

FAMILY, COMPANIONS, AND DEATH:  
SEYYİD HASAN NÛRÎ EFENDİ'S MICROCOSM (1661-1665)

by  
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## ABSTRACT

### FAMILY, COMPANIONS, AND DEATH: SEYYİD HASAN NÛRÎ EFENDİ'S MICROCOSM (1661-1665)

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This thesis is an exercise on Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi's diary, the *sâlnâmes* kept between 1661-1665 and recognized as the *Sohbetnâme* in the secondary literature. Under the influence of recent German/Swiss scholarship on the study of self-narratives, especially the studies of such scholars as Kaspar von Greyerz and Gabriele Jancke, this thesis maintains that early modern diaries differ from the diaries written in the modern era in terms of their reflection on the individual characters of their authors, arguing that they are testimonies of culture and ethos of the social groups in which they were produced. Inserting this argument into an empirical study of Hasan Efendi's diary, the first chapter attempts to make a technical and contextual analysis of the document, following a biography of Hasan Efendi. Based on the idea that early modern diaries can provide insight into prosopographical studies, the second chapter investigates the social relationships of the author Hasan Efendi in three expanding realms: (1) His family, (2) his everyday encounters such as his companions and people from his lodge, (3) his high-ranking acquaintances and people from rarely-encountered lines. Finally, the third chapter deals with the theme of death, which is frequently encountered in the diary as part of Hasan Efendi's social world. Investigating the theme from social, folkloric, and historical anthropological perspectives, this chapter seeks to understand the responses to death in the *sâlnâmes* around the concepts of bereavement, ritual, and rivalry.

## ÖZET

AİLE, DOSTLAR VE ÖLÜM:  
SEYYİD HASAN NÛRÎ EFENDİ'NİN EVRENİ (1661-1665)

Tunahan Durmaz

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Bu tez Osmanlı edebiyatındaki ilk günlük olarak kabul edilen ve Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi (ö.1688) tarafından 1661-1665 yılları arasında kaleme alınmış olan, müellifin kendi tabiriyle *sâlnâme*, literatürde bilinegelen ismiyle *Sohbetnâme* adlı metin üzerine bir egzersizdir. Bir edebî tür olarak günlüğün tarihsel devamlılık arz ettiği kabulüne şüphe ile yaklaşan bu çalışma, aralarında Kaspar von Kreyerz ve Gabriele Jancke gibi araştırmacıların da bulunduğu bir grup Alman ve İsviçreli tarihçinin iddialarından etkilenerek modern-öncesi dönemlerde yazılmış ‘günlüklüklerin’ modern dönemdeki benzerlerinden farklı olarak yazarın iç dünyasından ya da bireyselliğinden çok ait olduğu sosyal zümreyi ve kültürel altyapısını açığa vuran metinler olduğunu ileri sürecek ve bu iddiayı *sâlnâme*(ler) özelinde inceleyecektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda tezin birinci bölümünde öncelikle yazarın biyografisi incelenecek ve metnin teknik ve bağlamsal bir analizi yapılacaktır. Tezin ikinci bölümünde, erken modern günlüklerin prosopografik kaynaklar olduğu fikrine binaen, Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi'nin günlüğünde yansıttığı sosyal çevresinin üç katmanlı bir analizine kalkışılacaktır. Birinci katman yazarın ailesini, ikinci katman gündelik hayatını şekillendiren tekke çevresini, dostlarını ve mahalle eşrafını, üçüncü katman ise sıradışı eksenleri ve yazarın üst-tabakadan tanıdıklarını ele alacaktır. Üçüncü ve son kısımda ise günlükte bu sosyal dünyanın güçlü bir parçası olarak karşımıza çıkan ölüm teması üzerine yoğunlaşılacaktır. Bu temayı sosyal, folklorik ve antropolojik bir olgu olarak irdeleyecek olan bu kısım, metnin verdiği bazı bilgiler ışığında, Osmanlıların ölüme ve ölümlerine karşı tavırlarını, yine metnin kendi terminolojisi vasıtasıyla teessür, ayin ve rekabet kavramları üzerinden sorgulamaya çalışacaktır.

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## INTRODUCTION

“Let the Volsces plough Rome and harrow Italy:  
I'll never be such a gosling to obey instinct, but stand,  
As if a man were author of himself  
And knew no other kin.”<sup>1</sup>

Shakespeare, *Tragedy of Coriolanus*

### Studying the *Sâlnâmes*: What, Why, and How?

The existence of a solid correlation between autobiographical writings and individualism has been accepted by scholars for a long time. However, in recent years, this premise has been under constant attack because of its non-empirical nature. Historians and literary scholars, especially from Germany and Switzerland, have been challenging this long-standing argument with intense archival research.<sup>2</sup> As this research trend has revealed, early modern autobiographical writings do not seem sufficient to illustrate the self and/or the individual in comparison to their modern counterparts. For this reason, these works are not ‘ego-documents’; if anything, they are testimonies of “social fixity, groups, and culture rather than the ego”.<sup>3</sup> That is to say, early modern autobiographical writings, such as diaries, memoirs and autobiographies, are proven to be good sources for comprehending the ethos, routines and “social drama” of social networks in which they were produced.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Jonathan Sawday, "Self and Selfhood in the Seventeenth Century," in *Rewriting the Self: Histories from the Renaissance to the Present*, ed. Roy Porter (USA: Routledge, 1997), 27.

<sup>2</sup> Findings and arguments of this new field will be discussed in the following sub-section. For an outcome of the collaboration between Swiss and German scholars, see: Claudia Ulbrich, Kaspar von Greyerz, and Lorenz Heiligensetzer, eds., *Mapping the 'I' Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> Kaspar von Greyerz, "Ego-Documents: The Last Word?" *German History* 28, no. 3 (September 1, 2010): 273-282.

<sup>4</sup> I borrow the term “social drama” from cultural anthropologist Victor Turner. He uses the notion to define social mechanisms in relation to regulations and conflict. In this way, he aims to understand the internal workings of social groups—specifically the

In line with this enquiry,<sup>5</sup> this thesis aims to examine Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi's four *sâlnâmes*,<sup>6</sup> which taken together compose a diary kept between 1661-1665 in Ottoman Istanbul. Hasan Efendi (d.1688), a Halvetî-Sünbülî<sup>7</sup> dervish, was the son of Eyyübî Mehmed Efendi, the former sheikh of the Sünbülî branch. Until his appointment as the sheikh of Ferrûh Kethüda Lodge in Balat neighborhood of İstanbul on Şevval 1074/May 1664,<sup>8</sup> Hasan Efendi recorded daily entries in the *sâlnâmes*. After his appointment to this post, he gradually shortened the length of entries, and finally penned his last one on 29 Zilhicce 1075/13 July 1665.

There are two main aims of the present thesis: (1) a prosopographical study of Hasan Efendi's social network and (2) a historical anthropological approach to the phenomenon of death in these social circles. To explain why the diary matters in these two points, first, this study will empirically test the possibility of the text as a source of group/network biography. Moreover, it will endeavor to locate some of Hasan Efendi's companions and relatives in other sources such as biographical dictionaries (*tezâkir*).<sup>9</sup> The diary is suitable for such a study because Hasan Efendi's actual focus,

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Ndembu village in his case. See: Mathieu Deflem, "Ritual, Anti-Structure and Religion: A Discussion of Victor Turner's Processual Symbolic Analysis" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30, no. 1 (1991): 3.

<sup>5</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi has mentioned the compatibility of Hasan Efendi's diary with the findings of this recent Swiss/German scholarship. See: Suraiya Faroqhi, "Ein Istanbul Derwisch des 17. Jahrhunderts, seine Familie und seine Freunde: Das Tagebuch des Seyyid Hasan" in *Selbstzeugnisse in der Frühen Neuzeit, Individualisierungsweisen in interdisziplinärer Perspektive*, edited by Kaspar von Greyerz (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2007), 113.

<sup>6</sup> They are present in two separate volumes at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi: *Sohbetnâme* H. 1426 (vol. 1) and H. 1418 (vol. 2). Hasan Efendi named each single year-long notebook a *sâlnâme* (literally, "almanac"). Thus, his diary is composed of four *sâlnâmes* written in four years. The *sâlnâmes* were recorded as *Sohbetnâme* in the catalogue of Topkapı Palace Library. As I will discuss in the first chapter, this cataloguing was maintained by the Topkapı Palace Register's Commission founded during the early years of the Republican Era. The commission probably catalogued the document as *Sohbetnâme* because of a number of titles named *sohbet* in the text, which were written in boldface and large font. For this reason, the name *Sohbetnâme* became well-known in the secondary literature. However, Hasan Efendi never used the name *Sohbetnâme* nor is the text's content compatible with the genre of *Sohbetnâme*. For further discussion, see the next chapter.

<sup>7</sup> A sûfî path, Halvetîyye or Khalwatiyya, was active in Anatolia as early as the fifteenth century. The path rose to prominence first in the Anatolian city of Amasya. During the sixteenth century, it spread to other Anatolian cities and Istanbul. As it spread, the path was divided into branches. See: F. De Jong, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* V. 4., "Khalwatiyya", 991-993. Sünbülîyye is one of these branches. It was founded by Yusuf b. Sinan or Sünbül Sinan in Istanbul in the fifteenth century. Since then, their central lodge is Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge or Sünbül Sinan Lodge in the intramural neighborhood Koca Mustafa Paşa. See: Nathalie Clayer, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* "Sunbuliyya" 875-6.

<sup>8</sup> From this point onward, the dates will be provided in both the original version, that is Hijri Calendar, and the converted Gregorian version. The author Hasan Efendi usually provided the year, the month, and the count of the days in a month. However, an exception is the year 1072/1661-2 in which the dates can occasionally be traced only through some circumstantial evidence. In this way, if any undetermined date exists, it will be indicated with a paranthetical question mark (?).

<sup>9</sup> Cemal Kafadar and Suraiya Faroqhi have already pointed out the feasibility of using the *sâlnâmes* to study the networks of its author, Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi. Kafadar's article, intended as an integrative introduction to the diary, lists the study of networks among several other possible topics to which *Sohbetnâme* offers insights. In her article on the friends and family of Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi, Suraiya Faroqhi takes a step further, and proposes an agenda for future empirical studies of the social network(s) of the author. In this way, suggestions provided by both scholars have been substantial in the making of the present study. For these studies, see: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Ein Istanbul Derwisch des 17. Jahrhunderts, seine Familie und seine Freunde: Das Tagebuch des Seyyid Hasan*, 113-126 and Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in seventeenth-century Istanbul and First-

while penning his daily doings, was on people. In fact, the *sâlnâmes* not only provides people's names and titles, but also demonstrates their place in the daily routines of Hasan Efendi. In other words, his aim, whatever may have triggered, was to record the daily social activities and the attendees with their names. As a result, the images of his neighborhood and the city loomed on the horizons mainly because of his sharp interest in the urban space and the buildings. Even though Hasan Efendi does not specifically commit to remarking on Istanbul like his contemporaries Evliya Çelebi<sup>10</sup> and Eremya Çelebi Kômürçiyân,<sup>11</sup> the city and the neighborhood(s) appear as a non-fictionalized and well-depicted settings for Hasan Efendi's social activities in the *sâlnâmes*. It seems possible to argue that his social activities and networks were two-dimensional: routine and non-routine.

The routine dimension pertained to the mundane details, that is, the acts and activities repeated almost every day. Therefore, this dimension also contained frequently-encountered people such as Hasan Efendi's brothers/companions Ağazade, Şeyhzâde, Nazmi Efendi.<sup>12</sup> It goes without saying that the people such as *Pişkadem*<sup>13</sup>, Bolevî and his sheikh, with whom he usually met at the lodge, were also included among this group of people. As for the locus of the routine dimension, it was mostly located in and around the Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge, also known as Sünbül Efendi Lodge.<sup>14</sup> The central lodge (*asitâne*) of the Sünbülüyye branch of Halvetîyye path, Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge

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person Narratives in Ottoman Literature", *Studia Islamica* LXIX (1989): 121-150; For other studies on the *sâlnâmes*: Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, "17. Asırda İstanbul", *Cumhuriyet*, 1956.; Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, "17. Asırda bir İstanbullunun Notları", *Cumhuriyet*, 1956.; Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Sohbetname", *Tarih ve Toplum III* (1985), 128-136.; Aykut Can. "Seyyid Hasan Sohbetname I. Cilt (1071-1072/1660-1661)" M.A. Thesis, (Marmara Üniversitesi, 2015).; Fatma Deniz. "The Use of Space by Sufis in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul in Light of Seyyid Hasan's Diary, The Sohbetnâme" M.A. Thesis, (Central European University, 2018).

<sup>10</sup> Evliya Çelebi devoted the first volume of his travelogue the *Seyahatnâme* to İstanbul. See: Evliya Çelebi bin Derviş Muhammed Zillî, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 Yazmasının Transkripsiyonu – Dizini*, trans. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), vol. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Eremya Çelebi narrated the topography of İstanbul upon the request of an Armenian scholar living in the Eastern Anatolian city of Bitlis. See: Eremya Çelebi Kômürçiyân, *İstanbul Tarihi XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1988), XXIII.

<sup>12</sup>The term *ihvân* (brothers) is used by Hasan Efendi. See: "When I arrived at Ağazade's, I saw the brothers I had seen yesterday. (Ağazade'yi ziyaret ve bezminde dünkü ihvanı ru'yet vaki olmuştur)". *Sohbetnâme II*, 60b. However, it is sometimes not possible to discern whether or not a certain person belongs to the branch of Sünbülîs or even to a religious path (*tariqa*). For this reason, I use the words brother and companion (*yâren*) interchangeably. In other cases, I will mostly prefer the term companion since it is an over-arching term, which encompasses the brothers as well and is used by Hasan Efendi, too, in its plural form "companions (*yâran*)": "Hoping to attend the companions, I hit the staff [on the ground] strongly. (Yârandan olmak ümidiyle asayı yere pek pek vurdum.)", *Sohbetnâme I*, f. 47b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 35. Besides, the term companion is more suitable to the present study, since my intention is to decipher Hasan Efendi's networks beyond sûfî boundaries where possible.

<sup>13</sup> Pişkadem: A kind of vice-president in a dervish convent. See: Redhouse Dictionary "pish-qadem", (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1996), 465.

<sup>14</sup> Semavi Eyice, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Koca Mustafa Camii ve Külliyesi," accessed November 15, 2018, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c26/c260084.pdf>

was converted from a Byzantine church into a mosque by its namesake Koca Mustafa Paşa during the time of Bayezid II.<sup>15</sup> In 1494, Sümbül Yusuf Sinan arrived in Istanbul on his late sheikh Cemâlî Halvetî's will and became the sheikh of Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge.<sup>16</sup> Since then, the lodge became the hub of the Sümbülîyye branch. The neighborhood bears the same name with the lodge as well. The branch of Sümbülîyye has several other lodges around the vicinity of Koca Mustafa Paşa including Merkez Efendi Lodge, Hacı Evhad Lodge. Along with Koca Mustafa Paşa, the latter lodges and many further ones are mentioned in the *sâlnâmes*. Therefore, the area was the main stage for the everyday life of Hasan Efendi, and most of his ordinary activities took place in the neighborhood and/or in adjacent neighborhoods.

The non-routine dimension of his social activities and networks encompassed the acts and activities which Hasan Efendi rarely attempted. For instance, his visits to the villages outside the walls of the city were among such activities, as Hasan Efendi rarely left his neighborhood. In addition, this dimension included some people such as the sheikh ul-Islams, some military-bureaucrats, and the sultan, as Hasan Efendi seldom met with and/or encountered to them. Considering this wealth of information pertaining to the people of both dimensions, the diary makes an ideal source for a study of group/network biography.

Secondly, this thesis will focus on the phenomenon of death in Hasan Efendi's *sâlnâmes*. The socially-constructed daily routines of Hasan Efendi allows us to imagine many significant details of recurring events, especially those related to the people's perception of the passages of life—birth, marriage, and death—in the second half of the seventeenth century. A significant amount of the information given is news about either the protagonist's own life or the lives of his friends and relatives. News of birth, marriage/divorce, the circumcision of acquaintances' sons, and death thus seems to play a crucial role in the making of the diary. Hasan Efendi diligently records a number of events by simply adding a separate note to the main text. These notes, always penned in a different color, start with a standard phrase “be it known that” (*mâlûm ola ki*), and are followed by further details in the main text on many occasions. From a historical anthropological point of view, this wealth of information provides the researcher with significant clues about the less-known folkloric details of early modern Ottoman culture. In other words, the rationale of the early modern

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

Ottomans takes shape in flesh and bones in the diary without any intermediaries whatsoever. Specifically, the urban middle-class *sûfis*' attitudes toward life and life cycles become visible and gain a historical character in the rites of passage described through the vantage point of Hasan Efendi.

Among these rites of passage and folkloric details, those relating to the phenomenon of death are of special importance for two main reasons. First, there are a number of examples in the *sâlnâmes* through which we can produce a range of self-consistent arguments about Ottoman Istanbulis' attitudes toward death in the 1660s. It is true that Hasan Efendi usually notes only the news of death, yet in substantial number of cases he gives a detailed account of the story from deathbed to grave. That is to say, we have a handful of narratives in the diary that help us envision (1) how the seventeenth-century Ottoman urban class reacted to the reality of death; (2) to what extent fatalism was an affective force; (3) what it meant to grieve for someone; and (4) what was the scope and politics of the rituals performed. In relation to the latter reason, secondly, the text allows us to communicate with the religious and non-religious, namely Islamic and non-Islamic, dimensions of the rituals performed. In other words, the cases Hasan Efendi describes paint a picture in which the profane and superstitious meet with basic Islamic practices. In this way, the *sâlnâmes* describe folkloric/cultural practices that made their way down to the mindset of the contemporary Ottomans.

As for my methodology in studying the *sâlnâmes*, I read both volumes of the diary during the course of my studies. I have benefitted from the transcription of Aykut Can<sup>17</sup> while reading the first volume that contains the *sâlnâme* of the year 1072/1661-2, although I have referred to the original text especially when I am going to make quotations. While reading the second volume that contains the *sâlnâmes* of the years 1073/1662-3, 1074/1663-4, and 1075/1664-5, I have only referred to the original text.<sup>18</sup> I have also tabulated the information in the diary on the basis of peoples, places, and events. Thus, my methodology has simply sought to investigate (1) the toponymic information, (2) the personal names, and (3) the acts and activities. Present study is primarily based on this empirical research of the *sâlnâmes*.

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<sup>17</sup> This volume is as follows: *Sohbetnâme I*, Hazine 1426, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, 160 folios. For the transcribed text, see: Aykut Can. "Seyyid Hasan Sohbetname I. Cilt (1071-1072/1660-1661)" M.A. Thesis, (Marmara Üniversitesi, 2015).

<sup>18</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, Hazine 1418, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, 261 folios.

## A Contested Relationship: Autobiography and Individualism

What is autobiography?<sup>19</sup> What is individualism?<sup>20</sup> How, and since when, have they been regarded as interconnected with each other? There are actually a number of veins that affected the development of such a correlative approach towards the two concepts but, the origins should be sought in Jacob Burckhardt's seminal work *The Civilization of Renaissance in Italy*, published in 1860. Burckhardt, who was a vocal force in shaping European historiography, claimed that the advent of individualism occurred in the cosmopolitan and competitive environment of the Italian city-states during the Renaissance.<sup>21</sup> He portrayed Renaissance Italy in clear contrast to the Middle Ages. According to him, during the middle ages human consciousness was covered by "a veil woven of faith, illusion, and childish prepossession"<sup>22</sup> but, this veil disappeared in Renaissance Italy<sup>23</sup>, as the man found "himself" and became an individual.<sup>24</sup>

In Burckhardt's perspective, the self-aware individual not only emerged in the Italian city-states, but also culminated there with numerous literary and artistic works as well as new genres exclusive only to an individual mind at the turn of the *quattrocento*, including family histories and autobiographies.<sup>25</sup> Although Burckhardt did not dwell much on the singular value of autobiographies in terms of individualism, he introduced the *a priori* correlation referred to above and opened up the space for subsequent scholars. That Georg Misch embraced the genre of autobiography as the reflection of self-awareness in his unusual work *Geschichte der Autobiographie* in 1907, indicates that this correlation had already been established in the minds of the Western literati at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> According to the Oxford English Dictionary autobiography means "an account of a person's life given by himself or herself." See: *Oxford English Dictionary the Definitive Record of the English Language*, s.v. "Autobiography," accessed September 10, 2018, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13379?redirectedFrom=autobiography#eid>.

<sup>20</sup> According to Oxford English Dictionary the first use of individualism dates back to 1827. OED defines the term as "the habit of being independent and self-reliant; behaviour characterized by the pursuit of one's own goals without reference to others; free and independent individual action or thought" See: *Oxford English Dictionary the Definitive Record of the English Language*, s.v. "Individualism," accessed September 10, 2018, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/94635?redirectedFrom=individualism#eid>

<sup>21</sup> Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy: An Essay* (London: Phaidon, 1955), 87-92.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 218-219.

<sup>26</sup> Willi Jung and Albert Wimer. "Georg Misch's "Geschichte der Autobiographie" *Annali d'Italianistica*, Vol. 4 (1986): 30.



While Rankean norms were influential on historical scholarship through the twentieth century, it was not possible for autobiographies to attract scholars' attention as alternatives to the more popular archival sources. For this reason, the state and its institutions were the main areas of focus rather than the individual. Historical scholarship would not be able to establish a genuine contact with autobiographies up until the 1980s, although a Dutch historian, Jacques Presser, coined the term "ego-document" in the 1950s. He defined this term in parallel with the Jewish first-person narratives written during and after World War II.<sup>27</sup> According to him, these documents demonstrated the torture and atrocities the Jewish people faced in the World War II on an individual basis.<sup>28</sup> While coining the term, Presser was aware of its limitations and had no intention to use it beyond this scope. However, the term "ego-document" was received as a reinforcement of Burckhardt's thesis among historians, who for a long time, considered the connection between autobiographical works and the ego/self/individual to be impeccable.

Although it contributed to the perception of future generations of scholars, Presser's movement was short-lived and abated in a few years. In the 1980s, an interest in autobiographies or 'ego-documents' reappeared along with new movements and topics in historiography such as microhistory, ordinary people, and everyday life. A series of critical assessments of Burckhardt's long-established thesis coincided with this fruitful period.

Social and cultural historian Natalie Zemon Davis was the first to raise an open critical voice towards Burckhardt in 1986. According to Davis, the 'self' was not an independent entity from social groups in sixteenth-century France.<sup>29</sup> That is to say, individualism was not engendered by a sense of self-autonomy, but if anything, was dependent on social life and other people. As she demonstrated in the example of Montaigne, it was not a strong sense of self-autonomy but rather the love of and strong adherence to his family that made him write his well-known *Essays*.<sup>30</sup> By arguing against a universal understanding of the individual and/or self-autonomy, Davis argued for the examination of the issue on the basis of singular cultures. Her approach cleared the way for

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<sup>27</sup> Mary Fulbrook and Ulinka Rublack, "In Relation: The 'Social Self' and Ego-Documents" *German History* 28-3 (2010): 264.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self in Sixteenth-Century France" in *Reconstructing Individualism. Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*, ed. Thomas C. Heller, Morton Sosna and David E. Wellbery with Arnold I. Davidson, Ann Swidler and Ian Watt (Stanford: 1986), 53.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 53-60.

future scholarly attempts. For instance, another scholar James Amelang adopted the same approach with Davis. In his 1998 study of artisan autobiographies, Amelang drew attention to the existence of popular autobiography in early modern Europe.<sup>31</sup> In this way, he claimed that a self-aware individual apart from the identity of various social groups was not probable in early modern Europe.<sup>32</sup>

While scholarship had already been interrogating the long-standing arguments of Burckhardt, Presser's heritage reappeared in the Netherlands in the 1990s. Spearheaded by Dutch historian Rudolf Dekker, this new wave of scholarship focused on early modern Dutch autobiographical works (1500-1814), and labelled this corpus 'ego-documents'.<sup>33</sup> This new adoption of the term ego-document, unrelated to Presser's usage, included autobiographies, memoirs, personal diaries, and travelogues, but not letters.<sup>34</sup> Having been unaware of the historical scholarship on ordinary people referred to above, this new vein of scholarship made its impact on studies in other European countries, so much so that, the German scholar Winfried Schulze coined a German version of the term, *Selbstzeugnisse* (self-narrative) and organized meetings to urge German scholars to model the Dutch.<sup>35</sup>

Although the movement Schulze represented was not long-lasting in Germany, the term self-narrative became more widespread than ego-document among scholarly communities. Schulze's efforts also created the optimal conditions and the space of discussion for later European scholarship. In fact, following Schulze, two schools studying self-narratives emerged in Central Europe—one in Basel, the other in Berlin.<sup>36</sup> Both schools were initiated as grand projects for publishing and making available the heritage of the relevant sources. The Basel research group, founded by Kaspar von Greyerz, was made a base for studying as well as publishing the German-language self-narratives, and their efforts culminated in the digitization of these sources.<sup>37</sup> They

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<sup>31</sup> James S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus: Artisan Autobiography in Early Modern Europe* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. 1-21.

<sup>33</sup> Greyerz, "Ego-Documents: The Last Word?" 278.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Claudia Ulbrich, Kaspar Von Greyerz, and Lorenz Heiligensetzer, "Introduction" in *Mapping the 'I' Research on Self-Narratives in Germany and Switzerland* edited by Claudia Ulbrich et al. (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 2.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 2-4.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

were in close contact with Claudia Ulbrich, the founder of the Berlin research group, founded in 2003.<sup>38</sup> Both schools have been in close relation with each other, offering mutual seminars and projects. Furthermore, both groups have recently been collaborating with Dutch School of Ego-Documents—Rudolf Dekker and his team.<sup>39</sup> According to this new field of research, the historical study of first-person writing should not be narrowed down to such contested terms as individuality, self-awareness and ego. They prefer “person” which denotes a more neutral standpoint. Thanks to numerous meetings, conferences and publications, they have argued that first-person writings can be historically approached from many “thematic angles such as emotions, body experience, religion, and urban context.”<sup>40</sup>

Among these many approaches, Gabriele Jancke’s approach is particularly important for this thesis. Jancke, a member of the Berlin research group, perceives early modern autobiographical writing “as a social act” whose connection to “patronage and networking” is unquestionable.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, she not only coins the term “autobiographical person” but also asserts that self-narratives are significant sources for a study of historical anthropology.<sup>42</sup> According to her, this autobiographical person allows micro-historical study, giving “(1) the perspectives of diverse agents, (2) numerous types of insider knowledge, and (3) new narrative constructions against common ones.”<sup>43</sup> I believe this approach is applicable to the *sâlnâmes* and its author Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi, who can thus be located as an autobiographical person, as he provides in-depth knowledge about his various social worlds. Moreover, the text opens a different window to the Ottoman world, which neither chronicles nor other compendia can provide.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Swiss/Berlin research groups have been collaborating with Dekker over the recent years. Dekker seems to have adopted a more transcultural approach in recent years. In fact, he and his team edit volumes on self-narratives for a series entitled *Ego-documents and History* on behalf of Brill. In fact, one of the volumes, which I have cited now and then, have been allocated to the developments in Germany and Switzerland. For the other volumes in the series, see: "Egodocuments and History Series", accessed September 26, 2018, <https://brill.com/view/serial/EGDO>.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 2-4.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>42</sup> Gabriele Jancke, “Persons, the ‘Autobiographical Person’ and Cultural Concepts of the Person: Early Modern Self-narratives from German-speaking Areas in a Transcultural Perspective” *The Medieval History Journal* 18, 2 (2015): 348.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

## The “Autobiographical Person” in the Pre-*Tanzîmât* Ottoman Studies

Debates on the rise of the individual, part and parcel of the discussions of modernity and westernization, have frequently been approached through the use of dichotomies, one of the best being ‘West vs. East’. When Burckhardt discussed the notion of the ‘individual’ and allocated it to the West, especially Southern Europe, he actually specified a non-Western ‘other’ whose qualities were of no capacity to engender individualism and the concomitant arts and literary works such as autobiographies.

In the following years, this ‘other’ came to be defined by the Orientalist scholarship. Renowned Orientalist Gustav von Grunebaum once argued that the eastern/Muslim individuals melted down in the singular existence of God.<sup>44</sup> That is, the members of Muslim communities were “depersonalized” because of their belief in the unity of existence of God (*vahdet-i vücûd*). According to Grunebaum, it was thus not possible to speak of a ‘personal’ character in Islamic literature.<sup>45</sup> Such hypotheses together helped to shape an understanding that the concept of community belonging (*umma*) transcended and blockaded the idea of the individual in the East.<sup>46</sup> As discussed above, ‘ego-documents’ such as diaries, memoirs, autobiographies, dream-logs were considered ‘testimonies’ of this strong individualism in the West.<sup>47</sup> According to these claims, such texts could only be written by a self-aware individual author. Therefore, the proponents of these claims argued that these literary genres were common in the West in contrast to many other non-Western contexts. Based completely on *a priori* assumptions, these arguments reiterated the perceived contrast between the East and the West, and further served for a monolithic/ahistorical image of the East in the eyes of the contemporary Western policy-makers at a time when colonialism was harshly oppressing the Middle East and North Africa.

This long-standing paradigm, however, has been negated by the recent flow of research referred to above in two ways. First, thanks to Natalie Zemon Davis, it has been understood that the concept of individualism should not be treated as a universal phenomenon, and if anything, should be

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<sup>44</sup> Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1953), 221.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 221-254.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

approached with the norms of each culture.<sup>48</sup> In this way, a transcultural perspective, opening a space for comparative autobiographical studies, could be considered an alternative as well.<sup>49</sup> According to Kaspar von Greyerz, the scarcity of autobiographical material is not a ‘non-Western’ phenomenon, but in fact when the seventeenth century is considered, England is the only country that can boast of the bountiful amount of first-person writings.<sup>50</sup> In other countries such as Germany, France and Austria, the number of works is as scarce as any early modern Muslim state such as Ottoman Empire.<sup>51</sup> These conclusions have dissolved the *a priori* notion of ‘West vs. East’ and made transactions possible among scholarly communities across the world in terms of early modern autobiographical writing today. Middle Eastern historians started to develop their own sensibilities sometime towards the end of the 1980s. Discoveries of first-person narratives, especially from the Middle Ages and the early modern period, have pushed the scholarly communities to disregard the assertions of Grunebaum and others.

In an article published in 1991 another Orientalist, Bernard Lewis, argued that the Orientalist claims referred to above were not valid for the Arab world.<sup>52</sup> Although he traced the development of Middle Eastern first-person narratives in a way no different than any Orientalist approach, he noticed that there were texts resembling diaries in the Arab lands starting from the early times of Islam.<sup>53</sup> In fact, the amount of autobiographical material available from the Arab world was increasing considerably in a way to support Lewis’s argument. However, this material had not been tested in order to disaffirm the claims of the Orientalists. In 1986, an article published by George Makdisi noted that the first diary in the Western world comes from the fifteenth century, while the Islamic world, especially the Arabs, have a tradition of diary-keeping dating back to a time as early as the ninth century.<sup>54</sup> With this article, Makdisi not only revealed the contradictory nature of long-established Orientalist claims, but also led the way to the first doubts about the so-

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> James Amelang, “Transcultural Autobiography, or The lives of Others,” in *Selbstzeugnis und Person. Transkulturelle Perspektiven*, ed. Claudia Ulbrich, Hans Medick and Angelika Schaser, (Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit, vol. 20, 2012), 77-81.

<sup>50</sup> Kaspar von Greyerz, “Ego-Documents: The Last Word”, 273.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Bernard Lewis, “First-Person Narrative in the Middle East” in *Middle Eastern Lives: The Practice of Biography and Self-Narrative*, edited by M. Kramer (Syracuse University Press: 1991), 20-34.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> George Makdisi, "The Diary in Islamic Historiography: Some Notes" *History and Theory* 25-2 (May, 1986): 173.

called positive correlation between autobiographical texts and individualism in the Islamic context. Makdisi's influential article was followed by a book named *Reinterpreting the Self* in 2000. The author Dwight Reynolds attempted an empirical challenge against the notions of Western autobiography, citing the richness of relevant material from the Arab world from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century.<sup>55</sup>

Notwithstanding these changes in the Arab historiography, the Orientalist claims referred to above have endured in Ottoman historiography more than in any other sphere. The most significant reason behind this was doubtlessly the prevailing opinion that the Ottoman world did not produce any 'ego-documents' as such. Modern-day historians are now aware that this is a suspicious claim. For instance, Suraiya Faroqhi has argued that this is an "over-simplification."<sup>56</sup> According to her, we have rarely come across first-person narratives because such documents have rarely been copied, meaning that they either survived in their author's copy or disappeared.<sup>57</sup>

Nonetheless, the field has witnessed many changes starting from the 1980s. First, historians' agenda has shifted to social history because of global trends as well as the popular use of court records. Notwithstanding any methodological limitations, the corollary was an increasing interest in the non-palatial context, culture and individuals. Concomitantly, manuscript libraries became more popular, so researchers started stumbling upon first-person narratives more frequently than before.<sup>58</sup>

Doubtlessly, the turning point of Ottoman autobiographical studies was Cemal Kafadar's publication on Hasan Efendi's diary. In his article published in *Studia Islamica* in 1989, Kafadar not only provided a new trajectory for studies on cultural history, but also demarcated the basic

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<sup>55</sup> Dwight F. Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

<sup>56</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 163.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

<sup>58</sup> In fact, the scope of the first-person narratives is still expanding in the Ottoman context. It should be noted that the term is not limited to diaries, memoirs, and dream-logs today, but encompasses autobiographies (*sergüzeştname*) as well as some autobiographical entries in either prose or verse. *Sergüzeştname* can simply be defined as the adventures of the life of someone. A good example is *Sergüzeştname-i Hindi Mahmud*. See: Ahmet Karataş, "*Sergüzeştname-i Hindi Mahmud İnebahı Gazisi Hindi Mahmud ve Esaret Anıları*" (İstanbul, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Yayınları: 2013)., for studies dealing with autobiographical entries, see: Edith Gülçin Ambross "Geleneksel ben ile Bireysel ben çelişkisi ve Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali" in *Gelibolulu Mustafa Ali Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Ankara, TDK Yayınevi: 2011).

analytical lines for the study of the diary.<sup>59</sup> Kafadar's contributions to the Ottoman literature of self-narratives extend beyond this. For example, he also published the dream-logs of a certain Asiye Hatun who lived in Skopje in the seventeenth century.<sup>60</sup>

Another discovery among the small but growing corpus of Ottoman first-person narratives is the autobiography of Sheikh ul-Islam Feyzullah Efendi. Slightly before his assassination in 1703 during the unfortunate Edirne incident, Feyzullah Efendi penned his own autobiography.<sup>61</sup> Although there are a number of studies on the personality of Feyzullah Efendi either in the form of articles or of theses and dissertations, Fahri Çetin Derin published the first article on Feyzullah Efendi and his memoirs in 1959.<sup>62</sup> In 1969, another article by both Fahri Çetin Derin and Ahmet Türek followed.<sup>63</sup> In 1989, Suraiya Faroqhi published an article on the family and household of Feyzullah Efendi, claiming that his autobiography "intended for the edification of his family".<sup>64</sup> In 2010, another scholarly treatment by Michael Nizri appeared. In his article published in *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century)* Nizri tried to understand Feyzullah Efendi's struggle with different cliques in relation to his goal to gain power and solidify his position.<sup>65</sup>

In 1977, Madeline Zilfi published an article on "a diary of a müderris" from the eighteenth century. She described it as a new source for Ottoman biographical studies as well as a fresh window on the workings of the eighteenth-century institution of ilmiye.<sup>66</sup> By writing about the essence and character of first-person narratives in the Ottoman context, Zilfi introduced the diary of Sıdkî

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<sup>59</sup> Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in seventeenth-century", 121-150.

