read and write as well as arts such as *tezhip* (illumination), *hat* (calligraphy), *tesbihçilik* (rosary making), and other forms of arts and activities which would benefit them in the future and which would not disturb the silent and calm atmosphere of the *matbah*. In addition, he was also the main decision maker when it comes to punishing or firing faulty dervishes.¹⁷⁹
2. *Halife Dede*¹⁸⁰: taught the general manners and codes of behaviour to the newly coming *nev-niyâz*. In Konya's *Mevlevihâne*, he used to have his own *hücre* inside the *matbah* for an easier and continuous communication with the *nev-niyâzlar*. In addition, he would also teach Qur'an and other religious matters to the newly admitted dervishes.
3. *Dışarı Meydancısı*: Considered the busiest and most mixed in terms of tasks, he was the primary responsible for communication. More precisely, he performed the following tasks:
 - i. Communicating the sheikh's commands to the dervishes.
 - ii. Keeping the flow of communication between the sheikh and the dervishes.
 - iii. Accompanying the sheikh in his visits outside the *Tekke*.
 - iv. Communicating the commands of *tarikatçı dede* (in Konya) and of *aşçı dede* (in other *Tekkes*) to the *hücre-nişin* dervishes.
4. *Çamaşırcı Dede*: Washed the laundry of *matbah canları* and the residing *dedes*.

¹⁷⁸ "Aşçıbaşı olanlar fukarânın mâderi olmakla, terbiyet-i fukarâyı onlar ederler ve başzâbit oldur. Ve kazancı onların vekîli olmakla dâimâ matbahta oturur. Çorba ve lokmanın *gûlbankını* ol çeker ve matbahta olan canlara nasîhat ve terbiyet ve emr ü hükûmet eder. Ve kabahati olursa ta'zir ve te'dib eder ve iktizâ eder ise eliyle ve diliyle ve çelik çomak ile dahi ta'zir ve terbiyet ve te'dib eder ve seyahat verir ve tard eder. Kezâlik, Konya'da *Âsîtâne-i Pîr*'de dahi böyledir" : Vahyî, *Ed-Dürretü'l-Aziziyye fi'l-Fevaidi'l-Kaviyye*, 78. as cited in Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitimi*, 135.

¹⁷⁹ For more details on the punishments see the section titled "different levels of punishment" in the current thesis.

¹⁸⁰ Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, 710.

5. *Âb-rizci*: Cleaned the toilets, taps, and *şadırvan*. Given the difficulty of the task, this was usually the last task to be performed by *matbah canları* as a last push for their limits before they finished their *çile*.
6. *Şerbetçi*: Prepared *şerbet* for the *can* who had completed his *çile* and left the *matbah* to live in his newly granted *hücre*. He also catered *şerbet* to the *dedes* who came to the *matbah* as visitors.
7. *Bulaşıkçı*: Washed the kitchen utensils.
8. *Dolapçı*: Looked after the kitchen's cupboards and utensils.
9. *Pazarıcı*: went to the market every morning to do the necessary shopping¹⁸¹
10. *Somatçı*: set the table, cleared it, and cleaned the eating area
11. *İç meydancısı*: prepared coffee for the *matbah canları* and for visiting *dedes* when they came on Fridays.
12. *İçeri kandilcisi*: looked after inside illumination tools such as the candles and candlesticks of the *matbah*
13. *Tahmişçi*: prepared coffee for the members of the *matbah* and the residing *dedes* in the *Tekke*
14. *Yatakçı*: unfolded and removed the beddings of *matbah canları*
15. *Dışarı kandilcisi*: looked after outside illumination tools such as candlesticks and oil lamps
16. *Süpürgeci*: took care of cleaning the *Tekke* with a broom
17. *Çerağcı*: lightened up the candles of the *Tekke* and was considered the assistant of the *türbedâr*.
18. *Ayakçı*: General dogsbody. This was usually the first task given to a newly admitted *nev-niyâz*. He was basically responsible for bringing anything needed by the other members of the *matbah*.¹⁸²

As we can see, the tasks were varied enough, and their scope was limited enough to allow for a relatively large amount of “free-time.” As a result, the following questions raises: what were the *matbah canları* doing while waiting for, or after finishing, their main task?

¹⁸¹ The *Pazarıcı* does not wear his official *hurka* when he goes to the market. He wears *elif-i nemed* and a *müttekâ* inside it and puts a *tura* on his shoulder. For more details see Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 207–8; Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 215.

¹⁸² In addition, some *Mevlevihânes* had additional tasks. For instance, *Şems dedesi* was found in the *zaviyes* of *Şems-i Tebrizi* and *Âteş-bâz-ı Velî* in Konya. Also in Konya, the *âsitâne* used to have a person of a higher authority than *kazancı dede*. He was known as *tarikâtçı dede* or as *ser-tarik*. Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 147.

Firstly, we may think of these tasks as primary rather than sole role of the concerned dervish. On one hand, the *can* is supposed to accept whichever main task *kazancı dede* asks him to do as his main role. One shall not ask to perform a task other than their own.¹⁸³ On the other hand, in the case of need and on special occasions when there are more people than usual in the *Mevlevihâne*¹⁸⁴, idle *canlar* may be asked to help their fellow dervishes in performing their tasks¹⁸⁵. For instance, Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî was given additional tasks such as *iç meydancılık*. In his case, this task also involved cleaning the *meydan-ı şerif*. He was apparently so pleased with this assignment that he expressed it with the following quadruplet:

Olmuşum meydancı meydânında ben
Sâhib-i meydân-ı Mevlâna aman
Metbah u meydân-ı aşkın cânıyım
Cânlara cânân Mevlâna aman¹⁸⁶

Secondly, the *Tekke* in general was also considered an educational institution. This took the forms of both intellectual and artistic types of education. We mean by intellectual education training the dervishes in the main Islamic disciplines as well as in the interpretation of the *Mesnevî* under the guidance of the *Mesnevîhân*.¹⁸⁷ We mean by artistic education the types of art such as *tezhîp*, *hat*, *etc.* under the supervision of *kazancı dede*.¹⁸⁸

In addition, the *Mevlevihâne* was famous for its emphasis on music education. This was reflected in the *Semâ* ceremony. The latter was not easy to perform, and thus required considerable amount of training and rehearsals. Training the *matbah canları* for the *Semâ* ceremony was also done in the *matbah-ı şerif*. Additionally, those dervishes who were willing to learn how to use some musical instruments such as *ney* or *daf* could also receive the necessary training under the supervision of the *neyzenbaşı*.

¹⁸³ “Tarîkimizde dahi iktidâr ve tahammülüne göre hıdmet verilir ki her cânın hıdmeti kendisinin vird-i mahsûsu mesâbesindedir. Bunu teemmül ederek herkes kendi hıdmetini görmeli. Başkasının hıdmetini bir mâzeret olmayınca bakmamalı. Kendi hıdmetini de başkasına gördürmemeli.”, see Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 37.

¹⁸⁴ An example is the exceptionally busy month of Ramazan where Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî was asked to help the *kilerci*, see *Ibid.*, 45.

¹⁸⁵ Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 151.

¹⁸⁶ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 45.

¹⁸⁷ In addition, we also learn from Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî that they were reading other classical books such as Ibn Arabî's *Fütûhât-ı Mekkiye*, see *Ibid.*, 74.

¹⁸⁸ Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 208; Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 215.

What are the Initial Criteria for Admission?

As explained earlier, the *Mevlevî çile* consists of a series of tasks to be performed in a total period of 1001 days. This long period necessitates both a set of preliminary conditions as well as a sufficient level of motivation. Muhittin Celal Duru argues that the conditions for being accepted to a *Mevlevihâne* were stricter in the early stages than in the later years.¹⁸⁹ In general, the person had to be in a good physical health, able to provide for himself through an art or craft, and to have completed at least the basic levels of the *medrese* education. Those seekers who would come to be part of the *Mevlevî tarikat* and who do not have the basic education to be able to read and write were first sent to the closest *medrese* before proceeding with the *tarikat*. Later, conditions such as fulfilling the military service appeared, to avoid having people who were escaping from fulfilling their duty by hiding in the *Tekke*. Over time, Duru argues that other conditions such as knowing some type of art or craft became less and less important at the time of admission. These conditions ensured some basic qualities upon which the person's education in the *Tekke* can be built. For in addition to the aforementioned tasks, the *matbah canları* were also learning some arts and crafts under the supervision of *kazancı dede*, and were memorizing and interpreting the *Mesnevî* under the supervision of the *Mesnevîhân*¹⁹⁰.

Şabanın birinci perşembe günü idi ki: ikrâr vermek¹⁹¹ arzusunda bulunduğum ba'de'l-mükâbele Aşçı Dede'ye ihbar edildi. Zaten evvelce o fikirde bulunup leyte ve laalle ile vakit geçirdiğimden bir parça mâlûmatı vardı. İşin bu sefer kat'iyet kesbedişine memnun olmus. O gece salât-ı işâdan evvel Fakiri çağırılmış. "Aşk olsun" iltifâtından sonra: Hacı bey, Meydancı dede bir şey söylüyordu, sahih mi dedi. "Eyvallâh" cevâb-ı tasdikini alınca, mâşâallâh, memnun oldum, Allah mübarek eylesin¹⁹²

In addition to personal motivation, the *Aşçı Dede* also asks about the approval of the person's immediate family and for how they would deal with this -long- period. For instance, in our primary sources, the *aşçı dede* wanted to confirm that Tâhirü'l-*Mevlevî*'s mother was well aware and approving of his joining the *Mevlevihâne* for the 1001 *çile* before he communicated the news to the *şeyh*.¹⁹³ In addition, asking for family approval was not exclusive to the *nev-niyâz* only, but also to the *muhibs* who would like to spend more time in the *Tekke*. The latter was the case of Aşçı Halil İbrahim who firstly expressed his dilemma between spending time

¹⁸⁹ Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 205.

¹⁹⁰ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 406–7.

¹⁹¹ *ikrar vermek* is the expression used for expressing the willingness to join the *Mevlevî tarikat*. See Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 22.

¹⁹² Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 32.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 33.

with his family on one hand and spending more nights in the *Tekke* on the other hand before he found a compromise:

Binaemaleyh sefine-i aşkı sâhil-i necâta yani *dergâh*-ı şerife yanaştırıp lenger-i emeli attıktan sonra filika-i şevke râkip olduğum hâlde doğruca huzûr-ı hazret-i şeyhe çıktım. Baş kesip arzuhâlimi takdim ettim. Müşârûnileyh dede efendi hazretleri buyurdular ki “Vakia böyle teşrifinizden gayet memnun oldum. Lâkin müteehhil olduğunuzdan bilemem onların rızaları ne yolda tahsil olunmuştur.” Fakir, cevabımda: “Efendimiz, tamamıyla tahsil olunmuştur” dedim. Hazret-i şeyh “nasıl bakalım?” buyurdular¹⁹⁴

Aşçı İbrahim Dede explained how he would stay for one night with his mother, for another night with his wife, and for the five nights in the *Mevlevihâne*.

