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## CHAPTER TWO

### RE-THINKING ISLAMIC-ANATOLIAN SPACE

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The subject of the paper is the concept of space in traditional Islamic Anatolian society. It is commonly accepted that the conceptual understanding driving this Anatolian tradition is based on geometry. For example, the German thinker, Martin Heidegger, stated that he felt his blood freeze in his veins when he saw the abstractness of the mosques in Istanbul.<sup>1</sup> The physical characteristics of historical, Anatolian, Islamic architecture which engender these feelings were the use of simple geometric shapes throughout the mass of the building and a preference for non-figurative and geometric decoration. While the interest in geometry is not in doubt, there is an enormous problem in accepting it as a central defining feature in the regional understanding of space. Indeed, there is much in the intellectual approaches to space-formation and architectural practices in Anatolia to suggest otherwise. However, characterization with geometry ignores certain features of the practices involved in traditional Islamic, Anatolian space-formation, namely that it operates according to deep ties with the natural environment. This is something that the Heideggerian view ignores and must thus be considered redundant. From the time of the Renaissance onwards European culture has tended to base its understanding of space on geometric abstraction. This paper argues that while geometry may play a significant role in the conceptualisation of space, the exclusion of cultural practice and knowledge from the characterization of an entire tradition produces only a crude distortion. Thus what is required in order to rectify this situation is a hermeneutic approach that combines in a subtle and nuanced manner the

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<sup>1</sup> M. Boss, “Martin Heidegger’s Zollikon Seminars,” 7 – 20.

interweaving of architectural and construction practices with the conceptual and interpretative pathways of the intellectual tradition.

We are careful to avoid a top-down theoretical approach, preferring to consider the actual physical spaces of Anatolia as a basis for theoretical discussions in this paper. In addition, literary treatments of space are introduced to supplement the analysis on the assumption that it too addresses questions of space within a certain cultural-linguistic framework. The main concepts at play here are those of “authority” on the one hand, which derives from certain social-historical and religious practices, and on the other hand, “multiplicity,” a concept that is sociological and metaphysical in equal measure. In fact, the conceptual framework that informs this debate has a long history; in Plato and before him, Parmenides, it became known as the problem of the One and the Many, a problematic that explores the way in which meaning is, paradoxically, both fixed and fluid, or enabling and constraining, as British sociologists would say.

Continuing with the comparativist approach, according to Turkish scholar S. Erol, the will and method of conceptual and existential understanding may be seen in terms of an ancient mythical formulation, one that in fact makes various appearances in modern psychology. Erol argues that human understanding of its existential predicament arises as a result of the ancient and little understood rite of “sacrifice”, meant of course in the mythopoetic sense and not primarily that of morality. The “living whole”, which may mean organic life or the untotalisable entirety of life, is subject to a kind of “murder” or “assassination” in order that it might be rendered in terms of social and intellectual practice.<sup>2</sup> In the myth of Dionysius, for example, Dionysius may only receive the secrets of life that later make up the Dionysian rite through his murdered at the hands of the father-god Zeus. Ancient mythologies constitute a comprehensive narrative of such murders that form the basis of the life-world. Such concepts are foreign to modernist intellectual discourse, but as a rule of thumb, it may be speculated that in terms of modern psychology, “sacrifice” may be understood as a kind of “sublimation,” understood not just as repression, but the transmutation of the world into intelligible form—a kind of “raw to cooked” procedure.

According to Erol, Western culture has developed through the “sacrificing” or sublimation of the material world. In this way is established the sacredness of nature. Again according to Erol, in far-Eastern culture, it is the human spirit that is sacrificed or sublimated and in this way the self takes on an “introverted” form. By contrast with these two approaches, Islamic culture involves the sacrificing of either the material world or the human spirit and in this way there

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<sup>2</sup> S. Erol, “Kenan Rifai,” 209 – 266.

is established a link of sacredness between both.<sup>3</sup> This is a “dynamic reflective relation” between the material and the spiritual world, and it is a result of the Islamic demand for balance between opposites.<sup>4</sup> In the present philosophical context, “opposites” are not an irreducibly dualistic, but function according to the principle of unity. In the language of Plato, balance is achieved through the participation of opposites in a state of ideational unity. It may be speculated that Western culture operates on the assumption of alienation of the human spirit from the sacred thus bringing about a life-world that strives to overcome conflict thus bringing about a state of integration and balance between the conflicting parties. In Freud for example, there is a powerful desire for all life forms to return from alienation to and original state of unity, where the later operates in fact as a telos. In Islamic culture, by contrast, the teleological principle demands the sustaining of the state of equilibrium that is the result of the practice of sublimation or “sacrifice.” These cultural differences affect deeply the ways in which people from these cultures understand their world.