<sup>60</sup> For Asiye Hâtûn's dream-logs and others, see: Cemal Kafadar, "Kim var imiş biz burada yoğ iken" (İstanbul, Metis Yayınevi: 2009) 123-191. This book is an edited volume of four articles, each devoted to early modern individuals from the Ottoman lands. It should also be mentioned that a line of Kafadar's doctoral students such as Derin Terzioğlu and Aslı Niyazioğlu focused on Ottoman self-narratives in the 1990s at Harvard. This has resulted in a number of dissertations focusing on Ottoman individuals as well as auto/biographical material.

<sup>61</sup> Quoted in Suraiya Faroqhi "Approaching Ottoman History" 165.

<sup>62</sup> Fahri Çetin Derin, "Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendinin Nesebi Hakkında bir Risale", *Tarih Dergisi* 14 (1959). Also see, Mehmed Serhan Tayşi, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* s.v., "Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi", 528 accessed 30 November 2018, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c12/c120324.pdf>

<sup>63</sup> Ahmed Türek ve Fahri Çetin Derin, "Feyzullah Efendinin Kendi Kaleminden Hal Tercümesi", *Tarih Dergisi* 23 (1969).

<sup>64</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "An Ulama Grandee and His Household", *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* IX (1989), 206-207.

<sup>65</sup> Michael Nizri, "The Memoirs of Şeyhülislam Feyzullah Efendi (1638 – 1703): Self, Family and Household" in *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th-20th Century)* edited by Yavuz Köse et al. (Mizan: 2010), 27-36.

<sup>66</sup> Madeline Zilfi, "Diary of a Müderris: A New Source for Ottoman Biography", *Journal of Turkish Studies* 1 (1977)

Mustafa to the attention of the scholarly communities. In 2015, Ali Aslan, wrote an M.A. thesis on Sıdkî Mustafa's diary, not only explores the identity of Sıdkî Mustafa as an intern teacher (*mülâzım*), but also provides a transcribed copy of the diary.<sup>67</sup>

The diary of Sadreddinzâde Telhisî Mustafa Efendi was penned in the eighteenth century as well. Sadreddinzâde served as the judge of Üsküdar and Manisa,<sup>68</sup> and kept his diary between 1711-1735.<sup>69</sup> An extensive study of the diary was published by Selim Karahasanoğlu in 2013, according to which, mundane details appear constantly in the diary in a way similar to the *sâlnâmes*,<sup>70</sup> and like Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi, Sadreddinzade details about his social networks.<sup>71</sup>

Miscellanies (*mecmuâ*) are another example of autobiographical accounts from the early modern Ottoman world. These accounts can contain personal notes, familial details, and poems.<sup>72</sup> The personal notes of Niyazî Mısrî, a sufi mystic who lived in the seventeenth century, was entitled "mecnûa", yet the qualities the manuscript possesses has necessitated a categorization under the rubric of diaries.<sup>73</sup> According to Derin Terzioğlu, this account is compatible with the features of early modern European diaries.<sup>74</sup> In a way similar to Hasan Efendi, Mısrî committed to pen on a daily basis, yet their concerns seem to have been strikingly different from each other; while Hasan Efendi's tends not to mention his personal concerns, Mısrî's diary reflects his pathological state of mind.<sup>75</sup>

Istanbul was not the only hub of autobiographical writing in the early modern Ottoman Empire. People from other realms of the empire also wrote about themselves, their social environment, and

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<sup>67</sup> Ali Aslan, "18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İlim Hayatından Bir Kesit: Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi'nin Günlüğü ve Mulazemet Yılları", (MA Thesis, İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2015).

<sup>68</sup> Selim Karahasanoğlu, "*Kadı ve Günlüğü Sadreddinzade Telhisi Mustafa Efendi Günlüğü (1711-1735) Üstüne Bir İnceleme*" (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2013), 39-49.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, "Autobiography in Fragments: Reading Ottoman Personal Miscellanies in the Early Modern Era" in *Autobiographical Themes in Turkish Literature: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Börte Sagaster et al. (Istanbul: Orient-Institut, 2016), 86.

<sup>73</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, "Man in the Image of God in the Image of the Times: Sufi Self-Narratives and the Diary of Niyazi Mısrî (1618-94)" *Studia Islamica* (2002), 152.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 155-164.



politics. For example, a barber from Damascus, Ahmad Budayri al-Hallaq, recorded an account of the important events in his city in eighteenth century.<sup>76</sup> His account is both a popular historiography and an autobiographical account.<sup>77</sup> Another autobiographical person from Damascus was Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi (d. 1731). A prolific writer, al-Nabulusî has been associated with the Islamic enlightenment by Samer Akkach.<sup>78</sup> Akkach's biographical studies on al-Nabulusi included his letters to sufi saints empire-wide.<sup>79</sup> In addition, Steve Tamari discussed the "public intellectual" character of al- Nabulusi in 2010.<sup>80</sup>

Molla Mustafa of Sarajevo also produced autobiographical writings in the eighteenth century, recording some information about his family and friends in his miscellany.<sup>81</sup> Molla Mustafa's and Hasan Efendi's habits of writing follow a similar pattern. For example, Molla Mustafa, too, recorded significant events of the day. As Kerima Filan has noticed, he once promised himself not to record until an important event happens.<sup>82</sup> Yet, Mustafa's records did not follow a daily pattern.

Although a plenty of autobiography writers mentioned so far were affiliated with either ulama or religious orders, autobiographical accounts of people from different walks of life are known and becoming gradually available as well. For instance, an Ottoman military bureaucrat Osman Ağa of Temeşvar (modern day Timișoara) recounts his dramatic and sorrowful captivity years in his memoir.<sup>83</sup> Following the unsuccessful attempt of Grandvizier Kara Mustafa Paşa to annex Vienna in 1683, Osman Ağa was captivated and given to a military man from Baden.<sup>84</sup> After that, he went from one place to another, always seeking a way to flee. In 1724, he ultimately ended up in Istanbul and penned his memoir. Another example belongs to an eighteenth-century Ottoman clerk Resmî

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<sup>76</sup> Steve Tamari, "The barber of Damascus: Ahmad Budayri al-Hallaq's chronicle of the year 1749", in *The Modern Middle East A Sourcebook for History*, ed. Camron Michael Amin et al, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 562-563.

<sup>77</sup> Dana Sajdi, *Barber of Damascus - Nouveau Literacy in the Eighteenth-century Ottoman Levant* (Stanford University Press, 2013), 2.

<sup>78</sup> Samer Akkach, *'Abd Al-Ghani Al-Nabulusi: Islam and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007).

<sup>79</sup> 'Abd-al-Ġanî Ibn-İsmâ'îl An- Nâbulusî and Samer Akkach, *Letters of a Sufi Scholar: The Correspondence of 'Abd Al-Ghanî Al-Nâbulusî (1641-1731)* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

<sup>80</sup> Steve Tamari, "The 'Alim as Public Intellectual: 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulusi as a Scholar-Activist" *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn 'Arabi Society*, 48 (2010), 14-20.

<sup>81</sup> Kerima Filan, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Günlük Hayatına Dair Saraybosnalı Molla Mustafanın Mecmuas* (Saraybosna: Connectum Yayinevi, 2011), 15.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>83</sup> Esat Nermi Erendor, *Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa'nın Anıları*, (İstanbul: Show Kitap, 1998).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

from Kayseri.<sup>85</sup> In his travelogue-memoir, *Resmî*, a curious personality, not only penned his descriptions of various cities such as Kayseri, Kırşehir, and İstanbul but also noted many details about his friends and family. Similar to Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi's diary, his personal account also details on the life cycles of the people around him such as news of birth and death.<sup>86</sup>

In this period, such accounts were not produced only by Muslim Ottomans, as some Christian-Ottoman religious authorities committed their lives to paper in different regions of Ottoman realm. One among them is Vardapet Grigor Kamakhets'i in the first half of seventeenth century.<sup>87</sup> The chronicle of Grigor recounts the author's travels following the *celali* uprisings in Anatolia at that time.<sup>88</sup> When he eventually ended up in İstanbul, Grigor did not hesitate to involve in fierce debates about the *celali* issue. To this end, he penned many personal ideas and autobiographical details in his chronicle.

In this regard, another important name is the priest Synadinos, who wrote an account known as “the Chronicle of Serres” in the first half of seventeenth century. Apart from political events at either local or wider contexts, Johann Strauss argues, Papasynadinos gives many significant autobiographical details that are atypical in Ottoman historical writing.<sup>89</sup> For example, he details on his career and life events such as the deaths of his parents.<sup>90</sup> In this way, the Chronicle of Serres seems to reflect the qualities of the abovementioned claims of “autobiography as social act”, and thus resembles Hasan Efendi's diary as well.

### **Hasan Efendi's *Sâlnâmes* in Ottoman Historiography**

Ottoman historiography was introduced to the *sâlnâmes* by two articles of Orhan Şaik Gökyay and Cemal Kafadar—in chronological order. Both articles have been extensively cited in various

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<sup>85</sup> Muhittin Eliaçık, “Kayserili Resmî ve Seyahat Defteri” *Kayseri Büyükşehir Belediyesi Şehir Kültür Sanat* 20 (2018), 55-57.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Hrand D. Andreasyan, “Türk Tarihine Ait Ermeni Kaynakları”, *Tarih Dergisi* I (1949), 426-428. Also see: Baki Tezcan, “Ottoman Historical Writing” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing* Vol. 3 1400-1800 ed. Jose Rabasa et al, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 204.

<sup>88</sup> Hrand D. Andreasyan, “Celâlilerden Kaçan Anadolu Halkının Geri Gönderilmesi” in *Ord. Prof. Dr. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 45-53.

<sup>89</sup> Johann Strauss, “Ottoman Rule Experienced and Remembered: Remarks on Some Local Greek Chronicles of the Tourkokrotia” in *The Ottomans and The Balkans A Discussion of Historiography*, ed. Fikret Adanır and Suraiya Faroqhi (Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2002), 196-200.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 198.

publications ranging from the social and cultural history of the Ottomans to studies of Sufism.<sup>91</sup> While Gökyay's article, published in a journal for general public *Tarih ve Toplum* in 1985, aims to give an impression of the content of the manuscript, Kafadar's article published in *Studia Islamica* in 1989 aims to draw analytical lines of inquiry into the dynamics of the diary as well as the personality of Hasan Efendi.<sup>92</sup> Both authors seem to have discovered the manuscript(s) on an individual basis in the Topkapı Palace Library.

Nevertheless, the diary seems to have fascinated some other enthusiasts much earlier than both Gökyay and Kafadar. Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, the former executive of the Topkapı Palace Museum, published two respective articles on Hasan Efendi's *sâlnâmes* in the daily newspaper *Cumhuriyet* in 1956.<sup>93</sup> Until today, none of the studies on the *sâlnâmes* mentioned Şehsuvaroğlu's articles. These two short pieces reflect on socio-cultural life in Istanbul in the seventeenth century through the lens of the *sâlnâmes*. It is apparent that Şehsuvaroğlu does not know the identity of the author, Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi, as he only refers to him as "our fellow townsman (*hemşehrimiz*), yet his vision seems to be far ahead of his time since he presents the *sâlnâmes* as an alternative source of history to those reflecting merely "formal events" such as chronicles and archival sources.<sup>94</sup> According to him, the diary matters because it sheds light on the lives of "common people", namely, the genuine Istanbulis.

Another new source on Hasan Efendi's diary is the personal study notes of Orhan Şaik Gökyay.<sup>95</sup> This source did also not receive attention so far. Fully kept in Ottoman Turkish, Gökyay's personal notes present a fascinating view into his mind as well as his diligence studying the text. It is obvious that he preferred to study the document on the basis of its vocabulary, especially the verbs, which the author Hasan Efendi uses frequently. Gökyay must have thought that demystifying the

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<sup>91</sup> For a selection of works referring to *Sohbetnâme* as a primary source, see (Studies on Auto-biographical works are left out): Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2000); Halil İnalçık, *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1991), s.v. "Matbakh (in Ottoman Turkey)"; B. Deniz. Calis-Kural, *Sehregiz, Urban Rituals and Deviant Sufi Mysticism in Ottoman Istanbul* (Aldershot, Hamps.: Ashgate Publishing, 2014).

<sup>92</sup> Even though Gökyay's article, published in 1985, predates Kafadar's article, Kafadar states that he presented the first version of his article at Princeton University in 1983. See: Kafadar "Self and Others",

<sup>93</sup> Respectively see: Şehsuvaroğlu, "17. Asırda bir İstanbullunun Notları", and Şehsuvaroğlu, "17. Asırda İstanbul".

<sup>94</sup> Şehsuvaroğlu, "17. Asırda bir İstanbullunun Notları".

<sup>95</sup> OŞG1430, OŞG1431, OŞG1432, "*Sohbetnâme Hakkında Müsveddeler*" Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi, Orhan Şaik Gökyay Koleksiyonu (İstanbul).

meanings of the verbs that refer to the daily routine of Hasan Efendi could demonstrate the hidden world behind the diary.

Though extensively cited, the diary has never been studied in its entirety apart from the introductory works of Gökyay and Kafadar until recently. In 2007, Suraiya Faroqhi published an article in German on the family and friends of Hasan Efendi.<sup>96</sup> Her work has pointed out possible research agenda for future studies on the diary. Almost ten years later, an interest in the document has arisen. First, the first volume<sup>97</sup> that is comprised of the *sâlnâmes* of 1072/1661-2<sup>98</sup> was transliterated to modern Turkish as part of an M.A. thesis project at Marmara University in 2015. Apart from an introductory essay, which is essentially based on Gökyay's and Kafadar's findings, thesis author Aykut Can does not set out to draw an analytical framework. Albeit with minor transcription mistakes, his work makes a useful source for anyone who would like to read the first volume of the *sâlnâmes*. Though Can writes that another master's student is transcribing the second volume of the diary at Marmara University in 2015, this study has not appeared yet.<sup>99</sup>

In 2018, another M.A. thesis on the *sâlnâmes* has been written by Fatma Deniz at Central European University.<sup>100</sup> This study, dealing with the manuscript from a spatial point of view, argues that houses of Sufis were used as alternative spaces to the lodges. As the latest study on the manuscript, Deniz's thesis is a significant contribution to the field in terms of her fresh approach and methodology. Her research proves that the *sâlnâmes* are promising for a study of spatiality. Furthermore, it provides insight into the complex use of private and public spaces in early modern Ottoman Istanbul.

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<sup>96</sup> This article has remained unknown to most of the scholars because of the language limitation. See: Faroqhi, *Ein Istanbuller Derwisch des 17. Jahrhunderts, seine Familie und seine Freunde: Das Tagebuch des Seyyid Hasan*, 114-126

<sup>97</sup> Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, *Hazine 1426 (Sohbetnâme I)* was transliterated.

<sup>98</sup> Although Can's thesis title bears the year 1071, the diary does not include this year. In fact, Can admits that he discovered that the diary does not include year 1071, but he was late to change the official title of his thesis. See: Aykut Can, "Seyyid Hasan," 5-6.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>100</sup> Fatma Deniz. "The Use of Space by Sufis in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul in Light of Seyyid Hasan's Diary, The *Sohbetnâme*" M.A. Thesis, (Central European University, 2018).

## Thesis Outline

The first chapter will attempt to understand the technical and contextual making of Hasan Efendi's diary. To do so, first, it will review the author's biography both through some biographical dictionaries and the diary. Following this, it will discuss the issue of genre claiming that the earlier title of his text, the *Sohbetnâme* should be replaced with his own nomenclature (i.e. the *sâlnâme*). Finally, this chapter will embark on a contextual analysis, trying to comprehend the routines, the ethos, and the mindset reflected in the diary.

The second chapter will explore Hasan Efendi's relationships in three respective realms. Thus, this chapter will solely focus on people. First, Hasan Efendi's family will be introduced as the largest component of his intimate life. Secondly, his companions will be explored in four stages: (1) his close companions, (2) his traveller companions (3) high-ranking people from his lodge, and (4) professionals and some storeowners from his neighborhood. Besides, some of these people's identities will be located in some other sources such as encyclopedia entries, biographical dictionaries.

The third chapter will attempt to understand the phenomenon of death and the responses it received in Hasan Efendi's social environment. By approaching the phenomenon from social, folkloric, and historical anthropological perspectives, this chapter will explore the understanding of death from three approaches: (1) bereavement, (2) ritual, and (3) rivalry. The bereavement part will deal with the losses of loved ones. Thus, it will point to emotional responses to death. The ritual part will discover some death and funerary rituals, which were used as mechanisms to cope with bereavement. Finally, by revealing a non-emotional aspect of the phenomenon, the rivalry part will point out that death was a mechanism that enabled succession in the limited posts in the late seventeenth-century Ottoman İstanbul.

## CHAPTER 1 - THE AUTHOR AND HIS TEXT: MAKING OF THE *SÁLNÁMES*

“A text is only a picnic where the author brings the words and the reader brings the sense” once said noted German polymath Georg Christoph Lichtenberg.<sup>101</sup> In fact, such reader-oriented paradigms have long preponderated in the areas of interpretation and literary theory. According to prominent Italian medievalist and linguist Umberto Eco, the main reason behind the predilection for reader-oriented paradigms was the incurable fact that the intention of the author in committing to paper would never be revealed to us, readers, and that the factors leading to the creation of a text would always remain concealed in the background, even though sometimes the author ‘explains’ his intentions.<sup>102</sup> In place of a reader-oriented perspective, an author-oriented perspective could therefore not be thoroughly postulated.

Eco himself had been a proponent of the reader-oriented paradigms for decades on account of the reasons referred to above.<sup>103</sup> However, he was to propose a new model along with a series of confessions at a lecture delivered at University of Cambridge in 1990. In this lecture, he brought forward the argument that the prominence of the reader-oriented paradigms was due to our despair in coming to terms with the intention of the author. According to him, an author-oriented perspective was still dubious, but the role of the reader (or interpreter) had apparently been “overstressed.”<sup>104</sup> So much so, in fact, that this had led to an “overinterpretation” of texts in the course of time. Eco suggested a third possible way out of this predicament, which take the text

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<sup>101</sup> Quoted in “Umberto Eco and Stefan Collini, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, (Utah University Press, 1990), 144.”

<sup>102</sup> Eco and Collini, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, 144-145.

<sup>103</sup> Although Eco explained his sympathy with the reader-oriented paradigms, he had never been uncritical of it. In his book, *The Role of The Reader*, published in 1979, Eco paves the way for his mind-opening methodology proposed in 1990. For his earlier discussions of the reader-oriented paradigms, see: Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts (Advances in Semiotics)* (Indiana University Press, 1979).

<sup>104</sup> Eco and Collini, *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, 143.

itself into consideration. In other words, “the intention of the text” would take precedence over the agencies of either the reader or the author. To this end, the meaning and target audience of the text should be explored solely on the basis of the text itself.

Diaries are difficult sources for a historical study because of “an uncertainty” in both their genre and content.<sup>105</sup> Yet, each diary normally deals with specific themes or topics, as do the *sâlnâmes*. Since the historical value of Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi’ *sâlnâmes* is by no means a matter of discussion, his vision may enlighten the historian about many phenomena extant in the society of the seventeenth-century Ottoman Istanbul. Hasan Efendi’s diary provides the researcher with a wealth of information including experiences of plague, ulemâ networks, culinary culture, urban and/or folk mentalities, the social and physical topography of Istanbul and more. Although a broad range of studies whose regional, thematical, and/or temporal concerns overlap with the diary in some way have often cited the document, a holistic and in-depth study of these features still awaits. Inspired by the above-mentioned text-oriented model of Umberto Eco, this chapter embarks on a textual analysis of Hasan Efendi’s *sâlnâmes* through a critique of the text in communication with the arguments that the relevant scholarship has put forward on the manuscript so far. By doing so, it aims to probe into (1) the life of the author, Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi, (2) the technical features and (3) the contextual making of the *sâlnâmes*.

## 1.1. The Making of Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi

### 1.1.1. *A Man of Parts: Some Biographical Notes on a Şehrî Efendi*

Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi, also known as “Seyyid Hasan” or “Derviş Seyyid Hasan” in the secondary literature, was born in 1029 H./1620 as the son of Şeyh Seyyid Muhammed (Mehmed) el-Eyyûbî.<sup>106</sup> Known simply as Eyyûbî Mehmed Efendi, Hasan Efendi’s father was born in the Eyüp neighborhood in İstanbul as the son of Abdülhalîk Efendi, the tomb keeper of Eyüb Complex. Abdülhalîk Efendi was a descendant of Ebubekir, a companion and the first khalifa of Prophet Muhammad.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Irina Paperno “What Can Be Done With Diaries” *The Russian Review* Vol. 63 No. 4, 562-564.

<sup>106</sup> Necdet Yılmaz, “*Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf Sufiler, Devlet ve Ulemâ*” (İstanbul: OSAV, 2007), 80.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

As Kafadar has pointed out “sûfiyye had already become a career path” in seventeenth century Istanbul due to an extensive bureaucratization in the post-Süleymanic era.<sup>108</sup> For this reason, there was significant competition for a limited number of posts in the Sümbülîyye path, when Hasan Efendi reached adulthood. As the culture, tastes, and desires of the day reflected in the *sâlnâmes* indicate, Hasan Efendi was not a satisfied ‘dervish’ whose peace could solely be brought about by seclusion. Accordingly, he seems to have been interested in any chance for promoting himself to a new career. His keen observations on people’s appointments to new posts shows this interest. Moreover, the folios in which the story of his appointment as the sheikh of Ferrûh Kethüda Türbesi, Balat is narrated demonstrate his excitement stemming from his long-standing expectations. For example, Hasan Efendi not only describes the process at length but also painted the date of his appointment with red ink.<sup>109</sup> It should be noted that the name of Abdülfettah Dede, who went to the sheikulislam to seek the post for Hasan Efendi, was also painted with the red ink.<sup>110</sup>

Although scholarship has recognized him through his religious career so far, he was also a poet and a calligrapher. His biographers such as Sâlim notes that he wrote many poems and meaningful words and composed an *ilahîyyat* that contains his hymns.<sup>111</sup> However, no more than two distiches of his poetry are known today.<sup>112</sup> As the purity of his hand-writing attests, Hasan Efendi was also a calligrapher, though, we do not have any examples of his calligraphic work except for the *sâlnâmes*. Accordingly, his name is mentioned in *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn*, a biographical dictionary of calligraphers compiled by Müstakîmzâde Süleyman Saadeddin Efendi in the second half of the eighteenth century. Müstakîmzade calls Hasan Efendi an Istanbuliot (*şehrî*) and says that he mastered the calligraphic arts under the auspices of Abdülkerim Efendi, the son of the founder of Sümbülîyye branch, Yusuf Sinan Efendi.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, Müstakîmzade adds that Hasan Efendi

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<sup>108</sup> Kafadar, “*Self and Others*”, 139.

<sup>109</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 182b

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> Even though scholars usually refer to Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi’s Vekâiyü’l-Füzelâ about Hasan Efendi, Necdet Yılmaz detects his name in some other biographical dictionaries such as *Tuhfe-i Nâilî*. See: *Ibid.* The author of *Tuhfe-i Nâilî* says that he used *Safayî Tezkiresi*, *Sâlim Tezkiresi* and *Kâmûs ‘ul-‘Alam*. See: Mehmet Nâil Tuman *Tuhfe-i Nâilî Divan Şairlerinin Muhtasar Biyografileri II* ed. Cemal Kurnaz and Mustafa Tatçı, (İstanbul: Bizim Büro Yayınları, 2001), 1104. Also see: Adnan İnce, “Sâlim Tezkiresi İnceleme-Transkripsiyonlu Metin, M.A. Thesis, (Ankara Üniversitesi, 1977), 711-712.

<sup>112</sup> See: Necdet Yılmaz, “*Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf*”, 80-81. While *Salîm Tezkiresi* provides only one distich attributed to Hasan Efendi, *Safâî Tezkiresi* provides one more example. See: Nuran Üzer Altuner, “Safâî Tezkiresi İnceleme-Tenkitli Metin-İndeks”, Ph.D. Dissertation, (İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1989), 869.

<sup>113</sup> Müstakîmzade Süleyman Sadeddin Efendi, *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn*, (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1928), 161-162. For the transliterated version, see: Müstakîmzade Süleyman Sadeddin Efendi, *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn*, ed. Mustafa Koç (İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2011), 52.



wrote a certain text (*bir hat metin*) and copied many texts.<sup>114</sup> We also know that Hasan Efendi raised his own students in this profession. For example, Lâ'lî Mehmed Efendi, a calligrapher from the region of Kastamonu, practiced (*meşk*) calligraphy under the auspices of Hasan Efendi.<sup>115</sup>

### 1.1.2. A Note Appended by a Descendant in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

A note appended to the last folio of the second volume of the *sâlnâmes* poses a set of significant information and alters the parameters of a study on the diary. This note, penned down by Sheikh Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed Haşim, reads: “This sâlnâme (almanac) [written] by the hands of my venerable ancestor eş-Şeyh Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi has been handed over to this humble servant. This note is to record the date [of reception of the manuscript]: ...Thursday night 1175 at Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge.”<sup>116</sup> The year recorded is 1175/1761-1762. Therefore, the manuscript(s) were handed down to his descendant eighty-five years after Hasan Efendi passed away. Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed Hâşim Efendi is the grandson of Hasan Efendi’s youngest son, Seyyid Mehmed Vahyî Efendi, who was a toddler during those four years of writing of *sâlnâmes*. When Mehmed Haşim Efendi was handed the manuscript, even Mehmed Vahyî Efendi was no longer alive.

Considering the historical value that the diary might have carried among the attendees of the lodge in the eighteenth century, what can we make of this note? First of all, the *sâlnâmes* were handed to Mehmed Haşim Efendi in Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge, the central lodge of Sünbülüyye order, on the above-mentioned date. As the note attests, they had been held in Koca Mustafa Paşa. After Hasan Efendi died, the manuscripts had not been transferred to the possession of the family. His son Mehmed Vahyî and his grandson Feyzullah Efendi always served outside Koca Mustafa Paşa.<sup>117</sup> Until Mehmed Haşim Efendi, no one from the line of Eyyübî Mehmed Efendi was promoted to the post of Koca Mustafa Paşa, and therefore, the work remained there. Although we are not sure of its functions in the later generation of Sünbülîs, this stability points to the possibility that the work may have been venerated and kept in the Lodge. It can be claimed that its venerable

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<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>115</sup> Mustafa Aslan, “Kastamonulu Hattatlar” (2007) *Turkish Studies International Periodical For the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, 2 Volume IV, 149.

<sup>116</sup> “Bu sâlnâme cedd-i alâm Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi hazretlerinin kendü tahriri olub ve bu abd-ı hâkîre vasıl olduğu tarihi beyân ider...1175 Perşembe gecesi fi hankah-ı Mustafa Paşa...Eş-Şeyh Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed Haşim.” “*Sohbetnâme IP*”, Inner backpage.

<sup>117</sup> For Mehmed Vahyî’s career, see: Necdet Yılmaz, “*Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf*”, 81. For Feyzullah Efendi, see: Nazif Velikahyaoglu, “*Sünbülüyye Tarikati ve Koca Mustafa Paşa Külliyesi*” (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2000), 217.

position did not change, although the audience may have been, after it was handed to Mehmed Hâşîm Efendi. Both periods—before and after Hâşîm Efendi’s appropriation, the audience was very limited. This is supported by the observation that no one attempted to pen some additional notes on the text.

Furthermore, although the studies of Gökyay and Kafadar does not mention it,<sup>118</sup> this note is the only evidence pointing to the fact that the author of the *sâlnâmes* is Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi. Hasan Efendi does not mention his name anywhere in the diary but refers to himself with the pronoun *fakîr* (Poor, I).<sup>119</sup> Since he is the subject, it is normal that he only uses this term and does not refer to his own name.

### 1.1.3. Auto/Biography as Careerism?

Hasan Efendi does not refer to his father in the diary. Most probably, this is because he did not get to know his father very well, as he was only nine years old when Eyyûbî Mehmed Efendi died. Nonetheless, his father’s influence was profound in the formation of Hasan Efendi’s career. He was to follow the path of his father and was appointed as the sheikh of Ferrûh Kethüda Mosque on 10 Şevval 1074/6 May 1664.<sup>120</sup> Unfortunately, he could not reach the zenith, the post (*meşîhât*) of Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge, but we are sure that this was his main career objective. In fact, even the composition of the *sâlnâmes* may have something to do with this careerism.

An attempt to clarify this argument necessitates a review of the extant information about Hasan Efendi’s father, Eyyûbî Mehmed Efendi. Eyyûbî Mehmed Efendi was the first person who was attached to Sümbülîyye path from his family. In a short period of time, his career blossomed through well-established relationships with the highest posts. For instance, he married off his daughter to the sheikh of Sümbülîyye path, Necmeddin Hasan Efendi.<sup>121</sup> He also developed a favorable relationship with Hasan Adlî Efendi, sheikh of Balat Ferrûh Kethüda Convent, another

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<sup>118</sup> While Gökyay does not state how he detected the author of the *sâlnâmes*, Kafadar only states that he was able to identify his name “following several hints in the diary.” See: Kafadar, “Self and Others”, 138.

<sup>119</sup> Hasan Efendi clearly uses “fakîr” in place of the pronoun “ben” (I) in modern Turkish. For example, he once notes that “bade’l-kahve fakir münferiden gittim” meaning “After coffee, fakîr (I) left alone. See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 12b.

<sup>120</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, 183a.

<sup>121</sup> This daughter was apparently the elder sister (*büyük hemşire/hâher-i mihter*) of Hasan Efendi. See: Necdet Yılmaz, “Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf”, 74-76. However, this issue is complicated, as the sources provide a variety of opinions on this matter. For further discussion of this issue, see: Chapter II, Reflection of Intimacy: Hasan Efendi’s Family.

important post of the path. When Necmeddin Hasan Efendi died in 1019H./1610, Hasan Adlî was promoted to the place of Necmeddin Hasan Efendi. After Hasan Adlî Efendi passed away in 1026H./1617, the post would eventually be handed over to Eyyûbî Mehmet Efendi.<sup>122</sup> Such a linear rise must have had a supporting force behind the scenes. What kind of means/devices may have cleared the way for the advancement of Eyyûbî Mehmed Efendi?

Nazif Velikahyaoğlu, a specialist of *Sümbüliyye*, offers the most likely answer. He has revealed that there is a *risâle* devoted to a biography of Hasan Adlî Efendi written by Eyyûbî Mehmed Efendi.<sup>123</sup> Preserved in the Istanbul University Library, İbnü'l Emin M. Kemal collection, the title of this biography reads *Risâle-i Adlî* and/or *Menâkıb-ı 'Adlî Hasan-ı Sünbülî*.<sup>124</sup> It is composed of 63 folios, the first forty-nine of which comprise the biography of Hasan 'Adlî Efendi, while the rest is a *tarikâtname* (book of path) and a genealogy (*silsile*) of Sünbülî sheikhs, which was written in 1249/1833-34.<sup>125</sup> The *Risâle* narrates the life of Hasan 'Adlî Efendi until his appointment to the post of Balat Ferrûh Kethüda Convent.<sup>126</sup> In 'a curious coincidence', Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi discontinues his diary shortly after his appointment to Balat Ferrûh Kethüda Convent. As will be discussed below, this appointment would openly affect his habit of writing, and the scope of his daily entries would be considerably reduced.

According to Velikahyaoğlu, *Risâle* was written before Hasan 'Adli Efendi was promoted to the post of Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge.<sup>127</sup> Was *Risâle* meant to be a literary device in the making of Hasan 'Adlî Efendi's image? While this question necessitates a thorough study of *Risâle*, it may still offer a perspective into the 'curious coincidence' referred to above. In other words, Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi might have known the *Risâle*, and it is likely that he wanted to control the processes of image-making for himself. To this end, he started recording his own daily routines,

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<sup>122</sup> Necdet Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf", 74-76.

<sup>123</sup> Nazif Velikahyaoğlu, "*Sümbüliyye Tarikatı*", 208.