Once the candidate had met the initial conditions of physical ability, intellectual aptitudes, and family approval, there followed a period of waiting, whereby the *dedes* tested the motivation and patience of the newcomer. First, the person willing to join the *tarikat* needs to sit on a *post* known as *saka postu*¹⁹⁵ for three days. This *saka postu* is located on the left side by the kitchen’s door. During these three days, the person needs to sit on their knees and observe how things are done in the *matbah*. They shall not speak, move, or go somewhere unless for prayer times and absolute necessities. They also need to spend their first nights there. The main goal was to understand the whereabouts of the kitchen, to have an idea about the different tasks. Most importantly, it was an opportunity for the newcomers to deeply think of whether they had the necessary levels of patience and motivation to undergo the *çile* or not.¹⁹⁶ If the person gives up on joining the *tarikat*, they could simply leave silently. If, on the other hand, they were still motivated; then, they speak with the *kazancı dede* or *aşçı dede* again. The *aşçı dede* would usually come for a further confirmation.¹⁹⁷ If so, a *meydan* was organized in the evening and the *nev-niyâz* started with *ayakçılık* as the first and perhaps one of the most difficult tasks. This involved a continuous availability to serve everyone in the *matbah* as well as cleaning the toilets and the places where the dervishes took their ablution as an initial test for patience and modesty. Tâhirü’l-Mevlevî was no exception: “*fakire de ber-mü’tâd ayakçılık düştü. Anlarsın ya,*

¹⁹⁴ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı Dede’nin Hatıraları: Çok Yönlü Bir Sufinin Gözüyle Son Dönem Osmanlı Hayatı*, 1:821.

¹⁹⁵ Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 173; *ibid.*, 186.

¹⁹⁶ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 33.

¹⁹⁷ The dialogue would be more or less as follows: “Nasıl erenler inşaallah her bir umûra kesb-i ittîlâ eyledin. Tekmil-i hizmet edinceye kadar bu hizmetler görülecektir. Yok eğer benim kudretim bu kadar, tahammül edemem dersin, bu akşam hizmet tahsis edilmezken evvel söylemelisin. Tahsîs-i hizmeten evvel zühül eden ikrârından nükül etmiş sayılmaz.” sûretiyle ale’l-usûl istizmâc etti. Fakirin azmimde sâbit olduğumu anlayınca, “Elhamdülillah, Allah feyz ihsân etsin evlat! Çille için elzem olan şey sebât ve metânet ve sabır ve tahammüldür. *Ibid.*, 36.

*kariştirirsek kokusu çıkar. İşte aşk böyledir, insanı el üstünde iken ayakçı eder.*¹⁹⁸ While this initial step usually lasts for eighteen days, it lasted for forty days in his case before he became a *hurka-pûş*.¹⁹⁹ The is the name given to the newcomer when he finally changed his own clothes for a kitchen *tennûre*²⁰⁰ and had their *sikke* given by the *şeyh* as a sign for becoming an official *matbah cân* or *çilekeş*. This means that they had to abide by the same rules of patience and motivation all throughout the 1001 days of their *çile*.²⁰¹ One they were the kitchen *tennûre*, the *matbah canları* are not expected to change it because

Bazı müstesnâlardan sarf-ı nazar, *matbah*-ı şerîfe niçin ikrâr verilir? Hıdemât-ı hâlise ve mücâhedât ile nefsi öldürmek için değil mi? O hâlde tennûreler ne hükmünde kalır. Tabii kefen. Ey, hiç kefeninden soyunan ölü olur mu?²⁰²

In other words, the *matbah* was considered a place where one kills the bad attributes of his self (*nefs*) and changes them into good qualities. As such, the kitchen-wear was both a way to distinguish the *matbah canları* from the other dervishes, and also a symbol and a constant reminder to the *matbah canları* about their main purpose of improving themselves for which they have joined in the first place.

Mevlevî Manners 1: Reaching the Mevlevihâne

*“Bir sâlikte dört şey mevcut olmadıkça o sâlik mükemmel olamaz. Birisi âdâb-ı Mevlevî, ikincisi sülûk-i Nakşî, üçüncüsü aşk-ı Kâdirî, dördüncüsü teslîm-i Bektâşî.”*²⁰³

The *Mevlevî tarikat* is famous for its emphasis on manners. There are manners to do almost everything. As a case in point, there is a relatively long set of manners and a list of rituals before reaching the internal space of the *matbah*. These manners cover questions on how to go, when to go, how to enter the *mevlevihâne* as well as on how to meet and greet the derviches there.

¹⁹⁸ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 36.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 48.

²⁰⁰ This dress is different from the one *Mevlevîs* wear during the *Semâ* ceremony. The kitchen *tennûre* is wider and thus more comfortable to allow for freer movements. It is also either black or brown and thus more resistant to dirt. For more details see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 43; Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 150.

²⁰¹ For a detailed description of the steps in the admission process see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 391–95.

²⁰² Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 34.

²⁰³ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı Dede'nin Hatıraları: Çok Yönlü Bir Sufinin Gözüyle Son Dönem Osmanlı Hayatı*.

These manners are explained in the following sections based on the available primary and secondary sources.

For this purpose, we will follow the advice of Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı who took us on a trip to a *Mevlevihâne*. While his main purpose was a normal visit to a *Mevlevî dergâh* to see the *hücre* of a residing *dede* and perhaps having a short conversation with the latter; ours will take us further into spending some days in the *Mevlevihâne* and perhaps, if we are lucky, in the *matbah-ı şerif*. Gölpınarlı insists that we need to be quick as the doors of the *dergâh* “becomes a mystery”²⁰⁴ right after the *ezan* of the evening prayer. In other words, the iron gate which was opened with *besmele* during the *ezan* of the morning prayer by the doorkeeper (*kapıcı dede*) is not described as closed, but more as being turned into a mystery with a *besmele* again. Closing is considered a negative expression; may nobody’s door get closed. The *Mevlevîs* avoid using words with negative connotation when they speak. For them, the gate or door gets covered. So, *kapıcı dede* covers the gate, locks it, and thus blocks any further entry or exit to and from the *Tekke* from sunset until dawn. The only exceptions for the rule are the nights of *mukabele*²⁰⁵, *kandil*²⁰⁶, and *bayram*²⁰⁷ in which cases the gates stays open one or two hours later than usual to allow for all outsiders and dervishes who will not spend the night in the *Tekke* to leave. Another exception is during the month of Ramadan when the gate stays open until one hour after the *Teravîh*²⁰⁸ prayers are over. Shortly before dawn, the *Tekke* and especially the *matbah* becomes active again as described by Tâhirü’l-Mevlevî:

Vaktâ ki gecenin sülûsi âhir hitâma, seherin eser-i infîlâkı zuhûra başlar. [...] cânlar dardıkları vahdetten uyanılar. Ba’de’l-vuzû’ mangal başında biraz ısındıktan sonra herkes hıdmetiyle meşgûl olur. Meselâ, biri dedegâna sabah meydanında tevzî olunan baklava şeklinde kesilmiş ekmepleri kızartır. Diğeri hücrelerin önüne gidip “destûr âgâh ol dedem” nidâsıyla dedegânı âgâh ve îkaz eder, öbürü meydan-ı şerifi süpürür. Daha öbürü mescidin چراğlarını uyandırır. Sonra ezan okunur. Sabah namazı kılınır. İsm-i Celâl çekilir. Sabah meydanı olduktan sonra dedegân hücrelerine, cânlar hıdmetlerine giderler. İşte her sabah bu âgâhî, bu feyz-i lâyetenâhî *Mevlevî Tekkelerinde* hususiyle *Mevlevî matbahlarında* bulunur²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ The Turkish verb used for this is *sırlamak*. That is, *kapı sırnalır*.

²⁰⁵ *Mevlevî Semâ* ceremony; see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ’dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 370–89.

²⁰⁶ Special sacred days and nights in commemoration of important events.

²⁰⁷ A Muslim feast which is also known as *eid*. Muslims celebrate two *eids*. The first one is immediately after Ramadan and is known as *eid-ul-fitr* or *Ramazan bayramı*. The second one is on the 10th of the Hijri month of *Zilhicce* / *Dul-hijja* as is known as *eid-ul-adha* or *kurban bayramı*.

²⁰⁸ This is a set of prayers which is exclusively performed during the month of Ramazan after the usual night prayer (*yatsı* in Turkish, and *‘isha* in Arabic)

²⁰⁹ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 34.

While knowing the time where one could be granted access to the *Mevlevihâne* is necessary, it is equally important to highlight how one shall go. One needs to **walk** to the *dergâh*. Riding any means of transportation, whether animal or mechanical, to such a spiritual place goes against the agreed-upon manners and norms of politeness. To the contrary, one needs to adopt to the maximum an attitude of humility and modesty²¹⁰ on his way to the *Tekke*. However, if the *mevlevihâne* is too far away to be reached on foot, then the closest solution is getting off your mean of transportation within a walking distance so as to walk, even for a short distance, before entering the *Tekke*. In addition, one also needs to abide by the general belief that the person who enters the *dergâh* empty-handed also leaves it empty-handed. Far from putting any condition on its absolute value, visitors can bring any amount of money as long as it can be divided by nine. As such, it could be nine, eighteen, twenty-seven, etc. In fact, the general name for this among the Mevlevis is *sebz-mebz*²¹¹ (i.e. green leaf) because those who could not afford any amount of money could also take a green leaf instead.

As we approached the *dergâh*, we could see the dome of the *Semâhane* from a distance with a *destâr* and *sikke* on its top. This indicates that we were within walking distance and could therefore get off our car so as to walk the remaining distance to the main gate. However, entering through the main gate also has its own forms of manners and rituals. Here, one must stop and take a *niyâz* position. *Niyâz* is a special posture which is encountered in many situations among *Mevlevîs*. It can be described as follows: starting with your feet, you put your right big toe on top of your left big toe. Then, you put your right hand, with open fingers, on top of your heart. Finally, you slowly and slightly incline the upper part of your body, including your head, to the front. This is known as the *niyâz* posture.²¹² Once done, one is ready to enter slowly through the gate with the right feet and a *besmele*.

