THE CONVERSION OF SPACES AND PLACES OF WORSHIP IN ANATOLIA

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

10 - 11 April 2021

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Alevi Düşünce Ocağı

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ANATOLIAN RELIGIONS and BELIEFS PLATFORM

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Preface

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The publication of scientific papers in Turkish and English, presented at the international conference titled "The Conversion of Spaces and Places of Worship in Anatolia", organized online by the Anatolian Religions and Beliefs Platform ADİP on 10-11 April 2021, makes a great contribution to national and international literature. While the book in your hands demonstrates with examples and documents how many different beliefs Anatolian geography has embraced during its thousands of years of history, especially from Byzantium to the present, it also contains detailed information about the multicultural, multi-religious and multi-faith cultural heritage and structure of Anatolia, in other words, Asia Minor. In this international event, which was prepared by the valuable founders and members of ADİP, distinguished scientists made presentations and introduced their original works to large audiences. It is also a commendable development that this study was organized and turned into a book in a context where the discussions about the "conversion" practices in religious places and spaces gained importance on a global scale with the recent revocation of Hagia Sophia's museum status by the political authority and its transformation into a mosque.

While the studies in this book include the contributions of academics from many different disciplines, they deal with different topics of discussion. Scientists from different fields and disciplines such as cultural heritage, collective memory, philosophy of religion, history, architecture, Sufism, political science, anthropology, and urban sociology deal with different topics of discussion within the historicity of Anatolia, in the context of transformations and conversions of spaces and places of faith. Following the order of the scientific papers presented at the conference, it started with a discussion on the national and international repercussions of revocation of the museum status of the historical Hagia Sophia and its conversion into a mosque, which perhaps best portrays today's context. The issue of how some symbolic belief structures were politicized throughout the history of the Republic has been discussed in detail through the example of Hagia Sophia.

Another issue discussed at the conference is how processes such as modernization, growth of capitalism, urbanization and globalization affect religious belief structures. The papers presented in this framework examined the relationality between the transformation of belief structures and the identity transformations of individuals

and communities in the urban area. Another issue that the conference opened up for discussion in detail is how Sufi beliefs, which have a very different meaning for Anatolian lands, have historically transformed. In this context, the details of how Cemevis, Tekkes, Zaviyes and Mevlevihanes have undergone transformations with the changing political order from the Ottoman period to the present and the details of the relationality between these transformations and the institution of secularism are discussed.

There is no doubt that besides the practices of Sufism that have been silenced to a certain extent with the transformation of politics from the past to the present, there are also other religious belief structures that have retreated into silence or have been silenced. In the conference, the subject of how the places of worship of Christians, Armenians, Jews, Yezidis, and similar social groups have been subjected to silencing, siege, and oppression since the end of the nineteenth century was described with many visual examples shared with reference to different points of Anatolia.

The conference also makes significant contributions to the literature in the fields of architecture and philosophy of religion. The presented papers also discuss the transformation of Christianity from Byzantium to the present through the structures representing Christian faith in Anatolia. On the other hand, with reference to Christian beliefs that were rooted in Anatolia, the conversion processes of some churches into mosques are discussed, such as the architectural and functional transformation processes of Latin Catholic churches in different cities during the Ottoman and Republican periods.

The conference and this book, which examine a significant part of the belief structures hosted by Anatolia, and not only limited to Anatolia, but also the reflections of these belief structures on the transnational planes, without a doubt, has also the function of re-registering the cultural heritage of Anatolia and thus transferring it to future generations. I sincerely congratulate the organizers of this international conference which explains with examples what kind of transformations different religious belief structures in Anatolia's rich cultural heritage have undergone with the changing political, social, and economic processes over time, and the academics who contributed significantly with their papers, speeches and transcribed texts.

Introduction
Between the Politics and Poetics of Sacred Space: Some Introductory Remarks on the Conversion of Religious Sites

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This conference has been held almost one hundred years after the death of a scholar whose work has strong links with the topic of the conversion of religious spaces and places in the Anatolian world. Let me therefore begin by recalling this parallel and establishing some bridges with a research experience which is situated in the final period of the Ottoman empire.

During the last years of his short life, Frederick Hasluck (1878–1920) carried out intensive work on the interchange between Christianity and Islam. In the framework of research that aimed to cover the whole of the Ottoman lands, he devoted particular attention to the issue of the conversion of holy sites, with a strong focus on Anatolia. Therefore, I like to think that our collective work may also be a tribute to the memory of this brilliant scholar who died prematurely just over a century ago.

After his education at Cambridge, Hasluck was affiliated for several years to the British School of Archaeology in Athens. His research interests were multifarious, and included the archaeology of ancient Greece, medieval and modern history of Smyrna, Greek and Turkish folklore, accounts of travel to the Levant, and Genoese and Venetian numismatics and heraldry found in the Near East. It is only relatively late, when he was about thirty-five, that his curious mind was attracted to the study of religion. In several respects, this shift was moved by love. In spring 1913, he sojourned in Konya with his wife Margaret, for their honeymoon, and according to the latter's account, this experience was pivotal, because in the town of Mevlana Hasluck was fascinated by the interplay between Christians and Muslims in the Turkish world.

This became the almost exclusive preoccupation of his subsequent work. He started extensive historical and ethnographic comparisons, focusing on the Ottoman Empire. This research was hampered by the outbreak of the First World War and also by professional difficulties. In 1916 he was diagnosed of a lung disease that he tried in vain to cure in Switzerland. His health was progressively declining, but he tenaciously continued to write and to collect data for his project, until his death in February 1920.

On the theme that captivated his attention during the last period of his short lifespan, he left a few published articles, some manuscripts and a large number of notes. His wife revised and collected this material in a book, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, published in 1929. This patient editorial work, which lasted for at least four years, was crucial to assure a posterity to her husband's writing, assuring him a lasting intellectual influence.[1]

The plan Hasluck had in mind was quite different from that of the book that we can read now. As Margaret Hasluck reminds in her editor's note,[2] "he had intended to publish two books, the first entitled 'Transferences from Christianity to Islam and Vice Versa' and the second 'Studies in Turkish Popular History and Religion'."[3] To remedy the gaps in the manuscripts, particularly important for the 'Studies', she decided to merge them in a unique volume. Moreover, in his Swiss note-books, Hasluck collected further material "destinated for two companion volumes he planned on transferences from paganism to Christianity in the West and from Christianity to Islam in Syria and Palestine".[4] Margaret Hasluck included the bulk of this material in the footnotes of the book.

We therefore clearly see how central the theme of the conversion of religious places was in Hasluck's thought. It is truly to be regretted that the dramatic circumstances of the last years of his life prevented him from completing this ambitious project. Only a limited portion of the manuscript was ready for publication upon the author's death. Much existed in a still provisional form, or in the state of mere notes. We thus understand the complexity of the editorial work carried out by his wife. Her dedication was also the seal of a love story that had accompanied the birth and development of this scholarly interest.

Taken as a whole, Hasluck's book constitutes a mine of scholarship. In the text and in the notes one can find detailed information on thousands of holy places in different epochs, scattered in Anatolia, the Balkans, and the Mediterranean. On the other hand, it is rather arduous to grasp the author's theoretical argument, which is somewhat hidden in the folds of countless factual data, and myriad of references to a monumental bibliography. In spite of Margaret Hasluck's heroical editorial efforts, the text often retains the aspect of a collage of scattered bribes. It seems to me, however, that it may be worth trying to reconstruct the author's thought and the model he had in mind to account for the conversion of religious places.

Hasluck's work had a polemical purpose. It was first of all a critique of the theory of survival, personified by a scholar whose name appears as the first words in the first line of the book: Sir William Ramsey, a highly celebrated archaeologist and historian at the time, who had worked extensively in Turkey, which he had also described in brilliantly written travel reports. Ramsay tended to see in almost every contemporary religious manifestation in Asia Minor a resurfacing of the pre-Islamic past, in line with the low esteem he had for the originality of Islamic civilization.

1 Over the decades, Hasluck's book has been a constant source of inspiration for many scholars. More recently, Hasluck's rediscovery has been propitiated by a colossal work coordinated by David Shankland, ed., *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck*, 1878–1920, 3 vols. (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2004-13).

2 Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. Margaret M. Hasluck (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), v-viii.

3 *Ibid.*, vi.

4 *Ibid.*, vii.

The goal that Hasluck assigned to himself was to verify the credibility of such theory. He intended to go beyond vague speculations by carrying out a close analysis of the evidence concerning concrete cases of transferences of sanctuaries from one religion to another. This research aimed at understanding whether in these cases the inheritance was only merely material or also implied a spiritual dimension. In other terms, if something of the *religio loci* survived, for instance through "the personality of the saint supplanted or the local legends and customs of the sanctuary."[5]

In all his investigations, Hasluck favors prosaic interpretations over the poetry of survival. In his opinion, the persistent success of important holy places is not so much due to the intrinsic characteristics of the place, but rather to exclusively human factors, such as the centrality of a city from a political and economic point of view in the case of urban sanctuaries, or the location on a strategic road axis for countryside shrines.[6] Halsuck shows that, on several occasions, sites immensely famous for their sanctity during the past have completely lost their aura, when the socio-economic and political context surrounding them changed. He makes clear that when the sanctity of a place persists over time, despite the change of religious affiliation, this is not due to the simple inertial force of the *religio loci*, but is better seen as the result of an endless symbolic labor done by numerous actors, from simple devotees to groups of religious specialists who ensure the management. Sanctity is never simply a passive heritage.

The controversy with Ramsey led Hasluck to take a profound interest precisely in those phenomena of conversion of religious sites whose spontaneous and inevitable nature he contested, and whose diffusion he intended to relativize. To dismantle the superficial generalizations about the automatic survival of the holiness of places, Hasluck studied a large number of conversions of sacred places in Anatolia and the Balkans. He thus carried out a precise mapping of these transferences, arranging them in three broad categories: urban sanctuaries; suburban or rural sanctuaries; 'natural' cults.

On a general level, he isolated some main processes. Forceful occupation appears as a regular phenomenon in the case of town churches converted into mosques. At the moment of the conquest of a town, it was usual to appropriate at least one of the best available buildings - that in most cases were churches - for the sake of providing for the public worship of the Muslims. This was more a political than a religious act. Hasluck points out "that a mosque is only by exception a holy place, since it is not normally a place of burial or the repository of relics."[7] As a consequence, the cult's possibly associated to the previous church may easily disappear. Nevertheless, the author pays great attention to some important exceptions, like Haghia Sophia in Constantinople or St. Demetrius in Salonica, where some holy antiquities formerly venerated by Christians continued to be honored by Muslims.

Conversely, the occupation by force is extremely rare in the case of rural sanctuaries, for whom it is instead the gradual and peaceful intrusion that represents the rule. Hasluck devotes a great deal of energy to studying

5 *Ibid.*, 5.

6 *Ibid.*, 113.

7 *Ibid.*, 8.

the mechanisms that allow this transition. In this regard, he is particularly concerned with the activities of the Bektashis. The slow transference of sanctuaries relied on three main strategies: conversion, intrusion and identification. The circulation of a series of legends may suggest that a Christian saint had in fact secretly converted to Islam; that the shrine also houses the tomb of a Muslim saint; that the holy person is actually the transfiguration of a Muslim saint. Similar mechanisms were at work in other cases and in other directions, like in the occurrences, admittedly less frequent, of transference of a religious site from Islam to Christianity.

Undoubtedly, Hasluck's multifaceted model would deserve to be examined more carefully than it is possible to do here. I hope that the few elements I presented above will suffice to show that it could still be useful to read this author today. More specifically, what can be glimpsed in Hasluck's pages draws an intellectual cartography that can be meaningful for current research on the alteration of religious sites.

The central theme of this conference resonates with recent events that have drawn international attention to Turkey. It is therefore not surprising that the question of the transformation of Hagia Sophia, from museum to mosque, in 2020, was addressed in various interventions, which explored its historical, political and legal implications. This topic symbolically opens and closes the conference: it is at the center of the first panel (*Hagia Sophia: Interpretations and National Memory*), with the presentations by Markus Dressler and Umut Azak, and it returns in the last panel (*Hagia Sophia: Application of National Legislation and International Treaties*), which includes Leonard Hammer's and Cem Murat Sufouğlu's papers.

The intellectual journey proposed by the conference is, however, much more complex. After starting with Hagia Sophia, and before returning to it in the last section, the conference embarks on a complex and compelling itinerary in which the question of the conversion of religious sites is discussed in a broader historical and comparative perspective, which opens up to the whole of the Anatolian world, scrutinizing it in different periods.

Some examples will suffice to give an idea of the breadth of the chronological span. Ali Çağlar Deniz explores the vicissitudes of a thousand-year-old cult area in Antep, which in ancient times was dedicated to the God Jupiter Dolichenus, and then became the Lodge/Tomb of Dülük Baba during the Islamic period. Paschalis Androudis focuses on Konia and retraces the conversion of the Church of Hagios Amphilochios into the Eflatun Mescidi during the Sekjuk, Karamanid and Ottoman domination, while Vlada Stanković studies medieval Byzantine attitudes towards the loss of Anatolia, which was previously the heartland of the Eastern Roman empire. Emma Loosely is concerned with the Islamization of the city of Edessa after its Muslim conquest in 639 and the transformation, in subsequent centuries, of several of the city's churches into mosques, and especially the Church of St. Stepanos that became the Ulu Cami in the 1170s. Zeynep Aktüre examines the transformations of Christian churches in Istanbul after 1453, showing that the re-functionalization of these buildings included, besides conversion into mosques, also a wide variety of other uses (a madrasah, menagerie, ammunition and gunpowder warehouse, shipyard). Always in relation to Istanbul, Mariëtte Verhoeven offers a careful reconstruction of the vicissitudes of the Pammakaristos Church, which was converted into a mosque almost 150 years after the conquest of the town by the Ottomans.

Some conference participants are concerned with the late modern period. Paolo Girardelli and Rudu Dipratu focus on the transformation and the legal status of Catholic architecture in Pera and Galata during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For her part, Beatrice St. Laurent offers a very precise exploration of the survival, abandonment, transformation or destruction of religious structures in the city of Bursa, in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim neighborhoods from 1839 to 1918.

Several contributions concern the Republican Era. For instance, Vanessa de Obaldía studies the conversion of a Latin Catholic church into a children's library in the Black Sea Region. In the same vein, Aude Aylin de Tapia reconstructs the history of the Koimesis Theotokou Church of Nevsehir (Cappadocia), which after being abandoned for some decades, from 1950 to 1983 was transformed into a prison.

During the twentieth century, the almost complete disappearance of Christian minorities from large sections of Anatolia has multiplied the number of abandoned churches, many of which are currently in poor condition. Some presentations deal with the degradation of these churches: being now without faithful, they have been neglected for several decades, and deprived of maintenance and reparations. Many churches have now been transformed into ruins, and often also seriously damaged by treasure hunters. In other cases, these buildings are used as stables and for storage. Such a fate of degradation is described by Veysel Dinler for some churches in Isparta and in Çorum, as well as by Mehemet Fatih Güden, who shows that only few of the hundreds of churches and monasteries once present in the province of Van remain intact today and documents the poor conditions of many of them. Likewise, Nicholas Al-Jeloo finds an analogous situation in the highlands of Hakkari. Here, after the expulsion of the Assyrians to Iraq by the Turkish Republic in 1924, their places of worship have undergone various stages of desecration, damage and destruction. A similar destiny is also mentioned by Birgül Açıkyıldız for Yezidi sacred spaces in South-Eastern Turkey.

Several contributions deal with transformations of religious sites which instead occur inside the borders of the Islamic tradition. This may be the result of an official decision by the state. For instance, when the Bektashi order was outlawed by Mahmud II in 1826, several lodges were destroyed, while others were converted into mosques or handed over to the Naqshbandi order. This process is carefully studied by A. Yılmaz Soyyer.

As it is well known, almost exactly a century after, Law 677, issued by the Republic in December 1925, decreed the closing of dervish lodges. The latter were subsequently turned into mosques or converted into the secular structures of museums or cultural centers. Both Sevtap Demirtaş and Lucía Cirianni Salazar are concerned with the implications of these changes. The 1925 law also affected the Alevi faith spaces. As a matter of fact, the only legitime place of worship mentioned by the law were the mosques. As a consequence, the Alevi places of worship (*cemevis*) were also practically banned. In an insightful paper, Cemal Salman explores the effects of such a transformation.

Finally, a number of interventions – those by Erhan Kurtarir and Ayşe Nur Ökten, as well as the key-notes by Cemal Kafadar and Robert Langer – develop more general and theoretic points on some transversal topics, as the issue of space and place, the dynamics of conversion of the religious sites, and the sharing of sacred places.

In the limited space of this introduction, it is clearly impossible to discuss the numerous interesting points that are developed in the various contributions. Therefore, I will limit myself to mentioning a few aspects.

When Hasluck began his research, on the eve of the First World War, he had before his eyes an Anatolia still characterized by a miscellaneous religious landscape, with the presence of important non-Muslim religious minorities. The Islamic sphere itself, moreover, presented a multiplicity of expressions. It would have been difficult, at this point, to predict the speed of a change that would sweep that world away within a few years. As in many other countries, a religiously tinged nationalism has abruptly put an end to centuries-old cohabitation between religious groups. The Christian and Jewish minorities have completely disappeared, or are reduced at most to a negligible presence in a few places. Islam has experienced a strong normalization around the Sunni dogma and the mosque. In this situation, it is important that various interventions presented in the conference offer an eloquent survey of the deterioration of religious minorities' heritage, and present a documented survey of the current state of many religious buildings. This is a necessary step to try to prevent further irreparable damage and to encourage the protection of degraded religious places.

Many papers presented at the conference offer helpful elements in order to better circumscribe the range of meanings covered by the term 'conversion'. The issue of the relationship between transformations and conversion runs through various interventions and has been expressed with particular acuity and clarity by Cemal Kafadar in his key-note. This terminological conundrum invites us to ask a number of questions. How is it possible to discriminate between a series of transformations of a religious place and its actual conversion? And how do these two dimensions intersect? On the one hand, a sudden and official decision to convert a religious building can then be translated into a series of concrete transformations of the external and internal space that are much slower and may spread over several centuries. On the other hand, the cumulative effect of a set of almost imperceptible or otherwise inconspicuous transformations, at some point can then turn into a full conversion of the site.

Nowadays, in current language, the idea of conversion is multidimensional when it is applied to changes in space. Sometimes the term has a weak meaning, and merely indicates a slight change in function and form. This happens, for example, when we speak of the conversion of an administrative building into residential apartments, or of the conversion of rail lines into cycles routes. However, the term may also have a strong meaning, when it expresses a formal change that has significant consequences on the symbolic content of the space, and provokes emotional effects on people who frequent it. This especially happens when 'conversion' designates the alteration of a particular category of objects, namely religious buildings. In this case, moreover, it also generally carries the idea of a transference of the control of the site from one group to another. We may therefore, consider that there is a gradient in the strength of the meanings associated with the term conversion, which become maximal when religious contents are at stake.

To extend this discussion, it would be relevant to pursue an exploration of the semantic field covered by the idea of 'conversion' when it is applied to people. In this case, the meaning has a clear religious matrix. Conversion refers to an intense inner experience "associated with the definite and decisive adoption of a religion" (Merriam-Webster). This has been historically the dominating meaning, and it still prevails today.

However, the idea that religion is something that one may adopt in a definite and decisive way is culturally determined. This reflects conceptions of religious identity and belonging that are typical of the monotheistic religions, and especially of Christianity. In his classic study on conversion in Antiquity, Arthur Nock was profoundly aware of this. He stressed that in ancient times the interplay between cults, rites and beliefs was characterized by a substantial blending. The relation with foreign cults was based on *adhesion,* in contradistinction to *conversion*. For him, adhesion "led to an acceptance of new worships as useful supplements and not as substitutes, and they did not involve the taking of a new way of life in place of the old".[8] Similar principles seem at work also in other religious landscapes, for instance, in the long history of the great East-Asian religions.

The radical and exclusivist character of the monotheistic idea of religious belonging and personal conversion has reverberated on the identification of religious places. Just as an indeterminate religious identity or a dual membership are not conceivable in this context, so religious buildings are expected to be clearly ascribed to a single religion - and mostly to a single denomination or a single order within a religious tradition. Yet, even in this context, the notion of adhesion could perhaps prove useful, if one wants to pursue the analysis of subtler transformations of religious sites due to practical and symbolic investments by a plurality of actors, without necessarily generating a full conversion, in the meaning of transference of its control from one group to another, desacralization, resacralization, degradation, and so on.

A concern with spatial components is inherent in most of the contributions, and is developed in a more articulate way in some texts - such as those of Erhan Kurtarir, Ayşe Nur Ökten and Cemal Salman - which refer to important theories, for example those elaborated, among others, by Henri Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau or Michel Foucault. A discussion of these aspects would open an immense field that cannot even be touched here: just think of the many - and often contradictory - interpretations of the distinction between space and place that have been formulated by leading authors in different disciplinary fields. I will therefore limit myself to some general, and quite brief, points on the interplay between transformation of religious places and spatiality.

The conversion of religious sites is embedded in a dialectic between two dimensions that we may call *politics* and *poetics* of sacred space - drawing inspiration from categories outlined several years ago by David Chidester and others authors.[9] If we consider sacred space as human creation, these two dimensions are both fundamental for singling out places that are reputed to be sacred. Politics and poetics coexist and are inextricably linked, even if it is possible to distinguish them analytically.

Following the clear characterization of the *politics* of sacred space given by Chidester and Linenthal, we may argue that a sacred place "is entangled with entrepreneurial, social, political and other "profane" forces" that make its consecration possible. Therefore, significant levels of reality in the formation of a sacred place are "hierarchical power relations of domination and subordination, inclusion and exclusion, appropriation and dis-

8 Arthur D. Nock, *Conversion. The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 7.

9 See especially David Chidester, "The Poetics and Politics of Sacred Space: Towards a Critical Phenomenology of Religion," *Analecta Husserliana* 43 (1994): 211-231; David Chidester and Edward T. Linenthal. "Introduction," in *American sacred space*, ed. David Chidester and Edward T. Linenthal (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 1-42; Lily Kong, "Mapping 'new' geographies of religion: politics and poetics in modernity," *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 2 (2001): 211–233.

possession."[10] However, there are several other forces that also enter into the creation of a sacred place. We can define this set of elements as ascribable to the *poetics* of sacred space. It is, in fact, necessarily a complex labor on the terrain of myths, beliefs, and rituals, to carry out a consecration of a segment of space. This means inserting it into a series of symbolic coordinates, which concern, for example, the relationship between the earth and the cosmos, or between the living and the dead. A series of symbolic activities sanction the exceptionality of the sacred place. This separation from its environment is always to some extent arbitrary, but it rests also on the properties of some elements of the landscape and on certain aesthetic peculiarities of the buildings constructed by the hands of men: for instance, in visual, olfactory, and auditory properties. Generally, the implication of the body is important and manifests itself in various ways: ritual performances, ideas of purity and contamination, demands for healing, spatial coordinates that refer to the distinction between high and low, inside and outside, right and left. The result of the symbolic labor embedded in the poetics of sacred space is often a reification: the properties attributed to a sacred place are seen as inherent to it, as a direct emanation of a mysterious power that gives it a particular magnetism and makes it a propitious place for interaction with superhuman forces and beings.

Both the politics and poetics of sacred space are essential for the creation and maintenance of a religious site. An approach which only focuses on poetics runs the risk of naivety, while an exclusive concentration on politics leads to a reductive, and fatally cynical, interpretation. This is particularly evident in the case of the conversion of religious places. In some cases, there may be a substantial congruence between the political and the poetic dimension, as when the faithful of a majority group support with militant behavior the expropriation or degradation of a religious building belonging to a minority. Or when the members of a threatened minority activate an intense symbolic register to safeguard the integrity of their religious sites, as an instrument of community cohesion. At other times, on the contrary, there is an imbalance. A surplus of symbolic significations can fuel the politics of contestation of the site's control between several groups, each of which finds more or less legendary and mythological reasons to claim it for itself, thus pursuing also more prosaic and material interests. Or, inversely, this imbalance may produce a relative disjunction between political and poetic traits.

The conversion of a religious site is deeply related to the politics of space. A place belonging to another religion is desacralized, being deprived of its symbolic elements through a sudden transformation or a slow degradation. When it is appropriated by another religion, it follows a resacralization: a different set of symbols and significations is inscribed in the materiality of the place. This, at least, is the official script. In the real world the situation is often more intricated and sees the impact of other idioms, mainly related to the poetics of space. Sometimes even swiftly enacted appropriations did not immediately take full effect. This is the case of Hagia Sophia after 1453: it took centuries to erase the numerous iconic traces of the Christian presence in what had officially become a mosque. The slowness and often the incompleteness of the conversion gives several transmuted sacred places a palimpsest character. The new writing, however authoritative, does not completely erase the

10 David Chidester and Edward T. Linenthal, "Introduction," in *American sacred space*, ed. David Chidester and Edward T. Linenthal, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 17.

layers of previous texts. Something similar happened in relation to Sufi tekkes transformed into museums. The secular symbolic idiom that is supposed to prevail there, is sometimes integrated by a more or less subterranean religious investment in these infrastructures.

Moreover, the presence of tangible traces of an alien religion may also encourage a cross-religious frequentation of the site. This is part of a wider phenomenon. A well-established plural religious landscape, in Anatolia as in several other regions, has generated an interchange between cults that seems often relatively independent from the exclusivist logic of the allegiance with only one religion, prescribed by monotheistic theological principles. It is the world of shared shrines, to which I will turn now.

Even in this case, Frederick Hasluck's approach may still suggest some interpretative trails. When studying the conversion of sacred sites from one religion to the other, Hasluck argued that at the origin of this phenomenon there was an environment characterized by a wide range of interfaith frequentations of sacred sites. People of different religious horizons shared the search for well-being and often practiced the same rites at the same shrines. Hasluck remarked that the relations between religious groups within the Ottoman Empire had symbiotic aspects. Visiting shrines of another religion appears as a usual phenomenon[11] and "practically any of the religions of Turkey may share the use of a sanctuary administered by another, if this sanctuary has a sufficient reputation for beneficent miracles, among which miracles of healing play a predominant part."[12] Muslim participation in the shrine of another religion did not generally imply a desire for annexation, but offered a basis to the clergy and certain mystical orders for their strategies of usurpation of the site.[13]

Therefore, the exploration of the conversion of sanctuaries led Hasluck to study wider phenomena of inter-religious convergence. He firmly contested the idea - based on the theory of survival and on the attribution of a perduring, almost natural symbolical power to religious sites - that the multireligious frequentation could be seen as proof of a past transference of the sanctuaries from one religion to another. For him, for instance, if Christians attended a Muslim sanctuary, this could not be seen as a proof that the sanctuary in question was formerly Christian.[14] On the contrary, he stressed the pervasiveness of interfaith entanglements, their original and independent energy which constitutes the environment of the strategies of appropriation of sites by groups of specialists, but is largely independent from them. In this way he pointed at the existence of a multifaceted web of relations between religions in the Ottoman Empire.

These erratic behaviors seem to escape from the dogmatic principles of monotheisms, which prescribe a monolithic loyalty to a religion and enforce the tightness of religious boundaries. This exclusivist tendency has no doubt always dominated, and has generated a cultural atmosphere in which anyone is asked to display a strict belonging to a specific religious group. Religious sites constitute so many materializations in the space of these distinct and separate identities. They constitute the poles around which the spiritual life of the faithful should

11 Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, ed. Margaret M. Hasluck (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 65-66.

12 *Ibid.*, 68-69.

13 *Ibid.*, 69-70.

14 *Ibid.*, 75.

gravitate. Yet, even if the personal identification with a religious group has been largely interiorized over the centuries, this did not prevent the occurrence of behaviors of a very different nature. To use Nock's categories, we may say that they adhere to alien cults without converting to them. A secret and subaltern world appears, therefore, beneath the surface of orthodoxy and orthopraxy. It is immersed in wider circulations, a common ritual lexicon, shared values, a familiarity with the local landscape, a cultural intimacy beyond religious differences. It is characterized by a "believing without belonging", and gives shape to an immense religious conversation without conversion that has continued over the centuries.

Since Hasluck's times, the nationalist politics of space in Anatolia has favored the creation of clear-cut boundaries and has discouraged the ambiguity of cross-religious frequentations.[15] As Robert Langer has remarked in his key-note, similar phenomena occurred in other parts of the world, like Iran or India, with a sudden decrease in the shared use of religious sites. Analogous transformations also took place in different Middle-Eastern and Mediterranean countries.

Nevertheless, something of the old poetics of space persists, and finds new synthesis with contemporary religious trends in a globalized world. A number of recent works have brought to light the recurrence of numerous exchanges in everyday religion for these areas.[16] Even now, people still often attend sanctuaries of a different religion, and share rituals and beliefs outside their religious community. In their opening speeches, Doğan Bermek and Laki Vingas have aptly remarked on the presence of a number of shared religious sites in contemporary Turkey, including the House of the Virgin Mary near Ephesus and the Greek Orthodox monastery of St. George on Büyükada, which attract tens of thousands of Muslim faithful every year.

During the last years, besides carrying on academic research on shared shrines, I have been one of the curators of an exhibition on the same topic, addressed to a large audience. After being presented in Marseilles in 2015, this exhibition has travelled to many countries,[17] including Turkey, where a first venue has been shown at DEPO gallery in Istanbul in 2019, and a second one at Cermodern Museum in Ankara in 2021.[18] Both venues document several contemporary cases of religious sharing in the Mediterranean region and in Anatolia, showing the complexity of the interplay between the politics and poetics of sacred space.

Let me conclude on a personal note. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude towards a friend, Osman Kavala, whose tireless help has been crucial for making the Anatolian journey of this exhibition possible. From the beginning, he suggested bringing it to Turkey. Then, in every phase his intellectual contribu-

15 It should be mentioned that the notions of ambiguous sanctuaries and ambiguous cults are an important component of Hasluck work. I have tried elsewhere to discuss this legacy. See especially Dionigi Albera, "Towards a reappraisal of ambiguity: in the footsteps of Frederick W. Hasluck," in *Pilgrimage and Ambiguity: Sharing the Sacred*, edited by Angela Hobart and Thierry Zarcone (London: Sean Kingston Publisher, 2017), 29-49.

16 See for instance Dionigi Albera and Marie Couroucli, eds, *Sharing sacred spaces in the Mediterranean. Christians, Muslims and Jews at Shrines and Sanctuaries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012); Glenn Bowman, ed, *Sharing the* Sacra. *The Politics and Pragmatics of Inter-communal Relations around Holy Places* (Oxford/New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); Elazar Barkan and Karen Barkey, eds., *Choreographies of shared sacred sites. Religion and conflict resolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

17 See "Past Exhibits," Shared Sacred Sites, accessed 10 August 2021, https://www.sharedsacredsites.net/past-exhibits.

18 See "Shared Sacred Sites," Depo, accessed 10 August 2021, https://www.depoistanbul.net/en/event/shared-sacred-sites/ and "Exposition: Lieux Saints Partagés," Institut Français Turquie, accessed 10 August 2021, https://www.ifturquie.org/fr/etkinlik/sergi-paylasilan-kutsal-mekanlar/ or Institut Français de Turquie, "Kutsal Mekanlar v4," Facebook, 30 June 2021, https://ur-pk.facebook.com/InstitutfrancaisdeTurquie/videos/kutsal_mekanlar_v4/1064740417393510/.

tion was decisive, despite the painful living conditions to which he has been regrettably forced during these last years. I am sure that, likewise, he will welcome the proceedings of this conference. To some extent, this is also a result of his long-standing cultural work and his passion for Anatolia.

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Day 1

Opening Speech

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I would like to thank all our friends and participants for their contributions in bringing about the international conference on the Conversion of Spaces and Places of Worship in Anatolia, the Etkiniz and MATRA programmes for supporting us, the Kubaba team for meticulously performing technical services, İdea's invaluable translation team and the devoted ADİP staff. Without them, this project would not have been possible.

ADİP is a civil society organisation; we are not a university, nor an institute nor are we an organisation that conducts research. We have come together in order to explore the areas where different kinds of faith in Anatolia collectively exist rather than diverge, to reformulate the culture of coexistence under contemporary conditions and to experience collectively the sharing of love and friendship.

As many of you know better than I, Anatolia is a region that perhaps hosted - and still hosts - the largest number of different faiths in the world. It has a very rich history.

The Flood, which is described in sacred texts as the start of modern humanity's history, must have occurred here; as it has been claimed that Noah's Ark ran ashore at Mount Judi. It is known that Abraham, the original patriarch of monotheistic religions, lived in Harran, and incurred the wrath of Nemrud there. The Prophet Moses was known to be the son-in-law of Anatolian Prophet Shuaib and lived in Urfa for a long time. In more recent periods, great figures of various religions including St. Paul, St. Nicholas, Battal Ghazi, Mevlana Celal ad-Din Rumi, and Hacı Bektash lived in these lands and conveyed humanistic ideas and the principles of a common life to their contemporary societies.

The Hittites, the Assyrian Empire, the Phrygians, the Kingdom of Urartu, the Byzantine Empire, the Seljuks, the Ottoman Empire, and modern Turkey are some of the civilisations and empires to have existed in Anatolia.

Anatolia witnessed countless incursions from great powers of their time including Darius the Great, Agamemnon, Alexander the Great, the Crusades, the Mongols, Timur-i Lang and later from the Western world and the north. Confronting these incursions were Hector, Kilij Arslan, the Sultanate of Rum, the Ottomans, and the National Forces under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Countless aşıks (poet-singers and bards) and poems of Anatolia including the Epic of Gilgamesh, Homer, Yunus Emre, Kaygusuz Abdal, Nazım Hikmet, and Aşık Veysel humanised these events, showed the evil within them as well as the good manifested in how the peoples of Anatolia have always cared for each other. Amidst all the conflict and turmoil, the faiths of Anatolia maintained their existence and these societies continued to live together. As conflicts arose due to political reasons, with those in positions of power spreading dissent among societies, we can see that the habit of coexistence in Anatolia continued uninterrupted for centuries and even for thousands of years. While politicians sowed the seeds of conflict, great Muslim humanist leaders such as Ahi Evran, Mevlana, Hacı Bektash, Sheykh Edebali and various intellectual and competent leaders of other faiths in Anatolia managed to weed out these seeds before they got to sprout.

Despite all the conflicts and attempts at division, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, the House of the Virgin Mary and many other spaces and places in Anatolia are considered sacred places for all faiths and many places of worship were used jointly. Although political turmoil and handovers caused these places to be converted, these conversions were symbolically carried out to prove sovereignty. Therefore, the majority of the places of worship in Anatolia continued to be used by the faithful and survived until this day.

Our societies still perform faith rituals under different names and different attributions during the same time periods; Hızır and Ilyas of the Islamic community and Khidr and Elijah of other beliefs still wander Anatolia and meet up one day of the year at a garden of their choosing. We call that day Hıdırellez, while our Christian siblings call it Aya Yorgi or Çerniş Nebi, but the day is the same.

In short, while we think that humans possess different languages, habits and religions due to their race or beliefs, as Prophet Ali once said, "Humans who are not fellows of the same religion, are fellows by creation". Here at ADİP, we come together as people, who defend and share these principles and believe in this truth.

Anatolia is a region that has left significant marks on the history of humanity. On these lands, believers of different faiths managed to coexist and build civilisations for thousands of years. We believe that today's rising discriminatory, inequitable, radical, religious fundamentalist, populist, and violent trends, which oppress women and children, will be short-lived. It maybe that these repugnant trends always existed, but we were not sensitive enough to notice. Today, humankind is more sensitive to these subjects and thus we take notice. We have reason to think that today's disquiet may be the bearer of more peaceful times to come. In the past, humanity never attached so much importance to fundamental rights, women's and children's rights, animal and environmental rights. Today, we have a lot of reasons to think that awareness is on the rise and humankind will undoubtedly overcome these problems.

Despite short-lived upheavals, the history of humanity has always developed onward and for the good. We believe that our faiths, which sustained humanity for thousands of years, essentially aim to build societies that coexist in peace, love and friendship, and that conflicts are the products of politicians and self-servers, who pursue artificial and trivial interests. Just as societies throughout history managed to become more and more free and sharing, in other words, more democratic, we witness today many events which make us think that humankind is in pursuit of progress and betterment.

We are of the opinion that the conditions of the pandemic, well known to us all, harbour significant lessons which are yet to be fully understood. We learn each passing day and with bitterness that that many privileges, to which we attributed so much worth, are meaningless and insignificant; and knowledge and wisdom are the most important concepts in life to cherish.

For us, all books and faiths are sacred. They all give similar humanistic messages and treating all of them with love and respect is one of the principal conditions of being human. All faiths give messages pointing in the same direction to humanity and never before has humanity collectively embraced the concepts of inherent equality, environmental and fundamental rights and freedoms posited by these faiths. I'd rather not use the term 'women's rights', but in the struggle for equality between women and men; differences of race, religion and language seem to have disappeared. The struggle for basic rights and freedoms has never been as widespread as it is today. In short, as we also emphasised in ADİP's founding statement, we have reason to think that there is a developing global trend, by which faiths will deliver humankind to a common ground. We are going through difficult times at the moment.

In such a period, we have shown courage in starting this project on the conversion of spaces and places of worship. With your support, our conference will be remembered, as a pluralist and participative, albeit small, scientific, and amicable event in the history of Anatolia.

I believe that our project will yield significant outputs and many people will look around from a different perspective after today. I cordially thank and express my love and respect for all our friends, participants, and valuable audience members, who took pains with this conference from its very inception as an idea until this day, who participated, contributed, and offered their services.

Conference session links

English: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6enJTH8zxw&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZX-f5j0&index=1

Turkish: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HTp1JKTK2E8&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWX-MQY&index=1

CHAPTER 1

HAGIA SOPHIA: INTERPRETATIONS AND NATIONAL MEMORY

The Reconversion of the Hagia Sophia: Silences against the Backdrop of AKP Nation-(Re)Building

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Abstract

Built in the 6th century as Byzantine cathedral, the Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque following the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul in 1453. In the early Kemalist republic, it was secularized in 1933. The building then functioned as museum until July 2020, when this secularization was reversed by a Turkish Court, leading to the swift reconversion of the Hagia Sophia, which was celebrated with an initial Friday prayer on July 24.

This contribution will investigate various dominant interpretations (Islamist through nationalist) of the reconversion of the Hagia Sophia. It will thereby also raise the question as to what marks the Hagia Sophia from different perspectives as "sacred". Finally, it will address the silences and unheard voices in the public discussions of the event (especially those of the Greek Orthodox community and the Kemalists).

I assume that most of the readers are aware of the history of the Hagia Sophia as well as of the process of its reconversion in July 2020, and the debates that it sparked. I want to highlight in my article some of the less debated aspects related to the reconversion. First, I want to address certain silences in the public discussions of the event, especially pertaining to the Greek Orthodox community and the Kemalists. I will connect this with a general interpretation of the reconversion in the context of AKP nation-(re-)building, which bears interesting parallels with its Kemalist predecessor, while at the same time reversing some of its characteristic features.

On the evening of July 10, the day of the reconversion of Hagia Sophia, Turkish president Tayyip Erdoğan gave a speech in which he developed a narrative to justify the reconversion. The narrative was full of neo-Ottoman imagination, including the somewhat romanticized notion that protection and tolerance of non-Muslims had been a constitutive element of Muslim and Ottoman rule: "When the exalted Umar took Jerusalem, he placed the city's Christians and Jews, including their rights and ritual practices, under his protection. As in all states founded by their ancestors, the Ottoman rulers followed this path."[1]

1 Acknowledgments: A more extensive version of this text has been published in German as Markus Dreßler, "Religiöse Symbolik, nationalistische Rhetorik und neoimperale Visionen: Zur Inszenierung der Rekonversion der Hagia Sophia im Juli 2020". *CIBEDO-Beiträge*, no.1, 2021, 2-8. I thank Stefo Benlisoy for helpful comments and suggestions that helped me writing this essay.
"Son dakika haberi Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'dan önemli açıklamalar", *Habertürk*, 10 July 2020, https://www.haberturk.com/son-dakika-haberi-cumhurbaskani-erdogan-dan-onemli-aciklamalar-2740033.

From an outside perspective, one might have expected that the country's Greek Orthodox community might also raise historically founded claims to the Hagia Sophia. Unsurprisingly, representatives of Orthodoxy worldwide expressed their concern and strong protest against the conversion of the Hagia Sophia. Bartholomew I, the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church with his seat in Istanbul, publicly criticized the rededication several times, interpreting it, along with that of the Chora Church a month later, as an "attack on the identity, history and culture" of the Orthodox community.[2] Apart from such brief statements by the patriarch, however, Turkey's Orthodox community remained rather silent. In light of the precarious situation of official minorities in the country, this is hardly surprising. As a result of discrimination and at times violent attacks in the Republic's history, the Greek Orthodox minority has dwindled to a tiny size of a few thousand people. Its members are indeed unlikely to raise their voices in a situation presented as a restaging of the Muslim conquest of Istanbul and the original reconversion of the Hagia Sophia into a mosque. In addition, it should be remembered that the reconversion of the Hagia Sophia – somewhat outside the international spotlight - was not a singular event, but only the most prominent and symbolic example of a series of reconversions of former Byzantine church-mosques, which had been secularized in the Republic and recently returned to their pre-republican state as mosques. The reconversions of the Hagia Sophia churches in Iznik in 2011 and in Trabzon in 2012 and of the Chora Church in Istanbul in August 2020 are other recent cases. This development, accompanied by increasing tensions with Greece in the recent conflict over sovereignty rights in the Mediterranean Sea, reinforces existing uncertainties and fears among Turkey's Greek Orthodox minority.

Against this background, it was not surprising that the rhetoric of conquest during the staging of the transformation of Hagia Sophia, which positively referred to the Islamic ideal of *gaza*, i.e., the incorporation of non-Muslim land, reinforced the fears of non-Muslims. The Gaza pathos reached its symbolic peak when Ali Erbaş, who heads the Presidency of Religious Affairs and thus represents the state's highest official Islamic authority, delivered his sermon at the first Friday prayer at Hagia Sophia with a sword in his hand.

It is worthwhile to stay for a moment with Erbaş and his sermon. Erbaş described the reconversion as "the end of a longing that had become a deep wound at the heart of the religious nation (millet)."[3] Presented as an event predicted by the Prophet Muhammad, the sermon mythologized the conquest of Istanbul and transfigured it in terms of salvation history. According to the sermon, the conquest "had God's permission and blessing" and proceeded without harming a single stone. The principle underlying it was "not attack but revival and not destruction but reconstruction." As a salvific event, the reconversion of the Hagia Sophia as presented by Erbaş addresses the global Muslim community. The reconversion stood as an example of resistance to Islamophobia that would be widespread around the world, as a sign by Muslims and for Muslims. At the same time, it is presented as a sign of peace. Clearly, the sermon of Erbaş addresses not the members of the Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul, and Christians in

2 "Patrik Bartholomeos'tan Kariye açıklaması: Sabrediyoruz ve dua ediyoruz," *Agos*, 8 September 2020, http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/24516/patrik-bartholomeos-tan-kariye-aciklamasi-sabrediyoruz-ve-dua-ediyoruz.

3 Kaan Bozdoğan, Murat Paksoy, "Ayasofya-i Kebir Cami-i Şerifi'nde 86 Yıl sonra İlk Hutbe Okundu," *Anadolu Ajansı*, 24 July 2020, https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ayasofya-camii/ayasofya-i-kebir-cami-i-serifinde-86-yil-sonra-ilk-hutbe-okundu/1921074#!.

general only to a secondary degree. As in the before-mentioned speech of Erdogan, it is addressed to Turkish Muslims first and the worldwide community of Islam second, connecting religious nation-building with neo-Ottoman aspirations of Turkish leadership over Muslims.

In the religious-nationalist discourse surrounding the reconversion of the Hagia Sophia, the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul, as the pre-conquest owner of the building, played no important role. Although the conversion of former church-mosque museums into mosques is presented as the completion of an incomplete conquest, with Erdoğan presented as a quasi-messianic figure renewing the work of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Turkey's Greek Orthodox community is in the dominant public discourse not perceived as the target or victim of this act. It is therefore hardly surprising that the silence of Istanbul's Greek Orthodox community in the face of the transformation of the Hagia Sophia went unnoticed. From the perspective of Sunni Muslim nationalism, religious minorities are relics of the past. Although Turkish citizens, members of the Christian and Jewish minorities are not counted as part of the core of the Turkish nation, which is viewed as Muslim. The relatively small groups of Christians and Jews that remain in the country tend to keep a low political profile and therefore are easily tolerated. A shadow of mistrust settles over them especially when "international interference" brings up discrimination against religious minorities, or provide reminders about forcefully forgotten parts of Turkish history, such as the Armenian genocide.

If there is an Other against which the reconversion of the Hagia Sophia was staged, it is not Istanbul's Greek Orthodox community, but Kemalist secularism and those expected to sympathize with it. In this light, the debates surrounding the reconversion of the Hagia Sophia revealed a silence that at first glance may seem more surprising than that of the Greek Orthodox community, namely that of the secularists.

It is well known that early republican nationalism was decidedly anti-Ottoman. Mustafa Kemal and his entourage did not see themselves as heirs to the Ottoman state. Rather, the Kemalist state was presented as a radical break with the Ottoman state tradition, with which backwardness, superstition, nepotism, cosmopolitanism, and decadence were associated and which had to be overcome. The Ottoman past was used, as it were, as a negative projection field for a Kemalist future apostrophized as progressive and resolutely modern: a nation to be shaped by a combination of secular Western modernity and Turkish nationalist identity. Accordingly, the Ottoman past was systematically suppressed in newly formulated historical narratives such as that of the Turkish History Thesis, presented as an unfortunate aberration rather than something to be proud of.

While the anti-Ottoman fervor of early Kemalism had begun to lose momentum and persuasiveness by the mid-20th century, secularism has remained part of the Kemalist identity and has been revived time and again, most recently when political Islam became a decisive political factor in the 1990s. The museum status of the Hagia Sophia had within conservative Islamic circles for long been perceived as one of the symbols of secularism, and one may assume that not a few secularists would share this view. The heirs of Kemalism, first and foremost the Republican People's Party and organizations around it, certainly have not abandoned their secularism altogether - even though they certainly have become more moderate since the 1990s. Thus, one may wonder where the secularists, Kemalists and non-Kemalists alike, have remained in the debate over the de-secularization of the Hagia Sophia. How should

one interpret their silence? Are they keeping their convictions to themselves for pragmatic and opportunistic reasons? Have they become too weak and too fearful to dare articulate their own position offensively in public?

Probably a better explanation would be that the transformation of the Hagia Sophia is perceived among nationalists in the country, secularists included, more as an achievement of anti-imperialist nationalism than as an expression of an anti-secularist or Islamist stance. It is important to understand that Turkish nationalism influences a wide spectrum of the political field and can at times unite secularists and Islamists. In other words, hitting the right nationalist tone can be a strong means for making oneself heard to a solid majority and to unite rightwing nationalist and Muslim traditionalist constituencies. The nationalist staging of the reconversion of the Hagia Sophia was just one of the latest examples of this tactics, although I doubt that the re-conversion of the Hagia Sophia can be well explained as merely a move to improve the government's standing among the electorate.

Interpretation

This leaves us with the question as to what *was* the major motivation behind the reconversion. Different explanations have been put forward, explanations that stress religio-cultural and secular-political motives, or the impact on national and international audiences. Acknowledging that many things came together in the decision to advance this step at that moment, I would suggest interpreting the act firstly as a further step towards Erdoğan and his coalition's ambitious aim to re-build the nation.

Istanbul's public space serves Erdoğan as a stage for presenting Turkey as a neo-Ottoman superpower. The reconversion of the Hagia Sophia is a highly symbolic element within this aim. As self-proclaimed architect of the "New Turkey", Erdoğan inscribes his rule in the space of the metropolis of Istanbul in the form of large-scale infrastructural projects (the third Bosphorus Bridge, Istanbul Airport and, currently, the Istanbul Canal). These projects stand for the modern, future-oriented vision of New Turkey. However, it would not be New Turkey, if it would not connect this futurism with an anchoring in Ottoman past and Islamic tradition. The remaking of public squares of symbolic importance (such as Taksim Square and the adjacent Gezi Park) are to be mentioned here – as well as an emphasis on grand mosques as visible symbols of New Turkey architecture. The opening of the gigantic Çamlıca mosque complex, in classical Ottoman style, on a prominent hill of Üsküdar in March 2019, the new mosque on Taksim Square, one of the landmarks of Kemalist and secular Turkey, completed in 2021, and Hagia Sophia form a spatial triangle with a highly symbolic significance: It links the Byzantine-to-Muslim old Istanbul (Hagia Sophia) with the historically Christian and then secularly modernized Beyoğlu (Taksim Mosque) and the Anatolian side of Istanbul, east of the Bosporus (Çamlıca Mosque). The public space of Istanbul serves in this architecture and landscaping project as an arena for the enactment of a neo-imperial and Islamic historical imagination.

I think it is correct to interpret this architecture with Bülent Batuman as part of a conservative Islamic "nation-(re)building project."[4] It is characterized by a paternalistic and authoritarian style of politics that puts the AKP

4 Bülent Batuman, "Hagia Sophia and Islamist Nation-Building: Hijacking the Conservative Architectural Imaginary", *Berkley Forum*, 27.7.2020, https://berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/responses/hagia-sophia-and-islamist-nation-building-hijacking-the-conservative-architectural-imaginary.

and Erdoğan in continuity with Mustafa Kemal "Atatürk," the "father of the Turks" and "chief teacher" of the nation. Kemal Atatürk was the model of the paternalistic leader who protects and educates his nation with the aim of creating modern, secular spaces and citizens. By de-secularizing spaces once secularized by Atatürk, and by trying to foster a new "pious generation", Erdoğan seeks to place his own politics above those of the nation's founding father. Moreover, by linking the act of reconversion of the Hagia Sophia to the original act of conversion by Fatih Sultan Mehmet, Erdoğan inscribes himself directly into Ottoman history. Presenting Erdoğan as the worthy heir of the conqueror sultan, neo-Ottoman nationalist discourse sees Ottoman history as perpetuated in today's Turkey. In this view of history, which describes a longue durée of Turkish-Islamic greatness, the Kemalist era is largely omitted. This is similar to the way in which the Kemalists once marginalized the Ottoman period for their new Turkish historical project, albeit with contrary semantics.

The Turkish debate on the reconversion of Hagia Sophia in July 2020 gained its affective power from the cultural-religious symbolism used in the staging of the reconversion. In hegemonic Muslim-nationalist discourse, the act was celebrated as a legally, historically, and religiously appropriate restoration, a reaffirmation of the country's sovereignty in the face of a Western public hostility to Turkey. In foreign policy terms, the staging functioned as a sign of Turkey's claim to leadership over post-Ottoman space. This claim is increasingly enriched with pan-Turkist fantasies connecting the Turkic peoples from the Balkans to the Central Asian region. The increasing influence of the nationalist MHP within the AKP-MHP governing alliance is evident here.

While from the Turkish-Islamic perspective, the reconversion of Hagia Sophia appears as a salutary or even salvific act, it is experienced by other Turkish citizens, especially the religious minorities, as a violation, and reminder of a latent threat. From the perspective of Turkey's non-Muslims, the reconversion and its staging seem to once again underscore the exclusiveness of the Turkish nation and society, which, at best, tolerates non-Muslims. While neo-Ottoman nostalgia sometimes reminisces the tolerant coexistence of religions in Ottoman times, non-Muslims hardly play a role in the current neo-imperial imagination of Turkish Muslim nationalism.

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Bozdoğan, Kaan and Murat Paksoy. "Ayasofya-i Kebir Cami-i Şerifi'nde 86 Yıl sonra İlk Hutbe Okundu." *Anadolu Ajansı*, 24 July 2020, https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/ayasofya-camii/ayasofya-i-kebir-cami-i-serifinde-86-yil-sonra-ilk-hutbe-okundu/1921074#!.

"Patrik Bartholomeos'tan Kariye açıklaması: Sabrediyoruz ve dua ediyoruz." *Agos*, 8 September 2020, http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/24516/patrik-bartholomeos-tan-kariye-aciklamasi-sabrediyoruz-ve-dua-ediyoruz.

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Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xv7OW30rGqE&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=2

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O63pe4NdqBI&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=2

The Hagia Sofia and National Memory Wars During the Republic Period

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Abstract

In this study, the multiparty transition to democracy in Turkey from the conservative, nationalist and Islamist streams of the conversion process will be examined through the political icon of the Hagia Sophia Mosque which was converted into a museum in 1934. Gathering in an Ottomanism discourse that glorifies the legacy of the empire rather than the gains of the Republic, these movements carried out their struggle against Kemalist and secular nationalism by reinterpreting historical places and figures and flagging them as a source of national pride. An important aspect of this "battle of memory" was the "Hagia Sophia campaign", which demanded the Museum to be reopened to worship and ended in July 2020. The study will trace this campaign that aims to reshape the national memory through the symbol of Hagia Sophia by focusing on the magazines and newspapers of the 1950s and 1960s.

The Hagia Sofia - A Memory Space

The Hagia Sofia is a unique work of art, with a history going back fifteen centuries. It is not only a space of faith, but also an important "memory space". Of course, this brings up the question, "whose memory?" My presentation today may be seen as just one of the answers given to this question over the centuries. My aim will be to try to shed some light on the last stage of the "memory wars" waged through this place, which has been a symbol of different religious and political claims of sovereignty competing with each other. Just like the majestic grand dome of the Hagia Sophia, I will try to be inclusive and distanced. However, at first, and hopefully at last, what I want to emphasise is this: No matter our age, religion, nationality or sexual identity, the moment we look at this grand dome in awe and astonishment, all these abovesaid wars become meaningless. At least this was how I felt at the end of the day when I entered the Hagia Sofia for the first time for free, without shoes and with my head covered.

This paper has two sections. First, I will address the transformation/conversion processes Hagia Sofia went through in 1453, 1934 and most recently in 2020, and the meanings that were attached to these processes. In doing so, I will also try to underline that these three radical conversions point to significant disengagements and continuity with regards to the relationship between the state and religion.

Second, I will address how the memories of these turning points were shaped by the nationalist-conservative movements in Turkey since the 1950s. In summary, I want to emphasise this point: In the multi-party period, Hagia Sofia gained a new symbolism as one of the means of reshaping national memory. Against the Kemalist and secular understanding of nationalism, which aimed to break free of the Ottoman past and become a part of Western civilisation, the Hagia Sofia became a "cause", "an issue" for the conservative nationalist movement that advocates a type of nationalism with its roots in the Islamic and Ottoman past. With the mosque being reinstated in 2020, this "cause" actually came to an end, with its goal fulfilled.

In conclusion, I argue that today's celebration of the Hagia Sofia's reconversion into a mosque as a political victory, above all means owning up to a heritage, a national memory that has been shaped since the early days of the multi-party period and centred around the Muslim and Ottoman identity, but one that adopts an extremely discriminatory stance against those who remain outside, one that is based on the rhetoric of hatred.

Conversations: Breaks and Continuities (1453, 1934, 2020)

Although these dates point to radical fractures in term of changes to the Hagia Sofia's spatial function and meaning, historical studies on the topic reveal that the transformation processes of this place are actually far more gradual and phased than we think.

The Church of Hagia Sofia (Holy Wisdom), constructed in the 6th century during the reign of Emperor Justinian I, is a place that had both a religious and political function as the symbol of Christianity's victory against paganism and as the centre of the Orthodox Church under imperial patronage. On May 29th 1453, when Istanbul was conquered by Mehmed II, the Hagia Sofia became a mosque and a "sign of conquest" that symbolised Islam's victory against the Christian world.[1] Similar to the Byzantine era, during the Ottoman period too, the Hagia Sofia was regarded as a symbol of imperial power. The Hagia Sofia continued to be a place where state rituals were performed, a place where religious and political symbolism intertwined. According to Hakan Karateke, the prayer performed by the sultan in the month of Ramadan before the visit to *Hırka-i Şerif* [Mosque of the Blessed Mantle], festive prayers (until the 16th century when the Sultan Ahmet Mosque became the preferred location) and state ceremonies such as the mawlid ceremony were held here.[2]

In the days following the conquest, the iconostasis wall, benches, icons, statues and bell of the church were removed, mosaic figures were covered and a *mihrab*, pulpit and carpets were added inside, while a wooden minaret was erected outside. The building was given its present four-minaret form in the next century, during the reign of Murat III (1574-1603). In time, the Mosque of Hagia Sophia became a social complex with additions

1 Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, eds. Robert Mark and Ahmet Ş. Çakmak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 195-225.

2 Hakan T. Karateke, *Padişahım Çok Yaşa! Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler* (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2004), 76, 198, 201.

of the sultan shrines (Selim II. [1566-1574], Murat III. and Mustafa I [1623-1640], Ibrahim [1640-1648]), *shadirvan*s, library, madrasah, *muvakkithane* (built by the Fossati brothers) around it. One of the most interesting details of this centuries-long Islamification process is the conversion of church's baptistery, which was for a time used as storage for lamp oil, into sultan tombs (Sultan Mustafa I, Ibrahim and others).

The covering of all mosaics depicting human figures took place not right after the conquest, but much later.[3] These mosaics were uncovered during the reign of Abdulmejid I (1839-61) as part of the renovation work by the Fossati brothers, only to be covered up again. The process of the Hagia Sofia's conversion into a museum begins, in a way, from these days, in Sabine Schlüter's words the, "first archaeological examination" in 1847-49.[4] The Hagia Sofia, which became a "tourist attraction" that could be visited by permission by diplomats and foreign visitors, also went into circulation as a visual image by the end of the century thanks to postcards depicting the monument.[5]

In the same period, the Hagia Sofia also became a subject of desire for imperialist and nationalist projects. As cited by Robert Ousterhaut and Edhem Eldem, writings on how it was a requisite for the mosque to be reclaimed by the Christian world started appearing in the American press beginning from the 1870s and a philhellenic St. Sophia Redemption Committee was established in the United Kingdom in the years following the First World War and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In the imagination of Greek nationalists, Hagia Sophia lives on as a cathedral without minarets, waiting to be rescued from captivity. Particularly during the allied occupation of Istanbul, these dreams evolved into a real threat. The Hagia Sophia square gained another symbolic meaning as a political arena where people were called for demonstrations of resistance against the invaders.[6]

In the first eleven years of the Republic, the Hagia Sophia maintained its popularity, even if it was not an imperial mosque anymore. It even hosted a grand ceremony on the Night of Decree (*Kadir Gecesi*) in 1932, where 25 *hafiz*'s recited Qur'an in Turkish, attended by 70,000 people and broadcasted on radio. The secular state, which had already closed down Sufi lodges and tombs, did not refrain from using the Hagia Sophia, as well as other mosques, to popularise its policy of "nationalising" Islam.

However, only a couple months before this ceremony, in December 1931, a research team led by Thomas Wittemore, the founder of the Byzantine Institute, started working to recover mosaics from the plasterwork with the support and permission of the President of the Republic. Starting from November 1934, Hagia Sophia closed its doors to worship to serve as an "institution of science", where archaeological studies would be carried out and to be re-opened as a museum that would also attract the interest of tourists. The conversion of the mosque into a museum was approved with the Decree of the Council of Ministers dated November 24th 1934, "as it [would] grant humanity a new institution of science".[7]

3 Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument," 204, 220-221; Semavi Eyice, "Ayasofya," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1993), 446-457.

4 Sabine Schlüter, "Gaspare Fossati'nin Ayasofya Onarımları," *600 Yıllık Ayasofya Görünümleri ve 1847-49 Fossati Restorasyonu*, ed. Selmin Kangal (Istanbul: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2000), 62-65.

5 Edhem Eldem, "Ayasofya: Kilise, Cami, Abide, Müze, Simge," *Toplumsal Tarih* 254 (2015): 76-85.

6 Robert G. Ousterhout, "From Hagia Sophia to Ayasofya: Architecture and The Persistence of Memory," *Annual of Istanbul Studies* 2 (2013). https://blog.iae.org.tr/en/uncategorized-en/from-hagia-sophia-to-ayasofya-architecture-and-the-persistence-of-memory.

7 "Ayasofya Camii'nin müzeye çevrilerek, çevresinde bulunan dükkanların yıktırılması," *T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Cumhuriyet Arşivi*, Kararlar Dair Başkanlığı (30-18-1-2)/49-79-06.

There is a claim here of universality that is above religions and empires and of service to science. This claim also includes a renunciation, a symbolic disengagement. The Republic, now secularising a place that was used as a "sign of conquest" and an imperial mosque during the Ottoman period, further widened the gap between itself and the "old" regime. Just as in the example of Topkapı Palace, which was turned into a museum in 1924, it chose to leave its Ottoman past behind through "museumification"; with the Byzantine and Ottoman heritages equalised in this new institute of science.[8] Hagia Sophia then became neither a church nor a mosque and entered a new period with the claim of being a heritage of humanity that was free from religious and nationalist ownership.

This period of being a museum, where carpets were removed, figurative mosaics were revealed and which helped millions of tourists witness the marks of two great empires, ended with a decree on July 10th 2020. In his "address to the nation" speech heralding the Hagia Sophia Museum's "re-opening as a mosque", President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said: "As a common heritage of humanity, the Hagia Sophia will continue to embrace all in a much more sincere and free manner with its new status." Towards the end of his speech, Erdoğan even emphasised that the Hagia Sophia would "retain its quality of being a common heritage of humanity". However, a large part of the speech was full of references to conservative authors and poets, who acted as pioneers and spokespeople for the Hagia Sophia Cause in the 1950s and 60s.

These people, including Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Osman Yüksel Serdengeçti and Arif Nihat Asya, were opinion leaders who turned the Hagia Sophia into a place of national memory through their writings and speeches. The arguments of Islamic and nationalist-conservative publications of this period *(*such as pro-numinous *Sebilürreşat, İslam, Büyük Doğu, İslam Dünyası, Bugün, Yeni Sabah, Yeni* İstiklal) and organisations (such as *Association for Struggle Against Communism, Nationalists' Association, National Turkish Students Union*) could be summarised as follows: First of all, these publications and organisations advocated that closing off the Hagia Sophia to worship was an "infringement of freedom of conscience" and therefore a practice that breached secularism. The second and more crucial argument was based on the idea that converting the Hagia Sophia, previously seen as a "symbol of Turkish power and victory" and a "symbol of conquest", into a museum was an "insidious plot of the Christian West" or a "revenge for the conquest". The third argument was based on the endowment of Mehmed II that stipulated the Hagia Sophia should remain a mosque and cursed those who usurped or changed this status and argued that turning it into a museum was a grave mistake, a betrayal of the ancestors and an illegal step.

For example, according to the writer Raif Ogan, the Hagia Sophia was "a monument of unknown martyrs" and had to be restored as a monument of national victory. In this period, where the literature of "Conquest" and "the Conqueror" (Fatih) as a national hero emerged, the Hagia Sophia was depicted in poems as a monument that was mournful, wronged and in captivity; and the descendants of the Conqueror were foretold that this persecution of Muslims would surely come to an end someday.

As a matter of fact, in his speech dated July 10th 2020, President Erdoğan also quoted the following from

8 Wendy M. Shaw, "Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic," *Muqarnas* 2007 (23): 253-280; "Tra(ve)ils of Secularism: Islam in Museums from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic," in *The Invention of Religion*, ed. Derek Peterson (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

Serdengeçti, an unyielding advocator of the Hagia Sophia Cause:

> "Hagia Sophia! O magnificent temple! Do not worry. Grandchildren of the Conqueror will soon overthrow all idols and turn you into a mosque. (...) This will be a second conquest. (...) The taqbir rising from your silent and orphaned minarets will once again resound in the sky... The whole world will think that the Conqueror has been resurrected. This is to be, Hagia Sophia, this is to be! A second conquest, a new resurrection... This is certain. The day draws close, it maybe tomorrow, maybe closer still..."

Erdoğan said the following after quoting Serdengeçti, as though in approval of the resurrection of the Conqueror: "Thank God we have now reached that tomorrow." Erdoğan replied to the words of Arif Nihat Asya, the poet of the famous Anthem of Conquest that has been instilling pro-Ottoman "national consciousness" in the youth since 1969, which goes: "Shame on those my temple, both on those who closed you down and on those who do not open you!" by saying: "Today, Turkey has become free of such a shame". Necip Fazıl Kısakürek's famous Hagia Sophia Conference, another mythical speech, which was delivered at the National Turkish Students Union in 1965 and was published in numerous different media, was also addressed in the president's speech.

The intellectual legacy of the 1950s and 1960s that is currently being adopted by the government tries to revive a national memory that glorifies Ottoman ancestors and makes its glorious past the most important source of its pride. It instrumentalises the Hagia Sophia to revive the spirit of a nationalist/Islamic resurrection and the spirit of "conquest". This approach is in great contradiction with the viewpoint that sees the Hagia Sophia as a "common heritage of humanity" and tries to include the multiple and layered memory of the place. This pro-conquest discourse triggers the feelings of hatred, vengeance and resentment against the "enemy", which is from time to time portrayed as the West/ Byzantine/Christian/Greek/cosmopolitan/Mason and sometimes as Jewish or the local extensions of all these.

I will quote a section from Kısakürek's conference. I think this part was partially censored for years, but today thousands of people have read it and listened to it via the Internet. It will be a good example in terms of reflecting the dimensions of this contradiction. At one of the points where he has stirred the audience to great excitement, Kısakürek says:

> "For 126 years, this movement that is Turkish only by the name, ruled by the blasphemous types and groups acting as the main capital and voluntary henchmen of external Western imperialism and as their loyal agents domestic cosmopolites, Jews, turncoats, masons have placed the very core of the Turkish spirit into a museum, like the syphilitic faces made of wax in health exhibits, by turning the Hagia Sophia into a museum. ...
>
> (There is the Cyprus Case!...) Do you not pay attention to the West's treatment of us, while we claim that we have become Westernised, (in notorious terms) civilised, liberated and that we have become one of their own? ... The Westerner never counts us as one of his own. He does not embrace this person who is neither from the East or the West, this imitator and slurred person; He thinks of nothing other than preferring above us and satisfying the bastardised limb of the

Greco-Latin civilisation, whose name it carries, the wretched Greek, as his spoiled child at all times and chooses him over us."

In summary, this heritage, which depicts the opening of the Hagia Sophia as a mosque as the proof of Muslim-Turk's sovereignty and the essence of the "Turkish spiritual cause of salvation", in the words of Kısakürek, as its real "meaning", does not promise a peaceful and pluralistic future at all. As Nagehan Tokdoğan puts it, in the neo-Ottoman discourse of the AKP period, the Hagia Sophia is used as a "nostalgic tool of reminiscing of the power and self-confidence evoked by the name 'Ottoman' and carrying it to the present day".[9] It is being converted into a single-dimensional memory space that only points to the superiority and dominance of the Sunni-Turkish identity.

Conclusion

In reality, as emphasised in the articles published in the Hagia Sophia dossier of the February 2015 issue of the *Toplumsal Tarih* magazine, Hagia Sophia is one of the places that most strikingly reveals the "plurality and changeability of memory and history". Even though the "voices aiming to imprison the Hagia Sophia in a singular history, a singular identity", as mentioned by dossier editors Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu and Nevra Necipoğlu, completely dominate the political will and although the museum has been converted into a mosque today, the Hagia Sophia will continue to maintain this characteristic. Or at least, we hope so. It is perhaps the best to end the presentation with what I witnessed during my visit the other day and how the Hagia Sophia made me feel. In summary, the things that have changed are:

- The Hagia Sophia has been surrounded by police barricades as part of the security measures since July 2020.
- Mosque officials from the Diyanet Foundation work inside the mosque along with the police.
- The mosque is open 24-hours and admission is free.
- There are several shoe closets in various places in the inner narthex and inside the building.
- Shoes are put inside either these closets or bags, those who enter without a head-scarf or wearing short skirts are warned and escorted outside.
- No mosaics are covered aside from the curtains placed in the apse that can be opened and closed during prayer times. However, the curtains always remain closed outside prayer times as people also come to pray outside prayer times.
- The upper galleries are closed. It is not known when they will be opened.
- The entire floor of the main space is covered with a turquoise carpet. The marbles resembling the waves of sea are no longer visible. The warming effect of the carpet eliminates the feelings invoked by the marble of vastness and being lost. It is a place with clear boundaries, more vibrant and more alive... Only the floor of the *omphalion* where the coronation ceremonies of the Byzantine emperors were held remains exposed.
- The gathering place of the *müezzin* near the pulpit is used as a TV broadcast studio.

9 Nagehan Tokdoğan, *Yeni Osmanlıcılık: Hınç, Nostalji, Narsisizm* (Istanbul: İletişim, 2018), 175.

- Three imams in the mosque lead the prayers in turns.

- Everyone, both men and women can enter through the main gate outside the obligatory prayer times.

- During prayer, women are asked to move to the women's section that is the left corridor separated from the main area by a wooden screen.

- Most of the people inside are tourists. Locals or foreigners, everyone is trying to take the best selfie. Most of the visitors display childlike happiness, excitement and awe on their faces. Some pray, some rest against the walls, some meditate in groups and some draw pictures under the beams of lights reaching the turquoise carpet through the windows.

I feel like I'm inside a Brueghel painting. As one of the hundreds of people wandering, sitting, praying under the grand dome of the Hagia Sophia with a thousand and one different images and various memories of the place in mind, I think it is a place for all of us and it should be a place for us all.

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Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x-v7OW30rGqE&list=PLN7AHQGMKkd-C6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=2

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O63pe4Nd-qBI&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fd-N3EWXMQY&index=2

CHAPTER 2

TRANSFORMATION WITHIN SPATIAL AND URBAN CONTEXTS

Is Transformation Functional or Ideological? Observations on the Spatial Distribution of Refunctioned Religious Buildings in 1453 in Istanbul*

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Abstract

Following the reopening of Istanbul's Hagia Sophia Museum as a mosque last year, works on the Kariye Museum started to head in the same direction and the religious structures in which similar functional changes took place after the city had passed under Ottoman rule became a popular and scientific agenda. Although they possess similar legal bases, the differentiation observed in the current re-functioning processes due to differences such as location, scale, symbolic meaning, spatial fiction, architectural decoration, and conservation status between the two buildings provide clues for researchers about transformations in different periods and structures. On this occasion, researchers such as Stephanos Yerasimos (2011) and Semavi Eyice (2012) stated that during the reign of Mehmet II, few of the existing religious buildings in the city were converted into mosques (since the Reform Edict of 1856 paved the way for church repairs and construction, most of the Eastern Roman churches allocated to non-Muslim communities in 1453 were enlarged and renovated). However, it should be remembered that examples of conversions into mosques had better preservation status as architectural heritage, and that the re-functionalization of the same period included a wide variety of uses such as a madrasah, arslanhane, ammunition and gunpowder warehouses, and a shipyard.

In the proposed paper, the spatial distribution of this diversity observed in the transformations of religious buildings in Istanbul in 1453 was investigated through existing publications, and based on the observation of Paul Magdalino (2018) that re-functioning was done for "functional", "de-sanctification" and "ideological" reasons, and will be interpreted with a contextual approach. Experts on the subject state that there is no consensus on the complete list of the religious buildings that survived in 1453 and how they were functionalized, as well as the location of some structures the names and functions of which are known. Since the aim of the study is to discuss the efficiency of the contextual interpretation of functional changes, some observations can be made that will contribute to the discussions on the re-functioning of religious structures based on elements such as non-functional holy spring-type space components (which point to the differences between the practices of the two churches under the continuity of church function

observed when viewed from the upper scale). Examples such as those based on elements such as the spatial and functional relationship of the arslanhane and baruthane transformations with Topkapı Palace, the objections made by the Greek Orthodox communities during the allocation of the Eastern Roman churches, which remained within the regions where the Armenian population was settled after 1453.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mRuvMobZ4cw&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=3

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z5Muj4ATtFY&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=3

*The full paper is not published in this volume but a video of the conference presentation can be accessed online via the links and QR codes.

Sacred Places and Places of Worship as Transforming Identity Spaces of Changing Cities

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Abstract

A strong trend in the literature of urban planning and geography discusses the problematic of identity spaces in the context of the inclusiveness of planning. As the demands of different cultural identities to be visible in the urban space, as well as population movements such as increased migration, asylum, etc., "identity places" become an important issue of planning (Healey, 1997; Sandercock, 2000; Germain & Gagnon, 2003; Gale, 2005). Identity spaces are extremely important and fragile areas for society in order to keep the values that communities feel alive and to pass on to future generations. Sustaining urban and even spatial values is of vital importance in maintaining identity because spatialization is a necessary precondition for both belonging and identity. On the other hand, as both societies, identities, cultures and individuals change and develop, it is inevitable for spaces to undergo change and transformation. The important point is to determine how this change and transformation process came about and whether it emerged from an internal or an external pressure. Urban transformation processes also emerge as processes of change that appear due to various obligations and demands, but include a spectrum that can reach forced transformation with increasing market pressure. Within the scope of this study, the processes of maintaining the existence of sacred places and places of worship, which are urban common areas and which are also the bearers of belief identity, to resist change, change, or adapt to change will be evaluated with a spatial planning perspective. In this evaluation, the comparison of urban sacred spaces will be made through various examples of transformation. Especially in terms of the meaning of the space, what sacred spaces offer and what the indicators and spatial strategies that are necessary for the management of change transformation processes with inclusive planning processes will be opened to discussion. The principles that need to be rethought in terms of inclusive spatial planning of the standards of urban reinforcement areas such as spaces of cultural identity, religious or sacred places, and places of worship will be discussed. For this purpose, among the findings of field studies carried out by the author in Istanbul, examples of the struggle to preserve / maintain the existence of places of minority identity and the struggle for the establishment and recognition of Alevi places of worship will be shared.

Introduction: Change, Transformation and Urban Context

According to the recent analyses conducted across the world, humankind is becoming more and more urbanised every passing day and the general order of the world appears to overlap with the strategy of administrating cities and preparing them for the future. According to UN estimations, the world's urban population is expected to reach 6.5 billion by 2050. Particularly the UN 2020 World Cities Report and the 2016 UN Habitat - New Urban Agenda and Sustainable Development Goals include extensive analyses prepared for this purpose. It is predicted that 60 per cent of the world population will be living in urban areas by 2030, and 70 per cent of the entire world population will be urbanised by 2050. It is predicted that the urbanisation rate, which is expected to increase across the world, will increase more rapidly in less developed regions. It is estimated that China in East Asia, India in South Asia and Nigeria in Africa will account for 35 per cent of the global population increase from 2018 to 2050 (UN World Cities Report 2020). These estimations and expectations strikingly reveal that our new life schemes should be reconsidered in relation to the urbanisation context.

The matter of urbanisation and accumulation in urban geographies lead both the city and city-dwellers to a process in which they will be more crowded, more diversified and more worn out. This new world brings along a strong process of change and transformation, and all cities and societies are inevitably changing. Setting up this newly emerging environment as cities become gradually more diversified in a harmonious and open manner is directly related to the ability to build durable cities that have the potential to keep up with the times and to steer development.

Various challenges lie ahead in understanding or controlling the processes of change and transformation and protecting social memory. To perceive the transformation emerging in the identity of urban space and to be able to respond to the new demands originating from social changes in particular, city administrations and active urban communities need to take various measures and develop new methods that can keep up with the new situation. For example, a strong trend in the urban planning and geography literature discusses the problem of identity spaces in the context of inclusiveness of planning and adds the discussions of "inclusive planning" method, which leaves no one behind, in the new urban agenda. Along with the population movements of increasing migration and asylum trends, as the demands of different cultural identities to become more visible in the urban space increase, cultural identity spaces, which can be described as "places of identity" become an important part of planning.[1] This is because the matter of inclusive planning is among our main tools that can take both the cities and city-dwellers peacefully into the future. Being able to adopt this tool and support it with real urban data is also again among the main duties of city administrations and relevant experts. Perceiving and understanding the transformation processes cities undergo and developing the city in a manner sensible to basic rights and freedoms is today the new and real agenda of contemporary inclusive cities and efforts for inclusive planning.