<sup>124</sup> Although Velikahyaoğlu refers to the text as *Risâle-i Ulâ* elsewhere, I have not encountered this name in the text. While the text is titled "*Risâle-i Adli Efendi*", the catalogue says it is "*Menâkıb-ı 'Adli Hasan-ı Sünbülî*". See: Menâkıb-ı 'Adli Hasan-ı Sünbülî, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, İbn-ül Emin Mahmud Kemal İnal Koleksiyonu 2956, 1b. Cemal Kafadar, though referring to as *Risâle-i 'Adli Efendi*, mentions the work in a footnote as well. Surprisingly, his purpose is restricted to retrieving information about Eyyûbî Mehmed Efendi's spiritual relationship with Hasan 'Adli Efendi. See: Kafadar, "*Self and Others*", 139.

<sup>125</sup> It is visually clear that the writers of both texts are different. The pale condition of the ink in the part, in which Hasan 'Adli Efendi's biography is given, shows that the biography predates the *tarikâtname* and *silsile*.

<sup>126</sup> Nazif Velikahyaoğlu, "*Sümbüliyye Tarikatı*", 208.

<sup>127</sup> Although he makes a severe mistake in conversion of hicrî calendar to the modern calendar, this does not disaffect his inferences. See: *Ibid.*, 205.

which could serve as a prototype or a source for a future biographical risâle, written by himself or the others. Since Hasan Efendi knew very well that Balat would be a turning point for him, as it was for his father and Hasan ‘Adlî Efendi, he might have gradually stopped recording his daily entries.

Interestingly, Kafadar, who refers to *Risâle* only in reference to some information about Eyyûbî Mehmed Efendi and does not state any value of the document for the study of the diary, notices that a piece of hand-writing on the front page of the *Risâle* resembles Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi’s handwriting.<sup>128</sup> I agree with Kafadar on the matter, as the hand-writing as well as vernacular tone in the use of language strongly sounds like Hasan Efendi.<sup>129</sup>

## 1.2. A Technical Analysis of the Diary: The Genre, the Structure, and the Language

### 1.2.1. The *Sohbetnâme* or the *Sâlnâmes*?

The text has long been recognized as “the *Sohbetnâme*” by scholarly circles.<sup>130</sup> It is clear that this was engendered by the catalogue of the Topkapı Palace Library. On the first page of the first volume, there is a seal bearing the name “Topkapı Palace Registers Committee”.<sup>131</sup> It is understood that this committee catalogued the volumes and named them “the *Sohbetnâme*” sometime between 1924-1926 because the author, Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi, does not refer to such a name anywhere in the text.<sup>132</sup> With the hurry of an extensive cataloguing process, the title the *Sohbetnâme* might have been given because of a number of eye-catching inscriptions of *sohbet* dispersed all around the four years.<sup>133</sup> *Sohbet* was a specific type of gathering normally held in sets. In a set, Hasan

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<sup>128</sup> Kafadar, “*Self and Others*”, 139.

<sup>129</sup> The note reads: “Bu risâle-i ‘Adlî ceddim Seyyid Mehmed Efendi hattıyladır ve anların s...” Menâkıb-ı ‘Adlî Hasan-ı Sümbülî, İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, İbn-ül Emin Mahmud Kemal İnal Koleksiyonu 2956.

<sup>130</sup> Both Gökyay and Kafadar appeal to the genre of *sohbetnâme* in order to locate the *Sohbetnâme* among its contemporaries. Gökyay’s personal notes indicate an analysis of the literature on *sohbetnâmes*.

<sup>131</sup> “*Topkapı Sarayı Tahrir Komisyonu*” See: Appendix A

<sup>132</sup> This committee, actively registered the properties and assets held in the Topkapı Palace between 1924-1926, was established by Tahsin Öz immediately after he was appointed as the first Director of Topkapı Muesum in 1924 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. For the Committee’s period of work, see: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllığı 2 as quoted in Murat Kocaaslan, *IV. Mehmed Saltanatında Topkapı Sarayı Haremi İktidar Sınırlar ve Mimari* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2013), 228. For Tahsin Öz’s activities related to the Committee, see: Emre Yücel, *Anılarıyla Tahsin Öz* (İstanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları). In his Topkapı Palace Museum Library Turkish Manuscripts Catalogue, published in 1961, Fedhi Edhem Karatay also titles the diary as “the *Sohbetnâme*” and categorizes it under the rubric “*hatırat ve ruzname*”. See: Fedhi Edhem Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu Cilt I* (İstanbul: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları, 1961), 422.

<sup>133</sup> See, Appendix B.

Efendi and his companions usually gathered at a companion's place, such a single gathering was called a *sohbet*. For some reason, Hasan Efendi wrote these *sohbets* bold-faced and in large fonts. Despite this point, *sohbets* were not the most common type of gathering noted in the diary. *İşret* was obviously the mostly-referred type of gathering, as Hasan Efendi notes his attendance in an *işret* almost every night. With the same logic, the diary could also be titled as "*işretnâme*". However, the name he adopted, that is the *sâlnâme*, probably replaces all of these possibilities.

In this connection, a note, on the very first page of the second volume by Hasan Efendi's own handwriting indicates that "this contains three *sâlnâme* (almanac/yearbook): the year 1073, the year 1074, the year 1075".<sup>134</sup> He further titles the beginning of each year as *sâlnâme*.<sup>135</sup> Obviously, *sâlnâme* is not intended to be a title and/or a proper name. It apparently refers to a specific genre. Selim Karahasanoğlu points out that Sadreddinzâde Telhîsî Mustafa Efendi refers to his diary as *cerîde*.<sup>136</sup> According to *Kâmus-ı Türkî*, *cerîde* means a register book in which some important events were used to be recorded in official state offices.<sup>137</sup> We also know that a new genre emerged as *sâlnâme* in the nineteenth century in order to record the state of affairs in different regions of the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, it can be argued that such texts were meant to detail on events surrounding the protagonists and their circles. But, was there any equivalent of these almanacs among the circles of Hasan Efendi? Namely, was it a common practice at the time? Even though it does not seem possible to answer these questions for now because of an extreme lack of documentation as well as pertaining research, such formulaic references to the genre(s) indicate that future studies may unravel such subtleties.

It is not even certain whether Hasan Efendi aimed to treat this as a whole work. We know that he bought small amounts of paper from the bazaar. For instance, he once notes that "[following that] I bought two golden yellow (*altun sarısı*) and one white (*beyaz*) paper at Sultan Bayezîd (Bazaar)..."<sup>138</sup> In another instance, he states that "I bought four sheets of yellow (*zâferânî*) paper in the Sultan Bazaar and have them polished..."<sup>139</sup> It can be inferred from these examples that he

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<sup>134</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, inner cover.

<sup>135</sup> See, Appendix C.

<sup>136</sup> Karahasanoğlu, *Bir Kadının Günlüğü*, 1-13.

<sup>137</sup> Şemseddin Samî, *Kamus-ı Türkî*, ed. Ömer Faruk Akün (İstanbul: Alfa, 1998), 474.

<sup>138</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 96b.; Can, "Seyyid Hasan", 68.

<sup>139</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 65b

kept his daily notes in the form of singular sheets and/or of small stitched chunks, and never got them bound together at least until the end of the year. At this point, the possibility should be noted that both manuscripts may be clean copies, since the number of corrections and doodlings are only a few. We know that Hasan Efendi made his son write something on a few occasions.<sup>140</sup> From this fact, it can also be inferred that he dictated his son the daily notes (at least sometimes) and then made a clean copy of these notes himself.

### 1.2.2. Technical Changes and Continuities

The diary comes in two volumes. While the first volume, composed of 158 folios, comprises the *sâlnâme* of the year 1661-1662, the second volume, composed of 260 folios, includes the *sâlnâmes* of the following three years (1662-1665). An overall evaluation of both volumes allows us to notice some changes in the stylistic and technical forms of the notes over the years. The first volume, namely the first year (1072/1661), is comprised of notes whose cumulative outlook barely indicate the technical characteristics of a diary. So much so that Hasan Efendi does not even give any dates other than the name of the month and the days almost all along this volume. That is to say, since he did not always state the exact dates at the beginning of the diary, detecting the exact date is only possible by making inferences from circumstantial evidence such as some occasional statements about what day it was. However, his style is not static, but instead, seems to have reached a similar form to the genre of diary over the course of time, and it is possible to observe turning points and continuities in his writing.

To begin with, a change occurs in his technique starting from the very beginning of the second volume, namely the beginning of the year 1073/1662. In 1073/1662, his notes start to demonstrate a more regular scheme compared to the previous year. Eventually, Hasan Efendi starts counting the days of the month diligently, and the calendar becomes traceable. The changes are not limited to this. Although his sensitivity towards the parts of the day has been apparent from the very first entries in the year 1661, he regularly starts penning down his notes of a day in two parts in the second volume. Typically, his note of a day includes (1) the night before the day and (2) the day

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<sup>140</sup> For example, see: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 78a.

itself (*imrûz*). The night is usually spent eating and/or conversing at the house (*ev/hâne/oda*) of a friend or a relative, most probably the older sister (*büyük hemşire/hâher-i mihter*).<sup>141</sup>

Hasan Efendi's technique remains intact more than a year until Şevval 1074 H./April-May 1664. In this month, he was appointed as the sheikh of Balat Ferrûh Kethüda Mosque. After being a preacher (*va'iz*) at Balat, he started to count the sermons (*v'az*) he'd given in the diary, but this was not a basic counting practice. He calculated the total sum of sermons weekly, monthly, and finally yearly. Thus, among the daily notes are included the sermons (*v'az*) he gave.<sup>142</sup> From this point onwards, the scope of the notes starts to narrow down gradually. In comparison with the previous years, there are no multipage narrations of a single day after this time. Instead, his daily entries usually occupy two, if not three, lines. Furthermore, Hasan Efendi stops using the alphabetical signs starting from the folio 205 of the second volume. From this folio onward, it is only possible to read by making guesses on the basis of previous reading. This turning point, coinciding with the date 26 Muharrem 1075 H./19 August 1664, signals that he would abandon keeping notes of his daily doings.<sup>143</sup>

From this point of view, it can also be asserted that there was not a continuation of the text in the following years. However, an earlier beginning than the first volume can be easily speculated. The first volume starts with the sentence "This notebook belongs to the year 1072/1661."<sup>144</sup> If not appended later, this note may indicate that there were some previous notebooks than the one written in 1072/1661. However, this is not enough evidence by itself unless a concrete proof appears.

Although changes play a dominant role in the four-years-long evolution of Hasan Efendi's writing, there are consistent features as well. The most important continuity is the structure and content of his additional notes. These notes, starting with "be it known (*mâlûm ola ki*)" and written with red ink, reflect the breadth of Hasan Efendi's web of news. Even through the very end of the year 1665, when the scope of daily entries is much diminished, Hasan Efendi never stopped writing these additional notes. These notes are significant because they not only show the width of Hasan

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<sup>141</sup> For more information on a typical day of Hasan Efendi, see: Chapter II "Repetition, Sociability, and Temporal Organization

<sup>142</sup> For the entry in which he records his first sermon, see: *Sohbetnâme II*, 185b.

<sup>143</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, 203b-204a.

<sup>144</sup> "Bu defter 1072 tarihinindir." *Sohbetnâme I*, 2b.

Efendi's social network but also make the diary-keeping to be a socially-active practice. For example, Hasan Efendi uses these be-it-known (*mâlûm ola ki*) notes in order to note the departure of a companion from the Istanbul, or to record the marriage of a companion. He also recorded the news of birth and death through these notes. Moreover, the scope of these notes is not restricted to such events, as Hasan Efendi recorded political and administrative news such as an appointment and/or a deposition through these notes as well.

### 1.2.3. Language, Class and Careerism

In 2013, a group of scholars published an edited book on the historical sociolinguistics of ego-documents. In this book, they claimed that variation in the use of language in the autobiographical works is an indication of social difference.<sup>145</sup> In a similar fashion to this claim, Hasan Efendi's use of language gradually changed and took a more complex form in line with his desire for prestige and a higher social status. As an effort for cultural enrichment and for reaching the level of higher strata, Hasan Efendi intensified his language gradually shifting from plain Turkish to a dense language stuffed with many Persian phrases.

We know that he was learning Persian by reading *Dîvân-ı Hâfız* as early as the beginning of the year 1662. This seems to have take effect in his writing in time. For example, he suddenly changes the phrases *küçük hemşire* and *büyük hemşire* (younger sister and elder sister in Turkish) to *hâher-i kihter* and *hâher-i mihter*, the Persian synonyms of the phrases, on 10 Cemaziye'l-ahir 1072/31 January 1662.<sup>146</sup> Although the word *hemşire* is Persian as well, either the structure of the first phrases or the adjectives *küçük* and *büyük* are Turkish. But, the latter phrases are structured in Persian language, after which Hasan Efendi does not use the Turkish phrases again. Moreover, his use of Persian possessive suffix “-eş” and some verb stems such as “*buden*” and “*şoden*” visibly increases over the course of time.<sup>147</sup> To him, this mode of language probably meant a sign of being an elite, and this shift would enable him to access to the life of an elite.

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<sup>145</sup> Marijke Van Der Wal and Gijsbert Rutten, *Touching the Past: Studies in the Historical Sociolinguistics of Ego-documents* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2013), 2-7; 47; 86.

<sup>146</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 55a.

<sup>147</sup> For example, “İşret ma İbn-i ve Hariri ve Ahmed Ağa ve Mustafa Ağa ve Kadiri Ağa ve Süleymaneş...Taşçızade ve Ahmed-eş hazır-bud.” *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 47b.



### 1.3. The Contextual Making of the Diary: The Routines, the Ethos, and the Mindset

#### 1.3.1. The Daily Routines and the Scope of Sociability

A structural pattern of routine activities, which remained more or less the same for four years, led Hasan Efendi's everyday life. Having realized this pattern, Gökyay traced Hasan Efendi's everyday activities on the basis of his word choices. His study notes demonstrate that he sought to comprehend Hasan Efendi's repeated activities. The word *işret* (social enjoyment) especially drew his attention and he sought to investigate the meaning of the word in different dictionaries as well as contexts.<sup>148</sup> Although his selection was not restricted to this, Gökyay pursued an extensive reading of the document instead of further dealing with specific words Hasan Efendi used. Yet, his study of vocabulary is still meaningful today and should be continued for Hasan Efendi chose from among a limited, yet systematic spectrum of vocabulary.

To further explain, Hasan Efendi contained himself, most of the time, to referring only to (1) the activity, (2) the place in which the activity occurred, and (3) the people who attended the activity.<sup>149</sup> Therefore, his daily entries are usually concise, and do not contain in-depth commentaries and/or his contemplations. Since we have categorized the *sâlnâmes* as a diary and searched for the characteristics of this genre in them, it has occurred to us as an 'inadequacy' that he did not provide us with any direct information about his intellectual formation.<sup>150</sup> But, we should endeavor to think from Hasan Efendi's point of view. A systematic umbrella of vocabulary

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<sup>148</sup> According to Redhouse Dictionary, the first meaning of *işret* is "social enjoyment". See: Redhouse, "işret", 1301. On the other hand, it means "drinking and carousing", too. Gökyay noted the definitions of this word from various dictionaries such as Steingass and Redhouse and found some examples from other sources. Hasan Efendi uses the term *işret* almost every day as a form of gathering with companions. Gökyay must have wondered if any intoxicating beverages and/or substances were extant in the *işret* gatherings Hasan Efendi attended. However, as I will discuss in this part, Hasan Efendi neither explains nor hints at the characteristics of *işret* gatherings. For Gökyay's investigation on the meaning of *işret*, see: İSAM, Orhan Şaik Gökyay Koleksiyonu, 1432.

<sup>149</sup> For example, "snacking at Zakirbaşı's harem with him (Zâkîrbaşıyla hareminde iltikâm)" see: *Sohbetnâme II* "snacking and sleeping at Kefeli (Kefeli'de iltikâm ve menâm)" see: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 21a. "Eating and gathering [with friends] at Ahmed Ağa's (taaşî ve işret der Ahmed Ağa)" see: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 28b.

<sup>150</sup> This is also the reason for the assumption that the Ottoman world did not produce many diaries and/or self-narratives. I humbly think that we should be open to identifying many new genres, which are particular to the productions of the Ottoman literate classes. Hasan Efendi's *sâlnâmes* have long been considered a diary because of his daily entries. In the same way, they were considered to be in the genre *sohbetnâme*, just because they were named the *Sohbetnâme* by an archivist in the early twentieth century. In this way, what Hasan Efendi wrote can be neither classified as a diary nor a *sohbetnâme*. It was something that he needed at that time, whose reason is not revealed to us yet. The lack of commentaries, opinions, and contemplations were thus not because of a lack of 'individualism', but because of his objectives and needs. It seems that any sort of modern conceptualizations may easily mislead us.

must have seemed practical to him because the *sâlnâmes* contain the notes of almost every single day for four years. Considering that he had to spend a certain amount of time to record his notes in a day, it is logical to minimize the length to save time. As to the content, it would still be reflective of the day thanks to the aforementioned systematization. Therefore, it is this systematic and small group of vocabulary that transmits his world to us. In this way, the indispensable daily activities of Hasan Efendi can be explained with seven basic phrases/words he uses in the *sâlnâmes*: *taaşşi* (dinner), *işret* (gathering), *mücâleset* (conversation), *ziyâret* (visit), *tenâvül [-ü ekl-i şürb/kahve]* (drinking coffee and snacking), and *beytûtet* (stayover).<sup>151</sup>

One day's notes usually start with what happened the previous night, which was usually dinner (*taaşşi*) and gathering (*işret*) at a certain companion's house with others.<sup>152</sup> Sometimes, both activities took place at the same house. On the other hand, it was also common to eat dinner at a certain companion's place, and then to go to the gathering at another house. Eating in general was an important component of Hasan Efendi's life.<sup>153</sup> Whether or not he ate for pleasure was beyond my query here.<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless, it is certain that he enjoyed meals. He was a keen observer of what was served in the dinners, and it was standard for him to recount the names of the foods. Although we do not know whether or not he listed these foods in order of service, a regular list included at least two main courses followed by deserts.<sup>155</sup> Considering the fact that Istanbul had well-functioning chains of fresh produce supply from the mid-seventeenth century to the late-eighteenth

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<sup>151</sup> Each of these six words/phrases are representative of the six most common activities in the *sâlnâmes*. Hasan Efendi used different words to refer to these activities. I will discuss different variations of a certain activity, and the different vocabulary Hasan Efendi used to describe this variation under each category.

<sup>152</sup> His narration of one day includes the previous night's events, too. He starts with the night; after that, puts a subtitle "*imrûz* (today)", and continues with the current day's events.

<sup>153</sup> Günay Kut has located Hasan Efendi's diary among the most significant sources for understanding Ottoman cuisine. See: Günay Kut, "Turkish Culinary Culture" in *Timeless Tastes Turkish Culinary Culture*, ed. Ersu Pekin, Ayşe Sümer (İstanbul: Mas Matbaacılık, 1999), 66-67.

<sup>154</sup> As Artan discussed, when it comes to the formation of a new consumer culture among the Ottoman elites in the early modern times, we should not adopt a holistic approach but consider, at least, on the basis of each century. In consideration of this, I believe it is still too early to locate Hasan Efendi's eating habits for it has also something to do with his social status, of which we cannot say anything beyond that he was not among the common Istanbulites. See: Tülay Artan, Aspects of the Ottoman Elite's Food Consumption : Looking for 'Staples,' 'Luxuries,' and 'Delicacies' in a Changing Century", in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922. An Introduction*, ed. Donald Quataert, Albany, 2000, p. 110.

<sup>155</sup>For instance, on 20 Muharrem 1073/4 September 1662, the menu was as follows at the lodge: "Delightful Foods: chicken (1), sour chicken (2), stew (3), eggplant dolmahs (4), cucumber salad (5), pumpkin dumplings (6), baklava (7), pilaf (8), sour food (9), soup (10), custard (11), milk (12), palude (13), stuffed sheep dolmahs (14), grapes (15), watermelon (16) (İta'ame-i Nefise: tavuk (1), ekşili tavuk (2) yahni (3), bazhacan dolması (4), hıyar salatası (5), kabak böreği (6), baklava (7), pilav (8), ekşi aş (9), şorba (10), muhallebi (11), süt (12), palude (13), mumbar (14), üzüm (15), karpuz (16))" See: *Sohbetnâme II*, 4a. This banquet (*ziyâfet*) was served among the members of the Lodge, that is, among the brethren. The number of such gatherings can be proliferated. Therefore, the variety of foods mentioned in the *sâlnâmes* extend beyond the list above.

century,<sup>156</sup> an abundance of dairy products, fresh vegetables and fruits in the menus makes sense. Furthermore, such gatherings over food were not just dinners (*taaşşı*), but Hasan Efendi calls them banquet (*ziyâfet*). A banquet was certainly a more irregular type of dinner with all the abundant food and important people attending. Despite this special character of banquets, they were not uncommon among the companions. Moreover, attendees were not restricted to sûfî circles, and the backgrounds of people could change according to the social status of the host. For example, when Müfettiş Debbâğzade Efendi hosted a banquet, an ambassador to or from India (*Hind elçisi*) was among the guests.<sup>157</sup>

An *işret* gathering followed the dinners and/or banquets. As we can understand from Gökyay's special interest referred to above, this activity is the most intriguing component of Hasan Efendi's daily activities, even though we still do not know enough about the context. However, it is possible to make some assumptions on the basis of some evidence from the *sâlnâmes*. For one thing, these gatherings were not common until Hasan Efendi and his companion Yıldızzâde decided to organize gatherings on 3 Rebi'ü'l-evvel 1072/27 October 1661.<sup>158</sup> According to this note, they decided that they were going to meet four nights at Yıldızzade's and three nights at Ahmed Ağa's in a week. This date must be a point of rupture. In other words, the four-year period in which the *sâlnâmes* were written marks a point of change in Hasan Efendi's life. The recent wave of plague had not only killed Hasan Efendi's loved ones but his companions, too, had lost their spouses, children, parents. The beginning of these regular gatherings might have had something to do with this period of intense grief.<sup>159</sup>

Following this date, the companions met more often. However, their decision was clearly not effective after the first year since we encounter an erratic pattern for the hosts afterwards. Starting from 1073/1662-3, it is clear that *işret* gatherings took place at Ahmed Ağa's more often. They

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<sup>156</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Supplying Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century İstanbul with Fresh Produce," in *Nourrir les cités de la Méditerranée, antiquité-temps moderne*, ed. Brigitte Marin and Catherine Virlouvet, Paris, 2003, 273-291.

<sup>157</sup> I will discuss who Debbâğzade was later on. However, unfortunately, we have no further information about if this Indian ambassador was an Ottoman ambassador to Mughals or *vice versa*. See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 12b.

<sup>158</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 37a-37b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 30.

<sup>159</sup> Deniz notes that this date signals the transferral of their sûfî rituals to their homes from the lodge. See: Deniz, "The Uses of Space by Sûfis", 47. Hasan Efendi, Rûmhî Ahmed Ağa, Cerrah Yusuf, Emir Çelebi, Şeyhzâde, Nazmî Efendi, to name only a few examples, lost their loved ones at the time, and must have been suffering. Although we are not completely able to read the grief in the *sâlnâmes* with our modern eyes, this was certainly a very traumatic period for this group of people including our protagonist Hasan Efendi. They were most probably looking for a way to alleviate their grief, and an organization of social gatherings with companions could be an alternative.

also took place at the younger sister's house and elder sister's house from time to time. However, sometime towards the end of the year 1073, they lost their pattern completely, as we see that the companions attended the *işret* gatherings at many different houses including those of the palace officials. What is interesting, although Hasan Efendi started visiting the House of Yıldız (*Yıldız Evi*) more often, the number of *işret* gatherings held in the house of Yıldızzâde diminished considerably.

In addition to *işret* gatherings they organized *sohbet* gatherings. Oğlanlar (Olanlar) Şeyhi İbrâhim Efendi (d. 1665), a Melâmî/Halvetî sheikh, explains the context of *sohbets*. According to him, a *sohbet* is conducted by the sheikh and the brothers in order to “reflect the inner talents of the perfect mentor (*mürşid-i kâmil*), who is the sheikh, in the hearts of the disciples.” In absence of the sheikh, someone appointed by the sheikh could lead the *sohbets*. In addition, these *sohbets* could take place anywhere. That is to say, there was no spatial restriction to the lodge.<sup>160</sup> *Sohbet* gatherings were held in sets. Three sets of gatherings were organized during the four years. Two of these sets took place in the year 1072/1661-2. However, they had an erratic pattern, although we see that they met every four days when they could. The latter set of *sohbet* gatherings took place between 16 Cemaziye'l-evvel 1073/27 December 1663 and 2 Ramazan 1074/29 March 1664. In this set, they organized twenty-two *sohbet* gatherings at twenty-two different companions' houses in three months. During this period, *işret* gatherings also continued in other nights at different companions' places.

Halil İnalçık discusses the context and decorum of *işret* gatherings among the courtly elites.<sup>161</sup> Such entertainments involved alcoholic beverages and music. Hasan Efendi does not give any details about the context of their *işret* gatherings, however, we know that they sometimes invited *hânenδες* (singer) over.<sup>162</sup> Thus, it is certain that these gatherings at least occasionally had a musical component. Hasan Efendi also mentioned the phrase *bâd'el-ihyâ* (after renewal) following their *işret* gatherings.<sup>163</sup> This phrase probably meant the process following the gatherings.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> See: Ahmet Ögke, "Oğlanlar Şeyhi İbrahim Efendi'ye Göre Sohbet Adabı," *İslami Araştırmalar Dergisi* 17 (2014): 86.

<sup>161</sup> Halil İnalçık, *Has Bağçede Ays-u Tarab Nedimler Şairler Mutribler*, (İstanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 2011), 229-301.

<sup>162</sup> Hasan Efendi specifically mentions two *hânenδες*: Hânende İmamzâde Mehmed Çelebi, Hânende Küçük İmam Mahmud Çelebi. See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 34b.

<sup>163</sup> For example, *Ibid.*, fol. 2b-3a.

<sup>164</sup> Redhouse definition of *ihyâ* is as follows: A making (a night) alive with active religious exercises. See: Redhouse “ihya”, 41.

However, Hasan Efendi does not explicitly indicate the existence of any intoxicating material in their gatherings, and he also sometimes uses the word *bezm* (gathering) as a synonym of *işret*.

Following the *işret* gatherings, Hasan Efendi sometimes stayed over (*beytütet*) at a companion's house. He occasionally went to his elder sister's new house. Although he frequently spent the night at other's houses, he does not always mention where he spent the night. However, there were many other nights in which we do not know where he stayed. Since he narrated two days in a row, that is, he started a day with the previous evening, we do not see any rupture in his narration. However, a close reading demonstrates that there are certain gaps, in which he was most probably at home. Being at home must have been so ordinary to him that he did not need to mention these occasions. On the other hand, spending a full night at home was not something that he was accustomed to. For this reason, when he did not leave home in a certain night, he noted “*never went outside*.”<sup>165</sup> That is to say, he did not attend a banquet and/or an *işret* gathering at this particular night.<sup>166</sup>

These were the activities that took place at night, and his daytime activities were no less dynamic. Hasan Efendi frequently visited (*ziyâret*) people who lived nearby or in relatively distant locations. In terms of sociability, these visits were as significant as the *işret* gatherings and banquets. In fact, these were the actual reasons for Hasan Efendi's wide social networks, as he visited people from various social backgrounds. In fact, he visited many people from other branches of Halvetîyye (such as Gülşenîs) and people from among Mevlevîs. Likewise, people from other orders were mostly extant in their dinners and banquets. Moreover, he paid visits to various people from the contemporary dignitaries, some of whom were also members of his sûfî brotherhood.

As for his daily *ziyârets*, they could simply be visits to the graveyards of the beloved ones and/or deceased companions. However, they were mostly in form of visits to the rooms and/or houses of his brothers/companions (mostly, *dedes*<sup>167</sup>) and/or relatives. In these visits, a banquet was sometimes also served (*ziyâret vü ziyâfet*). However, coffee was predominant. It is clear that Hasan

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<sup>165</sup> During four years, Hasan Efendi noted three times “never went outside” (hiç taşra çıkılmadı.) See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fols. 43b, 48a, 123a.

<sup>166</sup> See the context in every case respectively: *Sohbetnâme II*, fols. 43b, 48a, 123a. Deniz have interpreted that Hasan Efendi noted “never went outside” when no one from his circles departed for another city in a day. However, as we can easily comprehend from his activities in these particular days, Hasan Efendi was simply referring to the fact he did not leave home at that night. To prove, he did not note any social gathering (dinner, banquet or *işret* gathering) for any of these nights.

<sup>167</sup> *Dede*, a title of veneration given to the heads of dervish communities, is mostly used in the context of Mevlevîs. See: Taeschner, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, “Dede”, V.2, 199-200. We have no information about if these *dedes* Hasan Efendi visited were Mevlevî or not. Nevertheless, considering the frequent visibility of Mevlevîs in the sâlnâmes, they could well be Mevlevîs.

Efendi and his companions were inclined to consume coffee (*tenâvül-i kahve*), and their daytime gatherings were always accompanied by this beverage. Moreover, the consumption of coffee was not necessarily a collective activity for Hasan Efendi drank this beverage by himself (*münferîden*) from time to time.<sup>168</sup> In addition to coffee, there could be some other foods or beverages. For instance, *gül-be-şeker*, a rose-candied desert<sup>169</sup>, and delight (*lokum*) were also served. If someone had a new baby born and they paid a visit to the new father, sherbet (*velâdet şerbeti*) was served, too.

Apart from foods and beverages, these visits were essentially about friendly conversations (*musâhebet*). As with the *işret/bezm/sohbet*, Hasan Efendi did not mention the content of these conversations, because he knew the content it is unlikely that he needed to commit it to paper. However, he used many synonyms of the word *musâhebet*.<sup>170</sup> Among them, two are more important than the others: *mücâleset* and *muâşeret* (*seated conversation*). During *mücâleset* and *muâşeret*, they spent longer time than the others. Such could be followed by acts of reading (*kırâat*) and writing (*kitâbet*). Moreover, it was not unusual for them to spend some time in the companions' libraries (*kitabhâne*) from time to time. At one occasion, he and his close companion Şeyhâde spent some time in their companion Nazmî Efendi's library. Hasan Efendi did not record what they read and/or write. Yet, we are lucky to encounter several titles of books in the *sâlnâmes*. For example, we know that he was reading *Dîvân-ı Hâfız*<sup>171</sup> from time to time.<sup>172</sup> It is not surprising to notice that he already had a certain passion for using Persian phrases when he started to read *Dîvân-ı Hâfız*. Given that he was also a poet, this interest is quite understandable since *Hâfız* was still popular among poets in seventeenth-century Istanbul.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 14b.

<sup>169</sup> Conserve of roses, Redhouse, "gyl", 1559.

<sup>170</sup> *Müsâleme*, *görüşmek*, *söyleşmek*, *gıybet* are other words used in the same context.

<sup>171</sup> *Dîvân-ı Hâfız* or *Hafız Divânı* in Turkish, written by Hâfız-i Şirâzî (d.792/1390) originally in Persian, is an important compilation of poetry. Its influence reached up to the Ottoman cultural milieu. See: Tahsin Yazıcı, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, "Hâfız-ı Şirâzî" accessed, 15 Nov. 2018, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c15/c150052.pdf>

<sup>172</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 126a; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 86.

<sup>173</sup> Although recent literature has argued strongly that the prevailing ideas about Ottomans' imitation of Persian culture and literature should be reconsidered, it is a fact that the Persian language and poetry were still influential among poets in seventeenth-century Istanbul. For example, see: Murat Umut İnan, "Rethinking the Ottoman Imitation of Persian Poetry" (2017), *Iranian Studies* 50/5, 671-689. *Dîvân-ı Hâfız* was especially common among Istanbulot poets in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, there were commentaries in circulation such as Sûdî in the second half of the seventeenth century. See: Murat Umut İnan, *Writing a Grammatical Commentary on Hafiz of Shiraz: A Sixteenth-century Ottoman Scholar on the Divan of Hafiz* Ph.D. Dissertation, (Washington University, 2012), 28-30.

In a single day, Hasan Efendi might visit (*ziyâret*) several people. That is to say, he constantly walked (*hareket*) from one place to another, roaming his neighborhood and adjacent neighborhoods. While walking, he came across (*mukârenet*) acquaintances in the streets, with whom he conversed on the run. Furthermore, Hasan Efendi recorded the minute details of the streets he passed. It would not be an exaggeration to say that he visualized the junctions of streets with verbal descriptions. For instance, he once noted one of his walks with the son of the *Piškadem*: “I went up to Haseki through Dikilitaş Street and then arrived at Sâlih Efendi<sup>174</sup> Street. I moved towards the Yıldız Street’s narrow section, which is across from the water disperser. Then, I left Piškademzade.”<sup>175</sup> Such descriptions are not rare in the *sâlnâmes*. Hasan Efendi recorded even some longer passages. What is more, he and his companions had a particular interest in gazing (*seyir*) at buildings, especially the acquaintances’ houses.<sup>176</sup> On one occasion, they gazed at Ağazade’s building from a point in his garden<sup>177</sup>, while on another one, they gazed at his Kayın Çelebi’s house along with Kayın Çelebi and his father-in-law Kavukçu Mustafa Çelebi.<sup>178</sup>

What do these detailed descriptions mean? Why would he list the streets he passed one by one? What could be the background of an interest in gazing at the buildings with friends? First, it is obvious that he had a strong visual memory, if we suppose that he wrote down his notes after the day was over. But was this something particular to Hasan Efendi at that time? As Hatice Aynur writes in her relevant article, “depicting the city through words” was a common practice among the Istanbul authors/poets starting from the fifteenth century onward.<sup>179</sup> For example, Latîfî wrote the *Risâle-i Evsâf-ı İstanbul (A Tract on the Features of Istanbul)* in the early-sixteenth

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<sup>174</sup> The streets were associated with the names of the people who resided in them. This certain Salih Efendi must have been the one whom Hasan Efendi called “Our mentor Salih Efendi (Hocamız Sâlih Efendi)” See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 112a.

<sup>175</sup> “Dikilitaş sokağından Haseki’ye çıkub ve Sâlih Efendi Sokağından mürur idüb sikâye mukabilindeki sokaktan Yıldız sokağının ziltine geldikde Piškademzade’nin refâkatı nihayet bulmuştur.” *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 33a.