Mevlevî Manners 2: Meeting & Greeting the Dervishes in the Mevlevihâne

Initially, we continue our journey with Gölpinarlı and walk towards the *hücre*s of the *Mevlevî dedes*. We hear the *ney* from a *hücre*. It must be the *hücre* of the *neyzenbaşı* that Gölpinarlı is

²¹⁰ This attitude of humbleness and modesty attitude was described by Gölpinarlı as follows: “*oraya başı ayak yaparak, sular gibi yerlere yüzler sürerek, elsiz ayaksız gitmek gerek*”, see Gölpinarlı, *Mevlânâ’dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 343.

²¹¹ It was also referred to as *berk-i sebz*, *niyâz*, or *nevr*: see Gölpinarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 10.

²¹² Gölpinarlı, *Mevlânâ’dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 344.

visiting. We stop and watch this new ritual silently. Knocking is not the common way of taking permission to enter among the *Mevlevîs*. Instead, one needs to stand behind the door and say the following word: “Destûûûûr” once, twice, or three times until he hears the following answer “Hûûûû”. If, after three times, there is still no answer, then it means that the *dede* is not available for a meeting at that moment and one needs therefore to leave and come back in a more suitable time.

Back to our case, Gölpinarlı could get an answer and he slowly opened the door, inclined his head, and entered with his right feet after hearing the awaited “Hûûûû”. Then, he greeted the *dede* verbally, removed his shoes, left them by the door, and walked towards the *dede*. The latter was teaching how to play *ney* to a *nev-niyâz*. When he reached him, they both got hold of each others’ right hands, inclined their bodies forward, and kissed each others’ hands. This is a *Mevlevî* way of greeting known as *görüŖme*.²¹³ Then, they both kneeled on the *sedir* and were ready to start their conversation. However, it seems that one cannot immediately start with any topic before the *dede* says “*aŖkolsun*” and the visitor replies with “*eyvallah*” while doing *niyâz*. Their conversation did not last long before they greeted each other again, did their *niyâz*, and, importantly, the visitor wore his shoes without turning them to the outside corridor.²¹⁴ In other words, one needs to wear his shoes in the same position in which he left them while entering. In addition, one needs to leave the *hücre* with his left feet first without turning his back to the *dede*.

²¹³ This expression is used for two situations. The first one is the *Mevlevî* greeting manner as described here. The second one is whenever the *Mevlevî* dervish kisses an object as a sign of respect. In some cases, it could be their own objects such as kissing the *sikke* before and after wearing it. In other cases, it could be kissing an object before handing it over to someone else. See Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 145. On a deeper level, the greeting manner was explained by Gölpinarlı as a way to make all *Mevlevîs* equal regardless of their differences such as in age or social status. As for kissing the objects, it was explained by the common *Mevlevî* belief that everything has a soul and that people are obliged to show respect to everything under their service. For the two explanations and many examples see Gölpinarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 18–19. The importance of greetings manners in particular and of manners in general were emphasized in the following anecdote from a letter whereby Tâhirü’l-Mevlevî witnessed an infringement of the general greeting manner. This made him lose his otherwise calm and polite tone. The story was narrated as follows: “Kurban bayramı arefesi olan Cuma günü divan-ı muhâsebât reisi Zühdü Bey de dergâha gelmişti. Şahâb Efendi haber almış, reisin türbe-i şerîfede duâsını bitirip Efendi Hazretleri’ni ziyarete gelmesini, daire kapısının önünde beklemeye başladı. Tamam herif içeri gireceği sırada **koşup imâna sarılır gibi eteğine saldırmam mı?** Lâkin, târif ettiğim kıyâfetle olsa ne ise, **sikkesiyle, cübbesiyle**. Bereket versin ki, Zühdü Bey bizim tekke-nişin derviŖten daha terbiyeli çıktı da, **elini tutarak derviŖçe görüŖtü**. Artık açtım ağzımı, yumdum gözümü. Tok evin aç kedisi diye başladım, **edebli tekkenin edepsiz derviŖi** diye bitirdim. Haksız mıyım Allah’ımı seversen, fakîr-i Mevlânâ dâmen-i dünyaya eğilir mi?” see Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 64–65. (bold font in mine)

²¹⁴ Gölpinarlı, *Mevlânâ’dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 344–45.

Mevlevî Manners 3: Rules for Accessing the Matbah-ı şerif

We can consider ourselves extremely lucky for getting the permission to spend some days in the *matbah-ı şerif*, for this is a place with an extremely regulated and restricted access. Indeed, access is only and exclusively granted to *canlar* and the *dedes* who have been appointed there. *Matbah Canları* are expected to spend all the time of their *çile*, including the nights, in the *matbah*. In case of emergencies, permission is given for going outside the *Tekke* during the day, but very rarely during the night.²¹⁵ If such a daytime permission is given, they shall go back to the *Tekke* before the *ezan* to the evening prayer which comes shortly after sunset. Otherwise, spending the night outside the *Tekke* is considered a violation of the rules. Therefore, all the previous days spent as a *çile* are cancelled and the dervish in question needs to restart his *çile* for another 1001 days.²¹⁶

As for the other *Mevlevîs*, they are only allowed to enter the *matbah* on two main occasions, with the additional condition of wearing their official *Mevlevî* outfit. The first occasion is the comemorization of *aşure* on the tenth of the first hijri year Muharram whereby everyone takes part in preparing the meal, which is known as *aşûre*. The second occasion is during the funeral of the residing *şeyh* to wash his corpse in the *matbah*.²¹⁷ With this, we are already provided with two pieces of information about the *matbah*. The first one concerns *aşûre* as a type of food, which used to be prepared in this special area. The second one concerns the corpse washing as a non-cooking activity which used to be performed in the *matbah*.

As for the extension of the *matbah*, which is known as *meydan-ı şerif*, it also had a wider yet still restricted rules of access. In a nutshell, only the *matbah canları* and *matbah dedeleri* had the right to enter the *meydan*. As for the other *Mevlevîs*, they can only enter the *meydan* in order to eat and leave immediately after they are done with their meals. If there is a separate eating room known as *somathâne* in the *Tekke*, then the access to the *meydan* becomes totally restricted for daily use and is only open for special days and ceremonies.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ For instance, Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî got a special leave for eighteen days when he got eczema and had to spend his recovery time outside the *Mevlevihâne*. See Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 114.

²¹⁶ The Turkish expression for this is *çile kırmak*, which literally translates as breaking the *çile*.

²¹⁷ Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitimi*, 215; Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 107.

²¹⁸ For more information check Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 208; Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitimi*, 215.

Mevlevî Manners 4: Cooking the Main Dishes in the Mevlevî matbah?

This is perhaps one of the first questions, which naturally come to our mind when speaking about a kitchen. That is, what was cooked in this relatively big and central space of the *Mevlevîhane*? Our visit was done on a Friday, which meant that a special meal, which was famous among *Mevlevîs* was being prepared. Its name is *lokma*. *Lokma* in Arabic means a small bite, or a mouthful of food. It is often used in *Tekkes* as a reference to eating or sharing a meal, for the emphasis has often been on eating small quantities. As for the *Mevlevîs*, *lokma* is also the name of a special meal which is prepared on special occasions such as Fridays, on the days of *mukabele*, and, sometimes, on Monday evenings.

As we learn from Aşçı İbrahim Dede:

*Mevlevîhanelerde mukâbele-i şerîf akşamı yâni o gece matbah-ı şerîfte bulunan çilekeşler, ba'de'l-asr matbahın kapısını kapatıp içeriye bir ferd-i âferîn koymayarak büyük kazan ile pilav pişirirler. Ba'dehu akşam namazından sonra dedegân, matbah-ı şerîfe cem' olup o pilavdan tenâvül ederler. Ve daire-i hazret-i şeyhe dahi bir kap ile mahsûs o pilavdan gelir*²¹⁹

As a common meal among the *Mevlevîs*, *lokma* was prepared both in *âsitanes* and *zâviyes*. In the former, the meal was prepared in the *matbah-ı şerif*. As for the latter, and in the absence of the *matbah*, the meal was prepared in the largest one of the two available cauldrons in the normal kitchen. For the purpose of our study, we will be focusing on how the *lokma* was prepared in *matbah-ı şerif*. More specifically, we will focus on the detailed rituals around the preparation of a relatively easy meal, which is a reminder on the internal role of the *matbah* which goes beyond cooking the food towards being an educational space. In terms of ingredients, *Lokma* was often a composition of rice, meat, onion, chickpeas, coriander, and pistachio (or peanut).²²⁰ As simple as it may be in terms of ingredients, there was a whole set of rituals around cooking the *lokma*.

While preparing the *lokma*, there are strict rules on keeping the door of the *matbah* closed, or 'glazed' as *Mevlevîs* like to say. Furthermore, the access, which is usually denied to outsiders is reinforced so that nobody enters except for the *matbah canları* who should all be there without exception. All members of the *matbah* get together around the clean cauldron. This is a special cauldron which is usually made of silver and is exclusively used for cooking the *lokma*.

²¹⁹ Aşçı İbrahim Dede, *Aşçı Dede'nin Hatıraları: Çok Yönlü Bir Sufinin Gözüyle Son Dönem Osmanlı Hayatı*, 1:320.

²²⁰ Arpaguş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 282.

It is therefore kept away from any other meals during the other days. The first ladle is put by the *kazancı dede*. The latter needs to estimate how much food is needed based on the number of people to be served. Importantly, the general rule dictates that everyone present in the kitchen should contribute by pouring the same amount into the cauldron. Therefore, *kazancı dede* also needs to count the number of *canlar* in the *matbah*. Then, he roughly estimates how each person's share would be before he starts pouring the food into the cauldron. At this point, the *can* standing right next to the *kazancı dede* needs to pay a close attention to the quantity so that he also pours into the cauldron the exact same amount. Then, the *can* standing next to the first *can* also pays attention to the amount and does the same thing. This process continues and everybody in the *matbah* takes his turn before they finally close the cauldron until the meal is ready. Once they feel that the *lokma* is ready, all the *matbah canları* wait silently in a *niyâz* position and observe the *kazancı dede* as he opens the cauldron and recites the following *gûlbank*²²¹:

Vakt-i şerif hayrola, hayırlar feth ola, şerler def ola! Tabhı şirin ola!

Dem-i Hazret-i Mevlânâ hû diyelim hûûû!