To be able to discuss the processes of urban change and transformation I mentioned above and the planning approach developed in response to them, there are some basic concepts this paper needs to consider in addition to the processes of change and transformation. The first is the necessity to define the relationship between

1 Patsy Healey, *Collaborative Planning* (London: Macmillan, 1997); Leonie Sandercock, Leonie, "When Strangers Become Neighbours: Managing Cities of Difference," *Planning Theory & Practice* 1, no. 1 (2000): 13-30; Annick Germain and Julie E. Gagnon, "Minority Places of Worship and Zoning Dilemmas in Montreal," *Planning Theory & Practice* 4, no. 3 (2003): 295–318; Richard Gale, "Representing the City: Mosques and the Planning Process in Birmingham," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31, no. 6 (2005): 1161/1179.

cultural identity and space. In arriving at this definition, sacred places and places of worship, which are the key determinant places for the cultural identities of faith groups, will be used as examples and will be evaluated in the light of the findings of field studies I have conducted. I will try to shed some light on the discussion of common spaces, collectives and public space discussions as the second cluster of concepts. The locations of these sacred places, which are also described as urban equipment in the professional terminology of planning, against the change and transformation processes, and the attitude of planning will be discussed. In the conclusion, the protection and development of common identity spaces in the changing-transforming urban environment will be offered as an alternative solution in the inclusive city and planning context.

Cultural Identity, Space and Planning

Cultures have a dynamic structure that interacts, develops, differentiates, and even dies. As with many cultural components, religion also did not completely destroy communities' previous cultures and build its own teachings upon it. Every religious congregation carries traces of previous beliefs and cultural memory, and maintains this cultural accumulation consciously or unconsciously. In this respect, similar to Alevism, pagan traditions and social-cultural traditions can be seen to be alive in both Christianity and Sunni Islam. For this very reason, groups in the same religious denomination may differ according to their country or culture. Because of this, both due its structure and environmental conditions, culture cannot be described as a standard, uniform phenomenon, but rather as an identity component in which common values that are unique to place and time are experienced. Special efforts and investment are necessary to protect identity.

For cultural identity to form and survive, it should also be exhibited in social/public space and locations outside private life. For this purpose, there is a need for a public space which religion can sacralise, so that the distinctive characteristics of religious identities can become visible. In addition, this type of sacred space is for community members to communicate with those of their own; it is necessary for the renewal of social memory and therefore, for the sustainability of the culture. At this point, the state as a regulatory power, assumes a rule-making, decision-making and supervisory role. The states' way of defining and governing society is shaped in accordance with the level of democratization in the individual-community-state relations in these processes.

A community or individual who gains the right to be visible in the public space can also take steps on the road to emancipation. However, in countries where oppressive and hegemonic relationships are in place, public space remains uniform no matter how diversified society may be. In a diversified society that is participatory and democratic, the visibility of cultural symbols in public space is not a matter of struggle, but of aesthetics.

In her study titled the Politics of Justice and Politics of Difference, Iris Marion Young discusses constructs of the ideal society and addresses the definition of city innovatively.[2] According to Young, a city is a place where strangers exist together and individual lives and small communities are the source of its vital energy. Young underlines the necessity to produce the politics of awareness in society, which is diverse by its nature, and he associates strategies of social justice, diversity and empowerment with this policy.

2 Iris M. Young. *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (N.J. Princeton University Press, 1990), 226-248.

In societies where cultural diversity was internalised, we see the diversity of the city on display in shared spaces. This social diversity components and images, which may be called the city's image, are not only a product of urban politics or spatial reflection, but are also very closely related to the principles of human rights and freedoms. This is because subculture groups and individuals making up society relate to space in line with their own identity perceptions and even give meaning to space over these perceptions. Otherwise, each individual and group who cannot live out their identity experiences trauma and migrates whenever possible to another space where they can maintain their existence. Sociological and anthropological examinations, which focus on diasporas in particular indicate that an important element of driving forces of migration is losing this feeling of freedom and the danger of losing identity.

In his study titled Cultural Memory, Jan Assmann states that a cultural group and space form a symbolic joint life together and even if a cultural group becomes separated from its own space, it lives out this association by symbolically reproducing sacred spaces. Assmann states the main drive here is that societies want to create various unique spaces and guarantee them not only as a stage for their forms of internal communication to consolidate themselves, but also as a symbol for their identity and an anchor point for their memories. In summary, Assmann says "**space needs a memory; it has a tendency for spatialisation**".[3]

In fact, just as cultural groups can design secular spaces as a reflection of the distinction between the profane and the sacred, throughout history spaces that are considered sacred, or given such meaning, or become sacralised over time have also been produced. This second type of spaces are the main elements that the relevant cultural group uses in defining itself, expressing its identity and sustaining its memories.

Sacralised spaces may be a corner of nature, a mountain, a tree or a rock, as well as a human-made monument, a sanctuary, a cemetery, a corner of worship arranged inside a house or an icon. Sacralised spaces do not only emerge with religious content or as mystical constructs. We may also encounter them as monuments or historical sites, which recall certain memories that are important for a nation or ethnicity's identity and culture.

Places of worship, which are among the spaces that are sacralised and given both mystical and functional meanings, are not merely sacred places of worship. They can also function as a social organisation centre that bears cultural, national, and even ethnic meanings. For this reason, they are spaces that can have multiple meanings and functions. They are spatial indicators that might connote sacredness, symbolism, representation and belonging. As it can easily be observed particularly among diasporas or minority groups, they become a basic socialisation and community centre that functionally serves the goal of a sustainable cultural identity.

In the end, this type of space, which can be of existential importance in terms of social memory and expression of identity, fall under the area of intervention of regulatory tools of spatial policies such as the planning discipline. Today, the planning discipline, which is now construed secularly, and spatial constructs that are defined by mystical and sacred value systems in terms of content and meaning confront each other. Whether or not this confrontation will end in destruction or a productive approach is a significant problem. Therefore, the cultures which define them-

3 Jan Assmann, *Kültürel Bellek, Eski Yüksek Kültürlerde Yazı, Hatırlama ve Politik Kimlik* (Istanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2001).

selves through these types of spaces are affected by interventions, develop attitudes during these processes and may undergo changes after being affected from emerging results. The common values that can be kept alive through spaces, die with the destruction of such spaces, and even collective cultural memories are erased.

Urban plans and spatial policies assume an active role in sustaining or losing the cultural diversity a city possesses. Due to urban policies and planning practices that are not sensitive to social diversity and cultural heritage, cities may turn into increasingly homogenised, anti-democratic structures which turn their back to diversity. In societies that are insensitive to cultural differences and do not grant subculture groups the right to the city, minorities and disadvantaged, fragile groups lose their visibility in public spaces and become alienated unless they can pass through the filters of dominant groups (become desirable). In such processes, spatial plans can cease to be a regulatory and developer tool and become a tool of application that serves to usurp cultural rights.[4]

On the other hand, cultural identity is a social and political expression of existence that is sustained over space. From this viewpoint, spatial arrangements and organisations are necessary to keep cultural identity alive and to protect it. In this sense, space is a vital precondition for the continuity of cultural identity. When examined from the angle of "faith", which is a sub-layer of culture, we can see that various spatial constructs and forms of giving meaning emerge that describe the geography of faith.

In democratic and pluralist societies, particularly those which attach importance to participatory democracy, differences are no longer defined as a threat and instead tried to be defined as a richness. In the example of the United Kingdom, sub-groups in society are supported to create their own constructs and spaces within their community as long as they do not contradict generally accepted facts and rules and do not harm others' rights and they are allowed to become public. In this respect, the UK differs from continental Europe and Turkey. For example, as a minority faith group, Muslims were allowed to transform non-functional Christian or Jewish sanctuaries into mosques. Some common public buildings were also allowed to be transformed into mosques or places of worship as long as they are in the appropriate function class.[5]

Although practices in the UK differ as a special model, a state is generally an organisation that aims to create an environment that suits its own definition of super-identity and makes efforts to transform space in this direction. For this very reason, sub-cultures and minorities are frequently uncomfortable with the practices and discourses of high culture, an even engage in conflicts of various scales.

The Struggle for Sustainability in Public Space: Visibility, Survival and Immortality[6]

During the field study, shared cultural spaces of minority faith groups were visited as tokens of a layer of cultural identity and they were asked about the story and social meaning of those spaces' foundation. The findings of a field study undertaken for a PhD dissertation in 2011-2012, which examined the spatialisation processes of

4 Erhan Kurtarır, "Bir Planlama Sorunsalı Olarak Kültür ve Kent (As an Urban Planning Problematic Culture and City)," PhD diss., Yildiz Technical University, Istanbul, 2012.

5 In the paper examples and pictures of converted places of worship and the method of their adaptation in the UK will be displayed. *Ibid.*

6 This part mostly treats of the findings of the field study. For this reason, both the examples and statements carry more parallels with the presentation slides compared to other parts.

five different minority faith groups[7] living in Turkey and the United Kingdom, the field data obtained as a result of the Research on the Inventory of *Cemevi*s in Istanbul, which I conducted after my PhD in 2013-2015, and the outputs obtained during the legal research and struggle related to the *cemevi*s followed up by Alevi Düşünce Ocağı (ADO – Alevi Philosophy Centre) are cited as references in this chapter. In terms of sustainability of cultural identity, the role of space was evaluated through the practices of faith groups with regards to creating and giving meaning to space. Basically, the relationship between culture and space was addressed within the relationship among faith, sacred place and planning.

Greek and Armenian Orthodox minority groups were used as the control group in the study. According to their responses to questions on cultural identity and space, it was found that 7 different shared community spaces are prominent, each of with play different roles in sustaining identity.

- Places of worship and its organisation: The Patriarchate, the Church, organisation of sacred areas and rituals, community representation and group belonging.
- Schools: Transmission of culture to younger generations, sustaining the common language, sustaining community identity.
- Foundations: Real estate and asset management, management of common congregational activities.
- Associations: Cultural activities, sports activities, maintaining a common culture and keeping it alive.
- Media: Maintaining language and ensuring intra-community communication,
- Cemeteries: A place of cultural memory, an indicator of experience in the city, group belonging, and a common sacred space.

Examining what Alevi common spaces offer in light of what was learned of other minority spaces makes the discussion of the tools of cultural sustainability clearer. In any case, it is inevitable that these spaces will be lost unless equal rights to public space are secured and cultural and financial resources to ensure sustainability are created. Viewing Alevi spaces in the same context as above, we see a spatial and organisational structure with less diversity. Alevis' unique sacred spaces are as follows:

- Lodges: Cultural heritage sites and common memory.
- Cemevis: Multi-functional spaces that function both as a place of worship and a place of common culture.
- Rituals: Rituals that are performed in various shared areas without one specific space.
- Areas of "Visit": Every part of nature that is considered sacred and common memory spaces assume a role in sustaining and transmitting culture as a visiting place.
- Nature
- Components of nature

Places where significant events occurred

Among the Alevi common culture spaces, *cemevi*s have a special place. They are extremely flexible and

7 Faith groups analysed during the field study are Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox communities and Alevis in Istanbul and congregations of Alevis and Sunni Muslims (mosque), migrated from Turkey to the UK.

multi-functional, unique places of worship established through private initiatives of the communities, where the entire community's every need is tried to be met. Due to their multiple and hybrid structure, *cemevi*s could perhaps be listed among the most successful spatial constructs in the sense that they were developed from bottom-up, established based on real needs and a solution-oriented attitude. This is because they both reflect the efforts to keep up with the times and respond to social needs. While doing all this, they also try to not sever their ties to the past and origins. From this viewpoint, they have the qualities to serve as a model particularly for researchers studying the geography of faith and sociology of space and urban scientists working on models of multi-functional places of worship. The diversification of functions I have identified in the field during my research on the Istanbul *Cemevi*s' Inventory more clearly demonstrates what I mean.

Type of Cemevi Activity	**Name of Cemevi Activity**
Faith-Based Services	Thursday Cems Funeral Services Sacrifices Matrimony Faith Education Semah, Zakir training Muharrem, Hızır, Abdal Musa Cems 12 services (methods and practices) Commemoration and celebration events on holy days Ashoura, Lokma, Can aşı, commemoration gatherings, etc.
Culturel Services (open to all age groups)	A space for meeting and gathering A space for symposiums, panels and speeches Soup kitchen: Distribution of Lokma and meals Healthcare services (screening, clinic, etc.) Skills development courses (women, youth) Art Education (music, theatre, painting) Study time and educational support courses Language education Folk dancing courses Organisation of grants, etc., to support education Social responsibility projects (disasters, refugees, support organisations) Visits and touristic trips Culture, recreation and sports activities (concerts, competitions, etc.) Target-group focused social activities (women, youth) Various philanthropic activities Grants and educational support funds

Table 1: Diversificat ctions in Cemevis (Kurtarır, Cemevis' Inventory Research)

Despite their unique characteristics and community-based durable structures, cemevis still face risks to

their survival due to both political and economic reasons. From this viewpoint, the problems emerging due to discriminatory public service provision in society increases risks to sustainability for cemevis. To understand how Alevis, who cannot benefit from public services equally, close this gap in their expectations, it is first necessary to reveal how the services offered at cemevis differ from those offered at mosques. For this reason, instead of a monotype and standardised topology of places of worship, it is necessary to keep on the agenda the ability to establish these common spaces, which can be diversified according to their location and focus on social benefit.

Differences in the language of worship and rituals,

Memory: The meaning of prominent figures in the history of faith differs from one other,

The definition of centre is different: For Alevis the kıble (direction of prayer) is people,

Symbolic language of space and differences in figurative expression,

Differences in gender perspective:

- Separation of women in places of worship
- The rate of women using the place of worship

Embracing and the sense of belonging:

- The distinction between what is ours and what is the state's,
- The relationship with common identity, the differences in the relationship with community identity,
- The difference in congregation identity,
- Unity of origin (Lodge, dede-talip, compatriot, neighbourhood, etc.)

The fact that the institutions of faith and space differ from one another should not be considered strange as these structures are also affected by cultural expectations and demands and can be reshaped in line with needs. The mosques and mosque congregations in the diaspora already indicate that the discourse "Islam has one place of worship and that is the mosque", frequently mentioned by the Sunni opinions of leaders and politicians in cemevi discussions, is not true. Each mosque serves a different group and differs from each other in terms of language, rituals and teaching. For this reason, the monotype and standardised construal of space in the relationship between faith and space, and particularly the idea that its content should be supervised by a central figure do not map out to the actual situation. From this viewpoint, the transformation of places of worship as inclusive public service areas and the flexibility cemevis have in their reconstruction as public spaces, their ability to keep up with the times and capability to be unique to a location should be considered as an alternative and unique model.

Conclusion: Sacred Spaces from the Viewpoint of Constructing a New Public Space and the Future of Places of Worship

Bringing up the questions for discussion that should be asked about the fate of our urban common spaces under the pressure of change and transformation is probably the first step to take for designing the work that should be carried out in this field. For this reason, as I end this article, rather than give answers, I would prefer to ask some provocative questions that should be asked but that are not often brought forward. By asking such

questions, the fate of common memory spaces under the pressure of change and transformation may get to be developed in a direction drawn by the owners of the space rather than external factors.

Finding answers to the questions that come to mind under the pressure of transformation such as "transformation is inevitable, but how will we transform" or "what do we stand against, with whom or within what in the face of the pressure of transformation" has not always been easy. This is because the fate of shared spaces is a matter that should be decided upon collectively, and therefore are processes which require the ability to collectively take decisions and should be developed with care. The planning discipline is the basic discipline we can use as a suitable tool to determine the fate of urban common spaces. However, as much as planning processes can help in producing solutions to problems if managed well, they may be dangerous tools that lead to new problems if managed poorly. From this aspect, we can summarise the problems with regards to institutional arrangements that guide planning on cultural identity spaces as follows:

- Restrictive and imposing attitudes and rules obstructing the visibility and official recognition of different cultures and faiths in public space;
- The mono-cultural and imposed legislation in the definition of places of worship;
- The tendency of monocultural generalisation in spatial arrangements;
- Determination of spatial arrangement – planning – rules based on normative criteria reflecting various concerns rather than the principles of objective functionality.
- The institutional ponderousness which is not well-versed in urban diversity and fails to identify changing actual needs,
- The professional attitude which fails to discover the meaning of space.

The imposition of standardisation as a condition for the recognition to Alevi institutions can be given as an example to these troublesome problems. For example, one of the most frequently mentioned criticism against Alevis during the Alevi workshops was that "Alevis cannot come to terms even among themselves; if they first reach an agreement among themselves, we can start talking with them about rights". Although ECtHR decisions are obvious and there are precedents in domestic law, the state has still not taken any steps in legislation towards recognising cemevis as places of worship. On the contrary, it developed new suggestions under new names that were never demanded in the first place while advocating that there should be only one type of place of worship. The statements made by the President of Turkey during the Alevi opening process can be considered a summary of this viewpoint;

"The Alevi community might support [leader of the opposition CHP] Kılıçdaroğlu, of course they can, but we want the policy of service to build up. But our people usually support those of their own. The Alevism I know consists of love of Ali. If Alevism is loving Ali, I am the best Alevi, but today I see that Alevism is not practiced as such. I see that Alevism is falling apart within itself. There are those who say Alevis are Muslims, those who say they are not and there are atheists among them. If we are all Muslims, I believe that the place of worship should be uniform, or it would be discriminatory. The cemevi is not a place of worship, but a centre where cultural events take place."

This being the case, what could the planning discipline produce for a solution and how can the process be managed? I think the shortest answer is that it is necessary to urgently establish in our institutions an approach to planning that regulates places, not spaces, and respects human rights. It is clear that this is not a target that can just be easily established and accomplished in a flash. This is because both the institutional memory and the experiences of our experts indicate that we have a poor record in this regard. Unfortunately, in the public sphere, the citizens of this society still continue their struggle for the recognition of their cultural spaces and to benefit equally from public services in urban space. In the face of violations of urban rights, not only institutions but also planners, should transition into a dynamic and proactive role, in which they are able to updates themselves and their tools in line with the realities of the society and without detachment from society. Before this, planners need to make efforts to get to know and understand society along with all cultural groups that make up society. To accomplish all of this, an inclusive and participatory understanding of planning should be in place. For example, presenting the social and cultural effects of spatial plans and relevant projects in a way that can be audited by society and for authorised bodies to transition into an accountable structure are important steps to be taken to this end. Local level decisions and actions, flexibility and participation should be brought forward as the indispensable principles of the process to be able to design plans and cities that are able to keep up with changes and resilient to pressure. It is also necessary for the planning approach to adopt a new approach aimed at "understanding" and access implicit knowledge. Along with all these, and inevitably, it is necessary to urgently transition into a fair-equitable legislation that does not contradict with the principles of human rights as stated in the ECtHR and inclusive planning practices.

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Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mRuvMobZ4cw&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=3

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z5Muj4ATtFY&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=3

Reflections on Interacting with Faith, Identity and Space

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Abstract

How to deal with the problematic of «conversions in places of worship»?

The transformation of places of belief through indirect or direct intervention over time should be considered primarily in terms of fundamental rights. The symbols, rituals and actions that accumulate as we live and build our identity evolve under the conditions of the age and reinforce our identity in interaction with spaces. Our perception of identity remains alive thanks to social practices that take place in a space which is unique to us; it is continued by being renewed. But this interaction between the tangible and intangible legacies of culture sometimes takes a hit. This sometimes happens because of the dynamics within the relevant culture cluster, and most often due to the hegemonic trends in the fields of economy, politics and culture. The link between place and belief is physically severed. Belief clusters, faced with such compulsions, load new values into new spaces they find, sometimes through physical interventions, and sometimes with myths. Sometimes traditions and rituals are continued by making concessions under the force of circumstances. This behavior, emphasized in various studies, is identity's effort to exist.

When it comes to places that have symbolic value for the whole of society, the problem can become more than just the usurpation of the rights of a belief cluster. One of the issues that appears on the agenda from time to time is the disagreements and conflicts arising from the ownership of the same place by different belief clusters. This phenomenon is the embodiment of marginalisation in space, and at this point, the issue should be addressed in terms of the destruction of the common identity. What is at stake here is the destruction of a common identity created by different belief clusters and different cultures. Our common identity is woven through the intertwining of different cultural motifs throughout history. From this point of view, it is necessary to see interventions in the places of belief as attacks on the cultural heritage of the whole society.

It is necessary to discuss the transformation of places of belief with its institutional dimension. One of the basic conditions for the survival of identity is institutionalisation. In the process of institutionalisation in a broad sense, the basic principles adopted by the society regarding different belief clusters and places of belief are set forth. For example,

a constitution and signed international principles constitute the institutionalization process in a broad sense. In the process of institutionalisation in a narrow sense, the state organizes the necessary implementation bodies (operating institutions) to implement the principles it has adopted. At this point, many problems that are key to maintaining places of belief are based on definitions, classifications, and generalisations on which operating practices are based; they stem from the distribution of authority and responsibility. In order to take realistic steps, it is necessary to evaluate the basic principles of institutionalisation in terms of institutional practices.

Introduction

The conversion of religious spaces is a subject that has cultural and institutional aspects; it is a matter of organising space. Today, discussions about what space is, why and how it is organised are addressed in a sphere of thought where different disciplines intersect. This paper aims to view the topic along the lines of space, place and city planning.

The modernist institution of planning, which was built to work with objective truths, struggles to come up with solutions against issues related to identity and power struggles, which have become prominent with informatics technology and geographical mobility. There is a search for a viewpoint that internalises the transformations taking place under globalism and a richer conceptualisation, in summary, a different epistemology in urban theory literature.[1] The approaches arising from this search advocate that planners should go beyond their identity of technocrats and adopt a new stance within the planning practice. For planners to come up with solutions by comprehending the meaning buried within the spatial and social dynamics and produce solutions, they first have to recognise and accept that a city is a multi-cultural place that feeds off diversity.

A new epistemology for the organisation of space

A distinction is made in human geography between *absolute space* and *relative space* – or *created space* - to describe the mutual relationship between people and space. Absolute space is objective; it is physical. However, relative space is the space *created in the mind* that is socially produced based on the relationships between events and actions; process and time.

In sociology, space is considered an abstract geometric concept that describes spatiality; place is a specific and unique spot in the universe. Concepts such as distance, direction, size, form and volume are used to describe space. Features that endow place with its identity are used to describe the place. According to Gieryn's definition, there are three necessary and adequate qualities for a space to be a **'place'**: *Geographical location, material form, and meaning and values.*[2] When these three qualities are realised, that space is no longer an abstract concept, but becomes an actual place. A space with an established name among the people becomes distinguished from others. When a group identifies itself with this space, it becomes *a place of culture.* For this reason, public administrators

1 Niel Brenner and Christian Schmid, "Elements for a New Epistemology of the Urban," in *The Sage Handbook of the 21st Century City*, ed. Suzanne Hall and Richard Burdett (London: Sage, 2017), 47-67.

2 Thomas F Gieryn, "A space for place in sociology," *Annual Review of Sociology* 26 (2000): 463-496.

and planners need to consider places possessing the three qualities above, whether artificial or natural, registered or unregistered, as symbols that represent certain values.

Undoubtedly, through which experiences and as the outcome of what kind of processes a space becomes a place is also important. According to Georg Simmel, society is a network intertwined of the interactions which individuals experience along the socialisation process; it is the synthesis of such interactions. Every *thing* gains its meaning within the framework of relations it has with others and takes shape along the process of mutuality in these relations.[3] What then is the role of space or place during this interaction process? Schatzki's theory of site ontology might be a useful guide on how social culture comes to exist with its space.[4] According to the theory of site ontology, analysing social phenomena is only possible through examining the site where people are present together. Understanding why and how inter-human relations have come to exist may only be understood by examining these relationships alongside the spaces and places where they take place. The site or place provide the *context* of people coexisting.

While speaking about a certain place; we define its *place identity* mostly by establishing relations with its history and its position in economic, political and cultural fields. However, Massey states that this is not enough and we need to understand that there is also *a sense of place*. Massey defines sense of place as the emotions people feel about that particular place. Massey adds that just as different individuals or groups may feel different emotions for the same place, the same individuals or groups may feel contradictory emotions; these contradictory emotions may sometimes come into conflict or sometimes *co-exist*.[5]

Sacred places, places of worship and religious places deserve serious consideration in city and space discussions, due to their roles in the maintenance of the culture and strong symbolic qualities they carry. The *sense of place* concept emphasised by Massey helps us to understand the symbolic power of places of worship - or more accurately, of all sacred places -. Thanks to studies on the concepts of relative space and place, we understand that the size, area of influence, and boundaries of a place are determined socially. These boundaries are permeable; open to economic and cultural movements from around the world. Therefore, the areas of influence and perceived boundaries of religious places are dynamic, changeable and are affected by social, economic, and political dynamics at different scales in different locations. Kong, referencing Grapard (1998), mentions that the concepts of places of worship, sacred places and religious places are subject to competing definitions and interpretations.[6] However, no matter how it is defined, a sacred place cannot be considered separately from the social, economic and political conditions of its location, he claims. Moreover, he points out that those who oppose its existence or produce formulas to replace it over time should not be ignored. In other words, what Kong underlines here is that the spaces which are thought to be holy by a social group should be examined together with all the power struggles and the demands for equal rights

3 John Urry, "Mobilities and Social Theory," in *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, edited by Bryan S. Turner (Chichester, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 475-495; Werner Jung, *Georg Simmel zur Einführung* (Hamburg: Junius Verlag, 2016).

4 Theodore R. Schatzki, Theodore R., "A New Societist Social Ontology," *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 33, no. 2 (2003): 174-202.

5 Doreen Massey, "Questions of Locality," *Geography* 78, no. 2 (1993): 142-149.

6 Lily Kong, "Mapping 'New' Geographies of Religion: Politics and Poetics in Modernity," *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 2 (2001): 211–233.

over the city's resources within that society. In a more recent study that follows this viewpoint, Becci compares the city to an arena where two spatial strategies meet. In this arena, two different understandings of space interact: on the one hand, religious space strategies and on the other hand, the spatial regime of the city.[7] This interaction—or conflict—makes the city's *super-diversity* visible.

The relational approach and city planning

Recently, the phenomenon of migration, which has grown rapidly and shaken the "established order" of many countries; and the emergence of different identity references replacing the monistic national identity references have made it necessary to rethink concepts such as citizenship, basic rights, right to religion, civil rights and rights to the city. Diversity has become one of the main axes of urban policies. Therefore, the matter of sanctity, which is a part of cultural identity, has led to a debate over practices in various disciplines.

In the literature on geography of the 1990s, the idea that space should be approached from a different perspective rapidly gained strength. According to the *relational approach*, space should be considered as something that both affects and is affected, similar to social, economic and political actors. It is a *lens* through which the interaction between events and actors are filtered.[8] At the basis of the relational approach are Bourdieu's *practice theory* and his concept of "*habitus*". This approach suggests that spatial, economic and social phenomena should be understood from a historical viewpoint, without neglecting the effects of events that occurred in the past.[9] Every new event taking place is to be evaluated through the *lens* of our experiences, the values and emotions we have internalised. Conflicts, reconciliations, solidarity, competition, achievement, defeat, joy, and pain leave a mark on social and individual memory. Spaces also carry the marks of this experience. Although at times invisible, these marks subsist in perceptions.

The relational approach offers three main methods to convey individual experiences, the effect of time, and cultural diversity in organising space: (1) Thinking and planning space with a *temporal dimension*; (2) transitioning between different scales or evaluating different scales together; (3) using information produced in different disciplines together; in other words, working in a multidisciplinary manner.

Viewing the matter in terms of planning practices, there emerges the issue of finding the equivalents of different meanings and identities attributed to the same physical space in planning practice and conceptualising the space-time relationship.[10] A sense of perception and place accumulates in the processes, which individuals and groups experience in a certain place. However, city planning intervention tools such as area size, building density, population density or zoning practices ignore the experiences spread over time on an individual scale. Experiences, memories,

7 Irene Becci, Marian Burchardt and Mariachiara Giorda, "Religious Super-Diversity and Spatial Strategies in Two European Cities," *Current Sociology* 65, no. 1 (2017): 73–91.

8 Harald Bathelt and Johannes Glückler, "Toward a relational economic geography," *Journal of Economic Geography* 3 (2003): 117–144.

9 Pierre Bourdieu. "Outline of a Theory of Practice: Structures and the Habitus," in *Practicing History. New Directions in Historical Writing after the Linguistic Turn*, ed. Gabrielle M. Spiegel (New York: Routledge, 2005), 174-194.

10 Stephen Graham and Patsy Healey, "Relational concepts of space and place: Issues for planning theory and practice," *European Planning Studies* 7, no. 5 (1999): 623-646.

emotions, and subjective values are the subject of other disciplines. Planning practice is devoid of the tools that would transfer the diversity of meaning involved in a plan or transformation project into practice.

After nearly 20 years, the searches in contemporary planning practice have recently led to some answers in the form of *governance, participatory planning* and *inclusive planning* approaches. However, the contents of these responses vary by city, region and social group. In planning practices, which adopt these approaches ranging from public administration to urban design, from urban sociology to social psychology, there may be a need to re-develop implementation methods in the light of local conditions. Meanwhile in Turkey, the planning institution structure, which is becoming increasingly more centralised, reduces the possibility of local-level planning, governance and participatory planning. It is still not clear how the participation mechanism will work even though some participatory planning techniques were included in practice. Although certain structural changes for participation purposes, including advisory city councils (*kent konseyi*); and some communication techniques such as conferences, workshops, etc., were implemented with stakeholders, their integration with the decision-making process remains an unanswered question.

Another problem has to do with the conceptualisation system on which planning decisions are based. As highlighted by Wigley, addressing religious places or symbols with *binary* classifications of 'public-private' or 'religious-secular', makes it harder to come up with a planning solution that embraces diversity.[11]

Conclusion

The theme of cultural diversity we addressed within the framework of "conversion of places of worship" in this paper is reciprocated in the contemporary planning approach through efforts to implement practises which aim to be inclusive of multiculturalism and diversity. The fact that some local administrations embrace the governance discourse and use participatory methods during the planning process appears to be promising for planning formulas. However, there are four important obstacles that should be overcome in the planning practice.

The first obstacle is the matter of establishing a relationship between the geography and representation of cultural diversity. In a world where the volume and speed of geographical mobility, that is, horizontal mobility, is gradually increasing, large cities in particular are becoming increasingly heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity, beliefs, and culture.[12] On the other hand, the components of these heterogenous structures are constantly changing.

The second obstacle is related to the climate of local thought created by politicians. The climate of marginalisation created and instigated over various symbols, public spaces, and arrangements in public space reduce the possibility of solution models working in practice.

The third obstacle is related to the contradictions the political climate creates in planning. Although the gov-

11 Wigley, 2018.

12 John Urry. "Mobilities and Social Theory," in *The New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, ed. Bryan S. Turner (Chichester, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), 475–495.

ernance discourse maintains a foothold in some local administrations, the recent institutional arrangements made by the central authority have moved away from diversity and devolution. The central authority is gradually monopolising the planning authority. The city's integrity and continuity suffer due to various interventions in areas falling within the boundaries of metropolitan municipalities. The jurisdiction of local administrations is being rendered piecemeal and diminished. The possibility of diversity reflected on planning practice at a local level is decreasing.

The fourth obstacle is related to the fact that the inherent features of planning practices stay unchanged. Some writers advocate that concepts related to spaces of culture and belief which remain outside of official definitions should be included within planning practice. To this end, they suggest separate and new standards to be developed for the concepts of cultures and beliefs that fall outside of official definitions.[13]

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13 Patrick Brandful Cobbinah, Michael Osei Asibey, and Naomi Baffour Gyau, "Resonating the 'culture' debate in urban planning," *City, Culture and Society* 23 (2020): 100369.

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Conference session links

English
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Turkish
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z5Muj4ATtFY&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=3

CHAPTER 3

DYNAMICS IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF CEMEVIS AND TEKKES

Transformation of Alevi Social Space

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Abstract

A considerable amount of literature has postulated that the social is produced intertwined with space-place, memory and identity and is also determinant in the construction of all of these (Halbwachs. 2017; Nora, 1989; Connerton, 2014; Lefebvre, 2014; Massey, 1994). Alevi social spaces are also critical elements in the formation and expression of Alevi identity both in the rural settings and in the urbanization process. If we conceptualize the philosophical, everyday and social space with the trilogy of Lefebvre, Alevi spatial understanding and practice in rural settings presents an appearance where the perceived, designed and lived spaces are dialectically intertwined (Salman, 2019). Within this organisation, places of belief and worship are places created by the transformation of everyday space. We can say that, from a singular visit to a wide network of hearths, in the Alevi rural order, the space is organised in the form of various heterotopias (Foucault, 2005). This practice of transformation came to the rescue in the first phase of migration to the city. One of the indicators of this transformation is that Cem places, which are not institutionalised as an independent place of worship due to compelling conditions in the rural setting, manifest themselves both as places of worship and where basic social-cultural needs are met in the urban area. While rising as a symbol of a space-oriented struggle in the reconstruction of the Alevi identity, Cemevis have also turned into one of the tools of political-bureaucratic powers and other repressive actors to intervene in belief and culture. During this process, Alevis faced new problems that emerged with urbanisation, such as the dissolution of the *ocak* system, the change of visiting places and culture, and the intellectual-physical construction of places of belief and worship. We can express these problems, all of which have a socio-spatial feature, as *transformations based on the internal dynamics of the community.* On the other hand, as a reflection of the practice of the past in various forms and levels, the intervention of Alevi beliefs and social spaces, sometimes official power centers and extensions, sometimes by civil actors, continues today. Defining Alevi places of worship, not recognising Alevi sacred places, and verbal and physical harassment against Alevi settlements are some aspects of this intervention. We can express these as *external dynamics that force transformation.* Today, Alevis are going through the process of keeping their beliefs and culture alive and rebuilding their Alevi identity under current conditions, in the face of this two-way transformation pressure.

Although memory is usually considered in daily and academic language in terms of time, that it also forms and is conveyed spatially and along with space is one of the tenets of social memory studies in the wake of Maurice Halbwachs. For Halbwachs, space is a reality that endures and nothing if left behind inertly in the mind. We can recapture the past because it is preserved by our physical surrounding. That's why "every collective memory unfolds within a spatial framework."[1] While examining the relationship of memory with space through various groups, Halbwachs also gives place to belief groups under the title of "space of religion." According to him, places of worship of the faithful provide the common mental disposition and the most important basis and content of religious collective memory.[2] Pierre Nora deepens this approach by conceptualizing "sites of memory". For Nora, "sites of memory" are places that play a role in the material, symbolic and functional perception of the world we live in. The roots of the sense of continuity lie in space, and memory is rooted in what is concrete, space, movement, image and object.[3] From this perspective, spaces of faith can be argued to include both dimensions of spaces of memory. Places of faith are not only places where the worship, practices and symbols of a faith accumulate, but also *spaces of memory* where a society's sense of belonging forms and is conveyed.

There is a voluminous literature arguing that space, which manifests both social memory and knowledge, has a direct relationship with power and hegemony.[4] Among all, Massey's "power-geometry" and the bond between power-discipline addressed by Foucault through the panopticon model examine the relationship between space and hegemony in different contexts. In a sense, "[t]he struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting,"[5] one of the fields where this struggle most tangibly materialises when intertwined with memory is space. For Lefebvre, a society's *spatial practice* creates its own space and this practice is discovered by deciphering the space of society. Space is not an empty plaque - *tabula rasa* - or a passive plane for existence. It is not neutral geometry. All social relationships and social being materialise in space. They are produced in and with space; they are from the beginning (ontologically) spatial. All social forms and each society produce a space. Space, like all meta, is produced and it is itself a producer of relationships. Hegemony, knowledge and ideology are all included in the representation of space. Therefore, space is not a scientific object detached from ideology and politics. Space is always political, strategic and ideological.[6]

Lefebvre considers space, which was previously taken by philosophers and mathematicians solely as an "abstract" plane, as a concrete, physical, experienced, and social product. According to him, there is a dialectic, a three-part momentum among these three spaces which are concretely perceived, designed and experienced. Everyday life, one of the critical concepts of Lefebvre's space analysis, corresponds to social events taking place in social space. It

1 Maurice Halbwachs, *Kolektif Hafıza*, translated by Banu Barış (Ankara: Heretik, 2017), 153-154.

2 *Ibid*., 167.

3 Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 16-19; Steven Hoelscher and Derek H. Alderman, "Memory and place: geographies of a critical relationship," *Social & Cultural Geography* 5, no. 3 (2004): 349.

4 Dorren Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Michel Foucault, *Hapishanenin Doğuşu*, translated by Mehmet Ali Kılıçbay (Ankara: İmge, 2013); Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, translated by Işık Ergüden (Istanbul, Sel: 2014).

5 Conveyed from Kundera, 1893: Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy, *Kolektif Hafıza Kitabı*, translated by Zehra Can, Ümit Keskin, Tarık Özbek (Ankara: Dipnot, 2020), 213.

6 Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, translated by Işık Ergüden (Istanbul, Sel: 2014), 56-67; Henri Lefebvre, *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, edited by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, translated by Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 170-171.

is an area of social practices in dialectical interaction with space and is constantly being reproduced. In Lefebvre's spatial trinity, *spatial practice* corresponds to physical, perceived space and spatial events that gain meaning in daily routine. *Representations of space* are thought, mental, designed spaces. The abstract construct of those who hold knowledge and hegemonic power operates here. Meanwhile, representation spaces are social spaces that are produced and experienced, where everyday life goes on.[7]

In this context, Alevi social space displays a noteworthy example of the birth and representation of space as a political and ideological product. The relationship the Kizilbash/Alevis in Anatolia had with the Ottoman state, its extensions and the dominant Sunni majority during the sixteenth to twentieth centuries when their basic institutions, structure, actors, rituals, and values were being formed and developed gave a unique character to the Alevi perception and practice of space. At the heart of Lefebvre's conceptualisation, Alevi *spatial practice* (physical space) is based on the sacralisation of daily spaces. *Cem* places and pilgrimage sites in rural areas are examples of this. In this tradition, "the entirety of life itself is worship"; "when two souls become one *cem*", every space can become a place of worship. On the other hand, the fact that the community was under pressure from those in power and the external Sunni majority made it possible only to worship "secretly". In this sense, as a result of both the faith's characteristics and outside pressure, spaces of faith in Alevi villages assumed a "heterotopic" character for hundreds of years.[8] The apparently mundane spaces and objects of everyday life (*porches, tandoor rooms, hovels, hills, rocks, thickets, water sources....)* were turned into places of worship, a sacred site, *other space* (*heterotopia*) in terms of purpose and meaning in Alevi practice.

Alevi *space representation* (mental space) is based on the understanding of *lámekán,* where Alevi myth and philosophy meet. Similar to the heterodox-Sufi tradition's understanding of time being esoteric, cyclical, spiral and constantly in a "cycle", the Alevi spatial design is also based on the idea of an intertwined, helical, folded space. In Alevi philosophy, space does not consist only of two dimensions and limited parts. From the Council of Forties to the Miraj, Ali's parables to Karbala, Salman-i Farsi to Hacı Bektaş legends, the narrative of *lámekán* is dominant in all Alevi myths and literature.

Finally, Alevi *representation space* (social space) comes into being within the *ocak* network/system where philosophy and daily space meet and become intertwined. *Ocak* refers to the *dede* families who perform faith services in Alevism and the organisation built around these families. Its foundation is the *dede-talip* (aspirant) bond. In this bond established through the *Talip-dede-mürşit* (*ocak*)-*yol* (path)[9] sequence, each Alevi individual is a member of an *ocak*. *Ocak* representatives (*dede*s, *baba*s...) respond to all the needs that aspirants under them have, such as annual worship (*cem*), manners (justice), conversation (faith, moral knowledge, education), and cultural transmission. All *ocak*s are connected to each other with the permission-mentorship bond. The boundaries of *ocak*s extend in terms

7 Henri Lefebvre, *Mekânın Üretimi*, translated by Işık Ergüden (Istanbul, Sel: 2014), 67-68.

8 Foucault, Michel, "Başka Mekânlara Dair," Özne ve İktidar, translated by Işık Ergüden - Osman Akınhay. (Istanbul: Ayrıntı, 2014), 291-302.

9 *Talip*: An adult individual who promised to walk the path of Alevism.
Dede: Alevi religious leader. Known as "pir" in some regions.
Mürşit: The person standing at the top of each *ocak* – religious leader.
Yol: Represents the Alevi faith and culture in Alevism.

of authority and method up to the area of other *ocak*s. Although it appears like there is a visible border between *ocak*s, all communities seek the same *path.* For this reason, the real boundary of a community is neither the village, nor the city, nor the area of *ocak* settlement for an Alevi individual. This boundary can be set at every point where the Alevi community is settled and the boundaries of which are drawn not geographically, but through community values. Thus, the *ocak* system represents the integrity of Alevi history, geography, faith and culture.[10]

With all these characteristics, Alevi mental, physical and social space has been formed within the practice of continuous dialectic transformation. I will discuss this practice later in the study.

Transformation of Alevi Spaces

The Alevis, who were subjected to long-term slaughter and persecution following the Ottoman-Safavid War, continued their existence in the mountainous-rural regions of Anatolia from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries until the mid-twentieth century. These regions were difficult to reach, far away from those in power and their reaches and the Sunni – Orthodox majority. They developed a social organisation based on establishing minimal relations with the power network and orthodox structures in their partially autonomous areas. Within this organisation that we call *ocak* network or system, Alevis met their own needs of faith, law, education, cultural transmission, etc. This state of affairs lasted until the mid-twentieth century when Alevis started to migrate to large cities in Turkey and to Europe in the 1950s. This heavy migration movement greatly transformed the Alevi socio-spatial organisation, rural-traditional order and social structure.[11]

In the light of this background, Alevi social space started to become organised between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries and its boundaries were drawn under pressure from those in power from the very beginning. Due to this, what makes Alevi social space unique is the transformation of the areas where the Alevi faith-culture was sustained into a political space in the faith-culture map. This situation equates the boundaries of the Alevi faith space with those of the Alevi social space. Both have been tools for political representation, struggle and intervention in every period and in every situation. In other words, Alevi spaces of faith (social) have witnessed the struggle and intervention towards building, protecting and transmitting the Alevi identity on the one hand, and pressuring and keeping it under control on the other from the Ottoman period to the Republic. Here, we can examine the factors which transformed and are transforming the Alevi space under two headings, namely *within* and *outside of the community.*

External Dynamics

I previously mentioned that the Alevi social space in the Ottoman period was shaped within boundaries drawn primarily by power-majority pressure. During this historical period, which transformed the Alevi geography into an invisible-heterotopic map, we may interpret the state apparatus' intervention in Alevi faith spaces as a constant

10 Ali Yaman, "Alevilikte Ocak Kavramı: Anlam ve Tarihsel Arka Plan," *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi* 60 (2011): 43-64; Cemal Salman, *Lâmekândan Cihana: Göç Kimlik Alevilik* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2019), 67-68.

11 *Ibid.*, 19-20.

state of control. However, the Ottoman state also made interventions that went beyond "control". One of the most direct and recent examples of this is the closure of Bektashi lodges in 1826, when the Janissary *Ocak* was violently dismantled, on the grounds of having a spiritual connection with the *Ocak*. In this process, Bektashi lodges were either destroyed or made dependent to other religious orders, while most of the Bektashi *dedes-babas* were either exiled or executed. Although the evident reason was the spiritual connection with the Janissary *Ocak*, it is a fact that the prohibition of Bektashism was due to several religious, political and administrative reasons.[12]

The closure of "all dervish lodges, monasteries and tombs except for those already being used as mosques or masjids" with Law 677 issued in 1925 during the first years of the Republic was one of the most extensive interventions in Alevi faith spaces. In one sense, the intervention that only targeted Bektashi lodges in 1826, covered all Alevi faith spaces this time. Although the law did not directly target Alevi *ocak*s, the fact that no other place of worship other than mosques and masjids was mentioned in the law, caused *cem* places, as Alevi places of worship, to be banned. The fear of "*cem* raids" in Anatolia and the presence of watchmen in villages where *cem* gatherings took place are partly related to this prohibition. On the other hand, the law's prohibition of all mausoleums and lodges also constituted a threat against the belief and culture of *ziyaret* (pilgrimages), which is one of the determinant rituals and practices of Alevi faith as well as being one of the pillars of social memory in terms of both space and literature. Although the law *prima facie* appears to have targeted all faiths, it more deeply affected Alevis, who were in a unique position particularly in terms of places of worship. One of the most critical interventions of the Law towards the Alevi faith was the closure of the Hacı Bektaş Dervish Lodge (*Dergāh*),[13] which was considered to be the "house of the greatest mentor", a holy place, where *dede*s-*baba*s who were affiliated with lodges annually received approval and which Alevis visited annually. The Dervish Lodge was not closed but was assigned to the (Sunni) Naqshbandi order after the abolition of Beqtashism in 1826. In 1827, all the buildings were destroyed and a mosque was built in the courtyard by Sultan Mahmoud II. After it was rebuilt in 1895 and took its current state, the Dervish Lodge was closed in 1925 along with other dervish lodges and monasteries. It was used as a School of Agriculture for a while, and the pieces and items in it were moved to a warehouse in Ankara Castle and from there to the Ethnography Museum. The lodge was only re-opened to visits in 1964 as a "museum".[14] Today, the *Dergāh* of Hacı Bektaş is still under the control and responsibility of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Although both the closure of the Hacı Bektaş Lodge and the lack of recognition of *cemevi*s as places of worship were legally based on the abovementioned Law 677 dated 1925, the actual ideological basis lies with the Presidency of Religious Affairs which is considered the representative of Sunni Islam. All governments formed during the Republic of Turkey have adopted the Presidency of Religious Affairs' approach that "Islam's sole place of worship

12 Yılmaz Soyyer, "Türk Tarihinde Bir Sosyo-Kültürel Facia: Bektaşi Tekkelerinin Kapatılışı," *Alevilik-Bektaşilik Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7 (2013): 21-41; Krisztina Kehl-Bodrogi, *Kızılbaşlar/Aleviler*, translated by Oktay Değirmenci and Bilge Ege Aybudak (Istanbul: Ayrıntı, 2012), 56; İlber Ortaylı, "Tarikatlar ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Yönetimi," *OTAM (Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi)* 6 (1995): 281-287; Elise Massicard, *Türkiye'den Avrupa'ya Alevi Hareketinin Siyasallaşması* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınevi, 2007), 40.

13 The main lodge of the order.

14 "Hacı Bektaş Veli Külliyesi (Dergâhı)," KTB (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı), accessed 11 May 2021, https://aregem.ktb.gov.tr/TR-12618/haci-bektas-veli-kulliyesi-dergahi.html.

is the mosque, the masjid."[15] All efforts of the Alevis for the recognition of *cemevi*s and having *cemevi*s benefit from the support provided to other places of worship from the state budget in line with the principle of equal citizenship were negatively received by the political establishment. Despite the international lawsuits filed and won on this topic,[16] the attitude of governments has been to accept *cemevi*s as "cultural centres" at most, but refuse to give them the status of places of worship. It can be said that there is broad consensus on this matter among religious officials, bureaucrats, politicians and state administrators. The political statements, most of which are also reflected in the press, indicate that religious references are prioritised when it comes to *cemevi*s rather than the laic-state of law and principles of equal citizenship.[17] *Cemevi*s are still places constructed by Alevis with their own means and at their own expense. And the struggle with governments, which consider these faith spaces as an area of intervention and control, continues on troublesome ground.

The "monistic" understanding of the Republic, based on Sunni Islam, and the practice of "religion under state supervision" inherited from the Ottoman State, tended to ignore the Alevi presence, to the extent of dissolving it within a framework where it is considered not as a faith but a cultural element. An indicator of this is Village Law 442, which indirectly regulates spaces of faith despite not appearing to be related to the field of faith. This law, issued in 1924, lists building a "mescid" in the village among the mandatory works to be carried out in villages. Listing only masjids as places of worship among the list of works to be carried out by the village or villagers, non-compliance with which was subject to sanctions, is an indicator that the new regime established its definition of acceptable faith through Sunni Islam and that non-Muslims, as well as Alevis, were excluded from this definition.[18]

Based on this Law and similar legislation, we see that the practice of building mosques in Alevi settlements continued during the Republican period, which had also been one of the policies carried out since the Ottoman era. Ottoman-Republican continuity is clear in this regard. Some of the mosques in Alevi villages date back to the Ottoman period either as remains or active buildings. Some of them were built in the 1940s-50s in accordance with Law 442 mentioned above. Some of the mosques and masjids are recent structures, built as a result of the policies followed after the 1980 military coup. In addition to directly building mosques in Alevi settlements, many legal regulations, articles of law, regulations and directives define "houses of worship" through mosques-masjids and non-Muslim places of worship. This situation not only causes inequality in public services in the absence of *cemevi*s' legal status, but it also creates a basis for the discourse and actions of the political-bureaucratic elite that legitimize this inequality.

15 Ruşen Çakır and İhsan Yılmaz, "Alevilerin İbadet Yeri Cami Olmalı," *Milliyet*, 18 August 2001, https://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/alevilerin-ibadet-yeri-cami-olmali-5278096; Ayşegül Kahvecioğlu, "Cemevi Diyanet'in Kırmızı Çizgisidir," *Milliyet*, 2 January 2016, https://www.milliyet.com.tr/siyaset/cemevi-diyanet-in-kirmizi-cizgisidir-2172767.

16 Mark Hallam, "Turkey discriminates against Alevi fiath, ECHR rules," *DW*, 26 April 2016, https://www.dw.com/en/turkey-discriminates-against-alevi-faith-echr-rules/a-19214883.

17 As a typical example, we can take here Cemil Çiçek's words, who is a former Minister, Head of Parliament and well-known statesman in Turkey: ""Alevism, which is a subgroup of Islam, cannot have a place of worship other than mosques or mescids, which are common places of worship within Islam." "Parliament's cemevi denial slammed by Alevi groups," *HDN (Hurriyet Daily News)*, 12 December 2012, https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/parliaments-cemevi-denial-slammed-by-alevi-groups-36648.

18 Şükrü Aslan, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarında İnanç Kimlikleri," *Birgün*, 17 March 2021, https://www.birgun.net/haber/cumhuriyet-in-ilk-yasalarinda-inanc-kimlikleri-337822.

Internal Dynamics

Besides the external dynamics or interventions mentioned above, Alevi faith and social spaces are changing and transforming in the process of urbanisation and modernization of the community. Living in the countryside for centuries, Alevis started to migrate to cities and abroad en masse since the 1960's. The base structure, institutions and places faced the change in this mobility. This process determined the conversion of Alevi daily (sacred) and social spaces. The disorganization of the *ocak* network-system, which can be considered the rural expenditure of the community has transformed the social space. The change of daily-sacred places such as *ziyarets* and *cem* places has altered the perception and practice of physical and mental spaces.

1) *The ocak-system was the main organization that determines the socio-spatial settlement of Alevis in the rural order, the transfer of culture with the practices of faith, the basic internal rule of law and the rules of co-life, the communication among the community. This structure began to disorganize rapidly with the urbanisation process.*

In this, the effect of the following factors can be mentioned: *Ocaks* were blindsided by the migration process. It became difficult to bond with aspirants, who scattered across different locations that are socio-spatially far more distant than ever before, over the sense of *ocak* belonging. *Dede*s were inadequate in adapting to new conditions both quantitatively and qualitatively. The *ocak* system, which is based on meeting with aspirants once a year, failed to answer the daily and constant problems aspirants faced in the city environment. New bonds that would keep the *dede-talip* bond alive in the city could not be established in the early periods of migration.[19] For all these reasons, the *ocak* network, which constituted the basic faith-social space of the Alevi rural order, started to lose its function in the urbanisation process. Meanwhile, Alevi organisations (associations, foundations, *cemevi*s, culture centres...) are trying to fill the void formed by the diminishing *ocak* presence. The origin of the *ocak* families in Alevism is based on the Twelve Imams. This also gave the network, which includes the leader's households and its followers, a sacred space dimension. On the other hand, Alevi institutions formed in the cities are still secular places, although some were opened with the names of grand saints. Naturally, in terms of Alevis, this transformation points to a network of organizations from the sacred to the secular.

2) In the process of urbanisation, cemevi *was born from social needs and gradually became a symbol of identity building and struggle. As* cemevi *spaces proliferated in cities and villages,* cems *began to become more formal, which caused a change in direction of the dialectic between Alevi mental and physical spaces.*

Alevis, who considered every moment of life as worship in the rural order, did not establish constant, separate places of worship in villages both due to the philosophical meaning they attributed to worship and to the security concerns originating from historical-social conditions. Meanwhile, Alevis started to place form above essence due to concerns about gathering and maintaining their culture in the city environment. Similar to what they did in villages, Alevis performed *cem* secretly in association rooms, wedding venues, flats or shop basements rather than a constant and independent *cem* place in the first periods of migration. This state of affairs was in line with

19 Cemal Salman, *Lâmekândan Cihana: Göç Kimlik Alevilik* (Ankara: Dipnot, 2019), 359.

the traditional spirit of the *cem*; however, it is not sustainable in terms of maintaining Alevi identity in the city environment considering the increasing population and other challenging conditions. For this reason, efforts at organisation, which progressed together with the space struggle in the 1980s, have evolved into a stage where *cemevi* demands turned into a symbol for the recognition and survival of identity by the end of the 1990s.[20] While *cemevi*s rise as a symbol of a space-oriented struggle in the reconstruction of Alevi identity, they also became one of the tools of intervention in the belief and culture of political-bureaucratic powers and other repressive actors.

Today, it is the case that thousands of *cemevi*s/Alevi cultural centers, from Alevi villages to metropolitan cities, from many small towns to metropolises in Europe, serve Alevis both in their worship and other social needs. The emergence of the *cemevi* as a place of worship and a social institution both in cities and in the countryside are examples of space transformation in several respects: First of all, as in the rural period, Alevis transformed not a constant-detached structure but any daily-physical space into a place of worship in the early periods of migration. Just as in the countryside porches, tandoori rooms, kitchens, etc. were transformed, in cities, association halls, wedding halls, shanty rooms, sports halls, etc., have been transformed into "places of worship". The places of *cem* in Alevi philosophy are a projection of the myth of the Cem of the Forties (*Kırklar Cemi*). They are places of worship where the simple, egalitarian, just purified can enter and emphasizes the essence. However, the aforementioned *cem* houses are transforming into the glorious, hierarchical, increasingly standardized and form-oriented places of worship of the beliefs coded as "the other" by the Alevis.

3) Ziyaret*s, which are the most prominent places of memory in the Alevi rural order, are being forgotten in the urbanisation process, being erased from the memory of the community. The* ziyaret *culture is transformed with a tendency to "concentrate in space".*

The *ziyaret* in Alevism, sometimes the grave of a great saint (tomb), sometimes a natural place or object (tree, rock, hill, water source ...) or a healing place to cure certain diseases, is one of the critical places of the belief and the memory of the faith. Almost every Alevi village has a *ziyaret* place in or near it. The myths, tales of miracles, healing attributes, certain rituals, objects and symbols specific to each of these places have made the *ziyaret*s an important place of memory. In this respect, the *ziyaret* is a heterotopic place in the rural order. An ordinary natural place for an outsider has turned into a sacred place, attributing a sacredness to the community member. In the urbanisation process, there has been a transformation in the places of *ziyaret* and the memory of the community formed with them. There is no equivalent of *ziyaret* places in cities where Alevis have historically never been settled, and abroad. For the first generation of Alevi immigrants who migrated to cities or diaspora, the *ziyaret* is a souvenir left in their village. This memory has gradually been moved away from through years of migration from generation to generation. The *ziyaret* is a part of the everyday practice of physical-sanctuary space in the countryside. When the cities lose this quality, the stories and myths about them become increasingly faded. Unless the information attributed to sacredness is transferred from the collective memory, these places have begun to turn into ordinary daily-natural spaces for the young generations. The field research I conducted in metropolitan

20 *Ibid.*

cities in Turkey and Europe indicate that most of the young and middle-aged generations of Alevis in particular are not familiar with the concept of *ziyarets*, the name of a *ziyaret*, the story behind a *ziyaret*, or a *ziyaret* in their own lands of origin. I came across similar examples directly in my field research.

A few more remarkable transformation dynamics can be mentioned in recent years for *ziyaret* places and culture. The first of these is that Alevis living in the cities turn to Hacı Bektaş Dervish Lodge or other tombs of well-known mentors through collective organizations instead of visiting their villages for sacrifice and pilgrimage. In a sense, this indicates a tendency to concentrate on the place of faith and ritual. While single *ziyaret*s of a local nature within the village-region boundaries are erased from the memory of the community, grant lodge centers come to the fore. This trend marks a radical transformation in the heterodox-pluralist space practice that the community has developed over hundreds of years. In addition to external interventions in Alevi dervish lodges and tombs, a second transformation practice is the intervention of the new generation Alevis with their own hands in these spaces, who are unaware of or do not care about places of memory. Removing the natural-ring-shaped stones of a shrine, building a square concrete wall in the hill and embroidering a large Atatürk painting on the hillside are concrete examples of urban-modern values and approaches of interventions in these places of memory.

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Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lwaq5sRl4FQ&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=4

Turkish
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X5GF9nzaBY&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=4

Sufi tekkes as Museums or Cultural Centres: The Seal of Secularity?*

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Abstract

With only a few exceptions, the Turkish *tekkes* that survived the closure commanded by law 677 in 1925 no longer function as gathering places for Sufi *tarikats*.[1] The large majority of the recently restored *tekkes* that were not turned into mosques upon their closure officially exist nowadays under the secular figure of a museum or a cultural centre. The restoration of *tekkes* has been undertaken with the explicit motivation of recovering the cultural heritage that was lost with the secularist reforms of the early republican years, yet the disconnection created between these places and their original inhabitants is irreversible. Moreover, the concept of "cultural heritage" is a modern and secular approach to Sufi activities, and what it can retrieve from these places' past is necessarily limited. What is preserved and what losses are "sealed" by the conversion of *tekkes* into museums and cultural centres? In this paper, these observations about the condition of the majority of the restored *tekkes* are critically analysed in relation to the discussion about secularism and secularity in contemporary Turkey, using examples from the fieldwork research I conducted in Istanbul, Bursa, Konya, and Samsun between 2016 and 2019.

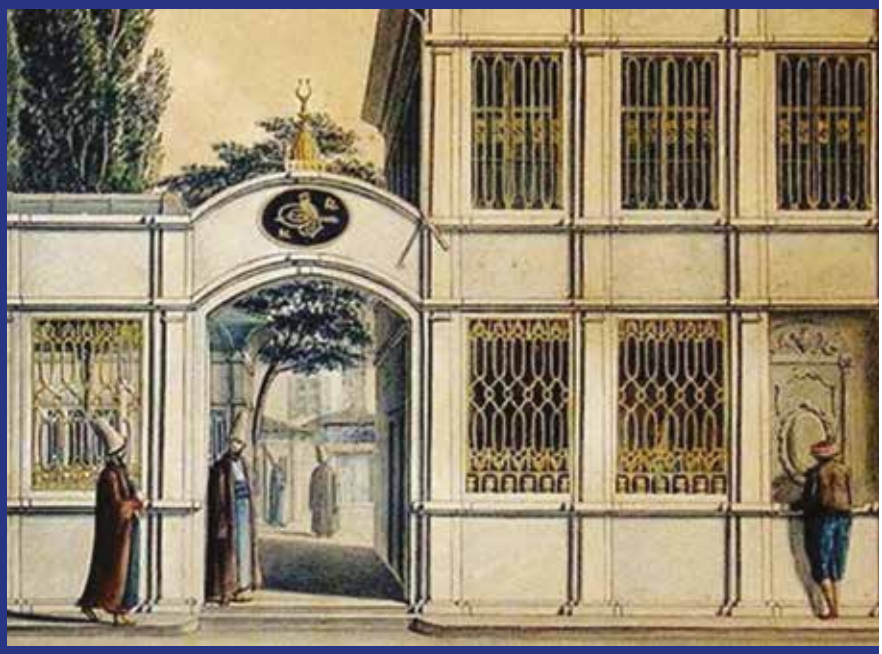
Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lwaq5sRl4FQ&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=4

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-X5GF9nzaBY&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=4

* This article could not be published in its entirety because, according to university laws in Germany, the author cannot share the information he has collected for his thesis before completing his doctoral thesis. For this reason, only a general summary is given without using specific names or images.

CHAPTER 4



HISTORICAL CONVERSIONS OF TEKKES, ZAVIYES AND MEVLEVIHANES

An Unfinished Symphony
In Honoured Memory of Historian Assoc. Prof. Dr. Dilaver Azimli

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Assoc. Prof. Dr. Dilaver Azimli had planned to give a presentation on the subject of the shrine and complex of Sheikh Safiyullah's predecessor, Sheikh Cemalettin, during the first day of the conference on the fourth panel. Tragically, he was hospitalised in Baku after contracting Covid-19 and died on 3 March 2021 after a two-month battle against the virus. He was interred in his home village of Ağdaş (Aktaş). The following is a short testament to the life and works of this renown Azerbaijani historian.

Dilaver Azimli was born in the Ağdaş (Aktaş) village of Azerbaijan's Jalilabad district on 5 December 1959. He completed his middle school education in Ağdaş village in 1977. Azimli carried out his military service between 1978 and 1980. He studied history at the Department of History at Baku State University between 1987 and 1992 and, upon graduating, he embarked on a PhD there. At the same time, he worked at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan between 1992 and 1994. His PhD dissertation, which was later published as a book, was on "Azerbaijan's Commercial Relations with Western European Countries and Turkey (Second half of the 15th century – first half of the 17th century)". With this study, he managed to provide an alternative perspective to those ideas on relations between the Ottomans and the Ak Koyunlu and the Ottomans and the Safavid Empire which had been shaped among historians and had been widely accepted to date. His post-doctorate study was on "the Role of Religion and Orders in Azerbaijan's State Tradition". This study encompassed the era beginning from the pre-Islamic period to the first half of the eighteenth century.

Assoc. Prof. Azimli worked as a journalist at various media organisations between 1994 and 2004. From 2003 until his death, he worked first as a research assistant, then as an assistant professor and finally as an associate professor at the branch of Azerbaijani History in the Middle Ages branch of the History Institute of Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences. During this period, he gave lectures on the History of Azerbaijan and History of Turkic Peoples at Baku State University, Baku Islamic University, and Azerbaijan State Pedagogical University. He was a devoted Alevi and he always supported, contributed, and participated in all of the Alevi Philosophy Centre's (ADO) international or bilateral activities relating to the Alevi faith. In addition to such collaborations, he was a very well-respected friend of many Alevi leaders with his strong spirit and enthusiasm including of the long-standing Alevi activist Dogan Bermek.

He was already called "the boy with the books" in his school years. His love of reading, his ambition to become educated and knowledgeable, his intellectual capacities, his iron-clad reasoning and strong comprehension skills led him to science. He did not choose the study of history by accident. History, for him, was an immensely necessary, significant, and valuable field of science. He once said: "History is like a deep ocean, able to hand everyone a share. It is bottomless and boundless; it is endless in scale and its secrets are far more than the shares it can hand out. Bringing these to light is a historian's debt and duty." One of the reasons he deemed the study of history significant and valuable is the fact that he clearly saw that this field of science would serve to strengthen the patriotism of a society that had just gained its independence, to form the consciousness of the public and the state and to develop a national way of thinking. He spared no effort to make this become a reality.

Assoc. Prof. Azimli's main line of research included economic relations between the Ak Koyunlu and the Safavid Empire and Western European countries, the competition between the said countries and the Ottoman Empire, the role of Sufi cults in Azerbaijan's social and political life in the Middle Ages, the traces of Alevism in Azerbaijan, and studies on the connection between the North Caucasian peoples and Azerbaijan. He authored two books, over 150 articles and papers, and attended a wide range of international and national scientific conferences as a speaker. His articles and papers were published in Azerbaijan, Turkey, Iran, Georgia, Uzbekistan, and Russia. Prominent among Azimli's articles and papers on Alevism, are "The Place and Status of the Kizilbash on the Consolidation of the Safavid Empire", "The Kizilbash and Their Character", "The Role of the Kizilbash in the State Tradition of Azerbaijan", "The Kizilbash in the Historiography of Azerbaijan and Turkey", "Irène Mélikoff as a Researcher of Alevism and the Bektashi Order"

In addition to being a meticulous researcher, Assoc. Prof. Azimli was humorous, righteous, candid, and a good person. He never declined people's requests when they asked for scientific advice or books. He always made time for his students and said, "they are our future". His years of experience in the field of journalism before his academic career had sharpened his skill of communicating with people. His presentations and speeches at conferences and symposiums as well as his interviews broadcasted on television and radio had a great effect on the audience.

Assoc. Prof. Azimli left suddenly, without saying goodbye and left only cherished memories behind. He will live both in the inexplicable world of the subconscious, in our wishes to meet with him once again, and in our expectations to encounter him once again in university corridors, study rooms, library chambers or on campus.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-kODl7zmExQo&list=PLN7AHQGMKkd-C6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=5

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pWeoPem-zE4w&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fd-N3EWXMQY&index=5

Bektashi Lodges Converted into Naqshbani Lodges in 1826: The Example of the Pir Evi

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Abstract

On 8 July 1826, all activities of the Bektashi Order were prohibited on the order of the Devlet-i Āliye, i.e. the Ottoman State. At a meeting held in Topkapı Palace, it was decided to demolish Bektashi lodges which were more than 60 years old, and to convert the ones which were older than 60 years into madrasahs, mosques or Nakshibendi lodges. The dervish lodge, which is called the Central Āsitane or the Pīr Evi, including the tomb of Haji Bektash Velī, was transformed into a Nakshibendi lodge by the state and a Nakshibendi sheikh was appointed to this lodge to conduct the Nakshi ritual. During the regin of Mahmud II, the Bektashi *murshid* and his dervishes were either exiled or forced to perform the Nakshibendi ritual. After the death of Mahmud II, these Naqshbandisation practices were not fully realised. The third and fourth wives of the Padishah were Bektashi *muhibbi*s and the sons of both of them became padishahs respectively. However, one of the power centers in the Ottoman Empire, the Bāb-ı Meşīẖat, i.e. the ministry of the şeyẖülislām, strongly opposed this situation. The struggle between the Bektashis began with the support of the clergy, Nakshibendis and the Bektashis in the bureaucracy, and continued until 1925 when all the tekkes were closed. The central lodge was also turned into a museum on this date.

Introduction

The Bektashi Order, which functioned as a source of faith and culture from the thirteenth century to 1826 was dissolved by Mahmud II through accusations which are today understood to be on very shaky grounds. The legal opinion (*fetva*) ordering the closure of Bektashi lodges was issued by *Şeyhü'l-Islām* Kadızade Mehmed Tâhir Efendi (figure 1). The *fetva* read: "Had the Sultan of old, Zayd, decreed some villages and fields the property of Amr, and Amr then gave that which was given and which was endowed to the sheikhs of a *zawiya* and to those who inhabited the rooms of the *zawiya* (the *baba*s) and with the passage of time those who endowed pass away and those inhabiting the *zawiya* began to sin openly and joined those introducing tenets to the faith and did not live up to the endowment, would it be permissible for the current Sultan to take over these places and dispose of them as he sees fit? The answer: It would be permissible."[1]

1 "Selatīn-i Māziyeden Zeyd bazı kurā ve mezārı'ı kat'-ı ta'yīn ile Amr'a temlīk ve Amr dahī ba'de'l-temellük-i vakf ve gullesini bir zaviyede şeyh olanlar ile zāviyenin hücrātında sākin olanlara şart-ı ta'yīn idüb bir müddet mezbūrlar gulle-i merkūmeye mutasarrıflar iken fevt olub hālā o zāviyede şeyh ve hücrātında sākin olanlar füsekādan olub ehl-i bid'atden olmalarıyla gulle-i mezbūreye müstehak olmasalar hālā pādişāh-ı İslām indallahi teālā bi'n-nasr ilā yevmi'l-kıyām hazretlerinin gulle-i merkūmeyi cihet-i āhar ile sarfı cāiz olur mu? El-cevāb: olur." Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi [The Ottoman Archives of the Prime Minister's Office] (hereafter, BOA), Cevdet-Adliye, no:1334/5.

Fgure 1: The legal opinion (*fetva*) for the closure of Bektashi lodges issued by Şeyhü'l-Islam Kadızade Mehmed Tâhir Efendi. Image: BOA, Cevdet-Adliye, no:1334/5.

Figures 2 & 3: The forbidding of the activities of Bektashi lodges and the outlawing of Bektashism.

On 8 July 1826, a month after the dissolution of the janissaries, the Ottoman State forbade the activities of all Bektashi lodges and outlawed Bektashism (figure 2 & 3). Cevdet Pasha notes that on 8 July 1826, an audience was held at the mosque in the imperial palace, attended by the grand vizier and sheikhs. Among those who attended the meeting were Hafiz Efendi of the Naqshbandi Order and keeper of the tomb of Yahya Efendi in Beşiktaş, Balmumcu Mustafa Efendi, Kudretullah Dede the sheikh of the Galata Mevlevi Lodge, Abdulkadir Efendi the sheikh of Beşiktaş, Şikarizade Sheikh Ahmed Efendi of the Halvetî order and the sheikh of Kocamustafapaşa and head of the Ziqr ceremony, sheikh Ahmed Efendi of Merkez Efendi, sheikh Şemseddin Efendi of Nasuhizade in Üsküfar, Şehabefendizade Seyyid Efendi of the Celvetîye order and sheikh of Hüdaî, Bandırmalızade Galib

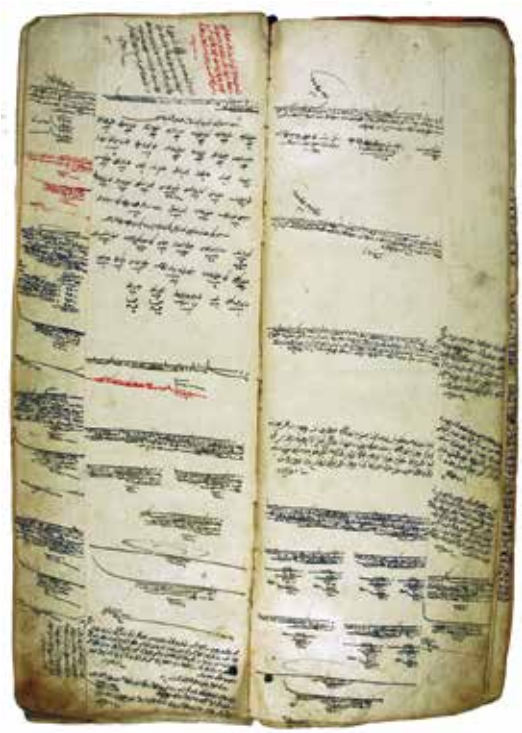

Figure 4: The transformation of a Bektashi lodge into a madrasa.
BOA,
Hatt-ı Hümayun, nr. 17351.

Efendi,[2] and Sheikh Emin Efendi of the Sadî order. Cevdet Pasha states that at the end of the audience, the decision was taken to dissolve the Bektashi Order. The event Cevdet Pasha refers to is also to be found in the imperial order which Mahmud II wrote in his own hand. This document orders that the head architect inspect the Bektashi lodges in Üsküdar, Eyüp and Boğaziçi in Istanbul as well as in Anatolia and Rumeli, that those newer than 60 years be demolished and those older than 60 years be turned into madrasas and mosques. According to what is recorded in the Imperial Order, the delegation of clergymen who had an audience with the Shaikh al-Islam debated the issue of the Bektashi Order and some sheiks claimed that they had no familiarity with the Bektashis and therefore, no knowledge of them. Consequently, they could not advance any views regarding their fate; while some other sheiks argued for the dissolution of the lodges. The document also records that Kıncı Baba Efendi, İstanbulağasızade Efendi and Salih Efendi were executed. Grounds for their execution are given as "not fasting", "not observing the daily prayer" and "blaspheming against the Rashidun caliphs" in addition to rejection of and deviation from the faith (*rıfz* and *ilhad*). It is worth noting that at various points in the document, it is stated that the state bears no grudge against the Bektashis who remain true to the *sunnah* and that devotion is owed to Haji Bektash Veli. In the 9771 register transferred from the Treasury[3] (figure 4), the entry dated 9 Shawwal 1249 /19 February 1834 states that a Bektashi lodge (name illegible) in the subdistrict of Timur Hisar had been transformed into a madrasa, that it would from now on be occupied by madrassa students (*talebe-i ulūmun*) and that a *mudarris* would be appointed to be in charge of them.[4]

Cevdet Pasha records that Kıncı Baba, Salih Baba and İstanbulağasızade were executed on 4 Zil'hicce 1241/ 10 July 1826 and that the state took the decision to demolish the Bektashi lodges (figure 9) in Anatolia and Rumeli on 20 Zil'hicce 1241 /26 July 1826.

The tomb of Kıncı Baba is located in the courtyard of the mosque known as Cevrî Usta Mosque or Nuh Kuy-

2 Gālib Efendi is a descendant of the famous Celvetī-Bektashi sheikh Üsküdarlı Hāşim Baba.

3 BOA, *Hatt-ı Hümayun*, nr. 17351.

4 BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Muhallefat Defteri*, nr. 9771, 6.

usu Mosque next to Zeynep Kamil Hospital near Karacaahmet Cemetery (figure 5). The tomb was built by Bektashi baba Feyzullah Baba in 1328/ 1910. We were notified of the existence of this tomb and helped find it by Bektashi Dursun Fütuhî, who referred to the late Turgut Koca Halifebaba. The epitaph reads:

"Bir çerağ dahī uyardı āleme virdi ziyā
Gel mezarın bunda bul bu menzil-i āl-i abā
Bir eser koydu cihanda pir Feyzullah Baba
Seyf-i Haydar derniyamdan çıkdı er Kıncı Baba (1328)."

Figure 5: The tomb of Kıncı Baba. Photo: A. Yılmaz Soyyer, 2021.

Next to Kıncı Baba's tomb is the tomb of Züleyha Hanım, one of his followers. The year of Züleyha Hanım's death recorded on the tomb is 1234 / 1818. The last line of the epitaph which reads (figure 11) "Seyf-i Hayder derniyamdan çıktı" means "The sword of Haydar is out of its sheath", but could also be read as "Seyf-i Hayderdır niyamdan çıktı", meaning, "It is the sword of Haydar has awoken".

In Ahmet Cevdet's (Pasha) *Tarih-i Cevdet* an imperial order dated 1241 is said to contain the following expression: "Bektashis in both Istanbul and in Üsküdar should be searched out and investigated by sheikhs of religious orders, tutors, neighbourhood imams and other impartial and expert people and their situation and quality should be judged individually and independently to completely eradicate from among the Sunnis (*ehl-i sünnet*) the evil of the Bektashi."[5] In another imperial order from the year 1241 / 1825, it is decreed that the Bektashi lodges that are not demolished should either be turned into mosques or madrassas or given to sheikhs of large orders as lodges.[6] Another imperial order, demands that the Bektashi dervishes apprehended at the confiscated and demolished lodges should be brought to the *cebehane* (arsenal) post-haste for interrogation.[7] By imperial order,[8] Mehmed Baba, postnishin of the Hisar Lodge, was exiled to Kayseri; Ahmet Baba, postnishin of the Öküzlimanı Lodge, to Hadim; Hüseyin Baba, postnishin of the Teber Baba Lodge, and Mustafa baba, postnishin of the Kazlıçeşme (Eryek Baba) Lodge to Birgi; and Mehmet Baba[9], postnishin of the Merdivenköy Lodge, and Mustafa

5 Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1309 [1891]), 180-181.

6 BOA, Hatt-ı Hümayun no. 17322.

7 *Ibid.*, no. 17386.

8 *Ibid.*, no. n. 24493.

