

# The Sufi World of Adile Sultan, ‘Sultan of the World and the Hereafter’

*‘Dünya ve Ukbâ Sultânî’ Âdile Sultan’ın Tasavvuf Dünyası*

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## Öz

Tasavvuf tarihinde kadın sûfilere dair ilk bilgileri sağlayan sadece sınırlı sayıda biyografi ve tabakât kaynağı bulunmaktadır. Kadın sûfilerin seyr u sülûk (manevî yolculuk) deneyimlerini aydınlatan vâridât türü eserler ise neredeyse tamamen yoktur. Bu bağlamda, tasavvufla ilişkisi bilinen kadın sûfilerin, âlimlerin ve şairelerin kaleme aldığı ilmi eserler ile vâridât türü risaleler ve dîvânlar, kadınların tasavvufla ilişkisine dair önemli bilgileri saklayan gizli hazineler işlevi görmektedir. Bu çalışma, Sultan II. Mahmud'un kızı olan Âdile Sultan'ın (1826–1899) *Dîvânî*'nda yer alan tasavvufî unsurları ve manevî yolculuğa dair yansımaları incelemektedir. On dokuzuncu yüzyılda yaşamış bir Osmanlı prensesi olan Âdile Sultan, sadece kendi tasavvufî deneyimlerini kaydetmekle kalmamış, aynı zamanda katıldığı sohbetler ve sağladığı maddî ve manevî destek aracılığıyla tekkeler ve şeyhlerle bağlar kurmuştur. Tarihi kaynaklar onun dindarlığını, cömertliğini ve dirayetli kişiliğini; ayrıca müzik, şiir ve hat gibi güzel sanatlarla olan yeteneğini ve döneminin eğitim hayatına yaptığı katkıları vurgulamaktadır. Âdile Sultan'ı Osmanlı sultanları arasında farklı kılan özelliği ise duygu ve düşünce dünyasını benzersiz bir şekilde ortaya koyan *Dîvânî*'dir. Âdile Sultan, Osmanlı hanedanında dîvân sahibi olduğu bilinen tek kadındır. Padişah–şeyh ilişkileri üzerine birçok çalışma bulunmakla birlikte, onun *Dîvânî* bir kadın sultanın tasavvufa bakışı, tasavvufa yönelişi ve sûfilerle irtibatı hakkında son derece zengin bilgiler sunmaktadır. Konuyla ilgili ikinci önemli kaynak ise bıraktığı vakfiyelerdir. *Dîvânî* ile birlikte bu vakfiyeler, saray hiyerarşisinde öne çıkan bir Osmanlı prensesinin derviş yönünü ortaya koymakta ve onun yazıya döktüğü seyr u sülûk yolculuğunu görünür kılmaktadır. Yirminci yüzyılın eşğinde *Dîvânî*'nda aktardıkları, saray–tekke–şeyh ilişkilerine dair açık ve takip edilebilir veriler sunmaktadır. Ayrıca *Dîvânî*'nda tarikat âdâbı, mürid–mürşid ilişkileri, tasavvufî hâl ve makamlarla ilgili tasvirleri ve tarikat silsilesine dair aktardığı bilgiler bizlere hem nüfuz hem de maddî imkân sahibi bir kadın müridin manevî yolculuğunu görme imkânı tanımaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Tasavvuf, Âdile Sultan, Kadın, Âdile Sultan Dîvânî, Nakşibendiyye, Seyr u sülûk.

## Abstract

In the history of Sufism, only a limited number of biographical and *tabaqât* sources provide early information about female mystics. Works of the *wâridât* type, which illuminate the *seyr u sulûk* (spiritual journey) of women Sufis, are almost entirely absent. In this context, the scholarly writings of female Sufis, scholars, and poets—together with *wâridât*-type treatises and *dîwâns*—function as hidden treasures that preserve significant insights into women's engagement with Sufism. This study examines the mystical elements and reflections on the spiritual path in the *Dîwân* of Adile Sultan (1826–1899), daughter of Sultan Mahmud II. A nineteenth-century Ottoman princess, Adile Sultan not only recorded her own mystical experiences but also forged connections with tekkes (Sufi lodges) and sheikhs by attending gatherings and offering material and financial support. Historical sources emphasise her piety, generosity, and resolute character, alongside her talents in music, poetry, and calligraphy, and her contributions to education in her era. What sets her apart among Ottoman princesses is her authorship of a *Dîwân*, which uniquely reveals her emotional and intellectual world. Adile Sultan is the only woman of the Ottoman dynasty known to have composed such a work. While many studies discuss sultan–sheikh relations, her *Dîwân* offers particularly rich insights into a woman's perspective on Sufism, her devotion, and her ties to mystics. A second major source is the set of *waqfiyyas* she left behind. Together with her *Dîwân*, they reveal the dervish dimension of a prominent Ottoman princess within the palace hierarchy and make visible the mystical journey she expressed in writing. At the dawn of the twentieth century, her accounts provide transparent evidence of palace–tekke–sheikh relations. In her *Dîwân*, the descriptions of the rules of the Sufi order, the relationships between disciple and master, the states and stages of mysticism, as well as the information she conveys about the spiritual lineage of the order, provide us with the opportunity to observe the spiritual journey of a female disciple who possessed both influence and material means.

**Keywords:** Sufism, Adile Sultan, woman, Adile Sultan's Dîwân, Naqshbandiyya, seyr u sulûk.

## Introduction

Adile Sultan, daughter of Sultan Mahmud II (d. 1255/1839), was born in 1826, the year in which the Janissary Corps and the Bektashi tekkes were closed. Following the death of her mother, Zernigâr Hanım, she lost her father, Mahmud II, at the age of thirteen. Raised under the guardianship of her brother, Sultan Abdulmecid (d. 1861), Adile Sultan married Tophane Marshal Mehmet Ali Pasha in 1845. She had four children, all of whom died while she was still alive. In 1869, 29 years after the death of her husband Mehmet Ali Pasha, Adile Sultan, the oldest member of the Ottoman dynasty, passed away on 12 February 1899 at her palace in Fındıklı when she was 73. She is buried in the Eyup Husrev Pasha Tomb, where her husband Mehmet Ali Pasha is also buried.<sup>1</sup>

The sister of Sultans Abdulmecid (r. 1839-1861) and Abdulaziz (r. 1861-1876), Adile Sultan was the aunt of Sultans Murad V (r. 1876), Abdulhamid II (r. 1876-1909), Mehmed V Reşad (r. 1909-1918) and Mehmed VI Vahdettin (r. 1918-1922). She witnessed the reigns of her brothers and her first two nephews. Owing to her seniority and age, the members of the dynasty showed her the utmost respect. It is noted that Adile Sultan resembled her father, Mahmud II, in her prudence and courage, and that had she been a man, she would have had the competence to hold the throne and the caliphate.<sup>2</sup> Historians also emphasise that Adile Sultân warned her brother Sultan Abdulazîz during a debate on a subject by saying “If I had been born a boy, I would have been the sultan, not you”; that she did not hesitate to apply lower-ranking protocol rules to the Kavalali family who had rebelled against her father; and that she was the only Turkish woman to whom Abdulhamid II spoke and respected as his equal.<sup>3</sup>

1 Nihat Azamat, “Âdile Sultan”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1988), 1/383; Sâdettin Nüzhet Ergun, “Âdile Sultan”, *Türk Şairleri* (y.y.: y.y., 1936), 1/7-8.; Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 1/14-15.

2 Ahmet Muhtar Nasuhoğlu, *Yâd-i Mâzî ve Hayatımın Tarihi*, çev. Ömer Hakan Özalp-Ayşe Raziye Özalp, (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2007), 15.

3 Yılmaz Öztuna, *Başlangıcından Zamanımıza Kadar Büyük Türkiye Tarihi* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 1983), 8/181.

Based on historical sources, archive records, and contemporary press reports, her birth,<sup>4</sup> marriage<sup>5</sup> and the ceremonial honours bestowed upon her death attracted far more attention than those given to other sultan consorts. These events were closely followed both by the domestic and foreign press. Sultan Abdulhamid II welcomed his aunt, Adile Sultan, with military honours and imperial music, treating her like a sovereign on each of her visits to Yıldız Palace. This practice confirms her privileged position within the Ottoman dynasty.<sup>6</sup>

In addition to these manifestations of authority, Adile Sultan was described as naturally kind-hearted, sociable, refined, witty, and a connoisseur of the arts and pleasures of life.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, her piety and generosity stand out as two qualities unanimously emphasised by historical sources. İnal portrays her as “a pious, ascetic, sincere, generous, charitable, virtuous, and chaste lady,” noting that her palace in Fındıklı served as a gathering place for scholars, sheikhs, and *huffaz*, as well as for orphans and widows.<sup>8</sup> Building mosques, establishing primary schools, renovating dervish lodges, constructing prayer halls, and founding charitable institutions for the service of the Two Holy Mosques in Mecca and Medina were among her philanthropic works. Today, these foundations and their surviving records remain vivid evidence of her altruistic character.<sup>9</sup>

Considering the environment in which Adile Sultan was raised, we can readily assume that her piety stemmed from Sufism. Known for her piety, Adile Sultan’s contributions to dervish lodges, both in kind and

4 Regarding the ceremonies for the birth of Adile Sultan, see: Elif Naci, “Türk Sarayında Müstesnâ Bir Prenses Âdile Sultan”, *Hayat Tarih Mecmuâsı* 2/10 (Kasım 1965), 28; Ferdâ Mazak, *Sultan II. Mahmud’ın Kızı Âdile Sultan* (İstanbul: Çamlıca Kültür ve Yardım Vakfı Yayınları, 2000), 14-18.