Since Western culture “sacrifices” the material world, Western understanding depends on the sacralisation of material being. This kind of orientation is related to the concept of “expansion”, which explains the active tendencies in this culture. The reflection of this understanding in the formation of the spatial environment renders physical and visual characteristics as the most important. By contrast, Eastern culture depends solely on “contraction” which makes its physical space highly spiritual. On the other hand, the Islamic approach relates the material characteristics of lived space to the spiritual dimension. “Expansion” (active) and “contraction” (passive) are placed in a reflective relation.<sup>5</sup> Contraction depends on the reduction of one’s own characteristics to the minimum, in order to be able to perceive oneself as the other, whilst expansion depends on being more powerful and influential over others.<sup>6</sup>

We may briefly indicate the way in which “sacrifice” operates in Western epistemology. The universal concept of “objectivity” demands first that the world be divided up into subject and object. For Descartes this division took the form of *res cogitans*—thinking things—and *res extensa*—extended things.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, some kind of metaphorical distance must be established between subject and object, the job of philosophy being then to put these two pieces back together like “all the king’s horses and all the king’s men” in Lewis Carroll’s

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<sup>3</sup> Pre-Socratic, ancient Greek culture also depended on the sacrificial character of either the material world, or the human spirit. S. Erol, *Ibid.* 209 – 227.

<sup>4</sup> K. Gürsoy, “Mevlana Celal ed din Rumi’de ‘Aynı ve Başka’,” 41 – 46.

<sup>5</sup> Bakhtiar, *Sufi*, 10.

<sup>6</sup> S. Erol, “Kenan Rifai.” 209 – 227.

<sup>7</sup> René Desartes, *Meditations*,

Humpty Dumpty who fell off the wall. According to this model, the object then was subjected to analysis either by examining the object as a thing in itself and decomposing it into irreducible elements, or the equivalent treatment of the cognition or perception of the object. Other analytical approaches include the “structuralist” approach, which analyzes the parts of things within their own particular wholes; a “systems approach,” which analyses parts of things in relation to each other, or a “deconstructive” approach, which continues to divide the already divided parts further. Moreover, the methodology of these processes depends on the duality of concepts. For example, take the symbols “a” and “b.” These can represent various approaches and forms of thinking from “dialectical thinking”, where “a” and “b” come together to produce “c”; a “radical opposition” approach, where “a” and “b” cannot come together; or a “dynamic thinking” approach, where “a” is supported with a demand to achieve its opposite “b”. Such approaches, it may be said, dissect and “sacrifice” the material object in order to achieve knowledge.

Because of the significant differences in culture and epistemology, “sacrificing” only the material world into object form is not enough to understand historical, Islamic, Anatolian concepts and practices of space. In fact, this paper will serve as a demonstration that the characteristics of Anatolian spatial practice and concepts cannot be understood in the absence of a holistic approach and the retention of what is termed “dynamic reflective thinking,” requirements that also meet the psychological demands placed on architecture and design.

In Islamic thought the aim of contraction is to protect people from the effects of passionate feelings and heightened subjectivity during their expansive actions. As a result of this process, the person becomes aware of the similarity between his/her existence and, as the saying has it, the existence of “a fish, which is in an aquarium in the sea.” The sea represents the whole power—*irade-i külliye*—whilst the aquarium corresponds to the limits of the personal force—*irade-i cüzziye*.

Power plays a very important role in Islamic, Anatolian culture. The old religion of the Turks depended on power. According to this religion, individuals have their secret relationship with the sacred blue sky, which represents unity.<sup>8</sup> It was thought that everyone’s wishes were collected in the sky, and then activated by the leader of the group. Here, both the multiplicity and the leader are active in a society, which is in a state of unity. Multiplicity is made active through the position of the social. This relationship of Islamic Anatolian people with power, which works through the unity of multiplicity within the authority, causes Western people considerable difficulties in understanding this culture.