9 *"Mehmet Ahir Baba: Having been granted the position of postnishin of Şahkulu in 1804, was exiled to the district of Tire in İzmir in 1826 (under Mahmud II) when the Bektashi were outlawed. He died in 1839 and was interred by his followed in the* hazire *of the lodge known as Baba Sultan, one of the two Bektashi lodges in Tire, that is loctaed on the slopes of Mt. Erbain near Bozdağ Valley. The tomb without an epigraph and with an aleph crown in the abandoned cemetery of the now ruined lodge is his. The Baba Sultan Lodge is also known as the 'Arap Pınarı' lodge.* Şevki Koca, "Şahkulu Bektaşi Dergâhının Son Babagân Postnişinleri ve Bektaşilerin Zor Yılları (1826-1953) (I)" *Cem* 36, no. 124 (August 2002): 20.

Baba, postnishin of the Üsküdar Lodge to Tire.[10] In this complicated political atmosphere, the accusation of affiliation to Bektashism became widespread, especially within the bureaucracy, and some Ottoman intellectuals whose rivals wanted them suppressed were exiled on the grounds of having relations with the order. Among these intellectuals were medical practitioner and historian Şanizade Mehmed Ataullah Efendi (d. 1826), Melekpaşazade Abdulkadir Bey and İsmail Ferruh Efendi. The basis for the exile of Şanizade was given as Bektashi Sheikh Mahmud Baba's attendance of the secret meetings of the Beşiktaş Scientific Society,[11] founded by the former, and of the society having organic ties with the order. [12]

The role of the Naqshbandi Order in the dissolution

At the time the Naqshbandi-Muceddidi order enjoyed a tradition going back more than 150 years in Istanbul. The order was introduced to the Ottoman capital towards the end of the seventeenth century by Murad el-Buhari. The order was joined not just by scholars and high raking civil servants, but also attracted followers from among men of literature. One of the most important followers of Naqshbandi Sheikh Mahmud Can at the time was Bezmiâlem Vâlide Sultan, the mother of Sultan Abdulmecid. Among the followers of another Naqshbandi sheikh, Şumnulu Ali Efendi, was Adile Sultan, the sister of Sultan Abdulmecid.[13]

Adile Sultan was the daughter of the thirtieth Ottoman Sultan, Mahmud II. She was born in the Topkapi Palace harem quarters on 22 Shawwal 1241/29 May 1826. Her mother was Zernigâr. She was very well educated. She had intimate ties with Ali Efendi, sheikh of the Bâlâ lodge and a descendant of the Naqshbandi sheikh Mehmed Can. The following poem which she wrote to express her devotion to the sheikh is noteworthy:

"*Hazret-i mesned-nişin rah-ı şah-ı Nakşbend*
Menba-ı ihsan u kān-ı ma'rifet şeyhim Ali
Himmetin āl-i beher nutkun keramet-i aynıdır
Arif ü dānā-yı vālā-menzilet şeyhim Ali
Yā veli görmez seni hiç dīdesi āmā olan
Mazhar-ı envar-ı feyz-i mekrümet şeyhim Ali
Rah-ı Hakk'ı bizlere gösterdin irşad eyledin
Gevher-i derya-yı izz ü ātıfet şeyhim Ali
Arz-ı hāle varmıdır hācet huzurunda senin

10 Murat Sertoğlu, *Bektaşilik* (Istanbul: Başak Yayınevi, 1969), 326.

11 An intellectual circle formed by a group of scholars who gathered in Beşiktaş, Istanbul in the early nineteenth century. It was established by scholars residing between Beşiktaş and Ortaköy in late 1815 to raise students and to engage in scientific and literary exchanges. Core members of the group were İsmail Ferruh Efendi (d. 1826), originally from Crimea, who served as ambassador to Britain in 1797, was knowledgeable about Europeans and the author of the Turkish work *Tefsir-i Mevakıf*; chronicler and man of medicine Şanizade Ataullah Efendi (d. 1826), Melekpaşazade Abdulkadir Bey (d. 1846), and scholar Kethüdazade Arif Efendi. The group mainly held its meetings at the seafront house of Ferruh Efendi in Ortaköy. Some scholars have likened the meetings of this group to those of scientific societies and academies that were established in Europe in the seventeenth century and which have survived to the present day and called the group the Beşiktaş Scientific Society (Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyesi). For more information, see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyesi," *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994).

12 Ekrem Işın, "*Bektaşilik*," *D.B.İ.A.*, Istanbul 1994.

13 *Ibid.*, 18.

Keşf edersin hâlimi bā-merhamet şeyhim Ali" [14]

The influence of the Naqshbandis on the state, as well as the state having to tolerate scholars of the Naqshbandi persuasion were an important turning point in the understanding of Sufism. Muhyiddin Ibn Arabī's understanding of unity of existence (*vahdet-i vücūd*), which is the dominant element in both Mevleyiyeh and Bektashism and was followed in the higher state structure, gave way to Imam Rabbanī's unity of appearances (*vahdet-i şuhūd*). The argument that the primary reason for the dissolution of the Bektashi Order was that the Sultan and his circle were surrounded by the Naqshbandis and therefore, the cause of the dissolution of the Bektashi Order was the Naqshbandis would be difficult to prove. However, the assignment of Naqshbandi sheikhs to former Bektashi lodges is a historical fact that should not be overlooked. The effects of this situation and related attitudes continued to the detriment of the Bektashis until the accession of Sultan Abdulaziz.

An event that furnished suitable circumstances for the dissolution of the Bektashi Order was the Greek Revolution. The Greek Revolution surprised everyone in Istanbul. The oppression of the Turks in Morea by the Greeks rendered the liberal and tolerant approach of the Bektashis to non-Muslims meaningless and justified the strict attitude of the Naqshbandis.[15]

The Naqshbandis situated themselves in the circles of both Sultans Mahmud II and Abdulmecid at the time and displayed a stance supportive of the throne and therefore the state. The opposition to the throne and the state at the time were the Bektashis, who had to bear the entire burden of the misdeeds of the Guild of Janissaries and the consequences.[16] In the struggle between the guild and the throne, the Bektashis could not leave the framework of tradition and sided with the guild, rather than the throne, which lead to their dissolution. Sociologically speaking, the Naqshbandis of the Mahmud II's period were not "supporters", just as the Bektashis were not "detractors". These two concepts that emerge from the body politic of the present fall very short of describing the position of these two orders. As concepts, the "supporter-detractor" labels are very inadequate in describing these two historical institutions. This is because, as supporters of the state institution of the janissaries in the classical period, the Bektashis were a type of supporter of the state. However, as a result in the change in the balances of the state, the Bektashis found themselves on the side that would be to their detriment.

The Bektashi Order being perceived as a problem

It was the Ottoman State that considered the Bektashis a problem. An examination of documents from Ottoman archives shows that the intention of the state was to take over the Bektashi lodges and confine the Bektashis to history (figure 2 & 3). About five months after the decision to dissolve the order, the state began to act to

14 See Hikmet Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divanı* (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1996), 11-50.

15 Butrus Abu-Manneh, "*1826'da Nakşibendi-Müceddidi ve Bektaşi Tarikatları*", in *Tarihi ve Kültürel Boyutlarıyla Türkiye'de Aleviler Bektaşiler Nusayriler*, trans. Ş. T. Buzpınar (Istanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 1999), 122.

16 The state had declared the janissaries enemies and for a long time, even the death of the janissaries were spoken of with hatred. The state's official newspaper *Takvim-i Vekayi* published in its issue of 19 Rabi al Awwal 1249 (1883) a false report about two janissaries coming back from the dead and engaging in vampirism in Tırnova.

execute the decision throughout Anatolia and Rumeli. As exemplified by the document in the appendix, the state approached the issue of the Bektashi Order with the utmost determination. As an example of this issue, on 17 Cemaziyülevvel 1241/ 28 December 1825,[17] an Imperial order was conveyed to Governor Esad Pasha of the Sanjak of Çirmen. The Imperial Order stated that the evils done by the Bektashi rejectors (*rafhidis*) were now clear and that the state (*idāre-i seniyye*) demanded that the treatment meted out to them in Istanbul should be executed in the provinces. The subject of the Imperial Order is the demolishment and destruction of the Kızıl Deli Sultan Bektashi Lodge and other Bektashi lodges in the Sanjak of Çirmen. Furthermore, it was ordered that those of strayed faith among the Bektashis and those known for rejection and deviation *(sū-i i'tikād ve āyin-i rıfz ve ilhad ile şöhretgir olanların)* should be rounded up and transported to cities and towns to be invited into the religion (*telkin-i dīn olunmaları)* and corrected in their faith *(tashīh-i i'tikād ettirilmeleri)* by the muftis. The order states that it is known that there were many Bektashis at the Kızıl Deli Lodge, but it had nevertheless been reported that they would show opposition when the state took over their lodge and ejected them. The state ordered that just as for the lodge in question, all necessary measures and actions should be taken to cleanse other Bektashi lodges of *rafhidism* (rejectionism). It was also demanded that the quality and quantity of the real estate, inventory, cash, livestock and incomes of the lodge be determined by an expert (*erbāb-ı vukūf*). However, as there were no people around Edirne who could act as one of the experts, the conditions of the Bektashis at the Kızıl Deli Sultan lodge, their property and the income of other Bektashi lodges are unknown.[18] What information exists is based on hearsay. According to the document, the state saw the best course of action as a count and ejection of occupants being carried out at the lodge.[19]

The space, furnishings and functional characteristics of the confiscated Bektashi lodges are as follows: The lodges are planned as classical dervish monasteries (*zaviye*s) or townhouses (*konak*). Perhaps the most important among those following the classical plan of the dervish monastery is the Abdal Musa Lodge in Elmalı, registered in the inheritance log of the 9771 register transferred from the Treasury. This lodge consisted of the following buildings: The Abdal Musa Tomb covered in lead, a mansion (*köşk*) next to the lead covered tomb, a building one part of which was the Tomb of Budala Sultan and the other part used as prayer place, a bath, a laundry, guest rooms, stables for horses, stables for oxen, school rooms, ten granaries, a courtyard known as Akmeydan and

17 This document must be dated from after 1826, as no decision for the demolishing of Bektashi lodges could have been issued in 1825. However, the document is probably "a copy prepared for the Ottoman State archives" and the scribe preparing the copy made a mistake when entering the data.

18 BOA., *Hatt-ı Hümayun*, nr. 17411. According to this document the place known as the Kızıl Deli Lodge is actually two lodges. When their sheikhs were asked of the wealth of the lodges, they stated that there was no cask, there were villages in the Dimetoka sub-district, seven mills, 2500 heads of sheep and goats, 200 heads of cattle, 30 pairs of oxen and 40-50 unbroken horses. As servants there were shepherds, vineyard workers, and minders of unbroken horses. 50 dervishes were present at the lodge. In the 24 villages, between 700 and 800 people known as "erzade" paid cash (*nuzul*) and property (*avarız*) and other taxes under Kızıl Deli Sultan. According to the statement of the court officer, there were around 150 celibate Bektashis in the lodges and men called "erzade" and "bende" in the surrounding villages.

19 The following record can be found in the Book of Inheritance 9771 Transferred from the Treasury: "*Canib-i şeriat-i garradan verilen fetva-i şerife ve ol babda şeref-sünuh buyurulan Hatt-ı Hümayun-ı şevket-makrun-ı şahane mantūkunca lağv olunmuş zevayanın zaviyedarlığı tevcihi istida olundukda irade-i şahane kaydına müracaat olunmaksızın askeri ruznamçesinden ve aklâm-ı saireden berat ita aklâm-ı kuyuta mûcib ve mukataat hazinesine irsal buyrulan iradın kesreti müstecvib idüğü zahir ve a'yan olmağla ol vechle irade-i şahane kaydına müracaat olunmaksızın askeri ruznamçesi ve aklam-ı saireden ne mikdar berat verilmiş ise cümlesinin hükmü lağv ve imha olunmak üzere kayıtları terkin olunarak fi-ma-ba'd ol makūle zaviye tevcih buyurulması istida vukuunda irade-i şahane kaydına müracaat olunmaksızın ve mukataat hazinesi tarafından ilam kılınmaksızın beratı ita olunması hususunda irade-i aliyye taalluk ederk ol vechle icab eden mahallere ve mukataat hazinesine başka başka ilm ü haberleri verilmiştir. fi 9 Muharrem 1247*," BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Muhallefat Defteri*, nr. 9771, footnote 1; "*Tahrir ve zapt olunan zevayadan başka zaviyedarları ehl-i sünnet ve'l-cemaatten olanların ve hasılatı cüzi bulunanların ve tevcih ve ibkaları lazım gelenler tevcih ve ibkasıyla iktiza eden berat ve ilm ü haberleri ilâ ve inha ve mütevakkıf olanlar dahi kayıtları bâ irade-i seniyye şerh virilerek icab eden mahallere mukataat hazinesine başka başka ilm ü haberleri verilmiştir. fi 8 Şaban sene 1244*," BOA, *Ibid.*, footnote 2.

Figure 6: Examples of tombstones of Bektashi lodges. Photo: A. Yılmaz Soyyer, 2021.

where ritual worship (*ayn-i cem*) was probably performed and two lead covered rooms. In the apparently later sidenotes in the 9771 register transferred from the Treasury, it is stated that the tomb and other buildings are about to collapse as they have been shut off for a few years and that the lead covering on the ceilings were falling off and getting lost.[20] The buildings at the Timur Baba Zaviye in the hamlet of Hezargrad in the Sanjak of Silistre are as follows: a tomb, adjoining rooms, a courtyard for performing ritual worship, a kitchen, bread bakery, stables, manger, tile roofed stables, a pantry, four large rooms, and granaries. [21]

The Şahkulu Dergah, an example of the classical dervish monastery plan in Istanbul that still stands today and functions as a *cemevi* is one of the classical Bektashi lodges. The Ottoman-era building still stands. However, an adjoining building used as a *cemevi*, which is a differently interpreted copy of the old Bektashi *semahane* was built later. Here, people of the Alevi-Bektashi background engage in religious rituals on certain days.

The Ottoman-era part of the Şahkulu Sultan Lodge consists of ten sections, which are: a stone yard, the *meydan* house, the large kitchen, the pantry house, the cell of the pantry house *baba*, the laundry, two bathhouses, outhouses and the cell of the kitchen *baba*.

The main building that houses the ten most important sections of the lodge listed above lies on a north-south axis to the left of the main courtyard gate. From north to south, these sections are the two-storey residence

20 Yılmaz Soyyer, *Sosyolojik Açıdan Alevi Bektaşi Geleneği* (Istanbul: Seyran Yayınevi, 1996), 116,117. Baha Tanman also stated that the lodge was bestowed by Sultan Abdulaziz in 1876 and later repaired by Abdulhamid II and sheikh Yusuf Baba in 1910. Today there are five unadorned sarcophagi in the tomb, belonging to Abdal Musa, his mother, father, sister and famous successor Kaygusuz Abdal. There are many tombstones in the *hazire* of the lodge, some of which have been covered by soil. Tanman states that the remains allow us to identify that before the Bektashi lodges were dissolved, the buildings at the lodge were collected around three courtyards situated along a line, with the masjid, *meydan* house, dervishes' cells, the guesthouse, kitchen, pantry, bakery and horse stable around the first and the second courtyards and the tomb, *hazire* and water well around the third courtyard. Baha Tanman, "*Abdal Musa Tekkesi*," *T.D.V.İ.A.*, Istanbul, 1988.

21 BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Muhallefat Defteri*, nr. 9771, 11.

Figure 7: Examples of tombstones of Bektashi lodges. Photo: A. Yılmaz Soyyer, 2021.

assigned only to chaste (*mücerred*) *baba*s and dervishes[22] in the lodge, a small kitchen where daily meals were prepared within this wing, the meydan house where rituals were held, the large kitchen used on special days and the connected laundry, storage house, bathhouse and the cells of the kitchen *baba* and the storehouse *baba*.

The reason why a dodecagon was selected for the design of the *meydan* house is that the number twelve occupies pride of place in the numerical symbolism of the Bektashi Order, which is devoted to the cult of the twelve imams.

A door or window is placed on the eleventh and twelfth sides to the south of the *meydan* house, which open up to the stone courtyard around which spaces such as the large kitchen, storehouse, bathhouse, outhouses and the laundry are situated. The reason why such a direct spatial relationship was established between the ritual space and the cooking space is the special place in the Bektashi Order of "seeing a bite" (*lokma görme*) and "taking a sip" (*dem alma*) at conversation tables (*muhabbet sofrası*) set up in the *meydan* house.[23]

Many tombstones from the time when the Bektashi lodges were active can still be found in the special burial areas (*hazire*) of the *dergah*s, despite many of the lodges and *zawiyas* having been demolished since (figures 6 & 7). The section known as the *hazire*, which contains tombs, is a characteristic common to Bektashis and all

22 There are two types of Bektashi dervishes known as *mücerred* and *müteehhil*. The *mücerred* never marry, while the *müteehhil* may get married.

23 M. Baha Tanman, "*Şahkulu Sultan Tekkesi*," D.B.İ.A, Istanbul, 1994.

Figure 8: Karyağdı Ali Baba Lodge: Only the wall facing the Golden Horn and the tombstones. Photo: A. Yılmaz Soyyer, 2020.

other orders' lodges. These areas constitute the historical documentation for these spaces. The *hazire*, of many Bektashi lodges are still in place, although the lodges themselves no longer stand, such as the Eryek Baba (Erikli Baba) Lodge in Kazlıçeşme, the Şehitlik Lodge which is now in the Boğaziçi University campus and the Karyağdı Ali Baba Lodge in Eyüp. Notables' tombstones in the *hazire* of these lodges belong to the following individuals listed below.

Eryek Baba (Erikli Baba) Lodge: The Ottoman-era building was completely demolished. In its place stands a modern cemevi. The *hazire* contains the following notable tombstones: Hamdi Baba (1322/1904), Perişan Baba (1283/1866) (This tomb is empty. Perişan Baba entered a rivalry with Hilmî Baba to become *dedebaba* at the *Pir Evi*. During this rivalry, Perişan Baba became afraid that the supporters of Hilmî Baba would kill him. He therefore spread rumours that he had died and had a tomb built as proof. Perişan Baba actually died in 1301 / 1883. The tomb housing his remains is at the Haji Bektash Veli Asitane, as well as those of Mustafa Bey (1303/ 1885), Hacı Hasan Baba (1305/ 1887), Abdullah Baba (1239/ 1823), Ahmed (1202/ 1787).

Karyağdı Ali Baba Lodge: Only the wall facing the Golden Horn and the tombstones in the *hazire* of this lodge on the hills of Eyüp remain (figure 8). A recently constructed tomb keeper's house stands in the courtyard

and a tomb keeper named Hüseyin İş of Tokat, who claimed to be a Bektashi, lives in this house with his spouse. Notable tombstones in the *hazire* belong to: Karyağdı Ali Baba, Abdi Baba, Mehmed Necib Baba (1290/ 1873), Hafız Mehmed Salih Baba (1332/ 1913), İbrahim Selim, Ziya Musa Baba (1232/ 1816), Mehmed Baba, İsmail Baba.

Yarımca Dede Lodge: Another now demolished Bektashi lodge is the Yarımca Dede Bektashi Lodge. "This lodge was uphill from the Hüseyin Avni Paşa fountain on the Üsküdar-Kuzguncuk road. The lodge was a timber building with two stories. It had five rooms. Above the door to the lodge was an inscription written in Taliq script:

Yapdı bu dergāh-ı ālinin yeniden bābını

Keşf-i kenz-i hakikat Şerif Ahmed

Above the inscription is a Bektashi crown. İ. H. Konyalı notes that the *hazire* of the lodge contained the tombs of the Bektashi Sheikh Yarımca Dede, Bektashi *Baba* Seyyid Hacı Mustafa, master lithographer Es-Seyyid Hasan Efendi and Bektashi *baba*s Hacı Ömer, Nuri and Mehmed Rıza. [24]

Table I below shows the buildings at some of the lodges of the classical dervish monastery plan that were confiscated:

Table-I Buildings at some Lodges:[25]

NAME OF THE *ZAWIYA*	Tomb	Room	Meydan Room	Kitchen	Oven	Stables	Pantry	*Sema* room	Granary	Masjid
Demir Baba (Hezargrad)	1	7	1	1	1	2	2	1	3	
Hüseyin Baba (")	1	8	1	1	1	1			3	
Musa Baba (")		1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Koç Doğan (")		2	1	1	1	1	1		2	
Musa Baba (Yeni Pazar)	1	10	1	1	1	3			3	1
Tay Hızır Ali Baba (Rusçuk)	1	4	1	1	1	4	1	2	3	1
Nefes Baba (Ferecik)	1	9	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	1

The Kuyubaşı Emin Baba Lodge is an example of the townhouse (*konak*) style Bektashi lodges . It still stands today. The lodge was renovated by the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul, during which the inner space was changed and split up into rooms, while the outer space imitates the original. The lodge is situated within Edirnekapı Cemetery. It was constructed in 1284 /1867 by Pertevniyal Valide Sultan (d. 1883), the mother of

24 See İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Abideleri ve Kitabeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi* (Istanbul : Türkiye Yeşilay Cemiyeti, 1976), 434.

25 In preparing this and other tables, a master's dissertation by Kemal Daşçıoğlu on the inheritance book 9771 was used as a source, however all entries were compared with the original document. See. Kemal Daşçıoğlu, *1827 (h.y. 1243) Tarihli Muhallefat Defterine göre Bektaşi Zaviyeleri*, Isparta: S.D.U, Sosyal Bil. Ens., 1996.

Figure 9: The Kuyubaşı Emin Baba Lodge as an example of the townhouse style Bektashi lodges. Photo: A. Yılmaz Soyyer, 2020.

Figure 10: The tomb of Emin Baba at the Kuyubaşı Emin Baba Lodge. Photo: A. Yılmaz Soyyer, 2020.

Sultan Abdulaziz. Outside the frontal elevation of the lodge building are two large tombstones, known as "*köfeki* stones". One of them marks the tomb of Dervish Mehmed, who died in 1761, and the other Dervish İbrahim, whose year of death is not given. Outside the *semah* house of the lodge is the tomb of Emin Baba (figure 10). The epitaph reads:

"Budur bānisi bu dergāh-ı Bektaşīye'nin zair
Alī'nin surunu erbabına gāyā ne gitmiştir
Tarīk-i nazeninde sad-hezara bab-ı dil gelmiş
Şarabın virüb eşvak ile cånåne gitmiştir
Nice gavs ile kutbü'l-ārifīn-i aktab-ı azamlar
Gelüb bir lahza åram eyleyüb cevlåne gitmiştir
Düşün bir, can nedir cānān nedir sen ben neyim hak kim
Bu sırr-ı akdesi fehm eyleyen mestane gitmiştir.
O bir sırr-ı mücessemdi o bir mürg-i muallaydı
Semaya uçdu kendi håke såde låne gitmiştir
Bu tarihim yazılsun seng-i cevher üstüne Mahfī
Emin Baba ten-i ser ile ruh-ı seyrana gitmiştir." (1304/ 1886)

The *hazire* of the lodge contains the tombs with the amulet of devotion (*teslīm taşı*) of Yıldız Hanım (1296/ 1878), wife of Raşid Efendizade Osman Faik Efendi; Şefik Bey (1294/ 1877) of the Yenişehir Fener dynasty and his wife Melek Hanım (1311/ 1893). Bektashi sheikh Mahmud Efendi's (1306/ 1888) tomb is also located within the *hazire*. At the furthest edge of the *hazire* is the tomb of Bosnavī Hacı Mehmed (1296/ 1878), a descendant of Kuşadalı İbrahim Halvetī.

At the time this lodge was built, Bektashi lodges had been officially shut down for 41 years. This is an important fact that gives insight into state - religious order relations in the Ottoman State. It shows the power of religious orders, especially that of the Bektashi Order.

There is an epigraph at the entrance to the *semah* house of this lodge, which reads:

Pādişāh-ı hazret-i sultan Azīz'in maderi
Hazret-i Pertevniyal Sultan-ı zişān hāliya
(Pertevniyal Sultan, mother of the reigning Sultan Aziz)
Dergāhı pak-ı rıza-i hakk mamur eyledi
Görmemiş asla felek böyle kerem-kan ü safa
(Made proud this dervish monastery by the will of God, never has fate seen such generosity)
Rahata oldu mübeddel ehl-i fakirin firkati
Böyle sahib-i merhamet sultana kılsınlar dua
(The longing [as Bektashi lodges were closed down and many Bektashis were in exile at the time] of the poor [i.e. Bektashi dervishes] turned to comfort. Let them pray for such a merciful sultan)
Oldu bu evråd-ı ezkarın dilde kadim
Daima olsun muın Halık -ı arz u sema

Figure 11: There is an epigraph at the entrance to the *semah* house of the Kuyubaşı Emin Baba Lodge. Photo: A. Yılmaz Soyyer, 2020.

(Your praise has become settled on the tongue. May the creator of the world and the sky be always your guide)

Subhiya cevherle tarih-i zahira bu Dergāhı

Ol Emin Baba'ya el-mah Murtaza gördü reva (1284-1867)

(O Suphi, Ali has found Emin baba worthy of this dervish lodge) (1867)

In Istanbul, Bektashi lodges have always been built outside the city walls. The Bektashi lodges in the city, with the exception of the Şahkulu Sultan Lodge, are all in the *konak* style, with characteristics unique to Istanbul and exemplifying the best of the Turkish *konak*. Unfortunately, only the Kuyubaşı Emin Baba Lodge remains for posterity as one of the most beautiful *konak* style lodges of the nineteenth century.

Items and supplies used in Bektashi lodges

In addition to the characteristics of the buildings confiscated by the Ottoman State, the furnishings of the interiors and the tools and items used in these buildings also give significant information regarding Bektashi history. A long list of tools and items is available to us, detailing the furnishings, kitchen supplies and even agricultural tools used at the lodges.[26] The items and supplies listed below are significant in identifying the details of daily life before the dissolution of the Bektashi lodges in 1826.

26 BOA, *Maliyeden Müdevver Muhallefat Defteri*, nr. 9771.

Furnishings: Carpets, sacks, pillows, cushions, hangers, gabardines, chests, prayer mats, iron chairs, straw mats, braziers; candlesticks and torches for lighting. Some lodges had clocks and even alarm clocks.

Kitchen equipment: All lodges commonly had cauldrons, buckets, basins, pitchers, mortars, churns, plates, skewers, coffee cabinets, pestles, round trays, trays, cleavers and cups.

Food in pantries: The pantries contained food and drink such as lard, curd cheese, sugar, grape syrup, cheese, salt, beans, bulghur, honey and coffee.

Tools and items: Among these items are carts, ploughs, heavy ploughs, threshers, rifles, swords, pistols, bow-shaped hand axes carried by Bektashi dervishes (*tebers*), standards, flags, tents, felt, scales, stamps, saws, axes, sickles, scythes, rakes, pickaxes, hammers and drills.

These items and food were necessary for the lodges to sustain their social roles. This is because as institutions, lodges housed guests other than the followers and friends of the order and were often visited by travellers on the road.

Bektashi lodges, as with other lodges, were cultural centres of the time. Some had libraries which contained rich sources reflecting the scientific and literary understanding of the time.[27]

Use of the confiscated lodges

The Ottoman State wanted the *meydan* rooms of the Bektashi lodges to be transformed into mosques and other parts to be demolished, with the exception of the tombs, which were to be safeguarded by assigned tomb keepers. The fatwa ordering as such was signed by the Sheikh al-Islam as well as the sheiks of major orders (*turuk-ı aliyye meşayıhı*) in Istanbul, including the Naqshbandi, Kadirī, Sadī and Halvetī orders.[28] However, in 1247/ 1831, most of the tombs were demolished.[29]

After the decision to dissolve the Bektashi lodges, all Bektashis were placed under strict surveillance. The state not only accused the Bektashis, but also anyone with any kind of relationship with the Bektashis of rejection, deviation and atheism. The events related below are significant in showing how the Bektashis and those who aided them were treated.

Lodge duties assigned to the Naqshbandi

The first Naqshbandi sheikh to be assigned to the Pīrevi following the dissolution of the Bektashi Order was Mehmed Said Efendi. He served as the Naqshbandi sheikh at the Pirevi for 16 years. The death of Haji Bektash Velī Hankāh postnishin Mehmed Said Efendi is mentioned in an order from the sultan to the grand vizier dated 20 Recep 1258 /27 August 1842. According to the document, Sheikh Ebubekir Efendi of the same order and a teacher desires the position and demands his appointment. Sheikh Ebubekir Efendi who demands the position of postnishin of the *ḫānḳāh* has informed the state of an issue to do with the income of Haji Bektash Velī Hankāh. It may be thought that he wanted to learn about the amount of income of the foundation and what he himself would earn on the assumption that he would become the sheikh. The foundation's income amounted to 27,833 *kuruş* and

27 There were around 200 books in the library of Abdal Musa Lodge. They were all confiscated by the state.

28 BOA, Maliyeden Müdevver Muhallefat Defteri, footnote 1.

29 BOA, Cevdet Maliye, nr. 133. In this document, the state demands that the tombs in Abdal Musa Lodge be demolished and that the lead from the domes be sold.

9 *akçe*. The state did not levy any tax on the foundation's income. As the son of the late sheikh was not of age, it is stated that his replacement would have to be someone else. According to the proposal, the income would be divided into 15 parts, of which four would be assigned to the *efendi* who would act as the sheikh and the trustee, three parts would be granted to Hamdullah Efendi who had been removed from among the sheikhs in the Auspicious Incident, four parts to the repair and maintenance of the *ḫānḳāh* with one assigned for pay and the remaining four parts for the upkeep of the dervishes.[30] However, Ebubekir Efendi had miscalculated, as the state adopted the distribution of income stated above but granted position of sheikh to Ispartalı Mehmed Efendi, also of the Naqshbandi Order.[31]

In 1265/ 1848, the sheikh of Haji Bektash Velī Hankāh was Mehmed Nuri Efendi of the Naqshbandi Order. However, due to a dispute over the distribution of the income of the foundation, Naqshbandi Sheikh Mehmed Nuri Efendi had to flee the Haji Bektash Velī Hankāh. Travelling to Istanbul right after the incident, Mehmed Nuri Efendi complained about the situation. According to minutes of the high court Meclis-i Vālā, the distribution of the income of the *ḫānḳāh* was to change. This document states that it would be appropriate to assign four fifteenths of the income to trustees and clergymen, four parts to the maintenance of the *ḫānḳāh*, four parts for the kitchen expenses (upkeep) of the dervishes and three parts to the descendants of Haji Bektash, as it was during the time of Mehmed Said Efendi, who was appointed to perform the Naqshbandi ritual in the *ḫānḳāh* and his successor Sheikh Mehmed Efendi. The minutes show that while this was the proposed distribution, it was understood that the Naqshbandi sheikh who had been forced to flee the *ḫānḳāh* had no intention to return. Given the situation, a device by which the sheikh could be paid an income despite residing in Istanbul was sought, as well as a Naqshbandi sheikh to be assigned to the Haji Bektash Velī Hankāh as proxy.[32] At the time, Naqshbandi sheikhs continued to serve as sheiks at some major Bektashi lodges.[33]

The Nuri Efendi incident is one of the most important turning points in the history of the Bektashi Order. None of the Naqshbandi sheiks sent there could enter the Haji Bektash Velī Hankāh after this incident. They resided in a distant part of town and drew their salaries from the state. The state seems to never have accepted the situation. However, it continued to exempt the descendants of Haji Bektash Velī from all sorts of taxation.[34]

Conclusion

The Bektashi Order was outlawed by Mahmud II in 1826, lodges newer than 60 years were demolished while those remaining were handed over to the Naqshbandis or converted into mosques. Most of these lodges have made it to the present day, even if they are in ruins. The Eryek Baba lodge was restored by an Alewite foundation

30 BOA, *İrade Dahiliye*, nr. 2856. The incident is reported in the same terms in another document. See BOA, Cevdet Evkaf, nr. 1294. Hamdullah Efendi died after nine years of exile in Amasya. A tomb was built over his grave in 1263/ 1846. The epitaph on the tomb reads: "Post-nişin-i āsitan-ı Hacı Bektaş Velī// Dahi evlad-ı Hünkār nesl-i Şah-ı Evliya// Şübhesiz Seyyid Hüseyn en-Neseb-i ālī haseb// Çāker-i İsnā aşer hem hādim –i fakr ü fenā// Mahzar-ı feyz-i hidāyet mürşid-i kāmil idi// Oldu mirat-i kemali salikana hak-nümā// Zahiren etsin ziyāret kabrini hep zāirān// Esna-i ruhu (?) olsunbatınen āl-i abā// Çıkdı hafız çārdeh ma'sūm tarih-i gūyān// Etdi Hamdullah Efendi Hak deyu azm-ı Hüdā//1263 See. Muzaffer Doğanbaş, "*Hamdullah Çelebi Türbesi*," *Cem Dergisi* 30, no. 77 (April 1998): 46,47.

31 BOA, *İrade Dahiliye,* nr. 3399.

32 BOA, *İrade Meclis-i Vala*, nr. 4009.

33 BOA, A.MKT.UM, record nr. 76, fol. nr. 93. This document (12.1.1267/1850) mentions that Naqshbandi Ali Efendi had become the sheikh of the Sersem Baba Lodge in Tekfur dağı (Tekirdağ).

34 BOA, A.MKT.UM, record nr.109, fol. nr.6. This document dated 1268/ 1851 responds positively to the request not to be taxed by Seyyid Ali Celalleddin Efendi, a descendant of Haji Bektash Velī.

and is currently used as a *cemevi*. The Emin Baba lodge is used as a centre by a foundation that does not have to do with the Bektashi or the Alevi faith. The Karyağdı Baba lodge in Eyüp was in ruins before a project to repair it was launched by the Şahkulu Sultan Foundation. The Şahkulu Sultan Lodge is also being used by an Alevi foundation as a *cemevi*. The Üsküdar lodge is no longer in place, as it was demolished.

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Historical changes and transformations of the Mevlevihane, one of the most important structures of Mevlevi culture

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Abstract

Mevleviism is a Sufism / belief path established by Sultan Veled based on the views and mystical thoughts of his father, the great Turkish thinker Hazret Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, who lived in Konya during the Anatolian Seljuk state in the thirteenth century.

The Mevlevihane has two different structures, asitane (large dervish lodge) and zaviye (small dervish convent). The Mevlevihane called Asitane are full-fledged structures and their number is around fifteen. Chief among these is the Mevlevihane in Konya called "Asitane-i Aliyye". This is the administrative center, the burial place of the Çelebils, who are the descendants of Hazret-i Mevlana and of all the Mevlevi Order. The number of small-scale Mevlevi lodges called dervish lodges is around one hundred. Mevlevihanes, which are generally planned as complexes, are generally constructed within a large garden. The Mevlevihane consists of semahanes (ritual halls), squares, mausoleums, hankhane, cells, kitchen, selamlik, accommodation, harem, kitchen, cellar, small rooms and special sections reserved for dervishes. An individual who wishes to join the Mevlevi Order must spend 1001 days of ordeal on this difficult path in order to become a dervish. He then becomes a dervish at the decision of the dedes (religious leaders). The Mevlevihanes exerted great efforts to instil universal friendship, brotherhood, morality and good character into the people. The effects on Turkish culture of the Mevlevihanes, which have amalgamated music and science for centuries, have been significant. Many of the people who were associated with the Mevlevihanes studied in many branches of the fine arts and became prominent in the scientific field.

Mevleviism is a path of love which holds a privileged place in the establishment of love, kindness and grace in all areas of social life, especially in human relations, and has shown significant development in Anatolia, the Balkans, Cyprus, the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa in addition to its centre in Konya. Meleviism in the Mevlevihanes, the number of which has reached 170 worldwide, has inspired numerous works of science and art, and include many statesmen, scholars and artists among its followers in the abovementioned regions.

This presentation will discuss the historical changes and transformations of the Mevlevihanes and Asithanes, one of the most important structures of the Mevlevi culture.

Introduction

I would like to begin my article with the presentation of the concept of "sufism" before moving on to Mevlevihanes. In the thirteenth century when Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi (d. 1273) lived, Asia and Europe in general, Anatolia and the Islamic world in particular were struggling with great difficulties. Crusader invasions from the West negatively affected the Mongols, Anatolia, and Islamic world from the East in the same century. The Anatolian Seljuks' fights for the throne and the subsequent Bābāī rebellion (1239-1240) in and around Amasya had led the people to despair.

Mevlana wrote his works, and Mesnevi in particular, in such an environment. In the formation of Mevlana's knowledge and spiritual personality, the contribution of the family in which he grew up, every moment he lived, every Islamic mentor he benefited from was great. He began to hear the social and cultural traces of the century and society in Belh, the city of his birth.

Before meeting Şemseddin Muhammed from Tabriz, who came to Konya in 1244, Mevlana was a Sufi who was busy with worshipping and education. Hazret Shams was a spiritual guide to Mevlana to reveal divine features, truths and the truth of God, which are deep in the essence of Mevlana.

A Mevlevi dervish. Photo: EMAV, 2021.

Mevleviyeh, named after Mevlana, is a path in Sufism based on the principles of love, peace and tolerance for the whole of humankind, regardless of religion, language, race and gender. While Mevlana was alive;

I'm not a Friday mosque,
I'm a mosque of humanity
I am pure in heart,
my dervish lodge is the whole world,
my madrasa is the whole world.
I'm not one of the sufis with clothing...

Founded on the teachings of Mevlana Rumi and institutionalized by his son Sultan Veled (d. 1312), Mevleviyeh has invited humanity for centuries to beauty, goodness, righteousness, love, tolerance, in short, good morality. The order of the Sema Ceremonies performed is also attached to Sultan Ve-

led. Sultan Veled, his son Ulu Arif Çelebi, Divane Mehmet Çelebi and Veled Izbudak Çelebi have also reached to the ranks of guidance and with its sufi dimension, this heritage has survived without interruption.

Mevlevihanes in Turkey and around the World

The so-called Asitanes were full-fledged structures and numbered around 15. One of them is the Mevlevihane in Konya, which is called "Asitâne-i Aliyye". This is the administrative center, the place of the Çelebis, the postnist of Hazrat Mevlâna and the entire Order of Mevlevī.

The number of small-scale court buildings called Zaviye is around 100.

The sites, which are usually planned in the form of complexes, are generally installed in a large garden. Mevlevîhânes consist of private sections divided into semahâne, square, tomb, cell for retreat, cells, mutriphâne, salutation, occupation, harem apartment, kitchen, pantry, small rooms for dervishes. A person who wants to step into the position spends 1001 days in retreat to become a dervish. Then he becomes a dervish by the decision of the dedes (mentor).

Mevlevihanes made great efforts to instill universal friendship, brotherhood, morality and good manners among the people. For centuries, the effects of music and science on Turkish culture have been great. Many people gathered around the mevlevîhânes, studied in many branches of the fine arts and accomplished great success in the scientific field.

Mevlevîyeh has a privileged place in the settlement of love, kindness and elegance in all areas of social life, especially in human relations - developed greatly in Anatolia, the Balkans, Cyprus, Arabian peninsula and North Africa, based in Konya.

Of the Mevlevihanes, the number of which has reached 170 worldwide; 48 of them, from which we can obtain concrete information about their existence, have survived to the present day.

In addition to disasters such as large fires, earthquakes and wars, some of the mevleviyeh lodges have been destroyed for legal, administrative, cultural, economic and social reasons, as well as the weakening and retreat of the Ottoman Empire to Anatolia or otherwise converted. Some Mevlevihanes were repaired and rebuilt directly, partly for the above reasons, and converted into museums, mosques, educational institutions, orphanages and art centers.

In the 21st century we are in, freedom of belief and worship is still severely hampered in Turkey, while the Presidency of Religious Affairs has its own views and thinking structures, and provides groups with a lot of material and spiritual opportunities; State does not provide any support to non-Islamic minority groups such as Nusayri, Syriac, Yazidi and similar minority groups such as Alevis, Mevlevis.

Status of Mevlevihanes in Turkey

Konya

Ermenek Mevlevihanesi: Mevlevihane, which is thought to have existed in the 17th century, was demolished in 1990 and replaced with a large domed mosque.

Konya Mevlana Dergahı: Built in 1274 as a baldaken, it was built in the 19th century. It was extended until the 19th century. It was opened as a museum in 1926.

Şems-i Tebrizi Zaviyesi: It dates back to the 15th Century Karaman era. It is currently used as a mosque.

Piri Mehmed Paşa Zaviyesi: The mosque was built in 1523. Located in the north of the mosque, zaviye is used today as a spicer.

Cemal Ali Dede Zaviyesi: It is located in Meram district of Konya. Cemal Ali Dede is known as the lala of Hz. Mevlana. It dates back to the 13th century. It consists of masjid Semahane and tomb. It is used as a mosque.

Ateşbaz-ı Veli Zaviyesi: It is located in Meram district of Konya. It belongs to Izzetoglu Shamseddin Yusuf, the cook of Hz Mevlana.

Fahrunnisa Zaviyesi: It is located in Karatay District. To this day, a hammock and masjid-semahane have survived. Miss Fahrunnisa's 14-15. It is known that she is a Mevlevi woman who lived in the 19th century.

Afyon Mevlevihanesi: It was built in the 13th century. It was one of the first Mevlevihanes. Today, the mosque, the printing press, the dervishes cells and some of the hammocks have survived.

Ankara Mevlevihanesi: It was built in 1566 along with the first Mevlevihane mosque. The Cenabi Ahmet Pasha Mosque, which is attributed to Mimar Sinan, is still used.

Antalya Mevlevihanesi: Built in 1215 by Alaeddin Keykubad, the 14th-century building was built in 1215. Yy was converted into a mevlevihane by One of the tekke gentlemen, Zincirkıran Mehmed Bey. Today it is used as an art gallery.

Bursa Mevlevihanesi: It was built in 1615 by Ahmed Cununi Dede. It was located in the Pinarbasi Neighborhood.

Çanakkale Gelibolu Mevlevihanesi: It was founded before 1621 by Agazade Mehmed Hakiki Dede. While it used to be in the military area in Hamzaköy, it has now been restored in accordance with its originality.

Çankırı Mevlevihanesi: The healing hall/masjid section has come to the present day from Mevlevihane, which enstructs the structure of the 13th Century Seljuk period.

Çorum Mevlevihanesi: It is located in azap Ahmed Neighborhood in the city center. It was founded in 1878 by Mehmed Izet Dede. Today, the Mevlevihane, which has been restored by private individuals, is closed.

Edirne Mevlevihanesi: It was founded by Sultan Murat II in 1435 along with the Muradiye Mosque. It was demolished in 1938.

Eskişehir Mevlevihanesi: It was built by Gazi Melek Mustafa Pasha in 1571.

Galata Mevlevihane. Photo: EMAV, 2021.

Gaziantep Mevlevihanesi: It was built in 1638 by the starboard gentleman Turkmen Mustafa bin Yusuf. The Mevlevi monopoly, which was repaired by the General Directorate of Foundations, was opened to visitors as a museum where foundation works were exhibited and mevlevilik culture was reflected.

Istanbul

Galata Mevlevihanesi: It was founded in 1491 on the hunting farm of Alexander Pasha during the Second Beyazit era. It is currently used as a museum.

Üsküdar Mevlevihanesi: It took its present form in 1834-35 during the reign of Mahmoud II. Mevlevihane is used by the Regional Directorate of Foundations as a training place for various courses.

Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi: It was founded in 1597 by Yeniçeri clerk Malkoç Mehmed Efendi. It has been restored within the scope of the "Valley of Culture Project" carried out by Zeytinburnu Municipality and continues to serve as a foundation university institute in the field of education and on special occasions in Sema Ceremonies.

Beşiktaş Bahariye Mevlevihanesi: It was founded in 1622 by Hussein Pasha of Ohrid. It has now been demolished, and the factory plot has become a hotel.

Kasımpaşa Mevlevihanesi: It was founded in 1631 by Sururi Abdi Dede Efendi. Sururi Primary School was built in 1946 and destroyed by fire in 1979.

Others

İzmir-Tire Mevlevihanesi: It is known that Mevlevihane was founded in 1333 around the Green Imaret Mosque.

Kayseri Mevlevihanesi: after the law of closing the monotheistics, it became a land and was replaced by Bayrampasa Business Inn by foundations.

Karaman Mevlevihanesi: It is in Karaman city center. The tomb within the Ak Tekke Mosque was used as a Mevlevihane with its semahane section. It is currently used as a mosque.

Kastamonu Mevlevihanesi: The bani of mevlevihane is Suleyman Pasha of Çandar. The mevlevihane is left with an old building adjacent to the hammam and hammam. There is also a representative tomb in this old building.

Kilis Mevlevihanesi: The exact date of establishment of the mevlevihane is not known. Only the semaphore has survived to the present day. It is used as a mosque.

Kütahya Mevlevihanesi: It is the first mevlevihane established in the Beylikler area. Today, mosques and foundations continue to serve as provincial directorates.

Muğla Mevlevihanesi: It was founded in 1453-57. The existing semahane was built in 1848. Today, it is preserved in its original form.

Silivrikapı Mevlana Cultural Centre. Photo: EMAV, 2021.

Muğla-Marmaris Mevlevihanesi: The exact construction date of the mevlevihane is unknown. It was founded in the 16th century and is considered to have taken its final form during the time of Mahmoud II (1835). The water well belonging to mevlevihane and part of the preparation are still available.

Manisa Mevlevihanesi: It was built in 1368 by Mr. Isaac. Manisa Mevlevihanesi is also an acidic. Mevlevihane was awarded to Celal Bayar University (CBU) in 1995. The restoration was completed and finalized. Currently, CBU Manisa Region is an ethnography museum where Mevlevi culture is introduced within the Turkish History and Culture Research and Application Center. In addition, with the support of the Rectorate, it serves as a place where scientific and cultural activities are carried out.

Niğde Mevlevihanesi: In the time of The Great Arif Çelebi, the 14th century was a time of great 14th-century It was founded in the 19th century. Part of the main building of the zaviye is lost; The cemetery, Kemal-i um tomb, has been restored by foundations. The main building was a girls' Quran course.

Niğde- Bor Mevlevihanesi: Bor Mevlevihane has completely disappeared, only his inscription has survived to the present day.

Şanlıurfa Mevlevihanesi: The first was founded by Haji Ibrahim Agha and the second was carried out in 1716 by The Governor of Raqqa, Ridvan Ahmed pasha. It is still used as a mosque.

EMAV logo

Tokat Mevlevihanesi: It was founded in 1638 by Muslu Agha. After the repair, it was furnished as an Ottoman mansion museum within the scope of Mevlevihane Foundation Museum and opened to guests.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kODl7zmExQo&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=5

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pWeoPemzE4w&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=5

CHAPTER 5

ANATOLIA'S RELIGIOUS HERITAGE AS ABANDONED SPACES

From Places of Worship to Ruins: Abandoned and Forgotten Places of Worship

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Abstract

Anatolian geography has hosted many civilizations throughout history. In these lands, numerous faith communities have established worship places specific to their beliefs, and they lived their beliefs freely. The extraordinarily diverse and different beliefs, unfortunately, do not show the same feature today. Christians churches were devastated by neglect or converted into a mosque, especially after Christians left Turkey between 1923-1925 during the great population exchange. The churches left behind by immigrants were not sufficiently protected. Except for a few of them with touristic features, the rest have turned into ruins due to neglect and disregard. Like all abandoned buildings, no valuables were left in them. In this paper, some examples from Çorum and Isparta will focus on churches that have turned into ruins from places of worship, and a critical approach will be brought to the policy of (not) protecting places of worship.

Introduction

People are often afraid of abandoned buildings. Passers-by do not even want to glance at dark buildings with paint or even no paint at all, for fear of what might emerge from them. They would like such derelict buildings, home to glue-sniffers and drug dealers, to be cleared. Such too were my thoughts about the two abandoned churches in ruins, when I was younger and worked as a police captain in Isparta. If the Christian community no longer lived in this country consisting 99 per cent of Muslims, and the remaining community resided in Istanbul, why were these abandoned buildings still here? These buildings were hotbeds of drug use, fighting and assault. When I look back today, I understand that it was normal for a young captain to want to get rid of these problematic structures, just like the wary, bored neighbours constantly reporting the incidents happening inside them.

I am writing about the two churches in Isparta, which are still intact in spite of glue-sniffers, treasure hunters, vandals, and history itself. The churches are those which were probably once cherished by their community, who never let anybody speak ill of them and considered them sacred, but today they are in a heart-breaking condition. Years later, as I passed by a dull building in poor shape at the Çorum marketplace, I did not realise it was a church. It was difficult to tell that this building, with its iron gate and sills turned dark brown from rust, with no inscriptions on its walls, was actually a church. Later, during another stroll, I looked carefully and saw the Seal of Solomon on the gate. Was it a synagogue or was it a church?

This study was prepared to be presented at the conference organised by ADİP, titled the Conversion of Spaces and Places of Worship in Anatolia. My main argument is that the conversion of spaces and places of worship does not only take place by converting a structure into another faith's place of worship, but also by abandonment and leaving the structure derelict. In other words, spaces and places of worship are not only converted into other places of worship but they are also turned into ruins or destroyed completely. We have classified this as conversion eradication, abandonment by neglect, and leaving them in the possession of private owners.

This study uses case studies, document analysis and observation methods. Four churches, two of which are located in Isparta, one in central Çorum and one in Sungurlu, are analysed by taking into consideration their current condition and historical background. Aside from these churches, other examples will be given to analyse other particular issues. In a study like this, we should also have carried out a comparative study to observe the situation in other countries and determine whether the situation is the case throughout Turkey. However, it was not possible to carry out an inventory review which would satisfy this need within the time frame of the conference. Moreover, obtaining data on these subjects is not an easy task in Turkey. People have to bang their heads against a brick wall to do this. I am, however, of the opinion that the cases at hand will suffice to explain the arguments I put forward.

The study has four main headings. First, the subject of completely destroying places of worship will be discussed. In the second section, we will examine how places are left to ruin by withholding funds for maintenance. The third section is on private ownership and stripping these structures of their functions and in the fourth and last heading, examples from Isparta and Çorum are included.

1. Complete destruction

Asia Minor, Anatolia, has been a cradle of civilisations since ancient times. Countless civilisations existed on these lands; countless empires were founded. It is impossible to enumerate the beliefs of the societies that have lived on these lands to day and the spaces and places of worship they have established. Today, in a country unfortunately dominated or facing an attempt to be dominated by a particular faith and a uniform cultural community, encountering older civilisations' places of worship is rare. As a matter of fact, the region of Anatolia in the final half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a ground where policies of population exchange and forced migration were frequently implemented and millions of people were displaced because of these policies. Even worse, even if it is not a direct result of the resettlement policy, many political events caused the abandonment of settlements. Consequently, places of worship were left behind without their communities.

Several organisations in Turkey have made efforts to create inventories on the subject. It is not easy to access archives, to read the old script and to access the works of travellers, who journeyed around Turkey in the nineteenth century and before. Considering the change in alphabet (Ottoman to Latin script) and the different pronunciation of words between periods, it is not an easy task to create a sound inventory. Nişanyan indexes the names of ancient settlements in Index Anatolicus.[1] The Hrant Dink Foundation, with its project "Multicultural Heritage of Turkey",[2] creates inventories of places of worship and other cultural heritage which are still intact or

1 Nisanyan Yeradları: Türkiye ve Çevre Ülkeler Yerleşim Birimleri Envanteri, accessed 15 March 2021. https://nisanyanmap.com/.

2 Hrant Dink Vakfı, accessed 15 March 2021, https://hrantdink.org/tr/.

which no longer exist. Foundations such as Yüzleşme Atölyesi[3] (Confrontation Workshop) and Hakikat, Adalet ve Hafıza Merkezi[4] (Center of Truth, Justice and Memory) engages in similar activities.

Why do these places of worship disappear? Why do they disappear down to their foundations? I will try to answer these questions intuitively on the basis of my observations to date.

First of all, one reason is the change in the cultural fabric in settlements. New inhabitants or those remaining have more homogenous faiths and cultures. After long years of battles and challenging events, it could not be expected of these people, who were antagonistic towards those who left their homeland, to look after their heritage. No harm was seen in destroying things, which belonged to "infidels" and which were outside of the borders of the dominant faith. Islamisation could also be included here. The fact that people who were converted into another religion can be more radical compared to non-converts and therefore might feel the need to destroy and hide their own history can be considered as another reason

Another issue is the proliferation of municipalities and urbanisation in Turkey. Renewal of city plans caused cultural heritage, like places of worship, to be ignored and the construction of roads, squares, parks and buildings on the site of places of worship led to their disappearance. Attempts at uniformity for the sake of nationalism during the CHP period and the more conservative approach in the DP period led to destruction by the disregarding of history and values. Not only non-Muslim places of worship but also places belonging to Muslims were affected by these policies.

Third, places of worship located outside settlements in particular are known to have been removed to make way for agricultural land. The removal of their stone walls located near settlements to be used for the construction of new buildings or the erection of new buildings on top of places of worship in settlements are common practices. Curiosity for finely shaped stones applies to all types of historical artefacts. For example, stones from the upper walls of Çorum Castle can be seen on the floors of single-storey detached houses around the castle. Why would people who came later not use a finely shaped stone, which was once a part of the castle wall? The same can be said for masterwork churches and synagogues.

Finally, the "Armenian burial" is one of Turkey's greatest legends.[5] As with all Greek and Armenian buildings, places of faith are subject to treasure hunting; it is not surprising that their foundations were dug up for this purpose. Treasure hunters' ambitions lead them to destroy every place and thing that will bring them profit, regardless of religion or belief. After all, in a place where valuable carpets, doors, even manuscripts of the Qur'an are subject to theft, the looting of abandoned holy places and the looting of their valuables are expected occurrences.

In conclusion, the destruction of non-Muslim artefacts in order to erase the traces of history is not surprising in these lands which witnessed a significant change in populations. The obsession with treasure hunting in Turkey is one of the critical factors in the destruction of these artefacts. There are quite a lot of examples of destroying ancient places of worship either in cities to carry out municipal activities or in rural areas to use the land for agriculture.

3 Yüzlesme Atölyesi, accessed 15 March 2021, https://yuzlesmeatolyesi.wordpress.com.

4 Hakikat Adalet Hafiza Merkezi, accessed 15 March 2021, https://hakikatadalethafiza.org/.

5 For an example of a television program, see Define ve Definecilik İle İlgili Türkiye deki İlk Televizyon Programı, filmed 14 December 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uvwXA1i0aRM. For an example of a program that encourages treasure hunting, see Haberturk TV Define Programı Pes Dedirtti!, filmed 7 May 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AgdyW2avKdA.

2. Ruination due to neglect

Structures can only continue to exist together with people living inside. As long as there are people who consider the structure to be a shelter or who use it for worship, it will be periodically maintained. In other words, it will be painted, or its roof will be repaired when needed. Today, it is not wrong to say that many renowned structures of worship at known locations in Turkey have turned into ruins as a result of neglect.

The primary cause for this is, naturally, the lack of assimilation of these structures. In Anatolia, the land of population exchanges,[6] after the dense Christian population was swapped with the Muslim community living in Europe, the Muslim community wanted to erase what remained of the Christians. What could not be erased was not assimilated. Structures that were suitable for conversion into mosques and had a symbolic value of conquest were converted. Others were left to their fate and their destruction was carried out by nature and the elements.

Why would the ruins of a world considered to be worthless from the perspective of faith be preserved? Were not these the lands conquered by the swords of Muslim Turks at the expense of their blood? After all, Judaism and Christianity are falsified religions. Why protect the non-Muslims' temple? If you cannot destroy it, it is best to leave it and to not repair it. There are two main bases to this deduction. First, there is the way of thinking that emerged during the construction of the nation state that began with the Republic which was shaped with the policies of exchange and resettlement, supported by the Wealth Tax Bill and the Istanbul Pogrom of 1955[7] and spread publicly through the Law on the Unity of Education and the Religious Affairs Administration. The second basis is our observation of the fact that the understanding of nationalism, which stands upon the righteousness of one true faith, was embraced by the public. People who reported children sniffing glue in Isparta wanted to know when these ruins would be demolished and the people would be freed from the threat to their safety. "Yes, it was a church back then. But are there any Christians left now? They're all gone. Just demolish them!"

I want to explain why a building, which was in perfect condition in the 1930s, maybe even in the 1940s, is in its current condition today by using the Broken Windows theory introduced by Wilson and Kelling and based on a social experiment of criminologist Philip Zimbardo.[8] The Broken Windows theory was introduced mainly to account for the acts of vandalism instigated by young people. According to the experiment, in a neighbourhood, parts of a parked car without a license plate were stolen one by one and within a short time, the car became unrecognisable. If a window of a building in a neighbourhood is broken and not fixed within a short period, it is inevitable that other windows will also be broken. In time, the building's doors and windows will also be broken and the furniture and objects inside will be stolen. Within a short period, the building will inevitably become unrecognisable. I think this theory best explains why the abandoned places of worship have now become ruins.

Then, why are these buildings not repaired? Isn't there an authorised person, anyone to protect these buildings? This subject is rather a complicated one both in practice and according to Turkish law. Primarily, this subject has a large number of addressees, namely the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Ministry of the Environment and Urbanisation, the Ministry of the Interior, municipalities, special provincial administrations and the Directorate General of Foundations. Moreover, the legal procedures for restoration work are both very detailed

6 Nevzat Onaran, *Ermeniler, Rumlar ve Kürtler Türk Nüfus Mühendisliği (1914-1940)* (Istanbul, Kor Kitap, 2018), 377.

7 Onaran, *Ermeniler*, 508.

8 Thomas J. Bernard, Jeffrey B: Snipes and Alexander L. Gerould, *Vold's Theoretical Criminology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 145-146.

and complicated. Considering the problems with finding qualified personnel for restoration, high costs of restoring a structure true to the original and the priorities of a vast cultural heritage area, it would not be right to say that insufficient restoration has only to do with unwillingness.

The main legal arrangement for the restoration of places of worship is the Law on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage No: 2863 dated 21 July 1983 (LPCNH). According to Article 6 of this law, places of worship including "altars, mosques, masjids, coffin rests, places of prayer, dervish lodges and monasteries, synagogues, basilicas, churches and monasteries" are examples of immovable cultural heritage. The law does not differentiate by religion or faith.

Article 7 and Section 2 of the Law on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage states the following: "Evaluations of cultural and natural heritage must pay attention to history, art, region, and other characteristics. Bearing in mind the state's resources, a sufficient number of artefacts in exemplary condition and reflecting the aspects of the era they belong to are given the statues of cultural heritage that needs to be protected." According to Article 6, not all artefacts considered as cultural heritage are to be protected, but only a sufficient number of artefacts "reflecting the aspects of the era they belong to." Naturally, in doing so, the state's resources, in other words, its financial means will be taken into consideration. As a matter of fact, Article 65 of the Constitution of Turkey, headed *The extent of social and economic duties of the State,* states that social and economic duties of the state shall be fulfilled within the capacity of its financial resources.[9] We can thus understand that not all places of worship are under protection. According to the law, evaluations on the immovable cultural and natural heritage are registered with the decision of regional boards of protection. Evaluations and inventory of the immovable cultural and natural heritage, which falls under the management and supervision of the Directorate General of Foundations, are conducted by the Directorate.

Within the framework of Article 9 of the LPCNH and the resolutions of the High Council of Preservation, it is prohibited to carry out construction and physical intervention in defiance of the decisions taken by the regional boards of protection of immovable cultural and natural heritage sites, protected sites and archaeological sites, reopening these sites for use and changing the use of these sites.

Article 10 of the LPCNH grants responsibility for taking necessary measures to protect the immovable cultural and natural heritage, supervision of heritage and delegating supervision to public agencies and organisations, municipalities and governorates to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Protection of cultural and natural heritage under the management and control of the Presidency and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey was assigned to these organisations. However, in ensuring protection, technical assistance and cooperation by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is to be provided when necessary. Protection of the cultural heritage under the management and supervision of the Directorate General of Foundations is fulfilled by the Directorate following the decisions by the Boards of Protection. Protection and evaluation of immovable cultural and natural heritage owned by other public agencies and organisations or by natural or legal persons are fulfilled by themselves as per the provisions of the LPCNH.

9 For a detailed study on this subject, see Veysel Dinler, "'Devletin İktisadi ve Sosyal Ödevlerinin Sınırı' Açısından İdarenin Sorumluluğu," *Hitit Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2008), 1-19.

In line with the permit issued by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, offices of protection, implementation and supervision are established at governorates, metropolitan municipalities and municipalities, in which experts in fields such as art history, architecture, city planning, engineering and archaeology participate in carrying out processes and policies regarding cultural heritage. In addition, project offices, which prepare and implement surveying, restitution, and restoration projects aimed at protection of cultural heritage, and training units, which train certified master builders, are established within the body of special provincial administrations. These offices are responsible for inspecting the construction plans for preservation, project, and material changes as well as the implementation, including construction supervision, that are deemed suitable by the regional boards of protection. Bearing in mind the characteristics of the area, these offices' fields of expertise, their work and rules and procedures are determined by the regulations prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation after receiving the opinion of the Ministry of the Interior.

Protection of cultural heritage is fulfilled using annual grants for this particular purpose from the budgets of public agencies and organisations, which own the cultural heritage. Again, to fulfil these services, sufficient grants are annually placed in the budget of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The owners of the cultural heritage benefit from rights and privileges which LPCNH acknowledges to owners as long as they perform maintenance and reparations of these heritage sites in line with orders and instructions regarding such by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism according to the law. The properties of those incapable of the responsibility of maintenance and reparations determined by the law are duly expropriated. If found appropriate by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the Directorate General of Foundations, special provincial administrations, municipalities and other public agencies and organisations, may assist the above-mentioned owners in the protection, maintenance, and reparations of immovable cultural and natural heritage by providing technical staff and grants if deemed necessary. According to Article 12 of LPCNH, 10 per cent of the collected real estate tax is imputed as Protection of Immovable Cultural Heritage Contribution Margin in accordance with Real Estate Tax Law (Law 1319) to be used for the protection and evaluation of cultural heritage falling under the municipalities' and special provincial administrations' area of responsibility. This contribution is collected by the relevant municipality along with real estate tax. For the protection, maintenance and reparations of cultural heritage owned by natural and legal persons subject to private law, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism provides in-kind and in-cash aid and technical assistance.

In conclusion, the maintenance and restoration of the cultural heritage in Turkey is a considerably complicated procedure. It involves various actors (at least three different ministries, foundations, municipalities, governorates, special provincial administrations and, if any, property owners), which often leads to conflict of power and disrupts the operation of the procedure. Bearing in mind the budget allocated for archaeological excavations in Turkey, the budget for restoration work can easily be estimated. In addition to many artefacts, it seems more difficult for the nationalist view integrated with religion to give the order of maintenance and restoration to places of worship of different religions. All these difficulties create more challenges for places that are not used for worship. Add to this the situation we associated with the Broken Windows theory, and it is inevitable that neglect will turn these places into ruins.

3. The stripping of original function by private ownership

There is another reason why former places of worship are currently in ruins. Places of worship being subject to private ownership and some of them having been registered as houses or workplaces instead of places of worship make the protection of these places difficult.

Places of worship that are subject to private ownership and not registered as cultural heritage easily change hands and are misused. In this case, places of worship easily cease to exist or are converted. Rarely a day goes by without advertisements for the sale of a former church appearing on real estate websites. It is known that these places are used as restaurants, cafés or bars by those who own them and are stripped of their original function. In 2015, this issue was put on the agenda of the Turkish Grand National Assembly as a written question by a deputy.[10] On the other hand, the advertisements are not interrupted.[11]

Registration of a place of worship as a residence or as private property is based on two main reasons. The first of these is the difficulty of constructing a new place of worship in the Ottoman period due to legal prohibitions and complex procedures, and the fact that especially the places of worship, which were built in the last period, were registered as "residences" or "private property" in order to overcome this procedure. Secondly, the derelict properties were transferred to the Treasury or converted into private property through some laws and decisions of the republican period.

In the classical period of the Ottoman Empire, usually non-Muslims were not permitted to open a new place of worship.[12] After the Tanzimat and Reform Edict, non-Muslims were allowed to open temples, but this was subject to a detailed and strict procedure. It was dependent on the legal opinion (*fetva*) of the chief jurist (*şeyḫu'l-İslām*), including repair and renovation. For a temple to be built, first of all, the petition had to be sent to the spiritual leader (in the center) and to the civil authorities (in the countryside). It was necessary to write in detail whether the relevant subjects had sufficient numbers in the population of the place where the place of worship would be built, and the characteristics of the building to be built. An inspector was sent from the center for these constructions and the "Şurayı Devlet" (Council of State) decided on the final version.[13] Architect Kaan Köksal, who followed the traces of the Armenian church in Çorum, drew attention to the difficulties related to the construction of the church, which is currently used as a warehouse and which is in the phase of expropriation of the Çorum Municipality. He notes that although permission was obtained for this church in 1858, it could not be built until 1878.[14] I guess that this building was used as a private property for years as a carpentry shop and warehouse, probably because it was not (allowed to be) registered as a church although it was actually used as a church. In the Sungurlu district of Çorum, the building known as the "Gavurun Evi" (Infidel's House) and popularly known as the "old church" was similarly registered as a "residence" and passed into private ownership.

After the population exchanges that took place after the republic, some legal regulations caused changes in

10 "Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Baskanlığı'na," Halkların Demokratik Partisi, accessed 15 March 2021. https://www2.tbmm.gov.tr/d25/7/7-0256s.pdf.

11 "Bursa'da 'sahibinden satılık' kilise ilanları," *Evrensel*, 18 January 2021.

12 Nuran Koyuncu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Gayrimüslimlerin Din ve Vicdan Hürriyetleri Bağlamında Mabedlerinin Hukuki Statüsü* (Ankara: Adalet, 2014), 104-105.

13 For detailed information on the subject see, Koyuncu, 2014, s. 161-164.

14 H. Kaan Köksal, "Çorum Surp Gevork Kilisesi Üzerine Bir Araştırma," accessed 15 March 2021. *https://kaankoksal.blogspot.com/ 2015/08/corum-surp-gevork-kilisesi-uzerine-bir.html*, 2015.

the ownership of the buildings that were abandoned by the refugees. According to the Turkish Civil Code dated February 17, 1926 and numbered 743, those who used a vineyard, garden, a place or land with a roof for 15 years and other lands for 10 years before October 4, 1926 were registered. Similar provisions are included with the Law on the Liquidation of Those Who Have Lost Their Legal Values from Land Registry, dated 2 June 1929 and numbered 1515. The buildings and lands abandoned with the circulars were first transferred to the Treasury and then to private property; land registry records before the adoption of these laws were not taken into account.[15] According to Article 160 of the Municipalities Law No. 1580 dated April 3, 1930; "Abandoned and derelict cemeteries and public cemeteries belonging to the foundation have been transferred to municipalities with all laws and obligations." According to Article 24 of the Land Registry Law dated 1934 and numbered 2644, "Abandoned and derelict cemeteries and public cemeteries belonging to the foundation in villages are registered in the name of the spiritual personality of the village."[16] The conversion of cemeteries into agricultural areas can be explained by the implementation of these laws.

4. Examples examined

The examples that led to the writing of this paper are two churches in Isparta and two in Çorum. Other than these, some examples collected from news websites are given below.

Aya Payana (Baniya) Church: The church, which is located in the Turan neighbourhood, one of the older settlements in Isparta, is thought to have been built in the 1750s. The main body of the church lies on the north-south axis, which has a rectangular plan with three naves and an apse. The base of the building measures 15 by

Figure 1: Aya Payana Church-Isparta. Photo: Veysel Dinler, 2021.

15 Onaran, *Ermeniler*, 587-599.

16 For details see Onaran, *Ermeniler*, 597.

Figure 2: Aya Payana Church-Isparta. Photo: Veysel Dinler, 2021.

26 metres with entrances from the north, west and the east. The ceiling was made of wood with a groin vault resting on ten columns and plastered on the outside. The columns are of plaster covered wood. They do not have bases and have Corinthian capitals. The apse floor is elevated by 70 cm from the main structure of the floor. The apse is illuminated by three large lower windows and three small upper windows. On the outside, the apse is pentagonal. Arched windowsills on the outside are made of cut stone. The structure was covered by restoration plans under the Lakes Region Project in 1993, but little work was carried out. The roof of the church was completely renewed in 1999.[17]

Ishotya Church: The Aya Yorgi, also known as the Ishotya Church in the Doğancı neighbourhood was built between 1857 and 1860. The inscription that states the date that used to be above the entrance door is today housed in Isparta Museum. The structure situated on an east-west axis has a rectangular plan with three naves, and apse and narthex. External walls were built using the local *kövke* stone. There are entrances to the building from the west, north, and south. The northern entrance has a protruding dripstone resting on two columns. The roof of the building is a groin vault of *kövke*. The elevation of the naves is visible along the roof. The narthex has two parts. The bell from the belltower which is located outside the narthex is today housed in Isparta Museum. The bell was made in 1903. The windows on the roof are rectangular and circular with triangular pediments. The apse lies on the east-west axis and is elevated 60 cm from the ground. The floor of the apse was laid with pebbles. On the outside, the apse is pentagonal. The columns and side walls are plastered and decorated with paintings.[18]

17 "Aya Payana Kilisesi/ Bania Kilisesi – Isparta," Türkiye Kültür Portalı, accessed 15 March 2021. https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/isparta/gezilecekyer/aya-payana-baniya-kilisesi.

18 "Aya Yorgi (Ishotya) Kilisesi – Isparta," Türkiye Kültür Portalı, accessed 15 March 2021, https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/isparta/gezilecekyer/aya-yorgi-ishotya-kilisesi.

Figure 3 & 4: Aya Yorgi Church – Isparta. Photo: Veysel Dinler, 2021.

In the present (2021) condition of these two churches, no movable objects remained inside. In other words, churches are empty with only their walls and roof. The doors and window railings of the Aya Payana church are in a very sound condition. It is sheltered so that it cannot be entered from the floor of the building, but it is not impossible to enter due to some gaps in the upper parts. In the interior, the icons are completely pale and indistinct, and in some places the plaster from the ceiling and walls have fallen off. The situation of the Aya Yorgi church is worse. There are many ruins on the exterior, and the ceiling and roof has collapsed into the interior. The icons have become faded, and the ceiling and wall plasters have fallen in most places. This church lacks external shelter and is extremely easy to access. According to the news published in the Isparta local press on November 13, 2020, the Isparta Municipality aims to restore these churches and attract tourists.[19] It should be admitted that this is an important initial step, even if it is for the purpose of increasing tourism.

19 "Isparta'daki Kiliseler turizme Kazandırılıyor," *Ispartam Haber*, 13 November 2020, https://ispartamhaber.com/haber/5703919/ispartadaki-kiliseler-turizme-kazandiriliyor.

Figure 5: Aya Stefanos Church – Isparta, Eğirdir. Photo: Veysel Dinler, 2021.

Aya Stefanos (Yeşilada) Church: The church is located in Yeşilada in the district of Eğirdir. The church lies on the east-west axis, has a rectangular plan, three naves and an apse. It was built in the second half of the nineteenth century. The side walls are of rough stone. The gable roof is plastered on the inside. The roof rests on wooden columns plastered on the outside and is covered by pantiles. The semi-circular protruding apse is on the eastern wall. The apse is illuminated by two windows, one on the ground and the second on the first floor level and a circular window at the top. The windows are lined with blocks of white marble. Plaster decorations in the interior have fallen off. The church was restored under the Lakes Region (Göller Bölgesi) Research Project, and the roof was renovated, the external walls were rebuilt and interior wooden sections renovated at a later date.[20]

Figure 6: Aya Stefanos Church – Isparta, Eğirdir. Photo: Isparta İl Kültür Müdürlüğü.

20 Türkiye Kültür Portalı, "Aya Stefanos (Yeşilada) Kilisesi – Isparta," accessed 15 March 2021, https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/isparta/gezilecekyer/aya-stefanos-yesilada-kilisesi.

Surp Gevork Church: The single-storey building reflects the architectural features of the Late Ottoman Period, and yellow cut sandstone was used as the building material on the exterior corners, door and window jambs, the other parts are crushed stone with mortar and brickwork on the upper parts.

Figure 7 & 8: Surp Gevork Church – Çorum. Photo: Veysel Dinler, 2021.

The building, known only as a church among the public, is currently (April 2021) used as a warehouse by a private company. During the meeting with the owner of the church, it was discovered that Çorum Municipality is in the process of expropriating it in order to readapt it for cultural purposes (April 9, 2021). The building has been used as a carpentry shop for years and is privately owned. The name of the church is not known by the people of Çorum and the authorities. In the land registry, the only former purpose was stated as "church". As a result of meticulous research undertaken by the architect Kaan Köksal, he determined that this church was the Surp Gevork Armenian Church.[21] It was not possible to see the inside of the building.

The construction date of the building, which is known as a church by the

21 Köksal, "Çorum Surp Gevork Kilisesi."

Figure 9: Surp Gevork Church – Çorum. Photo: Veysel Dinler, 2021.

Figure 10: Gavurun Evi- Çorum, Sungurlu. Photo: Veysel Dinler, 2021.

people in Çorum Sungurlu and described as the "Gavurun Evi" (Infidel's House), is estimated to be 1891 (this date is on the plate at the entrance). It is a two-storey building built on a stone foundation with the woodcut technique. It is registered as a residence in the land registry. It was registered as a cultural property on the decision dated 12.07.1996 and numbered 4769. The roof of the building has collapsed in places and is unusable.

Conclusion

The region of Anatolia has nurtured numerous faiths and bears their heritage. Nevertheless, the country does not appear to have preserved this heritage. The impact of nationalist feelings of the country's residents, who have not excelled in settled life or architecture, nationalist heroism associated with erasing the traces of history, and the desire to inherit potential wealth (troves, treasures, etc.) made it impossible to preserve the history and the spaces and places of worship belonging to different kinds of faith when combined with feelings of disregard, lack of embracement, awareness and acceptance.

While villagers, who lack the awareness to preserve history, completely destroyed what

remained of these structures and engaged in agriculture on their plots; unplanned urbanisation and poor municipal management hardly followed a different attitude and rolled over these ancient structures and cemeteries to build parks or roads through construction plans. Traces of numerous places of worship disappeared in this way. Today, a large number of places of worship are in ruins due to neglect. Other than the already poor cultural policies, the low budget allocated for cultural undertakings is the biggest obstacle against the restoration of ancient structures. Moreover, restoration procedures are not easy to undertake. Conflicts of power and competition between various ministries and organisations complicate these procedures.

In conclusion, places of worship of different faiths are not only being destroyed by being converted into places of worship of the dominant faith, but also left to their own fate by being abandoned or neglected by not carrying out timely and sufficient maintenance and reparations. Many historical cultural heritage artefacts are already being looted or damaged by treasure hunters. Numerous places under private ownership are easily bought and sold and used for the wrong purposes. This degradation will continue until society takes notice and embraces the fact that these places were once sacred to other people and were cherished by them. Their cultural assets can be preserved if these places are remembered as places of faith that other people once saw as sacred and cherished, and if they are adopted by the society as a whole. Otherwise, as long as devaluation and disregard continue, places of worship will not be able to escape their sorrowful fate.

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ac-BYIIhcsY8&list=PLN7AHQGMKkd-C6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=6

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cu42H01Ng3Y&list=PLN7AHQGMKk-dCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=6

The Silence of Armenian Cultural Heritage in Van

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Abstract

Van once was the unofficial capital of the Armenians living in Turkey. However, contrary to its long and embodied history and legacy, there is no systematic research and information that reflects the ancient existence of Armenians and their cultural heritage in the region.

However, the material culture rooted in the Lake Van Basin was left to die and silenced. Although the Turkish state has attempted to rebuild and revitalise the Church and Monastery of the Holy Cross on Akdamar Island as a step towards peaceful dialogue, such initiatives have been interpreted cosmetically, helping to legitimately render a large number of unseen cultural artifacts invisible. This interpretation is justified, given that there were a significant number of churches and monasteries in the province of Van that were silenced and doomed to disappear. There has been no significant effort since 1915 to identify, protect and publicise the existence of Armenian material culture from a holistic perspective.