<sup>176</sup> Hasan Efendi had an interest in the houses themselves in addition to watching them. His mind was so occupied with who rented whose house or who was residing near who that he constantly noted the addresses in this way. For example, “I went to Derzipaşazades’ uncle Stable Chamberlain Mehemmed Ağa, who resides near the house that Solak Çelebi leased out to the agent of harem. (Solak Çelebi haremın halifesine bâyi ettiği evin kurbündeki evde Derzipaşazadlerin dayısı Ahur Kethüdası Mehemmed Ağa’ya varmak)” *Sohbetnâme II*, 9a-96.

<sup>177</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 54b.

<sup>178</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, 11b.

<sup>179</sup> Hatice Aynur, Şehri Sözle Resmetmek, in *Antik Çağdan XIX. Yüzyıla Büyük İstanbul Tarihi Edebiyat Kültür Sanat* eds. Coşkun Yılmaz (İstanbul: İBB Kültür A.Ş., 2015), 128-145.

century.<sup>180</sup> In six chapters, this work depicted Istanbul through words.<sup>181</sup> Another example was of course Evlîya Çelebi, who devoted a complete manuscript to Istanbul.<sup>182</sup> In addition, Eremya Çelebi K m rciyan’s history of Istanbul is a seventeenth-century example in which the city is described.<sup>183</sup> As to Hasan Efendi’s and his companions’ passion for gazing (*seyr*) at the buildings (*yapu*), this activity was presumably not unique to them, either. As early as the seventeenth century, poets wrote chronograms to commemorate the constructions of particular buildings in the city.<sup>184</sup> Although these chronograms do not usually bear a value in terms of their reflection on architecture<sup>185</sup>, we may trace Hasan Efendi’s and his companions’ interest in buildings as part of this same contemporary trend.

### 1.3.2. Temporal Organization of Life

All of these activities are given a temporal organization, as Hasan Efendi uses specific terms to define the time of the day. These include: *bad’el-asr*, indicating a period of time towards the evening; *bad’ez-zuh r*, meaning just after noon; *bad’el- şa*, the time until midnight; *bad’el-magrib*, right after sunset; and, *sabah*,<sup>186</sup> the morning. These time intervals mostly constituted the temporal organization in Hasan Efendi’s and his companions’ life and were clearly reflective of five daily prayer times.<sup>187</sup> It is thus quite visible that the temporal dimension of their life centered around their religious acts and affairs, although Hasan Efendi did not regularly mention his daily prayers—probably for the same reason that he did not mention the content of their * şret* gatherings. But, were the prayer times the only components of the temporal organization in our protagonist’s and his companion’s everyday lives?

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> K m rciyan, * stanbul Tarihi XVII. Asırda  stanbul*, 1-58.

<sup>184</sup> An example, dating to 1070/1659, comes from the d v n compilation of Fevz . In this chronogram, Fevz  commemorated the construction of the Fountain of Tersane Em ni Mehmed Aġa. See:  zer Ően deyici. “*Fevz  Divanı İnceleme-Metin-İndeks*.” Gazi  niversitesi, T rk Dili ve Edebiyatı B l m , 2006

<sup>185</sup> T lay Artan, *Architecture As A Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*, Ph.D. Dissertation, (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989), 16.

<sup>186</sup> To note, there were certain morning activities. The morning coffee (*kahve-i sabah*) was prevailing among them.

<sup>187</sup> They were not restricted to the above-mentioned forms. Most of the given time intervals refer to a period right after a praying time. However, they could also indicate an interval before a specific prayer time as well such as *Kable’l-magrib* (before the evening)



Avner Wishnitzer has argued that clocks were a significant component of Ottomans' lives and transformed their temporal culture by eighteenth century.<sup>188</sup> In the same way, Marinos Sariyannis has argued that the usage of precise mechanical time-keeping started to prevail among the Ottoman elites around the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century.<sup>189</sup> Mechanical watches had already become common among the dignitaries in the late sixteenth century.<sup>190</sup> However, Sariyannis's argument, based on both Ottoman and Greek sources, is that mechanically-supported accuracy in time-keeping did not appear before the early-eighteenth century. Justifiably, he maintains that since the relevant sources are short and/or understudied, a transformation of time-keeping manners in the seventeenth century (at least until the last decades) cannot be claimed. In this way, he departs from Kafadar's claim about the newly-emerged temporalities.

Kafadar argues that the urban dynamics of Istanbul underwent a set of changes in the early modern period.<sup>191</sup> According to him, three important developments marked these changes. These were as follows: (1) the emergence of an urban bourgeoisie class along with new forms of urbanization, (2) the increasing use of the night and new types of temporality that recreated the understanding of work and leisure times, and (3) the rise of new forms of entertainments such as Karagöz and meddah.<sup>192</sup> Although Sariyannis acknowledges Kafadar's premises about the new forms of urbanization and the emergence of a new bourgeoisie class, he questions the claim that a new consciousness of temporality must have emerged in close relation to this newly emerging bourgeoisie class.<sup>193</sup> His main point is to prove that there was a transformation in temporality and time-keeping in the eighteenth century, but such a change was not visibly present in the seventeenth century. He further argues that one should examine the relevant sources such as

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<sup>188</sup> Avner Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks Alla Turca Time and Society in the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 7.

<sup>189</sup> Marinos Sariyannis, "Temporal modernization" in the Ottoman pre-Tanzimat context", *Etudes Balkaniques* 53 (2017), pre-published version accessed 10 Nov 2018 [https://www.academia.edu/34564904/\\_Temporal\\_modernization\\_in\\_the\\_Ottoman\\_pre-Tanzimat\\_context](https://www.academia.edu/34564904/_Temporal_modernization_in_the_Ottoman_pre-Tanzimat_context)

<sup>190</sup> Faroqhi mentions, on the basis of an anecdote related to Ahmed Paşa and Sokullu Mehmed Paşa rivaling for European clocks, that Ottomans ordered clocks from Northern European cities such as Nuremberg in the late sixteenth century. See: Suraiya Faroqhi. *A Cultural History of the Ottomans, Imperial Elite and its Artefacts*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2016, 1., Sariyannis also says that sources mention watches starting from mid-sixteenth century onwards. See: Sariyannis, Temporal Modernization, 7.

<sup>191</sup> See: Cemal Kafadar, "How Dark is the History of the Night, How Black the Story of Coffee, How Bitter the Tale of Love: The Changing Measure of Leisure and Pleasure in Early Modern Istanbul" in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by Arzu Öztürkmen and E. B. Vitz, (Marston, 2014), 244.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Sariyannis, Temporal Modernization, 11-12.

diaries, trade guidebooks, and Karagöz scenarios, which are scant and understudied, in order to understand if there was actually a transformation towards a precise time-keeping.<sup>194</sup> Sariyannis's first example to prove his argument is Hasan Efendi. Citing Gökyay's introductory article on the *sâlnâmes*, Sariyannis writes that Hasan Efendi 'only rarely' used inexplicit terms such as "near sunset" and "at the noon prayer."<sup>195</sup> thus, grouping Hasan Efendi's *sâlnâmes* under the category of diaries which "show little care for timing with the precision of hours."<sup>196</sup> He then writes of some eighteenth-century examples that align well with his search for precision time-keeping, such as the diary of Sadreddinzâde Telhîsi Mustafa Efendi from early-eighteenth century.<sup>197</sup>

A close reading of the *sâlnâmes* reveals that Hasan Efendi actually had his own watch. In fact, he bought one on 2 Ramazan 1073/10 April 1663.<sup>198</sup> However, it is certain that he had had one earlier for we know that he had it repaired.<sup>199</sup> For example, on the morning of 19 Cemaziye'l-ahir 1073/29 January 1663, he woke up towards eight (*sekize karîb*),<sup>200</sup> and two hours later, at ten (*onuncu saatte*), Pişkadem Hasan Çelebi passed away.<sup>201</sup> It was not unusual for Hasan Efendi to record any news of death or birth with their precise times. In the same manner, he once notes that Yusuf Ağa had a baby boy born at six (*altıncı saatte*) on 27 Cemaziye'l-ahir 1073/6 February 1663.<sup>202</sup> As it can be inferred from both records, Hasan Efendi's companions had watches, too because the news was brought to him by others. His use of the suffix "-miş", which denotes the adverb "reportedly", proves this.<sup>203</sup>

What is more, he once records that he and a certain Çelebi named Osman looked at each other's watches.<sup>204</sup> In the same manner, he notes that he set his watch according to a certain Mehmed

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<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>198</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 72a.

<sup>199</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 115b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 80.

<sup>200</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 46b.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., 49a.

<sup>203</sup> See: Ibid.

<sup>204</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 121a.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 86.

Çelebi's watch.<sup>205</sup> Moreover, another example indicates that the use of watches in everyday life was more common than what is considered in the literature: "...at three, we greeted the watchmen in the butcher shop, which are their resting place."<sup>206</sup> Following a gathering, Hasan Efendi and others left a companion's house in the night. As they were moving along the streets, they came across the watchmen. At that time, it was three (*üçüncü saat*). We can easily reason that Hasan Efendi carried his watch with him since he was able to detect the time on the run. Sometimes he was even more precise in his time-keeping. For example, while noting certain people's departure times from a gathering he writes: "...Hacı Alizâde and Taşcızade left at half past nine (tokuz buçukta)".<sup>207</sup>

Hasan Efendi paid attention to the seasons and was a keen observer of annual natural events. According to the calendar followed by the Ottoman royal authorities, a year was divided into two seasons: winter and summer.<sup>208</sup> *Rûz-i Kasım* (The Day of Kasım), represented the advent of winter, and is diligently recorded in the *sâlnâmes* every year.<sup>209</sup> He also notes *Rûz-i Hızır* (The Day of Hızır), representing the advent of the summer in the wake of a natural resurrection.<sup>210</sup> Hasan Efendi also records the three different symbolic stages pertaining to the advent of spring, the *cemres* (flares)<sup>211</sup>, which were thought to fall on the skies, the seas, and finally the earth in order to give them the warmth of spring. These *cemres* were followed by *nevrûz* (the new day), the advent of spring, symbolizing the revitalization and resurrection of nature.<sup>212</sup>

In addition to his record of this significant day, Hasan Efendi on one occasion writes quite intriguing information: "Be it known that there is a particular moment in the day or night of the new day where there is not a single particle of cloud in the sky. [In addition] there are three branches of the new day: the branch of *munadjjims* (kol-ı müneccimin) is on the eleventh day of

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<sup>205</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 117a.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 82.

<sup>206</sup> "Üçüncü saatte pasbanlar (gece bekçileri) aramkahı (dinlenme yeri) olan kassab dükkanında sayr-ı ni selamladık." *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 60b.

<sup>207</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 59b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 44.

<sup>208</sup> Ahmet Yaşar Ocak *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* s.v. "Hıdırellez", accessed on 15 November 2018 <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c17/c170165.pdf>

<sup>209</sup> For example, see: *Sohbetnâme II*, 24b, 140b.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 182b.

<sup>211</sup> Cemre-i evvelî (first flare), cemre-i sanîye (second flare), cemre-i sâlîse (third flare).

<sup>212</sup> *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* s.v. "Nevrûz", accessed on 15 November 2018

March; and the branch of the possessor of the daybook (kol-ı sahib-i rûznâme) is on the twelfth day of March; and the branch of the possessor of the oracle (kol-ı sahib-i melhame) is on the thirteenth day of March.<sup>213</sup>” Hasan Efendi also records the solstices, *erba’în*, the longest day in a year,<sup>214</sup> and *hamsîn* marking the second round of winter.<sup>215</sup> All of these natural events were repeated annually and characterized some of Hasan Efendi’s daily activities. In other words, some of Hasan Efendi’s actions were seasonal. For example, having a swim (*deryaya girmek*) on the shores of Narlıkapı was one of the most relaxing things to do in hot summer days.<sup>216</sup>

### 1.3.3. Roaming, Networking and the City

As stated by Müstakîmzâde, Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi was an Istanbuliot (*şehrî*). That he belonged to urban life can be perceived throughout the whole text, since he aspiringly experienced the urban space and shared his visions. The doings of our protagonist were intertwined with the city. Namely, the physical, social and cultural topographies of Istanbul are imprinted in the text and play a crucial role as a setting.

Hasan Efendi strolled through his neighborhood and the larger urban area mostly on foot. He roamed for a purpose, either on his way to various bazaars of the walled-in city, or to the house or store (*dükkân*) of a friend. From this point of view, the urban image reflected in the diary differs greatly from those of Evliyâ Çelebi’s *Seyahatnâme* or Eremya Çelebi’s *İstanbul Tarihi*. While Evliyâ Çelebi makes a systematic tour of the city in textual concerns, Hasan Efendi gives irregular urban information of a tremendous visual sensitivity. Streets, bazaars, stores, houses of certain people are described in their connection with each other. While Eremya Çelebi describes the cities

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<sup>213</sup> “Mâlûm ola ki nevrüzün gecesinde yahud gündüzünde bir dakika vardır ki anda heva yüzünde mikdar zerre sehab (bulut) olmaz ve nevrüzda üç kol vardır: Kol-ı müneccimin martın on birinci günüdür ve kol-ı sâhib-i rûzname on ikinci ve kol-ı sâhib-i melhame on üçüncü günleridir.” *Sohbetnâme II*, 63b. In this piece of information, Hasan Efendi was apparently referring to some bureaucratic people such as *müneccim* and *rûznameci*. These three branches were probably categorized according to their different celestial watches and objectives. For example, the *müneccimbaşı* was responsible for the preparation of new calendars and was given gifts on the morning of *nevrüz* upon his submittal of the new calendar. See: Yücel Demirel, Performative Conceptions of Social Change: The Case of Nevruz Celebrations in Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Anatolia, in *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. by Arzu Öztürkmen (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 473.

<sup>214</sup> For example, in the year 1074/1663, the *erbaîn* was on 21 Cemaziye’l-evvel/21 December. See: *Sohbetnâme II*, 148b.

<sup>215</sup> For instance, the *hamsin* in 1073/1663 started on 21 Cemaziye’l-âhir/31 January. See: *Sohbetnâme II*, 47b.

<sup>216</sup> There are many occasions in which Hasan Efendi had a swim with companions. For example, see: *Sohbetnâme II*, 121b.

neighborhoods one by one for his master in Kayseri, Hasan Efendi's narrative is away from such a "ceremonial" narration as well.

Furthermore, his roaming in and around the city becomes a compensatory activity of his networking efforts. Visits to farms (*çiftlik*) of well-to-do people outside the walled-in city as well as to the mansions of pashas and *ulemâ* reflect the intertwined purposes of roaming and networking. Hasan Efendi did not leave his city during those four years. It was even not usual for him to leave the vicinity of his neighborhood. He occasionally visited Alibeyköy, a northwestern village outside the walls of the city. The first of these Alibeyköy trips took place in the very beginning of 1072/1661, when Hasan Efendi stayed in the farm (*çiftlik*) of his brother-in-law (*enişte*) Ahmed Ağa/Çelebi, the husband of his younger sister Seyyide Zahîde. Ahmed was a wealthy person with a wide range of acquaintances. His house was facing a running water there because Hasan Efendi noted that they watched boats in his saloon (*selamlık*).<sup>217</sup> In this visit, his brother-in-law took him the inner villages of Alibeyköy. They visited the farms of well-to-do people such as a certain Abdullah Çelebi. Hasan Efendi met new people and enjoyed this trip. His brother-in-law was so important to him that he continued to meet with him even after Seyyide Zahîde divorced him, calling him "the former brother-in-law" (*mâzul enişte*).<sup>218</sup>

Despite being the most important in many ways, this was not the only occasion in which Hasan Efendi visited Alibeyköy. Hasan Efendi never mentions the farms once again, but Alibeyköy was a possible destination for the other few times he visited there. On these occasions, the issue of transportation is visible, because Hasan Efendi did not have a horse or any other means. For this reason, he usually borrowed someone's horse(s). On one occasion, he borrowed two horses from the royal stableman Ahmed Ağa,<sup>219</sup> and on another occasion, he borrowed a horse from a certain Cinci Ahmed Efendi.<sup>220</sup> Thus it can be assumed that horses were expensive commodities. For this reason, Hasan Efendi only rarely rode a horse, mostly during his visits to the outer city.

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<sup>217</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 4a.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 14.

<sup>218</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 31b.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 9b.

<sup>220</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 27b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 26.

### 1.3.4. Perception of Political Events: The Case of the Campaign of Uyvâr (1073/1663)

In the secondary literature, the opinion has long been common that Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi is not interested in politics and political events. Contrary to what is believed, I argue that the *sâlnâmes* deal heavily with politics and political events. The current opinion may have been engendered by a superficial reading of the manuscript, however, when he comes across one, Hasan Efendi does not fail to mention a palace and/or political event. Military campaigns, execution news from the bureaucratic ladder, the sultan's whereabouts, or his newly-born sons occupy a considerable place in his daily notes. For example, on the day of 6 Saferü'l Hayr 1073/20 September 1662, he stumbles upon Mehmed IV with his retinue entering into a certain garden and gives a diligent record of this incident. There are many examples like this one. Therefore, it is impossible to conclude that he is uninterested in political events. It is true that there are large intervals between times in which he mentioned political events. However, the de facto capital city of the state was Edirne at that time,<sup>221</sup> and it is thus understandable that someone living in Istanbul would not be greatly involved in politics, unless the sultan visits the city. In addition, the political events may occasionally interrupt the normal pace of life. In such cases, they occupy a considerably large place in the diary. For example, the Campaign of Uyvâr<sup>222</sup> is one of such events.

On 22 Muharrem 1073/6 September 1662, Hasan Efendi recorded that he went to the tent (*çadır*) of a certain falconier (*şahinci*)<sup>223</sup> at Davut Paşa Farm.<sup>224</sup> For a campaign to the West, Davud Paşa was the first halting-station (*menzîl*),<sup>225</sup> so this visit to a tent in Davud Paşa signaled that a campaign was approaching. Hasan Efendi notes that the procession took place on 9 Şaban/19

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<sup>221</sup> Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, *Vekayinâme (1648-1682)*, edited by Fahri Ç. Derin (İstanbul: Çamlıca, 2008), 157

<sup>222</sup> Hasan Efendi does not mention the place of siege. However, as the date reveals, this was the campaign of Uyvâr, which was fought against the Habsburgs under the command of Köprülü Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa. Uyvâr castle located within the borders of modern-day Slovakia had always been a matter of contention between Ottomans and Habsburgs. See: Vojtech Kopcan, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* s.v. "Uyvâr" Accessed 15 November 2018 <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c42/c420178.pdf>

According to Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, a contemporary chronicler, the campaign was due to Habsburg King's desire to annex the region of Erdel. See: Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> A chief hunter who was responsible of those who hunted with falcons in the Ottoman Palace. See: Abdülkadir Özcan, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* s.v. "Şahincibaşı" Accessed 15 November 2018 <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c38/c380163.pdf>

<sup>224</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 6b.

<sup>225</sup> See: Abdülkadir Özcan, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Davud Paşa Sahrası" Accessed 20 December 2018 <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c09/c090028.pdf>

March, gives no further information about it.<sup>226</sup> Thus, when he visited the tents of several people including Mustafa Ağa, Yusuf Ağa, his brother-in-law (*enişte*) and the son of his brother-in-law (*eniştezâde*) on 13 Şaban 1073/23 March 1663, the campaign would start in a few days. This campaign would be fought against the Habsburg forces targeting the Uyvar Castle, which was located at the shores of Nitra River, a tributary of the Danube River.<sup>227</sup>

As can be understood from the last tent visit referred to above, people from Hasan Efendi's family also attended the campaign. His brother-in-law (*enişte*) was a sergeant (*çavuş*) at the time. On 25 Şaban 1073/4 April 1663, he writes that he saw his nephew Hüseyin Çelebi in his campaign clothes (*esvâb-ı sefer*) in front of a certain store.<sup>228</sup> They hugged (*muaneke*) each other and his nephew left. His close companion Nazmî Efendi also left. There were some others from his order such as Kefeli Mehmed Efendi. Why Hasan Efendi did not attend is uncertain, but it is most likely that those who went to the campaign from sûfî orders departed on the basis of some official appointments not on their own wills. In addition, Hasan Efendi regularly notes news from the campaign. One among them is the news of the assassination of Şamîzâde Efendi and his son-in-law Kadızade Efendi.<sup>229</sup> In 1073-4/1664, Hasan Efendi started to record those who returned from the campaign. The first return was nine months after the departure for the campaign. Although he did not record anything about his relatives, he recorded his companions' arrival back in Istanbul almost a year later.

### 1.3.5. The Issue of Literacy: A Gender Perspective

The issue of literacy should draw the attention of anyone studying the *sâlnâmes*, because most of the people in it are expressly literate. The word, *kitâbet* (writing) is used many times in the text, mostly when Hasan Efendi himself writes a letter or a *muhabbetnâme*, but sometimes, when someone else does, such as his son. Surprisingly, women are no exception to this literacy. In fact, the text offers plentiful occasions in which the experiences of women in reading or writing are

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<sup>226</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 64a.

<sup>227</sup> Vojtech Kopcan, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* s.v. "Uyvar".

<sup>228</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 68a.

<sup>229</sup> See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 131b. This issue has long been debated among Ottomanists since the relevant primary sources do not show a consensus on the reason. See: Muhammed Fatih Çalışır, *A Long March: The Ottoman Campaign in Hungary, 1663 M.A.* Thesis, (Central European University, 2009), 20-21.

described. For example, Hasan Efendi recounts that he and his younger sister once wrote *muhabbetnâmes* to their elder sister while they were in Alibeyköy.<sup>230</sup>

More striking examples can be given as well. For example, he once mentions that he and his son read some fiqh books (*ilahiyât* and *esvâb*), among which was a Turkish hadith collection (*Türki-i Hadis*) owned by his elder sister. In another example, a new book, “under whose lines the Turkish translations are given,” is handed to Hasan Efendi.<sup>231</sup> His first stop was his elder sister. It can be inferred from this example that literate women were not confined to basic practices of readings and writing but were occasionally part of intellectual pursuits as well.

#### 1.4. The Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter aimed to introduce both the author and his diary. First, it revised the biographical information of Hasan Efendi, showing that he was a man of parts, who did not restrain himself to his religious career, but was also a poet and a calligrapher. Secondly, this chapter pointed to some possible reasons for the composition of the *sâlnâmes*. Afterwards, it dealt with some technical aspects such as the issue of genre, technical changes and continuities, and the language. This analysis has demonstrated that Hasan Efendi’s diary should not be perceived from the same perspective with modern diaries because the intention of the author might not solely be recording his daily doings. Finally, it discussed the contextual making of the *sâlnâmes*, aiming to give a picture of the everyday life and the mindset reflected in them.

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<sup>230</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol.4b.; Can “Seyyid Hasan”, 14.

<sup>231</sup> *Sohbetnâme I* fols. 29b and 31a; Can “Seyyid Hasan”, 27.



## CHAPTER 2 - SEYYİD HASAN NÛRÎ EFENDİ'S MICROCOSM: AN EXAMINATION

This chapter aims to examine Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi's group relationships in three gradually expanding realms from (1) his family to (2) his companions, and then to (3) the men of titles. By doing so, it aims to discuss (a) the scope and limits of Hasan Efendi's networks, (b) how his networking efforts expanded from his routine domains to non-routine domains and (c) how his daily activities and networking efforts shaped each other reciprocally. To this end, the first subchapter will reflect on Hasan Efendi's intimate relationships. Mainly consisting of his family members, this domain is a stage for stable relationships and habitual daily activities. It is obvious that the inclusion of a certain amount of privacy in the *sâlnâmes* presents an unusual source for the historian. For this reason, Hasan Efendi's familial relationships, especially that with his wife Gülbevî, have been examined by scholars to some extent. Yet, the text has much more to offer than this minuscule piece with plenty of intriguing information about his sons, his sisters, and another wife.

The second subchapter will study another indispensable component of his world, that is, his companions and *sûfî* brothers in Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge. Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi spends a considerable portion of his daily time with them either individually or communally. Engaging in an analysis of Hasan Efendi's companions expanding from his close companions to the neighborhood, this part identifies some renowned authors and high-ranking officials among Hasan Efendi's companions and qualifies their role in Hasan Efendi's life. In other words, it deals with Hasan Efendi's affiliates, possible networking agencies, and with some "career lines" in Hasan Efendi's circles.<sup>232</sup>

The third subchapter, which expands to a citywide area, will open a window into his understudied connections with dignitaries. That is to say, this part focuses on the non-routine encounters of

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<sup>232</sup> The term, career lines and/or multiple career lines belong to the famous article of Lawrence Stones on prosopographical studies. See: Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," *Historical Studies Today* 100 (1971): 46.

Hasan Efendi. This subchapter, titled Istanbul-wide encounters, is a suitable venue to trace his wide network and careerism. Although the plenitude of spare time he had has always been interpreted as a signal of ‘a carefree life,’ it is apparent that the time in which he wrote his *sâlnâmes* coincided with a period in which he was waiting for a post.<sup>233</sup> Therefore the networking activities towards achieving a permanent career are visible in the text from the very start in 1661 until his appointment to Ferrûh Kethüdâ Tekkesi, Balat in 1664. Established on the speculation that he might have aimed to seek patronage and/or help in appointment to a post, his encounters with four famous people will be discussed, and his two encounters with Mehmed IV will be added as the culmination of this process.

### 2.1. Reflection of Intimacy: Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi’s Family

Although there is a growing interest in the history of the family in recent Ottomanist scholarship, it is usually limited to the Arab World and Balkans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>234</sup> When it comes to Anatolia, and İstanbul especially, there is still a dearth of studies which would enable us to envision the concept of the family as a unit of the Ottoman society at large. Moreover, those that exist mostly pertain to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>235</sup> In this way, the *sâlnâmes* loom large as a useful account for an in-depth analysis of the concept(s) of early modern Ottoman marriage, intra-familial relationships and childhood. Rather than attempting such an in-depth analysis, here my intention is to demonstrate the wealth of information the text provides on this matter.

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<sup>233</sup> In the terminology of Ottoman ‘*ilmîyye*, this specific period is usually referred to as *mülâzemet* (internship and/or maturation under the auspices of a master). See: İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı İlmîye Teşkilatı*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1988), 45-54. Hasan Efendi’s career path does not allow us to locate it as a period of internship. Nevertheless, an analogy can easily be established because he sought to be appointed to a position in *sûfiyye*. His keen interest in other people’s career trajectories, reflected in the text, indicates that he was experiencing a similar process. According to contemporary and/or later biographers, Hasan Efendi had been on the path of ‘*ilmîyye* at first. For example, see: Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, “Vekâyî-ül Fuzelâ II-III” in *Şakaik-i Nu’maniye ve Zeyilleri vol. 4* ed. Abdülkadir Özcan, (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayıncılık, 1989), 36. However, he later left this path for the sake of being a devoted *sûfi*. However, I believe that he did not completely break with the madrasa, since he notes in the diary his going to madrasa on many instances. In a few of these instances, his reason for going to madrasa is explicitly linked to educational purposes. For example, he once goes to Hacı Uhd Tekkesi to study a certain portion of *el-Keşşaf*, a book of Quranic exegesis (*tafsîr*), with the students of the adjacent madrasa. See: *Sohbetnâme II*, 56a.

<sup>234</sup> For example, see: Beshara, Doumani, *Family Life in the Ottoman Mediterranean: A Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.; Iris Agmon, *Family and Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman Palestine* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006); Maria Todorova, *Balkan family structure and the European pattern: demographic developments in Ottoman Bulgaria* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1993).

<sup>235</sup> Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family, and Fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2002).

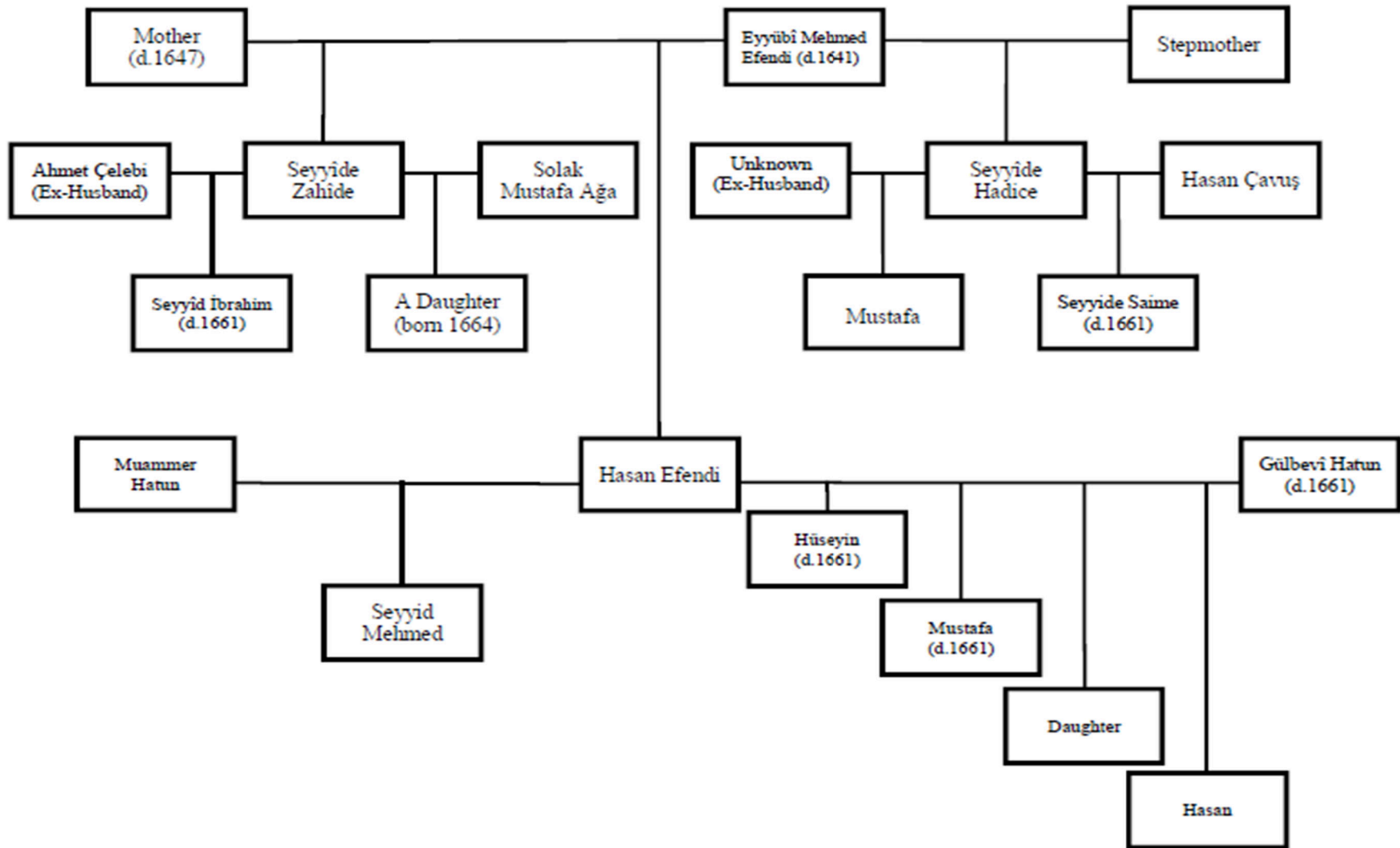


Figure: Hasan Efendi's Family Tree

In the *sâlnâmes*, Hasan Efendi refers to his household/family as *ehl-i beyt* (people of the house).<sup>236</sup> As referred to above a few times, his father was Eyyûbi Mehmed Efendi. His mother's name is unknown, yet he refers to her as the mother (*vâlîde*) while noting her death anniversaries. It can be inferred from these notes that she died in the year 1647.<sup>237</sup> It should also be noted that he does not perform this practice to record his father's death anniversaries.

In addition, his family included his four sons, at least one daughter and at least two wives. His two sisters, their husbands, and his nephews/nieces are also among his family.<sup>238</sup> There were other people whose proximity to the household can be easily detected, such as Selim Kadın, her son Yusuf, Lütîfi Usta and a certain Şahbaz. Next-door neighbors (*câr-ı mülâsık*) such as Belkîs Bacı/Hoca can be considered within this scheme as well because Hasan Efendi portrayed a convivial image of their relationship. As will be discussed below, this certain companionship between Hasan Efendi and Belkîs stands out in a way that necessitates a re-assessment of the prevailing understanding of typical male-female relationship in the pre-modern Islamic societies.

### 2.1.1. Hasan Efendi's Sisters

A significant component of Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi's familial life was his two sisters to whom he refers as *küçük hemşire* (the younger sister) and *büyük hemşire* (the elder sister) in the text. The name of the younger sister was Seyyide Zahîde,<sup>239</sup> the elder sister was Seyyide Hadice.<sup>240</sup> As has been discussed in the first chapter, he also preferred to use Persian terms *hâher-i kihter* (the younger sister) and *hâher-i mihter* (the elder sister) alternatively. To the best of our knowledge, Hasan Efendi and the elder sister were paternal siblings since Hasan Efendi explicitly referred to the mother of the elder sister a few times.<sup>241</sup> However, he did not make such an explicit statement about Seyyide Zahîde.

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<sup>236</sup> For example, see: *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 4a; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 14.

<sup>237</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 22a.

<sup>238</sup> See the Figure 1 on page 52.

<sup>239</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fols. 26a-26b, 50a-50b; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, pgs. 25, 37., *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 96a.

<sup>240</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 17a.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 21.