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<sup>8</sup> Roux, J. P., *Türklerin ve Moğolların Eski Dini*.

The difficulty in the understanding of Ottoman poetry is only one such example. It is difficult to differentiate whether the poetry is orthodox, which represents authority, or heterodox, which defends of multiplicity.<sup>9</sup> This confusion occurs because of the absence of consideration of the “dynamic reflective relation” between authority and multiplicity in Islamic, Anatolian culture.

This paper argues that, in order to understand the concept of space as they operate in Islamic Anatolia, it is necessary to observe thought processes in practice and to reflect on the way in which they are conceptualised. This involves consideration of patterns of thought, as, for example, they are manifested in political, literary, philosophical, religious and architectural practices. It is necessary to consider the concepts of both “expansion” which demands a materialistic and analytical approach, and “contraction” which demands a holistic approach. It is suggested in this paper that the analytical approach to Islamic, Anatolian space can only become possible when the nature of its unity is understood.

If we ask of architecture in particular, a holistic approach shows that its main characteristics are determined by the demand for “unity” which is a result of the “dynamic reflective relation” between opposites. As shown above, in the case of the material “sacrifice” “the symbols “a” and “b” appear in a dualistic relation. However, they come to exist in a relationship of unity when the human spirit is “sacrificed.” The shift between the two modes of thinking is unavoidable,<sup>10</sup> but it is mediated through the practice of “dynamic reflective thinking.” Hence, the Anatolian, Islamic concept of “unity” produces a different kind of spatial engagement when compared with the epistemology of “universality.” The Islamic, Anatolian concept of “unity” bears similarities to the philosophy of Benedict Spinoza’s, where “unity” covers the largest possible multiplicity—the whole universe.<sup>11</sup>

“Unity” is the main concept in the theorization and practice of Islamic Anatolian society, and it remains constant regardless of variation in respect to “authority” and “multiplicity.” Of course a purely theoretical discussion of this three-way configuration of conceptual space is possible. However, we feel that this would only compound problems associated with the conceptual articulation of Islamic space stated at the outset; namely that relying too heavily on abstract mathematical notions of space tend to bring about a distortion thus driving a wedge between intellectual and empirical practice with the ensuing

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<sup>9</sup> W. G. Andrews, “Yabancılaşmış ‘Ben’in’ Şarkısı, Guattari, Deleuze ve Osmanlı Divan Şiirinde Özne’nin Lirik Kod Çözümü,” 106 – 132. O. Hançerlioğlu, “Mevlevilik,” 152.

<sup>10</sup> This is reminiscent of the Western criticisms of the old religion of the Turks and Islam, which complained about the impossibility of the co-existence of “monotheism” with “polytheism.” Roux, *Türklerin ve Moğolların Eski Dini*.

<sup>11</sup> Gilles Deleuze, *Spinoza Üzerine Onbir Ders*, 83 – 94.

philosophical problems. Accordingly, we shall address the concept of “unity” as it pertains to constructed and natural spaces *vis-à-vis* the tension between authority—social order—and multiplicity in Islamic Anatolia. The discussion of the multiple dimensions implicit in the concept of “unity” in this paper is fourfold. It is necessary first to engage the concept of “unity” itself and arrive at a general conceptual description. Such a treatment prepares the ground for a discussion of the material dimension of space: Unity in relation to both the building-mass of architectural structure and the construction of inner spaces. The second aspect of the “sacrifice” of the material concerns unity in relation to the essence of forms that connect inner and exterior spaces. Finally, there will be a discussion of unity in relation to the human spirit.

The terminology required to form a holistic approach to the subject is to be found in heterodox—*vahdet-i mevcut*<sup>12</sup> or *vahdet’i şuhud*— and orthodox—*vahdet-i vücud*—Sufi literature. There are different approaches to the concepts of heterodox and orthodox in Islam. Çamuroğlu thinks that the orthodox and heterodox Sufis can be distinguished by their different value systems.<sup>13</sup> Heterodox Islamic groups are against order, whilst aristocratic orthodox groups demand the development of an ordered life. Historical houses of nomadic, Anatolian people can be seen as representative of the heterodox Sufi approach to space, whilst historical, Anatolian mosques and the residences of affluent people, for example, in İstanbul can be seen as representative of the orthodox Sufi approach.