5 Adile Sultan’s wedding took place at the site of today’s Haydar Paşa Train Station in the *sûr-i Humâyûn* style (palace wedding protocol order) and lasted a week. The wedding, to which the palace officials, scholars, sheikhs, foreign clergy and ambassadors were invited, was also featured in the press of the time due to the hot air balloon that flew for the first time in the skies of İstanbul and then disappeared. For details about the wedding, see: *Vak’anüvis Ahmed Lütfi Efendi Târîhi VI-VII-VIII*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı-YKY Yayınları, 1999), 8/1192, 1198; Naci, “Türk Sarayında Müstesnâ Bir Prenses Âdile Sultan”, 29-30.

6 İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, 1/15; Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid*, (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2007) 99-100.

7 Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Âmire, 1333/1914), 2/335; Nasuhoğlu, *Yâd-ı Mâzî ve Hayatının Tarihi*, 17.

8 İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, 1/15.

9 Hikmet Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Vakfiyesi* (İstanbul: Türkiye İlmî İçtimai Hizmetler Vakfı, 1998), 12.

in cash, can be traced through archive records. Therefore, Adile Sultan's Sufi world, which heavily incorporates Sufi elements into her *Dīwān*, is worthy of investigation. This study explores Adile Sultan's Sufi world through her *Dīwān*. The primary question of our study is how Adile Sultan's *seyr u sulūq* are reflected in her *Dīwān*. In the study, comparative text analysis and poetry commentary methods will be applied, and relevant findings will be evaluated with historical analysis method.

What gives Adile Sultan a privileged position among the members of the dynasty is that she is also a poet. Owing to her comprehensive education and refined cultural background, Adile Sultan is the only woman in the Ottoman dynasty who was raised within it and compiled a *diwan* as a sultan's daughter.<sup>10</sup> Her *Dīwān*, in accordance with Islamic literary tradition, begins with *munājāt* (supplications), *tawḥīd* (affirmation of divine unity), and *na't-i Nabī* (praise of the Prophet), followed by poems dedicated to the Four Caliphs, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, the Twelve Imams, Khālid ibn Zayd, Veysel Karani, the Twelve Sufi Masters, Sheikh Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, Sheikh 'Alī, and the renowned Sufis of Istanbul.<sup>11</sup> She wrote poems about her sorrow for her relatives, especially her father, whom she lost while she was alive. Nearly all of her *ghazals* possess religious and particularly Sufi themes.<sup>12</sup> The Sultan's poems—including responses to those of Fuzūlī, Kanūnī, and Sheikh Gālib—have been criticised from a technical standpoint.<sup>13</sup> However, when the Sufi content of the *Dīwān* is taken into consideration, the *Dīwān* of Adile Sultan appears as a rich document that allows us to follow the feelings of a lady sultan about her *seyr u sulūqū*, her spiritual leaders, and the saints identified with Istanbul.

## 1. Adile Sultan's Devotion to the Sufis and the Mystical Content of Her *Dīwān*

Known for her piety, Adile Sultan was also a sincere dervish who devoted her life to Sufism. Indeed, expressions such as *vākif-i sirr-i vahdet*

10 Hikmet Özdemir, *Ādile Sultan Divānı* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1996), 11.

11 Reyhan Keleş, "Ādile Sultanın Şiirlerinde Dīnī Hassâsiyet", *Uluslararası İslam ve Kadın Çalıştayı* (İğdır: İğdır Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2018), 374-375.

12 Azamat, "Ādile Sultan", 1/382.

13 Ergun, *Türk Şairleri*, 8; Reşad Ekrem Koçu, "Ādile Sultan", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat, 1958), 1/217.

(“knower of the secret of unity”) and *Rābiatu’l-devrān* (“Rābi’a of her time”) found in her foundation records refer to her mystical disposition.<sup>14</sup> Contemporary accounts indicate that, following the death of her husband and daughter, Adile Sultan left her home only to visit the tombs of Sufis and her close relatives, and that her intensified turn toward Sufism is particularly associated with this period.<sup>15</sup> Although the material and spiritual support she provided to the dervish lodges she cherished and affiliated with was recorded after these years, it should be remembered that the Sultan had grown up from childhood in a deeply religious and Sufi environment. Like other members of the dynasty, she witnessed her father, Sultan Mahmud II, and her brother, Sultan Abdülmecid, —making both in-kind and monetary donations to *tekkes*, inviting sheikhs to the palace, seeking their advice on various matters, and personally visiting dervish lodges to attend their ceremonies.<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, the first historical record that reveals Adile Sultan’s connection with the sheikhs is her wedding, which took place when she was only twenty years old. The wedding prayer, held in the Hırka-i Şerif (The Blessed Mental) chamber of Topkapı Palace, was conducted by Murad Naqshbandi (1788–1848),<sup>17</sup> one of the most prominent representatives of the 19th-century Naqshbandi-Mawlawi rapprochement and the Founder of Dar’ul-Mathnawi in Çarşamba district.<sup>18</sup> In his work *Vekāyināme*, which summarises the major state events of the year 1261/1845, Sheikh Murad devotes considerable attention to the wedding and marriage ceremony of Adile Sultan. He notes that he was among the state dignitaries present at the ceremony and adds that he received two thousand kuruş as a wedding gift. He also notes that forty-one days after the wedding, the *sūr-ı humāyūn*—held on the Haydarpaşa plain and lasting for a week—was

14 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 40; Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Vakfiyesi*, 36.

15 Mazak, *Sultan II. Mahmud’ın Kızı Âdile Sultan*, 48.

16 Hür Mahmut Yücer, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf (19.yüzyıl)* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003), 679–694.

17 M. Hüdai Şentürk, “Murad Nakşibendî”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: TDV Yayınları, 2020), 31/188.

18 Ahmet Cevdet Pasha, as a historian who attended Dârü’l-Masnavî, states that Dârü’l-Masnavî served as a Dârü’l-Funûn where various lessons, primarily *Masnavî*, were taught from morning to evening. See Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *On Dokuzuncu Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devlet Yönetimi* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2019), 4/21.

attended mainly by the *mashāyikh* of Istanbul, each of whom presided over a *tekke*.<sup>19</sup>

Adile Sultan visited numerous dervish lodges in Istanbul and took part in the conversation and guidance circles led by the sheikhs of her time. Gölpınarlı provides a detailed account of her visit to the Murad Buhārī *tekke* in Eyup Nişanca, where she met Sheikh Abdulkadir Balkhī (d. 1923).<sup>20</sup> Contemporary newspapers also confirm that the Sultan's other palaces and mansions served similar purposes, noting her frequent visits to *tekkes* and her meetings with sheikhs across Istanbul. Some of these activities, reported in newspapers such as *Tercümân-i Hakikat* and *Vakit*, include the following: hosting Sadreddin Efendi, the *postnishin* of the Konya Mawlawihane, along with his brother Fahreddin Çelebi and Abdolvahid Çelebi, at her palace in Kandilli, Istanbul; covering the funeral expenses of Hasib Efendi (d. 1886), sheikh of the Uskudar Mawlawihane, and Mehmed Rifat Efendi (d. 1890), sheikh of the Hayreddin Baba *tekke*; participating in the *dhikr* ceremonies held at the Tophane Qadirī *tekke* during the month of Muharram in the special section reserved for her; and reciting the *waqf mevlid* at the Sunbul Efendi *tekke*, also known as the Koca Mustafa Paşa Merkez Efendi Dergâh.<sup>21</sup> Her mediation in appointing Sheikh Huseyin Rûhi Efendi as the head of the Bayrampaşa *tekke*, as well as her activities such as organising circumcision ceremonies for the children of the sheikhs, are further indications of her close relationship with these Sufi lodges.<sup>22</sup>

The *Dîwân* offers exceptionally rich insights into Adile Sultan's understanding of Sufism and her spiritual orientation. In many of her poems, after expressing reverence for the Prophet, the *Ahl al-Bayt*, and the noble Companions, she turns her discourse toward the people of Sufism—referred to through words such as *yâr* (beloved), *âşık* (lover), *ârif* (gnostic), *dervish*, *uşşâk* (lovers), *hūblar sultānı* (sultan of beauties), *dost* (friend), *eren* (saint), and *ehlullah* (people of God). Sufism constitutes a central theme in almost all her *munājāts*, *na'ats*, and *ghazals*,

19 Molla Murad, *Vekâyiname* (İstanbul: Süleymâniye Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, 103), 5a-6a.

20 Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *100 Soruda Tasavvuf* (İstanbul: Gerçek Yayınevi, 1985), 152.