If we refer to the current state of the cultural heritage in the region, there are many artifacts that were used as stables or destroyed due to treasure hunting activities. In addition, it is known that there are many unexplored artifacts in areas under the control of the security forces. Continuous military intervention irreversibly destroys the common cultural heritage and common land, and within this context the common future.

Although the problem of Armenian-Turkish relations is known on a global scale, this issues' social framework has been handled on the axis of genocide, and no significant attempt has been made to focus on the material culture and the sociality of the people living around it. In this context, carrying out memory studies that consider cultural heritage as a memory space, including the protection and restoration of historical and cultural sites, should be among the issues of priority.

It is clear that a policy of holistic conservation implemented in the region to protect the material culture depends on political will at a macro level. However, instead of waiting for such a will from above, there are many steps that can be taken from below. From this point of view, under current conditions, it is very important to raise awareness about the value these works express and the risks they face.

Introduction

Once upon a time, Van was the unofficial capital of Armenians living in Turkey. In fact, according to data in Raymond Kevorkian's book *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History*, data obtained from the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1878 showed that there were 399 churches and 57 monasteries in the *sancak* (administrative unit) of Van alone.[1] However, very few of these structures remain intact today.

Systematic studies and background information on the ancient Armenian existence and cultural heritage in the region are rarely encountered. The material culture in the Lake Van Basin has been abandoned, left to die and has fallen into silence. Although Turkey's restoration and revival of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross on Aghtamar Island during the normalisation process between Turkey and Armenia was a significant and positive step, this restoration rendered dozens of cultural artefacts in the area legitimately invisible by drawing all attention to Aghtamar Island. Considering the significant number of churches and monasteries in Van, which fell into silence and now face extinction, this interpretation appears to have some merit. Unfortunately, there have been no significant attempts to holistically determine, protect and promote the existence of Armenian material culture since 1915.

When addressing the current state of cultural heritage in the region, we come across many structures that are being used as stables or were destroyed as a result of the phenomenon of treasure hunting. A simple Google search would yield many examples of these types of artefacts. Moreover, many undiscovered artefacts are known to be located within restricted and military areas. For example, the condition of historically significant structures such as the Hokiats Monastery is unknown because it is located inside a restricted military zone.

Although the Armenian-Turkish conflict is a globally known subject, the social framework was only discussed in terms of genocide and no attempts have been made to focus on the material culture and the social lives of people living around it. In this context, priority should be given to conducting memory studies, which consider cultural heritage sites as places of memory while also encouraging the protection and restoration of historical and cultural sites.

It is apparent that any holistic protectionist policy to be implemented in the region to preserve material culture, is dependent at the macro level on political will. However, it is possible to take steps from the bottom up instead of waiting for such political will to materialise from the top. Under the current circumstances, raising awareness about the value these artefacts hold and the risks to which they are exposed is crucial.

Before providing a description of these structures, I would like to include some details about the perspective of the local community on these artefacts.

According to my observations during field trips, local people's approach towards the artefacts is mainly connected to treasure hunting, particularly in rural areas. The destruction of churches and monasteries near any village, which results from treasure hunting, reflects the attitude that local people have adopted towards these artefacts. This may sound accusatory, but as I have mentioned before, it is a phenomenon I have witnessed many times.

1 Raymond Kevorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

Artefacts that are located inside village settlements have remained intact as they carry functional characteristics. In a nutshell, almost all of the structures that I have come across inside settlements managed to survive due to being used as haylofts or stables. Nonetheless, monasteries and churches in some settlements are completely destroyed due to being either unknowingly or knowingly demolished by the local community and the materials obtained from these structures were used to construct buildings for other purposes. Structures that are located in fields or remote locations outside villages are at the mercy of treasure hunters and nature itself. Moreover, the condition of some monasteries and churches are not known, as they are located within restricted military zones.

In contrast, there are also families who strive to protect the monasteries and churches in the region. The warden of Varagavank Monastery and the mukhtar of Başkale Yanal village can be given as examples. Therefore, projects designed to raise awareness among the local community to at least preserve the current condition of these structures carry vital importance. What follows are descriptions as well as the images of these structures.

Hokiats (Der Meryem) Monastery

This monastic building has been the subject of academic studies. However, due to prolonged military operations in the region, the monastery is difficult to access and is situated in a dangerous location.

The Hokiats (Der Meryem) Monastery is located in the south of Van's Gürpınar district, in the Norduz valley. According to Armenian oral history, the tombs of mythical Armenian king Tiridates IV and his wife are believed to be located here. The Hokiats Monastery was used as a leprosy hospital during the fourth century. Another traditional narrative states that the monastery was, at one period, a women's monastery.[2]

A manuscript written in the eighth century depicts the delivery of an icon belonging to Mary by the apostles, who were at her side at the time of her death, to Bartholomew the Apostle and Bartholomew the Apostle bringing

Figure 1: Van Gürpınar Hokyats (Der Meryem) Monastery.
The present state of the 22-room Hokyats or Hokvots (Der Meryem) Monastery, which was built in the seventh to eighth centuries, located in the hamlet of Kırkgeçit (Kasrik) Village in the Gürpınar District of Van. Photos: M. Fatih Güden, 2014.

2 Collectif 2015, accessed 1 February 2021, www.collectif2015.org.

Figure 2: Van Gürpınar Hokyats (Der Meryem) Monastery.
The present state of the 22-room Hokyats or Hokvots (Der Meryem) Monastery, which was built in the seventh to eighth centuries, located in the hamlet of Kırkgeçit (Kasrik) Village in the Gürpınar District of Van. Photos: M. Fatih Güden, 2014.

the icon to this region. Therefore, the earliest date that can be given for the foundation of this monastery based on concrete evidence is the eighth or ninth century.[3]

Newly-wed couples living in the neighbouring villages who want to have children visited the 22-chamber Hokiats Monastery on Sundays to sacrifice roosters and take vows. If they then had children, they would name them Jesus if the baby was a boy and Mary if it was a girl (Figures 1-2).

Figure 3: Van Gevaş Garmir Ağın or Garmravank (Dera Sor – Red Church) Monastery.
The present state of the Monastery in the village of Göründü, in the Gevaş District of Van, known as the hermitage of the Armenian King Gagik, which is thought to have been built in the tenth to eleventh centuries. Photo: M. Fatih Güden, 2015.

3 Yalçın Karaca, "Van'da Ortaçağ ve Sonrasi Yapılar," in *Van 2006 Kültür ve Turizm Envanteri – I – Tarihsel Değerler*, ed. S. Kılıç (Istanbul: Komen Ajans, 2006), 292.

Figure 4: Van Bahçesaray Çatbayır (Çat) Köyü Church.
The current state of the village church, which is not documented, in Çatbayır Village in the Bahçesaray District of Van.
Photo: M. Fatih Güden, 2017.

Bahçesaray Çatbayır (Çat) Village Church

This church is located on private property at the Çatbayır village of Van's Bahçesaray district.

Since no academic study has been conducted on this church, no clear dating has yet been made. However, when compared to other examples, its entrance gate with a rounded arch indicates that its construction dates back to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.

When I visited this church, I chanced upon an inscription inside a hole, which I thought indicated the date of construction. I think clearer dating may be possible after the inscription is analysed.

This church is currently being used as a hayloft (Figure 4).

Van Çatak Çılga (Çiçan) Village - Dzidzarne Monastery

This monastery is located at Çılga (Çiçan) village of Van's Çatak district. As distinct from other Armenian churches in the region, this church was built using a three-nave construction plan.

No clear dating can be made since no academic study can be found in literature reviews. However, according to information on the Nişanyan maps, a Mamikonian chronicle belonging to the seventh century depicts the stealing of a part of the True Cross, which was then brought to Dzidzarne Monastery.

Figure 5: Van Gevaş Dönemeç Köyü Kapenits Asdvadzadzin Church.
The present state of the Church located in the Döneç (Ankığ) Village of the Gevaş District of Van.
Photo: M. Fatih Güden, 2018.

This mountain village, which is located at the end of one of the deep valleys at the border of Çatak district, is difficult to access. Two different monastic structures in rural areas can be observed along the valley that leads to the village.The church at Çılga village was used as a stable by the villagers for a long time (Figures 7 - 8).

Van Gevaş Dönemeç - Kapenits Asdvadzadzin Monastery

The structure located in the Dönemeç village of Van's Gevaş district is currently used as a hayloft. Consisting of two adjacent halls with a single nave, this structure was severely damaged in recent years as a result of treasure hunting. Its construction date is unknown since it has not been the subject of any academic studies (Figure 5).

Figure 6: Van Gevaş Kantzag Surp Tovmas Monastery.
The present state of the tenth to eleventh-century Monastery, located in the hamlet of Altınsaç Village in the Gevaş District of Van. Photo: M. Fatih Güden, 2019.

Figure 7 & 8: Van Çatak Çılga (Çiçan) Köyü Church.
The current state of the three-nave basilical-planned church building in Çılga Village, a mountain village in the Çatak District of Van. Photos: M. Fatih Güden, 2016.

Van Gürpınar Erkaldı (Hınasdan) Village Church

This church, which used to be located in the Erkaldı village of Van's Gürpınar district, was completely destroyed and another structure was erected in its place. When I visited the village 10 years ago, the church structure was partially intact. What remains today of this church is a piece of stone, which I believe to be a gravestone depicting the head of a ram.

Van Gürpınar Yedisalkım (Put) Village - Surp Asdvadzadzin Church

This church, which is located at the Yedisalkım village of Van's Gürpınar district, has been converted into a residence for the village *mukhtar*. Half of the church's apse can be seen in the basement of the house.

According to information on the Nişanyan maps, the Puta Surp Asdvadzadzin Monastery, which dates back prior to the seventh century, was abandoned but intact at the end of the nineteenth century.

Figure 9: Çarpanak Adası Gduts Anabad Monastery.
The present state of the Monastery, dated eight to ninth century, on Çarpanak Island in Lake Van.
Photo: M. Fatih Güden, 2019.

Figure 10: Van Başkale Vanadokia Kaya Chapel. Photo: M. Fatih Güden, 2015.

Van Başkale Yavuzlar (Tağik) Village – Rock Chapel

This small chapel structure, which is located in the Yavuzlar village of Van's Başkale district, was constructed by carving a rock resembling the Cappadocia rock formations.

No academic study has been conducted on this structure which I incidentally discovered and is currently used as a hayloft. Ruins of a large monastic structure, which was also constructed by carving into the rocks, can be observed near this rock chapel (Figures 10-11).

Van Başkale Yavuzlar (Tağik) Village Church

I could not obtain any information in literature reviews about this structure, which is located in Yavuzlar village in Van's Başkale district. This structure is situated within 200 meters of the previously shown chapel structure and its dimensions resemble a monastery.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Anatolia, a geography so valuable that it can be considered the open-air museum of the world, is transforming into a region where countless artifacts belonging to dozens of different civilizations are disappearing day by day and in this sense, it is rapidly becoming a desert. These artifacts, which are the common cultural heritage of the peoples and are of vital importance for transferring to future generations, are subjected

Figure 11: An undocumented rock chapel in the Yavuzlar (Tagik) Village of the Başkale District of Van.
Photo: M. Fatih Güden, 2015.

to intense physical destruction due to reasons such as people's lack of awarness, the implementation of wrong and inadequate policies, and treasure hunting.

In order to prevent this destruction, there are laws that the state of the Republic of Turkey should enact, make changes in existing laws, and take many steps in the implementation of these laws.

• First and foremost, an program should be prepared in order to identify, register and record the current status of all these works in relevant institutions.

• Necessary security measures should be provided as soon as possible in order to protect the detected artifacts, at least in their current state, and the visibility of these artifacts should be increased.

• The deterrence of the penalties applied in order to prevent the destruction of the works should be increased and the problems at the point of applying these penalties should be eliminated.

• A sufficient number of personnel who are experts in the subject should be available in the relevant institutions and organizations based on merit.

• In order to prevent these institutions from inadequacies in their work on the subject, cooperation should be made with other state institutions and non-governmental organizations.

• Awareness within society should be raised and more emphasis should be given to these activities through different events such as training programs, videos, artistic activities, public service announcements, confer-

ences, and symposiums prepared for the preservation of material culture and its transfer to future generations.

• By making the courses on this subject compulsory in all education and training institutions affiliated to the Ministry of National Education and Higher Education, students' awareness of the subject should be increased.

• Necessary trainings should be given to local people through non-governmental organizations and public education centers for the production and implementation of projects on this subject, and necessary support should be provided in all matters.

• A system should be established to eliminate bureaucratic delays and problems faced by non-governmental organizations, associations, or individuals in projects they want to carry out, and these projects should be supported and implemented quickly.

The problem of the disappearance of our cultural heritage day by day stands as a great threat to the future and cultural richness of Turkish society. In order to prevent this threat, for which we are responsible, from turning into a problem for which we cannot account for future generations, the above-mentioned articles should be expanded and implemented as soon as possible.

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Bewildering Beleaguerment: The Problem of Hakkari's Abandoned Churches

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Abstract

For nearly fifteen centuries, the rugged highlands of Hakkari served as a cradle of Syriac Christianity and a refuge for adherents of the Church of the East, from which they could protect themselves from persecution. The mountain stronghold of Qudshanis served as the patriarchate of this Church and, from there, its catholicos-patriarchs served as both the spiritual and temporal leaders of the semi-independent Assyrian tribes. This situation, however, was ended entirely with the expulsion of Hakkari's Assyrians to Iran in 1915 and Iraq in 1924. With this, some 265 churches, monasteries, chapels, and shrines within the current boundaries of Hakkari province alone were left behind to their fate.

Since the dispossession of the Assyrians and their subsequent abandonment of their places of worship, these have undergone various stages of desecration. These entailed their slow conversion into stables, storage spaces, houses and mosques, with a small minority completely destroyed to build new residences, mosques or military bases. In the last twenty years, however, the trend has been toward outright damage and destruction as treasure hunters search in vain for fabled gold in the remaining structures. Of the 103 churches that have been located and photographed or studied, 68 are somewhat intact or in various stages of collapse, while 35 have been completely destroyed, with some of them requiring archaeological excavation.

The situation now is dire. If something is not done to preserve what remains, the entire memory of Hakkari's Assyrians, and their historical contributions to the region, will be lost forever. Without a valid presence in Turkey since 1924, the Church of the East is unable to do enough to legally contest their current state, or work on an international agreement for their preservation. Since the eruption of hostilities between Kurdish rebels and the Turkish government in 1984, the Turkish Culture Ministry has been reluctant to authorize or contribute to any restoration efforts for threatened Christian places of worship in Hakkari, citing that they are in war zones and such efforts could be wasted in the end. This paper, after providing a background, will go through this current state of confusion, attempts at finding solutions, and possible options available to all stakeholders.

Introduction

For nearly fifteen centuries, the rugged highlands of Hakkari served as a cradle of Syriac Christianity and a refuge for adherents of the Church of the East, from which they could protect themselves from persecution. The mountain stronghold of Qudshanis (Konak) served as the patriarchate of this Church and, from there, its catholicos-patriarchs served as both the spiritual and temporal leaders of the region's semi-independent Assyrian tribes.[1] This situation, however, was ended entirely with their expulsion first to Iran by the Ottoman Empire in 1915, and finally to Iraq by the Turkish Republic in 1924.[2] With this, some 264 churches, monasteries, chapels, and shrines within the current boundaries of Hakkari province alone were left behind to their fate. After providing a background, this paper, will go through the current state of affairs and attempts at finding solutions, and possible options available to all stakeholders involved.

The Assyrians of Hakkari and their Church Buildings

The Assyrians have a history in Hakkari going back to the pre-Christian era, when their ancestors' once-powerful empire used the area as a buffer zone between it and the kingdom of Urartu. For much of the Neo-Assyrian period in antiquity, there is evidence of parts of Hakkari comprising imperial provinces, as well as the settlement of citizens in these areas. Indeed, the very name of the region is believed to derive from Akkadian *Ikkari* or Aramaic *Akkare*, meaning "farmers," and there are many more toponyms there which owe their etymology to these two Assyrian languages. Moreover, much of the agricultural infrastructure in the area – aqueducts, water channels and terraced fields – appears to have been a continuation of the ancient culture which was predominant further south in the Assyrian heartland.

Much of the current Hakkari province appears to have been governed by the late antique Assyrian kingdom of Adiabene, based at Erbil in current-day Iraq, and it was during this period in which we observe the beginnings of Christianity's spread there.[3] While Syriac literary traditions relate to the apostolic evangelization of Hakkari, the oldest-known churches in the province are believed to have been established between the fourth and sixth centuries.[4] The majority of Christians there adhered to the Church of the East (also known as "Nestorian"). A minority belonged to Chaldean Catholic and Protestant splinter groups formed as a result of Western missionary activities beginning in the nineteenth century, with 14 and 5 churches respectively.[5] There also existed an

1 The traditionalist patriarchate of the Church of the East appears to have been established there by Mar Shim'on X Eliya (1600-1638) around 1610, David Wilmshurst, *The Ecclesiastical Organisation of the Church of the East, 1318-1913* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 295; Te'ādoros d-Bēth Mār Shim'on, *Tash'ītā d-Yubālā d-Pāṭaryarkē Mār Shim'oné* (= A History of the Succession of Mār Shim'on Patriarchs) (Chicago: Alpha Graphic, 1995), 13.

2 Racho Donef, *The Hakkari Massacres: Ethnic Cleansing by Turkey 1924-25* (Sydney: Tatavla Publishing, 2014).

3 Between the late antique period and the Middle Ages, Hakkari was split between three different dioceses – all of which are attested to in Syriac sources dating between 410 and 1318. These were suffragans of the Church of the East's Metropolitan province of Adiabene and Assyria (based at Erbil and later at Mosul).

4 According to Armenian and Syriac sources, Christianity was first brought to the area by St. Bartholomew the Apostle, who was martyred at Albaq (Albayrak, Başkale) in the first century, and whose tomb served as the focus of an important Armenian monastery and pilgrimage site until 1915; Jean-Maurice Fiey, "Proto-Histoire Chrétienne du Hakkari Turc," *L'Orient Syrien* 4, No. 36 (1964): 462. Local oral traditions also assert that Saints Addai and Mari, of the 72 disciples, had a direct role in converting local pagans to Christianity; Surma d'Bait Mar Shimun, *Assyrian Church Customs and the Murder of Mar Shimun* (London: Faith Press, 1920), 2. In addition, the *Acts of St. Mari* record that the area was evangelised by his disciple St. Tomis, who was martyred on the plain of Gawar (Yüksekova) and whose tomb was still a place of pilgrimage in the sixth century; Fiey, "Proto-Histoire," 462-463.

5 While a single list of Protestant churches in Hakkari is unavailable, an estimate of the Chaldean Catholic churches and chapels there can be found in Joseph Tfinkdji, *L'Église Chaldéenne Catholique: Autrefois et Aujourd'hui* (Paris: Bureau des Études Ecclésiastiques, 1913), 68-69.

Figure 1. The exterior of the seventeenth-century patriarchal cathedral of St. Shallita at Qudshanis / Koçanis (Konak) before its abandonment in 1915 and in 2019. Photos : Mar Shimun Memorial Foundation, 1915 and Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2019.

Figure 2. The church of St. George at Shwawuta / Şavite (Kolbaşı) in 1886 and in 2015.
Photos: Mar Shimun Memorial Foundation, 1886 and Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2015.

Armenian minority with 5 churches in Hakkari prior to 1915.[6] Moreover, there was even a Syriac Orthodox diocese there during the Middle Ages and it has been posited that, after losing contact with their patriarchate, its adherents either merged with their ethnic brethren in the Church of the East or their dogmatic brethren in the Armenian Apostolic Church.[7] In the nineteenth century, at least three of Hakkari's Armenian communities were actually served by priests from the Church of the East.[8]

6 Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman a la veille du Génocide* (Paris: Les Editions d'Art et d'Histoire (ARHIS), 1992), 556, 564.

7 In 752, a Syriac Orthodox bishop named Jonah, dependent on the *Maphrian* (Catholicos) of Tikrit, resided at Julamerk (Hakkari); Ignatius Aphram Barsoum I, "A Glimpse of the History of the Syrian Nation in Iraq / Syrian Dioceses," *Syriac Studies*, 19 September 2016, http://www.syriacstudies.com/2016/09/19/a-glimpse-of-the-history-of-the-syrian-nation-in-iraq-syrian-dioceses-ignatius-aphram-barsoum-i-translated-by-dr-matti-moosa/.

8 George Percy Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals: with the Narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842 – 1844, and of a Late Visit to Those Countries is 1850; also, Researches into the Present Conditions of the Syrian Jacobites, Papal Syrians and Chaldeans, and an Inquiry into the Religious Tenets of the Yezeedees*, Vol. 1 (London: Joseph Masters, 1852), 398; Edward Lewes Cutts, *Christians Under the Crescent in Asia* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1877), 355.

Figure 3. Sheep kept inside the St. Simon Bar-Sabbae church at Be-Ikta / Bakê (Göze), in the valley of Tal (Oğul). Photo: Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2015.

The number of churches in Hakkari belonging specifically to the Church of the East has been gleaned from various sources. Anglican missionaries George Percy Badger and Edward Lewes Cutts had already provided a diocese-by-diocese record of the Church of the East's churches, and population statistics in *1850 and 1877 respectively*.[9] These statistics, between them, record a total of roughly 197 churches and monasteries within the boundaries of the present-day Hakkari province. No further statistics were published in regard to the Church of the East, however, and the nineteenth century figures were never updated, nor verified, prior to 1914. Additional figures were provided by General Aghā Petros, in a list presented at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919.[10] These add a further 7 churches to this total, which would thus include at least 204 places of worship which belonged to the Church of the East in Hakkari. To these may be augmented the names of churches found in studies of Syriac manuscripts from the area as well as valuable oral testimonies given by the descendants of Assyrians who were expelled from there.[11]

In general, the churches of Hakkari are mostly built using uncut stones and bear little in the way of ornamentation or external architectural features such as belfries. With their flat roofs and straight walls, they are usually plain cubes of masonry from the exterior, while the dark vaulted interiors were often plastered. The functional

9 Badger, *Nestorians and their Rituals*, Vol. 1, 393-399; Cutts, *Christians Under the Crescent*, 353-356.

10 David Gaunt, *Massacres, Resistance, Protectors: Muslim-Christian Relations in Eastern Anatolia During World War I* (Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias Press, 2006), 407-421.

11 A recent attempt to enumerate the Assyrian churches in Hakkari, including a list of the sources consulted, may be found in Nicholas Al-Jeloo, "Lost but Not Forgotten: Creating an Inventory of Assyrian Sacred Sites in Turkey (Part I)," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies (JAAS)* 27, No. 1 & 2 (2013): 75-135, especially fn. 100. Since the publication of this article, the author has collected much more information which was not available at that time.

Figure 4. The interior of the St. George church at Qoh / Kehê (Ağaçdibi). A new house has been built on top of it and, until recently, it had been used as a stable. Photo: Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2015.

Figure 5. Churches now used as storage spaces: The interiors of the monastery church of St. Dad-Isho' at Rabban Dadishu (Diraşaban), in the valley of Diz / Dêzê (Kırıkağaç), and the Virgin Mary church at Karpel / Kerpil (Köprücük /Körpücek) in Yüksekova district. Photo: Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2020.

simplicity of these buildings, however, highlights the poverty and piety of those who built them, as well as the ruggedness of their geographical setting – with thick walls and loophole windows to keep out the bitter winter cold. These are not vain monuments of grandeur or greatness, and nothing about them is meant to distract worshippers from the focus for which they were to be used, namely, prayer and contemplation of the divine. All attention was directed to the sanctuary area, where the sacred liturgy was conducted, and the vaulted ceilings provided natural acoustics which amplified the sounds of the chants. Even the entrances of these structures were deliberately made low and narrow, in order to force those entering to bow down in reverence.[12] Finally, in some cases, these churches may additionally bear carved designs of artistic significance or inscriptions of historical importance, the loss of which would also be one for local and world heritage.

12 Whereas many Westerners who travelled to the area prior to 1915 wrote descriptions of Assyrian religious architecture in Hakkari, a good overview can be found in Arthur John Maclean and William Henry Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People: Being the Impression of Five Years' Work in the "Archbishop of Canterbury's Assyrian Mission;' An Account of the Religious and Secular Life and Opinions of the Eastern Syrian Christians of Kurdistan and Northern Persia (known also as Nestorians)* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1892), 290-304.

Figure 6. The church of St. Sava at Mazronka / Mezre in the area of Rumta / Rumtik (Geçimli). The upper level, which used to serve as a patriarchal residence, is now a private home, and the church on the ground level is now used for storage. Photo: Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2015.

Desecration, Repurposing and Treasure Hunters

Since the dispossession of the Assyrians and the subsequent abandonment of their places of worship in Hakkari, these have undergone various stages of desecration and repurposing. Travelers to the area in between the 1960s and 1980s noted that many of them were being used as stables or for storage. Often, whether or not a church has been completely destroyed further depends on its geographical location, the settlement of a Kurdish tribe around it and, also, the material it was built from. For instance, in easily accessible areas with large populations, such as the plain of Gawar (Yüksekova), where many of the churches were built of mudbrick, most of them have been destroyed completely. Moreover, churches have been deliberately neglected or purposely destroyed in areas where the Kurdish tribes are particularly religious Muslims, such as in the Şemdinli district, or where they were historic enemies of the Assyrians, such as villages inhabited by the Upper Pinyanish or Oramar tribes. In places inhabited by tribes of the Artoshi confederation, such as those of Jirki, Giravi or Mamkhoran, which were settled in Hakkari from other areas during the 1940s, many of the churches have been reused for storage, as stables, or simply abandoned. In most of these cases, the repurposing of these churches has ironically resulted in their preservation from destruction. On the other hand, the least amount of damage to churches is found in

Figure 7. A private house built from the stones of the St. Stephen church at Samsikke / Şemsikî (Karakaş), in the valley of Ishtazin (Yeşiltaş). Photo: Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2014.

villages inhabited by Kurds who either belonged to Assyrian tribes, such as the Tkhuma valley in the Çukurca district, had friendly relations with Assyrians, such as the Lower Pinyanishi tribe, or have distant kinship rela-tions with Assyrians, such as the Qeshuran tribe.

In some cases, churches were destroyed to build infrastructure such as roads or dams, or replaced with mil-itary bases, since they were often built in prominent and easily defensible locations. This is because the Assyr-ians often used churches as places of refuge during times of persecution or when they were under attack from surrounding tribes. In other cases, villagers who were consulted indicated outside influences as the reason for which churches were destroyed, whether this was encouraged by commanders from adjacent military bases or ordered by imams sent by the state directorate of religious affairs. Since the eruption of hostilities between Kurd-ish rebels and the Turkish government in 1984, many areas in the Hakkari province have become war zones. Evacuated villages have served as camps and hideouts for anti-government guerillas, which has resulted in them being bombed by the military. In at least one case, according to my interlocutors in Iran, an important Assyrian monastic church on the border, was ruined in this manner. It is not known how many other religious structures have shared the same fate. While there was a brief respite between 2013 and 2015, when a peace process was in place, the political situation is currently still very tense and unpredictable.

Besides, in the last twenty years, the trend has been toward outright and wanton damage and destruction through the banal phenomenon of treasure hunting. This, however, is not something unique to Turkey; I first witnessed its effects in the Urmia region of Iran in 2002, where churches and graves were regularly excavated, and gravestones smashed in a vain quest to find gold or valuable artefacts. According to local legends, Christian

Armenians and Assyrians were more hardworking and wealthier than their Muslim neighbours who, for the most part, were Kurds, and that they buried their wealth in their churches and cemeteries before fleeing their homes during the First World War – rather than taking it with them to support themselves, which is more logical. This racist narrative ignores the fact that, in many areas, the Christians were indigenous, long-settled peoples descended from ancient civilisations – unlike the Kurds who began to immigrate to their areas during the Middle Ages first as nomadic tribes surviving on animal herding and brigandry. Nevertheless, it also disregards the fact that most rural Christians lived in extreme poverty and were often prey to the deprivations of neighbouring Kurdish tribal landlords who routinely overtaxed or plundered them.[13]

Furthermore, there is an entire support network of webpages and forums for aspiring treasure hunters where photos of supposed "finds" and potential sites are posted, as well as tips on how to conduct this illegal activity. Particularly disturbing are "guides" which detail different types of cross designs as indicators of what kind of treasure must be buried under them or hidden in the walls behind them. Inscriptions and graffiti are particularly viewed as indicators of some type of treasure, making them first pickings for destruction. This has also given rise to the proliferation of fake manuscripts and artifacts, as well as "maps" complete with writing in bogus "languages," which have encouraged this practice. Unfortunately, the abovementioned websites are not policed or taken offline, and many of these criminals continue their vandalism unobstructed and without any fear of being punished. Thus, we observe that this hunt in vain for fabled treasure is not solely limited to extreme cases of excavation which compromise the foundations of such vulnerable abandoned buildings, but they also extend to the removal of stones from the structures themselves, which result in their collapse. Moreover, what is often found includes liturgical objects and manuscripts which were hidden for safekeeping, and these lose their value since they are removed from their archaeological and historical contexts. This has rendered the Christian Assyrian heritage of Hakkari particularly vulnerable to being lost forever.

Current Situation and the Importance of Action

Out of the 264 potential Assyrian religious structures or sacred sites abandoned within the Hakkari province alone, roughly 105 have been securely located, photographed or studied, whether by myself (notwithstanding my own limitations), other scholars or local informants. Of these, 53 lie empty and abandoned, in various stages of structural decline, with 21 of these significantly ruined or collapsed. A further 14 have been ruined to their foundations or require archaeological excavation. A total of five churches are being used for storage, one of which is within a military base and, in one of these cases, a former patriarchal residence on top of it has become a private dwelling. Moreover, 30 churches no longer exist, and their foundations can no longer be seen. Four of these were destroyed to build military bases, one to build a road, another to build a mosque on its site, one to build a stable, while yet another was ruined by a natural rockfall. Two were destroyed by the Kurdish sheikhs of Nehri

13 This has been widely remarked on by Western travelers to the area during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and can easily be read in many of their published accounts.

Figure 8. The primary school at Sarunis (Ö veç) in Şemdinli district, built on the site of the former Virgin Mary church and with its stones. Photo: Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2020.

Figure 9. An engraved cross in the wall of the village mosque at Urmar / Oramar (Dağlıca) in Yüksekova district, built in 1950 on the site of the former church of St. Daniel, and with its stones. Photo: Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2015.

Figure 10. The interior of the church of St. George at Bayn-Ture / Bemtur (Çubuklu) in Şemdinli district, showing how the structure has been compromised because of illegal excavation by treasure hunters. Photo: Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2020.

(Bağlar, Şemdinli) prior to 1915, and their stones were reused to build their palatial residences. Stones from churches have also been removed completely to build houses in three cases, fence walls in two cases, a mosque in one case, a dam in another case, and a school in yet another. In at least three cases, churches have been repurposed as mosques – one of which is abandoned and in ruins, and another rebuilt with the same stones in 1950. Three other former churches in the Çukurca district, and one in the west of Hakkari's central district, appear to have been converted to mosques much earlier than the nineteenth century. Moreover, one local interlocutor recounted that there were once up to 13 or 14 churches in the Sillehi valley, to the southwest of the provincial centre, which was one of the first areas where the (presumably Assyrian) inhabitants converted to Islam *en masse*. Of these, three have become mosques, one is buried under a hill, and another has a house built on its site.[14]

A comprehensive scholarly survey and search for what remains of the Assyrian or Christian heritage of Hakkari is yet to be undertaken. Unfortunately, many of the sites in question are difficult to access due to lack of roads and the sheer distances involved in many cases, as well as them being located in places requiring some amount of trekking or climbing. Another factor is hostility or a lack of cooperation by some local Kurds who, for many

14 According to the testimony of Mr. Halil İbrahimoğlu of Belan (Durankaya), currently residing in Hakkari, given on 30 April 2018.

Figure 11. The interior of the St. Mamas church at the neighborhood of 'Aqre / Akre (Akar) near Dağlıca, showing signs of structural deterioration between 2015 and 2019. Photos: Nicholas Al-Jeloo, 2015, 2019.

reasons, may not want the history of their villages' previous inhabitants to be brought to light. In addition, they might not want to be exposed for destroying national heritage monuments, or they might be wary of treasure hunters. Finally, many of them may be located within restricted military areas which are no-go zones due to the security situation in the region. Therefore, the cooperation of a number of stakeholders, including local administrative and military authorities, scholars from Hakkari's university, as well as villagers, must be secured in order for such a survey to be successful.

Stakeholders: The Church of the East, Locals and the Turkish Authorities

Without a valid official presence in Turkey since 1924, the Church of the East – the major stakeholder – is currently unable to do much in the way of legally contesting the current state of its former properties and historical-cultural patrimony or working on an international agreement for their preservation. While a handful of Turkish citizens still identify as adherents of this Church, there aren't enough for a viable congregation because they are scattered, and many of them live between Turkey and the diaspora. In light of this, more established sister Churches such as the Syriac Orthodox and Chaldean Catholics have offered to step in on their behalf to act as guarantors of these properties or manage them under their own religious community foundations. Such options, however, have not been seriously explored. In 2014, however, and on the initiative of then member of parliament Mr. Erol Dora, the then Metropolitan of Iraq Mar Gewargis Sliwa traveled to Hakkari and Ankara in order to visit some church sites and discuss the issue of their preservation and restoration with both provincial and national authorities. After his consecration as Catholicos-Patriarch the following year, though, and due to issues relating to his failing health, not much more progress has been made on the Church's part.

At any rate, due to the unresolved conflict between the government and Kurdish rebels, the country's Cultural and Tourism Ministry has heretofore been reluctant to authorize or significantly contribute to any restoration campaigns for threatened Christian places of worship in Hakkari, citing that they are in war zones and such efforts could be wasted in the end. There is also a fear that these may be used for the purpose of Christian proselytization among local Muslims. This, unfortunately, leaves us with a much-reduced pool of options to choose from in terms of seeking a plan of action. Nevertheless, the restoration of churches and monasteries in Hakkari – even without any local congregation – would make a serious contribution to the local tourism industry by providing interesting historical and cultural heritage sites for people to visit and learn about. It would also encourage faith and ancestry tourism from the diaspora, contributing to the local economy, and would open the possibility of dialogue and reconciliation between Turkey and the stateless Assyrian people. An increase in tourism could additionally result in the possibility of a reduction of hostilities in the region.

Conclusion: Solutions and Possible Options

Undoubtedly, the current situation of Hakkari's Assyrian religious heritage is unmistakably dire. If something is not done to preserve what remains, the entire memory of the region's Assyrians, and their historical contributions to it, will be lost forever. The first step would be to discover if there was ever a "Nestorian" religious community foundation registered in the Ottoman Empire prior to 1915, and whether or not it could be revived. Otherwise, the Church can apply to open a branch in Turkey as a charitable foundation, or an association can be formed of concerned individuals who wish to work towards the issue of heritage preservation. Either of these would serve as a representative body for the Church in Turkey, in order to maintain its legacy in Hakkari and other provinces of the country. Once this is achieved, the Church could apply for the return of selected properties and cooperate with local cultural authorities to have them cleaned, restored and opened for tourism. For Hakkari, the relevant authorities are currently the museum and regional monuments conservation board in Van.

Currently, I am engaged in a project under the directorship of Mardin Museum to clean and restore two Assyrian churches in the Uludere district of Şırnak province, adjacent to Hakkari. Both are planned to be put on the provincial tourist route and, importantly, the local inhabitants have shown tremendous support and encouragement for this to occur. Additionally, the churches are both properties of the Turkish national treasury, which could make their transfer back to the ownership of the Assyrian Church of the East a much smoother process. If successful, this would be a good precedent which could be repeated for a number of churches in Hakkari and other provinces. Hopefully, in this way, we can save much of what remains for future generations to admire and study.

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Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AcBYIIhcsY8&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=6

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cu42H01Ng3Y&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=6

The Yezidis: Destruction, Reconstruction, and Identity*

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The Yezidis were exposed to massacres, slaughters, and deportations throughout their history. At the beginning of the 20th century, their territory remained within the frontiers of five countries, namely Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Iran, and Armenia. Thereby, they continued to live within the frame that each country established with its minorities. The Yezidis have faced pressure due to their ethnic and religious identity in the Turkish Republic era because of the country's severe attitude to its minorities. From the 1960s on, the Yezidi community, whose population already greatly reduced, immigrated to European countries, especially to Germany that was provoked by political and religious oppression, and economic difficulties. Today there are only a few Yezidi villages, and Yezidi remained in Turkey. Most Yezidi villages were occupied by the Muslims, and the Yezidis who stayed there, live together with their new neighbors. Some villages were forcefully evacuated in the 1990s, and deported populations moved to the big towns and cities, and some of them joined their relatives in Germany.

Between 1809 and 1907, after its capture by the Ottomans, the Sanctuary of Sheikh 'Adi at Lalish in the Northern Iraq, the main Yezidi pilgrimage center, was converted into a madrasa. Apart from this exception, it is rare that Yezidi sacred spaces are converted to the need of the newcomers. Instead, Yezidi sacred places were targeted to destroy.

In this paper, instead of dealing with the conversion or destruction of the Yezidi sacred places, I will discuss how the Yezidis react to exist in their homelands that they don't live in anymore. I will focus on the Hasan Beg Cemetery (Goristana Hesen Begê), located in the village of Güneli (Geliyê Sora) in Nusaybin, Turkey, where Yezidis of Germany continue to bury their departed. The Yezidis can still not return their homelands, but they continue to manifest their existence in their lands by burying their deceased and carrying out their commemorative rituals there. In this way, they lay claim to their ancestors, past and future. This paper aims to examine the relationship between the cemetery and Yezidi identity. It will question how the Yezidi identity reconstructs and transforms itself in the monumental funerary architecture. These tombstones' design and symbols will be analysed and the effect of exiling from the land on the mortuary practices will be discussed.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AcBYIIhcsY8&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=6

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cu42H01Ng3Y&list=PLN7AHQGMK-kdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=6

* The full paper will be published elsewhere but a video of the conference presentation can be accessed online via the links and QR codes.

Keynote Speech

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Hello dear friends and colleagues. I would like to start by thanking Mr. Doğan Bermek and Dr. Vanessa de Obaldía and everyone who has contributed to this conference and honoured me with their kind invitation, and for organising this meaningful and important scientific event. I would like to start by saying, "*kutlug bolsun*" (an ancient Turkish phrase: may it augur well) to ADİP, which was founded in 2019. I heard of it only when I received Mr. Doğan's thoughtful invitation last autumn and would like to congratulate them and wish them success. I would like to slightly change the phrase and also say "*Dutlug Bolsun*". The reason why I say "*dutluk*" (mulberry grove) will become apparent later. Briefly for now, I shall speak about a place with a sacred mulberry tree, a mulberry tree that changed my life. It is located at the centre of Seyyid Ali Sultan lodge, also known as the Kızıl Deli lodge. I will turn to it in a few minutes but first: "*Kutluk bolsun, Dutluk bolsun*" is my personal message to ADİP.

There are three conferences happening in Istanbul this weekend and, if it were possible, I would have liked to listen to all of them in their entirety. This conference is one of them. The second one is a three and a half-day conference organised by the Istanbul Research Institute on nature and the city. Just this afternoon, I was a moderator for one of the sessions at that conference. I am barely catching my breath. There is another conference, taking place today and tomorrow, jointly organised by the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation and Beykoz University on "Archival Studies in Turkey: Women's Place in Archives". It was due to take place in November, but was postponed to this weekend. I am very sorry that I am unable to participate in it. The Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation, as you know, is celebrating its 30th year. It is a huge success for them to show such continuity and enjoy success from very humble beginnings. I would like to extend my congratulations to them as well and mark this moment as one of great intellectual vitality in Istanbul despite all adversities.

Before going into my topic, I would like to state that I had to shorten it a bit, since I wanted to add some information in light of what I've heard on the Hagia Sophia during the first session this morning. I listened to two very successful speakers. I would like to thank both of them. I know Markus and always admire his work; today I heard Ms. Ufuk for the first time and was impressed by the fact that she included her emotions in a presentation that was analytically sharp at the same time; this is not a feat that academicians can usually pull off easily. After listening to them, I would like to add a personal anecdote about the opening ceremony of Hagia Sophia as a mosque.

Right after the opening ceremony last summer, some newspapers started circulating sentences from a short interview I had given in 2015, without indicating that those sentences were articulated five years earlier. The

journalists were not necessarily acting in bad faith but it was sloppy journalism. In fact, T24 eventually apologised for not providing the correct context when publishing it. Because context is the most important aspect of meaning, be it the meaning of speech or of architecture.

As you might recall, Dr. Ali Erbaş, the President of the Presidency of Religious Affairs, stated the following during the opening ceremony, I am paraphrasing: "Those who usurp endowments are damned". In an interview I had given to *Magma* magazine in 2015, at another moment of public debate on the Hagia Sophia, I pointed out that Mehmed II was a sultan who confiscated endowments. I wanted to indicate that this should also be taken into account when discussing the Hagia Sophia. Of course, the monument's place in public life, its future and its mournful condition as a venue of mass tourism were also issues for me. I mainly talked about these matters, but in one sentence I also pointed out, as written by Mehmed II's treasury official Tursun Bey himself, that Mehmed II expropriated, or "nationalised" if you will, and bestowed on his fief-holding cavalry up to 20,000 villages, held as properties and endowments, as stated by Tursun Bey. Upon discovering this five-years-old comment in the summer of 2020, journalists extracted these remarks from the larger interview and quoted it in such a way that the news items, circulating from one media outlet to another on the internet, were given titles like: "Prof. Kafadar responds to Ali Erbaş" or "Kafadar's answer to the Presidency of Religious Affairs". Suddenly I found my remarks given new meaning in a new and different polemical context. As some of you, too, may have experienced over incidents like this, I received hundreds of insults in my personal email inbox and on social media platforms.

I do not wish to dwell on the personal aspect of this but rather underline a dimension of the matter revealed to me by this episode. It was noticed during this unfortunate online raid that the information I gave is not new, and certainly not my original finding. For example, this information can be found in the entry on Mehmed II, written by the late Halil İnalcık, in the *Islam Ansiklopedisi* (*Encyclopedia of Islam*) of Türkiye Diyanet Foundation. İnalcık used more or less the same words to say that Mehmed had usurped endowments. This is common knowledge. And it is also correct. So, what is the problem here?

Recently, there has been growing and austere criticism, often by students of theology and Islamic jurisprudence, directed at historians of the Republican era, primarily Halil İnalcık and Ömer Lütfü Barkan who, along with some other names, are the most influential figures in Ottoman historiography. This is the issue I wanted to underscore before moving onto my topic. As in the case of the Hagia Sophia, the monument, the temple, Ottoman history is turning into a subject that some people feel they should re-appropriate from the clutches of republican secularism. At this point, Ottoman history or this public sphere, the abstract meeting place in which the discourse on the Ottoman past and its legacy is articulated, debated, manipulated and calibrated, is becoming something like a place of worship where a struggle for ideological hegemony is being fought out. It is, of course, related to the discourse that is all too ready to declare those who do not think like "us", or in conformity with what is presumed to be the way that "we" are supposed to be thinking about "our" history, as dangerously foreign if not quasi-infidel. We need to reflect on concrete public spaces and public culture with all its abstractions as part of the same universe of meanings that surround us. These are my thoughts after the Hagia Sophia session, on

a matter that I have been observing and reflecting upon. I wanted to share them with you in dialogue with that earlier panel. The relatively recent trend I am speaking about is related to but somewhat different from neo-Ottomanism, broadly speaking. It seems that a new area or issue of polemics is coming into existence regarding the professional scholarly (and that means "universal," like all scholarly pursuits) practice of Ottoman historiography. Obviously, this kind of polemic, like the one about the Hagia Sophia but not so explicitly, was already there to some degree, but it has re-emerged in a different dimension, far more severely and censoriously. I will now return to my shortened speech.

We are at the end of a long and productive day. And I don't wish to contribute to your exhaustion. I would like to briefly make three points that I hope will contribute to our conversations and reflections on our larger theme of great significance. The theme "converting places of worship" is important no matter what or when, but especially now, due to heightened sensitivities in the wake of a series of decisions in the last few years to remake places of worship or former places of worship. The organisers of the conference wisely chose to bring together experts and among them many dear colleagues and many whom I'd so much enjoy to have met in person if it were possible. I was able to listen to some of the proceedings, a variety of complex issues involving converting places of worship from the perspectives of different disciplines and in different times and places relevant to this geography. I have three points to mention, moving from the more specific to the more general. The specific one is the specific geographic unit of study, in this case Anatolia. Second, the concept of conversion in converted places of worship and third, the uses and potential abuses of historical perspectives on a topic like this. I will be very brief about the last one.

Let me start with Anatolia. Obviously, we must always be vigilant about the analytical units: of place, space, time as well as social categories but above all, space and time. So, why Anatolia? I don't mean to raise this question with regard to the organisation of ADİP, there it is very clear, but with regard to this conference. The word, as we know, did not have currency in its present sense until the twentieth century. Having studied the scientific, scholarly usage of the words "Asia Minor" and "Anatolia" in bibliographies of historical, archaeological and natural science publications related to the former Ottoman geography, I have seen that until the 1910's, Anatolia hardly ever appears. That decade, the 1910s, witnessed the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the Turkish War of Independence, which obviously reshaped demographic realities, as well as geographies of belonging and affective bonds, with many attendant tragedies. Even then, Anatolia, the word, the notion, emerged rather slowly into its current iconic position. The first journal with the name "Anadolu" was published in 1924, right after the Republic's foundation, and it was a venture by Mükrimin Halil Yinanç and his friends. Mükrimin Halil Bey was an esteemed scholar of Seljuk history mostly, and medieval Turkish history in general. The following decades witnessed several different kinds of Anadoluculuk (Anatolianism); throughout this period, the idea has taken on new overtones and seen new uses.

I have no issues specifically with the use of Anatolia as such; moreover, I too have deep affective bonds with it, to the place and to the notion. But we need to be aware of its historicity and its limits and limitations as a geo-

graphic unit of study. It is big enough, important enough, complex enough, deep enough to be worthy of not one but many conferences. But one also needs to be mindful of its emerging - this is relatively more recent - exclusionary uses as well as its limits as a category of analysis when we are engaged in academic or intellectual labour in my opinion. Even taking its most capacious and expansive use into consideration, everything in today's Turkey - this is the most expansive use, everything in today's Turkey to the east of Istanbul, to the east and south of the Marmara Sea - Anatolia, does not come close to including all of the places that we are dealing with in this conference. I say this in two respects. One is geographical: Thrace, including Istanbul and the Hagia Sofia, is not in Anatolia in that sense. Of course, I see very good reasons for including it here, but bear with me as I develop my point in its conceptual aspect. This is the one that really matters for me. The geographic one can be taken as a pedantic issue: there are regions, which can be divided and marked differently. Anatolia can be and has been instrumentalised to construct a binary around the opposition between "it" and Istanbul and maybe Izmir. Between "us" and those who are not exactly "us". Between the essence of our people, Volk, and cosmopolitanism, which is as Markus Dressler pointed out earlier today, identified by certain strands in the Turkish political-ideological spectrum, as the force behind Republican-era decisions like the conversion of the Hagia Sofia into a museum.

In any case, I have been working during the last few months with İnanç Kıran, my colleague, to collect data on the relatively recent conversions of certain sites in Thrace, both Turkish and Greek Thrace, where the dynamics are somewhat different. I will not present any of that data today because they are still raw for me and I didn't

The mulberry tree in the complex Seyyid Ali Sultan located in Western Thrace.

have an opportunity to reflect on them, especially for the Turkish part of Thrace. I will mention them now simply as instances, as examples of the fact that sometimes the word "Anatolia" as a unit of analysis is not sufficiently inclusive of the kinds of realities and dynamics that we wish to study. In those instances, I for one say, why not use phrases like "Anatolia and Rumelia", "Anatolia and the Balkans", "Lands of Rum" or some such thing. Technical vocabulary or longer phrasings are worth the price to pay in order to achieve precision and clarity. At any rate, the site I want to speak about also happens to be in Thrace, in Greek Thrace specifically, and has a mulberry tree at its center. This is the shrine complex of Seyyid Ali Sultan, also known as Kızıl Deli, which is situated in what is now Greek Thrace to the west of Didymoteicho/Dimetoka and to the southwest of Edirne. In the middle of the complex there is a mulberry tree that more or less encircles it. I'll come back to this.

My second concern or point is related to the notion of conversion. What are the processes of conversion of a place of worship? From one religion to another, it is obvious, but can we extend the term to include other types of transformation? Indeed, all day today, colleagues have been doing that. Namely, colleagues have already been addressing relevant questions. Dr. Aktüre for instance asked if transformations were functional or ideological, speaking of not just conversion upon conquest but various other kinds of transformative interventions that took place that may have happened under the rule of one single state or of states belonging to the same religion. It is already obvious that diachronic and synchronic perspectives will need to be brought together for assessing the nature of transformations and conversions of places of worship within a conceptual framework. What about transformations that have taken place over the centuries? Through additional construction and endowment to an existing place of worship, for instance, without changing its identity. And I know some colleagues have also been looking into this kind of transformation. To look at the shrine of Haji Bektash, a big central site of Bektashi/Alawite worship, everything after the initial *çilehane,* is a kind of transformation, is a kind of intervention. But when a political actor is involved, does that raise the stakes? For instance, according to the *Vilayetname,* perhaps written by Uzun Firdevsi, Bayezid II added the lead dome to the shrine, which was of course at that time an imperial prerogative of the House of Osman. Nobody can just build a lead dome on their own. But Bayezid commissioned it, and that, according to the *Vilayatname,* was of course a gesture of benevolence, that was a kind of intervention that could be considered a larger type of transformation than every day, gradual, incremental types of intervention. Or let us consider the decision to bury Kalender Çelebi (d.1527) where he now lies. That changes, radically reconfigures the relationship of the place with its own mulberry tree; like the one in Seyyid Ali's shrine, this is a very important *dut ağacı.* (Below, I will discuss yet another mulberry tree from yet another Bektashi site with such a key role in the *ethos* of the place, in the special organisation of the place, and in the mythology of the place). How did the configuration in the shrine complex of Haji Bektash change through the burial of Kalender Çelebi right beside the mulberry tree, which plays such a key role, of course, in the foundational narrative of the arrival of Haji Bektash from Central Asia? I need not repeat that story which is well-known, but let me just recall that the mulberry tree marks the site where he was eventually supposed to build his community, where Haji Bektash's community struck roots in the lands of Rum. So, Kalender Çelebi being buried there, what

kind of transformation is this, if we wanted to put such instances on a range, on a scale of transformative acts?

Some of those interventions are too fraught with meaning and transformative impact in terms of communal life and power relations, be they at the local level or between the locality and the authorities of the state. They could also imply severe intrusions by the state into local sites and practices of worship. Take the repeated *hükümş,* edicts coming out of the Topkapi Palace regarding the behaviour of certain believers around the Seyyid Gazi Shrine in the early sixteenth century. Repeatedly, during the early phase of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict, the Ottoman authorities sent edicts to Seyyid Gazi and some other shrine complexes in the area to change, to redesign, or to suppress certain practices of worship taking place at those sites. So, some interventions could imply severe intrusions by the state into local sites and practices of worship. Or they could be collaborative ventures between the state and the worshippers as in the case, perhaps, and this is a big perhaps, of Bayezid II and Balım Sultan circa 1500. I say a big perhaps, because we know so little, at least I know so little, about that affair, even after having paid serious attention to the literature and the sources. Presumably, Balım Sultan was commissioned to go there by Bayazid II, or the two of them collaborated in that, which then led to the so-called Second Foundation, as it were, of the Bektashi Order of Dervishes, or at least a re-organisation of a serious sort. This is the prevalent understanding of what happened circa 1500, but there is no hard evidence about the nature of the relationship between Balım Sultan and Bayezid II. In any case, even if they were made with noble intentions, such interventions could lead, over time, to changing balances, to appropriation, to tension, to resentment, to new sets of inclusions and exclusions that we associate with the conversions of places of worship, in a more obvious sense.

Perhaps we should consider two categories: hard conversions and soft conversions as we have actually been doing with different vocabularies and consider the relationship between a whole range of transformative processes from gradual, incremental change all the way to conquest and conversion by way of confessional identity as it took place with the Hagia Sofia in 1453. But as Dr. Aktüre argued earlier today, even that instance was not a one-shot case. It took some gradual changes of various sorts for it to be a site with a fully Islamic nature as conceived by some authors. There is also the question of agency in other words, if you look at conversions as a bundle of processes rather than one, top-down decision as in those immediate, post-conquest instances.

But even in those instances, decisions were not always, not necessarily, made by one person, the conquering figure, in one irrevocable decision. Take what happened to the Orthodox churches of Constantinople, Istanbul, after 1453. That was detailed in many publications so far, and also in an intervention earlier today. Some enjoyed church status for a while, which could be for decades or more than a century, and were then converted into mosques. And things happened over time in such a way that there was not one irrevocable decision to engage in one grand act of converting them. The matter looks more complex when we look at the instances of those, what may be called, soft conversions, which may even be so gradual that they can be considered incremental. There is also the question of agency that needs more attention: Who does the transforming and converting of places of worship? States? Institutions such as endowments? Communities? Individuals who are somehow in a position to do so, such as at the very site of Kızıl Deli. There is a fountain right beside the mulberry tree that you do not

see from this angle. And during my first few visits there, I thought that the fountain was a part of the original. Because it clearly is an Ottoman era fountain and it fits very well into its current place. But eventually my host, Müslüm Çolak, a wonderful human being, the custodian of the place, explained to me that he and his friends had found that Ottoman fountain in some locality nearby, half-broken and then brought it there, to its current site, to give it a better spot. And it does look good where it is, but what kind of an intervention is this if one looks at the larger, longer term adventure of the place and considers transformations of different kinds? I also want to ask a question and elaborate, to what extent does our notion of the transformation of a place of worship include the practices therein? Take the Seyyid Gazi Shrine example again. It continued to be, in terms of its general identity, a shrine for Muslims, for believers, also I'm sure non-Muslims are visiting for all sorts of reasons, but associated with the cult of a warrior-saint. But the practices there, after the intervention of the Ottoman authorities in the early sixteenth century, seems to have changed it dramatically. How should we consider that within the typology of transformations and conversions of places of worship?

Now, I'll return to my example, namely the shrine complex of Kızıl Deli, and relate a few observations from my own experience with a historical site that is most precious, most unusual from the point of view of modern history, in terms of its relationship to a state and other types of formal institutions. It was a life-transforming experience for me to be blessed with the hospitality of the wonderful people of Seyyid Ali Sultan Dergahı in Greek Thrace. When I first visited it in 2001, it was a deeply isolated place. Isolated from the rest of the world that is, not absolutely, certainly not. They had already started accessing TV and some already had been able to travel to other parts of Greece and to Turkey, with some difficulties at times, but still quite distinctly isolated. Many were in touch with relatives in Turkey where they had migrated in earlier years. Anyway, it is by now more widely recognised and visited by a growing circle of scholars, intellectuals, fans and others. In other words, it too went through a kind of conversion even during my own experience of the place in the last two decades. But over the six and a half centuries of its existence, many significant transformative acts took place, even though we are not speaking of a kind of conversion in the sense of moving from a place of worship for Muslims to a place of worship for Christians, or vice versa, but they were nonetheless dramatic transformations.

First, of course, it had to be created. That happened at the end of fourteenth century. The site I am referring to is about 30-40 kilometres to the west of Didymoteicho which is located near the Turkish-Greek border on Greek territory and is the city right before one reaches the Bulgarian border. There existed a connection from this region to Anatolia before the conquest by the Ottomans of Gallipoli, which changed the dynamics of this geography. Seyyid Ali Sultan is supposed to have played a role in the first and, from the Ottoman point of view, felicitous transfer of forces across the channel to Gallipoli sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century. The relationship to the famous Via Egnatia, which is to the south of Didymoteicho and the Kizil Deli shrine, should also be highlighted. First, it had to be created towards the end of the fourteenth century, as I said, which was an act of conversion of a site in the Rhodope Mountains. The Turks, recently migrating to that area, identified one of the hills as Tanrı Dağı, Heavenly Mountain, or God's Mountain, Holy Mountain. Perhaps it had already

been called that and there Kızıl Deli decided to build his shrine thanks to a miraculous incident that had to do with the mulberry tree. There you see the tree still playing a role in encircling the shrine complex as well as in being an icon of the collective memory of the community. So, it had to be built into a settlement and built as a sacred site with an institutionalised communal life of dervishes and peasants. In 1401, we have the first official act of recognition of this site as a foundation, as a *vakıf*. Therefore, it had been established before that. We start seeing documents after that point at the turn of fifteenth century. Then, a big transformative moment was during the period of Bayezid II and Balım Sultan circa 1500, to which I alluded earlier because Balım Sultan happened to be at the shrine of Seyyid Ali Sultan. Whatever the actual circumstances of that partnership, it constituted the beginning of a new role for the convent of Seyyid Ali, created there in the countryside of Didymoteicho by the saintly man and his followers before 1400. A century or so later, circa 1500, the sheikh of the shrine was appointed or sent, or perhaps simply agreed to take the role after negotiations with the sultan, as sheikh of the shrine of Haji Bektash near Kırşehir. He was to be known as "the second founder" (for some, the real founder) of the Bektashi order of dervishes, namely one of the largest and most influential Sufi networks in the Ottoman empire. Between 1500 and the latter part of the seventeenth century, most of the sheikhs of Suluca Karahöyük, namely Haji Bektash, came from this Thracian shrine complex of Seyyid Ali Sultan, which is now maybe one of the most isolated and rustic places. It needs to be remembered, however, that this now-modest place has a very learned tradition and legacy. That, to me, is a very dramatic transformation, very unfortunate for the locals because of various tragedies that happened in the meantime, but they still take ownership of it and rightly find dignity in it. That is indeed a matter of dignity. Anyway, I'll come to that too. For more than a century and a half, almost all of the very important persons in one of the most important Sufi orders, imagine the huge sheikdom of Haji Bektash, came from the shrine of Seyyid Ali Sultan. That shows the significance and the kind of learning that the place must have represented at the time. Then, another very big moment of conversion, so to speak, was 1826, and that can indeed be called a conversion because within the parameters of the universe of Sufi orders, it went from the Bektashis to the Nakshibendis, at least for a while. That is a dramatic transformation. I won't dwell on that much, but we also know that the library of the shrine was confiscated in 1826 as was the library of Abdal Musa Dergahı in Tekke, in southern Turkey. The fourth moment of the transformation would be inclusion of the region within the state boundaries of Greece after 1912-13. And thus, the change in its status to a minority endowment, *azınlık vakfı*.

After centuries, once again within the twentieth century, the most tragic moment for the place, for the area and for its people, came in the 1940s with the Nazi invasion of Greece and the Greek Civil War that followed the Second World War. In living local memory, *andartes*, the civil war, is the most common reference, even among the younger folk who grew up with the stories of their grandparents' suffering in the middle of a bloody civil war, of which they were not directly a part but victimized nonetheless. After the war, the area was declared a sealed zone by the Greek state for security reasons and kept thus until the mid-1990s. That is why I could not travel there while I was writing my book *Between Two Worlds*, where the legend about Kızıl Deli plays such an important role.

I could only interpret it textually without visiting the place. I published it in 1995, around the time when Greece opened up the area. When I first started visiting the place after 2000, it had barely been opened up. Within a decade and a half, it went through yet another transformation with the attention of Greek and Turkish states. Dirt roads were replaced by asphalt roads by the Greek state. An ancient wooden tomb, a truly magnificent piece of local craftsmanship was replaced by an impressive looking, but totally inauthentic marble cenotaph by the Turkish Consulate of Komotini/Gümülcine - an act of noble intentions, no doubt, but for a historian, for anyone who cares deeply about historic sites, it was a sorrowful intervention. There is also a new cement guesthouse in the middle of the shrine complex, right next to that mulberry tree, built by the local community that deemed it a need for the growing numbers of visitors. Therefore, the Greek State, the Turkish State and some members of the local community all engaged, within a decade and a half, in all kinds of interventional acts that changed the place a lot, in my opinion, from what it had been. It is not a conversion of the religious identity and use of the place, of course, but it is very much a kind of conversion that I am hoping to reflect upon in the coming years in conversation with colleagues who also find it worthy of reflection. We have cases of many different scales of transformations, ruptures, interventions, and outright conversions by a plethora of agents including states, local authorities representing the state or the community itself.

The construction of Uzunköprü by Murat II really changed the road network of the area and the commercial pathways which would have been another interesting turning point to highlight in my story. This is circa 1440. The famous Uzunköprü is one of the biggest pieces of public investment by the young Ottoman state. Here, you see another very significant mulberry tree, in the middle of the Şücaeddin Veli shrine complex near Seyyid Gazi. The mulberry trees in Bektashi shrine complexes have been an important part of my studies over the years. Another tree, not a mulberry tree, but this one is from Geyikli Baba/Baba Sultan, with a similar role of marking the place and the collective memory of a community in such a way that it is at least as significant as the buildings of the place. When we talk about converting places of worship, it is certainly necessary to look around, beyond the architecture in the narrow sense. We must look around to the "unbuilt" environment and the landscape, which is often also part of the human-made "ecology" of the site of worship.

So, at the Kızıl Deli Shrine, the mulberry tree is still there and the community, in its own way, after all the hardships that I tried to describe to you, is still there. It is also a story of remarkable resilience, dedication and continuity no matter what the ruptures. How did they retain, despite all the adverse factors I mentioned and much more, their extraordinarily openhearted attitude to strangers, for instance? I mean the attitude embodied in the word "garibdost" which I see in late medieval and early modern sources as characterising some rural communities as well as *Ahi*s for example, namely members of the Futuwwa, or Fütüvvet associations. We could translate *garibdost* as friend/host of the stranger, friend of the traveller, friend of the forlorn, the one who gives shelter to the vulnerable and the destitute. The word *garibdost* resonates with me with exceptional profundity ever since I met the people of Kızıl Deli. Despite all types of conversions imposed on and traumas experienced by the site and its rightful owners, the community of worshippers of the saintly figure, there is a good deal of resilience,

dedication and continuity and maintenance of values and attitudes, which I find astoundingly remarkable. The mulberry tree in the middle constitutes the pivot of the continuous and living memory of this community as a community of a certain past and present, of their recognition that they share a certain legacy, a certain set of values and practices. Together with conversions and transformations, I want to consider in my own reflections at least, continuities of lore, continuities of values and practices alongside the will to or acceptance of change.

Finally, and briefly, let me raise my third point. What does a historical perspective bring to bear on a topic like this? Conversions of places of worships, a serious topic. On the one hand, it is really dangerous terrain, one could just say that this sort of thing happened again and again... and yet again. It runs the risks of normalising the conversion of places of worship. Of course, that is not what the scholarship about these events and these processes are trying to achieve, on the contrary, but it does bring to mind a kind of response which one could simply call relativising. "Well, the Romans did it. The Byzantines did it. The Ottomans did it. The Kemalists did it. The Bulgarians did it. The so and so did it, why not us, why not now?" is a kind of attitude which the historical account obviously needs to be wary of. So today, we historians, or those of us reflecting on and acting upon these matters with a historical consciousness, face the big problem of how to deal with empires and states, how to normalise the historical study of the region, for instance, and its long experience with empire and conquest, without normalising empire as a category? Or even better, how to do our work while developing ways to better understand the means of oppression and coercion, so that one could also better understand the means of how people resisted or sidestepped or negotiated it and maintained their values and practices and identities and dignities while also forging and inventing new lifeways for themselves in the face of adversities or opportunities? Sites of worship were often at the center of such tensions and related dynamics.

So, I have nothing but a very simple word by way of conclusion, which goes back to the words of Doğan Bermek, when he started today. It is in the spirit of his opening words that I would like to say: In order to avoid the relativisation and normalisation of oppression and coercion, which conversion is likely to engender, one probably needs to do no more than recognise and respect the dignity of the people who took/take care of, found/find meaning in, and shared/share the sites, without giving up on the responsibility of maintaining the dignity of the sites themselves as bearers of historical legacy and universal value. Thank you very much. Çok teşekkür ederim.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pYcHIGLGCwY&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=7

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KBV21iDzXoo&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=7

Day 2

Introductory Remarks

Laki Vingas
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Good morning everyone.

Today we are here to attend the second day of the Conference organized by ADİP, as scholars, scientists, researchers, volunteers, from various ethnic, religious, cultural and geographical backgrounds. It is my great honour to welcome you all.

Dear Friends and Participants of this Conference,

We live in a land of miracles. Our Turkey, our Anatolia is truly an ἀνατολή, the horizon line of the ascendant human spirit for centuries.

Nearly twelve thousand years ago, "the world's first temple" was built at Göbekli Tepe. This place of worship, where pre-historic "masters" managed to erect seven-ton engraved pillars, tells us a lot about mysteries of life and death. The tradition of worship established in Göbeklitepe was followed by many different traditions over a thousand years till today. Human beings build external monuments, in order to express internal processes of creation, salvation, and realization.

Our legacy in Anatolia is a rich and textured fabric of these monuments, both great and small. This geography is a culmination of pluralism. Throughout our history, Anatolia has been a crossroad for civilizations. Thus, our common heritage is shared by an array of different ethnic and religious communities. We are a heterogeneous community, whose genetic pool is the proof of our complexity.

I think we should preserve and respect not only the cultural and religious assets of our ancestors but we also need to respect and cherish the buildings and cultural representations of the living communities. Their traditions and spiritual aspirations are inherited and interpreted throughout centuries and are essential for our long-lasting Anatolian identity.

As you all know the rock layers are an open book from which we can read our planet's past. Each rock layer is precious and meaningful, one cannot extract any of those layers from the history of the earth. This reasoning can be applied to cultural layers as well. You cannot understand and interpret any society without treasuring and preserving all its layers, past and present ones. Moreover, only when we respect the past, can we inspire an inclusive, egalitarian, and creative future society.

Therefore, the respect and awareness that geologists and archeologists have for every layer of soil that constitutes the past should inspire us all. And all components of our society (social, political and religious) have an obligation to respect the cultural and spiritual layers of the past and present.

It is well documented that in the 20th century, a lack of education and extensive disinformation created unfortunate gaps of knowledge about the history of our land. Moreover, severe intolerance and enmity towards the non-Muslim Anatolian heritage wreaked havoc on monuments of the past.

There have been decades, when many non - Muslim places of worship and monuments were damaged or converted for different usages. Such unfortunate circumstances led to unnecessary humiliation for people whose ancient roots should be a cause of cultural pride for Turkey. Our land is not a monotony, but a symphony.

Nevertheless, the last two decades have witnessed a certain progress – especially among the young generations, as well as a practical sensibility among the local authorities, to cooperate with experts and relevant community members. This has led to the proper, respectful, and scientific restoration of some churches and synagogues, but still there is a long way to go.

The restoration of the dialog among different community groups is as important as the restoration of religious sites. The encounters of minority traditions with the dominant Sunni Muslim community can be moments of enrichment. As a society, we must go beyond confrontation and conflict.

Exopraxis can, and should be a shared experience of pilgrimage, rather than an excuse for seizure and expropriation. Think of the Greek Orthodox Monastery of St. George on the island of Büyükada, in the Sea of Marmara, that attracts tens of thousands of Muslim pilgrims every year. They come to make votive offerings at the place – the τόπος of this most famous Christian saint in the Islamic world. These Muslim pilgrims are engaging in a form of exopraxis which is the essence of shared pilgrimage, one that is respectful of the original intent of the place, where the spiritual topography remains intact. The same motivation can be experienced also at the historical Greek Orthodox Monastery of Sumela, the Armenian Church in Ahtamar in Lake Van, in Cappadocia, in Ephesus and in the Tur Abdin region.

The integrity of a place is a symbol for the integrity of a person, or group of people. When different communities can share the same space – even if they have different associations, we build a stronger and more integrated society for all. Here in Turkey, we can and should exercise this kind of shared experience, without politicization.

Nevertheless, we all must admit that the Byzantine heritage of our land is still a political issue. But we must also be realistic about the fact that this Empire ended six hundred years ago. Like Göbekli Tepe, Byzantine heritage is a remnant of a glorious past. But unlike the megaliths of Şanlıurfa Province, there is still a living community using and inhabiting the Byzantine heritage of our country.

It is a pity for anyone to undermine this legacy of this bygone Empire, because there are so many common values to discover, and so many inspiring and worthy examples to be celebrated. The recent conversions of St. Sophia in Nicaea, in Trabzon, and last year in Istanbul, of the Great Church, dedicated to the Wisdom of God – the conversion of Chora – Kariye, with its unique and precious mosaics, are needless examples of how multi-cultural appreciation is terminated and how policies and programs should **not** be implemented.

I would also highlight here the juridical efforts of the small Christians communities left in Antioch, Mardin – which has been called an "open-air museum" by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism – and other locals, to

recover their properties and preserve their heritage.

We see very often Churches for sale, or we receive calls from the inhabitants of Anatolian towns proposing to buy Greek or Armenian churches, left from the time of the exodus of these communities from Anatolia. We cannot afford to buy them, and we have no people left in these regions to care for them. Hence, we expect our government to take care of these places of worship as heritage sites, and not abandon them and cause their unsuitable usage. Monuments and spaces of worship should not be an element for political rivalries, neither a target of conflicts or controversies. All countries, especially those suffering from prejudices concerning past history should invest in their educational system for the protection, maintenance, and transfer of cultural heritage to future generations.

To that end, I am proud to be one of the founders in 2014 of the Kültürel Mirası Koruma Derneği, the Association for the Protection of Cultural Heritage. A small group of friends, including our friend Osman Kavala whose contribution was essential, came together for this positive cause. KMKD is working tirelessly with young scholars, volunteers, and professionals to preserve the richness, and to recognize and promote the visibility of all of Turkey's cultural heritage.

My friends: We are living in days when a global pandemic has taught the world a very difficult lesson – that we are interconnected and interrelated in ways beyond our imagination. But the monuments of our past tell us the same thing; that even when one wave of humanity rises and another falls, we are still one big ocean of the human family.

The way we treat the legacies of our past, and the way we preserve the remnants or monuments that are intertwined with communities that used them shows how we approach our solidarity.

And to finish with, I would like to thank my old friend Doğan Bermek who had the vision of creating this valuable platform of Anatolian Religions and Beliefs and has created an enormous interaction among our people of Turkey with the great support of Prof İştar Gözaydın, Yuri Stoyanov, Vanessa de Obaldía, Sevan Ataoğlu and other friends as well as colleagues. I really feel proud of their generous work and fantastic results.

Before ending my speech, I would like to remember my very good friend Nicholas Manginas who passed away yesterday morning. Nikos was a legendary photographer and a beloved servant of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and our Greek Orthodox Community. For almost 50 years he has documented our social and religious life. He will be missed by all who had the privilege to witness his ministry. May his memory be eternal! Αιώνια σου η μνήμη αγαπημένε μας Νίκο!

May the work of this conference and all our efforts bring us closer to that knowledge and wisdom.

Thank you.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E-dPg-PCF_XM&list=PLN7AHQGMKkd-C6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=8

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v_X3GR_5Kdk&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC-TE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=8

CHAPTER 1

REASSIGNMENT AND LOSS IN BYZANTINE ASIA MINOR

Byzantine East after the Loss: Anatolia/Asia Minor, and the idea of the East and of the Reconquista in Byzantine and Slavic Thought in the Late Middle Ages (11th–15th Centuries)

– Preliminary Remarks –

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Abstract

Anatolia/Asia Minor represented for more than seven centuries the heartland of the Eastern Roman empire, the Empire's richest and the most populous region, and equally important, the real birthplace of Byzantine Christianity. The shock of the late eleventh century's loss of almost the entire Asia Minor to the Seljuks changed dramatically over the course of just a few generations both the realities of the Byzantine world, and the Byzantine self-perception, provoking a plethora of questions regarding the identity, the faith, and the position and role of the Christian Romans in a new world in which the capital Constantinople, the umbilicus of the Christianity, found itself at the very frontier of that changed world. Even though the Byzantines managed to reconquer the littoral regions of the Asia Minor already in the last years of the eleventh century, and to form a functional polity in the northwestern and western Anatolia between 1204 and 1261, the Byzantine East will never again constitute an integral part both of the Empire and of the Byzantine Christianity, and it was practically completely lost to the Byzantines by the mid fourteenth century.

After the seminal 1971 study by Speros Vryonis Jr. on the decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor there have been little scholarly interest in Byzantine attitudes toward Asia Minor in the Late Middle Ages, and Anatolia/Asia Minor is, for example, surprisingly completely absent from the 2011 volume *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* edited by J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillan. This paper aims at filling that scholarly void by analyzing Byzantine, and some Slavic texts from the 12th through the 15th century and the attitudes of their authors regarding Christianity and Islam, the East and the West, and the new Muslim rulers of the Asia Minor.

The topic of Byzantine East – Asia Minor/Anatolia after the fall of the majority of this territory into the hands of the Seljuks towards the end of the eleventh century, and to the Ottomans in the fourteenth century – is conspicuously and curiously absent from the mainstream of modern Byzantine studies. After the seminal 1971 study by Speros Vryonis Jr. on the decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor, there has been little scholarly interest in Byzantine attitudes toward Asia Minor in the Late Middle Ages, and Anatolia/Asia Minor is, for example, surprisingly completely absent from the 2011 volume *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* edited by J. Herrin and G. Saint-Guillan. The thoroughness of research, the breadth of his scope and the detailed analysis of Speros Vryonis Jr. in a way

inhibited later generations of scholars to venture into the research of these topics, and, in general, to try to present, even reassess the relations and the attitudes of the Byzantines toward the lost territories in the East in later Byzantine history from the eleventh century onwards. This short paper cannot in any sense fill the existing void in the scholarship on the Byzantine policies, views, and attitudes toward Asia Minor that is becoming ever more evident in the last half century since the publication of Vryonis' fantastic research: given its breadth and importance, that would be a task fit for a long-term international research team. Rather, this paper aims to draw attention to the need for a new, broader look at these questions through a somewhat myopic focus on a few examples from the wider Byzantine world during the Late Middle Ages, emphasizing, at the same time, a need to include the information from all the available sources in studying Byzantine, and the Orthodox Slavs' – in this case Serbian – views of the Byzantine East after the eleventh century.

For more than seven centuries, Anatolia/Asia Minor represented the heartland of the Eastern Roman empire, the Empire's richest and the most populous region, and equally important, the real birthplace of Byzantine Christianity. The shock of the late eleventh century's loss of almost the entire Asia Minor to the Seljuks changed dramatically over the course of just a few generations both the realities of the Byzantine world, and the Byzantine self-perception, provoking a plethora of questions regarding the identity, the faith, and the position and role of the Christian Romans in a new world in which the capital Constantinople, the umbilicus of Christianity, found itself at the very frontier of that changed world. The East–West dichotomy in Byzantine thought had at the end of the eleventh century acquired new meaning: the unimaginable loss of the East, towards which the view from Constantinople seems to have been always naturally directed, forced the Byzantines to rebalance their world. A sort of "Balkanization" of the Byzantine Empire, the empire's slight turn toward the Byzantine West, commenced already after the destruction of the Bulgarian Empire of Samuel in 1018, which provoked a strong wave of Byzantine political, administrational, spiritual, ecclesiastical, and, not the least important, economic expansion deep into the Balkan hinterland. The establishment of a direct connection between Constantinople, and the emperor, and the until recently distant and politically insignificant periphery, led to the rise in the significance of many local centers, and helped in establishing the position of the Byzantine West, the Balkans in first place, in the eleventh century, as a part of the empire only slightly less significant than the Byzantine East. This newly acquired significance of the Byzantine West thus also helped the Byzantines cope with the loss of the East in the late eleventh century.

The messy state of affairs in Byzantium in the decade following the Seljuks' victory at Manzikert in 1071, and the almost constant civil war which came to an end only with the ascension of Alexios I Komnenos in 1081, contributed to the impression of the suddenness of the Byzantine loss of Asia Minor. The fact that the entire Asia Minor/Anatolia was lost to the Seljuks was stated as a sad but objective truth from the beginning of Alexios Komnenos' rule, and is repeated as such in the mid-twelfth century history of his daughter Anna Komnene: when Alexios' rebellion succeeded and he became the emperor, his power did not stretch far from the walls of the capital Constantinople, with the East lost, and the West in turmoil.