The first observation to make about the concept of unity is that it is simultaneously highly abstract and deeply embedded in the practices of

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<sup>12</sup> The heterodox approach to Islam depends on *vahdet-i mevcut* which means “God is everything.” It is accepted by heterodox Muslims that God exists in everything. R. Çamuroğlu, *Tarih Heterodoksi ve Babailer. 118.* & R. Çamuroğlu, *Dönüyordu*. In contrast, for orthodox Muslims, “God manifests himself in everything.” R. Çamuroğlu, *Sabah Rüzgarı*.

<sup>13</sup> R. Çamuroğlu defines a group of heterodox Sufi as a happy and rebellious nomadic group which existed around the 1200’s in Anatolia. These were shabbily dressed, large groups of people, who carried wooden swords around with them in order to express their peacefulness. These people were always socializing together, including the men, the women, the elderly and the children. It was in the 1200’s that the noble orthodox people, who were living in castles, questioned these people thus: “We haven’t seen anything like it before. These people say that they are dervishes, and they are always enjoying themselves men and women together, and entering the mosques with their dogs.” Although they were nomads, these people had houses, which were erected outside the castles in order to decrease the amount of social repression they experienced. They were always ready to move on and to fight against the orthodox people. R. Çamuroğlu, *Tarih Heterodoksi ve Babailer. 145.*

everyday life. In its abstract conceptualisation, unity may be said to exist between binary opposites, yet, as already established, these elements are reducible to one in the sense that opposing forces, by definition, form a whole. In a similar way, authority and multiplicity are mediated in the whole by the “dynamic reflective relation.” It follows that a conceptual apparatus based on unity rejects the notion of “other,” by contrast let us say with the Hegelian philosophy of dialectical self-consciousness which rests on the categories of self and other. The idea of unity and the logic of “either-or” are incompatible. Accepting somebody as other may destroy the Islamic requirement of a dynamic balance and unity. Instead, unity yields the logic of the “and...and...”<sup>14</sup>

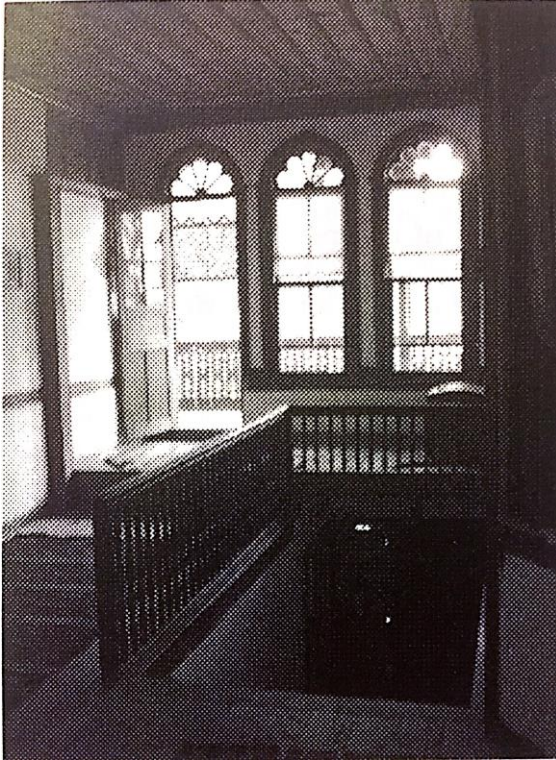
At the level of social practice, of course, where there is unpredictability and variation, the mediating function of the “dynamic reflective relation” is more complex than at the level of abstraction. Arabi expresses it in the following way: “The items of multiplicity build up the unity of the unique.”<sup>15</sup> Similarly, according to the Ottoman saying, “the destiny of the Sultan is written on the foreheads of his people” the holder of social power is part of a social configuration that bestows power on him. It neither comes from any qualities he may himself possess, nor is it given to him representationally or contractually by the people over whom he rules, but from a combination of both. But those who are governed in this way do constitute the “multiplicity” component of authority. Any social or intellectual order in Islam should be composed of the orders of multiplicities.