21 Gölpınarlı, *100 Soruda Tasavvuf*, 152; Ali Akyıldız, *Âdile Sultan Müsriif Mümin Muîn Şâir* (İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2025), 217-219, 348-350.

22 Mustafa Koç, *Revnakoğlu'nun İstanbul'u İstanbul'un İç Tarihi Fatih* (İstanbul: Fatih Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2021), 4/1958, 1984.

including the historical poems and odes she composed for her relatives. Chronologically, her “*Tahassurnāme*,” which laments the death of her youngest brother, Sultan Abdulmecid (d. 1861), and includes perceptive depictions of the mystical states of her deceased relatives, demonstrates that she was well acquainted with the subtleties of the Sufi world from an early age.<sup>23</sup>

The Sultan’s *Dīwān* reflects the spiritual journey of a woman deeply devoted to the Sufis and to the path of inner transformation. In this context, the poems and their dates contained in her *Dīwān*—such as “Der Şān-ı Eimme-i İsnā Aşer” (On the Glory of the Twelve Imams), “Der Hakk-ı Hazret-i Pīr Nakşibend” (On the Right of His Holiness Pīr Naqshband), “Der Şān-ı Hazreti Şeyh” (On the Glory of His Holiness the Sheikh), “Der Zikr-i Pīrān-ı Turūk-ı İsnā Aşer” (On the Remembrance of the Masters of the Twelve Paths), “Der Hakk-ı Hazret-i Veysel Karānī” (On the Right of His Holiness Veysel Karani), “Der Zikr-i Meşāhir-i Evliyā-yı Der-Saādet” (On the Remembrance of the Renowned Sufis of Istanbul), “Tārih-i İntikāl-i Hazreti Şeyh Ali” (The Date of Passing of His Holiness Sheikh Ali), and “Dervişler” (Dervishes)—together with the chain of transmission titled “Hāzā Silsile-i Naqshbandiyya Kaddesallāhu Esrārahum” (This is the Chain of the Naqshbandi Order, May Allah Sanctify Their Secrets), constitute the key elements that disclose the Sultan’s Sufi orientation in detail.<sup>24</sup> The Sultan’s *Dīwān*, which reveals a profound command of Sufi literature in both its *qassīdas* and *ghazals*, can be thematically classified under *tahalluq* (moral cultivation) and *tahaqquq* (realization of truth). Accordingly, it encompasses numerous spiritual states and stations, including worship, *faqr u fanā* (poverty and annihilation), love, *tajallī* (divine manifestation), *waḥdat* (unity), *fayḍ* (divine grace), *shawq* (ardent longing), *riḍā* (contentment), *ṭalab* (aspiration), sorrow and separation, *jadhbā* (divine attraction), *tark* (renunciation of worldly attachments), *taslīm* (complete surrender), *tevazu* (humility), *maḥwiyyat* (self-effacement), patience, perseverance, effort, and inner purity.<sup>25</sup>

23 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 259, 264, 265, 267.

24 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 224-234; 237-239; 239-245; 245-246; 247; 248-252; 278-281; 286; 476-478.

25 The mystical states and stations included in Adile Sultan’s *Dīwān* constitute a separate subject of study, and for some of these concepts, see, Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 289, 372, 376, 310, 319, 185, 193, 297, 368, 439, 329.

In her poetry, the Sultan—an adherent disciple who strictly observed the etiquette of her Sufi order—often expresses the fervour of a passionate lover, while also approaching the hierarchical structure of *Sharī'a* (law), *Ṭarīqa* (path), *Ḥaqīqa* (truth), and *Ma'rifah* (gnosis) with a refined sensitivity. Adile Sultan appears as a seeker striving to pass through these four spiritual gates in proper order and with sound faith. In the following couplets, she skilfully intertwines her position within the circle of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa'l-Jamā'ah* with her affection for the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the Twelve Imams, while affirming her adherence to the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence in matters of practice.

*You made us the ummah of the Messenger, so that we may give abundant thanks*

*The beloved companions of Muṣṭafā, the noble friends of faith*

*We follow the Companions and love the Twelve Imams*

*This Ḥanafī path is our school—guidance for the righteous.*<sup>26</sup>

Her inclusion of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the Twelve Imams as the spiritual heads of the Sufis is closely connected to the tradition maintained by many Sufi orders whose lineages trace back to 'Alī. Indeed, in most Sufi genealogies, one or more of the Prophet's first eight descendants are included, and the title *Aqtāb al-arba'a* ("the Four Poles") among the Sufis is attributed to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Rifā'ī, Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dasūqī, and Aḥmad al-Badawī—all of whom are blood descendants of the Prophet.<sup>27</sup>

In her poem dedicated to the Twelve Imams, Adile Sultan refers to 'Alī as *Veliyy-i pur vefā* ("the most faithful saint") and describes Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as *zīb-i tāj-i awliyā* ("the jewel in the crown of the saints"). According to her, each of the Twelve Imams serves as a spiritual head of the Sufis, and love for the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the Twelve Imams is indispensable for the Sufi seeker. In the verses dedicated to Imām Muḥammad al-Jawād al-Taqī (d. 220/835), the ninth in the line, she writes: "Do not flee, O Sufi, come to this great spiritual lodge; come to the love of the

<sup>26</sup> Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 186.

<sup>27</sup> Gülgün Uyar, *Ehl-i Beyt İslam Tarihinde Ali-Fâtıma Evlâdı* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 2008), 41-42.

descendants of the Messenger of God.” By this, she declares that she regards the circle of the *Ahl al-Bayt* as a “great spiritual lodge.”<sup>28</sup>

The classification of Sufis in the *Diwān*, led by the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the Twelve Imams, continues with the odes she wrote about Abu Ayyub al-Ansari (d. 49/669) from among the Companions and Veysel Karanî (d. 37/657) from among the Followers. In her ode, Adile Sultan emphasises that Ayyub al-Ansari honoured Istanbul and confesses that she is a devoted follower of Ayyub al-Ansari’s tomb.<sup>29</sup> Eyup Sultan was Adile Sultan’s second residence, especially during Ramadan. Because Adile Sultan would repair the women’s masjid next to the tomb every year during Ramadan and spend time in retreat there for i’tikaf, the masjid became known as the “Adile Sultan room.” The Sultan wrote her ode in this room, which she completed with the verse, “*To you, this humble servant Adile at your door, a devoted slave / Show mercy, do not let me be ashamed, O Abu Ayyub al-Ansari.*”<sup>30</sup> Official records show that Adile Sultan frequently visited the Ayyub Sultan Tomb outside of Ramadan and did not forget to give charity to the needy around the tomb as well as the members of the neighbourhood police station.<sup>31</sup>

After Abu Ayyub al-Ansari, Adile Sultān makes Veysel Karanî, whom she describes with the phrases “*‘arif-i ilm-i ledun*” and “*‘ mebbe’-i aşk u ma’nā*”, the subject of her poetry. In Sufi literature, Veysel Karanî occupies the foremost position among the Sufis of the *tabi’un* generation.<sup>32</sup> The fact that Veysel Karanî received spiritual blessings despite not seeing the Prophet, his seclusion, and the Prophet’s gift of His cloak to Veysel Karanî laid the groundwork for the concept of *Uwaysiyya* in later centuries, which refers to completing the spiritual journey from a guide who is no longer alive.<sup>33</sup> According to Adile Sultan, the deprivation experienced by Veysel Karanî is marked by the spiritual union symbolized

28 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 231.

29 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 236.

30 Mazak, *Sultan II. Mahmud’ın Kızı Adile Sultan*, 51.

31 Akyıldız, *Adile Sultan Müsrif Mümin Muîn Şâir*, 215.

32 Hucvîrî, *Hakikat Bilgisi Keşfü’l-Mahcûb*, çev. Süleyman Uludağ (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2010), 149.

33 Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Veysel Karanî ve Üveysilik* (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1982), 92; Necdet Tosun, “Veysel Karanî”, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2013), 43/75.

by the Prophet's gift of His cloak to him.<sup>34</sup> Adile Sultan, who is interested in historical events related to the figures she wrote her odes about, seeks the spiritual support (himmet) of Veysel Karānī and mentions in her poem that he was martyred in the Battle of Siffin.