The chaotic situation in Byzantium in the decade following Manzikert contributed to the notion that the loss of Anatolia was tightly connected to a series of civil wars that destabilized the empire, including shattering the foundations of the Byzantine monetary system, and that the main cause for the defeat in the East should be looked for in the internal Byzantine struggles – and, consequently, the loss of the East could therefore be assumed to be temporary and the situation reversible. Two strains of Byzantine political attitudes, of their understanding of geopolitics, to use a contemporary term, political pragmatism, on the one hand, and their almost customary tendency to underestimate the strength and the danger of the 'new peoples', especially but not exclusively non-Christian, on the other, together with the evident and objective lack in military might from the late eleventh century onward, led to their tacit acceptance of the new state of affairs in the East, and the patient – even if out of necessity – attempts to change the balance of power in Asia Minor to their advantage. The latter of the mentioned strains had as a somewhat peculiar consequence, the absence of a panicked reaction, and the almost complete lack of, let alone the prevalence of the lamenting discourses on the loss of the East in Byzantine literature of this period. The former, on the other hand, led the emperor Alexios to ask for military help from the (far) West, triggering a series of Crusades, the first of which helped him reconquer the littoral regions of Asia Minor in the last years of the eleventh century, and especially the city of Nicaea, with its symbolic importance to the empire and Byzantine Christianity, as a place of the First and the Seventh Ecumenical Councils. But the establishment of the Crusader states changed yet again, already before the end of the same eleventh century, the political outlook and the balance of power in the Byzantine East and the Eastern Mediterranean, forever changing the simplified duality of Byzantine relations toward the East, which recognized only "us-them" relations – in this case the Seljuks being the "them", as were the Arabs at the eastern frontier in the tenth century – as rivals, enemies, or even partners.

The entire last decade of the reign of Alexios I's son and heir John II Komnenos (1133-1143) was spent in the emperor's annual expeditions in Anatolia, and yet, together with their modest accomplishments, it would be hard to discern a coherent anti-Seljuk, or anti-Muslim ideology and political program behind his actions. The existence of the Sultanate of Rome (Rum) with the capital in Ikonium/Konya was never in danger, and, moreover, the emperor's brother and nephew have found the sanctuary in the Seljuk's capital, with the latter, the emperor John's namesake, eventually preferring the exile in the Sultanate to the position of a second-class member of the imperial family in Byzantium, becoming, as Niketas Choniates states, more than half a century later, "one of them" with the Seljuks (συνήθης). This episode from the late 1130s points to the broader reality of accepted coexistence between the Byzantine empire and the Sultanate of Rome, in a new and complex world in which the interests of both states had often been the same when confronted with the ambitions of the leaders of Catholic Christianity, secular and spiritual, in the West, as in the East. Oscillating for decades between tolerance and alliance, the Byzantine policy toward the Seljuks was only to change toward the end of the reign of John II's son, Manuel Komnenos, and even that change was triggered by the significant events of 1174.

The idea of 'holy war' in Byzantium has received much scholarly attention in recent decades – much more than the broader subject of Byzantine attitudes toward the East, especially after the loss of Asia Minor – but with the absence of a precise historical context, the study of such a broad notion rarely contributes to the better understanding of concrete political circumstances, causes of either sides' actions, and motives that guided their leaders. In Manuel Komnenos' always energetic 'global' diplomacy, the Seljuk sultan Kiliç Arslan II had a special place. After a lavish reception of the sultan in Constantinople in 1162, the alliance with Kiliç Arslan II remained one of the cornerstones of Manuel Komnenos' policy, and one of the reasons for the success of those policies, in a dozen years that followed. Entangled in the fight for the position of the leader of Christianity with another Roman emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, Manuel Komnenos, and the broad circle of the learned men around him, never raised the idea of the holy war for the *reconquista* of the lost Asia Minor. Never, that is, until the almost simultaneous deaths of Nur-ad-Din, the ruler of the vast territories from eastern Asia Minor and Syria to Egypt, and the king of Jerusalem Amalric, that kicked off a scramble of the rulers from both the East and the West in the race to enhance their power and influence. From that moment on, Manuel Komnenos embraced the idea of holy war and the destruction of the Sultanate of Rome, with the accompanying propaganda of his rhetors, tasked with the goal of explaining to the Byzantines the emperor's new political path, after years of almost brotherly relations with Kiliç Arslan II. Particularly significant in this respect is an anonymous 25-line poem written in twelve-syllable-verse in 1176, as the emperor was preparing to lead the troops towards Ikonium. This brief anonymous poem offers the quintessence of Manuel's idea, and one of the rare examples of explicitly stated intentions of the 'holy war' in Byzantine literature. Three elements are worth mentioning: comparison with Constantine the Great who won with the sign of the cross and was the emperor's forefather and the role-model as the bearer of Orthodoxy; Manuel's taking in his hands of a golden cross, in which he placed parts of the Holy Cross and of the saints' relics, as a cross/spear that will vanquish the enemies; and, the emperor's fight for the freedom and the destruction of the 'sons of Agar' and the 'Persian tribes'.

That the emperor Manuel Komnenos could entertain with such an ease the idea of destruction, once and for all, of the Sultanate of Kiliç Arslan II, points to the mentioned second strain of Byzantine political thought, but his defeat near Myriokephalon in September 1176, instantly led him to return to the pragmatic *Realpolitik*, showing the true nature of his, and more general Byzantine, attitudes toward the lost East and Anatolia's new masters. Once the dust after the loss from 1176 had settled, with the renewed peace with Kiliç Arslan II that comprised no humiliating conditions for the emperor, Manuel Komnenos tried in 1180 to get the Byzantine Church to accept a new formula for the renunciation of Islam, which would not contain the renunciation of Allah, only of his Prophet Mohammed. The emperor's intention was to attract more Muslim renegades with such a formula, but he was stunned with the rejection of his proposal even by his staunchest allies such as Eustathios, the metropolitan of Thessaloniki. The Byzantine Church had with its decision rejected what must have seemed to them an extreme pragmatism of the emperor Manuel Komnenos, establishing a firm distinguishing line between Orthodox Christianity and Islam, which could not be crossed, at least by the Muslims, without a total renunciation of all their beliefs. Needless to

say, the number of important Muslim renegades declined in the following centuries, especially when compared with the first generations of the Komnenian dynasty, while the perception of the unbridgeable difference between Islam and Orthodox Christianity only became stronger, reaching the apogee in the late fourteenth century with the overwhelming strength and advance not only in the Byzantine East, but in the West as well, of the Ottomans, provoking the emperor Manuel II Palailologos to, among other things, compose anti-Muslim treatises declaring the superiority of Orthodox Christianity over Islam.

After the catastrophe of 1204, the Byzantine Empire in Nicaea was a regional, non-exclusive (with another Byzantine polity in existence in the West), and distinctly Anatolian state – quite in opposition with the basic principles of equally Byzantine political realities and ideology. And even though the 'Empire of Nicaea' was a functional polity in northwestern and western Anatolia between around 1208 and 1261, already in the times of the emperor John III Vatatzes (1222–54) it was evident that it gravitated toward the coast of Asia Minor, on the one side, with John Vatatzes' creation of the informal capital in Nymphaion near Smyrna, and especially after the conquest of Thessaloniki in 1246, and towards the Byzantine West, on the other.

It was during this time that the first Archbishop of the Autocephalous Archbishopric of Serbia, Sava, made two pilgrimages to the Holy Land in 1229 and 1235. Returning from his pilgrimages in the Holy Land, Sava visited John III Vatatzes in Nicaea, and the still Latin-held Constantinople, respectively, taking different routes: avoiding the Seljuks' Sultanate in the first case, and passing through it, in the second. Serbian sources, two biographers of St. Sava, offer an interesting view of the state of affairs in the now former Byzantine East, the Asia Minor in its entirety, complementing Byzantine sources which offer little as far as the relations with the Sultanate of Rum, and the realities of thirteenth century Anatolia are concerned.

Describing Sava's return from the Holy Land in 1229, his pupil and first biographer, the monk Domentian, writes that Sava embarked on a ship in Accra *for Anatolia*, where the horses sent by John III Vatatzes were waiting for him to take him to the emperor. Much more interesting is his description of Sava's return from his second pilgrimage in 1235: Domentian writes that *going back to the west*, Sava went to Antioch, then he passed *Armenia* and the *Turkic [turcheska] lands* and then coming to the *Syrian sea*, he went to *Anatolia* by ship, and coming to *Anatolia* he went through *Anatolia* and *Byzantium* [sic!] and came to Constantinople.

Theodosios, a Serbian monk in the Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mt. Athos, who rewrote Domentian's *Life of St. Sava* in the aftermath of the Union of Churches in Lyon, between 1278 and 1282, mentions Asia Minor simply as *Asia* when describing Sava's return from the Holy Land in 1229, but when describing Sava's return from the second pilgrimage in 1235, Theodosios mentions the Turkish regions – as did his model Domentian in the mid-thirteenth century. These distinctions tell a lot: firstly, that communication routs through the former Byzantine East were open and accessible to Christians as well as to Muslims. It is worth underscoring that the world created by Sava's first biographer, Domentian, excludes the Muslims completely: from the Holy Land and Sinai, Sava went to Alexandria, back to Jerusalem and then to Antioch, meeting and celebrating liturgies in holy churches with those three patriarchs as if it were an exclusively Christian Orthodox world; and secondly, the

terms Anatolia and Asia, are somewhat unclear, given the explicit mention of *Byzantium* in the earliest description of the events from 1235, but since the *Turkic/Turkish lands* are explicitly named when Sava was passing through the territory of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rome, it would seem that they do not refer to the Sultanate. Be that as it may, the impression of a functioning, almost integrated world of the thirteenth century – pre-1261 – Asia Minor, is maybe the strongest take from the until now barely used information from the contemporary Serbian sources. The radical change would come with the Ottomans, but it did not provoke Byzantine aspirations toward the East – rather, it led to the pessimistic lamentation of the Byzantines and the realization that Anatolia was definitively lost.

With the dying out of the last generation of the Byzantines born in the so-called Empire of Nicaea, the understanding of Anatolia/Asia Minor as the core Byzantine territory is superseded with the comprehension of the historical value of this region which was once the crucible of Byzantine identity and faith. The further the Byzantines were in real life from Asia Minor, the stronger the memory of the once great Byzantine past in the East, the ideological connections with the East and the – unrealistic – ideas of political return to Anatolia/Asia Minor had become. The final fall of Asia Minor in the fourteenth century was depicted in Byzantine historiography – and especially by George Pachymeres – as an abandonment of the core Byzantine territory, even though the realities were very much different. But Pachymeres was a member of the last generation 'born and bred' in Asia Minor, away from Constantinople, and his criticism is an atemporal, emotional treatment of politics, as well as opportunity to add another "sin" to the antihero of his *History*, the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, and his son Andronikos II. The Byzantine East will never again constitute an integral part both of the Empire and of Byzantine Christianity, and it was practically completely lost to the Byzantines by the mid-fourteenth century. All that was left for the Byzantine historians and thinkers of the fifteenth century to do was to lament the loss not only of the Byzantine East, but of the capital Constantinople and the entire empire to the Ottomans. And, as historian Dukas, pessimistic and resigned to his fate – as must have been many a Byzantine of his generation – wrote some time after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottomans were but a weapon of God's wrath for all the Romans'/Byzantines' sins.

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Conference session links

English: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEq7I5CoHG4&list=PLN7AHQGMKkd-C6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=9

Turkish: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f-cwLWYk0lOs&list=PLN7AHQGMKk-dCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=9

Commentary on "Byzantine East after the Loss: Anatolia/ Asia Minor, and the idea of the East and of the Reconquista in Byzantine and Slavic Thought in the Late Middle Ages (11th–15th Centuries)"

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Vlada Stanković's contribution highlights a crucial, albeit in many respects still poorly-understood process, namely the profound cultural transition that occurred in Anatolia from the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 until the middle of the fifteenth century, when the last Byzantine successor state of Trebizond was conquered by the Ottomans. While in the year 1000 Asia Minor had long served as the territorial heartland of the Byzantine Empire and the center of the Orthodox Church, over the next several centuries it was successfully incorporated into the Islamicate world. The study of this culturally-sensitive topic has been dominated, as Stanković notes, for the last half century by Speros Vryonis' brilliant yet problematic *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century.* While Vryonis emphasized the catastrophic decline of what he termed medieval Hellenism, newer studies have nuanced his narrative in several ways, for instance by interpretating the Seljuk conquest of most of Anatolia amidst the political reconfiguration of the Islamicate world (Alexander Beihammer), by more closely examining the shared culture of Christian-Muslim Anatolia (Buket Kitapçı Bayrı) or by placing greater emphasis on the period of Mongol domination as the decisive step within the process of Anatolian Islamization (A.C.S. Peacock). While the aforementioned three authors have given greater attention to the transformation of medieval Asia Minor from the perspective of the Islamicate world, in his paper Stanković offers several interesting points on this debate, including the role of the reincorporation of the interior of the Balkans into the Byzantine Empire as balancing the loss of Asia Minor in the same period and the hitherto largely-overlooked view of sources written in Slavonic, such as the life of Saint Sava.

Conference session links

English: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uEq7I5CoHG4&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=9

Turkish: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fcwLWYk0lOs&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=9

CHAPTER 2

AHDNAMES, ARCHITECTURE & CONVERSION: LATIN CATHOLIC CASE STUDIES IN THE OTTOMAN ERA

Giresun Children's Library: The Curious Case of a Republican Era Conversion of a Latin Catholic Church in the Black Sea Region

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Abstract

Since the dissolution of the Latin Empire in 1261, Latin Catholic churches in Constantinople experienced the occasional conversion and transformation. With the Ottoman conquest two centuries later, they were subjected to gradual but systematic expropriation and conversion for either religious or secular purposes. Two of the best documented cases consist of the conversion of the Dominican church of St. Paul into Galata Mosque in 1476 and that of the Conventual Franciscan complex of St. Francis into Galata New Mosque in 1698. With the passage of the centuries, the transformation of Latin Catholic places of worship took a variety of different forms, from mosques and depos to cultural centres and even a Turkish bath, thereby satisfying religious, demographic, political, and economic needs.

This study will provide a general overview of the conversion of Latin Catholic churches from the period of the Ottoman conquests before presenting a detailed case study of the conversion of a Latin Catholic church into a children's library in the Black Sea city of Giresun. The history the former church established by the Capuchins in Giresun is of particular interest because firstly, it had the shortest life-span (1910-1967) of all of the Capuchin churches in the Ottoman Empire and secondly, its conversion into a children's library preserved the essence of two important roles played by the Capuchin mission in Ottoman territories: the edification of society and the provision of children's education. While the topics of conversion and shared space are not new ones, this case study shall shed light on other significant issues relating to the status and importance of the Capuchin's church prior to and following the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 as well as to the political and social dynamics of the twentieth-century Black Sea region. This study will also address questions surrounding conceptions about the religious space of the "other" in terms of recognition of its validity / invalidity as a space of worship and consequently its right to maintain its original function.

Introduction

An elegant white and grey edifice with a terracotta roof located in the Black Sea city of Giresun stands out from among the surrounding buildings that constitute the traditional Turkish neighbourhood. Located in Çınarlar District, it looks onto the gardens of Giresun's teachers' residence as well as a small park and is surrounded at the sides and back by blocks of residential flats, a few stores such as a restaurant, a tobacconist, barbers and electrical shops, and Girne taxi office. At a distance, the building encompassed by a wrought iron fence and well-kept garden could clearly be identified as a church with its rectangular plan, gothic windows, and mon-

umental porch. Moreover, as one approaches, the coloured stain glassed windows on the side and cross-shaped motifs on the main façade become visible. Yet, the initial impression is soon dispelled by a Turkish sign by the entrance gate written in capital letters both contesting and verifying the initial assumption: Coçuk Kütüphanesi. Eski Katolik Kilisesi (Children's Library. Former Catholic Church).

This study presents a detailed analysis of the short history and conversion of an Ottoman-era Latin Catholic church into a children's library in the Black Sea region. This paper demonstrates that the conversion of the Capuchin church does not follow the traditional model of conversion of churches in Anatolia, and specifically Latin Catholic churches in Istanbul, that can be noted throughout the Ottoman and Republican periods. While the focus of this study is on a specific structure, it also provides wider insights into the demographic, urban, and political shifts which resulted in the transformation of the status of the building from a place of worship into a secular space.

Examples of Latin Catholic Conversions – Byzantium to Turkish Republic

Since the dissolution of the Latin Empire in 1261, Latin Catholic churches in Constantinople experienced the occasional conversion and transformation into Orthodox sanctuaries. With the Ottoman conquest two centuries later, they were subjected to gradual but systematic expropriation and conversion for either religious or secular purposes. A couple of decades after the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul in 1453, the fourteenth century Dominican Church of St. Paul was converted into a mosque (*Ġalaṭa Cāmiʿ*, later *ʿArab Cāmiʿ*) in 1478 which was then incorporated into the large *vaḳf* of the Ayasofya. Its conversion was Islamically justified by the practice of converting the most prominent church in the region. This justification was complimented by the Ottoman-era (refuted) tradition that it was formerly the site of a mosque built during the Arab siege (717-718). The conversion of the Church of St. Paul was also influenced by a demographic shift in the area resulting in an effort to emphasise the Islamic identity of the city in response to the influx of Latin inhabitants of Caffa (today's Feodosia) to the capital following its conquest by Ottoman forces in 1475. They were settled in a quarter that was named after them (Kefeli Mahalle) and were allocated a church to be officiated by the Dominicans.[1]

A couple of centuries later, emerges another very well documented case of the conversion of what was left of the Conventual Franciscan complex of St. Francis following the Galata conflagration in May 1696. The construction of Galata New Mosque in 1698 was commissioned by the chief consort (*ḫāṣekī sulṭān*) of Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648–1687), Emetullah Rabia Gülnuş Sultan (d. 1715). Similar to the Dominican case, the expropriation and conversion of St. Francis was justified Islamically and influenced by local and international factors including an increase in orthodox Sunni sentiment and diplomatic tensions between the Ottoman state and Catholic powers.[2]

1 Acknowledgements: The research on which this study is based would not have been possible without funding from the of the Institute for the Study of Religion in the Middle East (ISRME). I would also like to express my appreciation for the insightful comments and questions by Prof. Dionigi Albera during at the ADİP international conference on 10-11 of April where an earlier version of this paper was presented.

For a concise history of the conversion of the Dominican church of St. Paul see Benedetto Palazzo, *L'Arap-Djami ou Église Saint-Paul à Galata* (Istanbul: Hachette, 1945). For this history of the Dominican presence pre-and post-Ottoman conquest and the Dominican properties in Galata until the late seventeenth century see Vanessa R. de Obaldía, "A Legal and Historical Study of Latin Catholic Church Properties in Istanbul from the Ottoman Conquest of 1453 until 1740" (Unpublished PhD diss., Aix-Marseille University, 2018), 106-132.

2 Vanessa R. de Obaldía, "A Shared Space and Shared Functions: From a Latin Catholic Church to an Islamic *Vakıf* in Ottoman Galata," *Endowment Studies* 2 (2) (2018): 133-162.

By the end of the Ottoman Empire, the transformation of Latin Catholic places of worship took a variety of secular forms in addition to the traditional mosques (*cāmi* ʿs) and quarter mosques (*mescid*s). These included depots, a cultural centre and even a Turkish bath (*ḥamām*), thereby satisfying religious, demographic, political, and economic needs. During the era of the Turkish Republic, conversion was often facilitated by the abandonment of such places of worship due to the reduction in or disappearance of congregations of worshipers and/or the withdrawal of missionaries back to their countries of origin. As an example, the 1895 church of the Oblates of the Assumption Missionary Sisters located in Haydarpaşa was transformed into a concert hall and exhibition venue in 2012 while preserving the building's historical character. The latter situation is also reflected in the following case study on the conversion of a late Ottoman-era Latin Catholic church in Giresun into a secular space during the Republican era.

The Case of Giresun Children's Library

i. Giresun:

The case study is regionally situated within the city of Giresun which is located on the slopes of a volcanic promontory on a peninsula in the eastern Black Sea region. At the summit are the ruins of a Byzantine fortress the walls of which extend down the slopes. It is the consensus among historians that the name by which the city is known today and was known in Ottoman Turkish, Giresun, derived from the word "Kerasus" meaning cherry which grew abundantly in the area. The Roman writer Ammianus Marcel claims that when the Roman commander Lucullus (d. 57/56 BC) landed here and upon seeing the wild cherry trees, took the saplings to Rome.[3] Another theory postulates that it comes from "keras" which means horn in ancient Greek.[4] Upon passing the city by vessel at dawn en route from Samsun to Trabzon, the Swiss lawyer and politician, Louis Rambert (d. 1919), painted an idyllic picture of the name and scenery from afar, "I got up to see this singular city whose name rings in the ear like a vague memory of mythology... The rising sun illuminates the white houses of the city, and the spectacle is picturesque and charming at the same time. On the left, an isolated hill juts out like a promontory into the sea. Its summit is entirely occupied by the ancient ruin of a fortified castle."[5]

While the exact date of the settlement and castle which forms its centre remains unknown, Giresun has a rich history boasting Hittite, Roman, Greek, Byzantine, Genoese, and Turkmen traces and remained an important centre strategically and commercially due to its fishing and metal and mineral mines during antiquity, its shipping and textile industries during the Ottoman period and later its hazelnut trade on which the city remained dependent in the early twentieth century. The port increased in importance toward the end of the nineteenth century where products grown, mined and produced in the surrounding areas were exported to other regions

3 In opposition to this tradition, the cherry tree was in fact known to Rome before then.

4 The city was also mentioned in different sources under the following names: Kerasus, Kerasous, Cerasous, Chirizonda, Cerasonte, Kerassunde. Feridun Emecen, "Giresun", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 14, (Istanbul: TDV, 1996), 78.

5 Original French: "Je me suis levé pour voir cette ville singulière dont le nom sonne à l'oreille comme un vague souvenir de mythologie... Le soleil levant illumine les maisons blanches de la ville, et le spectacle est pittoresque et charmant à la fois. A gauche une colline isolée s'avance en promontoire dans la mer. Son sommet est entièrement occupé par une antique ruine de château fort." Louis Rambert, *Notes et impressions de Turquie, contribution à l'histoire de l'Empire ottoman sous Abdul-Hamid II, 1895-1905* (Geneva: Atar, 1926), 144-145.

as well as abroad to countries like Egypt, Marseille and Russia and this was boosted by foreign trade and foreign ships.[6] The extension of telegraph lines to Giresun began in 1868 and a telegraph administration office was established in 1871 after the advent of the telegraphic service to the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War (1853-1856).[7] However, there was no railway access to the provincial city.

Following the Ottoman conquest by Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481) which succeeded that of Trabzon in 1461, it developed as a port city and began to adopt an Islamic character with population transfers of Muslim subject from other areas as well as Islamic additions to the urban fabric of the city, notably the first mosque Sultan Selim Cami which was constructed at the end of the fifteenth century which was supported by an endowment (*vakıf*).[8] Giresun also housed flourishing communities of Greeks, Armenians and Jews both in its main town and outlying villages working in trade, commerce and skilled labour. The multi-religious nature of the city was attested to by the location of the first city hall during the first quarter of the twentieth century in the house of an Armenian above the Sırrı Paşa Dock. The city hall was later relocated to the house of a Greek man after the former was damaged by waves.[9] However, the systematic violence, deportations, population displacements, and wars of the early twentieth century caused the decimation of the non-Muslim population resulting in a detrimental impact on the economy of the province. By the late nineteenth century, it is recorded that there were nine churches functioning as Christian places of worship. Today there are none.

ii. The Foundation of the Capuchin Church:

It was in this coastal town with its abundance of wild cherry and hazelnut orchards, with its primitive communications and transport access, that the third branch of the Franciscans decided to found their new mission. The Order of Friars Minor Capuchin had first entered the Ottoman capital in 1587 as chaplains to the French ambassador Jacques Savary de Lanscome (served 1585-1589). Their mission soon flourished in Istanbul and expanded to other parts of Ottoman Anatolia including Smyrna, Mersin and the Black Sea Region. The Capuchins who had settled in the city of Trabzon in 1845 decided to expand their mission to the west along the coast to Giresun.[10] Through the mediation of the French Embassy, the Capuchins petitioned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1910 with a request for permission to construct a church and bell tower in addition to a friary on three pieces of land located in the district of Çınarlar (lit. Sycamore) in Giresun for which the friars had in their possession three title deeds (*sened-i ḫāḳānī*).[11] The response to the petition was not immediate and its obtainment was not simple. This

6 Emecen, Feridun, "Giresun", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 14, (Istanbul: TDV, 1996), 82.

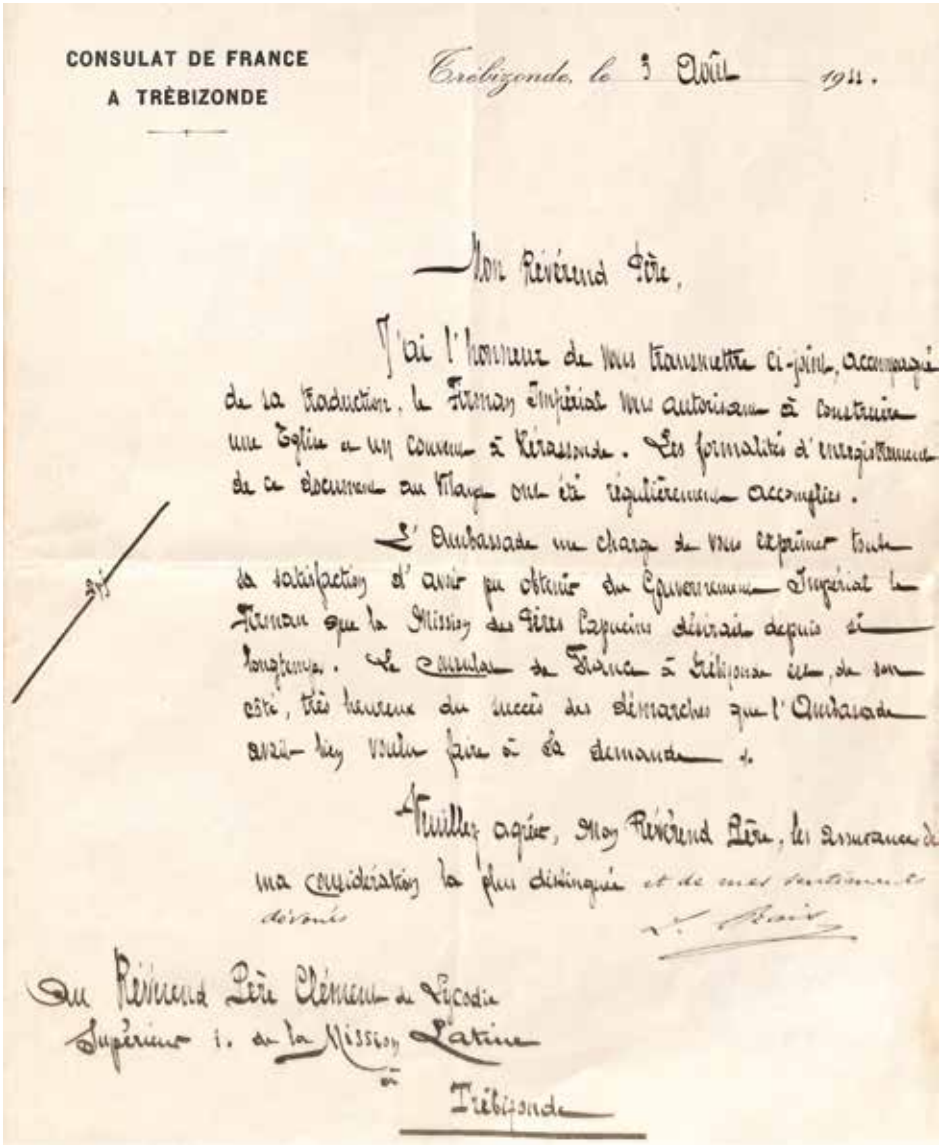
7 Mehmet Mercan, "Giresun telegraf idaresi ve telegrafhane binası (1869-1904)", *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 2, No. 7 (2009): 159-174.

8 Gazanfer İltar and Mehmet Fatsa, "Giresun Merkezde Yok Olmuş Bir Vakıf Eseri: Sultan Selim (Hüdavendigâr) Camisi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 50 (2018): 177-198.

9 Osman Fikret Topallı, *Müdafaa-ı Hukuk Ve İstiklâl Harbi Tarihinde Giresun* (Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2017), 124, 189.

10 The Capuchins purchased the following five properties in Giresun and registered them in the cadastre as freehold (*mülk*) under the names of the Capuchin priests: a house on 29 December 1896 a vegetable garden on 1 August 1900 registered under the name of the Capuchin superior, son of Giorgio, who was a French subject. A house with land on 25 April 1906 under the name of a Capuchin father, son of Josepli, who was a German subject. A shop in 29 March 1912 and a house dated 29 March 1913 under the name of a French priest. Capuchin Archive of St. Stephen in Yeşilköy (hereafter CASY), 08.41. house with land dated 25 April 1906; a shop dated 29 March 1912; a house dated 29 March 1913.

11 BOA, İ.AZN.102.35. According to a post-construction bird's eye view dated 20 May 1910 and written in French, the church was located in Tchinarlar Roum Mahallesi (i.e. Çınarlar Rum) with a road running in front of the church and friary called Tchikmak Sokak (i.e. Çıkmak Road). Capuchin Archive of St. Stephen in Yeşilköy (hereafter CASY), 8.35. In a subsequent birds-eye plan dated 6 February 1911, the positioning of the convent and church is different and it omits the school building. This plan is likewise written in French but accompanies a decree (*ḫarārnāme*) for the construction of the church and bell-tower by the Ministry of Justice and Sects (Adliye ve Mezâhib Nezareti) see BOA, İ.AZN.102.35, fol. 3.



CONSULAT DE FRANCE
A TRÈBIZONDE

Trébizonde, le 3 Août 1911.

Mon Révérend Père,

J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint, accompagné de la traduction, le Firman impérial vous autorisant à construire une église et un couvent à Kérassonde. Les formalités d'enregistrement de ce document au Ministère ont été régulièrement accomplies.

L'Ambassade me charge de vous exprimer toute sa satisfaction d'avoir pu obtenir du Gouvernement Impérial le Firman que la Mission des Pères Capucins désirait depuis si longtemps. Le Consulat de France à Trébizonde est, de son côté, très heureux du succès des démarches que l'Ambassade a bien voulu faire à sa demande.

Veuillez agréer, Mon Révérend Père, les assurances de ma considération la plus distinguée et de mes sentiments dévoués

L. Bais

Au Révérend Père Clément de Lycodie
Supérieur de la Mission Latine
à
Trébizonde

Figure 2. Letter dated 3 August 1911 from the French consul, Louis Bais addressed to the Superior of the Capuchin Mission in Trabzon, Reverend Father Clément de Lycodie. Courtesy of CASY, 8.34.

is attested in a letter dated 3 August 1911 from the French consul, Louis Bais, which he addressed to the Superior of the Capuchin Mission in Trabzon, Reverend Father Clément de Lycodie, in which Mons. Bais expresses the satisfaction of the French Embassy as well as the joy of the French Consulate at the successful obtainment of an imperial decree after a lengthy process (figure 2):

"L'Ambassade me charge de vous exprimer toute sa satisfaction d'avoir pu obtenir du Gouvernement Impérial le Firman que la Mission des Péres Capuchins désirait depuis si longtemps. Le Consulat de France à Trébizonde est, de son côté, très heureux du succés des démarches que l'Ambassade avait bien voulu faire à sa demande."[12]

To which factor/s can be attributed this lengthy process? Correspondence between the provincial authorities of Trabzon and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reveals that two main concerns were raised. The first about the proximity of the Capuchin's land with, the Greek Orthodox Gogora Church and cemetery as well as Greek Orthodox houses; and the second, the absence of Latin Catholic Ottoman subjects in the city; rather, there were 64 foreign Catholics, one Chaldean Catholic household and 15 foreign Armenian (Catholic?) merchants.[13] The absence of a thriving Latin Catholic population in Giresun during the early twentieth century is supported by the fact that deceased Latin Catholics were being buried in the Greek Orthodox cemetery in 1903.[14] It was not until July of the same year that an edict was issued in the name of Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876 - 1909) granting permission for the use of a freehold vegetable plot in Giresun as a Catholic graveyard due to a lack of space for the burial of adherents of that particular denomination.[15]

Regardless, on 16 *cemāziyülāḫir* 1329/ 14 June 1911, an imperial decree (*emr-i şerīf*) was issued in the name of the Ottoman sultan Meḥmed V. Reşad (r. 1909 - 1918). The decree was addressed to the governor (*vālī*) of the province of Trabzon, Bekir Sāmī Bey and to the deputy governor (*nā ʾib*) Mevlānā Sünuḥullah Efendi who was also the Islamic judge (*ḳāżī*) of Trabzon. In it, the Sultan confirms his assent to the granting of a permit (*ruḫṣat*) for the

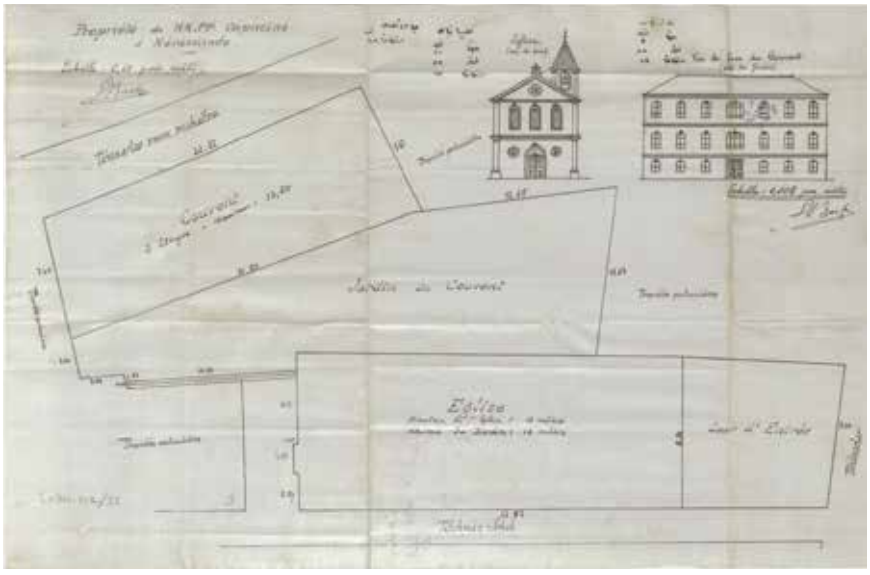


Figure 3. Architectural plan of the church in French dated 16 *cemāziyülāḫir* 1329/ 14 June 1911 [BOA, İ.AZN, 102/35, fol. 3].

12 CASY, 8.34.

13 Özgür Demirkan, "İşlev Değiştiren bir ibadet yapısının kent kimliği üzerinden okunması; Giresun Kapusen Kilisesi," *IJSHS* 2 (2) (2018): 43.

14 BOA, ŞD.1856.7, dated 29 Şevvāl (L) 1320/ 29 January 1903.

15 CASY, 08.42. Dated 13 Rebīʿu'l-āḫir 1321/ 9 July 1903.

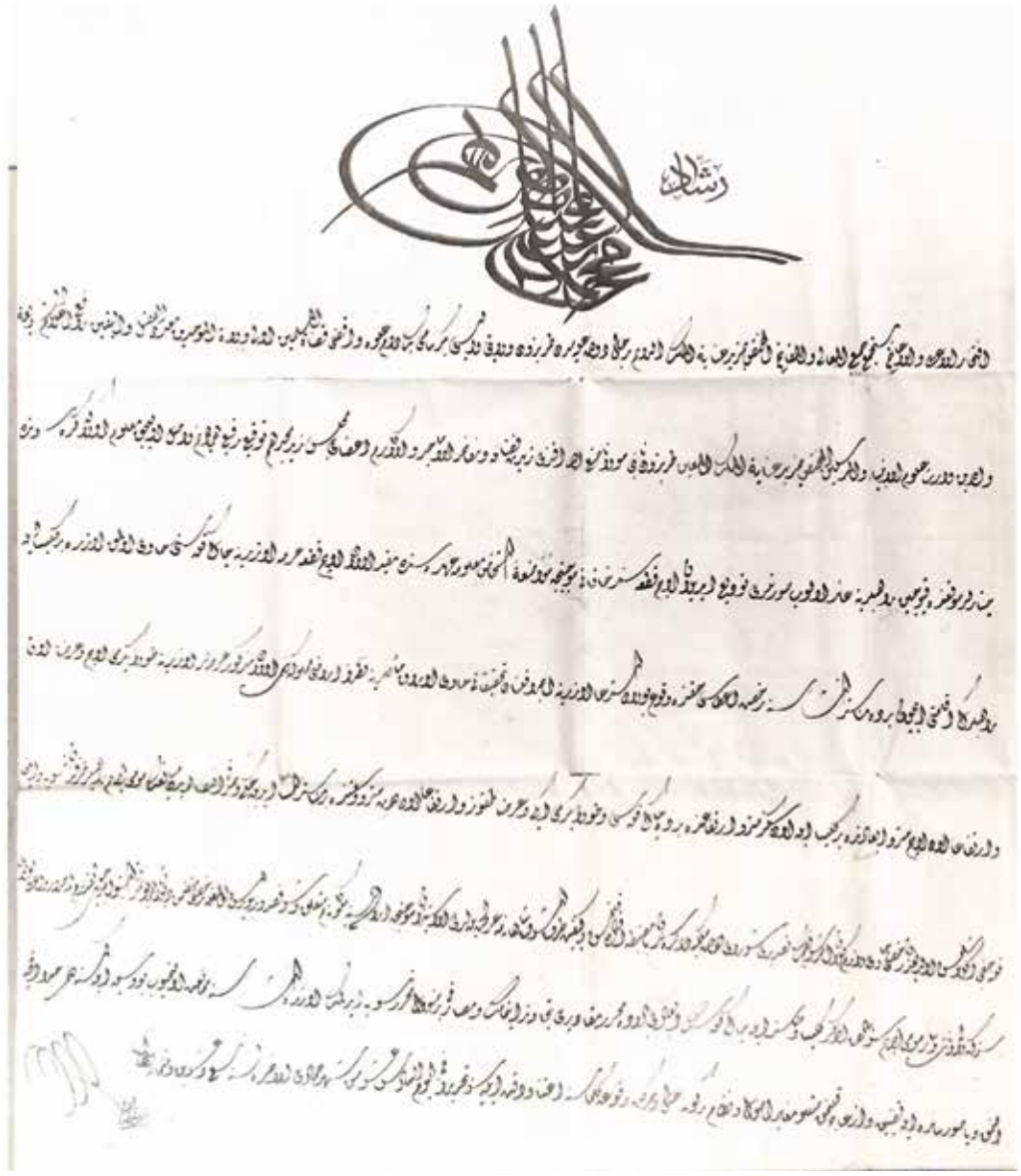


Figure 1. Imperial decree (*emr-i şerīf*) dated 16 *cemāziyülāḫir* 1329/ 14 June 1911. Courtesy of CASY, 8.31.

Ṭuğrā: *Meḥmed ḫan bin ʿAbdülmecīd el-muẓaffer dāʾima.*

[1] *Iffetü'l-elāʿi ve'l-aʿāẓim müstecmiʿ-ü cemīʿu'l-maʿāllī ve'l-mefāḫīm el-muḫtaṣṣ bi-mezīdi ʿināyeti'l-mükerremu'l-dāʾim ricāli devlet-i ʿaliyemden Ṭrabzon vilāyeti vālīsi Bekir Sāmī Bey dāme ʿuluvvuhu aḫżā-ı ḳużāti'l-müslimīn, evlā-ı vulāti'l-muvaḥḥidīn, maʿdenu'l-faẓlı ve'l-yaḳīn, rāfiʿi ʿlām li-şerīʿat* [2] *ve'd-dīn, vāriṯ-i ʿulāmi'l-enbiyāʾ ve'l-mürselīn, el-muḫtaṣṣ bi-mezīdi ʿināyeti'l-meliki'l mu'īn Ṭrabzon nāʾib Mevlānā Sünuḥullah Efendi zīde fażāʾilahu ve mefāḫiru'l-emācit ve'l-ekārim a'żayi meclisi zīde mecdehum tevḳīʿ refīʿ hümāyūnum vāṣil olucak maʿlūm olaki Kiresūnda* [3] *Çınārlar mevḳiʿinde Ḳapūcīn rāhiblerine ʿāʾid olup şūretleri tevdīʿ edilen üç ḳıṭʿa sened-i ḫāḳānī mücibince muvāẓiʿaten eşḫāṣı maʿlūme ʿuhdesinde muḳayyed olan üç ḳıṭʿa ʿarṣa üzerine çān ḳullesini ḥāvī olmak üzere bir kilise ile* [4] *rāhibleriñ iḳāmeti için bir'de manāstır inşāsına ruḫṣat iʿṭāsı ḥaḳḳında vuḳūʿbulan istidʿāʾ*

üzerine icrā kılınan taḥḳīḳāt ḥāvī olan māllerine naẓaran arāżī memlūkeden olan mezkūr

ʿarṣalar üzerine ṭūlan yirmi üç ve ʿarżan on [5] *ve irtifāʿan on üç metre ebʿādında bir kilise ile on sekiz metre irtifāʿında bir'de çān ḳullesi ve ṭulan yirmi iki ve ʿarżan doḳuz ve irtifāʿan on dört metre vusʿatında bir manāstır inşāʾ edileceği ve şarfi iḳtiżā eden mebāliğiñ mümā-ileyhim rāhibler ṭarafından tesviye ve īfā* [6] *ḳılınacağı anlaşılmış olduğundan ruḫṣatı ḥāvī lāzimgelen emr-i şerīfimiñ taşdīri şurāyı devlet mülkiye dāʾirsinden bā mażbaṭa ifāde kılınmış ve keyfiyet ṭaraf-i şerefi şāhāneme ʿarṣa edildi, ledel istiẕān mücinbince irāde-i seniye-i mülūkānem müteʿallik ve şerefṣudūr buyurulmuş olmağla ruḫṣatı mutażammin divānı hümāyūnumdan işbu emri celīlu'l-ḳadrim iṣdār ve ʿiṭā olundu* [7] *siz ki vālī ve nāʾib ve mümā-ileyhim siz sālifü'ẕ-ẕikr kilise ve manāstır ile çān ḳullesinin ibʿādi ve sāire muḥarrer meḳādīri tecāvuz etmemek ve meṣārifi ber-minvāl-i muḥarrer tesviye edilmek üzere inşāsına mumāneʿat olunmayıp bu vesile ile kimesneden cebren akçe* [8] *alınmak veya ṣūret-i sāʾire ile tażyīḳ ve izʿāc kılınmak miṯillu muğāyırı uṣūl ve niẓām bir güne ḥāl ve ḥareket vuḳūʿa gelmemesine iʿtināʿ ve dikḳat eyleyesiz taḥrīren fī'l-yevmi's-sādisʿaşer min şehr-i cemāziyülāḫir li sene tisaʿ ve aşrīn ve selāse miʾe ve elf.* [9] *Bālāda Reşad ṭuğralı işbu fermān ṣūret-i aṣlına muṭābıḳtır.*

construction of the church, bell tower, and friary on three plots owned by the Capuchin friars. The measurements of the buildings were specified as follows: a church with a length of 23, a width of 10 and a height of 13 meters with a bell tower at a height of 18 meters; a friary with a length of 22 meters, a width of 9 meters and a height of 14 meters. The decree concludes with the issuing of three orders to the addressees to ensure that the church and bell tower not exceed the agreed boundaries, to prohibit attempts to impede the construction, and to prevent the extortion of money or similar coercion (figure 1).

The imperial edict was translated into French on 12 July 1911 by the second dragoman of the of the French Embassy, Jean Beguin Bibbecourt and the French Consulate completed the formalities for the registration of the document in the province of Trabzon[16] (figure 3).

Subsequent to the construction of the church and friary, a two-story house for accommodation was built as well as a three-story building used as a school by the Sisters of Saint Joseph who had arrived from Trabzon and a convent in which to house them.

iii. Construction of the Church:

A comprehensive report dating from November 1913 to February 1914 provides details of work undertaken and expenses incurred for the construction of the new church and was signed by the Capuchin President, Fr. Giuseppe in Smyrna. The document lists income and expenditures (materials & labour costs) in piastres for construction and repair works undertaken at the church and sisters' convent in categories comprising of: the construction of a wall surrounding the church; restauration of the house inhabited by the sisters; construction of a shed, wash house and wall for the rented house; creation of a church courtyard; interior works in the church; the high alter; inauguration of the church; extraordinary expenses and excluded expenses. While expenses equated to 38,698 piastres (358,34 Turkish lira), income exceeded that by 8143 at 46,841 piastres (433,77 Turkish lira) which demonstrates the large degree of financial support for the construction of a new Latin Catholic church. Sources of income included loans from banks, donations from the Capuchin mission in Trabzon, Catholic merchants and Levantines as well as generous benefactions from nobility and royalty such as Margherita of Savoy (d. 1926) with 9381 piastres and the Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria (r. 1848-1916) with 4948 piastres.[17]

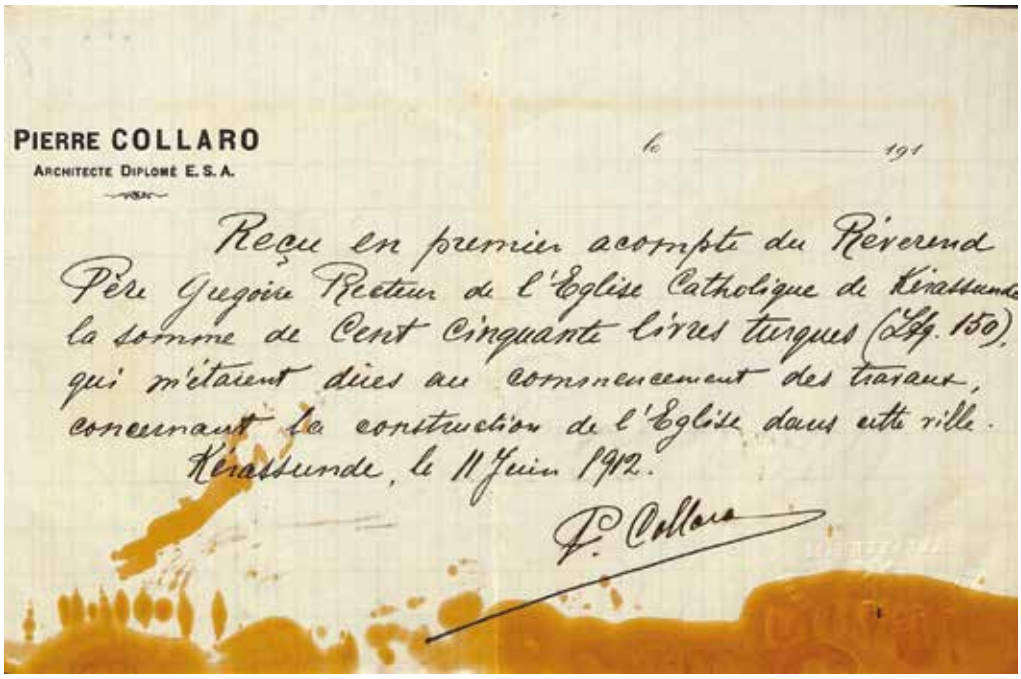
The Capuchins assigned the construction of the church to a French architect by the name of Pierre Collaro. On 22 April 1912, he provided a detailed estimate listing individual costs which came to a total of 167,131 silver piastres (1547.51 Turkish lira).[18] A fixed-term contract was drawn up between Rev. Fr. Michel, the interim superior of the Capuchins, and Collaro and signed in the presence of the French consul of Trabzon, Louis Bais, on the 6 June 1912. It was agreed that Collaro would follow the 15-article plan annexed to the contract while providing all construction materials and the execution of works for the sum of 1500 Turkish lira divided into eight payments.[19] In a series of eight separate receipts dating from the 11 June 1912 to 29 April 1913 by the architect

16 CASY, 8.34.

17 CASY, 08.38, from November 1913 to February 1914.

18 CASY, 08.39, estimate dated 22 April 1912.

19 CASY, 08.39, contract dated 6 June 1912.


PIERRE COLLARO
ARCHITECTE DIPLOMÉ E. S. A.

le _____ 191

Reçu en premier acompte du Réverend
Père Gregoire Recteur de l'Eglise Catholique de Kérassunde
la somme de Cent Cinquante Livres turques (Ltq. 150),
qui m'étaient dues au commencement des travaux,
concernant la construction de l'Eglise dans cette ville.
Kérassunde, le 11 Juin 1912.

P. Collaro

Figure 4. A receipt dated 11 June 1912 by the architect Pierre Collaro acknowledging the first deposit in Turkish lira (TL) received from the Capuchin rector for construction works on their church. Courtesy of CASY, 8.37, fol. 1.

acknowledges nine payments in Turkish lira (TL) received from different Capuchin priests at the commencement of and during the construction works on their church.[20] From the first of these, it can be observed that he received some payment in advance (figure 4):

"Received first deposit of the Reverent Father Gregoire Rector of the Catholic Church of Giresun the sum of one hundred and fifty Turkish lira (150 Tl), which were owed to me at the beginning of the works, concerning the construction of the Church in this city Giresun, the 11 June 1912. [signed] P. Collaro"[21]

The construction of the bell tower was overseen by the same architect Pierre Collaro at an extra cost of 1171 Turkish lira for 71 concrete stones, beams, double chaining and inking, 46 square piques of wall, as well as an additional 351 for 54 square piques of wall constructed with old stones.[22] Among the series of ten communications between Collaro and the Capuchins regarding the construction of the bell tower, it can be observed that the architect made a request for additional funds of 820 Turkish lira, the payment of which was delayed. Yet, as late as 17 July 1913, the friars addressed Collaro in a letter in which they state their refusal to pay the money until

20 The nine advance payments were as follows: 150 TL from the church's rector Fr. Gregoire on 11 June 1912; 150 TL from Fr. Antoine on 2 August 1912; 200 TL from Fr. Michel on 14 September 1912; 100 TL from Fr. Gregoire on 30 October 1912; 150 TL from Fr. Michel on 20 November 1912; 190 TL from Fr. Joseph on 30 December 1912; 10 TL from Fr. Joseph on 16 January 1913; 50 TL from Fr. Michel on 20 January 1913; 50 TL from Fr. Joseph on 29 April 1913.

21 Original text in French: "Reçu en premier acompte du Réverend Père Gregoire Recteur de l'Eglise Catholique de Kérassunde la somme de cent cinquante livres turques (Ltq. 150), qui m'étaient dues au commencement des travaux, concernant la construction de l'Eglise dans cette ville Kérassunde, le 11 Juin 1912." The rest were payments from Fr. Antoine, Fr. Michel and Fr. Joseph. CASY 8.37, fol. 1.

22 Receipt of costs signed by Pierre Collaro and dated 3 November 1912.

Figures 5-7. Façade of Giresun Children's Library.
Photo: V. R. de Obaldía, 2021.

an explanation was given as to the reason for being charged an additional invoice as well as their request that the architect come to an agreement with Fr. Joseph to address six construction-related issues including an irregular alter step.[23] The completion of works also suffered setbacks as a result of rain, legal processes, the closure of the Dardanelles and a strike delaying the arrival of materials from Marseille. Consequently, the architect was unable to deliver the edifice by the date fixed in the contract of the 25 December 1912.[24]

The church was constructed with a rectangular plan and a single nave. The main façade has a triangular frontal with grooved stone corner columns on the corners. On all four façades, there are gothic windows with pointed arches: on the main façade they are designed adjacent to one another, on the east-west façades they are arranged as independent windows and as a single window on the south façade. The square bell tower is attached to the east façade. The church's entrance is through a monumental porch which is separated from the main part of the building by a two-winged wooden door. On the eastern front, there is a second door with flat cross-stones that gives access to the bell tower. There is a raised platform at the back of the church which is accessed by a wooden spiral staircase (renewed later in accordance with its original). The stain glassed windows and the tile mosaics of floral and geometrical designs covering the floor are unique elements which create a striking visual impact upon entering the main hall (figures 8-11).

In spite of the costs and efforts for the foundation of a church and school, the apostolic service towards a tiny community of foreign Latin merchants and its missionary activities among resident Christians of different denominations, the Capuchin presence in Giresun was not to last long. The withdrawal of the Capuchin mission was determinate on wider socio-political events at the turn of the century.

iv. Change in the Early Republican Period:

The proliferation of church construction in Anatolia during the *Tanẓīmāt* period and late nineteenth century was succeeded, in sharp contrast, by the population exchange, forced migration and decimation of the first quarter of the twentieth century leaving such structures empty of life. The impact continued to be noted even in 1952 as described in the reports of the last British consul in Trabzon, Vorley Harris (1949-1956):

"Before the War of Independence, the people of Giresun numbered over 28,000 half of whom were Greeks, Armenians and Jews. On the completion of exchange of populate between Greece and Turkey and the compulsory settlement of Jews and Armenians in the large towns of Izmir, Istanbul and Ankara the population of the town fell to under 11,000 and even today (October 1952) at 12,367 it is only a shadow of its former self."[25]

With the disappearance of Christian populations, churches located in rural Anatolia were primarily transformed into mosques, some of them into museums, and a minority into libraries, exhibition halls, arts and cultural centres. Places and spaces of worship also became vulnerable with the introduction of the state policy of secularisa-

23 They took place between Pierre Collaro and the Capuchin friars located in different provinces including Fr. Michel, the Capuchin superior in Samsun, Fr. Angélique the Father Prefect of Smyrna, Fr. Joseph the Capuchin superior in Trabzon, and Fr. Grégoire dating from 3 November 1912 until 1 August 1913. CASY, 08.40.

24 CASY 08.39, letter dated 15 July 1912; CASY 08.40, letter dated 4 November 1912.

25 Christopher Harris (ed.), *The Reports of the Last British Consul in Trabzon, 1949-1956: A Foreigner's Perspective on a Region in Transformation* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2005), 118-119.

tion with the formation of the Turkish Republic in 29 October 1923. To place the Capuchin case study within the wider regional context of the Black Sea cities, the other notable transformations should be mentioned. These include the conversion of the Byzantine church of the Hagia Sophia located in Trabzon into a mosque (1584), then a museum (1964) before its reconversion into a mosque (2013), and in Giresun the sixteenth century basilica of Gogora was transformed into a prison (1948-1967) only to later be redesigned as a museum of the same name (1988); thus, reinforcing the secular or Islamic transformation of the edifice in line with contemporary state ideologies.

v. The Conversion of the Church:

During the 1960s, the Ministry of National Education decided to move the Children's Library, which was affiliated to Giresun Provincial Public Library, from its original place in a section of Cumhuriyet Secondary School where it originally opened in 1952 to the Latin Catholic church.[26] The Giresun Public Library Directorate undertook repairs at the church and the library was inaugurated in 1967. With the exception of the shortening of the bell tower to the same height as the building, restauration was undertaken without altering the edifice's façade and interior.[27]

The main question that arises here is: Why a children's library?

In 2018, Özgür Demirkan published an interesting study on the refunctioning of the church in the context of urban identity. He attributes its conversion into a library to two main reasons: to the city's urban and population growth, which in turn increased a need for buildings of a social nature, and to the deficit of libraries in an area with numerous schools.[28] He supports his argument with a piece in Işık newspaper from 1925 which highlighted how the shortage of educational buildings was addressed by the transformation of those previously used by non-Muslims.[29] With the declaration of the Turkish Republic, Giresun's status changed from a sub-province into a city. During the Republican period, the city developed physically as well as in terms of population. With the opening of Giresun Port and the construction of the coastal road in 1959, the city began to spread in the east-west direction. The inclusion of a paper mill in Aksu in the east since 1967, Fiskobirlik Integrated Facilities, and other public buildings in the west accelerated this spread.

How did political events at a local and national level impact such conversions? The Republican era initiated a process of radical urban transformation within the framework of modernisation and secularisation which initiated in the central cities and expanded into the rural areas in subsequent decades. In Giresun, the fifteenth century Sultan Selim (Hüdavendigār) Cami and its surrounding buildings were demolished in 1933.[30] In the 1960s important secular symbols were added to Giresun's city centre in the form of a bust of Ataturk in 1963 and his statues in 1966 in front of the most symbolic building in the city, the New City Hall constructed between

26 "Çocuk Kütüphanesi, Yenilenen Hizmet Binası ile Okuyucularını Bekliyor," T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Giresun İl Halk Kütüphanesi, accessed 25 January 2021, http://giresun.kutuphane.gov.tr/TR-128041/cocuk-kutuphanesi-yenilenen-hizmet-binasi--ile-okuyucul-.html.

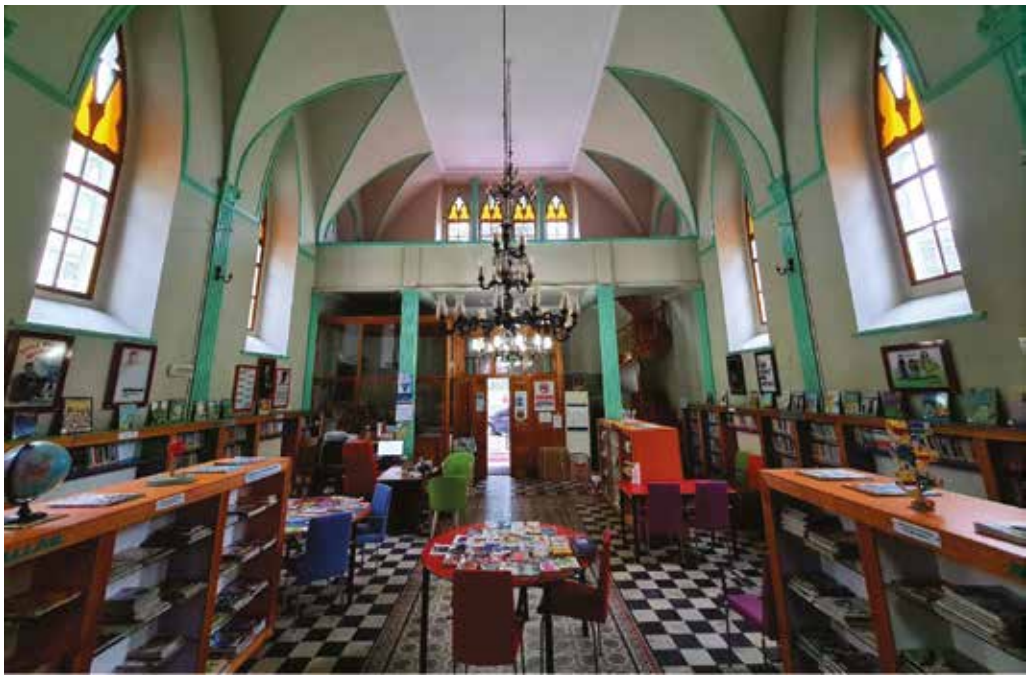
27 Another study of original structural features of a converted building being retained is that of the transformed Greek Orthodox church Republican Mosque (Cumhuriyet Camii) in Derinkuyu which features both an iconostasis (the screen separating the holiest part of Orthodox churches where icons are displayed) or an ambo (pulpit). Tuğba Tanyeri-Erdemir, Robert M. Hayden, and Aykan Erdemir, "The Iconostasis in the Republican Mosque: Transformed Religious Sites as Artifacts of Intersecting Religioscapes," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46 (2014): 489-512.

28 Özgür Demirkan, "İşlev Değiştiren bir ibadet yapısının kent kimliği üzerinden okunması; Giresun Kapusen Kilisesi," *IJSHS*, 2 (2) (2018): 44-45.

29 *Ibid*, 45. Işık Gazetesi, December, 1925.

30 Gazanfer İltar and Mehmet Fatsa, "Giresun Merkezde Yok Olmuş Bir Vakıf Eseri: Sultan Selim (Hüdavendigār) Camisi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 50 (2018): 18-186.

Figures 8 - 9. Interior of Giresun Children's Library. Photos: V. R. de Obaldía, 2021.



Figures 10 - 11. Interior of Giresun Children's Library. Photos: V. R. de Obaldía, 2021.

1948 and 1949. In 1967, the Capuchin church was transformed into a children's library. Shortly after, in 1971, Turkey enacted a law banning private higher education institutions resulting in the closure of the Greek Orthodox Theological School of Halki (Ruhban Okulu). Could such actions be said to represent a systematic, albeit unenacted, national policy for the erasing of religious, especially non-Muslim traces? The transformation of the church into a children's library certainly contributed to the secular identity of Giresun's modernisation project.

While the conversion of the Latin Catholic church was advantageous in terms of functional benefits (social and educational) as well as aesthetic, to what extent could it be claimed that it represented a loss for the Latin Catholic community? The building was unused and its adaptive reuse helped conserve a part of Latin cultural heritage as well as provide benefits to the wider community.[31] Thus, the Giresun church may have had the shortest functional life-span (1910-1967) of all of the Capuchin churches in the Ottoman Empire but its transformation ensured the conservation of the building's fabric and the preservation of its heritage.

Evaluation of the Giresun Case Study

i. Validity/invalidity:

Could it be said that conversion of a church into a secular space in a Muslim majority state reflects an implicit denial about the validity of its sanctity as a place of worship? If this can be said to be an accurate assumption, then the Giresun case study is a refutal. While the building underwent a functional transformation, there exists unquestionable continuity in terms of architecture and mission.

As regards architectural elements, the original building has essentially remained unaltered. With the exception of the shortening of the bell tower, no significant structural intervention has taken place. From the shape of the edifice alone, it can still be identified as a church both externally and internally. Externally, its religious identity is manifested through the retention of gothic style windows with pointed arches on all four façades and by the monumental porch with its cradle style roof, vault, and columns. Most explicitly on the main façade, the windows are terminated by a cross and directly above them are a set of cross motifs slanting upwards. On the east and west façades of the buildings placed on either side of the gothic windows are two small round windows with the Star of David.[32] Other more discreet Christian symbolism include a cross in the shape of a dove plunging downwards above the main entrance as well as floral and vegetable motifs on the panels of the two-winged wooden main door such as an ear of wheat. Internally, the stained-glass windows, the tile mosaics on the floor and the high alter (now used as a chessboard) are strong visual indicators of the building's original use, complimented by less obvious elements such as a wooden spiral staircase leading to the platform and circular rosettes on the platform sections on the east and west walls. Even after its reclassification as a library, it remains dedicated by name to its Christian past, being prominently marked as a former Latin Catholic church.

In relation to religious mission, the essence of the mission of the founders of the church, the Capuchins, has

31 In the Venice Charter of 1964, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) highlights the importance of adaptive reuse within the restoration and conservation practice announcing that, "...the conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose".

32 The Star of David finds its place in Catholic iconography as it signifies the new and true people of Israel, no longer based on blood but on faith.

been preserved to a certain extent. Two important roles played by the Capuchins throughout Ottoman territories were the edification of society and the provision of children's education. Just over one tumultuous century after their initial arrival in the Ottoman capital at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Capuchins had established a school for the instruction of children of various Christian denominations and had founded a language college for the training of aspiring dragomans. Children's education was a significant fruit of the Capuchin missions throughout the Ottoman Empire. The Capuchins who established themselves in the Black Sea region in 1845 in the city of Trabzon, expanded their apostolic mission to include education with the foundation of a school four decades later.[33] Subsequently, soon after the construction of their church in Giresun, the Capuchins established a parish school on the same grounds adjacent to the church which would have served the needs of the local children regardless of religion. Sisters from the religious order of Saint Joseph who had been based in Trabzon, were brought to administer the school which became known as the French School of the Sisters of St. Joseph. Albeit unintentionally, the Capuchin church's transformation into a building serving children's education was a continuation of an essential element of the former Capuchin mission in Giresun. Today, the library is open five days per week from 08:00-12:00 and 13:00-17:00 and is closed on the weekends. It boasts over 17, 000 books and over 28, 000 members. Children can become library members for free and have borrowing rights of 15 days for books. There are many books including reference books and periodicals on topics such as children's literature, history, psychology, and the social sciences. In addition to books, there are CDs and DVDs of an educational and documentary nature, science and nature-themed plastic models and educational board games such as chess.

ii. Touristic purposes:

What was the purpose of the retention of the former church's overtly Christian features after its conversion into a mosque, especially in view of the Islamic injunction for the removal of non-Muslim features on converted buildings? The short answer: touristic objectives. The children's library is under the management of the Republic of Turkey's Ministry of Culture and Tourism (*T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı*) rather than the Giresun Municipality. This affiliation is clearly emphasised on a golden-coloured plaque suspended to the right of the main door behind a prospects panel headed by large capital letters in Turkish "T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı" .[34] Similarly, the library appears on the website of the Giresun Provincial Culture and Tourism Directorate (*Giresun İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü*) under the title of "Places to Visit in Giresun" (*Giresun Gezilecek Yerler*).[35] The library is therefore, considered among the city's tourist attractions and it is even included in city tours. It is also present on travel websites such as Trip Advisor. In 2012, the Ministry renovated and repaired the library within the scope of a project titled "Improving Children's Libraries Project" (*Çocuk Kütüphanelerini İyileştirme Projesi*) and an inauguration was held for the reopening of the library on 1 April 2014 during 50th Library Week.[36] In

33 For a history of the Capuchins in Trabzon see Vanessa R. de Obaldía, "Santa Maria della Purificazione: the First Capuchin Church in the Black Sea Region," *Eurasian Studies 17* (2019): 1-22.

34 This is unusual since the majority of Turkey's heritage sites are either managed by the Ministry of Culture and/or the General Directorate of Pious Foundations.

35 "Çocuk Kütüphanesi (Katolik Kilisesi)", T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, accessed 30 January 2021, https://giresun.ktb.gov.tr/TR-207047/cocuk-kutuphanesi-katolik-kilisesi.html.

36 "Çocuk Kütüphanesi, Yenilenen Hizmet Binası."

a 2017 interview by Arkeolojik Haber (Archaeological News), the Provincial Director of Culture and Tourism, Kemal Gürgenci, said that the library, "...also reflects a cultural value with its historical background."[37]

The adaptive reuse of places of worship and their promotion for touristic objectives is not restricted to the former Latin Catholic church of Giresun. Rather, another of the city's Ottoman era buildings, a 200-year-old mansion possessing unique architecture is used as the Public Library.[38] Furthermore, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has carried out restoration works on two other significant churches. The first is the sixteenth century Gogara Basilica which underwent restauration by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism between 1982 and 1988 and was inaugurated as an archaeology and ethnographic museum known today as Giresun Museum.[39] The second is the second century Church of The Virgin Mary located in the Kayadibi village on the outskirts of Giresun city. It is the second largest monastery in Turkey to be carved out of a mountain and was restored between 2013 and 2017 and subsequently described by the Provincial Tourism and Culture Director Hulusi Güleç as "must-see cultural heritage." He clearly articulated the reason for its restauration, "The rock-carved church is a very rare one in the region. The Culture and Tourism Ministry planned to restore the church and open it to tourism."[40]

iii. Political & social reactions:

Governmental efforts have been made to highlight the building's original function with a sign resembling a street sign written in capital letters and placed directly outside the front iron fence to the left of the main gate that reads "Children's Library. Former Catholic Church" (*Coçuk Kütüphanesi Eski Katolik Kilisesi*). Likewise, the golden-coloured plaque on the wall outside the library's main door provides a short but imprecise description of its history. On the website of Giresun City Council, the building's historical significance is highlighted. On the page tilted "Historical Places" (*Tarihi Yerler*), the Children's Library appears in the second slot of the eighteen sights presented.[41] Therefore, full recognition is given of the building's former and original function as a Latin Catholic church.

At a social level, recognition of the validity of the religious space of the "other" can be discerned through the press. Newspaper reports have been overwhelmingly positive about the conversion and have given due recognition to the building's religious heritage, with some even emphasising the continuation of its distinct religious character, such as the title of a report by the newspaper Akşam dated 24 February 2019 "Its exterior is a church, its interior is a library" (*Dışı kilise içi kütüphane*).[42] In a short piece dated 25 February 2019 commemorating the building's 50th year in service, Giresun Işık under the same title ("Its exterior is a church, its interior is a library"), describes that, "It was recorded that the church was converted into a library while preserving its characteristics which is one of the first examples of an ancient religious building that serves as a library in Turkey" (*Türkiye'de*

37 Gültekin Yetgin, "Giresun'da tarihi binalar kütüphane oldu," *Arkeolojik Haber*, 13 January 2017, https://www.arkeolojikhaber.com/haber-giresunda-tarihi-binalar-kutuphane-oldu-2276/.

38 *Ibid.*

39 "Giresun Müzesi," T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, accessed 30 January 2021. https://giresun.ktb.gov.tr/TR-207018/giresun-muzesi.html.

40 "Rock-carved church opens in Giresun", *Hürriyet Daily News*, 18 May 2016. https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/rock-carved-church-opens-in-giresun--99355.

41 "Tarihi Yerler," Giresun Kent Konseyi, accessed 15 January, http://www.giresunkentkonseyi.org/tarihi-yerler.

42 "Dışı kilise içi kütüphane," *Akşam*, 24 February 2019, https://www.aksam.com.tr/foto-galeri/yasam/disi-kilise-ici-kutuphane/46057/.

eski bir dini yapının kütüphane olarak hizmet eden ilk örneklerden birisi olduğu kilisenin özelliğinin korunarak kütüphaneye dönüştürüldüğü kaydedildi).[43] In an undated and unauthored report by Haber Kaos, the building's architecture and features were praised before it concluded that, "It is one of the most beautiful examples of non-Muslim buildings in Giresun with its façade arrangement, interior floor covering, window shapes and decorative ceiling." (*Cephe düzenlemesi, iç mekan zemin döşemesi, pencere biçimleri ve dekoratif tavanı ile Giresun'daki gayrimüslüm yapılarının en güzel örneklerinden birisidir*).[44] Regardless of the overwhelmingly positive reporting, suspicions were inevitably voiced about the intention behind the preservation of the explicit religious features with a report in the newspaper with religious leanings called Yeni Akit titled "Christian Propaganda in Library" (*Kütüphanede Hıristiyanlık propagandası*) in which it asserts that "young minds are being confused with the Christian and Jewish figures" (*Hıristiyan ve Yahudi figürleriyle genç beyinler bulandırılıyor*).[45] However, such can be described as mere marginal opinions.

Conclusion

The Giresun case study represents a unique example in the long and varied history of the conversion of Latin Catholic spaces and places of worship under Ottoman and Turkish rule because it did not conform to the usual standards of transformations of religious places into secular spaces. The preservation of the building's original structure and religious symbolism, albeit for touristic objectives, provides recognition of the validity and cultural value of non-Muslim spaces. As can be seen by the popularity of the library among the local population, the adaptive reuse and visual emphasis of an overtly Christian religious space is not viewed as inappropriate nor its use discouraged according to religious or social norms; rather, there is an appreciation of the building's heritage at the political and popular levels. The conversion took place decades after the Capuchin religious order and the devotee community that it served departed from the city, therefore, any presumed symbolic message behind the conversion was not directed at the former believers. Rather, the church was transformed in order to meet the public needs of a changing society and the retention and the preservation of the building's structure, façade and interior as well as the promotion of its Christian past conveys a message of tolerance. The history of the former church specifically, and the Anatolian city of Giresun generally, has undoubtedly been shaped by its non-Muslim and Muslims communities and yet our case study reflects a memory of the once rich religious diversity of Anatolia which is ever-diminishing in contemporary Turkey.

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Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=58T-jST2K9ug&list=PLN7AHQGMKkd-C6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=12

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2NzZUtr-85Mo&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfx-h1fdN3EWXMQY&index=12

Latin, Armenian, Ottoman: transformation and ambivalence in the Catholic architecture of Pera and Galata during the 18th century*

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After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, the Latin Catholic community of Pera/Galata entered a phase of decline in numbers, paralleled by the loss of many of its sanctuaries. Resilience, and struggle for survival, were characteristic features of the community during the 16th and 17th century, with an anti-climax in this descending profile represented by the loss of the complex of San Francesco, damaged by fire in 1696 and turned into the no-longer standing Yeni Valide Mosque of Karaköy. However, the 18th century represented a period of relative recovery and growth, fueled especially by the numerous conversions of Ottoman Armenians to the catholic confession. This phenomenon affected at large the social topography of the city, and also exerted an ambivalent influence of the architecture of Latin Churches of the city. As evidence from the archives of Propaganda Fide shows, most Catholic sanctuaries between the early 18th century and the final acknowledgment by Mahmut II of a new Catholic Armenian "nation" (millet) in 1830, were used by a large majority of Armenians, far more numerous than the few Latin Catholics of Levantine and European background. Being in large part still Ottoman subjects, these Armenians could live as Catholics only in a state of semi-clandestinity. This paper will analyze how this peculiar situation was reflected in the religious architecture of Pera and Galata, transforming the Latin sanctuaries into crypto-Armenian spaces, displaying remarkable Ottoman features.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xXBEqrDC8eg&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=10

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ZtOwxGm6Kw&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=10

* The full paper will be published elsewhere but a video of the conference presentation can be accessed online via the links and QR codes.

'I shall not take their churches and turn them into mosques': The Legal Status of Catholic Churches in Ottoman Galata as Prescribed by the 'ahdnames*

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Shortly after conquering the Byzantine capital of Constantinople, Mehmed II issued a now-famous *'ahdname* or capitulation to the inhabitants of Galata, who voluntarily subdued to the sultan. This document represented a classic *dhimma* pact, whereby protection was guaranteed to a non-Muslim community in exchange for their recognition of the Muslim ruler, payment of a regular tribute and accepting certain social and religious restrictions. The prescriptions of the Galata *'ahdname* of 1453 also touched upon the faith of (Catholic) churches: Galatans would keep their churches and perform religious services in them, although they would refrain from ringing bells or semantrons, as well as building new ones; more importantly, the capitulation provided that churches may not be confiscated and turned into mosques. Although this last stipulation would be infringed even during Mehmed II's reign, the *'ahdname* would continue to be invoked as a legal source in the centuries to come.

The Catholic churches of Galata became the topic of *'ahdname*s and other diplomatic initiatives again in the late seventeenth century, after being damaged by fire in 1660. The French capitulation of 1673 provided the legal framework for the ownership and renovation works of two churches. However, Venice already managed to secure such actions three years earlier for the largest Catholic church in Galata, St. Francis. While no Venetian *'ahdname* issued so far contained stipulations for church reparations, the sultanic authorization, based on the *fetva* of *şeyhülislam* Minkarizade Yahya Efendi, invoked Galata's peaceful surrender back in 1453.

Turning to Ottoman-Turkish texts, my presentation will re-examine the role played by *'ahdname*s in establishing a legal framework for the possession and renovation of Catholic churches in Galata. Contrary to traditional historiography, I will argue that the Porte did not intend to give France nor any other foreign power a special status of protector of Catholicism through its *'ahdname*s. Comparisons with capitulatory provisions for churches in other regions of the empire will also be provided to better understand the functioning of these documents.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xX-BEqrDC8eg&list=PLN7AHQGMKkd-C6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=10

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5Z-tOwxGm6Kw&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC-TE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=10

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CHAPTER 3

TRANSFORMATION AND CONTINUITY IN CHURCH – MOSQUE CONVERSIONS

Fethiye Camii and Fethiye Museum: The Conversions of the Pammakaristos Church

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Abstract

In this paper I will address the conversions and transformations of the Pammakaristos Church, which was built on the fifth hill of Byzantine Constantinople in the 12th century. The church functioned as the patriarchate after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 and was transformed into a mosque in the late 16th Century. While the main building is still in use as a mosque, the side chapel (beginning 14th Century), and a part of the ambulatory that enveloped the church have been restored between 1949 and 1963 and function since as a museum showing religious Byzantine mosaics. Currently both the mosque and the museum are being restored but given the recent developments regarding the former Byzantine churches of Hagia Sophia and Chora the outcome of the restoration for Fethiye museum is unclear.