Heterodox Muslims of historical Anatolia accepted that there was continuity between them, other people, and nature. They believed that the expression of nature could not exclude the expression of the human spirit, and equally, the expression of the human spirit cannot exclude the expression of nature. Thus in the conceptions of space that characterize this set of beliefs and practices, socio-political and intellectual unity extend to the unity of the human being with the physical environment. The unity of Anatolian Islamic architecture is intended to protect the unity of all beings, and not only those in the immediate environment. The unity of human life with all other beings is expressed by the architecture with the help of a strong sense of continuity between the material building and the earth; continuity between the inner empty space and the exterior empty space; and the separation of the material building from the inner empty space in order to increase the strength of the first two continuities.

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<sup>14</sup> Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

<sup>15</sup> M. Arabi, *Fusus ül-Hikem*.



**Figure 1.** Interior of a Burdur house.

[\[http://www.7woa.com/cburdur.asp3menu=civic&submenu=cburdur&a=2502\]](http://www.7woa.com/cburdur.asp3menu=civic&submenu=cburdur&a=2502)

Continuity of spatialised beings in Western concept of space tends to derive from the demands of objectivity, where all entities are subject to the same mathematical values. Here, in the Islamic Anatolian notion of space, continuity exists between things of a similar nature. Thus, in architectural design, the material building must provide continuity with the material earth. For example, the gradual increase in the height of the mosques in Anatolia serves to emphasize the physical continuity between the building and the earth. The use of brown as the dominant exterior colour, the heaviness of the mass, and the use of only one type of material also serves this purpose. With these characteristics



the building looks like a permanent and modest mound on the earth and an integral part of the city.

The continuity between the inner empty space of a building and the space that surrounds it completes the requirements of unity between the inner and the exterior space. This is not a physical continuity. It is, instead, a continuity of some *dematerialised* aspects of architecture. The inner space is empty both in the mosque and the house. The only furnishings in the mosques are carpets and low tables for reading the Kur-an—*rahle*. The houses of ordinary people also have a small number of multi-purpose pieces of furniture that are easy to pack up and carry. Consumption is minimized.<sup>16</sup> The empty, inner space of the Anatolian house, which contains only the minimum amount of furniture, is accepted as a sign of human strength. This demand for the minimal derives from the Anatolian understanding of space, “oylum”, which translates as “carved space.”

The continuity between this inner, empty space and the emptiness which surrounds the building, was created by separating the inner space of the building from its material envelope. This is a separation, which is achieved with the support of the rules of perception. By using simple geometric shapes, the inner empty space is perceived as an independent entity. It is differentiated from its material surroundings, and in the process is established a relation of continuity between inner space and the exterior space of the world. This understanding of the concept of space accepts the inner empty space as the architectural space:

In much of Islamic architecture, space is “cut out” from the material forms around it and is defined by the inner surfaces of these forms... The space is cut out in such a way as to achieve synthesis and unify the multiple facets of life.<sup>17</sup>

It must be stressed that inner space does not form a closed box cut off from the surrounding environment. In this sense it is not an enclosure. According to the Islamic understanding of space, “to be distant from nature is unnatural.”<sup>18</sup> This serves to create unity between the man-made space and natural space. For example natural light washes the inner spaces of Anatolian mosques, mediating inner space and exterior space. Actually, light is only one of the exterior factors, which easily penetrates the interior space. Novelist E. H. Ayverdi notes that:

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<sup>16</sup> R. Çamuroğlu, *Tarih Heterodoksi ve Babailer*, 144.

<sup>17</sup> N. Ardalan & L. Bakhtiar, *The Sense of Unity*, 15 – 19.

<sup>18</sup> Numan, “Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Hoca’da Türk Sanatı ve Mimarlık Tarihiçiliğine Bakış.”