Or

*Tabhı şîrîn ola; Hak berekâtın vere; yiyenlere nûr-ı îmân ola. Dem-i Hazret-i Mevlâna, sırr-ı Âteş-bâz-ı Velî, kerem-i İmâm-ı Ali Hû diyelim Hûûû!*²²²

Mevlevî Manners 5: The Mevlevî Table Manners²²³

În sımât-ı Mevlevî mebsût bâdâ tâ ebed
V'în ta'âm-ı ma'nevî mahlût bâdâ tâ ebed
Âkilân-ı hân-ı Hak râ ez berây-ı iştibâ'
În sımât-ı Mevlevî mebsût bâdâ tâ ebed²²⁴

Shortly after the *lokma* was ready and the Friday noon prayer was over, the sound of the *meydancı* came from the corridors. He repeated the following sentence: “*Hû... Somata salâ*”

²²¹ Or *Gûl-Bâng*: is a composite of two words in Persian which means a nightingale. It is a commonly used term among Sufi for some sets of prayers. See Gölpinarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 19.

²²² Ibid., 126.

²²³ Detailed descriptions of the *Mevlevî* table manners can be found in Arpaguş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 286–94; and also in Gölpinarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik*, 415–17.

²²⁴ This was written by Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî and was translated into Modern Turkish by the editors as follows: “Bu *Mevlevî* sofrası sonsuza dek serili kalsın. Bu manevi yemek sonsuza dek hazırlansın. Hak sofrasında yemek yiyenler doyabilsin diye bu *Mevlevî* sofrası sonsuza dek serili kalsın”, see Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 53.

as a call to announce that food was ready and to invite everybody to the *somathane*. The table (*sofra* or *somat*²²⁵) would have already been prepared by the *somatçı*. The table was usually a round piece of wood, which was slightly above the floor. Pelts (*post*) corresponding to the number of people were laid out around the table. The latter was covered with an oversized piece of cloth so that it covered the table on one hand, and also covered the feet of the dervishes who took their place around it on the other hand. We took our place as designated by our guide, covered our feet with the table linen, and started examining what was on the table. There was a spoon and a pinch of salt in front of every dervish. The spoons should always be inward looking and directed towards the left side throughout the meal. Some dervishes were busy preparing the water jugs and ordering the glasses. Others were busy pouring the prepared meal into the serving plates. Our attention got distracted as the resident *şeyh* and other dervishes started entering the room. Everybody inclined their head slightly and entered with their right feet. The *şeyh* did not always eat in the *somathane*. As described by Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî, he would often arrange to have his meal served to him in his apartment. He would be accompanied by *kudümzenbaşı*, *neyzenbaşı*, and six other people from his family so that the number of people around the table was eight.²²⁶

The soup is served first in a middle common plate. Before starting with the food, everyone tastes the salt first by putting their index in the pinch of salt in front of them. We did the same and started eating in a totally silent environment.

One shall neither speak nor produce any eating sounds with their mouths. In addition, one shall neither look at other dervishes nor at the food in front of them. Throughout the meal, few dervishes stand by with their right feet slightly put above their left feet, and with a water jug on one hand and a glass full of water on the other hand. When a dervish needs water, they declare so silently by different gestures. Gölpınarlı explained how they do so by carrying a bite of bread with their right hand, putting it on their left shoulder, and looking directly at the person serving water. Arpağuş explained how they do so by looking at the dervish carrying the glass of water out of the corner of their eyes. As soon as a dervish declares his need for water, everyone around the table stops eating. The dervish who is responsible for serving water comes, kisses the cup²²⁷, and gives it to the thirsty person. When the latter finishes drinking, the *şeyh*

²²⁵ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 42.

²²⁶ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 51–52.

²²⁷ This is another example for *görüŝmek*.

puts his hand on his heart as a silent way of saying “aşkolsun”. The thirsty dervish does the same gesture, kisses the empty glass of water, and gives it back to the standing dervish who goes immediately to his initial waiting position after filling the glass from the jug.

The soup container is taken by a dervish as soon as they finished eating, and it gets replaced with rice (i.e. *lokma*). Everyone straightens their position and the *şeyh* recites the following *gülbak*:

**“Mâ sūfiyân-ı rāhîm mâ tabla-hâr-ı şâhîm
Pâyende dâr yârab in kâserâ vu henrâ”²²⁸**

*Salli ve sellim ve bârik alâ es’adi ve eşrefi nûr-ı cemî’il enbiyâi vel mürselin;
velhamdülillahi rabbil âlemin.
Al Fâtiha”*

After reading the Fatiha²²⁹ silently, he continued:

“Nân-ı merdân, nîmet-i yezdân, berekât-ı Halilür-Rahmân. Elhamdülillah, eşşükrülillah. Hak berekâtın vere; yiyenlere nûr-ı imân ola; erenlerin hân-ı keremleri, nân-u nimetleri müzdâd, sâhibül-hayrât-ı güzeşteğânın ervâh-ı şerifeleri şâd ü handân, bâkıyları selâmette ola; demler, safâlar ziyâde ola. Dem-i Hazret-i Mevlâna, sırr-ı Âteş-bâz-ı Velî, kerem-i İmâm-ı Alî Hû diyelim”²³⁰

The reaction is a common and collective “Hûûû” by everybody around the table. Then, everyone sits cross-legged and starts eating the *lokma*. This time, the dervishes are allowed to speak as long as it does not become too noisy. In the end, everyone finishes with another pinch of salt and they all get up as soon as the meal is over. The *somatçı* clears the table, the *süpürgeci* clears the floor of the *somathane*, the *bulaşıkçı* washes the dishes, and the *tahmisci* prepares coffee for the present dervishes. In the *matbah*, while everything looked normal, there was a newly added pair of shoes directed towards the door. This means that somebody was asked to

²²⁸ Gölpınarlı provided the following translation into modern Turkish: “yola düşmüş sūfileriz biz; Hakk’ın sofrasına oturmuşuz; Nimetlerini yiyeceğiz biz. Yarabbi, şu kâseyi, şu sofrayı, nîmeti ebedî kıl”, see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 127.

²²⁹ The Fatiha is the first chapter of the Qur’an

²³⁰ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 126–28.

leave. Or, to use the *Mevlevî* terminology, the person was sent on a *seyahat*, i.e. trip. So, what are the rules of the *matbah* and when and how do *Mevlevîs* deal with people breaking them?

The Different Levels of Punishment for Breaking the Rules²³¹

The *Mevlevî tarikat* is a system, which gives a high importance to manners, rituals, and codes of behaviour. We mentioned some of the rules that dervishes wishing to complete their *çile* had to abide by. The punishment is parallel with the magnitude of rule infringement.

Level 1: Internally Solved and Immediate Measures

These measures concern the infringements, which are relatively small and only disturb the normal routine of the kitchen, or some behaviors, which can be dealt with internally. That is, these include the measures, which the *kazancı dede* judges sufficient to warn the dervish and to correct his behaviour. They include, for instance, keeping the faulty dervish standing on his feet, giving him some extra *riyazet* exercises to follow, or closing him in an isolated room for some days. Often times, the place used for the latter punishment is also a part of the *matbah* and is known as the *kazanlık*. It is a small, dark, and often under the ground area whereby the kitchen's utensils are kept. If, after these measures, the dervish continues in his misbehaviour, or in the case of a bigger infringement; then, the *kazancı dede* moves on to the next level.

Level 2: "Sikkesi alınmak"

A *sikke* is the conical hat typical of *Mevlevîs*. If the *kazancı dede* takes away the *sikke* from the faulty dervish; then, the dervish needs to meet with the *şeyh* again in what would be a re-admission. If the *şeyh* gives him back his *sikke*, the dervish can restart his *çile*. This seems like a warning more than a punishment. If the fault is bigger, then the *kazancı dede* moves again on to the next level.

²³¹ The information in this section is based on the following sources: Gölpinarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 40–41; Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 311–14; Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 146.

Level 3: “Seyahat vermek”

This literally translates as sending the dervish on a trip. It is done silently by putting his shoes towards the door, and his *hurka* on his shoulders. The dervish who sees his shoes this way is supposed to silently point his shoes towards the *matbah*, wear them, do a *niyâz*, kiss the door sill, and leave the *matbah* without turning his back until he is outside. This translates into firing from that Tekke only, not from the whole *tarîkat*. This means that he can try to enter and restart his *çile* in another *Mevlevihâne*.

Level 4: “Ser-pâ etmek” or “ser-ü-pâ etmek”

This is the highest level of punishment whereby the dervish is both fired from the *Mevlevihâne* where he was undergoing his *çile* and is also prevented from trying to enter any other *Tekke* of the *Mevlevî tarîkat*. It is also done in a similar and silent way with *seyahat vermek*. This time, his shoes are directed towards the door, his *hurka* is put on his shoulders, and his *sikke* is also taken away from him. If the dervish still wants to continue his *çile* in the *Mevlevî tarîkat*, he needs to go and discuss his case with *ser-tarik* or *tarîkatçı dede* who was only found in the *Mevlevihâne* of Konya and who was considered the highest authority among the *Mevlevîs*.

The End of the Day

After a full day spent in the *Mevlevî matbah* between their assigned tasks and the different types of education, the time between the *ezans* to the night and morning prayers is the relaxation time for the *matbah canları*. After putting everything in order, and knowing that the *dedes* have left to their *hücre* until the next morning, the tired *canlar* take some time for fellowship and socializing around some last cups of tea. This usually does not last for too long and everyone looks for a pelt and a comfortable corner in the *matbah*, lies down on it, and closes their eyes. In this regard, the *çile* education requires that the *matbah canları* shall not change their daytime clothes for evening ones. The symbolism between the kitchen *tennûre* and a burial shroud is further expressed by Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî in the following couplet:

Ölmeden evvel fedâ-yı hesti-i mevhûm için
Sevb-i sûrîden çıkıp tennûreden giydim kefen²³²

²³² Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 30.