Although Adile Sultan was a sincere Naqshbandi disciple, she was free from fanaticism and showed the utmost respect to the sheikhs, who were considered the main leaders of the order. At the end of her ode entitled "Der Vaf-i Pīrān-i İsnā Aşer Kuddise Esrāruhum" (In Praise of the Twelve Leaders, May Their Secrets Be Sanctified), she expresses this affection as follows:

*Adile, I am the humble servant of the Friends of God  
I have fallen into the love of each of their shrines.<sup>35</sup>*

The Sultan composed independent poems consisting of seven to eight verses for each of the twelve founding masters of the orders. In the ode, which reveals the Sultan to be a keen follower of Sufi literature and history, the founding masters of the orders are listed in chronological order, and the date of death of each one, except for Sādeddin Cibāvi, is given in the last verse. The masters mentioned in the ode are, in order: Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani (d. 561/1166), Ahmad al-Rifa'i (d. 578/1182), Ahmad al-Badawi (d. 675/1276), Sa'd al-Din al-Jibawi (d. 575/1180), Ibrahim al-Dasuqi (d. 676/1277), Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234), Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili (d. 656/1258), Haji Bektash Veli [approx. 669/1271], Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 672/1273), Baha al-Din Naqshband (d. 791/1389), Haji Bayram Veli (d. 833/1430), and Sayyid Yahya Shirvani (d. 870/1466).

In her ode, the Sultan first expresses her respect for the twelve Sufi masters, then provides information about the prominent aspects of Sufism in history. Some of these include the sayyid lineage of Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani and Ahmad al-Rifa'i, the role of Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi in the order, the miracle of Haji Bektash Veli moving a wall,<sup>36</sup> and the fact that Yahya Shirvani was the founding master of the Halveti order. In her poem, Adile Sultan also provides information about the guidance methods of the spiritual masters. She highlights Ahmad al-Badawi's method

34 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 237.

35 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 245.

36 For the aforementioned miracle, see Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Manâkıb-ı Hünkâr Hacı Bektâş-ı Velî: Vilâyet-nâme* (İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1995), 28.

of guidance through the gaze and Abu al-Hasan al-Shadhili's knowledge-centered approach to spiritual guidance. Additionally, she introduces Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi with the couplet, "*Nazim-i Mathnawi vu ramez-i sirr-i Kur'an / Tercemân-i Nebevî menba'-i irfân u vefâ*" (The poet of the Masnavi, the elucidator of the Quran's secrets / The interpreter of Prophetic wisdom, the source of knowledge and loyalty,) and summarizes his guidance method as: "*Çillesi cilvedir adâb-i tarîki irşâd / Matbahi aşk ocağı bâbi melâz-i fukarâ*" (His spiritual retreat is a display of divine grace, his etiquette of the path is guidance / His kitchen is the hearth of love, his door a refuge for the poor.)<sup>37</sup>

Another place in the *Dîwân* of Adile Sultan where we can see her thoughts and statements about the sheikhs is the ode entitled "Der zikr-i Meşâhir-i Evliyâ-yi Der Sa'aâdet" in which she introduces the famous Sufis of Istanbul. In this ode, which answers the question "Who are the Sufis of Istanbul?" from the perspective of a lady of the dynasty, Adile Sultân discusses 16 famous Sufis of Istanbul.<sup>38</sup> The most striking feature of the poem, in which each Sufi is mentioned in a single verse, is the inclusion of Sultan Adile's grandfather, Fatih Sultan Mehmed (d. 886/1481), in fourth place. Sultan Adile considers all the soldiers in Fatih Sultan Mehmed's army to be Sufis as well:

*His Excellency Fatih Muhammad Khan, the noble Sufi  
All the soldiers of the devoted ghazis are Sufis*<sup>39</sup>

Several Sufis are mentioned in the qasida. Although difficult to categorise, most of them fall into Khalwati related branches while others are either independent on their own or affiliated with other orders. The sufis mentioned in the qasida are listed as follows Fatih Sultan Mehmed; Muslihuddin Mustafa Abu al-Vefâ (d. 896/1491), founder of the Wafâiyya branch of the Zayniyya order; İsmâil Rûmî (d. 1041/1631), founder of the Rûmiyya branch of the Qadiriyya order; Ismail Rusuhi Ankaravi (d. 1041/1631), Mawlavi sheikh and commentator on the Masnavi; Aziz Mahmud Hudayi, founder of the Jalwatiyya order (d. 1038/1628); Sayyid Selâmî Ali Efendi (d. 1103/1691), founder of the Selâmiyya branch of the Jalwatiyya order; Yahya Efendi of Beshiktash (d. 978/1571); Sunbul Sinan

37 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 239-245.

38 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 248-250.

39 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 248.

(d. 936/1529), founder of the Sunbuliyya branch of the Khalwatiyya order; Merkez Efendi (d. 959/1552), Khalwati-Sunbuli sheikh; Khalwati-Sinānī sheikh Sayyid Nizām (d. 1010/1601); Husām al-Din Ushshaqi (d. 1001/1593); Nureddin Cerrahi (d. 1133/1721); Mehmed Nasuhi, founder of the Nasuhi branch of the Khalwati-Shabani order (d. 1130/1718); Şemseddin Sivāsī (d. 1006/1597); Ibrahim Umami Sinan (d. 976/1568); and Ramazan Mahfi, founder of the Ramazaniyya branch of the Khalwatiyya-Ahmadiyya order (d. 1025/1616).

In the continuation of the ode, Adile Sultan summarises the prominent characteristics of each of the Istanbul Sufis, without giving their dates of death. Indeed, in the couplet, *Sheikh Ismail Rumi, the knower of the secret of God / He is the second master in the Qadiriyya, that pole of Sufis* she emphasises the importance of Ismail Rumi in terms of Istanbul Qadiri order. Similarly, the verse *Sharīh-i nazm-i celil-i Mathnawī-i manevi / Ankaravi kashif-i esrar-i ask-i Mawlawi* (Ankaravi, the commentator of the sublime verse of the spiritual *Mathnawī* / The discoverer of the secrets of Mawlawi love) highlights Ismail Ankaravi's role as a commentator on *Mathnawī*, exemplifying the style he followed. At the end of the ode, Adile Sultan professes that she is a sincere dervish following the path of the Sufis of Istanbul: *These were in the city of Istanbul, a paradise on earth / Adile Sultan was devoted to them all with sincerity.*<sup>40</sup>

The poems Adile Sultan dedicated to saints demonstrate that she was a dervish who embodied knowledge and love throughout her Sufi journey. In her poems, Adile Sultan, who appears to have included saints in chronological order, primarily professes her love for the Ahl al-Bayt and the Twelve Imams. It is understood that she had a deep understanding of the Sufi journeys of the founding saints of the Sufi order, drawing on reliable sources and through in-depth reading. Sharing with the reader the distinctive qualities and miracles of each Sufi order, the Sultan frequently expresses her respect for them. The information she provides regarding the tombs of the saints in Istanbul, in particular, demonstrates that we are dealing with a Sultan who was a devout member of the Sufi order.

40 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 248-250.

## 2. Adile Sultan's Order, Bālā Tekke, and Services to the Medina Mehmed Jān Zawīya

Adile Sultān's *Dīwān* provides solid evidence of her love and devotion to the Sufis, but it also contains serious information about her entry into the path of Sufism, her order, her sheikh, and her seyr u sulūq.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the information that she was a disciple of Ali Efendi of Shumen (d. 1297/1880), the sheikh of the Bālā Dergāh and the caliph of Sheikh Muhammed Jān Efendi (d. 1266/1850) of the Naqshbandiyya order in Istanbul, is primarily traced from her *Dīwān*.

In her poem titled “Tārih-i İntikāl-i Hazreti eṣ-Şeyh Ali kuddise sirruhu” in the Sultan's *Dīwān*,<sup>42</sup> she states that Sheikh Ali Efendi was her spiritual guide in the Naqshbandi order.<sup>43</sup> However, even more significant is the fact that the *Dīwān* manuscripts numbered 995, 996, and 997 in the Treasury Library section of the Topkapı Palace Library contain the Naqshbandi silsila (chain of transmission) to which she was directly connected. Another source related to the order to which Adile Sultān belonged is her waqfiyya (endowment deed). In her waqf dated 28 Jumada al-Ula 1308, Adile Sultan introduces her sheikh with the phrase, “my sheikh, my guide, the late Sayyid al-Sheikh al-Hajj Ali Efendi, who is buried in the dergah-i sharif.”<sup>44</sup>

Noting that the Naqshbandiyya path to which she belonged reached back to Abu Bakr and the Prophet, the Sultan describes Abu Bakr by name in the verse, “Our leader is Abu Bakr, the greatest of the righteous,” and with the phrase “yār-i gār” in the verse, *Give me, cupbearer, the crystal cup of my soul's desire / For in the depths of my heart, my beloved is the king of the world.*<sup>45</sup> She first expressed her allegiance to Baha al-Din Naqshband (d. 791/1389), the founding master of the Naqshbandi order, in her poem entitled “Der vasf-i pīrān-i isnā aṣer kuddise esrāruhūm” (On the description of the twelve masters, may their secrets be sanctified),

41 İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, 1/ 15; Mehmet Tâhir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, 2/ 335; Azamat, “Âdile Sultan”, 1/382.