If the interior (existence) and the exterior (appearance) are the one and the same thing...the beauties of nature also flow inside. Visibility from both the interior and the exterior, being bathed in the light of sun, are only the results of this situation.”<sup>19</sup>

In relation to the continuity between the inner and exterior spaces, continuity of movement in space is also of great importance. The combination of a series of geometries, and repetition of the order, create the flow. This is similar to the way in which nature disposes itself, through rhythm. It is only through receiving the rhythm of life that escaping from being a prisoner of time is possible.<sup>20</sup>

However, it should be noted that the envelop of the building on its own does not constitute on its own the mediating form of differentiation and continuity. This is achieved through the inscription of symbolic articulations of writing and patterns. Architecturally speaking, such inscriptions are decoration or ornamentation and we see from this that the function is far from decorative in the ordinary sense of the word. Symbolic form, especially that related to language and number constitute a common surface for both the inner space and exterior space. Such symbolic forms may be expressed in terms of fine lines—in Turkish, *hat*—, which relate calligraphy and geometric shapes to each other, a hieroglyphics of the relation between language and space. These crystallized forms express things in nature as they are reflected upon by the minds of rational<sup>21</sup> human beings. Moreover, concepts were expressed in terms of measured distances by using the: “ebcet alphabet.” For example, the length of the fountain in the court of Sinan’s Selimiye Mosque corresponds to his name. The names of God and the prophet were “written” in this way, and texts were depicted on the walls and surfaces of buildings. The symbolism used here is not like, language, amenable to content/form classification. It is rather the numerical symbolism which relates certain measurable distances to certain meanings. But the numbers themselves operate according to a code other than that of rational calculation. Everything, including types of music, seasons, signs of the zodiac and letters of the alphabet were related to each other by numbers, and every number had a meaning in respect of the religion.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, this type of symbolism can be seen as nondenotative, in that it signifies something without it being known in advance what: it signifies the unknown,

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<sup>19</sup> Cited in Numan, *Ibid*.

<sup>20</sup> . Bakhtiar, *Sufi*, 108 - 110.

<sup>21</sup> The term “rational” indicates the action of understanding by dividing into simple parts. However, this is different from “instrumental rationality,” which produces knowledge in such a way that it may be placed in the service of a certain regime.

<sup>22</sup> O. S. Gökyay, “Risale-I Mimariyye – Mimar Mehmet Ağa—Eserleri”, 113 – 216.

the secret, which corresponds to the heart—“rab”—of the Islamic person, combining his/her feelings with his/her mind.<sup>23</sup> Thus, each composition has content and form, as well as a sacred secret.

The use of intelligible symbolic form as mediation between inner space, which is continuous with the “human heart” and exterior space, which is continuous with nature, is expressed comprehensively in several passages of Turkish novelist, Samiha Ayverdi’s, *İbrahim Efendi Konağı* (*the Residence of İbrahim Efendi*):

The light coming into the sofa was broken by the purple bunches of the vine plant, which had spread across to the green eyed windows of the sofa. This did not provide a sense of space. Instead, it affected people by raising a mixture of feelings and sensations related to comfort and softness. We could even imagine that this house was built just to create this sofa with its sleepy, low light which is transformed into a bluish gray colour by the vine plant which faces the garden, with its foliage swaying gently in the breeze, as if waving to the people inside. This sofa was as necessary and as useful to the house as a heart is to a body, or, what a soul is to a body, the ‘sofa’ is to these old houses. People, who were tired from sitting, working, thinking and talking in the other rooms, would enter this sofa and feel only relieved and refreshed, as if they had just drunk some orange flower water, smelt rose juice, or visited another climate. Thus, the sofa was the horizon of people’s souls. It was the ground of their spaciousness.<sup>24</sup>

In this passage is expressed the idea that the functional value of the sofa is transcended by its value as an elemental grounding for the intelligibility of space. The critical point is that here it is not symbolic according to any representational logic, Here space only becomes intelligible through the process of embodiment. And it is this embodiment that gives space its innocence, especially inner space. The light, reflection and shade that filter through the vine leaves are also similar to the mediating ornamental effect in Islamic, Anatolian architecture. It is an effect, however, that embodies simplicity.

The existence of the secret dimension of signification in the mediation of inner and exterior space operates as a counterweight to explosive and exaggerated meaning, which eliminates the exaggeration of the meaning. There is no description of the tragic or the theatrical. Space is well lit, colourful and proportionate to the human scale.

It will have become evident that in addition to its strong organic orientation, the concepts and practices of space-formation in Islamic Anatolia are highly rational, which, in this instance, stands in a mimetic relation to the human

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<sup>23</sup> M. Arabi, *Fusus ül-Hikem*, 5 – 17.