As for the evening routine in the *Tekke*, it was described in one his letters as follows:

Birader, çille âlemi hakikaten başka bir âlem. Fakir²³³, evvelce de *Mevlevî* muhibbi idim, ekser-i evkât *dergâhta* yatar kalkardım. Fakat, bu neşeyi bulamazdım. Sen de *Mevlevî*sin, *şeyhzâdesin*, amma sözüme darılma, çillekeş olmadığından bu neşeyi bilemezsin. Evvelî ilme'l-yakîn biliyordum, bu sefer ayne'l yakîn öğrendim ki *matbah* cânları gündüz hıdmetleriyle meşgûldürler. Zaman-ı istirâhatleri yatsı namazından sonra sabah namazına kadar olan vakittir. Salât-ı işâ edâ edilip ism-i Celâl okunduktan sonra dedeler hücrelerine, cânlar meydan-ı şerife giderler. Artıl, *matbah* ve meydan-ı şerife kimse gelmediğinden, mangal başında rahat rahat biraz otururlar, dolaplarında çay gibi, yemiş gibi bir şey varsa çıkarıp hep birlikte nûr ederler, bir mikdar konuşurlar [...] ba'de'l-musâhabe, o yorgun kalbler istirâhate muhtaç olduğundan, herkes bir post, bir kilimden ibaret olan yatak yorganını alır, bir köşede vahdete dalar.²³⁴ Hâ şu da var ki *matbah* cânları kalktıkları gibi yatarlar, yattıkları gibi kalkarlar.²³⁵

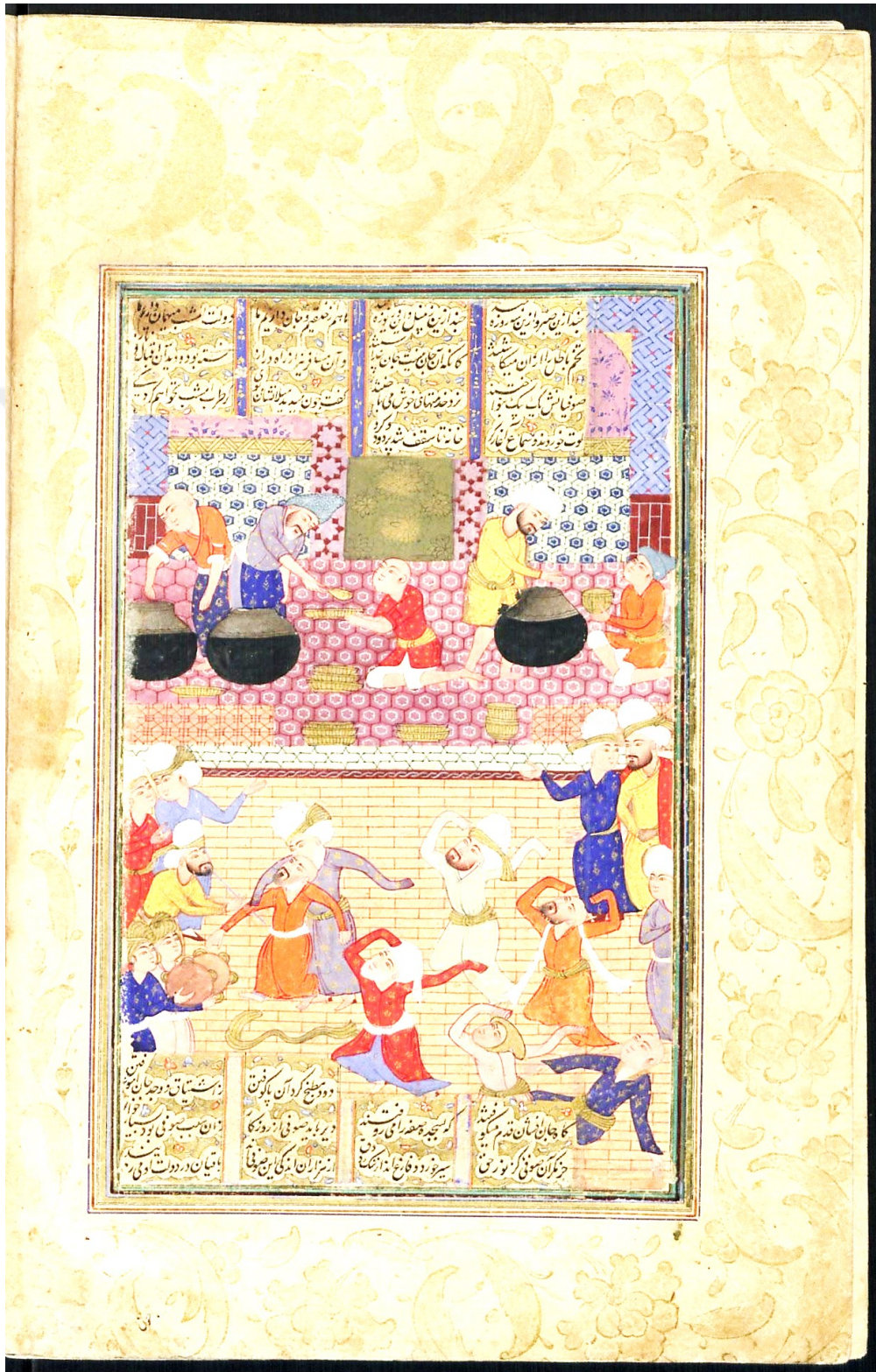
²³³ *Fakir* means poor in Arabic and Turkish. In the *Mevlevî* culture, it is the word used as a replacement for using the first pronoun “I”. As for “you”, they replaced it with *nazarım*, which can be translated from Arabic as “what I am looking at” or “what is in front of my eyes”. For *nazarım* or *nazarlarım* see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 35. For *fakir* or *fakıyr* see Ibid., 17–18. Another alternative for Fakir was *bendeniz*. On his opinion about some widely-used *Mevlevî*, Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî says: “Ez-cümle “Fakir”i ben “bendeniz”e müreccah görürüm. Bazısı da nasılsa nâhoş geliyor işte. “Nazarın”dan bir türlü hoşlanamam. Lâkin, senden değil ha, o tâbirden. Bunun gibi “nan-pâre”, bin parça olsa ağıza alınmaz. Kezâlik, “lokma basma” ve “nûr etme”nin de lezzetine doyulmaz.” See Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 57.

²³⁴ “*Vahdette*” and “*Vahdete varmak*” are common expressions used by *Mevlevî* to say “fall asleep”, see Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 44.

²³⁵ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 34.

THE *MEVLEVİ* KITCHEN THROUGH MINIATURES

THE SOCIOECONOMIC ROLE OF THE KITCHEN



15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29

In the miniature presented above, we have two main scenes. The different carvings suggest that the two scenes are probably happening in two different spaces. The upper scene shows the food distribution from a series of cauldrons to the dervishes in the *Hanqâh*. While we cannot see clearly the food items, the dervish to the left is holding a relatively large and plain plate while the dervish to the right is holding a plate, which is more like a bowl. We can possibly deduce that the dervish with the bowl is probably receiving a soup while the one with the plain plate is probably receiving a starchier meal (maybe some kind of rice). The lower scene in the miniature shows a scene which may not be as organised, yet certainly is very close to the *Mevlevî Semâ*' as we know it. Two dervishes are playing *daf*, one dervish is clapping with his hands, other dervishes seem to have a conversation, and others are in the middle doing some movements. It is particularly the hand gesture, which characterizes the *Mevlevî Semâ*.

As such, we see elements of food distribution and socializing which provide support our claim on the miniature representing the socio-economic role of the kitchen in a *Tekke*. In addition, further support comes from the relevant story of the *Mesnevî* that the miniature is representing. Incidentally, this story happens to be the same with the story about the man who stopped by to spend a night in a *Tekke* and lost his donkey to the hungry dervishes who sold it and used its proceedings for a festive night.²³⁶ As far as the miniature is concerned, it may be worth noting that their movements have been narrated in the original story as arbitrary. However, the miniaturist visualized them in an ordered manner which is much closer to the *Mevlevî* version of *Semâ*' often referred to as whirling dervishes. Keeping in mind that the miniatures provide us with a way to sneak into how things were performed at the time of their production, this miniature under study may suggest that some *Mevlevî* practices of the early Seventeenth century were very much similar to practices and rituals of later centuries.

²³⁶ It is worth noting that the story is narrated in the *Mesnevî* by Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî. It is therefore happening before the institutionalization of the *Mevlevî tarikat*, including the particular *Mevlevî* way of performing *Semâ*'. As such, the word *Semâ*' here refers to the general concept of movements originating from a spiritual state of trance rather than the *Mevlevî* ceremony commonly referred to as the whirling dervishes. For more details, check Gölpinarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 62–63; Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 130.

THE SPIRITUAL ROLE OF THE KITCHEN

Similar to the socio-economic role, we will also try to depict the spiritual role of the *Mevlevi* kitchen in the early Seventeenth century through miniatures from the aforementioned *Mesnevi* manuscript. More specifically, we are faced this time with a set of two miniatures side by side as shown on the following page. Our analysis will first be a general description of what we can see in the two miniature paintings. Then, we will put them in context based on their location in the manuscript.



The miniatures above are found at the very beginning of the manuscript. We can start by a general look at the points of similarities between the two images before moving on to the detailed differences. We can see the same tree with orange and red leaves in the background. The two places seem to open into the same garden. The same floor pavings is a further indication that both scenes are happening in the same building, if not in the same area. The fences on the right indicate that the discussion is probably happening at a higher floor while

their absence on the left indicates that the room gives directly into the garden. Another obvious difference is, of course, the activities presented in each picture. To the right, we have a person sitting on a mat, wearing a bigger headgear, and apparently explaining something to people sitting around him. They are all sitting around what seems to be a water fountain. Some of them are listening attentively while others are engaged in their own conversations. On the left, we can see less conversation and more work. More specifically, we see some division of labor. The center of the picture is now a cauldron, which is bigger than the others on the same painting. Having a cauldron at the center and various cooking related activities indicates that the room is most likely to be a kitchen. Importantly, there are eighteen figures in the kitchen. The number eighteen holds a particular importance in the *Mevlevî* thought.

Now, for a better understanding of the miniatures, we need to relate them to their location within the manuscript. In this case, they are located at the very beginning of the book. Their interpretation can be at least twofold.

On one hand, having two images at the very beginning before the text starts may indicate two scenes that the writer of the manuscript deemed particularly important. In a way, one might see them as a “trailer”, a visual title, or an imagery abstract for the whole manuscript. This does not conflict with the second possible interpretation. As indicated earlier, the miniatures are located next to the relevant parts and stories of the *Mesnevî*. In this case, the miniatures are located at the beginning of the manuscript, right before the first eighteen verses of the *Mesnevî-i Şerif*. As precised earlier, the first eighteen verses hold a particular importance both because they were written by Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî himself as opposed to the rest of the *Mesnevî* which was dictated upon the demand of Husameddin Celebi; and also because they fairly encompass the most important ideas and pieces of wisdom behind the writing of the whole book²³⁷. Their importance is illustrated by some interpreters of the *Mesnevî* who have dedicated books or large sections just for the prologue (known as *Dibâce*) and the first eighteen verses.²³⁸ We will first present the verses as they are in the original Persian version in the manuscript under study. Then, we will present their translations into English. Finally, we will present some short parts

²³⁷ For more information see Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 51.