42 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 278.

43 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 476-478.

44 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Vakfiyesi*, 105.

45 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 245, 322.

which she composed in honour of the twelve masters of the order.<sup>46</sup> Adile Sultan wrote a separate ten-verse ode about the order's founder, Baha al-Din Naqshband, entitled "Der vasf-i Hazreti Pîr Muhammed Bahâeddîn Nakş-bend". In the ode, the Sultan provides information about the Naqshbandiyya chain of transmission, which was completed by Abu Bakr, its principles based on purification of the heart, its method of remembrance, and the last two spiritual guides of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya branch to which it belongs:

*Our guide is Hazrat Siddiq al-'Azam*

*The pure lineage is the sovereignty of the Naqshband*

*Our remembrance is sometimes subtle, sometimes intense*

*The refuge of all, rich and poor, is Naqshband*

*My guide's guide is Muhammad Cān*

*My guide is the faithful Sheikh Ali Nakshband*

*O Adile, do not stray from the path of righteousness*

*The venerable Pir is the embodiment of grace Nakshband<sup>47</sup>*

Adile Sultan underwent a spiritual journey affiliated with the Mujaddiyya-Dihlewiyya branch of the Naqshbandiyya. The name she presents as "the guide of my guide" in her poem is the Indian Sheikh Muhammad Jān al-Naqshbandi (d. 1266/1850).<sup>48</sup> Sheikh Muhammad Jān became the caliph of Abdullah al-Dihlawī (d. 1240/1824), famous in the Ghulam Ali branch of the Nakshbandi-Mujaddidi order, under the name Ghulam Ali, and continued his spiritual guidance activities in Mecca with the licence

46 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 244.

47 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 245.

48 Abdullah Dihlevî (d. 1240/1824) Born in Punjab in 1743, after studying exoteric and esoteric sciences, at the age of 22 he joined the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi sheikh Mazhar Jān-i Jānān (d. 1195/1781) and served him for 22 years. His dergah served as a madrasa for seekers from Damascus, Anatolia, Iraq, the Hijaz, and Khorasan, providing them with Sufi education. Abdullah al-Dihlawī, who is recorded as having attained the high favour of his sheikh Mazhar Jān-i Jānān, was known for his deep love for Allah and His Messenger, his adherence to the Sunnah, his generosity and his humility. Al-Dihlawī, who influenced a wide region through the caliphs he trained, sent his famous caliphs to Anatolia: Muhammad Jān the Indian (1267/1850) and Khālīd al-Baghdādī (d. 1242/1827). His most important work is *Maqāmāt-ı Mazhariyya*, and his letters are collected in *Mekātib-i Şerîfe*. For his life and works, see: Süleyman Uludağ, "Abdullah ed-Dihlevî", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1998), 1/94-95; Kadir Özköse-Halil İbrahim Şimşek, *Altın Silsile'den Altın Halkalar* (Nasihat Yayınları, 2009), 367-373; Abdullah Dehlevî, *Makamât-ı Mazharî*, çev. Necdet Tosun (İstanbul: Erkam Yayınları, 2024); Necdet Tosun, *Abdullah Dehlevî (Hayatı ve Sohbetleri)*, İstanbul, 2025.

he received from him. Muhammed Jān trained his caliph, Ali Efendi of Shumen (d. 1297/1880), and sent him on a mission to Istanbul, where he became the sheikh of Adile Sultān.

Before providing information about the lives of both spiritual guides, it should be noted that Adile Sultān shared the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiya lineage to which she belonged in her *Dīwān*. The Sultan, who only provides the silsilanama (lineage) found in the copies of the Topkapi Palace Treasury section under the heading “Hāzā Silsile-i Naqshbandiyya” (This is the Naqshbandiyya Lineage), also states that she was authorised in the Qadiri, Suhrawardi and Kubrawi paths, and lists the names of her sheikhs in the Naqshbandiyya lineage as follows: The Prophet Muhammad (d. 11/632), followed by Abu Bakr al-Siddiq (d. 13/634), Salman al-Farisi (d. approx. 36/657), Imam Ja’far al-Sadiq (d. 148/765), Bayazid al-Bistami (approx. 261/874), Abu al-Hasan al-Kharaqani (d. 425/1033), Khwaja Abu al-Qasim al-Jurjani (d. approx 450/1058), Abu Ali al-Farmadi (d. 477/1084), Yusuf al-Hamadani (d. 535/1140), Abd al-Khaliq al-Ghujdawani (d. 575/1179), Arif al-Riwgari (d. approx. 615/1219), Mahmud Anjirfaghnavi (d. approx 641/1243), Ali al-Ramitani (d. approx. 715/1315), Baba Sammasi (d. approx 755/1354), Amir Kulal (d. approx. 772/1370), Baha al-Din Naqshband (d. 791/1389), Ala al-Din Attar (d. 802/1400), Yaqub al-Charkhi (d. 851/1447), Ubaydullah Ahrar (d. 895/1490), Muhammad Zahid Wakhshi (d. 936/1529), Mawlana Darwish Muhammad Amkanaki (d. 970/1563), Baqi Billah (d. 1012/1603), Imam Rabbani Ahmad al-Sirhindi (d. 1034/1624), Muhammad Ma’sum (d. 1079/1668), Shaykh Sayf al-Din (d. approx 1107/1696), Khwaja Hafiz Muhammad Hasan (d. approx. 1137/1725), Sayyid Nur Muhammad Badauni (d. approx. 1166/1753), Mazhar-e Jan-e Janan Abdullah al-Hindi al-Dehlawi (d. 1195/1781), Shaykh Muhammad Jan (d. 1239/1824), Shaykh Ali al-Naqshbandi al-Mujaddidi (1297/1880), and Shaykh Sa’id Jan (d. 1301/1884).<sup>49</sup>

Sheikh Muhammad Jān, described by Adile Sultān as “the guide of my guide”, served for twenty years at the tomb of Hāce Kutbuddīn-i Bahtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1235), one of the Chishti sheikhs buried in Delhi, India and then received the cloak of the order from Abdullah al-Dihlawi, founder of

49 Özdemir, *Ādile Sultan Divāni*, 476-477.

the Mujaddidiya-Dihlawiyya branch.<sup>50</sup> It is recorded that Sheikh Muhammad Jan, who came to Mecca from India and settled there, continuing his guidance activities, had previously come to Istanbul from his sheikh's other caliph, Khalid al-Baghdadi, and expanded the Naqshbandiyya guidance in Istanbul and Anatolia.<sup>51</sup> However, recent studies on his life show that Sheikh Muhammad Jân did not come to Istanbul himself. Instead, it was his son and caliph, Muhammad Saïd Jân (d. 1301/1884), who came to Istanbul in 1884 and died in the same year, who remained in the position of postnishin for 34 years after his father's death.<sup>52</sup>

The most noteworthy piece of information linking Sheikh Muhammad Jan to Istanbul is that he was the sheikh of Sultan Abdulmecid's mother, Bezmiâlem Valide Sultan (d. 1853). The fame of the sheikh, who healed the sick with his gaze and powerful affection and was said to have performed many miracles, reached Bezmiâlem Valide Sultan, and the Sultan, who became a disciple of the sheikh in absentia, had a dervish lodge built for Sheikh Muhammad Jân in Mecca.<sup>53</sup> The strong favour shown by the palace towards Sheikh Muhammad Jan and his dervish lodge in Mecca is also recorded in the archives of the Ottoman Imperial Library. Certainly, in 1266/1849, Muhammad Said Efendi, the son and successor of Muhammad Jân, was granted a certificate and a salary, and in 1271/1854, when the dervish lodge's land was violated by another person, the palace ruled in favour of Sheikh Muhammad Said Efendi.<sup>54</sup>

Sheikh Muhammad Jan, referred to as "Sheikh al-Haram" in Adile Sultan's waqf, had the opportunity to spread the principles of the Naqshbandiyya path across a wide geography stretching from Istanbul to Bursa, Ödemiş, Kilis and Kayseri through his caliphs. The majority of the caliphs recorded as

50 Osmanzâde Hüseyin Vassâf, *Sefîne-i Evliyâ*, trc. Mehmet Akkuş-Ali Yılmaz (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2006), 2/301.

51 Süleyman Uludağ, "Hâlidiyye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 1997), 15/297; Hamid Algar, "Nakşibendiyye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006), 32/340.

52 Necdet Tosun, "19. Yüzyılda Mekke'de Önemli Bir Nakşbendî Şeyhi: Muhammed Cân". *Prof. Dr. Ethem Cebecioğlu'na Armağan* (Ankara: İlahiyat Yayınları, 2023), 213.