<sup>24</sup> Samiha Ayverdi, *İbrahim Efendi Konağı*, 212 – 213.

being. The human being has as a body, which is continuation of the earth. It also has a mind, which is expressed in the concept of inner, empty space, a continuation, as has been shown, exterior space. Here too the mediation of inner and exterior space has a secret or unknown element. Geometric compositions ornament inner space on the strength that is a pre-eminent accomplishment of mind and in this case represents its rational capacity. The geometry of the mind reflects order of nature. The simpler a thing is, the higher the order it attains.

Thus, architecture in Islamic, Anatolian society is highly anthropomorphic insofar as it embodies material and human “sacrifice.” In this way, for example, the mosque may be construed as embodiments of sacrificial ancestors:

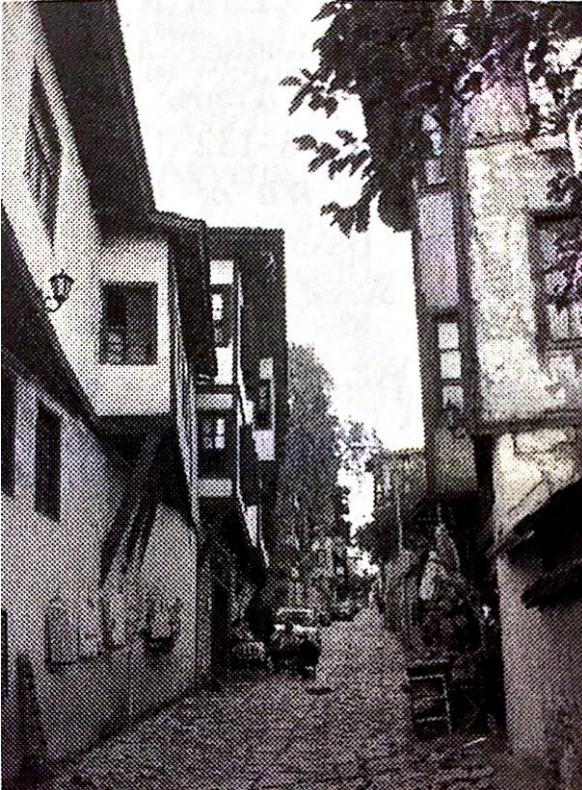
When I look at these mosques, I see them as father-shahs who are looking after their sons and daughters with the minaret spears in their hands, the quilted turbans on their heads and the gowns on their shoulders. It is possible to differentiate neither the faces, nor the bodies of them. They only have certain costumes, forms and a harmony of certain proportions. However, that particular harmony hides the secrets of my own existence.<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, the houses of Anatolian people can be accepted as embodiments of their inhabitants. They are small, they are simple, and they are similar to each other. Their positions in relation to each other do not consider the rules of geometry and the rules of modern proprietorship. However, the more similar they are, the more striking the differences between them. The simpler they are the more striking are their irregularities. The differences and similarities between these houses are similar to the explanations of Antonin Artaud on the subject of the similarities and differences between the performances of the actors in Oriental theatre. The rituals tell them how to play, and they have to obey those rituals. Consequently, the more they try to perform the same role, the clearer the differences between them.<sup>26</sup> This difference is not one of psychological identity. It is a physical difference which is in a dynamic reflective relation with a psychological difference. Hence, no separation exists between the body and psychology.

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<sup>25</sup> S. Erol, “Kenan Rifai,” 258.

<sup>26</sup> Antonin Artaud, *The Theater and its Double*, 52 – 73.



**Figure 2.** A house in Cumalıkızık village  
[<http://www.tvitamini.com/cumali.htm>]

Anatolian people do not understand and experience their spaces as abstract. Instead, according to them, Islamic, Anatolian space is part of the whole environment. It is, therefore, an extension of the existing environment. The existing environment, nature and the architectural space are, therefore, in unity. Let us leave the final words with the novelist:

It is easier to love a street, a house, a district or a city than a person. The hearts of the streets are open for everybody. They love everybody equally. This old city does not smile for one person, and scowl for another. Its arms are always open to everybody. It is able to keep secrets. It does not turn its back to the people who stand in front of it. It does not betray. It is not two-faced. It does not lie. These walls, doors and windows, which stand firm together in order not to lose their

struggle against this amount of dirt, misuse and destruction, are still warm. They smile at the people who come close.<sup>27</sup>

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