<sup>241</sup> "We ate at the elder sister's [house] with her mother and sister [and] the wet nurse and Latîfi Hâtûn and the other Beşlizade and the lettered woman and her daughter's daughter Râb'ia (Hâher-i mihterde taaşşı ma madreş ve hahereş daye kadın ve Latîfi hâtûn ve Beşlizade-i dom ve okumuş kadın duhter-i duhtereş Rabia)." See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 77a. Hasan Efendi's own mother was already dead because he writes commemorative notes at the turn of his mother's death anniversary each year. However, he would refer to another mother (*mader/vâlîde*) in various contexts. Evidenced by the word "*maderiş*" (her mother) in the case above, this

Hasan Efendi spent a great deal of time in both of sisters' houses, especially the elder sister's residence. After an *işret* gathering, he would frequently go to his sisters', especially the elder sister, where he would usually eat (*tenâvül*). He records these instances many times, saying “*I visited (ziyâret) the elder sister, and she fed me [with a banquet (ziyâfet)]*.”<sup>242</sup> During the day, too he would stop there to take a rest (*istirahât/menâm*), and he never fails to mention the cups of coffee he had (*tenâvül-i kahve*). Sometimes, all of these would happen in one day. For example, he once notes that “*I drank the morning coffee, took a rest, and ate at the elder sister's [house]*.”<sup>243</sup> In addition, he records his conversations with his sisters on many occasions. Although we do not know anything about the content of these conversations (*mücâleset*), it is safe to say that they were not only about mundane issues because Hasan Efendi makes open remarks on his intellectual exchanges with the elder sister. In fact, as has been discussed in the first chapter, both sisters were literate women and their access to information was not restricted. They had their own says within the male-dominated communities. So much so that, the private spaces do not manifest a strong sense of gender separation in the text, although this phenomenon may have been particular to these women, who had their own personal prestige among the circle in comparison to a woman from among the ordinary people.

It is apparent that the elder sister (*büyük hemşire/hâher-i mihter*) played a greater role in Hasan Efendi's daily life.<sup>244</sup> His many visits and sleepovers at her house certainly needs further explanation. As put by Erika Glassen, the basis of the Ottoman mentality was *huzur* (peace of mind/soul).<sup>245</sup> Nabi explained it in this way: “what man needs is peace of soul”.<sup>246</sup> In this way, it can be assumed that Hasan Efendi was in search of peace of mind at that time. Those four years of writing were not a normal period of time for him. He was passed his forties and he had no certain

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mother should be the mother of the elder sister. Besides, the mother of the elder sister must have married after the death of Eyyübî Mehmed Efendi, Hasan Efendi's father, because she had another daughter. This daughter is explicitly referred to as “the sister of the elder sister” in the case above. Moreover, Hasan Efendi visits the mother of the elder sister in her house from time to time. From one of these visits, a note reads from the *sâlnâmes* “I paid a visit to the mother and conversed with her daughter and son-in-law.” See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 70a. As it can be inferred from these, Hasan Efendi and his elder sister were biologically paternal siblings.

<sup>242</sup> For example, *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 2a.

<sup>243</sup> “*Hâher-i mihterde sabah kahvesini tenâvül, menâm ve iltikam*” See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 40b.

<sup>244</sup> According to Deniz, this is because Hasan Efendi felt more comfortable at the elder sister's house. See: Deniz, *The Use of Spaces by Sufis*, 40-43.

<sup>245</sup> Marinis Sariyannis, “Time, Work and Leisure: A Preliminary Approach to Leisure in Ottoman Mentality,” in *New Trends in Ottoman Studies*, proceedings of New Trends in Ottoman Studies, Greece, Crete (Crete, 2014), 806.

<sup>246</sup> “*Ademe gerek olan rahatdur.*” See: *Ibid.*, 806.

post until 1074/1664. He lost two sons and a wife in only a few months.<sup>247</sup> Staying in his own house may have caused great suffer for him for a long time. Thus, he might have looked for some other places in which he could bring back his peace of mind and pull himself together again. As is clearly stated by Hasan Efendi, the elder sister moved to a new house right after she lost her daughter. He notes that they rented the house of Yazıcı Mehmed, the clerk of the Süleyman Ağa Foundation.<sup>248</sup> He specifically recorded the date in which the elder sister moved to her new house.<sup>249</sup> Accordingly, Hasan Efendi began to visit his elder sister's new house frequently, and it might have been mentally-remedial both for the elder sister and Hasan Efendi.

Furthermore, as some biographical dictionaries hint, Seyyide Hadice might have been the wife of Necmeddin Hasan Efendi (d.1019/1610). When Hasan Efendi's father Eyyübî Mehmed Efendi became a disciple of Sünbülîye branch, Necmeddin Hasan Efendi was the sheikh of the branch. *Vekayi-ül Füzela* points out that Necmeddin Hasan Efendi married to the sister of Eyyübî Mehmed Efendi towards the end of his life.<sup>250</sup> However, some other sources portray a different picture, as they state that Necmeddin Hasan Efendi got married to the daughter of Seyyid Mehmed Efendi.<sup>251</sup> This possibility seems more reasonable since Necdet Yılmaz found out this information from *Lemezât* of Cemaleddin Hülvi, who talked to Necmeddin Hasan Efendi himself.<sup>252</sup> Therefore, the daughter in question could be the elder sister Seyyide Hadice since Hasan Efendi did not mention a third sister. One can question if the third sister had died before, but, given that Hasan Efendi diligently pens annual commemorative notes for his loved ones, had a third sister lived, he certainly would have mentioned her in the *sâlnâmes*.

Necmeddin Hasan Efendi did not live very long after his marriage to Eyyübî Mehmed Efendi's daughter. He also had two sons (Kiramüddün and Alaaddin) born towards the end of his life. Even

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<sup>247</sup> Deniz, *The Use of Spaces by Sufis*, 45.

<sup>248</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fols. 72a-72b.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 52.

<sup>249</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 81a.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 59.

<sup>250</sup> Şeyhî Mehmed Efendi, "Vekayiül-Füzela I" in *Şakaik-i Nu'maniye ve Zeyilleri Vol. 3* ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 51-52.

<sup>251</sup> See: Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf" 76. Furthermore, some later biographical dictionaries seem to have adopted the opinion of Hulvi such as Tevfik's *Mecmua-i Terâcim*. In Teraccim, Kiramüddin Efendi, namely the brother of Alaaddin Efendi and the son of Necmeddin Hasan Efendi, was explicitly stated as the nephew (*hemşirezâde*) of Seyyid Hasan Nûri Efendi. See: Mehmed Tevfik, *Mecmûa-i Terâcim*, İstanbul Üniversitesi, TY, 192, 58b-59a. Although this assumption is partly speculative, all the evidence point to that the elder sister might be the wife of Necmeddin Hasan Efendi.

<sup>252</sup>In fact, Yılmaz writes that the earlier transcription of *Lemezât* by Serhan Tayşi was mistaken. Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf" 76.

though the mother of these brothers is not mentioned in the sources, given the proximity of his last marriage and births, the mother might have been the daughter of Eyyûbi Mehmed Efendi. Thereby, it is possible that Seyyide Hadice might be the mothers of the later sheikhs of the path, Seyyid Kiramüddin Efendi and Seyyid Alaaddin Efendi (d. 1682).<sup>253</sup> Yet, a solution to this issue certainly needs a further verification and/or falsification.

It is true that Hasan Efendi refers to the elder's sister husband, Hasan Çavuş in the diary.<sup>254</sup> Given that the elder sister was young back then, she may have later wedded Hasan Çavuş after the demise of Necmeddin Hasan Efendi. In fact, a careful reading of the *sâlnâmes* reveals that Hasan Çavuş was the second husband of the elder sister. When the elder sister's daughter Seyyide Saîme came down with the plague, Hasan Efendi explicitly states that "...Seyyide Saime, the daughter of the elder sister from Hasan Çavuş, got plague-stricken."<sup>255</sup> Emphasizing the paternity of Hasan Çavuş, this note implies that the elder sister had been married before.

As for the younger sister Seyyide Zahîde, Hasan Efendi does not mention her as much as he does his elder sister. She was not present in their life, since she was living in a different neighborhood with her husband, Ahmed Çelebi/Ağa until their divorce on 22 Cemazeyilevvel 1072/13 January 1662, following the death of their son Seyyid İbrahim. Ahmed Çelebi was the son of the *orta defterdar*<sup>256</sup> and apparently a prominent personality.

In his diary, Hasan Efendi narrates the details of the divorce except for its reason. He notes that his sister Seyyide Zâhide "got a divorce with a one-time payment of an alimony adding up to 18.000 akçes."<sup>257</sup> He does not fail to mention that "[the couple] had previously resided in a rental house near Kassab Çeşmesi."<sup>258</sup> *Hazret-i Aziz* was present during the case and advised the ex-couple.<sup>259</sup> After the divorce, Seyyide Zâhide stayed at the rental house for more than three months before she returning to the neighborhood and settling in her own house (*mülk-i evi*) on 17 Şaban/7

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<sup>253</sup> Yılmaz, "Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf" 77. Besides, see: Tuğba Özçelik, *Silsile-i Sünbülfyye*, M.A. Thesis, (Kocaeli Üniversitesi, 2018), 33.

<sup>254</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 17a.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 21.

<sup>255</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>256</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 26a-26b.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 25.

<sup>257</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fols. 50a-50b.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 37.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*

April,<sup>260</sup> Seyyide Zahîde later married a certain Solak Mustafa Ağa, and had a baby from this marriage.<sup>261</sup>

### 2.1.2. Hasan Efendi's Wives

Unlike his sons and sisters, Hasan Efendi does not provide us with rich details about his wives.<sup>262</sup> What we know stems from bits and pieces, which added together point to some intriguing facts. To the best of our knowledge, Hasan Efendi had two wives. In addition, he mentions a certain Handan with whom he visited Alibeyköy on 3 Muharrem 1072/28 August 1661.<sup>263</sup> Since we know that this visit included the people of the house (*ehl-i beyt*), Handan was among the members of the family. However, there is no concrete evidence that she was Hasan Efendi's wife. It is another possibility that Handan was Hasan Efendi's daughter.<sup>264</sup>

The first wife whose identity is readily traceable was Gülbevî Hâtun. Gülbevî died in 1072/1662 after getting struck by a deadly wave of plague. Other than the fact that she was the mother of the late sons Hüseyin and Mustafa, we have no further information about Gülbevî. However, Hasan Efendi provides a detailed narration of her death, which will be discussed in the third chapter.

The second wife was Muammer.<sup>265</sup> Muammer was probably Seyyid Mehmed's mother because Hasan Efendi refers to both people in the same context, though only twice. One of these contexts is a very interesting incident that takes place in a public environment. Hasan Efendi describes it in both spatial and instantaneous details: "I just passed the garden of Abdullah Efendi. In front of the store of Mahmud Beg, I saw a woman carrying a little boy wearing a green turban and a white

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<sup>260</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 83b.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 61.

<sup>261</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fols. 96a

<sup>262</sup> Whether or not this is related to the concept of *nâ-mahram* in Muslim societies is a further question to seek an answer under this section. Should Hasan Efendi had sought to remain within the confines of such notions, he must have not mentioned his *ehl-i beyt* in the beginning. For the concept of *nâ-mahram* in Muslim societies, see: Shampa Mazumdar and Sanjoy Mazumdar, "Rethinking Public and Private Space: Religion and Women in Muslim Society," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 18, no. 4 (2001): 302-304.

<sup>263</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 30a.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 27.

<sup>264</sup> He mentioned a daughter (*duhterim*) on only one occasion. See: *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 63a.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 46. However, he did not mention her name. It is likely that this daughter was Handan.

<sup>265</sup> There is not an explicit reference in the text that she was Hasan Efendi's wife. However, as stated by Faroqhi, too, this woman must have been her wife and/or *haremlik* on the basis of the way he called Muammer. See: Faroqhi, "Ein Istanbuler Derwisch des 17. Jahrhunderts", 120. Given the fact that he used the word my son (*oğlum*) and my daughter (*duhterim*), he would have called Muammer as my daughter not the woman (*hâtun*).



cloth. The boy resembled Mehmed. I just thought a moment laying my eyes on the boy's clothes. Then, I saw the woman's smile at me under her yashmak and understood that the boy is Mehmed and the woman is Muammer."<sup>266</sup> In the second case, Hasan Efendi mentions that they played together with Muammer and Mehmed at Hünkâr İskelesi.<sup>267</sup> Was this the Hünkâr İskelesi at Beykoz? If it was, this means that they sailed to the other shore of Bosphorus together. Unfortunately, Hasan Efendi provides no further information on this matter.

Furthermore, a brother of either Gülbevî or Muammer was one of Hasan Efendi's companions in the lodge. Hasan Efendi calls him my brother-in-law (*Kayın Çelebi*). The brother-in-law was an immediate attendant in the lodge and participated in gatherings on many occasions. In addition, Hasan Efendi visited his home frequently. We know that the brother-in-law had a store, although his profession was not revealed to us.<sup>268</sup>

### 2.1.3. Hasan Efendi's Sons

Hasan Efendi's four sons occupy a considerable amount of space in his *sâlnâmes* through all four years. The first son he mentions in the text is Hüseyin. Hasan Efendi does not provide his age, but by the time he started his *sâlnâmes*, Hüseyin had already passed away. People of the house (*ehl-i beyt*) visited his grave from time to time. Since we know that Gülbevî Hatun, Hasan Efendi's first wife, was buried beside Hüseyin, his mother was evidently Gülbevî. Moreover, as I shall be discussing in the third chapter, parts relating to Hüseyin in the text are of prime importance in order to understand the parental care and the grief of losing a child in the pre-modern times.

The second son referred to in the text is Hasan. However, his name is mentioned only one time in the diary.<sup>269</sup> Hasan Efendi usually called him "my elder son" (*büyük oğlum*).<sup>270</sup> As can readily be inferred from the text, the elder son was beyond the age of puberty. He was most probably a

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<sup>266</sup> "Abdullah Efendi Bağçesi'nin küçük kapısını biraz geçdikde Mahmud Beg'in dükkânı beraberinde bir hâtûnun kucağında yeşil serbendli ve beyâz sadeli bir oğlancık gördüm ve serbendinden bizüm Mehmed'e benzetdim. Âya o mu ki deyü gâh takyesine gâh yüzine gâh sadesine imân-ı nazar esnâsında iken ol hâtûnun dahi yaşmak altından bana tebessümünü gördüm ve ol oğlancık Mehmed ve ol hâtûn Muammer idüğünü bildim." *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 13a.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 19.

<sup>267</sup> "Hasan ve Mehmed ile Hünkâr İskelesinde eğlenmek." *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 115a.

<sup>268</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 106b.

<sup>269</sup> "Evvela Büyük oğlum Hasan Efendi'yi sülüs-i mali üzere vasi..." *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 49b. When they were present at the court as witnesses for the will announcement of a woman Seyyide Saîme, this woman appointed Hasan Efendi's son as guardian on her property. The elder son's name appears here for the first time.

<sup>270</sup> For example, see: *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 7b; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 16., *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 191a.

madrassa student because Hasan Efendi writes about him going to lectures (*ders*).<sup>271</sup> Probably because of his age, the portrayal of the elder son is more like a close companion than a son. He would always accompany Hasan Efendi wherever he would go and would usually attend the morning coffee routine with his father and other gatherings.<sup>272</sup> In those four years, Hasan Efendi visited Alibeyköy, a northwestern village outside the city walls, several times. In two of these visits, the elder son accompanied Hasan Efendi.<sup>273</sup> They travelled on horseback, stayed a few days and returned to the city.<sup>274</sup> Although the elder son was probably single during those four years, he would have a son named Abdulhalîm later, as it can be inferred from a chronogram written by Hasan Efendi's youngest son, Seyyid Mehmed Vahyî Efendi.<sup>275</sup>

More strikingly, the elder son is among a few people whose sentences are directly recorded in the text. People were usually notified of the advent of the Ramazan by observing the moon, and, when the crescent is finally observed, the candles were lit on the minarets. Hasan Efendi noted "My son came up shouting "Effendi! The candle has been lightened up somewhere." I [immediately] ascended upstairs and saw a [lightened] candle on a pasha minaret."<sup>276</sup> This sentence is very intriguing in terms of phonetics since it is a rare example attesting the spoken language of the day. Though rare, the text contains similar examples.

The third son, Mustafa, must have been around eight to ten years old when Hasan Efendi started to write his diary. Unfortunately, his situation would be no different than his late brother Hüseyin. Mustafa was still alive at the beginning of the diary, which coincided with late August/early September 1661. However, he passed away suddenly on 16 Muharram 1072/10 September 1661.<sup>277</sup> Although we have a shortage of information about Mustafa, we know that he had just started to attend the school (*mekteb*) before he died.<sup>278</sup> As will be discussed in the last chapter at

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<sup>271</sup> "...prior to conversation, my son came from the lecture. (mücaleset üzereyken oğlum dersten gelüb.)" *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 118a.

<sup>272</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 42b.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 32.

<sup>273</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fols. 27b-29a.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 26-27., *Sohbetnâme II*, fols. 10a-10b.

<sup>274</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>275</sup> Vahyî Efendi wrote a commemorative chronogram after the demise of his nephew Abdulhalim. See: Hakan Taş, "Mehmed Vahyî Divânı Ve İncelemesi", Ph.D. dissertation, (İstanbul Üniversitesi, 2004), 506.

<sup>276</sup> "Oğlum evden "Efendi bir yerde kandil yanmış!" diye avaze eyledi. Fakir derhal yukarıya çıkub bir paşa minaresinde kandil gördüm." *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 71b.

<sup>277</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fols.16a-16b.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 21.

<sup>278</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 10b.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 18.

length, Hasan Efendi narrates this process in a linear structure so that Mustafa becomes plague-stricken after a set of physical signals as well as clairvoyant discernments.

Lastly, the fourth son is Mehmed to whom Hasan Efendi refers as either Seyyid Mehmed or *Oğlum Mehmed* (my son Mehmed). The use of the sobriquet *Seyyid* should draw one's attention in this context because Mehmed was only a toddler who was one and a half years old in 1661. His age would apparently not allow him to be a part of the social constructs in which such sobriquets were valid. As it is suggested, nicknames and/or sobriquets were a significant part of identity construction, social prestige, and status in early modern Europe, and the Ottoman world was no exception to this.<sup>279</sup> In parallel to this premise, Hasan Efendi's occasional referrals to Mehmed as *Seyyid* indicates that the limits of Mehmed's social identity were established by his father.

Furthermore, Hasan Efendi gives a detailed account of Mehmed's daily doings throughout the four years. For instance, his birthdays,<sup>280</sup> his first teeth and his first hair-cut are among the many things recorded about him in the text. If we discount the plague times in August/September 1661, Hasan Efendi was not normally prone to disclosing his sentimental position. However, his extreme care of and devotion to Mehmed is an exception, so much so that Hasan Efendi allocated special times for Mehmed and took him out to spend some time together as father and son. On one of these occasions, Hasan Efendi notes that they went to the hospice (*imaret*) together and he showed Mehmed the lambs standing behind the fencing.<sup>281</sup> Hasan Efendi must have thought that the lambs could entertain the child.<sup>282</sup> On another occasion, Hasan Efendi mentions that he entertained Mehmed first in front of Merkez Efendi's tomb, then in the sheikhs' chamber and the adjacent

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<sup>279</sup> Güçlü Tülüveli. "Nicknames and Sobriquets in Ottoman Vernacular Expression." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 44 (2011), pgs. 161-162.

<sup>280</sup> Hasan Efendi attentively records anniversaries such as the death anniversaries of the loved ones. As to birthdays, he only notes either his own birthdays or his son Mehmed's birthdays. According to one such note, Mehmed turned two on Ramazan 1, 1072/April 20, 1662. See: *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 107b.; Can, *Seyyid Hasan*, 73. These records are repeated annually throughout the four years. Hasan Efendi gave a precise date in one such note: "The Subject of Seyyid Mehmed's Haircut: Be it known that little Mehmed had his haircut on the lap of my elder son...When he was three-year two-months twenty-three-day old. (Matlab-ı tıraş-ı Seyyid Mehmed Mâlûm ola ki zahve-i suğrada suffe-i minanın kenarında büyük oğlumun dizinde Küçük Mehmed üç yaşında ve iki aylık ve yirmi üç günlükken olduğu halde Halil Çelebi'ye tıraş oldu.)" See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 191a.

<sup>281</sup> "Esna-ı sulhte Mehmed'i imarete götürmek ve parmaklığa dahil olub içeride cem olan kuzuları göstermek" *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 77b.

<sup>282</sup> Ariès writes that the concept of childhood was not present in the Middle Ages. According to him, this concept is a new idea originating in the modern times. See: Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York, Knopf, 1962), 36-38. If we define childhood within the notions of Ariès, in Hasan Efendi's case, there was certainly a concept of childhood, since he treated Mehmed as a child in the modern sense of the term.

graveyard, then around the water wheel, and then finally in the Mevlevîhâne orchard.<sup>283</sup> Mehmed's joy was apparently an important matter to Hasan Efendi. Losing two sons must have produced an even-stronger feeling of attachment to the surviving children. It is apparent that the plague was more dangerous for children.<sup>284</sup> Although they had no scientific information whatsoever about this fact, seventeenth-century Istanbulis were well aware of it on the basis of their casualties. This can explain Hasan Efendi's special care and protection of Mehmed. Even though he might have been scared to verbalize, Hasan Efendi was in fear of losing him. On 24 Reb'i'ül-evvel 1073/6 November 1662, he writes that "my son Seyyid Mehmed has been hit by a serious illness", indicating his special attention to Mehmed's health and well-being.<sup>285</sup> He must have been very scared by this situation, but fortunately Mehmed quickly recovered.

When Hasan Efendi finished his last *sâlnâme* in the year 1075/1664-5, Mehmed was five years old. Unlike the other members of the family, the rest of Mehmed's story has reached us through some biographical dictionaries (*tezkîre*) and his own writings. In fact, we encounter him in the forthcoming years as a poet and the heir to his father in the order of Sümbülîyye. Mehmed became the sheikh as well as the preacher of Ferrûh Kethüda Lodge after the death of his father in Muharrem 1100/November 1688.<sup>286</sup> He later transferred to the same position in Kılıç Ali Paşa Camii.<sup>287</sup> In addition, he was a poet composing his poetry under the penname Vahyî. He compiled his poetry in a *divan*,<sup>288</sup> which also includes some prosaic works including two letters. The letters, however, has gained him his actual fame rather than his poetry. The first, addressed to Zübde-i

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<sup>283</sup> "Mehmed'i Merkez Efendi hazretlerinin merkad-i şerifi önünde ve şeyhinin odasında ve kurbünde olan mezaristan ve su dolabı dibinde ve mevlevihane çayırında eğlendirmek" *Sohbetnâme II*, 134a.

<sup>284</sup> There are scientific studies which discusses the factors of age, sex, nutrition in deciding one's vulnerability to the disease. See: Sharon N. DeWitte, "Stress, sex, and plague: Patterns of developmental stress and survival in pre- and post-Black Death London", *American Journal of Human Biology* (2017). In a similar fashion, an overall evaluation of the *sâlnâmes* demonstrate that most of the casualties of the plague of 1072/1661 were women, children, and especially female children.

<sup>285</sup> "Oğlum Seyyid Mehmed isâbet-i illet." *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 25a.

<sup>286</sup> Hakan Taş, *Türk Dîyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Vahyî", accessed November 15, 2018, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c42/c420323.pdf>.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>288</sup> His *divân* has been transcribed as a Ph.D. thesis in 2004 See: Hakan Taş, "Mehmed Vahyî Divânı Ve İncelemesi". Vahyî's *divân* contains a number of chronograms along with his poetry. Although I have searched for a reference to Hasan Efendi in these chronograms, my search did not produce any results.

Hânendegân (The Most Distinguished of the Singers) Küçük Müezzîn Çelebi, includes some musical terminology in accordance with the addressee's skills.<sup>289</sup>

The latter is a very interesting example in terms of both the content and the addressee. It is a humorous/satiric letter sent to the Governor of Baghdad, Hasan Paşa.<sup>290</sup> Hasan Paşa, also known as Eyyübî Hasan Paşa, was probably a childhood friend of Mehmed Vahyî.<sup>291</sup> All in all, the personality of Mehmed Vahyî stands out because, unlike many Ottoman personalities including dignitaries and royals, we are able to trace detailed evidence about him starting from his infancy.

#### 2.1.4. Other Relatives

Hasan Efendi also mentions other relatives, including his cousin Seyyide Fatma, the daughter of Hasan Efendi's paternal uncle. We have no information about her father, that is, Eyyübî Mehmed Efendi's brother.<sup>292</sup> Hasan Efendi notes two visits to Seyyide Fatma. In one of them, Fatma had invited him to come over.<sup>293</sup> They also met at the younger sister's house and had a morning coffee in another instance.<sup>294</sup> Yet Hasan Efendi and Fatma were apparently not very close to each other. When Fatma's daughter died of plague on 23 Safer 1074/26 September 1663, Hasan Efendi noted the sad news, but he could not remember the name of the deceased woman.<sup>295</sup> This case

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<sup>289</sup> Hakan Taş, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Vahyî", The letters are not provided in Taş's Ph.D. dissertation. They were given in an M.A. thesis written one year later. See: Murat Sukan, *Seyyid Mehmed Vahyî Divanı'nın Bilimsel Yayını ile Eserin Şekil ve Muhteva Bakımından İncelenmesi* M.A. Thesis, (Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2005), 602-612.

<sup>290</sup> This letter has been studied recently. See: Erhan Çapraz, "Mizahi Bir Mektup ve Kuşbazlığa Dair Bir Vesikâ: Balat Şeyhi Vahyî Efendi'nin Bağdat Valisi Hasan Paşa'ya Gönderdiği Mektup", *Türkbilgi* 34 (2017)

<sup>291</sup> Eyyübi Hasan Paşa was born in Katerini in Rumelia in 1657. Later, he came to Istanbul under the service of Kara Mustafa Paşa and settled in Eyüp. For this reason, he was nicknamed Eyyübî. First, he served as *çakırcıbaşı* in the palace hierarchy being responsible for a specific type of bird, goshawk (*çakır*) in the royal hunts. His story indicates a linear career rise. After having served as *kapıcılar kethüdâsı*, he became Rumeli beylerbeyi in 1695. He was appointed as a vizier in 1697 and became the governor of Niğde and Karaman. Governorship of Aleppo, Raqqqa, and Diyarbakır followed. He was eventually appointed as the governor of Baghdad in 1704. See: Feridun Emecen, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Eyüplü Hasan Paşa", accessed November 15, 2018, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c16/c160181.pdf> ; Given that Hasan Paşa and Mehmed Vahyî were of the same age and the vicinity and Vahyî penned chronograms after the demises of Hasan Paşa's relatives, they probably were close friends. The letter abounds ornithological symbolism in reference to Hasan Paşa's previous occupation as a *çakırcıbaşı* and alludes to his successful career rise.

<sup>292</sup> Although Hasan Efendi mentions an Amm Efendi (uncle), it is not certain by fact if he was Hasan Efendi's actual paternal uncle nor was he Seyyide Fatma's father.

<sup>293</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 38b.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 67b.

<sup>295</sup> Hasan Efendi left blank where the should be. "Be it known that our cousin Seyyide Fatma's daughter Seyyide ... passed away. (*Mâlûm ola ki amnzâdemiz Seyyide Fatma hâtûnun kızı Seyyide ... fevt olmuş.*)" See the marginalia: *Ibid.*, fol. 131a.

demonstrates that the cousins did not have a close relationship with each other, but simply saw each other from time to time.

Furthmore, two certain wet nurses (*süt dâye*) are mentioned by our protagonist. It is certain that these women were from the household of the elder sister's mother. One of them, the younger wet nurse (*küçük dâye*) died on 13 Muharrem 1073.<sup>296</sup> Her funeral ceremony took place in Kürkçü Mosque and she was buried near Hasan Efendi's familial graveyard.<sup>297</sup> However, the other one survived, and Hasan Efendi intermittently paid her a visit.<sup>298</sup> Hasan Efendi, his sister, her mother, the wet nurse, and a group of other women ate at the elder sister's home once.<sup>299</sup> This may also explain Hasan Efendi's close relationship to his stepmother's household. When Hasan Efendi was born, both of these wet nurses must have breastfed him.<sup>300</sup>

### 2.1.5. Frequent Visitors and Neighbors

The household was surrounded by other people such as visitors and neighbors. Hasan Efendi provides some information about them in the text as well. Such people appear as either individuals or families. As to the neighbors, they are normally not subject to evaluation under the category of Hasan Efendi's family. However, a certain Selîm(e) Kadın and her family are an exception because of their easy and frequent access to Hasan Efendi's house.<sup>301</sup> Selîm Kadın must have been a neighbor and/or a part-time attendant in the house, since no kinship can be established from Hasan Efendi's narration. Although there are no clues provided, Lütfi Usta, another frequent guest, must be the husband of Selîm Kadın because their names are often given together. Both people, along with their son Yusuf, were pictured as dependable friends for the household, as they always stood ready in difficult days. When the serious wave of plague ravaged the city back in the fall of 1661, it was Selim Kadın who cared for Gülbevî Hatun. Mustafa found solace in her arms when Gülbevî

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<sup>296</sup> Ibid., 4a.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid., 4b.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid., 25a.

<sup>299</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 77a

<sup>300</sup> Breastfeeding through wet-nursing or milk-maternity was accepted another way of being related to one another in Islamic terminology. In other words, Hasan Efendi's wet nurses must have been like his real mother to him. Hasan Efendi was twenty-three years old when he lost his real mother. See the commemorative record: However, in Islamic cultures, wet nurses have always been an appropriate method, when the actual mother is not able to breastfeed for several reasons. See: İnci Hot and İbrahim Başağaoğlu, "Tarihte Sütannelik Geleneği," *Türkiye Klinikleri Journal of Medical Ethics* 22, no. 2 (2014): 69-71.

<sup>301</sup> Hasan Efendi sometimes writes Selîme (سليمة) instead of Selîm (سليم). See: *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 136a.

died.<sup>302</sup> When Mustafa became sick, Selîm Kadın and Lütîfî Usta stayed over in Hasan Efendi's house.<sup>303</sup> When there was no one to take care of little Mehmed, Hasan Efendi dropped him off at Selîm Kadın's house.<sup>304</sup> All in all, these people were there to help the people of the house whenever they ran into trouble.

Hasan Efendi also frequently encounters a neighbor, Belkîs Bacı/Hoca.<sup>305</sup> Their socially unrestricted companionship as a male and female at first made me wonder if Belkîs was really a female, however, an instance in which Hasan Efendi speaks to Belkîs's husband has reassured me that she was.<sup>306</sup> That such a companionship seems impossible in accordance with the Islamic concepts of *mahram* (kin) and *na-mahrem* (non-kin).<sup>307</sup> According to Islamic law (*sharia*), any male, other than those who cannot be married (for instance, fathers and brothers), is *na-mahrem* for a woman, and any interaction with *na-mahrem* should be restricted.<sup>308</sup> It is clear that Hasan Efendi and Belkîs were *na-mahrem* to each other, yet such a restriction does not seem to be present in their relationship. Hasan Efendi and Belkîs enjoyed conversations (*mücâleset*) together,<sup>309</sup> and their on-foot conversations were not uncommon. Hasan Efendi once records that they gazed at the newly-dug well in Belkîs's garden together.<sup>310</sup> In another instance, Belkîs showed Hasan Efendi her poultry-house and gifted him three eggs. The rule of reciprocity<sup>311</sup> must have functioned so well that Hasan Efendi gifted (*ihsân*) her a fresh share of dried meat (*basdurma*).<sup>312</sup> This relationship, though extraordinary in our eyes, was obviously an ordinary part of both Hasan Efendi's and Belkîs's lives.

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<sup>302</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 9b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 17.

<sup>303</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 14b-15a.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 20.

<sup>304</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 58a.

<sup>305</sup> Hasan Efendi uses either Belkîs Hoca or Belkîs Bacı. It seems that both names refer to the same person because of the fact that both names are always mentioned in the same contexts. In other words, both names refer to someone living in the same area with Hasan Efendi.

<sup>306</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 137a.

<sup>307</sup> Shampa Mazumdar and Sanjoy Mazumdar, "Rethinking Public and Private Space", 302-304.

<sup>308</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>309</sup> For example: *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 114b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 76.

<sup>310</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 83a.

<sup>311</sup> Gift-giving is a reciprocal process. See: Marcel Mauss, "*The Gift*" (Routledge, 1990), 10-24.

<sup>312</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 114b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 76.

## 2.2. “A Group on Its Own?”: Hasan Efendi’s Companions

*Hicab oldu benlik bana  
Gidemedim dosttan yana  
Ben benliğimden geçmeğe  
Şeyh elin tutmağa geldim.*<sup>313</sup>

A casual reading of the *sâlnâmes* may lead to the perception that Hasan Efendi simply repeated the same sort of gatherings with the same line of people from his restricted social universe of Sünbülîs. However, a close reading, supported by other primary sources such as biographical dictionaries (*tezkîrat*), reveals that his ordinary network, his brothers/companions with whom he met on daily basis were not necessarily Sünbülîs. Some of them were from other branches of Halvetîyye, or from other paths such as Mevlevîyye, while others evidently did not have any direct links to sûfî orders. Some of them were officials who can be classified as military-bureaucrats. The question posed in this subtitle can thus be answered in advance: Hasan Efendi’s ordinary group of companions, with whom he attended *işret* gatherings and/or banquets on a regular basis, was not a group on its own. Instead, the social dynamics functioned in various ways, so it is impossible to talk about a single group, and a holistic approach to his companions reveals an image that reflects more than just a sûfî brotherhood. This should not be surprising since a complex set of connections could well be found even in the most conservative social groups. However, when it comes to a religious group (in this case, a group of dervishes), it is usually perceived as unlikely for them to be involved in some worldly activities, or any activity other than their religious rituals.

This perception of sûfî isolation reflects the often-overlooked fact that theory and practice did not necessarily match. For example, Oğlanlar (Olanlar) Şeyhi İbrahim Efendi wrote on the decorum of *sohbet* gatherings around the same time, drawing a spiritual image in which the brothers were supposed to withdraw themselves from this profane world under the light of their sheiks.<sup>314</sup> In the same manner, Seyyid Nizamoğlu, probably an ancestor of Hasan Efendi’s companion Nizâmzade Efendi, complained that he could not detach himself from worldly desires of the self in his quatrain given at the beginning of this section. I believe what we always encounter in relevant mainstream

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<sup>313</sup> “My youth turned to be a shame, I could not turn towards the companion, oh I came to forget the self of mine, I came to hold the sheikh’s hand.” Seyyid Nizamoğlu, in “*Alevi ve Bektaşî Şiirleri Antolojisi Cilt II: 16. Yüzyıl*”, compiled by İsmail (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1998), 470.