53 Uludağ, "Hâlidiyye", 15/296; "Muhammed Cân", ed. İlhan Apak, *İslam Alimleri Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türkiye Gazetesi, ts), 18/129; Tosun, "19.Yüzyılda Mekke'de Önemli Bir Nakşbendî Şeyhi: Muhammed Cân", 212.

54 Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA), "EV.BRT", Kutu: 94, Gömlek No. 33; Osmanlı Arşivi BOA, "A.) MKT.MHM", Kutu: 73, Gömlek No. 86.

part of the Naqshbandi order were from the Ottoman court elite and among the prominent scholars, calligraphers, and musicians of their time. Some of these figures include: Bezmiâlem Valide Sultan (d. 1853), the mother of an Ottoman sultan; Sheikh Abdullah Ferdi Efendi (d. 1274/1857), the postnishin (head) of the Emir Buhari Tekke; his son, Sheikh Sa'îd Efendi (d. 1304/1884); Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen (d. 1297/1880), the sheikh of the Bala Kulliye; Abdullah Ayyubi (d. 1232/1836), the Reis-ul-Kurra (chief of Quranic reciters); Haji Hilmi Efendi of Ödemiş (d. 1285/1868); Sheikh Ahmad Baba (d. 1261/1845), the founder of the Ahmad Baba Dergah in Bursa; Sheikh Ahmad Ferid Efendi (d. 1284/1867), the sheikh of the Munzawi Dergah in Bursa; Sheikh Haji Emin Efendi (d. 1314/1896), one of the postnishins of the Emir Sultan Dergah in Bursa; Hasan Tahsin Bey (d. 1278/1861), a Rumeli kazasker (chief judge), director of orphans' affairs, and nakibulashraf (head of the descendants of the Prophet); the calligrapher Rasih Mehmet Efendi (d. 1259/1843); Kazasker Mustafa Izzet (1801–1876), a prominent figure in Ottoman calligraphy and music; Abdullah Serмест Tazebay (d. 1298/1882), a Naqshbandi sheikh from Kilis; Hocazade Abdullah Enveri (d. 1887), a scholar of logic in the late Ottoman period; and Harputlu Haji Ömer Efendi (d. 1293/1878), who disseminated knowledge in Kayseri.<sup>55</sup>

Adile Sultan was thirty years old when Sheikh Muhammad Jân's disciple, Bezmiâlem Valide Sultan, passed away, and she was probably aware of Valide Sultan's Sufi circle. Indeed, Cemâleddîn Server Revnakoğlu recounts a story that suggests Adile Sultan was a disciple of Sheikh Muhammed Jân, having communicated with him through spiritual means. According to this story, one day in Mecca, Adile Sultan asked Sheikh Muhammed Jân to send a sheikh to Istanbul remotely. Sheikh Muhammed *Jan* then appointed Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen, who was with him, as his successor and sent him on his way, making the witty remark, "You Rascal! It's a good thing the Sultan asked for a sheikh; if she had asked for a dervish, I would have had to go myself!"<sup>56</sup>

On the other hand, Reşat Ekrem Koçu places Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen's arrival in Istanbul at a slightly later date. Koçu states that after residing in Anatolia and Arabia, the sheikh came to Istanbul in 1868,

55 Yücer, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Tasavvuf (19.yüzyıl)*, 300, 321-322, 802.

56 *Mustafa Koç, Revnakoğlu'nun İstanbul'u İstanbul'un İç Tarihi Fatih, 5/ 2282.*

joined the palace, and, with the patronage he received from the imperial harem, had the Bālā Dergāh built.<sup>57</sup> In the above anecdote, Revnakoğlu links Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen's dispatch to Istanbul as a sheikh to Adile Sultan, while in his other notes he adds that Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen arrived in Istanbul in 1868 and served as the custodian of the Tezveren Dede tomb in the Çemberlitaş Molla Fenārī neighbourhood for about ten years. He records that the sheikh was part of the group that went on the hajj with Sultan Abdulaziz's mother, Pertevniyāl Valide Sultan, that he did his military service while in Mecca. He also says, that he joined Muhammad Jān Efendi there, and that he returned to Istanbul after staying in Mecca for a while. In his notes, Revnakoğlu relates the sheikh's summons to Istanbul this time not to Adile Sultan but to Pertevniyāl Valide Sultan. He states that upon Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen's return to Istanbul, at the request of Pertevniyāl Valide Sultan and by the sultan's decree, established a small, hut-like zawiya consisting of two rooms on the grounds of the tekke of Beshiktashli Hilmi Efendi, known as the Bālā gate, and became the sheikh of the zawiya.<sup>58</sup>

The conflicting information provided by Revnakoğlu regarding Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen's arrival in Istanbul can be resolved by the date of Sheikh Muhammed Jān's death and, to some extent, by the waqf sources related to the Bālā Tekke. Considering that Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen was the caliph of Muhammed Jān, he must have come to Istanbul after receiving the caliphate before 1850, the date of his sheikh's death.

Considering the information conveyed by Revnakoğlu that Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen served as a tomb keeper in Çemberlitaş for ten years, it is possible that he came to Istanbul approximately twelve years before being appointed as the sheikh of the Bālā tekke in 1862. Indeed, in this case, it would be more accurate to associate his transition to the tekke leadership with Bezmiālem Valide Sultan (d. 1853), a disciple of Sheikh Muhammed Jān, rather than Pertevniyāl Valide Sultan (d. 1884).

After Sheikh Ali Efendi's death, his eldest son, Muhammed Sādeddin Efendi, became the postnishin (head) of the Bālā tekke. Upon Sādeddin Efendi's death, his son Ziyāeddin Efendi was mentally ill, so his brother

<sup>57</sup> Hakkı Göktürk, "Bālā Cāmii ve Tekke, Türbe, Sebil ve Çeşmeleri". *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat, 1958), 4/1958.

<sup>58</sup> Mustafa Koç, *Revnakoğlu'nun İstanbul'u İstanbul'un İç Tarihi Fatih*, 5/2281, 2293.

Mehmed Fahreddin Efendi took over as postnishin and continued the tekke's activities of guidance until the tekkes were closed in 1925.<sup>59</sup> Following the death of her sheikh Ali Efendi, in 1880, Adile Sultan continued her spiritual journey by joining his son, Muhammad Sadeddin Efendi, and sustained her service at the Bâlâ Dergah. The greatest of these services was the expansion of the complex's land and the reconstruction of the dergah from scratch, made possible by the financial support she provided to Sheikh Muhammed Sâdeddin Efendi after the 1894 earthquake. According to Revnakoğlu, during the official opening of the complex on 13 November 1896, food was served to the poor for three days and three nights, Mevlid was recited, and milk and sherbet were served from the fountains.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps due to the Sultan's trust and approval of Mehmed Sâdeddin Efendi, newspapers of the period reported that on 13 October 1887, he was entrusted with the task of repairing a dry fountain in Yukari Dudullu, Uskudar, and building a new fountain opposite it.<sup>61</sup>

Adile Sultân served Muhammad Jân, whom she presented as "the guide of my guide," both materially and spiritually at his dervish lodge on Mount Abu Qubays in Mecca. Indeed, at the behest of her sheikh Ali Efendi, she had an elaborate tomb built over the grave of Sheikh Muhammad Jân and sent a chandelier as a gift to be hung there. Furthermore, in her waqf dated 6 July 1309 / 1892, she endowed thirty Ottoman lira for the recitation of the Mevlid-i Sharif once a year as a gift to the soul of Sheikh Muhammad Jân.<sup>62</sup> However, Sharif Abdurrefik Pasha demolished the mausoleum and decorations built for Muhammad Jan Efendi on the grounds that the graves of the companions and followers buried in Cennetu'l-Mu'alla had been levelled to the ground.<sup>63</sup> Huseyyin Vassâf noted that during his Hajj visit on 25 January 1906, he saw only the remaining earthen foundation of the tomb. Vassâf, who later had the opportunity to examine the fate of the tomb in the newspapers of the period, sadly adds that in 1925, the Wahhabis completely demolished Sheikh Mehmed Jân's tomb,

59 Göktürk, "Bâlâ Câmii ve Tekke, Türbe, Sebil ve Çeşmeleri", 4/1958.

60 Koç, *Revnakoğlu'nun İstanbul'u İstanbul'un İç Tarihi Fatih*, 5/2294.

61 Akyıldız, *Âdile Sultan Müsriif Mümin Muîn Şâir*, 320.

62 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 125.