²³⁸ A case in point is İsmâil Rûsûhî Ankaravî (D.1630) who is also known as Hazreti Şarih for his expertise in *Mesnevî* interpretation. His work *Mesnevî'nin sırrı* is dedicated to the interpretation of the introduction and first eighteen verses of the *Mesnevî*. See Rusûhî Ankaravî, *Mesnevî'nin Sırrı*; Arpaguş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eđitim*, 63; Gölpmarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevilik*, 148.

from the interpretation by Tahirü'l-Mevlevî to the first and eighteenth verses which we believe are the most relevant to the two miniatures we have in hand.



The eighteen verses were translated by Reynold A. Nicholson²³⁹ as follows:

Listen to the reed how it tells a tale, complaining of separations
Saying, "Ever since I was parted from the reed-bed, my lament hath caused man and woman to moan.
I want a bosom torn by severance, that I may unfold (to such a one) the pain of love-desire.
Everyone who is left far from his source wishes back the time when he was united with it.
In every company I uttered my wailful notes, I consorted with the unhappy and with them that rejoice.
Every one became my friend from his own opinion; none sought out my secrets from within me.
My secret is not far from my plaint, but ear and eye lack the light (whereby it should be apprehended).
Body is not veiled from soul, nor soul from body, yet none is permitted to see the soul.
This noise of the reed is fire, it is not wind: whoso hath not this fire, may he be naught!
'Tis the fire of Love that is in the reed, 'tis the fervour of Love that is in the wine.
The reed is the comrade of everyone who has been parted from a friend: its strains pierced our hearts.
Who ever saw a poison and antidote like the reed? Who ever saw a sympathiser and a longing lover like the reed?
The reed tells of the Way full of blood and recounts stories of the passion of Majnún.
Only to the senseless is this sense confided: the tongue hath no customer save the ear.
In our woe the days (of life) have become untimely: our days travel hand in hand with burning griefs.
If our days are gone, let them go!—'tis no matter. Do Thou remain, for none is holy as Thou art!
Whoever is not a fish becomes sated with His water; whoever is without daily bread finds the day long.
None that is raw understands the state of the ripe: therefore my words must be brief. Farewell!.

Comparing the miniatures to the verses, we can see a correspondence between the miniatures and the first and eighteenth verse. This possibility becomes even stronger if we keep into consideration that the original manuscript is written in Persian and therefore requires reading from right to left. Before moving into further details, we can look briefly at how Tahirü'l-Mevlevî's interpretation of the first and last verses. Our attempt at summarizing and translating the interpretations does not do justice though to the original, and we therefore encourage readers who can read modern Turkish to check the original books for a more detailed interpretation. For the first verse, as affirmed by the author, many interpreters have stressed the importance of starting the book with "*Bişnev*", i.e. Listen²⁴⁰. Mevlânâ thus highlights the importance of

²³⁹ Nicholson, *Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*.

²⁴⁰ According to Muhittin Celal Duru, the exact words of the first two verses can determine whether the manuscript is the original version of the *Mesnevî* or an edited version by Sultan Veled. In the original version, the first two verses are *bişnev in ney çün şikayet miküned, ez cüdayiha hikâyet miküned*. In the edited version, the first two verses are *bişnev ez ney çün hikâyet miküned, ez cüdayiha şikayet miküned*. See Duru, *Tarihi Simalardan: Mevlevî*, 55.

listening as the one of the early stages for learning. This can be observed in stories of the Prophets and verses of the Qur'an. Then, the author highlights the meaning of the Ney in the Tasavvuf terminology as a metaphor to the *Insan-i Kamil*, or the most perfect human being who have been able to reach both physical and spiritual maturity:

Merhûm üstâdım Mehmed Es'ad Efendi ikmâlîne muvaffak olamadığı *Mesnevî* şerhinde der ki:

“*Neyden murâd ; enâniyyeti yâni benliği fâni ve mertebe-i bekâ billâhda bâkî olan veliyy-i kâmil ve mürşid-i âgâhdildir. Yâhud bildiğimiz (ney) dir, te'vile hâcet yoktur.*”

Hoca merhûmun şu ifâdesi bir şerh-i câmî'dir. Zâten nây ile insân-ı Kâmil, yekdiğerinin misâli ve mümessilidir. Çünkü ney, yetiştiği kamışlıktan kesilip ayrılmış, göğsüne ateşle delikler açılmış; başına, ayağına, hattâ boğumları arasına mâdenî halkalar ve teller takılmış, koparıldığı yerdeki rutûbetten mahrum kalmış, bundan dolayı kupkuru ve sapsarı kesilmiştir. İçerisi tamamiyle boştur. Ancak neyzenin nefesiyle dolar. Kendi başına kalırsa ne sesi çıkar ne sedâsı. Vazîfesi, neyzenin dudaklarıyla parmaklarına âlet, onun istediği nağmelerin zuhûruna vâsîta olmaktır.²⁴¹

Providing the details of how the ney comes to being is an analogy for the tough and difficult way ahead of every person who would like to reach spiritual maturity. In tasavvuf terminology, this process of educating one's soul to perfection is referred to as *Seyr-ü-sülûk*²⁴². While the concept is common to all *tarikats*, the differences stem from the methods followed in its application. The starting point for anyone to be admitted into an order is often a series of different tasks known as *Çile*. The purpose of the latter is to “cook” the disciple's soul and transform it from “raw” to “ripened”. This directly takes us to the eighteenth verse whereby Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî is emphasizing how difficult it is for the person whose soul is still raw to understand the ripened one. In other words, how difficult it is to put into words the cooking process which can only be understood through experience. Tahirü'l-Mevlevî emphasized this idea in his interpretation:

Yânî : «Kâmilî, kâmilden başkası anlamaz. Tâ ki seyr ü sülûkü, onun: mertebesine erişmeyince» demişlerdir.

Kadr-î sühan-î şâiri, şâir bilir ancak;

Rûhülkudüsün sırrı Sirâfile ıyandır!..

Bir ilmî meslek ahbâbının değil, basit ve âdi bir san'at erbâbının bile san'ata müteallık sözlerini o san'ata hizmet etmemiş olanlar anlayamaz-lar. O lisânî anlayabilmek, san'atlarına intisâb ve hizmet ederek onlar gi-bi olmaya mütevakkıftır. Tasavvuf meslekinin ince nüktelerini, sofîyye

²⁴¹ Olgun, *Mesnevî Şerhi Tahirü'l-Mevlevî*.

²⁴² Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 64.

hazarâtının mânâsı pek derin sözlerini idrâk edebilmek de, o meslek-i celîle bir kâmil vâsıtasiyle intisâb etmekle olur. Zaten tasavvuf; sözle değil hâl ile ilgili bir meslektir.²⁴³

Concepts such as *Seyr-ü-sülûk*²⁴⁴ and *çile*²⁴⁵ are central to all Sufi *tarîkats* as they share a common view of the world and the place of human beings in it. Their difference is in the method followed to apply the *çile* and achieve spiritual maturity. More specifically, one of the main points of divergences is in the order's preference to isolation from the social world to educate the disciples' souls or to staying and leading the spiritual journey while keeping contact with the surrounding society. The former is referred to as *Halvet* and the latter as *Halvet der Encumen* or *Celvet*. The Naqshbandis and, to a lesser extent, the *Mevlevîs* are the main Sufi *tarîkats* which applied the second option²⁴⁶. This is further emphasized in the following words used by *Aşçı Dede* when explaining the *Mevlevî* tarîkat to Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî: “*Tarîkimiz esasen hıdmet ve sohbet nâmıyla iki kısım üzerine mebnîdir. Şu'le-i aşk-ı dil-efrûz ve mücâhedât-ı hestî-sûz ile sohbet-ı şeyhe kabiliyet husûlu için hıdmet takdîm edilmiştir.*”²⁴⁷

For the purpose of our study, we have focused on the *Mevlevî* case whereby *Çile* is a 1001 day service in the sacred kitchen known as *matbah-ı şerif*. All of these concepts have been discussed in details in the preceding sections. So, let's see how this relates to the two miniatures.

The verses and their interpretations suggest that the image to the right is probably representing Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî talking to his disciples and asking them to “listen”, pay attention, and reflect on how the sound of the ney is telling stories of separation. The image to the left is probably representing the activities of the *Mevlevî* kitchen and corresponds to the last verse where “none that is raw understands the state of the ripe”. This suggests the parallelism between cooking food and cooking souls which is, as we saw in the other sources, central to the *Mevlevî* understanding and important for our purposes of understanding the role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen. More importantly, the presence of eighteen figures, the big central cauldron, and the clear division of labour are all indications that the miniature is not about the normal kitchen of the *Tekke*. Rather, it represents the “sacred” kitchen known as *matbah-ı şerif* where the newly admitted dervishes spend the first 1001 days of their spiritual education. In other words, we can

²⁴³ Olgun, *Mesnevî Şerhi Tahirü'l-Mevlevî*.

²⁴⁴ Gölpınarlı, *Mevlevî Âdâb ve Erkânı*, 42.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 11.

²⁴⁶ Arpağuş, *Mevlevilikte Manevi Eğitim*, 75–79.

²⁴⁷ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 37.

say that the two miniatures mainly correspond to the very first and very last verses out of the initial eighteen, namely:

Listen to the reed how it tells a tale, complaining of separations

... [and]

*None that is raw understands the state of the ripe: therefore my words must be brief.
Farewell!.*

CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER THREE

To sum up, this chapter consisted of two main parts. The first part took us on a journey to Yenikapı *Mevlevihânesi* based on primary and secondary sources of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. The authors represented different levels of *Mevlevîs*. *Şeyh Galip* was a *şeyh* of the *Mevlevihâne* in Galata, *Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî* completed his 1001 days *çile* in Yenikapı and gained the status of *dede*, *Aşçı Dede Halil İbrahim* got his *sikke* and joined the *semâ* ceremony at the *Mevlîhâne* of *Kasımpaşa* as a *muhîb*, and *Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı* had close ties with the *Mevlevî tarîkat* thanks to his family background as well as his childhood memories from his time spent in the *Tekke*. All of these sources combined give us an idea of the educational role played by Ottoman *Tekkes* in general, and the *Mevlevihânes* in particular. In the latter, this education comprised intellectual and artistic trainings and activities. Dervishes who demonstrated the highest levels of intellectual aptitudes could become experts in the interpretation and narration of the *Mesnevî* and were called a *Mesnevîhân*. Dervishes who demonstrated the highest levels of musical aptitudes could become experts in playing the *Ney* and in playing a key role in the *Semâ* ceremony and were called a *neyzenbaşı*. Importantly, what makes all of these further developments relevant to our topic here of food history and the role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen is that the first step - which was a relatively long one of 1001 days- was spent as a *çile* in the *Mevlevî* kitchen known as *matbah-ı şerif*. With this regard, we can see from our description that the part related to actual food was relatively short and the *matbah* menu had almost no variety at all. This contrasts with the other parts related to the manners involved in preparing, serving, and eating the food, which used to follow some precise steps and rules based on a clear division of labour.