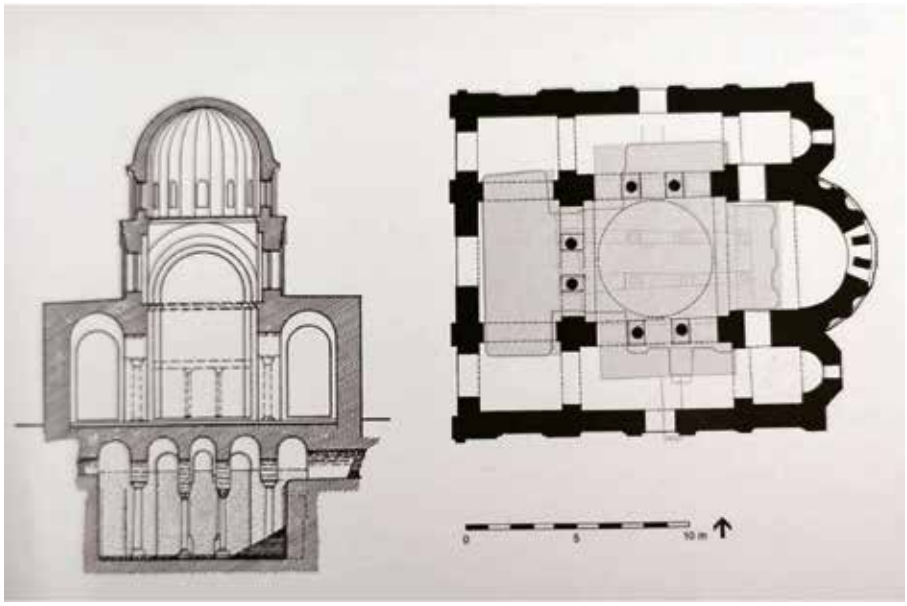
In this paper I will show the consequences of the different conversions and transformations over the centuries and the threats posed by current policies towards Byzantine heritage in Istanbul. Finally, I will propose different solutions for maintaining the combined function of mosque and museum.

Foto: Mariëtte Verhoeven

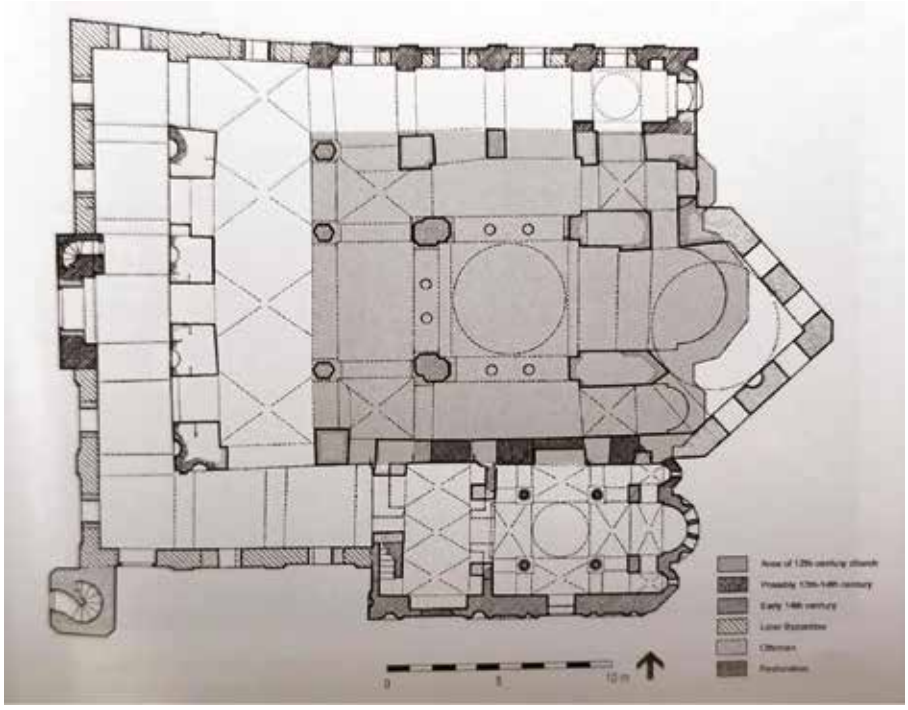
On the fifth hill of Istanbul's historic peninsula in the neighbourhood of Çarşamba stands the building complex that is now known as the Fethiye Mosque and Museum (Fethiye Camii and Müzesi) but that was built as the Pammakaristos Church. It is one of the almost thirty former Byzantine churches and chapels which have survived in Istanbul in different conditions, forms, and functions.

The Pammakaristos Church, which belonged to a monastery, was built in the twelfth century by a certain John Komnenos. The best-preserved part of the original church is the central space of what is now Fethiye Mosque, including the dome. At the end of the thirteenth century the Church and Monastery of Pammakaristos came into the possession of General Michael Dukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes and his wife Maria. A north aisle was added to the northern wall of the original church and the exterior south wall was decorated with a series of frescoes. Circa 1310, the parekklesion, a memorial chapel for Michael Glabas, was added on the south side of the church by order of Michael's widow, who had become a nun. Later in the fourteenth century, a fifth and sixth bay were added to the north aisle of the main church, five bays along the west side, and two bays more along the south side, together forming an ambulatory that abutted the parekklesion on the south side. These later additions, especially the parekklesion or south chapel in the form of a little church of the cross-in-square type can be typified as late Byzantine or Paleologian.

The south chapel shows inscribed and visual references to Michael Glabas and his wife. Below, is an image of a twenty-three-line epitaph carved on the exterior of the parekklesion. The poem eulogizes the general who took



Original plan of Pammakaristos Church, twelfth century.



Plan of Fethiye Camii, twelfth to sixteenth centuries.

This is a view into the south chapel that was built at the beginning of the fourteenth century.
Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven

And this is a view of the exterior. Foto: Mariëtte Verhoeven

the monastic habit before his death. It also informs visitors that the south chapel was built by Glabas' widow, now the nun Martha, to house his remains.

Immediately below the eaves there is a monogrammatic inscription which reads: Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes, *Protostrator* and Founder.

Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven

In the interior a metrical inscription surrounds the figure of Christ in the apse. It reads: "On behalf of her husband Michael Glabas, who was a champion and a worthy *Protostrator*, Martha the nun [has offered] this pledge of salvation." The central dome of the south chapel is decorated with a mosaic showing Christ Pantokrator surrounded by prophets.

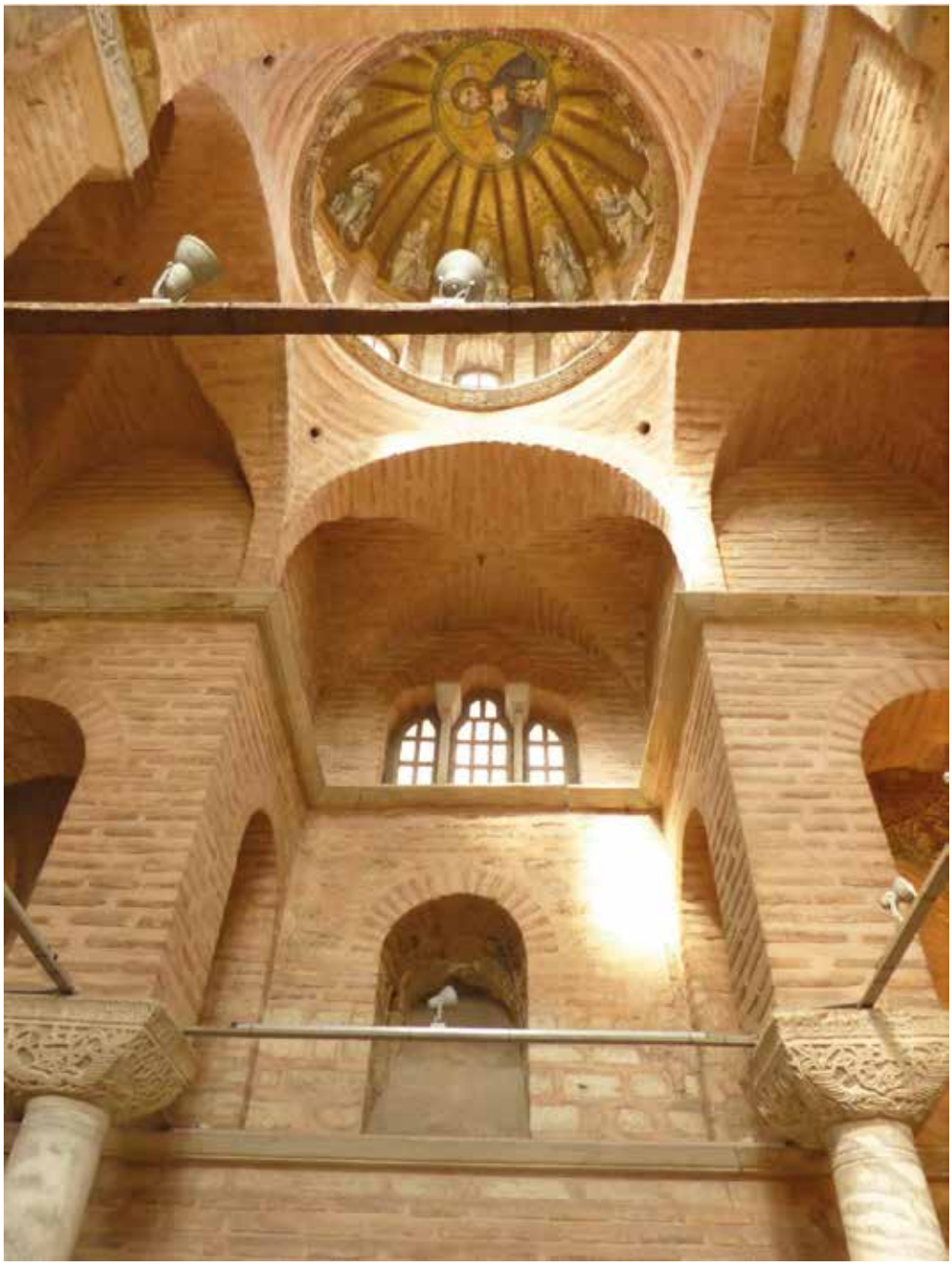


Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven

Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven

Written sources tell us that some two years after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Pammakaristos Church and monastery became the see of the Patriarch of the Orthodox church, on the request of the patriarch Gennadios Scholarios, after he had temporarily been seated in the Holy Apostles Church. The Pammakaristos Church was now a Christian place of worship in the capital of the Islamic Ottoman Empire, Istanbul.

In the 1570's and 1580's several German visitors came to the Pammakaristos Church in the context of an attempted rapprochement between the Orthodox and Lutheran churches. Among them was Stephan Gerlach who, from 1573 to 1578, served as a chaplain to the imperial embassy and supplied information on the Orthodox Church to the Tübingen professor Martin Crusius.

It was not until almost 150 years after the conquest of Constantinople, towards 1590, under Sultan Murad III, that the Pammakaristos Church was converted into a mosque named Fethiye or "Mosque of the Conquest" commemorating the conquest of Georgia and Azerbaijan.

With its conversion into a mosque the apse of the Pammakaristos Church was pulled down and replaced by an angular *qibla* wall pointing toward Mecca. The interior partitions of the church were demolished to create a more open space and the interior Christian decoration was removed. The south chapel was transformed into a separate prayer room with its own *qibla* wall.

Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven

When towards 1590 the Pammakaristos Church was converted into a mosque the surroundings of the building had already become neighbourhoods (*mahallerleri*) now mainly inhabited by Muslim Turks instead of Christians. Two great fires, in 1640 and 1784, damaged the mosque. The base of the eighteenth-century baroque minaret was probably renewed in 1845 when the mosque was restored. After that, the mosque gradually dilapidated and was eventually abandoned.

Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven

This photo below, taken in 1937, shows that the mosque was in a bad state with a stairs and wooden structure, possible the dwelling of the imam, that were built at an unknown date against and over a part of the ambulatory. This situation fits with the general circumstances regarding Istanbul's monumental architecture in the early years of the Turkish Republic when religious buildings dating back to Byzantine and Ottoman times, "had ceased to exist as functional spaces and sat empty in largely abandoned neighbourhoods," as Alessandra Ricci formulated it.

Over several long intervals between 1949 and 1963, the south chapel, including the south arm of the ambulatory of the former Pammakaristos Church, was restored by the Byzantine Institute of America (now Dumbarton Oaks). The campaign included the removal of all additions dating from the Ottoman period such as the *qibla* wall and the layers of plaster that covered the mosaics on the vaults, and the reconstruction of missing parts of the Byzantine building such as two columns that were replaced by imitations in concrete. Around 1960, this part of the Fethiye complex became a museum under the jurisdiction of Hagia Sophia Museum (Ayasofya Müzesi). Between 1961 and 1962, the conservation of the mosaics was completed, and the small north apse and several windows were restored to their original form. A masonry wall was erected between the south chapel and the main building.

Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven

The latter subsequently became a functioning mosque again after a restoration that mainly consisted of the renewal of the plaster work, which was really necessary.

Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven

The restoration of the south chapel by the Byzantine Institute of America must be seen in the light of a change of attitude toward history and heritage that went back to the foundation of the secular Turkish Republic in 1923, when Islam as a uniting force had to be replaced by a secular narrative of nationhood. The Committee for Research on Turkish History (*Türk Tarih Kurumu*), which was established in 1930, formulated and propagated the so-called Turkish History Thesis (*Türk Tarih Tezi*). The goal of the Thesis was to prove that the Turks had a glorious past beyond the Ottoman past. The Thesis posited that Central Asia, the homeland of the Turks, was the cradle of all human civilisations and that therefore the Hittite, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine cultures within Anatolia were "Turkish". The Ministry of Education in a decree issued to every school in the mid-1930s stated as follows: "All historic works in Turkey attest to the creativity and culture of the Turkish race, even if they are referred to as Hittite, Phrygian, Lydian, Roman, Byzantine, or Ottoman. Denomination only designates periods.

All are Turkish, and hence it is the duty of all Turks to preserve them."

Within that context, in June 1931, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk permitted the Byzantine Institute of America to uncover and restore the mosaics in Hagia Sophia. Other former Byzantine churches that were subsequently restored by the same institute include Chora Church (Kariye Camii, between 1947 and 1959) and the Church of the Pantokrator (Molla Zeyrek Camii, between 1954 and 1962). Hagia Sophia and Kariye Camii eventually became museums. Molla Zeyrek Camii remained in use as a mosque, but only at the Pammakaristos/Fethiye complex was there a combination created from a functioning mosque and a museum – a combination that exists to the present day.

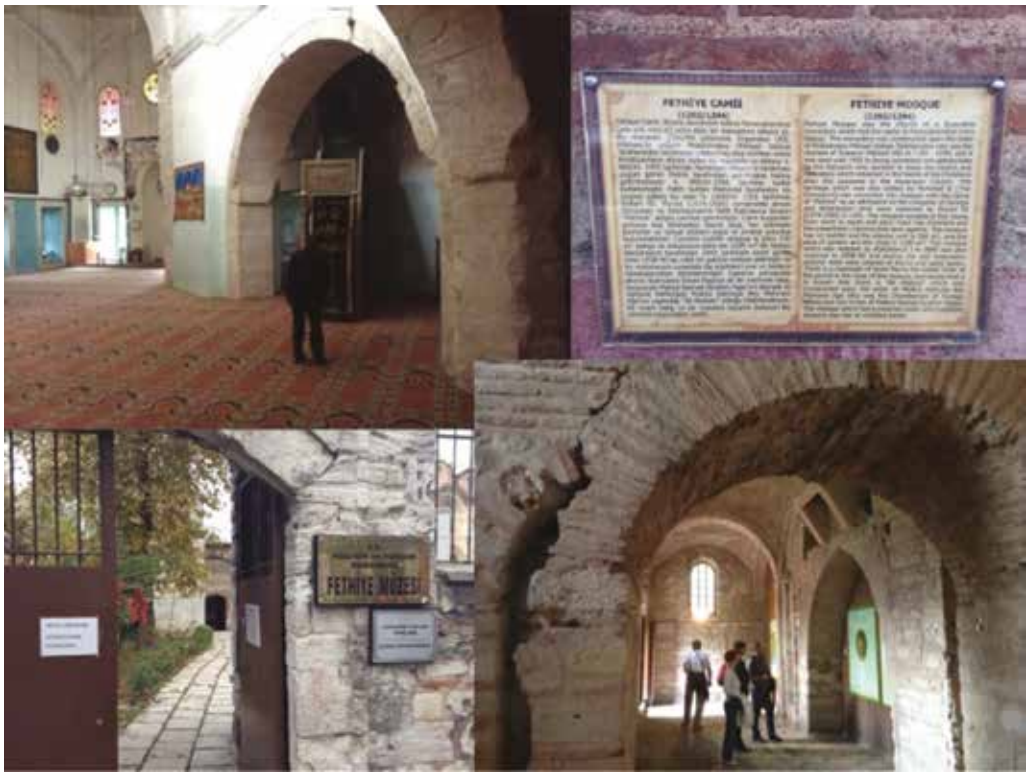
The Fethiye mosque shows no signs of its former function as a church. The liturgical furniture includes a pulpit (*minbar*) and a wall indicating the direction of Mecca (*qibla*), with a prayer niche (*mihrab*) on the south-eastern side. In fact, only the masonry and some fragments of sculptural decoration in the interior can be recognised and typified as Byzantine. The dimly lit interior, with squat masonry pillars and low arches supporting the vaults and light-blue and white plasterwork in a very bad state, gives an impression of decay and neglect.

Although the building has lost its function as a place of worship, the appearance of the former parekklesion, now the Fethiye Museum, is that of a pristine Byzantine chapel. Here the Byzantine Institute had the power to preserve, or better to reconstruct Byzantine history and to obliterate the Ottoman past. By turning the south chapel of the Fethiye complex into a museum it was deprived of its function as a place of worship but the Christian religious meaning and connotation was restored. It stands now, on its own property with an entrance gate, as a *Fremdkörper* in its surroundings, the densely populated and conservative Islamic neighbourhood of Çarşamba.

The attitude toward Byzantine religious heritage, changed once again in recent years. Under the AKP government there is a strong focus on restoring Istanbul's Ottoman past. Not only Ottoman mosques but also churches converted into mosques such as the Pantokrator Church (Molla Zeyrek Mosque) and the Sergios and Bacchus Church (Küçük Aya Sofia Mosque) have been restored to their state in Ottoman times. Unfortunately, restoration reports are not available.

Instead of acknowledging the uniqueness of these buildings as visible witnesses of their pasts as Christian and Islamic places of worship, the current tendency seems to focus only on the latter. According to Robert Ousterhout, who worked on an earlier restoration of the Pantokrator complex in 1997 and 2005, the building has been restored as a mosque rather than as the sum of its history. Alessandra Ricci rightly remarked that there are, and I quote, "difficulties in contemporary Istanbul of recognizing Byzantium, which continues to connote the ideological thrust, and certain political agendas, of conquest and conquered otherness". End quote. With regard to monumental religious Byzantine heritage, this process of repudiation of the city's Byzantine past includes concrete acts of claiming and appropriation. The recent conversion of the Hagia Sophia into a mosque, the conversion of the Chora Church and the plan to rebuild the ruinous St. John Studios church as a mosque also reflect this process.

Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven



What does this mean for the Fethiye Mosque and Museum?

Since 2018, the complex has been closed for restoration. The decision to restore the decayed mosque fits with the policy toward Ottoman religious heritage I described earlier. The restoration of the Fethiye Mosque complex is being carried out by a construction company on behalf of and under the authority of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü of Istanbul.

The last time I visited the building, in July 2019, the interior of the building was completely stripped, meaning that all plaster and concrete layers had been removed as well as the wall between the mosque and the museum. Unfortunately, I was not allowed to take pictures. It was very interesting though, to see the open space with the Byzantine and Ottoman brickwork exposed.

I was able to speak with the architect in charge of the restoration. She showed me around and explained what they had done and what they were planning to do. She also assured me that the whole restoration process would be documented. At that time, the plan was to reopen the building as it was, with its double function of mosque and museum. But given the recent developments in relation to Hagia Sophia and the dismantling of the Hagia Sophia Museum as an organization, it is unclear what will happen.

Photo: Mariëtte Verhoeven

To conclude I want to present some possible solutions for disclosing and presenting the multilayered history of this site and making the significance of the place accessible to both tourists and the local community. Digital techniques now offer the possibility to unlock and to activate the memorial potential of contested religious buildings such as the Pammakaristos/Fethiye complex in a historically relativistic, non-normative and reversible manner.

With the technique of augmented reality, 3-D models and other computer-generated input can be added to a live view of a heritage site. In this way, information that would otherwise stay hidden can be overlaid on the real world. This technique offers great opportunities not only for the visualisation of the subsequent physical layers of a historical building including decorations, inscriptions, and liturgical objects but also for adding additional information taken from written, graphic or photographic sources.

An on-site experience in the form of an augmented-reality application without devices, could be set up in the form of a projection showing the different building and decoration phases. This technique has been applied in the Romanesque church of S. Climent de Taüll in Catalonia where the apse decoration was digitally recreated on the basis of photographs and studies of fragments of the original decoration, which are in a museum in Barcelona. .

Another example is the temporary projection at the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome, a building with layers dating from Antiquity until the ninth century.

Fethiye Museum could be an ideal test case for applying digital techniques through which the multiple pasts of Istanbul's Byzantine-Islamic religious sites could be made visible without any structural intervention. The building already has a museological function and its small size would make investments in digital applications that require detailed photographing or laser scanning of the building manageable. It is even imaginable that these techniques could also be applied at Fethiye Mosque, outside prayer times. However, given the current policy toward religious buildings with multiple pasts, such solutions seem very far away.

Retrieved 24 August 2017 from http://mw2015.museumsandtheweb.com/paper/taull1123-immersive-experience-in-a-world-heritage-site-or-augmented-reality-without-devices/

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This paper is an adapted and updated version of my previously published article 'Revealing and Presenting the Past(s) for the Public. Fethiye Mosque and Museum as a Cultural Heritage Site in Istanbul'. In: L. Egberts & M.D. Alvarez (Eds.), *Heritage and Tourism: Places, Imageries and the Digital World* (LHS), Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press (2018), pp. 77-94. http://dx.doi.org/10.5117/9789462985353/CH04

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Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TOStvXSHSmk&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=12

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHS4JLxmJb0&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=11

The afterlife of the mandylion: Contested narratives on the fate of the 'Image of Edessa' and the role of the Ulu Cami, Şanlıurfa*

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The Islamicisation of the erstwhile Christian city of Edessa after its Muslim conquest in 639 led in subsequent centuries to the conversion of the majority of the city's churches into mosques. The last Christian inhabitants of the city were expelled from Urfa in 1924 in the aftermath of the Treaty of Lausanne and they ultimately settled in the Syrian city of Aleppo where the *Urfali* constitute a distinct city-within-a-city up until the present day.

Amongst their many legends, older *Urfali* recount the story of how after the Crusader County of Edessa was retaken by the Muslims, their cathedral was appropriated and rebuilt as the Great Mosque of al-Ruha (Urfa). This building has been equated with the Church of St. Stepanos that was coverted into the *Ulu Cami* in the 1170s. For the *Urfali* it was the upheaval associated with the fall of Crusader Edessa in 1144 that led to the disappearance of their most important relic the *mandylion*, the holy cloth on which Christ had left a miraculous imprint of his face, from St. Stepanos.

Whilst the majority of *Urfali* are Syrian Orthodox Christians, many of them believe that the panel residing in San Bartolomeo degli Armeni in Genoa is the true *mandylion*, in keeping with the dominant belief of the Catholic Church. However, interestingly, a number also believe (at the same time) that the relic was cast into the well of the church at the time of the conquest and that, since that event, the water of the well in the *Ulu Cami* has the ability to heal skin diseases.

This paper will examine the various strands of legend linking the site of the *Ulu Cami* with its earlier Christian origins as well as evaluating the extant Romano-Byzantine architecture still present on the site as we explore the intersection of Christianity and Islam in the History of Edessa/Urfa.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TOStvXSHSmk&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=12

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHS4JLxm-Jb0&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fd-N3EWXMQY&index=11

* The full paper will be published elsewhere but a video of the conference presentation can be accessed online via the links and QR codes.

The Church of Hagios Amphilochios (Eflatun Mescidi) in Ikonion (Konya)

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Abstract

In the top of Alaeddin Hill in Konya, next to the homonymous mosque, once stood the so-called "Eflatun Mescidi" (= Plato's Mescid). This building, initially the church of Hagios Amphilochios, the patron of the byzantine city of Iconium, does not survive any more, but is known by W. Ramsay and G. Bell, as well as from old photographs. In its late form the church was an inscribed cross domed structure, with one semicircular apse, which had suffered many alterations after the Seljuk conquest of Iconium. In the capital of the Seljuk sultanate of Rum the church was used as the palace church for the Greek and other Christian women of the sultans and for all Christians who lived and worked there. The questions that arise from this use are whether this practice was an act of tolerance of just a necessity for the sultan and his Christian subjects. For this use we suppose that the church became smaller in dimensions and a second "byzantine" phase could be observed in the photographs of the south wall of the church. The final transformation of the church took place possibly after the conquest of Karamanid Konya (1475) by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II (1451-1481). The building was transformed into a small mosque without *minbar* and *minaret* and became "Eflatun Mescidi". For this purpose, many windows and doors of the former church were blocked and a small niche of *mihrab* was created in the south wall. It is certain that locals identified St. Amphilochios to Plato, who never lived in Iconium. In our paper we also present a scheme with all the possible building phases and alterations of this historical, but now lost Middle-Byzantine monument.

The Byzantine Church of Hagios Amphilochios in Ikonion (present-day Konya, figures 1-9) was built on the artificial hill of the ancient acropolis of the city (figures 1-3), known as Alaeddin Tepesi ("Alaeddin's Hill", from the name of the Seljuk sultan of Rum Alaeddin Keykubad I, r. 1219-1237). The same sultan, probably the most eminent of the Rum Seljuk Dynasty, renovated the mosque and the kiosk (köşk) of Kılıç Arslan II, which was built around 1173/1174 (figure 2).

St. Amphilochios was the patron of the city of Ikonion and gained much popularity during Byzantine times. Born into an aristocratic and religious Cappadocian family, probably in Caesarea, around 339/340, he was a first cousin of Gregorios of Nazianzos. Having studied law with Libanios in Antioch, he practiced his profession in Constantinople. After a short stay there, he returned to Cappadocia, to live in an ascetic way, at his father's estate in Ozizala, near Diocaesarea.[1] Amphilochios also joined Basil of Caesarea in his philanthropic activities.

1 See G. Röwekamp, "Amphilochius," in *Dictionary of Early Christian Literature*, ed. Siegmar Dopp (New York: Crossroad Publishing Co., 2000), 22-23; Hubertus R. Drobner, "Bibliographica Amphilochiana," *Theologie und Glaube* 77 (1987): 14–35, 179–196.

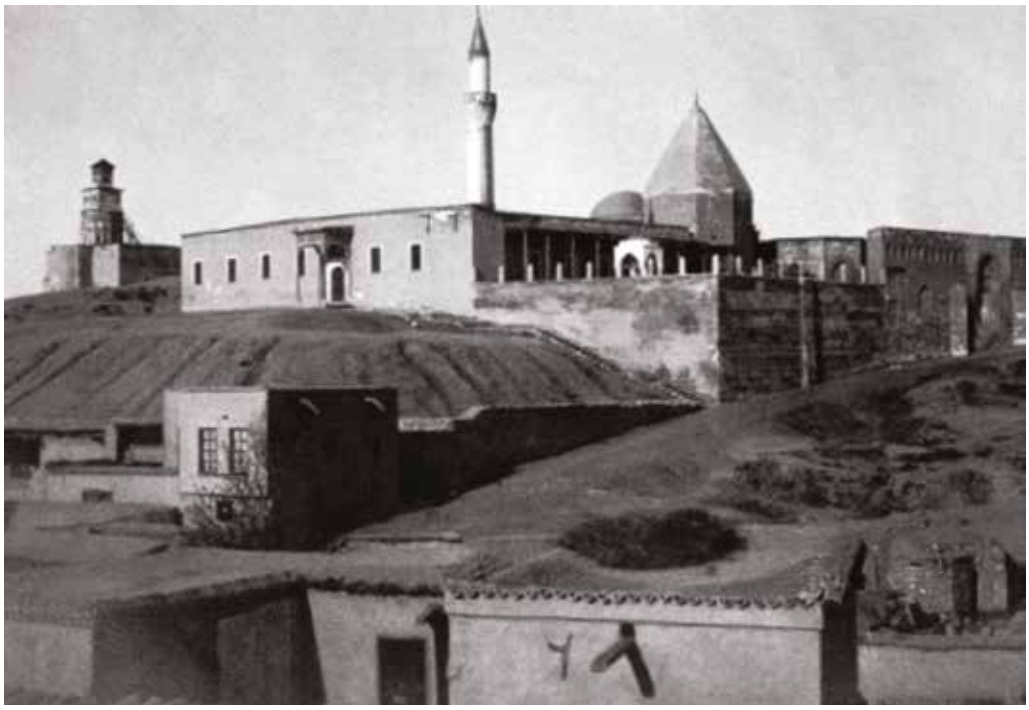

Figure 1. Konya, The Church of Hagios Amphilochios (Eflatun Mescidi) and Alaeddin Camii (to the right), in an old photograph.

With the death of Faustinos, bishop of the important see of Ikonion, he was appointed bishop of the city, probably by Basil.[2] He maintained close relations with Gregory the Theologian and he accompanied him to the Council of Constantinople (381).

The Cappadocian bishop Amphilochios occupies a place of prominence in the history of Theology for his defense of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit against heretics as Arians. The Greek ecclesiastical sources described him in eminent terms and he was also quoted by Councils until the end of eighth century.

St. Amphilochios, venerated by the Orthodox Church on 23 November, has gained through his rich activity and his writings, most of which have been lost, not only a place in hagiography, but also the title of "wise man". The latter notion and accounts about him which were spread during the next centuries are very significant in relation to the church that was dedicated to him in Ikonion, as well as to the fate of the latter after the Seljuk conquest of the city at the end of the eleventh century.[3]

2 On the life of Amphilochios see Karl Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhaltnis zu den grosen Kappadoziern* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1904), 14-42; Sylvain Destephen, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. 3: *Prosopographie du diocèse d'Asie* (325-641) (Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, 2008), 106-133; Peter J. Thonemann, "Amphilochus of Iconium and Lycaonian Ascetism," *Journal of Roman Studies* 101 (2011): 186-187; Michel Bonnet, *Amphiloque d'Iconium: Homelies*, vol. 1: *Homelies 1–5* [Sources Chrétiennes 552] (Paris : Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012), 11–162. See also Cilliers Breytenbach and Christiane Zimmermann, *Early Christianity in Lycaonia and Adjacent Areas. From Paul to Amphilochius of Iconium* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018), 589-594.

3 On the Seljuk conquest of Byzantine Asia Minor see Speros Jr. Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

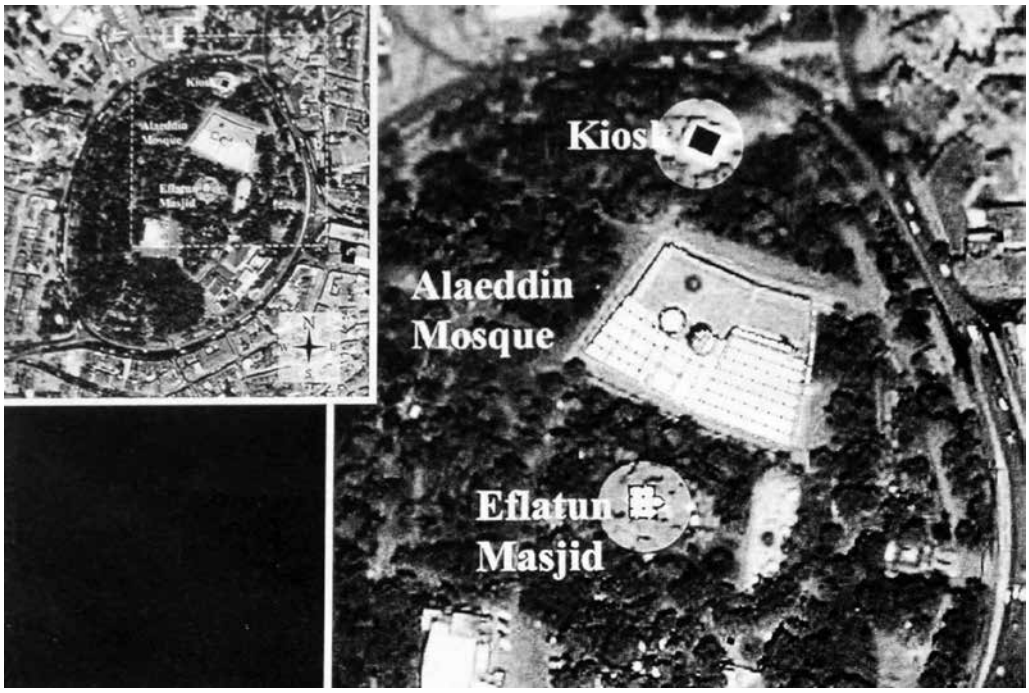

Figure 2. Konya, Alaeddin's Hill (Alaeddin Tepesi). Topographical plan with the now vanished church of Hagios Amphilochios

The church

The Byzantine church once stood on the artificial Roman hill of Ikonion which was dedicated to St. Amphilochios of Ikonion.[4] Yet we are not certain whether it was the first church that was built in the city for its patron saint. This is all the more obvious because the appearance of the church in old photographs is not typical of an old Christian structure; rather, of a church that could be ascribed, by its typological and morphological features, to the middle Byzantine period. The same phenomenon could be observed with other churches in Anatolia that were dedicated to saints who lived in the early Christian period, e.g., the now ruined church of St. Clement in Ankyra (Ankara)[5] and the church of St. Gregorios the Theologian in Karvali (Gelveri) in Cappadocia.[6] We can assume that they were churches dedicated to all these saints built in early Byzantine times, but they were renovated or rebuilt in the middle-Byzantine period. It is noteworthy that there was written evidence for the existence

4 For the church see William M. Ramsay and Gertrude L. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (New York and London, 1909), 404-407; Eyice, Semevi. "Konya'nın Alaeddin Tepesinde Selçuklu öncesinden ait bir eser: Eflatun Mescidi," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 4 (1970-1971): 269-303; V. Macit Tekinalp, "Palace Churches of the Anatolian Seljuks: Tolerance or Necessity?" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 33 (2009): 148-167; Paschalis Androudis, "Ο βυζαντινός ναός του Αγίου Αμφιλοχίου (μετέπειτα Eflatun Mescidi) στην ακρόπολη του Ικονίου (Konya) της Μικράς Ασίας," *30ο* Συμπόσιο Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης (Athens 2013), 23-24; Paschalis Androudis, Τέχνη και Αρχιτεκτονική στο Σελτζουκικό Σουλτανάτο του Ρουμ (τέλος 12ου–αρχές 14ου αιώνα) (Selanik 2018), 97, 98.

5 See Semavi Eyice, "Ankara'nın Kaybolan Bir Eski Eseri: *Klemens Kilisesi," Ankara Dergisi* (1991), 5-12.

6 For the church see Paschalis Androudis, "Two Middle-Byzantine Cross-in-Square Churches in Cappadocia," in *Proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Sofia, 22-27 August 2011*, ed. Angel Nikolov, vol. 3 (Sofia 2011), 106-107; Robert Ousterhout, "Messages in the Landscape: Searching for Gregory Nazianzenos in Cappadocia (with two Excursions to the Çanlı Kilise)," in *Images of the Byzantine World: Visions, Messages and Meanings, Studies Presented to Leslie Brubaker*, edited by Angeliki Lymberopoulou (Farnham: Ashgate 2011), 147-169.

of a church of Saint Thecla in Ikonion, but we ignore its fate. On the other hand, the presence of many window mullions of early Christian churches as spolia imbedded in the wall of the courtyard, and in the interior of Alaeddin Camii in Konya, probably points to a reuse of this material which possibly came from the ruined churches of the city. As D. Korobeinikov stated, after the Seljuk conquest of Cappadocia, there were two prosperous Christian communities in Cappadocia and Ikonion until at least the end of the thirteenth century.[7] R. Shukurov, who studied the Christian communities within the Seljuk realm also noted that: "[...] the territorial boundaries of Byzantine identity did not coincide with the factual political borders of the Byzantine State. One of many examples of this is the case of Anatolia, where the Greek Orthodox population continued to be considered as Byzantines, at least potentially. The Orthodox Greeks in Muslim Anatolia themselves regarded their identity as virtually Byzantine".[8]

But how did the Byzantine church of Hagios Amphilochios in Ikonion become Eflatun Mescidi (Plato's Mosque) in later times? As we shall see, it is a very interesting and peculiar history with a strong sense of syncretism.

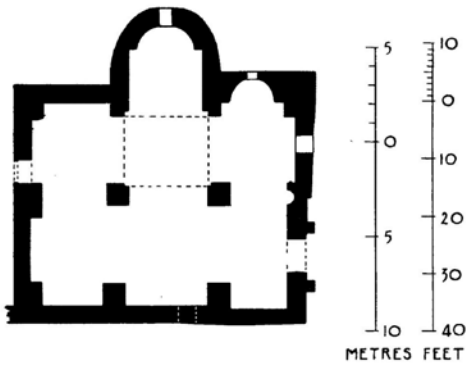

Figure 3. Plan of the Church of Hagios Amphilochios.
Image: W. Ramsey, G. Bell, 1909.

Figure 4. Hagios Amphilochios seen from the South.
Photo: Gertrude Bell, 1907.

7 Dimitri Korobeinikov, "Orthodox communities in Eastern Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, 1: The two patriarchates: Constantinople and Antioch," *Al-Masāq. Islam and the medieval Mediterranean* 15 (2003): 197-214. For the Greek communities in the Rum Seljuk realm of the 13th century see also Sophie Métivier, "Byzantium in question in 13th-century Seljuk Anatolia," in *Liquid & Multiple: Individuals & Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*, ed. Guillaume Saint-Guillain & Dionysios Stathakopoulos (Paris: ACHCByz, 2012), 235-258.

8 Rustam Shukurov, "The Oriental Margins of the Byzantine World: A Prosopographical Perspective," in *Identities and allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, edited by Guillaume Saint-Guillain and Judith Herrin (Vermont: Farnham- Burlington, 2011), 108.

Figure 5. The church and its clock tower at the top, seen from the N-E. Photo: Gertrude Bell, 1907.

The church of Hagios Amphilochios or Eflatun Mescidi is known from old engravings, photographs, as well as its ground plan which was published by the eminent archaeologists William Ramsay and Gertrude Bell (figures 1-7).[9] Unfortunately, the church, with later alterations is no longer extant. It was demolished in 1921, during the Greek-Turkish war. The church and the nearby Alaeddin Camii once formed part of the Seljuk palace established on the citadel of the city, from which only a ruin of the kiosk of Kılıç Arslan II survives (figure 2).

According to the plan published by Ramsay and Bell (figure 3), the church was a cross-in-square domed structure (external dimensions: 13, 20 x 15, 80 m). Its ground plan was irregular and not the typical one of this type of church because there were no western compartments, as well as the eastern part of the arm of the cross. Moreover, there were many blocked doors and windows and newly opened ones while there was a *mihrab* in its south wall. Finally, a big wooden clock tower (*saat kulesi*) was added to the top of its dome (figures 1- 4-6). It is obvious that the initial church must have suffered many major alterations through time, not only externally, but also in its ground plan. In the following lines, I will try to trace the chronicle of these alterations.

Thus, apart from this plan and in order to shed light on the history of the church's construction and its alterations, documentation can only be provided through old photographs from the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries and through their careful examination. The first scholar who made comments

9 Ramsay, Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, fig. 328.

Figure 6. Eastern view of the church and its clock tower.

Figure 7. Details of fig. 4. The south tympanum and blocked window.

Figure 8. Alanya, the Byzantine church in the citadel, west façade. Photo: İlkgül Kaya Zenbilci, 2018.

on these photographs and wrote an article on the church was the late Turkish professor Semavi Eyice in the late 1950s. Eyice made important remarks but did not provide a satisfactory explanation for the irregularity of the church's plan. Late reference to the church by Scott Redford was limited to the use of the church as a palace church by the Christian wives of the Seljuk sultans and their Christian associates or servants. Macit Tekinalp has recently argued that the vanished church of Hagios Amphilochios and the church in the Seljuk palace of Alanya (figures 8, 9) [10] were probably kept by the sultans for the use of their Christian spouses as well as for other Christian associates and servants of the Seljuk court.[11] The palace in Alanya was the Rum Seljuk winter residence, while the one in Konya served as the Rum Seljuk official palace.[12]

As for the church of Hagios Amphilochios, Tekinalp made a hypothetical restoration of its interior, but in our opinion, this suggestion should be re-examined. As we can see in the old photos of the church, the dome was quite high and rested on a high polygonal drum built with bricks and with superimposed recessed blind arches. The South-East corner of the naos had an apse, inserted within the thickness of the east wall. As for the North-East corner, it did not have an apse.On the south arm of the cross there was a two-lobed blocked window carved

10 Seton Lloyd and David Storm Rice. *Alanya (Alā'iyya)*. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1958.

11 V. Macit Tekinalp, *Palace Churches*, 148-167. For the question of other Christians living and working for the Sultans, as the Maurozomai, see Scott Redford, "Maurozomes in Konya," in *Change in the Byzantine world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries*, ed. Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek and Nevra Necipoğlu (Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Foundation, 2010), 48-50; Sophie Métivier, "Les Maurozômai, Byzance et le sultanat de Rūm. Note sur le sceau de Jean Comnène Maurozômès," *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 67 (2009): 197-207.

12 See Scott Redford, Scott. "Thirteenth-century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery." *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 220, 221.

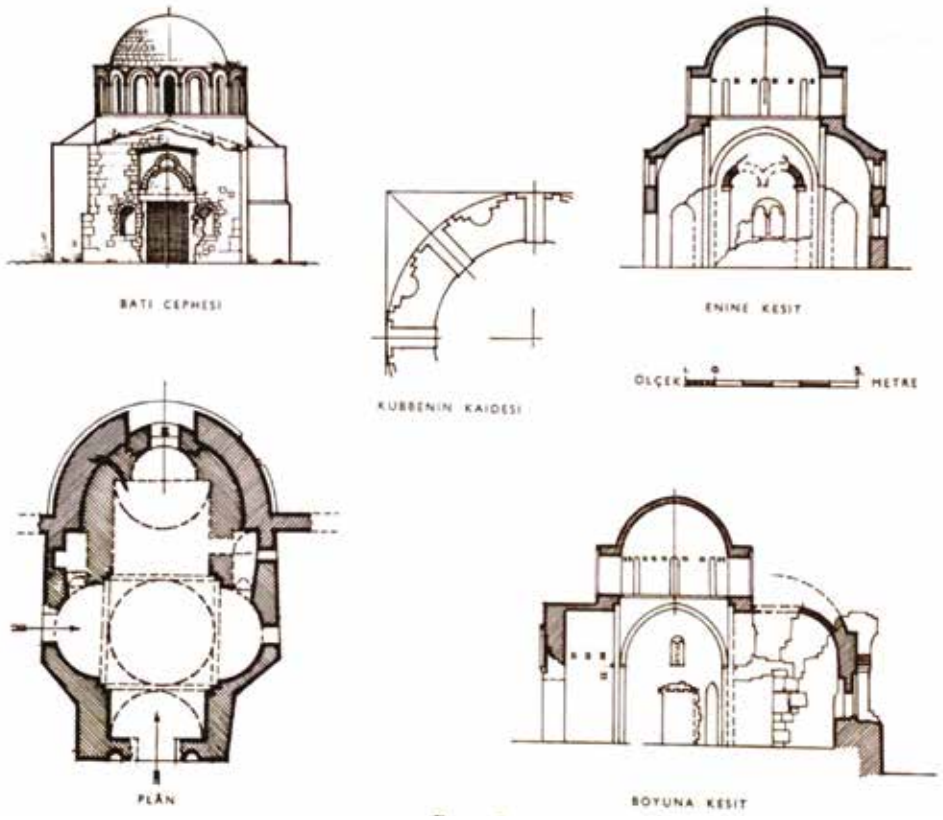

Figure 9. Alanya, plans of the Byzantine church. Image: S. Lloyd, D. S. Rice, 1958.

within a recessed arch made of bricks (figures 4, 7). This window did not conserve its mullion. We also observe on the south side of the church, as well in various parts and especially on the east wall of the church where the big semicircular apse was situated, various alterations made with big stone blocks and windows typical of the Ottoman period. This fact, together with a vestige of a wall in the south side of the church (figure 4) led us to a different hypothesis on the initial plan of the building and its transformation. Thus, we traced a hypothetical scheme of the different periods observed in the masonries of the building and we strongly believe that the original plan of the middle-Byzantine church was a typical one, with a clearly inscribed cross and a narthex.

We have no evidence that the transformation of the church into a small mosque without a minaret (Eflatun Mescidi) took place during the reign of the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum. On the contrary, it seems that the middle-Byzantine church kept its initial function for Christian worship. Moreover, we are not certain whether the eastern part of the church and its narthex were demolished during this period and the church became smaller in dimension with a simple plan.

In any case, the existence of a church (with icons, priests and Christian attendants) in the citadel of Konya, where the Seljuk palace was built is justified, if we take into consideration the Christian, mainly Greek wives of the sultan and their associates and servants. This presence, as Macit Tekinalp already noted, would have been a rather normal practice in the Seljuk harem, where the functioning and continuation of a Christian inner life was possible. Tekinalp also tried to attribute the presence of these churches in the terms of "Tolerance" or "Necessity".[13] In the end, he noted that both these senses could explain the existence of these churches within a Seljuk palatial context. The same phenomenon was also traced, with many examples, by Rustam Shukurov, who also showed that many Seljuk sultans were baptized Christians, probably in these churches, and some of them were proud of their "double identity", which they could use according to their interests.[14] Thus, to a Christian abroad, they present themselves as Christians, but to their people and Muslim rulers they were always faithful Muslims.

According to Tekinalp, the church in Alanya was repaired, or even built, at the time when sultan Alaeddin Keykubad I was constructing his palace.[15] The interior of the church of Alanya bears no trace of a *mihrab,* showing that it was never converted into a mosque. With regard to the Eflatun Mescidi in Konya, Tekinalp argues that the church in Konya was converted into a small mosque at a much later date, somewhere between 1466 and 1476.

In addition, to these churches, Scott Redford suggested that the castle churches in Ispir and Bayburt, which, as Trapezuntine in type, may be dated no earlier than the thirteenth century, were likewise built to accommodate the local Muslim rulers' predominantly Christian harem, the so-called "Harem Christianity".[16] There is no doubt that the situation in the early Ottoman imperial harem until the second half of the fourteenth century was similar and the first Ottoman rulers, up to Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) had Christian wives and concubines. One of them, Theodora, daughter of the Greek emperor Ioannis VI Kantakouzenos, even encouraged the local Christian converts to Islam to return to their initial faith, manifesting her Christian identity.[17]

Going back to our church in Ikonion, it seems that its transformation into a small mosque did not take place during Seljuk times, but during the Karamanid period, or even after the Ottoman annexation of Konya, possibly between 1466 and 1476 as Macit Tekinalp postulated some years ago.[18] The hypothesis of the Turkish scholar seems plausible, but we have a long time gap (from 1308 to 1466) in which the church passed from Christians to Muslims (there is no evidence for the presence of Christian wives of Turkoman Karamanid rulers). By this transformation and the possible demolition of some of its parts, an initially bigger Byzantine church became a smaller square and cubic structure crowned by a dome, which is not far from the concept of *mescid*s. As for the church's unusual Turkish name, "Eflatun Mescidi" (Plato's Mosque), the name Eflatun is certainly a Turkish identification of the Christian "wise" bishop Amphilochios to the famous ancient Greek philosopher. In fact,

13 Tekinalp, *Palace Churches*, 148-167.

14 Rustam Shukurov, "Harem Christianity: The Byzantine Identity of Seljuk Princes," in: *The Seljuks of Anatolia: Court and Society in the Medieval Middle East*, edited by A.C.S. Peacock, Sara Nur Yıldız (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 115-150.

15 Tekinalp, *Palace Churches*, 148-167.

16 Rustam Shukurov, "Churches in the citadels of Ispir and Bayburt: An Evidence of "Harem Christianity"?'" in *Polidoro: Studi offerti ad Antonio Carile*, ed. Giorgio Vespignani (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2013), 713-723.

17 Idem, *Harem Christianity*, 123.

18 Tekinalp, *Palace Churches*, 148-167.

Figure 10. Hittite springs ("Eflatun Pınar"). Photo: John Henry Hanes.

Plato was never present in the plain of Ikonion and we must also bear in mind that other ancient sacred places in the vicinity of Konya are called after him,[19] such as the Hittite sacred place with springs which was named Eflatun Pınar (figure 10)! As William F. Hasluck[20] and Professor Michel Balivet[21] showed, this curious syncretism with ancient names, cultures and religions, and finally their Turkish appropriation in the Rum Seljuk realm took place during the times of the illustrious *Sufi* leader Celaleddin Rumi (Mevlana) and his disciples at his lodge. At that time Konya was a great multiethnic city, open in different influences.[22] In this context, the famous Greek monastery of Hagios Chariton[23] became Eflatun Manastırı (Plato's Monastery) or Ak Manastır (The White Monastery).

To conclude, the Byzantine church of Hagios Amphilochios in the citadel of Ikonion passed to the Christian subjects of the Seljuk court after the Seljuk conquest of the city. By this fact, it escaped being transformed into a mosque, at least until the period that succeeded that of the Seljuks of Rum, that is to say, the period of the Karamanids. Thereafter, the church became Eflatun Mescidi and a small *mihrab* was added in its south wall.

19 See Frederick W. Hasluck, "Plato in the Folk-Lore of the Konia Plain," *Annual of the British School of Athens* 18 (1911-1912): 265-269.

20 Idem., "Christianity and Islam under the sultans of Konya," *Annual of the British School of Athens* 19 (1912-1913): 131-197; Idem., *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929).

21 Michel Balivet, *Romanie Byzantine et Pays de Rûm Turc. Histoire d'un espace d'imbrication Gréco-Turaue* (Istanbul: Gorgias Press, 1994); Idem., *Mélanges byzantines, seldjoukides et Ottomanes* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2005).

22 Idem., *Konya. La ville des derviches tourneurs* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2001); Idem., "Entre Byzance et Konya: l'intercirculation des idées et des hommes au temps des Seldjoukides" in *Les Seldjoukides d'Anatolie* (= *Mésogeios* 25-26 [2005]), ed. G. Leiser, (Paris: Hérodotos, 2005), 171-207.

23 For the monastery in question see Semavi Eyice, "Akmanastir (S. Chariton) in der Nähe von Konya und die Höhlenkirchen von Sille", *Byzantinische Forschungen* 2 (1967): 162-183.

Figure 11. The monastery of Hagios Chariton ("Eflatun Manastırı" or "Ak Manastır"), seen in an old photograph.

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CHAPTER 4

MULTIPLE CONVERSIONS FROM ROMAN TO OTTOMAN ANATOLIA

A 4000-year-old Cult Area from the Pagan Era to Islamic Period: From the Kaaba of the God Jupiter Dolichenus to the Lodge/ Tomb of Dülük Baba

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Abstract

The city of Doliche, as it was called in ancient Greek, is the shrine of the god called Jupiter Dolichenus. Before Jupiter Dolichenus, Teshup Hadad, the god of air and lightning, was worshiped in this region. The closeness between these two gods is not only limited to geography, but also great similarities can be detected in the forms of depiction. In the western states during the Roman imperial period, Jupiter Dolichenus is depicted with double axes and a lightning bolt in his hand, just like Teshup. The bull plays an important role for both gods. Dolichenus was worshiped like Mithras, another god of oriental origin, throughout the Roman Empire from the 1st to the 3rd century AD. Although the city's and sanctury's development ceased after the Persian king Shapur I destroyed Doliche in 253 AD, Doliche reappears as an episcopal center in the 5th century AD. There are two Syrian type rock churches dating from the 8th and 10th centuries AD to the west of the city necropolis. The inclusion of the city of Ayıntap within its borders in the 11th-12th century AD decreased the city's importance. The discovery of two Mithreums (the sacred area inside the cave where rituals belonging to the Mithra cult took place) on the slope of Keber Hill, where Dülük city is located, during excavations carried out between 1997 and 1998 increased the importance of the city known as the homeland of Jupiter Dolichenus in terms of religious history. In addition to these caves being the first Mithreums in the Commagene region, it was also determined that they were one of the biggest sacred areas of the Roman Empire. The fact that Mithra's head was broken and the symbol of a cross was engraved on the relief in the first cult cave indicates that the cult area was destroyed by the Christians. It turns out that there is a sanctuary dating back from 1000 BC to late antiquity when Christian influences began to intensify. Considering that the Dülük Baba Tomb was frequently visited by the local people until recently, it becomes clear that the sanctity of the region has a long history dating back to ancient times.

My interest in Dülük Baba stems from my childhood. There were many entombed holy persons in Antep, where I was born and raised: Memik Dede, Hacı Baba, Ökkeşiye... The holy people who gave their names to these tombs also lived in the names of the people of Antep. Names such as Ökkeş, Hacı, Memik, which one would hardly come across in other parts of Turkey, were frequently used in Antep and its environs, and were given as names

Figures 1-2: The current state of the rock tombs.
Photos: Yaşar Ceylan, a resident of Dülük village, 2021.

Figures 3 -4: Photos are taken from open internet sources and their sources are given above the images and in the bibliographical section.

to children. From primary school to high school, I always had classmates with these names. Dülük Baba was also one of the famous tombs of Antep's holy individuals, but there was no one named Dülük in Antep. So, what was the reason for this? This question remained stuck in my mind from the time I was very young, and now that I am 40 years old, I will share with you the conclusions I have reached.

I would like to start my article with the following quote about Dülük Baba, which we can interpret as Kaaba of the Hittite God Teshub and its Roman version Jupiter Dolichenus: "Although it is not mentioned much in historical sources, the ancient city of Doliche, near today's metropolis Gaziantep, has an importance that transcends its regional borders as the homeland of the God Jupiter Dolichenus." God Jupiter Dolichenus was worshipped in a wide area in the Mediterranean in the second and third centuries BCE. Despite Doliche's importance in

Figures 5 - 6: Photos are taken from open internet sources and their sources are given above the images and in the bibliographical section.

Roman religious history, the academic world did not previously pay much attention to this region, which is the God's birthplace. However, following the discovery of two Mithraeums (holy places in caverns which belong to the Mithraea cult) in 1997 and 1998 on the slope of the hill where the ancient city was located, Doliche became topical and systematic historical, topographic, and archaeological work began. Excavations carried out in the Mithraeums by the Asia Minor Research Centre of the University of Münster continued until 2000. Meanwhile, since 2001 studies have focused on the main Jupiter Dolichenus temple located on the Dülük Baba Hill near the Doliche ancient city, which, until today, was unknown as the starting point of one of the most important cults in the Roman Empire. The unexpectedly rich remains found at the excavation site indicate that this "holy place" was used intensively during the period starting from the Iron Age until the Christian Medieval Age when the Holy Solomon Monastery was built. Dülük Baba Hill is one of the rare cult centres where there is uninterrupted evidence of holy rituals taking place between the first century BCE and twelfth century CE. This is not only an opportunity for uncovering a temple dedicated to one of the main gods of the Roman Empire, but also for questions regarding the continuity of cults and the history of religions throughout ancient Asia Minor. Therefore, recent studies have focused on researching all eras during which this space was utilised.[1]

1 "Dülük Baba Tepesi/Doliche (Dolike) – Münster Batı Vesfalya Wilhelms-Üniversitesi'nin Küçük Asya (Asia Minor) Araştırma Merkezi," Deutsche Vertretungen in der Türkei, accessed 22 March 2021, https://tuerkei.diplo.de/tr-de/themen/kultur/projekte-deutscher-universitaeten/1797586.

Figures 7 - 8: Photos are taken from open internet sources and their sources are given above the images and in the bibliographical section.

People lived in this area thousands of years before the city of Doliche was founded on Keber Hill. The rocky outcrops that still mark the area were regularly used as shelters by the people who migrated from its surroundings in the mid-Early Stone Age (approximately 300,000 BCE). Stone tools belonging to this early era were frequently found during the excavations carried out by Turkish teams in the 1940s to the north of the Mithraeums' entrance. Several ancient types of stone and stone axes belonging to the Early Stone Age were found in the outcrops and terraces of Çimşit Hill as well as the upper slopes of the village of Dülük, indicating that the area was a site for the production of tools.[2]

Although Dülükbaba maintained its identity as a holy place until recently, nowadays it also serves as a recreation area. The holy identity of the place became even more obscured after it was turned into a recreation area. The webpage of the district governorate, to which the region is affiliated, almost never mentions Dülükbaba's history and holy significance but rather, it highlights the site's quality of being a picnic area - *sahre* in the Antep dialect.

2 "Doliche'nin Tarihsel Gelişiminin Ana Hatları," Doliche & Kommagene, accessed 22 March 2021, https://www.doliche.de/tk/doliche/tarihce/.

Figure 9: Dülük Baba Tomb in 1907. Photo: F. Cumont, 1907.

"The location is 8 kilometres from the city centre and is situated at the Gaziantep Şehitkamil District's Dülük Region. It has no transport-related issues. The 40-km area surrounding the northern and north-western sides of the province is one of the largest hand-planted high forests of Turkey. Dülükbaba's forests offer camping and caravan-parking opportunities which can accommodate 5000 people in five days. The first recreation area of Gaziantep, Dülükbaba Recreation Area dominantly harbours red pine, accompanied by black pine, cypress, oak, and almond trees. The area is one of the highest places in Gaziantep and has a unique and rich potential suitable for public relaxation, entertainment and outdoor recreation among beautiful scenery. Drinking and utility water needs are met through three boreholes located within the site. The Dülükbaba Recreation Area was first opened as an In-Forest Resting Place in 1990 and later registered as a Type-A Recreation Area in 2002. There are four sub-zones in the development plan for the purpose and scope of use:

1- Sports complex sub-zone

2- Entrance control and administrative facilities sub-zone

3- Bungalows sub-zone

4- Recreation area sub-zone. The Dülükbaba Recreation Area currently has 1 country café, 1 administration building, 1 triple shopping unit, 8 (3+3 capacity) WCs, 20 drinking fountains, 1 entrance control unit,

Figures 10 - 12: Musa Kazım tomb and pilgrimage site, located near Dülük village. Photos: Halil Eyüpoğlu, 2021.

1450 picnic tables, 100 garbage bins, 5 children's playgrounds and 8 dishwashing areas. Management of the Dülükbaba Recreation Area was rented out to the private sector in 1998 by tender. The Dülükbaba Recreation Area is owned by the General Directorate of Forestry of the Ministry of Environment and Forestry while all rights of use of the Recreation Area belong to the General Directorate of Nature Conservation and National Parks. You may travel to the Dülükbaba Forests on the Yeşilkent-Başpınar minibuses or the municipality's OSB buses. There are rock tombs in the forest that you can visit. You can either prepare your own kebab or eat at the restaurant located at the highest peak."[3]

All five photographs displayed on the page of the Şehitkamil District Governorate's webpage, which were added to the publicity documents for the site prepared in May 2019, were taken after the site was rearranged as a recreation area and no references are made to the importance of the site to the city's culture. Instead, emphasis is laid on the fact that visitors to the site may prepare their own kebabs or eat at the restaurant, as they wish. The only emphasis on the religious identity of the region is that, "the rock tombs can be seen", however only indirectly. It is clearly seen in the photo below that the rock tombs were covered with rain water and garbage as of 26 March 2021. It is possible to see from these photographs that the inscription "ebū'l-hasen" in Arabic letters was carved on a niche recently. Just as important as the excavation work itself, it should be ensured that historical artifacts are not exposed to damage from natural and human causes after excavations.

However, the ancient city of Dülükbaba or the city of Doliche in Ancient Greek, is the cult area of the Hittite God Teshub, God Jupiter Dolichenus. Christianity and Mithraism had also used this area as a religious centre. This place continued to preserve its identity as a religious centre in the Islamic period too. This region has

3 Şehit Kamil, "Dülükbaba Biyolojik Gölet (Tabiat Parkı)," accessed 22 March 2021, http://sehitkamil.gov.tr/biyolojik-golet.

Figure 13: An Alevi Family During a Sacrifice in Dülük between 1960-1970. Photos: Halil Eyüpoğlu, 2021.

been a site of worship for thousands of years. It is possible to summarise the archaeological value of the region: In Dülükbaba, "Teshub and Hadad, the gods of storms and rain, were worshipped in this region before Jupiter Dolichenus. The affinity between these two gods is not just geographical, as there are significant similarities in their descriptions. Just like Teshub, Jupiter Dolichenus was depicted with a pair of axes and a bunch of lightning bolts in the Roman Empire, including in the western provinces. The ox plays a significant role for both gods. Dolichenus was worshipped similarly to a god of oriental origin, Mithra, across the entire Roman Empire from the first to the third centuries CE. Although the development of the city and the holy site faltered after Persian King Shapur I destroyed Doliche in 253 BCE, Doliche emerged as the centre of a diocese in the fifth century CE. There are two Syrian-type rock churches from the eighth and tenth centuries CE to the west of the city's necropolis. Doliche's decline in importance being included within the borders of the city of Ayıntap in the eleventh to twelfth centuries. However, the discovery of two Mithraea (sacred areas inside caves, where rituals of the cult of Mithra were performed) on the slopes of Keber Hill during the excavations carried out in 1997-1998 has once again increased the importance of the city, which is known as the birthplace of Jupiter Dolichenus in religious history. These caves are not only the first Mithraea found in the Commagene region, but they also constitute one of the largest sacred sites in the Roman Empire. The fact that the head of Mithra located on a relief in the

first cult cave was defaced and the symbol of the cross was engraved on the relief in its place indicates that the cult site was vandalised by Christians. A sacred place, dating back to 1000 BCE and lasting until late antiquity when Christian influence began to intensify, existed in this area."[4] Considering that until recently, the people of Antep undertook (religious) visits to the Dülükbaba site, it becomes clear that the site's sacred identity has a long history beginning in ancient times and continuing until this day.

In fact, the history of tombs of holy people and other locations of religious visits in Anatolia goes back to ancient times. For example, it is known that the Göbeklitepe area, which was discovered in Urfa and is considered to be the first place of worship in human history, was a place where local women came to pray to bear children, before archaeologists discovered the site. The fact that a depiction of a woman giving birth was found during the excavations in Göbeklitepe is proof that this tradition continued for thousands of years. Dülük Baba seems to have a similar history.

Dülük Baba Tomb / Dervish Lodge in Islamic Period

According to Suraiya Faroqhi, Dülükbaba is one of the Bektashi settlements that were not included in the list of Bektashi lodges, which were seized during the reign of Mahmud II and were also visited by Evliya Çelebi (Chalebi).[5] These lodges are, in order: Behlül-i Semerkandî in Şebinkarahisar, Hızır Makamı (the Seat of Hızır) in Erzincan, Seyyid Battal Gazi in Malatya and Dülük Baba, in the words of Faroqhi, "a place of worship that is known and respected to this day", in Gaziantep.

The most important remains of the Bektashi lodge located in the Dülükbaba region is the Musa Kadhim Mausoleum in the village of Dülük. The people of the Dülük region, where the tomb of Musa el-Kadhim, the seventh of the Twelve Imams is located, have abandoned the Alevi-Bektashi faith long ago and converted to Sunnism. However, the value of the tomb remains unchanged. During the interview we conducted with Yaşar Seylan from the village of Dülük, we learned that the tale of Dülük Baba and Sultan Selim I was not well known or recounted in the village. According to the legend we found in literature, a dervish blocked Sultan Selim I's way near the village of Dülük as he was embarking on his expedition to Egypt and told the Sultan: "I foresee that you'll take Egypt on such and such a day of such and such a month. Now Godspeed, may your path be as clear as your fortune." The Sultan became curious and asked the dervish who he was, to which the dervish replied: "I am a traveller of this fleeting realm. I have reached the end of my journey, worshipped Hak [the true God], do not ask about me and be on your way." Following this, Selim I conquered Egypt which was at the time foretold by the dervish. When he returned to pay his respects, he discovered that the dervish had died. Selim I then had a tomb built in his name.[6] With this, the name of Dülük, which apparently comes from the name Dolichenus, was transformed into that of a Muslim holy man to whom even the sultan of the time intended to pay his respects.

Evliya Çelebi narrates the rumour allegedly passed between Dülük Baba, which is the first of the pilgrimage sites in Antep, and Selim I as follows: "The visiting place of Ayntab: Firstly on the top of a hill to the north of the city was Dölük Baba: while Selim Shah was on the road going to Egypt, "May your way be made easy my boy Se-

4 "Doliche/Dülük: Kültürler Kavşağı," 31 December 2020, http://www.doliche.org/indextr.htm.

5 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Anadolu'da Bektaşilik: XV. Yüzyıl Sonlarından 1826'ya Kadar* (Istanbul: Alfa, 2017), 64-65.

6 "Dülük Baba Efsanesi – Gaziantep," Türkiye Kültür Portalı, accessed 22 March 2021, https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/gaziantep/kulturatlasi/duluk-baba-efsanes.

lim. Will you build me a tekke when you become the owner of Mecca and Medina in the month in which you take Egypt?, he said predicting the conquest of Egypt. He was the supreme sultan from the Melamiyyun Bektashis. The indicated day of the event he conquered Egypt and after Selim went to Ayntab, found Dölük Baba deceased and built an exalted dervish lodge over his illuminated grave."[7] We believe that the name Dülük is read as Dölük by mistake. The characterization of Dülük Baba as one of the Melami Bektashis suggests that the great lodge (*asitāne*) built in his name was also used by this group. The state of the Dülük Baba tomb in 1907, of which only the grave remains today, is as follows:

In the booklet titled Faith Tourism in Gaziantep prepared by the Gaziantep Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism, Dülük Baba is introduced as one of the Companions: "He is a Companion (*saḥābe*) who was martyred in the conquest of Antep by the Islamic armies. His real name is Davud-u Ejder. He was named after the Dülük hill where he lay. His brother Malik Ejder was also buried there as a martyr in Maraş. Dülükbaba Tomb is on the Dülükbaba Hill, which is named after him, in the north of the city. Remains of the rectangular wall of the tomb, which is located at the summit of Dülükbaba hill, are evident. These wall remains are now in ruins."[8] The officials we talked to about the subject said that they had requested information from the Gaziantep Provincial Mufti's Office while they were preparing the relevant booklet and that this booklet was published with the information received from there.

Known as Malik Ejder in Anatolia, a famous person of the followers of the Prophet Muhammed (*tābi'īn*), Malik Eşter en-Nehāī (d. 37/657?) was one of the loyal supporters of Hz. Ali, he was appointed by Hz. Ali to the governorships of Cezire and Egypt. On his way to Egypt to assume the position of governor, he was killed by being served poisonous honey syrup as a trick by Muawiya. Muawiya announced his murder from the pulpit of the Umayyad Mosque, according to the work called A'yānü'ş-Şī'a, as if it were good news: "Ali had two right arms, one (Ammār b. Yasir) was cut off in Sıffîn, and the other one was cut off today."[9] The introduction of Dülük Baba as Davut Ejder, the son or brother of Malik Eşter,[10] known as Malik/Malik Ejder in Anatolia, is probably due to the cultural influence of the Bektashi-Alevi lodge that was here before.

A site of pilgrimage (*ziyaret*) attributed to Musa Kazım (d. 183/799) who was the seventh Imam of the Twelve Imams, right at the foot of the tomb, is frequently visited by Alevis from the Antep and Maraş regions. The pilgrimage site of Musa Kazım, whose main tomb is in Baghdad, is a representative pilgrimage site. Although many sites in the region have a pilgrimage period, Musa Kazım Pilgrimage is made at every time of the year.

Alevis make their wishes by sacrificing here. Unlike the Sunnis in the Antep region, the Sunnis living in the Maraş region also come to this pilgrimage site from time to time and sacrifice an animal. Right next to the

7 Original Ottoman Turkish: "Ziyāretgāh-ı Ayntāb: Evvelā şehrin şimālinde bir bayır üzere Dölük Baba: Selīm Şāh Mısır'a giderken rāhına varup, "Yolun kolay olsun Selīm oğlan, derler. Mısır'ı filān ayda alup Mekke Medīne sāḥibi olıcak bana bir tekke yapar mısın?" deyü Mışır'ın fetḥin tebşīr ederler. Melāmiyyūn Bektaşiyāndan bir ulu sulṭānmış. Ḥaḳīḳatü'l-ḥāl ta'yīn eyledüğü günde Mışır fetḥ olup ba'de'l-fetḥ Selīm, Ayntāb'a gelüp Dölük Baba'yı merḥūm bulup ḳabr-i münevveri üzere bir āsitāne-i ālī binā eder".

Evliyā Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, edited by Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2005), 9: 176.

8 "Gaziantep'te İnanç Turizmi," Gaziantep İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, accessed 2 April 2021, https://tudevgaziantep.org.tr/inanc-turizmi-brosuru.pdf., p.16.

9 Abdülkerim Özaydın, "Eşter." *DİA*, vol. 11. (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2005), 486-487.

10 For more information see Yusuf Yılmaz, "Mālik el-Eşter (Hayatı ve Şahsiyeti)," MA diss., Selçuk University SBE, Konya, 2005. The heroic battle of Malik Ejder with Hz Ali has also appeared frequently in the genre known as Cenk books, which have been published many times since the 1940s. For example see M. P., *Hazreti Ali ve Muaviye Cengi* (Istanbul: M. Sıralar Matbaası, 1958); Selami Münir Yurdatap, *Hamza Pehlivan ile Malik Ejder Cengi* (Istanbul: Dizerkonca Matbaası, 1967).

Figures 14 - 15: Reliefs that are stoned as if they were Satan. Photos: Yaşar Ceylan, a resident of Dülük village, 2021.

pilgrimage site, which is located between a hollow in the rock, water flows in the form of an arc that breaks through the rocks. It is quite possible that this place, which is similar to the holy spring in terms of its physical characteristics, has something to do with the episcopal center established in Dülük during the Byzantine period.

In fact, perhaps the first source, in which Islamic legends about Dülük Baba are given in a neat way, is Cemil Cahit Güzelbey's "Gaziantep Evliyaları". Because of this work, the first edition of which was published in 1964, its author was prosecuted on May 27 period.[11] In the 1990 edition (pp. 20-23) of the work, Güzelbey listed the information and rumors about Dülük Baba that he had compiled by the method of oral history. Accordingly, Dülük Baba; Davut Ejder, brother or son of the Companion(sahabe) Malik Ejder. It is found after the sheikh appeared after a Qadiri dervish asked Abdulkadir Geylani for help while his tomb was missing for a long time, and said, "Why are you using me when you are near Davut Ejder?" Güzelbey narrates the legend of Sultan Selim I and Dülük Baba, which Evliya Çelebi describes as "a Melami-Bektashi, a great sultan" as quoted above, by attributing it to him. Referring briefly to the documents about Dülük Baba, Güzelbey stated that the Mevlevi dervishes intervened in the properties of the dervish lodge and foundation next to the tomb, contrary to the edicts issued to prevent these interventions, according to an edict dated 02 Muharrem 1047, that is, May 27, 1637, the dowry and meşhat of the Dülük Baba zaviye were given to a Mevlevi sheikh in Antep. Evliya Çelebi's statement that there was a Bektashi lodge in this region at the same time shows that the Dülük Baba lodge and foundation belonged to the Bektashis before they were given to the Mevlevi. Guzelbey, based on oral history data, writes that when the dervish lodge and madrasah under the rule of the Mevlevis fell into disrepair, the big cauldron used for cooking was taken to the Antep Mevlevihanesi.

We would like to mention an interesting testimony as to how the ruins of a site, known to be a sacred place

11 Biantep.com. "Cemil Cahit Güzelbey," accessed 9 April 2021, https://www.biantep.com/kesfet/biyografi/cemil-cahit-guzelbey-g1051.

for thousands of years, were destroyed. In 2011, the guide of tourist group, who noticed that the facial details of a relief in the necropolis of the ancient city of Doliche had withered very much, asked a child from Dülük who was watching them how the face of the statue had become this way. The child replied by saying that his elders told him that this statue represented the devil and made him stone the statue for 5-10 liras. When the guide asked "And did you?", the child replied "Of course I stoned the devil, and I got paid every time I did it", and the tourist guide gave the child 10 liras and told him "I'm giving you this money so you won't let anyone stone this statue anymore."[12] The ritual of "stoning the devil", which is a part of the Islamic duty when on Hajj, has recently become an excuse for destroying archaeological artefacts in Anatolia.

I witnessed a similar situation approximately 20 years ago when I noticed that the giant bust of *Charonion* [Charon], known as the boatman of the River Styx in Greek Mythology, which is the only remaining artefact from the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BCE), carved into a rock approximately 200 meters to the north of St Peter's Church in Antakya, which is considered to be the first church in the world, had been similarly treated.

Conclusion

If we go back to the introductory text of the Şehitkamil District Governorate we quoted above, we can see that it avoids mentioning that the Dülük region was a "place of religious visits", where the people of Antep visited to make wishes and take vows until recently and it secularises the place by narrating it as a recreation (*sahre* in the Antep dialect) area and links it to capital it by stating that its management was "rented out to the private sector". The only reference in the District Governorate's statement about the religious identity of the site is that "There are tomb rocks in the forest that you can visit." Not mentioning the importance that the people of this region attached to this site is closer to the Wahhabi understanding of Islam, which the state, through the Presidency of Religious Affairs' argument that Islam is based on the Quran and Sunnah practices, is trying to establish in place of the Islam people living in Turkey cherish. This is very much in keeping with sites that have been deemed holy since time immemorial being converted into "recreation and picnic" areas. The fact that the Presidency of Religious Affairs placed warnings that people should not "tie up pieces of cloth or sacrifice animals" at tombs and sites of religious pilgrimage and statements that such actions constitute *idolatry or polytheism (shirk)* reveal how the Wahhabizied state Islam conflicts with the Islam of the traditional people.

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12 Hacı Ali Deniz, interview with author, 22 March 2021.

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Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xX-BEqrDC8eg&list=PLN7AHQGMKkd-C6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=10

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5ZtOwxGm-6Kw&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fd-N3EWXMQY&index=10

The Many Lives of the "Cezaevi-kilise" of Nevşehir

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Abstract

In 1923, the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey ended the Greek-Orthodox (Rum) presence in most parts of Anatolia. In the region of Cappadocia, the Rums (who were mostly Kamaranlis, i.e., Turkish-speakers) had numerous communities which had prospered economically from the mid-nineteenth century mostly thanks to migration movements towards big cities, Istanbul ahead, and philanthropic activities. In that context, these communities built new, huge churches, which remained without faithful after 1923. In the first republican decades, some of them were converted into mosques, others destroyed or simply abandoned. Many were desecrated and turned into stables, warehouses, or factories. Among these churches, the *Meryem Ana Kilisesi* built in 1848 and located in the town of Nevşehir has experienced a particular fate. Transformed into a prison in 1953, it became the place of incarceration of numerous political prisoners such as Yilmaz Güney who stayed there for one year. In 1973, this "Cezaevi-kilise", as locals used to call it, even became a film set for the movie *Mahpus* narrating the story of an imprisoned woman. After the closing of the prison in 1983, the building was abandoned but is still sometimes used as a shooting place for movies and TV series. It is also one of the last monuments that has not borne the cost of the urban transformation, which affect the former Rum districts of the town.