63 Hüseyin Vassâf, *Sefîne-i Evliyâ*, 2/ 301.

along with many other tombs in Cennetu'l-Muallā, including the tomb of Hazrat Amina.<sup>64</sup>

### 3. Adile Sultan's Allegiance to Sheikh Ali Efendi of Shumen and Traces of Her Sufism in Her Dīwān

According to information quoted by Revnakoğlu from Muhyiddin Efendi's *Rehber-i Tekāyā*, Ali Efendi was the first sheikh of the Bālā Dergāh, a man of great stature, and the sheikh of both Adile Sultan and Valide Sultan. He passed away on Friday, 24th of Dhul-Qa'dah 1297, at the age of seventy-four. He is buried in his own tomb within the Bālā complex.<sup>65</sup>

In her *Dīwān*, Adile Sultan uses the expressions "our sheikh, our guide, and our role model" for her sheikh, Ali Efendi, while in her poems she prefers the terms "my sheikh Ali," "great sultan," and "pole of the age." Describing herself as her sheikh's "devoted lover," the sultan wrote three poems for her sheikh in her *Dīwān*. The first of these is titled "Der Şān-i Hazreti Şeyh Ali" (In Praise of Sheikh Ali). According to Adile Sultan, in her poem consisting of eight couplets with the refrain "My Sheikh Ali," her sheikh is a guide who continues his duty of guidance in the Naqshbandiyya order, hidden behind a veil of humility, a possessor of esoteric knowledge, a person of grace and wisdom, whose words and conversations are influential.

*The seat of the Shah of Naqshband*

*The source of grace, the treasure of knowledge, my Sheikh Ali*

*Your noble grace, each word is a miracle*

*The wise and learned of high rank, my Sheikh Ali*

*You showed us the Path of Truth and guided us*

*The jewel of the ocean of honour and grace, my Sheikh Ali*

*O guardian, the blind man never sees you*

*O my master Ali, manifestation of the light of divine grace*<sup>66</sup>

Adile Sultān wrote two other poems entitled "Tārih-i İntikal-i eş-Şeyh Ali Kuddise Sirruhu" and "velehū" upon the death of her sheikh. Indeed, she shares with the reader the sorrow of parting from her

64 Hüseyin Vassâf, *Hicâz Hâtrastı*, çev. Mehmet Akkuş (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyat, 2011), 136.

65 Koç, *Revnakoğlu'nun İstanbul'u İstanbul'un İç Tarihi Fatih*, 5/ 2282.

66 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 247-248.

spiritual guide in the very first verse. Based on other information given in the poem about her spiritual guide, Sheikh Ali Efendi, who is referred to as the “Nakshbandi Dergah,” was teaching hatme-hācegān at the Bālā dergah and stood out for his beautiful qualities such as patience, trust, submission, and contentment. Sheikh Ali Efendi was a Sufi who prefers unity and seclusion, but he guides the seekers who come to him through training, conversation, and remembrance of Allah.

*He performed hatm-i hāce at the Naqshbandi dergah*

*He had found the true path, the manifestation of God's grace*

*He had drawn his pure essence to the corner of unity*

*With the virtues of patience and trust, he accepted and consented<sup>67</sup>*

In her final poem about the sheikh, Adile Sultan establishes a connection between paradise and the spiritual guide, stating that paradise is the vision of the beloved and that one can only reach this paradise through a perfect spiritual guide. She herself entered this paradise through her Sheikh, Ali Efendi, whom she describes as a man of miracles and the “pole of the age”. In the poem, Adile Sultan states that Ali Efendi was the caliph of Sheikh Muhammad Jan and completes her poem by noting the date of her sheikh's death.

*He was indeed one of the companions of miracles*

*The Pole of the Age, His Holiness Sheikh Ali*

*Cān Muhammad was his guide*

*His connection was the proximity to the Prophet*

*From lineage to lineage, up to the Naqshband*

*He attained the path of caliphate*

*Adile, may love and supplication be from us*

*The highest blessings upon his soul*

*This historical account was narrated by the Forty*

*The one who attained the Truth, my Sheikh Aliyy-i Velī<sup>68</sup>*

Based on the poems of Adile Sultan, it can be said that her sheikh Ali Efendi, had a hatme-hācegān performed for her, that she regularly visited his tekke, and that she participated in his conversations. According to the Sultan, being a member of the order meant being free from all kinds

67 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divāni*, 279.

68 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divāni*, 281.

of sorrow, so she clung tightly to this belief and hoped to be successful in her seyr u sulûq:

*The Muslims found salvation from misguidance, indeed  
Those who follow the path are free from sorrow and grief  
Drown me, O God, in the sea of love  
Make me a witness on the path of the Sufi order*<sup>69</sup>

Her expectation from her spiritual journey is to purify herself, like Ibrahim b. Edhem (d. 161/778 [?]), and to join the ranks of the dervishes who give their lives for the path of Allah. This aspiration is very clear in her poem entitled "Dervishes":

*Do not prolong your words, Adile  
Be a dervish in your essence  
So that you may see the face of God  
Do not hurt the dervishes*<sup>70</sup>

According to Adile Sultan, who was also knowledgeable about the criteria for a healthy spiritual journey, the most fundamental step of the journey is to seek out the true Sufi to whom one will surrender for guidance. Moreover, the true Sufi is free from vices such as arrogance, conceit, hypocrisy, and hatred. They are people of purity who appear among the people as ordinary individuals;

*There is no vanity, arrogance, or hatred in the Sufis of Allah  
Who appear among the common people as the group of the pure  
The people of perfection walk among the people without distinction  
Seek him, for he is hidden among people without distinction*<sup>71</sup>

The presence of a perfect sheikh who will guide and instruct the disciples on the path of Sufism is essential. The most important thing for a disciple who pledges allegiance to a perfect sheikh to pay attention to is to remain steadfast in her allegiance and to remain under the supervision of her sheikh until she completes her journey and path.<sup>72</sup> Sultan addresses this fundamental principle of Sufism in most of the poems in her *Dîwân*. According to her, the etiquette and principles of the order

69 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 446, 441.

70 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 286.

71 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 296, 314.

72 Reşat Öngören, "Seyh", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2010), 39/50.

can only be learned in the presence of a perfect guide. The seeker receives the grace of God through the guide. The material aspect of man meets his spiritual aspect through the perfect guide. Certainly, some of her verses on the subject are as follows:

*Come to the presence of the guide and learn the etiquette and rules  
O Allah, keep me safe and protect me on this path  
The drinkers of the assembly offer the cup of purity every time  
This meaning is revealed through the secret of the guide, O Adile  
I am the servant of the guide, the servant of the servant  
Do not think he is faithful, for God's sake  
Place your trust in service, for the guide's grace is attained  
The door to the beauty of the beloved's face opens, O heart  
Kingdom, wealth, and sovereignty are but empty claims, Adile  
The one who lays his head at the Sheikh's threshold is the true sultan  
Adile, the keeper of secrets, will surely take you in  
Come to the guide's hankah and be a seeker of grace<sup>73</sup>*

It is recorded that during the days when the Sultan participated in the hatme-hâcegân ceremonies at the Bâlâ Tekke, to which he belonged, and was admitted to the dervish lodge, enthusiastic zikrs took place.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, Adile Sultan's love for the dervish lodge and her eagerness to be in the presence of her spiritual guide are expressed in her ghazal with the refrain "var" (there is);

*Kissing the threshold of the dergah  
Hoping to prostrate with eagerness  
Our sincere devotion on this path is pure  
The prayer is ever present in the heart"  
Therein lies thought, imagination, and connection  
In Adile there is such a revered sheikh<sup>75</sup>*

Another topic addressed in Adile Sultân's *Dîwân* regarding spiritual journey and practice is teveccuh (spiritual attention) and sohbet (conversation), which hold significant importance within the Naqshbandi order. In the etiquette of the Sufi path, sohbet generally refers to benefiting from

73 For other verses in the *Dîwân* concerning following the spiritual guide, see: *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 393, 337, 367, 388, 180, 192, 210, 291, 298.

74 Koçu, "Âdile Sultan", 1/217.

75 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 334-335.

the words of a living spiritual guide (murşid) in their presence. Most of those on the path of spiritual training (sulûq ) undertake their journey of guidance through such conversations. Indeed, Bahâeddin Naqshband's statement, "Our path is the path of sohbet," is cited as a primary reference in this regard.<sup>76</sup> Sultan, a Naqshbandi disciple, also mentions in her poems that he drew spiritual nourishment from the conversations of her spiritual guide, Ali Efendi. His spiritual guide's conversations bestowed divine blessings upon her heart and freed her from all kinds of false hopes:

*The face of the friend is a mirror that reflects the tongue and the gaze  
For the beautiful face is the source of pleasure, it gives the soul  
Always listen to the conversations of the wise with the ear of the soul  
They become lovers conversing with the spiritual Lord  
Through the conversation of the beloved, the soul and heart find every delight  
The heart has no inclination towards vain dreams in this world  
Accept the conversation of the faithful with the ear of the soul  
With them, let the word be the truthful word to God  
Come, accept this advice from Adile with heart and soul  
Gain eternal blessings through the company of the righteous<sup>77</sup>*

In Adile Sultân's poems, information is also provided about zikr (remembrance of God) and vird (regular litanies), which form the building blocks of her spiritual journey (seyr u sulûq ). Indeed, in her ghazel with the refrain "Come to the remembrance of God" (Zikrullah'a Gel), Sultân reflects the fervor of an ecstatic dervish:

*Say Allah with sincerity and enter immediately, come to the circle  
Come to the remembrance of Allah with peace and pleasure at every moment  
Cast off the garment of pride, don the robe of the beloved of Allah  
The mirror of the heart becomes pure, O Sufi, come to the remembrance of Allah<sup>78</sup>*

In the Naqshbandi order, starting from Alâeddin Attâr (d. 802/1400), the divine name "Allah" was included among the litanies of the spiritual journey (seyr u sulûq ), yet the zikr of the declaration of unity (kelime-i

76 Süleyman Uludağ, "Sohbet", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2009), 37/357; Necdet Tosun, "Nakşibendiyye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: TDV Yayınları, 2006), 32/342.