The second part took us on a visual journey to the Seventeenth century. Given the scarcity of sources related to earlier centuries of the *tarikat* as opposed to its later times, we tried to track back the information found in our sources back in time. This was made possible by a set of miniatures on an early Seventeenth century unpublished *Mesnevî* manuscript. More specifically, we looked at two scenes depicting activities in a kitchen. The fact that these miniatures were found in a *Mesnevî* strengthened our assumptions that these kitchens were in fact *Mevlevî* kitchens. For a better understanding of their whereabouts, we got help from the adjacent stories that the miniatures were supposedly representing. As a result of our analysis, the first miniature seems more relevant to the socio-economic role of the *Tekke*'s food distribution practices in creating a place of gathering, rest, and socializing among dervishes. It is therefore more related to chapter 2. Here, the indicator for it being a *Mevlevihâne* is the hand gestures, which were described in the story as arbitrary. In the miniature, however, they appear in a way, which is very close to the *Mevlevî Semâ* as we know it. The second miniature seems more relevant to the spiritual and educational role of the *Tekke* through the actual kitchen in a *Mevlevihâne* known as the *matbah-ı şerif*. This assumption was based on its physical features, division of labour, and the number of people depicted in it as well as in its location at the very beginning of the manuscript. Combined with the other miniature right next to it, we claim that the two miniatures represent the beginning and ending verses of the first eighteen verses in the *Mesnevî* whereby *Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî* first emphasized the importance of listening and last emphasized the importance the metaphor of cooking souls from their raw state to a more mature and ripe state.

As such, we may not claim with certainty that all of the manners and division of labour described in the later sources existed in previous centuries. However, we may claim that the choice of the miniaturist in depicting some parts and stories of the *Mesnevî* indicate that some elements of how things came to be performed in both the *Mevlevî Semâ* and in the *Mevlevî matbah* were already present back then. Our study was of course more concerned with the *matbah* than it was with the *Semâ*; but the two often times go hand in hand as primary primary practices which distinguish the *Mevlevîs* from other *tarikats*.

THESIS CONCLUSION: SUMMARY, LIMITATIONS, AND FUTURE STUDIES

To sum up, the thesis can be divided into three main parts. The first part was a literature review, the second part was a case-study, and the third part was an analysis of miniatures through primary and secondary sources.

The purpose of the first part was to answer the following questions: what is the general state of the art in Global Food history? And, more specifically, what is the place of Ottoman food history in it? The methodology was a compilation of the available literature on the topics. In both global and Ottoman food history, the analysis started with historical developments and then focused on the most recent works which address more directly the subject of food history. The result of this literature review was the identification of at least four main gaps in the literature. Firstly, there seemed to be a one-way communication between global and Ottoman food history. While the latter benefitted from the earlier developments and methodologies of the former, its own developments are rarely mentioned in articles on global food history. Secondly, within Ottoman food history, two main gaps could be identified. The first gap concerns the relative lack of studies on Central Anatolia as compared to the other parts of the empire. The second gap concerns the relative lack of studies on *Tekkes* as compared to the other Ottoman institutions of food distribution. Finally, there came the realization that the role of the kitchen in the Bektashi and *Mevlevî Tekkes* was more prominent than it was for other Sufi *tarîkats*. As such, the following sections were an attempt to address these gaps through the following overarching question: what was the role of the kitchen in Ottoman *Mevlevihânes*?

Broad as it is, this question had to be divided into parts based on a specific framework. Our initial readings led to the realization that the *Mevlevî* kitchen played two roles, namely an external one and an internal one. The external role can be roughly described as acts of charity and food distribution to the residing dervishes, the travellers, and all sorts of visitors. The internal role can be roughly described as acts of spiritual education to the *Mevlevî* dervishes in their various ranks. Furthermore, this was not only reported in theory, but was reflected in practice through architecture. That is, as opposed to the *Mevlevî zâviyes* which had one kitchen only, the *Mevlevî Âsitânes* were equipped with an additional kitchen. The former was referred to as *mutfak*, and the latter was referred to as *matbah*. The essential differences in the features and

roles of the two kitchens required using different methodologies. As such, this distinction of external and internal, or outer and inner, formed the core framework for this thesis. The external role was covered in Chapter two whereas the internal role was covered in Chapter three.

The purpose of Chapter two was to answer the following question: what is the external role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen? By taking the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî in Konya as a case-study, our methodology was a quantitative analysis of its kitchen account based on archival documents. More specifically, our archival sources were account books from the *maliye müdevver* which are kept in the Presidential Archives (Cumhurbaşkanlığı arşivleri) in Istanbul. Based on the assumption that one understands better what is most valuable in times of crisis as compared to normal times, we focused on the sixteenth and seventeenth century. On one hand, we had an almost continuous reporting of accounts throughout many years in this period to allow for a longitudinal study. On the other hand, we had a wide range of descriptions in the secondary literature of many demographic, economic, political, agricultural, and climatic crises which hit the region of Central Anatolia in this period. These crises were not separate, but rather intertwined. This made their overall magnitude even bigger for the people of Central Anatolia. As a result, our more specific research question for the case-study became: As far as the kitchen accounts are concerned, how did the *Vakıf* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî in Konya deal with the crises which hit the region of Central Anatolia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The result of this quantitative analysis was that the kitchen accounts of the *Vakıf* could maintain a relatively high performance although their share of total income is higher as compared to other expenditures.

The purpose of Chapter Three was to answer the following question: what is the internal role of the *Mevlevî* kitchen? Here, we had to go beyond the kitchen in general and focus on the *matbah-ı şerif*. As such, we had to go beyond the external quantitative analysis and focus on the internal whereabouts of the *matbah*. On one hand, we had primary sources of famous *Mevlevîs* who have either undergone their *çile* or were close enough to the *tarikat* to know how the system worked. Most such accounts are from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On the other hand, we had an unpublished manuscript of the *Mesnevî* of Mevlânâ Celâleddin Rûmî. This manuscript was apparently completed by the early seventeenth century and is currently kept at the manuscript section of Beyazıt public library in Istanbul. Its value to the current study could stem from it being written in the period we are mostly concerned with. However, as a written manuscript only of an already known text, it would not have been of much value. Its

real value to the current study stems from it having some miniatures depicting some stories of the *Mesnevî* that the writer deemed of particular interest. Most importantly for our case, some miniatures were depicting some scenes of a kitchen. Furthermore, one can safely assume that a kitchen which was drawn in a *Mesnevî* manuscript was most likely to be somehow connected to the *Mevlevî* kitchen. As a result, the methodology of this chapter was a comparison between the various descriptions of the *matbah-ı şerif* as presented in later primary and secondary sources with the way the authors of the *Mesnevî* manuscript drew the miniature in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The result of this comparison was twofold. Firstly, the analysis of the primary and secondary sources created a literature review of its own, in English, of the various roles and practices involved in the *matbah*. Secondly, the juxtaposition of this information with the miniatures provided us with better ideas on how the *Mevlevî* thought and practices such as the *semâ* and, more importantly for our study, the *matbah-ı şerif* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries compares to those of later centuries.

As such, by studying a *Mevlevihâne*, we partly addressed the initial claim that the kitchen was indeed important in many ways for the *Mevlevîs*. By studying a *Tekke*, we partly addressed the initial gap that the *Tekkes* are understudied as compared to other institutions such as *imarets* and palaces. By focusing on Central Anatolia in the case-study, we partly addressed the initial gap that the region of Central Anatolia is understudied as compared to other regions of the Ottoman empire. Finally, by focusing on an Ottoman institution, we partly addressed some aspects of Ottoman food history which could contribute to the overall literature of global food history. In addition, we also learnt more about the *Mevlevî tarikat* in terms of historical development, manners, and practices.

Every study has limitations, and the current study is no exception. While some limitations are natural and hard to overcome, other limitations could be overcome by future studies.

In Chapter one, the main limitation was in the fact that food history is still in its formation period as a discipline within history or historiography. As such, the literature is still sparse. This sparsity is both in terms of definitions, themes, and scopes. This makes a systematic literature review very difficult, if not impossible. Given the nature of the subject matter, expecting clear-cut answers to these matters would not be realistic. Nonetheless, more efforts could be done to unify the literature under some common headlines to guide the interested researchers.

In Chapter two, a natural limitation was in the available accounts. The entries for some years were missing, and some other years were only partial. As such, as longitudinal as it may be, it is not precise enough for an exact and accurate trend. Some movements in the accounts are not there. As a result, just how the decrease or increase happened in those periods is a mystery. As for another limitation which may be overcome by future studies, it concerns the nature of the accounts which only provide us with numbers on the quantity, but not much on the quality. That is, to which extent can we say that the accounts answer Braudel famous statement “*officiellement, la soupe est toujours bonne*”? Not much. As such, future studies could combine the existing accounting information with social accounts on how recipients judged the quality of food served in the *Tekke* or in the adjacent *imaret*. Very much related to this point is that future studies could also look more into **how** the *Vakıf* could sustain the kitchen accounts. For example, future studies could look more into the relationship between the *mevlevihâne* and the adjacent *imaret* of Sultan Selim II in terms of food supply and exchange.

In Chapter three, a major limitation is the relatively limited number of sources on the Sufi *tarîkats* in general and on the *Mevlevî tarikat* as a case in point, especially with matters concerning the social life of the *Tekke* and the daily activities of dervishes. In fact, we share the same disappointment with *Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî*:

Eğer evvelden beri her eli kalem tutan bildiklerinin terceme-i hâlini yazsaydı *Mevlevî* sikkesi altına giren bir derviş meçhûlümüz kalmazdı. Haydi evvelce yazılmamış, hiç olmazsa muâsır ihvânımızın terâcim-i ahvâlini zabt etsek olmaz mı? Fakirin kendi kendime bir fikrim var; bildiğim ihvânın, öğrendiğim kadar terceme-i hâlini yazmak istiyorum. Fakat iyisi de kötüsü dâhil olmak şartıyla [...] hepsini yazmalı. İyi olanların iyiliğini medh etmeli, kötü olanların kötülüğüne teessüfte bulunmalı.²⁴⁸

While this sounds like an interesting and ambitious project, we do not have any information as to whether it could be achieved or not. Just like the quantitative analysis which does not give us a clear idea about the quality, the primary and secondary sources do not give us exact answers to some questions. For example, we learnt from *Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî* about some cases where the *matbah cânları* were asked to perform additional tasks outside their *matbah* responsibilities because the *dede* in charge wanted to economize on the expenses of hiring somebody else. This result in an overall state of extreme exhaustion which eventually necessiated the intervention of another *dede* with a higher rank and authority.²⁴⁹ The question then becomes on how often

²⁴⁸ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 89.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 48

these situations of overwork and abuse of authority happened, and how did the *Tekke* management remedy for such cases? Another incident, which can also be found in a letter by Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî was a situation whereby all the *dedes* responsible for the kitchen management either retired or had to leave the *Tekke* to deal with some emergencies.²⁵⁰ As such, even for a short while, the *matbah*, and therefore the *Mevlevihâne*, was left without anybody to manage it. Again, the questions could be on on how often similar situations of lack of management happened, and how did the *Tekke* remedy for such cases?