<sup>314</sup> Ahmed Ögke “Oğlanlar Şeyhi İbrahim Efendi’ye Göre Sohbet Adabı”, 86.



sources such as *silsiles*, *sûfi* poems is this theoretical side of the coin, in which the author mentions either a spiritual path ‘devoid of worldliness’ or complains about in-betweenness. However, the *sâlnâmes* demonstrate what most sources do not mention, which is the practical or this-worldly side of the coin. The result, though not fully profane, is an image in which the heavenly and the worldly embrace each other. This image reflects the intersection of both religious rituals such as *sohbet* and other secular activities such as swimming.<sup>315</sup> Moreover, it further indicates that the attendees may not always be of religious and/or *sûfi* origins.

The visibility of courtly elites in the *sûfi* orders is another important point to consider. The presence of such high-ranking people in dervish convents and communities was not a new phenomenon and among these people included even the sultans.<sup>316</sup> Based on what we read in the *sâlnâmes*, the attendance of high-ranking officials in their groups may have been a means for *sûfis* to climb the career ladders. Indeed, as suggested by Kafadar, *sûfiyye* had already become a career path by the late seventeenth century.<sup>317</sup> The existence of countless gatherings, dinners, and visits in the text suggests that not only for Hasan Efendi but also others from his circles were eager to retain posts. This was certainly related to the crystallization of religious affairs in the age of confessionalism.<sup>318</sup>

Moreover, this careerism may have brought about the emulation of the elite stratum among the *sûfi* communities (or *vice versa*).<sup>319</sup> Kafadar’s argument about the emergence of a bourgeoisie class is once again pertinent here,<sup>320</sup> as this phenomenon of a newly-emerging urban class may have blurred the cultural differences between various walks of life. As discussed in the previous chapter, Hasan Efendi’s use of non-Turkish phrases gradually increases over the four years,

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<sup>315</sup> Artan discussed the juxtaposition of the sacred and the non-sacred in Eyüp on the basis of kiosks and summer-residences has indicated that the duality between worldly and unworldly exists only in our modern eyes since this could not be even a matter of question for traditional societies in which the religion infiltrated into every sphere of life. See: Tülay Artan, “Eyüp’ün Bir Diğer Çehresi: Sayfiye ve Sahilsaraylar” in *Eyüp Dün Bugün* edited by T. Artan, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994, 106. The *sâlnâmes* supports Artan’s argument on the basis of late-seventeenth century *sûfi* communities, and leads its modern readers to think out of the box while trying to understand early modern Istanbulis.

<sup>316</sup> For example, the relationship between Sünbülîyye and Selim I is well known. See: Semavi Eyice *İslam Ansiklopedisi* “Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii ve Külliyesi”

<sup>317</sup> Kafadar “Self and Others” 139.

<sup>318</sup> For an overview of confessionalism in Ottoman history: Derin Terzioğlu, “How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization”, *Turcica* 44 (2012-2013), 301-338.

<sup>319</sup> At this point, I need to emphasize that I am only speaking on the basis of my findings from the *sâlnâmes*. My intention is not to generalize any of these for the other *sûfi* communities in Istanbul at that time. Rather, I aim to weave Hasan Efendi’s experiences in a wider context.

<sup>320</sup> Kafadar, “How Dark is the History of the Night”, 244.

although his language is generally fairly plain. For this reason, the disparity between the Persian-dominated phrases and plain Turkish is striking. This situation may indicate an emulation of the ‘high culture’ of the time. Likewise, Hasan Efendi’s mentioning of his personal items such as a fur cloth and watches with detailed descriptions may also indicate his keen sense of class. For example, when he had his fur repaired, he described: “I saw that my haircloth-covered emerald [color] fur came from the fur store.”<sup>321</sup> It is safe to say that such kind of emphases on ownership of goods was not particular to Hasan Efendi. His companions, too, showed such an awareness.

### 2.2.1. Close Companions

In considering these points, Hasan Efendi’s companions can be regarded as middle-ranking people in terms of their reputation and social status, although they were ordinary components of his life. Here, I will explain and discuss his companion’s role in his life and will endeavor to detect some biographical information about them based on some evidence that Hasan Efendi provides in the *sâlnâmes*. It is arguable that companionship had two indispensable contexts: *ziyâret* (visit) and *dâvet* (invitation). Visits were paid to companions usually with the accompaniment of another companion. Invitations could be received to gatherings. Hasan Efendi was generally happy to accept invitations (*icâbet*). These contexts enabled companionship (*murâfakat* and/or *aşinalık*).

Hasan Efendi must have enjoyed spending time with some of his friends more than others since some names are more frequent in the diary. Among them was Şeyhzâde, who was an important component of Hasan Efendi’s life. They spent ample time together either in religious rituals or in non-ritual activities. It was also common for Hasan Efendi to spend time in Şeyhzâde’s place. They may have been dealing with similar struggles because Şeyhzâde lost his daughter in the year 1072/1661.<sup>322</sup> In addition, he was also probably waiting for a post. Even though Hasan Efendi does not give us any other clues about who this Şeyhzâde was, it is possible to detect his identity in *Sicill-i Osmânî*, a biographical dictionary. He may have been Şeyhzâde İbrahim Efendi (d. 1104/1693),<sup>323</sup> since most of the features of İbrahim Efendi contextually line up with Şeyhzâde.

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<sup>321</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 30b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 27.

<sup>322</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 31b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 27.

<sup>323</sup> Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmânî*, ed. Nuri Akbayar (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996), 763.

Şeyhzâde İbrahim Efendi was from Edirne.<sup>324</sup> His grandfather, Şeyhzâde İbrahim Efendi (d. 1014/1606), was a follower of Sünbül Sinan Efendi, and his father Mustafa Efendi (d.1052/1642) was a *mudarris* and *molla*<sup>325</sup> of Manisa. İbrahim Efendi himself later became a *molla* of Edirne and died in 1104/1693 after he was deposed from this post.<sup>326</sup>

In their close company was Ağazade, who is mentioned by Hasan Efendi as much as Şeyhzade. However, any solid confirmation of his identity has not been possible so far. Hasan Efendi usually met with Ağazade at Ağazade's home, and Ağazade attended some gatherings with the attendees of the order. It is apparent that he was from a different circle because gatherings at his home involved unfamiliar people along with the familiar ones. It was also apparent that he did not host any *sohbet* gatherings. Therefore, Ağazade's home was certainly a place frequented by people from different sufi paths, as Hasan Efendi met mevlevîs at his home.<sup>327</sup>

Another companion of Hasan Efendi was Yıldızzâde, whose house Hasan Efendi visited on a regular basis. The main purpose of Hasan Efendi's visits to Yıldızzâde's house was to converse (*muaşeret*), however, at certain periods of times, he mostly visited there to do some sewing (*hiyâtet*). Yıldızzâde, who "did not like to go out in the month of Safer"<sup>328</sup>, was wealthier than the others, as he had a kiosk (köşk) in his house and could afford gatherings at his residences every other night. Hasan Efendi called him either Yıldızzâde or Mustafa of Yıldız (*Yıldız Mustafa'sı*),<sup>329</sup> although it is not completely certain whether Yıldızzâde and Mustafa of Yıldız referred to the same person. Unfortunately, it is not possible to trace any further information about him and/or his ancestors through other sources, other than the fact that a certain Yıldızzâde Mehmed Emin Efendi, also known as Yıldız Dede, would become the sheikh of Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge in 1231/1816.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Ibid.

<sup>325</sup> *Molla* was a term pertaining to the madrasa education in the Ottoman Empire. They were privileged teachers up until the sixteenth century. Since then, the term started to be used side by side with another term hoca. See: J. Calmard *Encyclopedia of Islam* "molla" V.7, 221-225

<sup>326</sup> Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, 763.

<sup>327</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fols. 93b-94a.

<sup>328</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 36b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 30.

<sup>329</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 21b.

<sup>330</sup> Hür Mahmut Yüce, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, "Sünbülfiyye"

Hasan Efendi not only frequented Yıldızzâde's, but also visited some other companions' such as Nizamzade, Bazirganzade, Terzibaşızâde, Kuburizâde, Mihribanzâde. Nizamzâde was connected to a lodge which was named after him "Nizâmzâde Lodge." As Fatma Deniz has put forward, this lodge was Seyyid Nizam Lodge.<sup>331</sup> Although I have not encountered an explicit referral to "Seyyid Nizâm Lodge" in the text, I agree with her for the proximity of the subject lodge to the vicinity of Koca Mustafa Paşa proves the connection. Therefore, this Nizâmzâde Efendi (that is, the son of Nizâm) was most probably a descendant of Seyfullah Kasım Efendi, also known as, Seyyid Nizamoğlu, a prominent Halvetî-Sinanî sheikh and poet.<sup>332</sup> Seyyid Nizamoğlu's father, Seyyid Nizameddin Kasım Efendi, established the Seyyid Nizâm Lodge.<sup>333</sup> However, I should point out that the lodge related to Nizamzâde may not necessarily be Seyyid Nizam Lodge since it is known that Seyfullah Kasım Efendi and his descendants served not in Seyyid Nizâm Lodge but in Emirler Lodge.<sup>334</sup> Support for this point comes from the *sâlnâmes*, as Hasan Efendi records on 2 Ramazan 1073/10 April 1663: "When I proceeded on my way towards Emir Lodge..., I saw Nizamzâde Efendi behind his back with his white cap hurryingly headed towards his neighborhood."<sup>335</sup> I believe Hasan Efendi's encounter with Nizamzâde in the vicinity of the Emir(ler)<sup>336</sup> Lodge cannot be regarded as a mere coincidence. For this reason, we can assume that Nizamzâde was associated with Emir(ler) Lodge. If I take one more step further and suppose that Nizamzâde was the sheikh of Emir(ler) Lodge, it appears that he must have been Seyyid Ahmed Ali Murteza Efendi (d. 1077/1666-67), the grandson of Seyyid Nizamoğlu.<sup>337</sup> Nevertheless, this assumption certainly needs a further verification.

Another intimate companion of Hasan Efendi was Nazmî Efendi. His name is one of the most recorded names in the *sâlnâmes*. Hasan Efendi respected him so much that he sometimes called

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<sup>331</sup> Deniz, "The Uses of Space by Sûfis", 36.

<sup>332</sup> Necdet Tosun, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, "Seyyid Nizamoğlu" Accessed 15 November 2018 <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c37/c370051.pdf>

<sup>333</sup> Fatih Köse, İstanbul Halveti Tekkeleri, Ph.D. dissertation (Marmara Üniversitesi, 2010), 255.

<sup>334</sup> Ibid., 107., Necdet Tosun, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Seyyid Nizamoğlu

<sup>335</sup> "[Veznedarzadenin evi kurbünde Beşyol ağzında dükkanlı evin dibinde] Emir Tekkesi yoluna nazır ettik de yol ortasında Nizamzade Efendi'yi beyaz puş ve şitâbende semtine azm olduğu halde verâ' zuhurundan müşâhede" Sohbetnâme II, fol. 72a.

<sup>336</sup> Since this certain Emir Tekkesi cannot refer to Emir Buharî Lodge which is located, far away from Koca Mustafa Paşa, at Ayvansaray Neighborhood, we can suppose that this Emir Lodge refers to the Emirler Lodge, which was established by Seyfullah Kasım Efendi. See: Köse, İstanbul Halveti Tekkeleri, 107.

<sup>337</sup> Fatih Köse, İstanbul Halveti Tekkeleri, 108.

him “Virtuous Nazmî Efendi (*Faziletli Nazmî Efendi*).” During those four years, Hasan Efendi noted a number of conversations with him. They must have alleviated each other’s grief since they both lost loved ones in the year 1072/1661, and they visited graveyards together. When Nazmî Efendi intended to leave on campaign on Şaban 1073/ March 1663, Hasan Efendi notes that Nazmî Efendi bought a horse for fifty riyals.<sup>338</sup> When he left for the campaign, Hasan Efendi records one of his regular “be-it-known (*mâlûm ola ki*)” notes to date his companion’s departure.<sup>339</sup> On 30 Ramazan 1073/8 May 1663, he even received a personal letter from Nazmî Efendi. Based on the fact that departed for Uyvar Campaign, it is revealed to us that this certain Nazmî Efendi was Mehmed Nazmî Efendi (d. 1112/1701).<sup>340</sup> He was born in the Koca Mustafa Paşa neighborhood in 1032/1622,<sup>341</sup> and, as a child, he attended Yenikapı Mevlevîhânesi.<sup>342</sup> This was followed by his attendance in Sivasîyye division of Şemsiyye branch of Halvetîyye order, and in 1065/1655, he became the sheikh of Yavaşça Mehmed Ağa Lodge,<sup>343</sup> to which Hasan Efendi referred as Mehmed Ağa Lodge.<sup>344</sup> His actual reputation came from his *Hediyetü’l-İhvân*, a biographical dictionary of Halvetî sheikhs.<sup>345</sup> In addition, Nazmî Efendi was connected to prominent sufi figures such as Oğlanlar (Olanlar) Şeyhi İbrahim Efendi, Cemaleddin-i Hulvî, Niyâzi Mısırî and Sarı Abdullah Efendi.<sup>346</sup> It is known that he quarreled with Mısırî for he asked Nazmî Efendi to believe that he was Messiah.<sup>347</sup> In the Uyvar Campaign, Nazmî Efendi was the sheikh of the army,<sup>348</sup> and when

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<sup>338</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 64b.

<sup>339</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 65a.

<sup>340</sup> Hasan Aksoy, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, “Mehmed Nazmî Efendi”. Accessed 15 November 2018 <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c32/c320331.pdf>

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>342</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>344</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 3a.

<sup>345</sup> *İhvân* is divided into seven chapters, each one of which detail on one important sheikh of Şemşi-Sivasi branch. See: Aksoy, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, “Mehmed Nazmi Efendi”

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.* Nazmî Efendi’s connection to Sarı Abdullah Efendi should bring up another important name in Hasan Efendi’s network(s): Tıflî Ahmed Çelebi (d. 1070/1660). According to Evliya Çelebi, Tıflî Ahmed Çelebi was among the companions of Sultan Murad IV. See: Evliya Çelebi, *Seyâhatnâme*, 115. It is known that he frequented the gatherings of many important sheikhs. But, principal among them, was Sarı Abdullah Efendi. See: Bekir Çınar, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, “Tıflî Ahmed Çelebi”. By the time of Hasan Efendi’s first *sâlnâme* in 1072/1661, Tıflî Çelebi had already died, but Hasan Efendi must have been familiar with him so he mentions when they pass through his house: “*When we arrived at the door of late Tıflî Çelebi... (Merhum Tıflî Çelebi’nin kapusu önüne geldik de)*” See: *Sohbetnâme I*, fols. 47a-47b.; Can, *Sohbetnâme*, p. 35.

<sup>347</sup> For a detailed discussion about the relationship between Nazmi Efendi and Mısri, see: Derin Terzioğlu, “Sûfî and Dissident in the Ottoman Empire: Niyazi-i Mısri”, (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1999), 452-454.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*

he returned from the campaign he continued his companionship with Hasan Efendi. Furthermore, Hasan Efendi's youngest son Mehmed (Vahyî) would later get marry Nazmî Efendi's daughter<sup>349</sup> so that they became related to each other through their children's marriage.

### 2.2.2. Voyager Companions: Movement to Rumelia in the *Sâlnâmes*

Throughout the four years, Hasan Efendi constantly records that some of his companions travelled to the Balkans. Among them were familiar names such as Nazmî Efendi and unfamiliar names such as a certain Yüsrî Efendi. His "be-it-known (*mâlûm ola ki*)" notes notify us about where these people were going, the most common destination was being Edirne (*Edrene*). For example, he records Nazmî Efendi's travels to Edirne a few times. Some others, too, such as Memiş Beş travelled to Edirne and returned. This movement to the latter city may have been mainly because of the fact that the sultan and his court frequently resided in Edirne at this time.<sup>350</sup> However, sometimes, the reason was apparently beyond the political sphere. Nathalie Clayer writes that how the Sünbülî network in Rumelia extended from Edirne to the frontiers of Hungary and Bosnia, and to Kefe in Crimea.<sup>351</sup> Beyond that, Nenad Moacanin has also shown that a group of Halvetî dervishes, who were generally craftsmen, extended beyond the borders of Hungary and Slavonia, (part of modern-day Croatia) until the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>352</sup> Hasan Efendi mentions people who left Istanbul for other places such as Sallonica, Kardhzali, Serres,<sup>353</sup> Sofia, Berat,<sup>354</sup> and Nikopol which supports Clayer's and Moacanin's findings.<sup>355</sup> In addition, one of his companions Kefeli Mehmed Ağa (Mehmed Ağa of Kefe) was most probably from the Sünbülüyye's Kefe network. This fluidity was thus not something unusual. Moreover, Hasan 'Adlî Efendi, the sheikh of Hasan Efendi's father, is known to have established a lodge called Yakup Efendi in Ioannina,

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<sup>349</sup> Yılmaz, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf*, 79-80.

<sup>350</sup> The sultan was residing in both cities. Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa noted in 1073/1663 that they went to Edirne from İstanbul for the fourth time. See: Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa, *Vekâyinâme*, 156.

<sup>351</sup> Nathalie Clayer, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* "Sunbuliyya" 875-6.

<sup>352</sup> Nenad Moaçanin, *Town and Country on the Middle Danube, 1526-1690* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 96-97.

<sup>353</sup> Hasan Efendi called this city "Siroz (سیروز) whose pronunciation in modern Turkish is closer to Syros (island). However, it must be Serres because of the city's connections with Sünbülüyye.

<sup>354</sup> Hasan Efendi calls this city *Arnavud Belgradı*.

<sup>355</sup> People went to some Anatolian cities such as Beypazarı, Denizli and Soma. Hasan Efendi even mentioned those who left for some Eastern cities such as Baghdad. However, the visibility of Balkan towns was prevalent.

when he went on a campaign.<sup>356</sup> In addition, a Sünbülî lodge, which is also attributed to ‘Adli Efendi,<sup>357</sup> is known to have existed in Serres.<sup>358</sup> Koca Mustafa Paşa served as the hub for these places, too, when ‘Adli Efendi appointed his representatives to these lodges in the Balkans. In the late-seventeenth century, the case was probably no different.

### 2.2.3. *Hazret-i ‘Azîz and Mentors (Hoca)*

Hasan Efendi mentions several people whose identities were closely linked to the path of Sünbülüyye. Their presence in the *sâlnâmes* is not as common as Hasan Efendi’s close companions, such as Şeyhzâde and Nazmî Efendi, nor are the activities in which they partake as various. For Hasan Efendi, this is where the hierarchy revealed itself. Even though extraordinary people were more present in this sphere, they were still parts of the routine facet of Hasan Efendi’s life.

First among them was a certain character Hasan Efendi mentions as *Hazret-i ‘Azîz* (His Excellency the Most Valuable). The way Hasan Efendi addresses to him reveals that this was the sheikh of Koca Mustafa Paşa at that time. Although his name is never recorded, the chronological information demonstrates that *Hazret-i ‘Azîz* was Seyyid Alaaddin Efendi (d. 1091/1682), the son of Necmeddin Hasan Efendi (d. 1019/1610) and the brother of Seyyid Kirâmüddin Efendi.<sup>359</sup> As it can be understood from the *sâlnâmes*, Alaaddin Efendi’s position was certainly powerful at that time. By emphasizing his high-ranking position, Hasan Efendi pictures a quite distant character for Alaaddin Efendi. However, this does not necessarily indicate a cluelessness about his life, since Hasan Efendi mentions the whereabouts and actions of Alaaddin Efendi. In those four years, Alaaddin Efendi travelled from one place to another, meaning he was not always present in the lodge. This may partly explain why he did not attend the *işret/sohbet/bezm* gatherings of the

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<sup>356</sup> Nevizâde Atai, “Hadaiku’l Hakaik”, in *Şakaik-i Nu’maniye ve Zeyilleri Vol. 2* ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (İstanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 1989), 606.

<sup>357</sup> Hür Mahmut Yüce, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, “Sünbülüyye”.

<sup>358</sup> Nathalie Clayer, *EI*, Sunbuliyya

<sup>359</sup> Orhan Şaik Gökyay claimed that the *Hazret-i Azîz* referred to in the *sâlnâmes* was Hasan ‘Adli Efendi. See: Gökyay, “Sohbetnâme”, 63. However, as it can be understood from many interactions that took place between Hasan Efendi and him, *Hazret-i ‘Azîz* was alive between 1661-1665. However, Hasan ‘Adli Efendi was the sheikh of Koca Mustafa Paşa in late sixteenth century. Furthermore, the *silsile* of Sünbülü sheikhs disproves Gökyay, as the sheikh was Seyyid Alaaddin Efendi during the four-year period in which Hasan Efendi wrote his notes. Another evidence pertaining to *Hazret-i Azîz* comes from the *sâlnâmes*. When Hasan Efendi noted the death of *pişkadem* Seyyid Hasan Çelebi, this note followed: “*Be it known that the son-in-law of Hazret-i Aziz, the son of his [late] brother Kiramüddin Efendi, Pişkadem Seyyid Hasan Çelebi passed away.*”

companions. Yet, his continued absence in any of these contexts certainly requires a further explanation.

It seems that Hasan Efendi must have been resentful of Alaaddin Efendi at some point. After Hasan Efendi's wife Gülbevî passed away, he asked Alaaddin Efendi to lead her funeral prayer. But Alaaddin Efendi refused because he would go to Florya Gardens. Hasan Efendi must have thought this was an excuse.<sup>360</sup> Furthermore, he mentions another case that tacitly demonstrates his disappointment. In this case, Hasan Efendi eavesdropped the conversation took place at Zakirbaşı's cell, and he writes "...I heard them enthusiastically talking about going to Florya Garden with 'Aziz.'"<sup>361</sup> However, it seems that things recovered over the course of time, as Hasan Efendi mentions their occasional conversations, some of which was over a cup of coffee.<sup>362</sup> All in all, Alaaddin Efendi had an undeniable role in Hasan Efendi's life, as he was the gravity in Sünbülîyye and was therefore an agent for Hasan Efendi to meet with people of even higher positions. Hasan Efendi's son Mehmed (Vahyî) would write a chronogram to commemorate Alaaddin Efendi when he passed away in 1091/1682.<sup>363</sup>

Apart from Alaaddin Efendi, there are two other people whose existence in Hasan Efendi's life developed in the same manner: his mentors (*hocas*), whom he refers to as *hocamız* (our mentors) in the *sâlnâmes*. One of the mentors was Salih Efendi about whom unfortunately, it has not been possible to detect further information. However, the case is different for his second mentor, Debbağzâde Mehmed Efendi. Hasan Efendi refers to Debbağzâde as our trustee (*mütevelli*) and our professor (*müderri*).<sup>364</sup> In fact, Debbağzâde Efendi was among the powerful dignitaries at the time. He not only served as the trustee of Koca Mustafa Paşa but also became the trustee of the royal foundations.<sup>365</sup> He also served as a *mudarris* in the School of Hadith (*Darü'l-Hadis*) at the Süleymanîye Madrasa.<sup>366</sup> Debbağzâde's last post starting in 1098/1687 was Sheikulislam, the

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<sup>360</sup> "Florya Bağçesine gideriz deyü mazeret buyurdılar." *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 6a.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 15.

<sup>361</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 6b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 15.

<sup>362</sup> For example, *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 27a.

<sup>363</sup> Hakan Taş, "Mehmed Vahyî Divânı Ve İncelemesi", 492.

<sup>364</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 8a.

<sup>365</sup> Mehmet İpşirli, *Türk Diyânet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, "Debbağzade Mehmet Efendi" Accessed 15 November 2018 <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c09/c090045.pdf>

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*



highest authority in religious affairs in the Ottoman Empire. Debbagzâde Efendi had strong affiliations with the class of *ilmîyye* and enabled Hasan Efendi to appeal to higher authorities, as we will see below in the third section of this chapter. Debbagzâde Efendi was thus an extraordinary man in terms of his presence in the Ottoman high-class circles at that time. But he was an ordinary encounter for Hasan Efendi.

#### 2.2.4. Artisans, Storeowners and Preachers

The *sâlnâmes* reflect well the complex image of the urban environment of Istanbul in late seventeenth-century Istanbul. In this image, people from various walks of life play a crucial role. Since Hasan Efendi's spectrum of people was not restricted to his family and companions, the names of many artisans and professionals are revealed to us with their occupational titles. Though mostly insufficient to take us the persons themselves, these occupational titles give us the necessary sense to grasp the making of the urban society in early modern times. Some of these people certainly had stores such as *börekçi* (pastry shop), *kataifçi* (sweet-pastry shop), *kebabçı* (kebab shop). For instance, Hasan Efendi referred to a certain Börekçi Veli's store in Davud Paşa. There were also a *saatçi* (clockmaker shop) and a *kataifçi* (sweet-pastry shop) in the same vicinity. These shops must have possibly been in Davud Paşa Bazar. If artisans and professionals had their own storehouses, they were likely to be in certain bazaars such as the Samatya, İbrahim Paşa and Sultan Bazaars. Moreover, Hasan Efendi frequented barber shops as well, although sometimes the barber was invited to the private spaces. For example, Süvari's shop was one of Hasan Efendi's favorite places to get his shaving done. Besides, he also took his son there. Süleyman Çelebi, Nîm Barber and Mirzazâde were also among his options, though it is not certain whether they had a shop or not. In fact, this uncertainty is true of people of many occupations. For example, whether a certain Neccar (carpenter) Ali Çelebi had a store or not is not apparent. However, if a certain shop was mentioned, it is sometimes possible to infer its occupation, since he associated titles with people and people with shops. For example, when he said Yorgancı (quilt maker) Hüseyin Çelebi's Store, it is apparent that this shop was a quilt-maker's shop. Furthermore, although no coffeehouses were present on the agenda of Hasan Efendi, a certain Kahveci Bayram Çelebi was among his contacts. But it is not obvious whether this "Kahveci" was a coffee trader or a coffeehouse owner, or just simply someone who made coffee.

Some of the people are mentioned without any kind of occupational titles. Yet, we are able to recognize them. One of the most important examples in this regard is Nefeszâde Seyyid (İsmail) Efendi.<sup>367</sup> Nefeszâde Efendi was a calligrapher. According to Müstakîmzâde, he was such a successful calligrapher that he could have been the new Şeyh Hamdullah, a prominent calligrapher, had he had not had a big belly that disrupted his connection with the writing board.<sup>368</sup> As explained in the first chapter, Hasan Efendi himself was a calligrapher, too. His connection to such successful calligraphers as Nefeszâde reveals that his network was not only restricted to sûfî paths, but instead, included other lines that linked him to the other professions.

Closer than the people of occupation were religious authorities such as muezzins, preachers, and imams. Hasan Efendi visited some of these people in their workplaces, that is, the mosques and lodges. In some cases, they gathered at a certain place. Among them were not only the affiliates of sûfî lodges but also imams, muezzins and preachers of sultanîc mosques such as Süleymanîye, Fâtîh, Selim, and even Ayasofya.<sup>369</sup> These gatherings did not possess a regular pattern. However, it is sure that Hasan Efendi was closely associated with the affiliates of the mosques of Istanbul.

### 2.3. Extraordinary People: Istanbul-Wide Encounters

#### 2.3.1. Vişnezâde İzzetî Mehmed Efendi (d. 1092/1681)

Vişnezâde İzzetî Mehmed Efendi was a member of Ottoman *ilmîyye* class. He served as a *mudarris* in various madrasas including Sahn-ı Semân, a prominent institution founded by Mehmed II.<sup>370</sup> Following these, he was appointed as the judge of Istanbul (*İstanbul kadısı*) in 1073/1662.<sup>371</sup> On 26 Muharrem 1073/10 September 1662, Hasan Efendi noted Vişnezâde Efendi had been appointed as the judge of Istanbul.<sup>372</sup> One day later, Debbağzade Efendi married Vişnezâde Efendi's

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<sup>367</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 62a.

<sup>368</sup> Müstakîmzâde, *Tuhfe*, 129.

<sup>369</sup> For example, a gathering at Yıldız included those people: "...Ayasofya İmâmı, Evliyâ Efendi Dâmadı Mustafa Efendi ve şeriki Ali Efendi ve Ebu'l-feth İmâmı Şaban Efendi ve Süleymanîyye İmâm ve Hatîbi Süleyman Efendi ve Şehzâde Hatîbi Emîr Efendi ve Sultân Selîm İmâmı bizüm Şeyh-i kurrâ, Mehmed Efendi ve Hobyâr İmâmı Mûsa Efendi ve Eski Nişâncı İmâmı Mehmed Efendi ve Dâvud Paşa Hatîbi Ali Efendi ve Hâcî Evhad"ın İmâm ve Hatîbi Abdurrahman Efendi ve Yolgeçen imâmı Osmân Efendi ve Mevlevî İmâm Hüseyin Efendi ve bizüm İmâm Efendi" *Sohbetnâme I*, fols. 141b-142b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 97.

<sup>370</sup> Sahn-ı Seman was a prominent madrasa founded by Mehmed II. See: Fahri Unan, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Sahn-ı Seman" Accessed 25.12.2018, <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c35/c350368.pdf>

<sup>371</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 7b.

<sup>372</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 8a.

daughter.<sup>373</sup> On 28 Muharrem 1073/12 September 1662, Hasan Efendi, along with Şeyhzâde, paid a visit to Vişnezâde Kadı Efendi. He must have probably known him through his *hoca* Debbağzâde Mehmed Efendi. However, Debbağzâde was absent in this visit. It is also possible that he had known Vişnezâde through a different line. However, one thing is clear that Hasan Efendi was apparently interested in being in the presence of dignitaries. His unusual description of the visit, compared to the descriptions of the regular ones, attests to this: “[We] were treated with affection and perfumes, drank coffee and stayed for dinner at Vişnezâde Kadı Efendi.”<sup>374</sup>

### 2.3.2. Melek Ahmed Pasha (d. 1073/1662)

Another famous name Hasan Efendi mentioned was Melek Ahmed Pasha (d.1073/1662), who served in different positions of Ottoman bureaucracy ranging from *Rumeli beylerbeyliği*, the governor of the Ottoman lands in Rumelia, to various vizieral posts. He is known today mostly of his patronage for Evliya Çelebi’s travels,<sup>375</sup> but his patronage activities in literary and cultural activities were not limited to Evliya Çelebi, since he is known to be generous to authors.<sup>376</sup>

On 28 Şaban 1072/18 April 1662, following Melek Ahmed Pasha’s marriage to Fatma Sultan,<sup>377</sup> Hasan Efendi paid a visit to Melek Ahmed Pasha in his wife’s palace.<sup>378</sup> In parallel to his visit to Vişnezâde, Hasan Efendi commented on the attention he received in the palace.<sup>379</sup> Was it possible that Hasan Efendi sought a patronage from him as well? Any response to this question would necessarily involve speculation, but it could certainly be treated as a possibility because of the pasha’s generosity. Furthermore, Hasan Efendi records the death of Melek Ahmed Pasha,<sup>380</sup> notes

<sup>373</sup> In this regard, the entry of Vişnezâde İzzetî Mehmet Efendi in *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, relying on primary sources, says that Vişnezâde Efendi was the son-in-law of Debbağzâde. See: Azmi Bilgin, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, “İzzetî Mehmed Efendi”, Accessed 25.11.2018 <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c23/c230277.pdf> However, as Hasan Efendi corrected, the case was reverse.

<sup>374</sup> “Vişnezade Kadı Efendi’de tenavül-i kahve ve taattür ve taavvüd ve taaşşı” *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 8a.

<sup>375</sup> Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality The World of Evliya Çelebi*, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 30.

<sup>376</sup> Fikret Sarıcaoğlu, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. “Melek Ahmed Paşa”, Accessed 15 November 2018 <http://www.islamansiklopedisi.info/dia/pdf/c29/c290022.pdf>

<sup>377</sup> Hasan Efendi recorded the news of their marriage, too. See: *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 102a-102b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 71. Evliya Çelebi recounts the story of this marriage, saying how unhappy it was. See: Robert Dankoff, *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Paşa (1588-1662) as Portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels*, with a historical introduction by Rhodes Murphey, (Albany: NY, 1991), 6, 255-286.

<sup>378</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 92b; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 64.

<sup>379</sup> He used the same words *taattür* (putting on sweet colognes) and *taavvüd* (attention and insistence)

<sup>380</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 102a-102b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 71

that the funeral prayer was performed by Hazret-i ‘Aziz.<sup>381</sup> However, he did not attend due to a reason that he did not mention.<sup>382</sup>

### 2.3.3. Sheikh ul-Islams

There were three sheikh ul-Islams between 1072/1661-1075/1665. The first one, Esîrî Mehmed Efendi is not mentioned by Hasan Efendi, however, he knew the latter two in person. He writes that he met with Sheik ul-Islam Sûnîzâde Mehmed Emin Efendi (d. 1076/1665),<sup>383</sup> but he does not provide anything else on this matter. On 9 Rebi’ü’l-ahir 1073/21 November 1663, he records a be-it-known (*mâlûm ola ki*) note saying that Sûnîzâde was deposed and Minkârîzâde Yahya Efendi became new sheikh ul-Islam.<sup>384</sup>

When Devezeâde Mehmed Efendi,<sup>385</sup> the sheikh of Ferrûh Kethüdâ Lodge died on 4 Şevval 1074/2 May 1664, a certain Abdülfettah Dede departed for Edirne.<sup>386</sup> Hasan Efendi writes Abdülfettah Dede requested in Edirne that Hasan Efendi be the new sheikh of Ferrûh Kethüda Lodge.<sup>387</sup> Following this, Minkârîzâde Efendi appointed him as the sheikh of the aforementioned lodge on 10 Şevval 1074/ 5 May 1664, handing official letter of appointment to Debbagzâde Efendi, who was also present there.<sup>388</sup> Hasan Efendi notes this occasion with a subtitle “*Important Occasion of Debbagzâde.*”<sup>389</sup> Following the appointment, Hasan Efendi finally settled on the first post of his father, Eyyübî Mehmed Efendi.