77 For verses related to the murshid's sohbet, see Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 334, 395, 317, 317, 370, 379, 384, 393, 293, 415, 421.

78 For verses related to Zikrullah, see, Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 379, 317, 370, 384, 395, 452.

tawheed) has always retained its significance.<sup>79</sup> Notably, the verses in the Sultan's *Dīwān* concerning the zikrs she practised shed light on certain debates related to the Mujaddidi branch represented by Sheikh Muhammad Jan. In fact, sources emphasise that there is a distinction between the Mujaddidi branch represented by Muhammad Jan and the Khalidiyya represented by Khalid al-Baghdadi (d. 1242/1827), who received his khilafah from the same sheikh. The reasons for the aforementioned dispute are listed as follows: Muhammed Jān's permission for some of his deputies sent to Central Asia to perform jahri zikr (vocal remembrance), his opening of the hatme-hācegān (a specific Naqshbandi group zikr ritual) to non-disciples, and his addition of the zikr of "Hū" to the recitation of the divine name (lafza-i jalāl).<sup>80</sup>

Reşat Ekrem Koçu confirms the enthusiastic nature of the hatme-hācegān ceremonies held at the Bālā Dergāh. Adile Sultān also states in her *Dīwān* that the order was based on secret zikr (non-vocal remembrance), while acknowledging the existence of jazba (a state of spiritual ecstasy or divine attraction). An examination of the *Dīwān* reveals that the Sultan primarily progressed in her spiritual journey through the "word of tawhid." Indeed, her poems with the refrains "Lā ilāhe illallah" and "tawhid" provide illuminating information about this method of zikr:

*The friend is only Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah  
Let us say, know that there is no god but Allah  
It is a royal assembly, a gathering of lovers  
It creates the garden of union, the circle of tawhid*<sup>81</sup>

Adile Sultān continued to recite the name of Allah, which she referred to as the "ism-i zāt" and "ism-i celāl" in addition to the Kalima-i Tawhid. Thus, it is understood from the following verses that the ism-i celāl zikr is included in her devotions.

*May Adile's prayers always be the Ism-i Celāl  
Come to the Holy Qur'an, it is the pure secret of Mustafa*<sup>82</sup>  
*Purify my heart with your gentleness*

79 Necdet Tosun, *Bahâeddîn Nakşibend Hayatı, Görüşleri, Tarikatı* (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 2003), 305.

80 Algar, "Nakşibendiyye", 32/340; Tosun, "19. Yüzyılda Mekke'de Önemli Bir Nakşibendi Şeyhi: Muhammed Cân", 215.

81 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 188-189.

82 Özdemir, *Adile Sultan Divânı*, 381.

*May I find happiness with your name*<sup>83</sup>

Apart from these two invocations, the names “Hü” and “Hayy” are also among the virtues she attained in her spiritual journey. Indeed, the verses below highlight the differences in invocation between the Khalidiyya School and the Naqshbandiyya order spread by Muhammad Jân:

*Day and night I cry out like a nightingale, wailing  
My heart burns with the fire of love, consuming me, O Hü  
With your love, I say 'ya Hu' with spiritual fervour  
I surrender my tongue and pledge allegiance to the beloved, ya Hu  
With your love, make my heart pure, O Living One  
With that longing, bestow the light of the soul, O Living One  
May my tongue be purified and discover the secrets of the physicians  
O Ever-Living, O Self-Subsisting, grant favour and aid, O Ever-Living*<sup>84</sup>

Adile Sultân states that, in addition to these zikr practices, she consistently recites the zikr “Hamdulillâh ey Rahîm u Hayy u Kayyûm u Kerîm” along with salawât-e sharifa (salutations upon the Prophet), and the surahs *Fatiha*, *Ikhlâs*, and *Inshirah*.<sup>85</sup> Hence, these surahs are known as the fundamental features of the Naqshbandiyya hatme-hâcegân.<sup>86</sup>

The Sultan’s *Dîwân* also contains the revelations and inspirations she experienced during her spiritual journey, in addition to her devotions and prayers. In fact, in her tawhid, which begins with the verse, “*A vast climate appeared within my heart, a desert / Established in the middle, a hayme-i ulyâ of light*,” she describes a manifestation she attained through the secret of her guide. In her 133 rd ghazel, which begins with the line, “*Last night, my eyes were familiar in the depths of sleep*” Sultan recounts a mystical experience she had while asleep.<sup>87</sup>

## Conclusion

Adile Sultan, the only lady of the Ottoman dynasty to have a diwan, was born in 1826, the year when the Janissary Corps and the Bektashi

83 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 397.

84 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 429, 459.

85 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 185, 187, 191-195, 305.

86 Tosun, *Bahâeddîn Nakşibend Hayatı, Görüşleri, Tarikatı*, 320-321.

87 Özdemir, *Âdile Sultan Divânı*, 191-192, 420.

tekkes were closed, and died at the dawn of the 20th century, at a time when the tekkes were still standing and functioning with all their institutions. First and foremost, through mystical content in her *Dīwān*, this study contributes to and opens way for further studies about the Ottoman Palace's perspective on and respect for Sufism. Furthermore, the Sultan's documented charitable activities for the tekkes and dervish lodges, which enabled the practice of Sufism, are the answer to the question of how this respect was reflected in real life.

Adile Sultan was not only knowledgeable about Sufi literature and the rules and etiquette of the Sufi path, but she was also a dervish lady who practised it herself. She strove to apply the principles of the path, especially the order, in her spiritual journey and showed determination in her Sufi journey with the diligence of a disciple worthy of her sheikh. Her *Dīwān* clearly reveals how she entered the order, her feelings in the presence of her spiritual guide, and how her Sufi guidance refined her spirituality. The Sufi content of the *Dīwān* is also extremely important in terms of presenting the framework of a female disciple's spiritual journey. This is because the *Dīwān* contains not only horizontal knowledge regarding the history of Sufism but also a rich content related to its vertical dimension, including the etiquette of the Sufi path (tarikāt adābı), the principles of spiritual journey (seyr u sulūq), and concepts of spiritual realization (tahakkuk). Without a doubt, the Sufi emphasis present even in the poems Sultan wrote for deceased members of the dynasty elevates them beyond the dimension of elegy and transforms them into a kind of means of guidance. The fact that she includes the kashfs and inspirations she experienced during her spiritual journey in her poems also gives her *Dīwān* a purpose of sufi work in places.

The Sultan's poems, particularly those written about her order and her sheikh, and the chain of transmission of the order included in her *Dīwān* shed light on the Istanbul connection of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya branch centred on Abdullah Dihlawi. On the other hand, Adile Sultan's inclusion in her *Dīwān* of the prominent practices (erkān) and litanies (tesbihat) of her spiritual journey, while addressing certain disputes with the Khalidiyya branch, which stems from the same lineage as her sheikh Muhammed Jan, adds an anthropological dimension to the work.

The connection between the Ahl al-Bayt and the Twelve Imams, which the Sultan explicitly established in her *Dîwân*, and the endowment revenues she allocated to the tombs and tekkes of Istanbul, reveal her Ahl al-Bayt-centred Sufi world. Additionally, the poems in which Adile Sultân expresses her reverence for the true Sufi paths and the Sufis of Istanbul serve as a response from the palace to the question of which tekkes (Sufi lodges) are prominent in the capital. Moreover, alongside all her other charitable endeavours, particularly her efforts in construction and restoration, shed light on why she is referred to with the epithet “Râbiatu’-d-devrân” (the Râbia of her era). Lastly, her dedication in the realm of Sufism, demonstrated through both her personal commitment and her wealth, confirms the truth of Sâmiha Ayverdi’s statement, quoted from a Sufi figure, that “Adile Sultan is a sultan of both this world and the hereafter!”<sup>88</sup>

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88 Sâmiha Ayverdi, *Arkamızda Dönen Dolaplar* (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyat, 2020), 107.

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