This paper will follow the different lives of the Meryem Ana church of Nevşehir from its construction in the late Ottoman period up to now, including its transformation into a carceral place, but also more recent developments, that have turned it into anew symbol of the local Christian heritage and have led to contestations against its degradation and calls for its preservation.

In 1923, the population exchange between Greece and Turkey ended the Greek-Orthodox (Rum) presence in most parts of Anatolia. In the region of Cappadocia, the Rum communities, which were mostly Turkish-speaking had prospered economically from the mid-nineteenth century mostly thanks to migration movements towards big cities, primarily Istanbul, and philanthropic activities. They especially built new, huge churches, which remained without devotees after 1923. In the first republican decades, some of them were converted into mosques, others destroyed or simply abandoned. Many were desecrated and turned into stables, warehouses, or factories. Among these churches, the Koimesis Theotokou Church of Nevsehir, today known as *Meryem Ana Kilisesi* or church of the Virgin experienced a singular fate.

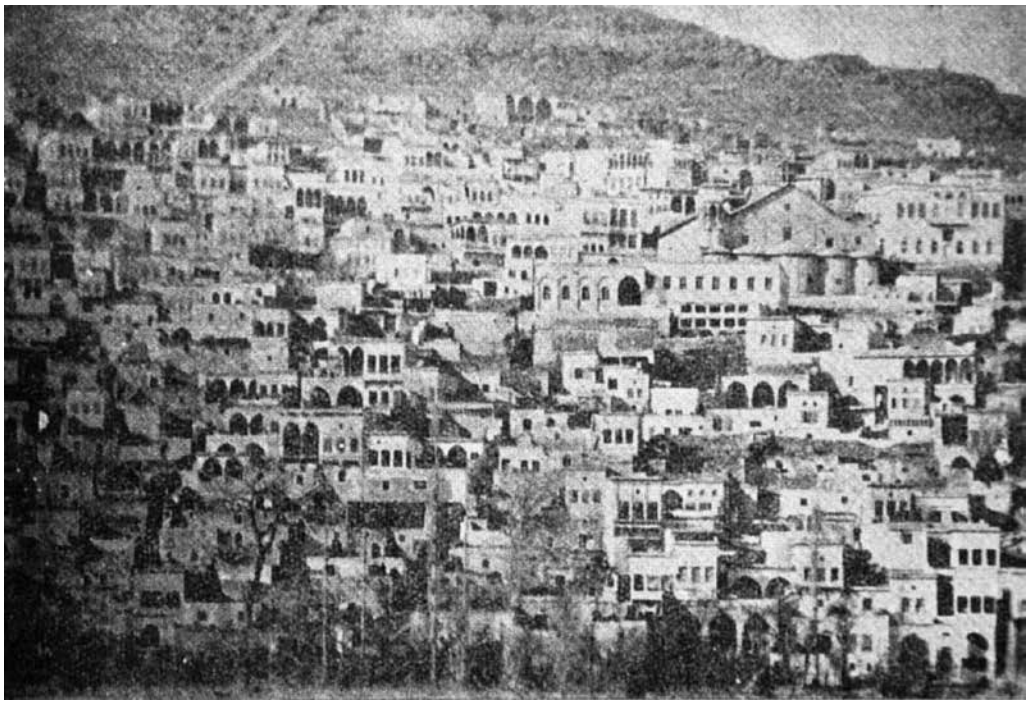

Figure 1: A nineteenth century postcard.

This paper follows the different lives of the Meryem Ana church of Nevşehir from its construction in the late Ottoman period until now, including its transformation into a prison, but also more recent developments, that have turned it into a new symbol of local heritage and have led to arguments against its degradation and calls for its preservation.

Life as a church

The region of Cappadocia in central Anatolia was mostly inhabited by Muslim, Orthodox Christians, and Armenian communities who were primarily settled in towns but also in villages. The Rum communities of Cappadocia had the specificity to be mainly Turkish-speaking. They used Turkish as their primary language and wrote Turkish using the Greek alphabet. We generally call them the Karamanlis.

In the nineteenth-century, the Rums of the community of Nevşehir were part of these Karamanlis. They were concentrated in three adjacent districts: Rum Baş Mahallesi, Rum Orta Mahallesi and the Aşağı Mahallesi. These three districts were known as a whole as the Rum Mahallesi. This area is today known as the Cumhuriyet Mahallesi. At that time, Nevşehir, as its name suggests, was still quite a recently established town since the village of Muskara was turned into the town of Neveshir during the time of Nevşehirli Damat Ibrahim Pasha (who was the *ṣadr-ı aʿẓam* during the Tulip Era at the beginning of the eighteenth century). Following its founding, the

Figure 2: The Church-Prison of Nevşehir, outside view. Photo: Aude Aylin de Tapia, 2014.

town benefitted from an important migration of Rums from surrounding villages to the "New Town". Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Rum population of the *Nea-poli*, as the Rums called it, became increasingly dense. In the nineteenth century, the Rum community of Nevsehir, as many other communities of Cappadocia, became more prosperous thanks to its migrants living and working in biggest cities of the empir e as well as abroad. The migrants collected money thanks to associations of *hemşehris*, (compatriots) and paid for the construction of public buildings, hamams, schools, libraries, and churches in their community of origin.

It is in this context that two big churches were built in the Rum mahallesi. The first actually already existed. It was the Agios Georgios Church built in 1797 and enlarged in the 1860s and 1880s. Today, it is known as the Çanlı kilise but only the bell tower remains. The second one is the Koimesis Theotoku Church built in 1848-49. It is quite a large church and is today known by the inhabitants of Nevsehir as the *Meryem Ana kilisesi*, but also as the *Cezaevi-kilise* or *Eski Cezaevi*, namely the former prison. Similar to all the churches of Cappadocia's Rum communities, it was abandoned in 1923 since the Rum community of Nevşehir, like all the Rums of Anatolia, were forced to leave their homeland because of the population exchange in 1923.

Figure 3: Dormitories' corridor inside the church-prison. Photo: Aude Aylin de Tapia, 2014.

Life as a prison (1950-1983)

Between 1923 and the late 1940s, the church experienced a fate similar to many other churches of the nineteenth century in Cappadocia, since it was abandoned without devotees. But its life radically changed a few decades later when it was transformed into a prison in the late 1940s. From those days, the church began to be named "the Cezaevi-kilise" by locals.

In order to convert it into a prison, everything inside the building had to be re-organized. Numerous walls and a second floor were constructed to create dormitories and isolation cells, but also prayer rooms, a lunchroom, a kitchen, bathrooms and toilets. Wall paintings were covered and outside, the walls of the courtyard were consolidated and elevated.

As a prison, the building hosted numerous political prisoners, some of them being famous intellectuals, poets, and filmmakers. One of the first prisoners was the writer Kemal Tahir, who was sent there in 1948. In 1951, it was the poet Aziz Nesin, who was exiled to the prison of Nevsehir because he continued writing political pamphlets in the Istanbul prison where he was first incarcerated. Another poet, Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil also spent a few months in the prison of Nevsehir. It was there that he met Aziz Nesin for the first time. As a last example, in 1961, the filmmaker Yilmaz Güney was arrested and sent to the prison of Nevsehir. He spent 20 months in this prison, where

he wrote his first novel *Boynu Bükük Öldüler*. Regarding these months spent in the prison, Güney related that "*it changed the course of his life*", and that the prison of Nevsehir "*had been his school*." The novel was published about ten years later. In the preface, Güney remembered how he wrote his novel, on a small table he kept by his bed located in the corner of the dormitory of political prisoners.[1]

Finally, after the coup of 1980, new political prisoners were sent to Nevsehir. According to one of them, Mükremin Tokmak, who several decades later created an association for the protection of cultural heritage in Cappadocia called *Kapadokya Tarih Kültür Araştırma ve Koruma Derneği* (closed in 2019) and is today one of the main protectors and whistleblowers about threats to cultural heritage in Cappadocia, leftist prisoners requested the uncovering of the wall paintings in their dormitory but the latter did not stay uncovered for long. When dormitories of prisoners were changed and leftists were replaced there by right-wing nationalist prisoners, the paintings were re-covered.[2]

Life as a movie set

In 1983, with the opening of a new, modern prison in Nevsehir, the Cezaevi-kilise was closed and abandoned. However, before its closing, the building had already begun a secondary function as a movie set. In 1973, the Cezaevi-kilise did indeed become the set for the movie *Mahpus* narrating the story of an imprisoned woman played by Türkan Soray under the direction of Nejat Saydam. The movie won the Altin Portakal Award.

In the more recent past, the ruins of the building were once again used as a filming place, not for a movie but for a TV series. The set was prepared inside the church without any authorization and the staff of the series broadcasted on the Fox channel decided to cut one of the metal girders, which maintains the main columns under the dome of the church. The scandal was discovered by the local activist Mükremin Tokmak, president of the *Kapadokya Tarih Kültür Araştırma ve Koruma Derneği* (Cappadocia History Culture Research and Conservation Association). Tokmak alerted the media and lodged a complaint against the TV series producers. The staff of the TV series claimed that the building was already in ruins before they entered it and that they decided to cut the girder to make filming easier and to have a better image of the background.[3] After this scandal, a prefabricated lodge was established in front of the church with a watchman.

Other examples of Rum or Armenian churches converted into prisons exist in Turkey such as in Gaziantep, Sivas, Urfa, or Giresun. Some of them have even been used as a movie set, but most are today converted into a mosque or a museum. As for the Nevsehir Cezaevi-kilise, after 1983, it remained abandoned and was progressively damaged by numerous acts of vandalism by treasure hunters, since, in Anatolia, former Christian buildings are often considered as potential places for treasures.[4]

1 Mesut Akatay, 'Kültür ve Sanat Insanı Olarak Yılmaz Güney', *Evrensel Gazetesi*, 7 September 2014, https://www.evrensel.net/haber/92160/kultur-ve-sanat-insani-olarak-yilmaz-guney.

2 Yavuz İşçen, 'Nevşehir Rum Mahallesi', *Cappadocia Explorer*, May 2010, http://www.cappadociaexplorer.com/detay.php?id=346&cid=176.

3 Zafer Barış, 'Meryem Ana Kilisesi'ndeki Skandal Yargıya Taşındı', *Radikal*, 3 September 2014, http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/meryem-ana-kilisesindeki-skandal-yargiya-tasindi-1210699/.

4 Serdar Korucu, 'Nevşehir'in Rum Mirası Kentsel Dönüşüm Kurbanı', *Agos*, 5 July 2013, http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/5222/nevsehirin-rum-mirasi-kentsel-donusum-kurbani.

Life in the middle of big real estate projects

In the very last decades, several restoration projects were proposed and sometimes decided but none of them have been implemented until now. In 1996, the church was entrusted to the municipality and a restoration project was proposed in 2003 but never submitted to the regional directorate for heritage protection.

The question of the heritagization of the Meryem Ana church is therefore old, but it has become more pressing in the twenty-first century with the emergence of a new awareness of the public opinion about minorities but also because of the beginning of the *kentsel dönüşüm* or urban transformation project. New changes have occurred in recent years and the Meryem Ana church begins to become a symbol for local cultural and religious heritage. With the urban politics of *kentsel dönüşüm* that began in Nevsehir in 2009, the former Christian districts of the town became the place of new construction projects.

In June 2013, the *muhtar* and the residents once again drew attention to the gradual degradation of the church and the need for its restoration to revitalize the district's economy.[5] Several petitions were launched by local associations for heritage protection which attracted attention to the bad condition of the church. The chamber of architects also lodged a complaint against the real estate project, which was planned in the historical districts of the town. Nothing was done and the church remained alone in the middle of nothing since almost all the old houses of the districts have been demolished. The first new constructions began in the low part of the district and in the area under the Kale of Nevşehir.

On the side of the castle, the discovery of a huge underground city in 2014 put an end to the *kentsel dönüşüm* in this area. The discovery of this underground city, that was immediately announced as being the biggest one in Cappadocia and in the world opened the way to a new project with a touristic focus. This underground city has been named Kayaşehir. It is currently managed by the *Kayseri Rölöve ve Anıtlar Müdürlüğü*. Incidentally, this area is not under the supervision of the Cappadocia Area directorate (*Alan Başkanlığı*, which has recently been created to replace the *Milli Park* status of Cappadocia). The project around Kayaşehir aims at creating a museum in the underground city, as we already have in Kaymaklı or Derinkuyu. Peripheral touristic activities are also planned: the Castle of Nevşehir, for instance, has recently begun to be restored. The reconstruction of formerly destroyed historical building is also predicted. The restoration of the church is also included in this broader project. In that context, the restoration of the church, which was in the hands of the municipality of Nevsehir has been recently transferred to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Consequently, the whole budget for the restoration comes from the ministry.

The wish to connect Kayaşehir and the Meryem Ana church through a common project of cultural heritage and tourism is obvious even though, for now, there is not yet a clear and definitive master plan. The definitive project should be published in the near future. However, for now, the general idea is to connect the Meryem Ana church to Kayaşehir through a road that would mostly be used by cars. If this plan is confirmed, it would mean that most visitors coming to Kayaşehir will see the Meryem Ana church from outside, probably from their car, and will not be incited to visit the church.

5 İşçen, 'Nevşehir Rum Mahallesi'.

On the building itself, the project aims at restoring the façades. Inside, the current plans are to destroy the walls and other remains of the prison in order to return to the original building. The restoration officially began a few months ago and a billboard at the entrance of the site mentions a building company based in Kahramanmaraş. The wishes of locals and cultural heritage associations were to see the creation of a museum on the history of the town of Nevsehir inside the church, the idea being to include all the different lives of the building and the town, including the history of the Christian communities but also the carceral past of the church. The Ministry representatives claim that they indeed have indeed a museum project inside the church but nothing is certain for now. Moreover, we do not know what the museum's focus will be, if it is really created some day.

We thus need to see whether the building will experience the same fate as most of the nineteenth-century churches of Cappadocia, which have been restored over the last decades. Their walls are restored, the inside cleaned up and the building is generally then locked to prevent visitors from entering. If a museum is created inside, it would imply that the church will remain open.

Numerous examples of recently restored churches are indeed available in Cappadocia. They show that after the restoration, which is generally followed by an inauguration in the presence of the patriarch of Constantinople and a small group of devotees, the building is often locked up and no other religious or cultural activities are proposed inside, except sometimes, a yearly mass.

The future of the Cezaevi-kilise is consequently still unknown. However, this church, with quite a short life in comparison with many other sacred places in Anatolia, experienced already different lives, being successively and sometimes simultaneously a sacred place, a prison, a ruin, and a movie set, may probably succeed in surviving this new trial. We will probably see in the coming years what its next life will be.

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Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=58T-jST2K9ug&list=PLN7AHQGMKkd-C6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=12

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Nz-ZUtr85Mo&list=PLN7AHQGMKk-dCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=12

Religious Monuments of Bursa and their Abandonment or Transformation in the Late Ottoman and Young Turks Periods

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Abstract

Bursa as the first capital of the Ottoman Empire is an interesting stage to examine the topic of the re-use of religious spaces, for this paper limited to monuments surviving in the Tanzimat (1839-1876) and period of Abdülhamid (1876-1909). This paper examines the status of some religious monuments, their transformation to other purposes or abandonment in the face of population movement and political change. Also, to be examined are selective abandoned properties designated as *awqaf* or *evkaf* land retaining their status as religious and their fate post-Tanzimat Era.

With the absorption of the Jews fleeing the Inquisition, Bursa absorbed a population from that migration and synagogues sprang up in Jewish neighborhoods, which were later abandoned with the movement of Jews out of the city. Affecting much of what occurred in Bursa was the silk industry, still flourishing today. Churches (and small mosques) were built in the Greek and Armenian neighborhoods—areas that supported the silk factories up through the late 19th century. Also, France exploited the industry by construction of a rail line from the coast to that city and marking their presence with French church. In the late 19th century period of Abdülhamid, *evkaf* properties were released from their religious designation to be used for modernizing secular buildings such as the military school built on an upper slope of the city.

The political events of the post-Hamidian Period and the establishment of the Republic resulted in the loss of Greece as part of the Empire resulting in the movement of populations in both directions—Greeks to Greece and Turks to Turkey. This affected the transformation of both religious buildings and residential architecture in Bursa but will not be dealt with in this paper. Suffice it to say that mosques in Greece were destroyed or served new secular purposes.

Bursa as the capital first of the Beylik (1326-1335) or Emirate and later as the first capital (1335-1363) of the Ottoman Empire with a legacy in the Greco-Roman world, Bithynia and Byzantium is an interesting stage to examine the re-use of religious spaces–Jewish, Christian and Muslim–and for this paper limited to monuments surviving from the Tanzimat (1839-1876) Abdülhamid (1876-1909) and Young Turks (1908-1918) Periods (Figure 1). This article examines the status of some religious monuments and religious designated *vakf* (en-

dowment) property, their transformation to other purposes or abandonment in the face of political change and population movement. Bursa, previously called Prusa was always a city that thrived on its commercial activity of both trade in silk through the fifteenth century, notably with the European market. Since the sixteenth century, its local silk industry was heavily developed and flourished during the Empire, which was exploited by France in the Late Ottoman Period.[1]

This article examines religious structures and land in the city of Bursa in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim neighborhoods; surviving, transformed and/or destroyed. Since many of these buildings are *vakf* or endowment supported properties, they are today governed by the Regional Directorate of Foundations and subject to their control and regulations and not protected under the umbrella of Bursa as a UNESCO Heritage Site since 2014.[2]

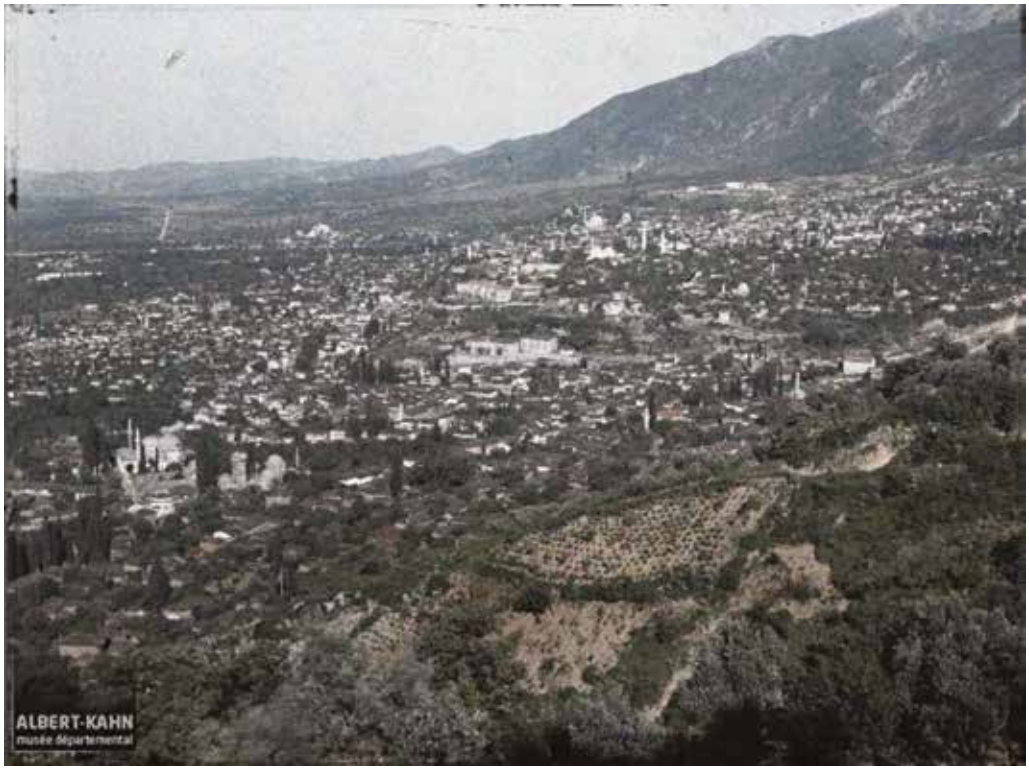

Figure 1: Bursa, from the west, 3 June 1913. Muradiye is in the left foreground, the Hisar in the center. Photo: Auguste Léon, No. 1039, Archives de la Planète, autochrome.

1 Heath Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies Publishers, 2003), documents the presence and residency of Europeans during this period (notably Italians) pursuing trade originating first in Bursa and later through Istanbul after the conquest. The accounts also note their absence in the sixteenth century.

The Reform Period governors of the city began early in their reforms of Bursa, notably with Mustafa Nuri Paşa and Ibrahim Sarim Paşa who encouraged the development of the silk industry in the western section of the city and encouraged the same in the eastern sector by building silk producing factories and encouraging European development of the industry and shipping by building a railroad to the coast (Beatrice St. Laurent *Ottomanization and Modernization: The Architecture and Urban Development of Bursa and the Genesis of Tradition 1839-1914,* Ph. D. dissertation, Harvard University, June 1989, 48-50; "Ottoman Power and Westernization: The Architecture and Urban Development of Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Bursa," *Anatolia Moderna V Yeni Anadolu,* [Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes d'Istanbul], Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1994)," 212-14). Ahmet Vefik Paşa came later and was the most influential of the governors (St. Laurent "Ottomanization," 50 ff; 1992; "Ottoman Power," 215 ff.).

2 "Bursa and Cumalıkızık The Birth of the Ottoman Empire." UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 2015. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1452/.

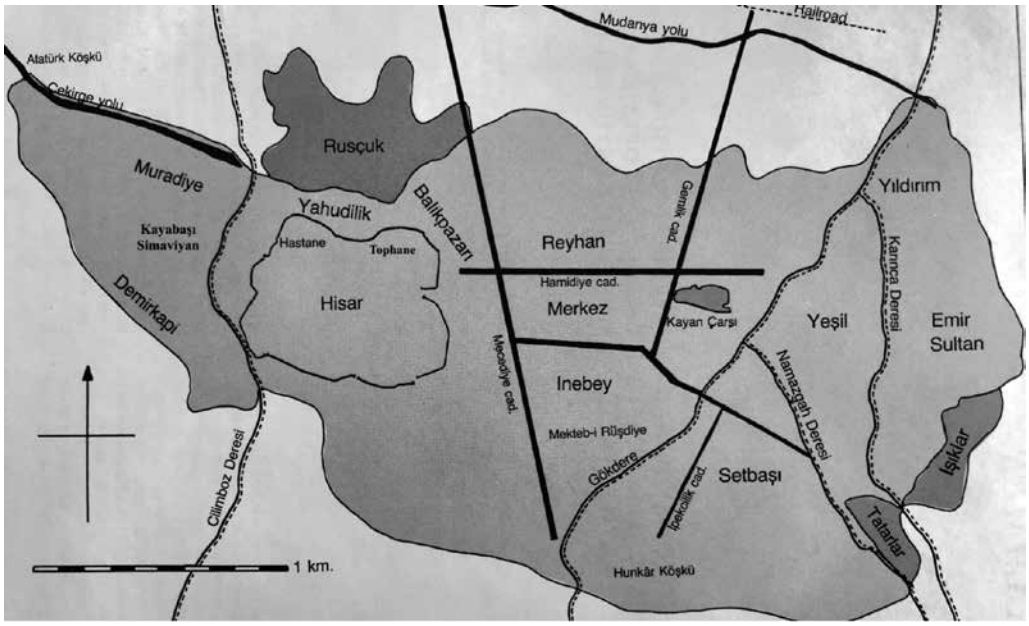

Figure 2: Plan of Bursa. St. Laurent after Suphi Bey plan of 1862 (prepared in 1858).

The city sitting at the base of Uludağ or the second Mt. Olympus overlooking the *Yeşil Ova* or the Green Plain is divided south to north by two rivers the Gökdere in the east and the Çilimboz in the west, which power the factories of the prolific silk industry of the city heavily developed between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries (Figure 2).

Historically, the arrival of the Ottomans in Bursa in 1326 heralded great modifications to the city, notably as a city never previously under long-term Islamic suzerainty prior to the Ottomans and thus, with no previous Islamic architecture in the city. It also drew a wide range of its population from the Turcomans to the south and east to the dervish communities as well as moving many from divergent backgrounds from the area of northern Greece then called Thrace.[3]

The Hisar and Center of the City

The *Hisar* or Citadel, long the residence of Christians under Bythinian/Byzantine sovereignty including seven neighborhoods, seven churches, and four monasteries became the center of Ottoman Muslim authority and the Christians were moved to areas outside of the *Hisar* if not outside of Bursa.

With the shift in political authority, formerly Christian monuments were dedicated to new Muslim functions

3 See Grigor Boykov, "Politics of Religion: Spatial Modification and Transformation of Religious Infrastructures of the Southewestern European Cities in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period," in *Städte im lateinsichen Westen und im griechischen Osten zwischen Spätantike und Früher Neuzeit: Topographie-Recht-Religion,* eds. E. Gruber, Mihailo Popović, M. Scheutz, H. Weigl. (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2016), 300, and Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Both the architectural tradition and population movement were unique to those cities under Byzantine rule in Bythinia and the Balkans during the early Ottoman period of conquest. While there was period of Seljuk control during the eleventh century, there was little effect on the urban environment of the city. See also Elizabeth Zachariadou, *Studies in Pre-Ottoman Turkey and the Ottomans*, (London: Routledge, 2007).

as in Uftade and Şehadet Camis, and a *medrese* or school. Orhan re-interred the remains of Osman and had his own tomb built in different parts of the partially ruined Monastery of St. John Podromos—Osman under the dome of the Baptistry and Orhan later under a dome of the main church or chapel of the monastery.[4] The buildings were not significantly changed but simply modified reflecting the legacy of the past as part of new Ottoman sovereignty. Suna Çağaptay states that they 'Ottomanised the past' and I propose that these buildings in adaptive re-use were viewed at the time as reflecting a shared cultural legacy under new sovereignty rather than as a culture of dominance.[5]

Orhan and his brother Alaeddin additionally built new mosques and *hamam*s or baths and a *madrasa/medrese* or school all built in the Pre-Ottoman/Byzantine tradition and no doubt using local workmen from diverse backgrounds.[6] He further expanded the city outside of the Hisar building a royal *imaret* (complex) 1339-40 burned by a Karamanid and rebuilt by Beyazit I 1417-18[7] and established the market district (*çarşı)* in the city center (*merkez*). The *imaret* consisted of a multi-functional building including a prayer space with east-west oriented *iwan*s and *tabhane*s or hospice wings for traveling dervishes and Turcomans all organized around a closed courtyard,[8] a *madrasa*, a *khanqah* or hospice and a soup kitchen, essentially social service institutions serving the community. This complex became later the central core of the commercial district of Bursa. Later rulers added to the city center including Beyazit I (1389-1405) building *Ulucami* or the Great Mosque and the *bedesten* or closed and lockable market and built their complexes or *imaret*s in the outer suburbs creating new neighborhoods supported by attached social service institutions.[9]

The Christian Communities: Greeks, Armenians and Foreigners

There was already a well-established Greek neighborhood of Surdibi (Çakırhamam Mahallesi) just below Tophane at the northeastern corner of the *Hisar*. That neighborhood included a large church, which has not survived. The other early Greek neighborhood was that of Balıkpazarı located between Kapalı Çarşı and just north of Surdibi and also had a church, the Church of Agios Ioannes Prodromos or the Church of St. John the Baptist,

4 St. Laurent "Ottomanization," 75. For the Byzantine remains, see Aptullah Kuran's summary study, "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul." *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), 114 and Suna Çağaptay, "Prousa/Bursa, a city within the city: chorography, conversion and choreography." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 35 (1), 2011, 51, 57-61 fig. 6; also, *The First Capital of the Ottoman Empire*: *The Religious, Architectural, and Social History of Bursa,* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2021). All that survives of the monastery are fragments of *opus sectile* flooring in Orhan's tomb.

5 See Çağaptay, ibid. This was not a new process but utilized at the very beginnings of Muslim conquest in *Bilād al-Shām* or Greater Syria as in the shared usage of a Christian Church of the Kathisma just outside of Jerusalem as both a mosque and a church in the seventh century. For the latter, Beatrice St. Laurent, *Capitalizing Jerusalem: Muʿāwiya's Urban Vision 638-680,* (forthcoming 2021).

6 This is a pattern established with the beginnings of Islam in Greater Syria or *Bilād al-Shām* by 634 CE. The builders and planners engaged by Muʿāwiya (*Amīr al-Muminin* or Commander of the Faithful) during the Early Islamic Period both in Jerusalem and elsewhere used a combination of local and more distant techniques of construction and his foundation inscriptions were in the predominant languages of their region–Greek in *Bilād al-Shām* and Arabic in Arabia. See Beatrice St. Laurent, "From Arabia to Bilād al-Shām: Muʿāwiya's Development of an Infrastructure and Monumental Architecture of Early Umayyad Statehood." *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* 6.2 (2019), 153-86, and St. Laurent, *Capitalizing.*

7 See St. Laurent "Yeşil Külliye," unpublished paper, 1981, Inscription catalog, 52, for foundation inscription of Orhan Imaret.

8 The building type of mosque with siderooms or *tabhane*s derived from a Central Anatolian building of dervish lodge or *zaviye* or *khanqah.* See Boykov, "Politics," 303 and Doğan Kuban *Osmanlı Mimarisi,* (Istanbul: YEM Publications, 2007), 75-122.

9 Kuran, "A Spatial," 114-118, 130 fn.1, cites the development of new neighborhoods in the city and the development of the market district by Beyazit I. *Imaret*s were later called *külliye*s and these were established in more distant suburbs to create new neighborhoods by Murad I, Beyazit I, Mehmet I and Murad II. *Khanqah*s [Pers.] also known as *tekke*s (*tekiye*s) [Trk.] and *zawiya*s or *ribat*s [Arab.] were either permanent or temporary residences or ritual buildings for the Sufi orders of dervishes. The hospice rooms attached to the mosque of Orhan were intended for temporary visitors to the city. Evidence for this usage is found in an inscription in Yeşil Cami (1419) stating that the hospice stay is limited to three days so clearly intended for travelers. See St. Laurent, "Yeşil Külliye," 29-30, Inscription catalog, 12. The *Hadith* inscription appears in the west iwan and no doubt refers to guests staying in the *tabhane*s or side rooms for guests. In the later periods, these rooms no longer served a residential purpose and the mosque's function was dedicated to Sunni orthodox practice.

Figure 10: The *Belediye* or City Hall in the City Center or *Merkez*. Photo: St. Laurent, 1999.

the ruins of which are incorporated in a park. There was also a silk factory in that neighborhood in the fifteenth century that does not survive[10] (Figure 3).

This paper now examines the survival of Christian churches in the two major Christian neighborhoods or *mahalleler* of the area well-known in what I am calling the Muradiye district–including Demirkapı Mahallesi, and Kayabaşı Mahallesi – in the west; and in the other Christian district – that of Setbaşı Mahallesi in the eastern part of the city. For this article, I have spent more time on the Muradiye district churches as I have had the possibility to complete further research on the topic, which is not so readily available for the Armenian churches in Setbaşı.

Demirkapı was established early either during the reign of Orhan or Murat I (ruled 1362-1389) and Kayabaşı during the reign of Murad II (1441-1444, 1446-1451) when Muradiye Imaret was begun with the construction of the mosque between 1425 and 1426 creating a Muslim center in the largely Greek Christian neighborhood, which later was the neighborhood of hotels for visiting foreign tourists.[11] The Armenian neighborhood of Setbaşı largely burned down in the nineteenth century and was rebuilt to become the more upscale neighborhood of the Christian Armenians, Muslims (notably factory owners and the elite of the city), and European foreigners who

10 The church was of stone and was of a Greek cross plan St. Laurent, *Ottomanization*, 81 fns. 9 & 10. There is a photograph of the church that is in the collection of Mümin Ceyhan in the Bursa Kültür Kaynakları Araştırma Kütüphanesi and included in a paper by Elçin Arabacı "Bursa as a Typical 'Ottoman City' of the Ottoman Classical Ages (14th-16th Centuries)," Paper, 2014 (?).

11 Kuran, "A Spatial," 118 indicates that the *vakf* established in 1430 suggests that the supporting social service institutions other that the tomb of the founder were also established by this time.

Figure 3: Bursa from Tophane Clocktower toward with Balıkpazarı Mahallesi in the foreground 3 June 1913. The Church of Agios Ioannes Prodromos or the Church of St. John the Baptist is in the foreground and the bell tower is visible. The silk factory is just behind it. Photo: Auguste Léon, No. 2229, Archives de la Planète, autochrome–detail.

lived in Bursa at the time.[12] During the Tanzimat through the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Christian neighborhoods of both Greeks and Armenians were the minority neighborhoods with regard to both population and employment. After the political movements of the first and second decades of the twentieth century the Christian populations in the city were decimated by forced population movement.[13]

Greek Neighborhoods

The western Greek part of the city experienced two major periods of religious architectural development – early on in the fourteenth century with the population movement or *sürgün* of Greeks and others from what is today modern Greece in Thrace and Anatolia, and later from the sixteenth century onward to the nineteenth century with the development of the silk and tourism industries. Much of what was built early on was supported in the nineteenth century by an increasingly strong European influence and control over the economy of the silk industry.[14] The nineteenth century experienced great growth with the addition of many hotels supporting both

12 St. Laurent, "Ottomanization," 106-107.

13 Erdem Kadabayı, "Working for the State in the Urban Economies of Ankara, Bursa and Salonica: From Empire to Nation State, 1840s-1940s," *International Journal of Social History* 61 [Special Issue S24 "Conquerors, Employers and Arbiters: States and Shifts in Labour Relations 1500-2000"] (2016): 213-241, utilizing tax surveys of households of multiple periods, the author is able to document the movement of populations from these cities. For Bursa, both the Greek and Armenian populations were clearly forcibly moved away from the city.

14 My position on the origins of the Greek population in the western neighborhoods is that they were moved from recently conquered regions in Thrace and Anatolia with the policy of population resettlement or *sürgün* in the early Empire-in a period of tribal dominance. The goal was to effectively balance political reactions to conquest. An already 'blended' society both multi-ethnic and multi-religious became even moreso in the early Empire with the goal of creating a more settled society. For more on this topic see Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*," Zachariadou, *Studies*, by the 1380s and Boykov, "Politics of Religion."

foreign industrial and tourism development and the initiation of a French sponsored railroad that went from Bursa to Mudanya on the Marmara coast.

The French actually built a consulate in this neighborhood, purportedly the building in the 1980s was still part of a silk factory and is today a museum. It is located between a French-owned silk factory and the *fabrika hümāyūn* or government silk factory on the road coming from the *Hisar* to the district.[15] The consulate stands as a marker of socio-political presence in the district and a force in the control and development of the silk industry.

Hagios Taxiarchoi

There were two churches in Muradiye district, the first was in Demirkapı Mahallesi. This Greek Orthodox church was *Hagios Taxiarchoi* or the Church of the Archangels and built in the fourteenth century attributed by some to Orhan – dated by the now lost Karamanlı Turkish inscription located above the entrance,[16] which indicates it was rebuilt in 1835 under Mahmud II (ruled 1808-1839). It formed the core of the new Christian neighborhood positioned high on the southern slope west of the *Hisar* for maximum visibility when approaching the city. The church established the core above the *mahalle* or neighborhood. In the nineteenth century up through 1923, it was also near the major area of much larger hotels for probably largely Christian foreign tourists visiting the Çekirge hotspring baths or *kaplica*s and those involved in the silk industry.

The surviving church is an east-west oriented basilica with a large apse and has a tiled wooden beamed roof. What survives to today is the rebuilt church of 1835. In 1883, this church was one of six churches in Bursa and the Mass was said in Turkish and the congregation included 151 families.[17] There is a church of the same name in Gemlik and the Bursa church may have originally been closely similar construction-wise to that church and experienced renewal in the same time period. There is a second church *Hagios Apostoloi* (*Kilise Camı*) in Mudanya, which shares a similar plan and large apse.[18] The Bursa church lost its entire congregation in the 1923 exchange of populations and in 1926,[19] it became the property of the Yılmaz family functioning as a silk spinning factory until 1985, when it was abandoned. The building itself survives and can be seen on Google Maps and Mapbox views of the *mahalle*.

The Demirkapı neighborhood was created and possibly initially populated by Christian Greeks who did not convert to Islam after the 1326 conquest and had to move outside the city walls. The placement high on the hill suggests a possible connection to the monastic communities of monks that resided in or visited caves of Keşiş

I am currently writing on the early seventh century Arab settlement of greater *Bilād al-Shām*, which governed from the beginnings of Islam according to tribal identity and principles, with egalitarian relationships with the 'non-Muslim' communities under their control. There was early on movement of the Byzantine Christian, Jewish, Samaritan and Persian Zoroastrian populations to even the furthest distant regions of the empire–Byzantine Christians moved from Greater Syria to Arabia to quell rebelion from Jewish tribes near Mecca and Madinah. So, the Early Ottomans only continued a practice that was rooted in tribal culture and tribal identity from the beginnings of Islam. See St. Laurent, "From Arabia to Bilād al-Shām."

15 St. Laurent "Ottoman Power," 221-222. The consulate probably dates to the time period of construction of the factory in 1851 but probably slightly later due to the consulate records in the French Foreign Ministry Archives not beginning until 1853.

16 Çagaptay *The First Capital,* 49.

17 Kandēs Η Προύσα: ήτοι, documents the church and its congregation.

18 I have had no access to this inscription. There is a church of the same name in Gemlik, which was restored in 1803 and may have shared similar building techniques with the Bursa church. On the Gemlik church, see Emel Yıldız "Bursa ve Çevresinde Osmanlı Dönemi Ortodoks Kiliseleri," *264 Ordu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi 8*, no. 2, (2018): 261-288, http://dergipark.gov.tr/odusobiad, 266, 275-276.

19 Ayşe Ozil, *Orthodox Christians in the Late Ottoman Empire: A Study of Communal Relations in Anatolia* [SOAS/Routledge Studies in the Middle East], (London & New York: Routledge, 2013), 4, and more importantly Renée Hirschon (ed.) *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey*, (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003).

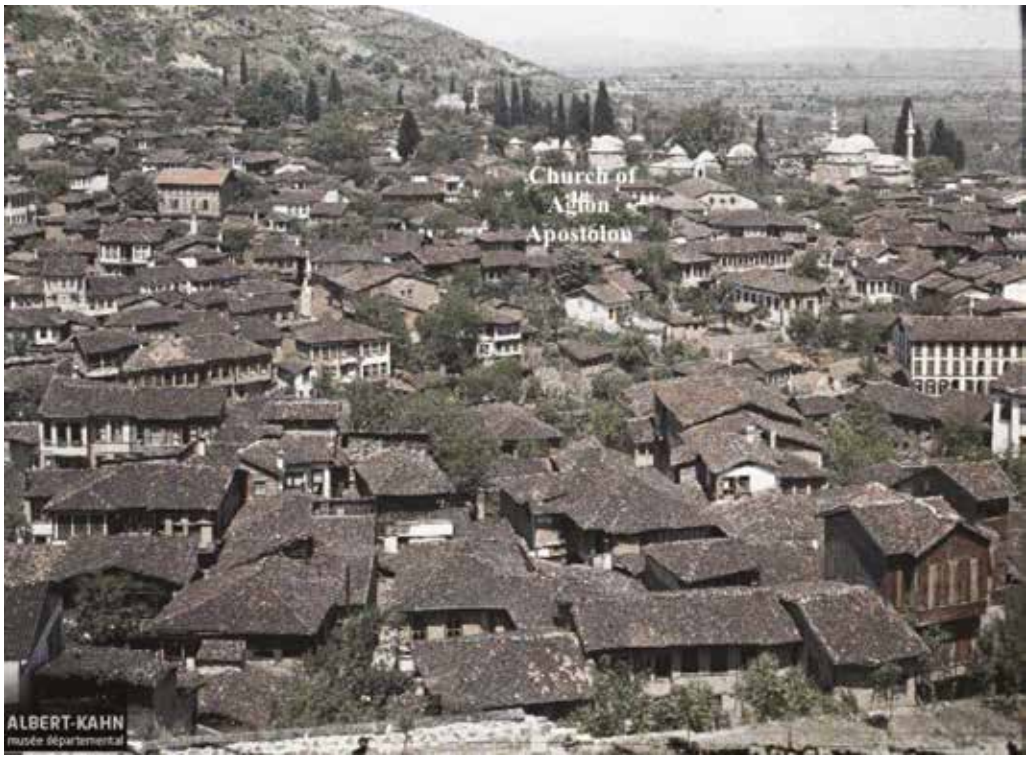

Figure 4: The Muradiye District from the Hisar looking west. In the foreground is Kayabaşı Mahallesi. The church of the Holy Apostles (Agion Apostolon) appears just east of Muradiye Külliyesi. Photo: Auguste Léon, No. 2227, Archives de la Planète, autochrome.

Dağ or Mount of the Monks as Ulu Dağ was once known. It is known that Muslim dervishes took over the area in the fourteenth century, among them the Persian dervish Şemseddin Mehmed Ali al-Hüseyin al-Buhari (1368-1429) son-in-law and advisor of Sultan Beyazid I. There is also evidence of the shared beliefs in popular religion between Muslims and Christians.[20] His originally fourteenth-century mosque – Emir Sultan Cami – (now rebuilt at a much later time period) and tomb are in the northeastern part of the city and established the most distant northeastern neighborhood or *mahalle* in the fourteenth century.

I propose that there was also a migration by *sürgün* during the time of Murat I (ruled 1362-1389) to Bursa from the Greek Thracian village of Demir Kapija, which had been recently captured by Murat by the mid-fourteenth century on the Vardar River. Supporting this is the construction of the Mosque of Murat I – Hüdavendigār Cami – between 1365-1385 in the village of Çekirge further to the west of 'Muradiye' district in the path of creating a new Muslim Ottoman neighborhood and appropriation in the area of the hotspring bath established during the Byzan-

20 Ozil "Orthodox Christians," 3-4, 131 fn 7. See also Michel Balivet, "Culture ouverte et échanges inter-religieuxs dans les villes Ottomans du XIVe siècle." In *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389). A Symposium Held in Rethymnon 11-13 January 199,* edited by Elizabeth Zachariadou (Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1993), 3, discusses Emir Sultan and further discusses the complexity of the relations and beliefs shared by Muslim and Christian mystics in the fourteenth century.

tine period.[21] So, the Christian population of the neighborhood was continuous through time.[22] This neighborhood and others provided the workers for the district's foreign and government-owned silk factories from the sixteenth century onward, with workers immigrating voluntarily from the countryside at the end of the sixteenth century.[23]

Church of Agion Apostolon (Figure 4)

The second church is the Church of *Agion Apostolon* or the Holy Apostles dating from 1437, during the period of Murad II (1421-44), whose royal *imaret* or *külliye* is just west of the church in Kayabaşı. A visitor in 1576 reports that the church's name remained the same but by the seventeenth century, the name of the church was changed to Notre Dame perhaps reflecting a change of patronage or community of believers newly based in the neighborhood.[24] The church was of alternating layers of stone *taş* and brick *kerpiç* – the traditional building material of both the Byzantines and the Ottomans. It is an east-west oriented basilica with the entrance from the west, with an apse and a bell tower – at least in its most recent manifestation.

It is reported that the current structure was one rebuilt in the eighteenth century after a fire in 1787 and restored during the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839). The church went out of use in the 1923 transfer of populations and then served as a silk factory and *tutun* or tobacco depo since that time. At the end of the nineteenth century, the church with its bell tower was intact as seen in an Albert Khan Archives de la Planète photo (figure 4) dating from the 1913 and, when I was in Bursa in the early 1980's the building was intact and was a 'depo.' In 2015, it was reported that the roof had collapsed but the walls were still standing and remains in the garden of the Military Headquarters. That still seems to be the case today and can be seen on Google Earth.

Kayabaşı Mahallesi is also known as Simaviyan Mahallesi, settled by Greek Christians 'from Semaviyan–or Semaviayan'dan.'[25] It is unclear how the neighborhood came to be known as Simaviyan. The Mahalle is mentioned in the 1487 Tahrir Defter and that a group of immigrants from Alaşehir arrived at that time.[26] It is mentioned again in the 1574 *defter* and that this was a voluntary migration from Anatiolia regions for those seeking work, no doubt in the silk industry.[27] However, the location of 'Simaviyan' is not clear and the name predated the later migrations to the neighborhood.

One could speculate that they came from the village of Simav in Anatolia but there seems no historical logic to that thesis. Simav today is a small village on the Simav River and there is little or no historical reference to this place. Thus far, my research has uncovered no early references to the village.

21 St. Laurent *Ottomanization*, 63, 98-99 fn. 41. There were/are multiple towns or villages called Demirkapı including two in Anatolia. Given early Ottoman history and the movement of populations, the one in current day northern Greece or Thrace recently captured by the Murat I seems the likely candidate for resettlement.

22 Lowry *Ottoman Bursa...,* 23-24, 29, 32, 36 provides further population data from the later *tahrir defterler* and later travelers to the city. It is also known that Mehmed II moved some Orthodox Christians to Istanbul after the Conquest. So, the neighborhood became quite diverse with Christians from many regions of the Empire.

23 Osman Gümüşçü "Internal migrations in sixteenth century Anatolia." *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004): 231-248., discusses voluntary versus *sürgün* migrations from rural Anatolian regions to major cities by the end of the sixteenth century based on *tahrir defterleri*.

24 Lowry, 27, 32-36, indicates the change of name in travelers' accounts.

25 Raif Kaplanoğlu *Bursa Muradiye Semti: Muradiye, Hamzabey, Kocanaip, Demirkapı mahalleleri [Bursa Muradiye District]. Bursa: Osmangazi Belediyesi Yayınları, 2008* http://alanbaskanligi.bursa.bel.tr/kilise-a249/, 96.

26 Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa,* 23 ff.

27 *Ibid*., 23 mentions Tahrir Defter No. 23 and Gümüşçü, "Internal," the 1574 Defter.

I would propose that Simaviyan had a distinctly different origin through resettlement or *sürgün* during a challenging political period in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Rather, it is more likely that the name is tied to Simavna (today Kyprinos) in Thrace, which was conquered by the Ottomans by the mid-fourteenth century and located west of Dimetoka (Didymoteich or Dhdhimoteichon) not far from Edirne on the border with Turkey today. It is likely that they were followers of Sufi Şeyh Bedreddin Semāvī'nin (1359-1418) who was from Simavna. The Şeyh at an early age in 1378 studied in Bursa on the path to further education in Konya, Cairo by the 1380s and Iran, returning once again to Bursa and on to Edirne in 1403 to become a prominent political figure in the early Ottoman government.

Though the geographical regions of those who settled in this neighborhood by the fifteenth century is unknown, it is likely that it was a group of the Şeyh's followers called *Simavni*s or *Semāvī*s that were part of an intellectual movement lead by the Şeyh in Thrace that blended Christian and Muslim mystical beliefs (and possibly influenced by Jewish thought), which was popular at the time in Rumeli and Anatolia and notably in Bursa. And Bedreddin is known to have returned to Bursa a second time so his ties to the city remained constant.

Abd al-Raḥman ibn Muḥammad al-Bisṭāmī al-Hurūfī –s cholar and Sufi of the early fifteenth century (died 1454 or 1455) who studied in Cairo and Tabriz – was a follower of Bedreddin and the Ḥurūfu movement. His thought heavily influenced the court in Edirne, and he moved to Bursa at an unknown date probably present during the time of Beyazit I (ruled 1389-1402) and was afforded the patronage of Murad II and remained there until his death by the mid-fifteenth century. And the neighborhood that Abd al-Raḥman ibn Muḥammad al-Bisṭāmī moved to might have been called Simaviyan or Semavīyan after the followers of Bedreddin. Also, worth considering is that the neighborhood was mixed Muslim and Christian. Possibly Mahmud II's rebuilding of the church (and that of Demirkapı) in this neighborhood reflected his connection to the Şeyh.[28]

The Armenian Neighborhood: Setbaşı ('the Cihangir of Bursa') (Figure 5)

The Armenian neighborhood of Setbaşı east of the Gökdere River was heavily rebuilt after a major fire in 1863. Bursa was said to be the location of the Armenian Patriarchate before it moved to Istanbul in the fifteenth century. Between 1453 and 1463 Fatih Mehmed II forced the Armenians of Bursa to move to Istanbul to become the seat of the Patriarchate.[29] However, Bursa did remain one of the few cities in the empire with a sizable Armenian population indicating that there was an important and longstanding Armenian community in the city. Bursa after the fifteenth century was a bishopric for Gregorian and Catholic Armenians. By the seventeenth century

28 Simavna was the birthplace of Sufi Şeyh Bedreddin Semâvî'nin (1359-1418) whose father was Muslim, and mother was Christian who was an opponent of Mehmet I (1413-21) and was exiled to Iznik in 1413 and executed in Serres in Thrace in 1418. He was ultimately reburied in 1961 near the tomb of Mahmud II in Istanbul. Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı *Osmanlı Tarihi* II (10) (İstanbul: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2011); see also Kafadar, "Between," 118 and ff.; Michel Balivet *Şeyh Bedreddin Tasavvuf ve Isyan Şeyh Bedreddin Tasavvuf ve Isyan,* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000) and more recently Dimitris Kastritsis "The Şeyh Bedreddin Uprising in the Context of the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-13," *In Political Initiatives 'From the bottom Up' in the Ottoman Empire: Halcyon Days in Crete VII. A Symposium held in Rethymnon 9-11 January 2009, ed. A. Anastopoulos (Rethymnon: Crete University Press 2012), 233-250,* for general information and specifically for the ties of Bedreddin to co-religionists, 226 ff. The Şeyhs ties to *ḥurufu* teachings of a messianic and apocalyptic nature are significant with its ties to Edirne at the time. Cornell Fleischer, "Ancient Wisdoms and new sciencces: prophecies at the Ottoman court in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries." In *Falname: The Book of Omen, edited by Massumeh Farhad and Serpil Bağcı* (Washington D. C.: 2009), 232-243, examines the role and writings of Abd al-Raḥman ibn Muḥammad al-Bisṭāmī al- Hurûfî.

When referring to a particular group of people outside of Muslims *yan* was the suffix attached to the group name in the *tahrir defter*, possibly for groups resident in the city prior to the period of recording in the official government *defters.* For example, the Jews of Bursa were referred to as *Yahudiyan* in the *defter* of 1523, Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 3.

29 Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 26, indicates that the *defter* (No. 23) of 1487 indicates the absence of Armenians who were sent to Istanbul.

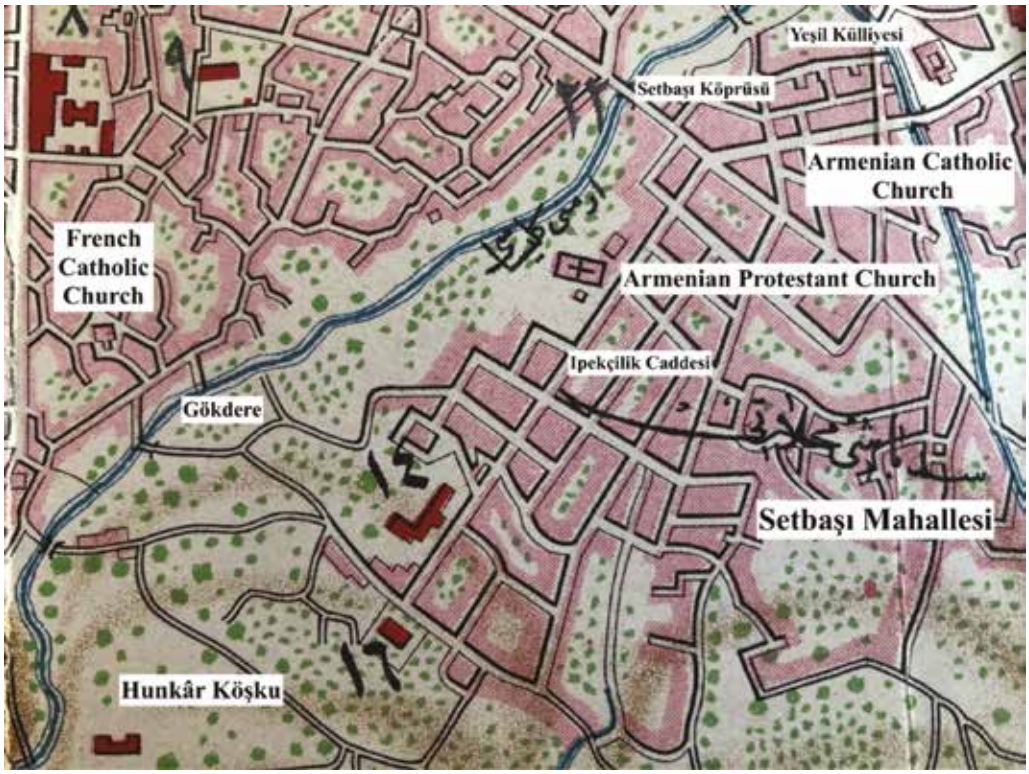

Figure 5: Setbaşı Mahallesi or Neighborhood of the Armenians and Foreigners showing location of churches. Detail of city plan of 1907 from the *Hüdavendigâr Salnamesi* of 1907.

there were 300 households with five priests and a small wooden church.[30] The community survived through the early twentieth century.[31]

Little is known of the architecture of the pre-fire Armenian neighborhood, which nearly completely burned down in the major fires that ravaged Bursa in 1801 and 1863. The part of the neighborhood south of the Irgandı Bridge was rebuilt to new modern specifications that included new straight streets and construction to new fire-code regulations. It became the neighborhood of wealthy elite multi-ethnic Muslims, Christian Armenians and foreigners. Ipekçilik Caddesi was the core of the neighborhood and was one of the new straight streets leading up the hill culminating at the top with the new Silk Institute based on teaching the French Pasteur technology of the industry. The new houses on this street reflected the wealth of the district. Proceeding beyond the Silk Institute, one arrived at the newly built *Köşk-ü Hümayun* or royal pavilion also called Cumhuriyet Köşkü built for the April 20, 1862 visit of the Sultan Abdülaziz to Bursa fostering the designation of Bursa as model city after the earthquake of 1855. The *köşk* consisted of three structures built to fire-code.[32]

30 *Ibid*., 4, 26.

31 A list of Catholic Armenian bishops of Bursa in the nineteenth century: Gregorio Bahadur (appointed 1850-died 1857), Pierre Tilkian (appointed 1858-died 1885), Pascal Giamgian (appointed 1886-died 1916).

32 St. Laurent, "Ottoman Power," 223 and fn. 48 documents the visit by the sultan. The pavilion was built very near that of his predecessor Abdülmecid earlier in the century.

Figure 6: Ipekcilik Caddesi with the entrance to the Armenian Protestant Church on the right and new houses of the elite merchant class of Bursa on the left, 1894. Photo: Sébah & Joaillier Collection of the Société de Géographie, Cartes et Plans, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (previously published in St. Laurent "Un amateur," 104).

The Protestant Church (Figure 6)

Though there was an earlier wooden Armenian church that did not survive, there were once two Armenian churches identified as the Armenian Protestant and Armenian Catholic churches dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Protestant church was located on Ipekçilik Caddesi south of and near the Setbaşı Köprüsü or Bridge. It was on the right side of the street of the multi-ethnic Muslim and Armenian neighborhood of silk factory owners. The Protestant church was actually the Church of the American Board of Foreign Missions and part of a larger complex including a school. There was a 'chapel' and school in a house (perhaps the wooden church mentioned by the traveler to Bursa) that burned down on July 2, 1854. It was rebuilt to fire code in brick, was partially destroyed in the February 1855 earthquake and completely destroyed in the April aftershock. It was not rebuilt and was replaced later with a secular school. All that remained in the 1890's was the entrance marked by a cross and visible in late nineteenth century photographs (figure 6).

The Catholic Church (Figure 5)

The 'Catholic' church was and still is located just north and east of the main east to west street Namazgah Caddesi not far from Yeşil Medrese. The building was in an eighteenth-century house transferred to the Ar-

Figure 7: French Church of the Filles de la Charité near Setbaşı **Mahalles**i. Photo: St. Laurent, 1982.

menian Catholics in 1831, so in an area of the Armenian neighborhood that survived the fire. The church has a basilican plan built on an east-west axis–much the same as the Greek Orthodox church in Demirkapı Mahallesi. Its entrance is from the west and the apse and narthex are still in situ. Since 1923, it has been used as a tobacco warehouse and is presently abandoned.[33] In 2016, it was up for sale for 1.5 million dollars from a private owner and more recently in January 2021 is offered at $800,000. Since it was registered as an historic monument in 1986 it may or may not be protected by UNESCO as a Heritage site since 2014 (a project that requested my advisement by Giora Solar who led the UNESCO/ICOMOS team). The current owners are the descendants of the tobacconist Salih Kiracıbaşı (president of Buraspor football club).

The French Church: Foreigners in Bursa (Figures 5&7)

Another church remains in Bursa to be discussed. The French Church on Rakim Caddesi located on the hill on the west side of the Gökdere River in the then still quite undeveloped northern part of the city close to the new elite neighborhood of Setbaşı. Of interest is that the church was not built in the renewed Setbaşı neighborhood where many of the foreigners resided during this time. It was sponsored and built by the Filles de la Charité of the

33 See St. Laurent *Ottomanization*, 63-64 for both churches and 106 for the 2 fires of 1854 and 1863 that ravaged the Armenian neighborhood. See also "18th century Armenian church on sale in Turkey." *Anadolu Agency (AA)* 25-02-2016. M. Devaux of the Banque Impériale in Istanbul was the sponsor of the French church (St. Laurent 1989, 156 and fn. 63). I have never discovered the name of the church.

order of Lazaristes who had been in Bursa since 1857 or 1858. The church was completed on August 11, 1880 funded by M. Devaux of the Banque Ottomane in Istanbul. It served the Levantine community resident in the city. The church was of stucco-covered fired brick with a wood roof covered with Marseille terracotta tiles rather than the locally produced variety. The centrally planned church includes a large polygonal apse with a small bell tower dominating the entrance and its style is decidedly European Neo-Gothic with pointed arched windows. The main part of the building was flanked at each corner by a buttress like mini tower. On the interior a large oval dome covers the nave and the dome pendentives contained paintings of the Evangelists. There was also a school associated with the church.[34]

While the church remained minimally active until 1948, it closed and was briefly used as a warehouse.[35] In the early 1980's while I was in Bursa the church was closed, abandoned and in poor condition. The church has since reopened between 2002 and 2004, and been restored and the interior dome repainted. It does not seem that the paintings of the Evangelists survive to today. It is now the 'French Church Cultural Center' of Bursa serving four different congregations – Latin Catholic, German Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and Protestant. There was an order in 2016 to close the church but that order has been rescinded.[36] The church is the only one that survives in the city maintaining a religious function.

The churches of Bursa represented both communities long resident in Anatolia – Greek and Armenian – and foreigners who moved to the region usually for business or missionary purposes. While those communities changed population through time their religious monuments remained in use but probably changing their liturgy in some cases. For the Greeks, the establishment of the Republic in 1922 resulted in the forced migration of Greeks out of the Republic to Greece in the Exchange of Populations in 1923. At that time, the churches were abandoned to secular purposes and now are in the process of destruction through abandonment. While one Armenian church was destroyed by the mid-nineteenth century, the devastating forced migration of the early twentieth century left the second abandoned and used for industrial purposes and remains as a shell in private ownership. The French church remains and has been restored to functionality.

The Jewish Community: Kuruçeşme, Yahudi Mahallesi, Yahudilik (Figure 8)

Anatolia was a well-established pluralistic society long before the arrival of the Ottomans and there were Jewish communities in over fifty Anatolian cities that began in the sixth century BCE. With the Ottoman conquest the Jews fled the city but returned at the invitation of Orhan. The Jewish community and neighborhood of was *Kuruçeşme Mahallesi* also known as *Yahudi Mahallesi* and *Yahudilik* (Jewry) in the late nineteenth century centered on Arap Şukru Caddesi just off of Altıparmak Caddesi today located at the northern base of the *Hisar*. The Jewish settlement of Anatolia was recorded by 79 BCE.[37] The community was well established in the four-

34 See St. Laurent *Ottomanization*, 63-64 for the church and 106 for the 2 fires of 1854 and 1863 that ravaged the Armenian neighborhood. M. Devaux of the Banque Impériale in Istanbul was the sponsor of the French church, St. Laurent *Ottomanization*, 156 and fn. 63. I have never discovered the name of the church.

35 St. Laurent, *Ottomanization*,155-156;1994, 225 ff. In a conversation with French historian Robert Mantran, I learned that he had visited the church in 1948.

36 "Turkey backs down on closing Bursa's only church." *World Watch Monitor,* February 24, 2016.

37 For a summary of the history of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire, see Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire,* 2, 1 (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982); see also Paul R. Trebilco *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982), 7. For early Jewish settlement of Bursa, see Avram Galante, *Histoire des Juifs d'Anatolie,* II (Istanbul: Isis Yayımcılık, 1985) [first published 1940], 157, 195. The *Tahrir defterleri* and the travelers call it *Kürüçeşme* Mahallesi; the plan of Suphi Bey head of the *Erkan-i Harbiye* team of engineers in 1858 prepared for publication by 1861-1862 has no name attached to the neighborhood; the plan of 1889 from the *Hüdavendigâr Salnamesi* of 1889 identifies the neighborhood as *Yahudi Mahallesi*; the plan from the *Hüdavendigâr Salnamesi* of 1907 does not cite any name.

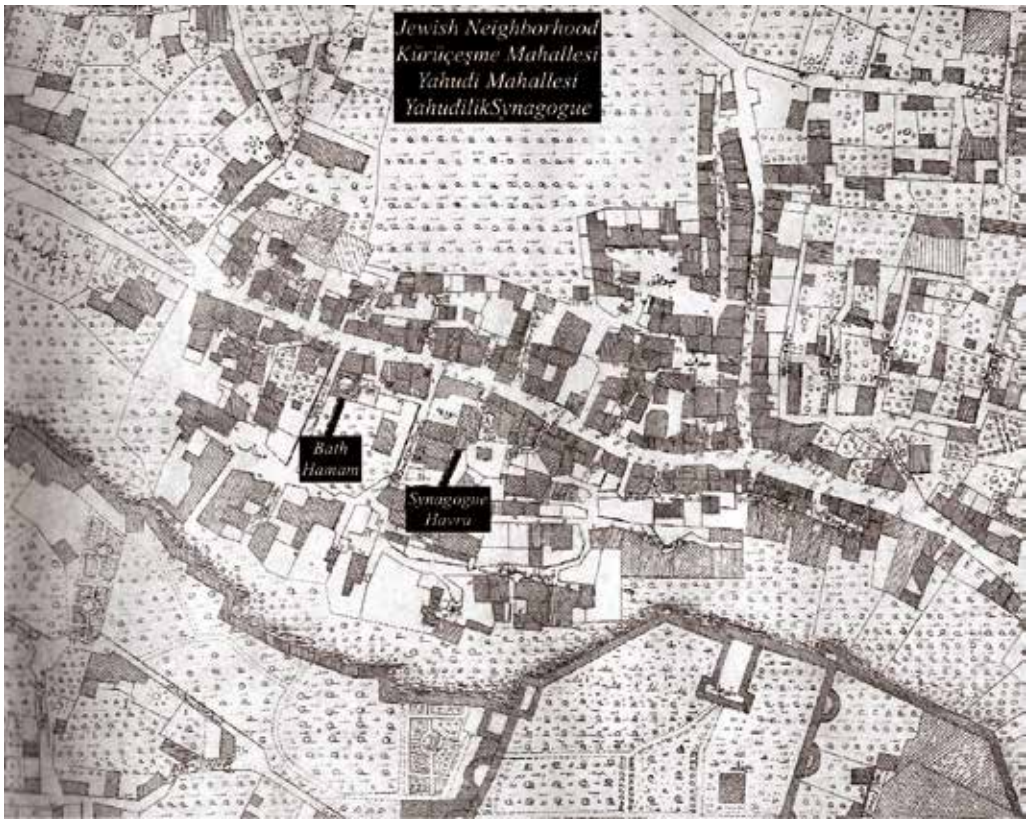

Figure 8 : Yahudi Mahallesi, Yahudilik, Kürüçeşme Mahallesi – Jewish Neighborhood with the hamam and one synagogue indicated on the 1962 plan of Suphi Bey.

teenth century and remains focused on Arap Şükrü caddesi.

The fourteenth century community Romaniot Jews (as local Greek-speaking Jews were known in the Byzantine period). Orhan was said to have resettled additional Jews in Bursa.[38] With the conquests of Istanbul, Edirne and Salonica the Jewish population grew exponentially throughout the Empire. The population of Bursa grew in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries with the migration of the Sephardic Ladino speaking exiles expelled in the Inquisition from Spain, along with French, Italian and German Jews expanding the size of the community. Along with the Armenians and Greeks, Mehmed II resettled some of these communities in Istanbul.[39] Jews were called *Yahudiyan* in the 1523 Tahrir Defter "*an mahalle-i Kuruçeşme Yahudian*" with 117 households.[40] The population fluctuated between 1520 and 1697, reflecting the growth in general in the

38 Hasibe Tuna, *Social, Cultural and Economic Situation of the Jews in Bursa during the 'Tanzimat' Period,* Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2013, 9 fn. 25.

39 Mark Allan Epstein, *The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980), 101-102.

40 For the Sephardic community in general, see Ester Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, XIVth-XXth centuries* (Berkeley, and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993); see also Mark. A. Epstein, *The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1980); see also Aryeh Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal and Social Relations as Reflected in the Respons,* (Leiden: Brill, 1984); for additional sources, see Tuna, *Social, Cultural*, 10 fns. 27, 28 and

Empire.[41] After the Tanzimat initiation of the census in 1831, the numbers fluctuated a bit but varied between 2,000 to 2,800 in 1886.[42] Later population numbers are, before World War I, 3,500; dropped to 1,865 in 1927 due to migration to South America; in 1939, rose to 2,400; dropped after a migration to Israel in 1948; by 1969 350-400 remained; by 1977 dwindled to 192, in 1997 about 100.[43]

The respective Jewish communities or *kehillah* clustered residentially around their synagogues and there were four major groups or *Cemaat*: *Mayer, Firoz, Giroz and Kadiz,* specified in the registers with their own internal governance. Each community used differing words for synagogue (*havra* as it appears on city plans) and yet another appears in the registers and the synagogue was the center for community governance and functioned as a social service center, not dissimilar to the role of the *imaret* or *külliye* of the Muslim community.[44]

The rites of each community were distinct, and all had a centrally placed Ark–Sephardic: *hekhal* (Heb. ה֫כַל† "palace"), 'Ashkenazi' *aron kodesh* that contained the *Torah* sometimes elevated slightly and facing Jerusalem.[45] Synagogues consisted of the same physical components though often referred to by different names in different communities. All had a pulpit from which the Torah was read – *bimah* by eastern Ashkenazim, *almemmar* by Central and Western Ashkenazim and *tevah* by Sephardim. And prayer areas were separate for men and women, sometimes including a second level for the women. Most had ritual baths or *mikvah*s or fountains set in their courtyards.

There were originally three synagogues in the neighborhood.[46] Synagogues were built to Ottoman code and could be no higher than mosques and new synagogues were not allowed until the Tanzimat. Until that time, only older synagogues could be repaired. Jews were allowed to build synagogues on the foundations of old houses and not restricted strictly to Islamic laws concerning religious property.[47] The fire of 1801 destroyed the three synagogues and they made application for 'repair' to the *qadi* court. The earthquake of 1855 also disastrously affected the neighborhood.[48]

Etz Chayyim

The oldest synagogue the *Etz (or Ez) Chayyim* (Tree of Life), was on Arap Şükrü Caddesi, was that of the Romaniot community and its repair dates from the fourteenth century during the reign of Orhan and his brother Alaettin. And there was a *vakf* established at the time of a water channel from Pınarbaşı south of the *Hisar* supplying the synagogue. The building materials were those of stone and brick common to the region and had a timber roof, had a small lower *tevah* or *bima* with a circular enclosure for the Ark and an upper *tevah*. It was used for 600

30. Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 37 lists the population of Jews between 1530 and 1701–going from 345 to 2,000. Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa*, 7, cites the *defter.*

41 Walter Weiker, *Ottomans, Turks and the Jewish Polity: A History of the Jews of Turkey.* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America/Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 1992, 43. Tuna, *Social, Cultural*, 14.

42 Tuna, *Social, Cultural*, 20-24.

43 St. Laurent, *Ottomanization*, 84 fns.11 &12; 1994 210. Lowry, the 1523 *tahrir* defter places the Jewish community in this *mahalle.* Erdem Kabadayı's study "Working for the State in the Urban Economies of Ankara, Bursa and Salonica: From Empire to Natiion State, 1840s-1940s." *International Journal of Social History* 61 [Special Issue S24 "Conquerors, Employers and Arbiters: States and Shifts in Labour Relations 1500-2000"], December 2016, 213-241, suggests a more stable population of Jews remained in the city between 1840 and 1940 and did not demonstrate parallel vacating of the Christian sectors.

44 Tuna, *Social, Cultural*, 32, fn. 133, 33-37.

45 Ibid., 38. See Tuna also for further bibliography.

46 Galante, *Histoire des Juifs*, IV, 164.

47 *Ibid*., 38-41.

48 Kazım Baykal, *Tarihte Bursa Yanginlari*, (Bursa, 1950, reprinted 1982), 34-37.

years but in 1940 was destroyed by a fire.[49]

Gerush

The second was the Gerush (cast out or exiled) located today at 59 Arap Şükrü Caddesi was built by Sephardic Jews expelled from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century and were designated *Cemaat-ı Ciroz* (community of exiles) in the 1573 *Defter*. The *torah*s placed in the center in the *ehal* or ark came from Spain with the Sephardic expulsion and migration. It was built under Sultan Beyazid II.[50]

The building is of ashlar stone construction, the plan is rectangular, has an arched central entrance, stained glass windows and two pulpits or *tevot*.[51] Seating in the main space for 100-150 people is along the side walls with a circular space in the middle for the Ark and surrounding the raised *tevah* or *bema*. That space is encircled by columns, the columns supporting a central elliptical dome. There is a second *tevah* on the second level – a very unusual feature – that survives from the *Etz Chayyim* Synagogue and moved to the Gerush circa 1950. The *azara* or women's space seating sixty or seventy women is on the upper right side and accessed from outside. Spanish inspired 'Moorish' décor adorns the interior of the dome. [52]

An inscription on either side of the synagogue's prayer hall is dated to 1872, possibly the date of the building's restoration after the earthquake of 1855. The synagogue was said to have been restored by Léon Parvillée after the 1855 earthquake along with Yeşil Cami and Türbe and other major buildings in the city.[53] I visited this synagogue in 1982 and had to fetch the key from a resident who lived on the street. It remains the only active synagogue in the city.

Mayor

The third synagogue is Mayor, also on Arap Şükrü Caddesi, and was established in the fifteenth century by Ladino speaking Spanish exiles from Majorca who settled within the city. This community is referred to in the 1573 *defter* as *Cemaat-i Mayer* and the name may derive from the island of Majorca–their place of origin. The rectangularly planned building has eight columns surrounding the raised oval or elliptical core or *tevah* of the structure holding Torahs. Stairs lead up over the entrance to a second level and the seating capacity was for 100-150 people.[54] The building no doubt was repaired after the fire of 1801 and there are records of repair after the earthquake of 1855.[55] The synagogue was in regular usage until 1975, when it was closed for services due to financial difficulties. According to one report, it is still used for special events and washing of the dead but since 2003 remains in danger of destruction.

49 Kaplanoğlu, *Bursa Anıtları*, 125. See also Tuna, *Social, Cultural*, 43, fn. 189 for additional bibliography.

50 The best study is Tuna that brings together much of the previous research on this synagogue. Included are many photographs 136-140.

51 For a plan of the building see Inci Türkoğlu, "Bursa Sinagogları," *Bursa'da Yaşam Dergisi* (May 2004), 162.

52 See also Abraamian 2018 for updated bibliography on the Gerush Synagogue.

53 Naim Güleryüz and Izzet Keribar, *The Synagogues of Turkey: The Synagogues of Thrace and Anatolia* Istanbul Volume 2 (Mitrani-Alok Productions, Ana Bas*ım Evi, 1992)*, is the best source for this building. See also the extensive description and listing of sources in Tuna, *Social, Cultural,* 43-45. For Léon Parvillée's role in Bursa, see St. Laurent, "Léon Parvillée. His Role as Restorer of Bursa's Monuments after the 1855 Earthquake and his Contribution to the Exposition Universelle." In *L'Empire ottoman, la Républiqe de Turquie et de la France,* Varia Turcica III, (Istanbul and Paris: Editions ISIS,1986), 247-282.

54 Güleryüz, *The Synagogues*" includes a plan of the building. See also Ersin Alok and Mili Mitrani, *Anatolian Synagogues,* (Istanbul: Mitrani-Alok Productions, Ana Bas*ım Evi, 1992),* 87. The latter includes photos of the synagogue, 86-94.

55 Tuna, *Social, Cultural*, 46. This is also the best source of summary information on the synagogue.

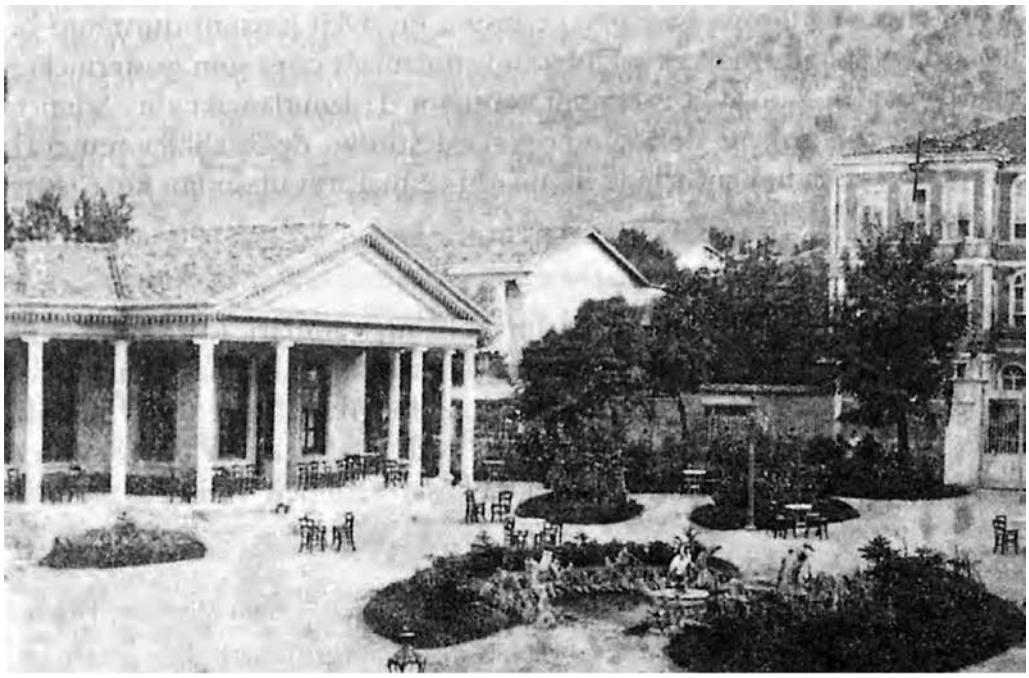

Figure 9: Hükümet Konağı or Governor's 'palace' to the right and Ahmet Vefık Paşa Theater on the left–photo taken from near the Post Office. Photo: Abdülhamid Albums in Istanbul University Library (Previously published by St. Laurent "Ottoman Power," 213).

While there was very early in first the *beylik* and later the early Ottoman Empire a well-established Jewish community, the three synagogues of Bursa were established in a period of substantial growth and migration from outside the Empire. The fourteenth century *Etz Chayyim* served the resident well-established community of Romaniot Jews. The second and third, the *Gerush* and *Mayor*, date from the late fifteenth early sixteenth arrival of different groups of Jews, one a mixed group of Spanish, Italian and Germans exiled from Europe and one specifically from Majorca. As long as the community expanded and developed, all three synagogues were in use and maintained. That is demonstrated by the documented nineteenth century repairs. As the community dwindled after the establishment of the Republic in 1922 due to migrations elsewhere, there was no longer a need to maintain three synagogues. The synagogues never lost their original function dedicated to Jewish ritual practice.