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<sup>381</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 5a

<sup>382</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, 13a.

<sup>384</sup> *Ibid.*, 29a.

<sup>385</sup> İslam Ansiklopedi’s article on Sünbülüyye says Devezeade Mehmed Efendi was Hasan Efendi’s father. But this is unlikely, even Hasan Efendi simply calls him “the sheikh of Balat” see: Hür Mahmut Yüce, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, “Sünbülüyye”.

<sup>386</sup> “*Be it known that the sheikh of Balat passed away. (Mâlûm ola ki Balat şeyhi fevt olmuş.)*” *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 182b.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, 183a.

<sup>389</sup> “*Matlâb-ı Debbagzâde*” *Ibid.*

### 2.3.4. Mehmed IV: A Friday Prayer with “*Saadetlü Hünkâr*”

Hasan Efendi mentions the sultan, that is Mehmed IV, in the *sâlnâmes* on a few occasions. For example, he notes the sultan’s entrance processions to the city and the birth of his son.<sup>390</sup> Other than these, he encountered the sultan in person twice. On the first occasion, he stumbled upon the sultan (*hünkâr*), while he was entering the garden of Demirkapı with local people and his guardians.<sup>391</sup> The sultan must have been surrounded by so many people that Hasan Efendi watched them from a distant place.

He would later see the sultan at close range. On 7 Receb 1073/16 February 1663<sup>392</sup>, he noted that the holy sultan (*saadetlü hünkâr*) performed the Cuma prayer at Koca Mustafa Paşa in the post of Hazret-i Azîz.<sup>393</sup> This day also coincided with Beraat Kandili (*leyl-i berat*). The sultan listened to the sermon and advises of Hazret-i Azîz during the prayer. According to Gökyay, this *hünkâr* should be understood as someone venerable in the path of Bektaşîyye since the term was usually used to refer to Hacı Bektaşî Velî.<sup>394</sup> However, it is explicit that this holy sultan (*saadetlü hünkâr*) was the sultan of the Ottoman Empire. As put by Uzunçarşılı, the use of the title *hünkâr* was restricted to the Ottoman sultans and it was the most common denomination used by the ordinary Ottomans to refer to the sultan.<sup>395</sup> Furthermore, Hasan Efendi clearly referred to Mehmed IV as the holy sultan (*saadetlü hünkâr*) when the latter had a baby born.<sup>396</sup>

## 2.4. The Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter aimed to cast the limits of Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi’s relationships, networks and networking efforts. It was possible to take a rough snapshot of Hasan Efendi’s possible connections

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<sup>390</sup> “Be it known that the holy sultan had a son born, [and he has been] named Sultan Mustafa... (Mâlûm ola ki Edrene’de Saadetlü Hünkârın Sultan Mustafa nam oğlu doğmağla)” *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 189a.

<sup>391</sup> “I stumbled upon the sultan and watched him entering to the garden of Demürkapu with the people and his guardians. (Hünkâra uzacıktan rast gelmek ve a’vam ve ensari ile Demürkapu bağçesi caniblerine girmelerine müşahede).” *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 11a

<sup>392</sup> Abdurrahman Abdi Paşa noted that the sultan left İstanbul for Edirne in Şaban 1073/March 1663. See: Abdi Paşa, *Vekâyinâme*, 156.

<sup>393</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 53a.

<sup>394</sup> Gökyay, “Sohbetnâme”, 30.

<sup>395</sup> İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Saray Teşkilatı*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014), 222-223.

<sup>396</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 189a.

through biographical dictionaries, encyclopedia entries. The results have indicated that Hasan Efendi was not included in a singular network. That is to say, it is not possible to talk about a contained group of people even in his own small community. Furthermore, although there were many different networks and groups, these elite groups were so small that any encounters became possible. Besides, Hasan Efendi was an active member of his community trying to engage in with politics and the people from the bureaucratic ladder. In consequence, it was possible for him to contact with a wide range of people from his own companions to the sultan.



### CHAPTER 3 - BEREAVEMENT, RITUAL, AND RIVALRY: IMAGES OF DEATH IN THE *SÂLNÂMES*

*Anmaz mısın öleceğin  
Kara sine gireceğin  
Başına ne geleceğin  
Bil hey gönül şimden-gerü.*<sup>397</sup>

This chapter aims to examine the images of and responses to death in Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi's *sâlnâmes* from three perspectives. First, the emotional responses to death, namely the issue of bereavement, will be approached through three respective cases (death of one's wife, death of one's child, death of one's companion), which are thought to be suitable for a study of bereavement because of their predictable emotional impact on Hasan Efendi. Second, based on the relevant wealth of information in the text, the rituals of death will be examined in two consecutive processes: the antemortem period and the postmortem period. The discussion will touch upon the popular discussions of the so-called Kadızadeli movement where necessary, arguing that its effects on public space should be reconsidered at least on the basis of the late seventeenth century. Last but not least, considering the competitive and career-focused environment of Hasan Efendi, the issue of death will be discussed as a social phenomenon. Devoid of any emotional response, this perspective will reflect on the pragmatic perceptions of death among the expectant appointees in late seventeenth century Istanbul.

#### **Some Notes on the History of Responses to Death**

Death is a universal fact for all the creatures. It is undeniable. For this reason, its history is as old as the first signs of life on this earth. When it comes to human beings, of the three main stages of

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<sup>397</sup> "Do you not remember that you will die, and will be buried in the darkness of grave, and what will further come by, Remember, oh my heart from now onward!" See: Sümbül Sinan Efendi, "*Risale-i Tahkikiye Sümbül Efendinin sema, vecd, devran, Zikrullah Hakkındaki Görüşleri*, (İstanbul: Fulya Yayınları, 2001), end cover.

life (birth, marriage, and death), death is the dominant one. One can choose not to marry or not to have a baby. However, death is out of one's control. In this way, the phenomenon of death unchangingly follows the same pattern. Yet, physical and biological decay is only one facet of this phenomenon. What remains, namely the attitudes of survivors, are usually inconsistent, fickle, and volatile across time, geographies, and cultures. Bereavement of loved ones normally causes internal turbulence, which is usually followed by personal and/or cultural activations of some coping mechanisms usually in form of rituals. Culturally and geographically speaking, the coping mechanisms of an African clan normally differ from those of a central Asian tribe. Historically speaking, the attitudes toward death change over time.

Although death has established itself as an area of study in many disciplines of social sciences and humanities, history is unfortunately not one of them.<sup>398</sup> Thus, the scarcity of historical studies on death is not particular to Ottoman studies. Yet, some seminal studies were produced in Europe are still influential on anyone studying the history of death. Among them is the *Western Attitudes toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present* by Phillippe Aries. Aries's study is essential because it theorizes Western societies' attitudes toward death under four respective stages.<sup>399</sup> (1) In the stage of "tamed death", disappeared by the end of the seventeenth century, deathbed is a communal place surrounded by the loved ones of the moribund.<sup>400</sup> (2) In the stage, "one's own death", people start contemplating their own death. For this reason, the concept of death obtains a rather individual qualification. This stage, started in the eleventh century, replaces the tamed death.<sup>401</sup> (3) In the stage, "thy death", people begin to concern the death of their loved ones. There is no doubt that this has something to do with the changes brought by the Age of Enlightenment.<sup>402</sup> (4) Finally, "forbidden death" is connected with the abrupt developments in the medical sciences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this stage, the most important change is in the place

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<sup>398</sup> Today, anthropology of death is an important sector of anthropological studies worldwide. Although this interest in the field had mainly been limited to the studies on the customs of death, meaning of and responses to death is a growing area of inquiry. For example, see: Antonius C. G. M. Robben, *Death, Mourning, and Burial a Cross-cultural Reader* (Hoboken, NJ, USA: Wiley Blackwell, 2005).

<sup>399</sup> Phillippe Ariès and Patricia Ranum, *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).

<sup>400</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-27.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-55.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*, 56-85.



of death. Now, the person dies alone at hospitals instead of his home full of loved ones.<sup>403</sup> In fact, the limited historical scholarship of death in Europe has developed on the pillars of Aries.<sup>404</sup>

In the Ottomanist scholarship, the phenomenon of death has seldom drawn interest. The cemeteries and the burial practices are the main points of inquiry.<sup>405</sup> When it comes to people's responses to death and the changes in these responses over time, it is still a mystery since there has been no attempts to study the phenomenon of death from a *long durée* perspective. Yet, there are a few article-size studies. These are either in form of literary compilations<sup>406</sup>, or historical studies using the archival material such as sharia court records<sup>407</sup> or chronicles<sup>408</sup>.

### Understanding Hasan Efendi's Responses to Death

Diaries tend to inform their readers in many ways.<sup>409</sup> Therefore, there is usually no pattern to follow while reading and/or studying them. Nevertheless, some topics may be inclined to stand out in terms of their place in the protagonist's life. This topic is death in Hasan Efendi's *sâlnâmes*. In the year 1072/1661-1662, Hasan Efendi lost his loved ones because of a recent plague epidemic. He recorded the death of his relatives, friends, and the people from his neighborhood. But the scope was not necessarily contained to these people, as he recorded the death news of acquainted people residing in remote villages. The death news was so incessant that people would need to confirm the reality from time to time. A death news was usually followed by funerary prayers and rituals. The coincidence of several people's funerary prayers was not uncommon in the year 1072/1661-1662 because of continual deaths. After the epidemic abated, the news of death would accordingly decrease. However, they would continue to be a part of Hasan Efendi's writing. These

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<sup>403</sup> Ibid., 86-108.

<sup>404</sup> For example, see: Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, *The Place of the Dead Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>405</sup> For a general overview of the importance of gravestones, see: Edhem Eldem. *Urban voices from beyond: identity, status and social strategies in Ottoman Muslim funerary epitaphs of Istanbul (1700-1850)* in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, edited by Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

<sup>406</sup> See: Emine Yeniterzi, *Divan Şiirinde Ölümüne Dair Bazı Hususlar*, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 1999. Accessed on 13.06.2018 from [https://www.academia.edu/30007315/D%C3%A4van\\_%C5%9Eiirinde\\_%C3%96l%C3%BCme\\_Dair\\_Bazı\\_Hususlar](https://www.academia.edu/30007315/D%C3%A4van_%C5%9Eiirinde_%C3%96l%C3%BCme_Dair_Bazı_Hususlar)

<sup>407</sup> Eyal Ginio, "'Every Soul Shall Taste Death': Dealing with Death and the Afterlife in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Salonica" *Studia Islamica* 93 (2001), 113-132.

<sup>408</sup> Gisela Prochazka-Eisl "Ölümün Dili: Osmanlı Kroniklerinde Ölüm ve Şiddetin İfadesi" in *Klasik Edebiyatımızın Dili Nazım ve Nesir (Bildiriler)* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 2017), 301-319.

<sup>409</sup> Paperno, "What Can Be Done with Diaries".

records were by no means uncommon since the reason for his writing was most probably to record important events and news on daily basis. Thus, the death news continued as a part of the daily routines of Hasan Efendi.

His recording of death news and consecutive ceremonies enables us to take a snapshot of his interactions with the phenomenon of death through his selection of vocabulary. Since there are many cases relating to death, it is possible to see various selections of vocabulary depending on the context. Thus, it also becomes possible to infer Hasan Efendi's emotional position toward someone's death, especially when he records someone's death in a way other than the usual records. As to usual records, they are generally in form of the regular be-it-known (*mâlûm ola ki*) records, saying that, for example, "Be it known that Ahmed Ağa's daughter died."<sup>410</sup> Number of such records abound in the *sâlnâmes* not only at times of plague but anytime during the four years of writing. Hasan Efendi records the death news of any one whom he knew in person. Most of this news belongs to common people, while some of these belong to the famous people of the era such as Melek Ahmed Pasha.

However, the most intriguing side of the death news in the *sâlnâmes* is not their extensive number. It is Hasan Efendi's varying use of vocabulary. For example, he mostly prefers to use the phrase *fevt olmak* (to pass away) to record someone's death. It is easy to infer that he uses this phrase for people with whom he did not have an affinity and/or a personal relationship. Yet, the phrase still implies a sense of sorrow and a tacit respect to the dead since the verb *ölmek* (to die) is not openly referred. The word *ölmek* (to die) was also in use at that time. However, Hasan Efendi uses it for only several times. In one of such cases, his use of the verb *ölmek* reveal a different attitude than his uses of *fevt*. This use is about the execution of a Melâmî sheikh, Sütçü Beşir Ağa. Sütçü Beşir Ağa was executed after a fatwa had been issued by the Sheikulislam Sunullah Efendi.<sup>411</sup> Hasan Efendi's record of this instance is striking, as he notes as follows: "Lord of the Universes killed Sütçü Beşir today."<sup>412</sup> The verb *ölmek* was used in the causative form (*öldürmek*). Thus, even though the execution was because of the sheikh ul-Islam's fatwa, death of Sütçü Beşir was attributed to the God. The subtext is obvious that Hasan Efendi sided with the execution of Sütçü

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<sup>410</sup> "Mâlûm ola ki Ahmed Ağa'nın kızı fevt olmuş." *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 123a.

<sup>411</sup> Tahsin Özcan, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Seyyid Mehmed Emin Efendi

<sup>412</sup> "Yalemullah Sütçü Beşir'i öldürmek bugün vâki oldu." *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 60b.; Can, Seyyid Hasan, 44.

Beşir. Sütçü Beşir was labeled as an infidel because of his religious thoughts at that time. These thoughts were by all means conflicting with the interests of the state that Grandvizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Paşa commenced investigation about him. The result was the execution of Sütçü Beşir and his forty followers. People from different classes reacted to this incident. Therefore, Sunullah Efendi was immediately deposed from his post.<sup>413</sup>

The long-referred clashes between ulemâ and sûfis in the secondary literature is certainly visible in this case.<sup>414</sup> However, it is interesting that Halvetîs, that have long been thought to be the targets of the ulemâ persecutions, sided with the ulemâ in this case. Indeed, all through the *sâlnâmes*, Hasan Efendi's closeness to the state authorities is apparent. As it has been indicated in the second chapter, he was indeed in direct communication with Sunullah Efendi himself. As the *sâlnâmes* indicate, they were also publicly visible and active. Hasan Efendi's positive attitude toward Sütçü Beşir's execution demonstrates that 'the other' party was by no means Halvetîs, but some other groups such as Melâmîs.

In addition, Hasan Efendi uses phrases reflecting both his grief and affection at the same time. One such phrase, *câm-ı ecel-i nûş eylemek* (to drink from the glass of fate) is generally used for the family and the loved ones. For example, he uses this phrase to record the deaths of his wife, his son, and his companion Ağazâde. In addition, the deaths of his companion's children are recorded with the same phrase. For instance, the death of Rûmhî Mehmed Ağa's son is noted as follows: "Be it known that the dear son of Rûmhî Mehmed Ağa drank from the glass of fate."<sup>415</sup> Moreover, Hasan Efendi often uses the suffix *-cık* after the name of the deceased person. This use gives the meaning of "dear", as it can be seen in the case of Rûmhî's son. In addition, he usually uses the possessive suffix "-m" while referring to his deceased son Hüseyin. It should be noted that this was particular to Hüseyin. All in all, these phrases reflect his human sentiment, grief, and feeling of bereavement.

As to the cause(s) behind someone's death, they are seldom traceable in the *sâlnâmes*. For instance, when the cause is plague, Hasan Efendi regularly uses the gendered nouns *mâ'tun* and *mâ'tune*

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<sup>413</sup> Tahsin Özcan, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Seyyid Mehmed Emin Efendi

<sup>414</sup> Ali Fuat Bilkan, *Fakihler ve Sofuların Kavgası*, (İletişim, 2016), 115-193.

<sup>415</sup> "Mâlûm ola ki altıncı saatte Rûmhi Mehmed Ağa'nı oğulcığı Telmizem (?) Mehmed Ağa on yaşında cam-ı ecel-i nûş eyledi." *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 16b.

meaning plague-stricken. Plague-stricken people would usually pass away in a few days. If they were children, they would die immediately. But, some grown-up men (such as a certain İmam Efendi) were likely to recover. The recent scholarship on the Ottoman's experiences of plague has argued that Ottomans' understanding of plague transformed somewhere between fourteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>416</sup> According to this argument, plague came to be defined as an "illness" against which some medical and hygienic precautions should be taken.<sup>417</sup> This argument is partly valid for Hasan Efendi's universe because Hasan Efendi mentions surgeons (*cerrâh*) rubbing a certain ointment on the plague boils.<sup>418</sup> However, apparently medical treatments were not the only modalities to which they referred. In addition, Cinci Hocas were also appealed as portentous methods of treatment. I will discuss a case of Cinci Hoca below while discussing the death of the son, Mustafa.

Furthermore, Hasan Efendi uses a phrase *fevt-i fecaât* and/or *fecaâten fevt* in some cases. It probably indicates the unexpectedness of death. For instance, Hasan Efendi notes that a certain Yahya Bey died (*fecaâten fevt*) on his way [to the masjid] for the night prayer.<sup>419</sup> This was certainly an unexpected death with an unknown cause. However, unexpected deaths were not restricted to this phrase. For example, Hasan Efendi records that a certain Yorgancı Ali suddenly died because of nothing.<sup>420</sup>

### 3.1. Bereavement of the Loved Ones

According to Cemal Kafadar, Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi's source of motivation for writing the *sâlnâmes* might well be to commemorate the family and friends who lost their lives in the last sweep of plague in 1072/1661.<sup>421</sup> Indeed, the very first page of the text transmits the story of Hasan Efendi and his family's visit to his son Hüseyin's grave.<sup>422</sup> Hasan Efendi records that he had recited

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<sup>416</sup> See: Nükhet Varlık. "From 'Bête Noire' to 'le Mal de Constantinople': Plagues, Medicine, and the Early Modern Ottoman State." *Journal of World History* 24, no. 4 (December 2013): 741–70. Nükhet Varlık. *Plague and Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean World: The Ottoman Experience 1347-1600*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 207-248.

<sup>417</sup> Ibid.

<sup>418</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, 130a.

<sup>419</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, 20a.

<sup>420</sup> "Yorgancı Hacı Ali'ye dükkanında...bir halet arz olup fevt olmuş." *Sohbetnâme II*, 18b.

<sup>421</sup> Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in İstanbul", 121-150.; Kafadar, "*Kim var imiş biz burada yağ iken*", 63.

<sup>422</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 1b; Can, "Seyyid Hasan", 13.

(*kıraat*) in front of his son's grave, and added that other people, present in the graveyard, heard the recitation, and joined his pray.<sup>423</sup> It is not certain about when his son died. Their familial visit and common prayer, however, indicate that he must have passed away recently. In addition, Hasan Efendi does not mention a specific reason for his son's death. Given the fact that a sweep of plague was antagonizing the city at that moment, his son must have died of plague, likewise his wife, another son, and a niece.<sup>424</sup>

### 3.1.1. Loss of One's Wife: The Death of Gülbevî Hatun

Death of Gülbevî Hatun has grabbed the interest of scholars, who studied the *sâlnâmes* so far. Not long after his visit to Hüseyin's grave, Hasan Efendi made a seven-day-long trip to Alibeyköy. It is easy to infer that he spent quality time there with friends and relatives. He visited acquaintances' mansions and enjoyed wandering in their orchards and farms, meeting new people and eating delicious food. At the end of the seventh day, however, a grim news arrived, while he was joyously conversing with his younger sister. Suddenly, the neighbor's son Yusuf appeared on a horse. As he approached, Hasan Efendi says "my heart filled with dread."<sup>425</sup> Yusuf handed a letter to him, and Hasan Efendi immediately recognized his son's handwriting. This was the elder son saying that Gülbevi Hatun was in the throes of death (*hâlet-i nezde*) and he should "manage to come to her sickness or death."<sup>426</sup> Following that, Hasan Efendi immediately set out to see his wife. He, however, does not fail to mention the kaşkaval cheese and bread (*nan*) that he arranged as provisions for the road.<sup>427</sup> While he was entering his neighborhood, Canbâziyye, he came across people bathing a corpse (*ten-şûy*) on the side of the masjîd. He would later learn that İmam Efendi's son Mehmed Seyyid died, and would be buried inside the courtyard (*harem/iç harem*) of the Canbaziyye masjîd.<sup>428</sup> As discussed by Eldem, burying the death in the courtyards of mosques was

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<sup>423</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 2a; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 13.

<sup>424</sup> Even though Kafadar claims that Hasan Efendi lost his daughter as well, I have my doubts on this issue. There were two young ladies to die from Hasan Efendi's family at that time. First one was his niece Seyyide Fatma. The second one was a lady named Şahbaz. Most probably, Kafadar has concluded that Şahbaz was Hasan Efendi's daughter. However, Hasan Efendi never hinted at this. Besides, the only daughter we know was still alive after the death of Şahbaz. See the relevant folios: *Sohbetnâme I*, 20a-21b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 23.

<sup>425</sup> "...Zahve-i suğrada nagh bizim Yusuf ibn-i Selim çiftlik kapusundan...al atını yederek nümayan oladıştı. Derunum pül-helecan oldı." *Sohbetnâme I*, 4b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 14.

<sup>426</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 4b-5a; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 14.

<sup>427</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 5a; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 14.

<sup>428</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 5b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 15.

a common practice for the early modern Ottomans.<sup>429</sup> In this way, Ottomans certainly differed from their European counterparts.<sup>430</sup>

Other attitudes of Hasan Efendi toward his wife's demise pose some intriguing questions. As stated by Kafadar, these attitudes were among his rare emotional expressions.<sup>431</sup> Hasan Efendi was able to reach his wife before her last moments; when she arrived at home, she was on her deathbed. Not long after, she passed away moaning and screaming in pain.<sup>432</sup> Although Hasan Efendi does not express the actual reason for her sickness, it is not difficult to tell that she was also stricken by the plague. Hasan Efendi's following note, however, deserves a more detailed investigation. In this note, he says that Gülbevî's sickbed (*illet döşeği*) was adjacent to the window cushion (*pencere minderî*), and her deathbed (*rahat döşeği*) was just next to the banister (*trabzan*).<sup>433</sup> It is clear that she had two different beds. That, she passed away in a different bed.<sup>434</sup>

This note prompts a number of questions, first of which is why he would take the trouble to note the location of the deathbed. It is known that the concept of the deathbed was very significant especially in the Middle Ages, and according to Philip Aries, the deathbed was a place of rituals for the moribund person before the seventeenth century.<sup>435</sup> The moribund person was usually surrounded by loved ones, and they awaited the time of death together. It seems that such a concept of deathbed can be envisioned for the Ottomans as well because Hasan Efendi refers to the deathbed and its position in some other cases as well. For instance, he details on the same issue when his son Mustafa was stricken by plague on 9 September 1661<sup>436</sup>, as well as his niece, Seyyide Saime, passed away ten days later on 21 September 1661.<sup>437</sup> Aries supports his arguments with some visual material from the engravings of European churches as well as some illustrated

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<sup>429</sup> Edhem Eldem, "Urban voices", 233-234.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>431</sup> Kafadar, "Self and Others" 144.

<sup>432</sup> "Lakin fevkü'l hadd-ı feryad ve naliş üzere kıyasen iki saatden sonra cam-ı eceli nuş eyledi." *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 5b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 15.

<sup>433</sup> "Mâlûm ola ki illet döşeği büyük suffe pencereleri minderine ve rahat döşeği trabzan minderine muttasıl idi." Ibid.

<sup>434</sup> I have not come across this term *rahat döşeği* anywhere else other than the *sâlnâmes*. It certainly needs an in-depth examination. But, as I shall discuss later in the part, *Losing One's Child*, dead bodies are consistently transferred to this *rahat döşeği* from *illet döşeği*. Thus, it can be assumed that *rahat döşeği* refers to one's deathbed, while the *illet döşeği* refers to the sickbed.

<sup>435</sup> Aries, "Western Attitudes", 11.

<sup>436</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fols. 14a-14b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 19.

<sup>437</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, 17b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 21.

manuscripts. Although such a visual record for the ordinary Ottomans is not available, it is fortunate that we have a series of depictions of deathbed in various illustrated manuscripts. Among them, the miniature painting depicting the deathbed of Selim I is significant in terms of its emphasis on the concept in Ariesien terms.<sup>438</sup> In this miniature, Selim I is shown having laid on his deathbed breathing his last. He is surrounded by four teary-eyed people in black and blue from his entourage. Apart from the ritual of dusky colors and the place of death<sup>439</sup>, this scene could help us visualize the death of an ordinary Ottoman. Furthermore, the deathbed was probably beyond a place of lamentation among the seventeenth-century Ottomans. For example, a contemporary miscellany originating in the Anatolian city of Tokat mentions that an outsider merchant became infected with the plague in the city of Tokat, and upon request, the judge gathered the court on the side of his deathbed so that the moribund could have his will written.<sup>440</sup>

Hasan Efendi's reflections on Gülbevi Hatun's death are not limited to her *rahat döşeği* and *illet döşeği*. After Kafadar's article in 1989, the most intriguing part of Gülbevî's death among Ottomanists has been Hasan Efendi's note in which he described "the halva made for his wife's demise by their neighbor Selim Kadın and gave his compliments to its taste".<sup>441</sup> As I have discussed in the second chapter as well, Hasan Efendi being 'a hearty eater' at extraordinary circumstances are not easy to explain—and it should not be my concern here. However, as Kafadar explains, this should not imply a sense of indifference because he further expressed his grief.<sup>442</sup> It seems also possible that his compliments to the taste of halva may well be a part of his remembrance of Gülbevi Hatûn. In other words, it may have been indicating that her soul was resting in peace and her new place in afterlife is as sweet as the taste of her halva.

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<sup>438</sup> This illustration is originally in *Selimnâme* of Şükrü at Topkapı Palace Museum, H-1597-8 fol. 267a. For the illustration, see: Edhem Eldem, "Death in Istanbul Death and Its Rituals in Ottoman – Islamic Culture" (İstanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Center, 2005), 88-89.

<sup>439</sup> Selim I was on his way to a campaign and fell ill near Çorlu in the summer of 1520. They had to camp *in situ*. Therefore, Selim I would breath his last in a tent instead of his palace. See: Eldem, 88. Passing away on a campaign was possible for an Ottoman sultan. For example, Süleyman I also died on a campaign. See: Eldem "Death in Istanbul", 88. Unless she/he was on road to Hicaz for Hajj duties, it was, however, regular for an ordinary Ottoman to die at home surrounded by loved ones.

<sup>440</sup> Ümit Ekin, "Bir Sakk Mecmuasına Göre 17. Yüzyılda Tokat", *Karadeniz Araştırmaları*, Sayı: 20, 2009, p. 69.

<sup>441</sup> "...Helvasını yedik. Selim Kadın pişirmiş. Lezzet ve nefaseti hadden birun ve kıyasdan efüz idi." *Sohbetnâme I*, 5b-6a; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 15

<sup>442</sup> Kafadar, "Self and Others" 144.

Right after his prolonged compliment to halva, Hasan Efendi deserted to the small room for the purpose of taking a rest.<sup>443</sup> However, he was unable to sleep.<sup>444</sup> Following that, he found himself in tears beside his wife. He prayed for her all night. In the morning, he visited his sheikh Hazret-i Azîz, and asked him to perform the funeral prayer and the post-burial inculcation (*telkîn*). However, as stated in the second chapter Azîz declined Hasan Efendi's demand under the 'pretext' (*mâzeret*) that he would go to the gardens of Filorya.<sup>445</sup>

The following day, after he disseminated a specific type of alms (*uskat*) given after the demise of a person for her/his well-being in the afterlife according to Islamic tradition, Hasan Efendi arrived at home, and waited next to the storeroom (*kiler kurbünde*).<sup>446</sup> In the meantime, they brought the deceased body downstairs.<sup>447</sup> His other wife, Muammer, stood out to hold the body.<sup>448</sup> Hasan Efendi describes the moment with these words: “*an unnamable sorrow, along with a mourning, took hold of the crowd in the house.*”<sup>449</sup>

Nevertheless, his most candid attitudes seem to have revealed themselves during the funeral prayer. Gülbevi Hatun's funeral ceremony coincided with three young girls' funerals. The terror of the moment seems to have doubled itself for Hasan Efendi and his family with this recent addition. In his own words, he “felt the ferocity (*vahşet*) and dread (*dehşet*)” up to the hilt.<sup>450</sup> His depiction of Mustafa strikingly attests to his feeling: “Next to the water fountain, my son Mustafa screamed in sorrow. When I saw him like that, I suspected if this is a bizarre nightmare.”<sup>451</sup>

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<sup>443</sup> “Fakir küçük odada gayet meşak-rah iktizası ile istirahatete kastettim.” *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 6a; *Can “Seyyid Hasan”*, 15.

<sup>444</sup> “Lakin hab müyesser olmadı.” *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 6a; *Can “Seyyid Hasan”*, 15.

<sup>445</sup> Florya: a neighborhood in the district of Bakırköy today.

<sup>446</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 7b; *Can “Seyyid Hasan”*, 16.

<sup>447</sup> As it can be easily inferred, they did not apply different method during the funerary ceremonials of plague-stricken people. For this reason, a hygienic approach to and/or a medically-sensitive awareness of illnesses was still not visible in the minds of the people.

<sup>448</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 7b; *Can “Seyyid Hasan”*, 16.

<sup>449</sup> “Bir mertebe en deruni hüznün ve büka galebe etti ki beyana gelmek kabil değil.” *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 7b; *Can “Seyyid Hasan”*, 16

<sup>450</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 8b; *Can “Seyyid Hasan”*, 16.

<sup>451</sup> “...oğlum Mustafa musluk dibinde...durup yakardı. Aya bu oğlancığı bu mahalde müşahede ettiğim an garib bir hayal mi olur ki diye muhafet ve ibret ile kat kat yüzüne baktım.” *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 9a; *Can “Seyyid Hasan”*, 17.



### 3.1.2. Loss of One's Child: The Death of Mustafa

“On the side of the bed, my son, Mustafa, studied the surah of Ma’un with his [older] brother. I gazed at him, worrying if I cannot even remember his face again...A fire tears apart my heart. I cannot express its severity with words.”<sup>452</sup>

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According to Philip Aries, death forewarned its victims in the middle ages.<sup>453</sup> That is to say, it never arrived at doors without its portents such as old age and sickness.<sup>454</sup> In this way, someone usually felt in advance that she/he would die. Aries’ interpretation of medieval sources like epic poems (*chansons de geste*) reveals a literary topos. This literary topos helps the narrative finally end up with the death of the protagonist character. That is to say, it prevents death from appearing out of blue, and puts it in a linear process. I argue that a similar literary topos is present in the part Hasan Efendi describes his son Mustafa’s death as well. Before Mustafa died, Hasan Efendi clairvoyantly paves the way for Mustafa’s demise.

After Gülbevi Hatun’s demise on 4 September 1661, death toll in Hasan Efendi’s neighborhood would keep increasing. It is noticeable that there was almost no adult male whose news of death is given by Hasan Efendi. Instead, the death toll mostly comprised child and women. One child among these was Bakkal Emir Ahmet Çelebi’s son, Seyyid Mehmed. Hasan Efendi details on Seyyid Mehmed’s funeral ceremony, that took place on 8 September 1661. It is quite apparent that this story mirrored Hasan Efendi’s worn-out mental state. In Seyyid Mehmed’s ablution (*gasl*), he visioned gloomy scenes. For instance, he imagined as though it was his son Mustafa who died, and the body being ablated was not Seyyid Mehmed’s but Mustafa’s.<sup>455</sup> These visions were so powerful that they kept haunting Hasan Efendi all along the funeral ceremony.<sup>456</sup> It seems that

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<sup>452</sup> “Yüklük dibinde oğlum Mustafa, ağasından Sure-i Mâun’dan dersin okudu. Ol esnâda âya bu oğlancığın hayâli gözümde mi kalur deyü dîde-i ibret ile ol kadar nazar itdim ki ve bir mertebe korku çekdim ki...derûnumda bir ateş peyda oldu ki beyana gelmez.” *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 10b; Can “Seyyid Hasan”, 18.

<sup>453</sup> Aries “*Western Attitudes*” 1-7.

<sup>454</sup> Ibid.

<sup>455</sup> “Ol esnada aya oğlum Mustafa’ya dahi mevt isabet edip ten-şuyda bu kamet ve cesamet ve bu heyet ve kıyafet ile mi gasl olunur diye deruna hatıralar geldi.” *Sohbetname*, 12a; Can “Seyyid Hasan”, 18.

<sup>456</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 12a; Can “Seyyid Hasan”, 18

Hasan Efendi wanted to imply he actually foreboded what was coming. Since the calendrical form of the *sâlnâmes* is complex in the beginning of the year 1072/1661, it is possible that Hasan Efendi may have written the story of even a week at one sitting. For this reason, it is likely that he might have started a literary topos (that is, the clairvoyant information) that would pave the way for Mustafa's death.

After Hasan Efendi attended the burial ceremony of Seyyid Mehmed in Silivri Gate (*Silivrikapı*), he and his friend Bazirgânzade hit the road to their neighborhood. As soon as they turned the corner of a certain Abdullah Efendi's garden (*Abdullah Efendi Bağçesi*), Hasan Efendi noticed his wife Muammer and their youngest son, Seyyid Mehmed, on his mother's lap.<sup>457</sup> He started following them through the store of a certain Mahmud Beg, and later noticed that Lütfi Usta and the middle son Mustafa "with his red quilted turban made up of velvet" were also accompanying them.<sup>458</sup> Further to that, Hasan Efendi recorded that "[they say] Mustafa has been suffering from an astrological energy depletion (*yıldız düşüklüğü*)."<sup>459</sup> For this reason, Mustafa was feeling exhausted. Although Hasan Efendi does not further explain, such a suffer could only be detected by a spiritualist hodja (preferably, a Cinci Hoca). For this reason, it can be inferred that Mustafa was taken to such an authority by Muammer. Because, Mustafa must have already been suffering from a physical weakness. After all, Mustafa would get inflicted with plague on the same day. When Hasan Efendi later arrived at home, he found Mustafa laid up. In a similar manner to his mother Gülbevi Hatun, the people of the house had already laid a bed for him next to the window.<sup>460</sup>

People of the time were well aware of plague (*ta'un*). However, as argued by Ünver, they probably generalized all types of killer diseases as plague.<sup>461</sup> According to a hadith attributed to Prophet Muhammad, plague [*ta'un*] is caused by 'the spears shot by the evil djinnies'.<sup>462</sup> However, Ünver

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<sup>457</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 13a; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 19.