While all of these are possible questions for future study, they do not directly fall within the scope of food history. The most important contribution from food historians could come, in my view, from a more comparative approach. Just like a number by its own gains much more meaning when compared to other numbers in quantitative-oriented studies, an information by its own gains much more meaning when compared to other contexts in qualitative-oriented studies. Luckily, focusing on the kitchen as a place for spiritual education opens up several possibilities for comparison. Researchers who are interested in the kitchen itself could compare the *Mevlevî* rules and division of labor with other kitchens. These could range from other Sufi *tarîkats* such as the Bektashis to the kitchen of regular restaurants. In the end, cooking any meal is a high-risk activity, which requires a good management and an effective division of labour for a smooth and easy production process. Researchers who are interested in the spiritual education of the kitchen in particular and the *Tekke* in general could compare the *Mevlevî* rules and manners with, again, other Sufi *tarîkats*, but also with other social networks such as the *ahilik* or *futuvvet*. Additionally, researchers could also compare the *Mevlevî* rules and manners with those of other spiritual institutions in other religions and civilizations, both past and present.

Far from being exhaustive, this was an initial listing of some major limitations and an initial roadmap for possible future studies for a further and better use of the information presented in this current thesis. The exact way these future studies could take depends on the research questions and the creative combination of the available sources by food historians.

²⁵⁰ Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 48.

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APPENDIX A : THE *MEVLEVÎ MATBAH* IN POETRY

Der-vasf-ı Şerîf-i Matbah-ı Latîf-i Târîkat-ı Mevleviyye Kaddesellâhu Esrârehüm

By *Şeyh Galip*

Mu'allâ dûdmân-1 evliyâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ
Dil ü câna ocağ-1 kimyâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Çerâğ-1 pür-ziyâsı sırr-1 Âteşbaz'dan yanmış
Bütün pervânegân-1 aşka câdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Ana ruh-südedir âteş-perestân-1 mahabbet hep
Semender-hâne-i mihr ü vefâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Çekilmişdir simât-1 ni'met-i elvânı âfâka
Halîl-i aşka gülzâr-1 safâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Semâ'-1 dest-efşânı sanırsın nev-niyâzânın
Metâr-1 tâirân-1 kibriyâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Yeter fakr ehline yüzler karası mâye-i rahmet
Makâm-1 hizmet-i Âl-i Abâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Alır ehl-i velâyet kısmetin bir bir o dergehden
Kerâmet kânıdır kenz-i Hudâ'dır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Nihâyet ibtidâya ric'at olmuş Seyyidü'l-Kavme
Bakılsa zîr-i hatt-1 istivâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Havâlanma sakın âvâre gezme âşiyân-gîr ol
Kebûter-hâne-i sıdk u safâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Giren müştâkdır ol dûdmâna girmeyen müştak
Misâl-i Ka'be bir hayret-fezâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Tecerrüd-pîşe derd-endîşe lâzımdır talebkârî
Aceb germâbe-i ibret-nümâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Yaraşmışdır gürûh-1 *Mevlevîye* tavr-1 istiğnâ
Kanâ'atdan yapılmış bir binâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Nefes-bend-i hamûşî bî-nevâyî üzre mebnîdir
Fenâfi'llâhdır ayn-1 bekâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Tasarrufdan ta'arrüfden hezârân pâye berterdir
Bilir ehli ne vâlâ mültecâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Ubûdiyyet ibâdet sırf ubûdetdir o menzilde
Sipîhr-i bendeğîye irtikâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Dür ü gevherde mevcûdâtta hışt u seng ü mermerde
Mükemmel bir sarây-1 dil-küşâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Anun her dâne nârı bir enâr u hârı bir güldür
Cefâ resminde bir bâğ-1 safâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ

Olup Âdem safâsın sürmedim Gâlib o Firdevsin
Dahı hâlâ gözümde tûtiyâdır *matbah-1* Monlâ.



A Poem by Tâhirü'l-Mevlevî²⁵¹

Ettim âteşbâz-ı Mevlânâ'ya vakf-ı cism ü ten
Nâr-ı hestîsûzuna tanmağ'çün iklim-i beden

Ölmeden evvel fedâ-yı hesti-i mevhûm için
Sevb-i sûrîden çıkıp tennûreden giydim kefen

Ey tarîk-i aşkına sâlik olan bî-dillere
Rûy-ı maksûdu nümâyân eyleyen Rabbü'l-minen

Üstüvar et verdiğim ikrârın üstünde beni
Olmayım meydân-ı ehlullâhta peymân-şiken

Nûr-ı dîdârınla Allâh'ım hakikat-bîn edip
Keç-nazarlık illetin kaldır bu gâfil dîdeden

Düştü dâl ikrârıma târîh-i cevher Tâhirâ
Matbah-ı Monlâ'da oldum çillekeş dervîş ben
(1312 (1896))

²⁵¹ Tahir Olgun, *Çilehane Mektupları*, 30-31

CURRICULUM VITAE

Souhayla TAIAl

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

September 2017 – June 2019: Master of Arts in Civilization Studies

The Alliance of Civilizations Institute
Ibn Haldun Univeristy, Istanbul, Turkey
Full Scholarship
CGPA : 4.00/4

- **Thesis Title:** “*Hamdım, Piştim, Yandım*”: The Outer and Inner Roles of the Mevlevî Kitchen
- **Thesis Supervisor:** Prof. Suraiya Faroqhi
- **Selected Coursework:** *Political Sociology; History of World Civilizations; History of Comparative Thought; Introduction to Islamic History II; Cities, Citizenship, and Civilization; Religion & Science*

September 2016-July 2017: Master of Research in Management Sciences

ESADE Business School
Ramon Llull University, Barcelona, Spain
Full Scholarship

- **Thesis Title:** Organizational Status as a Signal: Merging Status and Signaling Theory, a Systematic Literature Review
- **Thesis Supervisor:** Dr. François Collet
- **Selected Coursework:** *Quantitative Research Methods; Experimental Research Design; Qualitative Research Methods; Econometrics;*

September 2012-June 2015 : Bachelor of Science in Management

(Admission by External Transfer)
Concentration: Finance and Quantitative Analysis
Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey
CGPA: 3.90/4

Awards & Achievements

- 100% Merit Scholarship – Academic Year 2014-2015: Ranked among top 1% nonscholarship students of the Management Department.
- Sinan Karacadag Memorial Scholarship—Spring 2014: a partial tuition waiver to support the education of Business Administration students who demonstrate superior performance in all aspects of their education
- Turkish Government Success Scholarship for International Students – Academic year 2013-2014: Ranked among the top non-scholarship international students all over Turkey.
- 80% Merit Scholarship -- Academic year 2013-2014: Ranked among top 2% nonscholarship students of the Management Department.
- High Honors (GPA>3,50) – from Fall 2012 to Spring 2015

Summer 2012: International Summer School (non degree program)

Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey

CGPA: 3.79/4

2010-2012: Bachelor of Business Administration (Terminated August 2012 for transfer)

Al Akhawayn University in Ifrane, Morocco

CGPA: 3.90/4

Selected Coursework: *Accounting Principles; Business Statistics; Microeconomics; Macroeconomics;*

Awards and Achievements:

- Dean's List (GPA>3.49) – Fall 2011, Spring 2012; Al Akhawayn University
- President's List (GPA: 4/4) – Fall 2010, Spring 2011; Al Akhawayn University
- Ranked among the top 5 Freshmen in the ETS Proficiency Profile Test – March 2, 2011

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

February 2019 – June 2019 : Teaching fellow for SPS 102 – Humanity and Society II

Main Instructor : Prof. Halil Berktaç

September 2018 – January 2019 : Teaching fellow for SPS 101 – Humanity and Society I

Main Instructor : Prof. Halil Berktaç

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

November 2015- June 2016: Educational Advisor

International Turkish Language Center (TÜMER)

Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakif University

Istanbul, Turkey

June 2014-July 2014: Summer Internship

Corporate, Investment, and International Banking Division

International Banking Department

Kuveyt Türk Participation Bank

Istanbul, Turkey

Tasks Performed:

- Observing the general working environment and analyzing the organizational behavior and culture
- Analyzing the organizational Structure
- Interviewing and observing employees on a rotational basis in order to learn their daily and most common work performed
- Preparing a presentation to be used by Management during seminars and conferences
- Assisting with the organization of SIBOS, a major international event for bankers to be held in Boston.

- Attending meetings and events with major counterparties
- Assisting employees on matters which need research and/or summaries

TESTS

- GRE – November 28 2014 –
Quantitative: **155**; 60th percentile
Verbal: **154**; 63rd percentile
Analytical: **5.5**, 98th percentile
- Bloomberg Aptitude Test – *October 2014*: **590/800**
- TOEFL iBT – *August 17, 2012*: **112/120**
- ETS proficiency Profile Test – *March 2, 2011*: **459/500**

VOLUNTEER EXPERIENCES

April 2013: Volunteer

TDP: Toplumsal Duyarlilik Projeleri : Civil Involvement Projects, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey.

- Visiting and entertaining children suffering from Leucemia.
- Main role: to communicate with foreign children.

January 2012: Volunteer Tutor

Education for All NGO, Dar Asni, Asni, Marrakech, Morocco

- Stayed at the NGO's dormitory and provided course tutorship for residing junior and high school girls, who came from the surrounding rural areas.

LANGUAGES

Arabic: Full Professional Proficiency;
English: Full Professional Proficiency;
French: Full Professional Proficiency;
Turkish: Full Professional Proficiency;
Spanish: Elementary Level

COMPUTER SKILLS

- MS Office (Word, Excel, PowerPoint)
- Lotus Notes
- Minitab
- Bloomberg Terminal
- Stata