Tanzimat Bursa

For this time period, it is significant methodologically for this study to examine all aspects of changing use of religious *evkaf* (endowments) property during the Tanzimat. The Ministry of Foundations *Evkaf-i Hümāyun Nezāreti* that managed the *waqf/vakf* endowment financed and owned properties established by the mid-nineteenth century. These also affected Muslim religious property that was made available for sale during the Tanzimat.[56]

56 St. Laurent, *Ottomanization,* 29-32, discusses the transfer of judicial, educational and cultural administration to new secular ministries and limiting the *ulema* to interpreting canon laws or *şeriat.* The land Law *Arazi Kanunnamesi* of 1858 effectively shifted control of property and revenues to the state.

Hükümet Konağı: government administrative center (Figure 9)

A good example to begin this discussion is the *Hükumet Konağı* or *valı konağı* or government or governor's mansion planned and built by the governor of the province Ahmet Vefik Paşa and identified on the 1889 *Salname* plan as *Hükümet Dairesi* (Department). The land was bought in 1860 and the *konak* was built in 1863, on a *vakf* (endowment) supported property of a Mevlevi *tekke* in the eastern central part of the city where the brand-new wide road designated as *Yeni Yolu* on one plan, and later – Gemlik Caddesi – ended in the center of the city.

The building was in a decidedly new Neo-Classical Europeanized style utilized for secular monuments appearing all over the city and Empire at the time. It combines the decorative features of European Neoclassicism and earlier Ottoman classicism with the plan of the Ottoman *konak* or large manor house. The first floor was dedicated to *qadi* or legal services and the second floor was the residence of the governor. The building was destroyed by fire on 8 July 1920, during the capture of Bursa by the Greeks during the Greco-Turkish War. The building was replaced by 1925 with a new Republican government center, which survives until today.[57]

Post Office and Theater

Across the street from the from the *Hükümet Konağı* and no doubt within the boundaries of the same *vakf* property was the new theater of Ahmet Vefik Paşa (Figure 9) and a Post Office. This was essentially a new civic and cultural center of the city, which incuded an outdoor cafe. The theater was clearly in a French European classicizing style tailored to Vefik Paşa's Turkish Molière productions and the Post Office located northwest of the theater was in an exposed fired brick and timber style that appears elsewhere in Bursa at the time. The Post Office was built circa 1879 and burned down in 1920.[58]

Belediye City Hall (Figure 10)

A second example is the *Belediye* or city hall built in 1879, which was a new secular structure built on religious *vakf* property of the *madrasa* (medrese or school) and *khanqah* (hospice for Sufis) included in the fourteenth century complex of Orhan, now next door to the mosque. The two-story building crowned by a circular lantern tower was designed by a local architect from nearby Kütahya. The design incorporated the construction methods and building type of the Ottoman *konak,* adhering to the materials of new firecode of baked brick with wooden beam construction, with the addition of new Neo-Ottoman/ Ottoman Revival decorative details from the eighteenth-century Ottoman Baroque era. This building survives as probably the first exemplar of the Ottoman Revival architectural style in Turkey.[59]

Banque Impériale Ottomane–Osmanlı Bankası (Figure 11)

Next door to the *Belediye* and no doubt built on the same *vakf* property was the Banque Impériale Ottomane or *Osmanlı Bankısı* clearly identified in the stone inscription in French above the second-floor window above

57 For the *hükumet konağı*, see St. Laurent, *Ottomanization*, 110 fn. 15; 1991, 106; 1994, 239.

58 St. Laurent, "Un Amateur," 109-111; "Ottomanization," 113-114. Vefik Paşa also built a theater at the site. The building functioned as a theater only until 1882, served as a school, and when the Greeks captured Bursa in 1920, the theater burned to the ground. For an illustration of the Post office see St. Laurent "Un amateur," 110 ill. 10.

59 Kuran "A Spatial Study," 115-116 discusses the complex and remains and indicates that the soup kitchen still existed in the 1950s; St. Laurent "Ottomanization, 33 and fn. 25, 56ff., 105 for Gemlik Caddesi; "Un amateur,' 104 ill. 6, 106. In the same district he built a 'modern' theater and post office, St. Laurent 'Un amateur," 110 ill. 10. For the *belediye* see St. Laurent "Ottomanization," 114-117; "Un amateur," 111, 110 ill. 9; 1994, 219-220.

Figure 11: Banque Impériale Ottomane–Osmanlı Bankası (now destroyed). Photo: St. Laurent, 1982.

the central door. The bank branch initially opened in 1875 in *İpek* (silk) *han* but later moved to the new building during the latter part of Abdülhamid II's reign. Since it appears on the 1889 *Salname* plan, the bank was built sometime between 1875 and 1889. The two-story building consisting of a ground floor and upper main floor is in a decidedly Ottoman Revival style popular in the nineteenth century. The bank was destroyed in August 1983 in the path of urban modernization.[60]

French Consulate in Muradiye

Another already mentioned building constructed on *vakf* property which was previously a *mescid* is the French Consulate in the Muradiye District probably built in the same period around 1879. The building is of the same construction methods as the Post Office, and the Belediye in the center of town. Outside of the building constructed to nineteenth century firecode is a fountain or *çeşme* dated 1837, marking the plot of vacant land, which was previously a *mescid*.[61] So, thus began a period of the sale and conversion of religious Muslim property both to Ottoman citizenry and foreigners given over to secular monuments of the period all over the city.[62]

60 St. Laurent, "Ottoman Power," 227. Baykal *Bursa ve*, 44-45 indicates that it functioned as the French Consulate. See also Christopher Clay, "State Borrowing and the Ottoman Imperial Bank in the Bankruptcy Era (1863-1877)." In *East Meets West: Banking, Commerce, and Investment in the Ottoman Empire,* edited by I. L. Fraser, M. Pohle, and P. L. Contrell, 109-123 (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008).

61 St. Laurent *Ottomanization*, 117 fn. 28; "Ottoman Power," 222. Judging from the wall construction, the fountain and the consulate were not built at the same time.

62 A new orphanage was added by the American Board of Foreign Missions in 1883, in the upper region of Setbaşı in the factory district. The site was noted earlier on Suphi Bey's 1862 plan as *kilise vakfı*–church *vakf*. So, in this case keeping the endowment property with the religious designation. The orphanage survived through the 1990s and was operated by the Turkish government, St. Laurent 1994, 224).

I would like to end on a lighter related note. There is an anecdotal story of the governor of Bursa Ahmet Vefik Paşa's enlargement of the road to Çekirge to the west of Bursa providing easier access to it from the city no doubt to facilitate access to the *kaplıcalar* or baths both for locals and foreign tourists. In the path of straightening the road there was the impediment of a Sufi Shaykh's tomb. Supposedly, Vefik Paşa brought notables with him to the tomb and told *Yuruyen dede* (The Shaykh who Walked) to walk. He put his ear to the tomb and said that the Shaykh had no desire to remain buried and walked away. The saint was re-interred in Pınarbaşı cemetery and tomb soon after demolished and Ahmet Vefik Paşa 'managed' the situation to his advantage.[63] So, it was not just Christian and Jewish monuments that were altered or destroyed but also Muslim ones that gave way in the path of modernization and secularization in Bursa.

Conclusion

From the fourteenth-century Beylik and Early Ottoman Period through the early twentieth century, the city of Bursa and its architectural monuments reflected the multi-religious origin of its population and its transformation through time. Factors effecting change were due to population movement for a variety of both positive and negative reasons, political shifts in power, and a variety of economic developments in the city. The process was one of Ottomanization of earlier Byzantine controlled urban centers.

In the early formative periods, geographical conquest enlarging the Empire brought new people with differing religious backgrounds to an already well-established city that was strongly Christian with a longstanding Jewish population and adding a large Muslim population. Political goals dictated the movement of populations from region to region with the goal being to effectively balance political reactions to conquest. Additionally, political crises outside of the Empire in Spain greatly enlarged the Jewish population. The economic transformation from a silk-trading center with a resident foreign population shifted to a city of silk production reliant on a different local and foreign resident population. An already 'blended' society both multi-ethnic and multi-religious became even more so in the early and late Empire.

The effect on religious monumental architecture was evident in the transformation of the city center of the Hisar from Christian to Muslim transforming Christian buildings to new Muslim purposes and building new Muslim centers of worship and education. Christian populations clustered in the east and west of the city and fostered the building of new churches in those areas, added to by royal Ottoman *külliyes* and their attendant social service institutions throughout the city. The Jewish neighborhood remained in the same location at the base of the *Hisar* and the growth of population led to the building of three synagogues.

The Late Ottoman period brought the secularization of Ottoman institutions including new purposes of land acquisition. Previously religious land was given over to new secular institutions of governance and societal support. It is the period of 'Neo-Ottomanization' filling the city with new civic and educational buildings such as secular schools instead of *medrese*s and a city hall and a bank, the latter heavily dependent on foreign financial support and a civic cultural center with a theater, post office and outdoor café. The silk industry brought new

63 St. Laurent, "Un amateur," 105.

factory types and new Christian churches and schools including those of foreign missionaries.

Political events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries including the Greco-Turkish War of 1920-1922, the formation of the Republic in 1923, truly changed the function of religious monuments in the Christian sections of the city but not so much in the Muslim and Jewish neighborhoods. The Greek-Turkish exchange of populations and the tragic movement of Armenians led to the abandonment of churches and their transformation to mainly secular purposes tied to the silk and tobacco industries. The Greek-speaking population left for Greece and the Turkish speaking population left Greece for Turkey – all in the path of Greek and Turkish nationalism.

I have been away from Bursa for quite some time and working on the Ottoman transformation of the Dome of the Rock and the monuments of the Haram al-Sharīf of Jerusalem in *Bilād al-Shām* between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries now for thirty years. I (with my now deceased colleague Isam Awwad Chief Architect and Conservator of the Haram monuments) am currently completing a book on the early seventh century Arab settlement of greater *Bilad al-Shām* and attendant monumental construction notably on the Haram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem. The multi-tribal Arabs who came to the region governed from the beginnings of Islam according to tribal identity and principles, with egalitarian relationships with the 'non-Muslim' communities under their control. To stem political strife, there was early on a political movement of the Byzantine Christian, Jewish, Samaritan and Persian Zoroastrian populations. So, the Ottomans only continued a long-established practice that was rooted in tribal culture and tribal identity from the beginnings of Islam in the path of creating and modifying their Empire into the Turkish Republic.

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https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=58TjST2K9ug&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=12

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2NzZUtr-85Mo&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=12

CHAPTER 5

HAGIA SOPHIA: APPLICATION OF NATIONAL LEGISLATION AND INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

The Hagia Sophia and the Republic of Turkey's International Obligations

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Abstract

Turkey's 2020 action to allow for Muslim prayer in the Hagia Sophia, a museum protected under the World Heritage Convention, seemingly contravenes a number of international obligations for the state. In this article, I shall examine two important international treaties relating to the protection of cultural space, the World Heritage Convention and the International Covenant on Social Economic and Cultural Rights, both of which have been ratified and relied upon by Turkey in the past. The article shall provide an overview of the responsibilities arising from these treaties as well as the problems involved in invoking some form of protection mechanism for sites like the Hagia Sophia, especially when a state alters its obligations to protect or preserve a particularly important cultural heritage site.

Introduction

Following a Turkish court decision that revoked the Hagia Sophia's status as a museum, President Erdogan issued a decree that the site be open for Muslim prayer. The action of the Republic of Turkey (Turkey) is perceived as still preserving the Hagia Sophia as a venue for visitors, declaring it to be a working mosque open to outsiders. More pointedly, Presidential spokesman Ibrahim Kalin noted that the World Heritage status of the Hagia Sophia would not be diminished in any way.

The most pressing concern relates to the significant change in the nature of the site (from a museum to a working place of worship) along with additional concerns that center on the status of the medieval mosaics that depict the Holy Family and portraits of imperial Christian emperors (presumably a problem for a mosque). Another key concern is the fact that parts of the building will be closed off to non-Muslims.

The Hagia Sophia incident presents a number of rather intriguing questions including - to what extent might a state act to preserve its own (perceived) cultural heritage and (perceived) identity in the face of a past where such identity was denied? Indeed, how might one go about allowing a state some form of autonomy in identifying and defining cultural heritage when that results in evisceration or ignoring pre-existing views of cultural heritage? What about the changing nature of cultural heritage within a state, such as in Turkey's move from a Kemalist

secular state to one of Erdogan's AKP religious oriented society (reflecting the overall shift in the world concerning the status of religion in society)? And how might one account for the minority views of cultural heritage, especially when these views were accepted and even entrenched (at least regarding the Hagia Sofia given its status under the WHC)?

In this paper, the focus shall be on Turkey's international obligations stemming principally from treaty law, including the World Heritage Convention under which the Hagia Sophia was included as a protected area in the Historic Areas of Istanbul since 1985 and the International Covenant on Cultural Social and Economic Rights that Turkey ratified in 2003.

Cultural Heritage Protection and International Law

World Heritage Convention (WHC)

While culture per se as a human right is a somewhat open-ended idea whose parameters and obligations are not clearly delineated,[1] the notion of cultural heritage protection in the international sphere is rather entrenched.[2]

The typical example demonstrating the entrenched intention of states to internationally protect cultural heritage is the 1972 WHC.

The WHC defines cultural heritage at Article 1 as including "monuments...which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science." The WHC's *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*[3] also includes objects that maintain an exceptional cultural significance in a manner that transcends national boundaries given its importance for present and future generations of all humanity. Additionally, Article 6 of the WHC provides that State parties are to give their help in the identification, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage and (along with the international community) is obliged to protect, conserve, and publicly present such sites using its maximum resources.[4] This broad form view of cultural heritage by the WHC is important since it seems that Erdogan does care about cultural heritage protection, despite his nationalist tendencies.[5]

The important operative point however is that placement on the WHC's World Heritage List opens the door to allowing for international opinion and focus (along with the latter raising concerns about a particular site) even though the state is afforded some latitude with regard to a listed site. That is, once a state consents to having

1 Halina Niec, *Cultural Rights: At the End of the World Decade for Cultural Development in Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development* (UNESCO 1998) CLT-98/Conf.210/Ref.2, at 4

2 Lyndell Prott, "Cultural Rights as Peoples Rights in International Law 93," in *The Rights of People*, ed. James Crawford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

3 *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, UNESCO, WHC.05/2 (Feb. 5, 2005).

4 Abdulqawi Yusuf. "Definition of Cultural Heritage," in *The 1972 World Heritage Convention: A Commentary*, ed. Francesco Francioni (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 33-35.

5 See e.g., Markus Dressler, "Interpreting the Desecularisation of the Hagia Sophia: Islamisation, neo-Ottomanism, antiImperialism or Preservation of Cultural Heritage?" *Multiple Secularities*, July 26, 2020, https://www.multiple-secularities.de/bulletin/interpreting-the-desecularisation-of-the-hagia-sophia-islamisation-neo-ottomanism-anti-imperialism-or-preservation-of-cultural-heritage/?filter2=all.

a site placed on the list, it is clear that the state consents to submit to necessary international oversight as well,[6] such that a listed site falls into the purview of cultural heritage protection that extends beyond just Turkey's own internal aspirations or policies.

Since 1985, the Historic Area of Istanbul was protected cultural heritage property (including the Hagia Sophia) in a manner that merited different forms of action and engagement by the state given its status as a world heritage site. Part of criterion for the historic Istanbul (as listed by Turkey) included:

criterion ii "...Hagia Sophia became a model for an entire family of churches and later mosques" and is described by Turkey in a 2013 report as the "Justinian churches of Hagia Sophia".[7]

The WHC can, of course, request the state to abide by the Convention, and can also turn the matter into an international "affair" by petitioning the United Nations General Assembly for assistance and "persuasive" censure. In the interim, in the case of the Hagia Sophia, ICOMOS has raised serious concerns, in particular about access and conservation efforts at the site.[8]

Given the above, it would seem that at the very least Turkey is obligated in good faith to engage in proper protection of the site, publicly allow for access to the site in a manner that alerting its status (from a museum to a mosque) does not impact on its WHC listing capacity. This is especially the case when factoring in that Turkey itself recognized the international importance of the site and the area since 1985, such that any unilateral action should have been conducted with the consent of the WHC as a representative of the international community concerning cultural heritage.

Note further that while the WHC issues periodic reports based on information submitted by states, providing a forum for dialogue with the states, the WHC lacks ability to actually enforce its declarations or recommendations in any substantive manner. Yet, again, listing does potentially provide a justification for external oversight and participation by international bodies like ICOMOS. UNESCO for example sent experts on October 5-9, 2020 for review, with their report towards assessing the actual impact to be discussed in June, 2021 at the WHC meeting.

This is especially important when recognizing the WHC as an international treaty to which Turkey is bound to abide by, pursuant to its intentions when including the Hagia Sophia as a listed site. Indeed, the WHC's Operational Guidelines include, for example, adequate long-term legislative and regulative protection and management schemes (including preventive care and risk preparedness), delineated boundaries, adequate protection at all governmental levels (national, municipal, and local), ensuring against undue development, and proper buffer zones as an added layer of protection. All of this suggests that Turkey was bound to uphold these elements and acted with intent to do so by listing the Hagia Sophia as part of the Historic Area of Istanbul. To make any chang-

6 Gionata Buzzini and Luigi Condorelli, "List of World Heritage in Danger and Deletion of a Property from the World Heritage List," in *The 1972 World Heritage Convention: A Commentary*, ed. Francesco Francioni. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 178-179.

7 2013 UNESCO report file:///Users/hammer/Downloads/mis356-nov2012.pdf

8 See "ICOM and ICOMOS Joint Statement on Hagia Sophia (Istanbul, Turkey)," International Council of Museums, July 15, 2020. https://icom.museum/en/news/icom-and-icomos-joint-statement-%E2%80%A8on-hagia-sophia-istanbul-turkey/.
Note too, the response of UNESCO where it stated its regret over Turkey's move to turn it into a mosque and requested dialogue with Turkey. UNESCO Statement of July 10, 2020.

es to the site as significant as a change in character or use, Turkey was actually obligated to notify UNESCO about the impending change and have the WHC review the request prior to making modifications.

Indeed, until 2019, Turkey was working with UNESCO and ICOMOS to actually reconstruct a madrasa that previously abutted the Hagia Sophia. Turkey deemed this all as part of a museum project, even leading to a statement that "The (Turkish) authorities are to be congratulated for the authenticity of the reconstruction, specifying materials and techniques to match the original work throughout the structure, whether visible or not; and the contractors for the quality of work so far".[9] Turkey to its credit was actually calling to implement pursuant to the management plan which the restoration of the madrasa in the end adhered to via a heritage impact statement.[10]

The upshot of this is that Turkey benefited from the WHC and its assistance,[11] engaged the WHC in an open manner, and even led the WHC to believe it was involved in above board restoration efforts. To then rotate and turn the Hagia Sophia into a functioning mosque raises issues of the good faith intentions of Turkey as a breach of its international obligations under a treaty, especially when considering the long duration by which it had been working with the WHC specifically in the area of the Hagia Sophia.

International Covenant on Social Economic and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

Article 15 of the ICESCR provides for the right of everyone to take part in cultural life.[12]

The Committee for Economic Social and Cultural Rights has interpreted this as a positive right that the state must provide for.[13] While there has not been much analysis of this article, the Committee on the Economic Social and Cultural Rights' Reporting Guidelines to assist states in understanding and reporting on Article 15 refer to taking part in cultural life as including, *inter alia*, the preservation and protection of mankind's cultural heritage.[14] ICESCR Article 15 includes protecting and preserving holy sites as well.[15] ICESCR General Comment 21 calls on states to establish programs that are aimed at preserving and restoring cultural heritage.[16]

9 file:///Users/hammer/Downloads/Ref12329_Report%20of%20the%202019%20WHC%20ICOMOS%20Advisory%20mission%20to%20Istanbul%20(002)%20(1).pdf at 33.

10 -file:///Users/hammer/Downloads/200170602%20-%20TR_Istanbul_Reactive%20Monitoring%20mission%20report%20Dec%202016_final%20version%20June%202017.pdf at 32-33. *See also* 2018 - Decision: 42 COM 7B.31
Historic Areas of Istanbul (Turkey).
Of note is the 2013 warning of danger to the Hagia Sophia in 2013 when work commenced on the madras section, "ICOMOS Turkey - Briefing on the Hagia Sophia Museum," Order of Saint Andrew the Apostle, June 2013. https://www.archons.org/-/icomos-turkey-briefing-on-the-hagia-sophia-museum. Yet in the end the WHC supported the work that had been done. file:///Users/hammer/Downloads/Ref12329_Report%20of%20the%202019%20WHC%20ICOMOS%20Advisory%20mission%20to%20Istanbul%20(002).pdf at 6-7.

11 It is worth noting that Turkey received international assistance to preserve the area of the amount of 80,000 in 1994: "Historic Areas of Istanbul - Restoration of the mosaics of Hagia-Sophia," International Assistance, UNESCO, December 16, 1994, https://whc.unesco.org/en/intassistance/2419; 50000 in 1998: "Conservation work of the mosaics at Hagia Sophia, Istanbul," International Assistance, UNESCO, December 5, 1998, https://whc.unesco.org/en/intassistance/1050; and 30000 in 2000: "Conservation work of the Mosaics at Hagia Sophia damaged by the Earthquake on 17 August 1999," International Assistance, UNESCO, July 9, 2000, https://whc.unesco.org/en/intassistance/1303.

12 ICESCR June 17, 1991, E/1991/23 at Article 15.

13 See e.g., *Concluding Observations for Eighth and Ninth Session*, E/1993/22, at paragraph 186 (emphasizing as well the duty to protect cultural heritage from vandalism or theft).

14 *Revised general guidelines regarding the form and contents of reports to be submitted by states parties under articles 16 and 17 of the ECSCR* E/C.12/1991/1 June 17, 1991 at paragraph 1(f).

15 Karima Bennoune, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights*, A/71/317 (2016), 11-13 (discussing the destruction of religious sites as an avenue for removing cultural heritage and maintaining state control over minority population groups).

16 UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, *General Comment no. 21, Right of everyone to take part in cultural life (Article 15, paragraph 1a of the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)* 2009, E/C.12/GC/21, available at: http://www.refworld.org/docid/4ed35bae2.html at paragraph 54(b)

More pointedly in Turkey's state report from 2011 regarding Article 15 it notes at paragraphs 641 and 642 that it desires to enhance and uphold diversity of cultures as well as protect cultural life and activities. Paragraph 647 of the report states that Turkey adopted the *UNESCO Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development*.[17] Of note is that a major component of the UNESCO Action Plan is that cultural policies are to uphold and are to respect cultural differences, at principle 9, as well as allow for broader access to culture.[18] Objective 3 of the UNESCO Action Plan also calls for safeguarding cultural heritage properties, including protecting buildings and acts of cultural values.[19]

Paragraph 654 of Turkey's 2011 state report provides that protection is an important component of its cultural policy.

Of note is the response of the CESCR given that in its Concluding Observations, the Committee states at paragraph 9 that there is an absence of protection against discrimination within the state, and at paragraph 10 an absence as well for the protection of minorities, such that the Committee is concerned about minority protection in the state.

While Article 15 is a rather open-ended obligation, it does encompass holy sites of merit, and does call on states to act in a fair and adequate manner when protecting the cultural heritage property of minorities. This would especially seem to be the case for a WHC protected site.

Conclusion

Despite internal changes within the state, be they due to nationalist impulses or broad-form desires to resurrect a bygone era of empire, the state itself is still bound by obligations towards cultural heritage protectio[20]especially when it not only acknowledged time and again the site as being worthy of international status and protection, but actually benefitted from such status over the years given the draw of tourists and financial support the state received to assist in preserving the listed sites. To act in a manner against a minority group with disregard for their cultural heritage space, a space that Turkey clearly recognized, runs contrary to Turkey's international obligations and stated intentions.

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17 "Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development," UNESCO, April 2, 1998, http://www.lacult.unesco.org/docc/1998_Action_Plan_Cultural_Policies_for_Dev_UNESCO.pdf

18 Affirmation 12 as well as Objective 2 – promote participation in cultural life on equal terms.

19 Objective 3, paragraph 7.

20 See e.g., 6080/06 *Ahunbay and Others v. Turkey* January 29, 2019 an inadmissible challenge where the ECHR understood international cultural property protection as incorporating the cultural rights of minorities and indigenous peoples to conserve, control, and protect their heritage.

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Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SVqsY9jHHgw&list=PLN7AHQGMKk-dCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=13

The Legal Infrastructure and Justifications of the Transformation of Places of Worship in Turkey

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Abstract

In my paper the legal infrastructure and justifications for the transformation of places of worship not only in our country (Turkey) but also in the world will be discussed with examples in addition to how it takes place in Turkey and in the nearby region as well as the current situation.

The issue of closing down and converting places of worship in Turkey should be treated with the assumption that the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 was a project for the creation of a new society and of new individuals constituting it. This project was initiated with the Imperial Edict of Reorganisation (*Tanzimat Fermanı*) of 1839, continued with the reform-like activities of the Committee of Union and Progress following the declaration of the Constitutional Era in 1908, and peaked with the proclamation of the Republic. Following the abolition of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, the new regime and its elites could now start building a new society and its individuals.

We must say that the Republic and its founders took the French Revolution as an example in creating this new society. It is important to mention that Ottoman sultans such as Selim III and Mahmud II followed the example of French military and bureaucratic establishments in particular, that members of the Committee of Union and Progress were deeply affected by the way of thinking brought along by the French Revolution and the leaders of the War of Independence continued to be influenced by France. For example, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was proficient in French and read the works of philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Auguste Comte in their original language. In addition, during the establishment of the Independence Tribunals, pioneer establishments in the dissolution of dervish lodges and monasteries (*zaviye*s), the National Assembly in Ankara wanted to call these tribunals Revolutionary Tribunals in reference to those established during the French Revolution.

A related concept for which the Republic took inspiration from the French Revolution is the concept of laicism (Greek *laikos*: non-religious). The new Republic chose to adopt the more radical practice of Laicism, a product of the French Revolution, instead of secularism (Latin *secularum*: wordly), a practice which is a more moderate version of laicism that originated in Britain.

Let us now take a glance at the path the Republic took to create new individuals. Primarily, this new individual was expected to be civilised, cultured, and in the words of the leader of the Republic, "to have reached the level of contemporary civilisations". To reach this level, a significant step was to be taken as in the example of France and individuals were to be secular, beyond the influences of religion and superstition and the state should be governed by adopting this basic principle. This practice adopted the method of the Jacobins, which would format, organise and shape society in a top-down manner. A number of "revolutionary" tools were used during the first years of the Republic to shape the society in such a top-down manner, in other words, to educate and modernise it.

Primarily, the Law on the Dissolution and Prohibition of Dervish Lodges and Monasteries, Inhibiting Tombs, Tomb Keepers and a Series of Titles dated 1925, the Law on the Abolition of the Caliphate and the Directorate of Foundations dated 1924, the Law on the Unity of Education (*Tevhīd-i Tedrīsāt Kanunu*) and finally the Law on the Maintenance of Order (*Takrir-i Sükūn Kanunu*) dated 1925, which gave way to the prosecution of the participants of the Sheikh Said Rebellion at the Independence Tribunals and the closure of lodges and *zaviye*s, were radical measures taken to decouple society from the influence of religion and laicise it (The Hat Law of 1925, which was annulled in 2004, may also be included among these measures, but we shall disregard it to not digress from the subject).

The new regime held the opinion that, in order to establish a top-down social order, some organisations inherited from the old regime of the Ottoman Empire should be liquidated. Among these, religious orders and the lodges and *zaviye*s in which they operated were at the forefront. Since they were centres of reactionism and superstition according to the new regime, which adopted a positivist way of thinking, it was not possible to tolerate these establishments. In addition, it was assumed that the religious orders had organised themselves in lodges and *zaviye*s in order to oppose the newly-founded Republic and therefore, constituted a potential threat. In fact, considering that the Islamic forces, which overthrew the Shah's regime in Iran, organised and prepared the Islamic revolution against the Shah's dictatorship in mosques, the Republic in the making was not wrong.

Talks at the National Assembly on the closure of lodges and *zaviye*s emphasised that these establishments harboured activities against the Republic and that these activities had the potential to be significant centres of opposition. Another justification for the closure of lodges and *zaviye*s was the fact that these establishments were centres of superstition.

To quote Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Kastamonu speech in 1925: "Gentlemen and the nation, know well that the Republic of Turkey cannot be a country of sheiks, dervishes, and disciples. The best, truest order is the order of civilisation. To be a man, it is enough to carry out the requirements of civilisation."

Prior to the declaration of the Law on the Dissolution of Dervish Lodges and Monasteries, with the Law on the Abolition of the Directorate of Foundations ratified on 3 March 1924, the state had all the mosques, masjids, lodges and *zaviye*s under its control. Meanwhile, the Independence Tribunal established in Ankara made decisions during the trials recommending the closure of lodges and *zaviye*s, which were assumed to be centres of Islamic politics. Subsequently, following the Sheikh Said Rebellion of 1925, the Independence Tribunal es-

tablished in the region started to shut down lodges and *zaviye*s based on the Law on the Maintenance of Order and on the grounds that these lodges and *zaviye*s were connected to the rebellion. The Independence Tribunal made an application to the relevant prosecutor's office on the basis that these lodges and *zaviye*s were "centres of malice and corruption" and that their members were deceiving people by adopting sacred titles.

The Law on the Dissolution of Lodges and Zaviyes was ratified on 30 November 1925 and took effect on 13 December 1925 upon being published in the Official Gazette. After the said law took effect, all religious orders were prohibited, lodges and *zaviye*s were closed down and their properties was confiscated. Moreover, using the titles of *dede*, *baba*, sheykh, dervish, caliph, etc., and performing gatherings and rituals of religious orders were prohibited. Since the process of closure was fulfilled in accordance with the Law on the Maintenance of Order, the process was executed by the gendarmerie and related reports were sent to the Independence Tribunal. By doing so, all assets of lodges and *zaviye*s came into the state's possession.

As their assets were confiscated by the state, the religious orders operating in those places were stripped of their economic potential, rendering them incapable of posing any political threat. Since that date, no lodge or *zaviye* has reopened, however a number of tombs belonging to Turkish elders and those possessing artistic value were allowed to reopen. As a result of heavy migration to the larger cities after 1950, the Alevite population concentrated in these cities began to conduct their worship at *Cemevi*s. Meanwhile, Sunni religious orders also resumed their activities at mosques. Governments have not only acquiesced to both branches of Islam carrying out worship, but they have further sought their political support during elections. This demand continues today and therefore constitutes a *de facto* situation.

In light of the situation summarised above, we hold the opinion that the new Republic was not very successful at managing the project of converting spaces and places of worship. I will end my speech with a quote by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk:

"No matter what happens, the lodges should be dissolved. The Republic of Turkey possesses power to provide guidance in every field. None of us are in need of any guidance by the lodges. The aim of lodges is to render the people mindless and foolish. Whereas the people have decided not to be mindless and foolish."

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VfwV1bwCF8Y&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=13

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SVqsY9jHHgw&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=13

Keynote Speech

Robert Langer
University of the German Federal Armed Forces
robert.langer@unibw.de

It is my pleasure to deliver a word of greeting and to express my sincere thanks for the organisation of this rich and important conference. This short speech will not be a keynote lecture, for which Professor Motika was assigned, but cannot participate because of health reasons. On behalf of the organisers, I wish him a speedy recovery! As a long-time collaborator, former research assistant and student of his, I was asked by Doğan Bermek to relate Professor Motika's work. You might find it inconvenient after such a long conference to have to listen to another lecture, so I will keep my concluding words brief.

It should be obvious that both Professor Motika as well as myself would have loved to cooperate in this event, however, his directorate of the Orient-Institut Istanbul ended in September last year, whereas I have been on leave from the institute since May last year for a deputy professorship at Munich.

Of course, I cannot substitute Professor Motika with his energy, broad knowledge, and wit. But I can make reference to him and to his work by referring to my own research, which was influenced and always supported by him. During our long period of cooperation, we also conducted research together.

In the course of this conference, we heard of narratives of real or alleged conversions, of forceful or more mild forms of converting places of worship from one faith to another, from antiquity up until the present times. There was a strong focus on Byzantine contexts, most importantly the most recent example of Aya Sofya, the Byzantine church that became a mosque in the fifteenth century, a museum in the 1930s, and a mosque once again in 2020. But we have also heard of examples of Latin churches becoming mosques, or even spaces of profane usage, libraries, and also of other churches being converted into cultural spaces, store houses, workshops, stables, or even prisons; most regrettable are cases when sacred and heritage structures become abandoned and eventually destroyed. We also heard of the closure of the *tekke*s and *zaviye*s of Muslim orders, the historical, forceful takeover of *dergāh*s from one Muslim order by another; likewise, the reuse of Christian churches by congregations other than those that initially built them, which at least catered for a continuation of religious space within urban or rural contexts. We have also heard of examples of places being used by different religious traditions over millennia, such as Dolíche (nowadays Dülük Baba) or places in Urfa, both in South-eastern Anatolia.

Moreover, considering connected legal processes and quarrels, it became clear, that the conversion of religious places is related to unequal power relations, and, therefore, also to subjugation, marginalisation, discrimination, and consequently to suffering and violence. On the other hand, we also saw, that conversion, or reappropriation, could guarantee the continuation of public religious spaces, like at Dülük (Dolíche).

Coming to my own research in relation to the conference topic, it starts with my doctoral research on contemporary Zoroastrian shrines in Iran. These shrines partly emerged from agricultural shrines, which in pre-modern times were used by both Zoroastrians and Muslims (the latter often were recent converts to Islam, admittedly), being later converted into exclusively Muslim shrines or into exclusively Zoroastrian community centres.[1]

So, one aspect I want to stress here is that conversion can also mean to reduce ambiguity in favour of clear-cut boundaries, when a shared use of religious places becomes impossible. We can observe the same processes in modern India with formerly shared Hindu-Muslim spaces.

The research I started together with Professor Motika, which was and still is one of his research foci, was on the Alevi tradition and its practices and rituals. We have heard of the conversion and closing of Bektashi and Alevi places in Anatolia. We have also heard of the emergence of new Alevi places in urban contexts, the cemevis, even the conversion of old Bektashi places into modern Alevi centres, or of general holy places with saintly tombs into cemevis.

As we have observed in the German diaspora, just like Sunni or Shii mosques, Alevi cemevis are established in formerly profane spaces, such as in abandoned industrial buildings. We can observe, in the case of modern migration, the conversion of profane spaces into religious ones.

However, I would like to conclude with another development in the Alevi diaspora context in Germany, which is an example of a peaceful and amicable conversion of religious spaces. With the demographic decline of smaller Christian communities such as the Methodist Church or the New Apostolic Church in Germany's urban areas, such as the Ruhr area or Berlin, such communities sold their buildings to Alevi communities. This was facilitated by personal amicable contacts, sometimes established in interreligious meeting circles, but also by the fact that these Christian churches of Methodist or New Apostolic branches often do not feature prominent elements of the church architecture of the larger Christian branches, for example they usually do not have a bell tower and, in terms of space design, are constructed more like profane assembly halls.

Although such conversions were attacked in public discourses, which were not aware of the particularities of Alevism, but perceived these as a Muslim takeover of churches, it must be remarked that the Methodists especially would not have given their building to a Sunni or Shii community for transformation into a mosque but were aware of the distinctive features and notions of an Alevi cemevi. In more general terms, it was, I assume, also more acceptable to them that the religious use continues instead of a profanation, which occurs in a notable number of instances in Western Europe, when abandoned churches are either demolished or converted into restaurants, bars, et cetera.

1 Robert Langer, *Piran und Zeyaratgah: Schreine und Wallfahrtsstatten der Zarathustrier im Neuzeitlichen Iran* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2008).

So, to conclude with a favourable outlook, besides forceful and humiliating conversions, we can find cases of amicable conversions in contemporary times, between minority communities at least. And also examples of pre-modern, ambiguous, mostly folk religious shared spaces, such as Zoroastrian-Muslim shrines in Iran, of which only one continues nowadays in a modern form featuring symbols of both faiths.

May that serve as a model for interreligious tolerance and sharing of public spaces, including religious once. Thank you again for organising this event, to all those participating, and for your attention.

Conference session links

English:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oqwXtizgJ1U&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdC6wv-79Z04eVWnsCZXf5j0&index=14

Turkish:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ec2HhN0bZNI&list=PLN7AHQGMKkdCTE8s2wPfxh1fdN3EWXMQY&index=14

BIOGRAPHIES

Assoc. Prof. Birgül AÇIKYILDIZ

Birgül Açıkyıldız received her BA and MA degrees in art history at Hacettepe University in Turkey; her M.Phil (DEA) and PhD at Paris I Pantheon-Sorbonne University in France. She was appointed to a Barakat Trust Postdoctoral fellowship at the Khalili Research Centre for the Art and Material Culture of the Middle East, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford where she worked also as a research fellow. She, then, received the Aga Khan (AKPIA) and Turkish Cultural Foundation Post-Doctoral Fellowships and worked as a research fellow at Harvard University. She taught at the University of Paris I and Hacettepe University. She chaired the Department of History of Art at Mardin Artuklu University. Currently, she works as a research associate at the University of Paul Valéry, Montpellier III and as a researcher at French Anatolian Research Institute in Istanbul.

Her major research interests include Yezidi art and culture, Islamic art and architecture; Ottoman Modernisation, Architecture of religious communities of Mesopotamia. She is the author of the book, *The Yezidis: The History of a Community, Culture and Religion,* London and New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2010, 2014.

Assoc. Prof. Zeynep AKTÜRE

Zeynep Akütre (B.Arch, 1990; M.Sc. in Architecture-Restoration, 1995; Ph.D. in Architecture, 2005 Middle East Technical University [METU] in Ankara, Turkey) is an Associate Professor at Izmir Institute of Technology (IZTECH) Department of Architecture. She currently teaches undergraduate and graduate courses on architectural design, architectural conservation in archaeological sites and management of heritage sites. She participated in ERASMUS teaching exchange programs and coordinated ERASMUS Intensive Programme projects on archaeological landscapes and urban public spaces.

Her master's thesis focuses on the preservation-use balance in the Ancient Theatre of Ephesos. Her PhD research proposes a geo-historical interpretation of the architectural characteristics of ancient theatres in Greece and Spain. Her current research and publications, centring on the Mediterranean, are on the UNESCO World Heritage Programme; conservation history, modern uses and digital visualizations of cultural heritage sites and monuments; politics of cultural heritage conservation, archaeological and cultural site management, critical approaches to architectural restoration practices and museum studies. Her research languages are Turkish (native), English (C2), Spanish (B2), Modern Greek (A2), French (A2).

She is an active member of the Turkish National Commission for the UNESCO's Tangible Cultural Heritage Committee, ICOMOS ISC on Places of Religion and Ritual, ICOMOS Turkey National Committee, Efes Site Management Plan Advisory Board, Turkish Chamber of Architects, Architects' Association 1927, SANART Association of Aesthetics and Visual Culture, Mediterranean Studies Association, and the Society of Architectural Historians, among others.

Prof. Dr. Dionigi ALBERA

Dionigi Albera is an anthropologist and senior research fellow at the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS). He is based at the IDEMEC (Institute of European Mediterranean and Comparative Ethnology, Aix-Marseille University), which he has directed from 2006 to 2016.His research has focused on Europe and the Mediterranean, and his interests include migration, kinship and family, pilgrimage and interfaith mixing. He has published two personal books, 33 articles in peer-reviewed journals, and 70 book chapters. He has edited 16 books and 3 journal issues. A book he edited on interfaith pilgrimages in the Mediterranean was first published in French, and then translated into

Spanish, English and Italian. Among his latest books are: Sharing sacred spaces in the Mediterranean. Christians, Muslims and Jews at Shrines and Sanctuaries, edited with Maria Couroucli, Indiana University Press, 2012; Dieu, une enquête. Judaïsme, christianisme, islam: ce qui les distingue, ce qui les rapproche, edited with Katell Berthelot, Flammarion, 2013; International Perspectives on Pilgrimage Studies: Itineraries, Gaps and Obstacles, edited with John Eade, Routledge, 2015; Pellegrini del nuovo millennio, edited with Melissa Blanchard, Mesogea, 2015; Reframing the History of Family and Kinship: From the Alps towards Europe, edited with Luigi Lorenzetti et Jon Mathieu, Peter Lang, 2016; Dictionnaire de la Méditerranée, edited with Maryline Crivello et Mohamed Tozy, Actes Sud, 2016; New Pathways in Pilgrimage Studies, edited with John Eade, Routledge, 2017.

Dr. Nicholas AL-JELOO

Nicholas Al-Jeloo is currently an English Language Instructor at Kadir Has University in Istanbul. His was previously a lecturer of Syriac at the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne (2014-2018) and has conducted research for the Peshitta Institute (Leiden University), University of Sydney and Syriac Language Research Centre (Whitley College, University of Divinity).

In 2013, he completed his doctoral dissertation at the University of Sydney, focusing on the socio-cultural history and heritage of Assyrians in Iran's Urmia region, based on a corpus of over 2,300 inscriptions in Syriac and Neo-Aramaic. For his MA thesis in World Religions (Eastern Christianity) at Leiden University, he evaluated and analyzed characteristics of pre-nineteenth century Eastern Assyrian church architecture, based on 114 examples from Iraq, Turkey and Iran. He also holds a BA in Semitic Languages from Sydney University.

He is a socio-cultural historian with expertise in indigenous Middle Eastern minorities, Eastern Christianity, the history of the Middle East and Islamic World, as well as interfaith and intercultural relations. His specialty is in Syriac and Neo-Aramaic language, literature and epigraphy, and much of his research relies on data from data collected firsthand in the field over numerous surveys conducted since 2002.

Asst. Prof. Paschalis ANDROUDIS

Born in Thessaloniki, Greece (1965). He has a diploma in Architecture of the Polytechnic School of Thessaloniki (1988), a DEA (Master's Degree) in Byzantine Art and Archaeology from the University Paris I- Panthéon Sorbonne (1990). He obtained his PhD in Byzantine Archaeology from Paris I in January 1995 and a Master's degree in Conservation Studies from the IoAAS of the University of York, UK in June 1995. He also studied Byzantine History and Civilisation in Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris). For his Studies he obtained Scholarships from Paris-I Sorbonne and Arvanitidis Foundation, from the European Union, from A.G. Leventis Foundation, from the Alexandros Onassis Foundation, and from IKY. He also obtained a scholarship from Max van Berchem Foundation (Switzerland) for studying Seljuk and Islamic metalwork in Mt Athos.

He was involved in many research programs, recording of antiquities and excavations all over Greece. He also conducted more than 100 studies of Conservation and restoration of Historic monuments (mainly churches and fortifications) all over Greece.

He participated with papers in more than 150 National and International Scientific Congresses on Byzantine and Early Ottoman art and architecture. He published 10 monographs and over 130 articles on Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman History, art and architecture in Greek and International scientific magazines and proceeding of Congresses.

In January 2012 he was elected Lecturer in Byzantine Archaeology in the Department of History and Archaeology of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, with emphasis in Byzantine Art. In June 2017 he was elected Assistant Professor in Byzantine Art and Archaeology in the same Department.

Assoc. Prof. Umut AZAK

Umut Azak has been a lecturer in the International Relations Department at Istanbul Okan University since 2010. She graduated in 1997 from the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Boğaziçi University. She completed her master's degree at SOAS, University of London, and her doctoral studies at the Department of the Turkish Studies at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands. Azak, taught undergraduate and graduate courses at Utrecht and Leiden Universities in 2005-2008, and was a visiting researcher at FU Berlin in the 2008-2009 academic year within the scope of the "Europe in the Middle East - The Middle East in Europe" programme. Azak has published research on the subjects of secularism in Turkey, Islamism, conservatism and the history of women's movement (published books include *Islam and Secularism in Turkey: Kemalism, Religion and the Nation State*, London: I.B.Tauris, 2010; *Türkiye'de Laiklik ve İslam*, İstanbul: İletişim 2019). Azak carried out research in the area of memory studies, worked as a trainer and facilitator at the Black Box Association, and has given lectures in areas such as Turkey's political history, the history of political thought, gender and politics.

Assoc. Prof. Dilaver AZİMLİ

I was born in the north of Azerbaijan, in the village of Agdash, in the Jalilabad region. Our region is separated from the South of Azerbaijan by barbed wire. The disintegration of Azerbaijan was a very painful experience for me during my childhood. After graduating from high school, I served in the military. I then graduated from Baku State University called MA Rasulzade. During my student years, I was one of the most active participants in a movement that began in the north of Azerbaijan. At present, I am the Deputy Chairman for Ideological Affairs at the Whole Azerbaijani Centre (Bütov), which is fighting for the unification of Azerbaijan. I am a Doctor of Philosophy in History and Associate Professor at the Azerbaijan National Academy of Sciences. I am married, and have two children.

Mr. Doğan BERMEK

Doğan Bermek furthered his education at Ankara State Architecture-Engineering Academy and Gazi University and became an architect in 1971. He worked as a lecturer at the university and undertook an MA in Business Administration. He also holds a HBS-OPM25 degree which he obtained in 1996. Since 1976, he has worked in the private sector in the fields of industrial projects, planning, technology transfer and foreign trade. Since his high school years, he has participated in activities relating to folk dances, folklore and cultural heritage at Folk Houses, at METU Turkish Folk Sciences Society and at various Alevi organisations. He has worked for a long time in various NGOs for the Alevi movement. He was the founding president of the Federation of Alevi Endowments (2005-2014) and the founder of the ADO Alevi Philosophy Centre (2015). He is the president of ADO.

Dr. Zachary CHITWOOD

After completing his PhD at Princeton University, Zachary Chitwood was the resident Byzantinist on the ERC Starting Grant FOUMDMED ("Foundations in Medieval Societies: Cross-cultural Comparisons"). Since 2016 he has been a Lecturer in Byzantine Studies at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, where he is currently completing his second dissertation or *Habilitation* on "Memoria in the Byzantine World". He is the Principal Investigator for the ERC Starting Grant project titled *Mount Athos in Medieval Eastern Mediterranean Society (MAMEMS): Contextualizing the History of a Monastic Republic, ca. 850-1550.* In addition, he also is evaluating the copious surviving material in Medieval Greek connected with Mount Athos. His main research interests include Byzantine law and monasticism. Dr. Chitwood is also co-founder and editor-in-chief of the interdisciplinary journal *Endowment Studies* (Brill, 2016-).

Ms. Lucía CIRIANNI SALAZAR

Lucía Cirianni Salazar holds a BA in Ethnology from the National School of Anthropology and History of Mexico, and an MA in Asian and African Studies from El Colegio de México (The College of Mexico), where she was ascribed to the Middle Eastern Studies Department. She is currently a PhD candidate in Islamic Studies at the Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies of the Freie Universität Berlin, where she is writing a dissertation on the transformation of the Sufi Lodges in Turkey after their official closure, connecting the different forms of "tekkes" that exist nowadays with the historical narratives from contemporary Sufi communities about the law that banned the Sufi orders. Her work analyses contested and interconnected narratives about secularity, modernity and Sufism through the use and representation of space. She has published several articles in Spanish and English on topics like Sufi rebellions in early-republican Turkey, contesting narratives of the past in Turkey, and Sufism in Mexico.

Ms. Sevtap DEMİRTAŞ

Sevtap Demirtaş was born in 1963 in Istanbul. She completed her undergraduate education at Istanbul University's Faculty of Literature, Department of Systematic Philosophy and Logic. Between 1987 and 1999, she worked in Advertising, Film Production, TV and Media Organisations. Between 1999 and 2020, she worked as a Project Consultant and a Coordinator in national and international projects for four disability groups, primarily the visually impaired, supporting access to information, education, employment and daily life in the field of geriatrics at the Six Dots Foundation for the Blind, Membership of Blind Education and Development Association, Turkey Federation of the Visually Impaired, Turkey Confederation for the Disabled and various NGOs. Since 2000, she has been working as a Public Relations Officer at EMAV - Evrensel Mevlana Aşıkları Foundation. She is fluent in English.

Dr. Ali Çağlar DENIZ

Ali Çağlar Deniz studied Theology in Selçuk University (2002), wrote a MA thesis on Sociology of Religion in Gazi University (2006) and obtained Phd in İstanbul University on Sociology (2013). He has been as a visiting lecturor at Delaware University (2012-2013, USA), Univerza v Ljubljani (2014, Slovenia) and Kırgız-Türk Manas Üniversitesi (2015, Kyrgyzstan). He has published some books on Turkish Modernization, the Sociology of History, Migration and Gender; *Türk Modernleşmesinde Düşümsel Dönüşümler* (Anahtar K., 2013), *Öğrenci İşi* (İletişim, 2015), *Hafıza Yelpazesi* (E, 2014), *Toplumsal Hareket Teorileri ve Ortadoğu İsyanları* (Orion, 2015), *Öteki Muhafazakarlık* (Phoenix, 2016), *Yeni Medya ve Toplum* (Literatürk, 2016), *Bizim Müstakbel Hep Harap Oldu* (Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2016). He was the consultant of a documentary conducted by TRT named after as "Öğrenci İşi" based on his book. Deniz has done research on religious minority groups and migration since 2017. He is the moderator of a gender equality project headed by Mavi Kalem on Syrian refugee men living in Turkey since 2018.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Veysel DİNLER

Dr Veysel Dinler is a faculty member of Hitit University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Political Science and Public Administration. He was born in 1979 in Çorum. Graduate of Police Academy and Near East University Faculty of Law. He received his doctorate in public administration from Süleyman Demirel University. He transferred to Hitit University in 2008, while he was serving as the chief inspector in the Turkish national police organization. Since that date, he has been a faculty member at Hitit University. He teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in the field of public law. He works on the constitution, political institutions, human rights and criminology.

Dr. Radu DIPRATU

I am a researcher at the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy since December 2018, where I am currently working on a project dedicated to the evolution of French and English *'ahdname*s in the 16th-17th centuries. Starting with July 2021, I will be involved in the ERC TYPARABIC Project implemented at the same Institute. In 2017, I obtained a PhD degree in Ottoman History from the Faculty of History, the University of Bucharest for a thesis on the religious articles of seventeenth-century *'ahdname*s. I was a postdoctoral fellow at the New Europe College (2018-2019) and at the Humanities Division of the Research Institute of the University of Bucharest (2020). My research focuses on topics such as Catholics in the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman diplomacy in the early modern era.

Latest publications: 'The Valona Affair (1638), Its Ensuing Anti-Piracy *Nişan* and the Development of Ottoman-Venetian Peace Agreements', in I. Feodorov (ed.), *South-Eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean*, Brăila, 2020, p. 157-187; 'A Forgotten Capitulation (*'ahdname*): The Commercial Privileges Granted by Sultan Ahmed I to Emperor Matthias in 1617', in *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes*, vol. 58, 2020, p. 51-90 (with Viorel Panaite).

Dr. Markus DRESSLER

Markus Dressler received his Ph.D. in Religious Studies (Erfurt University, 2001), Doçentlik in Sociology (Turkey, 2011), and Habilitation in Religious Studies (Bayreuth University, 2014). He is currently DFG Heisenberg Scholar at the Institute for the Study of Religions, Leipzig University. His research interests are Alevi Studies; religion, politics, and society in the late Ottoman Empire and Turkey; religion & secularism.

Selected publications:

Islamicate Secularities in Past and Present. Special issue *Historical Social Research* 2019, co-ed. M.Wohlrab-Sahr, A.Salvatore.

Writing Religion: The Making of Turkish Alevi Islam. New York 2013.

Secularism and Religion-Making. New York 2011. Co-ed. A.-P.S.Mandair.

Sufis in Western Society: Global Networking and Locality. London 2009, co-ed. R.Geaves, G.M.Klinkhammer.

Prof. Paolo GIRARDELLI

Paolo Girardelli is an art and architectural historian working on encounters and contacts between Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean in the late Ottoman period. One of his main research topics is the architecture of the non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire. He is based in Istanbul since 1999, where he teaches in the Department of History of Boğaziçi (Bosphorus) University. He was a Fellow in the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at MIT in 2005-06, and a visiting scholar in the Art and Art History Department of UNC-Chapel Hill in 2018-19. He is a member of the Italian chapter of ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites).

His main publications focus on European and non-Muslim architectural/urban/visual culture in the plural urban environments of the late-Ottoman world: Istanbul, Izmir, Salonica, Alexandria and beyond. He was co-editor, with Ezio Godoli, of the volume *Italian Architects and Builders in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey,* and guest editor of a thematic issue of the journal *Architecture Beyond Europe* on the space of diplomacy, both published in 2017. His current book project is a spatial and architectural history of the so-called Eastern Question, observed from the point of view of the changing urban and architectural image of Pera, the cosmopolitan district of diplomacy and foreign settlement in Istanbul.

Mr. Mehmet Fatih GÜDEN

I was born on April 27, 1984 in Van. In 2004, I graduated from the Electrical and Electronics Department at the Vocational School of Van Yüzüncü Yıl University. I completed my undergraduate education at the Department of Art History at the same university. I am currently doing my master's thesis on the subject of "Christian Religious Architecture in the Gürpınar District of Van" at Van Yüzüncü Yıl University's Institute of Social Sciences.

For nearly 10 years, I have been conducting field studies on a voluntary basis to create archives and an inventory in Lake Van Basin, which is in danger of losing its historical and cultural heritage of thousands of years due to unawareness, treasure hunting and security problems. I tried to explain these activities by organising presentations and seminars in many different institutions, faculties and cultural centres. In spite of facing the security problems and geographical difficulties during my research, I discovered many unregistered buildings and informed the relevant institutions about them. In addition, I produced a 60-minute documentary called "Silent Bells" in order to raise awareness and sensitivity about the society in which we live.

The desire to protect Cultural Heritage, which has become a life challenge for me, inspires my efforts to produce new projects and integrate them into society and to make the society in which we live more sensitive to these structures.

Dr. Leonard HAMMER

Leonard Hammer is the Director of Outreach and Development for the Human Rights Practice graduate programs at the University of Arizona, and the Stein Family Visiting Professor at the Judaic Studies Center, also at the University of Arizona.

He has published books and articles on issues pertaining to international law, international human rights, cultural rights, and sacred space. He has worked as an International Expert for the Open Society Foundation and has received research grants from the United States Institute of Peace, Carnegie Council on Peace and International Affairs, the Israel Academy of Sciences, and the Taiwan Fellowship.

Prof. Dr. Cemal KAFADAR

Cemal Kafadar is interested in the social and cultural history of the Middle East and southeastern Europe in the late medieval/early modern era. He teaches courses on Ottoman history, urban space, travel, popular culture, history and cinema. His latest essays include "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;" "Evliya Celebi in Dalmatia: an Ottoman Traveler's Encounters with the Arts of the Franks;" and "Between Amasya and Istanbul: Bayezid II, His Librarian and the Textual Turn of the Late Fifteenth Century."

He has curated a program of twelve films, titled "Rebels, Saints and Troubadours," for the Istanbul International Film Festival in 2009 and worked closely on the conception and production of two historical documentaries: "Inspirations" (dir. Nurdan Arca, 2005) on Sheikh Bedreddin, an Ottoman intellectual executed for his ideas ca.1417; "Invisible to the Eye" (dir. Zeynep Dadak, 2020) on the mid-17th century account of Istanbul by Eremya Chelebi Kömürjian.

Prof. Dr. Ayhan KAYA

Ayhan Kaya is Professor of Politics at the Department of International Relations, Istanbul Bilgi University; Director of the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence; and a member of the Science Academy, Turkey. He is currently European Research Council Advanced Grant holder (ERC AdG, 2019-2024). He received his PhD and MA degrees at the University of Warwick, England. His most recent manuscript is *Populism and Heritage in Europe. Lost in Diversity and Unity* (London: Routledge, 2019). His recent edited volume is *Memory in European Populism* (London: Routledge,

2019, with Chiara de Cesari). Some of his books are *Turkish Origin Migrants and their Descendants: Hyphenated Identities in Transnational Space* (Palgrave, 2018), *Europeanization and Tolerance in Turkey* (London: Palgrave, 2013); *Islam, Migration and Integration: The Age of Securitization* (London: Palgrave, 2012).

Asst. Prof. Dr. Erhan KURTARIR

Erhan Kurtır has been working at Yıldız Technical University's City and Regional Planning Department in the field of education and research since 2005. He completed his undergraduate education at METU in 2003. He completed his master's degree at YTU Institute of Science in 2006 with a thesis on the Marketing Strategies of Cities. During his doctoral studies, he conducted field studies in Turkey and England in which he evaluted the relationsip between "faith" and "space". In his doctoral thesis, which he completed at the same institution in 2012, he investigated the role of space and planning in the processes of maintaining the cultural identities of minority and disadvantaged belief groups which are not sufficiently represented in the planning processes. After completing his thesis, he conducted the Istanbul Cemevleri Inventory project between 2013 and 2015. He served as a Board Member of the Istanbul Branch of the Chamber of Urban Planners between 2014 and 2016. Furthermore, he has provided consultancy and expert support to various non-governmental organisations, local administrations and public institutions.

His current areas of research are Cultural Geography, Geography of Religion; Migration and Urban Refugees; Local Democracy and Participation in Planning, Human Rights, and Right to the City. In his current research projects, he focuses on urban planning policy which is inclusive, sensitive to human rights and sustainable. He conducts research projects especially on Local Adaptation Processes of Urban Refugees and Inclusive Local Government Models. He continues his research in this direction on management models focused on inclusive local policy, participation in planning, and equitable public service delivery. Personal webpage: https://avesis.yildiz.edu.tr/kurtarir

Prof. Dr. Robert LANGER

Robert Langer has been a deputy professor for the Study of Religions with a focus on Islam at Universität der Bundeswehr München since 1 May 2020. He previously worked as a senior research fellow for the history of religions at Orient-Institut Istanbul, which he joined on 1 October 2017 (currently on leave). He is an Islamic Studies scholar and a cultural anthropologist specializing in the study of Islamicate cultures. He studied in Heidelberg, Damascus, Ankara, and Istanbul and received his PhD from the Faculty of Philosophy at Heidelberg University in 2004 with a thesis on shrine and pilgrimage practices of contemporary Zoroastrians in Iran. In 2015, he submitted his postdoctoral dissertation to the same university, dealing with Alevi rituals in the transnational context. He is currently the principal investigator (together with PD Dr. Judith Haug and Dr. Melike Şahinol) of "Iran and Beyond – Breaking the Ground for Sustainable Scholarly Collaboration (IRSSC): Performance of Culture, Religion and Body as Strategies of Self-Empowerment in the Islamic Republic of Iran", a sub module of "Knowledge Unbound: Internationalization, Networking, Innovation in and by the Max Weber Stiftung". His main areas of research include religious diversity in the Islamic world including the diaspora, the history and anthropology of religion of Islamicate cultures in Western Asia, the Mediterranean, and North and Sub-Saharan Africa, ritual studies and ritual theory, and empirical research in the fields of performance, visuality and materiality of religion.

Prof. Emma LOOSELY

Emma Loosley Leeming studied at the University of York, The Courtauld Institute of Art and the School of Oriental and African Studies in the UK before taking up a position teaching Middle Eastern Art and Architecture at the University of Manchester. In 2013 she joined the Department of Theology and Religion at the University of Exeter where

she specialises in the Christianity of the Middle East and Caucasus, with a special focus on the material culture of early and mediaeval Christianity in these regions. Her particular research expertise is the archaeology and architecture of early Syrian Christianity and, until the outbreak of the Syrian civil war, she regularly excavated in Syria having led two Anglo-Syrian excavations at Dayr Mar Elian, Qaryatayn, and Zalabiyeh on the Euphrates. From 2012-2017 she held an ERC Starting Grant to research the relationship between Syria and Georgia in Late Antiquity and details of the project can be found at: http://architectureandasceticism.exeter.ac.uk During her time in Syria she lived for a year in Aleppo amongst the *Urfali*, the descendants of the Christians expelled from Şanlıurfa in 1924, and it is their stories about their ancestral home that form the basis of her paper for this conference.

Dr. Vanessa R. DE OBALDÍA

Vanessa R. de Obaldía has a BA in Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies from the University of Cambridge (2009), an MA in Islamic Law from Marmara University (2014), and a Graduate Diploma in Law from BPP University (2017). She was awarded a PhD in History by Aix-Marseille University (2018) for her thesis titled "A Legal and Historical Study of Latin Catholic Church Properties in Istanbul from the Ottoman Conquest of 1453 until 1740." Vanessa holds a three-year postdoctoral position at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz as an Ottomanist for the ERC Starting Grant project titled *Mount Athos in Medieval Eastern Mediterranean Society (MAMEMS): Contextualizing the History of a Monastic Republic, ca. 850-1550.* She has published numerous articles in peer-reviewed journals and is currently co-editing a multi authored volume on Latin Catholicism in Ottoman Istanbul which will be published by The Isis Press in late 2021. Her research interests include doctrine and practice in Islamic law, non-Muslim and Muslim minorities and their communal and religious institutions and charitable endowments in the Ottoman Empire and contemporary Turkey.

Prof. Dr. Ayşe Nur ÖKTEN

She graduated from Robert College with a Bachelor in Business Administration (B.B.A.) in 1970 and obtained her PhD from the Department of Economic Sociology at Istanbul University in 1980. She obtained a full professorship in regional planning at Yıldız Technical University in 1994. She retired from the Department of City and Regional Planning at the same university in 2014. Her research interests include urban sociology, epistemology human geography, economic geography, methodology and regional planning.

Her selected publications include: Ayşe Nur Ökten, I. T. Çekiç, S. Kozaman, "Civic engagement in an informal settlement: Between the devil and deep blue sea," *Cities* 112 (2021) 103110 (online); Ayşe Nur Ökten and Y. Evren, "Stickiness and slipperiness in Istanbul's old city jewellery cluster: a survival story," *Journal of Economic Geography* 17, no. 4 (2017) : 893–911; Y. Evren and Ayşe Nur Ökten, "Family Solidarity and Place as Components of Hospital Provision in Istanbul: The Dependence of Public Healthcare on Culture and the Local Economy," *International Planning Studies (IPS)* 17, no. 1 (2011); Ayşe Nur Ökten, E. Altınok and O. Bilen, "Yoksulluk Deplasmanda" (The displaced poverty), paper presented at *Dünya Şehircilik Günü 32. Kolokyumu (The World City Day, 32nd Congress)*, 6-8 November 2008, Istanbul.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Cemal SALMAN

He was born in Sivas in 1982. Up until his graduate studies, his educational life was spent in Ankara, where he immigrated with his family when he was six years old. He holds undergraduate and graduate degrees in Public Administration and Political Science at Gazi University; he received his PhD from Istanbul University. During his doctoral studies, he conducted field research in Sivas-Yıldızeli, Ankara, Germany and various regions of France during numerous periods between 2013-2014, and worked as a visiting researcher at the University of Cologne-Germany for six months

in 2014. His thesis was titled "The Transformation of Alevi Identity in Migration and the Urbanisation Process". He was awarded the 2017 Young Social Scientists Award of the Year in the doctorate category. He also participated in the team conducting research on "Syrian Immigrant Labor", which was awarded the DİSK-Kemal Türkler Emek Research Award in 2017. In 2018-2019, he obtained a TÜBİTAK scholarship for his post-doctoral research project titled "The Effects of Emigration on Social Memory, Belief and Culture: Alevis in Britain and Germany" and worked as a visiting researcher at University College London. During this period, he carried out field studies on the Alevi diaspora in two countries. He has been working as a researcher for the TÜBITAK project titled "The Shelter Experiences of Syrian Refugees in Istanbul" since September 2019. Salman, who has been a member of the Faculty of Political Sciences at Istanbul University since 2011, is currently a lecturer at this faculty. Salman's academic interests are spatial theory and politics, migration, urbanisation, social memory, culture-identity studies and Alevi identity in particular; his non-academic interests are poetry and cinema. In addition to his book titled "Lâmekândan Cihana: Immigration Identity Alevism", he has published many articles, reports, poems and writings on national and international issues.

Atty. Cem Murat SOFUOĞLU

After graduating from Saint Joseph French High School for Boys, in 1977 I enrolled at Istanbul University's Faculty of Law. After my graduation and my legal internship, I started to work as a lawyer in 1984. I completed my master's degree on European Union Law and Institutions at Bilgi University in 1998. In 2001, I was a pioneer in the establishment of the European Union Law Commission at the Istanbul Bar Association, and I was the president of the same commission for many years. For a long time since 2002, I have organised events in a non-governmental organisation for Turkey to be a candidate member of the European Union. I made a programme on human rights and democracy on Cem TV between 2012-2013. I started to engage in this profession after passing the mediatorship exam in 2017. Since 2013, I have been teaching as a lecturer at Okan University's Faculty of Law. I have published many articles (one in a foreign language) on literature and law. In 2021, I will complete my 37th year in my profession as a lawyer. I write and speak English and French well.

Assoc. Prof. A. Yılmaz SOYYER

He was born on 7 March 1960 in Konya's Ereğli. He discovered books at the age of 13-14, which we can call early youth. He discovered world classics for the first time in a public library in a county with a population of 25 thousand. Meanwhile, old Turkish poetry captured his attension at his high school literature classes. He graduated from the Faculty of Theology at Ankara, where he went to be a good poet by learning the concept and meaning of old poetry. First, he worked in the Ottoman archive for four years. Learning intermediate Arabic and Persian at the faculty was very useful in the Ottoman archives. This knowledge has served him throughout his academic life. He conducted research on a Çelebi Bektashi village named Kısas for his doctoral thesis in Şanlıurfa, where he was based as a research assistant. During the summer, he spent his time between the Ottoman archives as a researcher, became one of the regulars at the Süleymaniye library, and above all, while reading the Bektashi tombstones in Istanbul, he encountered various oddities. Consequently, he has a good archive of Bektashi manuscripts (as photographs) and gravestone photographs.

During the 1990s, Seyran Publications published Soyyer's doctoral thesis under the name "Alevi-Bektashi Tradition in Sociological Perspective". Later, his work titled "Bedi Nuri at the Beginning of Turkish Sociology" was published in Kubbealtı Publications. In 2005, "Bektashism in the 19th Century" was published by Akademi Publications. In 2005, he took part in the delegation that organized the International Symposium on Bektashism and Alevism at Süleyman Demirel University in Isparta. In 2020, he worked as the Academic Coordinator of the International Hacı Bektaş Veli and His Followers Symposium within the body of the Istanbul Branch of the Türk Ocağı and UNESCO.

Prof. Dr. Beatrice ST. LAURENT

Beatrice St. Laurent received her PhD in Islamic Art at Harvard University as a student of Oleg Grabar. Her doctoral thesis *Ottomanization and Modernization: The Architecture and Urban Development of Bursa and the Genesis of Tradition 1839-1914* focused on the Late Ottoman Period of the first Ottoman capital. She is Professor of Art History in the Department of Art and Art History, College of Humanities & Social Sciences at Bridgewater State University, Bridgewater, MA, USA. She has been involved in research on the restorations of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque for 30 years with many book chapters and articles on the subject including "The Dome of the Rock. Restorations and Significance 1540-1918," *Ottoman Jerusalem* eds. S. Auld and R. Hillenbrand published in 2000. She and with the collaboration of her now deceased colleague Arch. Isam Awwad (former Chief Architect and Conservator of the Ḥarām al-Sharīf) are currently completing a book on 7th century Jerusalem entitled *Capitalizing Jerusalem: Muʿawiyā's Urban Vision 638-680* as well as another book on the 20th and 21st century restorations of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque.

Prof. Vlada STANKOVIĆ

Vlada Stanković (Belgrade, 1973) is Professor of Byzantine Studies and Head of the Chair for Byzantine Studies at the University of Belgrade. He is founder and Director of the Center for Cypriot Studies at the same University (2010). He earned his degrees at the University of Belgrade and specialized in the Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies in Vienna (2004) and in Athens as a holder of an Alexander S. Onassis fellowship (2005). He was Visiting Professor at the University of Ioannina in 2008, where he taught a semestral course *Twelfth century Byzantine Poetry and Its Political Significance* and a member of the adjunct teaching staff at the Open University of Cyprus in the years 2009-2010, teaching in Undergraduate Program *Studies in Hellenic culture*. From 2009 he is member of the Editorial Board of *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Between 2011 and 2019 he directed a multidisciplinary project *Christian culture in the Balkans in the Middle Ages: Byzantine Empire, the Serbs and the Bulgarians from the 9th to the 15th century*, funded by Serbian Ministry of Science.

A 2014/2015 Willis F. Doney Member at the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, he held lectures at Universities in Greece, on Cyprus, in Bulgaria, Hungary, Germany, the U.S., Spain, China, and is currently teaching also at the European University Cyprus on the MA Program Hellenic Studies.

Author of five books and more than two dozen articles (among which *The Komnenoi in Constantinople, 1057–1185* (Belgrade 2006, in Serbian), *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453* (editor, Lanham-Boulder-NewYork-London 2016)), he is Editor in Chief of Lexington Book's series *Byzantium – A European Empire and Its Legacy* for which he is currently writing a monograph *Creating the Rule of Kinsmen: The Transformation of a Political Paradigm in Southeastern Europe in the 12th and 13th Century*. He is also writing, among other things, *A History of Medieval Serbia* for Brill's series East-Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1500.

Jun. Prof. Aude Aylin DE TAPIA

Aude Aylin de Tapia is a Junior Professor in Turkish and Islamic studies at the Oriental Seminar of the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg (Germany). In 2016, she defended her PhD Thesis on the relations between Rums and Muslims in nineteenth-century Cappadocia (EHESS-Paris & Bogaziçi University-Istanbul). In 2016-2017, she was a researcher and archivist at the Bogaziçi University Archives and Documentation Center and a lecturer at the Galatasaray University, and in 2017-2019 a postdoctoral fellow at the Aix Marseille University. Her main research focuses on religious interactions between Rums and Muslims, shared worship places, and religious heritage complex in Turkey.

Dr. Mariëtte VERHOEVEN

Mariëtte Verhoeven, Radboud University, Ph.D. (2010), Radboud University Nijmegen, is a research fellow at the Radboud Institute of Culture and History (RICH) and at the Netherlands Institute in Turkey (NIT). Her Ph.D. thesis entitled *The Early Christian Monuments of Ravenna. Transformations and Memory* was published in 2011 (Turnhout: Brepols). She specializes in the field of early Christian and Byzantine architecture and currently she focuses on the cultural history and transformation of Byzantine heritage in Istanbul. She is the co-editor of three books including *Byzantium in dialogue with the Mediterranean. History and Heritage* (2019, Leiden: Brill) and her latest article, published in A.C. Geljon and N. Vos (Eds.), *Rituals in Early Christianity. Traditions and Transformations* (2020, Leiden: Brill), is entitled 'From Justinian I to Mehmed II. Transformation and Continuity of Rituals and Liturgical Disposition in Hagia Sophia'.

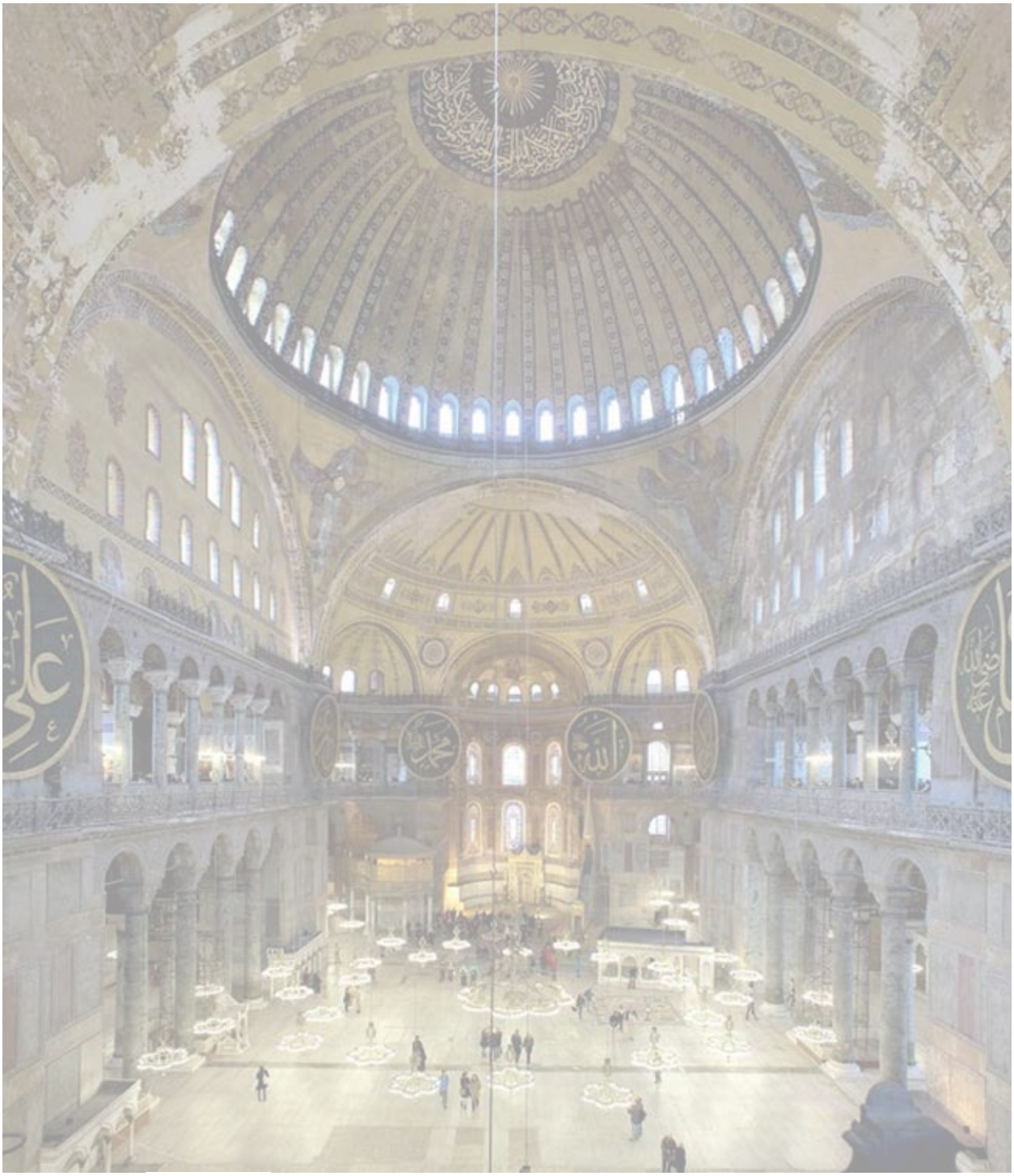
Mr. Laki VİNGAS

Laki Vingas was born in Istanbul and graduated from Mechanical Engineering at Yıldız Technical University. He has actively participated in civil society activities, worked to improve dialogue through culture, and since 1986, he has been the founder and director of many associations, foundations and non-governmental organisations.

In 2006, on the initiative of its president Laki Vingas, the Zografyon Alumni Association organised a conference on "Today and Tomorrow", which was a turning point for Istanbul's Greek Community. With the support of Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Agency, the Zografyon Alumni Association, of which Laki Vingas is an Advisory Board member, undertook a project on "Greek Architects of Westernized Istanbul". Bringing an unkown aspect of Istanbul to light, the project has taken the form of an exhibition, a book and a short film in many different places both in Turkey and abroad.

Between 2008 and 2014, Vingas worked as the 1st and 2nd term Representative of the Community Foundations at the General Directorate of Foundations. He became the Founding President of RUMVADER, which was established in 2011 to gather Greek Foundations under one roof. EU Projects such as "Minority Citizens = Equal Citizens" and Side by Side "Overcoming the distances created in the past, building a common future together" have been carried out by the Association.

He is one of the founders of the Association for the Preservation of Cultural Heritage, the Imroz Education and Culture Association and the Yanındayız Association. He has also been undertaking the European Union project titled "Social Media and Minorities" and "Discovering Yeniköy" projects at the Yeniköy Panayia Greek Orthodox Church and School Foundation which he has chaired since 2006.



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ETKİNİZ

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