<sup>458</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fols. 13a-13b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 19.

<sup>459</sup> In Ottoman/Islamic folklore, celestial events are believed to affect people. In this way, it is assumed that every person has a star above in the heavens. When this star begins to descend and/or fall, the owner of the star would get sick and die. See: Sedat Veyis Örnek, *Anadolu Folklorunda Ölüm*, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1971), 24.

<sup>460</sup> It could not be a coincidence that they would regularly lay the sickbed next to the window. It is apparent that they wanted sick people to be close to the open air and to be ventilated regularly.

<sup>461</sup> Süheyl Ünver "Türkiye'de Veba (Taun) Tarihiçesi Üzerine," *Tedavi Kliniği ve Laboratuvarı Mecmuası* 5 (1978), 72.

<sup>462</sup> "Prophet Muhammad's Hadiths on Plague." Accessed December 28, 2017.

claimed that he did not come across this hadith before the nineteenth century. But, the *sâlnâmes* contain a clear reference to this hadith. When Mustafa was lying on his sickbed, Hasan Efendi visited a certain Cinci Ahmed Efendi in order to seek help for his son.<sup>463</sup> Although he did not detail on the meeting, Hasan Efendi's visit to the spiritualist, who was specialized in the issue of djinnies, could not be a coincidence. One should always bear in mind that it was still a world of superstitions. I do not intend to claim that they led an irrational life in the seventeenth-century Ottoman Istanbul. Instead, superstition was their only alternative against the insuperable and/or inexplicable situations. Plague was one of these realities, and they understandably referred to such 'methods of treatment', for they had neither a medical explanation nor a solution to this killer.

Upon his return from Cinci Ahmed Hoca, Hasan Efendi brought a "holy manuscript" (*nûshâ-i şerif*), that is a Quran manuscript. It is clear that a copy of the manuscript was believed to heal Mustafa. But regardless, the night must have been troublesome. Hasan Efendi recorded Selim Kadın, their neighbor, and Lütfi Usta stayed the night at them. On the following day (9 September 1661), upon his return to home from Yıldızzâde's, Hasan Efendi would find Mustafa in the throes of death. He notes that his oldest son was reciting the surah of Yâsîn, most probably from Cinci Ahmed Hoca's copy of Quran, beside the deathbed. Shortly after, Mustafa passed away with his brother and father beside him. After recording the day of death (*on altı Muharrem*), Hasan Efendi proceeds that "we made his deathbed (*rahat döşeği*) next to the banister, and immediately transferred [the corpse] to there."<sup>464</sup> As it can be clearly noticed, the same thing was implemented to the corpses of Gülbevî Hatun and Seyyide Saime. The dead body would not be left on her/his deathbed. Even though it is sure that this was a regular implementation, the reason behind this is not explained by Hasan Efendi.

The interesting narrative of Mustafa's death is not limited to this. On 10 September 1661, a night after Mustafa's death, Hasan Efendi noted that an owl (*baykuş*) fluttered over Mustafa's corpse, and then fell down somewhere near the small room.<sup>465</sup> Since owls are a portent of inauspiciousness

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[http://tibbenabawi.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=72&Itemid=101](http://tibbenabawi.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=72&Itemid=101).

<sup>463</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, fol. 14b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 20.

<sup>464</sup> *Sohbetname I*, fol. 15b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 20.

<sup>465</sup> *Sohbetname I*, fol. 16a-16b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 21.

in the Anatolian folkloric tradition<sup>466</sup>, it is no difficult to understand why Hasan Efendi referred to it. The grief must have taken hold of Hasan Efendi so much that he did not (could not) record anything relating to the funeral ceremony of Mustafa apart from his wailings during the ablution.

### 3.1.3. Loss of One's Companion: The Death of Aġazade

As discussed in the previous chapter, Aġazade was one of Hasan Efendi's closest companions. Hasan Efendi frequented Aġazade's house every now and then. Sometimes, they entertained themselves at the garden of this residence and gathered with people. They roamed the city together. As the name of Aġazade imply, he was certainly the son of an aġa. That is to say, his background was most probably neither Sünbülî nor Halvetî. Hasan Efendi first mentioned his name on a day of Ramazan in 1661.<sup>467</sup> Since then we come across him frequently until his death on 28 Muharrem 1073/2 September 1663.

While everything was following this regular pattern, Hasan Efendi notes the death of Aġazade's son, Ferrûh, on 17 Muharrem 1073/21 August 1663.<sup>468</sup> This was followed by the death of his daughter, whose name Hasan Efendi does not record, four days later on 21 Muharrem/25 August.<sup>469</sup> Like Gülbevî Hatûn's case two years ago, Hazret-i Azîz came with a pretext, and did not perform the funeral prayer and the post-burial inculcation. This situation could not escape from Hasan Efendi's sight and he records this.<sup>470</sup> Three days later, on 28 Muharrem/2 September, Hasan Efendi pens this note: "Be it known that Aġazade drank from the glass of fate in Tunçhane."<sup>471</sup> Thus, following his two children, Aġazade died. Hasan Efendi does not give us an emotional attitude unlike his wife and son, yet he uses the phrase 'drink from the glass of fate' (*cam-ı ecel-i nûş eylemek*). As to the death of Aġazade, there remains a solid question, which we cannot easily answer with the information provided in the *sâlnâmes*: Why did Aġazade die?

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<sup>466</sup> Örnek, *Anadolu Folklorunda Ölüm*, 18.

<sup>467</sup> *Sohbetname I*, fol. 108b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 73.

<sup>468</sup> *Sohbetname II*, fol. 122a.

<sup>469</sup> *Ibid.*, 122b.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibid.*, 123b-124a.

<sup>471</sup> "Malûm ola ki Aġazade Tunçhane'de cam-ı ecel-i nûş eylemiş." *Ibid.*, 124b.

Hasan Efendi does not mention any reason for the abrupt deaths of either Ağazade or his two children. Given that the interval among three death cases were very short, and they were from the same household, a contagious disease, probably plague, may have been responsible for their deaths. Ağazade was actively involved in social life until the very last moment. For instance, on 15 August, he met and conversed (*ülfet*) with Hasan Efendi along with a certain Sefer Çelebi.<sup>472</sup> However, fourteen days later, on 29 August, after the demise of his daughter, we are notified that he was laid up on his sickbed (*sahib-i firaş*). Even if they had all suffered from plague, which is the likeliest possibility, Hasan Efendi does not mention they were plague-stricken (*ma'tun/ma'tune*).

Apart from this, Hasan Efendi could not attend Ağazade's funeral, but he would later visit his grave at Edirnekapı on 5 Safer/8 September.<sup>473</sup> In this visit, Şeyhzade accompanied him. After they did their duty to their companion, they stopped by somewhere at Eyüp and ate kebab at a second-story *kebabçı* shop.<sup>474</sup>

### 3.2. Rites and Practices of Death

#### 3.2.1. Antemortem Period

Under this heading, my concern is to locate the common rituals and practices before someone's death. The *sâlnâmes* are rife with examples of such antemortem practices. Among them, the first one is to pay a visit to the patient (*iyâde/iyâdet*).<sup>475</sup> This visit was different than the regular *zîyaret* visits. These visits were meant to be consolation for the moribund and his/her family. If Hasan notes that they paid an *iyâde* visit to someone, the death of this person usually followed in a few days. For instance, Hasan Efendi records that some six people including the daughter of Bolevî paid an *iyâde* visit to Pişkadem on 7 Cemaziye'l-ahir 1073/17 January 1663.<sup>476</sup> On the following

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<sup>472</sup> Ibid., 120b.

<sup>473</sup> Ibid., 126b-127a.

<sup>474</sup> Ibid.

<sup>475</sup> Although *tâziye* is usually known to be a visit paid to the house of the deceased person, we see that Hasan Efendi used *iyâde* and *tâziye* interchangeably, as the latter refers to the antemortem visits sometimes. In addition, it should also be noted that *iyâde* was used to refer to any kind of consolation visits. For example, Hasan Efendi once noted that he paid an *iyâde* visit to someone who had recently gotten divorced.

<sup>476</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fols. 47a-47b.

day, Hasan Efendi saw in his dream that Pişkâdem died.<sup>477</sup> He woke up at eight in the morning.<sup>478</sup> Further to that, Pişkadem Seyyid Hasan Çelebi would pass away at ten in the morning.<sup>479</sup>

The *iyâde* visit paid to Pişkadem thus forewarns us, the readers about his forthcoming death. However, Hasan Efendi was also forewarned about his death in his dream. This dream was the only one penned in the *sâlnâmes*. However, this was certainly not the only intriguing dream he had, as we know that Halvetîs, especially the dervishes of *Sünbülîyye* branch, were prone to interpret their dreams.<sup>480</sup> In consequence, the dreams were also parts of the antemortem period. As to the reality of the dream of Hasan Efendi, this should be beyond our query here, as Niyazioğlu has discussed that an evaluation of the factual and/or fictitious characters of these dreams required a corpus more than the dreams themselves.<sup>481</sup>

Another important point to consider in this stage is the wills (*vasîyet*). A will usually involves the testator's demands and the portion of inheritance to be executed after his/her demise. Wills have always been an important component of Muslim social life starting from the time of Prophet Muhammad.<sup>482</sup> According to Quran, someone's will should be executed after the deceased person's debts are paid accordingly.<sup>483</sup> In the Ottoman Empire, someone could have his/her will recorded before the judge and eyewitnesses. As the miscellany of Tokat referred to above indicates, this process could even take place on the side of the deathbed.<sup>484</sup>

Preparation of a will understandably relates to the awareness of the will-owner toward his/her approaching end. In this way, Hasan Efendi mentions a case of will preparation, in which he had been present as a witness for the testator woman Seyyide Esmâ.<sup>485</sup> Seyyide Esmâ Hatun was a neighbor of Hasan Efendi. Since she was nicknamed *Seyyide*, she was probably linked to a

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<sup>477</sup> Ibid.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid.

<sup>479</sup> Ibid.

<sup>480</sup> Aslı Niyazioğlu, Dreams, "Ottoman Biography Writing and the Halvetî/Sünbülî Şeyhs o the 16th century Istanbul", *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian and Turkish (14th-20th century)* ed. Ralf Erger and Yavuz Köse, (Harrasowitz, 2010), 172-175.

<sup>481</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>482</sup> Abdüsselam Arı, *Türk Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Vasîyet"

<sup>483</sup> Ibid.

<sup>484</sup> Ümit Ekin, "Bir Sakk Mecmuasına Göre 17. Yüzyılda Tokat", 69.

<sup>485</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 49b.

religious path through one of her parents.<sup>486</sup> She did not have a child because she did not mention them in her will. Hasan Efendi records that they were four people including himself and his son Hasan before the court. First of all, the woman appointed Hasan Efendi's son as a guardian to one-third of her property. In addition to that, she inherited Quran and hadith manuscripts to him. Further to that, she provided an emancipation document (*itaknâme*) to her younger *carîye*,<sup>487</sup> which will be effective after her death.<sup>488</sup> She inherited some housewares to both of her *carîyes*. As to her wishes, she demanded a cypress coffin. Finally, she requested the present people donate all of his cash money and golds to the poor after her demise.<sup>489</sup> It is interesting that Hasan Efendi cared to record even the smallest details. Even though the will was recorded by the judge, he might have wanted to create a crosscheck list in order to secure Seyyide Esma's will.

### 3.2.2. Postmortem Period

This period refers to a wide range of time from the moment of death to the following years. It is possible to schematize the period in two phases: (1) funerary arrangements and (2) postmortem rituals. When someone passed away, the deceased body would usually be buried in one day. The dead body could only wait for a little while at home. For example, Hasan Efendi paid a visit to a house of deceased while Gülbevî's dead body was at home. He notes that he had to break short the visit, for he should not suspend Gülbevî's burial.<sup>490</sup>

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<sup>486</sup> It is apparent that the title *seyyid/seyyide* could be inherited through both paternal and maternal lines. For example, the elder sister Seyyide Hadice's daughter Saime was also nicknamed Seyyide Saime, although his father Hasan Çavuş was not a *seyyid*.

<sup>487</sup> "...ve küçük cariyesi müdebber iken itakname murad eyledi." *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 49b. Although Gökyay provides a transcription of the parts relating to Esma Hâtûn's will, he omits this specific sentence about the emancipation of the *carîye*. See: Gökyay, "Sohbetnâme", 60.

<sup>488</sup> As explained by Y. Hakan Erdem, this posthumous mode of manumission, known as *tedbir*, was one of the most common modes in the Ottoman Empire. The slave, who would be posthumously freed, was called *müdebber*. See: Y. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise, 1800-1909*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), 152-153.

<sup>489</sup> Matlab-ı Vasiyet-i Seyyide Esma "...Bade dört kişi komşumuz Esma Hâtûnun vasiyetine hazır olduk. Bu esnada Kadı Abdi Çelebi ve Berber Ömer Beg dahi hazır oldular. Ol vasiyet bu derke beyan olunur. Evvela Büyük oğlum Hasan Efendi'yi sülüs-i mali üzere vasi ittihad eyledi ve hibe-i sahihe ile bir mushaf-ı şerif hibe eyledi ve Küçük cariyesi müdebber iken itakname murad eyledi. Ve iki cariye birer kalıçe ve birer minder ve birer döşek ve ikişer yorgan ve birer tepsi ve birer legen ve beşer sahan ve sair eşyadan birer kat ikisine verdik dedi ve yüz guruşluk bir çift bilezik ve üç-dört bin akçe ve kefenim var dedi ve servi tabut istemem dedi ve bin akçe iskat ve sair levazım ve saat üzere hariç olunmak ve defnim siyakında fukaraya bol bol akçe verilmek murad-ı meded dedi ve sim bakiyye malı ve cevherata sarf etsün dedi." *Sohbetnâme II*, fol. 49b.

<sup>490</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, 6b-7a.; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 15.

When someone passed away, the biggest question for the survivors was to find a burial place. Although extramural cemeteries had been available and promoted since the rule of Bayezid II<sup>491</sup>, Hasan Efendi and his companions would usually prefer to bury their loved ones in intramural places such as mosque cemeteries. However, since the location of Koca Mustafa Paşa was near the city walls<sup>492</sup>, they alternatively preferred extramural places, especially because of the fact that it was not very easy to find an available intra muros place. For instance, when the lady Şahbaz died, Hasan Efendi looked for a place in graveyard near the tomb of Hasan Adli Efendi Türbesi. However, he was unable to detect an available spot here. Finally, he would arrange a burial place, somewhere near their family graveyard, at Uluyol, Bayrampaşa.<sup>493</sup> This latter place was probably an extramural graveyard. It must have been a certain Kenan Paşa Garden in which many people from Hasan Efendi's household (*ehl-i beyt*) were buried. For example, when Seyyide Saîme died, they managed to arrange a spot in the cemetery of Koca Mustafa Paşa Lodge.<sup>494</sup> When Gülsüm Kadın, the sister of Hasan Efendi's elder sister, died, the burial place was an issue yet again. Hasan Efendi recorded that Hazret-i 'Azîz, Yıldızzâde, Debbağzâde Efendi, and himself looked for a burial place in the graveyards for Gülsüm Kadın.<sup>495</sup> In consequence, the scarcity of intramural burial places led them to search at extramural locations.

After the arrangement of the burial place, they would usually order the coffin and ablution supplies. Further to that, the first step of the funeral rituals was ablution (*gasl*) of the deceased person. This is an obligatory duty (*farz*) according to Islamic tradition.<sup>496</sup> Hasan Efendi mentions this duty whenever he narrates a funeral. There was no case in which the deceased person was buried without the ablution. The funeral prayer was the following step in the process. It was also obligatory in the Islamic tradition except for the disintegrated bodies, suicidal cases, and heresy.<sup>497</sup>

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<sup>491</sup> Eldem, "Death in İstanbul", 16.

<sup>492</sup> See the map: Ibid., 17.

<sup>493</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, 20b-21a.; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 23.

<sup>494</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, 17b; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 22.

<sup>495</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, 105b-106a.

<sup>496</sup> Such information can be received from a standard *ilm-i hâl* manual, which is the direct equivalent of the cathetic literature in Christianity. Derin Terzioğlu published an article on the emergence of *ilm-i hâl* books for the general public. She compared the same traditions in early modern Europe and the Ottoman Empire. See: Derin Terzioğlu, "Where *ilmihal* meets catechism: Islamic manuals of religious instruction in the Ottoman Empire in the age of confessionalization," *Past and Present* 220 (2013), 79-114. In this study, I refer to one of the earliest and most common *ilm-i hâl* manuals available, *Mızraklı İlmihâl*. For the ablution ceremony, see: İsmail Kara, *Mızraklı İlmihâl*, (İstanbul: Çıdam Yayınları, 1989).

<sup>497</sup> İsmail Kara, *Mızraklı İlmihal*



We understand that funerary imamate (*imâmet*) was important, as Hasan diligently records who led whose funerary prayer. For example, *Hazret-i 'Azîz*'s funerary imamate was obviously more desirable than anyone else. In some cases, Hasan Efendi was asked to lead funerary prayers, too. After the prayer, the deceased was finally buried. The last step in this process was post-burial inculcation (*telkîn*). Post-burial inculcation was also an obligatory duty according to Islamic tradition. As to its context, it included advises given to the deceased person about the afterlife by the leader of funerary prayer.<sup>498</sup>

The second phase of the postmortem period involves commemorative rituals, first thing among which is halva. Hasan Efendi usually mentions the halva served in the day of funeral. Halva-serving (*can helvası*) is a living custom in traditional/Islamic culture. The aim is usually explained as doing good for the deceased.<sup>499</sup> Hasan Efendi also mentions that they recited Quran and/or *mevlîd-i şerîf*<sup>500</sup> on the seventh and the fortieth days after someone's death. On these occasions, foods were usually served. For example, he records that they made *çörek* (a type of bready pastry) for the seventh-day recitals of his son Mustafa.<sup>501</sup> This emphasis on food brings to mind Kadızâde Mehmed Efendi's prohibitions on serving food after the deceased.<sup>502</sup> It is clear from Hasan Efendi's narration that these rituals were not hidden behind the closed doors. In other words, postmortem food-serving was a public activity. In the secondary literature, the period following the death of Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (d. 1661) has usually been referred to as the revivalism of the fundamentalist movement of Kadızadelis.<sup>503</sup> According to Zilfi, the actual influence of the Kadızadelis would start during the term of Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha when he met Vanî Mehmed Efendi.<sup>504</sup> By 1665, the tension would gradually increase and Vanî would even ban musical

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<sup>498</sup> Ibid.

<sup>499</sup> "Ölü Helvası Geleneği," Kültür Ve Turizm Bakanlığı Araştırma ve Eğitim Genel Müdürlüğü, accessed December 21, 2018, <http://aregem.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR-131490/olu-helvasi-gelenegi.html>.

<sup>500</sup> *Mevlîd-i şerîf*, or *Vesiletü'n-necât*, a famous poem written by Süleymân Çelebi for the commemoration of the birth of Prophet Muhammad. This poem, strongly entrenched into the mindset of Ottomans, would usually be recited along with Quran on days of commemoration such as birth, annual death commemorations, and *kandîls*. For further information, see: Yorgos Dedes, "Süleyman Çelebi's Mevlid: Text, Performance and Muslim-Christian Dialogue." In *Uygurlardan Osmanlıya* eds. Günay Kut and Fatma Büyükkarcı (Istanbul: Simurg, 205), 305-349.

<sup>501</sup> *Sohbetnâme I*, 19a.; Can "Seyyid Hasan", 22.

<sup>502</sup> Derin Terzioğlu, Sufi and Dissident, 217.

<sup>503</sup> Madeline Zilfi, The Kadızadelis: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (1986), 262.

<sup>504</sup> Ibid. 263.

rituals.<sup>505</sup> From this perspective, it can be assumed that the period of Hasan Efendi's writing partly coincided with a time of relative relief.

Some annual remembrance activities were also a part of the postmortem period. Hasan Efendi usually records annual commemorative notes for the deceased people from his family. Among them are his sons and the wife, Gülbevî. He also records the death annuals of his mother. For example, on 13 Rebi'ü'l-evvel 1073/26 October 1663, it was the sixteenth death annual of his mother.<sup>506</sup> On these days, they held gatherings of Quran and mevlîd-i şerif recitals. In terms of food-serving, these rituals followed the same pattern with seventh and fortieth-day commemorations. Graveyard visits were other important components of the postmortem period. Although visiting the deceased members of the family was more regular and frequent, Hasan Efendi and his companions usually visited tombs and graveyards. On death anniversaries, he always visited the graves of Gülbevî, Mustafa and Hüseyin at Kenan Paşa Bağçesi.

### **3.3. Death, Succession, and Careerism: Considerations on a Story of Opportunism**

The phenomenon of death penetrated into the everyday of life of seventeenth century Istanbulites. This penetration was more visible at times of catastrophe such as a plague epidemic. Although death was an ordinary component of life, the bereavement of the loved ones, which it caused, was never tolerable. It was never possible to forget the loved ones. However, there was always another side of the coin. Apart from all the grief, death could occasionally be received as an opportunity. Someone's death could become a passage for another person's promotion in his career.

In this way, Hasan Efendi records many changes of posts either in religious institutions or in the bureaucratic ladder. An officer's death always ended up with the promotion of a lesser-ranked official. In this sense, it was a rivalry between the aspirants of a certain post. Among many such entries, one long story that Hasan Efendi heard from a certain Hüseyin Çelebi during a gathering at Yıldız, is striking: "...Mustafa Efendi, the preacher (hatib) of Sultan Mehmed Mosque and the imam of Ayasofya Mosque, paid a visit of patient (ıyâde) to the preacher (hatib) of Ayasofya Karakaş Mahmud Efendi. After he left Mahmud Efendi's house, he heard a scream from inside. He immediately interpreted this as a signal of Mahmud Efendi's death. Without delay, he rushed

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<sup>505</sup> Ibid.

<sup>506</sup> *Sohbetnâme II*, 22a.

to Edirne to demand the post of Mahmud Efendi. The post was given to him. The preacher (hatib) of Sultan Bayezid Mosque, Edirne was appointed to Mustafa Efendi's former post. However, Karakaş Mahmud Efendi Efendi was still alive and had already heard this. He arrived in Edirne to take back his post. He was a former professor of the sultan. Therefore, the sultan returned the post to him. [Moreover] He enrobed Karakaş Mahmud with a fur and granted two purses of akçes for his forthcoming preaching of the eid. Following that, he ordered them to go back to Istanbul."<sup>507</sup>

Ayasofya was certainly one of the most important mosques at that time. Mustafa Efendi did not want to leave it to the chance. But the news of this case caused by his misunderstanding apparently became well-known among the circles of officials in Istanbul. Not long after this case, Karakaş Mahmud Efendi would actually die, and the post would be given to Mustafa Efendi. Nevertheless, this news must have not been easily forgotten. Death shaped Hasan Efendi's career, too. Following Devezeade Efendi's death, Hasan would become the sheikh of Ferrûh Kethüda Lodge, Balat.

### 3.4. The Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter aimed to understand the meaning of death for Hasan Efendi and his social environment on the basis of three concepts: bereavement, ritual, and rivalry. Before delving into these concepts, it generally discussed Hasan Efendi's responses to the phenomenon of death by observing a connection between his emotions and choices of vocabulary. The first part, the bereavement, explored Hasan Efendi's responses to the phenomenon of death on the basis of three death cases: his wife Gülbevi, his son Mustafa, his close companion Ağazade. While the first two cases create a great emotional impact, such a response is not observed in the diary. The second part, the ritual, delved into the rituals and funerary performances in order to understand the scope of emotional coping mechanisms. These mechanisms were explored in two stages: antemortem period and postmortem period. Finally, the rivalry part pointed out that death served as a system

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<sup>507</sup> "Yıldız'da muaşeret esnasında Hüseyin Çelebi şöyle rivayet eyledi ki Sultan Mehmed Hatibi ve Ayasofya imamı ve merhum Evliya Efendi damadı olan Mustafa Efendi, Karakaş Mahmud Efendi'yi iyadaya varub müdafaa olunması akabinde içerüden bir feryad istima ttikde fevt olmak manasını verir ve alelcümle azm-i Edrene edüb Ayasofya hitabetine talib olub hin-i telhiste hitabet-i mezburâ Edrene'de vaki Sultan Bayezid hatibini tevcih olunur. Bade Karakaş Mahmud Efendi sıhhat-i yafıta olub Edrene'ye varur ve hitabeti mütalebe ider. Padişahı-ı alim-penah hazretleri hevamcımdır deyü hitabeti tekrar ve ibka ve bir kürk giyürmek ve iki kise akça ihsan buyururlar ve yid-i şerif hutbesini bunda okun. Bade azm-i İstanbul idün deyü ferman iderler." *Sohbetnâme II*, fols. 87b-88a.

enabling succession among generations of officials. For this reason, apart from emotional beravement, it caused rivalry as well.



## CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have aimed to explore the life of Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi, a sheikh, calligrapher, and poet in the late seventeenth-century Ottoman Istanbul. In this study, my primary source was his only-surviving work, that is, his diary, the *sâlnâmes* which he kept between 1661-1665. Hasan Efendi's diary has been well known among Ottomanist scholarship since the late 1980s. However, a contextual study was lacking, since the diary has usually been referred to as for evidence in other spheres of Ottoman historiography apart from the articles of Haluk Şehsuvaroğlu, Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Cemal Kafadar, and Suraiya Faroqhi. The humble aim of this study has been to contribute to the findings of those scholars in two ways from prosopographical and historical anthropological perspectives: (1) what the scope of Hasan Efendi's relationships, networks and environment was, and (2) how Hasan Efendi and his social environment responded to the phenomenon of death.

To do so, I have primarily focused on the personality of Seyyid Hasan Nûrî Efendi and his diary in the first chapter. The image of the author has been restricted only to his being a dervish in the secondary literature. However, he certainly possessed some other skills such as poesy and calligraphy. For this reason, it was necessary to draw a broader biographical image. To this end, I have endeavored to reflect Hasan Efendi's image as a versatile man, an upper-class Ottoman *efendi*. Besides, I have put forward some possible reasons for the composition of the diary. Afterwards, I have explored the making of the diary in two ways. First, I have discovered the technical making of the diary. In this part, I have argued that the title of the diary was not *Sohbetnâme*, as reflected in the secondary literature so far, but instead it is the *sâlnâme* meaning the book of yearly-taken notes in Hasan Efendi's own words. Furthermore, technical continuities and ruptures during that four-year-long period of writing have been discussed. In this way, it has been possible to make firm that Hasan Efendi systematized his own way of writing daily notes. Second, I have discussed the contextual making of the diary on the basis of routines, his mentality, and the ethos of the social groups. By doing so, my intention has been to reconstruct the setting in which Hasan Efendi's social relationships were shaped.

In the second chapter, I have focused on Hasan Efendi's social relationships in three expanding realms from the most intimate realm, his family, to the most distant realm, the high-ranking officials. Although his wide social networks have often been emphasized, a collective analysis has never been attempted so far. To this end, in the first realm, Hasan Efendi's family (*ehl-i beyt*) have been explored through the diary and some other sources where possible. In the second realm, his companions have been discovered, and sometimes been located through some clues offered in the diary. As a result, it has been understood that his companions were not necessarily from his own order, the Sümbülîyye, but instead were from many orders in İstanbul. In the third realm, his unusual encounters, visits, and gatherings with people from high-ranking officials such as sheikulislams, pashas, and the sultan have been included in the picture. I have argued that his encounters with these people were reflective of not only his wide social networks but also networking efforts.

In the third chapter, having been convinced that the phenomenon of death was a significant component of the author's social universe, I have explored the images of death in the diary. To do so, I have primarily sought to comprehend the individual responses of the author to the phenomenon of death. In this way, I have pointed out a connection between his emotional responses and his choice of vocabulary. Furthermore, I have dealt with the concept of bereavement on the basis of three cases of loss: his wife, his son, and his friend. These cases have helped comprehend not only Hasan Efendi's emotional responses but also his understanding of fatalism. Afterwards, I have discovered the rituals performed in two consecutive periods: (1) antemortem period and (2) postmortem period. To this end, I have aimed to understand the functions of these rituals as coping mechanisms and their politics of implementation under the contemporary religious circumstances. Finally, I have discussed that death was a means of succession. Therefore, it not only caused emotional responses but also rivalries among the expectants of a certain post.

Although I have sought to approach to Hasan Efendi's diary from many ways, it was not possible to encompass all the riches of the diary in this study. For example, the detailed dinner menus Hasan Efendi penned contain substantial material waiting to be discovered by food historians. Now that we know the dinners Hasan Efendi attended were surrounded by people from high-ranking officials such as ambassadors, religious authorities and palatial dignitaries, these menus can be

considered additional sources for understanding the consumption patterns of upper-class social groups in the late seventeenth-century Ottoman Istanbul.

Furthermore, a comparative study of the diary and the contemporary sharia court records may shed light on further research in many aspects, as it may be possible to connect the information offered in the diary with those in the court records at some point. For example, a study on the spatial and social making of the late seventeenth century neighborhood of Kocamustafapaşa may be possible through such a comparative reading, as the identity of some people, especially the store-owners, may be located in the court records. In addition, Hasan Efendi's, his relatives' and his companions' probate inventories may be found in the court records. Such findings would definitely enrich our understanding of his microcosm. Since this master's thesis had a time limitation, the scope of the sources was restricted. However, I will further endeavour to find out if such a binary reading between the diary and the court records is possible.

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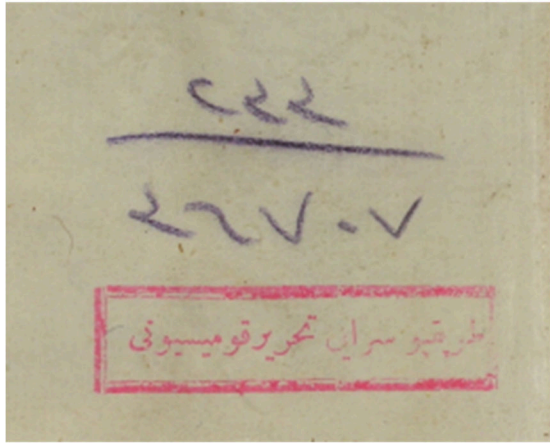
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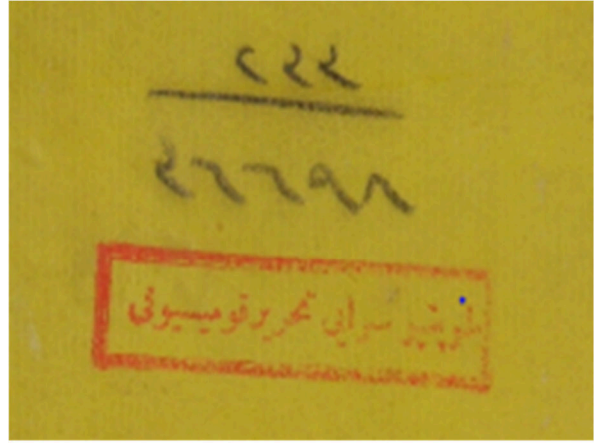


APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: The Seals of Topkapı Palace Registers Commission

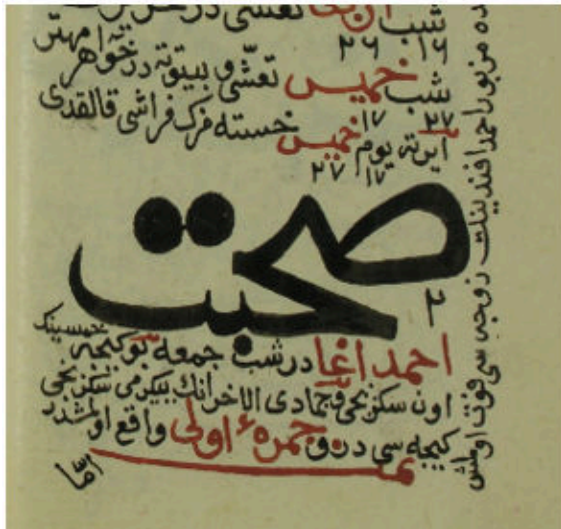


TSMK Hazine 1426 (Vol. I), inner cover.



TSMK Hazine 1418 (Vol. II), inner cover.

APPENDIX B: Examples for *Sohbet* Inscriptions



TSMK Hazine 1426 (Vol. I) Fol. 61a.



TSMK Hazine 1426 (Vol. I) Fol. 43a.

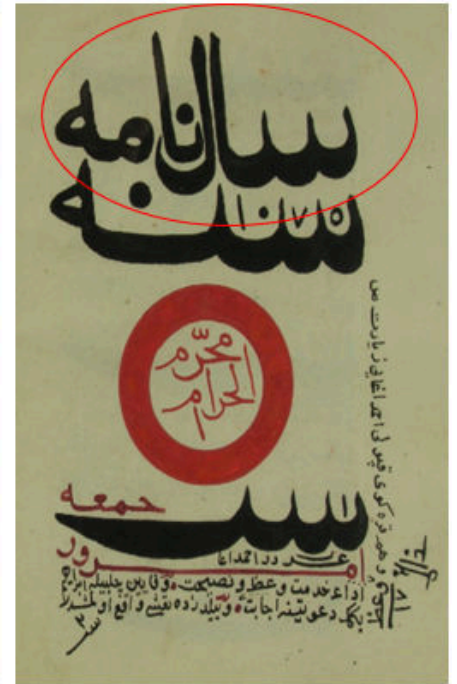
APPENDIX C: The Facsimiles of the Folios Bearing the Title the *Sâlnâme*



TSMK H.1418 (Vol. II), fol. 1b



TSMK H.1418 (Vol. II), fol. 117b



TSMK H.1418 (Vol. II), fol. 199b